

Nicholas Trevet's
Commentary on the Psalms (1317–c. 1321)
A Publishing History

INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

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Jakub KUJAWIŃSKI

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INSTRUMENTA PATRISTICA ET MEDIAEVALIA

Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

Gert PARTOENS Alexander ANDRÉE Rita BEYERS Emanuela COLOMBI
Georges DECLERCQ Jeroen DEPLOIGE Paul-Augustin DEPROOST
Greti DINKOVA-BRUUN Anthony DUPONT Jacques ELFASSI Guy GULDENTOPS
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Marco PETOLETTI Dominique POIREL Bram ROOSEN Kees SCHEPERS
Paul TOMBEUR Toon VAN HAL Marc VAN UYTFANGHE Wim VERBAAL

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Acknowledgments

I was first introduced to the oeuvre of Nicholas Trevet at the beginning of the 2010s, when pursuing my interest in medieval commentaries on historical writings. At that time, my knowledge of him was based on a fraction of existing scholarship, first of all on the studies concerned with Trevet's commentary on Livy. That was sufficient to recognize in Trevet a promising case for the study of the ways by which scholastic authors published their works in manuscript. Working for the ERC Project, *Medieval Publishing from c. 1000 to 1500*, first as full-time researcher (October 2017–March 2021) then as affiliated visiting researcher at the University of Helsinki (April 2021–August 2023), provided me with a unique opportunity and excellent conditions to develop that initial sense of Trevet's value by opening up my study of several Trevet's works and, most importantly, by studying their textual traditions. I owe that opportunity to Samu Niskanen, Principal Investigator of the said project. In that same period (2017–2022), the partnership with the Lamemoli project (Academy of Finland and University of Jyväskylä, no. 307635), directed by Outi Merisalo, offered me another invaluable venue for discussion and support for this research, especially during my full-time position at the University of Jyväskylä (April–September 2021). The material gathered by spring 2019 led me to select Trevet's commentary on the Psalms to be the subject of a separate study. Originally intended to be an article, it has developed into the present monograph.

I was very lucky to have been able to investigate at first hand all significant witnesses of the commentary as well as certain other pertinent manuscripts before the outbreak of the pandemic of 2020. After that, short trips when travel restrictions were periodically lifted enabled the completion of this research by spring 2023. The keepers of the special collections of several institutions granted me access to manuscripts from their collections and, when requested, permission to publish reproductions: in Bologna, the Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio (Clara Maldini); in Cambridge, the library of Christ's College (John Wagstaff); in Hereford, the Cathedral Library (Rosemary Firman and Elizabeth Semper O'Keefe); in Modena, the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (Nadia De Lutio); in Nuremberg, the Stadtbibliothek (Christine

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Elaboration of the findings took place mostly in Helsinki, during the pandemic. I very much appreciated the help of the librarians of the National Library of Finland and the University Library in Helsinki for their efforts to guarantee direct access to reference collections, when the public-health situation allowed, as well as for their efficient reproduction and interlibrary loan services. The library of the Studium Catholicum in Helsinki has provided me with easy access to the essential source editions and publications pertaining to the history of the Dominican order. Krzysztof Kaczmarek generously shared with me Dominican publications in his possession at the final stage of my work, in Poznań.

Many friends and colleagues promptly responded to my requests for expertise or advice, sharing with me their knowledge, their own works or, not least, providing publications that were unavailable to me. Francesca Manzari, Patricia Stirnemann, and James Willoughby stand out for the frequency of their consultations. For their kind help I also thank Andrea Bartocci, Diletta Biagini, Charles Burnett, Paolo Chiesa, Margaret Condon, Noël Coulet, Marco Cursi, Giulia De Simone, Helen Dixon, Lucy Freeman Sandler, Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, Ralph Hanna, Andrea Improta, Marilena Maniaci, Outi Merisalo, Giovanna

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I was fortunate to receive comments on an early version of this book from Ralph Hanna and Samu Niskanen. The feedback from James Willoughby and an anonymous reader helped me to improve the final manuscript, of which the language and style has been patiently revised by James. Responsibility for errors of fact or opinion remains with me. Last, but far from least, I am grateful to the Editorial Board of *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* for accepting this book into the series and to Luc Jocqué and Julian Yolles for their careful assistance through the publishing process.

List of Sigla and Conventions

LIST OF SIGLA

- A: Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A. 984.
- B: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 730.
- C: Capestrano, Biblioteca del Convento di S. Giovanni da Capestrano, XLV.
- C^A: corrections in the same manuscript ascribable to the reviser, Hand A.
- C^B: corrections in the same manuscript ascribable to the reviser, Hand B.
- D: Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, B. 91.
- G: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 738.
- H: Hereford, Cathedral Library, O.IV.11.
- K: Mainz, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Hs I 87a.
- M: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Lat. 983 (α. F. 3. 7).
- N: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 30.
- O: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 599.
- R: Rome, Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Liber 1670.

codd.: MANCGHBRO

‡: used after the siglum of an individual manuscript witness refers

to a correction attributable to the copyist.

²: used after the siglum of an individual manuscript witness refers to a correction attributable to a hand distinct from the copyist.

^R: used after the siglum of an individual manuscript witness refers to a revised reading, which cannot be attributed with confidence to the copyist or a distinct reviser.

-tx and -lm: used after the siglum of individual manuscript witness or group of witnesses refer, respectively, to the reading of the Psalter copied in full (*textus*) and to the Psalter lemma provided within the *Expositio*.

Ga: Latin Psalter according to the Gallican version (*Psalterium Gallicanum*). Reference edition: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam versionem. Liber Psalmorum ex recensione sancti Hieronymi cum praefationibus et epistula ad Sunniam et Fretelam*, cura et studio monachorum abbatiae pontificiae sancti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, Rome, 1953. The discussed readings of *Ga* have been compared to the working edition of the late medieval received text of the Gallican version according to: *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria, post Argentinam Adolphi Rusch 1481 editionem, aucta et emendata*, ed. by M. MORARD, with the assistance of M.-J. SORBETS, Paris, 2015–2023 (the most recent version: 18 March 2023), available at: *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, Paris, 2023, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions.php?id=glo&numLivre=26> (last accessed 8 April 2023). In light of the Dominican origin of the commentary and certain of its early copies, I also compared those readings with the revised Gallican Psalter that was part of the Dominican office as it was accepted by the chapter general in Paris in 1256 (consulted from the so-called prototype, Rome, Archivum Generale Fratrum Praedicatorum, XIV L 1, fols 71^{ra}–83^{vb}).¹

¹ Individual parts of this complex manuscript were copied between mid-1256 and mid-1259 in Paris and decorated a few years later, also in Paris, see L. E. BOYLE, “A material consideration of Santa Sabina ms. XIV L 1”, in *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine. Le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*, ed. by L. E. BOYLE and P.-M. GY, Rome, 2004 (Collection de l’École française de Rome, 327), pp. 19–42, and M.-T. GOUSSET, “La décoration du ‘Prototype’ et des manuscrits liturgiques

He: Latin Psalter according to the *iuxta Hebraeos* version (the *Hebraicum*). Reference edition: *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, ed. by H. DE STE-MARIE OSB, Rome–Vatican City, 1954 (Collectanea Biblica Latina, XI).

Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria: *Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria*, ed. by M. MORARD, in *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, Paris, 2023, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/livres-liste.php?id=glo> (last accessed 8 April 2023), and *Biblia communis*, ed. by M. MORARD in *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, Paris, 2023, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/livres-liste.php?id=biblia> (last accessed 8 April 2023). These two complementary working editions of the common text of the Latin Bible as it was used in the late Middle Ages (the former also including the *Glossa ordinaria* on selected books) are the main reference tool for identification and discussion of quotations and references in Trevet’s *Expositio* to biblical books other than the Psalter. These editions are intended to replace the *editio princeps* of the Bible with Ordinary Gloss (Strasbourg, Adolf Rusch for Anton Koberger, not after 1480, *GW* 4282, ISTC ib00607000), hitherto the most common reference for the late medieval Latin Bible.

Ep. Hier.: *Epistola Hieronymi ad Sophronium* (Jerome’s prologue to *He*) or Trevet’s commentary on it.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

AFP *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*

ARCA Bibliothèque numérique de l’IRHT (<https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/>, last accessed 28 December 2023)

BAV Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BM Bibliothèque municipale/Médiathèque

BnF Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

apparentés”, *ibid.*, pp. 43–57. This copy of the Psalter was only partly collated by M. Morard for his working edition.

- Briquet Ch.-M. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, vols 4, Paris, 1907 (accessed via Briquet Online, v. 2.1 – 2021-01-23, <https://briquet-online.at/>)
- BRUO A. B. EMDEN, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1957–1959
- CBMLC Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
- CCCM Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
- DBI *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (online edition accessed at: <https://www.treccani.it/biografico/index.html>)
- GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (online database accessed at: <https://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/>)
- ISTC Incunabula Short Title Catalogue. The international database of 15th-century European printing (https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search)
- MOFPH Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford (online edition accessed via Helsinki University Library)
- Piccard-Online Piccard-Online collection of watermark facsimile accessed via Wasserzeichen-Informationssystem, <https://www.wasserzeichen-online.de/wzis/struktur.php>
- SOPMA T. KAEPPELI, E. PANELLA, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 4 vols, Rome, 1970–1993

Unless stated otherwise, all urls were last accessed on 15 April 2023.

A NOTE ON THE REFERENCE TO THE PSALMS

All references follow the numbering of the Psalms used in Trevet's *Expositio super Psalterium*, which corresponds to that of *Ga*. A concordance of psalms numbering according to Trevet and *Ga* with the division proper of *He* (according to the modern edition²) — which is the version of the Latin Psalter commented on by Trevet — is provided in Appendix A. While the division into individual psalms is common to all witnesses discussed in this study, whether they include the Psalter or not, the verse division and numbering is fully readable only in the witnesses that include *He*,³ and it varies to some extent. For that reason, references follow the verse numbering in the edited *He*, with the exception of Ps. 2 — one of the three collated in full — in which the verse division in the tradition of the *Expositio* in three instances differs from that of the edited *He* (verses 6 and 7 are divided differently, verses 12 and 13 of *He* are one verse here, incipits and explicits are provided in Appendix D).⁴ The titles of psalms, which in the edited *He* are included in the verse numbering, will be here referred to as “titulus”, and follow the use of our manuscripts. The division of Jerome's prologue (*Epistola Hieronymi ad Sophronium*) into verses follows the division that is found in all the collated manuscripts that provide the *textus* in full (MGH-BRO); the numbering is editorial.

A NOTE ON QUOTATIONS FROM INDIVIDUAL MANUSCRIPTS

Quotations respect the spellings in the manuscripts. Abbreviations are expanded silently while capitalization and punctuation follow modern practice. These modifications do not apply to those quotations that are expressly stated to be in diplomatic transcription. In such cases, abbreviations are expanded using round brackets, missing letters are restored

² The apparatus provided by the editor reveals that many of the witnesses to *He* offered the same numbering as *Ga*, while others omitted numerals (this is often the case of Θ^k and O).

³ In the commentary itself only the verses that are significant for the *divisio* are referred to by number.

⁴ The most significant discrepancy between the verse numbering applied in the *Expositio* and that of the modern edition occurs in Ps. 118 (*He* 119), where Trevet uses a separate numbering for each group of eight verses, which are distinguished by a letter of the Hebrew alphabet and a discrete numbering.

using angle brackets, while cancelled letters or words are given within square brackets. Division into verses and columns/pages, when significant, are indicated by | and || respectively. Use of // signals portions lost to damage.

Introduction

This volume forms part of a broader endeavour that asks how Nicholas Trevet (c. 1258–after 1334), an English Dominican friar, published his works.¹ Modern expectations for publication, and notions of what it means to publish, are defined by cultures of print: texts are set in type, their accuracy overseen by the author, and distributed through commercial networks. But “the very notion of publishing is premodern”,² and how authors were able to secure readerships for their works in an age of manuscript production is a fascinating and potentially very fruitful question. My main concern here is authorial publication, in other words, publishing undertaken by the author and/or related parties, as opposed to editorial initiatives undertaken by copyists or readers who were not associated with the author’s own circle.³

¹ See J. KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I. Commentaries on the authors of classical and Christian Antiquity”, in *The Art of Publication from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. by S. NISKANEN, with the assistance of V. ROVERE, Turnhout, 2023 (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, 93), pp. 167–268. Part II is in preparation.

² D. HOBBS, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*, Philadelphia, PA, 2009, p. 153. Cf. OED, 3rd edn, 2007 (consulted at <https://www-oed-com.libproxy.helsinki.fi/>), which both reflects the primary connotation with the printing technology (*s.v.* “publication”, No. 2; *s.v.* “publish”, No. 3b–c; most recently modified versions published online December 2022) and attests the use of the verb “publish” in relation to literary works’ (alongside documents and juridical texts) being circulated before the invention of print (*s.v.* “publish”, No. 3a and the example from the Prologue of 1 Chronicles, before 1382); see also *s.v.* “publishing” (n.), No. 2 (most recently modified version published online March 2023). The most comprehensive survey of the Latin terms used for publishing is by P. BOURGAIN, “La naissance officielle de l’œuvre: l’expression métaphorique de la mise au jour”, in *Vocabulaire du livre et de l’écriture au moyen âge. Actes de la table ronde, Paris 24–26 septembre 1987*, ed. by O. WEIJERS, Turnhout, 1989, pp. 195–205. Less systematically, the publishing vocabulary is discussed by HOBBS, *Authorship and Publicity*, p. 153, and by many of the scholars cited in the following notes.

³ A market-orientated publishing by book-trade professionals is the focus of Leah Tether’s study of Grail literature between the thirteenth and sixteenth century: L. TETHER, *Publishing the Grail in Medieval and Renaissance France*, Cam-

The study of publishing by authors in Antiquity — Classical and Christian alike — is able to call upon a solid tradition of scholarship.⁴ Research into the same phenomenon as it relates to the manuscript book in the Western Middle Ages (Latin and vernacular) is sparser and has been less systematically applied. The question has been implicit in scholarship for more than a hundred years.⁵ However, it is only from

bridge, 2017; on the scholar's understanding of commercial publishing before print, see pp. 2–3, 9, 21–26; for a discussion of previous scholarship, see pp. 17–20; the book at various points also touches upon the author's role in publishing, see pp. 23, 30–33, 140–52.

⁴ See, for instance, *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, ed. by G. CAVALLO, Rome-Bari, 1977², consisting of three chapters, all to various extent concerned with the topic: E. G. TURNER, "I libri nell'Atene del V e IV secolo a. C." (originally published in 1952), pp. 3–24 (notes at pp. 135–39), see esp. pp. 16–24; T. KLEBERG, "Commercio librario ed editoria nel mondo antico" (originally published in 1962), pp. 26–80 (notes at pp. 140–49), see esp. pp. 40–80, and G. CAVALLO, "Libro e pubblico alla fine del mondo classico", pp. 81–132 (notes at pp. 149–62), see esp. pp. 119–22 and 130–32 (the collection was reedited and reprinted many times). More recently, the question of authorial publishing in ancient Rome has been addressed by J. W. IDDENG, "Publica aut peri! The releasing and distribution of roman books", *Symbolae Osloenses*, 81 (2006), pp. 58–84; and O. PECERE, *Roma antica e il testo. Scritture d'autore e composizione letteraria*, Rome-Bari, 2010, with reference to previous scholarship; and among Christian writers of the first through fifth centuries, by H. Y. GAMBLE, *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts*, New Haven, CT, 1995 (Chapter III). In the context of manuscript transmission, the phenomenon has been approached by G. PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence, 1934 (Chapter VII discusses the evidence of authorial variant readings in selected ancient works, which may often be associated with different events in the history of their publication; Pasquali brings some medieval examples to that discussion, see pp. 438–49 and 457–65).

⁵ R. K. ROOT, "Publication before printing", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 28 (1913), pp. 417–31; G. PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione* (see previous note), and H. S. BENNETT, "The production and dissemination of vernacular manuscripts in the fifteenth century", *The Library*, 5th series, vol. 1 (1946–1947), pp. 167–78, are among the first to have addressed the question. They were followed, in the second half of the century, by R. MARICHAL, "Manuscrit (Le)", in *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le Moyen Âge*, ed. by R. BOSSUAT, L. PICHARD, G. R. DE LAGE, Paris, 1964, pp. 488–95, at 493; and P. BOURGAIN,

the late twentieth century that it has been subjected to more methodical investigation. Between 1999 and 2012, in authoritative surveys of studies on medieval communication, “the topic of publication before the advent of printing” was given notice but not considered worthy of separate treatment.⁶ In 2023, to judge by the interest that the topic has received in numerous recent publications, medieval publishing appears to have developed into a research field in its own right.⁷

“L'édition des manuscrits”, in *Histoire de l'édition française*, I, ed. by H. J. MARTIN, Paris, 1982, pp. 49–75, at 51–60.

⁶ M. MOSTERT, “New approaches to medieval communication?”, in: *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. by M. MOSTERT, Turnhout, 1999, pp. 15–37, at 29 (cf. IDEM, *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication*, in *ibid.*, pp. 193–318); IDEM, *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication*, Turnhout, 2012; see “Introduction”, p. 16, and Subject index (*s.v.* “Publication”, “Publishing”). The more recent of the two bibliographies only reports a few studies specifically dedicated to medieval publishing and places most of them under the heading “Book production in the Middle Ages”, Nos. 3899, 3917, 3925, 3932, and 3943. Among those items, No. 3925 only touches upon a peculiar aspect of medieval publishing (I. VAN RENSWOUDE, “‘The word once sent forth can never come back’: trust in writing and the dangers of publication”, in: *Strategies of Writing. Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages: Papers from “Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages” (Utrecht, 28–29 November 2002)*, ed. by P. SCHULTE, M. MOSTERT, I. VAN RENSWOUDE, Turnhout, 2008, pp. 393–413, at 411–12). The remaining items are quoted above, nn. 2 and 5: *Histoire de l'édition française* (No. 3899); ROOT, “Publication before printing” (No. 3917); BENNETT, “Production and dissemination” (No. 3932); and HOBBS, *Authorship and Publicity* (No. 3943). The section “Book production in the Middle Ages” is part of Chapter 8 (“Production and use of written texts”). It is preceded by a section with the titles “Script and script forms” (8.1), “Runes, inscriptions, graffiti and wax tablets” (8.2), and is followed by three others: “Producing charters and archival documents” (8.4); “Reading and the reception of texts” (8.5); and “The printed word” (8.6). There is one more study on a related topic, regarding early Islam, No. 1022, reported in Chapter 2: “Surveys of the introduction and development of written culture”. Among the pre-2010 studies touching on ancient publishing and quoted above, n. 4, two are registered: GAMBLE, *Books and Readers* (No. 419), and *Libri, editori e pubblico* (No. 4034). Nos. 1022, 3899, 3917, 3925, 3943, and 4034 are identified by the Subject Index as speaking of the phenomena of “Publication”, “Publicity”, “Publishers”, or “Publishing”.

⁷ S. NISKANEN, “Authorial publication in the Middle Ages”, in *Routledge Resources Online – Medieval Studies*, Section *Writing History & Methodology*,

Previous studies have normally focused on individual authors or texts, such as (in roughly chronological order) *Libri Carolini*,⁸ Alfred the Great's translation of Pope Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*,⁹ Anselm of Canterbury,¹⁰ Watriquet,¹¹ Guillaume de Machaut,¹² William Langland,¹³ Julian of Norwich,¹⁴ Christine de Pizan,¹⁵ Jean Ger-

ed. by H. KLEMETTILÄ, S. NISKANEN, J. WILLOUGHBY, 2023 (<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780415791182-RMEO403-1>).

⁸ P. MEYVAERT, "Medieval notions of publication: the 'unpublished' *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* and the Council of Frankfort (794)", *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 12 (2002), pp. 78–89.

⁹ K. SISAM, "The publication of Alfred's *Pastoral care*", in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. Basic Readings*, ed. by M. P. RICHARDS, New York, NY, 1994, pp. 373–81.

¹⁰ R. SHARPE, "Anselm as author: publishing in the late eleventh century", *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 19 (2009), pp. 1–87. (The question of publishing in manuscript is already implicitly present in certain of Sharpe's earlier studies on the other authors, see e.g. IDEM, "Symeon, Hildebert, and the errors of Origen", in *Symeon of Durham. Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. by D. ROLLASON, Stamford, 1998, pp. 282–300, at 283–84, 286.) Also S. NISKANEN, "Anselm's predicament: the *Proslogion* and anti-intellectual rhetoric in the aftermath of the Berengarian controversy", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 82 (2021), pp. 547–68; IDEM, "From author to authority: Anselm's public reputation and the Council of Bari (1098)", *Journal of Medieval History*, 49 (2023), pp. 1–22.

¹¹ R. H. and M. A. ROUSE, "Publishing Watriquet's *Dits*", *Viator*, 32 (2001), pp. 127–75.

¹² S. J. WILLIAMS, "An author's role in fourteenth century book production: Guillaume de Machaut's 'Livres ou je met toutes mes Choses'", *Romania*, 90 (1969), pp. 433–54.

¹³ K. KERBY-FULTON, "Langland and the bibliographic ego", in *Written Work. Langland, Labor, and Authorship*, ed. by S. JUSTICE, K. KERBY-FULTON, Philadelphia, PA, 1997, pp. 67–143 (the scholar frequently refers to other late medieval authors, mostly English).

¹⁴ F. RIDDY, "'Publication' before print: the case of Julian of Norwich", in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by J. C. CRICK, A. WALSHAM, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 29–49.

¹⁵ See for all, O. DELSAUX, *Manuscrits et pratiques autographes chez les écrivains français de la fin du Moyen Âge. L'exemple de Christine de Pizan*, Genève, 2013 (esp. Chapter III, "Le manuscrit de publication", pp. 223–548, and conceptual distinctions at 54–63; Christine's case is discussed against a rich panorama of near-contemporary authors, mostly French).

son,¹⁶ and John Capgrave.¹⁷ Less frequently, scholars' interests have embraced groups of related writers, such as religious authors seeking papal sanction in publishing their works, from the Late Antiquity until the early twelfth century,¹⁸ or Anglo-Norman historians,¹⁹ or twelfth-century authors active in the kingdom of Denmark,²⁰ early humanists,²¹ or religious authors in late medieval England.²² Not surprisingly, the better documented authors of the high and late Middle Ages have principally attracted the attention of scholars interested in authorial publishing. The phenomenon has also been discussed in relation to other

¹⁶ G. OUY, "Le célestin Jean Gerson: copiste et éditeur de son frère", in *La collaboration dans la production de l'écrit médiéval. Actes du XIIIe colloque du Comité international de paléographie latine (Weingarten, 22–25 septembre 2000)*, ed. by H. SPILLING, Paris, 2003, pp. 281–308 (pl. 71–79); HOBBS, *Authorship and Publicity*.

¹⁷ P. J. LUCAS, "John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393–1464), scribe and 'publisher'", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1969), pp. 1–35. This and some later of Lucas's articles on this and related topics were developed into a monograph, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, Dublin, 1997.

¹⁸ S. NISKANEN, *Publication and the Papacy in Late Antique and Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 2021. The study discusses four such authors: Jerome, Arator, Fulcoius of Beauvais, and Anselm of Canterbury.

¹⁹ J. TAHKOKALIO, *The Anglo-Norman Historical Canon. Publishing and Manuscript Culture*, Cambridge, 2019. The study discusses three writers of history, William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon, and gives a very helpful discussion on pp. 3–9 and 16–17 of previous scholarship on medieval publishing.

²⁰ S. NISKANEN, "The emergence of an authorial culture: publishing in Denmark in the long twelfth century", in *The Meaning of Media: Texts and Materiality in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. by A. C. HORN, K. G. JOHANSSON, Berlin, 2021, pp. 71–91.

²¹ ROOT, "Publication before printing"; now revisited in the contributions of M. PETOLETTI, "The art of publishing one's own work: Petrarch's *De vita solitaria*" and V. ROVERE, "To publish post mortem: Boccaccio's Latin works and Martino da Signa", in *Art of Publication*, pp. 293–310 and 311–30, respectively.

²² A. I. DOYLE, "Publication by members of the religious orders", in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*, ed. by J. GRIFFITHS, D. PEARSALL, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 109–23.

aspects of medieval literacy, such as literary patronage,²³ book production,²⁴ or the success of a literary work²⁵ (or, contrariwise, its failure to gain popularity or even to survive),²⁶ to mention only a few.

Despite the differences that exist between authors who were active over such a long span of time and whose work has been treated by a variety of scholarly approaches, certain general features of medieval publishing emerge clearly from the existing scholarship. The first might be defined as the highly processual character of publishing. Not only might the path from author to audience be split into several stages logically and temporally but, more importantly, the actions undertaken by authors to make their work known and available to a non-domestic readership could be, and often were, various and iterative.²⁷ Such actions might include dedicating a work to multiple individual or col-

²³ K. J. HOLZKNECHT, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, PA, 1923, esp. pp. 144–45, 162–68, and 237.

²⁴ A telling example is provided by C. F. R. DE HAMEL, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade*, Woodbridge, 1984. The study is concerned with a particular type of book (Bible with commentary) developed in northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Within that frame much effort is invested in establishing the times and modes by which the subsequent versions of the *Gloss* were made available for copying, by the authors or other parties (the question of publishing is explicitly addressed on p. 7).

²⁵ Publication (and its strategies) and non-publication as processes able to influence the transmission and success of medieval works are given attention by P. BOURGAIN, “The circulation of texts in manuscript culture”, in *The Medieval Manuscript Book. Cultural Approaches*, ed. by M. JOHNSTON, M. VAN DUSSEN, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 140–59; EADEM, “De quelques historiens peu lus: malchance ou erreur d’aiguillage”, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 53 (2018), pp. 64–77, at 66–68, 70–74. The scholar’s long-standing interest in the conditions for literary success (see EADEM, “L’édition des manuscrits”) has culminated in the launch of the project FAMA, the first results of which are presented in *Succès des textes latins dans l’Occident médiéval. Approche méthodologique autour du Projet Fama*, ed. by P. BOURGAIN, F. SIRI, Paris, 2020, and in the database: P. BOURGAIN, D. STUTZMANN, *FAMA: Œuvres latines médiévales à succès*, 2018, <http://fama.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

²⁶ T. HAYE, *Verlorenes Mittelalter. Ursachen und Muster der Nichtüberlieferung mittellateinischer Literatur*, Leiden-Boston, 2016 (see especially Chapter VI, pp. 151–88, where publishing and related phenomena are discussed among the authorial efforts to guarantee preservation of their works; cf. pp. 107–08).

²⁷ By “non-domestic” audience, I intend the audience other than the author’s close relatives, friends or the members of a closed community, unless the latter are

lective addressees; producing or supervising the production of copies; revising them; dedicating individual copies to different patrons; delivering copies to individuals or institutions which might often possess an important book collection;²⁸ presenting the work by means of public reading; recommending or prescribing the work (if the author was in a position to impose it as mandatory upon a certain audience, for example a religious community or school); advertising the work independently from the distribution of copies;²⁹ or — in the case of works not released by the time of the author's death — charging others with their publication (in testamentary instructions, for instance). Most of these initiatives could be undertaken more than once, especially when the work underwent revision or substantial changes after the first publication.

It is equally important to note that in most of these instances the author operated with others, either soliciting their actions (scribes,

given the role of conduits towards readers outside that local milieu. A distinction between works of private character (either individual or destined for the interior use of a given community or institution, or as personal gift) and those intended for circulation among foreign readers would require more systematic consideration, beyond the scope of the present study. Cf. RIDDY, “‘Publication’ before print”, pp. 38–39, who — drawing on Harold Love's reflection concerning early-modern manuscripts — describes publishing as the movement from private possession to public availability. Cf. DELSAUX, *Manuscrits et pratiques autographes*, pp. 58, 61, 63, who distinguishes the concept of the “manuscrit communautaire”, or a manuscript produced with authorial sanction and deposited with the community (family or institution) for which the work was written (the scholar considers this category, together with “manuscrit personnel”, as representing a non-disseminated manuscript, “manuscrit non diffusé”). See also HOBBS, *Authorship and Publicity*, p. 155, who refers to different levels of publication; and NISKANEN, “Emergence of an authorial culture”, pp. 75–77, who distinguishes “issuing” from publication proper.

²⁸ Cf. J. KUJAWIŃSKI, “Established libraries as a destination for newly published works in a manuscript culture: medieval authors' perspectives”, in *Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries: Knowledge Repositories, Guardians of Tradition and Catalysts of Change*, ed. by O. MERISALO, N. GOLOB, and L. MAGIONAMI, Turnhout, 2023, pp. 51–69. The practice is also discussed and illustrated with respect to several late medieval authors by DELSAUX, *Manuscrits et pratiques autographes*, pp. 370–75 (the study was unknown to me when preparing the article).

²⁹ Cf. DOYLE, “Publication by members”, p. 110, who sees the growth of knowledge about a new work, which may precede or follow the distribution of copies,

dedicatees, patrons, executors) or responding to their initiatives (readers commissioning the work or soliciting a copy). Implicitly, lines were distinguished between peers and parties of higher status, on the one hand, and subordinate parties on the other. The former were expected to revise or approve the work, to provide for its promotion and dissemination, or, not least, to remunerate or otherwise support the author. Personal scribes or professional book artisans, involved in the materialization of a literary work, are examples of subordinate partners. In the absence of recognizably modern professional, commercial publishers, the launching of new works relied entirely on authors and their proxies, those who were interested in contributing to the process, or were believed by an author to be so. Jaakko Tahkokallio has emphasized this collective dimension by introducing the category of “publishing circle”, to denote “those individuals and institutions which were actively engaged in the authorial effort to spread the text”. According to the same conceptual proposal, publishing circles operated within a broader “publishing framework”, or the intellectual and material infrastructure provided by social networks of dissemination and modalities of book production.³⁰ If the latter changed slowly during the medieval period, the social network around an individual authors could vary greatly both diachronically and synchronically. Equally, a publishing circle could be summoned by each author individually, sometimes even separate circles for separate works. Another feature of medieval publishing flows from that, which is to say “its responsiveness to the contingencies of time and place”, in the words of Samu Niskanen.³¹

The collective agency involved in medieval publishing and its fluidity of practice will provide the background to the case of Nicholas Trevet, as represented in the institutional context of his membership of the Dominican order and, individually, in the particular setting of his biography. Pascale Bourgain has the merit of having introduced the question of mendicant publishing into her pioneering panorama of publishing in manuscript.³² However, mendicant authors have otherwise received comparatively little attention in scholarship on publishing. Friars were only marginally discussed by Ian Doyle in his

as a component of a publishing process. The necessity of “public knowledge” is emphasized by RIDDY, “‘Publication’ before print”, p. 40.

³⁰ TAHKOKALLIO, *The Anglo-Norman Historical Canon*, pp. 2, 8–9.

³¹ NISKANEN, “Emergence of an authorial culture”, p. 74.

³² BOURGAIN, “L’édition des manuscrits”, p. 57.

study of publishing by members of the religious orders late medieval England. The fifteenth-century English Austin friar John Capgrave appears to be the only mendicant writer who has been studied in detail for his publishing strategies.³³ But publishing was a sensitive issue among the friars themselves. My focus here is on the Dominicans. Publishing by Friars Preachers had been controlled by legislation of the order since 1256, when the emended chapter 14 of the Constitutions (*De studentibus*) mandated that no written work by a friar should be published without examination by experts.³⁴ The provision was reiterated by subsequent chapters, general and provincial, as to be applied to works by friars intended for publication outside the order. The implicit distinction between two tiers of publication, within and without the order, is of interest.³⁵ Certainly, the order, through its superiors and collective bodies, was involved in the friars' publishing, by commissioning new

³³ See above, nn. 17 and 22. Other studies approach the topic without an explicit interest in publishing, see e.g. the recent contribution on the fourteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Paolino Veneto: C. M. MONTI, "Osservazioni sul ruolo di Paolino Veneto nella diffusione delle sue opere", in *Paolino Veneto storico, narratore e geografo*, ed. by R. MOROSINI, M. CICCUTO, Rome-Bristol, 2020, pp. 137–66, which could have easily been retitled: *Il ruolo di Paolino Veneto nella pubblicazione delle sue opere*.

³⁴ The addition was proposed at general chapter of 1254, approved by the chapter of 1255, and confirmed by that of 1256: "In capitulo de studentibus. in fine addatur sic. nulla scripta facta vel compilata a nostris fratribus. aliquatenus publicentur. nisi prius per fratres peritos quibus magister. vel prior provincialis commiserit; diligenter fuerint examinata", *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, *Ab anno 1220 ad annum 1303*, ed. by B. M. REICHERT, Rome, 1898 (MOFPH, III), p. 78 (for the previous steps in the legislative process, see *ibid.*, pp. 69 and 73–74).

³⁵ See, for instance, the acts of the general chapter in Metz, in 1313: "Inhibemus districte, ne scripta, tractatus, compilationes, reportaciones questionum quarumcumque a fratribus nostris edita vel edenda extra ordinem publicentur, quousque per venerabilem patrem magistrum ordinis examinata fuerint et correctata; communicata vero extra ordinem per eundem examinari et corrigi volumus diligenter" (*Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, II, *Ab anno 1304 usque ad annum 1378*, ed. by B. M. REICHERT, Rome, 1899 (MOFPH, IV), p. 65). The use of the verb "publicare" in this statute, the one cited in the previous note, and other Dominican normative acts to denote the circulation of friars' literary compositions, contradicts P. Bourgain's claim that: "quant au technique *publicare*, il n'existe au sens de 'publier' que chez les humanistes" ("Les verbes en rapport avec le concept d'auteur", in *Auctor et auctoritas. Invention et conformisme dans l'écriture*

works, approving or disapproving, recommending or authorizing them. However, our knowledge of the mechanisms of control is very limited.³⁶ The order, while being the most natural “publishing framework” for Dominicans, was not the only source for the recruitment of “publishing circles” for the friars’ works. The case of the *Expositio super Psalterium* and the history of other works by Trevet, while confirming the role that the order played, or may have played, in their publication, do illustrate also the involvement, sometimes essential, of non-Dominican actors.³⁷ Therefore, the interpretation proposed by Pascale Bourgain, according to which, having seen his work approved by a publishing commission, a friar need worry no further about the dissemination of his work, stands in need of adjustment.³⁸

This is the fitting place to introduce the protagonist of this volume.³⁹ Nicholas Trevet was born between 1258 and 1265 to Sir Thomas Tre-

médiévale. Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14–16 juin 1999), ed. by M. ZIMMERMANN, Paris, 2001, pp. 361–74, at 374). She offered a more nuanced position in “La naissance officielle de l’œuvre”, pp. 201–02, and see also M. TEEUWEN, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2003, pp. 264–65, where the use of the verb “publicare” outside the domain of law and administration is considered exceptional.

³⁶ See M. M. MULCHAHEY, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study...*”. *Dominican Education before 1350*, Toronto, 1998, pp. 113–15, 156–59, and L. BIANCHI, “Ordini mendicanti e controllo ‘ideologico’: il caso delle province domenicane”, in *Studio e studia: le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo. Atti del XXIX Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 11–13 ottobre 2001*, Spoleto, 2002, pp. 303–38, at 312–15, 324–34.

³⁷ KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I”. (In Part II I shall discuss Trevet’s scriptural commentaries, theological writings, and historical works.) On the technical dimension of Dominican publishing, namely employment of the *pecia* method of copying and the use of commercial bookmakers by the Paris Dominicans, see R. ROUSE and M. ROUSE, “The impact of the Dominicans on books at the University of Paris, 1217–1350”, in *The Medieval Dominicans: Books, Buildings, Music, and Liturgy*, ed. by E. J. GIRAUD, C. T. LEITMEIR, Turnhout, 2021, pp. 31–50.

³⁸ “Du moment que son travail était approuvé par la commission de publication de son ordre, un moine mendiant n’avait plus à s’inquiéter de sa diffusion” (BOURGAÏN, “L’édiction des manuscrits”, p. 57, with a reference to the Dominican Constitutions and the tradition of the *Summa theologiae* of Alexander of Hales OFM, n. 37 at p. 74).

³⁹ For a concise account of Trevet’s career, see *BRUO*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1959, pp. 1902–1903. A more detailed biography is given by J. G. CLARK, “Trevet [Triv-

vet, a Somerset landowner and justice, and his wife Eleanor.⁴⁰ Nothing is known about Nicholas until 1297, when he received royal alms on behalf of the Dominican order. A few years later, about 1302, Trevet incepted as a doctor of theology at Oxford and became regent, that is teaching, master there.⁴¹ A sojourn “in studio Parisiensi”, that is at the university of Paris, or at the order’s *studium generale* there, referred to in one of his mature works, may be dated between c. 1307 and 1314. By December 1314 Trevet was once again in Oxford, and served there as regent master for the second time. In 1324 he was *lector* at the London convent, charged with overseeing the education of his brothers. He lived long enough to learn about the death of Pope John XXII (4 December 1334), the duration of whose reign’s he provided in his *Cronicles*. But that is the latest fact we have for his biography.

Trevet may otherwise be approached through his writings. Between the beginning of the fourteenth century and the early 1330s he wrote widely.⁴² The works that can be attributed to him with certainty include commentaries on the biblical books of Genesis, Exodus (lost), Leviticus (and probably also on the remainder of the Pentateuch), Chronicles (lost), and the Psalms; also a commentary on the Rule of St Augustine and on Augustine’s *De civitate Dei*. He also wrote commentaries on Classical authors: Seneca the Elder’s *Controversiae*, Seneca the Younger’s *Tragoediae*, and Livy; also on Boethius’s *De consolatione Philosophiae*. He produced discrete scholarly treatises on astronomy (the *Canon coniunctionum, oppositionum et eclipsium solis et lunae*), computus (*De computo Hebraeorum*), and scholastic *quaestiones*; also a treatise on the mass (*De officio missae*). He also compiled three historical works:

et], Nicholas (b. 1257×65, d. in or after 1334)”, in *ODNB* (published in print and online 23 September 2004, <<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/27744>>), which, however, is not always accurate, for instance, about the chronology of Trevet’s works or of his travels to Avignon and northern Italy from Paris.

⁴⁰ On Trevet’s parents see H. SUMMERSON, “Trevet, Sir Thomas (d. 1280/81)”, in *ODNB* (published in print 23 September 2004, this version published online 3 January 2008, <<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/27721>>).

⁴¹ On the role of regent masters at the University of Oxford in Trevet’s times, see G. R. EVANS, *The University of Oxford. A New History*, London, 2021, pp. 86–87.

⁴² See the complementary lists of works and manuscripts provided by SOPMA: III, 1980, pp. 187–96; IV, 1993, pp. 213–15 (the *Expositio* at No. 3135); and R. SHARPE, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540, with Additions and Corrections*, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 394–98; on several lost works and those

Annales sex regum Angliae, or a history of England from 1135 until the death of Edward I in 1307; *Historia*, a universal chronicle extending to the birth of Christ; and *Cronicles*, or a universal chronicle in Anglo-Norman. The variety of Trevet's literary output, his self-awareness as author as expressed in paratexts and in the wide range of commissioners and dedicatees, as well as the varying number of extant witnesses for his different works, all call attention to matters of interest in these separate publishing histories. The topic, however, is not one that has been broached in previous scholarship. A few scholars have approached it in investigations of Trevet's connections to several pivotal figures of his time, who also acted as commissioners or dedicatees of his works,⁴³ and in studies of his medieval reception.⁴⁴

The present study is the first to discuss the early history of any of Trevet's works from the standpoint of authorial publishing. To answer the question of how the *Expositio super Psalterium* was published, I shall reconstruct the historical circumstances of its composition, its various releases, and the primary circulation and knowledge of the work. Since the major categories of the existing source material shed light on different aspects or distinct stages of the publishing history, the evidence at our disposal has conditioned the structure of this study. The main evidence for illustrating the circumstances of the composition and the presentation of the work is its reality as a literary composition, and especially the dedicatory letter. The lack of a critically established text of the *Expositio* (see below on the state of research) has been an inconvenience for the present study. As a provisional solution, I have read the entire work from two manuscripts: MS Lat. 983 of the Biblioteca

of disputed attribution, see KUJAWIŃSKI, "Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I", pp. 173–75.

⁴³ R. DEAN, "Cultural relations in the middle ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato", *Studies in Philology*, 45 (1948), pp. 541–64; G. CREVATIN, "Le dediche di Nicola Trevet. Il posto della storia", in *Pratiques latines de la dédicace. Permanence et mutations, de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. by J.-C. JULHE, Paris, 2014, pp. 399–414.

⁴⁴ R. WEISS, "Notes on the popularity of the writings of Nicholas Trevet, O.P., in Italy during the first half of the fourteenth century", *Dominican Studies*, 1 (1948), pp. 261–65; H. PAGAN, "Trevet's *Les Cronicles*: manuscripts, owners and readers", in *The Prose Brut and Other Late Medieval Chronicles. Books Have Their Histories. Essays in Honour of Lister M. Matheson*, ed. by J. RAJSIC, E. KOOPER, D. HOCHÉ, York, 2016, pp. 149–64.

Estense Universitaria in Modena and MS Bodley 738 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which are among the earliest extant witnesses and represent two distinct branches of the early tradition. This would appear sufficient, at this stage of the research, for determining the amount of publishing-sensitive information which is included in the work itself. Other than variant readings, these two copies are also the source of all quotations in what follows. The extent to which the *Expositio* is a witness to the author's agency will be discussed in Chapter 1; an edition of the dedicatory letter is given in Appendix C.

As observed by Richard Sharpe, "our usual evidence for the history of a text — surviving manuscript copies, entries in medieval booklists reflecting lost copies, citations in medieval writers — rarely takes us back to the point of publication".⁴⁵ In the case of Trevet's commentary, the extant copies — none of which is in autograph or seems to have been supervised by the author, or to have been a presentation copy — and the instances of (near-) contemporary use form the main body of evidence at our disposal. However, a combined philological and codicological analysis of this material, together with bibliographical and prosopographical inquiries, can provide insights into several publishing moments or their immediate effects. I propose to distinguish the early circulation and readership, within the author's own lifetime (or shortly thereafter) as a distinct stage in the history of the text, on which my attention shall focus.⁴⁶

Beginning with the surviving manuscripts, nine of them are dated or datable no later than the middle of the fourteenth century, many possibly to Trevet's lifetime. These are:

A: Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A. 984.

B: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 730.

⁴⁵ SHARPE, "Anselm as author", p. 3.

⁴⁶ This distinction is not new in itself, but it acquires more importance in the study of authorial publishing, since the temporal closeness of certain episodes in the textual transmission to the author's lifetime allows us to ask about the influence that a medieval writer and/or their publishing circle may have had on the dissemination of the work. For the use of the criterion of author's lifetime in this context, see for instance LUCAS, "John Capgrave", p. 7; KERBY-FULTON, "Langland", p. 114; SHARPE, "Anselm as author", p. 5; and TAHKOKALLIO, *The Anglo-Norman Historical Canon*, pp. 24, 46, 70 and 71.

C: Capestrano, Biblioteca del Convento di S. Giovanni da Capestrano, XLV.

G: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 738.

H: Hereford, Cathedral Library, O.IV.11.

M: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universtaria, Lat. 983 (a. F. 3. 7).

N: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 30.

O: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 599.

R: Rome, Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Liber 1670.

These manuscripts have been studied at first hand in order to ascertain, so far as is possible, their origins and later histories. Evidence for their medieval ownership and readership is particularly precious for our present purposes. These nine copies have also been analysed for textual variance. To make this task manageable, collation has been limited to the dedicatory letter, the prologue, the commentaries on and, when present in our manuscripts, the *textus* of Jerome's letter to Sophronius, Psalms 1, 2, and 150. In addition, I have checked the incipits and explicits of the sections concerned with the remainder of individual psalms in both the commentary and the *textus*, as well as a small selection of passages within the commentary on individual psalms. On this foundation, in Chapters 2 and 3, I place the nine copies in the earliest history of the commentary. Detailed descriptions of each manuscript are offered in Appendix B, while variant readings are documented in the apparatus to the edition of the dedicatory letter, Appendix C; for the remainder of the *Expositio*, a selection of over 900 passages that present variant readings of some significance is offered in Appendix D. Appendix F provides comparison of the illustrations of Psalm 150.

Before discussing further categories of primary sources, it will be helpful to introduce briefly here, for the sake of completeness, the late, partial and lost copies, which only occasionally are used for my reconstruction and which I only consulted in reproductions.⁴⁷ The first of

⁴⁷ The most complete list of the manuscripts is provided by SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397. In the catalogue description of H yet another manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 190, was added to the list of witnesses by R. A. B. Mynors (R. A. B.

the extant partial copies is transmitted in a fifteenth-century manuscript, which apparently belonged from the beginning to the Carthusians of Mainz. The copy soon became one unit in a composite miscellany, which in the third quarter of that same century was recorded in the catalogue of the charterhouse and is now Hs I 87a of the Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek in Mainz (our unit on fols 37–80) [K]. Of Trevet's work only the dedicatory letter, the prologue and the exposition of Jerome's letter and of Psalm 1 have been copied (fols 37^{ra}–43^{va}). The rest of the Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos* (Psalms 2:1–37:14 and 42–148, fols 43^{va}–78^{vb}) appears without the commentary.⁴⁸ Another copy (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, B. 91, fols 149^{ra}–225^{vb}) [D] was completed on 6 May 1511 and belonged to the convent of the Crossed (or Crutched) Friars in Düsseldorf. It offers only a selection of comments by Trevet, copied alongside the Psalter.⁴⁹ These two witnesses,

MYNORS, R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 29, cf. p. vi), apparently in error (letter from R. M. Thomson of 31 March 2020). That composite miscellany conveys a number of texts on natural philosophy and theology; see description at https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_4310.

⁴⁸ G. LIST, G. POWITZ, *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz*, Bd. 1. *Hs I 1–Hs I 150*, Wiesbaden, 1990, pp. 160–62. The textual *lacunae* in the Psalter are more likely mechanical, as they coincide with missing leaves after fols 52 and 78 (observation based on a reproduction of the unit, which was provided for me by the Library). The provenance is given in an ownership note inscribed by the copyist's hand in the lower margin of fol. 37^r. The manuscript as it appears today can be identified with the multi-text book reported at E.ii.S. in the catalogue transmitted in Mainz, Wissenschaftliche Stadtbibliothek, Hs I 577, fol. 210^v (the same mark is on the front cover; the second entry in the catalogue description, “*Translacio psalterii sancti Iheronimi secundum hebraicam veritatem*”, coincides with the rubric in the upper margin of fol. 37^r). The latter manuscript, dating from 1466 × 1470, is available in a digital copy: <https://www.dilibri.de/stbmz/content/titleinfo/1821933>.

⁴⁹ The selective character of the copy is claimed by the scribe himself, Henricus de Gerresheim, in the opening rubric of the commentary proper (fol. 152^{rb}): “*Incipit Psalterium Iheronimi translatum ex habraica [sic] veritate cum aliquali glosa magistri Nycholai Treuith*”, and in the colophon (fol. 225^{vb}): “[...] Consideret autem diligens lector me hanc translationem sancti Iheronimi secundum hebraicam veritatem ex corrupto scripsisse exemplari, superaddita ubi oportunitate videbatur aliqua glosula fratris Nichilai [sic] Triueth”. A cursory consultation of the digitized copy (<https://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ms/content/titleinfo/5624964>) confirms these statements. See, for example, the commentary on Jerome's

late and partial, have little importance for the history of publication, but their variant readings have been included in the apparatus of the edition of the dedicatory letter below (Appendix C). The short extracts made from the commentary, apparently from G, by Richard James roughly between 1620 and 1638 belong to the history of the modern interest in the work.⁵⁰ Regrettably, very little is known about three other witnesses, now lost. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a copy was reported at the Dominican convent at Rodez, in southern France.⁵¹ At the beginning of the nineteenth century the city library of Stras-

letter (fol. 152^{tb}), where the last section (“Vale in domino ... tuis”) is omitted, the commentary on Ps. 2:1 (fol. 154^{ra}), where the initial discussion of the contents (“Supra ostendit Dauid ... consurgent”) is missing, and 2:12 (fol. 155^{ra}) devoid of the last section (“Deinde cum dicit nequando ... a beatitudine incept”). See also Ps. 150, where a single passage out of the entire commentary is freely reported (on verse 1): “In sancto dicit scilicet templo vel tabernaculo”. For the detailed description of the manuscript see: E. OVERGAAUW, J. OTT, G. KARPP, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Signaturengruppe B in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, Teil I, *Ms. B 1 bis B 100*, Wiesbaden, 2005, pp. 299–302.

⁵⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, James 22 (*SC* 3859), pp. 70–72. See F. MADAN, H. H. E. CRASTER, N. DENHOLM-YOUNG, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto Series*, vol. 2, part 2, Oxford, 1937, pp. 760–61, at 760. The extracts come from Ep. ded. 12, and commentary on Pss.: 1:1a–b, 1:3b, 1:5c; 22:5; 47:13; 36:25; and 49:10 (followed by a reference to the exposition of the title of Ps. 51). Besides the fact that G is the only copy that was certainly available at Oxford at that time (as is pointed out in the catalogue description of James 22), it is also the case that the reading “litteram” in Ep. ded. 12, points to G as the source.

⁵¹ “Nicolaus Treuech ord. pred. in Psalterium” is listed among the manuscripts of that priory in the “Memoires” concerning the convent, prepared by sub-prior André de Saint-Géry at the request of Master General Antonin Cloche, 1686–1720 (Rome, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV. Lib. U, p. 54). The list is introduced by the following information: “Les manuscrits qui sont dans la bibliothèque de nostre couvent de Rodéz sont tous les anciens peres dont les ouvrages sont écrits en lettre gottique, et les autres liures qui sont écrits de lettre commune sont ceux qui suiuent”. The document is dated c. 1706 by V. J. KOUDELKA, “Il fondo *Libri* nell’Archivio Generale dell’Ordine Domenicano. I. Liber A–Liber Z”, *AFP*, 38 (1968), pp. 99–147, at 146–47, and C. GADRAT, “Les frères mendiants et leurs livres: L’exemple de la bibliothèque du couvent dominicain de Rodez”, in *Économie et religion. L’expérience des ordres mendiants (XIII^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. by N. BÉRIOU, J. CHIFFOLEAU, Lyon, 2009, pp. 511–38, at 524–26 (edition of the booklist at

bourg held a copy of the commentary.⁵² When in the 1930s Ruth Dean was preparing her dissertation, she was informed by the librarian that the manuscript had been lost in 1870, probably to fire;⁵³ the library was damaged by bombardment during the siege of Strasbourg in August 1870.⁵⁴ Finally, in 1941 Friedrich Stummer published two fragments of the Psalter with Trevet's commentary, identified by him in two leaves retrieved from bindings in the archive of the Juliusspital in Würzburg.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the scholar did not provide any information about the material aspect of the fragments. The leaves were reportedly lost to an air raid on 16 March 1945.⁵⁶

pp. 536–37). Cf. the entry in the Bibale database: <https://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr/18247>, where the booklist is dated 1709. I thank Fr. Augustin Laffay, OP, Archivist General of the Order of the Preachers, for kindly providing images of the list and for additional observations about the manuscript in which it is transmitted. In 1719 the information about Trevet's volume from Rodez was also given by J. QUÉTIF, J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, tom. 1, Paris, 1719, p. 562 ("Extat et apud sodales ordinis Rutenis in Aquitania"). A cross accompanying the beginning of the Trevet entry (*ibid.*, p. 561) shows that it was first prepared by Quétif (d. 1698) and then revised by Echard. On Echard's use of the materials gathered by Quétif, see R. CREYTENS OP, "L'œuvre bibliographique d'Echard, ses sources et leur valeur", *AFP*, 14 (1944), pp. 43–71, at 47–48.

⁵² G. HAENEL, *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830, col. 446: "Nic. de Triveth expos. literalis sup. psalterium; fol."

⁵³ See below on the previous scholarship on the *Expositio*.

⁵⁴ A. MARCHAND, *Le siège de Strasbourg, 1870. La bibliothèque, la cathédrale*, 2nd edn, Paris, 1871, pp. 49–53, 123–40. The manuscript is not mentioned by J. RATHGEBER, *Die handschriftlichen Schätze der früheren Strassburger Stadtbibliothek. Ein Beitrag zur elsässischen Bibliographie*, Gütersloh, 1876 (*ad indicem*).

⁵⁵ F. STUMMER, "Zwei Bruchstücke aus einer Handschrift der Kommentars des Nicolaus Trevet zum *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* im Archiv des Juliusspitals zu Würzburg", in *Festschrift Hans Vollmer zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 9. Februar 1941*, Potsdam, 1941, pp. 153–63. The first fragment (A.1.) contained the exposition of Pss. 118:21–135 (imperfect at the end), together with the text of Pss. 118:23–135; whereas the latter (A.2.) the commentary on Pss. 126:2–128:4 (imperfect at the beginning), including the text of Pss. 126:4–128:6 (imperfect at the end). A transcription is offered at pp. 154–62.

⁵⁶ This is the opinion of Christoph Bauer who kindly informs me that the only trace of those fragments in the Archive is a letter by Stummer, dated 15 July 1941, referring to his identification of Trevet's work some ten years earlier (communication of 9 August 2019).

The third category of source consists in the evidence of use of Trevet's commentary by contemporary authors, especially in the use of quotations, which may provide valuable information about the immediate results of publication. As was the case when collating textual variants, it has been necessary here to impose reasonable limits to this other survey. I have focused on Psalter commentaries composed during the second quarter of the fourteenth century and checked those composed by Nicholas of Lyre OFM, Armandus de Bellovisu OP, and Henry Cossey OFM, for their knowledge of and references to Trevet's *Expositio*. The criteria for selection and the results of the investigation are discussed in Chapter 4 and Appendix E. In the fifteenth century Trevet's dedicatory letter was paraphrased by Thomas Gascoigne (1404–1458), chancellor of the university of Oxford, in originally blank space in his Latin psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D. 4. 5). Gascoigne's reading of Trevet will be the only episode of the commentary's reception after the fourteenth century to be discussed in detail here since Gascoigne's source has often been misunderstood in previous scholarship (Appendix G). In addition to the evidence of access to the work and the effective use that was made of it, evidence also of the spread of information about it, related or not to the dissemination of copies, may shed interesting light on the work's publishing history. An explicit request for a copy made by Pope John XXII and two occurrences in medieval bibliographies will be discussed in Chapter 5.

At various points yet another category of source, medieval and early-modern booklists, will contribute to the reconstruction. This group, more than others, should be considered open. The references that appear in this present volume and in my article on the commentaries on the authors of Classical and Christian Antiquity offer an idea of the range of editions and studies on medieval libraries that have been searched for Trevet's works. However, only selected negative results are mentioned, when the absence of Trevet's commentary from a booklist of a specific repository has been judged of some significance to the argument. The presence or absence of Trevet's work can not always be established definitively. In the course of the analysis, I shall point to various factors that challenge certain identification. Suffice it here to mention that at least two other well known, (near-) contemporary authors named Nicholas wrote Psalter commentaries.⁵⁷ Entries that

⁵⁷ For instance, the entry "Expositio Nicholai super Psalmos" in the inventory of the Cistercian abbey of San Salvatore in Settimo, near Florence, drawn up in 1338,

explicitly refer to copies of Trevet's commentary on the Psalms and that cannot be identified with any extant manuscript are listed in Appendix H.

The individual chapters deal with specific aspects of the process of publishing as documented by various types of evidence. In the Conclusions, among other considerations, I offer a chronological account of the history of publishing the *Expositio*.

Previous Scholarship on the *Expositio super Psalterium*

Although the focus of this volume is on one particular aspect of the *Expositio*, its publication, which has only marginally been touched upon in previous studies, existing scholarship on this work of Trevet calls for a brief review. As early as the first half of the twentieth century, the commentary was attracting the attention of students of the oeuvre of Nicholas Trevet. The Oxford doctoral dissertation of Ruth Dean of 1938 marked a milestone in Trevet studies.⁵⁸ The American scholar had not been the first to study Trevet's works in the interwar period. In 1923 Franz Ehrle published a long article on Trevet's *quaestiones*,⁵⁹ while in

could refer to our *Expositio*. Alternatively, the entry, together with its near neighbour "Lectura Nicholai super Epistolas Pauli", could refer to respective parts of the successful *Postillae* on the Bible of two other authors: the Dominican Nicholas de Gorran, d. c. 1295 (SOPMA, No. 3089; G. MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, Turnhout, 2005, No. 678, 682), or the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyre, who is discussed in Chapter 4. The booklist is printed in E. LASINIO, "Della biblioteca di Settimo e di alcuni suoi manoscritti passati nella Mediceo-Laurenziana", *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, 15 (1904), pp. 169–77, at 170; on the library and surviving manuscripts, see F. TRASELLI, "'Per notizia dei posterì', un filo rosso tra i manoscritti provenienti dalla Badia di S. Salvatore a Settimo 'Florentine dyocesis'", *Aevum* 85 (2011), pp. 839–908. Cf. the case concerning the commentaries on St Paul's letters that the inventories of the pope's library at Avignon ascribe either to a (friar) Nicholas or to Nicholas Trevet (discussed by Franz Ehrle at pp. 10–11 of the study introduced below, n. 59; a commentary on St Paul's letters is not included in the critically established lists of Trevet's works, cited above, n. 42).

⁵⁸ R. J. DEAN, "The Life and Works of Nicholas Trevet with Special Reference to his Anglo-Norman Chronicle", DPhil diss., Oxford, 1938.

⁵⁹ F. EHRLE, "Nikolaus Trivet, sein Leben, seine Quolibet und Quaestiones ordinariae", in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Festgabe Clemens Bacumker zum 70. Geburtstag*, Münster, 1923, pp. 1–63, remarks on the Psal-

the same year in which Dean concluded her thesis, Ezio Franceschini published an essential study on Trevet's commentary on Seneca's *Tragedies* and an edition of the exposition on one of them, the *Thyestes*.⁶⁰ Dean, however, was the first to provide a comprehensive survey of the entire literary output of Trevet. Although her main interest was in the Anglo-Norman *Cronicles*, she offered a "Descriptive Catalogue of Trevet's Works", which occupies about one half of the thesis (pp. 54–286). There, Dean provided basic information on the history and contents of the Psalter commentary and a list of extant and lost manuscripts (pp. 100–04). She was aware of five medieval copies: A, B, H, G, and O. The dissertation remains unpublished but has been widely consulted, to judge by the list of readers of the copy deposited in the Bodleian Library. Some parts of the thesis were later developed into published articles, but only occasionally did the scholar return to mention the Psalter commentary.⁶¹

It was again within the academic context of literary studies that the first longer contribution entirely dedicated to the commentary was prepared. In 1970 Bruce P. Shields presented his partial edition of the *Expositio* as a doctoral thesis for Rutgers University.⁶² In the General Introduction (pp. 1–49) he offered a discussion of Trevet's sources and described the ways in which the friar commented on Psalms and espe-

ter commentary at p. 10. Trevet as a protagonist and witness to the scholarly life of the university of Oxford is also discussed by A. G. LITTLE, F. PELSTER, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. A.D. 1282–1302*, Oxford, 1934, esp. pp. 234, 236, 283–85, and *ad indicem*.

⁶⁰ E. FRANCESCHINI, "Glosse e commenti medievali a Seneca tragico", in IDEM, *Studi e note di filologia latina medievale*, Milan, 1938, pp. 1–105 (on Trevet's life and other works, see pp. 19–26, on the Psalter commentary, p. 21, following Ehrle); *Il commento di Nicola Trevet al Tieste di Seneca*, ed. by E. FRANCESCHINI, Milan, 1938. This was also the year of publication of the entry by F. STEGMÜLLER, "Trivet (Trevet, Trevet), Nikolaus, OP", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 10 vols, Freiburg i.B., 1930–1938, t. 10, col. 299; the entry includes a list of Trevet's works, authentic and spurious, and certain of their manuscript copies (B and O are mentioned for the commentary on the Psalms).

⁶¹ See e.g. DEAN, "Cultural relations", pp. 552–53, 558.

⁶² B. P. SHIELDS, "A Critical Edition of Selections from Nicholas Trivet's *Commentarius literalis in Psalterium iuxta Hebreos sancti Hieronymi*", PhD diss., Rutgers University The State University of New Jersey–New Brunswick, 1970.

cially his understanding of the literal sense.⁶³ As for the manuscript tradition (Textual Introduction, pp. 50–55), Shields knew and used all five complete medieval copies that had already been listed by Dean. Basing his argument on numbers of shared or diverging readings rather than their significance, he proposed associating O with A and H with B, without discarding the possibility that all the manuscripts had been copied independently from Trevet's exemplar. As mentioned, the manuscript tradition is richer than merely five witnesses, and, as we shall see, the relations between extant copies are more complex. Shields has the merit of having noticed blank spaces left in the otherwise quite correct text in G and also the inconsistent quality of O's text. The body of the thesis (pp. 56–151) consists in the edition of the dedicatory letter, the prologue (these two sections are also provided with an English translation and notes), and commentary on Psalms 1, 6, 32, 37, 51, 102, 130, and 143, based on G.⁶⁴

Trevet's decision to comment on the Latin translation *iuxta Hebraeos*, his declared focus on the literal sense and apparent notions of the Hebrew language made his *Expositio* an appealing text for study for scholars of medieval biblical exegesis and Christian Hebraism. It is from that perspective that the work has tended to receive greater attention. As early as 1939 Beryl Smalley raised the question of a possible relation between Trevet's commentary and a group of thirteenth-century English Latin–Hebrew Psalters with superscriptions, and pointed to affinities with the Latin apparatus in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 11.⁶⁵ Subsequently, the issue, alongside certain other aspects of Trevet's Hebraism, was touched upon, not always more than perfunctorily, by

⁶³ Based on the parts of the commentary edited by Shields and, to a lesser extent on manuscript G, Alastair Minnis introduced Trevet's *Expositio* into his comprehensive discussion of literal sense and authoriality: A. MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, Philadelphia, PA, 2010 (first published in 1984), pp. 85–86, 90–91, 131, 133–34, and 151–52.

⁶⁴ Which are Trevet's Pss.: 1, 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.

⁶⁵ B. SMALLEY, *Hebrew Scholarship Among Christians in XIIIth Century England As Illustrated by Some Hebrew-Latin Psalters: Read to the Society for Old Testament Study*, London, 1939, pp. 18 (esp. 9–15); EADEM, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 346–47. Earlier, Trevet's commentary was briefly considered by B. WALDE, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1916 (*ad indicem*).

Roberto Weiss,⁶⁶ Henri de Ste-Marie,⁶⁷ Raphael Loewe,⁶⁸ Jeremy I. Catto,⁶⁹ Jacob I. Dienstag,⁷⁰ Judith Olszowy-Schlanger,⁷¹ Paul Saenger,⁷² and Philip Nothaft.⁷³ The first attempt at a comprehensive discussion of the commentary was undertaken by Arduinus Kleinhans in an article of 1943. The scholar was not informed about Dean's contribution or Smalley's hypothesis. Of the four complete copies known to him, Kleinhans only used two manuscripts in the Vatican Library, B and O (the choice explicable by the restrictive circumstances of the war), of which he offered basic material and textual descriptions. In general, he judged the readings of O to be better. Relying on these witnesses, Kleinhans discussed Trevet's approach and his sources, and provided, in the appendix, an edition of the exposition of Psalm 4.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ R. WEISS, "The study of Greek in England during the fourteenth century", *Rinascimento*, 2 (1951), pp. 209–39, at 230–32.

⁶⁷ *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, p. xlv.

⁶⁸ R. LOEWE, "The mediaeval Christian Hebraists of England: the *Superscriptio Lincolnensis*", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 28 (1957), pp. 205–52, at 220; IDEM, "Jewish scholarship in England", in *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History*, ed. by V. D. LIPMAN, London, 1961, pp. 125–48, at 136; IDEM, "Hebrew books and 'Judaica' in mediaeval Oxford and Cambridge", in *Remember the Days. Essays on Anglo-Jewish History presented to Cecil Roth*, ed. by J. M. SHAFTESLEY, London, 1966, pp. 23–48, at 29.

⁶⁹ J. I. CATTO, "Theology and Theologians 1220–1320", in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. I, *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. by J. I. CATTO, Oxford, 1984, pp. 471–517, at 514–15.

⁷⁰ J. I. DIENSTAG, "Maimonides in English Christian thought and scholarship: an alphabetical survey", *Hebrew Studies*, 26 (1985), pp. 249–99, at 290–91.

⁷¹ J. OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER, *Les manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: étude historique et paléographique*, Paris-Louvain, 2003, pp. 18, 162.

⁷² P. SAENGER, "The British Isles and the origin of the modern mode of biblical citation", *Syntagma. Revista del Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura*, 1 (2005), pp. 77–123, at 106–08.

⁷³ C. PH. E. NOTHAFT, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar. A Study with Five Editions and Translations*, Leiden-Boston, 2014, pp. 340–41.

⁷⁴ A. KLEINHANS, OFM, "Nicolaus Trivet O.P. Psalmorum interpres", *Angelicum*, 20 (1943), pp. 219–36. Kleinhans' article was the main source for the short section dedicated to Trevet's commentary in C. SPICQ, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge*, Paris, 1944, pp. 334–35, cf. p. 234. Also following in the footsteps of Kleinhans, Lucy Freeman Sandler used selected passages from Trevet's commentary as transmitted in O for comparative purposes in: L. F. SANDLER,

Among the more recent scholarship on medieval biblical commentaries, two authors stand out for the attention dedicated to Trevet's work. In an unpublished thesis of 1989, Hubert M. Stadler offered probably the most consistent contribution to the study of this commentary so far.⁷⁵ Although directly consulting G alone, Stadler availed himself of reproductions, full or partial, of the other eight medieval copies known at that time,⁷⁶ offered basic descriptions of those witnesses, exploited the relation between the Psalms (when present) and the commentary, and made observations on the contexts of their production and use. He explored in more detail Smalley's hypothesis and excluded a direct relation between Trevet's commentary and Corpus Christi College, 11.⁷⁷ Finally, he illustrated the idiosyncrasies of Trevet's approach to the Psalter by discussing the exposition of Psalms 24, 93, and 146 — which are 23, 92, and 145 in Trevet's commentary — against Peter Lombard's *Magna glosatura* and the *Postilla litteralis* by Trevet's contemporary, Nicholas of Lyre. In Appendix A (pp. 124–30) he offered the text of those three psalms and Trevet's commentary according to G. The aim of Andrew Kraebel's analysis of Trevet's commentary, the second recent study, was to provide an assessment of its place in the tradition of scholastic Psalter commentaries and in relation to similar endeavours by contemporary English exegetes. From the viewpoint of this research, the confrontation with Henry Cossey is of particular importance. Cossey, an Oxbridge Franciscan friar, referred extensively to Trevet in his own commentary on the Psalter. Kraebel provides a valuable insight

“Christian Hebraism and the Ramsey Abbey Psalter”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), pp. 123–34, at 131–32.

⁷⁵ H. M. STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism and Hebrew Learning in English Old Testament Scholarship, as exhibited by Nicholas Trevet's *Expositio litteralis Psalterii* and by MS Corpus Christi College (Oxford) 11”, M Litt diss., Oxford, 1989. Although formally a Master's thesis, this was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation by a mature scholar who had already obtained a PhD in Munich; see the obituary by I. W. ARCHER at <https://www.history.ox.ac.uk/hubert-stadler-memorial>.

⁷⁶ SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135.

⁷⁷ Stadler's view appears to have been accepted by OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, pp. 18, 162; NOTHAFT, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*, p. 341; and P. E. PORMANN, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 14 and 79.

into Trevet's position on interpretative challenges raised by the Psalter, albeit the early history of the work is beyond his direct interest.⁷⁸

To sum up, Trevet's commentary on the Psalms has only rarely been the subject of study in its own right and, with the exception of a few sections, it remains unpublished. Consequently, the characteristics of the work as laid out by previous scholarship have been based on selected, or more easily accessible, witnesses: on the two manuscripts kept in the Vatican Library (B, O) in the case of scholars based in Rome (Ehrle, Kleinhans, and Henri de Ste-Marie), or on the Bodleian manuscript (G), commonly chosen by scholars affiliated with or otherwise related to Oxford (Dean, Smalley, Stadler, Kraebel).⁷⁹ By addressing questions as to whether and how the *Expositio* was published, the present volume seeks to make a twofold contribution. The first is to our understanding of authorial publishing in the culture of the manuscript book. So far as Trevet's case is representative of the Dominican and university environments of the fourteenth century, it should bring us one step closer to a synthesis. Secondly, but no less importantly, the study should contribute to comprehension of Trevet's work. As the first attempt to contextualize all the fourteenth-century witnesses and understand the textual relations between them, it is to be hoped that this volume will prepare the ground for future scholars wanting to undertake a critical edition of the *Expositio* (which remains an urgent desideratum). By reconstructing the earliest history of the text, it is hoped that this study will assist any assessment of the potential relevance and factual reception of the work in its own time and later.

⁷⁸ A. KRAEBEL, *Biblical Commentary and Translation in Later Medieval England: Experiments in Interpretation*, Cambridge, 2020, Chapter 1, esp. pp. 37–49 (notes at pp. 227–28); IDEM, “English Hebraism and hermeneutic history: the Psalter prologues and epilogue of Henry Cossey, OFM”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 30 (2020), pp. 287–368.

⁷⁹ A promising catalogue of the manuscripts transmitting works of Dominican authors and kept in the libraries of Oxford, undertaken by an Oxford Dominican friar, Eusebio Gómez, was interrupted before including G (E. GÓMEZ, OP, “Catálogo de los manuscritos de escritores dominicos en la Universidad de Oxford”, *La ciencia tomista*, 44 (1931), pp. 53–68, continued as “Catálogo de los manuscritos de escritores dominicos en la Universidad de Oxford. Bodleiana”, *Divus Thomas*, 35 (1932), pp.: 62–69, 177–84, and 399–404).

Chapter 1

From Commission to Presentation The Dedicatory Letter of the *Expositio super Psalterium*

Trevet's *Expositio* is structured as follows: dedicatory letter, prologue, the exposition of Jerome's letter to Sophronius, which is the dedicatory letter of the Psalter *iuxta Hebraeos*, and the exposition of Psalms 1–150 according to the same version of the Psalter. The dedicatory epistle calls for special attention. (References henceforth are to the paragraphs in the edition provided in Appendix C.) The letter is addressed to Friar John of Bristol as the prior of the English province of the Dominican order (1). The *salutatio* is followed by an outline of the history of translations of the Bible, and the Psalter in particular (2–10), and thus it overlaps in function with the prologue.¹ It seems not accidental, therefore, that in all but one of the manuscripts that provide a rubric the letter is introduced as “epistola prohemialis” (AGMNO), a designation which may have been coined by the author himself. Although the title of the work is only provided in the opening rubric of the Prologue, the dedicatory letter was clearly considered a constituent part of the *Expositio* and is included in all the extant manuscripts.²

After introducing Jerome's three editions/translations of the Psalter (*Romanum, Gallicanum, Hebraicum*)³ Trevet turns to consider his pre-

¹ A brief discussion of the prologue is found in M. L. LORD, “Virgil's *Eclogues*, Nicholas Trevet, and the harmony of the spheres”, *Mediaeval Studies*, 54 (1992), pp. 186–273, at 202–03.

² Dedicatory letters that focus on the relationship between the author and the dedicatee were more easily omitted in the manuscript transmission, as illustrated by the case of Trevet's commentary on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*: the epistle of dedication has been transmitted in only one manuscript out of more than hundred witnesses, and was copied after the end of the work, see R. DEAN, “The dedication of Nicholas Trevet's commentary on Boethius”, *Studies in Philology*, 63 (1966), pp. 593–603, and KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I”, pp. 177–78.

³ The identification of the *Psalterium Romanum* with the first revision of the text of the Psalms undertaken by Jerome in Rome has been rejected by recent scholarship. For the state of the art on Latin Psalters and problems in establishing the

decessors as commentators on the Psalms (11–12). His remark about previous exegetes' preference for allegorical interpretation leads Trevet to offer details about his own work. The dedicatee turns out to have also been the commissioner, and details of his request and Trevet's response to it are given. First, we learn that John had asked for a literal and historical exposition, which is the bedrock for the spiritual and prophetic understanding of the Psalms (12), and that he wanted the commentator to include, when suitable, Jewish interpretations (13). Trevet took the view that by addressing himself to the last of Jerome's translations of the Psalter, made directly from the Hebrew, would he best meet John's request (14). Only in that last section, almost in passing, does John appear accompanied by an unspecified group of friars whom we are told have urgently solicited the work. It should be underlined that the essential characteristics of the work as discussed in the letter, which is to say the focus on the literal sense and choice of the *Hebraicum*, are also reflected in the titles provided by the rubrics, which read: "Incipit expositio litteralis fratris Nicholai Treueth ordinis predicatorum super Psalterium" (the rubric preceding the prologue), and "Explicit litteralis expositio fratris Nicholai Treueth ordinis predicatorum super Psalterium translatum a beato Jeronimo inmediate de hebreo in latinum" (final rubric). Both paratextual pieces vary little across the early manuscripts (for the variants see Appendices B and D), which, as I shall argue later, derived, through lost intermediary copies or directly, from the evolving authorial exemplar. The title, therefore, can be attributed to Trevet himself.

According to the letter, Trevet's *Expositio* was commissioned by and presented to John of Bristol, in his role of prior provincial. John was elected at the provincial chapter at Leicester on 15 August 1317 and was discharged from office in 1327.⁴ The years of John's mandate provide the termini between which the presentation of the work and most probably

chronology of Jerome's revisions and translations, see JÉRÔME, *Préfaces aux livres de la Bible. Textes latins des éditions de R. Weber et R. Gryson et de l'Abbaye Saint-Jérôme (Rome) revus et corrigés*. Introduction, traduction et notes réalisées en séminaire sous la direction d'Aline CANELLIS, Paris, 2017 (Sources Chrétiennes, 592), pp. 89–98, 212–15, 406–21.

⁴ C. F. R. PALMER, OP, "Fasti Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum: the provincials of the friar-preachers, or Black Friars, of England", *Archaeological Journal*, 35 (1878), pp. 134–65, at 149–50; and W. GUMBLEY, "Provincial priors and vicars of the English Dominicans, 1221–1916", *The English Historical Review*, 33 (1918), pp. 243–51, at 245.

also the commission took place.⁵ Pope John XXII's request in September 1324 for a copy implies that the work was ready by that time. (The episode will be discussed in Chapter 5.)⁶ Recently, Andrew Kraebel has suggested that the commentary was composed before the author's retirement from Oxford around 1320.⁷ It is not certain precisely when Trevet left Oxford for the London Blackfriars. There are indications that he was still teaching at Oxford in 1320 and that by September 1324 he had become *lector* in the London convent.⁸ Whenever it was that he moved from one position to another in fact offers scant help towards

⁵ Citing incorrectly the year 1320 for the end of John's mandate, A. G. LITTLE, "Provincial priors of the Dominican Order in England", *The English Historical Review*, 8 (1893), pp. 519–25, at 522, set a hare running with the result that some studies date Trevet's commentary to 1317 × 1320, see e.g. EHRLE, "Nikolaus Trivet", p. 10, n. 3; SMALLEY, *Hebrew Scholarship*, p. 10 (and still in the 3rd edn of *The Study of the Bible*, p. 346), and SHIELDS, "Critical Edition", p. 3. These years have been perpetuated by the entry in *BRUO*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1959, p. 1902, and are still repeated in some recent studies, e.g., by H. G. GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise. Contingency and Necessity in Dominican Theology at Oxford, 1300–1350*, Leiden-Boston, 2004, p. 44 (although otherwise the years of John's mandate are given as 1317–1327, *ibid.*, p. 43), and NOTHAFT, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*, p. 340. Surprisingly, the commentary is dated around 1315 in a very helpful list of the Psalter commentaries composed between 1160 and 1350 in M. MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition: les commentaires des Psaumes de 1160 à 1350", in *La Bibbia del XIII secolo: storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi. Convegno della Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino (SISMEL), Firenze, 1–2 giugno 2001*, ed. by G. CREMASCOLI, F. SANTI, Florence, 2004, pp. 323–52, at 351, No. 52.

⁶ The value of that information for dating the work was emphasized by DEAN, "Life and Works", p. 102: "Since in September 1324 John XXII instructed his Nuncio to send him a copy of this commentary, it must have been written long enough before that time for a report of it to reach Avignon". The scholar, however, was not aware of the witness M.

⁷ KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 291, n. 17. The information about retirement to London about 1320 is rather arbitrarily given by CLARK, "Trevet, Nicholas".

⁸ As for his teaching at Oxford until at least 1320, that is suggested by a note referring to a determination held that year by Trevet "in scolis suis Oxonie" written on an added bifolium preceding a late thirteenth-century copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, now Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 8 (fol. 2^r). The script has been attributed to the Worcester monk Henry Fowke, *fl.* 1303–1340/41 (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, ed. by R. M. THOMSON, with a Contribution on the Bindings by M. GULLICK, Rochester, 2001, p. 9). Trevet

dating the commentary.⁹ Instead, it is the year expressed in M, the only dated manuscript among the nine early copies (1321), which allows us to date the presentation to before April 1322. I shall explain the apparent discrepancy between the expressed and critically established dates in the next chapter. Here, let it suffice to say that the colophon of M provides the year alone, for which the style of reckoning may be tentatively determined from the localization of the manuscript.

If on these grounds the composition of the Psalter commentary can be dated during the period of roughly four years between August 1317 and 1321, or the beginning of 1322 at the latest, it was prepared close in time or in parallel with several other demanding works. Trevet had finished the commentary on Seneca the Younger's *Tragedies*, at the request of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato OP, not later than the summer of 1317, when a copy was purchased on the pope's behalf at Avignon: the payment is recorded for 31 July 1317.¹⁰ A papal allowance to Trevet, in January 1317 or 1318, refers to another work, unnamed, being prepared by the friar for the pope himself. It is the common opinion of scholars that this work was the Livy commentary.¹¹ At the same time or shortly after, between 1320 and 1323, Trevet completed his *Annales sex regum Anglie*.¹² It must be added that at the beginning of John's mandate as prior provincial Trevet was most probably still occupying his second regency at Oxford, followed by the *lector*-ship at London. The com-

is referred to in his position of *lector* in London in the papal letter to the nuncio of 1 September 1324, which will be discussed in due course.

⁹ Cf. STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", p. 19, who discussed the same episode but with a contrary conclusion, suggesting that the lectureship at London would have been the proper setting for the composing of a Psalter commentary.

¹⁰ K. H. SCHÄFER, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII. nebst den Jahresbilanzen von 1316–1375*, Paderborn, 1911 (Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung 1316–1378, 2), p. 264). On the dating of that commentary, see KUJAWIŃSKI, "Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I", p. 232, cf. p. 176.

¹¹ See for all G. CREVATIN, "Dalle *fabulae* alle *historiae*: Nicola Trevet espone le Decadi liviane", in *Reliquiarum servator: il manoscritto Parigino latino 5690 e la storia di Roma nel Livio dei Colonna e di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. by M. CICCUTO, G. CREVATIN, E. FENZI, Pisa, 2012, pp. 59–116, at 83.

¹² The dating is predicated on the fact that in the account of the reign of Edward I, Thomas of Cantilupe is referred to as already a saint, while Thomas Aquinas is still merely "frater" and "doctor", cf. R. DEAN, "Nicholas Trevet, historian", in *Medi-*

mission and its realization in this commentary occurred, therefore, in a period of intense didactic and literary activity for Trevet, which in return provided him with various avenues for the communication and publication of his writings.

In addition to its value for the purposes of dating, the letter offers some context as to the institutional setting in which the commentary was conceived and published. A dedication to a superior, one who is also said to have requested the work, provides Trevet's treatise with the stamp of official approval. Ruth Dean observed that, unlike some of Trevet's other dedications, this one does not include any exchange of compliments but "simply a statement of how the work has been carried out to conform with the Provincial's instructions".¹³ More importantly, beginning with the *salutatio*, the language emphasizes a hierarchical relation between the author and the dedicatee. John is the father (*pater, paternitas*) who, according to his design (14: *intentio*), requests a service (12: *postulavit a me*) and decides (13: *iudicatis*) how it should be performed. John's wishes (*desideria*) are simultaneously commands (*mandata*), to which Nicholas is obedient (14). Dean was ready to explain John's commission in the context of efforts by the order to guarantee the friars' orthodoxy. She was right to call attention to decisions of the general chapters of 1313 and 1316 that sought to reinforce institutional control over friars' writings, particularly if published outside the order, a responsibility to be shared between the master general and provincial priors.¹⁴ There is no evidence that Trevet's commentary was subjected to examination of any kind. Such evidence may have been lost.¹⁵ It may never have existed, if the work were not considered "theological" in a strict sense,¹⁶ or if it were intended for publication only within the order. If the latter were the case, then the original intention did not restrict the work from reaching non-Dominican readers soon after publication, apparently not without the knowledge of Trevet and his

eval Learning and Literature. Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. by J. J. G. ALEXANDER, M. T. GIBSON, Oxford, 1976, pp. 328–52, at 333–34.

¹³ DEAN, "Cultural relations", p. 558.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 558, n. 30. Cf. above, Introduction, p. 27.

¹⁵ Information about the commissions summoned for the examination of friars' works is in fact rare (BIANCHI, "Ordini mendicanti", p. 314).

¹⁶ As observed by BIANCHI ("Ordini mendicanti", p. 332), the chapter of 1316 restricted the requirement of pre-examination to theological works ("tractatus, scripta sive reportaciones theologie"). Unfortunately, and contrary to some continental

confreres and superiors. In any case, the reiterated reference in the dedicatory epistle to the commission and to the instructions received from a provincial superior may have equipped the work with an authority confirming its orthodoxy.

Dean also suggested that John might have wanted to bring Trevet back to theology, a field more befitting of a Dominican teacher than the Classical writings he had more recently commented on.¹⁷ More convincingly, Hubert Stadler pointed to the provisions of the general chapters in 1308 and 1309 that every province designate at least two houses to deliver exclusively advanced lectures on the Bible.¹⁸ It should be added that “studia Bibliae” were indeed already mentioned as part

provinces, it is unknown — due to the loss of the acts of the provincial chapters — whether this issue was also regulated by the English province.

¹⁷ DEAN, “Cultural relations”, pp. 552–53.

¹⁸ In the acts of both chapters, it is specified that the Bible be read “biblice” (*Acta Capitulorum*, II, pp. 34, 38, cf. 43). There is no agreement as to what precise meaning should be given to that technical term. STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 10, rendered it as “literal sense” and referred to the meaning attested for 1311 in R. E. LATHAM, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, London, 1983, p. 49 (“textually, with exposition”; see now the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v., available on the Brepolis.net platform, in particular “bibliam biblice seu textualiter [...] legere”, attested in 1317). In a similar way, Polish scholars of Dominican education, M. ZDANEK (*Szkoły i studia dominikanów krakowskich w średniowieczu* [The Schools and Studies of the Dominican Friars of Cracow in the Middle Ages], Warsaw, 2005, p. 35) and T. GAŁUSZKA (“Szkolnictwo konwentualne i partykularne w strukturach polskiej prowincji dominikanów XIV stulecia. Nowe ujęcie w świetle nowych źródeł” [Conventual and particular schools in the structures of the Polish province of the Dominicans in the 14th century. A new proposal in the light of new sources], *Roczniki Historyczne*, 78 (2012), pp. 191–211, at 200), explain “biblice” as a cursory reading, restricted to the literal sense. More generally, G. BARONE (“Les couvents des Mendiants, des collèges déguisés?”, in *Vocabulaire des collèges universitaires (XIIIe–XVIe siècle). Actes du colloque Louven 9–11 avril 1992*, ed. by O. WEIJERS, Turnhout, 1993, pp. 149–57, at 156) asks whether to read “biblice” meant explaining “surtout les difficultés textuelles”. In fact, as already shown by F. EHRLE (“Introduzione”, in *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell’Università di Bologna*, ed. by F. EHRLE, Bologna, 1932, pp. vii–ccxvi, at lxxxiii–lxxxiv) and independently by G. P. HUNČAGA OP (*Dominikáni na ceste k intelektuálnym elitám vrcholného stredoveku* [The Dominicans on Their Way to the Intellectual Elites of the High Middle Ages], Cracow-Bratislava, 2013, pp. 204–05), the term “biblice” had been used by the general chapter of 1290 in Ferrara, in dis-

of the Dominican education system by the chapters of 1311 and 1312, and that the priority of the study of the Bible was also emphasized as regards conventual *lectores*.¹⁹ Stadler regarded John's commissioning of Trevet as belonging to his responsibility to provide the wherewithal for basic biblical instruction in his province. Stadler also believed that the careful execution of certain copies and their subsequent geographical distribution carry suggestive hints that the work was to be delivered to houses that hosted biblical schools.²⁰

Such a far-reaching hypothesis requires a detailed assessment of the evidence of the early copies, which this study hopes to offer. The official character of the work, however, is quite certain, and its primary destination for Dominican students seems very probable. It resonates with John's efforts to promote Dominican education and scholarship,

tinction to "cursorie", when referring to two levels of biblical lectureship at *studia generalia*: "Volumus et ordinamus quod in quolibet studio generali biblia cursorie et biblice legatur. Si autem in scholis publice non legatur quilibet doctor in theologia legat semper cursorie aliquid de textu, lectione dumtaxat de sententiis non obmissa" (*Acta Capitulorum*, I, p. 257). M. M. MULCHAHEY ("First the Bow is Bent in Study", p. 340), without quoting the Ferrara chapter, also sees "an in-depth rather than cursory treatment of Scripture" as the objective of the provisions of 1308 and 1309. It can be concluded that reading the Bible "biblice" referred to an advanced lecturing upon Scripture, which did not exclude exploring senses other than the literal. Indeed, Dominican legislation had the vocabulary to denote literal exposition, which held priority, as was affirmed in the acts of the general chapter of 1321: "Lectores eciam principales in lectione de textu bible sensum literalem primo exponere teneantur" (*Acta Capitulorum*, II, p. 133).

¹⁹ "Ordinamus, quod lectores in quolibet conventu continue legant de textu bible et semper ante aliam lectionem. Item. Quod nullus frater, antequam per unum annum in studio bibliam audierit, assignetur alicui studio generali sive in sua provincia sive extra" (1311, *Acta Capitulorum*, II, p. 52); "Inhibemus districte, ne aliquis generali studio assignetur sive in provincia sive extra, nisi bibliam prius audierit biblice uno anno. Lectores autem ad legendum bibliam specialiter deputatos volumus sicut et ceteros lectores frequencius disputare. Ne autem fratres iuvenes eidem studio bible assignati audientia careant questionum, volumus et mandamus, quod in ipsis studiis bible lectores sententiarum sufficientes et ydonei assignentur" (1312, *ibid.*, p. 56). Cf. MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 136–37, 139–40.

²⁰ STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 24–25. DEAN, "Cultural relations", p. 557, mentions the decision of the chapter of 1308 discussing the context of the earlier of Trevet's commentaries on the Pentateuch.

as recently illustrated by Hester Goodenough Gelber.²¹ The final claim that the work was also insistently demanded by other friars adds a collective dimension to the commission. It is perhaps not too hazardous to believe that John of Bristol's request was backed by or derived from the deliberations of a provincial chapter.

The details retrieved from the body of the work shed light on Trevet's agency. The author does not avoid using the first person (singular or plural), for example when claiming to have checked readings or other features of psalms in exemplars of the Psalter (Latin or Hebrew) or copies of other sources at his disposal. He also uses the first person when, in the exposition of Ps. 2, he twice refers to his otherwise unknown mystical commentary on the Psalter: first, in the commentary on verse 1, discussing the presumed unity of Psalms 1 and 2: "Quomodo tamen hoc soluat Cassiodorus diximus in expositione mistica" (M, fol. 3^{ve}d; G, fol. 6th).²² Second, he refers to his mystical exposition in the commentary on verse 2 when providing a prophetic interpretation of the conspiracy of the Philistines against David as a figure of the conspiracy of Herod, Jewish elites, Pilate, and some of the gentiles against Jesus (cf. Act. 4:27): "sicut in alia expositione mistica diximus" (M, fol. 3^{ve}d; G, fol. 6^{va}). The use of the first person, past tense and premodifier "alia" clearly makes distinct reference to Trevet's own Psalter commentary, accomplished before and potentially available to his readers. I am not aware of any other trace of that mystical exposition.²³ These two references are the only instances in the *Expositio* when the literal com-

²¹ GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, pp. 43–46.

²² The reference is followed by a rebuke of Cassiodorus's claim, found at the beginning of his commentary on Ps. 2, that Ps. 2 is the first to be provided with a title (cf. Cassiodorus, *In Psalterium Expositio*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, tom. 70, Paris, 1865, cols 9–1056, at 35).

²³ It may of course lie hidden behind entries in medieval bibliographies and inventories that generically refer to a commentary on the Psalms: see further below in Chapter 5 and Appendix H, where it is assumed that these entries refer to the literal *Expositio*. That identity is certain for the entries in the lists from the London and Milan Blackfriars, and from the Greyfriars of St Anthony's in Padua. It is more doubtful for a copy reported at the Benedictine abbey at Gloucester, distinguished by an unusual incipit. It is a possibility that the mystical commentary had been lost, in which case it should be added to the roster of the many medieval works known only from some reference by their authors (see HAYE, *Verlorenes Mittelalter*, pp. 46–50).

mentary is presented as part of the broader literary legacy of its author. These authorial intrusions may be seen as part of a strategy to provide the commentary and the commentator with authority, or else as moments of “bibliographical ego”.²⁴

Another piece of information relevant to the history of publication can be extracted from the text of the *Expositio*: Trevet’s literary endeavour was not only a textual one. From the very beginning it was to include an apparatus of illustrations in the commentary on Ps. 150 (verses 3–5), as manifested by deictic expressions which introduce the representations of seven musical instruments: (1) “Erat autem tuba cornea istius figure [figure *M*] et forme” (M, fol. 132^{vab}; G, fol. 250^{ra}); (2) “Tuba uero ductilis hanc formam pretendebat” (ibid.); (3) “sicut patet [p. *deest M*] in hac forma” (concerning *psalterium*, ibid.); (4) “ut patet in ista forma” (concerning *cythara*, ibid.); (5) “cuius forma talis est” (concerning *tympanum*, M, fol. 132^{vab}; G, fol. 250^{rb}); (6) “Chorus est pellis habens duas cicutas, unam per quam insufflatur et aliam per quam emittit sonum hoc [isto *G*] modo” (M, fol. 132^{vab}; G, fol. 250^{rb-va}); (7) “quorum forma talis est” (concerning *organa*, M, fol. 132^{vcd}; G, fol. 250^{va}). This iconographic component might have encouraged an authorial desire to supervise the execution of the first copies of the work.²⁵ This was not the first time that Trevet had envisaged an illustrative apparatus. He included one in his first major work, the commentary on Boethius’s *Consolation*, in which astronomical diagrams are explicitly introduced in the text and executed in many of the extant copies (or at least the space has been left for them).²⁶ In the same way, images of

²⁴ For this category as applied to medieval authors, see KERBY-FULTON, “Langland”, pp. 69–70, 79.

²⁵ Cf. the later case of the presentation copy of John Capgrave’s commentary on Genesis (Oxford, Oriel College, 32), in which the author added in his own hand the labels accompanying three diagrams showing an elevation of Noah’s ark (LUCAS, *From Author to Audience*, pp. 43–44).

²⁶ See KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I.”, n. 48. To remain within the coeval exegetic tradition, see the introductory phrases of the figures devised by Nicholas of Lyre in his *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* (C. DELANO-SMITH, “Some contemporary manuscripts of Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla litteralis* (1323–1332): maps, plans and other illustrations”, in *Orbis Disciplinac. Hommages en l’honneur de Patrick Gautier Dalché*, ed. by N. BOULOUX, A. DAN, G. TOLIAS, Turnhout, 2017, pp. 199–232, at 206–07).

the zodiac were announced in the commentary on Seneca's *Tragedies* and executed, albeit with some variation between them, in the earliest surviving manuscripts.²⁷

The text of the *Expositio*, and especially the dedicatory letter, provides solid grounds for describing the setting in which the work was conceived and produced. The dedication permits the assumption that the commentary was delivered to the commissioner. Unfortunately, that first instance in the history of the publishing of Trevet's commentary is not directly corroborated by other evidence. No extant manuscript can be positively identified with the presentation copy for John of Bristol.²⁸ It could possibly have been the one reported in the inventory of 1339 from the London Blackfriars, the home convent of the prior provincial.²⁹ It is also possible that the entry might even refer to Trevet's personal copy, if, as the scholarly consensus holds, London was the

²⁷ For the manner in which the illustration is introduced, see the commentaries on the following tragedies: *Hercules furens* (*Nicolai Treveti Expositio Herculis furentis*, ed. by V. USSANI JR, Rome, 1959, pp. 7, l. 20; 8, l. 10; 9, ll. 22–23; 10, l. 7; 11, ll. 8–9; 12, l. 10; 13, l. 13; 134, l. 21), *Thyestes* (*Il commento di Nicola Trevet al Tieste*, ed. by FRANCESCINI, pp. 68, ll. 14–15; 68, l. 32; 69, l. 12; 69, ll. 32–33; 70, l. 1; 70, ll. 7–8; 70, l. 19; 70, l. 27; 70, ll. 31–32; 71, ll. 8–9; 71, ll. 26–27; 72, ll. 12–13), and *Medea* (Nicola Trevet, *Commento alla Medea di Seneca*, ed. by L. ROBERTI, Bari, 2004, pp. 95, ll. 1–3; 95, l. 5; 95, l. 15). On the variation of that apparatus in the earliest manuscripts, see KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I.,” pp. 237–40, with references to previous studies.

²⁸ SAENGER, “The British Isles,” p. 106, takes G to be a presentation copy, but without providing any argument in support. As we shall see, the context of its production was different.

²⁹ The inventory is transmitted only through the excerpts made by John Bale at the time of the dissolution (see Appendix H). In the entry quoted by Bale the Psalter commentary is associated with the lost commentary on the Books of Chronicles. If John of Bristol commissioned a presentation copy of the *Expositio*, he might well have deposited it at London Blackfriars, the usual residence of the prior provincial. If he had kept it with him, after his death it would, in customary fashion, have belonged to the province and ought to have ended up, again, at the London friary (according to the arrangements established in modifications to the Constitutions introduced between 1283 and 1286, altered again between 1328 and 1330; see *Acta Capitulorum*, I, p. 222, *Acta Capitulorum*, II, pp. 177, 189–90, 195–96).

convent in which he had been accepted into the order.³⁰ The group of early extant copies and other sources attesting to the early renown and circulation of the work are witnesses to the immediate effects of that original presentation and probably to several other publishing events which took place in Trevet's lifetime. It is to those witnesses that I shall turn in the subsequent chapters.

³⁰ This opinion dates back to the first account of Trevet's life provided in the sixteenth century by John Leland (quoted and discussed by DEAN, "Life and Works", pp. 22, 39). In recent scholarship it is repeated, for instance, by H. G. GELBER, "Blackfriars London: the late medieval *studium*", in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts. Acts of the XVth Annual Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, University of Notre Dame, 8–10 October 2008*, ed. by K. EMERY, JR, W. J. COURTENAY, S. M. METZGER, Turnhout, 2011, pp. 165–80, at 169. Cf. K. W. HUMPHREYS, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215–1400*, Amsterdam, 1964, pp. 22–25, 41.

Chapter 2

The Publication of the *Expositio* in the Light of the Earliest Manuscript Tradition *Codices MANCGHBR*

The analysis provided in this and the following chapter will be based mainly on the nine early manuscript copies of Trevet's work. (For detailed descriptions of the manuscripts see Appendix B.) Eight of them will be my focus in the present chapter, whereas O, its text being unstable, will be discussed separately in Chapter 3. Besides the material features, origins, early ownership, and textual variance of those manuscripts, two other sets of questions, particular to the tradition of the *Expositio*, need to be addressed. The first is concerned with its relation to the Psalter: whether these copies, besides the lemmata embedded in the *Expositio*, also include the full text of the Psalms and, if so, in which of the Latin versions. It must also be asked whether and how the Psalter (*textus*) is distinguished graphically from the commentary. Addressing those questions should help to answer the essential one, whether the *Expositio* was originally published together with the Psalter or without it. The second set of queries concerns the apparatus of illustrations in the exposition of Ps. 150: whether it is present in a finished way and, if so, whether its iconography suggests a common model, something which might have been determined by the author himself.

MANC

As already stated, the first witness of the effective circulation of Trevet's *Expositio* is M. In its colophon the copy is dated 1321, without providing any other chronological or topological information (**Plate 3**). The script used by the three copyists (Northern *littera textualis* and *cursiua*) and more significantly the style of pen-flourishing, to which I shall return, provide good grounds for localizing the copy's production to northern France or even Paris. Therefore, if the copyist followed the typically French style for reckoning the year from Easter Day, the book was finished sometime between 19 April 1321 and 10 April 1322. Regrettably, the manuscript does not present any ownership marks earlier than the coat of arms of its modern owners, the noble Paduan family of

the Obizzi. It is a carefully executed copy, on fine parchment, furnished with elegant penwork decoration. The painted illumination of the first page was apparently restored, or even added, in early-modern times, and thus the historiated initial representing two conversing friars cannot be understood certainly as original. The copy includes the *textus*: Jerome's letter to Sophronius and the Latin Psalter according to *He* and *Ga*. Pages are ruled in four columns to host two versions of each psalm verse, which are followed by the commentary written across columns a–b and c–d (**Plate 1**). Uniquely among the extant copies of Trevet's *Expositio*, M provides in full two Latin translations of the Psalter. Was such a laborious refinement an innovation of M's? Before that question can be answered, the place that M occupies in the tradition of the commentary must be defined. The following discussion of textual variance, unless otherwise advertised, is concerned with the commentary alone. In order not to overload the discussion in this and the following chapter, only selected variants will be cited in full. For the complete account of the textual variance readers are invited to consult Appendices C and D.

Already its continental, or even Parisian, origin makes it hard to believe that M was a fair copy prepared under Trevet's supervision, to be kept with him or presented to John of Bristol. A relatively high number of errors also suggests that it stands at one or more removes from that copy (ω). Some errors are unique to M,¹ others are shared with other copies and especially with ANC.² Among the conjunctive errors might be mentioned a misreading of "thephila", the transliterated Hebrew counterpart of Latin "oratio", as "tekla" or "teckla" (the title of Ps. 85),³ banalization of the name of the river Arnon as "Aaron" (Ps. 125:4), or the omission of a passage in the exposition of Ps. 137:8, which cannot

¹ See Prol. 8; Pss.: 80:17; 93:1; 101:29; 106:1; 118:176 (two); 122:1; 128:8 (three); 130:3; 132:3 ("ut glosa", "hominis", "vocem"); 135:26; 136:5; 137:8; 140:10; 141:2; 144:1; 144:21; 146:1; 147 [146:20]; 148:1; 148:14; 150:1–2 ("viriis"); 150:3 ("quo", "githith", "assignant et", "latet", "accuicorem orem", "delchee", omission of "modernarum"); 150:5 ("est videtur", misspelling of the name of Boethius, "extencione", and omission).

² As will be discussed in more detail below, C underwent a campaign of revision and many of its original readings are uncertain.

³ The word is transliterated as "thephila" (MANC), "tephila" (GHO), "tephilia" (BR) in the commentary on Ps. 1:1 (f), where Trevet discusses the words found at the beginning of individual psalms. Similarly in the expositions of the titles of Pss. 89 and 101.

be explained by a *saut du même au même*.⁴ These and other more or less significant conjunctive errors⁵ lead to the conclusion that all four manuscripts descend from a common ancestor (α). In the case of the shared omission of one or two words, where a blank space had been left in M, one can imagine that such a “window” had been left in α and then reproduced in M, but ignored in ANC, or rather in their hyparchetype (β).⁶ Supposedly, other common but non-conjunctive errors of MANC can be attributed to α as well.⁷

As has already been mentioned, there must have been another *codex interpositus* between α and ANC, which I shall refer to as β . Numerous errors proper to ANC provide solid evidence for that common, now lost exemplar. The most significant among those found in the collated sections of the *Expositio* is the transposition of the commentary on the last verses of Ps. 84 (13–14), coming after the commentary on verse 8; as

⁴ As the reader will notice from an inspection of the select variant readings listed in Appendix D, these and some other errors of MANC are present or reflected in O as well. Their relations will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁵ See Ep. ded.: 4, 7, 8; Prol. 22; Ep. Hier. 11 (“contulisset”); Pss.: 1:1 (b: “que Jeronimi”; g: “ut per ipsos”; q: “illo”); 1:3 (“et erit”); 2:2 (“prophetarum et”); 2:10; 28:titulus; 30:titulus; 55:10; 56:12 (omission of “suam”; “dileccionis dei”); 57:12 (omission of “signum”); 61:13; 83:13; 89:titulus; 105:1 (omission of the complement, cf. Chapter 3, n. 25); 113:18 [= 115:18]; 147 [= 146:12]; 150:3 (omission of “cantores”; “ignorata”; “sonus”); 150:6 (change of number from singular to plural).

⁶ See Pss.: 50:7 (the copyist of C apparently attempted an emendation); 54:14; 57:12; 63:4. A similar case is the representation of Greek letter delta, to which Trevet, following Isidore, compares “psalterium” in the commentary on Ps. 150:3. The representation is explicitly introduced: “ad modum littere delte quam esse constat huius forme” (*codd.*, with orthographic variants of “delte”) and followed by majuscule delta in GBR (but not in H). The scribes of M, A, and probably C left a small window in that *locus* (in C it coincides with a blank rectangle reserved for illustration of the instrument), and so in O, while in N the commentary follows without window or representation of the letter.

⁷ See omissions *per homoioteleuton* in Pss: 1:5; 2:5; 48:21; 85:17; 132:3; 139:14; perhaps also 150:1–2. See also common errors of other kinds in: Ep. ded. 4 (“quodque”), Ep. Hier. 4 (and independently in R), 7, 11 (“prouidebis”), 15; Pss.: 1:2; 2:1; 2:6; 37:23; 62:12; 82:19; 87:17; 92:5; 107:2 (omission of “huius”); 128:8 (and independently in R; the present tense “optamus”, possibly facilitated by original contraction, conflicts with the past tense of “benediximus” in the lemma); 134:titulus; 136:5 (“tua”, probably conditioned by the second-person pronoun “tui” in the same period); 147 [= 146:12] (omission of “quia nec titulo”).

a result, the exposition of that psalm ends with the discussion of verse 12.⁸ Another notable error is the omission of “maschil, sir” in the list of the opening words (Ps. 1:1f) and the omission of a longer passage in the commentary on Ps. 128:8, which can be best explained as a *saut du même au même* based on a corrupt passage, of the sort that appears in M.⁹ M, however, could not be the exemplar of ANC because the latter do not present the errors of the former, especially those that would have been difficult to emend *ope ingenii*.¹⁰ Consequently, β must have descended directly from α . Individual errors in each of the descendants of β (in particular omissions of passages of several words and other errors that could hardly be emended without the support of a better copy) allow a direct relation between them to be excluded.¹¹ A couple of rather significant errors might suggest a common hyparchetype of AN,¹² but textual affinities between those two copies should not be overestimated because C underwent a campaign of revision from a copy belonging to a different branch and its original readings are often uncertain (the source of the corrections in C will be discussed in Chapter 3).

ANC share yet another feature, which permits an explanation of the idiosyncrasy of the *mise en page* in M. Unlike M, its close relatives ANC do not include the *textus* (except for the incipits of individual

⁸ A, fol. 79^{rb-va}; N, fol. 61^{va-b}; C, fols 90^{va}–91^{ra}. Exposition of vv. 12 and 14 also present erroneous readings common to ANC.

⁹ See also: Ep. ded. 4, 6, 10, 13, 14; Prol.: 18 (two), 24, 27, 35; Ep. Hier. 3, 4, 5, 11, 14; Pss.: 1:1 (b, d, n); 1:2; 1:5 (two); 1:6; 2:1; 2:4; 2:12 (two); 7:titulus; 21:32; 39:18; 49:23; 50:3; 50:9; 51:3; 51:11; 54:2; 56:12; 65:20; 76:21; 77:72 (misreading, amended in AC, and omission); 90:2; 90:16; 107:2; 108:2; 115 [= 116:10]; 117:29; 120:titulus; 124:5; 125:6; 127:6; 128:titulus; 128:1; 143:15; 144:titulus; 144:1; 149:titulus; 150:1–2; 150:3 (four omissions and “iacet”); 150:5 (two); 150:6.

¹⁰ See omissions in Ep. Hier. 14 and Pss.: 101:29; 128:8; 140:10; 150:3; and 150:5. Other errors of M are listed above, n. 1.

¹¹ Significant errors proper to A: Ep. ded. 11; Prol. 28 (and independently in O); Pss.: 1:1 (j); 1:4; 2:1; 2:7 (two); 2:12 (omission on “Rufinum”); 39:2; 69:2; 71:20; 72:titulus; 117:1; 118:176; 150:1–2 (three); 150:6. Significant errors proper to N: Prol.: 3; 8; 12; Ep. Hier. 9; 13; Pss.: 1:6; 23:10; 90:2; 114 [= 116:1]; 128:8; 135:1. Significant errors proper to C: Ep. Hier. 13; Pss.: 1:1 (c); 2:5; 36:1; 43:2 (two); 43:26 (and independently O); 64:14; 66:8; 68:2; 69:2; 70:1; 71:20; 72:1; 76:2; 84:12; 84:14; 96:1; 97:1; 132:3; 143:1; 145:titulus; 150:titulus; 150:5; 150:6 (two).

¹² AN share errors in Ep. Hier. 9 (“instancia”, “p(er)cu”); 13; 14; Pss.: 1:1 (a; m; two; n); 1:6; 41:titulus; 42:5; 47:titulus; 79:2 (and O); 81:8 (two, both also in O); 84:14 (and

verses added subsequently in the margins of N and C). However, a closer inspection, especially of the liminal parts of individual sections of the commentary, has brought to light scattered sections of the Psalter other than the lemmata embedded in the *Expositio*. I am inclined to distinguish two groups, which probably belong to two separate operations. The first one would have consisted of deliberate inclusion of the individual verses or, more often, incipits of verses, aiming to mark the passages from one section of the commentary to another.¹³ The distribution of the *textus* across ANC is unequal: only Psalms 31:3, 36:35, and 96:8 are present in all three copies.¹⁴ Psalm 24:1 is provided in AC,¹⁵ whereas Psalms 40:5 through 48:16 are found in C alone.¹⁶ In cases in which *He* and *Ga* columns differ in M, passages found in A, N, or C agree with *He*.¹⁷ Verse numbers are omitted. The inclusion of the incipits of many (most? all?) verses at the beginning of subsequent sections of the commentary should be ascribed to the common ancestor of the three manuscripts (β), which apparently was intended as a copy of the *Expositio* alone but may have used those incipits for the sake of better orientation. ANC maintained that feature only to a small and inconsistent extent.

Beside those incipits, ANC also presents a number of complete verses of psalms, which agree with *Ga* as it appears in M, and these are grouped in the order in which they are commented on in the *Expositio*. All three manuscripts include verses 14–23 of Psalm 49,¹⁸ whereas

O); 105:titulus; 118:176; 128: titulus; 128:8; 137:8; 144:1; 150:3 (omission of “sonus”, also in O); 150:6 (and O).

¹³ Their function would have been that of localization lemmata, on which see A. HICKS, “Reading texts within texts: the special case of lemmata”, in *Glossator. Practice and Theory of the Commentary*, 12 (2022) (Special Issue: *Commenting and Commentary as an Interpretive Mode in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by C. LECHTERMANN and M. STOCK), pp. 69–92, at 79.

¹⁴ A, fols 31^{rb}, 36^{vb}, 89^{ra}; N, fols 24^{vb}, 28^{vb}, 69^{rb}; C, fols 34^{va}, 40^{va}, 102^{rb}.

¹⁵ A, fol. 25^{va}, and C, fol. 28^{vb}.

¹⁶ C, fols 44^{ra}–53^{rb}. The absence of that last, the most consistent group, in AN is perhaps another hint of their common model, cf. above, n. 12. For an alternative explanation of this group of incipits in C, see Chapter 3, p. 116.

¹⁷ The only reading that agrees with the *textus* in *Ga* column in M is “femur tuum”, instead of “femur”, in Ps. 44:4 (M, fol. 44^{rc-d}; C, fol. 48^{va}).

¹⁸ A, fols 48^{va}–49^{ra}; N, fols 37^{rb}–38^{ra}; C, fols 54^{rb}–55^{ra}.

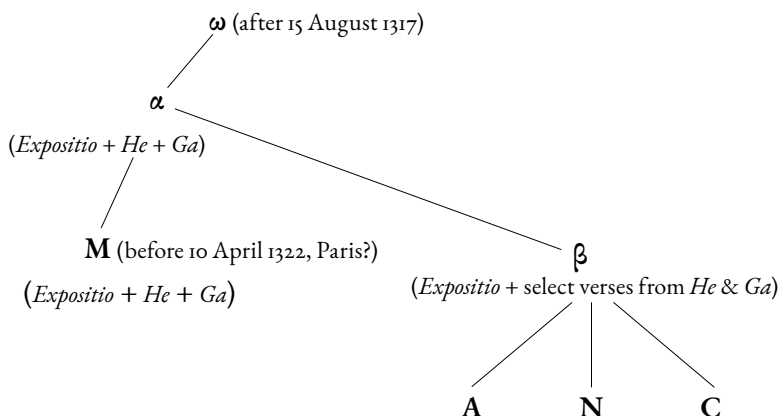
Psalms 50:3–19 and 105:47–48 are only found in AC.¹⁹ A very occasional inclusion of verses from the version different from that commented on could hardly be intentional. Instead, this kind of error would best be explained had in their exemplar *Ga* and the commentary been written in the same style and size of script. Significantly, the first Gallican verses to be provided by ANC, “Immola deo sacrificium [...] et honorificabis me” (Ps. 49:14–15), are also the first not to be graphically distinguished in M (fols 48^{vd}–49^{rb}, **Plate 2**). The latter manuscript, however, has been excluded as the exemplar of ANC for the text of the *Expositio*; in two instances the passages of *Ga* copied in AC provide a better text than M (Pss. 50:14, and 105:47). Therefore, it was the hyparchetype of M and ANC (α) that already included *Ga*, most probably alongside *He*, laid out as they now appear in M.²⁰ The coincidence of the place where in M *Ga* and the *Expositio* cease to be graphically distinguished and the first occurrence of *Ga* in ANC suggests that M reproduced the layout of α and some of its external features. Further, α 's conjectured descendant, β , would have included the *Expositio* alone, intentionally keeping only the incipits of selected verses of *He* and, by mistake, copying a number of verses of *Ga*, as reflected in ANC.²¹

¹⁹ A, fols 49^{rb}–50^{ra}, 98^{ra}–^{rb}; C, fols 55^{rb}–56^{rb}, 114^{rb}–^{va}. The two verses of Ps. 105 are split in three (as in M, 100rd): “Saluos fac nos [...] de nacionibus”, “ut confiteamur [...] in laude tua”, and “Benedictus dominus [...] fiat fiat”. In A the second part of verse 47 of Ps. 105 (“ut confiteamur nomini tuo et gloriemur in laude tua”, fol. 98^{rb}) is preceded by some seventy-three blank lines.

²⁰ Taking the shared verses as a sample (Pss. 49:14–23, 50:3–19, and 105:47–48) it can be said that, except for evident scribal errors, normally they agree with the received text of the Gallican Psalter as well as with that of the Dominican Psalter (Rome, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV L 1, fols 75^{rb}, 80^{rb}). In one instance α 's *Ga* departs from those two versions, reading in Ps. 49:15 “et eruum” (together with the critical edition of *Ga*), instead of “eruum”. In another place (Ps. 50:12), the reading of MAC “et spiritum” agrees with the Dominican Psalter (and the critical edition) but not with that of the working edition of the received text (“spiritum”). The absence of titles of the psalms in the portions of *Ga* transmitted by MANC and also in *Ga* column in M is another characteristic that could suggest a relation between α 's *Ga* and the Dominican Psalter. A full collation would be necessary to assess this possibility.

²¹ The figure “VIII/8”, copied in A (fol. 7^{rb}), N (fol. 6^{va}), and C (fol. 8^{ra}) just before the section commenting on Ps. 4:9–10 (numbered “VIII” in M, both as *cifre d'attente* in the last line of the commentary on the previous section, fol. 6^{cd}, and as a

Figure 1. *Stemma codicum* MANC



If this reconstruction holds, the decision to combine the two versions of the Latin Psalter, *He* and *Ga*, was made at a stage very close to the completion and presentation of the work. The question naturally arises as to whether the supposed form of α reflected the form of a presentation copy or that of Trevet's working exemplar (if those copies were distinct); or (if not), whether Trevet played any role in choosing that solution for one of the first fair copies (perhaps the very first one) of his finished work. The fact that no other early extant witness, among those that do not derive from α , include *Ga* would suggest a negative answer to the first question. The question of Trevet's personal involvement in the design of α must be considered intrinsically, at the level of his work, and extrinsically, looking for possible sources of inspiration and available models.

Trevet chose to comment on *He* and, as I shall argue later, the *textus* as it reads in the lemmata, and in a group of witnesses where it is copied in full, belongs to the tradition of *He*. At the same time, the *Expositio*, whether accompanied by the *textus* or not, follows the division of psalms proper to *Ga*, which, however, is also found in the tradition

part of marginal apparatus on fol. 6^v) is yet another reminiscence of the hyparchetype including the *Expositio* together with the Psalter. It is not certain how much of the *textus* was included, intentionally or by mistake, in β , probably more than ANC present altogether. On the possible alternative source of a group of *He*-incipits that are transmitted in C alone, see Chapter 3, p. 116.

of *He*. The variance of division in the Hebrew Psalter is discussed in the body of the *Expositio*. Also, in the commentary Trevet offers alternative Latin translations of many readings of the Psalter declaratively taken either from his Hebrew sources or from other existing Latin translations, referred to as “*alia translatio*”, “*alia littera*”, or by name as “*Psalterium Gallicanum*” or “*Psalterium Romanum*” (often abbreviated as “*Ga*” and “*Ro*”).²² A group of lemmata that are accompanied by references to the *Psalterium Gallicanum* in the *Expositio*, and which I selected at random for purposes of comparison, agrees with the *Ga* column in *M*.²³ The inclusion of *Ga* in a copy may have answered to those references in the *Expositio* and may have been intended by the author. Although the text of *Ga* was well known to the target readers of the *Expositio*, providing that version alongside *He* was a refinement that would doubtless have made a copy still more useful.

By Trevet’s day the idea of copying together different versions of the Psalter, in the same or different languages, together with some sort of commentary, was not unusual.²⁴ I will point here only to a handful of late-twelfth-century examples which, not least for their English connections, are of interest to our case. The celebrated Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17. 1), produced at the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, *c.* 1155–1160, is a triple Psalter: *Ga* occupies the outermost column, which is twice as wide as the two other columns hosting *Psalterium Romanum* and *He* (the latter always in the

²² See e.g. Ps. 17:36: “Quod hic dicitur: et mansuetudo tua arguet me uictori, non est in hebreo. Unde mirum est quomodo hic positum sit in translacione Jeronimi. Nec etiam est in greco, nec equipollens eius est in Psalterio Romano. Nec in Augustino, nec in Cassiodoro, set tantum in Psalterio Gallicano. Nec etiam in illa translacione que uocatur hebraica ueritas” (*M*, fol. 18^{vab}).

²³ This is the case with Pss.: 118:91 (“*quoniam omnia seruiunt tibi*”, *M-tx*, fol. 112^{vd}; *M-lm*, fol. 113^{rab}); 129:4 (“*propter legem tuam*”, *M-tx* and *M-lm*, fol. 120^{red}), 138:3 (“*cogitaciones*”, *M-tx*, fol. 124rd, commentary, fol. 124^{red}); 138:24 (“*iniquitatis*”, *M-tx* and *M-lm*, fol. 125^{ved}); 140:5 (“*peccatoris*”, *M-tx*, fol. 126^{vb}; *M-lm*, fol. 126^{ved}), and also with some variant translations attributed to “*alia translatio*” in Pss.: 1:1d (reference to Ps. 39:8: “*in capite libri*”, *M-lm*, fol. 2^{ved}, *M-tx*, fol. 39rd), 103:17 (“*herodii*”, *M-tx*, fol. 95rd; *M-lm*, fol. 95^{red}); 103:18 (“*he(ri)naciis*”, *M-tx*, fol. 95rd, and “*erinaciis*”, *M-lm*, fol. 95^{red}), 105:38 (“*et interfecta est terra in sanguinibus*”, *M-tx*, fol. 99rd; *M-lm*, fol. 100^{rab}).

²⁴ See for example a number of Psalters including two or three Latin translation which are given among the witnesses listed in the edition of *He*, pp. xxxiii–xliv.

innermost column). *Ga* is accompanied by the Latin *parva glosatura*, whereas the Roman Psalter and *He* are provided with vernacular interlinear translations, respectively, Old English and Anglo-Norman.²⁵ Interestingly, *He* in the Eadwine Psalter and *He* in the manuscripts of Trevet's *Expositio* share a number of variant readings,²⁶ including a few peculiar readings which are not documented in the apparatus of the edited *He*.²⁷ There are, however, other readings in which they differ sufficiently as to induce scepticism about a direct, straightforward relation.²⁸ The same is true of a slightly later triple Psalter (Paris, BnF, lat. 8846), very closely related to the Eadwine Psalter (*He*, however, is interrupted at Ps. 98:6), which was also produced at Canterbury, but at some other point in the Middle Ages was taken to Catalunya.²⁹

Herbert of Bosham's edition of Peter Lombard's *Magna glosatura* on the Psalms survives as a two-volume set, now Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 4 (vol. I, Pss. 1–74:4), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct.

²⁵ See the studies collected in *The Eadwine Psalter. Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. by M. GIBSON, T. A. HESLOP, R. W. PFAFF, London, 1992; on the layout, see T. WEBBER, "The script", pp. 13–24, at 13–14. The manuscript has been entirely digitized: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.17.1>.

²⁶ See Pss.: 2:6 ("meum"); 15:10; 50:21 ("tauros"); 53:9; 59:14; 65:1; 65:2; 67:36; 80:17 ("ex adipe"); 99:4; 99:5; 116:1; 117:1; 117:29; 137:1 ("psallam"); 140:1; 141:8; 145:2; 145:10 ("seculum"); 148:14 ("misericordibus"). See also Ps. 124:1, where the reading of the Eadwine Psalter ("quasi"), apparently corrected, agrees with the *textus* in Trevet's manuscripts, but not with the lemma in his *Expositio*; and Ps. 149:1, where the Eadwine reading ("in congregatione misericordium") agrees with Trevet's lemma but not with the *textus*. Cf. Pss. 61:3; 73:1; 122:4; 136:9. Regarding "misericors" as alternative translation to "sanctus" (here documented for Pss. 148:14 and 149:1), it should be noted that it is attested in the revised versions of *He* circulating in England in the central Middle Ages, see E. DE VISSCHER, *Reading the Rabbis: Christian Hebraism in the Works of Herbert of Bosham*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 53–54, 65–66.

²⁷ See Pss. 116:1; 137:1 ("coram deo"); 138:24; 139:2 ("eripe"); and 144:1; cf. Pss. 48:21; 63:11; and 124:1.

²⁸ See Pss.: 49:23 ("illi" vs "ei"; "dei" vs "meum"); 50:21 ("acceptabis" vs "suscipies"); 52:2 (Eadwine's "iniquitate"); 68:2 (Eadwine's "usque"); 80:17 ("melle" vs "mellis"); 82:19 ("cognoscant" vs "sciant"); 85:1 ("inops" vs "egenus"); 88:53 ("eternum" vs "sempiternum"); 139:2 ("salua" vs "serua"); 143:15 ("eius" vs "suus").

²⁹ See F. AVRIL, P. D. STIRNEMANN, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine insulaire VIIe–XXe siècle*, Paris, 1987, No. 76, pp. 45–48, and P. STIRNEMANN, "Paris, BN, MS lat. 8846 and the Eadwine Psalter", in *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 186–92.

E. inf. 6 (vol. 2, Pss. 74:1–150). The volumes were written and illuminated under Herbert’s supervision. The work was originally intended for Thomas Becket and initiated during his exile in France. It was completed after Becket’s death, sometime between 1171 and 1176, either in Sens or in Paris, and eventually arrived in Christ Church, Canterbury, where it is reported in the early-fourteenth century inventory of the library.³⁰ From the standpoint of the present topic, the inclusion of *He* alongside *Ga*, which was the version commented on by the Lombard, is the most significant editorial intervention by Herbert.³¹ However, within a two-column layout, where each column is divided into three sections, the *Ga* verse occupies the central position, being copied in larger script on alternate ruled lines, having the *He* verse on the left and the beginning of the Lombard’s commentary on the right.³² When the Psalm verses end, the commentary runs across the whole width of a column. A comparison of selected readings of *He* in the manuscripts of Trevet’s *Expositio* and *He* in Herbert’s edition allows us to exclude a textual relationship.³³ It should be remembered that subsequently, in the

The manuscript has been entirely digitized: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvb10551125c.r=8846?rk=42918;4>.

³⁰ On the historical context in which the work originated and on the controversies about the place of production, see M. DOYLE, *Peter Lombard and His Students*, Toronto, 2016, pp. 198–235; IDEM, “Herbert of Bosham and Peter Lombard”, in *Herbert of Bosham: A Medieval Polymath*, ed. by M. STAUNTON, York, 2019, pp. 55–63, and L. CLEAVER, “Pages covered with as many tears as notes: Herbert of Bosham and the glossed manuscripts for Thomas Becket”, in *ibid.*, pp. 64–86.

³¹ CLEAVER, “Pages covered”, pp. 66–67, ascribes that innovation to Becket, but Herbert’s prologue speaking of the archbishop’s commission does not permit that particular feature to be attributed to him.

³² For the description of the layout see L. SMITH, *Masters of the Sacred Page: Manuscripts of Theology in the Latin West to 1274*, Notre Dame, IN, 2001, pp. 45–48. The Cambridge volume has been digitized in its entirety and is available at <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/B.5.4>. Only selected images of the portion of the work held at Oxford may be consulted on the Bodleian website https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_586. I am grateful to Jaakko Tahkokallio for having provided me with certain other images of the latter volume from his private digital collection, before I could consult the original in July 2022.

³³ See conflicting readings in Ep. Hier.: 5, 7, and Pss.: 2:6; 4:2; 7:2; 15:10; 48:21 (passage beginning with “homo”); 49:23 (“illi” vs “ei”; “dei” vs “meum”); 50:21 (“acceptabis” vs “suscipies”, “tauros” vs “uitulos”); 52:2 (Bosham’s “in iniquitate”); 53:9; 55:13; 59:14; 61:3; 63:11; 65:2; 67:36; 68:2 (“salua” vs “saluum”; Bosham’s “usque”); 73:1; 78:1;

1190s, Herbert also authored his own literal commentary on the Psalms, in which he chose to comment on *He*, the text of which he himself revised. The only surviving copy – written during the first half of the thirteenth century and belonging to St Paul’s Cathedral, London, by bequest of its dean, Henry of Cornhill (d. 1254) – offers *He* in full, but not *Ga*.³⁴

If the Eadwine Psalter or Herbert’s edition of the *Magna glosatura* had inspired the solution applied in the earliest exemplar(s) of Trevet’s *Expositio*, that would presume their consultation by Trevet, John of Bristol or other parties involved in the project. Trevet’s connection to Canterbury would only be established a few years later through Hugh of Angoulême, archdeacon of Canterbury and dedicatee of Trevet’s universal Latin chronicle (1326–1328). A Dominican connection, however, already existed through Archbishop Robert Kilwardby OP (1272–1278), dead for many years by the time Trevet was completing his commentary, but whose former member of household, Henry of Eastry, was serving as prior of Christ Church (1285–1331).³⁵ Moreover, there is evidence that in Trevet’s times readers from outside the priory could gain access to the library and sometimes even borrow books. The *Registrum Anglie*, a union catalogue of select authors from certain English libraries, compiled by the Oxford Franciscans in the early fourteenth century, includes Christ Church as the first house in the survey and reports as many as 356 titles from the cathedral’s collection.³⁶ A list of

82:19 (“cognoscant” vs “scient”); 85:1; 88:53 (“eternum” vs “sempiternum”); 99:5; 116:1; 117:1; 117:29; 132:3 (“seculum” vs “eternum”); 144:1; 145:2; 145:10 (“seculum” and “secula” vs “eternum”).

³⁴ B. SMALLEY, “A commentary on the *Hebraica* by Herbert of Bosham”, *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), pp. 29–65; DE VISSCHER, *Reading the Rabbis*, pp. 2–3, 20–21, 203–05 (reproduction of selected fragments of the unique copy, London St Paul’s Cathedral Library, MS 2), and passim; M. STAUNTON, “An introduction to Herbert of Bosham”, in *Herbert of Bosham*, pp. 1–28, at 22–26. Trevet’s discussion in the dedicatory letter of previous exegesis and his objectives (see above, Chapter 1, pp. 43–44, and Appendix C) leads me to believe that he was unaware of Bosham’s precedent. However, only a study of Trevet’s sources would provide sufficient grounds for testing the possibility that it was otherwise.

³⁵ M. E. MATE, “Eastry, Henry (d. 1331)”, in *ODNB* (published in print and online 23 September 2004, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/37531>).

³⁶ *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. by R. A. B. MYNORS, M. A. ROUSE, R. H. ROUSE, London, 1991 (CBMLC, 2), pp. 247–49.

books missing from the library of Christ Church in 1337 includes those in the hands of “seculares”.³⁷

Another multiple psalter, Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 18, was produced in the third quarter of the twelfth century and given to Lincoln cathedral by Archdeacon David (d. 1177). The manuscript contains the text of all three Latin translations of the Psalter together with Lombard’s *Magna glosatura*.³⁸ The two-column layout applied at the beginning (later it changes twice), in which the commentary is suspended to accommodate the three versions of individual psalm verses, written in bigger script on every second ruled line and displayed in three narrow columns, is the closest to the layout devised for Trevet’s *Expositio* and the two Latin Psalters in M.³⁹ In the absence of a freely accessible reproduction or any previous scholarship on the Lincoln Psalter, it is not possible to compare the texts of *He*.

The last example is the three-volume set, Durham Cathedral Library, A. II. 11–13, which transmits the Latin Psalter (according to *Ga*) together with a French prose commentary, based on *Media glosatura*. The commentary was composed on the continent, in the 1160s, for Laurette d’Alsace, daughter of Thierry, count of Flanders, on the occasion of her retirement to the monastery of Forest-lez-Bruxelles. Its only complete extant witness was produced at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Whether of French or English origin, the manuscripts’ pres-

³⁷ M. R. JAMES, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 148–49. On Christ Church in a broader context of the accessibility of libraries in the late Middle Ages, see M.-H. JULLIEN DE POMMEROL, “Le prêt des livres à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIIIe–XVe siècles)”, in *Du copiste au collectionneur: Mélanges d’histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l’honneur d’André Vernet*, ed. by D. NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, J.-F. GENEST, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 339–74, at 357–58.

³⁸ Description in R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 15. It is listed as David’s gift in the old catalogue of the cathedral library, datable to 1167 × 1169 (J. M. W. WILLOUGHBY and N. RAMSAY, *The Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals of England and Wales*, London, forthcoming in 2024 (CBMLC, 17), SC62. 82; I am grateful to the authors for the opportunity to consult their work before publication).

³⁹ On the layout and its variations see M. GIBSON, “The Latin apparatus”, in *The Eadwine Psalter*, pp. 108–22, at 114; cf. the reproduction of a fragment of fol. 45^v in THOMSON, *Catalogue*, pl. 48.

ence at Durham is attested from the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ Many of the Latin verses have also been provided with a French translation. Within a two-column layout the Latin Psalter is always written at larger size, while the vernacular translation, when present, is at the same size as the commentary. Besides that constant feature, the Durham manuscripts present different patterns of displaying the two versions of the Psalter. The French verse, distinguished by a pen-flourished initial, and sometimes by an *a linea*, often precedes the Latin verse, which in its turn is followed by the commentary.⁴¹ Less frequently it follows the Latin verse. In that case the vernacular translation, still beginning with a pen-flourished letter, is only vaguely distinguished from the subsequent commentary, which begins with a majuscule, in the same ink as the rest of the text, often touched with yellow.⁴² The third volume (A. II. 13) brings yet another variation. From Ps. 109:1 (“Donec ponam ...”, fol. 100th), the Latin verse occupies only the left-hand part of a column (with a few exceptions when it runs across the whole width of a column, as before), with the beginning of the commentary on the right. When from Ps. 135:2 (fol. 213th) onwards the French translations are re-introduced for almost every Latin verse, they are copied at the head of the commentary and therefore mirror the Latin source, tending to begin on the same ruled line as the Latin verse (see Ps. 135:9, fol. 214^{vb}).

⁴⁰ On the commentary, see the entry in *Anglo-Norman Literature. A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, by R. J. DEAN, with the collaboration of M. B. M. BOUTON, London, 1999, Nos. 451–52, pp. 245–46, and a more recent contribution by G. RECTOR, “The Romanz Psalter in England and Northern France in the twelfth century: production, *mise-en-page*, and circulation”, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 13 (2010), pp. 1–38, at 16–21. Detailed descriptions of the three manuscripts, prepared by R. Gameson, are available in the online catalogue of the Special Collections of Durham University, respectively: http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark:/32150_s1j3860701t.xml, http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark:/32150_s1n0646105.xml;query=laurette#1, http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark:/32150_s1z40ks90r.xml;query=laurette#1. Full digital reproductions are offered by the Durham Priority Library Recreated website, respectively: <https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t2mdj52w4777>, <https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t2m4f16c2893>, and <https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1m1831ck196>.

⁴¹ See MSS A. II. 11, fols 8th–73th (Pss. 3:7–25:12), 75th–76th (Ps. 26:7–14), and 116^{va} (Ps. 40:1); A. II. 12, fol. 15th (Ps. 54:10) and 56^{ra-va} (Ps. 59:6–9).

⁴² See MS A. II. 12, fols 12^{vb}–13^{va} (Ps. 54:4–7), 14^{vb} (Ps. 54:9), 15^{vb} (Ps. 54:11), and 18^{va} (Ps. 54:17–18).

Except for the weaker caesura between the vernacular verse and the subsequent commentary, the latter beginning with a yellow-touched majuscule, the layout is essentially the same as that adopted in M from Ps. 49:14–15 onwards.

The Psalter manuscripts, briefly discussed here, show that whoever was responsible for the design of the lost exemplar of Trevet's *Expositio* (α) at the turn of the second and third decade of the fourteenth century could have been aware of several not so remote experiments in laying out other versions of the Psalter, Latin and vernacular, and its commentaries. Trevet's role in combining *He* and *Ga* remains uncertain. The question of whether the *Expositio* was published together with *He* will be discussed in greater detail below, once the remainder of the early manuscript tradition has been discussed. At this point it is enough to emphasize the consequences for the chronology of the publication. The history of this family, as reconstructed above, leads to the conclusion that Trevet's *Expositio* must have been completed and presented to Prior Provincial John of Bristol, elected on 15 August 1317, sufficiently early that a copy (α) that included two versions of the Latin Psalter be made (most probably in England) and become the exemplar of two other copies, β and M, the latter produced probably in Paris and finished before 10 April 1322 at the latest.

GHBR

The errors shared by MANC, which have led me to propose a hyparchetype (α), provide a contrast with the pristine text in GHBR. In only a few instances, in the parts chosen for collation, do MANC have readings superior to those transmitted by GHBR.⁴³ These few errors are

⁴³ The missing verb ("est") in Ps. 117:1 and the missing subject ("psalmista") in Ps. 144:1 and 145:2 could be authorial errors emended by the copyist of α . "Interpolato" or "interpollato" instead of "interpellato" (in opposition to "continuo" and referring to the ways of playing winds, Ps. 150:5) would rather be a scribal error, but not necessarily conjunctive. The word could be contracted in Trevet's original and read correctly by the scribe of α (as reflected in M and O), while misread as "interpellatio" by the scribe of β , and as "interpolato" independently by the scribes of G, H, and as "interpollato" by the copyist of the hyparchetype of BR. The plural "mala" in the lemma of Ps. 70:24 in GBR (H omits a part of it), instead of the singular "malum" of MANC, which is the reading of *He*, could be explained by the self-imposition of the reading proper to *Ga*.

not significant enough to permit GHBR to be assigned to a distinct family. More telling is a large group of readings which separate MANC and GHBR but escape a clear-cut distinction between errors and good readings. Some of them are equivalent, or so it would seem at the current state of knowledge.⁴⁴ This is the case with transpositions (Pss. 75:2, 124:titulus, 150:4) or a change in voice (Ps. 128:8).⁴⁵ When judgement is possible, the readings of GHBR are preferable. To cite one example, in the commentary on Ps. 1:1 (n) the lemma in MANC reads “in cathedra derisorum” (“in” being omitted in AN), while GHBR have “in sede derisorum”. The reading “cathedra” is that of both *He* and *Ga* and is provided in the *textus* in M and GHBR. However, immediately after the lemma Trevet explains: “uocabulum hebraicum *mosab* magis sedem quam cathedram [...] significat” (*codd.*) and provides scriptural examples for both translations (section o). Finally, towards the end of the commentary on verse 1 (r), Trevet repeats the same lemma, which reads “sede” in all the manuscripts. The reading “cathedra” in the first instance is acceptable so far as it agrees with the standard Latin trans-

⁴⁴ By “equivalent variant readings” I refer to what in Italian is called “varianti adiafore”, viz. readings that convey equally acceptable sense. The recent *Handbook of Stemmatology. History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*, ed. by P. ROELLI, Berlin-Boston, 2020, p. 594, proposes “(stemmatically) undecidable (variant)” as the English counterpart term. Previously Sten Eklund coined the term “latent error” for an acceptable reading (other than author’s variant) which is none the less proved to be an error by a *stemma codicum* established by means of manifest errors (introduced in S. EKLUND, “On errors and contamination”, *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala. Årsbok* (1975–1976), pp. 73–83, at 73–74; developed in IDEM, “The traditional or the stemmatic editorial technique?”, *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala. Årsbok* (1987–1988), pp. 33–49, quoted from reprint in *Eranos. Acta Philologica Suecana*, 104 (2006–2007), pp. 5–18.

⁴⁵ In the same passage of Ps. 128:8 the explanation of litotes as “id est diminutio grauis”, provided in MANCO alone, could be judged superfluous, as offered many times before. I should also consider equivalent the variant readings in: Ep. Hier. 5 (“uacuat” vs “euacuat”); Pss.: 2:2 (passage beginning with “conspiracionem”); 2:12 (change into the perfect tense in “seruierunt” and “inceptit”); 55:2; 66:8; 75:2, 80:titulus; 95:13; 99:2 (cf. 97:1); 106:1; 110:1; 115 [= 116:19] (“Jerusalem” alone respects the reading of the *textus*, while the adding of the interjection “o” before it better suits the syntax of the commentary); 132:3 (“autem”); 136:1 (“deducti” vs “ducti”); 150:1–2 (“tabernaculo” with or without preposition “in”); and 150:3 (“patet”); cf. 150:3 (“ab inferiori” instead of “a parte inferiori”, transmitted in M but omitted in ANC and O; the spelling “ab” would suggest that the elimination of “parte” was deliberate).

lation in *He* and *Ga* alike, which is also transmitted by the *textus*, when copied in full; whereas the reading “sede” anticipates the argument developed immediately afterwards and is the one which Trevet eventually opted for.⁴⁶ The former reading could be explained as an innovation of α , the scribe of which must have been familiar with the common translation. (However, the person was attentive enough to reproduce “derisorum”, which is the reading of *He*, instead of replacing it with “pestilentie” of *Ga*). Alternatively, and more probably, it was the author’s original intention to offer first the standard reading “cathedra”, before introducing another, more accurate rendering. This sort of variance invites the proposition that GHBR transmit the text of the *Expositio* as revised by the author after its first publication (α). A closer inspection of the individual manuscripts of the group will help us to evaluate this hypothesis.

Each of the four copies has individual errors, many of which would have been difficult to emend *ope ingenii*.⁴⁷ This suggests that none of them derived directly from another. At the same time, B and R share a fair number of errors. Among the most significant is a complex anomaly in the commentary on Ps. 2. To begin with B (fol. 5^{ra-b}), in the part

⁴⁶ See also: Prol. 2; Ep. Hier.: 6, 8 (“hic”); 14; Pss.: 1:3 (“desiderabant” instead of “considerabant”); 2:9; 40:2; 47:15 (addition of “Christus” in the lemma resonates with the Christological interpretation developed in the last section); 70:24 (“addictos” of GB, corrupted in HR, offers better sense than “adductos” of MANC); 72:28 (G, a reviser of B and, less consistently, H, modify the lemma as “enarrem” < “narrem”; the passage is missing in R); 89.titulus (“iste”); 105.titulus (“in” of MANC is superfluous); 121.titulus; 147 [= 146:12] (“incipit” of MANC is superfluous); cf. Ps. 101:2, where qualifier “suam” is only given by GH; if this is the original reading, it must have been omitted independently by the scribes of α and the hyparchetype of BR; it could also be an amendment, lost in BR. (On the relation between B and R see below.)

⁴⁷ Errors proper to G: Ep. ded. 2; Ep. Hier. 8; Pss.: 1:1 (h, o); 2:4; 2:12; 28:1; 69:2; 90:2; 91:16; 95:13; 109 (two errors in the section dedicated to “deliramenta iudaica”); 116:1; 125:4; 135:1; 136:5; 147 [= 146:20]. Errors proper to H: Ep. ded. 14; Prol.: 13; 37; Ep. Hier. 9 (three); 14; Pss.: 1:1 (l); 1:3; 2:1; 2:6; 2:9 (two); 2:12 (three omissions and misreading “mendicante”); 6:titulus; 23:10; 38:2 (two omissions and a misreading); 39:2; 50:7; 54:2; 70:24 (omission); 71:20; 73:1; 77:titulus; 78:1; 80:17; 95:13; 103:35; 125:1; 125:4; 128:8; 132:3 (two omissions and two misreadings); 150:4 (two misreadings and an omission); 150:5 (“intensione”). Errors proper to B: Ep. ded. 11; Prol.: 22; 42; Ep. Hier.: 4 (two); 5; 7 (an omission); 15; Pss.: 1:1 (e; f–g: spelling “asserere”; k, l); 1:3;

under consideration the copy orders the sections in the following sequence: the commentary on verse 4; psalm-verse 6 (“Ego autem orditus sum regem meum super Sion montem santum [*sic, wanting a minim at the end*] eius”); the initial part of the commentary on verse 5: “Ostendit iam deus [...] regem constituit”, and the latter part of the commentary on verse 6: “secundo qua potestate [...] ego orditus sum regem”. The psalm-verse 5 (“Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua et in furore suo conturbabit eos”) together with the entire commentary on that verse: “Ostendit iam deus [...] ira pro vindicta”, has been added by the same scribe in the lower margin on fol. 5^r, immediately below col. b. Turning to R (fol. 4^{ra-b}), the commentary on verse 4 is followed by the psalm-verse 5 and the entire commentary on that verse; then we read the psalm-verse 6 followed by the initial part of the commentary on verse 5: “Ostendit iam deus [...] regem constituit”, and the latter part of the commentary on verse 6: “secundo qua potestate [...] ego orditus sum regem”. In this threefold cluster of errors, the omission of psalm-verse 5 only occurred in B and can be explained by *homoioteleuton*: psalm-verse 4 (occupying here the left-hand part of the last three lines of col. a) and the initially skipped psalm-verse 5 both end with “eos”, which in both cases is preceded by a verb in the future tense ending in “-bit”. (This kind of error would have occurred more easily if in B’s model the two verses had been displayed in one block – which, it must be admitted, is not the case in any extant copy transmitting the *textus*.) The omission was repaired by the same scribe but probably only after the latter part of the commentary on verse 6 had been copied. In fact, not only did the copyist restore in the margin the omitted verse 5 but also reproduced the entire commentary on that verse. As a consequence, the initial part of the commentary on verse 5 (“Ostendit iam deus [. .] regem constituit”) is eventually copied twice. This restoration allows us to deduce that the entire fragment, viz. verse 5 and respective commentary, must have been present in B’s model. This apparently insignificant error in B would have created conditions for the second anomaly to occur, viz.

1:4; 1:6; 73:1 (spelling “Nabogodonasor” and an omission); 103:35; 118:176; 125:1; 125:4; 134:titulus; 150:1–2 (two). Errors proper of R: Ep. ded.: 6 (two omissions); 14; Prol.: 12; 22; 37; Ep. Hier.: 2; 5; 7 (two omissions); 8; 13 (“statum”); 14; Pss.: 11 (b, h, l, n: two); 1:2; 1:3 (four omissions); 2:1 (an omission); 2:7 (an omission); 2:9 (an omission); 2:11; 21:32; 54:24; 55:13; 78:1; 89:17; 118:176 (four omissions); 126:5; 128:8 (an omission); 139:14; 150:1–2 (two omissions).

the alignment of psalm-verse 6 and the beginning of the commentary on psalm-verse 5. (As a consequence, the text of the *Expositio* continues without any lacuna but in disharmony with the *textus*.) The same misplacement is therefore unlikely to have occurred in R independently (here verse 6 is followed by the commentary on verse 5). Moreover, in the opening of the commentary on verse 5 (when copied in the vicinity of verse 6 and when copied in full in association with verse 5), both B and R anticipated the reading “deus”, which belongs to the following period. The third major error, viz. the omission of the latter part of the commentary on verse 5 and the beginning of the commentary on verse 6 is also shared by B and R. Although it would have been facilitated by *homoiooteleuton* (the omitted part of the commentary on verse 6 ends with “regem constituit”), such a long omission (the missing fragment occupies nineteen lines in H, fol. 6^{va-b}, and fifteen in G, fol. 6^{vb}–7^{ra}) in an ill-placed portion of the commentary has a conjunctive value.

As already suggested, peculiar errors of each copy of the discussed group make unlikely direct filiation. Looking more closely at our pair of witnesses, R could not be a model for B. In addition to many of R’s omissions in the passages where B has a complete or near-complete text,⁴⁸ it is also the case that R was copied on the continent, probably sometime after B, which is of English origin. Finally, the alternation of individual psalm-verses and respective commentaries within the column in R does not help to explain the omission of psalm-verse 5 by *homoiooteleuton*. Giving precedence to B and taking R as its *descriptus* seems a reasonable interpretation.⁴⁹ R would have integrated the marginal addition of B (psalm-verse 5 and the commentary) into the main text in the right place and would have followed the model in reproducing after psalm-verse 6 the beginning of the commentary on verse 5

⁴⁸ See Ep. Hier. 2, 7, 14; Pss.: 1:3; 2:1; 2:7; 2:9; 21:32; 54:24; 55:13; 78:1; 89:17; 118:176; 126:5; 128:8; 139:14; 150:1-2.

⁴⁹ Such filiation would help explain certain errors of R. For instance, at Ps. 72:28 in B a revisor restored the adjective “tuas” (missing in both B and R) writing it below the line in blank space following the last word of this section, “operationes” (a hair-line links it to “annuntiationes” in the line above). In R alone “tuas” appears after “operationes”. However, if R had had the revised B as its model, it comes as a surprise not to see in R certain other corrections of B². This is the case for the passage, in the same section, missing in BR and restored by B².

fused with the rest of the commentary on verse 6.⁵⁰ However, R does not present many other errors of B (sometimes R has its own errors in the same *loci*). Several of the errors of B are of such a nature as to have been restored in R *ope textus*, which is the case with the errors in the lemmata (see e.g. Pss. 2:9 and 70:24), or *ope ingenii* (see e.g. Ps. 103:35 and the restoration of “in terram” in Ps. 125:1). There are, however, other errors which could not have been emended without advanced scriptural learning or recourse to a better copy.⁵¹ Therefore, at the current state of collation, I ascribe the anomalies encountered in the discussed *locus* in B and/or R to their common ancestor (γ). In that lost *codex interpositus*, psalm-verse 5 would have been first omitted, which led the copyist to the improper association of psalm-verse 6 with the commentary on verse 5, the latter immediately fused with the commentary on verse 6, by virtue of *homoioteleuton*. Subsequently psalm-verse 5 with its respective commentary would have been restored in the margin. The copyist of B would have reproduced its location in the margin, while a tie-mark would have helped the scribe of R to integrate the same portion in the main text at the right place. If this explanation holds, numerous other errors shared by B and R should be ascribed to γ .⁵²

The textual affinities between γ and H are more complex. The three copies share a number of errors. Omission of a passage in Ps. 2:12, which is explicable by *homoioteleuton*, or a few erroneous readings apparently

⁵⁰ Ascribing that last error (*saut du même au même* within the commentary on verses 5 and 6) to the scribe of B would find support in a possible break in the copying shown by a change of shading (the result of recutting of the nib) between “regem constituit” and “secundo qua”.

⁵¹ See Prol. 42; Ep. Hier.: 4, 8 (“posuit”); 15; Pss. 73:1 (the omission of “principem”); 76:2; 125:4. For B’s errors in the *textus*, see below, n. 80.

⁵² See for instance: Ep. ded.: 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 10; 11; 13; 14; Prol.: rubric; 4; 14; 19; 24; 25; 27; 31; 33; 39; Ep. Hier.: 1; 4 (“testamentum” and confusion between the commentary and the *textus*); 6 (“galiato” and “saliaco”); 7; 9 (two); 13 (omission and misreadings); Pss.: 1:1 (a, and independently in AN or β ; b: two; e, j, m, n, q); 1:3 (two omissions); 1:4; 1:5 (omission; “prior ne”, “fari”, “eleuari”); 2:1 (two omissions); 2:2; 2:4; 2:5; 2:6; 2:7 (three); 2:9; 2:11; 2:12 (three); 4:2; 8:2; 11:9; 14:5; 21:2; 33:2; 38:2; 51:11; 55:13 (beginning of the Christological section); 56:12; 57:12; 72:titulus; 73:1 (spelling “Nabuzar”); 78:1; 79:2; 121:1; 132:3; 143:1 (similar misspellings of the name of Goliath); 147 [= 146:20]; 150:3.

occasioned by abbreviations in the model(s),⁵³ could have been made independently by the copyists of H and γ . Omissions of single words or figures are likewise not compelling.⁵⁴ A few others, instead, might be conjunctive.⁵⁵ I am reluctant to add yet another lost *interpositus*, but the possibility of a common hyparchetype of γ and H should be taken into consideration in future research. For the purpose of the present study, it is important to observe that, beside a few good readings transmitted in HBR alone,⁵⁶ the three manuscripts also agree in a number of apparently equivalent variant readings,⁵⁷ some of which seem to of-

⁵³ See ProL.: 10; 23 (“vno” instead of “numero”, the latter being abbreviated “nuo” in MANCG); Pss.: 1:11 (change of number and voice, perhaps due to misinterpretation of abbreviations); 1:5 (“iusti” instead of “multi”, the latter being elsewhere abbreviated “mlti”); and 61:13 (“formam” instead of “famam”, the latter could have been abbreviated as f^m , in the extant manuscripts it is written in full or the final nasal is abbreviated). See also the commentary on the title of Ps. 41, where HB read “habentem”, in either case contracted, in place of “autem”, a misreading possibly explainable with a high two-compartment “a” typical for Anglicana (R omitted the word entirely).

⁵⁴ See ProL. 11; 14; Ep. Hier. 4; 8 (“uel decipere” is also missing in C and O); 9; 15; Pss.: 1:1 (d, also in MO); 1:3 (“erat”); 2:10; 2:12 (“ei”); 13:1; 49:1; 55:13 (in both parts); 136:9. Cf. Ep. Hier. 5 (“respondit” may have been produced independently and conditioned by the third-person verb which introduced the quotation); 1:5 (change of voice: “suscitabunt”); 12:6 (a possible confusion between two versions of the lemma); 28:titulus (error in numbering).

⁵⁵ Such as: “illud” instead of “illam” in reference to “translacionem” in Ep. Hier. 11 (the change of gender may have been solicited by the clause following immediately after the pronoun and beginning with “quod est”); “erat” in Ps. 1:6; the omission in Ps. 81:8; anticipation of the name of Antioch in Ps. 145:10; or under-numbering of the titles having “David” in the commentaries on the titles of Pss. 23–27.

⁵⁶ See: Ep. Hier. 2 (an error relatively easy to amend); 5 (“omnino” of all manuscripts but HBR is a polar error, perhaps conditioned by abbreviation); Pss.: 2:1 (an error easy to amend); 43:2; 61:titulus; 77:72.

⁵⁷ See: ProL. 26; Ep. Hier.: 1 (“instancia” of MGANCO is used in all manuscripts when referring to Sophronius’s request in the commentary on Ep. Hier. 9; thus “petitio” of HBR at the beginning of the commentary on Jerome’s letter brings some *variatio*); 1 (“inponi”); 6 (transposition of “continentur”); 11 (the adverb “hic”, often used at the beginning of a commentary on a new section, is skipped here in HBR, without any damage to the period, indeed rather improving its fluency); in the same Ep. Hier. transposition of usual elements at the beginning of sections 5, 6, 9, 10, and 14 (cf. 2, 7, and 13); Pss.: 2:6 (variance between “potencia” and “potestate” could be

fer better sense than is given by other manuscripts.⁵⁸ There are other cases of textual variance which would be best explained as being the result of authorial revision. Phrases in Psalms 1:1 (n) and 29:2, which are only found in HBR, can hardly be mere scribal additions, neither is it likely that the copyists of *α* and G would have omitted them independently of each other. These would rather be authorial additions intended to better elucidate the *textus*.⁵⁹ While these two interventions concern the content of the *Expositio*, another one, in Ps. 1:3, modified the syntax. The conjunction “quia”, which in HBR replaced the locution “et nota quod” at the head of the following pair of paratactic clauses, “ante passionem Christi ianua celi aperta non [non *om. B*] fuit sed omnes [...] ad limbum patrum descendebant”, establishes a hypotactic relation between those two and the subsequent clause, “ideo ad consolationem aliqualem illius solebat [debeat *B*, debebat *R*] deus patres sub lege promissione et collatione [collocacione *H*] temporalium bonorum ad uirtutem et bonos mores excitare”, which became the main clause.⁶⁰

conditioned by abbreviations, *nota bene* at the beginning of Ps. 2:7 all manuscripts use “potestas” in the same context); 2:7 (“auctoritatem psalmi” is more explicit); 2:11 (as elsewhere in the commentary on Ps. 2, Trevet numbers the verses of that psalm as if it were a part of Ps. 1, so specifying “post principium” would be superfluous); 30:2; 93:1 (“ubi” provides the period with conjunction and perhaps should be considered a better reading).

⁵⁸ See: Ep. Hier.: 1 (the plup. sub. “transtulisset” is more coherent); Pss.: 1:1 (p, “consilio” resonates with the psalm); 1:5 (“sibi simili” resonates with the citation from Ecclesiasticus 30 (4), which opens the period).

⁵⁹ The phrase “loquens de se tanquam de alio”, which in the commentary on Ps. 1:1 (n) refers to David, finds a counterpart in the closing words of the commentary on Ps. 49:23, referring to God: “et loquitur hic deus de se tanquam de alio” (*codd.*). The subordinate clause “qui editus est in persona populi” (Ps. 29:2) resonates with similar claims that all the copies of the *Expositio* make about Pss. 9 (“composuit Dauid in persona populi Israel”, 9:2), 30 (2), 122 (1), 123 (“loquitur autem hic propheta in persona eorum qui ...”, 123:1, “in persona” *om. ANC, in marg. scr. AR*), or 136:5 (“ex persona captiuorum alloquitur Jerusalem”).

⁶⁰ See other possible authorial variant readings in Prol. 24 (addition of an adverb “ibi” in HR, which would refer to Aristotle’s *De caelo et mundo*, mentioned just before; B has “ita”, which probably is a misreading of “ibi”); Pss.: 2:9 (indicative perfect changed into gerund), 55:13 (alternation of the lemma, in conclusion of the final section providing Christological interpretation of the psalm), and Ps. 57:12 (“alterius cui”).

Also two *loci* in Pss. 35:2 and 77:72, modified in BR and omitted in H, could be indicative of revision.⁶¹ There are still other equivalent or better variant readings which occur in BR alone.⁶²

All these variants seem to suggest that the ultimate model of GHBR was an evolving archetype, or the author's copy at various stages of revision (ω).⁶³ Does γ represent the most advanced phase of that process? Such a gradual revision might be suggested by the evolution of the ending of the *Expositio* (Ps. 150:6). In the last period Trevet defines the final "Alleluia" as "nota eximie leticie" — an expression of enormous joy — "que sic inchoata" — which being started in this way (according to MANCO) — or "que hic inchoata" — which being started here (according to GH) — or "que hic iniciata" — which being started, or introduced here (according to BR) — "perficietur in patria claritatis eterne", will be accomplished in the homeland of everlasting brightness. The reference to paradise is more coherent, if the great joy uttered in *Halleluiah* begins in this world, for which reason "hic" appears to be a better reading. The verbs "inchoo" and "initio" may have been used as synonyms, meaning "to begin". The latter, however, can also mean "to initiate into" (especially into the sacraments) or "to prefigure". It is not possible to translate our participle as "the initiated" (it should rather be the faithful who are initiated into that joy). However, a religious connotation may have suited Trevet's description of the joy that

⁶¹ In Ps. 35:2 BR replace "homines" with "Hebreos", while H leaves blank space. In Ps 77:72 the alternative translation of "prudencia", missing in H, in BR is introduced in the middle of the lemma, while in the other manuscripts it appears in the end of the commentary on that psalm, twenty-one words away.

⁶² See: Prol. 29; Ep. Hier. 6 ("sentenciam"); Pss.: 1:1f (the singular forms "patebit" in BR and "expositio" in R could witness to hesitation between equivalent variant readings); 1:1i ("illis", which is missing in BR, may have been eliminated as superfluous); 1:10 ("propriates"); 1:5 (modification of the passage beginning "ideo qui filios"); 2:1 (transposition); 2:11 ("seruiciis" instead of "cerimoniis"). One could also ask whether in Ps. 2:11 the apparently corrupted form "percipuend." in B does not reflect the gerund expression "a precipuendo", an alternative nominal construction to "a precipitio". Finally, R is the only witness to correctly transmit the name of torrent Arnon in Ps. 125:4.

⁶³ On the problems of identification of authorial variant readings, see G. ORLANDI, "Pluralità di redazioni e testo critico", in his, *Scritti di filologia mediolatina*, ed. by P. CHIESA et al., Florence, 2008, pp. 27–61 (study originally published in 1994).

is anticipated in the earthly life and only to be fulfilled in the eternal.⁶⁴ The prospect of several stages of revision carried out over time and reflected in G, H and γ is, however, weakened by equivalent or even better readings transmitted in H⁶⁵ or G alone.⁶⁶ G is also the only early manuscript (except the derivative OC^{AB}) to transmit in rather sensitive places three meaningful readings, which are absent from the rest of the early tradition. Two occur in the dedicatory letter: “tantum litteram” (12), without which the period and thus the statement about the commentary tradition prior to Trevet is garbled; and “iudaica” as the qualifier of “deliramenta” (13), without which the place of Jewish interpretations in Trevet’s *Expositio* would have remained unexpressed.⁶⁷ Another such reading is “Dauid” in the Prologue (3), the subject of the clause.⁶⁸

The distribution of apparent authorial emendations in the group GHBR does not permit one to distinguish the stages of revision with

⁶⁴ See also the exposition of Ps. 34:27, where the lemma “et dicant semper magnificentur” is explained in BR “id est magnus et honorabilis habeatur”. The reading “et honorabilis” is only provided by BR but the blank space left in G after “magnus” suggests that the reading (abbreviated or in the form of an addition) was present in its model.

⁶⁵ See Prol. 39 (H adds the number of the psalm referred to as 138, which, however, is 137 in the numeration of *Ga* followed by Trevet; a certain instability of the passage in the overall tradition might suggest repeated interventions); Ep. Hier. 14 (the superlative “doctissimis” has precedents in the same section); and Ps. 72:titulus (the change of the order of the periods does not affect the meaning). Cf. Prol. 25, where H (together with O) has a better reading, “quibus”, which, however, could also be a correction *ope ingenii*; Ep. Hier. 8, where H alone provides “pene” in the lemma; Ps. 56:12, where H is the only witness to offer a good reading (“optacionem”); and Ps. 118:175, where H is the only copy to include the exposition of that verse (this variance should be read together with the respective *textus*, on which see below).

⁶⁶ See Ep. Hier. 11 (change of tense); Pss.: 1:1e (“in laude” instead of “a laude”), 2:9 (“uocantur” instead of “appellantur”), 50:14 (G provides a lemma closer to the *textus*). G is also the only copy to alternate the lemma in Ps. 91:16 (alternation which for now should be considered an error) and to provide good readings in Pss. 126:5 and 137:8.

⁶⁷ The same expression is used, this time in all the manuscripts, in the opening of a distinct, last section in the commentary on Ps. 109: “Ut autem amplius hanc ueritatem amplectamur deliramenta iudaica subiungamus, qui dicunt sic ...” (M, fol. 104^{va}; G, fol. 198^{va}).

⁶⁸ “Unde super laudes prophetarum priorum hoc adiecisse uidetur Dauid quod laudes et cantica a se edita ad modulaciones instrumentorum musicorum decantari

sufficient certainty (in the stemma below, therefore, the authorial copy undergoing the revision is statically represented as ω). It provides, however, enough evidence to argue that they derived, directly or through at least one hyparchetype (γ), from a copy of the *Expositio* that presented several strata of interventions.⁶⁹ Those corrections, most probably in the form of cancellations, erasures, interlinear and marginal additions, should be attributed to Trevet himself and dated after the first publication, which gave birth to the family α . If this proposal is valid, the expression of doubt, “forte erat”, when turning to discussion of the third difference between the instruments of *psalterium* and *viella* in Ps. 150:3, would also have been an authorial emendation, transmitted in GB and partly in H (but lost in R). In a similar way, it would have been Trevet himself who eliminated some incomplete or imprecise scriptural references, which are found in MANC but not in GHBR,⁷⁰ and who left incomplete the reference to Jerome in Ps. 132:3. This last instance is worthy of brief comment.

fecit” (G, fol. 1^{va}). See also Prol. 10 where, however, the passage is comprehensible also without the verb “fuerit”.

⁶⁹ Such an aspect of the archetype would help to explain the high number of errors in γ , including meaningless transpositions of entire passages (due to *sauts* between dense lines, see e.g. Ps. 2:2), as well as a number of omissions highlighted by “windows”, frequent in H and G (see e.g. Pss. 2:8, 109: under the heading “Deliramenta iudaica”), which may hint at difficulties in deciphering the writing in the archetype and/or uncertainties in adjudicating between alternative readings.

⁷⁰ See Pss. 50:9 and 50:10. In the latter passage, the reference to the Book of Kings has been eliminated but at the same time the quotation has been adjusted and “de(us)” or “deu(s)” of MANCO replaced by “dominus” (abbreviated “domin(us)” in GH, “d(omi)n(u)s” in B and “do(minus)” in R), the reading common to the Latin Bible in Trevet’s times. Instead, it must be by mistake that H and B omitted figure II in “Ex. II” (misread by R as “exeo”) in reference to Exodus 2 (25) in Ps. 1:6. See also Pss. 50:14 and 52:2, where other scriptural references missing the chapter number have been transmitted in all early manuscripts, followed in M (and once in G) by a window; and Ps. 113 [= 115:18], where HBR alone offer the complete quotation from Sir. 17 (26). The reference to I Regum (instead of II) in Ps. 50:10, the reading “regum” in the quotation from Prv. 21:1 (instead of “regis”; “regum” is, however, a variant found in medieval citations of that passage, as documented in the *Library of Latin Texts* of Brepolis) in Ps. 50:14, the quotation from Isaiah (29:13) mediated through Mt. 15:8 or Mc. 7:6 in Ps. 52:2, as well as the alternation of the quotation from Jeremiah 6:13 in that same psalm (“a maiore usque ad minimum”, instead of “a minore quippe usque ad maiorem”), all this suggests that Trevet sometimes quoted Scripture from memory.

Introducing the discussion on Mount Hermon, Trevet refers to an unspecified source (“Inueni scriptum a quodam quod Jeronimus”) which reports Jerome’s opinion “quod Hermon est regio Eueorum et quod inde estiuē niues Tyrum in delicias deferuntur”.⁷¹ Between the two quotations, after the name “Jeronimus”, occurs what was supposed to be a bibliographical reference, which reads “in libro locorum dicit” (MANC, also O), “in libro suo dicit” (BR), and “in libro dicit” (GH, “libro” followed by blank space). “Liber locorum” is Jerome’s *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (which is a Latin translation of Eusebius’ *Onomasticon*), where the reported opinion is found sub voce “Aermon”, among the names beginning with A, in the Book of Joshua.⁷² Although the reference is correct, the blank space left in GH (filled with the vague word “suo” in BR) could be an expression of Trevet’s uncertainty.⁷³ Indeed, immediately after the quotation the author states that despite his best efforts, he could not find that opinion in the exemplar he had at his disposal: “Diligenter autem istud quesui, sed in libro quem habui non inueni” (“autem” only appears in GHBR, which either was omitted by α , or added during the revision of the passage).⁷⁴ Trevet had already quoted Jerome’s entry on Hermon, when commenting on

⁷¹ The reading according to GBR, respectively fols 230^{va-b}, 162^{ra}, and 122^{ra}. In the other manuscripts the last part of the passage is to various extent corrupted; in “Eueorum” the consonant “u” is everywhere spelled as “u”, often verging on “n”.

⁷² See *Onomastica sacra*, ed. by P. DE LAGARDE, Göttingen, 1870, p. 90.

⁷³ Long ago Shields attributed the blank space to Trevet but he missed taking account of the fact that part of the tradition, including A and O (manuscripts he was aware of), transmit a complete reference. This is how he comments on this passage: “Thus, when he [i.e. Trevet *J. K.*] has in passing recalled a tantalizing detail about Mt. Hermon which he thinks he recalls seeing attributed to St. Jerome, he leaves a blank space, finishes the sentence, and goes off to look the matter up. He cannot find it, but rather than go to the trouble of erasing, he lets the blank stand and adds an explanation which includes another fascinating detail which he did find in the search” (SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 19; the passage is cited, with a few errors, from G, at p. 163, and in English translation at p. 18).

⁷⁴ Trevet seems quite willing to refer to textual features of the books at his disposal. In our *Expositio* these are, first of all, the copies of the Psalter. See, for instance on Ps. 15:4 (“ydola”): “uerbum hebraicum pro quo Jeronimus posuit hic ydola infra psalmo CXXXVI transtulit in dolores dicens panem dolorum [*Ps. 126:2*]; ut quidam dicunt hebreo periti; sed in libro quem ego habui non inueni omnino idem uocabulum quia ibi ponit asabim [asabini *G* but asabim or aasabim on *Ps. 126:2, fol. 226^{ra-b}*], hic ait asabotani [asabotam *G*]” (M, fol. 14^{vcd}; G, fol. 26^{vb}); or on Ps. 51:3 (see below, n. 79). However, the same practice may concern copies of the Fathers, see: “In orig-

Ps. 41:7 (“Hermoniim”, considered equivalent to “Hermon”): “Secundum Jeronimum in libro de locis qui scribit per ae diptongum Aermon est regio Eueorum quam cepit Jesus” (M, fol. 41^{ve}; G, fol. 77^{vb}). Perhaps his copy of Jerome’s work lacked the last clause of that entry: “de quo nunc aestiuae niues Tyrum ob delicias deferuntur”.⁷⁵

Another type of variance seems to support our understanding of the relations between the eight copies of the *Expositio*. Manuscripts GHBR are distinguished from MANC by the fact that the former group (and O) carry the illustrations to Ps. 150:3–5, whereas in the latter group space was left for them but the figures were not supplied. The fact that space was kept open, together with deictic expressions in the commentary as discussed in Chapter 1, confirms that the apparatus of illustrations was foreseen by Trevet. The incompleteness of family α should probably be attributed to its hyparchetype. Alternatively, the persons responsible for the production of M and β would independently have had to leave their copies unfinished in this way. The illustrations represent the same musical instruments and generally agree in their iconography (see Appendix F). In the cases where Trevet’s description is not conclusive or where medieval iconography has different variants, the essential unity among the witnesses suggests that the apparatus de-

inali Jeronimi quod ego habui, in expositione penultimi uersus huius psalmi inueni sic” (on Ps. 27:1, M, fol. 27^{ve}; G, fol. 51^{va}, followed by a citation from Jerome’s *Commentarioli in psalmos*, inc. “sciendum autem”, see ed. by G. MORIN, in S. Hieronymi presbyteri *Opera*, Pars I, *Opera exegetica*, 1, Turnhout, 1959, pp. 163–245, at 202, ll. 9–11).

⁷⁵ *Onomastica sacra*, p. 90. Among the numerous extant manuscripts of the *De situ* (see B. LAMBERT, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Saint Jérôme*, 4 vols, Steenbrugge, 1969–1972, vol. 2, No. 202, pp. 23–29), I have checked this entry only in selected copies of the so-called Durham/St-Evroutl Hieronymian collection that are available in digital reproduction: Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 2. 34, fol. 51^r; and O. 4. 7, fol. 49^{ra}; Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 322, fol. 15^{va}; Alençon, BM, 2, fol. 20^r; Oxford, Balliol College, 177, fol. 92^{vb}; Paris, BnF, lat. 17380, fol. 47^{ra}. That collection enjoyed a wide circulation in England and northern France from the eleventh century onwards; see J. BARRAU, “From Conquest to Commonwealth: cross-Channel circulation of biblical culture in the Anglo-Norman world”, in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXIX. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2016*, ed. by E. VAN HOUTS, Woodbridge, 2017, pp. 11–25. I have also consulted several other copies dating from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, of various origins: Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 5. 34, fol. 3^{ra}; BAV, Pal. lat. 185, fol. 25^r; Florence, BML, Plut. 15 dex. 11, fol. 63^{vb}; Oxford, Balliol College, 229, fol. 161^{vb};

rived from representations sketched in Trevet's personal copy. These may have been drawings made in the same ink as the text, akin to the manner in which they are found in R (**Plate 14**). Within the common iconographic types, however, the representations in individual manuscripts vary in their details, witnessing a certain freedom enjoyed by the artists responsible: representations in H are often reduced to the most essential features, while those in G (and also in O) are very elaborate and embellished. Comparison of the forms confirms a closer relation between H, B, and R (trumpet, drum) and even more so between B and R (harp, drum, bagpipes, organ) and thus proves that γ included illustrations, precisely reproduced in its two descendants.

MGHBR: THE TEXT OF THE PSALMS (TEXTUS AND LEMMATA)

Turning back to the matter of textual variance, the discussion so far has focused on the *Expositio* alone. It is time to extend the collation to include the Psalter. The assessment of variant readings in the *textus* involves some challenges. First, among the eight witnesses discussed to this point, three (ANC) do not transmit the Psalter, except for individual passages copied, as argued above, in error. Secondly, the interpretation of variance must take into account the separate status of the *textus*. On the one hand, scribes might be expected to have been more careful when copying a biblical book. On the other, they may have been more prone to err when copying well known passages from memory. Readings from *Ga*, which was far more familiar to any Christian of the fourteenth century — in the case of churchmen it would have been known by heart — might easily have been introduced into *He*, the version commented on by Trevet.

Looking first at family α , it is difficult to distinguish between errors which may already have been present in *He* in the hyparchetype of this group and individual errors of M. The errors of M-tx which also occur in M-lm⁷⁶ or in the lemmata of the remaining manuscripts of the same family (ANC) may be attributed to the hyparchetype with some degree of certainty.⁷⁷ The readings that occur in M-tx alone and which differ

Paris, BnF: lat. 1858, fol. 32^{vb}; lat. 1884, fol. 120^{va}; lat. 12160, fol. 52^{ra}; Reims, BM, 51, fol. 27^{ra}; and Toulouse, BM 157, fol. 82^{rb}. In all these copies the passage under consideration is present.

⁷⁶ The discussion of textual variance in this section by default concerns the text of the Psalter as it is copied in full in MGHBR (and O). For some passages it will be compared to the lemmata within the *Expositio*.

⁷⁷ See Ep. Hier. 11 and Ps. 62:12; cf. Pss.: 104:45 and 148:14.

from the lemmata in this and the other witnesses are more probably peculiar errors of that copy.⁷⁸ Some of those errors are explicable by confusion with *Ga*, which is provided in M in addition to *He*. Individual variant readings of M alone may also go back to Trevet's copy of the Psalter. This seems to be the case with "ad misericordiam dei" ("dei" written above the line in the same hand) in Ps. 51:3, where HBR (and O) have "misericordia dei", and G, "misericordia". The reading of M reflects the alternative translation, which is provided in the commentary and thus might have derived from Trevet's Psalter.⁷⁹

Only for GHBR, which include full copies of *He*, can the results of the collation of the commentary be compared to the *varia lectio* in the *textus*. The conclusions essentially match. GHBR share only one single evident error (Ps. 109:1), not enough on its own to suggest that these four manuscripts constitute a family deriving from a stable hyparchetype. At the same time, individual copies among GHBR present their own errors.⁸⁰ The copies of the Psalter in B and R happen to share a

⁷⁸ See Ep. Hier. 12; Pss.: 2:12; 12:6; 32:22; 44:2; 48:21 ("comparabit"); 88:53; 89:17; 90:2; 100:1; 116:2; 124:1; 125:6; 132:3 (and independently in O); 136:9 ("timebit"); 144:21; 149:9.

⁷⁹ The commentary, having discussed the lemma "potens misericordia dei tota die", continues in M, fol. 50^{rab} (integrations and variant readings of G, fol. 95^{ra}, are provided in square brackets): "Nota quod in hebreo pro dei ponitur el, quod in libris hebraicis aliquibus scribitur cum duobus punctis suppositis et sic est nomen dei. In pluribus tamen [et *add.* G] in exemplari quod [n *cancelled M*] habuimus [quod nos habemus G] scribebatur el cum tribus punctis et significat [*blank space of two or three characters in M, ad G*] et est sensus potens ad misericordiam tota die". The omission of "et" and "ad", shared with A (fol. 50^{ra}), N (fol. 39^{ra}), and C (fol. 56^{ra}), should be attributed to α and may suggest that the commentary at this point was unpolished or presented interventions in the authorial copy. In that copy the respective passage in the *textus* may have also presented corrections or alternative readings (for that reason the absence of "dei" in G may not be a mechanical omission). Cf. Ps. 38:2, where the reading "ut non peccem" of M-tx agrees with the lemma everywhere, apparently influenced by "ut non delinquam" of *Ga*, while GHBR-O-tx read "ne peccem", in accordance with *He*.

⁸⁰ See in G, Ep. Hier. 4 (spelling "Edythin"); Pss.: 20:14 (and MO); 89:17 (an error conditioned either by abbreviation or by an alternative reading present in some witnesses of *He* "stabiliri"); 94:1; 109:7. In the titulus of Ps. 59, G presents three peculiar readings, of which "uel simplicis" has the counterpart in the lemma in the commentary ("et simplicis") and thus could derive from an authorial gloss. H presents errors

number of scribal errors, leading to the conclusion that γ included *He* in an already corrupt form to some extent.⁸¹ Beside the evident errors, BR distinguish themselves by a handful of equivalent readings, in which they agree with *Ga* or particular branches of the *He* tradition.⁸² A few scribal errors shared by BR and H provide further support for the possibility of a common ancestor of those three witnesses without, however, moving it beyond the realm of hypothesis.⁸³ In a handful of *loci* the same three copies also offer equivalent or potentially superior readings. A case in point is the reading “uia” in HBR-tx (Ps. 2:12), which corresponds to the pristine *He* tradition and agrees with the lemma in all the manuscripts. Instead, the reading “uia iusta” in MG-tx, which agrees with *Ga* (“ui iuxta” in the *Ga* column in M-tx), is either an error introduced independently in those two manuscripts or inherited from Trevet’s exemplar, where it was later corrected to agree with *He*.⁸⁴

in Ep. Hier. 9, and Pss.: 11:2; 38:2; 44:2; 54:24; 87:titulus; 87:2; 116:2; 144:21. Moreover, in Ps. 7:2 the scribe first provided the reading proper to *Ga*, while in Ps. 20:14 he combined readings of both versions. B presents errors in Ep. Hier. 5 (“interfecerunt”, also in the lemma), and in Pss.: 1:3; 52:1; 54:24; 59:titulus; 61:3 (two errors); 77:1; 94:10; 143:1. R has errors in Ep. Hier.: 4 (“Eman e et Rayce”), 5 (three errors), and 14 (two errors); Pss.: 1:6; 16:1. Moreover, in Pss. 2:1 and 116:2, R introduces the readings of *Ga* (in the latter case also transmitted by certain witnesses of *He*). Other scribal errors in individual manuscripts among GHBR and in M, appear polygenetic: Ep. Hier. 14 (“oracionum”); Pss.: 49:1 (omission of “usque”); 54:24 (omission of “deus”); 61:3, 80:17 (omission of “et de petra”), and 86:1 (“fundamenta”).

⁸¹ See Ep. Hier.: 7 (“tillium”, also in the lemma) and 13; Pss.: 1:2; 1:3; 2:7 (also in the lemma); 2:12 (two omissions); 7:18; 11:2 (also in M); 13:7; 16:1; 24:22; 25:1; 34:28; 49:1 (transposition); 59:titulus (an omission); 60:2; 75:3; 78:1; 87:titulus; 118:133; 124:1; 137:8 (transposition); 146:1; and 146:11 (also in O).

⁸² See Pss.: 2:6 (also in the lemma, revised in B-lm); 3:2; 10:8; 14:5 (“super” of *Ga* and “aduersum” of *He* are juxtaposed); 15:10; 50:21; 86:1; and 90:2 (the reading of *Ga* is also provided, as an alternative, in the commentary).

⁸³ See Pss.: 16:1; 18:15; 34:28 (also in O); 67:36; 71:2; 122:4. Cf. similar errors in Ps. 59:titulus (“siluarum” and “siluiarum” for “salinarum”). The omission of “usque” in Ps. 132:3, although witnessed in the tradition of *He*, is probably an error, as the adverb occurs in the lemma in all the manuscripts.

⁸⁴ The case is similar for Pss. 4:2, 59:titulus, 103:35, and 136:1, where HBR-tx offer readings which prevail in the *He* tradition (however, in all these passages, except for Ps. 4:2, their reading differs from the lemma in the *Expositio* as transmitted in all the manuscripts). See also Ps. 1:2, where BR-tx (together with O) offer the reading of *He* “set” (instead of “et” in MGH-tx and in the lemmata everywhere) and so does H, but

The group of variant readings encountered across M and GHBR and reflecting alternative Latin translations of the Psalter seems to suggest that authorial revision, which has already been proposed in the context of the commentary, embraced the *textus* as well. This hypothesis is supported by another handful of variant readings that are shared by the *textus* and the lemmata in individual witnesses and which vary across the *Expositio* tradition. In a few cases the variants separate M(ANC) and GHBR. In Ps. 73:1, M-tx and MANC-lm use the verb “fumago” (the future tense in M-tx would be a scribal error), while GHBR in both *textus* and lemmata have “fumo” (in the past tense). The less usual form “fumigo”, while not attested for this psalm (according to the apparatus in the modern critical editions), is found in the Latin translations of Pss. 103:32 and 143:5. It is therefore probable that this variant belonged to the version commented on by Trevet (either inherited from a peculiar branch of the Latin Psalter tradition or chosen by the commentator) and later came to be abandoned in favour of the common reading. Similarly, the readings “Dominus” in Ps. 83:13 (M-tx and MANC-lm, also attested in an individual branch of *He* tradition, against “Domine” of GHBR-tx-lm) and “suos” in Ps. 136:9 (MR-tx and MANC-lm, widely attested across different versions of the Latin Psalter, against the better reading “tuos” of GHB-tx and GHBR-lm) would have been readings originally provided by the copy of *He* commented on by Trevet but later revised.⁸⁵

The distribution of variant readings sometimes is less straightforward. In Ps. 63:11 the eight manuscripts in consideration do not present the reading “exultabunt” proper to *He*. Instead, M-tx has “laudabunt”, a reading that could be explained by confusion with *Ga* as it reads in the same manuscript in the *Ga* column. (The critically established as well as received *Ga* reading is “laudabuntur”, which is also transmit-

only in the lemma quoted in Ps. 1:1m. There are some other *loci* in which HBR seem to have been influenced by *Ga*. In Ps. 7:2 the copyist of H-tx first wrote “saluum me fac”, which is the reading of *Ga*, then corrected to “salua me” (followed by “ab”) of *He*, while BR-tx read “salua me ex”, where “ex” is the reading of *Ga* (“ex” is also provided in the lemma in R). In Ps. 48:21, HRB-tx have “cum” (instead of “in” offered by MG-tx, in H-tx “in” has been expunctuated in the same ink), which may have been picked up from another branch of *He* or *Ga*. Finally, in Ps. 88:53 HRB-tx have “fiat fiat”, which is the reading of *Ga*, instead of “amen amen” offered in G-tx (and O-tx) and in the lemma in all the manuscripts under consideration.

⁸⁵ The reading “suos” in R-tx should be considered a scribal error.

ted by the Dominican Gallican Psalter.⁸⁶ However, the lemma in the commentary in M and in its relatives (ANC) reads “laudabunt eum” and so does G-tx. This was probably the original reading commented on by Trevet. It has been changed into “collaudabunt” in the *textus* of HBR and in the lemmata in GHBR.⁸⁷ Another complex case concerns Ps. 118:175. The entire verse 175 is missing from M-tx (also from the *Ga* column) and G-tx. However, it is present in R, where it is copied in one block with vv. 173–74, and in H, where it appears separately and has the ending proper to *Ga*. The verse was also added by the reviser of B. That the verse was originally missing from the Psalter commented on by Trevet is suggested by the fact that the verse is not expounded anywhere but in H. The provision of the missing verse, apparently with alternative endings, and of its respective commentary, would have belonged to later stages of the authorial revision.

The agreement, full or partial, in the variance between the *textus* and the lemmata in these last two groups of readings also leads to the conclusion that the *Expositio* was being published with the copy of *He* that was actually used as a reference version by Trevet. Furthermore, one could argue that both the Psalter (*He*) and the *Expositio* were laid out together in Trevet’s supposed personal fair copy. The layout would have followed one of the two related patterns that are attested in the early copies. Either the commentary and the *textus* would have alternated within a written column (as in G, H, R, and, partly in M), or a column of the commentary would have been indented to host subsequent psalm verses or their groups (as in B, O, and, partly, in M).⁸⁸ That personal copy, which, after the presentation of the work, underwent a certain amount of revision (ω and ω'), may be seen as the archetype of

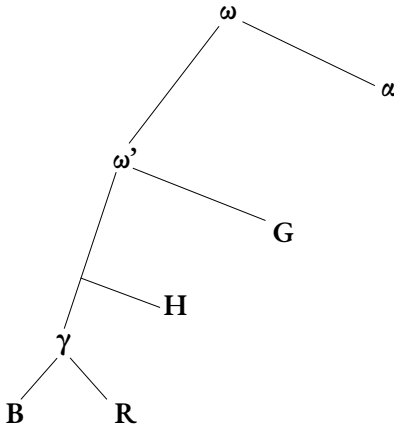
⁸⁶ Rome, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV L 1, fol. 76^b.

⁸⁷ See also Pss. 68:2 (“ad animam meam” in MG-tx and MANC-lm vs “ad animam” in BR-tx and GHBR-lm; both readings are attested in the *He* tradition); 118:132 (“aspice ad me” in M-tx vs “suspice ad me” in GHR-tx, misread as “suscipe” in B-tx, alongside a more complex variance across the lemmata); and 76:21 (“greges” in MG-tx and MANC-lm vs “gregem” in HBR-tx and HGBR-lm; both readings are attested in the *He* tradition).

⁸⁸ The former corresponds to pattern No. 8 in the classification of Gerhardt Powitz, while the latter is a variant of No. 9 in the same, corresponding to pattern C₂ as proposed by Louis Holtz, see G. POWITZ, “Textus cum commento”, *Codices manuscripti*, 5 (1979), pp. 80–89, at 82, and L. HOLTZ, “Glosse e commenti”, in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo* 1. *Il Medioevo latino*, III, *La ricezione del testo*, ed.

the entire tradition: α , G, H, γ , and, with some reservations, O, as discussed in the following chapter.⁸⁹

Figure 2. *Stemma codicum* GHBR



by G. CAVALLO, C. LEONARDI, E. MENESTÒ, Rome 1995, pp. 59–111, at 110. Both patterns, among certain others, are also found in the tradition of Trevet’s other commentaries. However, it is worth noticing that the layout of copies including the Psalter and the *Expositio* varies less than, for instance, the layout of manuscripts transmitting Boethius’s *Consolation* or Seneca the Elder’s *Controversiae* with their respective commentaries (see KUJAWIŃSKI, “Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I.”, pp. 207–08, 229–31, 236–37, and 257, n. 249). For the detailed account of the layouts and approaches to differentiation between the two components in the copies of the Psalter commentary, see the descriptions of individual manuscripts in Appendix B.

⁸⁹ As already observed by STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 32, the commentary provides almost every verse in its entirety, though split into short lemmata, and therefore — let me add — it is usable without the *textus*. In fact, whoever was responsible for β , decided to abandon the Psalter (see above). Yet, most of the early copies include the Psalter in full. Besides the convenience of having the continuous biblical text, this may be explained by Trevet’s decision to comment on the least common of the Latin versions, the only one not to be used in the liturgy, and the inclusion of *textus* may therefore reflect the author’s will. A structural feature may also indicate that the commentary was intended to be circulated together with the *textus*. The exposition on subsequent units (a verse or a group of verses) within a

This conclusion is affirmed by the general accordance between the *textus* and the lemmata where the biblical text does not vary, or varies little, in the eight copies considered thus far. Such accordance is particularly significant when it concerns structural variance,⁹⁰ or when the Psalms agree with peculiar branches of the *He* tradition, which more often is Theodulf's recension, in particular Θ^K or its marginal apparatus.⁹¹ (This affinity is worth noticing as Theodulfian *He* with hebraized glosses is attested in England from the late tenth century;⁹² the identification of Trevet's scriptural sources is beyond the scope of the present study.) Verse division in the *textus* and in the commentary also seems

given psalm usually begins with a statement in the past tense about what was said or done in the previous part of the *textus*, followed by a deictic "hic", which introduces a statement about what is done or said in the subsequent part.

⁹⁰ In Ps. 62 verses 8 and 9 are missing from the *textus* in MGHR (but were supplied by the reviser of B) and are not commented on in any of the nine early copies.

⁹¹ See Pss.: 53:9; 59:14; 65:2; 67:36; 99:4; 99:5; 116:1; 117:1; 117:29; 122:4; 140:1; 141:8; 145:2; 148:14 ("misericordibus" and "propinquo"). Cf. Pss. 80:17 ("ex adipe") or 137:1 ("psallam"), the readings of which are also found outside the Theodulfian recension; and Pss.: 15:10; 50:21; 124:1; and 149:1, where only some witnesses, either in the *textus* or in the lemmata, agree with Θ^K . There are also readings which agree with other witnesses of *He* (see Ep. Hier. 9, the omission of "non" before "possum"; 15, the verse reads as in $\Sigma^T H A^L$; Ps. 139:2, "salua") or depart from *He* (see Pss. 137:1, "coram deo"; 138:24; in Ps. 1:5 the agreement between the *textus* and the lemma, "omnes impii", is furthermore confirmed by Trevet's observation: "alia littera et hebraica ueritas non habent omnes") to sometimes include the readings of *Ga* (see Pss. 50:21; 82:19; 85:1; 139:2, "eripe"). Cf. the conclusion of Henri de Ste-Marie (*Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, p. xlv), based on Pss. 13 and 22 in B and O (it is not specified whether the collation regarded the *textus* alone or included lemmata as well), that Trevet commented on a mixed version, distinguished by preponderant influence of Θ^K and Θ^H . STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 32–34, who also observed consistency between the *textus* and the quotations in the commentary, claimed that the variant readings of *He* used in Trevet's commentary do not correspond to those of any manuscript family collated in critical editions, and he concluded that Trevet's choice was not a common one.

⁹² The text of *He* in the Eadwine Psalter is a good witness of its English circulation. Indeed, the variants shared by Trevet's Psalter and the Theodulfian recension very much overlap with those indicated above as common to the *textus* commented by Trevet and the Eadwine Psalter (see above, n. 26). On the knowledge and influence of the hebraized Theodulfian recension in England prior to Trevet's times, see S. LARRATT KEEFER, D. R. BURROWS, "Hebrew and the 'Hebraicum' in late Anglo-

to match.⁹³ The few instances of a striking disagreement in individual readings between the *textus* and the lemmata could be explained by Trevet's having consulted multiple versions and copies of the Psalter when writing his commentary.⁹⁴ Two instances of structural discrepancy require brief comment. In Ps. 87 the *Expositio* does not cover verses 18–19, neither are they referred to when divisions are introduced in previous sections of the commentary. Yet, in all witnesses among the eight under consideration that carry the full Psalter (MGHBR), verse 19 is present, while verse 18 is missing in MGH but was apparently supplied in γ (included since the beginning by R, added by a reviser in B). If one accepts that the entire tradition ultimately derives from the authorial copy, the last verse(s) of this psalm would have originally escaped Trevet's attention. Ps. 85:10 illustrates the contrary situation. The verse is missing from MGHRB (and from the *Ga*-column in M), though it was supplied by the reviser in B (its inclusion in O is due to the use of a different model, discussed here in the following chapter). However, the same verse is commented on in the exposition in all the witnesses under consideration. What is more, in the division of the psalm, the following verse (inc. "Doce me domine") is referred to as "XI".⁹⁵ Both facts corroborate the conclusion that the leading copy of the Psalter used by Trevet was complete here. The omission must have occurred very early in the tradition of *He* as the companion to the *Expositio*, probably when copying the two texts into the first fair copy, for, or by, Trevet (ω).⁹⁶

Saxon England", *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), pp. 67–80; DE VISSCHER, *Reading the Rabbis*, pp. 64–66, 77–78, 194.

⁹³ See Ps. 114, where MGHBR-O-tx present "angustiam et dolorem reperi" in one block with verse 3, in accordance with the commentary, which follows the Hebrew division (= He-ed. 116:3). In some manuscripts the *textus* also reflects the alternative division: in M the passage begins with a majuscule in red ink, in GHO it is copied *a linea* and numbered IIII or 4.

⁹⁴ See Pss. 124:1 ("quasi" vs "sicut") and 149:1; see also Ps. 14:5 ("adversum" vs "adversus"). On the use of various versions of the Psalter by Trevet, see above in the same chapter, p. 62. Cf. Andrew Hicks' remark, albeit based on other types of *textus* and commentaries (the arts), that "rarely do lemmata uniquely track a single manuscript or even a single textual tradition" (HICKS, "Reading texts within texts", p. 76).

⁹⁵ See for instance M, fol. 79^{rb}, and G, fol. 151^{vb}.

⁹⁶ This would also be the case with "Iacob" (Ps. 84:2), omitted in the *textus* in MGHBR but provided in the *lemma* in all manuscripts.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR *G*, *H*, *B*, AND *R*

The recognition of a revised text of the *Expositio* and *He* in GHBR and the attribution of at least some of the interventions to the author, who may have also provided models for the illustration of Ps. 150, receive support from the book-historical evidence. Three out of the four manuscripts are of English origin (GHB), and, what is more, G and H were copied in milieux close to Trevet. Both decoration and script suggest that G was produced in England during the third decade of the fourteenth century. In 1365 the book was bequeathed to the chapter of Exeter cathedral by John de Grandisson, bishop of Exeter between 1327 and 1369, who is usually considered this copy's commissioner. However, the presence of Trevet's *Expositio* in the post-mortem inventory of the books of his predecessor, Walter de Stapeldon (1328), naturally raises a question as to whether Stapeldon's was a different manuscript, later lost, or was in fact our G.⁹⁷ We should now consider whether Grandisson was in a position to order G to be made.

John de Grandisson may have had reasons to be interested in Trevet's work. Margaret W. Steele's claim that Grandisson had known Trevet is based on a wishful interpretation of an ambiguous note in Grandisson's hand on fol. IV^v.⁹⁸ Be that as it may, his studies at Oxford in 1306 and 1326–1327 and in Paris in 1313–1317 could well have provided occasions for the meeting in person of Grandisson and Trevet.⁹⁹ Quite apart from a possible personal acquaintance, Trevet's commentary would have appealed to Grandisson, who entertained an interest in Hebrew, as is manifested by three Hebrew books in his collection¹⁰⁰ and by some of the glosses in his hand in G (fol. 208^r). However, his incorrect identification of the version commented on by Trevet as the Septuagint (note on fol. IV^v) raises doubts about the degree of his familiarity with

⁹⁷ M. W. STEELE, "A Study of the Books owned or used by John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369)", DPhil diss., Oxford, 1994, p. 84, n. 48, was aware of the entry in Stapeldon's inventory but did not discuss the possibility of identification, and considered that G was commissioned or acquired by Grandisson (*ibid.*, pp. 15, 76; G is No. 6 in Steele's catalogue of Grandisson's books, *ibid.*, pp. 33–35).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 34, 76. For the transcription and interpretation of the note, see the description of G in Appendix B.

⁹⁹ A. ERSKINE, "Grandison, John (1292–1369)", in *ODNB* (published online 23 September 2004, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/11238>).

¹⁰⁰ STEELE, "Study of the Books", pp. 31–33.

Trevet's *Expositio*.¹⁰¹ Over the course of his lifetime, Grandisson gathered a decent collection of books, which included another of Trevet's works, the commentary on Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (now Oxford, Merton College, 256B).¹⁰² Steele, who has offered the most comprehensive discussion of the books owned or annotated by Grandisson, considered both of these manuscripts of Trevet to have been his commissions.¹⁰³ Beneficed widely in England long before becoming bishop, Grandisson had the means to acquire books during his years at the universities. A twelfth-century copy of Augustine's *Confessiones* (now London, Lambeth Palace, 203), revised by Grandisson in 1314, during his sojourn in Paris, bears witness to that effect.¹⁰⁴ It is bound with a fourteenth-century copy of the *Flores Gregorii*, being extracts from Gregory the Great's *Moralia*, also annotated by Grandisson. These two books and the thirteenth-century miscellany that is Exeter Cathedral, 3549B would be the earliest of Grandisson's surviving acquisitions. In the remainder of the books owned by Grandisson, those dating before his lifetime, and therefore acquired at second hand through purchase or donation, prevail.¹⁰⁵ The manuscripts whose production, or at least decoration, Grandisson seems to have commissioned date, however, from during his episcopate.¹⁰⁶ According to the current state of research G cannot be more recent than the late 1320s and thus the vol-

¹⁰¹ This was also found to be problematic by STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", p. 33.

¹⁰² On that manuscript see KUJAWIŃSKI, "Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I.", p. 248, n. 225.

¹⁰³ STEELE, "A Study of the Books", p. 15.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–28; see also L. OLSON, "Reading Augustine's *Confessiones* in fourteenth-century England: John de Grandisson's fashioning of text and self", *Traditio*, 52 (1997), pp. 201–57, at 208 (n. 29), 253–54, and the description available at the website of the Lambeth Palace Library: <https://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/calmview/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=MSS%2F203>.

¹⁰⁵ STEELE, "Study of the Books", pp. 21–75. Besides the two Trevet manuscripts (Nos. 6, 11), Nos. 14, 15 (?), 18–22, 28, and 30 in Steele's list date to Grandisson's lifetime. As for No. 16, given as fourteenth century by the scholar (p. 53), only the index (fols 2^r–7^r) dates to that period, while the body of the manuscript was copied during the second half of the thirteenth century (S. NISKANEN, "Introduction", in *Letters of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury: The Bec Correspondence*, ed. by S. NISKANEN, Oxford, 2019, pp. xvii–clxxiv, at lxxii).

¹⁰⁶ See Nos. 26, 32, 83–84 (STEELE, "Study of the Books", pp. 67–68, 99, 189–90).

ume was produced before or shortly after Grandisson was appointed bishop of Exeter (10 August 1327, consecrated at Avignon the same year, 18 October, enthroned in Exeter on 22 August 1328). An expensive book commission at that time hardly conforms with our knowledge of the development of his library. Ordering a copy of Trevet's commentary after taking possession of the see of Exeter and, possibly, coming across Stapeldon's books is even less likely. That G was given to him is only a theoretical possibility. Regrettably, contemporary valuations of extant copies of Trevet's *Expositio* have not survived, but the relatively high value of Stapeldon's copy of £2 would accord with the lavishly decorated and illustrated copy of the Psalter with Trevet's commentary as is found in G.¹⁰⁷ Taking all this into account, I posit that G is Stapeldon's copy, which Grandisson found and used after his arrival at Exeter. Stapeldon's ownership would then provide reason to narrow the timespan for the production of G to the period before Stapeldon's violent death on 15 October 1326.

Even if future research produces evidence for Grandisson's commissioning of G, the entry in Stapeldon's inventory suffices to show that the latter did own a copy of the commentary. Since no item in the inventory of the chapter library made in September 1327 can be identified with Trevet's commentary, the book must have belonged to the bishop's personal collection.¹⁰⁸ The possible routes by which it could have come to his knowledge and into his possession are therefore worth consideration. Older than Grandisson by a generation, Walter de Stapeldon was also an Oxford man: he held a doctorate in canon law and in 1314, already as a bishop of Exeter, founded Stapeldon Hall, the future Exeter College.¹⁰⁹ He might have become acquainted with Trevet during

¹⁰⁷ Cf. H. E. BELL, "The price of books in medieval England", *The Library*, New Series, 17 (1936), pp. 312–32, esp. 328–30.

¹⁰⁸ This inventory will soon be available in a new edition by WILLOUGHBY and RAMSAY, *Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals*, where it is labelled SC20. It was also printed in G. OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter and a History of the Cathedral*, Exeter, 1861, pp. 301–19, cf. A. M. ERSKINE, "The growth of Exeter Cathedral Library after Bishops Leofric's time", in *Leofric of Exeter. Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A.D. 1072*, ed. by F. BARLOW, K. M. DEXTER, A. M. ERSKINE, L. J. LLOYD, Exeter, 1972, pp. 43–55.

¹⁰⁹ For a concise outline of Stapeldon's biography see M. C. BUCK, "Stapeldon, Walter (*b.* in or before 1265, *d.* 1326)", in *ODNB* (published in print and online 23 September 2004, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/26296>).

his studies (magister by 1286, incepted as doctor in 1306) or when visiting his foundation in 1317 and 1318. As John Maddicott observes, Stapeldon's book collection ranged well beyond those titles that conformed with his university degree and professional interests and suggests a true interest in theology and biblical exegesis.¹¹⁰ Thus, the ownership of a recent and innovative commentary on the Psalms should not surprise. Stapeldon might also have had in mind, as the ultimate destination of this book, his foundation: among the thirteen scholars of the Hall, twelve were to study arts but its priest-chaplain was to read for a higher degree, either theology or law.

Other aspects of Stapeldon's activity may support his acquaintance with Trevet's work. During his episcopate Stapeldon became a close collaborator of King Edward II's.¹¹¹ He was sent on several diplomatic missions to the continent and in the 1320s twice served as treasurer, from February 1320 to August 1321 and from May 1322 to July 1325. He paid a high price for that service. Being associated with the king and his unpopular financial policies, and perceived to be an enemy of Queen Isabella, he was murdered by a London mob in October 1326, during the invasion of Isabella and Roger Mortimer that eventually led to the dethroning of Edward II. Stapeldon's attendance at court and his frequent presence in London during that period provide a context in which he could have consolidated his relations with Blackfriars.¹¹² The Dominican order traditionally provided confessors and diplo-

¹¹⁰ J. MADDICOTT, *Founders and Fellowship. The Early History of Exeter College Oxford, 1314–1592*, Oxford, 2014, p. 58; on the foundation, see pp. 26–62; cf. J. STRATFORD, T. WEBBER, "Bishops and kings: private book collections in medieval England", in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, 1: To 1640*, ed. by E. LEEDHAM-GREEN, T. WEBBER, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 178–217, at 188–89.

¹¹¹ The most complete account of his service to the king is found in M. BUCK, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon, Treasurer of England*, Cambridge, 1983, esp. chapters 6–10.

¹¹² Stapeldon's relations with the order had not begun well. While a canon of Exeter, Stapeldon played a leading role in the contention between the cathedral chapter and the Dominicans of the city about the burial of Sir Henry Raleigh, between 1301 and 1306. His involvement in this affair almost precluded him from incepting in civil and canon law in Oxford; see A. G. LITTLE, R. C. EASTERLING, *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter*, Exeter, 1927, pp. 40–46; cf. MADDICOTT, *Founders and Fellowship*, pp. 9–10. That dispute, however, does not seem to have had any impact

matic support to English kings and benefited from royal generosity.¹¹³ It would have been natural for intellectuals in the royal entourage to have shared their interests with each other. Stapeldon could even have met both John of Bristol, whose home convent, as prior provincial, was London, and Trevet, who by 1324 had become *lector* there. If there are sufficient reasons for the order to have communicated the recent achievements of its members to a potential patron, and motivations for the bishop of Exeter to have secured a copy of Trevet's commentary, still another circumstance may have worked towards that end. When Stapeldon reached the highest ranks in the king's service and became responsible for sorting and calendaring the Exchequer's records, Trevet was finishing his *Annales* (1320–1323) of the deeds of the Angevin kings of England down to Edward I (1272–1307). This coincidence is worth closer consideration.

In his chronicle, Trevet quoted *in extenso* a number of letters and documents of state. This characteristic, shared with several other chronicles from Angevin England, has not escaped the attention of scholarship.¹¹⁴ However, the question of how these documents might have come into Trevet's hands has never been addressed systematically. Antonia Gransden suggested that the chronicler must have obtained at least some of them "through his contacts at court" and brought forward the example of "the only copies of Boniface VIII's correspondence with Edward I and the magnates on the question of supremacy over Scotland".¹¹⁵ In a similar way, Ruth Dean believed it "not improbable that

on Stapeldon's relations with the order afterwards: when at the end of 1307 his episcopal election was challenged, the Dominican cardinal Thomas Jorz supported Stapeldon's cause, see BUCK, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, pp. 38–41.

¹¹³ The close relations between the Order of Preachers and the royal court reached its zenith precisely during Trevet's lifetime, under Kings Edward I and Edward II; see J. RÖHRKASTEN, "Dominicans in England and their relations with the Crown", in *A Companion to the English Dominican Province From Its Beginnings to the Reformation*, ed. by E. J. GIRAUD, J. C. LINDE, Leiden-Boston, 2021, pp. 33–68; cf. GELBER, "Blackfriars London".

¹¹⁴ T. HOG, "Preface", in *F. Nicolai Triveti Annales sex regum Angliae*, ed. by T. HOG, London, 1845, pp. viii–ix; DEAN, "Life and Works", pp. 259–60. On the practice of quoting documents by English history writers prior to Trevet, see M. STAUNTON, *The Historians of Angevin England*, Oxford, 2017, pp. 3–4, 55–62, 70–71, 97, 115.

¹¹⁵ A. GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, New York (NY), 1974, pp. 504–05.

his connections with the royal household and with officers of Church and Crown gave him direct access to first-hand materials”, basing this view on her first-hand researches into Trevet’s literary patrons.¹¹⁶ I shall first consider the former argument, which turns on the rarity of the documents included in the *Annales*. Full elucidation of the relation between Trevet’s copies and the tradition of individual documents is outside the scope of the present study but ought to find the place among the objectives of any new edition of the *Annales*. My intention here is to make a preliminary assessment of the range of circulation of the documents quoted by Trevet beyond the departments of the Crown or the royal household, which were designated for their preservation, viz. the Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Wardrobe. I shall limit these observations to the most conspicuous group of ten documents, which are cited in the Life of Edward I; they concern two important issues of the latter part of Edward’s reign, Anglo-Scottish relations from “the Great Cause” in 1291–1292 onwards and the internal opposition in 1297.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ R. DEAN, “Nicholas Trevet, Historian”, in *Medieval Learning and Literature. Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. ALEXANDER, M. T. GIBSON, Oxford, 1976, pp. 328–52, at 332, n. 2, and p. 333.

¹¹⁷ The most recent complete edition of the chronicle is *F. Nicholai Triveti Annales sex regum Angliae*, ed. by T. HOG, London, 1845. The unpublished doctoral dissertation of F. A. C. MANTELLO, “A Critical Edition of the ‘Gesta Temporum Edwardi Regis Anglorum’ (Chapter VI of the “Annales sex regum Angliae”) of Nicholas Trevet, O.P.”, DPhil diss., Toronto, 1977, offers an edition of the Life of Edward alone. I shall refer to them as Hog and Mantello, respectively. The list of documents quoted by Trevet in the order of their appearance is as follows. *Sub anno* 1291: No. 1, the letter from the competitors to the Scottish Crown acknowledging Edward I’s claims (Hog, pp. 319–20, Mantello, pp. 316–19); No. 2, the letter from the same agreeing to the grant of the seisin of Scotland to King Edward (Hog, pp. 321–22, Mantello, pp. 320–23); *s. a.* 1292: No. 3, the form of homage of John Balliol (Hog, pp. 324–25; Mantello, pp. 328–29); *s. a.* 1296: No. 4, the letter from John Balliol to Edward about the renunciation of his homage (Hog, pp. 344–46; Mantello, pp. 372–75); No. 5, the letter of submission of John Balliol to Edward (Hog, pp. 348–49; Mantello, pp. 380–83); No. 6, the letter of submission of the Scottish barons (Hog, pp. 350–51; Mantello, pp. 384–87); *s. a.* 1297: No. 7, the barons’ Remonstrances (Hog, pp. 360–62; Mantello, pp. 406–11); No. 8, the so-called *De Tallagio non Concedendo* (Hog, pp. 366–68; Mantello, pp. 420–25); *s. a.* 1301: No. 9: the letter of King Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII (Hog, pp. 381–92; Mantello, pp. 452–77); No. 10, the letter from the English barons to the pope (Hog, pp. 392–94; Mantello, pp. 476–81). Hereafter I shall refer to these documents by their ordinal number.

Trevet himself only sporadically alludes to the transmission of the cited documents. After having quoted the letters of the aspirants to the Scottish Crown of 1291, in Latin translation, he says that the two documents were sent by the king to various monasteries of the realm with the request to include them in the chronicles.¹¹⁸ The episode is well documented by sealed exemplars and a number of copies of the king's covering letter, which was not included in Trevet's account, and by copies of the competitors' letters, which survive either as separate documents or are cited in several other chronicles, in French or in Latin. R. A. Griffiths has tentatively identified as many as twenty-six ecclesiastical addressees of that dossier.¹¹⁹ Such a wide and official distribution of documents by King Edward seems, however, to have been an isolated act.¹²⁰ In the only other instance of Trevet's mentioning the preservation context of a document quoted in the *Annales*, he states that the king ordered the chancellor to enregister the letter from John Balliol.¹²¹ Indeed, the instrument made by the royal notary John of Caen survives.¹²² However, the letter also appears in the early-fourteenth-century

¹¹⁸ "Has duas litteras misit rex Angliae sub sigillo suo privato ad diversa monasteria, regni sui anno decimo nono, ut ad perpetuam rei gestae memoriam in chronicis ponerentur" (Hog, p. 322).

¹¹⁹ R. A. GRIFFITHS, "Edward I, Scotland and the chronicles of English religious houses", *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 6 (1979), pp. 191–99. The study offers a comprehensive discussion of the transmission of the three letters. Griffiths proposes that Trevet may have also known the covering letter and, basing himself on the assumption that the chronicler was already living at the London friary, concludes that the London Dominican prior was among the addressees of the dossier (pp. 195–96). In a postscript the scholar refers to the simultaneously prepared work of E. L. G. STONES, G. G. SIMPSON, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290–1296. An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1978, of which vol. 2 offers editions of our No. 1 (pp. 68–69), No. 2 (pp. 74–75), and the king's covering letter (p. 120).

¹²⁰ L. STONES, "English chroniclers and the affairs of Scotland, 1286–1296", in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. by R. H. C. DAVIS, J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL, Oxford, 1981, pp. 323–48.

¹²¹ Doct. No. 4, which is followed by the remark: "Rex audita hac littera resignationem homagii sui admisit, et cancellario suo praecepit hanc litteram registrari, ad perpetuam memoriam rei gestae" (Hog, p. 346).

¹²² Edited by E. L. G. STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174–1328. Some Selected Documents*, London, 1965, No. 23 (pp. 70–72).

chronicle of Walter, Austin canon at Guisborough, where it is followed by a similar remark about its having been enregistered,¹²³ as well as in a handful of other, near-contemporary chronicles.¹²⁴

The question of the interdependence of various English chronicles of the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century is still a matter of debate, and will be difficult to settle until all of them are available in reliable critical editions.¹²⁵ The chronicle of Walter of Guisborough has, at least, been edited; moreover, having been taken by Walter to 1305 and continued by others until 1315, it certainly predates Trevet's *Annales*.¹²⁶ Trevet's knowledge of Guisborough has already been proposed by scholars,¹²⁷ and such would be sufficient to explain the presence of all but one document from the reign of Edward I quoted in the *Annales*. However, alongside the common body of the cited documents, which also includes the letters to Pope Boniface mentioned by Gransden,¹²⁸ and besides certain variants that are shared by the two

¹²³ *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. by H. ROTHWELL, London, 1957 (hereafter Guisborough), pp. 275–76. The chronicler's comment reads: "Receptique rex homagium resignatum et precepit vt inrotularetur in rotulis cancellarie sue ad perpetuam rei geste memoriam, et factum est sic".

¹²⁴ STONES, "English chroniclers", pp. 336–37.

¹²⁵ Cf. DEAN, "Nicholas Trevet, Historian", p. 332; STONES, SIMPSON, *Edward I*, vol. 1, pp. 72–73, and STONES, "English chroniclers", p. 336.

¹²⁶ Guisborough, pp. xxx–xxxii.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xxix–xxx; GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, p. 504.

¹²⁸ This corpus includes doct. Nos. (page numbers refer to Guisborough, for Trevet pp. see above, n. 117): 1 (pp. 235–36), 2 (pp. 236–37), 4 (pp. 275–76), 5 (pp. 280–81), 6 (pp. 281–82), 7 (pp. 292–93), 8 (pp. 311–12), 9 (pp. 338–44), and 10 (pp. 344–45). As for the documents referred to by Gransden as "the only copies of Boniface VIII's correspondence with Edward I and the magnates" (see above, n. 115), in fact, Trevet does not cite the pope's bull *Scimus, fili*, but only reports the pope's claims as presented in the letter (Hog, pp. 379–81, Mantello, pp. 446–53, cf. the text of the bull edited in STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, No. 28, pp. 81–87). He does cite the king's and the barons' replies to the pope (doct. Nos. 9–10). The two letters, besides the archival exemplars and copies, and Guisborough's chronicle, are also transmitted in Anglo-Norman verses, attributed to Peter Langtoft (see Th. SUMMERFIELD, "Pierre de Langtoft", in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by G. DUNPHY, C. BRATU, first published online 2016, http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_02065; and J. C. THIOLIER, "Langtoft, Peter (*d.* in or after 1305)", in *ODNB*, published in print and online 23 September 2004, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/16037>). Contrary to the text of King

chronicles,¹²⁹ we also encounter differences, which hinder the identification of Guisborough as Trevet's source.¹³⁰ There is also one text

Edward's letter offered by Trevet and Guisborough, however, Langtoft's version has the Galfridian section (*The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft in French Verse*, ed. by T. WRIGHT, 2 vols, London, 1868 (Roll Series, 47), vol. 2, pp. 402–06; cf. the following note).

¹²⁹ For example: in doct. No. 4 neither chronicler includes the notarial text at the end (cf. the edition cited above, n. 122); both Trevet and Guisborough date doct. No. 5 to 10 July instead of 2 July (the original edited in STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, No. 24, pp. 73–74) and give the same version of doct. No. 9, devoid of the Galfridian section, probably deriving from the first draft (the final version edited by STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, No. 30, pp. 96–109; cf. STONES, SIMPSON, *Edward I*, vol. 1, pp. 155–56; E. L. G. STONES, "The mission of Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle from Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 26 (1982), pp. 8–28; and S. W. DEMPSEY, "The evolution of Edward I's 'historical' claim to overlordship of Scotland, 1291–1301", in *Fourteenth Century England*, XI, ed. by D. GREEN and C. GIVEN-WILSON, Woodbridge, 2019, pp. 1–30, at 18–27). The list of common variants also includes the replacement of Apostle Andrew with Apostle Peter in Boniface VIII's bull (STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, No. 28, p. 85), which is quoted by Guisborough (p. 336) and reported by Trevet (Hog, p. 380; Mantello, p. 450).

¹³⁰ I shall only point to selected major and potentially separative variants. In doct. No. 2 Guisborough cuts short the list of senders ("Florenz, etc.") and offers the date of the king's covering letter. Introducing doct. No. 4, Trevet and Guisborough provide different and partly conflicting details about Balliol's emissaries who brought the letter to King Edward. The former speaks of two friars who are only referred to by their offices: "gardianus et lector fratrum Minorum de Rokesburgia" (Hog, p. 344); the latter reads: "misit ad eum rex Scocie nuncios religiosos viros scilicet fratrem Adam Blunt gardianum fratrum minorum de Rokesburgh et tres socios cum eo fratres" (Guisborough, p. 275). Both offer details that are absent from the notarial introduction in Caen's instrument, which reads: "per religiosos viros . . . gardianum fratrum minorum de Rokesburg' et socium suum" (STONES, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*, p. 70). In doct. No. 6 Trevet abbreviates the list of senders after having given the first name ("Joannes Comin de Badenau, etc.", Hog, p. 350), whereas Guisborough (pp. 281–82) offers no name (cf. pp. 283–84, where he cites an almost identical letter of Scottish barons, who are named, but do not include John Comyn). Trevet introduces doct. No. 8 by barons' reply, absent from Guisborough, who gives the text after that of the Confirmation of the Charters (pp. 309–12). Moreover, Guisborough also cites the attestation, whereas in Trevet, doct. No. 8 ends with "quoque modo" (on the tradition of *De Tallagio* see H. ROTHWELL, "The confirmation of the char-

that appears in Trevet but not in Guisborough, viz. the words of the homage rendered by John Balliol to King Edward in 1292. The only other chronicles to give these are the chronicle attributed to William Rishanger of St Albans, which probably relied on Trevet, and the one written in Anglo-Norman towards the end of Edward I's reign by Peter Langtoft, Augustinian canon at Bridlington.¹³¹

Except for the two Scottish letters of 1291, officially distributed from the court, and the baronial Remonstrances of 1297, which may also have been circulated, this time by the king's opponents,¹³² the other documents do not seem to have become subject to any intentional propagation and were known only to a few near contemporary chroniclers. (The exact number of non-archival witnesses varies according to document and also depends on our view on the interdependence of those chronicles.) Gransden's and Dean's surmise that contacts at court were Trevet's source of knowledge for certain documents is, therefore, a plausible hypothesis. Ruth Dean proposed two candidates. The first is John Droxford, bishop of Bath and Wells (1309–1329), to whom Trevet

ters, 1297", III, *The English Historical Review*, 60 (1945), pp. 300–15, at 300–05). Finally, Guisborough provides the attestation in doct. No. 10, whereas Trevet ends at "permittatis". Yet another difference should be noted: Guisborough cites docts. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 in their original Anglo-Norman, while Trevet offers all documents in Latin, saying of four that they were composed "in Gallico" (docts. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6). The difference of language alone, however, does not help to determine, whether Trevet's source was Guisborough or archival copies.

¹³¹ STONES, "English chroniclers", pp. 331–32; cf. Guisborough account of the event (p. 239). On the other two chronicles, see K. DEVRIES, "Rishanger, William", in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (first published online 2016, http://dx.doi.org/libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_02564), and SUMMERFIELD, "Pierre de Langtoft". According to THIOLIER, "Langtoft, Peter", the text after 1296 should be attributed to Langtoft's continuators. The archival copies of documents providing the text of the homage, in Anglo-Norman, which is the language in which it was pronounced, or in Latin, are edited in STONES, SIMPSON, *Edward I*, vol. 2, pp. 260–63. Trevet's wording "recognosco me hominem vestrum ligium" seems to suggest that he was rendering the French text ("devien vostre homme lige", *ibid.*, p. 262, A.121, B.121) and therefore felt freer in choosing Latin words than if he had been quoting the Latin version of the homage. The latter, in Caen's notarial transcript of 1298, reads "devenio vester homo ligius" (*ibid.*, p. 260, A.119).

¹³² A. KING, "Crisis? What crisis? 1297 and the civil war that never was", in *Edward I: New Interpretations*, ed. by A. KING, A. M. SPENCER, York, 2020, pp. 163–84, at 179.

dedicated the treatise *De officio misse*, probably at the beginning of his episcopacy. Previously, since 1290, Droxford had served at the Wardrobe (as keeper, between 1295 and 1309) and for a short time as chancellor of the Exchequer (1308). He also participated in The Great Cause in 1291–1292. For all those reasons he may have been a valuable informant about the reign of Edward I, but could have provided Trevet with documents only if he had kept copies with him. At the time that Trevet was concluding the *Annales* in the early 1320s, Droxford came under scrutiny from the Exchequer and also fell from the king's favour.¹³³ The second of Dean's candidates, John Lenham, was Trevet's confrere and confessor to Prince Edward of Caernarfon, then to King Edward II himself. Lenham was the dedicatee of Trevet's commentary on Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*, done before 1315. However, he died in 1316.¹³⁴

The possibility that Trevet was connected to Stapeldon, however, has never been taken into account. It is based on the bishop's ownership of a copy of Trevet's commentary on the Psalms, probably to be identified with the surviving manuscript G. Out of the three candidates, the treasurer — by virtue of his office and especially of his supervision of the reorganization of the royal records, which was carried out contemporaneously to Trevet's historiographical endeavour — would seem to have been in the best position to have provided the chronicler with access to state documents.¹³⁵ Some of those quoted by Trevet may have been known to Stapeldon directly. In March 1320, at the beginning of his first treasureship, Stapeldon received on loan from the treasury the Great Roll compiled between 1315 and 1318 by notary Andrew Tange with the copies of the documents relating to "The Great Cause" of 1291–1292, including ours.¹³⁶ The competitors' letters of 1291, the documents regarding Balliol's homage in 1292, and the letter of Balliol's submission of 1296 are listed in the calendar compiled under Stapel-

¹³³ For the comprehensive account of Droxford's career, see M. C. BUCK, "Droxford [Drokensford], John (d. 1329)", in *ODNB* (published online: 23 September 2004, this version: 3 January 2008, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/8055>); cf. IDEM, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, pp. 182–83.

¹³⁴ See KUJAWIŃSKI, "Nicholas Trevet OP (c. 1258–after 1334) as publishing friar. Part I", pp. 209–11.

¹³⁵ On the reform of the Exchequer, see BUCK, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, ch. 8.

¹³⁶ STONES, SIMPSON, *Edward I*, vol. 1, pp. 42–43, and vol. 2, pp. 381–82. On The Great Roll of Tange, see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 40–47, and 97.

don's supervision between 1321 and 1323.¹³⁷ It is tempting to think of the Treasurer as the office-holder through whom Trevet became acquainted with not widely or officially circulated records, and that on such an occasion Trevet allowed the bishop to produce a copy of the *Expositio* from his exemplar, somewhat revised.

Another English copy in the group under consideration, H, has a Dominican provenance. It belonged to a small Dominican convent at Ilchester (in the Dominican visitation of London and diocese of Bath and Wells),¹³⁸ where it had arrived through Friar William of Ilchester. In the ownership notes of Ilchester Blackfriars the role of William is defined by a general formula "de perquisito [...] fratris Willelmi", which does not determine the way in which the book was acquired. Most probably William purchased or commissioned it with the allowance granted him by his superior(s) and thus, at his death, the book was assigned to his parent convent.¹³⁹ The same notes define William as doctor or professor in theology. If Ilchester was the convent where he had been accepted into the order (as the fate of his book and his toponymic would have us believe),¹⁴⁰ it is plausible to affirm with Emden that he got his degree from Oxford,¹⁴¹ passing through a provincial school of theology run by the convent that was head of his visitation, viz. the London priory.¹⁴² London and Oxford are thus the best candidates for

¹³⁷ Bishop Stapeldon's Kalendar, in *The Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of His Majesty's Exchequer*, I, ed. by F. PALGRAVE, London, 1836, pp. 129–30, Nos. 18–19 (cf. doct. No. 3), p. 131, No. 24 (doct. No. 1), No. 25 (doct. No. 2), p. 132, No. 33 (doct. No. 5).

¹³⁸ Visitations were lesser administrative divisions of Dominican provinces. Since the last quarter of the thirteenth century the province of England consisted of the four visitations of Oxford, London, Cambridge, and York, see M. O'CARROLL SND, "The educational organisation of the Dominicans in England and Wales 1221–1348: a multidisciplinary approach", *AFP*, 50 (1980), pp. 23–62, at 33–36.

¹³⁹ On the ways by which an individual friar might have acquired books, and on their destination after his death, see HUMPHREYS, *Book Provisions*, pp. 19–25.

¹⁴⁰ Toponymics may be indicative either of a friar's place of origin or the convent in which he entered the order. If the former was the case here, Ilchester would still have been the most obvious house where William joined the order (cf. O'CARROLL, "The educational organisation", pp. 26 and 37).

¹⁴¹ *BRUO*, 3, Oxford, 1959, p. 2141.

¹⁴² On the role of the London friary in education, see O'CARROLL, "The educational organisation", p. 49, cf. GELBER, "Blackfriars London", pp. 166–80.

the place where William became acquainted with the work and secured a copy of it. Besides his academic status the only information we have about him is the date of his priestly ordination: Fr William of Ilchester appears in the register of Rigaud of Assier, bishop of Winchester (a see located within the same visitation of London), among the priests ordained on 18 December 1322. By that time, therefore, he had reached the age of twenty-five and had joined the order. Although probably much younger than Trevet, William was his contemporary. To these few prosopographic data, which make personal acquaintanceship of William and Trevet possible, yet another circumstance should be added. As already observed by Dean, Ilchester is located in Somerset, where it was that Trevet's family lived.¹⁴³ Moreover, Thomas Trevet, Nicholas's father, was a benefactor of Ilchester Blackfriars.¹⁴⁴ Because of these connections, Nicholas might have been keen on supporting the career of this confrere, also his compatriot.

The Dominican provenance of B is only attested from the end of fifteenth century, when the book appears in the inventory of the Roman priory of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. The copy, however, was produced in England. The graphical appearance of the manuscript suggests that it was executed in a rush by several scribes using a bookhand at various levels of accomplishment and probably working simultaneously from an exemplar split into two parts. The manuscript could be the domestic product of a Dominican convent, provided with some limited decoration of certain quality by external craftsmen. Its exemplar (γ) must have left England for the continent soon after B was finished, to become the exemplar of R, the only non-English manuscript in this group. Having been written by two scribes using Northern and Southern *littera textualis*, R would have originated from a region where both graphic traditions co-existed, such as southern France (notably Avignon) or the Angevin kingdom of Sicily (especially Naples). Penwork decoration by an Italian hand and an early Neapolitan provenance would speak for the latter origin. During the medieval period the book belonged to the charterhouse of St Martin near Naples. The monastery was founded in 1325 by Charles, duke of Calabria, but due to his premature death in

¹⁴³ DEAN, "Life and Works", p. 100, n. 2.

¹⁴⁴ On Thomas see SUMMERSON, "Trevet, Sir Thomas (d. 1280/81)", in *ODNB*; on the convent, see J. STEVENS COX, *The Dominican Priory at Ilchester*, Ilchester, 1947 (Ilchester Historical Monographs, 2), pp. 17–35 (at p. 21 for Thomas granting Blackfriars a message in the suburb of Ilchester).

1328 the foundation was accomplished by Charles's father, King Robert, and daughter, Queen Joanne I. The first monks arrived about 1336, while the church was only consecrated in 1368.¹⁴⁵ Robert is known to have purchased a copy of the *Catholicon* for that foundation in 1340.¹⁴⁶ It is tempting to think that R also formed part of that original nucleus of the library, built up with royal support. At the current state of

¹⁴⁵ On the monastery, see *Monasticon Cartusiense*, Bd. 4, Pars V: *Provincia Lombardiae Remotioris (Provincia Sancti Brunonis)*, tom. I, pars II, ed. by J. HOGG, G. SCHLEGEL, G. LEONCINI, Salzburg, 2018, pp. 7–79.

¹⁴⁶ Other manuscripts, mainly liturgical and biblical, would have been acquired around the same time by Priors Biagio di Morrone and Adda, and by Luigi, the librarian (*RICABIM. Repertorio di Inventari e cataloghi di biblioteche medievali dal secolo VI al 1520*, 5. *Italia. Campania*, ed. by R. GAMBERINI, with the collaboration of I. TINACCI, Florence, 2018, p. 105, No. 550, information that all derives from the Angevin Registers, destroyed in 1943, summarized by C. Minieri Riccio in 1883; the names of Priors Biagio and Adda, provided by Minieri Riccio, do not appear in the list of priors reconstructed in the *Monasticon Cartusiense*, p. 43). To the best of my knowledge, R is the third extant manuscript to bear a medieval ownership note of the *Certosa*, and one of the very few medieval manuscripts to survive from the medieval library of the monastery. Francesca Manzari has convincingly ascribed to the *Certosa* fragments of two liturgical books, decorated in Naples in the 1340s and in the 1360s (F. MANZARI, “Miniatori napoletani e dell’Italia centrale nei frammenti di corali certosini del XIV secolo raccolti da Vittorio Giovardi”, *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, 14 (2010), pp. 116–38). Luciano Gargan, not aware of Manzari’s attribution, identified another three manuscripts, all from the fifteenth century, one dated and copied by a monk from St Martin, the other two bearing the ownership notes of the *Certosa* (L. GARGAN, A. MANFREDI, *Le biblioteche dei certosini tra Medioevo e Umanesimo. Un repertorio di manoscritti superstiti e inventari antichi e uno studio sulle ricerche dei codici nella prima metà del secolo XV*, Vatican City, 2017 (Studi e Testi, 515), pp. 85–86). Finally, a copy of the statutes of the Order (Cava De’ Tirreni, Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale della Abbazia Benedettina della Ss. Trinità, Cod. 61), which belonged to another charterhouse in the Kingdom of Naples, in Padula, was commissioned in 1399 by Matteo de Tito, then prior of St Martin. The description, based on that in L. MATTEI-CERASOLI, *Codices cavenses*, Pars 1, *Codices membranacci*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1935, p. 96, and a digital reproduction are available in M. SENATORE, entry in the Manus database: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000207312> (last modified 21 February 2013). The manuscript is quoted among the manuscripts from Padula in GARGAN, MANFREDI, *Le biblioteche dei certosini*, p. 94. I am grateful to Andrea Improta for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

research, the origin of R remains open. It could have been copied in Avignon and decorated at its Neapolitan destination. If entirely made in Southern Italy, then γ must also have arrived in Naples. In any case, the most natural channels would have been Dominican ones or ones associated with the royal court. The mediation of Avignon is very probable, both because the interest Pope John XXII and his entourage took in this work is well attested (see Chapter 5) and also by virtue of the close relations between papal and Angevin courts (until 1348 Avignon was part of the Angevin territories).¹⁴⁷

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To sum up, α originated in England but immediately crossed the Channel and reached Paris, where it became the model for M. The question as to whether β was copied from α while it was still in England or already in France will be addressed in the next chapter. In any case, it was during the medieval period that β 's descendants, ANC, found their way to the continent. The early circulation of the copies most probably deriving from the slightly revised authorial exemplar was concentrated in England. However, one of those copies, γ , at rather an early date migrated to the continent, where R was produced. The last of the nine fourteenth-century copies, O, which has been only sporadically mentioned up to this point, sheds some light on the early availability of the different versions of the *Expositio* on the continent. It is now time to consider that manuscript more closely.

¹⁴⁷ King Robert spent the years 1319–1324 in Avignon: probably this was too early for R to have been made and acquired for St Martin's, although late enough for Robert to have learned about Trevet's work and perhaps to have secured γ . Queen Joanna stayed in Avignon in 1348, a date suitable for copying of R. It is also possible to imagine the personal involvement of Pope John XXII, who not only ordered a copy of the work in 1324, but is also known to have supported the Carthusians, founded two charterhouses in southern France, and gave them books (on that last point see D. NEBBIAI, "I libri del papa e la biblioteca pontificia", in *Giovanni XXII. Cultura e politica di un papa avignone. Atti del LVI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 13–15 ottobre 2019*, Spoleto, 2020, pp. 127–49, at 142–43).

Chapter 3

The Publication of the *Expositio* in the Light of the Earliest Manuscript Tradition *Codex Extravagans* (O)

The relatively homogeneous and de-luxe materiality of this copy in terms of its illumination, second in quality only to G, contrasts with its complex textuality. A complete understanding of O's textual status would require a full collation, for which reason the conclusions presented in this chapter, based on a partial collation, can only be preliminary. The manuscript includes both Trevet's *Expositio* and the Latin Psalter according to *He*. For the commentary, the distribution of variant readings as encountered in the previously discussed witnesses leads to the conclusion that two parts may be distinguished in O.

In the first part, O generally does not present the errors of α^1 and usually agrees with GHBR. Beside the agreement in good readings,² only some of which could be explained as corrections *ope ingenii*, O also

¹ The only relatively significant error that O shares with α in this part is "contulisset" in Ep. Hier. 11. O also shares a few non-significant errors with α (Ps. 1:4: "cui", also in H; Ep. Hier. 13: omission of "olim") and β (Ep. ded. 10: "Sophonio"), or with an individual manuscript of the family: M (Prol. 13). In the commentary on Ps. 1:11 the scribe first offered the lemma "et in cathedra", which is the reading of MANC ("in" omitted in AN), but also of *He* and *Ga* and could thus be explained by a *lapsus* of memory, of this scribe or the exemplar's. It was crossed with a red line and followed by "et insedra" (completed by "desideriorum", which is O's peculiar error). The final reading reflects "in sede" of GHBR (for the discussion of that *locus*, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 69–70) and may result from a misreading of the correction in the exemplar and an incorrect association with the noun "exedra".

² See Ep. ded. 8 ("edicione"); Prol. 24 ("dicit"); Ep. Hier. 3; 8 ("hic"); 11; Pss.: 1:1 (g: "istos"; h: "ut patebit"); 1:3 ("id est erit"); 1:5 ("oporteat"); 2:1 ("machinabuntur"); 2:2 ("est"); 2:6 ("fecit"); 2:10; 15:titulus (spelling "michtam"); 30:titulus; 41:12; 42:5 ("ubique", also transmitted in C); and 46:2 (also in C). There are also good readings in which O agrees with individual manuscripts of that group, first of all with G: Ep. ded. 12 ("litteram") and 13 ("iudaica"); Prol. 3 ("Dauid"); Pss.: 2:12 (spelling "neschu") and 28:titulus; also with GHR (Prol. 27: "percipite"); HBR (Ps. 1:1g, "uel per istos"); HR (Prol. 42, "ideo"); or H (Prol. 25, "quibus").

presents several equivalent readings of that group.³ However, after Ps. 46, O rarely agrees with GHBR.⁴ Instead, it shares a number of errors, including significant ones, and equivalent variant readings with α . The first serious agreement with α against GHBR occurs in Ps. 47:15.⁵ What is more, this latter section of O also shares errors with β alone. Among the most relevant is the transposition of the commentary on Ps. 84:13–14 to come after the commentary on Ps. 84:8.⁶ Some other errors, most-

³ See Prol. 2; Ep. Hier.: 5 (“euacuat”); 6; 14; Pss.: 1:3 (“desiderabant”); 2:9; 2:12; 40:2. O shares certain other equivalent variant readings with HBR (Ps. 46:2, “debellauit”, also in C) and with G alone, see Prol.: 10; 26 (“continet”, also in α); Pss. 1:ii (“illis”) and 42:5, “saluciones”, also transmitted in C). For the definition of “equivalent reading”, see above, Chapter 2, note 44.

⁴ See equivalent variant readings in Pss.: 75:2 (transposition); 76:2i; 110:1; 136:1 (“ducti”); and a good reading in Ps. 113 (= 115.18).

⁵ See the errors in Pss.: 50:7; 54:14; 55:10; 56:12 (omission of “suam”; “dileccionis dei”); 57:12 (omission of “in titulo” and “signum”); 61:13; 62:12; 63:4; 82:19; 83:13; 85:titulus, 87:17; 89:titulus; 92:5 (in the lemma; corrected perhaps by the same scribe, *ope ingenii* or with the help of the *textus*); 105:1 (omission of “deum”); 107:2 (omission of “huius”); 113 (= 115.18, “par”); 125:4; 134:titulus; 136:5 (“tua”); 136:9; 137:8 (omission); 147 [= 146.12]; 150:3 (omission of “cantores”, misreadings “ignorata”, “sonus”; lack of the representation of the letter delta, cf. above, ch. 2, n. 6); 150:6. Some common errors could be polygenetic, e.g. omissions *per homoioteleuton* in Pss.: 48:2i; 85:17; 132:3; 139:14; 150:1–2. See the equivalent variant readings in Pss.: 47:15; 55:2; 66:8; 70:24; 75:2 (transposition); 80:titulus; 99:2; 105:titulus (“in loco”); 106:1; 115 [= 116:19]; 118:132; 121:titulus; 124:titulus; 128:8 (“et est liptote id est diminucio grauis scilicet quia minus dicit”); 132:3 (“autem” absent); 150:1–2 (“in tabernaculo”); 150:3 (“patet” absent), and 150:4 (transposition). See also the references in Pss.: 50:9, 50:10, and 132:3 (on these passages, see above ch. 2, pp. 78–79). Cf. the errors shared with MAN in Pss. 57:titulus and 103:1.

⁶ See also Pss.: 49:23 (dittography and transposition); 50:3; 50:9 (transposition); 51:3; 51:11; 54:2; 56:12; 57:12; 59:3; 63:2 (transposition); 65:20; 66:8 (omission of “gentes”); 77:72 (misreading and omission); 80:17; 84:12, 84:14 (“quia”); 89:17; 90:16; 103:35; 117:29; 141:8; 143:15; 144:titulus; 144:1; 145:10 (the spelling of the name of Antioch); 149:titulus; 150:1–2; 150:3 (one omission and “iacet”; nb. three other common omissions have been supplied, see below, n. 7). Cf. the errors shared with AN in Pss.: 64:14, 79:2; 81:8, 84:14 (“gressos meos suos”); 99:2; 144:1 (“predicit” of O would be an attempt at amending “precedit” of AN); 150:3 (“cantabantur”). At the same time, O does not present some other errors of ANC in Pss. 76:2i; 90:2; 107:2 (numeral); 108:2 (numeral); 115 [= He 116:10]; 120:titulus; 124:5; 128:titulus; 128:1; 128:8; 150:5 (“persecucione”, “interpellacio”), a divergence which is not necessarily separative.

ly omissions, which O shares with β , have been amended, by the same scribe or by a contemporary reviser, by way of supplying the missing words in the margins or between columns or lines.⁷ These could either have been errors already present in the exemplar of this part, textually related to β , and corrected with the help of another copy, or they were mistakes made by the scribe of O and repaired by looking back to the same exemplar, which in that case would have offered a text better than β 's.

As regards the *textus*, O's agreement with M (which alone in family α includes the full *textus*) against GHBR is rare and insignificant.⁸ By contrast, O shares a number of variant readings with GHBR, or, more frequently, with individual manuscripts of that group, many of which, however, are good readings.⁹ The agreement with GHBR suggests that the exemplar used for the introductory pieces and some first four decades of the *Expositio* also included the *textus* and reflected the evolving archetype, which has been hypothesized for GHBR. This, however, does not seem to be the case with the latter part of the *Expositio*, which is closer to α and β , where the textual identity of the *Psalter* changes radically. Beginning from Ps. 48:21, at the latest, despite the variants shared with Trevet's manuscripts, the *textus* in O essentially departs from *He* represented in the tradition of Trevet's commentary, both from the *textus* (when present) and from the lemmata within the

⁷ See Pss.: 86:7 (omission); 96:12 (omission); 101:29 (omission); 145:titulus (omission); 145:10 ("persecucionem" corrected into "per successionem", perhaps *ope ingenii*); 150:3 (omission of the entire passage, the only one by *homoioteleuton*; omission of "modernis", perhaps also "est nunc"); 150:6 (omission). See also Pss.: 81:1 and 88:titulus, where the wrong numerals shared with AN were corrected according to the readings prevailing in the tradition; Ps. 150:3, where "sonus", also omitted in AN, was restored, and in a similar way a passage in Ps. 150:6, omitted by *homoioteleuton* in AN and O, was restored in the margin in O. Cf. below nn. 14 and 17.

⁸ See variant readings in Pss.: 32:22; 33:23; 70:1; 118:132; and 136:1, which are attested in *Ga* or some branches of the *He* tradition.

⁹ O shares with GHBR the variant readings in Pss.: 83:13; 136:9 ("tenebit"); and 150:2; with GHB in Ps. 136:9 ("tuos"); with GHR in Ps. 18:2; with GH in Pss. 2:12 ("post paululum furor"); and 124:1 ("habitabit"); with HBR in Pss. 4:2; 34:28 (an omission); and 103:35; with HB in Ps. 54:24; with BR in Pss.: 7:2; 50:21 ("uitulos"); 82:19 ("et"); and 145:10 (absence of the final Alleluia); with B the error in Ps. 1:3 ("prosperabuntur"); with G (and M) an error in Ps. 20:14 and an equivalent variant in Ps. 88:53 ("amen amen"). See also "uia iusta" (*Ga*) in Ps 2:12 (shared with MG).

Expositio.¹⁰ These conflicting readings are well attested in the tradition of *He* and are often the ones accepted by the modern editor as pristine. The peculiarities of the *tituli* of O, however, beginning with the title of Ps. 49, permit the suggestion that the source must have been related to *He* transmitted alongside the Gallican and Roman versions in the so-called Psalter of Odalric (Reims, BM, 15).¹¹ Most of the other readings of *textus*, from Ps. 48:21, by which O disagrees with the remainder of

¹⁰ See Pss.: 49:23 (“salutare meum”); 50:21 (“suscipies”); 52:2; 53:9; 55:13; 59:14; 61:3; 62:8–9 (the verses were omitted in MGHBR, restored in B², and not expounded in the commentary); 63:11; 65:1; 65:2 (“cantate”); 67:36; 68:2 (“saluum”, “usque”); 73:1; 80:17 (“de adipe”); 82:19 (“sciant”); 85:1; 85:10 (the verse was omitted in MGHBR, restored in B²; it is however expounded in the commentary in all the witnesses); 87:titulus; 88:53 (“sempiternum”); 99:4; 99:5; 110:1; 116:1; 117:1; 117:29; 137:1 (“in conspectu deorum”, “cantabo”); 137:8; 138:24; 139:2 (“erue” and “serua”); 140:1; 141:8; 143:15 (“benedictus”, “suus”); 144:1; 145:2; 145:10 (“eternum”); 148:14 (“sanctis”, “populo appropinquantis”); and 149:9 (“ut faciant”, absence of the final “Alleluia”). Cf. Pss. 124:1 (“sicut”) and 149:1 (“congregacione”), where O-tx differs from the *textus* but not from the lemmata in the tradition of Trevet’s *Expositio*.

¹¹ In Pss. 49–52 and 60–63, O juxtaposes the *tituli* proper of the *He* tradition and the Christian titles that correspond to *Series I* in Salmon’s edition (P. SALMON, *Les “tituli Psalmorum” des manuscrits latins*, Rome-Vatican City, 1959, pp. 45–74, at 62–64), in the same way as in the *He* column in the Psalter of Odalric (fols 103^{rc}–106^{rc}; 112^{vc}–114^{vc}; Salmon’s manuscript r). The combination of both titles at this point of the Psalter is not an exclusive feature of the Psalter of Odalric. Nevertheless, a closely related ninth-century copy, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Aug. perg. 38 (Salmon’s E, K in the edition of *He*, available in digital reproduction: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/4410968>, see SALMON, *Les “tituli Psalmorum”*, pp. 48–49, and *He*, p. xli) differs from O and the Psalter of Odalric in certain readings in biblical titles (fols 75^{vc}–79^{vc}, 87^{vc}–90^{rc}) and lacks the Christian title of Ps. 62 (fol. 89^{vc-vc}). Also *He* in the previously discussed Eadwine Psalter and in its relative, Paris, BnF, lat. 8846, combines biblical and Christian titles of *Series I* but not for Pss. 52 or 63. In Pss. 53–59 O transmits only biblical titles or their first words, but again shares variant readings with the Psalter of Odalric (which still juxtaposes biblical and Christian titles, except for Ps. 59), see esp. the title of Ps. 55. Both the Psalter of Odalric and O cease to transmit Christian titles after Ps. 63 (cf. SALMON, *Les “tituli Psalmorum”*, p. 48) but continue to share variant readings against the tradition of biblical titles as transmitted in the manuscripts of Trevet’s *Expositio* in Pss. 64, 65, 68, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 99, 138, 139, 141, and 144 (see also a few readings by which O disagrees with the Psalter of Odalric, Pss. 66 and 67). My observations are

Trevet's manuscripts, are also found in Odalric's Psalter.¹² The latter was produced in eastern France in the middle of the eleventh century and was bequeathed to the cathedral chapter of Reims by its provost, Odalric (d. 1075).¹³ Recourse of the editor of O to a separate copy of *He* would have been understandable if the exemplar used until around Ps. 46 (for both the *Expositio* and the Psalter) had not been available any more, while the new one included the *Expositio* alone, which indeed is the feature of β .

Some of those *textus*-readings in O that conflict with the tradition of Trevet's *Expositio* (with the *textus* and often with the lemmata within the commentary as well) were soon replaced by, or paired with, the readings proper to Trevet's tradition.¹⁴ Since these interventions normally consist in expunction of the primary reading and the adding of the new one, usually between the lines, they may have been executed

based on a black-and-white digital copy of the Psalter of Odalric available at ARCA: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md39k356b22v>.

¹² Out of the readings listed above, n. 10, only those in Pss. 68:2 ("saluum", also "meam"); 73:1; 110:1; and 143:15 ("benedictus") are not found in the Psalter of Odalric. In Ps. 148:14, when O reads "appropinquantis", Odalric's Psalter has the correct reading "adpropinquantis sibi". O's readings in Pss. 66:titulus; 68:2 and 110:1, as well as certain others that contrast with *He* in the Psalter of Odalric (see Pss. 118:132; 124:1, "sicut"; 136:1, "illic") are attested in the *Ro* or *Ga* column of the latter, which are of the same width and therefore could have been easily mistaken. However, this is not the case with separative readings in Pss. 67:titulus; 73:1; 76:21; 122:4; 124:1 ("habitabit"); and 132:3. This evidence altogether does not allow us to go so far as to claim that the editor of O used the Psalter of Odalric. See also below, n. 15.

¹³ The text of the Psalms, according to the three Latin versions, occupies fols 50^r–202^v of this complex manuscript (the letter to Sophronius is copied on fols 49^v–50^r). For a description see V. LEROQUAIS, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols, Macon, 1940–1941, vol. 2, No. 387, pp. 166–70; on the texts, mostly canons, added to the original nucleus during the second half of the eleventh century, see J. S. OTT, "Texts, law, and Church reform: the anti-simoniac dossier of BM Reims Ms. 15 and the Collectio Sinemuriensis", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kan. Abt. 108 (2022), pp. 65–110.

¹⁴ See Pss.: 82:19 ("cognoscant"); 85:1; 87:titulus; 88:53; 99:5; 137:1 ("coram deo"); 137:1 ("psallam" introduced by "uel", as alternative reading, without cancelling the primary one); 145:2 (without cancelling the original reading); 145:10 ("seculum", without cancelling the original reading); 145:10 (final "Alleluia"); 148:14 ("misericordibus" and "propinquo sibi"; without cancelling the original readings); 149:1 ("ecclesia"; without cancelling the original reading); and 149:9 (final "Alleluia"). Cf. 103:35.

after the copy had been completed. When the added text is short or does not contain characteristic letter forms its attribution to the scribe or to a separate revising hand is uncertain. In any case, the same or closely similar colour of the ink suggests that the revision was made around the same time and in the same environment. The most easily available source of variant readings would have been the *Expositio* itself, or more precisely the lemmata embedded in the commentary. One feature of O demonstrates a certain degree of attention on the part of the copyist towards agreement between the *textus* and the commentary. As has been mentioned, the *Expositio* in O presents the same transposition of sections in the commentary on Ps. 84 as is found in the manuscripts of the β family, which, however, lack the *textus*. In O the order in which the psalm-verses are copied has been adjusted to that of the commentary and therefore verses 13–14 appear after verse 8 (here numbered 7).¹⁵ However, the lemmata cannot explain all corrective interventions. The alternative reading “facies”, for example, written above the original “faciant” in Ps. 149:9, is only found in M-tx, while GHBR-tx and the lemmata in all the manuscripts, including O, have “facient” (but “faciant” in M). Two other corrections of the *textus* in O that only agree with M occur in Pss. 44:2¹⁶ and 94:10. M could have also been the source of all the other aforementioned corrections or alternative variant readings

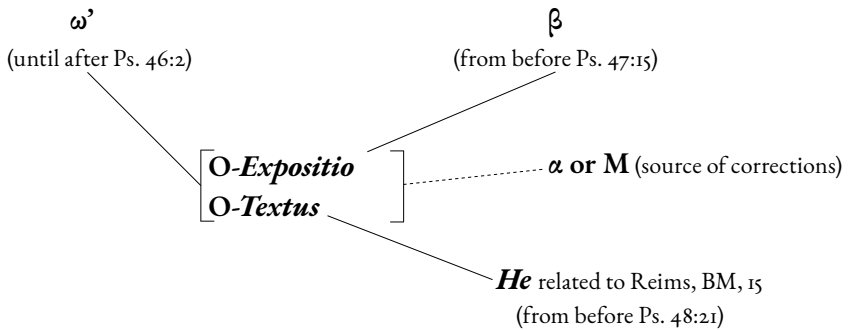
¹⁵ It should be noted that in Reims, BM, 15, which has been proposed as a close relative of the exemplar of the *textus* in this section of O, the verses appear in the correct order (see fol. 141^{r-v}).

¹⁶ The revision of Ps. 44:2 (fol. 47^{rb}) requires brief comment. After “dico” the copyist seems to have first started writing “ego”: the initial “o” of the eventual reading “op(er)a” has traces of the oblique line of the would-be original “e”, also the biting of the same “o” with the upper lobe of “g” and traces of the latter’s lower part are still visible. The reading “ego” belongs to the tradition of *He* and appears in GHBR-tx, as well as in the lemma in all witnesses of the *Expositio*, but not in M-tx (in the *He* column, the *Ga* column reads “ego”). Back to O, the reconstructed original reading was eventually replaced by “op(er)a”, the reading which is transmitted in all manuscripts in both *textus* and commentary. Thus, O’s final reading “dico opera” agrees with M-tx. It must be observed that in O there is no space for both words, “ego” and “opera”, even if abbreviated. Should this correction have been made in the course of copying (there is no trace of the final “o” of the conjectured “ego”), it could suggest access to two different exemplars. Otherwise, in the first instance the copyist of O omitted “opera”, which was later restored, at the expense of “ego”, a scenario best explained if the revision were made with the help of M.

in the *textus* as well as of the corrections in the commentary discussed earlier.¹⁷

The evidence discussed so far suggests that O was copied from multiple exemplars. The first would have been a manuscript of the *Expositio* and *He* transmitting many of the variant readings that I have already attributed to the evolving authorial copy and that are also found in manuscripts GHBR, either in the entire group or in individual copies. In the course of the copying of the fifth decade of the Psalter and the respective commentary (between Pss. 46:2 and 47:15) that exemplar was replaced by a manuscript whose text was close to β . Apparently that copy only offered the *Expositio*, and therefore the Psalter was brought in from an independent witness of *He*, representing a tradition different to that transmitted with Trevet's *Expositio* and reflected in the lemma, a witness related to the Psalter of Odalric from the cathedral chapter of Reims. That part, in both the *textus* and the commentary, was then revised with the help of a copy belonging to family α and close to M, at least from Ps. 82 onwards, but apparently the revision also touched select points in the preceding matter.

¹⁷ The latter are listed above at n. 7. They could all have had M as their source. Only the passage supplied in Ps. 150:3 differs by minor variants from M: "cimbala" instead of "cymbalia", and "q(uod)" instead of "quo" (in both, O agrees with GHBR). In a similar way, the relation is less straightforward in Ps. 150:6, where the original O's reading "participent" agrees with that of revised M (as well as AN, the passage is missing from C), while the revised O's reading "participant" is the same as the original reading of M. Two other corrections would speak for M. After a series of introductory remarks, the commentary on Ps. 1:1 in all nine manuscripts begins as follows: "Hic ergo psalmus qui cum sequenti unus est secundum Hebreos" (k). The preposition "cum" is written in full or with final "m" abbreviated, except for M (fol. 2^{ve}), which uses a 9-shaped sign (replaced in the intercolumniation by "cu(m)", concealed by the pen-flourished ending of the vertical bar). The consultation of M would help to explain why the scribe of O (fol. 3th) added a 9-shaped sign in the *interlinea*, above the original "cu(m)". Commenting on the lemma "laudate eum in fortitudinibus" (Ps. 150:2), O, like β , first omits the verb (which reads "ostendit" in GHBR and "co(n)tinet" in M, the former offering the better sense), then supplies "(con)uen(i)t". The error of M better explains the reading in O. It could have also derived from mistaking the good reading, which is always abbreviated "o(stendi)t", but O does not present the explanation "id est in factis eius fortibus", which in GHBR precedes "que ostendit". The fact that the passage omitted in the same section both

Figure 3. Place of O in the tradition of the *Expositio*

One non-textual feature of O apparently remains in disagreement with this reconstruction. All extant witnesses descending from α — the family to which both the exemplar of the latter part of O and a copy used for revision would have belonged — lack the illustrations to Ps. 150. Yet, as mentioned, O includes these illustrations, which essentially match those known from GHBR. Accepting that the textual variance in O is a result of a switch to copies related to α , then several explanations are possible. One would be that the non-execution of the illustration was an independent decision or belongs to the negligence of the scribes responsible for M and β , and therefore that the lost descendant(s) of α used by the copyist of O had the apparatus. Alternatively, the considerable liberty taken by the artist of O as regards details, within common forms (see Appendix F), could be taken to suggest that the copies of Trevet's *Expositio* used as the exemplar in the latter part on the one hand and the source of corrections on the other, did not carry illustrations to Ps. 150. Finally, it cannot be excluded that at a later moment, when the copying was done, a manuscript of Trevet's *Expositio* provided with illustration became available and the decoration was added to O.

The probable change in the exemplar raises several questions. Was the first model no longer available? Was it a partial copy? Was it a deliberate choice of the scribe or the commissioner to switch to another exemplar? Starting with the last possibility, it must be observed that

in O and in α ("id est ut decet multitudinem magnificentie eius") has not been supplied would also exclude a copy related to GHBR as the source of the revision.

besides a number of scribal errors in both the *Expositio*¹⁸ and the *textus*,¹⁹ O also has a group of individual equivalent readings. For example, it has modified the syntax of the opening clause of the commentary on Ep. Hier. 11: “Hic dicit quod si ab aliquo posset sibi obici ...” (instead of “Hic quia posset obici Jeronimo ...” of *MANCG* and “Quia posset obici ...” of *HBR*). Although not an improvement, O’s reading should be taken as an editorial intervention. In a similar way, other variance in O that offers good sense may bear witness to the scribe’s editorial ambitions.²⁰ In the *textus* the equivalent readings are explicable either as the

¹⁸ See Ep. ded.: 4 (“subsistentis” pro “sub asteriscis”); 5 (om. “discernere”); 7 (“puta” pro “pura”); 8 (om. “Paula”); 10 (“confiteri” pro “contineri”); 11 (“compositorum” pro “expositorum”; cf. 12); Prol.: 2; 9; 14; 19; 20; 26; 28 (and independently in A); 32; 33; 36; 39 (three); 40; Ep. Hier.: 1 (“etatem”); 3; 4 (“sunt”, “scripti”); 6; 8; 9 (two); 11 (omission); 13 (omission); 14 (three omissions); 15 (omission); Pss.: 1:1b; 1:1g; 1:1l; 1:1n; 1:5 (omission); 1:6 (“approbatasset”); 2:1 (om. “docendum”; “priuarum”); 2:11 (“frenum a precipucio” and an omission); 7:18; 12:6 (omission of the entire commentary on v. 6); 23:10 (“transitiue”); 36:40; 43:26 (omission, and independently in C; “recepta”); 50:3; 59:3; 76:2; 99:5; and 136:1.

¹⁹ See Ep. Hier.: 2; 7 (“nobis”); 8 (two); 11; 14; Pss.: 12:6 (omission of the entire verse); 14:5 (omission); 17:titulus; 23:10 (omission of the entire verse); 82:19 (omission); 150:6 (omission of the entire verse). Errors in Pss. 14:5 (“super”) and 19:10 could be explained by confusion with *Ga* (the same may be true of some errors in the lemmata in the *Expositio*, see the exposition of Ps. 2:1, including lemma from Ps 2:12: “confidunt”).

²⁰ See Ep. ded.: 4 (“aliquibus”); 10 (“hebraico”); Prol.: 5; 23–24 (addition of “numerus” before “denarius”, “ternarius”, and “septennarius”); 43; and the commentary on Ep. Hier.: 1 (“per modum”); 2 (“quorundam”; “putent”); 11 (addition of “beatus Jeronimus”); Pss.: 1:3 (change of the tense of “descendebant”); 1:5 (“opponatur”); 1:6 (“est”); 14:5; 24:1; 29:2; 33:2; 120:1. In the commentary on Ps. 62, the scribe must have noticed that the *Expositio* does not cover verses 8–9 and left five and a half lines blank before copying verse 10 and the respective commentary (fol. 65^{va}). Scribal agency would have also manifested in less felicitous interventions in Ps. 1:1b. The inclusion of lemmata, usually constituted by the first one or two words of a given verse, at the beginning of individual sections (*localization lemmata* in the classification discussed in HICKS, “Reading texts within texts”, p. 79), in spite of the presence of the full *textus*, may also witness to that effect (see Pss.: 1:2; 1:3; 1:4; 1:5; 1:6; 2:1; 2:2; 2:3; 2:4; 2:5; 2:6; 2:7; 2:8; 2:9; 2:10; 2:11; 2:12; 3:2; 4:2; 5:2). Some of the alterations, however, may have derived from the exemplar: see Pss. 1:3 and 2:6, where the blank spaces originally left within the passages transmitted in O alone (and imported by C^{AB}) hint at certain

result of confusion with *Ga* or, in the latter part, by the use of a copy of *He* foreign to Trevet's tradition.

A campaign of revision in another copy of the *Expositio*, C, sheds some light on the textual peculiarities of the first exemplar of O. As demonstrated above, C belongs to family α and descends from the hyparchetype β . However, it was revised by two hands. Prior to Ps. 40 their corrections overwhelmingly agree with O, often with O alone.²¹ A few other annotations more or less explicitly refer to the features of the manuscript used for the revision, which turn out also to be idiosyncrasies of O. In the Prologue, § 34, C, as with most other copies, suspends the quotation from 1 Cor. 13 at "caritas pasciens benigna est et cetera" (fol. 2^{ra}). A tie-mark in the *interlinea* refers to an annotation by corrector A, in the outer margin, which reads: "et no(ta) tota(m) autorita(t)e(m)". It may refer to a longer quotation, which in O (fol. 1^{va}) is extended until "omnia sustinet" (and in H, after second thoughts, until "numquam excidit"). More expressly, the commentary on Ps. 12:6 ("Petiuit ab oppressione hostium liberari [...] merui") in C has been annotated in the inner margin by corrector A: "vacat i(n) ex(emplari)" (fol. 15^{vb}). Indeed, this section is missing from O. However, the variance encountered in those corrections in C suggests that it was not O but the model of O that was collated with C.²² That being the case, the

difficulties in deciphering the model which already had those additions. Revision of C, discussed below, witnesses the same effect.

²¹ Only the corrections reflecting the individual variant readings of O are listed here (there are many others reflecting the readings that O shares with GHBR): Prol. 23 (addition of "numerus"); Ep. Hier.: 4 (spelling "Hesdras"); 13 ("ista dixi ideo"); Pss.: 1:1 (a: "de hebreo"; f: "mascur"; n: "ecce"); 1:3 (addition); 1:5 (corrector A supplies a part of the passage which is omitted in the entirety of family α , the same part which has been transmitted in O, which omits another portion of that period; see also "raro" instead of "rari"); 2:4 (cancellation of "oris"); 2:6 (addition); 2:11 ("ceremonialibus"); 2:12 ("affectum"); 10:2; 23:10. The readings proper of O are often introduced in C as alternative readings, see: Ep. ded. 4 ("uel aliquibus"; "uel quecumque"); Prol. 36 ("uel raptim"); Ep. Hier.: 1 ("uel etatem"); Ps. 1:3 ("uel fecerit"). The readings proper of O are also found in the fragments of the *textus* added in the margins (see Ep. Hier. 1 and 9).

²² See Prol. 2, and 18; Pss. 1:1 (n: addition of "repeticio"; "in sede derisorum"; q: "cum enim"); 1:3 (variants in the common addition after "que successionem parentum continuaret"); 2:4; 2:6. Cf. the variant readings found in the fragments of the *textus* added in the margins of C (Pss. 17:titulus; and 26:1).

variant readings (both errors and equivalent readings) of O reflected in the corrections to C diminish the agency of the scribe of O and should be attributed instead to the common source. Since sufficient evidence has already emerged to posit the existence of a manuscript that was the exemplar of a part of O and also the reference copy for the revisers of C, it is justifiable to provide that lost witness with a siglum: δ .

Starting from Ps. 40 the interventions of the two revisers in C become less frequent (in Pss. 40–47 there are no corrections whatsoever). When the revised readings are specific enough, they continue to agree with GHBR, but do not agree with O.²³ Since δ was related to the group GHBR, it could have also been the source of the latter corrections in C. In that case δ , which had been abandoned as the exemplar of O by Ps. 47, but apparently was used by the revisers of C across the whole copy (though with varying degrees of application), would have included the entire work of Trevet. The dynamic textual character of the revision of C is worth considering. Does the absence of the interventions of revisers A and B in Pss. 40–47 point to a lack of effort or to the unavailability of the source? The corrections introduced from Ps. 48 onwards would speak against those possibilities. Although there is strong evidence across C in its entirety for its textual kinship with the other manuscripts of family α (as discussed in Chapter 2), in a handful of good or equivalent readings between Pss. 41:12 and 46:2 the original text of C agrees with GHBR and O.²⁴ Unless these readings had been

²³ See Pss.: 48:21 (“tacita”, cf. “hebraicum”; but see “v(er)i” instead of “nota” in the same section); 55:13; 61:13; 113 [= 115:18]; 145:10 (the correction also agrees with M); cf. Pss. 70:24 (“addictos” is the readings of GB) and 150:4 (“Strabo” is the spelling of GBR). The correction in Ps. 150:5 (“perquione”), which restores a good sense as transmitted (with spelling variants) in GHBR/O, would have been done *ope ingenii*. The only potentially significant reading shared by O and C^B occurs in the title of Ps. 55, which in both manuscripts is radically shortened and ends with “longitudinum” in C^B and “longitudine Dauid” in O, the readings absent from the other copies. While O would have depended here on a peculiar copy of *He*, close to the Psalter of Odalric (see above, n. 11), C^B could have independently modified the title basing the reading on the lemma in Trevet’s commentary, where “longitudinum” is said to be a better translation for what usually is rendered as “eo quod procul abierit”.

²⁴ See Pss.: 41:12; 42:5 (“salutationes”, transmitted in GO alone, and “ubique”); 46:2 (“populorum uicinorum facta populo Israel”; in the same nota bene “debella-uit” which C shares with HBRO and which is a preferable reading).

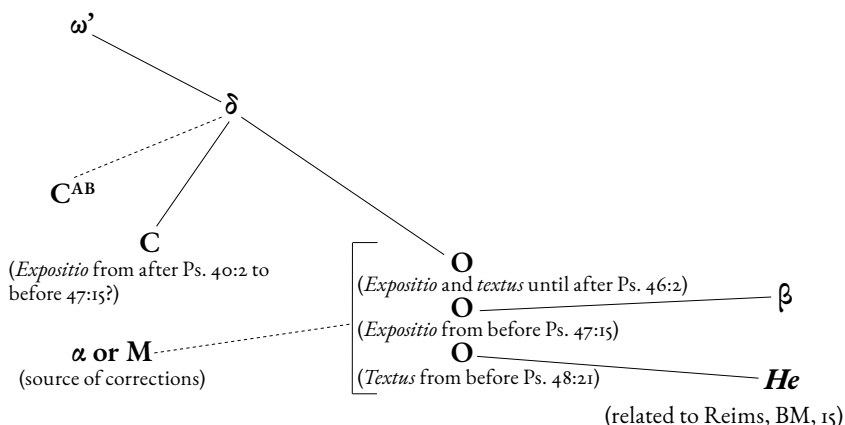
devised *ope ingenii* by the scribe of C,²⁵ they witness a textual relationship with δ . The copyist of C would have switched to δ when copying a part of the *Expositio* beginning somewhere between Ps. 40:2 (C does not present a significant variant of GHBRO) and 41:12, and ending before Ps. 47:15, where again it shares a significant variant with α . If this reconstruction holds, the select verses of *He* (or their incipits) scattered in this portion of C would also have derived from δ rather than β , as suggested earlier.²⁶ The revisers, who must therefore have been this scribe's contemporaries and collaborators, would have used δ to revise C backwards and also, more selectively, forward.²⁷ Consequently, when in the marginal annotation on Ps. 12:6, quoted above, the manuscript used for the revision of C is referred to as an "exemplar", that term was being used in a technical sense. The very probable change of an exemplar by the scribe of O and a possible double switch of exemplars by the scribe of C hint that δ and β were complete but unbound volumes, perhaps kept by a stationer who distributed them in *pecciae*.²⁸

²⁵ In fact, the scribe of C appears to have been more thoughtful than the scribes of the other copies of family α and avoided some errors of the latter, see Pss.: 57:titulus; 58:18 ("faciens"); and 103:1. These readings could have been easily restored *ope ingenii*. Cf. Pss. 66:8 (an attempt at making sense of the clause missing the subject in AN); 105:1 (an attempt at repairing the clause missing the complement in MAN); and 144:1 (an attempt at making sense of "precedit" by which AN or β misread the correct "pretendit"). See also some equivalent variant readings proper to C in Pss. 61:titulus and 114 (= 116:1).

²⁶ As observed in Chapter 2 (p. 59), alongside individual verses shared with the other descendants of β , the verses between Pss. 40:5 and 48:16 are present in C alone. In the title of Ps. 45 we find an error, albeit not a very significant one, that C shares with H and B (immediately corrected in H).

²⁷ Various passages which are missing in C (and in two other descendants of β , AN, as well as in the respective part of O) have not been supplied (which is often the case in O) and the correct order in Ps. 84 has not been restored.

²⁸ The portion of δ posited as this partial exemplar of C could have occupied a quire of three to five bifolia, depending on the dimensions of the leaf and that of the written space as well as on the presence of the *textus*. See the extents of Pss. 41–46 in the extant copies going with the *textus*: M, fols 41^{rect}–46^{rect}; G, fols 76^{va}–86^{va}; H, fols 68^{ra}–76^{vb}; B, fols 55^{vb}–62^{tb}; R, fols 43^{va}–48^{vb}; O, fols 44^{tb}–49^{vb}. Without the *textus*: A, fols 40^{va}–45^{va}; N, fols 31^{va}–35^{va}; and C, fols 44^{vb}–51^{tb}. It must be stressed, however, that none of the copies of the *Expositio* presents marks indicating a change of *peccia*.

Figure 4. Place of O in the tradition of the *Expositio* and its relation to C

There is still another consequence of the complex textual backgrounds of O and C. The change of exemplars for O does not correspond to any evident break in the execution, which apparently was accomplished in the same environment. This means that the scribe of O had access to copies representing different traditions of Trevet's *Expositio*: δ (related to GHBR), a copy very close to β , and probably to yet another copy from family α , which was perhaps M and was used for the revision of of, at least, the latter part. Since δ became the source for the revision of an essentially contemporary copy, C, which descends from β , C may also have entered the same environment some time after its production. If δ had also been the exemplar of a portion of C (which is only a hypothesis), the latter could have been copied there as well.

Where might this place have been? As noted above, the style of the penwork decoration of M, dated 1321, would point to Paris. O is not dated but it cannot be later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Its painted decoration points to the north-east of France or the Paris region as its place of production, while the pen-flourishing provides stronger grounds for the latter. The textual relation between O and the Psalter of Odalric, kept at Reims, as discussed earlier in this chapter, would also point to north-eastern France. (Unfortunately, no information about the earliest users or owners of M and O survives.) Comparison of the penwork in the two copies betrays the same patterns. (Painted decoration of M is limited to the first page and was probably retouched in the modern period, therefore there is no room for com-

parison). In M the most elaborate pen-flourished initials, E(usebius) on fol. 1^{va} and B(eatus) on fol. 2^{vc} (**Plate 1**), have a long hairline that extends into the margin (fol. 1^{va}) or the intercolumniation (fol. 2^{vc}); that main hairline ends in a cusped appendix. Parallel to this tendril is a snaky hairline interrupted in the middle by a triangle of three dots. The hairlines at the terminals of J-chains are similarly formed (at both terminals on fol. 1^v and at the foot of the bar on fol. 2^v). The individual motif of an outer snaky hairline including three-dots triads, parallel to the longer main hairlines, often occurs in less elaborate initials in the same manuscript.²⁹ In O the same type of decoration is regularly given to the pen-flourished initials beginning with B(eatus) on fol. 121^{va} (**Plate 16**).³⁰ The motif of the three-point triad has already been noticed by Antoine Dondaine among the minor secondary motifs of the style of Jaquet Maci, an illuminator active from the second decade of the fourteenth century in Paris and Avignon.³¹ Patricia Stirnemann recognized the triple point as a feature of a new style, which is documented in Parisian pen-flourishing from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.³² In fact, that motif, within the configurations described above,

²⁹ See fols: 4^{vc} (Psalmus), 6^{vb} (Uerba), 7^{vb} (Domine), 8^{rc} (Pro), 8rd (Domine), 12^{rc} (In), 12^{vc} (Uictori), 12^{vd} (Saluum), 14^{va} (Humilis), 15^{rc} (Audi), 21^{rb} (Domine), 21^{vd} (Deus), 25^{rb} (Ad), 26^{rc} (Dauid, Iudica), 26rd (Iudica), 26^{vc} (Dauid), 26^{vd} (Dominus), 29^{va} (Uictori), 31^{rb} (Beati), 35^{rc} (Pro), 35^{vd} (Noli), 39rd (Expectans), 40^{vb} (Beatus), 41^{rc} (Pro), 42^{va} (Pro), 45rd (Deus), 46^{ra} (Uictori), 46rd (Magnus), 48^{rc} (Canticum), 54^{vc} (Uictori), 56^{vc} (Uictori), 57^{rc} (Uictori), 57rd (Nonne), 60^{ra} (Uictori), 63^{vc} (Uictori), 69^{va} (Uictori, Agnoscetur), 75^{va} (Laudate), 79^{va} (Filiorum), 79^{vb} (Fundamenta), 80^{vc} (Erudicionis), 86^{vb} (Deus), 88^{rb} (Uenite), 89^{vc} (Cantate), 90^{vc} (Iubilate), 91^{rc} (Dauid), 93^{ra} (Dauid), 102^{ra} (Canticum), 105^{rc} (Haleluia), 105^{vc} (Haleluya, Laudate), 107^{vc} (Laudate), 116^{vd} (Ad), 117^{rb} (Leuauai), 117rd (Canticum), 117^{vc} (Canticum), 118^{ra} (Canticum), 118^{rc} (Canticum), 119^{vc} (Canticum), 120^{va} (Canticum), 120^{vc} (Canticum), 121^{va} (Canticum), 124^{rc} (Dauid), 125^{vc} (Pro), 128^{rb} (Benedictus), 128^{vc} (Hymnpus), 130^{vd} (Lauda), 131rd (Laudate, In).

³⁰ See also, e.g.: I(n), fol. 126^{rb}; L(audate), fol. 148^{ra}; C(antate), fol. 148^{va}; S(et quia), fol. 149^{ra}; and many others on fols 122^{ra}–149^{rb}.

³¹ A. DONDAINE, "La collection des œuvres de Saint Thomas dite de Jean XXII et Jaquet Maci", *Scriptorium*, 29 (1975), pp. 127–52, at 151; cf. F. MANZARI, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310–1410)*, Modena, 2006, p. 51, and generally on his oeuvre EADEM, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale* (1996), s.v., https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/jaquet-maci_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Medievale%29/.

³² P. STIRNEMANN, "Fils de la vierge. L'initiale à filigranes parisienne: 1140–1314", *Revue de l'art*, 90 (1990), pp. 58–73, at 71. In the catalogue of manuscripts discussed

frequently appears in the manuscripts decorated during the first half of the fourteenth century at Paris³³ and also elsewhere in northern

in the article the one where that motif occurs (in configurations very close to those in M and O, let it be added) is Vendôme, BM, 181 (No. 47, p. 73, with reference to *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, ed. by Ch. SAMARAN, R. MARICHAL [henceforth *Mss. datés*], tom. VII, ed. by M.-C. GARAND, G. GRAND, D. MUZERELLE, Paris, 1984, p. 399). The copy of Arnoldus Leodiensis, *Alphabetum narrationum*, is dated 14 January 1308 (that is 1309 according to the new style) and was copied in *pecie* by Petrus Bonopuerus, perhaps identical with P. dictus Bonenfant, *stationarius* in Paris. Beside the initials on fol. 64^{vb} (reproduced in *Mss. datés* and in STIRNEMANN, “Fils de la vierge”), see also those on fols 1^{rb}, 59^{vb}, or 110^{ra-rb}, digitization of which is available in ARCA: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md5jhh63vs9c>. P. Stirnemann returned to the argument more recently (“Dating, placing, and illumination”, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 11 (2008), pp. 155–66) adding one more example, Paris, BnF, lat. 15885 (dated 1353; the motif, in the configuration close to our M and O, is found for instance in the initial “D(iligite)”, fol. 2^{va}, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078098f>) and provides evidence of a long life for the motif of the triple point, which is still found in penwork from the end of the century and until the third quarter of the fifteenth century, albeit in different stylistic contexts (*ibid.*, pp. 156–57, and fig. 1–2, p. 162).

³³ The earliest example known to me occur in the manuscript New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.1042 (Paris, 1285 × 1297, see A. STONES, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, London-Turnhout, 2013 (A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France), Part One, Volume Two, *Catalogue*, No. I-44, pp. 94–96, and Part One, Volume One, *Text & Illustrations*, il. 188). Among the most illustrative Parisian examples see (in chronological order): Paris, BnF, lat. 12726 (illuminated by the Fauvel Master, c. 1314, see R. H. ROUSE and M. A. ROUSE, *Illiterati et uxorati. Manuscripts and Their Makers. Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500*, 2 vols, Turnhout, 2000, vol. 2, p. 199, and il. 128); Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 5059 (dated Paris, 1317, see *Mss. datés*, I, ed. by M. GARAND, J. METMAN, with the assistance of M.-T. VERNET, Paris, 1959, p. 171, pl. XXXII); Paris, BnF, fr. 2090–2092 (1317, *Les fastes du Gothique. Le siècle de Charles V, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 9 octobre 1981–1er février 1982*, Paris, 1981, No. 232, pp. 286–87; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447296x/f.l.item>, see e.g. paraph signs or running titles in fr. 2090, fols 5^r, 7^r, 8^v, 13^r, 14^r, and initial U(raiment) on fol. 15^r); Paris, BnF, fr. 146 (c. 1317; STONES, *Gothic Manuscripts*, Part One, Volume Two, *Catalogue*, No. I-61, pp. 129–33; cf. *Les Fastes du Gothique*, No. 231, pp. 285–86; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8454675g>, e.g. initials on fols 1^{va} [S(uper)], 2^{rc} [H(eu)], 3^{rc} [P(lange)], 4^{rc} [D(e)], 21^{vc} [I(nter)], 63^{rb} [E(n)], 63^{rc} [D(e)]); Paris, BnF, lat. 11935 (the Bible of Robert de Bylling, dated 1327, signed among others by Maci, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/>

France.³⁴ On the contrary, they are rarely found in southern France³⁵

btvibio5097447/f. 15.item, see e.g. the penwork decoration of the running titles, numerals, vertical bars and initial N(ec) on fol. 1^{r-v}); Reims, BM, 172 (dated Paris, 1331, *Mss. datés*, V, ed. by M. GARAND, M. MABILLE, J. METMAN, with the assistance of M.-T. VERNET, Paris, 1965, p. 233, and reproduction in ARCA, <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md60cv43qw7g>; e.g. initials on fols 2^{ra} [M(isit)], 8^{va} [Q(ue)], 16^{vb} [C(ongregauit)], 43^{ra} [E(t)]); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 281 (dated Paris, 1340–1341; https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_7095, see e.g. initials on fols 1th [Q(uantum)], 42^{va} [P(ostquam)], 97^{va} [S(ciendum)], 99^{va} [P(ost)], 131^{vb} [A(ccelerunt)], 186^{vb} [S(tetit)], 202^{va} [F(actum)], or 231^{va} [E(cclesia)]. The manuscript Paris, BnF, lat. 1052 (the Breviary of Charles V, Paris c. 1364–1370 (see *Les Fastes du Gothique*, No. 287, pp. 333–34; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib84525491.r=1052?rk=858372>) provides a late example of the fortunes of the motif under consideration (see e.g. the pen-flourishing of the pieds-de-mouche on fols 11^{va}, 21^{va}, 134^{ra}, 309^{vb}, 458^{va}, 569^{vb}, and 603^{ra}; or initials on fols 81th [E(go)], 130^{ra} [S(ermone)], 130^{va} [P(ropiciare)], 170^{va} [D(eo)], 243^{ra} [I(pse)], 243th [M(isit)], 337th [Q(uem), S(it), T(u)], 441th [U(enit)], 444^{vb} [S(ancti)], 458^{va} [Q(uod)], 501^{ra} [S(upplicationem)], and 605^{ra} [U(eni), H(uius)]). Cf. some still later examples of the use of the individual motif of the triple point, alone or within a snaky line, alongside forms of the new style, provided by STIRNEMANN, “Dating”, p. 162.

³⁴ See e.g. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 1829 (dated Lisieux, 1326, *Mss. datés*, I, p. 345, pl. XXXVII), and Reims, BM, 992 (dated 18 June 1325, provenance: Reims, Saint-Remi; *Mss. datés*, V, p. 295; digitized in ARCA, <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md246q184j5n>; see the initials on fols 1^{va} [D(e)], 12^{va} [A(divuante)], 32^{va} [D(icto)]).

³⁵ In the first instance see the manuscripts of which the penwork decoration has been entirely or partly attributed to Maci, such as the edition of the works of Aquinas, e.g. BAV: Vat. lat. 731/1 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.731.pt.1, e.g. the initials A(d) on fols 9^{vb}–10^{va}), Vat. lat. 732/2 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.731.pt.2, e.g. the initials D(einde), A(d) on fol. 352^{ra}), Vat. lat. 738 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.738, e.g. initials A(d) and D(einde), on fol. 55^{va}), 785/1 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.785.pt.1, e.g. the initials T(ercio), fol. 8th; Q(uestio), fol. 63^{va}; Q(uinto), fol. 73^{ra}), or Vat. lat. 2106 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.2106, e.g. the initials S(icut), fol. 1^{ra}, and U(trum), both *textus* and lemma, fol. 10^{va}); or the presentation copy of Dominicus Grima’s *Lectura in Biblia*, Paris, BnF, lat. 365 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib10464130m/f.2.item>, e.g. fol. 18^{vb}: decoration of the initial T(aceo) and vertical bar), and lat. 375 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib9081030z/f.8.item.r=375>, e.g. the initials R(espondens), fol. 14^{ra}, or D(ixit), fol. 35th, and respective vertical bars). See also Toulouse, BM, 93 (dated Avignon, 5 December 1331; *Mss. datés*, VI, ed. by M. GARAND, M. MA-

and only exceptionally in England.³⁶

Paris is therefore the very probable place of production for both M and O. As a consequence (unless one were to multiply the lost intermediary witnesses), α , the exemplar of M, and δ , the exemplar of the first part of O, were available in Paris at the time each copy was executed. The exemplar of M was also the model of β , which, however, may have been copied in England and for English recipients. In fact, two out of three of its extant descendants, C and N, are written in Anglicana. Nevertheless, both copies also present continental connections. The penwork decoration of N follows the same pattern of M, O, and many Parisian manuscripts, as described above.³⁷ The less elaborate pen flour-

BILLE, J. METMAN, Paris, 1968, p. 385; digitized in ARCA, <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md36tx3is97m>, see e.g. the initials on fol. 133^v). In these manuscripts, and contrary to M and O of Trevet, violet is used alongside red and blue.

³⁶ To the best of my knowledge the only English manuscript to include the motif of a snaky hairline interrupted by a three-point triangle is Paris, BnF, fr. 9562 (the History of the Bible in Anglo-Norman, XIV^{2/4}; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib90615445/f.2.item>, AVRIL, STIRNEMANN, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire*, No. 191, p. 154), see e.g. the initials on fols 16^{va} (C[omment]), 19^{va} (C[oment]), 23^{ra} (Q[ant], L[ors]), 23^{rb} (L[ong]), 23^{vb} (Q[ant]), 25^{va} (Q[ant]), 49^{vb} (S[i tost]), 141^r (all initials), 160^{va} (A[vant]), and 179^{rb} (I[onatha]). However, the motif under consideration appears there together with the features of English pen-flourishing and a hand using Anglicana. The case of Paris, BnF, lat. 17155, is different. The manuscript was probably copied in Paris, c. 1320 × c. 1330, and decorated by two hands, partly working in tandem, representing French and English styles (see L. F. SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1986 (*A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, V), vol. 2, No. 70, pp. 78–79; AVRIL, STIRNEMANN, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire*, No. 177, pp. 141–42). Our motif appears on the folios ascribed to the French pen-flourisher, see e.g. the initials I(ntentio), fol. 3^{ra}; E(t), fol. 4^{rb}; C(um), fol. 6^{rb}; Q(uod), fol. 13^{va}; E(x), fol. 64^{va}; H(ic), fol. 69^{va}; M(anifestum), fol. 86^{va}; C(um), fol. 150^{ra}; Q(uoniam), fol. 155^{ra}; C(um), fol. 155^{rb}; S(i), *textus*, fol. 228^{vb}; E(t), fol. 262^{ra}; Q(uod), fol. 322^{va}; D(ico), fol. 328^{ra}; or the extremities of the vertical bars on fols 5^r (the upper margin), and 227^{ra} (the upper margin), see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvib9081048n>. Cf. below on N.

³⁷ This is particularly true of the initial R(euerendo) on fol. 2^{ra}, a blue and red puzzle initial, of which the pen flourishes include a hairline extending across the inner margin and provided with a parallel snaky line with a three-point triad. Of similar type is the initial B(eatus) on fol. 100^{ra}, the first page of the second codicological unit of the manuscript, probably sharing its origin with the first. However, it differs in that the infilling consists of trefoil leaves in blind on a hatched ground, a technique

ishing of C is likewise Parisian.³⁸ (The script of A, the third descendant of β , is a not very distinctive northern *textualis*, while the penwork decoration is Italian; eventually, and during the medieval period, all the extant manuscripts of the sub-family β found their way to continental libraries, in Italy and Germany.) One way of explaining the heterogeneous appearance of N and C is to suppose that the manuscripts were copied in England but decorated in Paris. Another solution would be that they were copied in Paris by English scribes. Richard and Mary Rouse listed about twenty scribes of certain or apparent English origin who worked in Paris between the end of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth.³⁹ As stressed by the same scholars, the Eng-

commonly used in England, less frequently found in northern and eastern France, only exceptionally in Paris (F. AVRIL, “Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien de la première moitié du XIVe siècle: Jacobus Mathey (Jaquet Maci?)”, *Bulletin Monumental*, 129 (1971), 4, pp. 249–64, at 252–53). In the copy of Trevet’s *Expositio* (the first unit), the motif of a triad of three points within a snaky line also appears independently in several initials on fols 2th (I[n]), 3^{va} (I[eronimus]), 6^{ra} (I[n]), 6^{vb} (I[n]), 12th (I[n]), 12^{va} (I[n]), 13th (I[n]), 20^{ra} (I[n]), 20^{va} (I[n]), 31^{va} (H[ic]), 52^{ra} (I[n]), 54^{va} (I[n]), 58^{va} (I[n]), 59th (I[n]), 60^{ra} (I[n]), 61^{vb} (I[n]), 62th (I[n]), 63^{ra} (I[n]), 98th (P[salmus]), and 98^{vb} (I[n]).

³⁸ Among rather distinctive motifs in the penwork decoration of C, see in the initial B(eatus), on fol. 2th, a spiral infilling that has at its centre a small circle surrounded by dots. The same motif is found in M (e.g. S[alua], fol. 12^{vc}; C[anticum], fol. 28^{vc}), N (C[horus], fol. 99^{va}), and in some of the Parisian manuscripts mentioned above, see e.g. Paris, BnF, fr. 146 (fol. 85^{vc}, initial D(roit)); fr. 2092 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84478804>; fol. 48^v, the running title); lat. 17155 (e.g. fols 18th, T(angentes); 19th, Q(uoniam), C(um), C(orumpitur); 24th, C(ause)); and Vendôme, BM, 181 (fols 64^{vb}, F(ames); 110th, O(ciosa)). Patricia Stirnemann, who kindly looked at the initials of C, confirms their Parisian style.

³⁹ ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 2: Adam l’Englois (1297, p. 11); Arnould l’Englois (or Ernaldus Anglicus, s. XIII ex./XIV in., p. 18); Gautier l’Englois (1297–1300, p. 31); Griffin de Galles (Griffinus Gallensis de Wallia, s. XIV in., pp. 35–36); Guillaume l’Englois (d. before 1325, p. 41); Guillaume de Kirkby (1336, p. 42); Guillaume Lescot (1317, p. 42); Jean de Duntonia (1323; pp. 68–69); Jean Gallensis (s. XIII ex., pp. 70–71); Jean Wade (s. XIV, p. 89); Pierre de Beverlaco (Peter of Beverley, c. 1320, p. 109); Pierre Maymat OCarm (d. 1348, p. 112); Raoul l’Englois (1298, p. 120); Raoul (Rodulhus) Ibernicus (1296–1302, p. 120); Robert de Billyng (c. 1327, p. 128); Robert l’Englois (1299, p. 129, two scribes of the same name, attested in the same year but at different locations in Paris); Robert l’Englois (1337–1368, p. 129); Thomas l’Englois (1299, p. 136); Thomas le Normant (also a stationer,

lish origin does not necessarily mean that a person received training in England. As far as I can see from the sample available in digital reproductions, the manuscripts signed or attributed to those scribes are written in rather undistinctive book hands, while the Anglicana is sometimes used in guide-texts.⁴⁰ Alison J. Ray, who was mainly interested in documenting the importation to England of manuscripts made in Paris under the *pecia* system, observed that “a small number of texts are composed in English document hands, most likely the efforts of English scholars who copied these works in Paris from *pecia* exemplars and returned with the manuscripts to their home institutions”.⁴¹ However, the evidence she presents shows Anglicana to be a script of users, present in annotations or added texts, rather than being the choice of the main hand.⁴² It is outside that corpus that we find a manuscript that

1290–1323, d. before 1352, p. 138); Thomas de Wymondswold (de Wymonduswold, 1314–1332, or 1342, pp. 138–39). On the manuscripts written by English scribes in Paris and illuminated by French artists, cf. SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, vol. 1, p. 19.

⁴⁰ The latter is the case with a copy of the *Decretales* of Gregory IX (Liverpool, University Library, F. 4. 20) finished in 1290 by Thomas le Normant, where the headings written in Anglicana as a guide for the rubricator led N. R. Ker to suppose the English origin of the scribe (N. R. KER, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1985, pp. 315–16, ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 2, p. 138).

⁴¹ A. J. RAY, “The *Pecia* System and its Use in the Cultural Milieu of Paris, 1250–1330”, PhD diss., University College London, 2015 (the dissertation is available at: <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1492764/>), p. 227 (cf. pp. 12–13); the same observation is repeated in EADEM, “Intellectual exchange: English users of the Paris *pecia* system, 1250–1330”, *Pecia. Le livre et l'écrit*, 19 (2016), pp. 7–48, at 13 (cf. p. 16).

⁴² RAY, “*Pecia* System”, pp. 101–02, 104–05, 112–14, 128–30, 182–85, 217–18. Several other manuscripts are registered in Appendix II, among which is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 322 (Adam de Buckfield, on Aristotle’s *De anima*). Contrary to the description (p. 338), the *pecia* marks do not present features of Anglicana. The script of the main text mixes cursive and textualis forms, certainly Northern, not Italian, as suggested by R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscripts of Latin Commentaries on Aristotle in British Libraries*, vol. 1, Oxford, Turnhout, 2011, p. 86 (this wrong impression may stem from the Italian aspect of the pen-flourished initials, apparently a later addition). More pertinent to our case is the original body of Oxford, Magdalen College, lat. 217 (RAY, “*Pecia* System”, pp. 182–85, 319–20). It includes a copy of the *Quodlibeta* of Henry of Ghent (fols 12^{va}–19^{ra}), a *pecia* copy according to Ray but I could not find the *pecia* marks and the copy is not listed

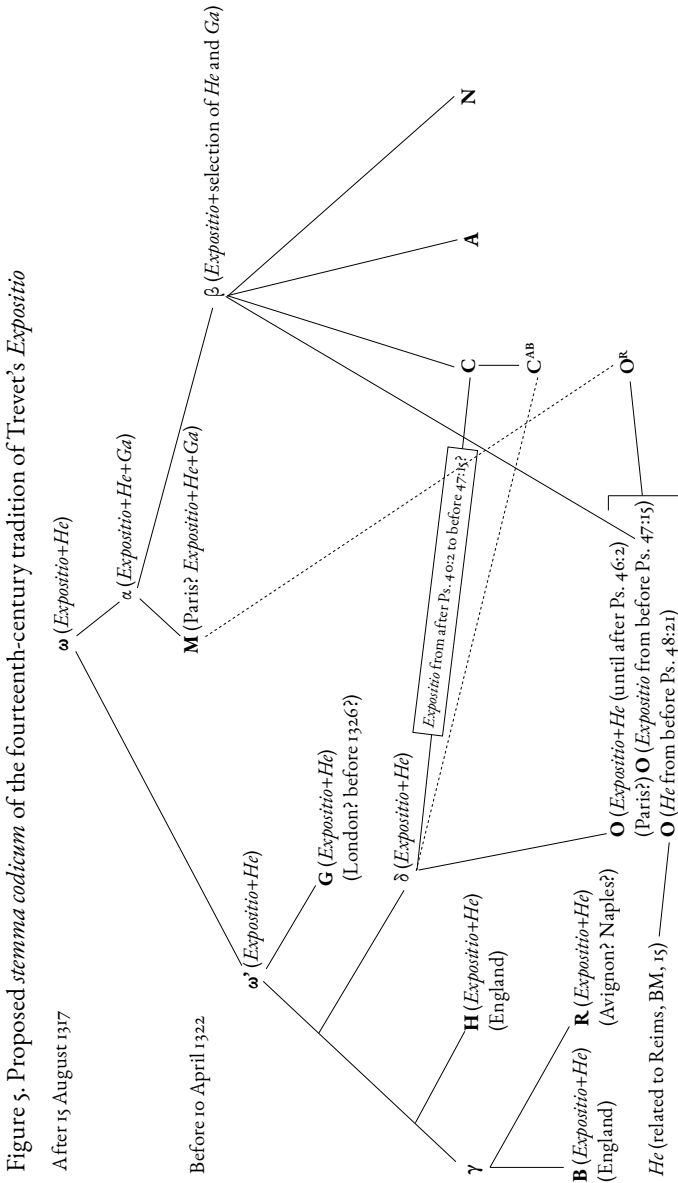
comes closest to our C and N: the hand responsible for the greater part of the copy of *De animalibus* of Albertus Magnus, datable to the first half of the fourteenth century, uses Anglicana Formata, while the initials across the entire manuscript are pen-flourished in Parisian style.⁴³ Although I cannot offer more examples of manuscripts copied in Paris in Anglicana script, the hypothesis of the Parisian origin of C and N is corroborated by the philological evidence: δ , one of the exemplars of O, was the source of the corrections in C and perhaps even the exemplar from which a small part of it was copied; the latter part of O, instead, is closely related to α and β . If C and N had been copied in Paris, their common ancestor, β , must have travelled to Paris or even have been produced there.

With two extant manuscripts assigned to Paris on sufficient grounds (M, O), two others assigned tentatively to Paris (N, C), and two or three lost witnesses, which were either imported (α , β ?, δ ?) or perhaps even produced there (β ? δ ?), Paris emerges as a place where several copies of Trevet's *Expositio*, belonging to at least two different traditions of authorial publishing, were available soon after the work's completion. The spatial and temporal concentration of copies, together with the marks of professional craftsmanship (M, C, O) and an editorial approach to the text (C, O), gives an impression of a coordinated effort

in MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, No. 471), and an exemplar of the *Abbreuiatio Summae Henrici de Gandavo* (fols 192^{ra}–340^{vb}; MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, No. 473). Besides tables and marginalia added in Anglicana by the early user throughout the entire manuscript, which were noted by Ray, the book hand of the two texts, defined by Ray as Textualis Semi-Quadrata, presents certain features reminiscent of a scribe trained in Anglicana: alongside *r* slightly descending below the baseline, there are Anglicana forms of *d* and horned ascenders, which appear sporadically or in some concentration (see fol. 204^v and the following). Also, the pen-flourishing is English in style. However, the Parisian origin is hypothesized from the fact that the two texts were distributed in the pecia system.

⁴³ Paris, BnF, lat. 17156, fols 9^{ra}–66^{vb}, 153^{ra}–307^{ra}. Another hand, which takes over on fol. 67^{ra}, may also have been trained in Anglicana, see the frequent use of 6-shape *s* in initial position. The manuscript bears the early-modern ex-libris of the Dominican convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris (front pastedown). The item has been digitized: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52500145m>.

of publishing and a deliberate decision, by Trevet or by his order, to use the developed infrastructure of book production in Paris for that purpose.



Chapter 4

The Effects of Publication The Earliest Reception

Copying involves reading a text, for a specific purpose but of necessity with some attention. In this sense, the earliest copies, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, whether produced under the auspices of Trevet and his proxies or solicited by the first owners, also represent the first instances of the reception of Trevet's work. Unfortunately, they offer little evidence of their early readership, and it is only by analysing their place in the tradition and reconstructing the historical setting of their production and early ownership that one can attempt to assess their witness to a dialogue between the author and his contemporary readers.

More explicit evidence of early reception can be searched for in the literary tradition to which Trevet's work most directly belonged, viz. Psalter commentaries. In the years immediately following the publication of Trevet's *Expositio*, or during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, more than ten authors are known to have commented on the Psalms.¹ These are, in roughly chronological order: Petrus Rogerii OSB,² Mathias de Colonia OCarm,³ Nicholas of Lyre OFM,⁴

¹ A very helpful survey of the authors commenting of the Psalter during the period under consideration is offered by MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition". The numbers provided for each author refer to their position in the list on pp. 350–52). Cf. STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 80–81.

² MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", No. 61, and pp. 336–38. The commentary, which has survived in fragmentary copies alone, would date to the years 1307–1323, when the future Pope Clement VI was studying in Paris.

³ MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", No. 62, and p. 336. Mathias lectured on the Bible in Paris 1321–1325 and 1330–1334.

⁴ MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", No. 63. For more details see below.

Thomas Waleys OP,⁵ Armandus de Bellovisu OP,⁶ Pontius Carbonellus (Ponce Carbonell) OFM,⁷ Henry Cossey OFM,⁸ Guillelmus Bernardi OP,⁹ Iohannes de Aversa OP,¹⁰ Guillelmus Lon OP,¹¹ Richard Rolle of

⁵ *Expositio super duos nocturnos Psalterii* (MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 59; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 686; SOPMA IV, No. 3890). The title by which the commentary is referred to in the two latter repertories, and which also recurs in some of the manuscripts, reflects the extension of the commentary as it reads, for example, in the Venetian edition of 1611, where it covers Pss. 1–37 (according to numbering of *Ga*), i.e. the two nocturns. However, in the London edition of 1481 (*GW* M30956, ISTC iw00002500), and some of the manuscript copies the commentary extends to Ps. 38:2, where it breaks off (the same is suggested in SOPMA). According to Beryl Smalley, the commentary originated as a lecture course given at Bologna (c. 1326). The same scholar also searched for Waleys’ sources but found no evidence of the use of any biblical commentaries later than the *Glossa*, see B. SMALLEY, “Thomas Waleys O.P.”, *AFP*, 24 (1954), pp. 50–107 (on the textual tradition and the profile of the Psalter commentary, pp. 66–71, on the exegetic sources, p. 79, but the quotations passim; cf. EADEM, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 79–81, 85–88; GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, p. 70; SAENGER, “The British Isles”, pp. 104–06; and KRAEBEL, *Biblical Commentary*, pp. 29–37).

⁶ MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 60. For more details see below.

⁷ MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 64. Carbonell (d. 1350) belonged to the Aragon province of the Franciscan order. He prepared a commentary on the Psalms between 1319 and 1329, which was preceded and followed by commentaries on several other books of the Old Testament and a catena on the Gospels, see the entry in M. VAN DER HEIJDEN, B. ROEST, *Franciscan Authors, 13th–18th Century: a Catalogue in Progress*, <https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscanauthors/> (s.v. Pontius Carbonellus).

⁸ MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 68. For more details see below.

⁹ *Collationes super Genesis, Iob et Psalterium* (MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 69; SOPMA, No. 1461).

¹⁰ *Lectura super Pss. 1–17* (MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, pp. 325–27, and No. 70; SOPMA, No. 2196). Giovanni d’Aversa was *lector* in San Domenico in Naples, 1339–1340.

¹¹ MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 71; SOPMA, No. 1570. The only witness to his commentary on Pss. 1–37, now lost, was dated 1343.

Hampole,¹² and Petrus de Riu de Perpignan OCarm.¹³ Some of these commentators only covered a part of the Psalter or individual psalms (Waleys, Lon); some others commented on the Psalter within the larger endeavour of expounding several biblical books or the entire Bible (Carbonell, Lyre). The extant commentaries (those of Mathias de Colonia, Lon, and Petrus de Riu do not survive) represent a range of forms, including *collationes* and *catenae*, but all expound the Gallican Psalter. None of them is entirely available in a modern critical edition, which hinders any attempt to answer the question as to whether any of those authors used Trevet's *Expositio*. Within the limits of the present study, I have restricted myself to three writers from this list.

The first, Franciscan friar Nicholas of Lyre (c. 1270–1349), has been chosen for aspects of his biography and certain characteristics of his commentary.¹⁴ Lyre, a native of Normandy, spent most of his life in Paris, where he studied and lectured. His graduation as a master of theology in 1308 followed by a regency (until 1310?) would have coincided with Trevet's sojourn in Paris. Around 1322–1323 he started writing a literal postil on the entire Bible, which was to become one of the most influential biblical commentaries of the later Middle Ages.¹⁵ Before the completed work was presented to Pope John XXII in 1332, postils on individual biblical books or group of books were published separately. The *Postilla litteralis super Psalmos* is dated to 1326¹⁶ and began to circu-

¹² MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", No. 66; SHARPE, *Handlist*, No. 1454. Richard Rolle (d. 1349), after studies at Oxford (without obtaining a degree) became hermit and produced two commentaries on the Psalms, first in Latin, then in Middle English, and also commented separately on individual psalms. See for all KRAEBEL, *Biblical Commentary*, pp. 91–114.

¹³ MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", No. 72, and p. 336. Petrus was *lector Bibliicus* in Paris in 1342 and 1345.

¹⁴ For the general overview of his biography and works, see "Introduction" in *Nicholas of Lyra: the Senses of Scripture*, ed. by Ph. D. W. KREY, L. SMITH, Leiden-Boston-Cologne, 2000, pp. 1–18. See also the entry in VAN DER HEIJDEN, ROEST, *Franciscan Authors Catalogue* (https://applejack.science.ru.nl/franciscan_authors/), s.v. Nicolaus de Lyra.

¹⁵ The dating is based on the reference, in the postil on Genesis, to the year 1322, which, according to Easter reckoning, lasted from 11 April 1322 to 26 March 1323, see Ch.-V. LANGLOIS, "Nicolas de Lyre, frère mineur", in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tom. 36, Paris, 1927, pp. 355–400, at 373.

¹⁶ Lyre often provides dates of his works and in the literal postil on the Psalms he did so, commenting on Ps. 32: "hoc autem opus fuit scriptum Anno domini

late before the end of the same decade.¹⁷ Nicholas's focus on the literal sense¹⁸ and his remarkable attentiveness to Hebrew exegesis could have

m. ccc. xxvi." (fol. 41^r; for the edition used, see below, n. 20). The same date is given in what might be an authorial *subscriptio*, which often accompanies the *Postil on the Psalms*, both when transmitted separately and when part of a set of Lyre's postils on the Bible. As an example of the former, see BAV, Vat. lat. 162, fol. 89^{vb} (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.162): "Explicit postillas [sic] super librum Psalmorum edita a fratre Nicholao de Lyra de ordine fratrum minorum sacre theologie doctore. Anno domini m^o c^oc^oc^o xxvi^o"; for the latter case, see, for instance, Durham Cathedral Library, A. I. 4, fol. 156^{tb} (where by mistake "millesimo CCC^o xvi", <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1m9019s252t>). Considering Easter reckoning, which was style probably followed by Lyre (cf. previous note), the commentary may have been completed at the beginning of 1327 (before 12 April). It must be added that Friedrich Stegmüller distinguished two "editions" of that postil, the first one dating from before 1322 (F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, No. 5853, consulted from the digital version: https://www.repbib.uni-trier.de/cgi-bin/rebi-Index.tcl?ac=ma_8107; the entry was originally published in vol. 4, 1954; followed, among others, by MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, p. 650, No. 696, and MORARD, "Entre mode et tradition", pp. 334, 352). The *terminus ante quem* probably refers to the putative date when Lyre began composition of the *Postilla super Bibliam* (see previous note). The evidence of an earlier edition of that particular postil apparently came from a copy which gives the year 1323 in the explicit, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B IV 3, fol. 156^{tb}: "Explicit postilla super librum Psalmorum edita a fratre Nicholao de Lyra de ordine fratrum minorum sacre theologie doctore. Anno domini m^o. ccc^o. xxiii^o" (on the manuscript, see G. MEYER, M. BURCKHARDT, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis. Abteilung B: Theologische Pergamenthandschriften. Erster Band: Signaturen B I 1–B VIII 10*, Basel, 1960, pp. 310–11). However, in the commentary on Ps. 32, the same copy offers the already quoted formula (here with an omission, which is not significant to our case): "h(oc) a(utem) opus fuit sc(r)iptu(m) [apud] anno d(omi)ni milesimo <ccc> .xxvi." (fol. 34^{va}). Until systematic studies into the manuscript tradition of the *Postil* are conducted, it is reasonable to explain the peculiar numeral "xxiii" in the *subscriptio* as a misreading of "xxvi". In any case, and contrary to what was suggested by KLEINHANS, "Nicolaus Trivet", p. 229, Lyre's *Postil* could not have been known to Trivet before the completion of the *Expositio*.

¹⁷ The already mentioned copy transmitted in BAV, Vat. lat. 162 (see previous note), was made by Gervais Wallence in 1329, in Paris, from an exemplar available from a Parisian stationer (see colophon on fol. 89^{vb}). On this manuscript, see ROUSE and ROUSE, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, vol. 2, p. 34 (*s.v.* "Gervais Wallence").

¹⁸ Later, in 1333–1339, Lyre prepared a shorter moral postil on the entire Bible.

led Lyre to the recent commentary by Trevet.¹⁹ The availability in Paris of Trevet's *Expositio* as early as the beginning of the 1320s, as documented above, would have made it possible for Lyre to have seen it. However, a cursory reading of Lyre's *Postil* on the Psalms has not revealed any explicit reference to Trevet's text.²⁰

The second author, Armandus de Bellovisu (Armand de Belvézer, died after 17 July 1348), has been selected by virtue of his Dominican affiliation and position as the *magister sacri Palatii* at Avignon, which he held from 1327/28 to 1334.²¹ Trevet was not an unknown person at

¹⁹ Lyre, though, chose to comment on the Gallican Psalter, reserving an auxiliary role to the *iuxta Hebraeos* and the Hebrew Psalter. For an insight into Lyre's approach to the Psalter, see T. GROSS-DIAZ, "What's a good soldier to do? Scholarship and revelation in the Postils on the Psalms", in *Nicholas of Lyra: the Senses of Scripture*, pp. 111–28; cf. STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 80–119.

²⁰ The conclusion is based on the following edition: Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam*, 5 vols, Rome: Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1471–1472 (GW M26523, ISTC in00131000); the *Postilla super Psalmos* occurs in vol. 2, printed 1472), consulted from the copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc.c.a. 66–3, https://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00063850/image_13. A possible indirect reference may be found at the beginning of the commentary on Ps. 32 (fol. 41^r), where Lyre argues against "aliqui" who claim that the psalm should be taken as part of the preceding one. Lyre claims to have consulted three Hebrew bibles and three Hebrew books on the Psalter and in all those books that psalm was distinguished at the head by space and a numeral. It may be that Trevet was intended to be counted among those "aliqui". In the opening of the commentary on Ps. 31 he states that according to the Hebrews the two psalms are one, since Ps. 32 has no title, nor is it distinguished by a bigger initial or space, and concludes: "et ideo tanquam de uno psalmo agendum est qui [quia M] secundum hebraicam computationem, que primum et secundum apud nos psalmum ponit, 30^{us} est" (M, fol. 31^{rab}, G, fol. 57^{rb-va}). Although graphically distinguished and provided with separate numbers, Trevet refers to a continuous numbering of verses, while the paratextual apparatus, at least in M (fols 31^{ved}–32^{vab}) and G (fols 58^{vb}–60^{tb}), offers a double series of verse numbers in Ps. 32 (13–34 and 1–22). The consultation of the section dedicated to the Psalter in Lyre's *Tractatus de differentia littere hebraice et nostre translationis* (1333) has not produced any evidence either (I have read it from Paris, BnF, lat. 3359, fols 25^{rb}–53^{vb}; on the Psalms see fols 42^{rb}–45^{ra}). For comparison of the two commentaries as regards selected psalms, see STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 80–119.

²¹ On Belvézer's career and works, see M. MORARD, "Le *studium* de la Curie pontificale et ses maîtres au temps de Jean XXII", in *Jean XXII et le Midi*, Toulouse, 2012 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 45), pp. 461–545, at 474–75, 481, 482, 484–85, 491–94,

the papal court. In the second decade of the century his commentaries on the Latin classics, or their copies, had been commissioned by Cardinal Niccolò da Prato and Pope John XXII. At an unspecified date the pope was also made the dedicatee of Trevet's commentary on Genesis. By September 1324 he heard about, and made a request for, a copy of the Psalter commentary. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether the scholar responsible for the teaching of theology at the *Studium curie* made any reference to the recent *Expositio* of his esteemed confrere. According to the extant evidence, which is admittedly rather fragmentary, Armandus commented on the Psalms on multiple occasions, in various forms and contexts. A short *Introitus in Psalterium*²² introduces an *expositio* of the Psalter, which has not survived. Martin Morard dates that work to Armandus's years at Avignon.²³ At least three other pieces of Psalter exegesis, viz. a cursory commentary on Pss. 118–125, a detailed exposition of Ps. 118:1–86, and a number of *quaestiones* on selected verses of Ps. 118, belong to the same period. All three have been transmitted as *reportationes* signed by Armandus's student, Master John of Spain (*Iohannes Yspanus*), and dated at Avignon in 1328.²⁴ In none of these commentaries does Armand refer to Trevet. The most recent among his explicitly quoted sources are Hugh of St Victor and the *Glossa or-*

and 522–25. Cf. B. SCHWARZ, *Kurienuniversität und stadtrömische Universität von ca. 1300 bis 1471*, Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 595. On his scholarship see also M. MORARD, “Une certaine idée de la science sacrée: la *Collatio super sacram scripturam* d'Armand de Belvézer, O.P.”, *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales*, 73 (2006), pp. 99–174.

²² SOPMA, No. 309. The text has been transmitted in an apparently contemporary manuscript: Paris, BnF, lat. 2584, fols 38^{vb}–39^{rb}.

²³ MORARD, “Le *studium* de la Curie”, p. 491.

²⁴ SOPMA, No. 310; MORARD, “Le *studium* de la Curie”, p. 524. BAV, Borgh. 101 (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borgh.101), respectively fols 1^r–62^v (here the most telling colophon; with regard to conflicting information given in previous scholarship on the psalms covered by this part, it may be affirmed that the last psalm to be commented on is Ps. 125, fols 58^v–62^r), 63^r–100^v, and 101^{ra}–110^{ra}). On this manuscript see D. WILLIMAN, K. CORSANO, *Early Provenances of Latin Manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Vaticani Latini and Borghesiani*, Vatican City, 2003, p. 96, and E. CONDELLO, “Tradizione e innovazione: la produzione libraria dentro e intorno alla Curia pontificia nel XIV secolo”, in *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell'età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'Associazione italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti, Arezzo (8–11 ottobre 2003)*, ed. by C. TRISTANO,

dinaria. Finally, he commented on the Psalms in his sermons, transmitted individually and as a collection of *Collationes super Psalterium* (c. 1320–c. 1327);²⁵ these offer apposite Psalter lemmata for individual moments of the liturgical calendar. Given the nature of that work and the early date of at least some of these sermons, it comes as little surprise not to find references there to Trevet.

It should be emphasized that the absence of references to Trevet in Lyre's and Belvézer's works are of relative value. Only critical editions of their and Trevet's commentaries could provide us with a reliable answer to the question of whether the latter was used by his two contemporaries. In contrast, our third case, Henry Cossey, offers watertight results. As early as 1905 Montague Rhodes James, in his description of the only witness of Cossey's commentary on the Psalter, observed: "[Cossey] quotes Lyra and Trivet on almost every Psalm, and very frequently combats their views"; in demonstration, the generous cataloguer offered several instances. The very recent study by Andrew Kraebel has brought to light more references.²⁶

M. CALLERI, L. MAGIONAMI, Spoleto, 2006, pp. 135–62, at 156–57. Apparently the *reportationes* are the only known evidence of Iohannes Yspanus, unless he is to be identified with one of the students bearing this name and originating from the Iberian peninsula, who are attested at the *studium* at the end of the 1320s (see SCHWARZ, *Kurienuniversität*, E. Anhäge II – Liste II, Nos. 23, 25, 28, 29; pp. 559–61).

²⁵ SOPMA, No. 315. I have consulted the following edition: F. Armandi de Belovisu [...] *Sermones plane diuini assumptis ex solo Psalterio Daudico thematis: per totum fere anni circulum declamabiles*, Lyon: Vincentius de Portonariis, 1525, occasionally checked against the digitized copy of the microfilm of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 90, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/details/bs00120412>. The collection is dedicated to Cardinal Raymond de Montsuejols on the occasion of his promotion (edition, fol. IIIv), the date of which, 18 December 1327 (see C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, Münster, 1913, Book I, *De Summis Pontificibus et S.R.E. Cardinalibus*, p. 16), offers an approximate date of gathering of the sermons. Individual parts, however, were composed at different moments. For instance, in the *collatio* 88 the author states that 1,320 years elapsed from the birth of Christ (wrongly "MCCCLXX" in the edition, fol. CLXIIIr, "mille CCC^{ci} viginti", Clm 90, fols CCXXVIII^b–CCXXIX^{ra}), whereas two sermons for the feast of St Thomas Aquinas (*collationes* 54 and 72) must have been written after the canonization of 1323.

²⁶ M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 28–36, at 35; and KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism". For the passages quoted see below, Appendix E.

Henry Cossey was a Franciscan friar and contemporary of Trevet's. The few facts that are known about Cossey link him to Cambridge, where he held a regency around 1325–1326 and was later put into custody with other friars accused of heresy (1329–1330). However, Kraebel has persuasively proposed that between those two episodes Cossey is likely to have temporarily moved to Oxford, where he could have studied Hebrew and consulted books that had belonged to the famous scholar Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253), kept since his death at the Oxford Greyfriars.²⁷ Since Cossey frequently quotes Lyre's Postil on the Psalms, he cannot have begun working on his commentary before 1326. A reference to Trevet's advanced age ("hic senex") in the third prologue has led Kraebel to suggest a personal acquaintance between the two friars.²⁸ Cossey, however, may have simply been alluding to the fame of the scholar, by now widely renowned. More interestingly, the reference seems to confirm that Cossey worked on his commentary when Trevet was alive. They would have died close together in time: Trevet's final appearance in the historical record is in 1334; Cossey is reported to have died in 1336.

The commentary survives in one copy (Cambridge, Christ's College, 11), a paper manuscript datable to the middle of the fifteenth century. It belonged to the Carthusian monastery at Coventry.²⁹ The commentary has not been published in print, except for the prologues and the epi-

²⁷ KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", pp. 296–98, cf. on his life, pp. 288–89. Cossey's opinion being cited in the commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences* by an Oxford Dominican Hugh of Lawton, before 1330–1331, (GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, p. 85), would also be best explained by Cossey's presence at Oxford in the period following his Cambridge regency.

²⁸ KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 291; for the passage see p. 334, l. 16.

²⁹ JAMES, *Catalogue of Christ's College*, p. 28, and KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", pp. 300–10. The dating to the fifteenth century (James) and the middle of that century (Kraebel, declaratively on the basis of the script) is confirmed by the watermarks. The paper is distinguished by two types. The first represents an ox's head with nostrils and starred stick, between two chain lines 38 mm apart. It occurs in four variants: (1) 60 mm high, without particular features (cf. Briquet 15064: Eberbach/Rheingau, 1454–1465; 15068: Bordeaux, 1462; 15089: Solothurn, 1488); (2) 62 mm high with accentuated eyes (cf. Briquet 15086: Plousané, 1477; Piccard-Online, e.g. 74878: Goslar, 1447; 74879: Basel, 1448; 74880: Mainz, 1450; 74893: Konstanz 1447; 74894: Hochenrechberg 1447; 75187: Hochenrechberg, 1447; 75284: Basel 1450; 75342: Basel 1447; 75385: Goslar, 1447; 75389: Braunschweig, 1450; 75446: Frankfurt a. Main, 1462); (3) 68 mm high, with asymmetric horns; (4) 67 mm high,

logue, which Kraebel has recently edited and translated.³⁰ Citations below are therefore to the Christ's College manuscript. Although Cossey chose the Gallican Psalter as the version to be commented on, he constantly quotes other Latin translations (the *textus* is only present in the form of lemmata). Cossey shared with Trevet a preference for the literal sense and a vivid interest in the Hebrew text and Hebrew exegesis. Yet he surpassed Trevet's command of the biblical language. The shared general attitude may explain why Trevet is among the authors most frequently cited by Cossey. Trevet is often quoted together with Lyre, referred to either by toponymic (Lyre, spelled "Lira") or family name (Trevet, spelled "Triuet", in full or abbreviated "T(ri)uuet"), or simply as "ambo expositores",³¹ "ambo expositores mei",³² or "ambo doctores mei".³³ Trevet is mentioned in almost every psalm, for the full record of which Appendix E should be consulted. Cossey is usually in disagreement,³⁴ on the grounds of the literal sense and Hebrew scholarship.³⁵ What matters for the history of the publication of Trevet's *Expositio* is

with asymmetric nostrils and a circle at the base of the stick (see especially Briquet 15105; Fribourg, 1449, and Basel 1468; and numerous examples attested during the 1440s and 1450s in the German-speaking countries, especially along the Rhine and high Danube, registered in Piccard-Online, the closest being 76860: Fribourg, 1449; 76861: Donauwörth, 1450; 76862 and 76864: Wesel, 1449; 76866: Speyer, 1451; 76867: Donauwörth, 1451; 76877: Braunschweig, 1453; 76878: Liebenau, 1453; 76905: Stuttgart, 1451. That the mark was used in Cambridgeshire about the same time is shown by a different variant attested in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson poet. 118, associated with Briquet 14266 by LUCAS, *From Author to Audience*, p. 152. The second type of watermark found in Cossey's copy represents scissors, 56 mm high (cf. Briquet 3744: Genoa, 1448; Naples, 1448; Perpignan, 1451–1452; Catania, 1452; Pignerol, 1459; Palermo 1463; and Piccard-Online 122344: Waldenburg, 1450; 122360: Bensburg, 1451; 122361: Xanten, 1448).

³⁰ KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", pp. 318–68.

³¹ See on Pss. 16 (fol. 38^r), 26 (fol. 56^v), 41 (fol. 77^r), 43 (fol. 78^v), 58 (fol. 97^v), 61 (fol. 101^r), 77 (fol. 130^r), 82 (fol. 136^v), and 145 (fol. 245^r). The formula "a. e. Lira et Triuet" used in the exposition of Ps. 143 (fol. 241^r) leaves no room for doubt as to who the otherwise nameless "expositores" are.

³² See on Pss. 38 (fol. 72^r) and 54 (fol. 92^r).

³³ See on Ps. 18 (fol. 44^r).

³⁴ Sometimes Cossey applies polite locution when criticizing Trevet, e.g. "set salua reuerencia sua non dicit verum" (on Ps. 38, fol. 71^r).

³⁵ For the points of disagreement and reasons for them, see KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism".

the fact that Cossey often discusses his adversary's opinions by reporting the passages of his commentary in paraphrase, which at times is rather loose³⁶ while at others can be practically verbatim.³⁷

The form and frequency of the references show quite clearly that Cossey had easy access to a copy for a period of time. The volume may have been his own, someone else's, or a library copy. What is more, the quotations bear some potential for providing the grounds to investigate the textual relation of the copy used by Cossey with the direct manuscript tradition of Trevet's commentary. Regrettably, conclusions from such collation are limited by several factors. First, the sample is limited to the quotations that are sufficiently precise, and even then they do not necessarily represent the passages that can vary across the manuscript tradition of the *Expositio*. Secondly, Cossey's quotations are mediated by at least one scribe.³⁸ Finally, upon quoting Trevet, Cossey acted as both a copyist and a biblical scholar; he would have committed scribal errors and emended at will readings he judged erroneous in the copy he was using. Bearing these caveats in mind it is possible to attempt to place Cossey's commentary in the textual tradition of Trevet's *Expositio*. Codicological and historical reasons already permit some of the extant copies to be excluded as candidates for Cossey's reference copy. The textual variance suggests that Cossey did not consult any

³⁶ See, for example, the commentary on Ps. 86 (fol. 142^v) where Cossey summarizes Trevet's exposition of vv. 5–6.

³⁷ Sometimes Cossey also refers to less explicit features of Trevet's commentary, see e.g. his remarks on the verse division in Ps. 1:3 (fol. 14^r): "Et scito quod in translatione Ieronimi et in psalterio romano sunt hic 2^o versus sicut in nostro. Secundus incipit ibi: et folium eius. Sed Triuet facit unum de 2^obus. In hebreo autem sunt 2^o versus, scilicet primus: et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum super diuisiones aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. Et folium eius 2^{us} est." Trevet does not discuss the variance of the verse division of this *locus*. Cossey is correct about Trevet's commenting on the presumably two verses as one and he may have deduced this from Trevet's reference to "Non sic" as the beginning of verse 4 (in the commentary on Ps. 1:3, in all the manuscripts except for R). More straightforwardly, Cossey would have spotted this if he was using a copy that included the Psalter. In all the manuscripts that have the *textus* the two verses are copied as one, only BR having put figure "III" at "Et folium eius".

³⁸ KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", pp. 302–09, argues that the Cambridge copy was made directly or at one remove from Cossey's working copy.

of them.³⁹ Neither are lost archetypes α and γ likely to have been used by Cossey.⁴⁰ The few errors that Cossey's work share with B, R or C, all of which could have been polygenetic,⁴¹ as well as the three good readings it shares with G, H, B, or R, do not constitute conclusive evidence.⁴² Generally, the quotations from Trevet's *Expositio* in Cossey's commentary more often depart from the manuscripts belonging to family α , while they agree, mostly in good readings, with manuscripts transmitting the revised text of Trevet's *Expositio*. Cossey would have become acquainted with and then extensively used a copy belonging to the tradition of the revised work during his probable sojourn at Oxford in the late 1320s.

³⁹ Cossey does not present variant readings, mostly errors, that are found in individual manuscripts of Trevet. (The folio reference to the copy of Cossey's commentary is provided unless the *locus* is included in the list in Appendix D.) M (Pss. 132:3, "hominis"; 150:3, "gutith"); A (Ps. 1:5, "monitus" pro "mortuus" in the quotation from Sir. 30:4, fol. 14^v lower margin; Ps. 39:2; Ps. 117:1, "VIII" pro "VII", in the reference to II Reg. 7, fol. 192^v); N (Ps. 114:1, quoted by Cossey in the commentary on Ps. 115, fol. 191^r); C (Ep. ded. 3: "fuit" pro "fuerit", also in O, quoted in Prologue 3, fol. 5^v, KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 334; Pss. 71:20; 97:1); G (Pss. 1:16; 125:4); H (Ps. 125:4); B (Ep. ded. 11: "descidiauit intento"; quoted in Prologue 3, fol. 6^v, KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 336; Pss. 1:16; 125:4); O (Pss. 97:1; 150:3). Neither does his work share the variant readings with groups of Trevet's witnesses: AN (Ep. ded. 11: "eduxerit" and "eduserit" pro "edisserit"; quoted in Prologue 3, fol. 6^v, KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 336); AO (Ps. 150:3: "egittith"); GR (Ps. 148:3); BRO (Ep. ded. 8: the names of Paula and Eustochium are misspelled or partly omitted; quoted in Prologue 3, fol. 6^v, KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism", p. 336).

⁴⁰ Cossey's commentary does not have two errors of α (Pss. 125:4 and 144:1), which, however, a scholar such as Cossey would have found easy to amend. More importantly α must have left England by about 1321. As for γ , Cossey has "hominum", which had dropped of BR (Ps. 132:3), and does not have an addition (authorial?) that BR and H present on Ps. 29:2 (fol. 59^v). The peculiarity of the verse division in Ps. 1 in BR (discussed above, n. 37) would also speak against the consultation of γ or B by Cossey. A few errors shared with BR seem polygenetic, see the following note.

⁴¹ Errors shared with B (Ps. 150:3, spelling "Nehilot") and BRC (Ps. 74:2: omission of "non"). The reading "quando" shared with C in Ps. 83, titulus (fol. 137^r, in both copies abbreviated "qn") would be an independent misreading or emendation (all other manuscripts of Trevet's *Expositio* read "quoniam", normally abbreviated "qm", syntactically unfortunate).

⁴² See on Pss. 101:2, 125:4, and 132:3 ("filias").

Chapter 5
The Effects of Publication
Fame

Alongside dissemination of copies of Trevet's *Expositio*, the work's fame was also spreading fast and wide. Sometimes information about the new commentary preceded direct knowledge of the work. The hearsay must have reached the papal court in Avignon by 1 September 1324. As has been mentioned above, this is the date of the order issued by Pope John XXII to his nuncio in England, Hugh of Angoulême, for a good copy of the "apostille super salterium" of Nicholas Trevet.¹ It should be remembered that towards the end of the previous decade the pope had already acquired copies of Trevet's commentaries on the *Controversiae* of Seneca the Elder and on the *Tragedies* of Seneca the Younger, and had commissioned Trevet to comment on Livy. At an uncertain point, either before or after publication of the *Expositio*, Trevet also dedicated his postil on Genesis to the pontiff. The order of 1324, therefore, belonged to the esteem in which Trevet was held by John XXII, who was kept well informed about the work and assignments of the friar. (Note that the pope was aware that Trevet was *lector* in London.) This request suggests that the work was not yet physically available in papal circles. Alternatively, it may be that John considered addressing his nuncio in England to be the quickest way of securing a reliable copy of the work.

Regrettably, we cannot be certain whether such a copy was made and sent to Avignon. This work of Trevet does not appear among the book expenses of John XXII;² more surprisingly, it cannot be identi-

¹ "Magistro Hugoni de Engolisma, sacriste ecclesie Narbonensis, apostolice sedis nuntio. Volentes apostillas super salterium per dilectum filium Nicholaum Traveti, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, sacre theologie (!) professorem, lectorem Londinii, compositas nobis mitti, discretioni tue districtius iniungimus et mandamus, quatenus dictas apostillas de bona et competenti littera, sufficienter correctas querere et habere de nostro quantocius nobisque fideliter mittere non postponas. Datum ut supra [Avinione, kal. septembris, anno octavo]" (EHRLE, "Trivet", p. 4, n. 3, from Regest. Vatic. 112, 2a p., fol. 50^v, epist. 790).

² K. H. SCHÄFER, *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.*, pp. 260–73.

fied in the comprehensive inventories of papal books drawn up in the times of Urban V in 1369 and Gregory XI in 1375.³ Yet, what may have been a subsequent side-effect hints that the request was fulfilled even so. A few years later (1326–1328) the same Hugh of Angoulême, at that time archdeacon of Canterbury, was made a dedicatee of Trevet’s universal chronicle in Latin. It is plausible that the two became acquainted when Hugh took steps to satisfy the pope’s bibliographical *desideratum*. If Hugh had accomplished his task, then the copy sent to Avignon would have been made in England. Among the extant copies of certain English origin the only manuscript with an unknown early provenance is B, which offers the revised version but was not very carefully executed either textually or graphically.⁴ Since its close relative, R, was produced on the continent (perhaps in Avignon, see above, Chapter 2), their shared ancestor, γ , must have also crossed the Channel. This lost manuscript would be a good candidate for the copy delivered to Avignon, if the many common errors of B and R did not suggest a text of rather poor quality. The only copy attested in the region is the one owned in the first half of the fifteenth century by Cardinal Avignon Nicolai OP, who died as archbishop of Aix in 1443 (see Appendix H).

Irrespective of whether or not John XXII received his copy, there are further signals that Trevet’s *Expositio* had achieved some renown within papal circles. The flyleaf of the celebrated miscellany of ancient histories (Paris, BnF, lat. 5690, fol. Bv) bears a note in *cancelleresca*, in which several scriptural commentaries, including two by Trevet, are recommended to an unspecified addressee.⁵ What follows is a diplomatic transcription of that list. The line numbering is editorial and the entries most pertinent to our topic are distinguished in boldface.

³ F. EHRLE, *Historia bibliothecae romanorum pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis enarrata et antiquis earum indicibus aliisque documentis illustrata*, tom. 1, Rome, 1890, pp. 274–450 and 451–574 respectively. Given that the inventories offer well detailed entries, and that the commentary is consistently attributed in the manuscript tradition, it is unlikely that Trevet’s *Expositio* is hidden behind one of the entries for “Psalteria glossata”.

⁴ Manuscript B, together with A (unlikely) and O (possible if Hugh or Trevet had forwarded the request to their proxies in Paris), was already taken to be the candidate by SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 54.

⁵ The manuscript is available in a digital facsimile: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84386221/f.18.image.r=5690>.

[1] ¶ Reuerende d(omi)ne. Iste postille m(e)o iudicio sunt meliores.
 [2] ¶ **Sup(er) penthateucu(m) postille fr(ater)is nicolai treuet anglici.**
 [3] et fr(ater)is d(omi)nici lectoris sacri palatii. [4] ¶ Ite(m) ei(us)dem
 d(omi)nici sup(er) Iosue. iudicu(m). Ruth. et Regum. [5] ¶ ¶ Sup(er)
 ysaya(m) et ieremia(m) ep(isto)las pauli et act(us) ap(osto)lor(um).
 po[ø]stille pet(r)i de tarantasia. [7] ¶ Sup(er) Iob. S(an)c(tu)s thomas de
 aquino. [8] ¶ Sup(er) danielem. matheu(m). Ioh(ann)em. ad hebr(eos).
 fr(ater) nicolaus [9] de lyra. minor. [10] ¶ Sup(er).xii. [p(ro)ph(et)as *sup.*
lin.] cano(n)icas. et apocalips(im) fr(ater). Guill(eltu)s d(e) lexouio
 p(re)dicator. [11] ¶ **Sup(er) psalteriu(m) fr(ater) petrus de palude**
u(e)l fr(ater) nicolaus treuet. [12] ¶ Sup(er) alios libros biblie. fr(ater)
 hugo de S(an)c(t)o caro. p(re)dicator.

Knowledge of the note was introduced into Trevet studies, once again, by Ruth Dean.⁶ She attributed it to “someone in the Franco-Italian milieu before the middle of the century”, or before the book came into the possession of Petrarch (1351). She was right to observe in it the predominance of Dominican commentators and of continental authors, among whom Trevet is the only exception, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By virtue of the reference to Aquinas as a saint (line 7) she dated the note after 1323⁷ and, following previous scholarship, suggested that it may have been addressed to Cardinal Giovanni Colonna.

After Dean, the manuscript, but less often its flyleaves, has been the subject of numerous studies. The history of its composition and decoration is still debated, but after attempts to localize it to either Avignon or Naples, the now prevailing opinion is that the manuscript was produced in Rome, apparently in two near-contemporary instalments, at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and was decorated by artists operating between Rome and the Angevin Kingdom of Naples.⁸ Scholarship on the manuscript and its owners on the one hand, and, on the other, the current state of research on the texts listed on the flyleaf, make it possible to contextualize the note in more precise terms.

⁶ DEAN, “Life and Works”, pp. 96–97, 102, and EADEM, “Cultural relations”, p. 551 (the full transcription is offered in n. 18). Contemporary with her latter study, Roberto Weiss made brief mention of the note, apparently known to him only from a partial citation (WEISS, “Notes on the popularity”, p. 264, n. 19).

⁷ Her “which sets the *terminus ante quem*” is apparently a typo for “*ante quem non*” (DEAN, “Cultural relations”, p. 552, n. 18).

⁸ M.-T. GOUSSET, Entry no. 176, in *Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo. Anno 1300 il primo giubileo*, ed. by M. RIGHETTI TOSTI-CROCE, Milan, 2000, pp. 226–28, offers

I shall begin by analysing the contents of the list. In roughly chronological order the note itemizes the following authors: Hugo de Sancto Caro OP (d. 1263, line 12),⁹ Thomas Aquinas OP (d. 1274, canonized 1323, line 7), Guillelmus de Lexovio OP (d. after 1275, line 10),¹⁰ Petrus de Tarantasia OP (Pope Innocent V, d. 1276, lines 5–6), Nicholas Trevet

an essential description of the manuscript, discusses previous scholarship, and argues for the book's completion in Rome, before 1309. The Roman origin was accepted and further discussed in subsequent contributions by M. CICCUTO, "Fatti romani del Tito Livio Colonna", in *Reliquiarum servator*, pp. 11–58 (claiming, however, a longer interval between the production of the two parts and their late combination in one codex, only in 1328), and F. MANZARI, "Presenze di miniatori e codici miniati nella Roma del Trecento", in *Il libro miniato a Roma nel Duecento. Riflessioni e proposte*, ed. by S. MADDALO, with the assistance of E. PONZI, 2 vols, Rome, 2016, vol. 1, pp. 615–46, at 617–25 (focusing on the first part). In a forthcoming article, Andrea Improta revisits the decoration of the entire manuscript and argues for the close relations of both parts to manuscripts produced in the Angevin Kingdom of Naples, while also accepting that that need not have disbarred the artists responsible for the second part from having worked in Rome in the first decade of the fourteenth century (A. IMPROTA, "Tra Roma e Napoli. Nuove osservazioni sul *Tito Livio* di Petrarca (BnF, ms. lat. 5690)", in *I 'momenti traenti' della Storia dell'arte. Studi in memoria di Ferdinando Bologna*, ed. by R. CIOFFI and G. BREVETTI, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 2023; I thank the author for the opportunity of reading his work before publication). In the light of recent philological studies, the consultation of the lost manuscript of Livy by Landolfo Colonna (returned to and borrowed again from the chapter library of the cathedral of Chartres in, respectively, 1303 and 1309) should not be taken as a necessary context for the production of the part transmitting Livy's third and fourth decades (fols 169^r–356^v). On the place of this copy in the tradition of either decade, see M. DE FRANCHIS, "Livian manuscript tradition", in *A Companion to Livy*, ed. by B. MINEO, Chichester, 2015, pp. 3–23, at 13–16, and M. REEVE, "Studi degli ultimi trent'anni sulla trasmissione di Livio", in *Miscellanea Graecolatina V*, ed. by S. COSTA, F. GALLO, Milan, 2017, pp. 3–16, at 10–12.

⁹ The basic information on Dominican authors and their works are offered in SOPMA. I shall provide here only further bibliographical references where they have relevance for dating the list.

¹⁰ Mentioned as the author of commentaries on the Minor Prophets (which survives), and on the Canonical Epistles and the Book of Revelation (both lost). R. DEAN ("Cultural relations", p. 552, n. 18) has tentatively identified this author with "G. de Luxeuil", active in Paris between 1267 and 1278, or "G. de Leus", master there in 1311. The identification with the former has subsequently been accepted (SOPMA, *s.v.* Guillelmus de Lexovio, and No. 1569), only that currently he is re-

OP (d. after 1334, lines 2 and 11), Petrus de Palude OP (d. 1342, line 11),¹¹ Dominicus Grima OP (d. before 13 January 1348, lines 3–4), and Nicolas of Lyre OFM (d. 1349, lines 8–9). The religious affiliation is provided for three of those authors: Lyre, the only non-Dominican, referred to as “minor”, viz. Franciscan, and the two thirteenth-century Dominicans (who in the list recur after Lyre), Hugo de Sancto Caro and Guillelmus de Lexovio, each designated as “predicator”. This suggests that for both the bibliographer and the addressee the Dominican affiliation of the most recent authors was taken for granted. Trevet is the only author whose geographical origin is mentioned (“Anglicus”), which reveals a continental perspective. Finally, Grima, is referred to by his position of “lector sacri palatii” (line 3), which is one of the titles of the master of the *Studium curie* in Avignon. Grima held that position from 1321 to 15 June 1326.¹² Whereas Grima’s career, before and after the professorship at the curia, was focused on southern France, other recent authors (Guillelmus de Lexovio, Petrus de Palude, Lyre) were mostly active in Paris. As for the commentaries, not all can be dated with sufficient precision. The most recent among the dated ones is Lyre’s on Daniel (literal), which, according to the author’s declaration, was given final revision in 1328;¹³ the year, according to Easter style, finished on 22 April 1329. Unless the bibliographer were referring to an early version, 1328, or

ferred to as G. de Luxi. He was a regent master in Paris and preached in the region of Paris between 1267 and 1275 (on William’s life see A. T. SULAVIK, “Introduction”, in *Guillelmi de Luxi Postilla super Baruch, Postilla super Ionam*, ed. by A. T. SULAVIK, Turnhout, 2006 (CCCM 219), pp. ix–lxxiii, at xiii–xxii; on pp. xix–xxi our list is quoted and discussed among the evidence for William’s Dominican affiliation, but is wrongly dated to before 1323).

¹¹ Petrus de Palude is here referred to as the author of a commentary on the Psalms, as he was also by Giovanni d’Aversa (on whom see above, Chapter 4, n. 10). This commentary, which has been transmitted in several copies, complete or partial (see STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, No. 3759), was part of a larger work of *Postillae in Bibliam* (SOPMA, No. 3285). MORARD, “Entre mode et tradition”, No. 54, dates the Psalter commentary to 1317 and therefore, in Chapter 4, I have excluded Palude from the corpus of the potential early readers of Trevet’s *Expositio*.

¹² MORARD, “Le *studium* de la Curie”, pp. 516–19, cf. 507–II; cf. SCHWARZ, *Kurienuniversität*, p. 594.

¹³ M. ZIER, “Nicholas of Lyra on the Book of Daniel”, in *Nicholas of Lyra. The Senses of Scripture*, pp. 173–93, at 174.

the beginning of the following year, is therefore the earliest time when the list could be written. Such a late dating apparently conflicts with the title of “lector sacri palatii” given to Grima. However, the compiler of the list may not have been aware of the succession of incumbents of that position or the appointment of Grima as bishop of Pamiers in 1326, the see that he held until his death in January 1348.

The hand of the most extensive annotations on the flyleaves, including ours, has been convincingly attributed by Giuseppe Billanovich to Landolfo Colonna, the architect and the first owner of the manuscript as it has come down to our times.¹⁴ Born into the noble Roman family of the Colonna, he graduated in law from Bologna, and from 1299 was based at Chartres, where he held a canonry, at certain occasions visiting Rome and Avignon. The long sojourn in France during the first two decades of the fourteenth century would explain the familiarity of the bibliographer with contemporary scholars associated with Avignon or Paris. The identity of the hand also sheds light on Landolfo himself who — although a secular clerk, canonist, and historiographer — appears to have been well informed about current works of biblical exegesis, especially Dominican. The attribution of the note narrows its dating: it must have been written, either during Landolfo’s last visit to Avignon (1328–1329) or after his return to Rome in the second half of 1329, where he died in September 1331. Even if the note were written in Rome, it is more likely that Landolfo had been introduced to Tre-

¹⁴ G. BILLANOVICH, “Petrarch and the textual tradition of Livy”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951), pp. 137–208, at 160 (particularly telling is the comparison with the draft of a letter of Landolfo to his nephew Giovanni in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 131, fols 3^v, 136^r and 2^r, discussed *ibid.*, pp. 158–59, reproduced in pl. 33, and edited in Appendix IV, pp. 206–08; the letter is dated *c.* 1320 by Billanovich, and *c.* 1316 by D. INTERNULLO, *Ai margini dei giganti. La vita intellettuale dei romani nel Trecento (1305–1367 ca.)*, Rome, 2016, p. 386). The attribution has been accepted by GOUSSET, Entry No. 176, in *Bonifacio VIII e il suo tempo*, p. 228. On Landolfo see M. MIGLIO, *DBI* 27 (1982), *s.v.* ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/landolfo-colonna_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/landolfo-colonna_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)); C. BILLOT, “Landolfo Colonna, chanoine de Chartres de 1290 à 1329 et le premier humanisme. Essai d’historiographie”, in *Monde médiéval et société chartraine: Actes du colloque international organisé par la Ville et le Diocèse de Chartres à l’occasion du 8e centenaire de la Cathédrale de Chartres, 8–10 septembre 1994*, ed. by J.-R. ARMOGATHE, Paris, 1997, pp. 301–07, and more recently INTERNULLO, *Ai margini dei giganti*, pp. 136–38, 223–30, and *passim*.

vet's *Expositio* beyond the Alps, in Chartres or Paris, which he visited in 1328, or, most probably, in Avignon, somewhere Landolfo was a frequent visitor to during the 1320s. It must be remembered that around that time, in Avignon, in the same manuscript, in the margins of Livy (Books I and II), Landolfo also copied fragments of Trevet's commentary on Livy's *Ab Urbe condita*, which had been commissioned about ten years earlier by the pope.¹⁵ Landolfo addressed the list to a man of similar or higher status, probably at his request, to whom either the book was loaned, or the list, copied separately, was to be sent. The identification with Giovanni Colonna di Stefano il Vecchio di Palestrina (created cardinal in 1327, d. 1348), which was first suggested by Pierre de Nolhac, depended on the opinion that he was also the owner of the book; that in its turn was contested by Billanovich.¹⁶ Another Giovanni Colonna, di Bartolomeo di Gallicano (d. 1343), Landolfo's nephew and a Dominican friar, is more likely to have been one of the sources of the

¹⁵ On the use made of Trevet's commentary on Livy by Landolfo, see CREVATIN, "Dalle *fabulae* alle *historiae*", pp. 88–116 (the same scholar has edited Trevet's fragments copied by Landolfo: "Expositio Titi Livi", in *Reliquiarum servator*, pp. 117–73). G. BILLANOVICH ("Dal Livio di Raterio (Laur. 63, 19) al Livio del Petrarca (B. M., Harl. 2493)", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 2 (1959), pp. 103–78, at 157) proposed that Landolfo consulted the copy of Simone d'Arezzo, the notary and *familiaris* of the late Cardinal Niccolò da Prato. The same scholar suggested that Simone would have also been the source of the information about Trevet's biblical commentaries included by Landolfo (the list is quoted *in extenso*). Apparently, this is the reason for the tentative dating of the list proposed by Billanovich: "credo mentre viveva a Avignone nel 1328–29, e non poi a Roma, nel 1329–31". It should be noted, however, that if the Livy commentary appears among the works of Trevet owned by Simone, the biblical commentaries do not (U. PASQUI, "La biblioteca d'un notaro aretino del secolo XIV", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th ser., 4 (1889), pp. 250–55, at 253–54). Niccolò da Prato, who died on 27 April 1321, is unlikely to have been able to learn about the most recent commentary on the Psalms, while Simone, who between 1322 and 1326 had left for Verona, had fewer opportunities to follow the tracks of Trevet's output. Cf. *infra*, n. 20.

¹⁶ P. DE NOLHAC, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907, vol. 2, p. 21. Giovanni's ownership has been challenged by G. BILLANOVICH, "Gli umanisti e le cronache medioevali. Il 'Liber Pontificalis', le 'Decadi' di Tito Livio e il primo umanesimo a Roma", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 1 (1958), pp. 103–37, at 130–31. Instead, the same scholar (*La tradizione del testo di Livio e le origini dell'umanesimo*, 1: *Tradizione e fortuna di Livio tra medioevo e umanesimo*, Parte I, Padua, 1981, pp. 201–04), has proposed Giovanni's brother, Giacomo (in 1328 appointed bishop

information about recent Dominican exegesis, rather than the recipient of advice on that topic.¹⁷

The last witness to the early fame of Trevet's *Expositio* brings us to Verona. The Psalter commentary was included in the list of works in the entry dedicated to Trevet by Guglielmo Pastrengo (c. 1290–1362) in his *De viris illustribus*: “Nicolaus de Trovech Anglicus, de ordine Predicatorum, sacre theologie doctor, Psalterium glosis utilibus illustravit; Boetii librum De consolatione philosophica, tragedias et declamationes Seneca optime exposuit; in expositione et declamatione Titi Livii grande volumen excudit”.¹⁸ Pastrengo, notary and judge, a correspondent of Petrarch's, worked on his treatise for many years, perhaps from the late 1330s, and apparently left it unfinished.¹⁹ The source of his acquaintance with Trevet's commentary on the Psalms is uncertain. However, it is worth stressing that among the works listed, this one

of Lombez) as the addressee of Sonnet 40, in which Petrarch asks a Roman friend for a book, most probably the Paris Livy (Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. by M. SANTAGATA, Milan, 1996, pp. 219–23, where the editor prefers to see Friar Giovanni Colonna as the addressee, on whom see the following note).

¹⁷ Giovanni was believed to have annotated his uncle's Livy until doubts were raised by B. ROSS, “The tradition of Livy in the ‘Mare historiarum’ of Fra Giovanni Colonna”, *Studi Petrarqueschi*, New Series 6 (1989), pp. 70–86 (accepted by G. BILLANOVICH, “Un carne ignoto del Petrarca”, *Studi petrarqueschi*, New Series 5 (1988), pp. 101–25, at 106, n. 8, and M. PETOLETTI, “Nota valde et commenda hoc exemplum’: il colloquio con i testi nella Roma del primo Trecento”, in *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print. Proceedings of a Conference held at Erice, 26 September–3 October 1998, as the 12th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, ed. by V. FERA, G. FERRAÙ, S. RIZZO, 2 vols, Messina, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 359–99, at 384). However, Dario Internullo still posits that the manuscript belonged to Giovanni, who would have used it for the revision of his copy (INTERNULLO, *Ai margini dei giganti*, pp. 86, 98, 228; cf. on Giovanni, *ibid.*, pp. 138–40 and *passim*). More importantly for the present argument, in the draft of a letter found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Pat. Lat. 131 (see above, n. 14), Landolfo addresses his nephew as “religiosus et honestus vir”.

¹⁸ Guglielmo da Pastrengo, *De viris illustribus et de originibus*, ed. by G. BOTTARI, Padua, 1991, p. 164.

¹⁹ On the composition of the work see G. BOTTARI, “Introduzione”, in Guglielmo da Pastrengo, *De viris*, pp. ix–xciv, at xxiii–xxiv, xxxi–li; on the life of Pastrengo cf. M. CERRONI, *DBI*, 61 (2004), *s.v.* ([https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guglielmo-da-pastrengo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/guglielmo-da-pastrengo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).

was probably the least obvious choice. Although by that time the Psalter commentary had crossed the Alps and is attested in Bologna and Naples, it would have been less likely to come to Pastrengo's attention than the exposition of Boethius's *Consolation*, the earliest and most successful of Trevet's commentaries, or those on Classical authors, more appealing to an early humanist. Roberto Weiss, without excluding the possibility that Pastrengo had become acquainted with Trevet's works in his native Verona, suggested that he may have seen them on a visit to Avignon.²⁰ Pastrengo twice travelled to Avignon, in 1336 and 1339. Interestingly, the list somewhat reflects the canon of Trevet's works that might have been available, or at least known of, in Avignon in the 1330s, while only the commentaries on Boethius and on Seneca's *Tragedies* enjoyed any wide circulation in northern Italy around the middle of the century.

Considering those instances of Trevet's early fame on the continent, one is surprised at his commentary's omission from a slightly later bio-bibliography from England. The *Expositio* appears neither among the nine works attributed to Trevet, nor in the list of Psalter commentaries in the *Catalogus de libris authenticis and apocrifis* of Henry Kirkestede, Benedictine monk of Bury St Edmunds.²¹ This absence is even more surprising since the bibliographer, who knew some of Trevet's works at first hand, also relied on a list of Dominican writers kept by the English province. The catalogue would have been largely compiled before Kirkestede became prior in 1361.²² In spite of Kirkestede's silence,

²⁰ WEISS, "Notes on the popularity", pp. 263–64. Even if Pastrengo had learned about the *Expositio* in Verona, the ultimate source could have been a former Avignon hand, Simone d'Arezzo (d. 1338), the same man whom Billanovich judged to have been Landolfo's informant (see above, n. 15, where also some objections are also raised). In 1322 Simone was granted a canonry at the cathedral of Verona and was resident there from 1326 (at the latest) until May 1337 (at least), occasionally travelling elsewhere (in 1326/7 and 1328 he probably visited Avignon), see L. MUTTONI, "Simone d'Arezzo canonico a Verona", *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 22 (1979), pp. 171–207, and P. CHERUBINI, "Della Tenca, Simone", *DBI*, 37 (1989), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/simone-della-tenca_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

²¹ Henry of Kirkestede, *Catalogus de libris authenticis et apocrifis*, ed. by R. H. ROUSE, M. A. ROUSE, London, 2004 (CBMLC, II), pp. 365–66 (No. 398), and 533–34.

²² For the date, sources and methods of compilation see *ibid.*, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxix, xcvi–xcvii, and ciii–civ.

the remaining witnesses to public knowledge about Trevet's commentary, two of which certainly date from the author's lifetime, add an important dimension to the history of the publishing of the *Expositio*. In Felicity Riddy's terms, it is the people's knowledge about the availability of a text for copying that constitutes its publicness.²³

²³ RIDDY, "‘Publication’ before print", p. 40.

Conclusions

In the foregoing chapters several stages and different dimensions of the earliest history of Trevet's *Expositio super Psalterium* have been illustrated with recourse to various categories of sources. Before returning to selected aspects that are the most relevant to the phenomenon of publishing, it will be in order to attempt a chronological account of the process of publication of the commentary.

The work was commissioned from Trevet by his superior, John of Bristol, presumably after John's appointment as prior provincial on 15 August 1317. The presentation of the *Expositio* to John, expressed by means of a dedicatory letter, must be regarded as the first publishing event. It must have taken place early enough that two copies had been made by 10 April 1322. (This is the latest date for the completion of the earliest dated extant copy, M, which in its turn is at two removes from the archetype.) Dissemination followed immediately. A manuscript, now lost (α), than included the *Expositio* alongside two Latin versions of the Psalter, the *Hebraicum* and Gallican, became the exemplar for two copies: one, the lost β , included the commentary together with a selection of passages from the Psalters, and the other, the extant M, is apparently a facsimile copy and was finished before 10 April 1322, most probably in Paris. No offspring has been identified for M; β , instead, within a rather short span of time — that is, before the middle of the century — became the model for three copies: A, C, and N. Their origin cannot be determined with confidence, but C and N were probably finished (decorated) in Paris, while A was apparently completed in Bologna to be soon after brought into the library of San Domenico. Those indications, together with the Parisian origins of M and a close relation between β and the latter part of another primary French manuscript, O, show that already in the very early stages the process of publication involved actors from outside the English Dominican province: book artisans of Paris as well as, perhaps, Dominicans of continental provinces. Trevet's role in designing α remains uncertain, but the decision to also include the Gallican Psalter was made at the earliest stage of transmission and therefore probably within the ambit of the author and the commissioner.

News of the commentary travelled further than Paris, reaching Avignon by 1 September 1324. That was the date that Pope John XXII mandated his nuncio in England to obtain a copy for him. An explicit demand for a correct text destined for the pope may have provided Trevet with the stimulus to revisit his work, for he seems to some degree to have revised the commentary after first publication. The three extant copies produced in England certainly or very probably during Trevet's lifetime (G, H, and B) witness that revision. These subsequent publishing moments were less spectacular or coordinated. A number of scribal errors or blank windows suggest that Trevet did not supervise new copies. Rather he made his personal copy, characterized by layers of interventions, available to interested parties. Among them we encounter a high-ranking churchman, Walter de Stapeldon, bishop of Exeter, for whom a copy was made by 1326/28 (I posit that that copy was G), and a Dominican theologian, William of Ilchester, the first owner of H. The former, in the service of King Edward II, would have become acquainted with the work in London. William of Ilchester could have come across the commentary in either London or Oxford. Considering their common Somerset background, there may have been a personal connection between him and Trevet. Probably, it was also the revised text that was consulted and extensively used by another English theologian, Henry Cossey, a Franciscan friar, most probably in Oxford in the second half of the 1320s.

Regrettably, there is no definitive proof that the copy requested by the pope in 1324 ever reached Avignon. Exceptionally, this commentary is absent from the later inventories of the papal library at Avignon, in which Trevet's other works are found. However, circumstantial evidence suggests that a copy was indeed sent to the papal court. First, and most importantly, the revised text certainly crossed the Channel at an early date. A copy belonging to that tradition, R, had been produced by the middle of the fourteenth century in either Avignon or Naples: in the medieval period it belonged to the charterhouse of St Martin in Naples. That being the case, its exemplar, γ , which was the common ancestor of R and the English copy, B, travelled to the same place. But if γ was the copy prepared for John XXII, it could hardly have met the pope's expectations of a decent text: the numerous errors shared by B and R must be ascribed to their hyparchetype. Another copy of the revised version, δ , was certainly available in northern France, most probably in Paris, in the second quarter of the century, when it was used

as one of the two exemplars for O, representing something of a new edition of the *Expositio*. The same copy, δ , would have been the source of corrections introduced into C, one of the descendants of β .

There are also other indications to suggest that the commentary was delivered to John XXII. Later in the 1320s the papal nuncio and the addressee of the papal mandate was made the dedicatee of another of Trevet's works, the Latin *Historia*. That dedication could well have been a consequence of the nuncio's having approached the author for a copy of the *Expositio* for the pope. The papal court is also the most plausible means by which the repute of Trevet's work should have reached Landolfo Colonna, who included the *Expositio* in his list of commended biblical commentaries, drawn up in Avignon or Rome sometime between 1328 and 1331. The same route perhaps also brought news of the work to Guglielmo Pastrengo of Verona, who mentioned this commentary with other works by Trevet in his *De viris illustribus*.

The circulation of Trevet's *Expositio* (and knowledge of it) across England, France, and Italy immediately after its completion and presentation is suggestive of a certain publishing effort. To whom should that endeavour be attributed? In other words, who was involved in the publishing circle of the *Expositio*? Several parties appear to have played a role in the publishing process. The author's contribution was, of course, crucial. Trevet described the circumstances, aims, and essential characteristics of his work in the dedicatory letter. It is plausible to associate the letter with the actual presentation of the work to the commissioner, the details of which, however, remain unknown. This constituted the first act of publication. Certain idiosyncrasies of the *Expositio*, such as the choice of the *Hebraicum* as the Latin version commented on, or the apparatus of illustration in the commentary on Ps. 150, argue that Trevet was interested in supervising production of the first copy or copies. Surprisingly, in none of the four extant manuscripts descending from α have the illustrations been executed, although space was reserved for them. Neither is there any direct evidence of Trevet's involvement in designing the complex *mise en page* of α .

In any case, Trevet's role did not end with the presentation of the work to the dedicatee. The group of early manuscripts, mostly of English origin (GHB, plus the continental R) bear witness to authorial revision of an already published work, a campaign pertaining to selected portions rather than the whole. It cannot be known whether Trevet revisited the work by his own initiative or was induced to do so after

requests from readers. Having completed the commentary, Trevet remained an active teacher and writer for more than a decade. The office of *lector* at the London Blackfriars, which he is recorded as holding in 1324, enjoined upon him the principal responsibility of lecturing upon the Bible.¹ It gave him a venue for both using and promoting the work among his confreres (and possibly some non-Dominicans)² as well as, perhaps, the opportunity and interest to revise some of his passages. If instead the revision belongs to an external intervention, then Pope John XXII's explicit request in 1324 for a good text may have produced such an effect. The dating of G (the most precisely datable witness of the revised text) to before 1326 — in other words, around the same time as the papal mandate — offers some ballast for this hypothesis. Be that as it may, the revision was undertaken very soon after first publication. Although personal acquaintance with his early readers in England — viz. Bishop Walter of Stapeldon, the Dominican William of Ilchester and the Franciscan Henry Cossey — is only hypothetical, the fact that the copies of Walter (G) and William (H) (Cossey most probably used a library copy, since lost) included authorial revisions suggest that it was the author who supplied the exemplar. If G and H were solicited or commissioned by their first owners, Bishop Stapeldon and Friar William should be considered part of the publishing circle.

John of Bristol, as commissioner and dedicatee of the work and Trevet's superior, must have played a pivotal role in the publishing process. John remained in office as prior provincial for at least six or seven years after the work was presented to him. He was in the best position to provide the means to produce the first fair copy. If satisfied with the result, he would naturally have been interested in promoting the work, and he had the authority and venues by which to do so, most easily through the channels offered by the order. The evidence gathered and analysed in this volume allows us now to revisit Hubert Stadler's proposition that the *Expositio* was circulated among Dominican convents

¹ MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 134–41.

² The Dominican conventual schools were open to the secular clergy and the laity, see M. M. MULCHAHEY, "The rôle of the conventual schola in early Dominican education", in *Studio e studia*, pp. 117–50, at 126–28. On the English Province cf. A. REEVES, "English secular clergy in the early Dominican schools: evidence from three manuscripts", *Church History and Religious Culture*, 92 (2012), pp. 35–55.

committed to the study of the Bible “biblice” (see above, Chapter 1). More precisely, Stadler deduced from the usually careful execution of the extant manuscripts that they were intended to be reference books for such communities. He also observed that the greater number of copies in Italy would correspond with the number of provinces in the peninsula, while the commentary did not recommend itself to regions distinguished by strongly anti-Jewish attitudes, such as Spain, France, and parts of the German lands. This last position is undermined by the evidence, partly available to Stadler already, of the copies produced in France, M and O, or at least completed there, C and N. Of these last two, C in the first half of the fifteenth century belonged to John Capistran, a leading figure of the Franciscan Observance, hardly susceptible of philo-Jewish sentiments; N at some point before the middle of the fifteenth century ended up in the Dominican convent of Nuremberg. Another copy is attested for the convent in Vienna in 1513. If the manuscript kept in Strasbourg in the nineteenth century and the fragments discovered in the early twentieth century in Würzburg, both now lost, had belonged to local Dominican convents, the number of copies attested in the medieval province of Teutonia would rise to four. In any case, all those copies, together with two early-sixteenth-century manuscripts of non-Dominican provenance, bear witness to a long-lived circulation of the work in the German-speaking lands. Whether he found Trevet’s commentary in one of the German friaries or had come across it during one of his sojourns in southern Europe — Bologna would be a good candidate — the late-fifteenth-century Dominican friar, Hebraist, and anti-Jewish polemist, Peter Schwarz, used the *Expositio* extensively in his own commentary on the Psalter.³ Of the three areas pointed to by Stadler, only Spain has indeed provided no trace of the circulation of the commentary. The possible association of the early distribution of the commentary with the Dominican *studia Bibliae*, which was Stadler’s main point, requires a more detailed consideration.

³ The evidence is found in WALDE, *Christliche Hebraisten*, pp. 91–95, 127, 136, n. 1, and 144. Schwarz’s commentary, unprinted, survives in only one manuscript: Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23818. On the life and works of Schwarz, see M. DIEMLING, “Petrus Nigri (Peter Schwarz), fifteenth-century polemist, preacher and Hebraist”, in *Dominikaner und Juden. Dominicans and Jews: Personen, Konflikte und Perspektiven vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by E. H. FÜLLENBACH, G. MILETTO, Berlin, 2015, pp. 299–317.

As was suggested in Chapter 1, the provisions of general and provincial chapters, stressing the priority of both biblical lectures and the literal sense of biblical interpretation, and in particular the establishment of the *studia Bibliae* — two in each province according to the decision of the chapter of 1309 — provide a very probable context for John of Bristol's commissioning of Trevet. That new type of school, in which the Bible was to be read "biblice" for one year, was intended to complete a friar's intermediate theological training, provided in recently developed *studia particularis theologiae* or *studia Sententiarum*, originally a two-year course based on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.⁴ If the objective of John's commission was to offer a new tool for the biblical formation of Dominican friars, it follows that the convents providing the *studia Bibliae* should have been among the first to receive a copy. Regrettably, our knowledge about the organization of that new form of Dominican schooling is very fragmentary. M. Michèle Mulchahey, who compared the evidence from the Roman province and the province of Toulouse, observed some regional variation.⁵ The former province established the "studia Bible" in 1310;⁶ first two were run, then only one, but that too was closed before the 1330s. As far as the preserved capitular acts cover the information about provincial *studia*, four convents are reported as hosting a biblical school: Orvieto (1310, 1311, and 1318), Pisa (1310), Lucca (1311), and Perugia (1313). Toulouse, instead, responded by establishing a "studium ad legendum Bibliam biblice" at the convent of Cahors in 1308. From 1309 "lectores Bibliae" were assigned to several convents (to four in 1309 and as many as six in 1320), where they operated together with "lectores Sententiarum".⁷ That pattern would soon be recom-

⁴ On these two branches of provincial theological education, see MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 277–344. On the meaning of "biblice", see above, Chapter 1, n. 18.

⁵ MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 341–44.

⁶ In fact, already in 1309 a friar was assigned to the theological *studium* at Pisa to "read *biblice*": "assignamus [studium] theologie in conv. Pisano ubi leget biblice fr. Iordanus" (*Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae (1243–1344)*, ed. by T. KAEPELI OP, with the assistance of A. DONDAINE OP, Rome, 1941 (MOFPH, XX), p. 174; for the later assignments, see pp. 178, 182, 189, and 207).

⁷ In fact, as early as 1290 the province of Provence, from which that of Toulouse stemmed, began to assign friars "ad legendum Bibliam biblice" (or "ad lectionem Bible") not only to the convent of Montpellier, which was host to the *studium generale*, but also to the house at Toulouse (a *studium generale* from 1304). Following

mended to the entire order.⁸

Elsewhere, in the province Aragon, in the capitular acts from the first half of the fourteenth century “studia Biblie” are mentioned five times, each time at a different convent: Lérida (1310), Huesca (1312), Valencia (1314), Zaragoza (1321), and Pamplona (1330).⁹ The wording is not consistent and might suggest that the *studium* was under the responsibility of conventual lector, here referred to as “doctor”.¹⁰ Fragments of

the provisions of the general chapters, the lectureship was extended and distributed among a larger number of friaries, chosen in rotation to host *studia Bibliae*. In the period of 1309–1341 the convents of Agen, Bayonne, Bordeaux, Carcassonne, Figeac, Pamiers, Périgueux, and Toulouse were the most frequent destinations, having been assigned a “lector Bibliae” at least five times. The friaries of Albi, Bergerac, Cahors, Castres, Condom, Limoges, and Montauban appear less frequently. See C. DOUAIS, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères Prêcheurs au treizième et au quatorzième siècle (1216–1342). Première province de Provence – province de Toulouse*, Paris-Toulouse, 1884, pp. 270–79, cf. 113–25. For partly diverging interpretations of the provincial theological training in southern French provinces of the order, see MULCHAHEY, “*First the Bow is Bent in Study*”, pp. 329, 342–43, and S. MARTINAUD, “Le réseau des studia mendiants dans le Midi (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)”, in *Église et culture en France méridionale (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)*, Toulouse-Fanjeaux, 2000 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 35), pp. 93–126, at 111–13.

⁸ See the provision of the general chapter gathered at Carcassonne in 1312, according to which “lectores Sententiarum” should be assigned to “studia Biblie” (quoted above, Chapter I, n. 19).

⁹ A. ROBLES SIERRA, “Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la provincia dominicana de Aragón, correspondientes a los años 1310, 1312, 1314 y 1321”, *Escritos del Vedat*, 21 (1991), pp. 105–54, at 111, 123, 133, and 150; IDEM, “Actas de los capítulos provinciales de la provincia dominicana de Aragón de la Orden de Predicadores, correspondientes a los años 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330 y 1331”, *Escritos del Vedat*, 22 (1992), pp. 131–78, at 161.

¹⁰ The provisions of 1310 and 1321 are explicit in assigning a *doctor* to a “studium Biblie” (ROBLES SIERRA, “Actas de los capítulos ... 1310, 1312, 1314 y 1321”, pp. 111, 150); elsewhere a convent is first given a *doctor* and a *sublector*, and only later it is said that the house would host a “studium Biblie” and its students are named. These differences were brought to light and the question about the relation between the conventual lectors and lectors of the *studium Bibliae* was asked but not answered by A. MAIERÙ, “Figure di docenti nelle scuole domenicante dalla Penisola Iberica fra XIII e XIV secolo”, in *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendiants au moyen âge. Actes du colloque, Porto (Portugal), 11–12 octobre 1996*, ed. by M. C. PACHECO, Turnhout, 1999, pp. 45–88, at 70–71. Perhaps the simplest explanation is to assume that the conventual *lector principalis*, normally responsible for lecturing on the Bible, was also the head

only five capitular acts from the fourteenth century survive from the province of Polonia. Among them only two, from 1378 and 1384, convey snatches of information about theological training, from which it has been deduced that at that time Polish province ran separate *studia Sententiarum* and *studia Bibliae*.¹¹ In the English province, which is marked by very scarce surviving documentation from Dominican houses,¹² little is known about schools other than the *studia generalia* at Oxford and Cambridge, and no evidence of *studia Bibliae* survives

of a *studium Bibliae*. This would seem to have been the case in the Roman province. In its acts (see above, n. 6), only students are named in relation to the “studia bible”. (This is also the case for “studia in theologia”, but not for the “studia in philosophia” and “studia in logicalibus”, for which lectors are also mentioned.) Apparently, the heads of the school must be looked for among the lectors assigned to the same convents in a separate section of provincial acts.

¹¹ K. KACZMAREK, *Szkoły i studia polskich dominikanów w okresie średniowiecza* [Schools and Studies of the Polish Dominican Friars in the Middle Ages], Poznań, 2005, pp. 249–61. The conclusion is based on the fragments of the capitular acts of 1378 (edited by P. KIELAR, “Organizacja szkolnictwa dominikańskiego w XIV w.” [The organisation of Dominican schools in the fourteenth century], *Studia Philosophiae Christianae*, 5 (1968), pp. 304–18, at 315–18), in which alongside the “studia theologie” assigned to the convents of Cracow, Wrocław, and Świdnica, and provided each with “lector” and “cursor”, we find “lectores Sententiarum” assigned to three different convents that are said to host “studia philosophie”. Kaczmarek identifies the former group as *studia Bibliae*. The same system appears in the fragments of the acts of 1384, which were recently edited by T. GAŁUSZKA, “Fragmenty czternastowiecznych akt kapituł prowincjalnych dominikanów polskich w zbiorach Bayerische Staatsbibliothek w Monachium. Kapituła prowincjalna w Opatowcu w 1384 r.” [Fragments of fourteenth-century acts of the provincial chapters of the Polish Dominicans in the collections of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The provincial chapter in Opatowiec in 1384], *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 51 (2013), pp. 107–22, at 118–22 (agreeing with Kaczmarek’s interpretation, see GAŁUSZKA, “Szkolnictwo konwentualne i partykularne”, p. 201).

¹² Significantly, acts of no English provincial chapter have survived except for one, from c. 1415 (W. GUMBLEY, “A fragment of the acts of an English Dominican chapter of the early fifteenth century”, *Dominican Studies*, 6 (1953), pp. 90–100). Cf. E. J. GIRAUD, J. C. LINDE, “The English Dominican province from its beginnings to the Reformation: an introduction”, in *A Companion to the English Dominican Province*, pp. 1–30, at 16–17.

at all.¹³ However, if Maura O'Carroll's point is taken that "the visitation was very probably the normal unit for organising the education of the friars preachers in England and Wales",¹⁴ then *studia Bibliae* would have been arranged within the framework of the four visitations of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and York.

None of the convents that were certainly or probably involved in the biblical lectureship *biblice* in the fourteenth century is known to have owned a copy of the *Expositio*.¹⁵ However, several factors argue against overstating an argument from silence: first, the fragmentary state of the documentation for *studia Bibliae* in individual provinces; secondly, the practice of rotation of convents chosen to host provincial *studia*, albeit this was a less accentuated feature for theology than it was for arts and philosophy;¹⁶ finally, the apparently short life of biblical

¹³ O'CARROLL, "Educational organisation", p. 47; J. C. LINDE, "The educational landscape of the English Dominican province", in *A Companion to the English Dominican Province*, pp. 247–73, at 247 and 251, n. 17.

¹⁴ O'CARROLL, "Educational organisation", p. 42.

¹⁵ None of the extant manuscripts can be assigned to any of those convents. Neither does the available documentation on their libraries witness lost copies. For instance, Bayonne received a copy of other works by Trevet from the bequest of Cardinal Guillaume de Pierre Godin (M.-H. LAURENT, "Le testament et la succession du cardinal dominicain Guillaume de Pierre Godin", *AFP*, 2 (1932), pp. 84–231). The convent of Santa Catarina in Pisa had two copies of Trevet, but not the *Expositio* (see Pisa, Biblioteca del Seminario Arcivescovile di S. Caterina, 132 and 155; cf. *RICABIM. Repertorio di Inventari e Cataloghi di Biblioteche Medievali dal secolo VI al 1520*, 1. *Italia. Toscana*, ed. by G. FIESOLI, E. SOMIGLI, Florence, 2009, s.v.). In a similar way, according to fifteenth-century inventories, the priory of San Domenico in Perugia owned a few copies of the works of Trevet (or ascribed to him) but none of the Psalter commentary (T. KAEPEL, *Inventari di libri di San Domenico di Perugia (1430–1480)*, Rome, 1962). No copies of Trevet appear in the fifteenth-century inventory from Lucca (D. CORSI, "La Biblioteca dei Frati Domenicani di S. Romano di Lucca nel sec. XV", in *Miscellanea di scritti vari in memoria di Alfonso Gallo*, Florence, 1956, pp. 295–310).

¹⁶ See O'CARROLL, "Educational organisation", pp. 29–31; MARTINAUD, "Le réseau", p. 112; H.-J. SCHMIDT, "Les *studia particularia* de l'ordre dominicain", in *Die regulierten Kollegien im Europa des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Les collèges réguliers en Europe au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. by A. SOHN, J. VERGER, Bochum, 2012, pp. 87–107, at 99–101.

schools as separate establishments.¹⁷ These factors invite us to look beyond the group of houses that were assigned a *studium Bibliae*. Indeed, provenances from Dominican houses, including those that hosted theological schools, are attested for a number of extant or lost copies of the commentary. Beginning with the Apennine Peninsula, in the Roman province the convents of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome and Santa Maria Novella in Florence each had a copy. The latter house, between 1305 and 1311 was transformed into a *studium generale*,¹⁸ the former, in Trevet's times, was among the preferred hosts for a provincial school of theology.¹⁹ Regrettably, their ownership of the copies of Trevet's *Expositio* (the Roman one, which is B, survives) is only attested by late-fifteenth-century inventories. This is also the case with the convent of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan, in the province of *Lombardia superior*,

¹⁷ According to K. Kaczmarek, the distinction between the schools of particular theology, or *Sentences*, and the schools of the Bible would have been soon abandoned by the order allowing provincial *studia theologiae* to provide both courses. This is deduced from the provisions made by general and provincial chapters from 1315 onwards that three-year-long studies of theology should be provided in each province as a prerequisite for friars' assignments to *studia generalia* (KACZMAREK, *Szkoly i studia*, p. 200; the supposed separation of the two courses in the Polish province still in the late fourteenth century would have been an exception, see above, n. 11). However, the same provision of the general chapter of 1315 (inc. "Cum profectus studii", *Acta capitulorum*, II, pp. 79–80) was read by M. M. Mulchahey, in the light of another provision enacted the year before, as referring to the *studia Sententiarum*, of which the original curriculum was extended to provide lectures on the *Sentences* and moral philosophy (MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 333–35). While the evidence for separate *studia Bibliae* in individual provinces during the 1310s and 1320s speaks against Kaczmarek's early dating of that fusion, the decrease of such evidence for the later period could suggest a tendency to merge two schools in one provincial *studium* of theology. It may also be significant that in the 1330s and 1340s general chapters, when speaking of provincial *studia*, only named schools of arts, natural philosophy, and theology, see *Acta capitulorum*, II, pp. 217 (Dijon, 1332), 229 (London, 1335), 245 (Valencia, 1337), 252–53 (Clermont, 1339), and 309 (Brives, 1346).

¹⁸ A. PEGORETTI, "Lo 'studium' e la biblioteca di Santa Maria Novella nel Duecento e nei primi anni del Trecento (con una postilla sul Boezio di Trevet)", in *The Dominicans and the Making of Florentine Cultural Identity (13th–14th centuries)*, ed. by J. BARTUSCHAT, E. BRILLI, D. CARRON, Florence, 2020 (Reti Medievali E-Book, 36), pp. 105–39, at 107–19.

¹⁹ MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", p. 328.

which since 1320 hosted a *studium generale*, albeit not permanently.²⁰ Its library had two copies of the work, according to the inventory of 1494. In the province of *Lombardia inferior*, the convent of San Domenico in Bologna, one of the oldest and the most important *studia generalia*, acquired a copy, which is A, at quite an early date, before 1378. Elsewhere, in the province of Teutonia the work was found at the convents of Nuremberg (N) and Vienna — both houses providing for theological training on the provincial level²¹ — but their ownership is only confirmed from the end of the medieval period. The Dominican provenance of the recently lost copies from Strasbourg and Würzburg cannot be ascertained. In France we find a copy among the books of a Dominican cardinal, Avignon Nicolai (d. 1443). He joined the order in the province of Provence, of which he was prior between 1401 and 1408. His ecclesiastical responsibilities, however, also included a trip to Italy for the sake of negotiations with the supporters of the Roman obedience (1407–1408) as well as promotion to the Aragonese bishopric of Huesca (1415–1420), before his final promotion to the archbishopric of Aix (1422).²² Within the English province, a copy was reported at the London Blackfriars as early as 1339. The book could be either the one presented to John of Bristol or Trevet's personal copy. The only extant English manuscript of Dominican provenance (H) was apparently a personal acquisition by Friar William and through him it ended up in the small convent of Ilchester in Somerset, in the visitation of London.

²⁰ See G. ODETTO, "La Cronaca maggiore dell'Ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma", *AFP*, 10 (1940), pp. 297–373, at 339–40. As early as 1321, a student from the province of Aragon was assigned there, see ROBLES SIERRA, "Actas de los capítulos ... 1310, 1312, 1314 y 1321", p. 153 (the assignment follows others to Paris and Bologna and is followed by another, to Naples).

²¹ Of the two, Vienna was certainly more prominent; see SCHMIDT, "Les *studia particularia*", p. 101 and the map on p. 103. Nuremberg begins to appear among the province's schools of theology in provincial acts from the end of the fourteenth century; see B. ALTANER, "Aus den Akten des Rottweiler Provinzialkapitels der Dominikaner vom Jahre 1396", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 48 (1929), pp. 1–15, at 14; B. M. REICHERT, OPr, "Akten der Provinzialkapitel der Dominikanerordensprovinz Teutonia aus den Jahren 1398, 1400, 1401, 1402", *Römische Quartalschrift*, 11 (1897), pp. 287–331, at 318 (1401) and 328 (1402).

²² For an account of his career, which also encompassed a short-lived appointment as bishop of Marseille, see J.-H. ALBANÈS, *Armorial et sigillographie des évêques de Marseille*, Marseille, 1884, pp. 103–05. Cf. Appendix H.

In short, the evidence for the ownership of surviving or reported copies confirms the circulation of Trevet's *Expositio* among Dominicans during the medieval period. As well as being in the hands of individual friars, copies were also found in the libraries of convents, some of which, already in Trevet's time, were home to *studia generalia* (Bologna, Florence, Milan) or provincial schools of theology (London, Rome, Vienna). However, the Dominican provenances alone cannot be said to offer any great support to a hypothesis of the centralized distribution of copies at the time of publication to convents committed to biblical scholarship.

While it is probable, but difficult to prove, that copies were made for biblical schools, the codicological and philological evidence does suggest the involvement of the order in the earliest stage of circulation. The immediate production of a copy of the *Expositio* accompanied by two versions of the Latin Psalter, α , which was sent soon afterwards to Paris to become the exemplar of M, implies an organized effort to make the work available beyond the original context of the English Dominican province. Also, two other descendants of α (through the *interpositus* β), C and N, were probably decorated in Paris, perhaps even copied there by English scribes. Finally, the edition transmitted in O, made, once again, in Paris, shows that in addition to a copy that was textually close to β , a copy of the revised version was quickly available in the city. The Parisian concentration of early copies, extant and lost, representing two distinct authorial traditions, is likely to suggest a deliberate decision to use the infrastructure of book production offered by the French capital in order to supply selected continental friaries and perhaps to promote the work among scholarly audiences of non-Dominican affiliations. Such an effort could hardly have been arranged by Trevet alone, though his familiarity with Paris, and vice-versa, might have suggested that avenue and helped him to make use of it. It fell rather to John of Bristol, by virtue of his official position, to carry out such an operation, perhaps with the collaboration of the Parisian convent of Saint-Jacques, which must be the best candidate to be local broker.²³

²³ Contrary to Trevet, who informed us about his stay in "studio parisiensi" (see Introduction, p. 29), no Paris experience is unambiguously attested for John of Bristol, who received his degree from Cambridge (GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, p. 43). The only hint is provided by the late-eighteenth-century inventory of Saint-Jacques, made after the dissolution for the Dépôts Littéraires. The booklist reports a manuscript copy, lost or unidentified, of Aquinas's commentary on the

The latter supposition finds little support from the tradition of Dominican “bibliographies” which may derive from the so-called *Tabula Parisiensis*, presumed to have been composed in two instalments around 1305 and 1330. Among the catalogues of Dominican writers that appear to have transmitted the part updated c. 1330, only Laurent Pignon (c. 1412) includes Trevet and mentions the Psalter commentary.²⁴ Regrettably, no medieval or early-modern catalogues of the library at Saint-Jacques survive, while the inventories made during the French Revolution do not mention Trevet’s *Expositio*, unless it is hidden behind references to anonymous commentaries on the Psalms.²⁵ The decision of John of Bristol and Trevet to rely on Parisian channels would hardly have been exceptional. The history of other texts by Eng-

Lombard’s *Sentences*, which reportedly bore the following note: “Hunc librum scripsit frater Johannes de Bristoll, cognomento Clericus” (No. 251, fol. 165^r, for the details see below, n. 25). It is tempting to believe that the scribe and prior provincial was the same person.

²⁴ “Fr. Nicolaus Trevet, natione Anglicus, magistro [*sic*, J. K.] in theologia, scripsit super libros Dyonisii, super Boethium de consolatione et opus morale; item postillam super psalterium; item declaravit copiose historias et dicta poetica quae tangit beatus Augustinus in libro de civitate Dei; item scripsit chronicas.” (Laurentii Pignon, *Catalogi et chronica*. Accedunt Catalogi Stamsensis et Upsalensis scriptorum O.P., ed. by G. MEERSSEMAN, OP, Rome, 1936, MOFPH, 18, pp. 27–28, No. 43). However, according to the editor, the entry on Trevet would have been Pignon’s addition (*ibid.*, pp. xi–xiii, xvi). Trevet also appears in the *Tabula*, compiled in Paris in 1413 by Louis de Valladolid, where only the spurious *catena* on the Gospels is distinguished among Trevet’s biblical commentaries: “ex dictis sanctorum doctorum, sequens modum beati Thome super quatuor evangelia, scripsit super bibliam.” (H. Ch. SCHEEBEN, “Die Tabulae Ludwigs von Valladolid im Chor der Predigerbrüder von St. Jakob in Paris”, *AFP*, 1 (1931), pp. 223–63, at 256). Cf. below, n. 37.

²⁵ The most comprehensive one, prepared for the Dépôts Littéraires, is transmitted in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 6492, fols 150^r–173^v (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105253350/f.349.item>). A parchment manuscript with unascribed commentary on the Psalter is recorded under item 269 (fol. 166^v). Another, more cursory inventory, held in Paris, Archives Nationales, S 4228 (18), records, without providing names, two Psalter commentaries (Nos. 20 and 54). Both inventories were made during 1790 and are edited in the unpublished thesis of N. GUIBOUT-CHAGUÉ, “Les Manuscrits des Jacobins de la rue S. Jacques d’après l’inventaire révolutionnaire dressé pour les Dépôts Littéraires”, *École nationale de chartes*, Paris, December 1977, pp. 290–346 and 13–39, respectively. Two other, slightly

lish friars bears witness to similar practices. From the preceding generation, Robert Kilwardby's *De ortu scientiarum* (c. 1250) appears in a Paris stationer's list of around 1275.²⁶ In the generation after, the *Postilla super librum Sapientiae*, composed in 1333–1334 by the Oxford theologian Robert Holcot, was soon afterwards copied in Paris under the pecia system.²⁷ In addition to these two English friars, it is worth mentioning the case of a German Dominican, John of Dambach, who left a copy of his *Liber de sensibilibus deliciis paradysi* (1350) to Saint-Jacques.²⁸ Doubt-

later, booklists, or the catalogue of the manuscripts from Saint-Jacques that moved to the National Library (Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 5416, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btvb10525341m/f.1.item.r=5416>), and the *Catalogue de l'ancienne bibliothèque du Couvent Saint Jacques au moment de la Révolution du R. P. Joseph Faitot, prieur du Couvent S. Jacques*, Tome 1–5 (Paris, Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Rés. Ms. B 10 (1–5), also available through a digital reproduction: <https://catalogue.bibliothequedusaulchoir.org/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=281007>) do not offer any trace of Trevet's commentary either (of the latter I have consulted tom. I, including the Bible and works of biblical exegesis). Obviously, the absence of Trevet's commentary from such late booklists has no conclusive value. On the loss or alienation of Saint-Jacques manuscripts prior to the Revolution, see GUIBOUT-CHAGUÉ, "Les Manuscrits des Jacobins", pp. 116–17. On the library of the convent of Saint-Jacques, see F. LÉVECQUE-STANKIEWICZ, "Une bibliothèque retrouvée. Les livres du couvent des Jacobins de Paris du Moyen Âge à la Révolution (Exposition, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 14 déc. 2015–11 mars 2016). Catalogue de l'exposition", in *Les Dominicains en France (XIII^e–XX^e siècle)*, ed. by N. BÉRIOU, A. VAUCHEZ, M. ZINK, Paris, 2017, pp. 537–610 (on the revolutionary inventories, pp. 557–60). I am indebted to Donatella Nebbiai for initial orientation in the catalogues of Saint-Jacques, and to Christine Gadrat-Ouerfelli, who kindly shared with me her list of manuscripts with Saint-Jacques provenance.

²⁶ MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, pp. 722–23, No. 821. At least one of the extant manuscripts was copied using the pecia system, several others belonged to Parisian masters at the turn of the thirteenth century. On the origin of the work and its tradition, see A. G. JUDY OP, "Introduction", in Robert Kilwardby OP, *De ortu scientiarum*, ed. by A. G. JUDY OP, Oxford, 1976, pp. xi–lxi, at xiv–xv, xvii–xxx1.

²⁷ The oldest extant copies are dated 1346 and 1347, see MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, pp. 721–22, No. 819.

²⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 918, bears on the verso of the front flyleaf the following note: "Librum istum de sensibilibus deliciis Paradisi contulerunt conventui Parisiensi fratres magister Johannes de Tambacho et Johannes Taulerii, de conventu Argentinensi, provincie Theutonie, eternam imprecantes ulcionem super omnem

less, Paris played an important role in distributing Dominican texts.²⁹ General chapters closest to the completion of Trevet's commentary would have offered opportunities to deliver a copy of the work to Paris. The chapter of 1320 took place in Rouen in Normandy, about 125 km north-east of Paris; the following, in 1321, was summoned to Florence. On both occasions John or the diffinitors of the English province may have visited Paris.³⁰ The next chapter, in Vienna, took place in 1322, when the first copies (α and M) had already been produced. That assembly may likewise have provided John of Bristol, who attended it in person, with a venue to further promote the work.³¹

It should be clear from this short account that the main protagonists of Trevet's publishing circle operated within a complex publishing framework. That framework consisted first of institutional and personal connections within the order, which were maintained, for instance, by regular gatherings of general and provincial chapters and assignments of friars to study or to teach, within and without the home province. The relations between the order and other environments were also part of the same framework. The university of Oxford may have played some role in involving William of Ilchester and Henry of Cossey in readership and/or securing copies of the commentary. Close relations between the Blackfriars and the English royal court were

qui eum umquam de predicti conventus Parisiensis usu et manibus alienaverit". For the description, see: <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=MAZA13782>, cf. GUIBOUT-CHAGUÉ, "Les Manuscrits des Jacobins", p. 113, and LÉVECQUE-STANKIEWICZ, "Une bibliothèque retrouvée", pp. 571–72, 606 (No. 37).

²⁹ MULCHAHEY, "First the Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 424–25, and ROUSE and ROUSE, "Impact of the Dominicans on books".

³⁰ John's attendance is not attested at either chapter. In the acts of the Florentine chapter, William of Ebryton is mentioned as "diffinitor Anglie" (*Acta Capitulorum*, II, pp. 137–38). Earlier, in 1320, William was one of the four proctors to negotiate on behalf of the order with the University of Oxford (GELBER, *It Could Have Been Otherwise*, pp. 43, 67–68). As a doctor of theology he must have been aware of Trevet's output. As for the itinerary, among several possible routes that English travelers, once across the Channel, could take to Italy, one led through Paris. See, for instance, the route of the embassy sent by King Edward I to Pope Boniface VIII in 1301 (STONES, "Mission of Thomas Wale and Thomas Delisle"); for further evidence, see G. B. PARKS, *The English Traveler to Italy, 1: The Middle Ages (to 1525)*, Rome, 1954, pp. 179–81, 495–97, and 519.

³¹ On 3 March 1322 John received a safe-conduct for attendance at the chapter (PALMER, "Fasti", p. 149).

probably relevant to Walter de Stapeldon's ownership of a copy. The commissioners of individual copies relied on professional book artisans in London, as is the case with G, and more frequently on those in Paris; scribes in Oxford and copyist friars may also have been involved.

The publishing circle included yet another actor operating within a distinct framework: Pope John XXII. Apparently, he was the only one to have already engaged in the publication of Trevet's earlier works, for which he had acted as the commissioner either of the work itself or of a copy of the work. In this case he solicited a copy, using the framework of curial administration to secure it. If the request were properly fulfilled, the pope and his entourage may have assumed the role of promoter, spreading knowledge of the work (as is reflected in the "bibliographies" of Landolfo Colonna and probably also Guglielmo Pastrengo). If Avignon mediated in the transmission of the work to Naples (R), there is a case for considering the papacy as Trevet's publisher.

Although the attribution of specific roles to individual members of Trevet's publishing circle can only be circumstantial, the collective and processual dimensions of the publishing endeavour emerge clearly from the evidence. The interests, connections, and efforts of that group explain the relatively wide circulation of the *Expositio* and knowledge of it during the decades following the work's completion. It is worth stressing that beside the nine extant copies dated or datable before the middle of the fourteenth century there are sufficient philological reasons to assume the existence of at least four other witnesses produced at very early stages of the transmission. It is equally significant that the work commissioned by Trevet's superior and apparently intended first for Dominican readers, within a few years of publication had reached institutional and geographical locales a long way distant from the Dominican province of England: copies were in the hands of an English Franciscan friar, Carthusians in Naples, English and continental secular clerks, not least, the pope.

Initial publishing efforts by Trevet and his proxies and their immediate results laid solid foundations for what could have been a durable success. Yet, at this current state of research, the later circulation, reception, and, indeed, knowledge of the *Expositio* seem rather haphazard and incidental. In contrast to the nine early surviving copies, there are only two extant witnesses dating after the middle of the fourteenth century, both produced in the valley of Rhein at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The two other copies, which have been lost

in modern times, remain undatable. The eleven or so other lost copies — which are attested for medieval and early-modern book collections (see Appendices G and H) and are undatable other than by when they were reported — tell us little about diachronic transmission. Some of them could be those that have been hypothesized on philological grounds. By their English and continental, Dominican and non-Dominican provenances, the lost copies do, however, confirm a comparatively varied outreach.

As regards textual indications for knowledge of the work, the *Expositio* is mentioned by some Dominican authors of later generations. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the *Expositio* was known to the Florentine friar, Giovanni Dominici (1355/6–1419). In the autumn of 1394 in Venice, Dominici delivered twenty-six lectures on the first eleven psalms, which survive in one fifteenth-century manuscript.³² At the outset, he mentions the authors who had previously commented on the Psalms. It may be of significance that in Dominici's list Trevet is one of only two fourteenth-century writers — the other being Thomas Waleys — and, together with Aquinas, one of only three authors mentioned who came after Peter Lombard.³³ Until the work has been searched for other references or traces of use, Dominici witnesses to nothing more than an awareness of the existence of Trevet's commentary among Dominicans, or at least at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, where Dominici had been accepted into the order and educated, or

³² SOPMA, No. 2275. The most comprehensive discussion of the work is provided by G. DI AGRESTI, "Introduzione agli scritti inediti del Dominici", in *Giovanni Dominici* († 1419). *Saggi e Inediti* (*Memorie Domenicane*, New Series, 1, 1970), pp. 49–164, at 55–68 (on the misunderstandings about the title see p. 57, n. 14). See also the entries on the *Lectioes* and their copy, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. I, 43 (2190), in M. M. M. ROMANO, *Giovanni Dominici da Firenze. Catalogo delle opere e dei manoscritti*, Florence, 2008, pp. 5 and III–12.

³³ The passage is quoted by DI AGRESTI, "Introduzione", p. 68, n. 58 (where the name of Trevet is spelled "Nicolaus Travecli"), and referred to in the description of the manuscript by D. M. BERARDELLI, "Codicum omnium Latinorum, et Italicorum qui manuscripti in Bibliotheca SS. Joannis et Pauli Venetiarum apud PP. Praedicatorum asservantur Catalogus. Sectio prima", in *Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, tom. 32, Venice, 1778, article No. vi, pp. 13–14 (here the spelling is "Treveth").

in Venice, where he moved in 1388.³⁴ The case with Peter Schwarz, already mentioned, is later but better documented. In his commentary on the Psalms, completed around 1476–1477, probably in Regensburg, and dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484), the Dominican Hebraist acknowledged Trevet's merits for having chosen the translation from the Hebrew, and he referred frequently to the opinions of his fourteenth-century confrere.³⁵ The evidence of the surviving fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century catalogues of Dominican writers remains ambiguous as to the authority of Trevet as a commentator of the Psalms. Two “bibliographers” mention the Psalter commentary as a separate item among Trevet's works: Laurent Pignon (about 1412), a friar of the French province, and Leandro Alberti (1517), affiliated with the convent of Forlì, but educated in Bologna.³⁶ The others consider his biblical commentaries *en masse*,³⁷ or do not mention Trevet's exegetical works at

³⁴ Dominici also studied at Pisa and Paris, for a comprehensive account of his life see G. CRACCO, “Banchini, Giovanni di Domenico”, *DBI*, 5 (1963), [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-di-domenico-banchini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-di-domenico-banchini_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

³⁵ “Cum igitur circa prime translacionis, que ex septuaginta interpretibus habetur, expositionem totus et antiquorum et modernorum ecclesie doctorum desudauerit labor, mysticam intelligenciam extollentes, Tandem Nicholaus Treuet Anglicus, Ordinis predicatorum, doctor Egregius, solus opus Jeronimi colendissimum ad mandatum fratris Johannis de Bristollis, prouincialis prouincie Anglie eiusdem ordinis, secundum sensus literalem exponendo agressus, ac si plurimum in lingua hebraica peritus fuisset, subtiliter postillauit, eciam equiuocaciones dictionum hebraicarum declarando ac probando” (quoted by WALDE, *Christliche Hebraisten*, p. 92). The opening clause, “cum igitur [...] extollentes”, clearly echoes Trevet's *Ep. ded.*, 11–12. On the use of Trevet by Schwarz and on the author, see above, n. 3.

³⁶ For Pignon's entry see above, n. 24. Alberti calls Trevet “egregius commentator psalterii, et nonnullorum aliorum librorum Bibliæ” (*De uiris illustribus ordinis praedicatorum libri sex*, Bologna, H. Platonis, 1517, fol. 137r).

³⁷ As is the case with Louis de Valladolid (quoted above, n. 24) and Alberto de Castello's *Breuis et summaria cronica ordinis predicatorum de reverendissimis magistris ordinis et uiris illustribus ipsius ordinis*, printed in Venice in 1516: “Item super totam bibliam scripsit dicta sanctorum concathenando sicut fecit S. Thomas; (!) super quattuor euangelistas” (R. CREYTENS OP, “Les écrivains dominicains dans la chronique d'Albert de Castello (1516)”, *AFP*, 30 (1960), pp. 227–313, at 282, No. 186; the edition of 1516 expanded the previous editions of 1504 and 1506; the quoted passage belongs to the additions, see *ibid.*, pp. 245 and 260).

all.³⁸ Outside the order, the *Expositio* attracted the interest of the Oxford theologian Thomas Gascoigne in the first half of the fifteenth century in England (see Appendix G).

Various circumstances may have influenced the long-term circulation of the *Expositio* and its apparently limited success.³⁹ The choice of the non-liturgical version of the Latin Psalter and the almost-coincidence of Lyre's commenting on the Gallican version are likely to have hindered the lasting reception of Trevet's commentary over the long term.⁴⁰ The competition from Lyre was stronger yet since his *Postilla* of the Psalms — having been completed in 1326/27 and immediately published, with the help of Parisian workshops,⁴¹ — was republished as a part of the *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam* in 1331–1332, again with recourse to the Parisian infrastructure⁴² and involving powerful patrons.⁴³ (It would be interesting to know how fast and wide Lyre's

³⁸ See the anonymous catalogue of Prague (A. AUER, *Ein neuaufgefundener Katalog der Dominikaner Schriftsteller*, Paris, 1933, pp. 105–06, No. 49) and Georg Epp, *De illustribus viris ac sanctimonialibus sacri ordinis predicatorum* [Basel?] [1506], fol. II^{ra}. On all the authors and works mentioned in this and the two preceding notes, see A. HUIJBERS, *Zealots for Souls. Dominican Narratives of Self-Understanding during Observant Reforms, c. 1388–1517*, Berlin-Boston, 2018, passim.

³⁹ On the varying success of scriptural commentaries by Dominican writers, cf. MULCHAHEY, "First be Bow is Bent in Study", pp. 485–506.

⁴⁰ Both Trevet's choice of the version of the Psalter and the overlap with Lyre's larger endeavour have been brought forward by KRAEBEL, *Biblical Commentary*, p. 41. His impression that "Trevet's commentary appears not to have enjoyed a wide readership" was based on the incomplete list of extant and attested copies provided by STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, No. 6038. In the light of the evidence gathered here, Trevet's readership was wider than is suggested by that list, although, of course, still much narrower than the readership of Lyre.

⁴¹ See above, Chapter 4, nn. 16 and 17.

⁴² See e.g. the set of volumes, Reims, BM, 171–172, 174–177, of which MS 172, including postils on the Books of Joshua through to Esther, is dated at Paris, 1331 (the commentaries on Job and the Psalms, Reims, BM, 173, were commissioned by the eventual owner of the entire set, Guy de Roye, archbishop of Reims, in 1392 and 1395; *Mss. datés*, V, pp. 233 and 235). There are other copies produced in the *pecia* system: see MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia*, pp. 648–56.

⁴³ A three-volume set of the *Postilla* was offered to Pope John XXII in 1332, see NEBBIAI, "I libri del papa", pp. 134–35.

Postil reached a Dominican audience.)⁴⁴

One factor definitely worked in the opposite direction and laid the foundations for a broad and constant circulation of Trevet's commentary. This factor was a successful authorial effort of publication, which should be distinguished from the simple success of a work in terms of

⁴⁴ I am not aware of any study of this line of reception. The hints at my disposal are far from conclusive. The parts of the aforementioned set from Reims (MSS 172, 174, and 177) were made for a Dominican friar Petrus de Palma (Pierre de Baume), before being sold in 1335 to Archbishop Guillaume de Brosse of Sens and to Pierre Roger (*Mss. datés*, V, p. 233, and É. ANHEIM, "La bibliothèque personnelle de Pierre Roger/Clément VI", in *La vie culturelle, intellectuelle et scientifique à la cour des papes d'Avignon*, ed. by J. HAMESSE, Turnhout, 2006, pp. 1–27, at 10, 33, 48; the information on later owners provided in these two publications partly differs, cf. above, n. 42). At a slightly later time Johannes and Hugo Münch of Münchenstein, natural brothers and friars at the Dominican convent at Basel (attested as friars between 1329 and, respectively, 1382 and 1347) secured a copy of Lyre's *postil* on the Psalms, now Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B IV 3 (see above, Chapter 4, n. 16; on the two owners, see G. BONER, "Das Predigerkloster in Basel von der Gründung bis zur Klosterreform 1233–1429. II Teil", *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 34 (1935), pp. 107–259, at 221, n. 22, and 223, n. 29). A set of three volumes, including the *postil* on the Psalms, datable to the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MSS 160–162) was given to the convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris in the fifteenth century by Stephanus de Brebant (LÉVECQUE-STANKIEWICZ, "Une bibliothèque retrouvée", pp. 541, 588, and 603, No. 21; cf. <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=MAZA10243>). Among the fourteenth-century inventories of Dominican libraries, the *Postil* appears in that of Sant'Agostino in Padua, of 1390 (L. GARGAN, *Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, Padua, 1971, p. 192, No. 13), but not in the oldest inventory of San Domenico in Bologna. Instead, previous scholarship provides sufficient evidence that the *Postil* circulated early and widely in England. Beside the quotations in Cossey's commentary, discussed above, Chapter 4, see the list of extant and attested English copies in K. L. SCOTT, *Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts*, London, 2007, pp. 179–83 (those dated or datable to the fourteenth century mostly belonged to bishops, cathedral libraries, and university colleges; the lost copy of the Psalter commentary bequeathed by Bishop John de Grandisson to the cathedral chapter of Exeter should be added to that list, see description of G, Appendix B). Cf. DELANO-SMITH, "Some contemporary manuscripts".

durable demand, readership, and impact.⁴⁵ First, the *Expositio* was published, a fact that should never be taken for granted in the culture of the manuscript book. Secondly, it was published within and without the order, which is of some significance in the case of a work authored by a Dominican friar. Finally, and more importantly, the work became the object of a publishing endeavour by Nicholas Trevet, his superior(s) and a group of contemporary readers. Its reception among contemporary and later generations of medieval audiences marks a distinct chapter in the history of the work. Only once that chapter has been written shall we be in a position to estimate with confidence the success of Trevet's *Expositio*.

⁴⁵ As said, the success of medieval Latin works has recently become the subject of systematic scrutiny by the FAMA project (see above, Introduction, n. 25). The identification of successful work is based on the numbers of extant manuscripts. According to the project's thresholds (about thirty for secular works and about forty for the works of religious or philosophical character), Trevet's commentary, transmitted in a total of eleven surviving copies, complete or partial, falls short of being considered a successful work. See D. STUTZMANN, "Auteurs, genres, date de rédaction: comment étudier les facteurs de succès pour les œuvres recensées dans la base FAMA", in *Succès des textes latins*, pp. 13–41, at 13–14.

Appendices

APPENDIX A. PSALM NUMBERING

In Trevet's *Expositio* the psalm numbering occurs, besides the paratextual apparatus of rubrics, in the commentary on the first verse of each psalm, more often in the very incipit. Trevet follows the division and numbering proper to *Ga*, which is also shared by many witnesses of *He*. However, alongside that common numbering he provides an alternative one: "secundum (*or apud*) Hebreos", resulting from the fact that in the Hebrew sources known to Trevet some psalms are combined, beginning with Pss. 1 and 2. Therefore, the commentary on Ps. 3, after the exposition of the title, begins: "Psalmus iste secundus apud Hebreos apud nos tercius in duas partes diuiditur" (M, fol. 5^{rab}; G, fol. 8^{vb}). From Ps. 3 onwards the "Hebrew" numbering is lower by one. Because Pss. 31 and 32 are united, the difference grows to two units. The combination of Pss. 41 and 42, 69 and 70, 89 and 90 make the "Hebrew" numbering lower by three, four, and five respectively. According to Trevet, Pss. 91–96 are one psalm in the Hebrew and thus the divergence reaches ten units and Trevet's Ps. 97 corresponds to 87 in the Hebrew. Again, Pss. 97 and 98, 102 and 103 being united, the difference grows to eleven and twelve units respectively and therefore Ps. 104 of the *Expositio* is 92 "apud Hebreos". Without explanation the difference is reduced to ten with Ps. 109 (99 in the Hebrew), and from Ps. 115 onwards the "Hebrew" numbering is no longer provided. The main series of numbers is rather stable in the manuscript tradition, such that "Hebrew" presents some variance. The most significant variant numbers are included in Appendix D. The "Hebrew" numbering given by Trevet is not that of the edited *He*. A concordance between the numbering of *Ga* followed by Trevet and the edited *He* is offered in the following table (Psalms numbered differently are given in boldface).

Trevet's <i>Expositio</i> and <i>Ga</i>	<i>He</i>
1-8	1-8
9	9 and 10
10-112	11-113
113	114 and 115
114	116: 1-9
115	116: 10-19
116-145	117-146
146	147: 1-11
147	147: 12-20
148-50	148-50

APPENDIX B. DESCRIPTION OF THE EARLY MANUSCRIPTS

The following records are not intended to offer exhaustive descriptions but provide the essential information about the material aspect of each manuscript and more detailed discussion of their history as well as idiosyncrasies of each copy of Trevet's *Expositio*. As to the material dimension, the initial section labelled "Structure" seeks to put in relation the collation of quires with other significant *caesurae*, such as changes of hand or textual divisions, which are further discussed under separate rubrics. All but N were copied within one campaign, albeit according to various patterns of work distribution. Although the scale of their homogeneity varies, ABCGHMOR can be defined as "unitary" or "monoblock" manuscripts, whichever convention is preferred. In N, the only multi-text manuscript, two contemporary units of production have been distinguished, but it is not clear whether those were part of the same project and how promptly they were bound together. N, therefore, has the characteristics of a "composite" or "multiblock" manuscript.¹ Dating undated manuscripts to the first third or first half of the fourteenth century tacitly presumes 1317 to be the *terminus post quem*. In the description of dimensions and layout the written space is distinguished in bold type. All measurements are given in millimetres. *Dicta probatoria* consist of the beginning of the second leaf and the ending of the penultimate one. These and other quotations from manuscripts are normally given in diplomatic transcription. The bibliography includes selected publications citing the manuscript (arranged in chronological publication order); other studies relevant to the analysis are referred to in footnotes.

¹ The physical structure of manuscripts in codex form and their relations to their contents is currently the subject of lively debate. One of its results has been questioning of certain commonly used terms and the search for more precise definitions. "Mono-" and "multiblock manuscript" are part of a new but still "working" terminology, see M. MANIACI, "The medieval codex as a complex container: the Greek and Latin traditions", in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, ed. by M. FRIEDRICH, C. SCHWARKE, Berlin-Boston, 2016, pp. 27–46, at 28–29; EADEM, "Miscellaneous reflections on the complexity of medieval manuscripts", in *Collecting, Organizing and Transmitting Knowledge. Miscellanies in Late*

A: Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A. 984

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (85–96), IX³⁺³ (97–102); X⁶⁺⁶ (103–14), XI⁶⁺⁶ (115–26), XII¹⁺¹ (127–28). Catchwords (missing in quires IX and XII) are written by the scribe and displayed horizontally in the lower margin under col. b. Bifolia are numbered in quires IV and X. Spaces left blank in the quire IX (ternion, in contrast to prevailing sexternions), in the middle (parts of columns 98^{ra} and 98^{rb}), and at the end (102^{rb}, 102^v, the latter not ruled), have not produced textual lacunae, nor do they coincide with any change in the way the copy was executed (script, colour of ink, layout) or, in the light of current research, with a change of exemplar. The latter blank space, however, coincides with a textual caesura between the commentary on Ps. 108 (ending on fol. 102^{ra}) and Ps. 109 (beginning on fol. 103^{ra}). These incidents reflect interruption or hesitation at that point in the copying, the nature of which remains unknown.²

Origin. S. XIV^{2/4-m}. The place of copying is difficult to determine (cf. the origin of textually related C and N), but the decoration would have been supplied in northern Italy, perhaps in Bologna.³

Provenance. Bologna, San Domenico. This provenance relies on several pieces of evidence. A note written in a Gothic cursive in the extreme lower margin of fol. 128^v (upside down) reads: “Iste liber e(st) (conuen)t(us) bono(ni)e(n)s(is)”. The intended addressees of this ownership mark apparently were confreres as it was judged unnecessary to mention the order. In any case it confirms that in the medieval period the book was already in Bologna.⁴ Fabio Vigili, who visited the libraries in Bologna sometime between 1508 and 1512, mentions a copy of Trevet’s

Medieval Europe, ed. by S. CORBELLINI, G. MURANO, G. SIGNORE, Turnhout, 2018, pp. 11–22.

² SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 51, who based his description on “an accurately scaled microfilm”, was the first to notice those spaces and believed that they “suggest the presence of more than one scribe”. STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 135, instead took this as an indication of either a plurality of scribes or of the exemplar’s having been handed out in portions (*pecie*).

³ DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 100, hesitated between Southern France and Northern Italy.

⁴ This kind of note is not discussed among medieval Dominican ownership marks by L. PELLEGRINI, “La biblioteca e i codici di San Domenico (secc. XIII–XV)”, in

Expositio on the Psalms among the books of San Domenico.⁵ Of the two early-modern pressmarks the Arabic numeral on the 2^o folio (here “7”, in the upper-outer corner of fol. 2^r) is frequently found in books from the Dominican library in Bologna.⁶ It is therefore plausible to identify A with the entry in the oldest extant inventory of the library of San Domenico, datable to the 1370s: “Item expositio super psalterium eiusdem” (No. 205), separated by a psalter (“Item psalterium continuum”, No. 204) from Trevet’s commentary on Leviticus: “Item postila magistri Nicholai Traveht, ordinis Predicatorum, super Leviticum” (No. 203).⁷

Material. Parchment.

Fols I + 128 + I’ (I and I’ are early-modern paper flyleaves).

Dimensions and layout. 295 (22+223+50) × 210 (19+64+11+66+50), 53 ruled, 52 written lines (fol. 31^r, central bifolium of quire III); 294 (21+223+50) × 207 (18+64+13+63+49), 53 ruled, 52 written lines (fol. 121^r, central bifolium of quire XI). Two columns. Ruling in lead point. The number of ruled lines may slightly vary. In quires I–IX the first and of-

Praedicatorum/Doctores. Lo Studium generale dei frati Predicatori nella cultura bolognese tra il ‘200 e il ‘300, ed. by R. LAMBERTINI, *Memorie domenicane*, New Series, 39, (2008), pp. 143–59 (figures at pp. 273–78). On the library see also G. MURANO, “I libri di uno *Studium generale*: l’antica *libreria* del convento di San Domenico di Bologna”, *Annali di storia delle università italiane*, 13 (2009), pp. 287–304.

⁵ “Nicolai Treveh Anglici, ordinis Praedicatorum, expositio litteralis super Psalterium ad fratrem Ioannem de Bistollis, eiusdem ordinis” (M.-H. LAURENT, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI^e siècle d’après le Ms. Barb. Lat. 3185*, Vatican City, 1943 (Studi e Testi, 105), pp. 14–15, No. 19, among the books located “a dextris scamno 5^o”). Giovanna Murano identifies this entry with A; I am grateful to her for making her unpublished work on the convent of San Domenico in Bologna available to me. This identity could be supported by the reading “Bistollis” in Vigili. The placename in A is abbreviated as “B(r)istoll.” (“i” being written above).

⁶ PELLEGRINI, “La biblioteca”, p. 151. Another pressmark “16.mm.II.18” appears in the front pastedown. The manuscript does not present any other of the early-modern Dominican ownership marks: http://badigit.comune.bologna.it/possessori/risultati_possessore.asp?testo=Convento%20di%20San%20Domenico%20-%20Bologna.

⁷ Edited in LAURENT, *Fabio Vigili*, pp. 203–35, at 218, on the inventory see pp. xxviii–xxxii. Laurent dated the inventory between 1371 and 1386, whereas MURANO, “I libri di uno *Studium generale*”, p. 289, has proposed the timespan of 1371–1378.

ten the last page (i.e. one side of the external bifolium) also have double lines running through both the vertical and horizontal margins.

Script. Northern *littera textualis* by one hand.

Decoration. Blue or red pen-flourished initials at the beginning of the dedicatory letter (1^{ra}, R(euerendo), a puzzle initial), the prologue (1^{rb}, I(n)), and the commentary on Ps. 1 (3^{ra}, P(utauit)). Other divisions are marked by majuscules in blue or red ink with very simple penwork ornament or, more often, by paraphs. Both the penwork forms and the dent in the headline of the letter indicate an Italian pen-flourisher.⁸

Illustration. Blank rectangular spaces reserved for images of musical instruments in the commentary on Ps. 150 within the columns on fols 128^{ra}, ^{rb}, ^{va} and ^{vb}.

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium*.

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra-b}). *Rubr.* Ep(isto)la p(ro)hemial(is).

Inc. Reuerendo p(at)ri f(rat)ri Joh(ann)i de B(r)istoll'. priori p(ro)ui(n)-ciali f(rat)r(um) P(re)dicator(um). Angl(ie) f(rate)r Nich(olaus) Treueth ei(us)d(em) ord(in)is. s(a)ll(ute)m. Et debite obedie(n)cie p(ro)mtu(m) Obseq(u)iu(m) ac deuotu(m). Int(er) Celebres v<e>t(er)is testam(en)-ti t(ra)nslac(i)o(n)es. *Expl.* op(us) istud agg(re)ss(us) su(m). v(est)ris a(li)or(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m meritis q(u)i a me labore(m) hu(n)c i(n)-sta(n)ci(us) flagitaru(n)t ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri Ih(s)u [u *corr. ex m*] x(rist)i honorem et gl(or)iam (con)sumentum [*corr. in -man- manu posteriori?*]. AMEN. ame(n)

b) Expositio (1^{rb}-128^{vb}). *Rubr.* Incipit exp(ositi)o lit(er)al(is) f(rat)ris Nicholay there(n)thi [*cf. the copyist's guidelines for rubricator in the lower margin: th[e]reuth[i]⁹*] ord(in)is p(re)dicatorum sup(er) psalterium.

b. 1. Prologus (1^{rb}-2^{ra}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psalla(m) t(ib)i ps(alm)o cxliij. *Inc.* Cu(m) p(ro)ph(et)e a(n)te d(aui)d m(u)lta ad diu(er)-sa ad laude(m) d(e)i edid(er)int cantica. *Expl.* vn(de) d(ici)t. ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)son)a cui(us)l(ibet) q(u)i se d<i>rigit i(n) hu(n)c fine(m) ps(alm)o .xxvj. t(ib)i dixit cor meu(m) exq(u)isiuit te facies mea fa(c)i-(m) tua(m) d(omi)ne req(u)ira(m) ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

⁸ I am indebted to Patricia Stirnemann for the localization of the penwork.

⁹ This final "i", written slightly above the baseline and expunctuated, looks like a line-filler, but must have been misconstrued by the rubricator. See Plate 4.

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{ra}–3^{ra}). *Rubr.* (*the copyist's guidelines for rubricator in the lower margin*) R(ubrica) Incipit p(ro)log(us) b(ea)ti J(er)onim)i i(n) ps(al)mis heb(ra)yc(is). *Inc.* Beat(us) J(er)onim(us) cu(m) ad instan(cia)m cui(us)da(m) fam(i)liaris sui no(m)i(n)e Soph(r)onij t(ra)nsfer(et) psalt(er)iu(m) inme(dia)te de heb(re)eo in latin(um) p(re)mis(it) h(un)c p(ro)logu(m). in quo t(r)ia facit. *Expl.* Exigit v(er)o se or(ati)onib(us) ei(us) se re(com)m(en)dando cu(m) dicit. cupio te minisse [*sic*] mei s(cilicet) i(n) or(ati)onib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (3^{ra}–128^{vb}). *Rubr.* (*in the inner margin*) p(ri)mus ps(al)mus). *Inc.* Putauit [*sic*] no(n)n(u)lli duas fuisse t(ra)ns(l)aciones psalt(er)ij inme(dia)te <de> heb(ra)ico in lati(nu)m. Quar(um) vna e(st) J(er)oni(m)i et a(li)a cui(us)d(am) alt(er)i(us) int(er)p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl.* Et in fine addit. All(elui)a. q(uod) e(st) nota eximie leti(c)ie in laude di(uin)a que sic inchoata p(er)ficiet(ur) in patria cl(ar)itatis eterne. Ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat domin(us) noster ih(su)c xp(istu)c qui est deus benedictus in s(e)c(u)la. Amen.

Textus vs commentary. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata in the same script and size, underlined in the ink of the text or red ink. Occasionally the commentary includes individual verses or their incipits of Pss. 24:1, 31:3, 36:35, 49:14–23, 50:3–19, 96:8, and 105:47–48, according to *He* or *Ga*. For an interpretation of this feature, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 58–60.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 2^o): “(con)fite-||ri d(omi)no”.

Penult. fol. (fol. 127^o): “loq(uen)do ad d(eu)m d(icens)”.

Bibliography. C. LUCCHESI, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, 32, Florence, 1925, p. 124; DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 100; SHIELDS, “A Critical Edition”, p. 51; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 135; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plate 4.

B: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 730

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36), IV²⁺² (37–40), V⁶⁺⁶ (41–52, a), VI⁶⁺⁶ (53–64, b), VII⁶⁺⁶ (65–76, [c]), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (77–88,

d), IX⁶⁺⁶ (89–100, e), X⁶⁺⁶ (101–12, f), XI⁶⁺⁶ (113–24, g), XII⁶⁺⁶ (125–35 [126 twice], h), XIII⁶⁺⁶ (136–47, i), XIV⁶⁺⁶ (148–59, k), XV⁶⁺⁶ (160–71, l), XVI³⁺³ (172–77, m). A stub between quires XV and XVI may be the remainder of a lost flyleaf. Horizontal catchwords in the lower margin refer either to the commentary or to the *textus* (missing in quires IV and XVI). Many quires present traces of leaf signatures in the first half according to three different patters: (1) roman numeral in red ink in the outer margin; (2) letter and Roman numeral in pencil in the lower margin; (3) Roman numeral in violet in the lower margin. Pattern 2 is the most frequent. The identity of the form of *a* in signatures and in guide letters (two-compartment *a* with large lower compartment) suggests that the numbering of quires, at least partly, was due to copyists (see e.g. fol. 43^r, signature “a iii” and guide letter of “Afferte”). The lesser consistency of quire IV, wanting a catchword, the script on fol. 40^v being more spacious, on the one hand, and the change of hand and introduction of alphanumerical signatures in quire V (usual sexternion) suggests that the two parts were copied simultaneously from an unbound exemplar. Cf. below on the script.

Origin: England, s. XIV^{1/3}.

Provenance. Dominican convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. The manuscript has been identified with an entry in the late-fifteenth-century inventory of the friary: “Expositio Nicolai Traveth super Psalterium secundum translationem beati Hieronymi. Cuius prima carta finitur: *domino*, penultima: *dicitur VI*” (BAV, Vat. lat. 3958, fol. 218^v; MEERSEMAN, “La bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs”, p. 610, No. 20, cf. p. 608; KAEPPELI, “Antiche biblioteche”, p. 62). Two early-modern press marks on the front paper pastedown: XV.7 and I.A.12.

Early readers. Small number of short glosses in late Gothic script of very small size. Another hand, using Northern *textualis* added Ps. 6:8–11 according to *Ga* (fol. 10^v, lower margin).

Material. Parchment of mediocre quality, visible difference between flesh and hair side.

Fols I + 178 + I'. The parchment body of the manuscript is numbered 1–177: the leaf following fol. 126 was originally not numbered and later provided with number 126^b in pencil. Fols I and I' are unnumbered early-modern paper flyleaves.

Dimensions and layout. 269 (24+210+35) × 192 (23+32+4+31+10+32+4+31+25); 42 ruled lines (fol. 19^r, central bifolium of quire II, the outer edge irregular); 268 (21+220+27) × 198 (21+73+11+73+20); 52 written lines (ruled lines partly invisible); double vertical lines separating the *textus* and the commentary made ad hoc, and as a consequence the width of the *textus* block varies somewhat (fol. 47^r, central bifolium of quire V). Ruling, in lead point or plummet, follows two patterns: (1) double line (guided by pricking) runs across each column, roughly in the middle, delimitating space for the *textus*; (2) the ruling separating the *textus* from the commentary is made separately on each page according to need. Writing tends to start on the line below the top line, but often runs through it. The written lines are sometimes oblique, perhaps due to barely visible ruling.

Script. The manuscript is written by several hands using Anglicana or else Gothic cursives under the influence of Anglicana (rather early specimens, as the horned ascenders of hand A might suggest). All hands seem to follow the English preference for 6-shaped *s* at the beginning of words, although the tall form is also used to a greater or lesser extent. Scribe A, using Anglicana, appears to have copied most of the manuscript. He was replaced at the beginning of quire III (fol. 25^{va}) by scribe B, and perhaps simultaneously began copying quires V and VI (fols 41–64). Scribe B is mainly responsible for quire III (fols 25–36) and quire IV (fols 37–40, with possible interventions from A). He apparently wanted to fill quire IV completely, spacing out the script on the last page (**Plate II**). Another hand (C) copied quire VII (fols 65–76), while A copied quires VIII through X (fols 77–112) and began copying quire XI (till fol. 113^{va}, l. 6?). The rest of the manuscript has been copied by hand A, with rather limited interventions by hands B and C, and probably two other hands. The hand responsible for the commentary is probably also responsible for the *textus*, as suggested by the same or similar colour of ink, some morphological affinities, as well as by the fact that the Northern *textualis* used for the *textus* does not strictly follow the use of the two forms of *r* (the round form may appear after a non-round letter or at the beginning of a word, while straight form also appears after a round letter), which is suggestive of hands trained in less formal, cursive scripts.

Decoration. The beginning of the dedicatory letter, the prologue, Eusebius's *Epistola* and Ps. 1 are marked by ornamental initials:

R(euerendo) (fol. 1^{ra}); I(n) (fol. 1^{rb}) (**Plate 10**); E(usebius) (fol. 2^{ra}) and B(eatus) (fol. 3^{va}). The ground in these initials has branches decorated with lobe & point and oak leaves (the latter on fol. 1^{ra}), round berries, or animal heads (for the latter see fols 1^{rb} and 2^{ra}). Minor divisions are marked by majuscules alternately in red or blue ink (also red and blue puzzle initials, see D(ominus), fol. 41^{rb}, **Plate 11**), with pen-flourishes in red, blue or, more rarely, violet ink (violet penwork occurs in the quires V–VI, VIII–XV). The use of violet ink in the penwork decoration, which was more common on the continent (especially in southern France), does not contradict the English origin suggested by the painted decoration (among other features the use of oak leaves) and script, since that is sometimes found also in manuscripts produced in England.¹⁰ In the initial Q(uid gloraris), fol. 67^{va}, the floral decoration inside the letter is formed by the ghostly outline of the surrounding blank parchment.

Illustration. Six coloured illustrations of musical instruments occur within written columns on fols 176^{vb}–177^{rb} (commentary on Ps. 150). **Plate 12.**

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–177^{rb}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (2^{ra}–177^{rb}).

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra}–1^{rb}). *Inc.* Reuerendo pat(r)i frat(r)i Joh(ann)i de Bristoll' p(r)iori p(ro)ui(n)ciali fr(atru)m p(re)dicator(um) Anglie frat(er) Nicholaus Treuet ei(us)de(m) Ord(in)is sal(ute)m et debite obediencie p(ro)mtu(m) obseq(u)iu(m) ac deuotu(m). Int(er) celeb(r)es vet(er)is testam(en)ti t(ra)nslat(i)o(n)es. *Expl.* op(us) istud ag(r)esscis [*sic*] cu(m) [*sic*] v(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) fr(atru)m m(er)itis q(u)i a me labore(m) hu(n)c [*a superfluous minim*] instanci(us) flagi<ta>r(un)t ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ih(s)u xp(ist)i honore(m) et gl(or)iam (con)su(m)mand(os) am(en).

¹⁰ AVRIL, “Un enlumineur ornemaniste parisien”, p. 249, cf. A. STONES, “Pen-flourished decoration”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, ed. by F. T. COULSON, R. G. BABCOCK, Oxford, 2020, pp. 674–90, at 674. Among the English manuscripts with violet pen-flourishes, see e.g. London, BL, Add. MS 42130 (The Luttrell Psalter, 1325–1340), from fol. 145^r onwards, see: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42130 (I am grateful to Lucy Freeman Sandler for bringing this example to my attention); or Paris, BnF, fr. 9562 (*Histoire de la Bible*, England, s. xiv^{2/4}, AVRIL, STIRNEMANN, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire*, No. 191, p. 154).

b) Expositio (1^{rb}–177^{rb}). *Rubr.* Incip(i)t exp(ositi)o frat(r)is Nicolai Treueth ordinis p(re)dicator(um) sup(er) psalter(i)u(m).

b. 1. Prologus (1^{rb}–2^{ra}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam t(ib)i ps(alm)o Cxliij. *Inc.* cu(m) m(u)lti p(ro)ph(et)e an(te) dauid m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laude(m) dei edid(er)i(n)t [?] cantica. *Expl.* vnde dicit ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)sona cui(us)l(ibet) q(u)i se dirig(i)t in hu(nc) fine(m) psalmo xxvi^o tibi dix(i)t cor meu(m) exq(u)isiuit te facies mea faciem tua(m) d(omi)ne req(u)iram ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{ra}–3^{va}). *Rubr.* Incip(i)t p(ro)log(us) beati Jero(nim)i sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m). *Inc. textus* Eusebius Jeronim(us) sophro(n)io suo salutem. *Inc. comm.* eat(us) Jeronim(us) cu(m) ad petit(i)o(ne)m cui(us)dam sui no(m)i(n)e sophronii t(ra)nstuliss(et) psalt(er)ium inmediate de heb(r)eo in latinu(m) p(re)misit h(un)c p(ro)logu(m) in q(u)o t(r)ia facit. *Expl. textus* Uale in d(omi)no ih(s)u cupio te meminisse mei et c(etera). *Expl. comm.* Exigit v(er)o se or(ati)onib(us) ei(us) reco(m)me(n)da(n)s cu(m) dicit cupio te meminisse mei. s(cilicet) in or(ati)o(n)ib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (3^{va}–177^{rb})

Rubr. Psalm(us) p(r)im(us). *Inc. textus* Beat(us) uir q(u)i non abiit in co(n)silio impior(um) et in via p(e)ccator(um) no(n) stetit et in cathedra derisor(um) no(n) sedit. *Inc. comm.* Putant [a *superfluous minim before t*] no(n)nulli duas fuisse t(ra)nslat(i)o(n)es psalt(er)ii inmediate de heb(r)ico in latinu(m) q(ua)r(um) vna e(st) Jero(nim)i et alia cui(us)da(m) alt(er)ius int(er)p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl. textus.* Omne quod spirat laudet do(minu)m haleluia. *Expl. comm.* et in fine addit haleluia. q(uod) est no(ta) eximie leticie in laude di(uin)a. q(ue) hic iniciata p(er)ficiet(ur) in p(at)ria claritatis et(er)ne ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat do(minus) n(oste)r Jh(s)u xp(istu)s qui e(st) de(us) b(e)n(e)dict(us) in s(e)c(u)la amen. *Rubr.* Explicit l(itte)ral(is) exp(ositi)o f(rat)ris Nicolai Treueth ord(in)is p(re)dicator(um) s(upe)r psalt(er)iu(m) t(ra)nslatu(m) a beato Jer(onim)o inmediate de heb(r)ico in latinu(m).

Textus vs commentary. The columns of the commentary are indented to host one or more psalm verse. The *textus* is written in script of a different style and usually larger size, but possibly by the same scribe (see above). In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata in the same script underlined in red.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 2^r): “psallere no(min)i tuo”.

Penult. fol. (fol. 176^v): “q(ue) delta d(icitu)r vi||-det(ur)”.

Bibliography. EHRLE, “Trivet”, p. 10, n. 1; DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 101; KLEINHANS, “Nicolaus Trivet”, pp. 221–22; G. MEERSSEMAN, OP, “La bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs de la Minerve à la fin du XVe siècle”, in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer. Études d’histoire littéraire et doctrinale de la Scolastique médiévale offertes à Monseigneur Auguste Pelzer à l’occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, Louvain, 1947, pp. 605–34, at 608, 610; T. KAEPPELI, “Antiche biblioteche domenicane in Italia”, *AFP*, 36 (1966), pp. 5–80, at 62; SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 51; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 137; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plates 10–12.

C: Capestrano, Biblioteca del Convento di S. Giovanni da Capestrano, XLV

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (85–96), IX⁶⁺⁶ (97–108), X⁶⁺⁶ (109–20), XI⁶⁺⁶ (121–32), XII⁶⁺⁶ (133–44), XIII³⁺³ (145–50). Catchwords by the scribe, displayed horizontally, in the lower margin, under col. b. Quire signatures by two different early-modern hands: A–f (quires I–VI) and i–n (quires IX–XIII). The first of these provided a tally of quires on fol. 150^v, followed by the account: “Quint. [*sic*] 13 et fo. [138] 140” (a similar account has been added to the late-medieval label on the back cover: “Quint 13 et fo. <1>38”). Another account, in Gothic cursive, in the extreme lower part of fol. 150^v, reads: “pecie .xiii.” Apparently, the term “pecia” is used here in the common sense of a gathering.

Origin. *S.* XIV^{1/2}. The script would suggest an English origin, while the decoration is French (Parisian). The manuscript was either copied in England and decorated in northern France (probably Paris) or produced entirely in the latter location. Cf. N and the place of C and N in the textual tradition as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Provenance. The book came to the convent of Capestrano through the famous preacher and Observant Franciscan Friar John Capistran,

or Giovanni da Capestrano (1386–1456), as demonstrated by the note in the upper margin of fol. 1^r: “Iste liber e(st) ad usu(m) .F. Jo. d(e) capistrano”. It remains unknown when, where or how the book came into his hands.¹¹ Since it is absent from the inventory *post mortem* of Capistran’s books made in Ilok 3 December 1456,¹² it must have been sent earlier to the recently founded (1447) convent in Capistran’s birthplace.¹³ It was probably at that time that it received the binding it still keeps: wooden boards covered in black leather and provided with decorated iron clasps (the clasp-hooks bear the inscription “ave” in Gothic minuscule, while the catch-plates have representations of the Pascal Lamb and a Gothic capital “S”).¹⁴ On the front cover is the usual parchment label giving the title and collocation, written in late *littera textualis*: “.3(us). Psalteriu(m) glosatu(m) p(er) nicholau(m) teneth [*sic*] ord(in)is p(re)dicator(um) de .i.^a”. Old parchment flyleaves present fragments of a liturgical text in Southern *littera textualis* (fol. IV), of a register in Gothic cursive (fols 151 and 153, and on fol. 153^r the name of the notary Jacobus Petri de Monte and the year 1352 occur), and extracts from the prologue and the commentary on Ps. 1 in Nicholas of Lyre’s *Postilla super Psalmos* (fol. 152^{r-v}). If the hand responsible for the latter is that of corrector B (see below: Script), that flyleaf would have belonged with the manuscript from the very earliest times.

¹¹ Perhaps research into his some 650 letters would shed some light. Consultation of a provisional calendar, however, has not produced any hint about our book, see O. BONMANN, OFM, “A provisional calendar of St John Capistran’s correspondence”, ed. by G. GÁL, OFM, and J. M. MISKULY, OFM, *Franciscan Studies*, 49 (1989), pp. 255–345; 50 (1990), pp. 323–403; 53 (1992), pp. 283–327; the most up-to-date report on the inventorying and elaboration of Capistran’s letters is offered by F. SEDDA, “*Corpus Epistolarum Capistrani* (CEC): an overview of the database of John of Capistrano’s epistolary”, in *Corpus epistolaris Ioannis de Capistrano*, vol. 1, *Epistolae annis MCDLI–MCDLVI scriptae quae ad res gestas Poloniae et Silesiae spectant*, ed. by P. KRAS, H. MANIKOWSKA, M. STARZYŃSKI, A. ZAJCHOWSKA-BOŁTROMIUK, Warszawa-Lublin, 2018, pp. 35–46.

¹² Edited in CHIAPPINI, “Reliquie letterarie”, pp. 285–91.

¹³ This is also the case with eight other manuscripts, once *ad usum* of John Capistran, and now in Capestrano (the total number of the Capestrano manuscripts bearing the annotation *ad usum* is eleven), see SCIPIONI, “I codici”, p. 167.

¹⁴ “Ave” or “s” also appear on the bindings of other Capestrano manuscripts: 4, 6, 13, 15, 16, 55, and 56 (identified among thirty manuscripts described in Manus: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cerca-biblioteche/-/bib/detail/367?monocampo=Capestrano>).

Material. Parchment.

Fols I–III (unnumbered modern paper flyleaves) + IV (unnumbered old parchment flyleaf) + 150 + 151–53 (old parchment flyleaves) + I’–III’ (unnumbered modern paper flyleaves). Numbering in pencil in upper right corner of each folio. Fols 136–51 present an older numbering in ink (126–41), which explains the discrepancy between the numbers of leaves provided by Chiappini and De Bartholomaeis.

Dimensions and layout. 283 (14+225+44) × 196 (20+67+10+65+19+5+10), 45 ruled, 44 written lines (fol. 103^r, central bifolium of quire IX). Two columns. Ruling in lead point. The double line in the outer margin does not appear in the other quires.

Script. The body of the manuscript is written by one scribe using Anglicana Formata datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. The text was revised by two other hands, one using small *notularis* based on Southern *textualis* (A), another using Gothic cursive (B). Hand B appears to be the same as copied the extracts from Lyre’s *Postilla* on fol. 152 (see above: Provenance).

Decoration. Blue or red pen-flourished initials of Parisian style mark some of the major divisions.¹⁵ Initials R(euerendo) on fol. 1^{ra} and I(n) on fol. 1^{rb} are provided with pen flourishes of good quality, while the others are two- or three-line high initials with less distinctive penwork decoration. Paraph signs in red ink mark the other major and all the minor divisions. A tally of them for purposes of payment is found on fol. 150^v: “i^c xlv. lit(ter)as. | .xv^c. xxii. p(aragraph)a”, that is 145 initials and 1522 paraps (the tally is relatively exact at least as regards pen-flourished initials, which number 151).

Illustration. Blank rectangular spaces reserved for images of musical instruments in the commentary on Ps. 150 within the columns 149^{va}, ^{vb}, 150^{ra} and ^{rb}.

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium*.

Rubr. [added by corrector B in the extreme upper margin of fol. 1^r] sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m) s(ecundu)m t(ra)nslat(i)o(ne)(m) [J(er)onim)i] b(ea)ti J(er)onimi.

¹⁵ I owe the localization of the penwork to Patricia Stirnemann.

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra}-b). *Inc.* Reuerendo p(at)ri in xp(ist)o f(rat)ri Joh(ann)i de Bistoll' [*sic*] priori p(ro)uinciali f(rat)r(u)m p(re)-dicator(um) Anglie [-ie *added?*] f(rate)r Nicho(laus) Treueth eiusd(em) ordinis sal(ute)m et debite obediencie p(ro)mtu(m) obseq(ui)um ac deuotum. Int(er) celebres vet(er)is testamenti t(ra)nslac(i)o(n)es. *Expl.* op(us) istud agg(re)ss(us) su(m) v(est)ris a(li)or(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m meritis qui a me labore(m) hu(n)c instanci(us) flagitaru(n)t ad d(omi)-ni n(ost)ri ih(su) x(rist)i honore(m) et gl(or)iam (con)su(m)mand(um). amen.

b) Expositio (1^{rb}-150^{va}).

b. 1. Prologus (1^{rb}-2^{rb}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam tibi ps(alm)o cxliij [.c. *sup. lin. scr. C^R*] *Inc.* Cu(m) m(u)lti [m. *in marg. scr. C^A*] p(ro)ph(et)e an(te) d(au)id m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laude(m) d(e)i edid(er)int cantica. *Expl.* vn(de) dicit ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)(son)a cui(us)l(i)bet qui se dirigit ad hu(n)c fine(m) ps(alm)o .xxvj. t(ib)i dixit cor meu(m) exquisiu(i)t te facies mea facie(m) tua(m) d(omi)ne req(ui)-ram ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{rb}-3^{rb}). *Rubr.* [*in marg. add. C^B*] Incipit p(ro)log(us) b(ea)ti J(er)onimj <in psal>t(er)iu(m) hebraicu(m). *Inc. textus* [*in marg. add. C^B*] Eusebius Jero<ni>m(us) sophonio s<uo> salutem. *Inc. comm.* Beatus J(er)onimus cu(m) ad instan(cia)m cui(us)-d(am) fam(i)liaris sui no(m)i(n)e sephonii t(ra)nsf(er)ret psalt(er)iu(m) i(n)me(dia)te de heb(r)eo in lati(nu)m p(re)misit h(un)c p(ro)logu(m) in q(u)o t(r)ia facit. *Expl.* Exigit v(er)o se orac(i)onib(us) ei(us) se re-(com)me(n)dan)do. cu(m) dicit Cupio te meminisse mei. s(cilicet) i(n) oracionibus tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (3^{rb}-150^{va}). *Rubr.* prim(us) ps(almus). *Inc. textus* [*in marg. add. C^B*] Beat(us) vir q(u)i no(n) abiit in (con)silio imp<i>or(um). et i(n) uia p(e)cc(at)o<rum> no(n) stetit. et i(n) c<a>the-dra derisor(um) no(n) sedit. *Inc. comm.* Putant no(n)n(u)lli duas fuisse t(ra)ns(l)ati)ones psalt(er)ii i(n)me(dia)te d(e) heb(r)eo i(n) lati(nu)m Quar(um) vna est J(er)oni(m)i et a(li)a cui(us)d(am) alt(er)ius int(er)-p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl. comm.* Et i(n) [*in sup. lin.*] fine ad(di)t all(elu)ia. q(uod) e(st) no(ta) exi(mi)e leti(ci)e in laud(e) di(u)ina q(ue) s(i)c inchoata p(ro)ficiet(ur) [150^{va}] in pat(ri)a claritatis ¶ Ad q(uam) nos p(er)-ducat do(minus) n(oste)r ih(su)c x(ristus) qui est de(us) benedictus in s(e)c(u)la amem [*sic*]. *Rubr.* ¶ Explicit lit(er)al(is) exposic(i)o ffrat(r)is

Nicholai Treueth de [desup. lin.] Ordi(n)ep(re)dic(atorum)sup(er)psalt(er)iu(m) t(ra)nslatu(m) A B(ea)to J(er)onimo in me<dia>te de hebreo in latinu(m). d(e)o gr(aci)as.

Textus vs commentary. The commentary is keyed to the *textus* by lemmata, underlined in red, sometimes written in larger script (in the commentary on Ps. 1 Gothic majuscules are used). Occasionally the commentary includes *tituli*, individual verses or their incipits, sometimes written in the larger script, of Pss. 24:1, 31:3, 36:35, 40:5–48:16, 49:14–23, 50:3–19, 96:8, 105:47–48, according to *He* or *Ga*. For an interpretation of this feature, see Chapters 2 (pp. 58–60) and 3 (p. 116). In the margins the correctors A and B provided still more pieces of the *textus*, using, however, a different exemplar than the one from which this copy had been made, probably a copy of Trevet's *Expositio* including the full Psalter according to *He*. In the commentary on Jerome's epistle, the first section is given in full, while for subsequent sections incipits only are offered. In the commentary on Pss. 1–7, titles (if present), the first verse of each psalm and the incipits of most of the subsequent verses (or of the verses opening a section commented on) are provided. From Ps. 8 onwards, the inclusion of the titles and the incipits of psalm verses gradually becomes selective, and from Ps. 22 exceptional. Interventions by A apparently precede those of B, see fol. 6^r (outer margin), where A wrote the two first words of Ps. 3:1 and B added the rest of that verse, or 10^v (outer margin), where A wrote the incipit of verse 12 (here 11) of Ps. 7 “de(us) iudex” and B added “et c.” Occasionally, yet another (later?) hand, writing a Gothic cursive, added the incipit of Ps. 44:1 (fol. 48^r), most of the verses (in full) in Pss. 48:11–49:15 (fols 53^r–54^r), and probably also the incipit of Ps. 51:1 (fol. 56^v).

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 2^r): “sunt celi”.

Penult. fol. (fol. 149^v): “g(ra)ui(us) sone(n)t”.

Bibliography. V. DE BARTHOLOMAEIS, “Ricerche abruzzesi”, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, 8 (1889), pp. 75–173, at 107; A. CHIAPPINI, “Reliquie letterarie capestranesi. Storia, codici, carte, documenti”, *Bullettino della R. Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria*, Serie III, 1918–1923, also edited separately, L'Aquila, 1927, pp. 101–02; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 135; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397; B. SCIPIONI, “I codici *Ad usum fra-*

tris Iohannis conservati nella biblioteca del convento di Capestrano”, in *Cultura, società e vita religiosa ai tempi di S. Giovanni da Capestrano. Atti del V Convegno storico internazionale, Capestrano, 21–22 ottobre 2002*, ed. by E. PASZTOR, Capestrano, 2003, pp. 163–70, at 168; M. BARTOLI, “La biblioteca e lo *scriptorium* di Giovanni da Capestrano”, *Franciscana*, 8 (2006), pp. 239–59, at 246.

Plate 6

G: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 738

Structure. Collation. I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12 [a]), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24 [b]), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36, c), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48, d), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60, e), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72, f), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84, [g]), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (85–96, [h]), IX⁶⁺⁶ (97–108, [i]), X⁶⁺⁶ (109–20, [k]), XI⁶⁺⁶ (121–32, [l]), XII⁶⁺⁶ (133–44, [m]), XIII⁶⁺⁶ (145–56, [n]), XIV⁶⁺⁶ (157–68, [o]), XV⁶⁺⁶ (169–80 [a]), XVI⁶⁺⁶ (181–92 [b]), XVII⁶⁺⁶ (193–204, c), XVIII⁶⁺⁶ (205–16, d), XIX⁶⁺⁶ (217–28, b?), XX⁶⁺⁶ (229–40, a?), XXI⁵⁺⁵ (241–50). The quires of regular sexternions and the final quinternion, bearing the text, are preceded and followed by ternions of old parchment fly-leaves, blank or bearing ownership notes: the front ternion (fols I–V; an unnumbered leaf between II and III) and the back ternion (fols 251–54, wanting the second and third leaves). Horizontal catchwords, often lost (or partly lost) to trimming. Alphanumerical signatures in lead point are present in some quires.

Origin. England, 1320s (before 1326?).

Provenance. Exeter, Devon, cathedral church of St Peter. The manuscript was presented to Sir Thomas Bodley by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter in 1602.¹⁶ It is registered in the library inventory of 1506 of Exeter cathedral among the books of “Decimus descus”, “in parte orientali”: “Glosa super Psalterium in expositione literali Nicholai Treneth [*sic*], 2 fo., Quia ternarius”.¹⁷ The manuscript was bequeathed to the Exeter chapter by Bishop John de Grandisson in 1365. Two notes written in Grandisson’s hand witness the donation. The first reads: “lib(er) J<ohannis> de G<randison>. Exon’. Ep(iscop)i. que(m) dam(us) ip(s)

¹⁶ OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 377; cf. ERSKINE, “The growth of Exeter Cathedral library”, p. 49.

¹⁷ OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 373; WILLOUGHBY and RAMSAY, *Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals*, SC35.519.

ecc(lesi)e” (fol. 1r, upper margin). The second appears on the old flyleaf (fol. IVv): “hu(n)c libru(m). cu(m) alio; sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m). Scilicet. Nich(ola)i Tryueth: et aliu(m). Nich(ola)i de Lyra. dam(us) cap(itu)-lo n(ost)ro Exoniensi; manu mea .J. de .G. Exon’. Anno d(omi)ni m^occc^olx^ov^o. et officij mei .xxx^oix^o et etatis l^oxxiiiij^o [*the number repeated below as*] septuag(esim)o. iiiij^o [*a capite, with another pen*] Et atte(n)de q(uod) s(e)c(un)d(u)m int(er)p(re)t(at)i(o)ne(m) lxx. exponitur no(n) iuxta textu(m) n(ost)r(u)m. [*a capite, in yet another pen*] Ego Joh(ann)es de .G. Exon’. † noui† [nouim Steele, 34] vtru(m)q(ue) [*a capite*] N(ota) Nicholau(m) [*the following part is displayed on two levels*] de lyra Minore(m) | et Tryueth p(re)di(ca)t(orem) | fr(atr)es.” The problematic reading “noui” has a diacritic sign above “i” and rising abbreviation sign above “ui”. Steele’s reading offers a non-existent form. The word could be expanded as “nou(er)i(m)”, but then the use of the subjunctive would require explanation. Did Grandisson express a wish to know (or rather have known) both authors?¹⁸ As an alternative but not entirely satisfactory reading, I propose “no(mina)ui”, in the sense of “render renowned”. If, instead, the names of Lyre and Trevet referred to the bequeathed copies of their works rather than to the person of the authors, our word could be expanded as “no(ta)ui”, albeit a superscript cursive “a” as a contraction would have been more in line with Grandisson’s writing habits. Despite this apparent irregularity, the reading “notauui”, which has been ingeniously suggested to me by James Willoughby, offers the best meaning: the bishop claims responsibility for the annotations in both books. The bequest is also confirmed by Grandisson’s will (1368): “Ita, tamen, quod Scripta Nicholai de Lira et Nicholai Tryvethe super Spalterium [*sic*], una cum melioribus originalibus que non habentur in libraria Ecclesie Exoniensis, remaneant ibidem in Archivis”.¹⁹ The glosses added by Grandisson are written in the same display script and indicate the first psalms sung at Matins of

¹⁸ The phrase might echo Hugh of Saint Victor’s phrase “sed utinam me nemo agnoscat et ego cuncta noverim” (Hugonis de Sancto Victore, *Didascalicon. De Studio Legendi. A Critical Text*, ed. by Ch. H. BUTTIMER, Washington, DC, 1939, III, 13, p. 62), or Is. 44:8 (“numquid est deus absque me et formator quem ego non noverim”). I owe these two possible models to the kind suggestion of Andrew Dunning.

¹⁹ *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327–1369)*, ed. by F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, 3 vols, London, 1894, vol. 3, p. 1553; cf. OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops*, pp. 448–49; in the forthcoming WILLOUGHBY, RAMSAY, *Libraries of the Secular Cathedrals*, SC21.17.

each day of the week and at Vespers on Sunday, according to secular usage. The annotations provide the day, liturgical hour, often repeated in different positions, and are sometimes accompanied by the incipit of the psalm; the respective folios are tagged by strings sewn into the margins.²⁰ Margaret Steele (p. 34) also ascribed to Grandisson the pointing hands, monograms of “Nota”, and the glosses highlighting topics of interest. The attribution of the latter group is not entirely convincing, since the examples cited by Steele from fols 27^r and 37^v differ in size and some letter forms from the scripts used by Grandisson, as described and illustrated by the same scholar.²¹ Certainly attributable to Grandisson are the glosses written in his glossing script in the outer margins of fols 4^r (“Nota gula”), 72^r (“Domine quid multiplicati”, the incipit of Ps. 3 referred to in the commentary on Ps. 38), 94^v (“Tytulus sequentis”), 103^v (“hic”, followed by a square monogram of “Nota”, another monogram in the inner margin of the same page), 104^r (“Item alius psalmus”), and 208^r (“Nota in toto .CLXXVI. versus”, referred to Ps. 118; in the inner margin Grandisson picked up Hebrew letters “Haleph”, “Beth” and “Gymel”). This corpus of annotations, together with the liturgical division introduced by Grandisson, shows that he used the book (other glosses should probably be attributed to another medieval reader, for which see below). Grandisson, however, may have not been the first owner of G. A Psalter with Trevet’s commentary is registered among the books of his predecessor in Exeter, Walter de Stapeldon, in his post-mortem inventory of 1328: “It(e)m phalt(er)iu(m) [sic] Jero(ni)mi [J. *sup. lin.*] glo(sa)tum p(er) fr(atr)em N. Triuet p(re)cii .xl. s.”²² If this were the same book, then G would have been completed before

²⁰ Feria II, Nocturnum II (Ps. 26, fol. 49^{va}); Feria III, Nocturnum III (Ps. 38, fol. 71^{va}); Feria IIII, Nocturnum IIII (Ps. 52, fol. 96^{ra}); Feria V, Nocturnum V (Ps. 68, fol. 118th); Feria VI, Sextum Nocturnum (Ps. 80, fol. 145^{ra}); Nocturnum VII Sabbato (Ps. 97, fol. 171^{ra}); Ad vespervas in dominicis (Ps. 109, fol. 197^{va}). On the liturgical divisions of the Psalter, see A. HUGHES, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office. A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology*, Toronto, 1995, pp. 52, fig. 4.2, and 225. Cf. below at O, where the decorated initials point to the same liturgical division.

²¹ Compare the forms of the two-compartment *a* and long-tailed shoulderless *r* in the glosses in G with respective forms in Grandisson’s scripts as described and illustrated by Steele, pp. 15–21, and plates; cf. F. ROSE-TROUP, *Bishop Grandisson: Student and Art-Lover*, Plymouth, 1929, pl. 6.

²² Exeter Cathedral Archives, Dean and Chapter 2847. I thank the Archivist, Ellie Jones, who kindly provided me with an image of this document. It is also edited in

1328 or, more probably, before Stapeldon's death on 15 October 1326 (for further discussion of this question, see Chapter 2, pp. 89–91).

Early readers. The small, basically Anglicana glossing script, which rather erroneously have been attributed by Steele to Grandisson, are the second set of annotations in the copy, written later than those that are certainly Grandisson's. They point to different emphases in commentary, such as “parabola” (the outer margin of fol. 27^r), “historia” (the outer margins of fols 37^r and 37^v); spiritual topics (the outer margins of fols 1^v, 101^r, 155^v, 171^v, and 182^r; the inner margin of fol. 197^r, the outer margin of fol. 246^r), natural phenomena (the outer margin of fols 45^r, 179^{r-v}, 180^v, and 248^v); definitions of figures of speech (the inner margin of fol. 66^v); or names (“Rabimosse”, the outer margin of fol. 177^v).

Material. Parchment of fine quality with only a slight difference between flesh and hair sides. Fols 1–15, of which the margins have been badly damaged, were repaired with transparent paper, which has sometimes made the text on those leaves difficult to read.²³

Fols I–II + one non-numbered leaf + III–V (old parchment flyleaves) + 254 (fols 251–54 blank, between fols 251 and 252 stubs of two excised leaves).

Dimensions and layout. 342 (28+239+75) × 220 (28+65+13+63+51), written lines: 15 (*textus*) + 20 (comm.) in col. a, 42 (comm. alone) in

The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307–1326), ed. by F. C. HINGESTON-RANDOLPH, London, 1892, pp. 563–65, at 564; and OLIVER, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, pp. 438–44, where the book is quoted with the value expressed in pounds: 2*l*, which is equivalent to forty shillings (p. 441, No. 53). See also CAVANAUGH, “Study of Books Privately Owned”, vol. 2, p. 813. Between Stapeldon and Grandisson fell the brief episcopate of James Berkeley, elected 5 December 1326, consecrated 22 March 1327, died 24 June 1327 (see N. ORME, *s.v.*, in *ODNB*, published online 24 May 2008, <https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/95144>). Grandisson appointed the executors of Stapeldon's will (which does not survive) on 25 July 1328 (*The Register of John de Grandisson*, vol. 1, p. 364; Grandisson's acquittance is recorded on 19 November 1336; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 833).

²³ Transparent paper was widely used for manuscript repairs at the Bodleian Library during Edward W. B. Nicholson's time as Bodley's Librarian between 1882 and 1912; see M. STIGLITZ, J. BEARMAN, “Of earth and sky: a pair of Ming hanging scrolls, from past repairs to present conservation”, *Restaurator*, 37 (2016), pp. 309–27, at 309–16. I am grateful to Mr Andrew Honey, Book Conservator at the Bodle-

col. b (fol. 31^r, central bifolium of the quire III). Ruling in lead point, barely visible. Text begins below topline. As the *textus* in larger script alternates with the commentary, the number of written lines varies from column to column. It seems that the pages were provided with a constant ruling for lines (5 mm apart), while the sections of a column destined to host the *textus* were provided with additional ruling running through the middle of the space determined by standard ruling (see fol. 68^{vb}). Two columns.

Script. Northern *littera textualis* by one hand. The use of straight *d*, alongside the round-backed form, decreases the probability that the copy was written later than the 1320s.²⁴

Illustration and decoration.

a) Description. All major divisions of the text (dedicatory letter, prologue, Jerome's letter, and individual psalms) are marked by painted initials, in gold and colours, and provided with painted marginal extensions in the form of blue and rose bars, decorated with ivy and oak leaves, squiggles and drolleries. Two are historiated initials: R(euerendo), fol. 1^{ra}, represents a Dominican friar, with an open book on a lectern, teaching a group of three students, apparently also Dominicans; B(eatus), fol. 4^{vb}, represents King David playing a harp. Other initials present human busts, *en face*, *en trois quarts*, or profiles, mostly male, bearded or beardless, sometimes distinguished by a halo (if cruciform then to be identified with Christ, see e.g. D(ixit), fol. 24^{va}), royal crown (e.g. Q(uare), fol. 6^{ra}), papal tiara (e.g. C(ustodi), fol. 26^{rb}), bishop's mitre (e.g. D(ixi), fol. 71^{va}), or doctor's cap²⁵ (e.g. D(omini), fol. 45^{ra}); rarely female (L(audate), fol. 201^{ra}, C(um), fol. 201^{va}).²⁶ Other painted initials include only floral or geometric motifs. Minor divisions are marked

ian Library, for his help in identifying the technique and for bringing this article to my attention.

²⁴ Manuscripts described and reproduced in SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts*, shows that the straight *d*, still found during the first three decades of the fourteenth century, becomes very rare afterwards (as an example of its late, and apparently already sporadic use, see London, BL, Royal 10 E. IV (c. 1330–c. 1340), fol. 3^r, l. 8, “edificandis” (vol. 1, il. 258, cf. vol. 2, catalogue, No. 101, pp. 111–12).

²⁵ See M. SCOTT, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, London, 2007, pp. 84–85, 116, and fig. 66.

²⁶ EVANS, *Pattern*, seems to be the only one to have noticed this gallery.

by red initials with violet flourishing or blue with red. Psalm 150 (fol. 250^{ra-v^a}) is illustrated with representations of musical instruments. Apart from the two forms of *tuba*, put into the mouths of fantastic creatures (fol. 250^{ra}), the other six are presented as being played by human figures, in square vignettes within text-columns. See Plate 7.

b) Interpretation. Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander date this manuscript to c. 1320–1330 and attribute its decoration to “one of the hands of Christ Church, Oxford, MS. 92”.²⁷ The latter is a presentation copy of Walter of Milemete’s *Liber de nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum*, prepared for Edward of Windsor, son and heir of Edward II. It is probable that the production of that manuscript had begun before the deposition of Edward II, but it was dedicated to his son as King Edward (III) at the beginning of his reign (crowned on 1 February 1327). The manuscript is therefore usually dated to the turn of 1326 and 1327. The illumination (unfinished) has been attributed to a group of artists working in London. Regrettably, Pächt and Alexander did not specify which of the artists was responsible for the decoration of G (the faces, at least, resemble those by Hand V in Milemete’s manuscript),²⁸ or whether the entire decoration was done entirely by the same artist. Besides the companion volume of Milemete’s treatise (London, BL, Add. MS 47680, the *pseudo*-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*, also des-

²⁷ A detailed description of this manuscript and discussion of its historical context, with references to previous literature, is available at https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_3966, published 1 July 2017, based on R. HANNA, D. RUNDLE, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts, to c. 1600, in Christ Church, Oxford*, Oxford, 2017, pp. 192–96.

²⁸ I refer to the artists distinguished by SANDLER, *Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, No. 84 (pp. 91–93). She identifies Hand V with the major artist responsible for the manuscripts Oxford, All Souls College, 7 (ibid., No. 90, pp. 89–90) and Dublin, Trinity College, 35 (ibid., No. 83, pp. 90–91). In a letter of 8 March 2020, Lucy Sandler defined the style of G as *certainly* “*East Anglian*”, which does not necessarily mean that it was produced in East Anglia instead of a cosmopolitan London (cf. M. A. MICHAEL, “Oxford, Cambridge and London: towards a theory for ‘grouping’ Gothic manuscripts”, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 130, No. 1019, Special Issue on English Gothic Art (February 1988), pp. 107–15). It is worth adding also that the representations of the harp, the bagpipe, and the organs in G share some details with images of the respective instruments in Christ Church 92 (see below, Appendix E).

tinued for Edward III) and G, the same artists, together or separately, have been recognized in a number of manuscripts datable to the third decade of the fourteenth century, some of which are associated with Oxford.²⁹ The use of violet ink in the penwork decoration does not contradict the localization based on the painted decoration (see above at B). The manuscript awaits a detailed art-historical analysis.

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–250^{vb}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (2^{va}–250^{vb}).

a. Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra}–1^{va}). *Running title.* ep(isto)la p(ro)hemialis *Inc.* Reu(er)endo p(at)ri f(ratr)i Joh(ann)i de Bristoll' Priori p(ro)ui(n)ciali fr(atru)m p(re)dicator(um) Anglie f(rate)r Nich(olau)s Treueth eiusde(m) ord(in)is salute(m) et debite obediencie p(ro)mptu(m) obsequiu(m) ac deuotu(m). Int(er) celebres uet(er)is tes(tamen)ti t(ra)ns-l(aci)ones. *Expl.* op(us) ist(u)d agg(re)ssus su(m) u(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) fr(atru)m m(er)itis qui || a me labore(m) hu(n)c instanti(us) flagitarunt ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ih(s)u xp(ist)i honore(m) et gl(or)iam consu(m)-mandu(m). amen.

b. Expositio (1^{va}–250^{vb}). *Rubr.* Incipit exp(ositi)o litt(er)alis fr(atr)is Nich(ola)i Treueth ord(in)is p(re)dicatoru(m) sup(er) psalt(er)ium.

b. 1. Prologus (*referred to as lectio in the running title*) (1^{va}–2^{va}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam t(ib)i ps(alm)o .cxliij. *Inc.* Cu(m) m(u)lti p(ro)ph(et)e an(te) dauid m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laudem dei edid(er)int cantica. *Expl.* vn(de) dicit ip(s)e psalmista i(n) p(er)sona cui(us)l(ibet) qui se dirigit i(n) hu(n)c finem ps(alm)o .xxvi. tibi dixit cor meum exq(u)isiuit te facies mea faciem tua(m) d(omi)ne requiram ad q(ua)m nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{va}–4^{vb}). *Rubr.* Incipit p(ro)log(us) b(eat)i J(er)onim)i sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m) heb(ra)icu(m). *Inc. textus* Eusebius Jeronim(us) sophronio [r *sup. lin.*] suo salute(m). *Inc. comm.* Beatus J(er)onim(us) cu(m) ad instancia(m) cui(us)dam familiaris sui no(m)i(n)e sophronij t(ra)nsferret psalt(er)iu(m) i(n)mediate de hebreo in latinu(m) p(re)misit hu(n)c p(ro)logu(m) in quo t(r)ia facit. *Expl. textus* (4^{va}) Uale in domino ihesu cupio te meminisse mei. *Expl. comm.*

²⁹ M. A. MICHAEL, "Urban production of manuscript books and the role of the university towns", in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 2: 1100–1400, ed. by N. J. MORGAN, R. M. THOMSON, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 168–94, at 180–83.

(4^{vb}) Exigit u(er)o se or(ati)onib(us) eius reco(m)mendando cu(m) dicit. cupio te meminisse mei. (id est) in or(ati)onib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (4^{vb}–250^{vb}). *Rubr.* Psalmus p(r)imus .i. *Inc. textus* Beatus uir qui non abiit in co(n)silio impioru(m). et in uia p(e)c-c(at)orum no(n) stetit et i(n) cathedra derisorum non sedit. *Inc. comm.* Putant n(on)n(u)lli duas fuisse t(ra)ns(l)ationes psalt(er)ij i(n)mediate de hebraico in latinu(m) q(ua)ru(m) una e(st) J(er)onimi et alia cui(us)-da(m) alt(er)ius int(er)pretis ignoti. *Expl. textus* Omne quod spirat laudet dominum. haleluya. *Expl. comm.* Et in fine addit haleluya. q(uo)d est nota eximie leticie in laude diuina. que hic inchoata p(er)ficietur in pat(r)ia claritatis et(er)ne. ad q(ua)m nos p(er)ducat d(omi)n(u)s noster ih(su)c xp(istu)c qui e(st) deus benedictus in secula. amen. *Rubr.* Explicit litt(er)alis exp(ositi)o fr(atr)is Nicholai Treueth ordinis p(re)dicator(um) sup(er) psalteriu(m) translatu(m) a beato Jeronimo inmediate de hebraico in latinu(m).

Textus vs commentary. Portions of *textus*, in larger script, alternate with the commentary within a column. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata, underlined in the same ink.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 2^r): “q(uia) t(er)nari(us)”.

Penult. fol. (249^v): “cimbali tinnientibus” (*in textu*); “i(n) templo s(cilicet)” (*in comm.*).

Bibliography. F. MADAN, H. H. E. CRASTER, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the Quarto Series Summary Catalogue*, vol. 2, part I, Oxford, 1922, pp. 518–19, No. 2731; J. EVANS, *Pattern. A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1931, vol. 1, p. 68, n. 4; DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 100; R. H. BARTLE, “A Study of Private Book Collections in England between ca. 1200 and the Early Years of the Sixteenth”, DPhil diss., Oxford, 1956, p. 74 (simple mention with quotation of the note on fol. 2^r); LOEWE, “Jewish scholarship in England”, Pl. XVI (fol. 147r); O. PÄCHT, J. J. G. ALEXANDER *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1966–1973, vol. 3, p. 53, No. 580, and pl. 60, il. 580 (fragment of fol. 250^{va}); SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 50 and passim (this is his main source); C. PAGE, “Biblical instruments in medieval manuscript illustration”, *Early Mu-*

sic, 5 (1977), pp. 299–309, at 300, 309; S. CAVANAUGH, “A Study of Books Privately Owned in England: 1300–1450”, PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1980, vol. 2, pp. 372, 373, 375; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; CATTO, “Theology and Theologians 1220–1320”, p. 515 (n. 2); DIENSTAG, “Maimonides in English Christian thought and scholarship”, p. 291; K. MARSHALL, “Bourdon pipes on late-medieval organs”, *The Organ Yearbook*, 18 (1987), pp. 5–33, at 15; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, pp. 135, 137, and *passim*; M. W. STEELE, “A Study of the Books Owned or Used by John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327–1369)”, DPhil diss., Oxford, 1994, pp. 33–35; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397; SAENGER, “The British Isles”, pp. 106–08, 120 (Pl. 5, fol. 61^r); STRATFORD, WEBBER, “Bishops and kings”, p. 194. A short entry on the website of Bodleian Library, including pictures of fols 60^v–61^r, 165^r, and 250^v: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_1727 (last revision 25 July 2022).

Plate 7.

H: Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. IV. II

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (85–96), IX⁶⁺⁶ (97–108), X⁶⁺⁶ (109–20), XI⁶⁺⁶ (121–32), XII⁶⁺⁶ (133–44), XIII⁶⁺⁶ (145–56), XIV⁶⁺⁶ (157–68), XV⁶⁺⁶ (169–80), XVI⁶⁺⁶ (181–92), XVII⁶⁺⁶ (193–204), XVIII⁶⁺⁶ (205–16), XIX⁶⁺⁵ (217–27). Quire I is preceded by a paper binion (unnumbered) and a parchment bifolium (I–II, the first leaf was originally pastedown); quire XIX is followed by a parchment bifolium (228–29), which originally was a binion (the inner bifolium has been cut away), and of which the last leaf was once pastedown; there follows a paper binion (unnumbered). Horizontal catchwords, under col. b, written within two ruled guidelines (quires I–IV) or in more or less ornamental frames in the same ink. Bifolia often numbered with different systems, no evident traces of quire-numbering.

Origin. England, *s.* XIV^{2/4}.

Provenance. Dominican convent at Ilchester (Somerset). According to the notes written on the old flyleaves by different hands using Gothic cursive of Anglica background, the book had been acquired by the late Friar William of Ilchester. After it entered the library of the Ilchester Blackfriars, it was loaned *ad vitam* to Friar John of Clovesworth:

1. "Iste lib(er) est fr(atr)is Will(elm)i de yuelc'." (fol. II^r, dated by Mynors & Thomson to the fifteenth century; the note is repeated twice by another hand).
2. "Lib(er) fr(atr)is [Iohannis de Clouesworth ordinis *erased*, Joh *readable under U-V light*, the rest reconstructed by Mynors & Thomson, cf. note 3] frat(ru)m p(re)dicator(um) post ei(us) vita(m) p(er)tine(n)s ad (con)-(uen)tu(m) ei(us)d(em) ord(in)is Iuelcestr de p(er)quisit(o) Reu(er)endi p(at)ris f(rat)ris Will(el)mi [*one minim too many*] de Iuelcestr' sacre s(cien)cie p(ro)fessoris cui(us) a(n)i(m)e p(ro)piciet(ur) deus. Amen." (fol. II^v)
3. "Iste lib(er) est de p(er)quisit(o) reu(er)endi p(at)ris f(rat)ris Will(elm)i de yuelc' sacre s(cien)cie doctor(is) p(er)tine(n)s ad co(n)ue(n)tu(m) f(rat)r(u)m p(re)dicat(or)um yuelcestr' (con)cess(us) f(rat)ri Joh(ann)i de Clouesworth' ad vitam" (fol. 228^v, dated by Mynors & Thomson to the late fourteenth century).

William of Ilchester was identified by A. B. Emden with the homonymous friar *de Yvelcestre* (*Ivelcestria*) who on 18 December 1322 was ordained priest by Rigaud of Assier, bishop of Winchester.³⁰ Nothing is known about John of Clouesworth.

Early readers. Among the few medieval glosses, those referring to the dedicatory letter (both in the outer margin of fol. 1^r, see **Plate 8**) are worth quoting: "no(ta) q(uod) d(citu)r in Regu(l)a f(rat)ru(m) minor(um) clerici facia(n)t di(ui)nu(m) offi(ciu)m s(ecundu)m ordine(m) Ro(ma)ne ecc(lesi)e excepto psalte(ri)o et i(de)o vtu(n)t(ur) gallica(n)o"³¹ (in Anglicana);³¹ "cassiodor(us) exposuit ps(alteriu)m s(ecundu)m t(ra)nsel(aci)o(ne)m [*sic*] lxx aug(us)t(inus) au(tem) s(ecundu)m alia(m) t(ra)nsel(aci)o(ne)m"³¹ (in late Gothic cursive).

Material. Parchment of mediocre quality, the difference between flesh and hair side is evident.

³⁰ EMDEN, *Survey of Dominicans*, p. 184, No. 20, and p. 492, *ad indicem*.

³¹ Also quoted by Dean in the apparatus to her transcription of the dedicatory letter ("Life and Works", p. 441), where she dates it to the second half of the fourteenth century. This annotation quite closely reproduces a passage from the prologue to the *Postilla literalis* on the Psalms by Nicholas of Lyre (see Roman edition, 1471–1472, fol. 4^r).

Fols I–II (parchment old flyleaves) + 229 (preceded and followed by four unnumbered paper flyleaves).

Dimensions and layout. 287 (22+209+56) × 191 (21+59+11+59+41), 49 ruled lines, 48 written lines (fol. 31^r, central bifolium of quire III). Two columns. Ruling in plummet.

Script. Northern *littera textualis* in the *textus*; Anglicana Formata including some forms of the *textualis* in the commentary; both in the same ink and apparently by the same hand.

Decoration. On fol. 1^{ra} decorated initial R(euerendo): the inner field in gold, the letter in blue with blue and red leaves, the outer field is in rose, both with white decoration; blue, rose and gold extensions into the upper, inner, and lower margins with blue and red lobe-and-point leaves (**Plate 8**). Major divisions (the prologue, Jerome's letter, individual psalms) are distinguished by initials in blue ink with red pen flourishes, consisting of piped half-circles, bulbs, and looped lines, often ending with lobe-and-point or other forms of leaves (outer pen flourishes) and spirals, half-circle or clover-leaf (infillings). Minor divisions distinguished by majuscules in red or blue ink (sections of the *textus*) or paraph signs (sections of the commentary).

Illustration. The commentary on Ps. 150 is provided with painted representations of eight musical instruments on the fields decorated with geometrical forms, within the columns of text (fols 226^{va–b}, 227^{ra}). **Plate 9.**

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–227^{rb}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (2^{va}–227^{rb}).

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra–va}). *Inc.* Reu(er)endo p(at)ri f(rat)ri Joha(n)ni de bristoll'. Priori p(ro)uinciali f(rat)r(u)m predicatorum Angl(ie) f(rate)r Nicholaus Treueth eiusdem ordinis salutem et debite obediencie p(ro)mptum obsequiu(m) ac deuotum. Int(er) celebres uet(er)is testamenti translaciones. *Expl.* opus istud agg(re)ssus su(m) v(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m m(er)itis qui a me laborem hunc instancius flagitar(un)t ad deum [*sic*] n(ost)ri ih(s)u xp(ist)i honore(m) et gloriam consumandum amen.

b) Expositio (1^{va}-227^{rb}). *Rubr.* Incipit expositio l(itte)ralis f(rat)ris Nicholai Treueth ord(in)is p(re)dic(atorum). S(upe)r psalt(er)iu(m).

b. 1. Prologus (1^{va}-2^{va}). *Lemma* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam tibi ps(alm)o cxlij. *Inc.* ¶ Cum multi p(ro)ph(et)e ante dauid multa et diu(er)sa ad laudem dei ediderint cantica. *Expl.* vnde dicit ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)sona cui(us)l(ibet) qui se dirigit in hunc finem psalmo .xxvj. Tibi dixit cor meum exquisiuit te facies mea faciem tuam d(omi)ne requiram ad q(ua)m nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{va}-4^{va}). *Rubr.* Incip(it)t p(ro)log(us) b(eat)i Jero(nim)i i(n) psalt(er)iu(m) eb(ra)icu(m). *Inc. textus* Eusebius Jeronimus sophronio suo salute(m). *Inc. comm.* ¶ Beatus Jeronimus cu(m) ad petitionem cui(us)dam familiaris sui no(m)i(n)e sophronii transtuliss(et) psalt(er)ium inmediate de hebreo in latinu(m) p(re)misit hunc p(ro)logum in quo t(r)ia facit. *Expl. textus.* Vale in domino ih(s)u cupio te meminisse mei. *Expl. comm.* Exigit v(er)o se oracionib(us) eius recommendando cum dicit cupio te meminisse mei s(cilicet) in oracionibus tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (4^{va}-227^{rb}). *Rubr.* Psalmus primus. *Inc. textus* Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in uia peccatorum non stetit et in cathedra derisor(um) no(n) sedit. *Inc. comm.* ¶ Putant no(n)nulli duas fuisse translaciones psalt(er)ij inmediate de hebraico in latinu(m) quar(um) vna e(st) Jeronimi et alia cui(us)d(am) alt(er)ius int(er)pretis ignoti. *Expl. textus* Omne quod spirat laudet dominu(m) haleluia. *Expl. comm.* et in fine addit haleluia q(uo)d e(st) no(ta) eximie leticie in laude di(uin)a q(ue) hic i(n)coata p(er)ficie(tur) [*the ending uncertain*] i(n) p(at)ria claritatis et(er)ne. ad q(ua)m nos p(er)ducat d(omi)n(us) n(oste)r ih(s)us x(ristu)s q(u)i e(st) d(eu)s benedict(us) i(n) secula ame(n). *Rubr.* Explicit l(itte)ralis exp(ositio) fr(atr)is Nicholai Treueth ordinis predicator(um) sup(er) psalterium tra(n)slatum a beato Jeronimo inmediate de hebraico in latinum.

Textus vs commentary. *Textus*, in different and larger script (see above), alternates with the commentary within a column. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata in the same script and size, sometimes underlined in the same ink.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (2^r): “sic et in qual(libet)”.

Penult. fol. (226^v): “autem instrumenta”.

Bibliography. M. R. JAMES, “The library of the Grey Friars of Hereford”, in *Collectanea Franciscana*, vol. I, ed. by A. G. LITTLE, M. R. JAMES, H. M. BANNISTER, Aberdeen, 1914 (British Society for Franciscan Studies, 5), pp. 114–23, at 121–22; A. T. BANNISTER, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral library*, Hereford, 1927, p. 47; DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 100; J. STEVENS COX, *The Dominican Priory at Ilchester*, Ilchester, 1947 (Ilchester Historical Monographs, 2), pp. 31–32, and pl. 5 (b-w reproduction of fol. 1^r); A. B. EMDEN, *A Survey of Dominicans in England based on the Ordination Lists in Episcopal Registers (1268 to 1538)*, Rome, 1967, p. 492 (s.v. Yvelcestre (Ivelcestria), William de); SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, pp. 50–51. A. B. EMDEN, *BRUO*, vol. 3, Oxford, 1959, p. 2141 (s.v. “Yvelcestr’, William de”); SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 136; R. A. B. MYNORS, R. M. THOMSON, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 29; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plates 8–9.**M: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Lat. 983 (α. F. 3. 7)**

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (fols 1–12), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84), VIII⁵⁺⁵ (85–94), IX³⁺³ (95–100), X⁶⁺⁶ (101–12), XI⁶⁺⁶ (113–24), XII⁴⁺⁴ (125–32). Catchwords (missing at the ends of quires XI and XII) are displayed horizontally in the lower margin under col. d (when necessary, separate catchwords for *textus* and commentary are provided). The coincidence of the change of hands (see below) and the beginning of quires II, X, and XI, together with the irregular size of quires VIII and IX (quinternion and ternion instead of sexternion) and some minor anomalies of text and layout in the transition from quire I to II and IX to X suggest that the scribes were working in parallel from an unbound exemplar. When finishing quire I, hand Aa was apparently running out of space, and when it reached Ps. 11:3 (fol. 12^{vcd}), it copied a part of the psalm verse according to *He* (“Frustra [...] in corde suo”) in col. c, a part of the commentary (“Postquam [...] implorat versu”) beginning in the same line as *He*,

while the psalm verse according to *Ga* was copied in the lower margin below col. c: “Vana loqui [...] dolosa in”. In the *He* verse, the word “suo” (together with the two following minims) has been crossed out in red ink (as an evident error) whereas “corde” has been expunctuated in the ink of the text, because on fol. 13^{ra} (first of quire II, hand Bb) the psalm verse in the *He* column continues “corde et corde locuti sunt” (“corde” in the last line of fol. 12^{vc} may have been written either by mistake, perhaps suggested by the catchword “corde”, or simply in order not to leave a half-line empty). The scribe Bb continued his work until the beginning of quire VII (fol. 73^r), where he was replaced by scribe Cc, and began copying quire X. Their working in parallel would explain the decreasing size of quires VIII and IX. On fol. 100^{vd} (the last of quire IX) scribe Cc interrupts the commentary on Ps. 106:10–12 at “(id est) vinculis”, leaving blank a part of the line (the artificial extension of the upper part of the final “s” could be taken as an effort to fill that space). On fol. 101^{rb} (the first of quire X) Bb had begun the commentary in line 4 with “culis f(er)reis”. The first three lines were left blank and should have received verse 12 according to *Ga* (“Et humiliatum [...] adiuuaret”), which for some unknown reason is missing (but is announced by the second catchword: “Et hu(m)ili”).

Origin. Northern France, probably Paris, date expressed: AD 1321 (colophon cited below). If the scribe followed the Easter style, commonly used in Paris and most of the kingdom of France, then the copy was completed between 19 April 1321 and 10 April 1322.³²

Provenance. The Obizzi family.³³ The painted arms of the Obizzi, in the lower margin on fol. 1^r, probably dates from some time before 1630.³⁴

³² A. GIRY, *Manuel de diplomatique*, new edn, Paris, 1925, pp. 110–11, and 199; O. GUYOTJEANNIN, J. PYCKE, B.-M. TOCK, *Diplomatique médiévale*, 3rd edn, Turnhout, 2006 (L’Atelier du médiéviste 2), documents No. 6, 8, 11, and 25; cf. P. PICCARI, “Ricerche sulle origini dello stile della Pasqua in Fiandra”, in *Questioni di cronologia e cronografia*, ed. by R. CAPASSO, P. PICCARI, Rome, 2001, pp. 25–35.

³³ On the family see G. TORMEN, “Obizzi”, in *DBI*, 79 (2013) https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/obizzi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

³⁴ It does not include the coronet of a Marquess (*corona marchionale*), the title of which was granted to the Obizzi by Ferdinand II, great duke of Tuscany, in 1630. Cf. P. DI PIETRO, P. BARALDI, “The Tommaso Obizzi del Catajo collection in the Estense University Library of Modena: notes for the manuscripts [*sic*] identification”,

A piece of paper attached to the front pastedown bears a printed ex-libris representing the coat of arms.³⁵ The manuscript must have shared the fate of the other manuscripts of the Obizzi. In 1803, when Tommaso Obizzi del Catajo died childless, the book collection was inherited by the Este. In 1817 Francesco IV d'Austria-Este (1779–1846) incorporated the manuscripts into the Biblioteca Ducale Estense.³⁶

Early readers. A few glosses in large Gothic cursive referring to a Christological interpretation of Psalms (fols 28^r, the lower margin; 46^r, the lower margin; 65^v, the lower margin; 67^r, the outer margin, partly lost to trimming).

Material. Parchment.

Fols IV (three unnumbered recent paper flyleaves followed by early-modern paper flyleaf numbered I) + 132 + IV (early-modern paper flyleaf numbered I, followed by three unnumbered recent paper flyleaves).

Dimensions and layout. 324(7+4+10+257+22+6+18) × 227(5+3+8+39+5+38+11+38+5+38+19+6+12); 69 ruled lines (fol. 31^r, central bifolium of quire III). Ruling in lead point. Layout, as designed by pricking and ruling, in four columns. Text begins below top line. The number of written lines varies between columns since the *textus* is normally written in larger script on alternate ruled lines (on some variance in this respect see below, Script). From Ps. 1 (fol. 2^{vc-d}) the *textus* is displayed in

available among the *Art Libraries Section Satellite Meeting Papers* (Florence, 2009), p. 3 (<https://www.ifla.org/FR/publications/art-libraries-section-satellite-meeting-papers-florence-2009>), who date illuminated escutcheons and other illustration in some of the Obizzi manuscripts to the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, by virtue of the use of the Prussian Blue; but it is not sure whether this also the case with M.

³⁵ It is the same ex-libris as the one reproduced in E. BRAGAGLIA, *Gli ex libris italiani dalle origini alla fine dell'Ottocento*, II. *Repertorio*, Milan, 1993, No. 849 (dated c. 1770). It shows the coronet of a Marquess.

³⁶ A. R. VENTURI, "La raccolta libraria di Tommaso Obizzi, corollario delle sue collezioni eclettiche", in *Gli Estensi e il Catajo. Aspetti del collezionismo fra Sette e Ottocento*, ed. by E. CORRADINI, Modena-Milan, 2007, pp. 101–15. M does not appear in the "Elenco di manoscritti provenienti dall'eredità Obizzo e trasmessi alla Biblioteca dall'Anticamera di S.A.R. il Serenissimo Duca Padrone" of 18 April 1817 (at pp. III–14), which list, however, is not exhaustive.

four columns (two versions of each verse(s) in parallel cols a–b, c–d), followed by the commentary displayed in two columns (a+b and c+d). In all quires but I, IX, XI and XII, double lines are ruled through all margins, the upper margin hosts the running title, the lateral ones psalm and verse numbers (both running titles and verse numbering are unfinished).

Script. Northern *littera textualis* and Northern Gothic cursive by three hands.

Scripts of the *textus* (*He* and *Ga* or only *He*):

A (fols 1^{va}–12^{vd}): *littera textualis*;

B (fols 13^{ra}–73^{ra}, 101^{ra}–112^{vc}): *littera textualis*;

C (fols 73^{rc}–100^{vc}, 113^{ra}–132^{vcd}): *littera textualis*;

Scripts of the commentary:

a (fols 1^{ra}–12^{vd}): *littera textualis* of small size;

b (fols 13^{rab}–73rd, l. 3; 101^{rab}–112^{vd}): Gothic cursive;

c (fols 73rd, l. 3–100^{vd}, 113^{rab}–132^{vcd}): Gothic cursive.

Despite the use of different kinds of scripts, it is very probable that A is identical with a, B with b and C with c. Starting at Ps. 49:14 (fol. 48^{vd}, **Plate 2**) the *textus* according to *Ga* (cols b and d) is written in the same script as the commentary, while *He* (cols a and c) continues to be written in the *littera textualis* of larger size, on alternate ruled lines. In quire I, copied by hand Aa, there is some graphic variance, which might suggest that *Ga* was copied after *He* and the commentary: the script of *Ga* is often heavier and in darker ink (see fols 2^v–3^v, 5^v–11^r), while the commentary sometimes occupies the space that should have been reserved for *Ga*, which is written on every line or partly in the margins (see fols 8^{rb}, 8^{vb}, 9^r, 9^v, 10rd, 10^v, 11^r, 12^{rb}, and 12^v). Elsewhere A left some lines under *Ga* blank, as if yet another version of the *textus* was to be copied (see fols 3^{rb}, ^d, 3^{vb}). Also, in the part written by hand B (as long as both versions of the *textus* are written in the *textualis*) the colour of the ink of *Ga* may differ slightly.

Illustration and decoration. The historiated initial R(euerende) of fol. 1^{ra} presents two standing Dominican friars *en trois-quarts*, with hands stretched out towards each other. The representation may refer

to the author and dedicatee and could be interpreted as a dedication scene, though no book is visible. This initial and a border extending into all the margins were apparently repainted in the early-modern times.³⁷ In the remainder of the manuscript, blue or red pen-flourished initials of Parisian style mark the major divisions of the text. The most elaborated pen flourishes, including red and blue J-chains, decorate the initials E(usebius) on fol. 1^{va} (a puzzle initial) and B(eatus) on fol. 2^{vc} (**Plate 1**).³⁸ Blank spaces are reserved for images of musical instruments in the commentary on Ps. 150 (fol. 132^v) (**Plate 3**).

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–132^{vd}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (1^{va}–132^{vc}) and *Ga* (2^{vd}–132^{vd}).

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra})

Rubr. ep(isto)la p(ro)hemialis. *Inc.* Reuerendo p(at)ri f(rat)ri Joh(an)ni de b(r)istoll' [*nb. the lower part of s resembles a 2-shaped r a hint of hesitation?*]. priori proui(n)ciali f(rat)r(u)m p(re)dicator(um). Angl(ie) f(rate)r. Nicolaus. Treuth ei(us)d(em) ordinis. Salut(em). et debite obediencie p(ro)mptu(m) obsequiu(m) ac deuotum. Inter celebres uet(er)is testamenti t(r)anslac(i)ones. *Expl.* op(us) istud agg(re)sus [*sic*] sum. V(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m. meritis qui a me labore(m) hu(n)c instanci(us) flagitarunt ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ih(s)u xp(ist)i honorem et gl(or)iam (con)su(m)ma(n)du(m) amen.

b) Expositio (1^{ra}–132^{vd}). *Rubr.* Incipit exp(osici)o l(itte)ralis f(rat)ris nicolay threuth ord(in)is predicament(um) [*sic, corr. alia manu in -toru(m)*] sup(er) psalt(er)ium.

b. i. Prologus (1^{ra}–1^{va}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam t(ib)i ps(alm)o Cxliij. *Inc.* Cum p(ro)ph(et)e an(te) d(au)id m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laudem d(e)i edid(er)int cantica. *Expl.* Vn(de) dicit. ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)sona cui(us)l(ibet) qui se dirigit i(n) hu(n)c fine(m) ps(alm)o .xxvi. t(ib)i dixit cor meu(m) exquisiuit te facies mea faciem tua(m) d(omi)ne req(u)iram. ad qua(m) nos p(er)ducat et c(etera).

³⁷ In a letter of 11 May 2020 Andrea Improta, who kindly looked at the images of that page, has confirmed my impression and observed that the retouching of the figures inside the initial is quite evident, while the scale of intervention in the border is more difficult to assess. Cf. above, n. 34.

³⁸ I am grateful to Patricia Stirnemann for her opinion on the penwork decoration.

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (1^{va}-2^{vd}). *Rubr.* Incipit prolog(us) b(eat)i J(er)onimi i(n) psal' ebrayc'. *Inc. textus.* Eusebius Jero(nimus) soph(r)onio suo salutem. *Inc. comm.* Beatus J(er)o(nimus) cum ad instanciam cui(us)da(m) fam(i)liaris sui no(m)i(n)e soph(r)onii t(ra)nsferret psalt(er)iu(m) inmediate de hebreo in latinu(m) p(re)missit h(un)c prologu(m). in quo t(r)ia facit. *Expl. textus.* Vale in d(omi)no iesu cupio te meminisse mei. *Expl. comm.* Exigit u(er)o se or(ati)onib(us) ei(us) se reco(m)mendando [-dando *corr. ex -dendo?*] cum dicit. cupio te meminisse mei s(cilicet) in or(ati)onib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (2^{vc}-132^{vd}). *Inc. textus He* (2^{vc}) Beatus uir qui non abiit in consilio i(m)pior(um) et in uia peccator(um) non stetit et in cathedra derisor(um) non sedit. *Inc. textus Ga* (2^{vd}) Beat(us) uir qui non abiit in consilio i(m)pior(um) et in uia pecc(at)or(um) non stetit et in cathedra pestilencie non sedit. *Inc. comm.* (2^{vc-d}) Putant nonnulli duas fuisse t(ra)ns(l)aciones psalt(er)ii inmediate de hebrayco in latinum. Quar(um) vna e(st) J(er)onimi et alia cui(us)d(am) alt(er)ius int(er)p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl. textus He* (132^{vc}). Omne quod spirat laudet dominum alleluya. *Expl. textus Ga* (132^{vd}). Om(ni)s sp(iritu)c laudet do(minu)m. *Exp. comm.* (132^{vc-d}) et in fine addit all(elui)a quod est nota eximie leticie in laude di(uin)a. Que sic inchoata p(er)ficie(tur) in p(at)r(i)a claritatis et(er)ne. ad qua(m) nos p(er)ducat dominus n(oste)r ih(su)c xp(istu)c qui est deus benedictus in s(e)c(u)la. Amen. *Rubr.* Explicit l(itte)ralis exp(ositi)o f(rat)ris nicholai treueth ord(inis). p(re)d(icatorum). sup(er) psalterium t(ra)nsla<tum> a b(eat)o J(er)o(nimus) [*sic*] in mediate de hebreo in latinum. deo gratias. amen. Anno .m. ccc^o.xxi^o.

Textus vs commentary. Two versions of the Latin Psalter, *He* and *Ga*, are copied in parallel in columns a–b and c–d (one or more verses) and are followed by the commentary. Until fol. 48^{vd} both versions are distinguished by the use of script of larger size and, from fol. 13^{rab}, of different type. Starting with the last two lines of fol. 48^{vd} *Ga* is written in the same kind of script and size as the following commentary (**Plate 2**). In the commentary the *textus* is referred to with lemmata in the same script and size, underlined in the same ink and usually again in red.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (2^r). “amen dico uobis” (*in textu*); “d(omi)ne et cet(er)i” (*in comm.*).

Penult. fol. (131^v). “in ecc(lesi)a s(an)c(t)or(um)” (*in textu He*); “thympano et psalt(er)io” (*in textu Ga*).

Bibliography. *Bibliothecae Atestiae Manuscriptae pars III. Codices mss. latini*, II, 601–1298, p. 230 (typescript available at <https://gallerie-estense.beniculturali.it/biblioteca-estense-universitaria/cataloghi-in-linea/>); SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 136; SHARPE, Handlist, p. 397; M. RICCI, entry in Manus Online, https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=169632 (dated 3 June 2010).

Digital copy: <https://edl.cultura.gov.it/item/eq5123zzrd>

Plates 1–3.

N: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V, 30

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (2–13 [a]), II⁶⁺⁶ (14–25 [b]), III⁶⁺⁶ (26–37, c), IV⁶⁺⁶ (38–49, d), V⁶⁺⁶ (50–61, e), VI⁶⁺⁶ (62–73 [f]), VII⁶⁺⁶ (74–85 [g]), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (86–97, h), IX²⁽⁺²⁾ (98–99, wanting last two leaves, cut away [i]), X⁶⁺⁶ (100–11 [a]), XI⁶⁺⁶ (112–23, b), XII³⁽⁺³⁾ (124–26, fol. 126 is presently a pastedown [c]). Irregular quires (IX and XII) coinciding with the end of each of the two textual units and traces of separate numbering of quires, suggest that quires I–IX and X–XII, though sharing other features (layout, decoration, script, and probably the hand, for all of which see below) were originally produced and initially kept as distinct codicological units. They were bound together sometime around the middle of the fifteenth century, at the latest (see below, Provenance).

Origin. *S.* XIV^{2/4}. The script would suggest an English origin, while the decoration is French (Parisian). Either both parts of the manuscript were copied in England and decorated in northern France (probably Paris) or they were produced entirely in the latter location. Cf. C and the place of N and C in the textual tradition as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Provenance. Dominican convent in Nuremberg. Undated ownership note in Gothic cursive is inscribed in the lower margin of fol. 2^r: “liber iste e(st) co(n)uentus Nüre(m)berg(e)n(sis) ordinis p(re)dicator(um)” (**Plate 5**). The book also appears in the catalogue of the Dominican

library of 1514.³⁹ This provenance is confirmed by the binding, which situates the latest moment when the manuscript was acquired by the Nuremberg Blackfriars in the central decades of the fifteenth century. Ernst Kyriss long ago associated this binding with the followers of the Nuremberg Dominican and book binder, Konrad Forster. Forster's dated bindings cover the period from 1433 to 1459.⁴⁰ However, by virtue of its characteristics the binding could also come under Kyriss's category of unsigned bindings produced by Forster or his collaborators (active until about 1462), who used two old stamps and one new stamp on the front board and left the back board without ornamental stamps. In fact, in the Schwenke-Schunke repertory of Gothic bindings, N is mentioned among specimens of Forster's workshop.⁴¹ Since Kyriss and Schunke limited themselves to simply mentioning N, and Schneider's catalogue entry only provides a generic identification of the "Stempel des Predigerklosters" (with bibliographical references), the binding deserves a more detailed description here.

N is bound in wooden boards covered with brown, unstained leather. The original blind tooling on the front board corresponds with Forster's scheme 1⁴² and includes three types of stamps: (1) four-petal flower within a square; (2) five-petal flower within a circle; and (3) non-crowned

³⁹ *Index Bibliothecae Predicatorum Norimbergensium MDXIII* in Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Msc. Appendix 22 A (7), fol. 6^v, second item: "It(em) Exp(ositio) l(itte)ralis f(rat)ris Nicolai Treuëtht Or<dinis> pre(dicat)o-r(um) sup(er) psalt(eriu)m In be(r)g(amen)o" (https://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/collections/receive/HisBest_cbu_00016699).

⁴⁰ E. KYRISS, *Nürnbergiger Klostereinbände der Jahre 1433 bis 1525*, diss., Erlangen University, 1940, Bamberg, 1940, p. 23 (on Forster, his collaborators and followers, see pp. 12–34); IDEM, *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Stuttgart, 1951, p. 24, where N appears in the list of manuscripts bound at the Dominican convent, 1433–1509.

⁴¹ *Die Schwenke-Sammlung gotischer Stempel- und Einbanddurchreibungen nach Motiven geordnet und nach Werkstätten bestimmt und beschrieben*, by I. SCHUNKE, continued by K. von RANEBAU, II: *Werkstätten*, Berlin, 1996 (Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde. Dritte Folge, 10), pp. 198–200.

⁴² According to the classification of F. BOCK, "Die Einbände des Nürnberger Dominikaners Konrad Forster", *Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst*, 2 (1928), pp. 14–32, at 25–26 (not mentioning N). The back board only presents two double fillets placed at diagonals to form an X, within a rectangular frame of two-line fillets at the edges, without any ornamental stamps (a scheme not mentioned by Bock).

eagle within a lozenge. The last two belong to Forster's repertory and have been correctly identified by Schneider with, respectively, stamps 7a (*Rosette fünfblättrig, mit 5 Strahlen, in Kreis*) and 19 (*Adler mit Kopf nach links, in Raute*), variant c (*groß mit dickem Kopf in schmalerer Raute*) in Bock's classification.⁴³ The former is attested for the years 1439–1473, whereas the latter was used between 1440 (39?) and 1472. Also the combination of the two types of stamps within the lozenge-shaped fields delimited by two-line fillets (19c surrounded by four 7a), and the location of 19c at the crossing of the fillets, reflect Forster's style.⁴⁴ However, the four-petal flower in a square, with four smaller quatrefoils in each corner (here stamped at the centre of outer triangular fields), is not mentioned among Forster's stamps, either by Bock or by Kyriss, but it does occur on Dominican bindings from Nuremberg.⁴⁵ Two holes in the upper and lower lozenges on the front board and another two at the upper edge of the back board are evidence of pins to which the hooks of flaps were originally attached, another feature of the bindings of Foster and his followers.⁴⁶ The flaps have been replaced by leather straps with metal clasp-hooks and corresponding catch-plates. A quincunx of bosses is missing at the corners and in the centre of both the front and back boards. Traces of a title-label are visible in the upper part of the front board. Those interventions, together with the supra-libros bearing the arms of Hieronymus Baumgartner combined with those of Nuremberg, date back to period when, after the dissolution of the Dominican convent (concluded in 1543), the manuscript became the property of the library of the city council (located in the former convent), under the guardianship of Baumgartner (1587–1588).⁴⁷

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 23–24 and pl. 4–5. Cf. KYRISS, *Verzierte gotische Einbände*, 1. *Tafelband* (1953), pl. 47, Nos. 3–4. For 7a see *Einbanddatenbank* Nos. 5006321 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/de/werkzeugdetails.html?entityID=5006321>) and 5007180 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/de/werkzeugdetails.html?entityID=5007180>), for 19c No. 5006310 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/de/werkzeugdetails.html?entityID=5006310>).

⁴⁴ BOCK, "Die Einbände", pp. 26–27, although 19c is not mentioned among the examples of the *Mittelnornamenten*.

⁴⁵ See *Einbanddatenbank* No. 5006361 (<https://www.hist-einband.de/werkzeugdetails.html?entityID=5006361>), which cites MS Cent. III, 17 of the Stadtbibliothek Nurember.

⁴⁶ BOCK, "Die Einbände", p. 20 and pl. 3.

⁴⁷ SCHNEIDER, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, part 1., p. xiv. The monogram BA impressed in the lower part of the front board is not mentioned

Early readers. Two (?) hands using Gothic cursive (sometimes verging on *textualis*) provided the incipits of most Psalms (where the Latin translations differ, these follow *Ga*) in the outer and more often the upper margins. In some cases, they repeat the incipit written previously in lead point. Other Gothic hands highlight the discussion of the four causes in the prologue (fol. 2^{r-v}), yet another marks the beginning of the second nocturn (fol. 21^v upper margin, Ps. 26 begins on 21^{vb}).

Material. Parchment of fair quality, hair and flesh sides distinguishable.

Fols 126; fol. 1 blank (an old flyleaf?), fol. 126 is currently pastedown.

Dimensions and layout. 292 (19+223+50) × 208 (18+68+11+70+41), 58 ruled lines, 57 written lines (fol. 20^r, central bifolium of quire II); 292 (18+227+47) × 205 (18+67+11+67+42), 59 ruled lines, 58 written lines (fol. 118, central bifolium of quire XI). Ruling in lead point. Two columns.

Script. Anglicana Formata datable to the first half of the fourteenth century. Despite variations of ink and quality of execution the entire manuscript seems to have been written by the same hand. While Arabic numerals prevail, their use is inconsistent, being mixed with Roman (e.g. “c5x” in the commentary on Ps. 115, fol. 82^{ra}) or misreading the Roman numerals (e.g. “520” standing for “LXX” in the commentary on Ps. 2:6, fol. 4^{vb}).

Decoration. Two red and blue puzzle initials provided with red and blue pen-flourishes and J-chains mark the beginning of each work: R(euerendo) on fol. 2^{ra} (five lines high) (**Plate 5**), and B(eatus) on fol. 100^{ra} (six lines high). Inner divisions are distinguished by smaller, two- to three-line red or blue pen-flourished initials and red or blue paraphs. The style of the penwork decoration is French, possibly Parisian.⁴⁸

Illustration. Blank rectangular spaces reserved for images of musical instruments in the commentary on Ps. 150 within the columns 99^{ra}, 1^b, and 5^{va}.

there but it would refer to Baumgartner as well. It is also found in bindings of other manuscripts and incunabula of the Stadtbibliothek, e.g. Cent. III, 49, see also KYRISS, *Verzierte gotische Einbände*, 1: *Tafelband* (1953), pl. 52 (Ink. 2°280); 2: *Tafelband* (1956), pl. 232 (Jur. 2° 88), pl. 244 (Stb Jur. 2° 123).

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Patricia Stirnemann for granting me the benefit of her expertise.

Contents.

1. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (2^{ra}–99^{vb}). 2. Bonaventura, *Expositio in Ecclesiasten* (100^{ra}–126^{tb}).

Ad. 1.

a) Epistola dedicatoria (2^{ra-b}).

Rubr. Ep(isto)la p(ro)hemialis. *Inc.* Reuerendo p(at)ri fr(at)ri Jo-h(ann)i de B(ri)stoll' p<ri>o<ri> [the the word is partly covered by the ex-libris] p(ro)ui(n)ciali f(rat)r(u)m p(re)dicator(um). Angl(ie) f(rate)r Nicho(laus) Treueth ei(us)d(em) ordi(ni)s s(a)ll(ute)m et debite obedien(cie) p(ro)mtu(m) obseq(u)iu(m) ac deuotu(m). Int(er) celebres vet(er)is testam(en)ti t(ra)nslac(i)o(n)es. *Expl.* op(us) istud agg(re)ssus su(m) v(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m meritis qui a me labore(m) hu(n)c ista(n)ci(us) flagitau(er)u(n)t ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri [n. scr. ipsa manu sup. lin.] ih(s)u x(rist)i honore(m) et gl(or)iam (con)sume(n)d' Amen.

b) Expositio (2^{rb}–99^{vb}). *Rubr.* Incip(i)t exp(osit)o l(itte)ral(is) f(rat)ris Nicholay threueth ord(in)is p(re)dicator(um) s(ue) p(salt(er)iu(m)).

b. 1. Prologus (2^{rb}–2^{vb}). *Lemma.* In psalt(er)io decacordo psallam t(ib)i ps(alm)o cxliij. *Inc.* Cu(m) p(ro)ph(ete) a(n)te d(aui)d m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laude(m) dei edid(er)int c(a)ntica. *Expl.* vn(de) dicit ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)sona cui(us)libet q(u)i se dirigit in hu(n)c fine(m) ps(alm)o .xxvj. t(ib)i dixit cor meu(m) exq(u)isiu(i)t te facies mea fa(cie)m tua(m) d(omi)ne req(u)ira(m) ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat et cet(er)a.

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (2^{vb}–3^{va}). *Rubr.* Incip(i)t p(ro)logus b(eat)i J(er)onim)i in p(salm)is hebrayc(is). *Inc.* Beat(us) J(er)onimus cu(m) ad instan(cia)m cui(us)da(m) fam(i)liaris sui no(m)i(n)e soph(r)onij t(ra)nsferret psalt(er)iu(m) inme(dia)te de hebreo in latin(um) p(re)misit h(un)c p(ro)logu(m) in quo t(r)ia facit. *Expl.* exigit v(er)o si [sic] or(ati)o(n)ib(us) ei(us) se re(com)m(en)da(n)do cu(m) d(ici)t. cupio te mem(in)isse mei s(cilicet) i(n) or(ati)o(n)ib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (3^{va}–99^{vb}). *Inc.* Putauit n(on)n(u)lli duas fuisse t(ra)nslac(i)o(n)es psalt(er)ij i(n)me(dia)te <de> heb(r)aj<c>o i(n) latin(um). q(ua)r(um) vna e(st) J(er)oni(m)i et a(li)a c(uius)d(am) alt(er)i(us) int(er)pretis ignoti. *Expl.* et i(n) fine add(i)t all(elui)a. q(uod) e(st) nota eximie leti(cie) i(n) lauda [sic] di(uin)a q(ue) sic i(n)choata

p(er)ficie(tur) i(n) p(at)ria cl<ar>itatis et(er)ne. ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducato
do(minus) n(oste)r ih(su)c x(ri)stus q(u)i e(st) de(us) b(e)n(e)d(i)c(t)us ||
in sec(u)la Amen. *Rubr.* Explicit l(itte)ral(is) exposit(i)o f(rat)ris Nicho-
lai Treueth ord(inis) p(re)dic(atorum) s(upe)r psalt(er)iu(m) t(ra)ns-
latu(m) a B(ea)to J(er)onimo i(n)me(dia)te de he(bre)o i(n) latinu(m).
Deo gr<ati>as.

Textus vs commentary. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata, in the same script and size, underlined in the same ink. Occasionally the commentary includes tituli and individual verses (or their incipits) of Pss 31:3, 36:35, 49:14–23, and 96:8, according to *He* or *Ga*. For interpretation of this feature, see Chapter 2, pp. 58–60.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 3^r): “q(uantu)m ad”.

Penult. fol. of codicological unit I (fol. 98^r): “exultab(un)t i(n)”.

Penult. fol. of the entire manuscript (fol. 125^v): “ecc(lesiast)es .3. R. 4.”

Bibliography. K. SCHNEIDER, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Part I. *Theologische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1967 (Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, Bd. 2, T. 1), p. 295; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 136; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plate 5.

O: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 599

Structure. Collation: I⁶⁺⁶ (1–12, a), II⁶⁺⁶ (13–24, b), III⁶⁺⁶ (25–36, c), IV⁶⁺⁶ (37–48), V⁶⁺⁶ (49–60), VI⁶⁺⁶ (61–72, d), VII⁶⁺⁶ (73–84), VIII⁶⁺⁶ (85–96, a), IX⁶⁺⁶ (97–108), X⁶⁺⁶ (109–20), XI⁶⁺⁶ (121–32), XII⁶⁺⁶ (133–44), XIII²⁺³ (145–49, currently fols 146 and 147 form the central bifolium, but scraps of recent parchment under sewing suggest that the quire was repaired, while the numbering of bifolia indicate it was originally a quaternion). Some quires present alphanumerical leaf signatures consisting of minuscule letters and Roman numerals in the first half of a quire. The leaves in the first halves of quires are also numbered using Arabic numerals (in medieval forms). Horizontal catchwords by the scribe (except perhaps for that on fol. 144^v), in the lower mar-

gin, towards the right, in rectangular frames in the same or red ink, sometimes with figural decoration (see fols 36^v, 84^v, 96^v, 108^v, 120^v, 132^v). Most quires present notes concerning correction in the lower margin of the last page: “Cor(ectum)”, in the middle of the margin, and/or “b(e)n(e)”, towards the left. At the turn of certain quires there are other notes in smaller, cursive script, referring to the revision: “.5. p(r)ima fol(ia) s(un)t cor(ecta). us(que) ad ist(u)d sign(um) #” (fol. 109^r, the lower outer corner; the # signs in fact appear on fol. 114^{ra}, at both sides of the column, in correspondence with Ps. 105:31 and the respective commentary); “i(s)ta .5. vlti(m)a fol(ia) s(un)t cor(ecta) S(ed) p(ar)u(m) defic(it) de vno” (fol. 132^v, the lower outer corner); “ista .8. fol(ia) s(un)t cor(ecta) us(que) ad | [*the second line lost by trimming*]” (fol. 133^r, the lower outer corner); “vs(que) hic cor(ectum) e(st)” (fol. 141^r, the outer margin, in correspondence with line 30).

Origin. Northern France (probably Paris), *s.* XIV^{2/4-med} (based on decoration), certainly before 1386 (see below under Provenance).⁴⁹

Provenance. The Ottoboni family (the collection was acquired by the BAV in 1748). The manuscript shares the ownership history with many *codices Ottoboniani*, having previously belonged to Duke Giovanni Angelo de Altemps (1587–1620),⁵⁰ from Cardinal Ascanio Colonna (1560–1608) from Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–1585).⁵¹ Manuscript O was included by Henry Bannister in his list of English manuscripts in the Ottoboni collection, stating that most of them had been formerly owned by Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–1555) who had acquired a number of books from the dissolved friaries at Cambridge. Neil Ker raised doubts about the Cambridge, or even English, provenance of

⁴⁹ Dean dated the manuscript to the second half of the century and claimed that it was produced in Northern France or Western Lowlands.

⁵⁰ See the note of fol. I: “Ex codicibus Joannis Angeli Ducis ab Altaemps [*after some blank space by the same hand*] Psalterium cum expositione”; followed by “599 Ottob.” by a different hand.

⁵¹ O may be identified with the following entries in the inventories of Sirleto’s library: “74. Ludolai Treuetri expositio sup(er) psalterium” (BAV, Vat. lat. 6163, fol. 265^r, 9^r in the older foliation, among the Latin manuscripts, in the group described as “Theologia. In folio. Omnes sunt in pergameno, praeter eos, qui in indiuiduo designantur esse in papiro”; the orthographical idiosyncrasies of the author’s name have no counterpart in the rubrics in O but may have derived from a

O and certain other manuscripts from Bannister's list.⁵² Nor is there evidence that O belonged to Cervini.⁵³ Another important source of manuscripts for Sirleto, beside his native Calabria and Cervini (who was a source particularly of Greek manuscripts for Sirleto), was the

misreading or from a label on the old cover); "50. Expositio sup(er) Psalmos f(rat)ris Nicolai Treueh [?] ordinis Predicator(um) ex pergameno in tabulis et coopertus corumine [?] lungo" (BAV, Vat. lat. 6937, fol. 281r, among the "libri in folio" in the inventory of Sirleto's books registered at his death in 1585), and it is found in the list of Sirleto's books purchased by Ascanio Colonna: "74. Expositio F<ratis> ludolai treuetri ordinis predicator(um) super psalterium" (BAV, Vat. lat. 6937, fol. 52r; the same reading is in the catalogue transmitted in BAV, Vat. lat. 3970, part 1, fol. 222r). On the library of Sirleto, its formation and fate, see F. RUSSO, "La biblioteca del card. Sirleto", in *Il Card. Guglielmo Sirleto (1514-1585). Atti del Convegno di Studio nel IV Centenario della morte. Guardavalle - S. Marco Argentano - Catanzaro - Squillace 5-6-7 ottobre 1986*, ed. by L. CALABRETTA, G. SINATORA, Catanzaro-Squillace, 1989, pp. 219-300 (esp. 222-27), who, however, did not include O among the identified manuscripts from the inventory in Vat. lat. 6163 (pp. 235-99, at 243). See also P. PETITMENGIN, "Le cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto: homme des livres, homme du livre", in *Il "sapientissimo Calabro". Guglielmo Sirleto nel V centenario della nascita (1514-2014). Problemi, ricerche, prospettive. Atti del Convegno, Roma, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Palazzo Corsini - Sale delle Canonizzazioni, 13-15 gennaio 2015*, ed. by B. CLAUSI, S. LUCÀ, Rome, 2018, pp. 19-43.

⁵² KER, "Cardinal Cervini's manuscripts", p. 439, n. 5. Cf. J. P. CARLEY, "John Leland and the contents of English pre-dissolution libraries: the Cambridge friars", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 9 (1986), pp. 90-100, who provides Leland's list of manuscripts found in the mid-1530s at Cambridge friaries (pp. 97-99).

⁵³ The inventory and the lists of Latin manuscripts belonging to Cervini, edited and commented on by F. FOSSIER, "Premières recherches sur les manuscrits latins du cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-1555)", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen-Âge, Temps modernes*, 91 (1979), pp. 381-456, include no copy of Trevet's *Expositio*. Neither does it appear in the early-sixteenth-century select list of manuscripts from certain English libraries, by the so-called Anonymus Reginensis, a copy of which Cervini owned and is partly in his handwriting, the only copy to have survived, see J. WILLOUGHBY, "Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-1555) and English libraries", in *Books and Bookmen in Early Modern Britain. Essays Presented to James P. Carley*, ed. by J. WILLOUGHBY, J. CATTO, Toronto, 2018, pp. 119-49. I also thank Paola Piacentini, who after inspection of the manuscript in February 2019, has confirmed that none of the shelf-marks or annotations inscribed in O indicate a provenance from Cervini's collection.

book market of Rome. If not purchased there, O might have come into Sirleto's hands from the collection of Arnoldus Arlenius (Arnout van Eyndhouts), a Flemish humanist who studied in Paris before moving to Italy, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1582 his library was acquired by Fulvio Orsini, who donated a part of it ("tutti li sacri") to Sirleto.⁵⁴ In whatever way O came into Sirleto's possession, Trevet's commentary might have attracted his attention as a biblical scholar, involved in editorial endeavours on the Septuagint and Latin Vulgate.⁵⁵ The only relatively certain episode in the history of O prior to Sirleto is witnessed by a note, written in Hebrew, on the parchment flyleaf (fol. I^r), according to which the book was pawned by a certain Bartolo (the reading of the name is uncertain) as security against a loan from Menahem son of Iohav in 1386 (it was returned the same year).⁵⁶ That date offers the absolute *terminus ante quem* of the production of the book, although the style of decoration allows us to suggest an earlier date. The note also suggests that the book belonged to an individual around that time. The transaction witnessed by this annotation must have taken place in a territory where a Jewish community existed and was allowed to lend money. Considering the restrictions imposed on the Jews between their partial recall in 1315 and definitive expulsion in 1394, the kingdom of France is unlikely to have been that area. The

⁵⁴ P. DE NOLHAC, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini. Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, p. 174. Subsequent scholarship focused on his Greek books, see the entry in the database Pinakes: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/copiste-possesseur-autre/68/>. For the biography, see Fr. K. H. KOSSMANN, "Eyndhouts (Arnout van)", in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 9, Leiden, 1933, cols 249–50, and A. HOBSON, *Renaissance Book Collecting. Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*, Cambridge, 1999, *ad indicem*.

⁵⁵ Trevet's name, however, does not appear in Sirleto's *Annotationes variarum lectionum in Psalmos*, either in the printed version (1571, in the Antwerp Polyglot), where he only quotes scriptural and patristic sources, or in the manuscripts: BAV, Vat. lat. 6144, fols 5^r–41^s, and Vat. lat. 6149, fol. 111^r–121^r, where occasionally he also refers to medieval commentaries (the latter has been digitized: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.6149, the authors mentioned in the former have been listed by E. ROMERO-POSE, "G. Sirleto y la tradición manuscrita patristica", *Compostellana*, 40 (1995), pp. 49–84, at 83–84).

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Diletta Biagini and Mauro Perani (University of Bologna) for reading and translating this note for me (letter of 5 June 2019), and to Delio Vania Proverbio (BAV) for directing me to them.

Angevin county of Provence and papal territories of Comtat Venaissin and Avignon, in southern France, or the Apennine Peninsula are better candidates.⁵⁷ This would mean that by 1386 the manuscript had moved from the territory of its production. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, it probably belonged to an unspecified institutional collection, as indicated by the topographical shelf-mark: “IX sc(r)inii” (fol. I^r).⁵⁸ The same leaf also bears two other annotations. The first refers to the content: “psalt(er)iu(m) glosatu(m) de minori glo(s)a”, in Gothic cursive. This inscription offers reason to believe that the parchment leaf belonged to this book already in the medieval period, albeit the page bearing the annotations was a verso page at that time (see below, note 60). The second annotation, in early-modern script, offers the number of folios: “Car(te) 149”. By way of conclusion, it is worth noticing that both the collocation and the title inscribed on fol. I^r echo those of the two copies reported in 1494 at the Dominican convent of Sant’Eustorgio in Milan (see below, Appendix H). However, “scrinium” would refer to a bookcase or chest, rather than the bench (*banchus*) mentioned in the Milanese inventory.⁵⁹ Moreover, the booklist only provides the incipit and explicit, which are those of the work in any complete copy. At the current state of research, the available evidence is not sufficient to propose the identification of O with either of the two entries, but it allows us to keep that possibility open.

Material. Parchment (fine quality).

Fols. modern paper flyleaf + I (parchment flyleaf)⁶⁰ + 149 + modern paper flyleaf.

⁵⁷ On the condition of the Jewries in royal and southern France in the fourteenth century, see R. CHAZAN, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom, 1000–1500*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 87–89, 151–53, and R. BEN-SHALOM, “Southern France”, in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, 6: The Middle Ages. The Christian World*, ed. by R. CHAZAN, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 185–212, at 197–98, 203–09.

⁵⁸ Another early-modern shelf-mark: “R.2.1”, has been inscribed in the upper margin of fol. I^r.

⁵⁹ On the meaning of “scrinium”, see J.-F. GENEST, “Le mobilier des bibliothèques d’après les inventaires médiévaux”, in *Vocabulaire du livre*, pp. 136–54, at 138, 141.

⁶⁰ The appearance of the verso side would suggest that at some point it was a paste-down on a wooden board. Later it was detached, cut (a strip of more recent parchment runs alongside the inner edge) and reused as a flyleaf.

Dimensions and layout. 322 (27+237+58) × 220 (6+5+9+27+9+34+12+27+8+31+14+6+32), 62 ruled lines, text beginning below top line (fol. 7^r, central bifolium of quire I). Two columns. Ruling in lead point. Double vertical lines in the inner and the outer margins to host the verse numbers. When necessary, another double line is ruled in the middle of a column to separate the *textus* from the commentary (it may run through the entire column or only alongside the *textus*). Exceptionally a double line may also run across the lower margin.

Script. Northern *littera textualis* of small size in the commentary and larger in the *textus*. Despite some variations of execution (ink, size, compression) it appears to be entirely by one hand. Among the scribe's idiosyncrasies one should notice the two kinds of inconsistency in the numerals used in the body of the commentary and in paratextual apparatus. First, Arabic and Roman numerals are sometimes combined (in general Arabic numerals seem to prevail), e.g. "cx4" (number of Ps. 114, the outer margin of fol. 123^v). Secondly, the order of Arabic numerals in compound numbers is sometimes inverted so that the lowest value comes first.⁶¹ This kind of inconsistency would indicate a rather early date.⁶²

Decoration. The incipit of the dedication letter is distinguished by a historiated initial R(euerendo) representing King David playing the harp and a border displaying drolleries (fol. 1^r) (**Plate 15**). Initials decorated with vine leaves mark the beginnings of the Prologue (I(n),

⁶¹ See e.g.: "ps. 02" (in the rubric in the inner margin of fol. 23^r, referring to Ps. 20, as well as in the incipit of the commentary on Ps. 21, fol. 23^{vb}, referring to the Hebrew numbering of psalms), and "03" (in the incipit of the commentary on Ps. 30, fol. 32^{ra}, and on the title of Ps. 31, fol. 33^{vb}, referring to the numbering of titles).

⁶² Cf. C. BURNETT, "Why we read Arabic numerals backwards", in *Ancient and Medieval Traditions in the Exact Sciences: Essays in Memory of Wilbur Knorr*, ed. by P. SUPPES, J. M. MORAVCSIK, H. MENDELL, Stanford, CA, 2000, pp. 197–202 (now in IDEM, *Numerals and Arithmetic in the Middle Ages*, Farnham, 2010, No. VII), who provides some thirteenth-century examples of the Arabic order of writing the Hindu–Arabic numerals. Of particular interest is the French translation of the *Summa Azonis*, copied in Flanders during the second half of the thirteenth century, in which the leaf numbering uses first nine letters of the Latin alphabet and o with the lower value on the left, e.g. "oA" as the equivalent 10 (the case was first discussed by L. GILISSEN, "Curieux foliotage d'un manuscrit de droit civil: la Somme d'Azzon (Bruxelles 9251 et 9252)", *Studia Gratiana*, 19 (1976), pp. 303–11).

fol. 1^{rb}), Ps. 1 (B(eatus), fol. 3^{ra}), and the psalms sung at Matins on each day of the week and at Vespers on Sunday, according to the secular usage.⁶³ The painted decoration is definitely French in style and would suggest that it was done in the north or north-east during the second or the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The blue or red pen-flourished initials that mark the incipits of the remainder of the psalms and the *tituli* point to the same area, and more specifically Paris in the first half of the century.⁶⁴

Illustration. Nine coloured (including gold-leaf) images of musical instruments on fols 149^{ra-rb} (commentary on Ps. 150) (**Plate 16**). A pen drawing of a fantastic animal with a banderole reading “iudifica”, in the outer margin of fol. 109^r, alongside Ps. 103:16 (“Ibi aues iudificabunt”).

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–149^{va}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (1^{vb}–149^{rb}).

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra-b}). *Rubr.* Ep(isto)la p(ro)hemial(is). *Inc.* Reuendo patri f(rat)ri[s] Joh(ann)i [*followed by an erased letter*] de bristol’ p(r)iori p(ro)uinciali f(rat)r(u)m p(re)dicator(um) anglie frat(er) nicholaus treueth eiusdem ordinis salute(m). et debite ob(edienc)ie p(ro)mptu(m) obsequium ac deuotum. Int(er) celebris [*sic*] uet(er)is test(ament)i t(ra)ns(ati)ones. *Expl.* opus istud agg(re)ssus su(m). vnde alior(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m m(er)itis qui a me laborem hu(n)c insta(n)ci(us) flagitar(un)t ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ih(s)u xp(ist)i gl(ori)am et honore(m) (con)sumandu(m). amen.

b) Expositio (1^{rb}–149^{va}). *Rubr.* Incipit exp(ositi)o l(itte)ral(is) f. nicholai treue[h]ch ord(inis) p(re)d(icatorum) super psalt(erium).

b. 1. Prologus (1^{rb-vb}). *Lemma* In psalt(er)io decacordo psalla(m)[t] t(ib)i ps. cxliij. *Inc.* cum m(u)lti p(ro)ph(et)e an(te) d(aui)d m(u)lta et diuersa edid(er)u(n)t cantica. *Expl.* Vn(de) dicit ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)(sona) cui(us)l(ibet) qui se dirigit in hu(n)c fine(m) ps. 26. t(ib)i dixit cor meu(m) exquisiuit te facies mea faciem tuam d(omi)ne requiram. ad

⁶³ Ps. 26: D(omine), fol. 29^{rb}; Ps. 38: D(ixit), fol. 41^{va}; Ps. 52: D(ixit stultus), fol. 55^{rb}; Ps. 68: S(aluum), fol. 71^{rb}; Ps. 80: L(audate), fol. 88^{rb}; Ps. 97: C(antate), fol. 103^{ra}; and Ps. 109; D(ixit), fol. 119^{vb}. Cf. above at G, pp. 188–89, where the early owner’s annotations point to the same liturgical division.

⁶⁴ I am grateful to Francesca Manzari and Patricia Stirnemann for their expertise on the painted decoration and the penwork.

q(uam) nos p(er)ducat ip(s)e et non ali(us) qui uiuit et regnat deus p(er) i(n) finita s(e)c(u)la amen.

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (1^{vb}–3^{ra}). *Rubr.* Incipit p(ro)logus b(eat)i J(er)onimi [*sic*] in psalt(er)iu(m) hebraicu(m). *Inc. textus.* Eusebius J(er)onimus sophonio suo salutem. *Inc. comm.* B(eatu)s J(er)onimus cu(m) ad instanciam cui(us)da(m) familiaris sui no(m)i(n)e sophonii t(ra)nsf(er)ret psalt(er)ium i(n)mediate [-te *in marg. scr. O^R*] de hebreo i(n) latinu(m) p(re)misit hu(nc) p(ro)logu(m) i(n) quo tria facit. *Expl. textus.* Uale in dom(in)o ih(s)u cupio te meminisse mei. *Expl. comm.* exigit se or(aci)o(n)ib(us) uero eius re(com)me(n)dando cu(m) dicit. cupio te memi(ni)sse mei s(cilicet) in orac(i)onib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (3^{ra}–149^{va}). *Inc. textus.* Beatus uir q(u)i non abiit in consilio in p(i)or(um) et in uia p(e)cc(at)or(um) no(n) stetit et in cathedra derisor(um) non sedit. *Inc. comm.* Putant no(n)u(lli) duas fuisse t(ra)ns(aci)ones psalt(er)ii i(n)mediate de hebreo in latinu(m) q(ua)r(um) una est J(er)onimi et alia cui(us)dam alt(er)i(us) i(n)t(er)p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl. textus.* (149^{vb}) Laudate eu(m) i(n) ci(m)bal(is) sonantib(us) laudate eu(m) i(n) cimbali(t)ini(en)tib(us) [= *Ps. 150:3, v. 6 is missing*]. *Expl. comm.* (149^{va}) et i(n) fine addit all(elui)a q(uod) e(st) no(ta) eximie leti(c)i(e) i(n) laude di(ui)n(a) q(ue) sic i(n)choata p(er)ficiet(ur) i(n) p(at)ria cl(ar)itatis et(er)ne. Ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducat d(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r ih(s)u(x) p(ist)u(c) q(u)i e(st) deus benedictus in secula. Amen. *Rubr.* Explicit l(itte)ral(is) expositio f(rat)ris Nicholai treueth ord(inis) p(re)dic(atorum) sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m) t(ra)ns(aci)one a d(i)c(t)o [*sic*] J(er)onimo i(n) nue(n)te [*? pro immediate*] de hebreo in latinu(m). Deo gr(at)ias.

Textus vs commentary. The columns of the commentary are indented to host one or more psalm verse. The *textus* is written in the same type of script, but of larger size. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata in the same script, underlined in red. Despite the fact that the copy includes the full *textus*, individual sections often begin with a lemma constituted by the first one or two words of a given verse. Both the commentary and the *textus* underwent one or more campaigns of revision, as witnessed by marginal corrections by the same scribe or other contemporary hand(s) using northern *textualis* of smaller size, more compressed, in slightly brighter ink, and by signs of revision (see above under Structure).

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (2^r): “<ge>necto (id est) fiat fiat” (*in textu*); “scio quosdam” (*in comm.*).

Penult. fol. (148^v): “temp(or)ib(us) op(or)tunis”.

Bibliography. H. M. BANNISTER, “A short notice of some manuscripts of the Cambridge friars, now in the Vatican Library”, in *Collectanea Franciscana*, vol. I, ed. by A. G. LITTLE, M. R. JAMES, H. M BANNISTER, Aberdeen, 1914 (British Society for Franciscan Studies, 5), pp. 124–40, at 133; EHRLE, “Trivet”, p. 10, n. 2; DEAN, “Life and Works”, p. 101; KLEINHANS, “Nicolaus Trivet”, pp. 222–23; LOEWE, “Hebrew books and ‘Judaica’”, p. 45; SHIELDS, “Critical Edition”, p. 51; SANDLER, “Christian Hebraism and the Ramsey Abbey Psalter”, pp. 131–32; SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; N. R. KER, “Cardinal Cervini’s manuscripts from the Cambridge friars”, in *idem*, *Books, Collectors, and Libraries. Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by A. G. WATSON, London, 1985, pp. 437–58, at 439, n. 5 (originally in: *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. by R. CREYTENS OP, P. KÜNZLE OP, Rome, 1978, pp. 51–71, at 53, n. 5); STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 138; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plates 15–16**R: Rome, Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Liber 1670 (olim Z 10)**

Structure. Collation: I⁺⁺ (1–8), II⁺⁺ (9–16, ii^(us)), III⁺⁺ (17–24), IV⁺⁺ (25–32), V⁺⁺ (33–40), VI⁺⁺ (41–48), VII⁺⁺ (49–56), VIII⁺⁺ (57–64), IX⁺⁺ (65–72), X⁺⁺ (73–80), XI⁺⁺ (81–88), XII⁺⁺ (89–96), XIII⁺⁺ (97–104), XIV⁺⁺ (105–12), XV⁺⁺ (113–20), XV⁺⁺ (121–28), XVI²⁺¹ (129–31). Catchwords immediately under col. b, in the same or cursive script (missing at the end of quires V and XVI). Traces of quire numbering in Roman numerals in lower margin of the first folio (see fol. 9^r, quire II). Two scribes responsible for the copy (see below) apparently worked simultaneously, as is suggested by the coincidence of the change of hand with the beginning of quire VI, which also coincides with the beginning of Ps. 38, as well as by the blank space left at the end of quire V, which does not produce a textual lacuna (fol. 40^v, the rest of col. a and

the whole of col. b). The layout in two sections also presents minor variation in dimensions (see below).

Origin. *S. XIV*^{med.} The collaboration of two scribes using a southern and northern *littera textualis* suggests places of origin distinguished by the use of these two script styles, such as southern France (Avignon?) or the Angevin kingdom of Sicily (Naples?). The latter would coincide with the early provenance of the book (see below) and would have been the place where the penwork decoration was made.⁶⁵

Provenance. The note in an early-modern hand: “Collegii Anglicani in Vrbe”, in the upper margin of fol. 1^r suggests that the manuscript belonged to the Venerable English College already around the time of its establishment (the foundation was confirmed by a bull of Pope Gregory XIII in 1579, but the first scholars were settled there in 1576).⁶⁶ Another note datable to the same time, “Bib. Cois.” (Bibliothecae Communis?), is on the front flyleaf (Iv). Other old pressmarks occur in the front pastedown: “A VI 37” (in ink), “Z 10” (in pencil) and in the front flyleaf (Iv): “A.IV. [*a linea*] 43” (in ink, underlined, cancelled). The manuscript does not appear in the inventories of the pre-Reformation English Hospice of St Thomas (founded 1362), the predecessor institution to the College,⁶⁷ or among the books registered during the visitation of the premises in June 1576, before the first students from Douai left for Rome.⁶⁸ During the medieval period it belonged to the charterhouse of St Martin near Naples (founded 1325), as witnessed by a

⁶⁵ Cf. the penwork decoration in the MS Brindisi, Biblioteca pubblica arcivescovile A. De Leo, Manoscritti, ms. A/2 (Naples, mid-fourteenth century), from fol. 242^r onwards. Description and digital copy are provided by E. GALLO, P. BARBIERI, entry in Manus Online, <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000209626> (last modified 14 November 2012). I am grateful to Francesca Manzari and Andrea Improta for their opinions on the decoration.

⁶⁶ Letters “C A.” in the upper margin of fol. 26^r would refer to the same.

⁶⁷ N. L. RAMSAY, J. M. W. WILLOUGHBY, *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, London, 2009 (CBMLC, 14), pp. 235–367; on the library see WILLOUGHBY, “The library of the English Hospital in Rome before 1527”, *La Bibliofilia*, 113 (2011), pp. 155–74; IDEM, “The English Hospice’s first library”, in *The English Hospice in Rome*, Rome, 2012, pp. 303–16.

⁶⁸ Only liturgical books (in manuscript and print) kept “In Custodia Sacristiae” are listed (see the report of the visitation by Cesare Spetiano in BAV, Vat. lat. 12159, fols 180^r–186^r, books on fol. 186^r).

group of notes in Gothic script, apparently by different hands: “Iste liber e(st) mo(na)st(er)ij s(an)c(t)i martin<i> prope ne>apolim” (fol. 1^r, the lower margin, Gothic cursive, the note has been erased and partly lost to a hole, **Plate 13**); “Iste liber e(st) mon(asterii) s(anc)ti martini ord(inis) cartus. p(ro)pe neapolim” (fol. 70^r, the lower margin, Gothic cursive, early fifteenth century?); “Iste liber e(st) monasterii sa(nc)ti Martinj supra neap(o)le(m) | ordinis cartusiensis” (fol. 131^v at the top, erased; the script is closer to *textualis*); “Iste liber e(st) <monasterii sancti> martini <...> p(ro)pe neapolim” (fol. 131^v in the foot, erased; in Gothic cursive).⁶⁹ From the same period may date the number “.CXCV^(us).”, in red ink, in the upper margin of fol. 1^r, above col. b, apparently a shelfmark. The time and circumstances in which the manuscript left the charterhouse and arrived (directly?) at the College are not known.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Cf. the notes in the fifteenth-century manuscripts from the Certosa, the only ones known to bear ownership notes, which read: “Iste liber est domus Sancti Martini supra Neapolim, ordinis cartusiensis” (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, XXII 127, fol. 5^v, and Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. II, 87 (3001), fol. 96^v, quoted from GARGAN, MANFREDI, *Le biblioteche dei certosini*, pp. 85–86. If these two notes reflect common practice, they suggest that the monastery was referred to as “domus” in the fifteenth century and this, together with graphic features, would speak for a slightly earlier date for the notes in R (unfortunately I had no opportunity to compare the script of those two notes to the notes in R).

⁷⁰ One possible mediator is Thomas Goldwell (d. 1585), bishop of St Asaph, who in 1548 began his noviciate and in 1550 made his profession as a Theatine in Naples. In 1561–1564 he was *custos* of the English Hospice and remained to some extent involved in its affairs during its conversion into a college in the 1570s, see T. F. MAYER, *s.v.*, in *ODNB* (<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/10927>, published in print and online 23 September 2004); cf. A. KENNY, “From hospice to college”, in *The English Hospice in Rome* (except for Willoughby’s chapter, quoted above, n. 67, this is a reprint of the edition from 1962), pp. 218–73, at 220, 257. Another possible donor, kindly suggested to me by Maurice Whitehead, Archivist of the College, is Gaspar Haywoodus SI, who stayed in Naples between 1586 and his death in 1598 (see *Monumenta Angliae*, 2: *English and Welsh Jesuits: Catalogues (1630–1640)*, collected and edited by T. M. McCOOG, Rome, 1992, pp. 351–52). The inventories of the books of the *Certosa di S. Martino* made in and around 1599 for the Congregation of Index (BAV, Vat. lat. 11276, fols 249^r–335^v) do not help to determine the time when the manuscript left the charterhouse since they only include printed books. R might have shared the destination of the liturgical books, the extant fragments of which have been associated with the Neapolitan charterhouse and

Material. Parchment of mediocre quality. Several bifolia present traces of *scriptio inferior*, in Gothic cursive, running perpendicularly to the present lines.⁷¹

Fols I (unnumbered early-modern flyleaf) + 131 + I' (unnumbered early-modern flyleaf).

Dimensions and layout. 266 (15+206+45) × 198 (21+70+13+64+30), 52 written lines, 53 ruled lines (fol. 13^r, central bifolium of quire II); 267 (16+209+42) × 200 (24+72+10+70+24), 48 written lines (ruled lines are hardly visible) (fol. 53^r, central bifolium of quire VII). Ruling in lead point. Two columns.

Script. Two hands responsible for both the *textus* and the commentary: A (fols 1^r–40^{va}) uses Northern *littera textualis* (its relatively small size would explain the prevailing form of a single-compartment *a*), B (fols 41^{ra}–131^{rb}) uses Southern *littera textualis* with some cursive elements which become more frequent from fol. 72^{va} onwards (*f* and tall *s* descending below the baseline, looped ascenders).

Decoration. The beginnings of the dedicatory letter and the prologue are distinguished by five-line initials: R(euerendo) and I(n), on fol. 1^{ra} and 1^{rb}, in blue ink with red and blue pen-flourishes (**Plate 13**). In the remainder the textual divisions are marked with smaller majuscules in red or blue ink with simple pen-flourishes (pen-flourishes are missing on fols 1^v–2^v, 9^r–14^r, 17^r–23^r, 25^r–30^r, 33^r–38^r, in coincidence with the first parts of quires I–V).

Illustration. On fol. 131^{ra-b} (commentary on Ps. 150), within the columns, monochromatic representations of musical instruments, executed in the ink of the text (**Plate 14**).

Contents. Nicholas Trevet, *Expositio super Psalterium* (1^{ra}–131^{rb}). Latin Psalter according to *He* (1^{vb}–131^{rb})

passed through the Roman charterhouse of S. Maria degli Angeli in the second half of the sixteenth century (see MANZARI, “Miniatori napoletani”).

⁷¹ Palimpsest are bifolia 41 and 48, 43 and 46, 44 and 45 in quire VI; 49 and 56, 50 and 55 in quire VII; all bifolia in quire VIII, where some lines seem to begin with “capella s(an)c(t)e” (fol. 57^r top line, now in the inner margin), or “cap(e)lla s(anc)ti” (fol. 59^v, the first and second line, now in the lower margin; fol. 60^v, top line, now in the lower margin).

a) Epistola dedicatoria (1^{ra-b}). *Inc.* Reu(er)endo pat(r)i f(rat)ri Joha(n)-ni de brist. p(r)iori p(ro)uinciali f(rat)r(u)m p(re)dicator(um) anglicae f(rate)r nicola(us) Treuet ei(us)dem ord(in)is salute(m) et debite obediencie p(ro)mptu(m) obsequiu(m) ac deuotu(m). Int(er) celebres uete(r)is testam(en)ti t(ra)nslationes. *Expl.* op(us) ist(u)d agnoscis cu(m) [or t(ame)n] v(est)ris alior(um)q(ue) f(rat)r(u)m m(er)itis q(u)i a me laborem hu(n)c [*a superfluous minim*] i(n)st(a)nci(us) flagitaru(n)t ad d(omi)ni n(ost)ri ih(s)u x(rist)i honore(m) et gl(or)ia(m) (con)suma(n)-du(m) am(en).

b) Expositio (1^{rb}-131^{rb}). *Rubr.* (*written in the margin as guidelines for rubricator*) Incipit expositio Nic//Treuth ord(in)is p(re)dica//sup(er) psalterium.

b. 1. Prologus (1^{rb-vb}). *Lemma.* In psalterio decacordo psalla(m) tibi ps(alm)o cxliiii. *Inc.* cu(m) m(u)lti p(ro)phete an(te) d(aui)d m(u)lta et diu(er)sa ad laudem dei edid(er)int cantica. *Expl.* vn(de) d(ici)t ip(s)e psalmista in p(er)(son)a cui(us)l(ibet) q(u)i se d(ir)igit i(n) hu(n)c fine(m) ps(alm)o xxvj^o tibi dixit cor me.<um> exq(u)i.<siuit> te fa.<cies> m.<ea> fa.<ciem> t.<uam> d(omi)ne req(u)ira(m) ad quam nos p(er)-<ducat>.

b. 2. Expositio prologi Hieronymi (1^{vb}-2^{vb}). *Rubr.* (*written in the margin as guidelines for rubricator*) Incipit p(ro)logus b(ea)ti J(er)on(nimi) sup(er) psalt(er)ium. *Inc. textus* Eusebius Jeronimus sophronio suo salutem. *Inc. comm.* Beat(us) J(er)on(nimus) cu(m) ad petic(i)o(n)e(m) cui(us)-da(m) sui nomine sophronii t(ra)nstuliss(et) psalteriu(m) i(n)mediate de hebreo i(n) latinu(m) p(re)misit hu(n)c prologu(m) i(n) q(u)o t(r)ia facit. *Expl. textus.* Uale in domino ih(s)u cupio te meminisse mei et c(etera). *Expl. comm.* exigit u(er)o se or(ati)onib(us) ei(us) re(com)me(n)-dans cu(m) dicit cupio te meminisse mei s(cilicet) in oracionib(us) tuis.

b. 3. Expositio Psalmorum (2^{vb}-131^{rb}). *Rubr.* (*written in the margin as guidelines for rubricator*) psalmus p(r)imus. *Inc. textus.* Beatus vir qui non abiit in (con)silio inpior(um) et in via p(e)cc(at)or(um) no(n) stetit et in cathedra derisor(um) non sedit. *Inc. comm.* Putauit no(n) nulli duas fuisse translac(i)o(n)es psalt(er)ii inmediate de hebraico i(n) latinu(m) quar(um) vna est J(er)on(nimi). et alia cui(us)da(m) alt(er)-ius int(er)p(re)tis ignoti. *Expl. textus.* Om(n)e q(uod) spirat laudet do(minu)m all(elui)a. *Expl. comm.* Et i(n) fine addit all(elui)a. q(uod) e(st) no(ta) eximie leticie i(n) laud(e) di(uin)a. q(ue) hi(c) i(n)iciata p(er)-

ficiet(ur) i(n) pat(r)ia cla(r)itatis et(er)ne. Ad q(uam) nos p(er)ducatur
do(minus) n(oste)r y(esu)c x(ristu)c q(ui) e(st) b(e)n(e)d(i)c(tu)s i(n) s(e)-
c(u)la am(en). Explicit.

Textus vs commentary. The commentary and the *textus*, the latter written in the same script of slightly larger size, alternate within columns. In the commentary the *textus* is referred to by lemmata, in the same script, written and underlined in the same ink.

Dicta probatoria

20 fol. (fol. 2^v): “fiat finis”.

Penult. fol. (130^v): “Dic(it) itaq(ue). laudate”

Bibliography: SOPMA, III (1980), p. 189, No. 3135; STADLER, “Textual and Literary Criticism”, p. 137; SHARPE, *Handlist*, p. 397.

Plates 13–14.

APPENDIX C.
EDITION OF THE DEDICATORY LETTER

The dedicatory letter has been previously edited by Ruth Dean and Bruce Philbrook Shields in their unpublished dissertations (pp. 440–41 and pp. 57–59, respectively). Dean did not disclose the manuscript(s) used. Her text includes one of the two good readings only transmitted in G and O (among the manuscripts that were known to Dean), of which the Bodleian manuscript G was more easily available to her, based as she was in Oxford. She also used H, from which a marginal note is quoted. Shields chose G as his base manuscript, offering in the apparatus a selection of variant readings from the other four manuscripts known to him: A, B, H, and O. He also provided an English translation (pp. 60–63) and a few notes of commentary, including identification of the sources (pp. 64–66).

The present edition uses G (fols 1^{ra}–^{va}) as a base manuscript. G is the earliest witness, according to its position in the textual tradition, to have transmitted two readings that are either original or authorial emendations (see Chapter 2, p. 77).¹ Its only evident error (“super” instead of “sub” in paragraph 2) has been emended according to the rest of the tradition. In paragraph 13, the pronoun “qui”, whose gender disagrees with the preceding phrase “iudaice fabule”, is shared with all other witnesses except for R. Therefore, it should be taken as an authentic reading and construed as referring to authors of the rejected false opinions (“fabule”), viz. the Jews, being here the implied subject of the subordinate clause.

The edited text follows the spelling of G; all abbreviations have been expanded with the exception of the placename Bristol.² Variant read-

¹ Another unique reading, “et”, written in the interlinea at the beginning of paragraph 7, has not been included in the edited text but only registered in the apparatus. Syntactically it is not necessary and the conditions of the folio after restoration (see the description of G, under Material) do not allow any confident assessment of the status of this addition.

² The name of Bristol in all the early witnesses is abbreviated and usually spelled “Bristoll”, with an abbreviation mark attached to the last letter. The declension of the Latin name of Bristol is distinguished by a variety of patterns adopted by the scholars quoting Trevet’s address to John (Dean: “de Bristoll”; STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium*

ings from all the extant and complete witnesses of the letter, including the two late copies (D, fols 149^{ra-vb}, and K, 37^{ra-va}), are provided in the apparatus. (Portions of the letter quoted by Thomas Gascoigne are provided in Appendix G, while those in Henry Cossey's commentary are compared with the direct manuscript tradition in Chapter 4.) Spelling variants are not reported unless these occur in proper names. In cases where the abbreviation may be of some relevance for the assessment of the variance, it has been expanded in parenthesis. For the convenience of analysis and reference, the letter has been editorially numbered for syntactical and thematic units. The use of the upper-case and punctuation is also editorial and conforms with modern practice.

Biblicum Medii Aevi, No. 6038, and KÄEPELI, SOPMA, No. 3135: “de Bristollis”, which is also the pattern in the recentiores DK; Shields: “de Bristolle”) and also by the editors of other Trevet's works (e.g. the name of Bristol occurs several times in his *Annales* and in the edition is declined either as a second declension neuter or first declension noun) or contemporary texts (acts of general chapter of the Dominicans, held in London, 1314, *Acta Capitulorum*, II, p. 73: “Bristolli” Gen. <“Bristollum” Nom.). J. G. Th. GRAESSE, *Orbis latinus oder Verzeichnis der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- und Ländernamen*, 2 edn by F. BENEDICT, Berlin, 1909, p. 56, gives the Nominative form as “Bristolium”. As Margaret Condon (University of Bristol) kindly informs me, in the fifteenth-century Latin customs accounts from Bristol, this placename is never written with any indication as to what the ending should be. Considering all this I have decided to keep the suspension as found in the manuscripts.

EPISTOLA PROHEMIALIS

[1] Reuerendo patri fratri Johanni de Bristoll' priori prouinciali fratrum predicatorum Anglie frater Nicholaus Treueth eiusdem ordinis salutem et debite obediencie promptum obsequium ac deuotum. [2] Inter celebres ueteris testamenti translaciones quas octo doctores enumerant duas precipue in auctoritatem ecclesie transisse legimus. Primam que Septuaginta dicitur de hebraico in grecum et ultimam que beati Jeronimi est de hebraico in latinum, quas beatus Gregorius in prologo libri *Moralium* distinguit sub edicionum nominibus ueteris atque noue. [3] Primam itaque istarum, quam ideo uulgatam appellari, XVI^o De ciuitate dei, beatus presul asserit Augustinus quod tam communis fuerit eius usus ut multi an aliqua alia esset penitus ignorarent, sinceram ac puram testatur beatus Jeronimus permansisse usque ad tempora Origenis. [4] Qui scripture sacre studiosissimus hanc cum hebraica ueritate conferens, cum aliquantis in locis nonnulla deesse quedamque alibi superaddita comperisset, ausus est eam corrigere Theodocionis translacioni commiscendo opusque

tit. Epistola prohemialis] Incipit expositio litteralis fratris Nicolai de Treueth super psalterium cuius epistola prohemialis est hec *K*, Epistola Magistri Nicholai Treuith in expositionem presentis libri *D*, *desunt CHBR* (Super psalterium secundum traslacionem [Jeronimi *del.*] beati Jeronimi *C^B*)

1 patri] patri in Christo *C*, *bis scr. D* fratri] fratris *O* (fratri *O^R*) Bristoll'] Bistoll' *C*, Brist. *R*, Bristollis *K*, Brisoll' *O*, Brisollis *D* Anglie] *om. D* Nicholaus] Nicolaus *MRK*, Nycholaus *D* Treueth] Treuet *BR*

2 celebres] *celebris O* testamenti] legis *K* quas¹] *om. K* duas] 2 *D?* quarum *praem. K* dicitur] *om. O* (*in marg. scr. O²*) hebraico¹ – hebraico²] hebraicho ... hebraico *MN*, hebraicho ... hebraicho *AC*, hebraico ... hebrayco *O*, hebrayco ... hebrayco *K* Jeronimi] Geronimi *M* (Ieronimi *M¹*), Iheronimi *D* sub] sup(er) *G* noue] legis *in marg. add. R²*

3 istarum] istam *ANC?* (istar(um) *C^R*), *deest BR* ideo] J(eronim)o *O* XVI^o] libro *post* sexto decimo *add. D* asserit Augustinus] Augustinus a. *transp. BR* fuerit] fu(i)t *AN*, fuit *COD* eius] eiusdem *M* (eius *M¹*) multi] multis *K* sinceram] quam *praem. K* Jeronimus] Iheronimus *D* tempora] tempore *D* Origenis] Origenis *B*

4 scripture sacre] sacre s. *transp. C* studiosissimus] studiosissimus *A* hebraica] ebraica *M* aliquantis] aliquibus *OD*, uel aliquibus *sup. lin. scr. C^A*, aliqua *K* nonnulla] nonnullis *K* deesse] d(ebet) e(ss)e *O*, cerneret *add. D* quedamque] quedemque *BR*, quodque *MANC* (uel quecumque *sup. lin. add. C^A*, quecumque *OD*, *om. K* comperisset] comperiisset *AC?* (comperisset *C^R*), comperiisque *N* ausus est] ausus *OD* Theodocionis] Theodocin(us) uel Theodociu(s) *B*, Theodocius *R* translacioni] transl(aci)oni uel transl(aci)o(ne)m *B*, translac(i)oni uel translac(i)o(ne)m *MANCR*, translacionem *H* opusque] opus *D*

totum quibusdam sententiarum notis distinguens, que deerant sub asteriscis relucere faciens et que superflua reperiebantur iugulans obeliscis. [5] Hiis uero notis scriptorum incuria pro lapsu temporis ut assolet abolitis pauci inter hoc opus Origenis primumque LXX interpretum laborem uel potuerunt discernere uel sciuerunt. [6] Hac igitur occasione aliaque qua, ut docet beatus Augustinus De doctrina christiana libro primo, cuicumque in primis ecclesie temporibus uenit in manus grecus codex et aliquantulum facultatis utriusque lingue, grece scilicet et latine, habere uidebatur ausus est transferre. [7] Cum confusio interpretationum nimiaque littere esset introducta corrupcio, beatus Jeronimus edicionem LXX ut pura erat de greco uertens in latinum ad sinceritatem sue originis rem reduxit. [8] Cum autem labentibus annis translacionis huius Psalterium uiciatum esset, interpellantibus Paula et Eustochio iterum Psalterium transtulit, set Origenis imitatus studium cum Theodocionis edicione commixtum ac distinctum notis superius nominatis. [9] Hoc autem Psalterium beatus papa Damasus ab eodem Jeronimo rogatus in Gallicanis ecclesiis decantari instituit, priori nichilominus in usu ecclesie Romane usque in presens retento. [10] Nouissime uero, cum calumpniarentur Iudei multa in hiis hebraice ueritati

quibusdam sententiarum] quibus de s. *ANC*? (sententiarum *A*, quibusda(m) s. *C^R*), quibus de sententia *O*? notis] vocis *B* sub asteriscis] s. asteris *ANC*, s. †ast(er)† *B*?, s. †art(er)† *R*, s(u)bsiste(n)tis *O* reperiebantur] reperebantur *BR*, reperiebatur *A* iugulans] uigilans *B*, vigilans *R* (iugulans in marg. scr. *R²*) obeliscis] obsequiis *M* (obeliscis *M¹*), obeliscis *BRO*, obelis *DK*

5 notis] vocis *A*, noctis *BR* abolitis] abolitis *A*, obelitis *BR* primumque] †p(re)enu(m)q(ue)† *B*, †p(re)enu(m)q(ue)† *R* laborem] labore *MANH*, labor(em) *B*, labor(um) *R*, laboremque *K* uel potuerunt] non p. *R* discernere] om. *O* uel sciuerunt] nichil s. *K*

6 occasione] acc(i)one *MN* (occ(asi)one *M^R*) aliaque qua] aliaque (*litt. erasa seq.*) *C*, alia qua *O*, aliaque *D*, aliaque q(uia) *K* docet beatus Augustinus] b. d. Augustinus *transp. D* libro] in *praem. BR* in primis] cum primis *BR* temporibus] om. *R* lingue] om. *R* scilicet] om. *NBR* uidebatur] uideatur *ANC* (uidebatur *C^R*)

7 Cum] et *sup. lin. praem. G*, ergo *add. D* nimiaque] in una que *O*, una que *R* littere] h(abe)re *A* esset] essent *C* Jeronimus] Iheronimus *D* edicionem] edic(i)o(n)i *BR* pura] puta *OK* uertens] om. *OD* sue] sui *MANC* (sue *M¹*) originis] origenis *K* (originis *K^R*) rem] om. *D*

8 iniciatum] iniciatum *BRO* Paula et Eustochio] *P.* et Eustochio *N*, et Eustochio *O*, †p(ro)oristochio† *BR* (Paula et pro p(ro)or- in marg. scr. *R²*) iterum] om. *K* Origenis] Origenis *MNC* (Origenis *M^RC^R*), Orig(en)is *A* imitatus] imitatis *BR* Theodocionis] Teo-*MAC*, Theodocii *BR* edicione] cum *praem. MANC* (cum *del. A^RC^R*) distinctum] -am *BR* notis] vocis *B*, uocis *R*

9 autem] tamen *K* papa Damasus] *D. p. transp. K* Damasus] Damasius *O* eodem] †eddem† *MN* Jeronimo] Iheronimo *D* priori] prior *H* (prior *H²*) in presens] ad p. *O*

10 calumpniarentur] calumpniarentur *A^R* hebraice] hebrayce *OK*

dissimilia contineri, instante quodam familiari eiusdem beati Jeronimi nomine Sophronio inmediate de hebreo in latinum Psalterium transtulit quod communiter Hebraicum appellatur. [11] Circa litteram duarum priorum translacionum tota expositorum antiquorum desudavit intencio inter quos simplicem LXX translacionem senator Cassiodorus, commixtam uero beatus Augustinus edisserit, ut eidem in quadam epistola beatus scribit Jeronimus: cuius si a nostra aliquantulum discordet littera mirari nullus debet cum alium a nostro de greco in latinum habuerit translatoem. [12] Quia uero omnes prisci temporis doctores circa allegoariarum misteria profunda perscrutanda totis studiis occupati aut neglexerunt aut perfunctorie tantum litteram tetigerunt, uelud abiecta testa nuclei dulcedinem consecantes, postulauit a me uestra paternitas ut quo clarius pateret spiritualis propheticusque intellectus qui littere uelud basi innititur Psalterium expositione litterali et hystorica illustrarem. [13] Neque in hoc iudaicas fabulas, qui sua perfidia Christum ab intellectu scripture excludunt, peti a me existimo, set quiduis ipsa uerborum de prima intentione auctoris fuisse pretendat qualeque per os eius Spiritus Sanctus mysticis sensibus prestruxerit fundamentum; verum ne ut assolet pociora putarentur ignota suppressisque figmentis ueritas ipsa uilior appareret, deliramenta iudaica locis suis insere-

contineri] †continuit† *C^R*, confiteri *O* instante] instanti *H* beati] *om. K* Jeronimi] Iheronimi *D* nomine] *om. ODK* Sophronio] Sophonio *ANCO*, Sophremo *B*, Saphremo *R*, Sophranio *K* inmediate] *om. K* (*in marg. scr. K^R*) hebreo] hebraico *OD*, hebrayco *K* Psalterium transtulit] transtulit *BR*, t. *P. transp. ODK* quod] et *N* Hebraicum] Hebraycum *OK*

11 duarum] duorum *NC* (-arum *C^R*) expositorum] compositorum *O* desudavit] †descidiauit† *B*, †desudiauit† *R* intencio] intento *B* commixtam] commixtum *O* edisserit] eduxerit *A*, eduserit *NC* (edi- *C^R*), asserit *K* quadam] quadem *B* beatus scribit Jeronimus] b. s. Iheronimus *D*, b. J. s. *transp. N*, s. J. *O*, b. J. *K*, de greco in latinum *add. BR* a nostra] *om. BR* nullus debet] n. habet *H* (n. debet *H^I*), nullus *BR*, d. n. *transp. O* habuerit] *fortasse ex abbrevu. habuit legendum ODK* translatoem] translatores *A*

12 uero] uere *R* omnes] omnis *O* prisci] p(r)isti *NCBK* (p(r)istini *C^R*), p(r)ist(in)i *A*, p(r)istini *OD* doctores] *om. H* (*in marg. scr. H²*) neglexerunt] neglexerent *B* tantum litteram] *desunt MANCHBR* (t(antu)m *sup. lin. lit(ter)am in marg. scr. C^A*) uelud] *bis scr. R* dulcedinem] dulcedine *O* consecantes] sectantes *K* basi] uasi *O* uasi *K* expositione] †(com)p(ar)(at)oriet *O?*, cum *praem. D* litterali et hystorica illustrarem] l. et hystorica i. *OD*, l. et illustrarem historia *R*

13 qui] que *R* sua] ex sua *ANC* quiduis] quamuis *O*, q(ue) uis *C^R* (q. *in rasura*) prestruxerit] prestruxit *AD*, prestrinxerit *B*, prestrinxerint *R* ut] *om. O* appareret] app(ar)et *HK*, app(ar)ere *O* deliramenta] diliramenta *B*, liramenta *OK* iudaica] *deest MANCHBR* (*sup. lin. scr. C^B*) inserere] miserere *NA?C?H?* (inserere *A^RC^RH^R*)

re perutile iudicastis. [14] Vestris itaque parere mandatis satisfacereque sinceris desiderii cupiens, predictarum trium edicionum ultima uelud uestre intencioni magis apta ad disserendum electa, opus istud aggressus sum, uestris aliorumque fratrum meritis qui a me laborem hunc instantius flagitarunt ad domini nostri Iesu Christi honorem et gloriam consummandum. Amen.

iudicastis] iudicasti *O*

14 Vestris itaque] v. igitur *D*, uestrisque *OK* satisfacereque ... predictarum] *om. C* (satisfacereque ... predictarum trium *in marg. scr. C^A*) sinceris] sinceri *BR* predictarum] predicatorum *BR* (predictorum *R^R*) trium] t(ame)n *C?* (t(r)iu(m) *C^R*) uestre] nostre *ANCHBRD* intencioni] intencionis *ANC* (intencioni *A^R*) magis] *om. C* (*sup. lin. scr. C^B*) apta] aptam *HBR* ad disserendum] ad dissernendum *C*, ad discendum *BR*, ad differendum *O*, ad asserendum *H*, ad edisserendum *D* aggressus] agresscis *B*, agnoscis *R* sum] cum *B*, cu(m) uel t(ame)n *R* uestris aliorumque] vnde a. *O* flagitarunt] flagitauerunt *N*, †flagirunt† *B* domini] deum *H* honorem et gloriam] g. et h. *transp. OD* consummandum] consumendum *ANC?* (-mandum *A^RC^R*), consummand(os) *B* Amen] *bis scr. A*

APPENDIX D.
LIST OF SELECTED VARIANT READINGS FROM
THE COLLATED PORTIONS OF THE *EXPOSITIO* (WITH
THE EXCEPTION OF THE DEDICATORY LETTER,
SEE APPENDIX C)

For the psalm numbering, see Appendix A. The Prologue has been divided into numbered paragraphs (the incipit and explicit of each paragraph is provided in parenthesis). In a similar way, the long commentary on Ps. 1:1 has been divided into shorter sections distinguished by letters. As for the *Epistola Hieronymi* the references are based on the division into paragraphs found in the witnesses that include the *textus*; the incipit and explicit of each paragraph is provided in parenthesis to facilitate the comparison with the edition of *He*. Similarly, there are a few instances in which the division of verses in Ps. 2 differs from that in the edited *He*; these are highlighted by the incipits and explicits of a given verse in the tradition of the *Expositio*. The lemmata are underlined. Abbreviations used in the manuscripts are normally expanded silently; ambiguous abbreviations and those considered relevant to the study of the textual traditions are left unexpanded or are expanded in parentheses. In the passages listed below only major spelling variants are reported. The suspension of words that do not vary, within longer passages, is mine.

Alongside the sigla and abbreviations already introduced, the following conventions are used:

Bosham = *He* in Herbert of Bosham's edition of Peter Lombard's *Magna glosatura*, transmitted in Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 4 (on Pss. 1-74:4), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. inf. 6 (on Pss. 74:1-150).

Cossey = the Psalter commentary of Henry Cossey transmitted in Cambridge, Christ's College, 11.

Eadwine = *He* in the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 17. 1).

Ga OP = the revised Gallican Psalter as a part of the Dominican office, cited from Rome, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV L 1, fols 71^{ra}-83^{vb}).

Ga t.r. = textus receptus of *Ga* according to *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria, post Argentinam Adolphi Rusch 1481 editionem, aucta et emendata*, ed. by M. MORARD, with the assistance of M.-J. SORBETS, Paris, 2015–2023 (the most recent version: 18 March 2023), available at: *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, IRHT-CNRS, 2023, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions.php?id=glo&numLivre=26> (last accessed 8 April 2023).

Kraebel = A. KRAEBEL, “English Hebraism and hermeneutic history: the Psalter prologues and epilogue of Henry Cossey, OFM”, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 30 (2020), pp. 287–368.

Paris = *He* in the Psalter transmitted in Paris, BnF, lat. 8846.

Reims = *He* in the Psalter of Odalric, Reims, BM, 15.

When different readings of the Latin Psalter *iuxta Hebreos* are provided, the reading included in the edited text is referred to as *He ed.*, whereas the readings of individual witnesses are referred to by *He* followed by the sigla used by the editor. Otherwise, *He* refers by default to the edited text. In like manner, *Ga ed.* is used to distinguish the reading provided by the reference edition from that of *Ga t.r.* or *Ga OP* (the latter are only quoted when they differ from *Ga ed.*; it should be remembered that *Ga OP* does not transmit titles).

Prologue

[Rubric (*deest C*)]

litteralis post expositio om. BR

Threueth *MN*, Treueth *GHBR*, Treuech *O*, Therēthi *A*

[2. Cum (multi) prophete [...] canticum Moysi]

Cum prophete ante Daudid multa et diuersa ad laudem dei ediderint cantica *MANC* (ad diuersa *AN*), Cum multi p. a. D. m. et d. a. l. d. e. c. *GHBRC^AO* (ad laudem dei *om. O*, ediderunt *O*)

cantica *pro* cantata *post* fuerint aliqua *GC^R*

[3. Unde super laudes [...] decantari fecit]

priorum *post* prophetarum *om. N*

hoc adiecisse uidetur *MANC[?]HBR* (hec *R*, adiecisti *BR*), hoc adiecisse uidetur Dauid *GC^RO*

[4. Propter quod [...] sanctus Israel]

ostendens *MANCGHO*, continens *BR*

[5. Vasa psalmi [...] canebantur psalmi]

frequencius *MANCGHBR*, frequenter *O*

[8. Causa materialis [...] in unam melodiam]

et uaria *pro* est uaria *post* materia enim psalmodum *M* (*Tironian* et)

colliguntur *pro* recolliguntur *N*

[9. Precipua tamen [...] erga nos]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

maxima apparuerunt *transp.* *O*

dei *ante* beneficia *om.* *O*

[10. Christus autem [...] eos eternitate]

Christus qui licet posterior fuerit prophetis *GO*, Ch. q. l. fuerit posterior p. *C^A* (fuerit *in marg. scr. C^A*), Ch. q. l. posterior p. *MANCHBR* (quia *pro* qui *HBR*, qui licet *on erasure A*)

[11. Unde de Abraham [...] ego sum]

uocatus est propheta Ge. xx *MANCGO* (Gen. *CGO*), u. e. p. Ge. *H* (20. *in marg. scr. H[?]*, followed by the quotation from Gen. 20:7), u. e. p. Ge *BR*

[12. Dicitur etiam psalterium [...] Boecius in principio musicae]

psalterium a psallin *MCGH[?]BO*, p. a psallam *H*, p. a psallui *A*, p. a psalim *R*, ad ps^m *N*

[13. Unde narrat [...] cohiberi posset]

adolescente Tauronomitano *MC^AGBRO* (adolocente *O*), a. tauromitano *ANC[?]*, a. taurono mitato *H[?]*, a. taurono notato *H^R*

erat inclusum *M^RANCGHBR*, inclusum *MO*

[14. Pitagoras [...] b. molle]

Pictagoras autem *M'CG*, Pitagoras autem *A*, Pictagoras *HBR* (Pyta- *R*), Pictagorasa(m) *N*, Pictagorasar(um) *M*, Piccogaras uero *O*

b. molle *MANCGHO*, a bimolle *BR*

[18. Tunc quidem [...] comparatur]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

propter quod merito *MC^RGHBR*, propter de merito *ANC*, propter hoc merito *O*

psalterio comparatur *MA²C^RGHBRO* (psalterium *R*), p. operatur *ANC*

[19. Unde pater [...] et cythara]

excitans *post* pater *om.* *BR*

[*quotation from Ps. 56:9*] et cithara *MANCGHBR* (cy- *ANGR*, cithera *C*), set etiam cytharam *O* (*anticipation of the phrase from the following section, inc. nec solum uocat eum psalterium sed etiam citharam; cum post etiam add. O'*)

[20. Nec solum [...] demonia eicient]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

sono cithare fugauit spiritum malum a Saule ut *post* quia sicut Dauid *om.* *O*

I Regum xvi *MANCGHO*, patet I Regum xvi *A²*, dicitur I Regum xvi *BR*

ipse dicit in Marco *MC^RGHBRO* (Marcho *O*), i. d. de Marco *ANC?* (i. d. de se m. *A²*)

[22. Itaque continet [...] psallite illi]

itaque *MANC* (ita(que) *MAC*, itaq(ue) *N*), ita q(uod) *GHBR*, ita *O*

[*quotation from Ps. 32:2*] psallite illi *MANCGHO*, psalterii alii *B*, psallam tibi *R*

[23. Sunt et alie [...] computentur]

in hoc nu(mer)o *MANCGO*, i. h. vno *HBR*

denarius *MANCGHBR* (denarus *B*), numerus denarius *OC^A*

[24. Quarum una est [...] dona spiritus sancti]

quarum una est quia ternarius *MANCGH*, ut ternarius quarum una est *BR*, quia una est quia numerus ternarius *O*

perfectionem nature designat *MC^RGHBRO*, p. n. designauit *ANC*

propter quod quod *MC*, p. autem quod *AN*, p. quod dicit quod *GC^AO*, p. quod ibi dicit quod *HR*, p. quod ita dicit quod *B*

septenarius uero *MANCGHBR* (septennarus *MNC*, septennarius *AH*, septonarius *B*), numerus uero septennarius *O*

[25. Si autem ternario [...] perfeccio nature]

sub tali ergo numero disponuntur psalmi in quo docentur ea que spectant ad perfectionem legis nature et gracie *MANCG*, s. t. e. n. d. p. in quo decenter e. q. s. a. p. l. n. e. g. *BR*, s. t. e. n. d. p. in quibus docentur e. q. s. a. p. l. n. e. g. *HO*

[26. Secunda ratio [...] unitates continet]

denarius numerus est trigonus habens tria latera quorum quodlibet IIII unitates continet *MANCG*, d. n. e. t. h. t. l. q. q. habet IIII vnitates *HBR*, d. n. e. t. h. t. l. q. q. quatuor uirtutes continet *O* (tria *in marg. scr. O*)

[27. Bene ergo [...] inhabitatis orbem]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

quatuor orbis *MANCGHO*, q. omnibus *BR* (*explicable by a slip of the eye to the immediately preceding phrase omnibus gentibus que*)

inhabitant climata *MA^sCGR*, i. clinita *H*, i. climita *B*, i. clinata *AN*, climata i. *transp. O*

[*quotation from Ps. 48 :2*] auribus percipite *C^RGHRO*, a. percipe *MB*, a. precipitis percipe *ANC*? (p(re)cib(us) *post a. expunct. A*)

[28. Tercia ratio [...] ordinem eorumdem]

trigonorum dicit quod proueniunt ex addicione numerorum *post generacionem numerorum om. AO* (*saut du même au même*)

[29. Verbi gracia [...] scilicet ternarius]

si unitati qui est *MANCGHO*, si u. q. cum sit *BR* (que *R*)

[31. Cui si addatur [...] ad senarium]

qui est tercius trigonus in forma. Prouenit *post* denarius prouenit *om.*
BR (*saut du même au même*)

[32. Solet autem [...] uirtutes cardinales]

operum *post* perfectio *om.* *O*

[33. Quia ergo in psalmis [...] denarius]

dicentur *pro* docentur *BR*

merito [...] opera uirtutum [*in par.* 34] *post* suadentur perfecta opera
 uirtutum *om.* *O* (*saut du même au même*)

[34. Et quia [...] benigna est et cetera]

[*the quotation from 1 Cor. 13:4*] caritas paciens est benigna est et cetera
MACG, c. p. est benigna et cetera *NB*, c. p. est benigna *R*; *in O* *the lemma*
continues until omnia sustinet (13:7); *in H* caritas paciens est b. e. et
 cetera *were cancelled and then repeated until* caritas numquam excidit
 (13:8)

[35. Item forma [...] dei laudem]

deuocio psallentis consurgebat in dei laudem *MGHBRO*, d. p. insurgebat
 in d. l. *ANC*

[36. Et iste est [...] ad principium]

carptim *MGHBR*, captim *ANC*, raptim *O*, carptim uel raptim *C^A*

[37. Et ideo merito [...] cum cantico]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

liberando *ante* eum de seruitute Egipti *om.* *H*

per x plagas *codd.* (x *om.* *R*, educens *post* plagas *add.* *H²*)

[39. Unde et a psalmis [...] psallam tibi]

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

unde et a psalmis componendis cognomen accepit *MANCGHBR*
 (co(n)- *M*, (co)- *HBR*), u. e. a. p. c. nomen a. *O*

ut psalmista diceretur *MANCGHBR*, ut p. dicatur *O*

II Regum xxiii *MANCGH*, 2 Regum 22 *O*, II Regum *BR* (*the reference*
introduces the quotation from 2 Rg. 23:1)

[*followed by the quotation from Ps. 137:1*] secundum quod in psalmo dicit *MANCRO*, s. q. psalmo d. *B*, s. q(uod) (*corr. ex q(uam)?*) in psalmo cxxxviii d. *H*, secundum quem psalmista dicit *G*

[40. Causa uero finalis [...] psallat tibi]

[*followed by the quotation from Ps. 65:4*] psalmo LXV dicitur *MANCGHBR*, psalmo CIII dicitur *O*

[42. Et quia tanto [...] faciem exquirimus]

si ex toto corde *MANCG*, ideo ex toto c. *HRC^RO* non ex toto c. *B*

[43. Unde dicit [...] perducatur et cetera]

ad quam nos perducatur et cetera *MANCGHB*, a. q. n. per. *R*, a. q. n. perducatur ipse et non alius qui uiuit et regnat deus per infinita secula amen *O*

Epistola Hieronymi ad Sophronium

Rubrica

in psalmis hebraycis *AN*, in psal' hebrayc' *M*, super psalterium hebraicum *G*, super psalterium *BR*, in psalterium hebraicum *HO* (e- *H*), <psal>terium hebraicum *C^B*

[1. Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronio suo salutem]

Textus (*deest ANC*)

Sophronio *MGHBR*, Sophonio *C^BO*

Comm.

Beatus Jeronimus cum ad instanciam cuiusdam familiaris sui nomine Sophronii transferret psalterium [...] premisit hunc prologum *MANCGO* (Sephonii *C*, Sophonii *O*), B. J. cum ad petitionem c. f. s. n. S. transtulisset p. [...] p. h. p. *HBR* (f. *om. BR*)

modo epistole *MANCGHBR*, per modum e. *O*

uirilem togam *MANCGHBR*, u. etatem *O*, u. togam uel etatem *C^A*

imprimi *MANCGO* (*hardly readable G*, inprimi *O*), inponi *HBR* (*referring to second names given to Roman girls*)

[2. Scio quosdam [...] legitur amen amen]

Textus (deest ANC)

in hebreo *om.* *O*

Comm.

Hic ponit Jeronimus *MANCGO*, Hic J. p. *transp. H*, Hic ponit *BR* remouet quamd' de psalterio falsam opinionem *MANC*, r. quamdam de p. f. o. *GHR* (quandam *R*), r. quandem de p. f. o. *B*, r. quorundam de p. f. o. *O*

improbacionem *ante* ibi Nos autem *om.* *R* (*blank space*)

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

falsa opinio quam improbat est qua *MANCGO* (*abbreviated* q(ua) *ANCO*), f. o. q. i. e. q(uod) *HBR*

quidam putabant *MANCGHBR* (quid' *MC*, quidem *ANH*), quidem putent *O*

[3. Nos autem [...] asserimus]

Comm.

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Hic dictam opinionem *MGHBRO*, H. dictam autem o. *ANC*

reprobat *MANCGHBR*, *om.* *O*

tacitam obieccionem *GHBRO* (tantam *H*), tactam o. *MAC*, t(ra)ctam o. *N*, *cf. infra 4.*

[4. Psalmos quoque [...] uno uolumine comprehendit]

Textus (deest ANC)

Ydithim *MH*, Edythi(n) *G*, Yditimi *B*, Yditu(m) *R*, Ydichu(m) *O*, *cf. Idi-thun Bosham* σ^{vb}

Eman Ezraite *MGHO* + *Bosham* σ^{vb} , Emanezraite *B*, Eman e et Rayce *R*
Ezras *MGHB* + *Bosham* σ^{vb} , Esras *R*, Hesdras *O*

Comm.

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

Hic Jeronimus *MANCGO*, Hic *HBR*

quamdam tacitam obieccionem *MGHRO*, q. tactam o. *ANC* (†oblec-
cionem† *AN*), q(ua)de(m) †t(ra)tata(m)† o. *B*

euacuat *MANCGHRO*, euacuit *B*

fuerunt diuersorum auctorum *MANCGHBR*, sunt d. a. *O*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Ezra *MANCGHB*, Ezdra *C^BH²R²*, Ezna *R*, Hesdra *O*

scriba *MANCGHBR*, scripti *O*

sicut factum *MANCR*, s. factum est *GHBC^RO*

[*lemma*] testamur *MC^RGHO*, testat(ur) *A*, testar(um) *N*, testamentum
BR

[*lemma*] Ydithim *MGH*, Yditim *B*, Ydichym *A*, Ydithym *NC*, Yditum
R, Ydichum *O*

[*lemma*] filiorum Chore (*uel* Thore) Eman *MNCO* (Thoer *N*), f. Chore
(*uel* Thore) Heman *M²AGHBR*

[*lemma*] Ezras *MANGHBR*, Ezdras *H²*, Hesdras *C^RO*

s. amen amen id est fideliter *in fine add. BR* (*by confusion with the first
words of the following section of the textus*)

[5. Si enim amen [...] frequenter amen interserunt]

Textus (*deest ANC*)

pro quo Aquila *MGHO*, ala *B corr. in* Aquila *B'*, alia *R*

ΠictoMεροσ *MG*, pistomenos *H²B*, pistome *R*, pistomepos *O*, *deest H*
(*blank space*), cf. Necitamentoc *Bosham σ^{vb}*

interserunt *MGHO*, interfecerunt *B*, †interseruerunt† *R*

Comm.

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Hic Jeronimus uacuat rationem opinionis contrarie *MANC* (r. *om. A*,
sententiam *A²*), H. J. euacuat r. o. c. *GA²O*, Euacuat h. J. r. o. c. *HBR*

que fuit quod omnino diuersi libri sunt *MANCGO*, q. f. q. i(de)o d. l.
s. *HBR*

quid *post* amen finale *om. ANC*

ponit Et respondi et dixi amen domine *MANCGO* (et *post* amen *add. O*), p. Et respondit et d. a. d. *HBR* (Et respondi et dixi a. d. *is quotation from Jer. 11:5*)

[*lemma*] interserunt *MANCGHO*, interfecerunt *B*, †interseuerunt† *R*
[6. Set et numerus [...] commutabitur]

Comm.

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Hic confirmat Jeronimus *MANCGO*, C. h. J. *transp. HBR*

opinionem suam *MANCGHO*, sentenciam s. *BR*

[*lemma*] hebraicorum librorum *MANC*, librorum hebraicorum *GHBRO* (+ *MGHBRO-tx*)

sic *XXII* libris continetur omnis doctrina qua uelut infantes instruimur *MANCGO* (ex *ante XXII add. C*), sic *XXII* libris omnis d. q. u. i. instruimur continetur *HBR*

Jeronimus in prologo galeato *MANCGH*, J. in p. galiato *BR^R*, J. in p. saliacio *R*, J. in prologo †alle^{to} p(ro)logaleato† *O*

[7. Nam et titulus [...] ostendit]

Textus (deest ANC)

sophar tillim *MGH* (*an erased minim follows in M*), sephar tillium *BR*, sophartillum *O*, cf. sephar tallim *He ed.*, sefer tillim *He (Ω^M)*, sophar tallim *He (B)*, cf. sephearteallim *Bosham 7^{ra}*

non plures *MGHBR*, nobis *O*

Comm.

Hic confirmat opinionem *MANCGO*, C. h. Jeronimus o. *H*, C. hoc o. *B*, C. o. *R*

quasi diceret bene dico quod est liber unus nam et *post* vnde dicit nam et *om. R* (*saut du même au même*)

bene dico *ante* quod est liber unus *om. B*

quod est liber unus *GHBO*, quod l. u. *MANC*, quod l. u. est *C^R*

[*lemma*] *sophar tillim MH, sephar tillim ANG, sophar tillium BR, sophar tillum CO*

[8. Quia igitur nuper [...] esse contentum]

Textus (deest ANC)

aiebas MGHBR, agebas O

uarietate MGHBR, uariet a te O

Comm.

Ponit Jeronimus MAN, Ponit beatus J. C, Ponit hic J. GHRO, Ponit hic beatus J. C^R, Posuit hic J. B

latinam post translacionem suam om. G

ostendit enim post circa primum v facit om. O

[*lemma*] *confidenter MGHBO, confitenter ANC, fideliter R*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

illudere id est deridere uel decipere MANG (id est [...] decipere in marg. scr. M^F), illudere id est deridere CHBRO

[*lemma*] *per sermones singulos MANCGBRO, per s. pene s. H + MGHBRO-tx*

[*lemma*] *aiebas MANCGRO, aiebat HB*

[9. Unde impulsus [...] quam uoluntatem]

Textus (deest ANC)

impulsus MGHBR (impulsus G) + lemma ubique, impulsum C^AO

cui que possum MGBR (posum M), c. q. poscis H, cuique possim O, cf. cui et quae non possum He ed. (qu(a)e possum He ($\Sigma^T H^P A^L L$))

Comm.

Hic fatetur Jeronimus MANCGO, F. h. J. transp. HBR

opus agrediendum MANCG (agg- G), opus agendi de O, opus HBR

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

instancia MCGH^PBRO, instanciam AN, infancia H

precum *MN²CGHBRO*, p(er)cu *AN*

[*lemma*] cui que possum *MC^RGBR*, c. q. pos *H* (poscis *H^p*), cum que possum *AN*, cuiq(ue) *O*

me obtrectatorum latratibus id est detractionibus que assimilantur latratibus canum *MANCGHO*, me obtrectatorum latratibus id est canum *BR*

dedi (id est) exposui *MANCGHO* (exposui *MAC*), dedi (id est) composui *BR* (co(m)- *B*, (com)- *R*, et *pro* id est *B*)

quod queritur non habetur *MACGHBRO*, non habetur quem queritur *N*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

quod Sophronius uideret eum *MANCGHBR*, q. S. uideretur *O*

non posse *post* transferre *om. H*

[*Io. Certe confidenter [...] mutasse*]

Comm.

Hic asserit suam translacionem *MANCGO*, Asserit hic Jeronimus s. t. *HBR*

[*II. Sicubi ergo [...] discere*]

Textus (deest ANC)

uideri *MGHBR* (et *add. R*) + *He ed.*, uidere *O* + *He (CBA^L)*

discere *GHBRO*, dicere *M*

Comm.

Hic quia posset obici Jeronimo *MANCG*, Quia posset obici *HBR*, Hic dicit q(uod) si ab aliquo poss(et) s(ib)i obici *O*

interpretibus qui *M²C^RGHBRO*, interpretibus ig(itur) *M*, interpretibus *ANC*

ueraciter contulisset *MANCO*, u. transtulisset *GHBR*

hoc excludit dicens *MANCGHBR*, hic e. beatus Jeronimus d. *O*

nullius iudicium refuto *MANCHBRO*, n. i. refutabo *G*

[*lemma*] p(er)uidebis *M'GHBRO* + *MGHBRO-tx*, prouidebis *M*, p(ro)uidebis *ANC*, p(ro)uidebis uel p(er)uidebis *C^B*

[*The five following entries form one passage*]

[*lemma*] malunt uideri *MANCGHRO*, m. vider(e) *B*

scilicet translacionem meam *post contempnere om.* *O*

[*lemma*] quam discere *GH^BBRC^RO*, q. dicere *MAN*, q. discernere *H*

scilicet illam *MANCGO*, s. illud *HBR*

quod est signum superbie et inuidie *MANCHBRO*, q. e. s. inuidie et superbie *G*

[12. Peruersissimi [...] sunt contenti]

Textus (deest ANC)

sufficiant *GHBO*, sufficiunt *R* + *lemma ubique (Indicative in the lemma is grammatically justified)*, sufficientur *M*

Comm.

Inuehit hic Jeronimus *MANCGH*, Inuehit Jeronimus *O*, Inuehit *BR*

[13. Nec hoc dico [...] calumpniantibus respondere]

Textus (deest ANC)

mordeam *MGHO*, me mordeant *BR*

Comm.

Hic docet *MANCGO*, Docet hic Jeronimus *H*, Docet *BR*

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

interpretando *MACGHBRO*, interponendo *N*

precesserunt me mordeam *MANCGHO*, p. †memordiam† *B*, p. †memordiant† *R*

scilicet factum eorum *MANCGHBO*, s. statum e. *R*

[*lemma*] dederim *MANCO*, olim dederim *GHC^B* + *MGHBRO-tx*, cum dederim *BR*

ideo dixi ista *MGH*, i. d. ista et *BR*, i. d. ibi *AN*, ista dixi ideo *C^RO*

nunc *post* feci *om.* C

unde ista translacio *post* istam translacionem *om.* O

[14. Quod opusculum [...] esse communem]

Textus (deest ANC)

ut polliceris transtuleris MGH (-ller- M), ut p. et transtuleris B, ut p. et transtulis R, transtuleris ut p. *transp.* O

Oracianum GHB, oracionum MRO

non *pro* communi R

Comm.

Hic ostendit Jeronimus MANCGO, Ostendit h. J. *transp.* HBR

polliceris MANC, polliceris id est promittis GHBRO

quam ego reputo impericiam quamuis tu non impericiam sed etiam periciam iudices MANCG (s(cilicet) *post* non *sup. lin. add.* C), quam e. r. i. quamuis tamen non inpericiam set periciam iudices BR (non *in marg. scr.* R), quam e. r. i. quamuis tamen non impericiam iudices H, quam e. r. impericiam set etiam periciam iudices O

[*lemma*] Oracianum MANCGH^FB, oracionum HRC^BO

et inutile *post* superfluum *om.* O

in siluam deferre MANCGHBR (differre R), in silua O

et doctis uiris MC^AGBRO, de doctis u. AN, et doctissimis u. H

[*lemma*] nisi quod habeo solamen q(uasi) d(iceret) ita prohiberem ne transferres nisi quod hoc habeo solamen quod in labore communi MGHBRCAO (quod *pro* q(uasi) d(iceret) BR, hoc *om.* BR, n. quod hoc habeo s. q. d. C^A, n. q(uod)q(uod) hic habeo s. q. d. [...] nisi q. hic habeo s. q. in l. c. O, in laborem B), nisi quod habeo solamen q(uasi) d(iceret) in labore communi ANC (in *om.* AN) (*saut du même au même*)

hebreo [...] transferendo de *post* ego laboro transferendo de *om.* R (*saut du même au même, cf. O where de hebreo [...] transferendo was first omitted and then integrated in the margin, apparently by the same hand*)

[15. Vale [...] meminisse mei]

Comm.

Jeronimus hic in fine epistole *MANCG*, Hic Jeronimus in fine epistole *O*, Hic in fine *HBR*

et exigit impendit *post* obsequium impendit *om.* *O* (*saut du même au même*)

optando Sophronium ualere cum dicit uale in domino Iesu *MANCGHRO*, o. S. ualere ostendit v. in d. I. *B*

exigit uero se orationibus eius se recommendando *MANC* (si o. *N*),
e. u. se orationibus eius recommendando *GHBR* (recommensans *BR*),
e. se orationibus uero eius recommendando *O*

Psalm 1

[1]

Comm.

[a. Putant nonnulli [...] cum non sit]

putant *MGHC^{RO}*, putauit *ANBR*

de hebraico *MGHBR* (-yco *M*), hebraico *AN*, de hebreo *C^{RO}*

[b. Sed quia hec opinio [...] receptam]

uarietatem *MA^CA^GHBR^O*, ueritatem *ANC*

contingere *MANCGHO*, extinguere *BR*

duas huius translaciones *MANCGH*, d. h. translacionis *BR*, hac duas translaciones huius *O*

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

una que Jeronimi *MANC*, u. que est J. *GHBR^{RO}*

de hebreo in latinum facta commemoretur *MANCGHBO*, de h. in grecum latinum f. commemoret *R*

nec aliam constat in auctoritatem ecclesie receptam *MANCGHBR*,
nec aliam constat auctoritatem ecclesie fuisse receptam *O*

[c. Dicit autem Jeronimus [...] uocetur]

apud Hebreos uocetur *MANGHBRO*, apud eos u. *C*

[d. Titulus tamen huius psalmi [...] die ac nocte]

Titulus tamen huius psalmi *M^tG*, T. t. huius pl'r *ANC* (pl'r *expunctuat-ed C^R*), T. t. huius *MHBRO*

[e. Sed noluit [...] loquitur]

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

Sed noluit hic titulum premittere *MACGO* + *Cossey II^v* (*Kraebel*, p. 349.430 f.), S. voluit h. t. p. *HN* (premittere *H^p*), set hunc titulum noluit p. *BR* (n. om. *B*)

ne uideretur a laude propria incepisse *MANCHBRO* + *Cossey II^v* (*Kraebel*, p. 349.431.), ne u. in laude p. i. *G*

hinc est etiam *MG*, hinc est et *HB*, hinc est *R*, huic est etiam *AN*, hinc est autem *C*, hinc etiam est *O*

[f. Nonnulli Hebrei [...] tempore suo]

assere *MANCGHO*, assere(e) *B*, assere *R*

maschil sir *MGH*, maskil s. *BR*, mascur sir *C^A*, mast(r)iur sir *O*, om. *ANC*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

expositiones istorum *M^tGHBC^RO*, exp(osici)o i. *R*, exponens i. *MANC* patebunt *MANCGHO* (pathe- *O*), patebit *BR*

[g. Primus istorum [...] psalmi]

primus istorum x modorum conuenit huic psalmo *MANCGHBR*, p. i. psalmorum (con)co(n)uenit h. p. *O*

assere *M^RCGHO*, assere *MAN*, assere(e) *B*, assere *R*

de istis ut per ipsos *MANC?*, de istis et per istos *G*, de istis uel per istos *HBRC^RO*

[h. Sed cum [...] Ydithim et alii]

ut patebunt *MAN*, ut patebit *GHBC^RO*

x ante modos om. *G*

quam alios *post* computant plus om. *R*

[i. Nec etiam [...] distinguantur]

nec etiam de omnibus illis x/decem fit mentio *codd.* (allis *pro* illis *MANCH*, *corr. in* illis *H^p*, illis *deest* *BR*, fit *om.* *A*, sit *pro* fit *H*)

[j. Quamvis autem [...] distinguitur ab alia]

in causa scribendi *MNCGHO*, i. scribendi *A*, i. c. fiendi *BR*

[k. Hic ergo psalmus [...] de se ipso]

cuius intencio in hoc psalmo *MANCGHRO*, c. intentum hoc p. *B*

de se ipso *MANCGBRO*, de *H* (*followed by a blank space*), hoc duo facit *add. H^p*

[l. Primo ergo [...] et erit]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Primo ergo ostendit quod sibi alios instruere congruit *MANCGBRO*, P. e. o. q. s. a. astruere c. *H*

secundo alios instruit *om.* *O*

[*lemma, Ps. 2:10*] nunc ergo *MANCGHO*, no(n) ergo *B*, no(n) sic *R*

[m. Sunt autem [...] et in lege]

que requiruntur *MCGHBRO*, q(ua)re quiruntur *A*, q(ue)re quiruntur *N*

ad docendum alios *MCGHBRO*, ad d. et alios *AN*

[*lemma, Ps. 1:2*] et in lege *MANCGO* + *MGH-tx*, sed in lege *H* + *BRO-tx*, non in lege *BR*

[n. Causa uitande iactancie [...] non sedit]

loquens de se tanquam de alio *ante* causa uitande iactancie dicit beatus vir *add. HBR* (casu *pro* causa *H*)

poliptoton *AC^RGHO*, polipteton *MN*, poluptiton *B*, polupti ta(n) *R*

et est frequens in psalmis et prophetis unde eadem sententia est qua dicitur *post* interpretacio communis dicitur *om.* *ANC* (*saut du même au même, in marg. scr. C^{AB}*, ecce *pro* et est *C^A*, repeticio *post* frequens *add. C^A*, et prophetis *om. C^B*); qua diuiditur *pro* qua dicitur *R*, ecc(lesi)e *pro* et est *O*, in p(salm)os *O*, et prophetis *om. O*

[*lemma*] et in cathedra derisorum *MC*, et cathedra derisorum *AN*, et in sede derisorum *GHBRC^B*, et in cathedra *O*, et insedra desideriorum *O'*

[o. Uocabulum ebraicum [...] Eze. xxxiii]

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

secundum proprietatem hebraice lingue significat *MANGH* (ebraice *M*), s. proprietatem lingue hebraice s. *CO*, s. proprietates h. l. s. *BR*

enim *post mosab om. G*

[p. Uel potest sic legi [...] hoc consilium]

Dauid autem in hoc non abiit *MANCGO*, D. a. in hoc consilio n. a. *HBR*

[q. Unde dicit [...] in uia eius]

illo uiro *MANC?*, illi uiro *GHBRC^RO*

cum etiam Saul *MANCGO*, et cum S. *H*, et quia S. *BR*, cum enim S. *C'*

[r. Sequitur [...] intellegit]

illuderent *MANCGO*, illuderetur *HBR*

[2]

Textus (deest ANC)

et in lege *MGH* + *lemma ubique*, set in lege *BRC^AO* + *M (Ga)* + *He* + *lemma in H in Ps. 1:1m*

domini *om. BR (sed adest in lemmate)*

Comm.

Set in lege *ante Docuit add. O*

seu liptote *MANCGHB*, siue l. *O*, †sauli p(ro)toto† *R*

asserendum *MA*, asserend' *NC*, asserendo *GHBRC^RO*

uoluntarius *MGHBRC^RO*, non u. *ANC*

[3]

Textus (deest ANC)

quod fructum *MGHO*, et fructum *BR*

et folium [. . .] prosperabitur *numbered* IIII BR

ferit M, fecerit M^oO + He, fecit GH, facerit B, fac' R

prosperabitur MGHR, prosperabuntur BO + Ga

Comm.

Et erit ante Docuit add. O

pertinent MA^RC^RGH^oRO, pertinet AN, q(uod) time(n)t B, *om. H* (*blank space, followed by ut or nt, subsequently expunctuated, by H^o*)

Et primo per exemplum ad propositum, secundo per exemplum ad oppositum, versu IIII ibi non sic MANCGHO (4 ANC, ibi *om. ANC*), Et secundo per exemplum ad propositum v. IIII i. non sic B, Et primo per exemplum ad propositum, versu v non sic R

et nota quod ante passionem Christi MANCGO, quia ante passionem Christi HBR (autem *pro* ante B)

omnes [...] descendebant MACGHBR (omnis R), omnis [...] descendebat (*corr. ex -a(n)t (?) N*, omnes [...] decederunt O

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Inter bona autem temporalia precipuum quod considerabant illi patres MAN (consti- N *original reading of C uncertain*), I. b. a. t. p. quod considerabant i. p. GHBR^oO (corporalia *pro* temporalia O, ad *pro* illi R)

erat quod fecundarentur in prole que successionem parentum continuaret MANCGHBR (erat *deest* HBR, quod parentum s. R, continuarent BR), erat q. f. i. p. q. s. p. co(n)tinuaret maxi(m)e D(aui)d et alii de q(ua)r(um) s(cilicet) (? *with 3-shape abbreviation sign*) n (*with common abbreviation sign*) X(pistus) (*in originally blank space erat O^o, nascitur(us) in marg. scr. O^R*) O, max(im)e D(aui)d et a(li)i d(e) q(u)or(um) successi- o(n)e X(pistus) erat nascitur(us) *in marg. add. C^A*

et erit fecundus MANC, id est erit fecundus GHBRO

minimum *ante* ualet in arbore *om. R*

tempus suum scilicet ante *post* non defluit ante *om. BR* (*saut du même au même*)

[*lemma*] quod facit MANCGHBR (q(ue) f. B), q. facit uel fecerit C^AO

et honorabilis *ante* homo redditur *om. R*

[4]

*Textus (deest ANC)**(verse numbering)* IIII *MC^RGHO* (4 *O*), v *BR**Comm.*Non sic impii ante Docuit add. O*[The two following entries form one passage]*bonitas morum *MNCGHO*, b. eorum *A*, bonitas *BR*prodest hiis cui inest *MANCHO*, p. h. quibus i. *GR*, p. h. inest *B* (inest preceded by a blank space)

[5]

*Textus (deest ANC)*omnes impii *MGHBR*, impii *O + He + Ga**Comm.**[The two following entries form one passage]*Propterea ante Posito add. Oexemplo de impio *MC^RGHBRO*, e. d. ip(s)o *AN**[lemma]* omnes impii *MANCGHBR*, impii omnes *O**[The three following entries form one passage]*unde quia *MGHO*, unde dicitur quod *ANC*, unde et *BR*pater quodammodo uiuit in filio suo *MANCGO* (sed non *pro suo M*, s. *om. C*, pure *post pater in marg. add. O^R*), p. q. u. in filio sibi simili *HBR* (*simili om. R*)ideo qui filios generant sibi succedentes dicuntur quodammodo resurgere in filiis *MANCGHO* (ideo [...] dicuntur *in marg. scr. C^A*), i. q. f. g. s. s. communiter quodammodo resurgere dicuntur in filios *BR* (*sibi g. transp. R*)*[The two following entries form one passage]*significat quod ex diuino iudicio *post* in iudicio dei *om. BR*

non suscitabuntur in filiis *MANCGO*, n. suscitabunt in filiis *BR*, n. suscitabunt filiis *H*

si obicias *MANCGHBR*, si opponatur *O*

multi boni *MANCGO*, iusti boni *HBR*

precipue successio prolis *MANCGHO*, prior ne s. p. *BR*

rari inueniuntur *MANCG*, raro i. *H^pC^RO*, rari inueniunt *H*, †fari† inueniunt *BR*

et quamuis hoc in aliquibus contigerit propter aliquam causam specialem sicut mali e contrario scilicet raro habuerunt longam successionem *post* Rari inueniuntur boni qui non habuerint longam successionem *om. MANC* (*saut du même au même*), et quamuis hoc in a. c. p. a. causam specialem sicut *ante* mali e contrario s. r. h. longam successionem *om. OC^A* (scilicet *om. C^A*, id est *pro* scilicet *O*)

ut †aparteat† dilacionem *MAN*, ut oporteat d. *GHBRC^RO*

releuari *MGHO*, eleuari *BR*, reuelari *ANC*, uel releuari *sup. lin. scr. C^A*

[6]

Textus (*deest ANC*)

dominus *om. R*, *bis scr. O*

Comm.

Quoniam nouit ante Docuit *add. O*

causam [...] meritorum eius *post* hic dat eius *om. N* (*saut du même au même*)

eius *post* meritorum *om. O*

ideo iustus erit sicut lignum fructiferum *MANCG* (er(i)t *N*), ideo i. erat s. l. f. *HBR*, ideo i. est s. l. f. *O*

(*introduces the quotation from Ex 2:25 Et cognouit eos*)¹ Ex. II *MANCGO* (exo. *O*, 2 *NO*), ex *HB* (*blank space left H*), exeo *R*

¹ Nota bene, the late medieval received text (*Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria*) has “liberavit”, while “cognouit” is the reading found, for instance in the twelfth-century copy, Montecassino, Archivio dell’Abbazia, Casin. 264, and also included into the modern critical edition: *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed.

[The two following entries form one passage]

[lemma] et iter *MGHBRO*, et inter *ANC* (i(n)t(er) *C*)

id est progressus uite impiorum peribit sine fructu tanquam *usque hic codd.* (id est p. u. *om. R*, uite *deest MANC*, et iter ante impiorum *add. B*, sine *om. H sup. lin. scr. H^R*) non approbata sed reprobata a deo *MGH*, non approbatam s. reprobata *R*, non approbatum (-tum *rewritten*) set reprobatum (-tum *rewritten*) a deo *C*, n. apropiatam s. reprobata a deo *B*, non approbatass(et) (*sic*) reprobatum a deo *O*, non approbata a deo *AN*

Psalm 2

[1]

Textus (*deest ANC*)

(*verse numbering*) I VII *MG*, VII *B*, I *in marg. scr. R²*, *desunt HOC^B*

turbabuntur *MGHBC^BO^R*, turbatur *O*, fremuerunt *R + Ga*

Comm.

Quare *ante* *Supra* ostendit *add. O*

ad alios docendum *MANCGH*, ad docendum *BR*, ad alios *O*

ad hoc *ante* auctoritatem *om. GR*

conspiracionem *ante* ipsam derisibilem ostendit *om. A*

[lemma] dirumpamus *MGHBRO* (disru- *RO*), d. vincula *ANC*

priuatarum *pro* principum *post* primo ponit conspiracionem popularium secundo *O* (s. *abbreviated as J*(eronim)o)

sic et a beatitudine terminetur *MAN*, sic et in beatitudine t. *GHBROC^R* (et sic *transp. H*)

R. WEBER, R. GRYSON, 5th edn., Stuttgart, 2007, consulted at: <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/biblia-sacra-vulgata/lesen-im-bibeltext/bibel/text/lesen/stelle/2/20001/29999/ch/75f72239210745817occadoad7a44192/> (last accessed 8 April 2023).

[*lemma Ps 2:12*] sperent *MAN*, sperant *CGHBR*, confidunt *O + Ga*

quod secundum *ante* veram et antiquam litteram *om. H*

hoc soluat [...] cuius tamen *post* Quomodo tamen *om. BR (saut du même au même)*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Ponit ergo primo Dauid *MANCGHO*, Primo ergo ponit Dauid *transp. BR*

conspiracionem gencium *MANCGHO*, aspiracionem g. *BR (asprrationem sic B)*

in circuitu *post* licet omnes gentes *om. R*

[*refers to gentes*] de numero eorum que expellende erant *MANCGO*, de n. earum que expellende e. *HBR (expellendo R)*

frustra machinabunt *MANC*, f. machinabuntur *GHBRO*

[2]

Comm.

Consurge (-*(n)s O²*) [*sic*] *ante* Posita *add. O*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

Astiterunt reges terre et principes tractabunt una id est simul aduersus dominum scilicet cuius auctoritate unctus sum in regem et aduersus christum eius me scilicet qui sum christus id est unctus *MANCGHO* (aduersu(m) d. N, aduersus deum C), Astiterunt r. t. et p. t. u. id est simul aduersus dominum scilicet christum eius me scilicet qui sunt (*sic*) sicut christus id est unctus *BR* (Israel *pro* simul *B*; cuius auctoritate unctus sum in regem *transp. post* pronunciando, *see the following entry*)

Mos prophetarum et in pronunciando uisiones *MANC*, m. p. est in p. u. *GHO*, Mos p. est in pronunciando in cuius auctoritate unctus sum in regem uisiones *BR*

conspiracionem Herodis principum sacerdotum et Iudeorum et Piliati et quorundam gentilium contra dominum *MANC* (Pilati *C*, quorum *ANC*, quorundam *C^R*), c. H. p. s. et Iudeorum Piliati et q. g. c. d. *GHBR* (Pilati *HBR*), c. Herodis Pilati principum sacerdotum et Iudeorum et quorumda<m> gentilium c. d. *O*

[3]

*Comm.*Disrumpamus ante Docuit add. O

[4]

*Comm.*Habitator celi ante Iam conspiracionem add. Oa se *post* excutere *om.* G, quod *pro* a R[*lemma, Hebreus*] sedens in celo ridebit $M^R C^R GHBRO$, se d(eu)s in c. r. M, sedens deus in celo ridebit *ANC*[*The two following entries form one passage*]sanna est fruncacio naris *MACGHO* (frucacio *C?*), s. e. f(r)uncac(i)o-(ne)m n. *N*, sania e. fuicat(i)o (?) n. C^R , sannare e. fruit(us) n. *BR*seu distorsio oris *MANCGHBR* (o. *sup. lin. scr. H'*, †discorsio† *H'BR*), seu distorsio OC^R

[5]

*Textus and commentary initially omitted in B, restored in the margin by B'**Comm.*Tunc loquetur ante Ostendit add. OOstendit iam quomodo *MANGHO*, O. i. deus q. $B'R$ (deus *anticipates d. from the following period, the same word also appears in the part of this commentary copied alongside verse 6, see below*), Docuit q. *C*in furore suo conturbabit eos sicut solet homo ex furore sue ire *MANC* (et *pro ex A*), in f. s. c. e. id est sic conturbabit eos sicut s. h. e. f. s. i. $GHB'RC^A O$ (suo *om.* O, id est *om.* R, et *pro* id est O, sic (con)t(ur)<babit> B' , sic t(ra)ctabit R, sic turbabit C^A , ire sue *transp.* $B'R$, ire *om.* H)

[6. Ego autem [...] montem sanctum meum]

*Textus (deest ANC)*montem sanctum meum *MGHO* + *He* ($F^2 \Theta^{HGK_1} A^L$) + *Eadwine* 7^r + *Paris* 7^r , m. s. eius *BR* + *He* ($CBI\Theta^K$ *ut vid.*) + *Ga* + *Bosham* 12^{vb}

Comm.

Ego autem ante Postquam induxit *add. O*

Postquam induxit [...] regem constituit *om. BR* (replaced by the beginning of the *comm. on v. 5* Ostendit iam deus [...] regem constituit)

[The two following entries form one passage]

qua potencia *MANCGO* (q. po(tencia) *NO*, quia p. *C*), qua potestate *HBR*

hoc facit *MAN*, hoc fecit *GHBRC^RO*

[lemma] montem meum *MAN*, m. sanctum meum *GHB^RRC^RO* (eius pro meum *BRC^R*)

[The two following entries form one passage]

Sion erat arx Jerusalem *MANCGHBR* (with spelling variants), et ipse templum digeratur (d. *del. and replaced by* dicebatur in *marg. O²*) Syon mons sanctus qui (in originally blank space erat *scr. O²*) in Ierusalem *O*, et propter templum dicebatur Syon mons sanctus in *marg. scr. C^B*

quam cepit Dauid expulsis Ieburseis *MANC*, q. c. *D. e.* Ieburseis *M^RGHBRO* (inceptit *R*)

[The two following entries form one passage]

regiam dignitatem contraxit *MANCGHO*, r. d. extraxit *BR*

propter quod *MANCGO*, quod *H*, p(rim)o quod *BR*

[7. Narrabo dei preceptum [...] genui te]

Textus (deest *ANC*)

preceptum *MGC^RO*, preceptis *H*, precepta *BR*

Comm.

Narrabo ante Dixit iam *add. O*

[lemma] preceptum *MANCGHO*, precepta *BR*

quando uero significat ad habet tres punctos suppositos *post* tantum *II* punctos suppositos *om. A* (*saut du même au même*), suppositos quando [...] tres punctos suppositos *post* tantum duos punctos *om. R* (*saut du même au même*)

tu ego hodie [...] eternitatis *post* filius meus es *om.* *A*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

ad superos [...] recte dies *post* tetra nocte *om.* *BR*

dicitur *MANCGHO*, educitis *BR*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

et in eodem sermone supra exponens hanc eandem (serueri *pro* sermone *ANC?* *corr.* in sermone *C^R*) *post* reddidit et salutem *om.* *BR* (*the omitted phrase is replaced by* *reu(er)andem B*, *reu(er)enda(m) R*)

auctoritatem *MANCGO*, auctoritatem psalmi *HBR*

[8]

Comm.

Postula a me *ante* Ostendit iam *add.* *O*

Ostendit iam sibi filius *MANC* (*O. i. scr. C^A*), *O. i. filius sibi transp. GHBRO*

quod in eundem sensum redit *MANCGO* (eiusdem *s. O*), *q. i. e. s. r. similiter (?) B*, *q. i. e. s. r. os^t mlt^r R*, quod (*blank space*) eundem *q(uam) (blank space) H*

[9]

Comm.

Pasce (*corr. in Pasces O²*) eos *ante* Posita *add.* *O*

pastores appellantur *MANCHBRO*, *p. uocantur G*

ab illo *MANC*, ab illo loco *GHBRC^RO* (*the expression introduces the lemma narrabo dei preceptum [tibi pro dei O]*)

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

sequuntur sic *MNCGBRO* (*with spelling variants, sic om. C*), sciuntur *s. H*, sequitur *s. A*

[*lemma*] narrabo *MANCGRO*, narrando *HB*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

ego hodie genui te id est constitui te regem *MANC^RGO* (e(st) *pro* ego *ANC²*, id est *om. ANC*, et *ante* regem *add. O*), e. h. g. te id est constituendo te regem *HBR*

et feci ac si genuissem te *MANCGO* (et *om. O*, *cf. previous entry*, fesi *pro* feci *A*), seu ac genuissem te *H*, propterea ac si tenuissem† te *BR* (enussem *R*)

de terminis terre promisse [...] *XXIII* quia *post* similiter non potest dici quod loquitur *om. R*

[10]

Comm.

Nunc ergo *ante* Postquam docuit *add. O*

(*the expression refers to alios earlier in the same period*) illas instruit et *MANC*, illos i. e. *GHBRC^RO* (instruit et *om. HBR*)

[11]

Comm.

Seruite *ante* Post adhortacionem *add. O*

uersu *XVIII* post principium ibi nequando *codd.* (post principium *desunt HBR*)

ad deum *post* se debent habere *om. AR* (debet *A*)

[*following the lemma seruite domino:*] scilicet in oblacionibus et aliis cerimoniis *MCGH*, s. in o. et a. †amoniis† *A*, s. in o. et a. †amon⁹† *N*, s. in o. et a. seruiciis *BR* (†oblectac(i)o(n)ib(us)† *R*), s. in o. et a. c(eri)monialibus uel cerimoniis *O*, s. in o. et a. cerimoniis et cerimonialibus *C^A*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

a peccato sicut frenum retrahit *post* qui retrahit *om. MBR* (*saut du même au même, scr. in marg. M^t*)

equum (*sic*) a precipicio *M^RC^R*, e. a precipucio *MGH*, e. a precipuo *AN*, percipuend. *B*, precipue a malo *R*, frenum [retrahit] a precipucio *O*

id est uoluntarie et hilariter seruite *post et exultate ei om. O*

[12. Adorate pure [...] sperant in eo]

Textus (deest ANC)

uia iusta *MGO* + *O-lm* + *Ga*, uia *HBR* + *MANCGHBR-lm* + *He* + *Eadwine* 7^v + *Paris* 7^v + *Bosham* 13^{va}

in breui ira *M* + *Ga*, post paululum furor *GHBRO* (furor *om. BR*) + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Eadwine* 7^v + *Paris* 7^v + *Bosham* 13^{va-b}

furor [...] sperant in eo *om. BR*

*Comm.*Adorate ante Tercio *add. O*

puritas ad effectiorem mentis *MANC?*, p. ad affectionem m. *GBR*, p. ad (*blank space*) mentis *H*, p. ad affectum m. *C^RO*

Rufinum *post* libro I contra *om. A*

nescu (*uel* nestu) *M²ANC?*, neschu *GC^R*, neschii *O*, nophia *BR*, *om. (blank space) MH²*

huius doctrine utilitatem *MGHC^RO*, h. d. uni(ta)te(m) *AN*, h. d. uoluntatem *BR*

quasi diceret expedit [...] ne forte *post* unde dicit ne forte *om. HBR (saut du même au même)*

deo uindicante *MNCG*, d. i(n) vindicante *A*, d. vindicante(m) *BR*, d. mendicante *H* d. iudicante *O*

immo *post* non pereunt *om. G*

sunt illi qui seruiunt ei *MANC* (qui *om. ANC sup. lin. scr. C^R*), s. i. qui seruiuerunt ei *GHBRC^RO* (ei *om. HBR*)

et sic in beatitudine terminatur psalmus qui a beatitudine incipit *MANC* (terminatur [...] beatitudine *om. ANC per homoioteleuton, sup. lin. scr. C^A*), et sic in b. t. p. qui a b. incepit *GHBRO* (et sic [...] psalmus *om. H*, scilicet *post* sic *add. R*)

² The reading occurs in a citation from Jerome's *Apologia contra Rufinum*, I, 19, where the Latin transliteration of the Hebrew word reads "nescu", see S. Hieronymi presbyteri, *Contra Rufinum*, ed. by P. LARDET, Turnhout, 1982 (CCSL 79), p. 19, which also provides variants ("nescu", "nescii", "nascu").

Psalm 3

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] consurgunt *MGHC^BO + He + Eadwine 8^r + Paris 8^r + Bosham 13^{vb}*,
insurgunt *BR + Ga*

Comm.

[2] Domine quare ante Psalmus iste *add. O*

[2] [*lemma*] consurgunt *MANCGHBO*, surgunt *R*

Psalm 4

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] exaudiuit *MG + He (Ω^M) + Ga*, exaudi *HBRC^BO* (ex- probably lost to
trimming C^B) + lemma ubique + He ed. + Eadwine 9^r + Paris 9^r, cf. ex-
audiet Bosham 15^{rb}

Comm.

[2] Inuocantem ante hortatur *add. O*

[2] tercio apud Hebreos quarto apud nos *post* in hoc psalmo *om. BR*

Psalm 5

Comm.

[2] Verba mea ante In hoc psalmo *add. O*

Psalm 6

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus hic tertius est in quo ponitur lamenescha *codd.* (quar-
tus *pro* tertius *R*, primo *pro* q. *H*)

Psalm 7

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] salua me ab *MGH^r + He + Eadwine 13^r + Paris 13^r*, salua me ex
BRC^BO, saluum me fac *H + Ga + Bosham 22^{vb}*

[18] secundum iusticiam *MGHO*, p(ro) iustia *B*, p(er) iusti(ci)a *R*

Comm.

[titulus] sigaon *MGHBRO*, sagaon *ANC*, uel si *sup. lin. scr. C^R*

[2] [*lemma*] salua me ab *MANCGHB*, salua me ex *R*, salua me *O*

[18] id est ad honorem nominis *post cantabo nomini om. O*

Psalm 8

Comm.

[2] periodalis *MCGHO*, †periodolist† *A*, †periodolist† *N*, pro ydolis *BR*

Psalm 10

Textus (deest ANC)

[8] uidebit *MGHO*, vidit *BR + Ga*

Comm.

[2] in psalmo IX redarguit Daud *MANC?GHR* (9 *N*), in p. x r. D. *OC^R*

Psalm 11

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] inminuti sunt fideles *GO*, inmuniti sunt f. *H*, inimici fideles *MBR*

Comm.

[9] lauare laterem *MANCGHO*, leuare l. *BR* (lat<er>em *R*)

Psalm 12

Textus (deest ANC)

[6] (*versus om. O*) qui bona reddidit mihi *M*, q. reddidit m. *GHR + lemma ubique, cf. quia reddidit mihi He + Bosham 37^{vb} (qui[a]), cf. qui reddidit michi bona Eadwine 21^v + Paris 21^r, cf. qui bona tribuit mihi Ga*

Comm.

[6] Judeus qui retribuit super me *MANCG*, Judeus qui r. mihi s. m. *HBR*

comm. on verse 6 om. O

Psalm 13*Textus (deest ANC)*[7] q(uonia)m *pro* quis BR (quis *lemma ubique*)*Comm.*[1] prophetice *post* describitur *om.* HBR (describit H, discribitur B)**Psalm 14***Textus (deest ANC)*[5] munera aduersum innoxium MGH, munera super aduersum et noxium BR, munera super innoxium O, cf. munera super innocentes Ga ed. (innocentem Ga t.r. + Ga OP 71^{vb})[5] non accepit *om.* O*Comm.*[5] [*lemma*] et munera aduersum innoxium MANCGHO (aduersum H), et munera ad noxium BR[5] non mouebitur scilicet de terra sua per captiuitatem in eternum MANCGHBR, non mouebitur in eternum scilicet de t. s. p. c. *transp.* O**Psalm 15***Textus (deest ANC)*[10] ostendis MGHO + *lemma ubique* + He ($F^*\Sigma^T$ *BAKLO) + Eadwine 25^r + Paris 25^r, cf. ostendes He ed., ostendisti BR + He (ΘA^L) + Bosham 42^{rb}*Comm.*[titulus] *machtam* MAN, *matham* C, m. uel *nichtam* C^A, *nichtam* GHBRO**Psalm 16***Textus (deest ANC)*

[1] deprecacionem meam MGHO, deprecacionem BR

[1] percipe *om.* *R*

[1] oracionem meam *MGO*, oracionem *HBR*

[1] semper *post* mendacii *add.* *MGBO*

Psalm 17

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[*titulus*] uictori seruo domini *MC^AGHBR*, uictori domini *O*

Psalm 18

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[2] man(us) *MB + He*, manuum *GHRO* (manuu(m) *GHO*, ma(nu)u(m) *R*) + *Ga*

[15] sint *MGO*, sicut *HBR*

Psalm 19

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[10] exaudiet *MGHBR + lemma ubique*, exaudi *O + Ga*

[10] inuocauerimus *MGHBR + lemma ubique*, i. te *O + Ga*

Psalm 20

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[14] in fortitudine tua *MGBRO*, in virtute tua fortitudine tua *H*, *cf.* in virtute tua *Ga*

[14] fortitudines tuas *M^RHBR + lemma ubique + He + Eadwine 36^r + Paris 36^r + Bosham 58^{ra}*, confortitudines tuas *MGO*

Psalm 21

Comm.

[2] prophetiam *MANCGHO*, presenciam *BR*

[32] scilicet iuste [...] iusticiam dominus *post* quas fecit dominus *om.* *R* (*saut du même au même*)

[32] oppressoribus *MGHBO*, oppressionibus *ANC* (*entire passage missing in R, see above*)

Psalm 23

Textus (*deest ANC*)

v. 10 om. O

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus hic XXI *MANCGO*, T. h. XIX *HBR*

[10] methaphorice portas uocat *MANCGHO* (portat *O*), m. portas *B*, m. portas uocamus *R*

[10. *The two following entries form one passage*]

uult *ante* Rabyrosse *om. H*

quod hoc quod hic dictum est transsumptiue dictum sit *MAGHBRO* (transitiue *pro* transsumptiue *O*), quod hoc d. e. t. d. sit *N*, quod hoc quod dictum sit t. d. sit *C* (t(ra)nssu(m)p(ti)ue *corr. in* t(ra)nssitiue *C^R*)

Psalm 24

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[22] Isr(ae)lem *MH*, Israelem *G*, Israele(m) *O*, Ierusalem *B*, I(e)r(usa)-l(e)m *R*

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus iste XXII *MANCGO* (.22. *NO*), T. i. XX *HBR*

[1] diuina benignitas *MANCGHBR*, benignitas dei *O*

Psalm 25

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[1] deficiam *MGHO*, deficiens *BR*

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus iste XXIII *MANCGO* (.23. *NO*), T. i. XXI *BR*, T. i. XX *H*

Psalm 26

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[1] Dominus lux mea *MGHBR*, Domine lux m. *O*, Dominus illuminatio mea *C^B + Ga*

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus iste *xxiiii MANCGO* (.24. *NO*), T. i. *xxii BR*, T. i. *xx H*

Psalm 27

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus iste *xxv MANCGO* (.25. *NO*), T. i. *xxiii B*, T. est *xxiii R*, T. *xxii H*

Psalm 28

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus iste *xxvi* est in quo ponitur *mizemor MANC* (.26. *ANC?*), T. i. *xvi e. i. q. p. m. GOC^R* (.16. *C^R*), T. i. *xv e. i. q. p. m. HBR* (*twenty-six is the total number of psalms provided with the title so far, xvi is a good reading*)

[1] de oracione magorum *pro* de adoracione m. *G*

Psalm 29

Comm.

[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]

Psalmus *xxviii* quo ad Hebreos quo ad nos *xxix MANCGHBR* (28 [...] 29 *ANC*), P. 28. secundum hebeeb' (*sic*) secundum nos 29. *O*

continet *MANCGO*, qui editus est in persona populi continet *HBR*

Psalm 30

Comm.

[*titulus*] *xxviii MANC* (.28. *ANC*), *xvi GHBR* (*MANC* make confusion between the total number of titles and the number of those beginning with *lamenescha*)

[2] quem Dauid ex persona populi liberati a seruitute Philistinorum per ipsum in graciaram accionem creditur decantasse *MANCGO* (acc(i)o(n)e *CO*, Phy- *G*), q. D. ex p. p. l. a s. Ph. p. i. in graciaram accionem decantasse dicitur *HBR* (Phy- *R*, per *om. BR*, acc(i)one *BR*)

Psalm 32

Textus (deest ANC)

[22] fiat *MO* + *He (AKI)* + *Ga*, sit *GHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.*

Psalm 33

Textus (deest ANC)

[23] seruorum *MO* + *He (A^{L*})*, s. suorum *GHBR* + *He ed.*

Comm.

[2] Psalmus xxxi apud Hebreos apud nos xxxiii secundus est qui scribitur secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti *MANCGH* (secundum H. C, nos *om. MA*, litterarum ordinem alphabeti *transp. C*), P. xxxi a. H. a. n. xxxiii secundum ordinem litterarum alphabeti *BR*, P. 31 a. H. 33 a. n. s. e. qui secundum ordinem alphabeti scribitur *O*

Psalm 34

Textus (deest ANC)

[28] mea *ante* meditabitur *om. HBRO* (*adest in lemmate*)

[28] tuam *post* laudem *om. BR* (*adest in lemmate*)

Comm.

[27] magnificetur id est magnus habeatur *MANCHO* (dominus post magnificetur *add. C*, magnu(m) *H*, magnus *om. A*), magnificetur id est magnus (*blank space of about ten characters*) habeatur *G*, magnificetur id est magnus et honorabilis habeatur *BR*

Psalm 35

Comm.

[2] agit de iniquitate pharaonis et bonitate dei erga homines *MANCGO*, agit de i. ph. et b. dei erga Hebreos *BR* (ut *pro et R*), a. de i. ph. b. d. erga *followed by blank space H*

Psalm 36*Comm.*[1] *tercius est ante qui scribitur om. C*[40] *id est in domino post sperauerunt in eo om. O***Psalm 37***Comm.*[23] *id est post domine salutis mee om. MANC***Psalm 38***Textus (deest ANC)*[2] *ut non peccem M (ut non = Ga) + lemma ubique, ne peccem GHBRO + He*[2] *mea post lingua om. H*[14] *uadam om. HB**Comm.*[2. *The four following entries form one passage*]*uite docet esse post ex consideratione breuitatis et fragilitatis humane om. H**docet esse MACGO, decet e. N, s(et) e. B o(stendi)t e. B^rR**in deo solo MANCG, in deo H, in solo B, in solo deo RO**confidendum MANCGBRO, confidencium H*[14] *ad aliam post de vita ista transeam add. C***Psalm 39***Comm.*[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]*a persecucione ante filii sui Absalon om. A (adest Cossey 73^v)**in regnum post et restitutione om. H*

[18] ne moreris scilicet differendo restitutionem meam *MC²GHR* (differendo *C²*), ne moreris s. deferendo r. m. *ANC*

Psalm 40

Comm.

[2] Iuda *MANC*, Iuda proditore *GHR*

Psalm 41

Comm.

[Titulus. *The two following entries form one passage*]

Hic secundum Jeronimum incipit secundus liber psalterii. Titulus autem (a. *deest R*, habentem *pro a. HB*) hic XXI (.21. *N*, xxxi *C*, .31. *O*) est cuius primum uocabulum est (e. *om. C*) *codd.*

lamenescha *MCGHO*, lamenesca *BR*, lamascha *AN*

[12] et deo meo scilicet confitebor id est non solum confitebor ei tanquam domino sed etiam tanquam deo meo *codd.* (solum *om. MAN*, d(e)o *pro* domino *C*, etiam *om. C*)

Psalm 42

Comm.

[5] [*Judeus*] confitebor ei saluaciones uultus mei et deo meo *MANHR* (saluacionis *A*), c. ei salutaciones uultus mei et deo meo *GCO* (et deo meo *om. G*)

[5] in superioribus *MCHRO*, inferioribus *AN*

[5] in hebraico *MAN*, ubique in hebraico *CHRO* (hebreo *BR*)

Psalm 43

Comm.

[2] Psalmus iste apud Hebreos uidetur esse xli *MANCO* (.41. *NO*, u. e. *om. C*), P. i. a. H. u. e. xl *HR* (.40. *R*)³

³ The commentary on Ps. 42 does not provide numbering, while the commentary on Ps. 41 says that Pss. 41 and 42 seem to be one psalm, thus “xl” is a good reading.

[2] erudicio *post* in quo continetur *om.* *C*

[26] prius sicut *post* iterum sicut *om.* *CO* (*saut du même au même*)

[26] de re redempta *MANCGHBR*, de re recepta *O*

Psalm 44

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[2] dico opera *MO^R*, dico ego opera *GHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Eadwine 78^v* + *Paris 78^v* + *Bosham 118^{va}* + *Ga*

[18] predicabor *pro* recordabor *H*

Psalm 45

Textus-titulus (*deest AN*)

iuuentutibus *MGH^RRO*, iuuentibus *HBC*

Psalm 46

Comm.

[2] pro subiectione populorum vicinori facto populorum Israel *MAN*, pro subiectione populorum uicinorum facta populo Israel *GHBRCO* (Israeli *BR*)

[2] Daudid qui bellauit et subiecit *MANG* (scilicet *pro* et *N*), D. qui debellauit et s. *HBRCO*

Psalm 47

Comm.

[*titulus*] in quo ponitur *sir set primus* in quo ponitur *pro* quo habemus canticum *MHO* (super *ante* ponitur *sir add. H del. H^R*), in quo ponitur *sir set primus* in quo primo ponitur *pro* quo habemus canticum *GBR* (primo *in marg. scr. B'*, de quo h. *BR*), in quo ponitur *sir set primus* in quo ponitur (*blank space*) *pro* q. h. c. *C*, in quo ponitur *pro* q. h. c. *AN* (*saut du même au même*)

Cf. the commentary on Ps. 44 where all manuscripts but *CO* give the Hebrew number as 41.

[15] [*lemma*] quia ipse est deus noster *MANCO*, q. i. Christus e. d. n. *GHBR*

Psalm 48

Textus (deest ANC)

[21] homo in honore non commorabitur *MG* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 86^r* + *Paris 86^r*, homo cum honore n. c. *BR*, homo cum [in] honore n. c. *H*, homo cum in honore esset non intellexit *O* + *He* + *Reims 102^v* + *Bosham 127^{vb}* + *Ga in M* + *Ga t.r.* + *Ga OP 75^{ra}* (h. in honore cum e. n. i. *Ga ed.*)

[21] comparabit *M* + *He (A^LG)* + *Bosham 127^{vb}*, comparavit *GHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 86^r* + *Paris 86^r*, comparatus est *O* + *He (CBAKIΘ^{C2})* + *Reims 102^v* + *Ga*

Comm.

[21] numquid [...] redargui quasi diceret *post et silebitur* quasi diceret *om. MANCO (saut du même au même)*

[21] et nota quod *MA^RNGHBR*, et v(er)i quod *C^R*, et v(er)o quod *O*

[21] uocabulum enim hebreum *MANC?HBR*, u. e. hebraicum *GC^A*, u. e. hebreorum *O*

[21] ad tacta uel silencia *MAN*, ad tacta[(m)] uel silencia[(m)] *O*, ad tacta uel silencia *GHBRC^R*

Psalm 49

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Canticum Asaph *MGHBR*, C. A. legendus lect' ad euangelium Mathei de aduentu Christi proph. dicit et iudicio futuro increpacio Iudeorum *O* + *Reims 103^r* (legd' ad lct' ad e.) + *Eadwine 86^v* (legendus ad lect' ad e.) + *Paris 86^v* (legend' ad lectu(m) ad e.)

[1] ab ortu solis ad occasum eius *MG*, ab o. s. usque ad o. e. *HO* + *lemma ubique*, solis ab ortu usque ad o. e. *BR*

[23. *The two following entries form one passage*]

ostendam illi *MGHBR* + *Ga*, o. ei *O* + *He* + *Reims 104^r* + *Eadwine 88^r* + *Paris 88^r* + *Bosham 130^r*

salutare dei *MGHBR* + *He ed.* + *Ga* salutare meum *O* + *He* (*AKILO*) + *Reims 104^r* + *Eadwine 88^r* + *Paris 88^r* + *Bosham 130^r*, for the entire passage cf. ostendam salutare dei lemma ubique

Comm.

[1] ostendere *post* cuius intencio est *om.* *HBR*

[23. *The three following entries form one passage*]

[*Judeus*] ostendam illi salutare *MACO*, †no(n)dam† illi s. *N*, o. illi in s. dei *GB*, o. illi s. dei *R*, [ostendam] in s. dei *H*

Et est sensus qui loco sacrificii confitetur *MGHBR*, Et e. s. q. †loco-
sa† sacrificii c. *ANC*, Et e. s. q. loco †sasacrificiit c. *O*

laudando deum *transp.* *ANCO*

Psalm 50

Textus He (*MGHBRO*)

[*titulus*] Uictori canticum Dauid cum uenisset ad eum Nathan propheta quando intrauit ad Bersabee *MGHBR* (inquit *pro* intrauit *M ut videatur*), Uictori c. D. quando uenit ad eum *N*. p. q. i. ad Bethsabee legendus ad lect' Ysaie prophete et lect' Actus Apostolorum ubi Paulus eligitur. Vox Christi pro populo penitente et uox Pauli ad penitenciam *O* + *Eadwine 88^v* (Bethsabee) + *Paris 88^v* (Bethsabee) + *Reims 104^r* (Bethsabee)

[21] acceptabis *MGHBR* + lemma ubique + *Ga*, cf. accipies *He* (*R*), suscipies *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 105^r* + *Eadwine 90^r* + *Paris 90^r* + *Bosham 133^{ra}*

[21] tauros *MGH* + lemma ubique + *He* ($\Theta^k\Theta^c$ marg.) + *Eadwine 90^v* + *Paris 90^v*, uitulos *BRO* + *He ed.* + *Reims 105^r* + *Bosham 133^{ra}* + *Ga*

Textus Ga (*MAC*)

[4] laua me *M*, laua me domine *AC*

[9] asperges me ysopo *M*, a. m. domine y. *AC*

[14] principali *M*, spiritu principali *AC* (s. *in marg. scr.* *A^R*)

Comm.

[3] apud Hebreos XLVII *MGHBR* (.47. *R*), a. H. XLIX *ANCO* (.49. *NO*)

[3] penitenciam de peccato in Uriam *MANCGHBR*, p. de p. in vrinam *O*

[7] sub aliis uerbis [...] mater mea id est *post* et eandem sententiam *om.*
H

[7] fragilis sum in (*blank space*) mea *M*, f. sum in mea *ANO* (or(aci)-
 o(n)e *in marg. add. A²?*), f. sum in carne mea *C*, f. sum in natura mea
GHBR (in *om. R*)

[9. *The two following entries form one passage*]

sicut leprosus aspersus ysopo *MGHBR*, s. aspersus l. y. *transp. ANCO*
 (-s(us) *A²*, aspergus *N*)

ostenditur mundus a lepra sua sicut dicitur *MANCO* (*in originally
 blank space leuit. 14. add. M², the reference is to Lv. 14:6-7*), o. m. a lepra
 sua *GHBR*

[10] sicut quando audiuit a Nathan deus transtulit peccatum tuum
 non morieris I R(egum) *MANCO* (*blank space follows in M*), s. q. a. a
 N. dominus t. p. t. non morieris *GHBR* (*the quotation is from 2 Rg. 12:13*)

[14] [*lemma*] confirma in bono spiritu potenti *MANCHBR*, confirma
 me spiritu potenti *G* (*closer to textus*)

[14] *post* iuxta illud Prouer. *blank space M* (*the reference introduces the
 quotation from Prv. 21:1 cor regum in manu domini*)⁴

Psalm 51

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Uictori erudicio Dauid cum uenit Doeth Ydumeus et annun-
 ciauit Saul et dixit uenit Dauid in domum Achimelech *MGHBR* (cum
om. G, Yd[o]umenus *B*, Ahimelech *HBR*), Uictoria ab eruditur Dauid
 c. u. Doeth Idumeus et a. S. et dixit illi u. D. in domo Abimelech uox
 Christi ad Iudam traditorem *O* + *Eadwine 91^r* (erudito [...] Doeck [...] *domu(m)*);
 Iudam *deest* + *Paris 91^r* (erudito [...] Doeck [...] *domu(m)*);
 Iudam *deest* + *Reims 105^r* (erudit(ur) [...] Doeck)

[3] ad misericordiam dei *M* (dei *sup. lin. scr. M^r*), misericordia dei
HBRO, misericordia *G*

⁴ The reading “regum” is transmitted in all the manuscripts of the *Expositio*, while the *Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria* has “regis”.

Comm.

[3]⁵ potens [...] misericordia dei [...] tota die [...] et est sensus potens (petens *pro* potens *ANCO*) ad misericordiam tota die *codd.*

[11] misericordes homines *MGHBR*, homines *AN*, et homines *CO*

[11] expectare et sperare fauorem *MGH*, expectare et prosperare f. *BR*, expectare f. *ANCO*

Psalm 52

Textus (deest ANC)

[titulus] Uictori per chorum eruditi Dauid *MGHBR*, Uictori p. ch. e. D. ad euangelium Mathei legendus increpat Iudeos incredulos operibus negantes deum *O + Reims 106^r*

[1] in corde suo non est deus *MGHRO*, suo non deus *B*

[2] abhominabiles facti *MG*, a. facti sunt *M^eHBRO* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Ga*

[2] iniquitate *post* facti sunt *add.* *O + He (AK) + Reims 106^r + Eadwine 92^r + Paris 92^r*, cf. in iniquitate *He ed.* + *Bosham 135^{vb}*; *deest in lemmate ubique*

Comm.

[2] *post* ut dicitur Ysa. *blank space MG* (the reference introduces the quotation from *Is. 29:13*, in the form in which it occurs in *Mt. 15:8* and *Mc. 7:6* *populus hic labiis me honorat.*)

[2] *post* ut dicitur Jere *blank space M* (the reference introduces an imprecise quotation from *Ier. 6:13* a maiore usque ad minimum omnes auaricie student.⁶)

⁵ For the entire passage, see Chapter 2, p. 82, n. 79.

⁶ The passage in the *Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria* reads: “a minore quippe usque ad maiorem omnes auaritie student”.

Psalm 53*Textus (deest ANC)*

[*titulus*] Uictori in psalmis eruditi Daud cum uenissent Ziphei et dixissent ad Saul nonne Daud absconditus est apud nos *MGHBR* (Nichei *pro* Ziphei *G*), Uictori in carminibus intellectus Daud *O, sic inc. Reims 106^v; cf. Ga, Ps. 54*

[9] uidit *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (ΘA^L) + *Eadwine 93^v* + *Paris 93^v*, dispexit *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 106^v*, *cf. dispexit Ga and certain mss. of He* + *Bosham 137^{rb}*

Psalm 54*Textus (deest ANC)*

[*titulus*] Uictori in psalmis eruditi Daud *MGHBR* (Uicto<ri> [...] erudita *H*, Dauit *B*), Uictori intellectus in carminibus Daud *O, sic inc. Reims 107^r*, In finem in carminibus intellectus David *Ga ed.*, In finem in carminibus vel hymnis i. D. *Ga t.r.*

[24] deduces *MGR*, deus deduces *HBO* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 96^r* + *Paris 96^r* + *Bosham 140^{va}*

[24] dolosi *MGBRO*, dolosum si *H*

[24] dimidiabunt *MGHRO*, dominabunt *B*

Comm.

[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]

Psalmus [...] continet *MANCGBRO*, Psalmus [...] qui timet (?) *H*

planctum *MN^RGHR*, plantum *B*, p(er) laudem *N?*, p(er) †lauctum† *ACO*

[14] quia duce Jonatha et consilio eius egit Daud *MANCO* (*post* eius *blank space in M*), q. d. Jonatha et c. eius multa egit D. *GHBR*

[24] et ego fiduciam [...] o deus *post* naturalem dispositionem *om. R*

Psalm 55*Textus (deest ANC)*

[*titulus*] Uictori pro columba muta eo quod procul abierit Dauid humilis et simplex quando tenuerunt eum Palestini in Geth *MGHBR* (Palesteim *B*, Philistei *R*), Uictori pro c. m. longitudinum *C^B*, Uictori pro c. m. longitudine Dauid *O*, *sic inc. Reims 108^r* (longitudine(m)?)

[13] Quia liberasti animam meam a morte *MGHBR* (Qui *uel* Q<uo-
nia>m *pro* Quia *H*) + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.* (de morte) + *Eadwine 98^r*
(de m.) + *Paris 98^r* (de m.) + *Bosham 142^r* (de m.), Quia eripuisti animam
meam de morte *O* (eripuisti *He (AK)*) + *Reims 109^r* + *Ga* (Quoniam)

[13] in luce *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 98^r* + *Paris 98^r*, in lumine *O* + *He (AKO)* + *Reims 109^r* + *Bosham 142^v* + *Ga*

Comm.

[2] Psalmus iste LII apud Hebreos *MANCO*, P. apud Hebreos LII
GHR

[10. *The two following entries form one passage*]

hic docet ad inuocacionem eius *MANCO*, h. d. quomodo ad inuoca-
cionem e. *GHR* (eiusdem *BR*)

deus hostes eius fugas *MANCO* (*followed by short blank space in M*),
d. h. e. fugat *GHR* (d. *deest BR*)

[13] prosperitate [...] lux enim *ante* prosperitatem et consolacionem *om.*
R (*saut du même au même/homoioarchon*)

[13] per prosperitatem *MANC?*, pro prosperitatem *O*, prosperitatem
GHR^C

[13] Hester VIII *MANGO*, histor^s VIII *C*, Hester *HBR* (*the reference in-
troduces the quotation from Est. 8:16, which reads everywhere: Iudeis noua
lux oriri uisa est, the verb est being omitted in HBR*)⁷

⁷ In the late medieval received text of the *Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria* the pas-
sage reads: “Iudeis autem nova lex oriri uisa est”. The reading “lux” is the one
provided in the modern critical edition: *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed.
R. WEBER, R. GRYSO, 5th edn., Stuttgart, 2007, consulted at: [https://www.
bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/biblia-sacra-vulgata/lesen-im-bibeltext/bibel/
text/lesen/stelle/17/80001/89999/ch/557c5e641dcd5544a006cd913a857c01/](https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/biblia-sacra-vulgata/lesen-im-bibeltext/bibel/text/lesen/stelle/17/80001/89999/ch/557c5e641dcd5544a006cd913a857c01/) (last
accessed 8 April 2023).

[*Christological exposition of the psalm, distinguished as a separate section, inc.:*]

Nota quod *MANCGO* (in all but *O* distinguished by a linea and initial; *O* associates the section with the commentary of the title of Ps. 56), quod *H* (preceded by blank space), et nota q. *H^R*, enim orta quod *B*, orta est quod *R*

[13. *The two following entries form one passage*]

[*lemma*] ut ambulem coram deo *MANCGO*, ambulabo coram eo *HBR*
id est in presencia dei *MANCGO*, i.e. presencia *HBR*

Psalm 56

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[*titulus*] Pro uictoria ut non disperdas Dauid humilem et simplicem quando fugit a facie Saul in spelunca *MGHBR* (Dauid] deo *G*, two undecipherable letters *B*, deest *R*, facie *om. M*, speluncam *HBR*), Uictori ne disperdas Dauid *O*, sic inc. *Reims 109^f*

Comm.

[12. *The three following entries form one passage*]

Postquam in laude dei iocunditatem ostendit *MANCO*, P. i. l. d. suam iocunditatem o. *GHR*

hic opcionem *MGBR* (opc(i)o(ne)m *MGB*, opc(i)o(n)e(m) *R*), optionem *ANCO* (opc(i)o(nem) *AN*, opc(i)o(ne)m *C*), hic optacionem *H* dileccionis dei repetit *MANCO*, dilatacionis glorie dei r. *GH*, dilacionis glorie dei r. *BR*

Psalm 57

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[*titulus*] Uictori ut non disperdas Dauid humilem et simplicem *MGHBR*, Uictori ne disperdas Dauid *O*, sic inc. *Reims 109^o*

Comm.

[*titulus*] uocabulum *post* cuius primum *om. MANO*

[12] ponitur Dauid *MANCO* (followed by blank space in *M*), ponitur Dauid in titulo *GHBR*

[12. The three following entries form one passage]

et quia in titulo additur mittam/mictam *MGH* (et *om. H*), et q. i. t. a. mutam *ANCO*, q. i. t. a. uictam *BR*

quod proprie interp(retatur) signum *M*, quod proprie interpretatur signum *GHBR*, q. p. interponitur signum *ANCO* (p(ro)pe *C*, interpo(nitur) *AN*)

apparet quod ab hostibus Dauid h' conueniebant in aliorum quibus conueniebant secundum intencionem primam *MANCO* (ad *pro* Dauid *A*, conueniebat *bis scr. C*, quibus *om. O*), apparet quod hostibus Dauid h' conueniebant in signum aliorum quibus c. s. i. p. *G*, apparet quod hostibus Dauid h' conueniebant in signum alterius cui c. s. i. p. *HBR* (conueniebā et *H*, primam i. *transp. R*)

Psalm 58

Textus

[*titulus*] Uictori ut non desperdas Dauid humilem et simplicem quando misit Saul ad custodiendam domum eius ut interficeret eum *MGHBR* (Saul m. *transp. BR*), Uictori ne desperdas Dauid *O, sic inc. Reims 110^v*

Comm.

[18] in hebreo fortitudo mea ad te cantabo quia deus exaltacio mea *MANGO*, in h. f. m. ad te cantabo et deus e. m. *H*, in h. f. m. ad te cantabo o deus e. m. *BR*, in h. f. m. adclamabo quia deus e. m. *C*

[18] fauens mecum misericorditer *MANHO* (misericorditur *H*), faciens mecum misericorditer *GBRC*

Psalm 59

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[*titulus*]

uictori pro liliis testimonium *MHB^RR* (p(ro)liis t. *B*) + *He ed.* + *Bosham 148^{rb}*, u. pro l. testimonii *G*, u. pro filii testi *O, cf.* uictori pro filiis testi-

monium + *He* (F) + *Eadwine* 103^v + *Paris* 103^v (testi|moniu(m)) + *Reims* 111^v (testi|moniu(m))

humilis [...] milia *om.* O

humilis perfecti *M*, h. et perfecti *HBR* + *He* ed. + *Eadwine* 103^v + *Paris* 103^v + *Bosham* 148^{rb}, humilis uel simplicis perfecti *G*, cf. h. et simplicis *lemma ubique* + *He* (fm), h. simplicis *He* (Θ^K)

et Syrie Soba *MBR* (Sirie *BR*), et Sirie Solia *H*, et aduersus Siriam Solias *G*

Edom *MGR*, ei deo *B*, *om.* *H*

Salinarum *MG*, siluarum *BR*, siluiarum *H*

xii milia *om.* *BR*

[14] aduersantes nobis *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (Θ^K) + *Eadwine* 104^v + *Paris* 104^v, tribulantes nos O + *He* ed. + *Reims* 112^v + *Bosham* 150^{ra} + *Ga*

Comm.

[3] sub Saule *MANCGHBR*, s. laude O

[3] dei adiutorio *MA'GHBR*, d. ad uictoria *NCO*

Psalm 60

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[*titulus*] Uictori in psalmis Dauid *MGHBR*, Uictori in psalmis Dauid uox Pauli apostoli de Christo dicit O + *Eadwine* 105^r + *Paris* 105^r + *Reims* 112^v

[2] laudacionem *MGHO* + *He* + *Bosham* 150^{rb}, oracionem *BR* sed laudacionem *BR-lm*

Psalm 61

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[*titulus*] Uictori pro Yduchim canticum Dauid *M*, U. pro Idutim c. D. *G*, U. pro Iditim c. D. *HBR*, U. pro Idicum psalmus D. uox ecclesie O + *Eadwine* 106^r (Iditu^r) + *Paris* 106^r (Idithun) + *Reims* 113^r (Idithun)

[3] superator meus *MGH* (*blank space between s. and m. H*), susceptor m. *G^RR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (*Θ^K marg.*) + *Eadwine 106^r* + *Paris 106^r* + *Ga*, †*supercitia*† m. *B*, fortitudo mea *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 113^r* + *Bosham 15^{va}*

[3] *commouebor MGHRO*, *commouebitur B*

Comm.

[*titulus*] *titulus MANGO*, *titulus hic HBR*, *titulus iste C*

[13] *confidentes non in te sed in diuicias MA?NO*, c. n. i. t. s. in *diuicias C*, c. n. i. t. s. i. *diuiciis GHBR^AC^R*

[13] *sonum post non audiuit in monte Sinai nisi unum om. MANCO*

[13] *uel per famam uel tradicionem MANCGO*, u. p. *formam u. t. HBR* (*per ante t. add. H^R*)

Psalm 62

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] *Canticum Dauid cum esset in deserto Iuda MGHBR*, *Psalmus Dauid cum esset in deserto Iude uox ecclesie de Christo O* + *Eadwine 107^v* + *Paris 107^v* + *Reims 113^v*

[8–9] *the two verses are missing from MGHBR (restituit B²) and are not covered by the commentary codd.*

[12] *abstruetur M*, *obstruetur GHBRO*

Comm.

[12] [*lemma*] *abstruetur MANCO*, *obstruetur GHBR*

Psalm 63

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] *Uictori canticum Dauid MGHBR*, *Uictori psalmus Dauid uox Pauli de passione Christi O* + *Reims 114^v*

[11] *laudabunt M* + *Ga in M*, *cf. laudabuntur Ga*, *laudabunt eum G* + *MANCO-lm*, *collaudabunt eum HBR* + *GHBR-lm*, *cf. collaudabunt Eadwine 109^r* + *Paris 109^r*, *exultabunt O* + *He* + *Reims 115^r* + *Bosham 155^{va}*

Comm.

[2] Psalmus LX apud Hebreos LXIII apud nos *MGHBR* (60 [...] 63 R), P. apud Hebreos LX apud nos 63 *ANCO* (60 N)

[4] Postquam a deo hostes protegi petiuit *MANCO* (*after deo blank space in M*), Postquam a deo contra hostes p. p. *GHBR*²

Psalm 64

Textus

[titulus] Uictori carmen Dauid sir *MGHBR* (syr *M*), U. c. D. cantici *O* + *He* + *Eadwine 109^v* + *Paris 109^v* + *Reims 115^r* + *Bosham 155^v*

Comm.

[14] Judeus iubilabunt et canent *MCGHBR* (J. *om.* C), J. †i(n)lib(er)a-
bunt† (?) et canent *A*, J. inlibabunt et canent *NO*

Psalm 65

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[titulus] carminis *pro* psalmi *O* + *Reims 116^r*

[1] iubilet *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (*CHL*) + *Eadwine 111^r* + *Bosham 157^{vb}*, iubilare *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 116^r* + *Paris 111^r* + *Ga*

[2] psallite gloriam nomini eius *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* (gloria *pro* gloriam *ANCO*) + *He* (*Θ^K marg.*) + *Eadwine 111^r* + *Paris 111^r*, cantate gloriam nominis *O*, *cf.* cantate gloriam nomini eius *He ed.* (nominis *He* (*Gl*)) + *Reims 116^r* + *Bosham 157^{vb}*

Comm.

[20] [*lemma*] benedictus deus *MANCGO*, b. tuus deus *H*, b. do-
(minus) *BR*

[20] [*lemma*] misericordiam suam *MGHBR*, m. meam *ANCO*

Psalm 66

Textus

[titulus] cantici *pro* canticum *O* + *He* (*Θ^K*) (*sed canticum Reims 117^r*)

Comm.

[8. *The three following readings form a passage*]

ut timore eius gentes que *MGHBR*, ut t. e. que *ANO*, ut t. e. qui *C*
fines terre habitant *MANCO*, f. t. inhabitant *GHBR*

a nocumento nostro abstineant *codd.* (o(mn)i(n)o *pro* nostro *C*, absti-
neat *O*)

Psalm 67

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] psalmis *pro* psalmus *O + He (L)* (*sed* psalmus *Reims 117^v*)

[36] de sanctuariis suis *MGHBR* (in s. s. *BR*) + *lemma ubique* (†desen-
(n)ariis† s. *B-lm*) + *He (Θ^K)* + *Eadwine 116^v* + *Paris 116^v*, de sanctuario
suo *O + He ed.* + *Reims 119^v* + *Bosham 165^{va-b}*

[36] dabit *om.* *HBR*

Psalm 68

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Uictori *pro* liliis Daud *MGBR + He ed. + Bosham 165^{vb}*, U. *pro*
†liis† D. *H, U.* p. filiis D. *O + He (FH) + Reims 120^r + Eadwine 117^r* (*des-*
unt Paris 117^r)

[2] *salua me deus MGHBR + He + Reims 120^r + Eadwine 117^r + Paris*
117^r, *saluum me d. O + Bosham 165^{vb}*, *cf.* *Saluum me fac Deus Ga*

[2] *ad animam meam MG + MANCO-lm + He (RΣ^TCMBAKIΘ^{HG}*
GLOΩ^M), usque ad a. m. *O + Eadwine 117^v + Paris 117^v + Bosham 165^{vb} +*
Ga, *ad animam BR + GHBR-lm*, *animam H, cf.* usque ad animam *He*
ed. + Reims 120^r

Comm.

[2] [*lemma*] o deus *salua me MANGHBRO* (*me in marg. scr. O^R*), o
deus *saluum me fac C*

Psalm 69

Comm.

[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]

tamen si hoc simpliciter sufficeret *codd.* (simpliciter *om.* C)

ad distinccionem psalmoreum psalmus IX *codd.* (IX *om.* G, blank space, 9 R, psalmus *om.* AN)

[2] computatur [...] psalmo *post* pro uno psalmo *om.* A (*saut du même au même*)

Psalm 70

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] no(n) confundar MO, n(on) c. R + Ga, ne c. GHB

Comm.

[1] qui apud nos *post* Psalmus iste *om.* C

[24] [*lemma*] dehonestati MANCGRO, dehonestate HB

[24] qui querunt [...] Caldei *post* dehonestate *om.* H

[24] [*lemma*] malum MANCO, mala GBR

[24] seruituti et morti adductos MANCO (add(u)ctos A), s. et m. addictos GC^R, s. et m. addictus H, s. et more addictos B, s. abditos R

Psalm 71

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] filio regis M'GO, filio MHBR

Comm.

[20. *The two following entries form one passage*]

set dicit completas esse oraciones Dauid *post* intituletur sic oracio Dauid *om.* A (*saut du même au même*)

in hoc psalmo *post* completas esse oraciones Dauid *om.* H

[20] complementum intentionis Dauid MANGHBRO c. Dauid C c. intencionum D. *Cossey 117*

Psalm 72*Comm.*

[*titulus*] Secundum quosdam Hebreos (H. *om.* A) hic ponitur initium tercii libri (tituli *pro* l. BR) Psalterii ut patet per Jeronimum *codd.*, where it opens the commentary on the title, while in H it is moved to the end of the section.

[1] In psalmo LXVIII apud Hebreos *MANHBRO* (68 RO), In p. LXXVIII a. H. G, In p. 427° a. H. C

[28. *The three following entries form one passage*]

ut enarrem [...] ut enarrem omnes *om.* BR, *restituit in marg.* B²

ut narrem id est ex hoc sequutum est ut narrem omnes *MANC* (*narrem textus ubique + He ed.*), ut enarrem i. e. ex h. secutum e. ut enarrem *GH-B²O* (*narrem* [...] *enarrem H, enarrem He* ($\Sigma^T \Omega^M$), *ex om.* B²)

annunciaciones tuas codd. t. om. B infra lin. restituit B²

[28] *tuas post* Judeus habet operaciones *add. R*

Psalm 73*Textus (deest ANC)*

[1] *fumigabit M, cf. fumigauit MANC-lm, †fu(m)iau† O-lm, fumauit GHBR + GHBR-lm + He ed. + Reims 127^r + Eadwine 128^v + Paris 128^v, fumabit O + He (MAKILO) + Bosham 180^{rb}*

Comm.

[1. *The three following entries form one passage*]

Nabugo(dono)sor *MANC* (Nabug(odono)sor A), Nabugodonosor *GH*, Nabugodonor O, Nabogodonasor B, Nab^c R

et Nabuzardan M, et Nabuzarda(n) N, et Nabuzardam *CGO*, et Nabuzair A, et Nabuzar *BR, om. H*

principem post Nabuzar *om. B*

Psalm 74*Comm.*

[2] et ostenditur quod non impune peccant *MANGHO*, et ostenditur q. impune p. *BR*, et ostendit q. impune p. *C*, et dicit Triuet [...] et quod impune transibunt *Cossey 121^r*

Psalm 75*Textus (deest ANC)*

[3] et habitacio eius *om.* *BR* (*saut du même au même*)

Comm.

[2] *LXXV* apud nos *MANC*, apud nos *LXXV* *GHBRO*

[2] in proteccionem suorum *MANCO*, in p. et defensione s. *GHBR* (et d. *bis scr. B*)

Psalm 76*Textus (deest ANC)*

[21] greges *MGO* + *He* (Θ^{HG}), gregem *HBR* + *Reims 131^r* + *Eadwine 134^v* + *Paris 134^v* + *Bosham 7^{ra}* + *He ed.*

Comm.

[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]

informat ad exemplum sui *MANGHBRO*, i. ad e. Xp(ist)i *C*
tribulatos *MANCGHRC*, tribulantis *B*, tribulacionis *O*

[21] [*lemma*] greges *MANC*, gregem *GHBRO*

[21] tranquille *MGHBRO*, tranquilli(ta)te *ANC*

Psalm 77*Textus (deest ANC)*

[1] inclinate aurem *om.* *B*

Comm.

[*titulus*] scribitur *MACGHBRO*, ponitur *N*

[*titulus*] maskil *post* verbum hebraicum *om. H*

[72] [*lemma*] paut *MA^RC^RGHBRO^R*, patuit *ANCO*

[72] [*lemma*] in simplicitate *MGHBR*, simplicitate *ANCO*

[72] sicut uir simplex in corde sine simplicitate *MANCGO*, s. u. s. in c. sine duplicitate *HBR*

[72] Judeus in prudenciis *post* et prudens in opere *om. H, post et prudentia manuum suarum transp. BR*

Psalm 78

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] aceruis lapidum *MGH + He ed. + Eadwine 141^r + Paris 141^r*, aceruis [custodiam] lapidum *Reims 135^v (c. expunctuated)*, at(r)iis l. *BR*, aceru(os) l. *O + ac(er)uos [lapidum] Bosham 14^{vb} (l. expunctuated)*

Comm.

[1] prophetat auctor psalmi *ante* euersionem templi *om. H (blank space of about seven characters)*

[1] auctor psalmi *ante* euersionem templi *om. BR*

[1] et ciuitatis *MANCGHO*, scilicet ciuitates *B, om. R*

Psalm 79

Comm.

[2] oppressionem [...] plangit *post* apud nos *LXXIX om. BR*

[2] plangit *MGHO²*, prophetat *CA^R*, †pl'a† *ANO*

Psalm 80

Textus (deest ANC)

[17] ex adipe *MGHBR + lemma ubique + He (BΘΛ^LLO) + Ga + Eadwine 146^r + Paris 146^r + Bosham 21^{rb}*, de adipe *O + He ed. + Reims 138^v*

[17] melle *MHB*, et de petra melle *G* + *lemma ubique*, de petra melle *R* (melle *cum He* ($\Sigma^T H C M^e B \Theta^{HG} A^L \Omega^M$) et *Ga*), et de petra mell(is) *O*, et de petra mellis *He ed.* + *Reims 138^v* + *Eadwine 146^r* + *Paris 146^r*, *cf.* et de petra mellis (u(e)) <mell>e *sup. lin.*) *Bosham 21^{rb}*

Comm.

[*titulus*] primum uocabulum ponitur in hebreo *MANCO*, p. u. in hebreo est *GHB*, [ponitur] primum u. in h. est *R* (ponitur *expunctuated*)

[2] n(ume)ro *post LXXIII add. C, cf. nrē ANO*

[17] reficit *pro* refecit *post* id est manna quod ita *M*

[17] [*Judeus*] cibau i eum *MGHBR*, c. eos *ANCO*

[17] persona *post* et ita mutatur *om. H* (*blank space of about nine characters*)

Psalm 81

Textus

[*titulus*] Canticum Asaph *MGHBR* + *He* + *Bosham 21^v*, Psalmus A. *O* + *Reims 138^v* + *Ga, cf. Canticum psalmi Asaph Eadwine 146^v, desunt Paris 146^v*

Comm.

[1] In psalmo LXXVII secundum Hebreos *MCGHBROR* (77 *RO^R*), In p. LXXVI s. H. *ANO* (76. *NO*)

[8] Deinde psalmista alloquens deum dicit *ante surge deus iudica terram om. HBR*

[8] tales deos colunt *MCGHBR*, t. eos c. *ANO*

[8] [*lemma*] q(uonia)m *MCGHBR*, q(ua)n(doque) *ANO*

Psalm 82

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[*titulus*] Daud *pro* Asaph *M*

[19] ut *MGH* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (*O*) + *Ga in M*, et *BRO* + *He ed.* + *Reims 140^r* + *Eadwine 148^v* + *Paris 148^v* + *Bosham 24^{rb}* + *Ga*

[19] cognoscant *MGHBRO*^R + *lemma ubique* + *Ga*, sciant *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 140^r* + *Eadwine 148^v* + *Paris 148^v*, scient *Bosham 24^{rb}*

[19] quia *om.* *O*

Comm.

[19] quamvis reges et principes *MANCO*, quamvis enim r. et p. *GHBR* (p. *om.* *B*, et p. *om.* *R*)

Psalm 83

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[*titulus*] Uictori pro torcularibus filiorum Chore canticum *MGHBR*, U. p. t. filii Core psalmus *O* + *Reims 140^r*, cf. U. p. t. filii Chore [ps] canticum *Eadwine 149^r* (*desunt Paris 149^r*)

[13] Dominus *M* + *He* (Θ^H), Domine *GHBRO* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 150^r* + *Paris 150^r* + *Bosham 26^a*

Comm.

[13] [*lemma*] dominus *MANCO*, domine *GHBR*

[13] tanta bona facis eis *MANCO*, scilicet ex quo tanta bona f. e. *GHBR*

Psalm 84

Textus

[*titulus*] canticum *MGBR* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 150^v* (*desunt Paris 150^v*), cantica *H*, psalmus *O*, ps *Reims 140^v*, cf. psalmum *He* (Θ^K)

[2] Iacob *post captiuitatem om.* *MGHBR* (*adest in lemme ubique*)

Comm.

comm. on vv. 13–14 (Descripsit reconciliacionis [...] permittendo) *displaced after the comm. on v. 8 in ANCO* (ostende nobis misericordiam tuam [...] *salua nos* [domine *add. C*]), *nota bene O also displaced vv. 13–14 in the textus*

[12] ex t(un)c h(ab)uit *pro* exhibuit *ante* Christus in passione *C*

[12] prouidit eius utilitati et saluti *MGHBR* (vti^{ti} *abbr. M*), p. eis unitati et s. *ANCO* (eius *A^R*)

[14] [*lemma*] gressus suos *MGHBR*, g. meos suos *ANO*, g. *C*

[14. *The two following entries form one passage*]

non declinabit a uia *M^RGHBR*, non d. quia *ANCO*, non d. q(ua)si *A^R*
iusticie *MANGHBRO*, iniuste *C in marg. scr. A^R*

Psalm 85

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] inops *MGHBRO^R* + *lemma ubique* + *Ga*, egenus *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 141^r* + *Eadwine 152^r* + *Paris 152^r* + *Bosham 27^{va}*

[10] *the entire verse in missing MGHBR (restituit B²) but is covered by the comm.*

Comm.

[*titulus*] tekla *MNC*, teckla *A*, tecla *O*, thephila *G*, te fila *H*, tefilia *BR*

[17] mihi scilicet contra hostes et consolatus es post quia tu domine auxiliatus es om. *MANCO* (*saut du même au même*)

Psalm 86

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] Fundamenta *MC^BBRO* + *R-lm* + *Eadwine 154^r* + *Paris 154^r* + *Ga*, Fundamentum *GH* + *MANCGHBO-lm* (fundament' *N*) + *He ed.* (*RFØ^KGLO*) + *Bosham 29^{rb}*

[1] sanctuarii *MGHO*, sanctis *BR* + *Ga*

Comm.

[7] que sunt a me sunt in te *MGHBRO^O*, q. s. a me in te *ANCO*

Psalm 87

Textus (deest ANC)

[*Titulus. The four following entries form one passage*]

per chorum *MGHBRO^R* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Eadwine 154^v* (*desunt Paris 154^v*), pro Melecl *O*, pro Melech (uel per chorum *sup. lin.*) *Reims 143^r*, cf. pro Melech *Ga t.r.*, pro Maeleth *Ga ed.*

ad precipinendum *MGHO* + *lemma ubique*, ad retinendum *BR*

erudicionis Eman *MGHBR* (Heman *M^R*) + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Eadwine 154^v* (*desunt Paris 154^v*), intellectus E. *O* + *Reims 143^r* + *Ga ed.* (i. Heman *Ga t.r.*), erudicionis *super lin. scr. O^R*

Exraite *MRO^R* + *MANCOR-lm*, Ezraite *GB* + *GHB-lm* + *He ed.* + *Ga ed.*, Israelite *O* + *Ga t.r.*, cf. iezraelite *He (B²)* + *Eadwine 154^v* (*deest Paris 154^v*), hiezrahelitae *He (Θ^{HG})*, ezrahelite *Reims 143^r*, ex patre *H*

[2] *clamaui nocte M*, *clamaui et nocte GBRO* + *He (F²M³)* + *Eadwine 155^r* + *Paris 155^r* + *Bosham 30^{ra}*, et *notam H* (*preceded by a blank space*)

[18] *the entire verse is missing in MGHB (restituit B²)*

Comm.

[17]⁸ unde ex 3. R(egum) I legitur *MANCO*, unde et III R(egum) I legitur *GHBR* (et *om. R*, tercio *B*, .3. *R*)

Psalm 88

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Erudicionis Ethan Ezraite *MGHBR* (Erudiciones *BR*, Etha(n) *MR*, Echan *H*, Echam *B*, Exraite *MR*, Ezaite *H*) + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 156^v* (Iezraite) (*desunt Paris 156^v*), Intellectus Ethan Israhelite *O* + *Reims 144^r* (Ezrahelitae) + *Ga t.r.* (Israelite), cf. Iezraelite *He (B²)*, Hiezraelite *He (M^{*})*, Hiezrahelitae *He (Θ^H)*, cf. Intellectus Aethan Ezraite *Ga ed.*

[53] in eternum *MGHBRO^R* + *lemma ubique* (internum *AO*, with a slight space between i(n) and t. in *O*) + *Ga*, in sempiternum *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 147^r* + *Eadwine 160^v* + *Paris 160^v* + *Bosham 36^{vb}*

[53] amen amen *GO* + *lemma ubique* + *Reims 147^r* + *Eadwine 160^v* + *Paris 160^v* + *Bosham 36^{vb}*, fiat fiat *HBR* + *Ga*, *desunt M*

Comm.

[*titulus*] supra titulo xxx *MHBRO^R* (xxx in *marg. scr. H^R*, 30 *R*), s. t. xxix *G* (*numeral on erasure*), s. t. 21 *ANO*, s. t. 11 *C*

⁸ Verse 17 is the last one commented on in the exposition of Ps. 87.

Psalm 89

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] uiri dei *MGHB*, serui dei *R*, hominis dei *O* + *Eadwine 161^r* (*desunt Paris 161^r*) + *Reims 147^r* + *Ga*

[17] fac stabile [...] nostrarum *om.* *M* (*saut du même au même*)

[17] stabile *HBRO*, sterile *G* (*but stabile G-lm*)

Comm.

[*titulus*] Titulus tercius est cuius primum uocabulum est in hebreo phila *MANCO*, T. tercius est iste c. p. u. est oracio pro quo in hebreo tephila *GHR* (thephila *HR*, te- *H^f*)

[17] et opus manuum nostrarum confirma [...] et cum dicit ante et opus manuum *om.* *R* (*saut du même au même/homoioarchon*)

[17] confirma id est approba *MGHB*, c. id est opprob(r)ia *AN*, c. et id est approba *C*, c. id est opprob(r)ia *O* (*entire passage missing in R, see above*)

Psalm 90

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] abscondito *MGHO*, adiutorio *BR* + *Ga*

[2] considera mea *pro* confidam in eo *M* (*sed confidam in eo M-lm*)

Comm.

[2] [*referring to Ps. 89:1, considered as one with Ps. 90*] in principio psalmi expressit *MGHBRO* (p(r)in(cipi)o *abbr. MRO*), in psalmo precedenti e. *A*, in psalmo ps(alm)i e. *NC*

[2] est *post* cui deus *om.* *ANCO* (*fuit in marg. scr. A^R*)

[2] habitaculum [...] narratur *post* cui deus *om.* *N*

[2] protectio dei super sanctum et *post* narratur hic cura et *om.* *G* (*saut du même au même*)

[16] [*lemma*] illi *post* ostendam *om.* *ANCO*

Psalm 91*Comm.*[16] [*lemma*] rectus dominus *MANCHBRO*, magnus d. *G***Psalm 92***Comm.*[5] [*lemma*] docet *MANCO*, decet *GHBRO*^R**Psalm 93***Comm.*[1] caret *ante* titulo *om. M*

[1] [*the passage depends on the verb distinguitur*] set hoc solo quod (q. *om. B*, quia *R*) decantabatur IIII (III *M*, 4 *ANCR*, quarto *G*) sabbati in templo domini (v(b)i *pro* d. *HBR*, et *add. C*) XCI (91 *R*) decantabatur in sabbato et (et *om. AR*) XCII (92 *R*) in die ante sabbatum *codd.*

Psalm 94*Textus (deest ANC)*[1] petre *MHBRO*, patre *G*[10] generacio illa *MGHRO* g. †u(er)sa† *B*[10] errans in corde *MO*^R, errans corde *GHBRO* + *lemma ubique* + *He**Comm.*[10] tabernaculum dei et sedes regni *MNCGHBR* (reg(n)i *R*), t. d. et s. regi *AN*^R*O***Psalm 95***Comm.*[13] [*lemma*] iudicabit orbem *MANCHBRO*, i. o. terre *G* + *Ga*[13] in iusto id est in iusticia *MANCO* (et iusto *O*), in iusto id est iusticia *GHBR* (id est *om. R*)

[13] reddendo unicuique secundum merita *codd.* (credendo *pro* reddendo *H*)

Psalm 96

Comm.

[1] signatur *post* Psalmus hic apud nos *om.* C

[12] confessione laudis memorie sancte eius id est *post et confitemini* scilicet *om.* ANCO, in marg. restituit O²

Psalm 97

Comm.

[1] Psalmus LXXXVII apud Hebreos qui psalmos per titulos distinguunt *codd.* + *Cossey 160ⁱ* (86 O, 87 NR, secundum *pro* apud *Cossey*, per titulos *om.* C)

Psalm 99

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Canticum in graciaram accione MGHBR + He + Eadwine 175^v + Bosham 52^v, Psalmus in confessione O + Reims 155^r + Ga

[4] benedicite nomen MGHBR + lemma ubique + He (Θ^{HK} A^L) + Eadwine 175^v + Bosham 53^{rb}, cf. laudate nomen Ga, b. nomini O + He ed. + Reims 155^r

[5] in seculum MGHBR^R + lemma ubique + He (Θ^K marg.) + Eadwine 175^v, in sempiternum O + He ed. + Reims 155^r, cf. in eternum Bosham 53^{rb}

Comm.

[2. *The two following entries form one passage*]

Psalmus iste secundum distincionem per titulos LXXXVIII est apud Hebreos apud nos XCIX MANCO (87 O, 88 N, nos *om.* O), P. i. s. d. per titulos LXXXVIII est apud nos XCIX GHBR (88 [...] 99 R)

et est ultimus eorum qui ab Hebreis putantur esse Moysi MC^RGHBR (esse *deest* G), et e. u. e. qui ad heb' p. e. M. ANC?O

[5] speraui *pro* permanet O

Psalm 100

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi domine psallam *GHBRO*, m. et i. cantabo psallam tibi domine *transp. M*

Psalm 101

Comm.

[2] miseriam plangentis *MANCBRO*, suam m. p. *GH* + *Cossey 163^v*

[29] id est successio per filios eorum perseuerabit post et semen eorum perseuerabit om. *M* (*saut du même au même*)

[29] coram tabernaculo *MGHBRO^R*, tabernaculo *ANCO*

Psalm 103

Textus (deest ANC)

[35] Deficient peccatores a terra *MGOⁱ* + *lemma ubique* (deficient *C*) + *He* ($\Sigma^T H$) + *Ga*, D. p. de terra *HBRO* + *He ed.* + *Reims 160^v* + *Eadwine 184^v* + *Bosham 66^{va}*

Comm.

[1] sed postquam inuitauit ut ad laudandum *MANO*, s. p. i. ad laudandum *GHBRC*

[35] operibus *post* pro omnibus *om.* *ANCHO* (*in marg. scr. Hⁱ*)

[35] noluerunt interpretes *MANCGRO*, volunt i. *H*, nolutum i. *B*

Psalm 104

Textus (deest ANC)

[45] testimonias *M* + *M-lm* (*sed* *cerimonias ANC-lm*), *cerimonias GHBRO*

Psalm 105

Textus Ga (*MAC*)

[47] Et confiteamur nomini sancto tuo et cetera *M*, ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo et gloriemur in laude tua *AC* (*Tironian* et *sup. lin. scr. A*) + *Ga t.r.* + *Ga OP 80^{rb}*, ut c. n. tuo sancto et gloriemur in l. t. *Ga ed.*

Comm.

[*titulus*] alleluia premittitur quasi in loco tituli *MANCO* (all(elui)a *AO*, alleluia *NC*, premittit *AN*), haleluia p. q. loco tituli *GHBR* (haleluia *B*, all(elui)a *R*, titulo *B*)

[1] Psalmus *CV* mouet ad laudandum ex misericordia sua *MANO*, *P. CV* m. ad laudandum eum qui ex m. s. *C*, *P. CV* m. ad laudandum deum ex m. s. *GHBR*

Psalm 106

Comm.

[1] incipit a grossa littera *MANCO*, i. a l. g. *transp. GHBR*

[1] hortatius *M*, exhortatius *ANCGHBRO*

Psalm 107

Comm.

[2] Psalmus apud Hebreos *xcv MGHBR* (95 *R*), *P. a. H. xxv ANC* (25 *N*), *P. a. H. CV C^R*

[2] nos *post* apud *om. MA*

[2] que est prima pars psalmi *MANO*, q. prima pars est psalmi *transp. C*, q. e. prima pars huius psalmi *GHBR*

Psalm 108

Comm.

[2] Psalmus apud Hebreos *cxvi MC^R*, *P. a. H. vi AC*, *P. a. H. 6i N*, *P. a. H. cxvi GHBR* (96 *R*)

Psalm 109

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] scabellum pedum tuorum *MO* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Reims 171^r* + *Eadwine 199^v* + *Bosham 83^{rb}*, s. p. meorum *GHBR*

[7] bibet *MHBRO* (bib(et) *H*) + *MGHBRO-lm1-2* (bi. *R-lm2*) + *A-lm2*⁹ + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 200^r* + *Bosham 84^{rb}*, bibit *G* + *A-lm1* + *NC-lm1-2* + *He* (Θ^{K^*})

Comm.

[3] secundum significat *MANC* (*blank space after secundum M*, significatur *N*), secundum quod significat *M²GBRO*, quod significat *H*

[Deliramenta iudaica]

implebit ualles cadaueribus propter multitudinem interfectorum *MANCH²BRO*, implebit ualles cadaueribus interfectorum *G* (*blank space left after cadaueribus*), implebunt cadaueribus interfectorum *H* (*blank space left after implebunt and cadaueribus*)

id est multiplicabit numerum cadauerum *MANCHBRO* (n. *deest H in originally blank space scr. H²*), i. e. m. numerum ad numerum *G*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

[*lemma*] percuciet caput in terra multa *codd.* (in t. m. *desunt H, in originally blank space restituit H²*)

scilicet Codorlaomor *MCH²R* (id est *C. C*), s. Codor Laomor *N*, s. Codorlannor *O*, s. Cador(um) Lamor *A*, s. Cedorlaamor *B*, s. Cedor followed by *blank space G, desunt H (blank space)*

Psalm 110

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[1] Confitebor domino *M²GHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.* + *Reims 171^r* + *Eadwine 200^v* + *Bosham 84^{rb}*, *C. tibi domine O* + *He* (*A^LΩ^M*) + *Ga*

Comm.

[1] secundum nos *MANC*, apud nos *GHBRO*

⁹ Numbers 1 and 2 refer, respectively, to the lemma in the main commentary and the lemma repeated under “deliramenta iudaica”.

Psalm 113*Comm.*[He 115:18. *The two following entries form one passage*¹⁰]quia ut dicitur Ecc. xvii ante confitere a mortuo *MANC* (ut *om. C*), q.
ut d. Ecc. xvii ante mortem confitere a m. *GHBRO*quasi nichil par confessio *MANCO* (p(ar) *O*), q. n. p(er)it confessio
G²HBRC^R (perit *in marg. scr. G²*), q. n. c. *G* (*blank space after nichil*)**Psalm 114***Comm.* [He 116:1]secundum heb(reos) *pro s. hebraicam scripturam ante* in nullo distin-
guitur *C*sequentis [...] principio *post* nec alleluia posito in fine istius uel in prin-
cipio *om. N* (*saut du même au même*)**Psalm 115***Comm.*

[He 116:10]

†gnoribus† *pro superioribus ANC* (*ordinary abbreviation sign above n*)

[He 116:19]

[*lemma*] in medio tui Jerusalem *MANCO* in m. tui o Jerusalem *GHBR*
(o *sup. lin. scr. R*)**Psalm 116***Textus* (*deest ANC*)[1] uniuerse plebes *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 208^r*, cf. plebs
He (Θ^K *marg.*), uniuersi populi *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 174^v* + *Bosham 93^{ra}*[2] quia confortata *MGHBO* + *He ed.*, quoniam confirmata *R* + *He*
(quoniam $\Theta^K A^L$, confirmata $A\Theta^{HK} A^L O\Omega^M$) + *Ga*¹⁰ The reference is to Sir. 17:26 (“ante mortem confitere a mortuo quasi nihil perit confessio”).

[2] ueritas domini manet in eternum *M* (manet *cum He (G) et Ga*), u. d. in eternum *GBRO* + *lemma ubique* + *He ed.*, u. d. *H*

Comm.

[1] Secundo assignat laudis materiam *MANCHBRO*, hic subdit l. m. *G* (hic subdit *anticipates the comm. on v. 2 by saut du même au même*: “exhortacionem”, *without, however, producing a lacuna*)

Psalm 117

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] in seculum *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (Θ^K marg.) + *Eadwine* 208^v + *Ga*, in eternum *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims* 174^v + *Bosham* 93^{ra}

[29] in seculum *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* ($\Sigma^T \Theta^K$ marg.) + *Eadwine* 210^v + *Ga*, in eternum *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims* 175^v + *Bosham* 95^{bb}

Comm.

[1. *The two following entries form one passage*]

distinctus est *MANCO*, distinctus *GHBR*

concluditur [...] alleluya *post* quia ille alleluya *om. A* (*saut du même au même*)

[29] nichil habet iste psalmus in fine quo a sequenti psalmo distinguitur *MGHBR* (-*gui- BR*), n. h. i. p. in f. (finem *A*, in *add. N*) quo ad (*a C*) †*sei*^m. † *ps(almus)* (*ps(alm)o C*) distinguitur *ANCO*

Psalm 118

Textus (deest ANC)

[132] aspice ad me *MO*, *cf.* aspice in me *Ga*, suspice a. m. *GHR*, suscipe a. m. *B*, suscipe (vel respice *sup. lin.*) a. m. *Eadwine* 222^v (*Bosham interrupts at v. 53, fol. 103^{vb}, to resume with Ps. 119, fol. 104^r*), *cf.* respice a. m. *He ed.* + *Reims* 181^v

[133] uniuerse terre *pro* u. iniquitati *BR* (*sed* iniquitati *BR-lm*)

[175] uiuet anima mea et laudabit te et (*om. H*) iudicia tua auxiliabuntur michi (*adiuabunt me H + H-lm + Ga*) *HB²R*, *desunt MGBO*, *adsunt Reims* 183^v, *Eadwine* 226^v

Comm.

[132] [*lemma*] aspice ad me [...] aspice ad me *MO*, aspice ad me [...] s(us)-pice ad me *AN*, aspice ad me [...] s(us)cipe ad me *Cⁿ*, suspice ad me [...] suspice ad me *GH*, suscipe ad me [...] suspice ad me *R*, suscipe ad me [...] suscipe ad me *B*, but aspice everywhere in the lemma in the commentary on vv. 129–31

[175] Postquam auxilium dei [...] que continue laudis sunt materia *H*, desunt *MANCGBRO*

[176] et ideo debes facere *M*, in hoc ideo d. f. *AN*, et hoc ideo d. f. *CGH-BRO* (ideo *om. R*)

[176] grauis est *post* diminucio *om. R*

[176] vn(us) *pro* minus *M*

[176] scilicet non sum oblitus *post* minus dicit *om. R*

[176] [*lemma*] non solum *pro* non sum *B*

[176] intendit *pro* intelligit *A*

[176] scilicet ualde memor fui *post* plus intelligit *om. R*

Psalm 120

Comm.

[*titulus*] ponitur *post* Titulus XIX in quo *om. ANC*

[1] in he(bre)o cu(m) i(n) om(n)ib(us) aliis sc(r)ibat(ur) hamaaloth *post* .2(us). qui gradibus deputatur *in marg. scr. O'*

Psalm 121

Comm.

[*titulus*] titulus *MANCO*, t. hic *GHR*

¹¹ The prefix “sus-”, shared by ANC, would already have been in their hyparchetype β. Had it not been a deliberate choice, that might have derived from a misinterpretation of a decorative majuscule “A”, similar to that used in M (fol. 114^{ved}).

[1] in quo Daud cultum dei in ciuitate Ierusalem commendat *MANCGHO* (cultus *H*), in q. po(nitur) c. d. in c. I. (com)ne(n)dat *B*, in q. po(nitur) c. d. in c. [D(au)id] I. com(en)dat *R*

Psalm 122

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[4] saturata *MGO* + *He* (Θ^K), satura *HBR* (sat(ur)a abbr. *B*, in full *HR*) + *Eadwine* 230^v, repleta *He* ed. + *Reims* 185^r

Comm.

[1] expectauit misericordiam dei et loquitur in persona populi captiuati ab hostibus *ACGHBRO*, e. m. dei et l. in prima populi c. a. h. *M*, e. m. dei et l. in persona dei c. a. h. *N*

[4] multum satura est id est repleta anima id est uita nostra *MHBR* (sat(ur)a *BR*), multum saturata est i. e. r. anima i. e. u. nostra *ANCGO*

Psalm 124

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[1] quasi *MGHBR* + *He* ed. + *Reims* 185^v + *Eadwine* 231^v, sicut *O* + *lemma* *ubique* + *He* ($\Theta^{HK} A^L$) + *Bosham* 109^{va} + *Ga*

[1] in seculum *M*, in s. habitabit *GHO* + *Eadwine* 231^v + *Bosham*² 109^r *lower margin*, in s. habitat *BR*, *cf.* in aeternum habitabilis *He* ed. (saeculum Θ^K , habitabitis Ω^M) + *Reims* 185^v + *Bosham* 109^{va}, *cf.* in aeternum qui habitat *Ga*, habitabit in seculum *MANCGHO-lm*, habitauit in s. *BR-lm*

Comm.

[*titulus*] ponitur in hebreo *MANCO*, in hebreo ponitur *GHR*

[5] ut deus sic bonis beneficiat et malos puniat *MGHBRO*, ut d. sit bonus beneficiat et m. p. *ANC*

Psalm 125

Textus (deest *ANC*)

[6] uenientes *M* + *Ga*, ueniens *GHBRO* + *lemma* *ubique*

Comm.

[1] futuram leticiam captiuorum reuersorum in terram suam prophetat *MANCGRO*, f. l. c. r. in terram *H* (followed by blank space, prophetat in marg. scr. *H^p*), f. l. c. r. suam p. *B*

[4] Aaron *MANCO*, Arnen *G*, Aronem *H*, Armen *B*, Arnon *R* + *Cossey 217^v*

[6] populus de captiuitate reuertendo *MGHBRO*, p. de capcione r. *ANC*

Psalm 126

Comm.

[5] et inimici *post* hostes *om.* *R*

[5] ut possint *MANCHBRO*, ut possent *G*

Psalm 127

Comm.

[6] prosperitate tua quod *MGHBR*, p. tua Israel quia *ANC*, p. tua quia *O*

Psalm 128

Comm.

[*titulus*] in quo ponitur *sir* in hebreo *MGHBRO* (*syr MG*), in q. ponitur in hebreo *sir* in h. *AN*, in q. in hebreo ponitur *sir C*

[1. *The two following entries form one passage*]

docet quomodo deus (deus *om.* *ANC*) liberat (liberet *C*) populum suum *codd.*

ab oppressionibus eius *MR*, a. oppressioribus e. *N*, a. oppressoribus e. *ACGHBO*

[8. *The two following entries form one passage*]

quia nec in tanta *ante* copia crescit *om.* *H*

quod aliquis [...] id est fiant post nec utilitas eius est tam magna *om. N*

[8] non dixerunt [...] Iudei transeuntes *post* de quo transeuntes *om. R*
(*saut du même au même*)

[8] iuxta metentes post Iudei transeuntes *om. M*

[8. *The two following entries form one passage*]

benediximus uobis de domo domini id est de templo et domo domini
M, b. u. d. d. d. id est de domo et templo domini *ANCGHBRO*

optamus uobis benedictionem *MANCRO*, optauimus u. b. *GHB*

[8. *The three following entries form one passage*]

et est liptote id est diminutio grauis scilicet quia *MANCO* (qui *pro* quia
O), liptote est quia *GHBR*

minus dicit *MANCO*, m. dicitur *GHBR*

scilicet quod ficiat (*sic*) sicut fenum et cetera Et plus intellexit scilicet
ut fiant sicut fenum de quo transeuntes dixerunt maledictio domini
super uos *M*,

scilicet quod fiant sicut fenum de quo transeuntes (-tis *A*) dixerunt *m.*
d. super (*s. om. AN*) uos *ANC* (*saut du même au même from a version*
close to M),

scilicet non dixerunt benediccionem domini super uos et plus intelligitur
(intelligere *H*) scilicet ut fiant sicut fenum de quo transeuntes dixerint
(dixerunt *BR*) *m. d. s. u. GHBR*,

scilicet quod fiant sicut fenum de quo transeuntes non dixerunt bene-
diccionem domini super uos et plus intelligitur scilicet ut fiant sicut fenum
de quo quo (*sic*) transeuntes dixerint *m. d. s. u. O*

Psalm 130

Comm.

[3] hanc semper continencie teneat *M*, hanc spem semper continue te-
neat *ANCGHBRO* (*semper om. R*)

Psalm 132

Textus (deest ANC)

[3] et uitam *MO*, et uitam in seculum *HBR*, et uitam usque in seculum *G* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 239^r* + *Ga*; cf. uitam usque in eternum *He ed.* (usque *om.* *He* ($\Theta^k B$) + *Reims 189^r* + *Bosham 119^{va}*)

Comm.

[3] ut glosa dicitur *M*, ut in glosa dicitur *ANCGO*, ut i. g. *H*, *om.* *BR*¹²

[3] Jeronimus in libro locorum dicit *MANCO*, J. in libro suo d. *BR*, J. in libro d. *GH* (libro followed by blank space)

[3] niues post inde estiuē *om.* *H* (blank space), in marg. scr. *H^R*

[3. The two following entries form one passage]

diligenter istud quesui *MANCO*, d. autem i. q. *GHBR*

sed in libro quem habui *MANCGBRO*, sed in hebreo q. h. *HO*

[3]¹³ eo tempore quo descendebant filii dei ad filios hominum *MANCHO*, e. t. q. d. f. d. ad filias h. *GBR*, e. t. q. descenderunt f. Israel ad filias h. *Cossey 225^r*

[3] et ibi inisse pactum quomodo venirent ad fil' hominis *M*, et i. i. p. q. v. ad fi^m hominum *ANC*, et i. i. p. q. v. ad filias hominum *GH* (inisse

¹² The reference follows the localization of Mount Hermon: “est autem Hermon mons parvus iuxta Iordanem” (“Iorda” followed by a blank space of around three characters in H), of which the source is in fact the *Gloss* on the Psalms, in one form or another, see the Lombard’s *Magna glosatura*: “Hermon parvus mons est iuxta Iordanem” on Ps. 41:7, “Hermoniim”; cf. “Hermon, ad litteram, mons est trans Iordanem” on Ps. 132:3 (Petrus Lombardus, *Magna Glossatura (Ps.)*, ed. by M. MORARD, in *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, Paris, 2023, <https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions.php?id=magna&numLivre=26> (last accessed 8 April 2023). In these places the Lombard does not go beyond the *Glossa ordinaria* (*Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria*).

¹³ This and the following entry belong to the citation from Jerome’s *Tractatus de psalmo CXXXII*, 3: “Legimus quendam librum apocryphum, eo tempore quo descendebant filii Dei ad filias hominum, descendisse illos in montem Ermon, et ibi inisse pactum, quomodo uenirent ad filias hominum, et sibi eas sociarent” (*Tractatus sancti Hieronymi presbyteri in librum Psalmorum*, ed. by G. MORIN, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri Opera*, Pars II, *Opera homiletica*, Turnhout, 1958, CCSL 78, pp. 1–447, at 280–81).

om. H, blank space; in marg. scr. H^R + *Cossey 225^r* (fecerunt *pro inisse*), et i. i. p. q. v. ad filias *BR*, et i. i. p. q. v. ad fil' hominum *O*

[3] vocem *pro rorem M*

[3] descensum filiorum dei in montem Hermon *post rorem Hermon om. MANCO* (*saut du même au même*)

[3] cum magna iocunditate et voluntate *M*, c. m. i. et voluptate *ACO* (et *om. C*), cum magna iocunditate et uoluptate *NGHBR*

[3. *The two following entries form one passage*]

potest autem esse quod *MANGBRO* (potest *abbreviated as p(otes)t in MBO, as po(tes)t in AN*), ponit autem esse q. *C* quod autem esse q. *H*

hoc modo mons *pro Hermon mons H*

Psalm 134

Comm.

[*Titulus*] distinguitur *post grossa littera om. MANCO*

[*Titulus*] tenore *MANCGO*, tenet(ur) *B, om. HR* (*blank space in H*)

Psalm 135

Comm.

[1] cum prima medietas [...] omnes versus *post per singulos versus om. N* (*saut du même au même*)

[1] prima *ante medietas om. AC*

[1] idem replicatur *pro eadem r. G*

[26] usque ad Moysen *ANCGHBRO*, et Moysen *M*

Psalm 136

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] illic *MO* + *Ga*, ibi *GHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Reims 18^r* + *Eadwine 243^v* + *Bosham 124^{ra}*

[1] et fleuimus *om. M, sup. lin. scr. M²* (*adest M-lm*)

[1] tui Syon *MGO* + *lemma ubique* + *He* ($\Sigma^T AK^*$), *Sion HBR* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 243^v* + *Bosham 124^{ra}*, [tui] *sion Reims 19^r* (t. *expunctuated*)

[9] *timebit pro tenebit M* (*sed tenebit M-lm*)

[9] *paruulos suos MR* + *He* ($B^2 O$) + *Eadwine 244^v* + *Ga t.r.* + *Ga OP 83^{ra}*, p. *tuos GHBO* + *He ed.* + *Ga ed.*, *cf.* p. *suos Bosham 125^{va}*, p. *tuos Bosham² 125^{va}* *outer margin* (*original s is expunctuated, but a sign before tuos may stand for al(ias)*)

Comm.

[1] *nec scribitur eodem genere MANCGHBR*, n. *subicitur e. g. O*

[1] *in Babilonem deducti erant captiui MANC* (*Babulonem M*), *in B. ducti e. c. GHBR* (*Bibilonem B*)

[5. *The two following entries form one passage*]

[*lemma*] *dextera tua in obliuione M*, d. *tua sit in o. ANCO*, *sit dextera mea in o. GHBR*

que tam neccessaria est MANCHBRO, q. *tam est G* (*blank space post tam*)

[9. *The two following entries form one passage*]

te post in destruendo om. HBR (*instruendo pro d. A*)

[*lemma*] *tenebit paruulos suos MANCO*, *tenebit p. tuos GHBR*

Psalm 137

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[1] *coram deo MGHBR*² + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 245^r*, *in conspectu deorum O* + *He* + *Reims 192^r* (*Bosham interrupts at 137:1, fol. 125^{vb}*, *and resumes at 143:14, fol. 126^{ra}*)

[1] *psallam MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* ($\Theta^{HK} A^L \Omega^M$) + *Eadwine 245^r* + *Ga*, *uel psallam sup. lin. scr. O^R*, *cantabo O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 192^r*

[8] *operabitur pro me MGHO*, *pro me o. BR*

[8] *operabitur in eternum MGHBR*, *in eternum O* + *He* + *Reims 192^v* + *Eadwine 245^v*

Comm.

[8. *The two following entries form one passage*]

operabitur in eternum quia ne dimittas ante id est non dimittes nec derelinques *om.* *MANCO* (derelinq(ue)s *BR*, derelinq(ua)s *ANCO*)

et opera manuum tuarum et p(ost)ea proteges et defendes *MANCO* (et *ante* opera *deest C*, deffendas *M*, defendens *ANO*), opera m. t. set post ea p. et defendes *H*, opera m. t. set p(ost)ea p. et defendes *BR*, opera m. t. sed potius ea p. et defendes *G*

Psalm 138

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Pro uictoria Dauid canticum *MGHBRC^R* + *He ed.*, Uictori canticum Dauid *O* + *Reims 192^v*, cf. uictori *He (Θ^K)*, cant. D. *He (M)*

[24] uia laboris *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 247^v*, uia doli *O* + *He (Σ^T*)* + *Reims 193^v*; *attributed to alia littera in the comm. codd.*, uia idoli *He ed.*

Psalm 139

Textus (deest ANC)

[*titulus*] Pro uictoria canticum Dauid *MGHBR* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 248^r*, Uictori canticum David *O* + *He (Θ^K)* + *Reims 193^v*

[2] eripe *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 248^r* + *Ga*, erue *O* + *He* + *Reims 194^r*

[2] salua *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He (AKI)*, serua *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 194^r* (*corr. ex salua?*) + *Eadwine 248^r*

Comm.

[14] beneplacito uoluntatis tue uel cum uultu id est cum *post* recte uiuunt cum uultu tuo id est cum *om.* *MANCO* (*saut du même au même*)

[14] id est cum beneplacito uoluntatis tue *post* recte uiuunt cum uultu tuo *om.* *R*

Psalm 140*Textus (deest ANC)*

[1] auribus percipe uocem meam *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (Θ^K *marg.*) + *Eadwine* 249^v, exaudi uocem meam *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims* 194^v

Comm.

[10] liber *ante* a talibus insidiis *om.* *M*

Psalm 141*Textus (deest ANC)*

[*titulus*] erudicio *MGHBR*^R + *He* + *Eadwine* 251^r, intellectus *O* + *Reims* 195^v + *Ga*

[8] in me coronabuntur iusti *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (Θ^{HK} $A^L\Omega^M$) + *Eadwine* 251^v, me expectant iusti *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims* 196^r + *Ga*

Comm.

[2] petit *ante* propheta liberari *om.* *M*

[8] [*lemma*] retribuereis *MGHBR*, tribueris *ANCO*

Psalm 142*Comm.*

[12] Saul phitonissam consulendo *MANCHRO* (phico- *M*, -missam *AC*, phithomissam *O*, phito(n)isa(m) (con)sola(n)do *R*), S. pantonissam c. *GB* (consolendo *B*)

Psalm 143*Textus (deest ANC)*

[1] manus *om.* *B*

[15] beatus populus cuius talia sunt *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *He* + *Reims* 198^r + *Eadwine* 254^v + *Bosham* 126^{ra}, benedictus p. c. t. s. *O*

[15] eius *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique*, suus *O* + *He* + *Reims* 198^r + *Eadwine* 254^v, cf. suus (ve)l ei(us) *Bosham* 126^{ra} (v. e. *sup. lin.*)

Comm.

[1. *The two following entries form one passage*]

pro uictoria habita *MANGHBRO*, pro v. quam habuit *C* (*repeats the phrase occurring at the end of the commentary on the titulus*)

de Goliath *MANGHO*, de Galiath *C*, de Galeath *B*, de Galaath *R*

[15] ideo *post* hec aufferebat et *om.* *ANCO*

Psalm 144

Textus (*deest ANC*)

[titulus] Ymnus David *MGHBRC^R* (Hympnus *M*, Ympnus *G*, Pmnus *R*) + *He ed.* + *Eadwine 255^r*, Laudacio *D. O* + *He (O)* + *Reims 198^r* + *Ga ed.* (*L. ipsi D Ga t.r.*)

[1] nomen tuum *MGHBR* + *lemma ubique* + *Eadwine 255^r*, nomini tuo *O* + *He* + *Reims 198^r* + *Bosham 126^{va}*

[21] laudem *MGBRO*, lauda *H*

[21] in eternum et *om.* *M*

Comm.

[titulus] ponitur in hebreo *M*, in hebreo p. *GBR*, ponitur *H*, in hebreo *ANCO*

[1. *The two following entries form one passage*]

In psalmo *CXLIII* laudat psalmista deum *MANCO* (*CXLIII N*), In p. *CXLIII* laudat deum *GHBR*

sicut titulus pretendit *MGHBR*, s. t. precedit *AN*, s. t. predicat *O*, s. t. dicit *C*

[1] destramento *M*, de trametro *ANCO*, tetrametro *GHBR* + *Cossey 242^v*

[21] omni *ante* seculo *om.* *M*

Psalm 145*Textus*

[2] psallam *MGHBR*, *sup. lin. scr.* O^R + lemma *ubique* + *He* (Θ^K *marg.*) + *Eadwine* 256^v + *Ga* (*in M imperfect*), cantabo O + *He ed.* + *Reims* 199^r + *Bosham* 130^{rb}

[10] seculum *MGHBR*, *sup. lin. scr.* O^R + *He* (Θ^K *marg.*) + *Eadwine* 257^r, secula lemma *ubique* + *Ga*, eternum O + *He ed.* + *Reims* 199^v + *Bosham* 131^{va}

[10] all(elui)a *M*, haleluya *G*, haleluia *H*, hall(elui)a O^R + lemma *ubique* + *He* (Θ^{K2}) + *Reims* 199^v, *deest BRO* + *He ed.* + *Eadwine* 257^r + *Bosham* 131^{va}

Comm.

[*titulus*] Psalmus 5 *M*, Psalmus quintus *GHBRO*^R, Psalmus *ANCO*

[*titulus*] laudem et leticiam *pro* laudis leticiam *C*

[2] laudat psalmista *MNCO*, psalmista *preceded by blank space A*, laudat *GHBR*

[10] per successionem generacionum *MGO*^R, p. successionem generacionem *H*, p. successiones generacionum *HR*, pro successiones (*sic*) generacionum *B*, persecucionem generacionum *ANCO* (g. p. *transp. O*)

[10. *The three following entries form one passage*]

a reduccione captiuitatis sub Aggeo et Zacaria *M*, a r. c. s. A. et Zacharia *ANCGO*, a r. c. s. A. et Zaca Antiochi *H*, a r. c. s. Agge et Zach(ari)a Antioche *B*, a r. c. s. Ageo et Zacha Antioche *R*

usque ad tempora Antiochi *MC*^R*GHBR* (*Anthiochi MC*^R), u. ad t. Anthichi *ANCO* (*Antichi N*)

et multo plura usque ad tempora Uespasiani *codd.* (multa *M*, Uespasiani *R*, Vespasiam *C*, Vespasia(m) *A*, Vespacia(m) *N*)

Psalm 146*Textus* (*deest ANC*)

[1] bonum *om. BR*

[11] eum *om.* BRO

Comm.

[1] Ieronimus in originali suo *codd.* (orientali *pro* originali *M*)

Psalm 147

Comm.

[He 146:12]

nec a grossa littera incipit in principio [...] distinguitur *MANCO* (*omission of* quia nec titulo *would be mechanical error, while a and* incipit *could date back to unpolished authorial version*), quia nec titulo nec grossa littera in principio [...] distinguitur *GHBR*

[He 146:20]

ad expressionem eximie leticie in laude dei addit in fine alleluia *codd.* (ad laudem *pro* in laude *G*; *the expression commonly used when explaining the meaning of Halleluia in Pss. 103, 104, 113, 115, 116, 150 is in laude*)

distinguat[ur] [...] psalmus *post* supposito quod iste psalmus *om.* BR (*saut du même au même*)

tantum *ante* habet alleluia in fine *om.* M

Psalm 148

Textus (deest ANC)

[14] hominibus *M*, omnibus *GHBRO* + *He* + *Reims 201^v* + *Eadwine 260^v* + *Bosham 136^{va}*

[14] misericordibus *MGHBR*, *sup. lin. scr. O²* + *lemma ubique* + *He* (*Θ^K marg.*) + *Eadwine 260^v*, al(ias) m. *Bosham² 136^{va} lower margin*, sanctis *O* + *He ed.* + *Reims 201^v* + *Bosham 136^{va}* + *Ga*

[14] Israel *om.* *O*, *sup. lin. scr. O^R*

[14] populo propinquo sibi *MGHBR* (propinquo sibi *sup. lin. scr. O^R*) + *lemma ubique* + *He* (*Θ^K*) + *Eadwine 260^v*, al(ias) p. *Bosham² 136^{va} lower margin*, populo ap[ro]pinquantis *O*, *cf.* p. adpropinquantis sibi *He ed.* + *Reims 201^v* + *Bosham 136^{va}* (p. ap[ro]pinquantis s.) + *Ga*

Comm.

[1] In psalmo CXLVIII inuitat propheta *codd.* (inuitauit *pro* inuitat *M*)

[3] non hoc addit quia sint *MANCHBO* (hic *M*), n(e)c ho(c) add(i)t q(uod) si(n)t *Cossey 248^r*, ideo hoc addit quia sunt *GR* (s(un)t *R*)

[14] [*lemma*] omnibus *M^R ANCGHBRO*, hominibus *M*

Psalm 149

Textus (deest ANC)

[1] in ecclesia sanctorum *MGHBR* (ecclesia *sup. lin. scr. O^R*) + *Ga*, in congregacione sanctorum *O* + *He ed.* (Θ^{K*}) + *Reims 201^v* + *Bosham 136^{vb}*, *cf.* in congregacione misericordium *lemma ubique* + *He* (Θ^K *marg.*) + *Eadwine 261^r*, *cf.* al(ias) m. *Bosham² 136^{vb} lower margin*

[9] et facies *MO^R* (facies *sup. lin. scr. O^R*), et facient *GHBR* (ut *B*) + *lemma ubique* (faciant *M*), ut faciant *O* + *lemma hebr. ubique* (ut facient *BR*) + *He* + *Reims 202^r* + *Eadwine 261^v* + *Bosham 137^{va}* + *Ga*

[9] all(elui)a *MR*, haleluya *G*, haleluia *HB*, hall(elui)a *O²* + *He* (Θ^K), Alleluia *bis scr.* *Reims 202^r*, Alleluia *deest O* + *Bosham 137^{va}* + *Eadwine 261^v*

Comm.

[*titulus*] de quo dictum est supra in fine psalmi centesimi tercii *MGHBR*, de q. supra dictum est in fine psalmi centesimi tercii *transp. ANCO*

Psalm 150

Comm.

[*titulus*] qui sequitur *post* Psalmus iste *om. C*

[1-2]

Textus (deest ANC)

[2] fortitudine eius *M*, fortitudinibus eius *GHBRO* + *He* + *Eadwine 262^r* + *Bosham 138^{ra}*

Comm.

in uariis instrumentis musicis *NCGHBRO*, in †viriis† i. m. *M*, in variis i. vnificis *A*

in quibus instrumentis *ANCGHBR* (q⁹ abbr. *AC*, q¹⁹ abbr. *N*), in cui(us) i. *M*, in c(uius) i. *O*

[*lemma*] in clangore *MANCGHO*, in clamore *B*, *om.* *R*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

ad laudem *post* generali exhortacione *om.* *R*

psalmum terminat *MGHR*, p. †terminā† *B*, p. determinat *ANCO*

laudate dominum in sancto eius scilicet in tabernaculo uel in templo *MANCO* (in *ante* templo *deest ANCO*), l. d. in s. e. scilicet tabernaculo uel templo *GHBR*

fortitudine potencie [...] laudate eum in *post* subdit laudate eum in *om.* *A* (*saut du même au même*)

laudate eum in fortitudinibus que continet educendo Israel *MNCO* (continet *om.* *NCO*, conuenit *in marg. scr. O^R*), fortitudinibus que educendo I. *A* (*cf. previous entry*, quas ostendit *in marg. scr. A^R*), l. e. in f. eius id est in factis eius fortibus que ostendit e. I. *GHBR*

laudate eum iuxta multitudinem magnificencie eius hoc est attente *MANCO* (attende *ACO*, attente *A^RC^R*, atende *N*, et *ante* a. *add. AO*), l. e. i. multitudinem id est ut decet multitudinem magnificencie eius h. e. attente *GHBR*

[3]

Comm.

tympanum chorum organa et cimbala; quod autem addit in cordis [...] preter psalterium et cytharam *post* cytharam (citharam *N*, cytheram *C*) *om.* *ANCO* (*saut du même au même*), *in marg. restituit O²* (cymbalia *M*, cimbala *GHBR*², quo *M*, quod *GHBR*², cytharam *MGO*², citharam *HBR*)

cantores *post* non utebantur regulariter et communiter sacerdotes uel *om.* *MANCO*

sicut quintus psalmus cantabatur cum instrumento quodam quod dicebatur vehiloth *codd.* (s^(us) *MR*, v^(us) *ANC*, vn(us) *uel* vII^(us) *O*, can-

taba(n)tur *ANO*, quodam *om. BR*, quodam i. quod *transp. C*, nehilot *B*), et dicit Triuet quod hic non fit mencio de quibusdam instrumentis scilicet de nehilot in quo psalmus .5^(us). cantabatur *Cossey 251^v*

(*name of instrument*) gutith *M*, gittith *NCGHB*, gittih *R*, egittith *AO*, cf. gitit *Cossey 251^v*

instrumenta nobis ignorata quorum usus *M*, i. ignorata q. u. *ANCO* (nobis *inter col. scr. O^R*), i. nobis ignota et quorum usus *GHBR* (quo *B*, quorum *B²*)

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

quorum differenciam expositores assignant quod *ANCGHBRO*, q. d. e. assignant et *M*

cithara reddit sonum a parte inferiori *M*, c. r. sonum ab inferiori *GHBR*, c. reddit *ANCO*

pars longior latet super brachia *M*, p. l. iacet s. b. *ANCO*, p. l. iaceat s. b. *GHBR*

sicut in hac forma *MANCO*, s. patet in h. f. *GHBR*

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

sed cithara pendens ab humeris econtra *MANCO* (hum<er>is *M*), sed et c. p. ab h. econtra *GH*, et econtra *BR*

acucioem sonum a superiori reddet et grauiorem ab inferiori *ANCGHBRO*, accucioem orem ab inferiori *M* (*saut du même au même*)

illius forme cuius est nunc *MO* (e(st) *scr. O^R ut videtur*), i. f. c. nunc *ANC*, i. f. c. nunc est *GHBR*

modernis *ante* omnia genera viellarum *om. ANCO*, *in marg. scr. O²*

modulacio illius son(us) *MANCO* (huius *pro* i. *O*, illius *in marg. scr. O^R*), modulacio illius soni *GHBR*

redditur sonus superius *MGHBRO^R*, r. superius *ANO*, r. sonus *C*

delte *ANCGHBO*, delthe *R*, delchee *M*

modernarum *post* nullum genus viellarum *om. M*

3^a diferencia quia *MR*, et 3^a d. quia *ANCO*, forte erat et tertia d. *GB*, erat et d. *H*

[4]

Comm.

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

chorus autem secundum quod instrumentum est *codd.* (instrumentis *pro q. i. H*)

a Strubo *MANCHO* (*in MANCO r is abbreviated by letters u or v written above t*), a Strabo *GBRC^R* (*St(ra)bo abbr. BC^R*)

super Exodo xv sic describitur *M*, s. Exod. xv s. d. *ANCO*, super Exodum xv s. d. *GHBR* (*Exo. abbr. R*)

unam *post* duas cicutas *om. H*

et dicit Strabus *MGBR* (*St(ra)bus abbr. B*), et d. Strubus *ANCHO* (*dicitur ANC?O*, dicit *C^R*, *St(r)ubus abbr. H*)

hoc autem instrumentum nunc pandorus dicitur *MANGO*, h. a. i. n. pandoris d. *C*, h. a. i. n. pandor(um) d. *R*, h. a. i. n. pandor(um)us (-r(um) *uel* -r(um)is *B*) d. *B*, h. a. i. n. pudor(um)^s d. *H*

in cordis omnia instrumenta musica comprehendit *MANCO* (*vnifica pro m. A*), in c. o. musica instrumenta c. *transp. GHBR*

[5]

Comm.

[*The two following entries form one passage*]

et tintinnabulorum *post* proprie cimbalorum *om. MA*

repeticio ergo eiusdem est sub aliis uerbis *MANGO*, r. e. eiusdem sub a. u. est *BR*, r. e. eiusdem sub a. u. *H*, r. e. eius sub a. u. *C*

[*referring to cymbala*] acceptab(u)lia *M*, acceptab(u)la *N*, accecab(u)la *AC*, accetab(u)la *RO*, accitabula *GHB^s*, accitabula *B*

quorum forma talis est vi(detur) *M*, q. f. talis est *NCRO*, q. f. est *A*, quorum forma talis esse uidetur *GHB*

secundum bomta^(m) in principio musice *pro s. Boecium in p. m. M*

neruorum extencione M , n. extensione G^2 , n. tensione $ANCG BRO$, n. intensione H

aut rei concave [...] insufflatione *post* aut spiritus insufflacione *om.* M (*saut du même au même*)

rei concaue percussione $GHRO$, r. c. †percussione† B , r. c. perquacione C^R , r. c. persecucione N , r. c. persequacione AC

spiritus insufflatione [...] si humano uel continuo [...] uel interpellato *codd.* (interpellato M , interpellac(i)o AC , interpella(c)i)o N , interp(e)llato O , interpolato GH , interpollato BR)

[6]

Textus (deest ANC)

entire verse om. O

Comm.

[*The three following entries form one passage*]

exortacione ponitur psalmi terminus *post* hic in generali *om.* $ANCO$, e. ponit p. t. *in marg. scr.* O^R

d. *pro* cum dicit C

laudet dominum et dicit omne quod spirat *post* omne quod spirat *om.* A (*saut du même au même*)

[*The five following entries form one passage*]

laudent deum si rationem participant $MANCO$ (si r. p. *om.* C , participant $M^R ANO$, participant O^R), laudet deum si rationi participant $GHBR$ (rationem R *can be read either way HB*) (*in the entire tradition omne is the subject*)

si rationem [...] non participant *post* laudent deum *om.* C

uel dent [...] si rationem non participant *om.* ANO (*saut du même au même*), *in marg. scr.* O^2

dent materiam laudis aliis MO^2 , dent laudis materiam a. HB , dent aliis materiam laudis R , det laudis materiam aliis G

non participant MO^2 , non participant HB , participant GR

[*The two following entries form one passage, the entire explicit is provided in the description of individual manuscripts*]

sic *MANCO*, hic *GHBR*

inchoata *MANCGHO* (inchoata *H*), iniciata *BR*

Final rubric (deest A)

litteralis [...] latinum *om. R*

de ordine predicatorum *pro ordinis p. C*

dicto Jeronimo *pro beato J. O*

hebreo *MCO*, he(bre)o *N*, hebraico *GHB*

deo gratias *in fine add. MNCO*

APPENDIX E.
REGISTER OF EXPLICIT REFERENCES TO TREVET'S
EXPOSITIO IN THE COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS BY
HENRY COSSEY IN CAMBRIDGE, CHRIST'S COLLEGE, II.

The register follows the structure of Cossey's commentary and provides the textual division, folio reference, page reference to the editions (if a given passage has been edited), and the division of Trevet's commentary. Some of the references have been included into Appendix D, some have also been quoted in:

M. R. JAMES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 28–36 (referred to as James).

A. KLEINHANS, "Heinrich von Cossey O.F.M, ein Psalmen-Erklärer des 14. Jahrhunderts", in *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia R. P. Athanasio Miller O.S.B Completis LXX Annis Oblata*, ed. by A. METZINGER, OSB, Rome, 1951 (Studia Anselmiana, fasc. XXVII–XXVIII), pp. 239–53 (referred to as Kleinhans).

A. KRAEBEL, "English Hebraism and hermeneutic history: the Psalter prologues and epilogue of Henry Cossey, OFM", *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 30 (2020), pp. 287–368 (referred to as Kraebel).

Prologue 3: fol. 5^v; Kraebel, p. 334 (Ep. ded. 2–3); fol. 6^{r-v}; Kraebel, p. 336 (Ep. ded. 7–8, 11); fol. 6^v; Kraebel, p. 336 (cf. Ep. ded. 9); fol. 8^r; Kraebel, p. 338 (Ep. ded. 7–10); fol. 11^v; Kraebel, p. 348–49 (Ps. 1:1c–e).

Ps. 1: fol. 14^r (Ps. 1:3); fol. 14^v, the lower margin (cf. Ps. 1:5).

Ps. 2: fol. 15^r, the lower margin (cf. Ps. 2:1); fol. 15^r (Ps. 2:1); fol. 15^v (the locus referred to uncertain). Cf. Kraebel, p. 295, n. 29.

Ps. 3: fol. 17^v, the lower margin (Ps. 3:titulus).

Ps. 4: fol. 19^r and fol. 19^r, the upper margin; Kleinhans, p. 250 (Ps. 4: titulus).

Ps. 6: fol. 21^v, the outer margin; Kraebel, p. 304, n. 51 (Ps. 6:titulus); fol. 21^v, the lower margin; Kraebel, p. 307, n. 54 (Ps. 4:titulus and Ps. 6: titulus); fol. 21^v; Kraebel, p. 314, n. 73 (Ps. 6:2).

- Ps. 8:** fol. 25^r, the lower margin (Ps. 8:titulus); fol. 25^v, the lower margin (Ps. 8:3).
- Ps. 9:** fol. 26^r, the lower margin (Ps. 9:2).
- Ps. 10:** fol. 30^r, a marginal annotation by the same scribe “contra Triuet” (followed by “Lira” and “contra Liram”), but in the text Cossey only argues against Nicholas of Lyre.
- Ps. 11:** fol. 31^r (Ps. 11:titulus).
- Ps. 12:** fol. 32^v (Ps. 12:1).
- Ps. 13:** fol. 33^v (Ps. 13:1).
- Ps. 14:** fol. 35^r (Ps. 14:1).
- Ps. 15:** fols 35^v–36^r (Ps. 15:titulus).
- Ps. 16:** fol. 38^r (Ps. 16:1).
- Ps. 17:** fol. 40^v (Ps. 17:8); fol. 41^v (Ps. 17:16).
- Ps. 18:** fol. 44^r (Ps. 18:2); fol. 44^v (Ps. 18:5).
- Ps. 21:** fol. 48^v (Ps. 21:2–3); fol. 50^r (Ps. 21:21).
- Ps. 24:** fol. 54^r (Ps. 24:1).
- Ps. 26:** fol. 56^v (cf. Ps. 26:titulus); fol. 57^v (Ps. 26:12).
- Ps. 28:** fol. 58^r (Ps. 28:titulus); fol. 59^r (Ps. 28:9).
- Ps. 29:** fol. 59^v; Kraebel, p. 315, n. 79 (Ps. 29:2 and 29:4).
- Ps. 30:** fol. 61^r (Ps. 30:2).
- Ps. 31:** fol. 63^r (Ps. 31:1); fol. 64^r (cf. Ps. 31:6).
- Ps. 35:** fol. 68^r (cf. Ps. 36:2).
- Ps. 38:** fol. 71^v and 72^r (Ps. 38:titulus); fol. 72^v (cf. Ps. 38:3).
- Ps. 39:** fol. 73^v (Ps. 39:2); fol. 74^v (Ps. 39:7 and 8).
- Ps. 40:** fol. 75^v (Ps. 40:2); fol. 77^r (cf. Ps. 40:14).
- Ps. 41:** fol. 77^r (Ps. 41:2).
- Ps. 43:** fol. 78^v (cf. Ps. 43:2).
- Ps. 44:** fol. 80^r (Ps. 44:titulus).

- Ps. 45:** fol. 82^r (Ps. 45:2).
- Ps. 47:** fol. 85^r (Ps. 47:3).
- Ps. 49:** fol. 87^r (Ps. 49:1).
- Ps. 50:** fol. 89^r (Ps. 50:6).
- Ps. 52:** fol. 91^r (Ps. 52:1).
- Ps. 53:** fol. 91^v (Ps. 53:5).
- Ps. 54:** fol. 92^r (Ps. 54:2); *ibidem* (cf. Ps. 54:14).
- Ps. 55:** fol. 93^v (cf. Ps. 55:2).
- Ps. 56:** fol. 94^v (Ps. 56:titulus).
- Ps. 57:** fol. 96^r (Ps. 57:4).
- Ps. 58:** fol. 97^v (cf. Ps. 58:7).
- Ps. 59:** fol. 99^v (the interpretation attributed to Trevet is not found in the exposition of “ciuitas” in v. 11).
- Ps. 61:** fol. 101^r (Ps. 61:4).
- Ps. 63:** fol. 102^v (cf. Ps. 63:2).
- Ps. 65:** fol. 104^v (Ps. 65:3).
- Ps. 67:** fol. 106^r (Ps. 67:2); fol. 106^v (Ps. 67:5); *ibidem* (Ps. 67:7); fol. 107^r (Ps. 67:8); fol. 107^v (Ps. 67:14); fol. 109^v (Ps. 67:23); fol. 110^r (Ps. 67:26–27); *ibidem* (Ps. 67:28).
- Ps. 70:** fol. 114^v (Ps. 70:1).
- Ps. 71:** fol. 115^r (Ps. 71:2); *ibidem* (the Christological section following the exposition of Ps. 71:17); fol. 115^v (Ps. 71:7, cf. the Christological section); fol. 116^r (cf. the Christological section); fol. 117^r (the Christological section); *ibidem* (Ps. 71:20).
- Ps. 73:** fol. 119^r (cf. Ps. 73:1); fol. 120^v (Ps. 73:14).
- Ps. 74:** fol. 121^r (Ps. 74:2).
- Ps. 76:** fol. 122^v; James, p. 32; Kraebel, p. 295, n. 29 (Ps. 76:titulus).
- Ps. 77:** fol. 125^v/126^r (Ps. 77:9); fol. 127^v (Ps. 77:26); fol. 130^r (Ps. 77:67).
- Ps. 79:** fol. 132^r (Ps. 79:2); fol. 132^v (Ps. 79:6).

- Ps. 80:** fol. 134^r (Ps. 80:6).
- Ps. 81:** fol. 135^v (Ps. 81:8).
- Ps. 82:** fol. 136^v; cf. James, p. 33 (Ps. 82:8); *ibidem* (Ps. 82:9).
- Ps. 83:** fol. 137^r (Ps. 83:titulus); fol. 138^r (Ps. 83:10).
- Ps. 86:** fol. 141^r (cf. Ps. 86:1); fol. 142^v (Ps. 86:5 and 6).
- Ps. 87:** fol. 143^v (Ps. 87:2).
- Ps. 88:** fol. 146^r (Ps. 88:15).
- Ps. 89:** fol. 147^v/148^r (Ps. 89:1).
- Ps. 91:** fol. 151^r; James, p. 33 (Ps. 91:2).
- Ps. 93:** fol. 154^v/155^r (Ps. 93:20).
- Ps. 95:** fol. 156^v (Ps. 95:1).
- Ps. 96:** fol. 158^v (Ps. 96:1).
- Ps. 97:** fol. 160^r (Ps. 97:1).
- Ps. 98:** fol. 161^r (Ps. 98:1 and 97:1).
- Ps. 101:** fol. 163^v (Ps. 101:2); fol. 165^v (Ps. 101:15); *ibidem* (Ps. 101:18).
- Ps. 103:** fol. 168^r (Ps. 103:1); fol. 171^r (Ps. 103:25–26); fol. 172^r (Ps. 103:32); *ibidem* (Ps. 103:35).
- Ps. 109:** fol. 185^r (Ps. 109:3); fol. 185^v (Ps. 109:5).
- Ps. 113:** fol. 189^v (Ps. 113:9 = *He* 115:1).
- Ps. 114:** fol. 190^v (Ps. 114:1 = *He* 116:1); *ibidem* (Ps. 114:3 = *He* 116:3).
- Ps. 115:** fol. 191^r (Ps. 114:1 = *He* 116:1 and Ps. 115:1 = *He* 116:10); fol. 191^v (Ps. 114:1 = *He* 116:1 and Ps. 115:1 = *He* 116:10, cf. Ps. 114:3 = *He* 116:3).
- Ps. 116:** fol. 192^{r-v} (cf. Ps. 116:1).
- Ps. 117:** fol. 192^v (Ps. 117:1).
- Ps. 118:** fol. 199^v/200^r (cf. Ps. 118:46/vav 6);¹ fol. 201^r (Ps. 118:61/heth 5); fol. 202^r (Ps. 118:78/ioth 6); fol. 203^r (Ps. 118:83/caph 3); fol. 205^v/206^r

¹ To facilitate the navigation in this Psalm I shall exceptionally offer the verse numbering used by Trevet, according to G.

(Ps. 118:115/samech 3); fol. 207^r (Ps. 118:129/phe 1); ibidem (Ps. 118:130/phe 2); fol. 210^v (Ps. 118:176/tav 7).

Ps. 119: fol. 211^v (cf. Ps. 119:1); ibidem (cf. Ps. 119:2); fol. 212^r (Ps. 119:3).

Ps. 121: fol. 213^v/214^r (Ps. 121:3); fol. 214^r (Ps. 121:4).

Ps. 124: fol. 216^v (cf. Ps. 124:1).

Ps. 125: fol. 217^v (Ps. 125:4).

Ps. 126: fol. 219^r (Ps. 126:3).

Ps. 131: fol. 223^r (Ps. 131:6).

Ps. 132: fol. 225^r (Ps. 132:3).

Ps. 133: fol. 225^v (Ps. 133:2).

Ps. 135: fol. 227^v (Ps. 135:13).

Ps. 137: fol. 229^r (cf. Ps. 24:titulus).

Ps. 139: fol. 233^r (Ps. 139:2).

Ps. 140: fol. 235^r (Ps. 140:2); fol. 237^r (Ps. 140:5).

Ps. 143: fol. 241^v (cf. Ps. 143:5–6 and 12).

Ps. 144: fol. 242^v (Ps. 141:1).

Ps. 145: fol. 244^r (Ps. 145:2); fol. 245^r (Ps. 146:1).

Ps. 148: fol. 248^r (Ps. 148:3); ibidem (Ps. 148:4).

Ps. 150: fol. 251^v (Ps. 150:3).

APPENDIX F.
ILLUSTRATION OF PS. 150. CF. PLATES 7, 9, 12, 14, 16

The apparatus of illustration of Ps. 150:3–5 is only present in GHBRO, while in MANC blank spaces were left for images, which were never filled. The apparatus consists of representations of seven musical instruments (some of them in two variants), which are mentioned in the psalm. This apparatus would deserve an iconographic and musicological analysis in its own right.¹ The descriptions provided here have been prepared in order to attempt an answer to two questions of some importance to my analysis: (1) whether the executed illustrations may have derived from a common model or followed the same (authorial?) instructions; and (2) whether differences between individual apparatuses correspond to the relations between respective manuscripts as reconstructed on textual grounds in Chapters 2 and 3. For the conclusions, see Chapters 2 and 3. Below, the most important characteristics of the apparatus are offered. A general observation must precede: the location of the illustrations within the commentary, though usually in the vicinity of the deictic expressions which introduce them, varies to some extent; this may be explained by the dimensions of page peculiar to each copy.

A. Major idiosyncrasies.

The representations are painted and polychromatic in all the manuscripts except R, where they have been done in the pen and the ink of the text. In G all the instruments are represented as being played: the two trumpets by fantastic figures, the others by male figures.

B. The forms of individual instruments.²

1. Trumpets (corresponding to “buccina” in Ps. 150:3, glossed as “tuba” by Trevet) are always represented as a pair, consisting of a conical,

¹ Only a few selected elements of the representations and respective description have attracted some attention from musicologists, see: C. PAGE, “Biblical instruments in medieval manuscript illustration”, *Early Music*, 5 (1977), pp. 299–309, at 300, 309; K. MARSHALL, “Bourdon pipes on late-medieval organs”, *The Organ Yearbook*, 18 (1987), pp. 5–33, at 15.

² The descriptions mostly rely on the terminology discussed by H. MAYER BROWN and J. LASCELLE, *Musical Iconography. A Manual for Cataloguing Musical Subjects in Western Art Before 1800*, Cambridge, MA, 1972.

curved trumpet and a straight one, referring to Trevet's distinction between horned and ductile trumpet ("tuba cornea", "tuba ductilis", made of silver). While in G and O the two forms are unconstrained, in H they are represented within two juxtaposed rectangles, which in B and R have been merged into one shaped and framed field.

2. The psalter (corresponding to "psalterium" in Ps. 150:3) always has a concave trapezoidal form, varying in details of the interior and the number of strings, which are sometimes doubled. The strings are not always clearly countable, but they are equal to ten or more, while according to Trevet the psalter had eight or ten courses. In G the musician is playing the psalter using both fingers and plectrum, contrary to Trevet's opinion who supposes that it was played "tantum pulsu digitorum".

3. The "cithara" of Ps. 150:3 is everywhere represented as a frame harp. In GBR and O the pillar is decorated with an animal head: in G it resembles a faun's mask, in O it has a wide-open mouth and tongue. In G and O the lower part (where the pillar meets the soundbox) seems to have been covered with a cloth.³

4. The drum (corresponding to "tympanum" of Ps. 150:4) is clearly cylindrical when represented three-dimensionally in G and O. In HBR it is shown from above and the double circle in BR might suggest the barrel form. Everywhere it has a snare, represented as a line on the drum-head. In all manuscripts but H it is represented with a stick, while in HBR it has four strainers.

5. The bagpipe (corresponds to "chorus" in Ps. 150:4) has always one chanter, accompanied by a drone pipe in HBR and two drones in O.⁴ The joint between the bag and the pipes has the shape of an animal

³ The same feature is present in Christ Church Oxford, 92, fol. 43^r.

⁴ In the commentary Trevet only mentions the blowpipe and the chanter: "Chorus est pellis habens duas cicutas, unam per quam insufflatur et aliam per quam emit tit sonum" (M, fol. 132^{va}, G, fol. 250^{rb-va}). Trevet admits following the definition provided by (Walahfrid) Strabo in his commentary on Ex. 15, who in his turn followed Jerome. Trevet's source was probably the *Glossa ordinaria* on Ex. 15:20 ("cum tympanis et choris"), which reads: "Tympanum. Strabo. Secundum Hieronymum, est genus tube [...]. Chorus, secundum eundem, pellis simplex cum duabus cicutis: per alteram inspiratur, per alteram sonum reddit" (*Biblia cum Glossa ordinaria*). The definition clearly agrees with that provided in Ps.-Jerome, *Epistola de diversis gene-*

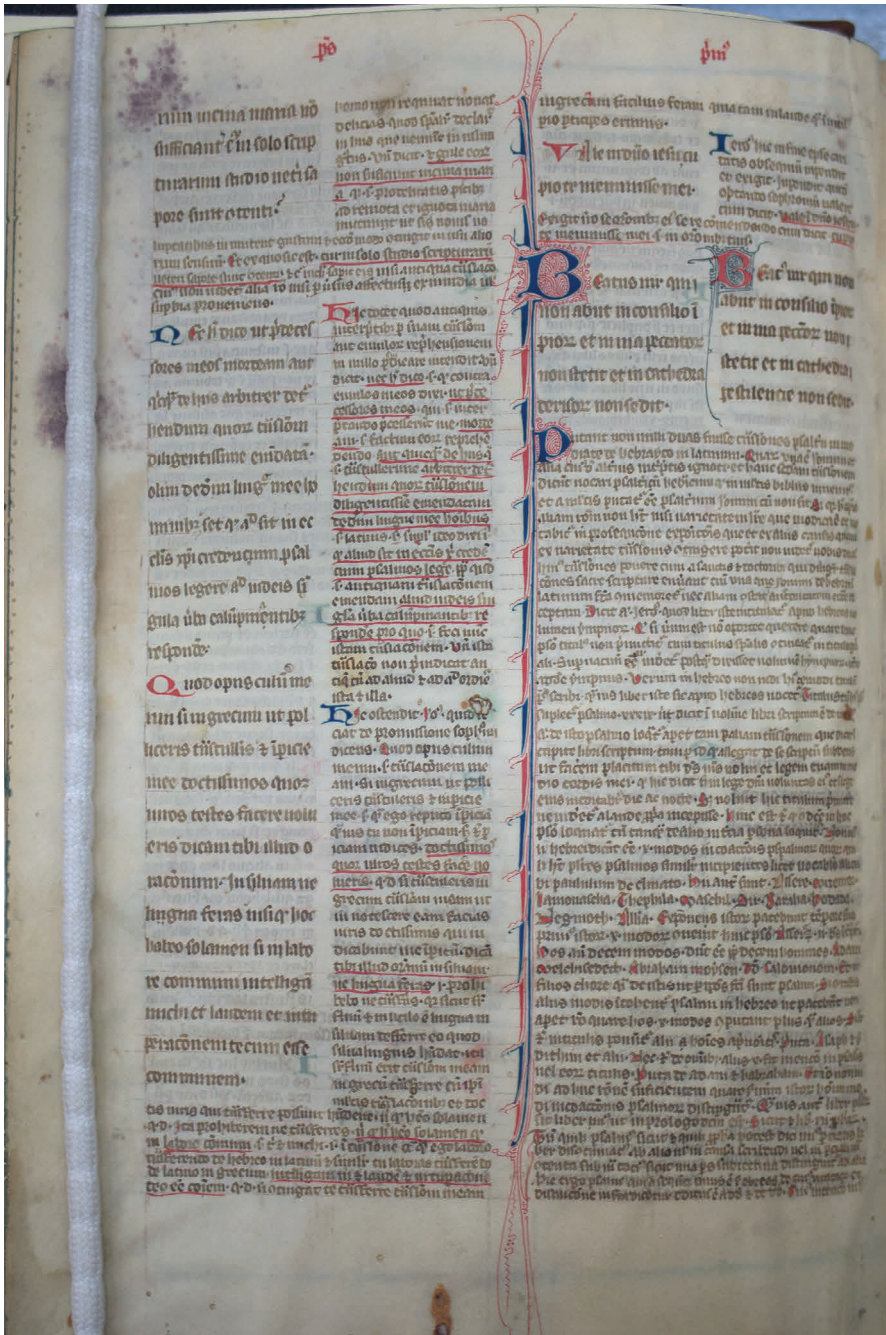


Plate 1: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Lat. 983 (α. F. 3, 7), fol. 2^v (Courtesy of Ministero della Cultura-Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

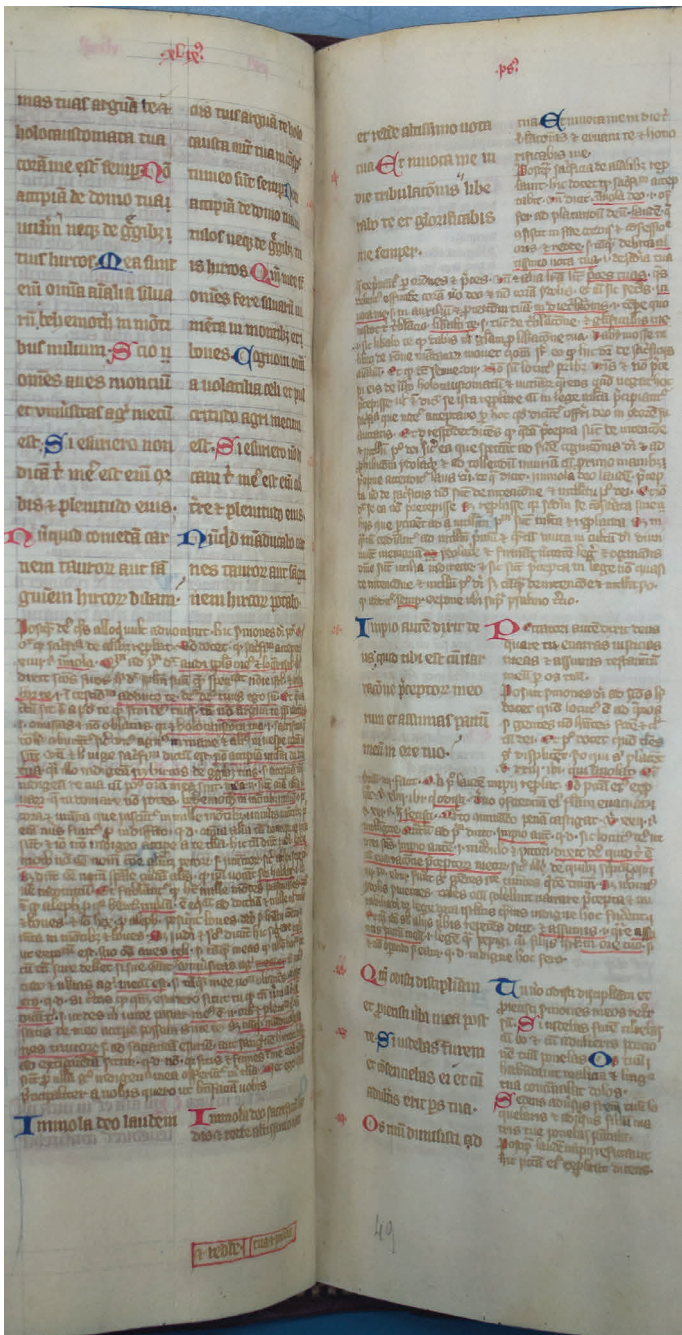


Plate 2: Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Lat. 983 (α. F. 3. 7), fols 48^v-49^r (fragment) (Courtesy of Ministero della Cultura-Gallerie Estensi, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria)

Opus s. Nicolai de ... p. d. ...

Benevento p. s. i. jobra
Holl. p. v. p. m. a. l. s.
D. u. a. t. o. z. d. u. s. t. r. i. s. i. d. i.
B. e. n. e. t. h. e. i. d. e. d. i. o. s. i. n. i.
E. t. d. e. b. i. t. e. o. l. e. d. i. t. e. p. u. n. i.
G. l. e. b. i. t. a. c. d. e. n. o. t. i. t. u. e. i.

Deletoz vos rebuim tiffacoz qd ocoi
Noctozes enlaunt duas papue i auto
eone tiffite legunt. Jomaz q septu
agita di. e. bebuo de hebidocho i sreat.
Et vltaz i dñi iromum e de hebido i la
nu. Es hco sreat iuplogo hli mozalit
dntegunt li edoz nolis. vltaz atqz no
ne. pmas itaz. qz i o iulzacam. apd
lazi. v. j. e. au. t. d. y. s. p. u. l. a. t. e. r. t. d. u. s.
p. m. o. s. f. i. t. e. i. v. s. v. e. m. l. a. a. n. a. l. i. q. d. e.
f. e. t. p. t. e. i. g. n. o. r. a. r. e. t. f. u. e. r. a. t. a. c. p. u. r. a. m.
c. e. l. a. t. a. h. i. s. i. d. p. u. n. i. t. i. s. v. l. j. a. d. c. e. p. e. s.
z. i. g. e. m. s. E. t. l. i. c. e. t. e. s. a. e. t. u. d. i. o. t. u. m. h. i. c.
a. i. b. e. h. i. c. a. v. i. t. a. e. f. e. r. e. s. a. i. a. l. i. q. u. o. i. l. o.
a. s. i. v. l. l. a. d. e. e. q. u. z. a. l. i. b. i. f. e. a. d. d. i. t. a. z. p. r.
i. s. a. n. s. e. c. z. a. r. g. e. t. h. e. o. d. o. m. s. t. i. l. l. a. t.
o. m. n. u. l. t. i. d. o. o. p. v. l. j. d. b. z. d. e. s. e. n. a. a. z.
n. o. t. a. s. d. i. s. t. i. g. u. e. s. q. d. e. c. r. a. t. l. b. a. r. e. n. t. i. s.
r. e. l. u. c. e. f. a. c. i. e. s. q. i. f. f. i. n. a. r. e. p. e. l. a. t. u. s. i. g. n.
l. a. o. o. b. l. i. t. a. s. h. u. s. i. o. n. o. s. p. t. o. z. i. a. r. i.
a. p. l. a. s. t. i. c. o. s. v. t. a. l. l. o. b. a. b. o. h. i. t. a. s. p. a. n.
a. u. t. h. i. o. p. e. s. e. i. n. s. p. h. e. r. i. t. u. m. i.
l. a. b. o. r. e. f. p. o. n. e. r. e. d. i. s. t. i. n. e. r. e. l. t. a. n. i. r. h. a. s.
o. c. c. i. o. n. e. a. l. i. a. q. u. a. v. t. d. o. s. h. e. s. a. n. s. d. e. d. e.
t. u. a. d. a. n. a. l. e. p. a. u. o. z. i. p. m. o. s. e. d. e. t. e. m.
p. i. b. z. v. e. n. i. t. i. n. m. a. g. i. s. t. e. r. e. v. t. a. l. i. q. d.
a. l. i. u. f. a. c. t. a. n. s. v. e. l. u. s. l. u. s. s. t. e. z. i. l. a. t. u. e.
h. z. v. i. d. e. r. e. a. u. t. e. d. i. s. t. i. t. e. a. i. o. f. u. s. t. i. o. i. n. t.
p. a. u. o. n. i. m. u. n. a. s. h. z. e. t. i. d. u. c. a. t. a. c. o. z.
r. u. p. o. h. i. s. i. o. c. o. m. l. e. v. t. p. u. r. a. e.
z. a. t. a. g. r. o. d. i. c. i. s. i. l. a. t. u. m. a. d. f. a. u. c. e. r. e. f. u.
i. o. z. i. g. i. s. r. e. t. o. n. e. C. a. l. a. l. e. t. u. b. a. m. i. s. g. a. t.
l. a. o. i. s. p. s. a. l. a. n. m. a. a. t. e. e. t. i. n. e. p. e. l. l. a.
a. l. b. p. a. u. l. a. t. e. s. t. u. d. i. o. n. o. i. n. p. s. a. l. t. u. s. d. i. t.
a. l. i. b. s. o. z. i. g. i. s. i. n. u. c. a. t. i. t. u. d. i. n. i. a. i. r. e. o. d. a.
o. m. n. s. e. i. d. i. c. i. t. e. g. u. a. r. u. t. a. c. d. i. u. c. i. u. n. o. f. e. t.
f. e. t. n. o. i. a. c. o. h. o. c. q. p. s. a. l. a. n. d. i. a. s. p. i. a.
m. a. s. a. b. e. d. s. o. u. n. i. o. r. o. s. a. r. i. m. a. l. h. a. i.
m. s. e. a. t. r. e. a. n. t. a. z. i. t. u. n. o. r. p. o. z. i. c. h. o. i.
i. s. u. e. d. e. r. o. n. e. v. l. j. i. p. s. e. n. t. v. e. r. e. d. o. u. o.
u. i. l. l. e. i. b. a. i. c. a. s. m. i. a. z. e. t. i. n. d. y. u. l. t. a. i. h. i.
i. s. b. e. h. i. c. e. v. i. t. a. t. d. i. l. l. i. c. i. a. o. m. i. t. a. n. t. e. q. d.
f. a. m. i. l. i. a. r. e. d. e. h. i. s. i. o. n. o. i. s. o. p. h. o. m. o. i. n. e.
d. e. b. i. t. o. l. a. t. u. m. p. a. l. a. n. i. t. u. l. i. t. q. o. i. t. i.
b. e. b. i. a. s. a. p. p. l. a. z. C. i. t. f. i. u. d. u. a. z. p. o. z. t. i. l. l. a.
o. i. t. o. r. a. e. x. i. p. i. o. z. a. n. a. s. r. e. l. i. q. u. a. n. t. i. t. e.

ao me quos simplice her. tiffacoz. conat
toz Cathozoz omnia i. d. h. i. s. a. n. i. t. e. d. u.
v. e. r. i. t. v. t. e. i. d. u. i. d. e. p. l. a. b. o. l. e. b. i. t. a. u. d.
f. i. a. u. t. a. l. i. q. u. a. l. i. d. i. l. l. o. z. e. t. l. i. a. u. i. t. a. r. i.
u. l. l. i. b. a. l. e. z. d. e. l. e. r. a. i. e. t. a. n. d. o. g. r. a. d. i. l. a.
a. n. u. h. i. c. d. i. l. l. a. t. o. z. e. s. e. i. s. o. s. p. u. t. e. p. o.
z. i. o. d. o. c. t. o. z. e. t. a. l. e. a. l. l. e. g. o. z. a. z. m. i. s. t. a. p. h. i.
a. p. l. i. t. a. m. t. o. z. a. n. d. i. u. s. o. a. r. i. p. a. n. a. u. t.
n. e. s. t. e. r. i. t. a. t. p. h. i. d. o. z. e. r. e. n. s. e. r. i. t. v. e. l. d. a.
a. b. u. e. t. a. v. e. l. t. a. n. u. d. e. i. d. u. l. c. e. d. i. c. i. s. o. f. e. c. a. n. e. z.
p. u. l. a. n. t. a. m. e. u. r. a. p. r. i. a. s. v. t. q. u. o. d. a. z.
p. u. e. r. i. t. u. a. l. p. h. e. n. i. t. e. t. i. n. t. i. l. l. i. s. q. i. t. e. v. e. l. u. t.
h. u. i. n. u. n. o. r. e. p. s. a. l. t. i. n. e. x. i. a. l. i. t. h. a. z. o. z.
e. t. i. l. l. u. t. e. z. p. h. e. z. i. n. h. i. n. a. t. a. s. f. a. b. l. a. s.
q. e. s. u. a. p. h. i. d. i. a. p. a. b. u. e. l. l. i. u. s. a. p. e. e. x. e.
c. l. u. d. i. t. p. e. t. a. m. e. v. e. r. i. t. a. m. h. i. q. u. i. t. i. t. a. i.
b. l. o. z. d. e. p. u. n. a. i. n. t. e. d. e. a. n. t. o. z. s. t. u. d. e. p.
r. e. a. t. a. r. q. l. e. q. p. o. s. e. t. s. p. s. s. o. u. t. n. u. t. a. l. i. s.
i. b. z. p. h. e. r. i. t. i. t. a. n. i. n. i. t. e. z. n. e. v. t. a. l. l. o. b. z. p. o.
c. o. z. a. p. u. r. a. r. e. z. i. g. n. o. r. a. t. i. n. u. l. l. i. s. q. i. n. h. i. s.
m. e. n. t. a. v. i. t. a. s. i. s. t. a. v. i. h. o. z. a. p. e. r. e. r. d. i. h. a. m.
t. a. l. o. q. s. i. n. s. i. n. f. e. r. e. p. u. n. l. e. u. n. i. t. a. z. i. t. a. z.
h. z. i. s. i. n. z. p. r. e. i. n. a. d. i. t. a. s. t. a. f. i. d. e. q. d. u. e.
i. s. d. e. i. d. u. s. a. n. i. m. e. s. p. a. n. z. a. i. c. o. d. i. c. i. v. i. t. a. t. e.
l. u. o. n. i. e. u. e. n. i. a. t. i. u. s. a. s. q. a. p. t. a. a. d. d. i. s. t. e. n.
d. i. e. l. e. c. t. a. o. p. i. t. a. u. d. a. s. s. i. l. i. n. i. v. i. s. a. z. z.
q. z. f. i. u. m. e. z. a. t. q. a. m. e. l. a. b. o. z. e. h. i. c. i. t. a. c. d.
f. l. a. s. i. t. a. t. i. t. a. d. d. i. u. n. i. s. h. i. u. i. b. o. n. o. z. e. n. t.
e. t. s. h. i. a. m. s. t. u. m. a. u. d. i. u. m. A. B. E. P. a. n. e.

In ept. exp. lital. s. i. s. i. s. t. o. l. o. l. a. y. e. t. e. n. t. i. e. d. i. s.
F. o. i. c. a. t. o. r. i. u. m. s. u. p. p. s. a. l. t. e. r. i. u. m.
In p. s. a. l. t. i. o. d. e. a. z. o. z. o. p. s. a. l. t. i. s. i. t. p. e.
c. h. i. c. u. i. p. h. e. a. l. i. o. u. l. t. a. a. d. d. i. s. t. e. n. t.
a. d. l. a. u. d. e. d. i. e. d. i. u. t. c. a. n. a. c. a. i. s. i. n. i.
l. e. g. u. m. q. a. d. m. o. d. u. l. a. c. i. o. s. i. t. o. z. m. u.
h. o. z. f. i. n. i. t. a. l. i. q. d. i. s. e. n. a. t. a. u. t. a. i. a. c. i.
t. u. o. r. i. b. v. i. f. f. l. a. n. d. e. z. a. q. u. a. n. q. a. p. h. a. z.
p. o. z. h. a. d. i. c. a. l. l. e. v. i. q. l. a. u. d. e. z. i. c. i. o. n. a. a.
f. e. e. d. i. t. a. a. d. m. o. d. u. l. a. c. i. o. s. i. t. i. n. d. i. c. o. z. n. u.
f. i. c. o. z. d. e. a. t. a. n. f. e. a. t. p. p. q. a. i. p. e. h. e. r. d. i.
u. l. l. i. b. e. g. o. a. d. i. a. n. a. s. f. e. o. d. e. l. a. u. d. t. u. a. z. i. f.
i. n. e. o. d. e. p. s. o. n. a. z. q. a. d. u. e. a. r. d. i. c. a. t. u. z.
e. t. e. g. o. o. f. i. e. l. e. v. e. g. o. i. v. a. l. i. s. p. o. p. a. l. l. a. z. i.
o. f. h. a. r. a. t. o. s. i. t. i. t. a. l. a. p. s. n. o. r. i. t. a. r. a. m. u.
f. a. a. u. t. a. p. a. p. i. a. z. e. z. a. t. p. s. a. l. t. i. n. q. d. e. a. t. a.
d. i. e. r. a. t. o. b. u. e. n. e. m. o. z. a. z. d. e. c. a. l. o. g. i. l. e. g. i. s. z. a. d.
e. t. m. o. d. u. l. a. c. i. o. s. t. r. e. p. a. t. a. n. e. l. a. n. t. p. s. i. o. d. e.
i. p. h. i. f. a. a. t. i. n. a. z. i. l. a. u. d. e. d. i. o. i. d. i. n. p. s. a. l. t.
i. o. d. e. a. z. o. z. o. p. s. a. l. t. i. e. i. n. d. i. b. z. p. b. e. z. z. a. l. o.
o. p. i. s. q. p. s. a. l. t. i. n. d. e. e. x. p. u. n. i. t. e. o. m. i. t. i. f. e. l.
e. f. i. a. c. i. e. s. i. f. u. a. l. C. a. u. s. a. i. t. a. l. n. o. r. i. n. p. s. a. l. t.
o. g. a. d. a. u. p. a. z. e. t. a. r. a. h. u. d. i. t. a. b. i. n. i.

BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE
A. 984

BCARD

In ept. exp. lital. s. i. s. i. s. t. o. l. o. l. a. y. e. t. e. n. t. i. e. d. i. s.
o. z. i. s. i. s. t. o. l. o. l. a. y. e. t. e. n. t. i. e. d. i. s. s. u. p. p. s. a. l. t. i. n. u. m. e. t. c. e. z. a.

Plate 4: Bologna, Biblioteca comunale dell'Archiginnasio, A. 984, fol. 1r

virtutibus ul' tubas. psalms. cytham.
 cytharam. chori organa. & tubala.
 ad au' addit in cordis. puto no' referri
 ad noui' spale iustri si generalit' ad omnia
 iustia que p' cordas sonant. sicut ei p' r'
 psalmu' & cytham alia quedam iustia p'
 cordas sonantia quib' tu si iurebant re-
 gularit' & co'ie factores ul' cantores q'
 uis f' ea aliq' pauca psalmi cantent. sic
 quibus psalmi cantabat cu' iustis quocir-
 qd dicebat uehloch. & octau' cu' iustis
 qd dicebat gutich. in au' iustia nobis ig-
 nota & quoz uis si erat cois sub cordis
 co'prehendit. dicit itaq' laudate eum i
 claugore buccine. i. uale que duplures he-
 bent. quedam de argento ductiles & alie i
 conuete de quib' h'ent p'lo. xlvij. ubi di-
 citur tubis ductilib' & uoce tute conuete. e-
 rat au' tuba conueta uisus figure & for-
 me.

Tuba ilo ductilis
 hanc forma

p'rentebat. laudate eu' in psalms & cy-
 thara. scilicet descriptioes d'ctoz si laud-
 euntur' apper in iustis modis forma
 psalmi quoz diffinitio ex p'p'ozes allig-
 uant qd cythara reddit sonu' ab iustis
 ri & psalmu' a supiori. si quic' si p'na
 gient' aliq'ue laud' in psalms mod-
 ne forme ita qd pars longior iacet in
 p' brachia & p' strig' iust' brachia p'ent-
 at son' quide' g'noz redder' a supiori. s'
 anoz ab iustis

hoc sicut p'ui-
 hac forma.

s' & cytha pen-
 deus ab huius
 qd atuciem so-
 nu' a supiori red-
 det & g'noz ab
 inferiori ut pat-
 in ista forma.

s' q' p' sid. est.

il. u. dicit qd psalmu' h' lignu' co'cau' u'
 u' redder' sonu' in p're supiori. & qd eius for-
 e' s' in figura lute grece que dicitur q' d'ite-
 tur qd psalmu' amantur' u' erat illius
 forme cui uice est. u' adu'tendu' qd in in-
 strumens modius omnia ge'ia uellaz
 quari aliq' plures aliq' paucares h'nt co-
 das. lignu' concau' u' son' redder' h'nt
 supius applicati ad h'uueru' si iustitru'
 e' u' co're o'i sonant tractu uigule co-
 date modulati u' son' fit iust' r'ange-
 ro cordas dignis ma' iustitru' ut au'itur
 u' g'uius sonent. e' u' u' q' psalmu'
 cu' uella in cordis d'ly d'ualy. una q' ha-
 buir lignu' concau' u' redder' sonus
 supius. alia qd modulati eius fiebat
 tactu digitoz iust' s' in trib' erat dif-
 ferentia. p'mo in figura & forma. q' scilicet
 p' sid. formabat ad modu' lute d'ite q' u'
 e' constat hui' forme. Δ h' nullu' iust'
 iustia modia uerum me u' d'ite tal'
 forme ul' silis. s' ceta diffia e' in m'lo co-
 datu'. q' nullu' ge'iu' uellari modiaz
 sepe uariu' n'lu' cordaz iust' d'ite. ser-
 psalmu' ul' x. cordaz erat ul' octo. forme
 erat & ita diffia q' u' r'itu' uigule sicut
 modus uelle h' tu' pulsu' digitoz sona-
 bat. de cytha au' dicit p' sid. q' h' lignu'
 co'cau' a p're inferiori de quo ad modu'
 h'ntam p'p'ozes redder' sonu'. q' desip'o
 sans conu'it cu' forma cythe modernu'
 r'epio. laudate eu' in cythamano & cho-
 ro. & ympanu' s' in p' sid. libro est. est
 p'ellus ul' conu' ligno ex una p're exen-
 su. et ei p's me-
 dia s'ymphonie
 iustitru' tribu'
 & ipm h' s'ymphi-
 ma uigula p'ri-
 ne cui' q' tal' e'
 chor' au' s' in qd iustitru' est a strato s' in
 p' exodu' x. sic dicitur. chor' est p'ellus

Plate 7: The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodley 738, fol. 250r



Plate 10: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 730, fol. 1r
(by permission of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved © 2022 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

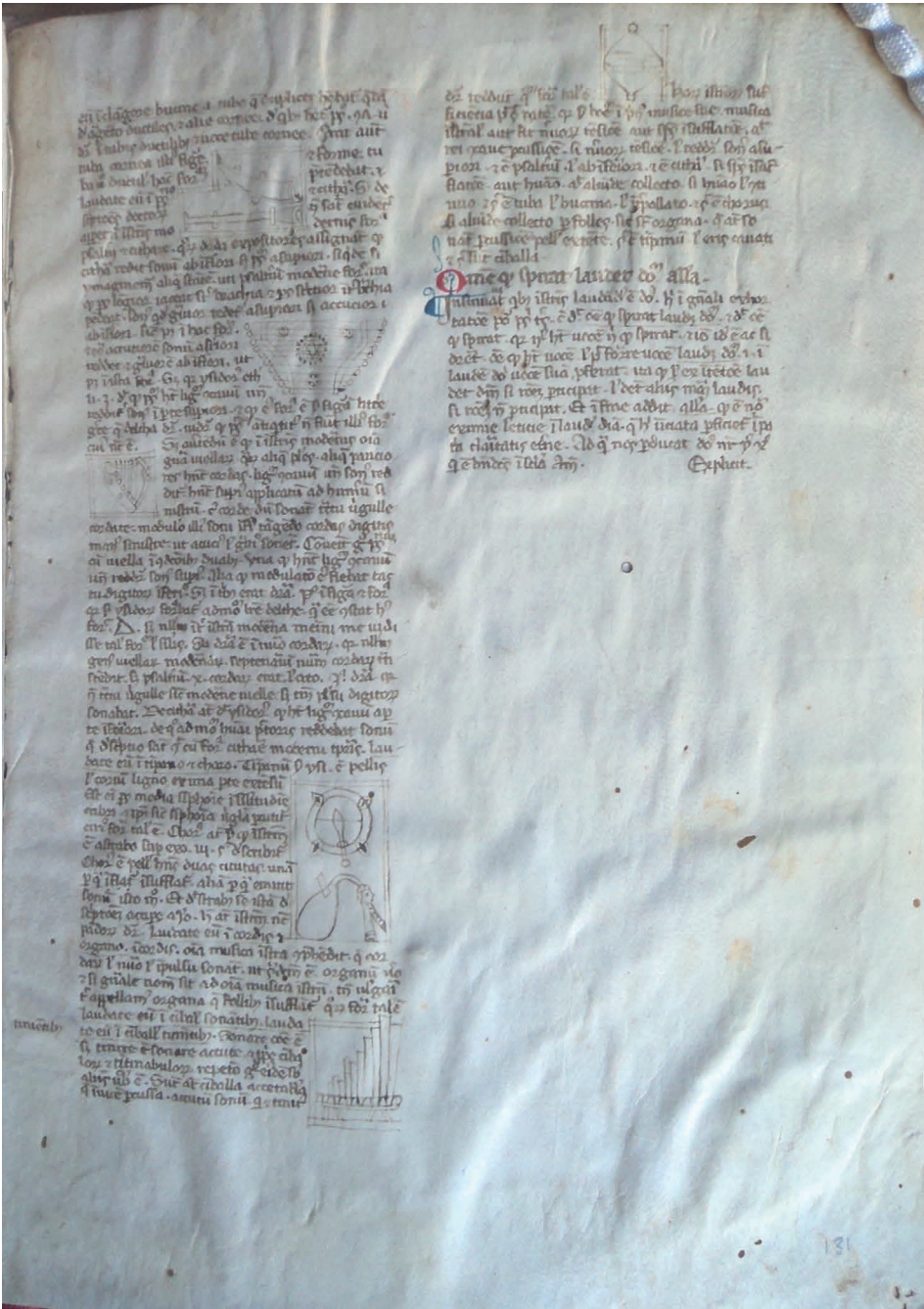


Plate 14: Rome, Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Liber 1670, fol. 131r (Image copyright © the Venerable English College, Rome: reproduced with permission)

head in G (a dog?)⁵ and O (of the same kind as in the harp), and that of a human crowned head in BR. In BR drum and bagpipe are displayed together, vertically within a common frame.

6. The organs⁶ (positive) in G and B have bourdon pipes, or pipes of exceptional length: in G a bourdon pipe is located behind shorter pipes at the treble end, while in B two definitely longer pipes are depicted after a number of gradually ascending pipes at the bass end.⁷ In B and R the organs do not have pedals. The representation in O is distinguished by its three-dimensionality and pairs of pedals depicted at the top of pipes.

7. Cymbals (“cimbala” of Ps. 150:5) are always represented as a pair of vessel-shaped objects to be played with vertical motions, distant in G (where a musician is playing them using two hammer-like sticks), close or touching each other elsewhere. In O these cymbals are accompanied by clash cymbals, represented as two juxtaposed discs.⁸

ribus musicorum: “Chorus quoque pellis simplex est cum duabus cicutis aereis et per primam inspiratur, per secundam uocem emittit” (quoted from the ninth-century copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14532-II, fol. 50^v).

⁵ The form is similar to that in Christ Church Oxford, 92, fol. 43^r.

⁶ Commenting on the last invitation of Ps. 150:4 (“laudate eum in cordis et organo”), Trevet distinguishes between “organum” as “generale nomen” of all musical instruments and the name of a specific instrument (“organa que follibus insufflantur”), of which he announces an illustration.

⁷ G is the only manuscript of Trevet’s commentary mentioned in MARSHALL, “Bourdon pipes” (p. 15). It is worth mentioning that the organ represented on fol. 43^r in Christ Church Oxford, 92 also has a bourdon pipe at the treble end (*ibidem*), but differs in other details.

⁸ The commentary does not determine the form of cymbals: “Sunt autem cimbala accitabula [acceptab(u)lia *M*] que inuicem percussa acutum sonum qui et tinnitus dicitur reddunt” (*M*, fol. 132^{vcd}; *G*, fol. 250^{va}).

APPENDIX G.
WHAT DID THOMAS GASCOIGNE SEE
AT A LONDON STATIONER'S?

Thomas Gascoigne (1404–1458), an Oxford scholar, a fellow of Oriel College who also served as chancellor of the university, is well known for his wide reading and extensive research in books in English libraries. He belonged to a group of patristics-oriented English theologians, following in the footsteps of Thomas Netter of Walden.¹ In the late 1930s Winifred A. Pronger drew attention to an annotation made by Gascoigne in MS Auct. D. 4. 5 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (a Latin Psalter), according to which there was a copy of Trevet's commentary on the Psalms at the shop of the London stationer Thomas Veysy.² Discussing Gascoigne's command of the Hebrew, Pronger observed that beyond a Hebrew Psalter in his possession (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Or. 621) "and his notice of a copy of Trivet's commentary on the Psalms, translated from the Hebrew with a parallel Hebrew text, there is no sign that he mastered the language."³ The scholar was referring to the same note on fol. 98^v of the Latin Psalter, without quoting it. The opinion that Gascoigne saw Trevet's commentary copied alongside the Hebrew Psalms was repeated and perpetuated by several scholars, beginning with Beryl Smalley. She proposed identifying the book seen by Gascoigne with the Hebrew–Latin Psalter transmitted in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 11, or its twin.⁴ As already mentioned (see Introduction, p. 41), in 1989 Hubert Stadler questioned Smalley's hypothesis

¹ Beside the entry by C. von NOLCKEN, "Gascoigne [Gascoygne], Thomas (1404–1458)", in *ODNB* (<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/10425>, (published online 23 September 2004), on Gascoigne's life and scholarship, see now R. M. BALL, *Thomas Gascoigne, Libraries and Scholarship*, Cambridge, 2006.

² W. A. PRONGER, "Thomas Gascoigne", *The English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), pp. 606–26, at 621.

³ IDEM, "Thomas Gascoigne II", *The English Historical Review*, 54 (1939), pp. 20–37, at 20.

⁴ SMALLLEY, *Hebrew Scholarship* (1939), p. 10; EADEM, *The Study of the Bible* (1952), p. 347. Pronger's opinion (together with or in disagreement with Smalley's proposal) was then taken up by WEISS, "The study of Greek" (1951), p. 231; LOEWE, "Hebrew books and 'Judaica'", pp. 34 and 36 (n. 19); and, in this century, by OLSZOWY-

about there being a direct relation between Trevet's *Expositio* and the annotated diglot Psalter, but did so on other grounds, without discussing Gascoigne's testimony.⁵

To the best of my knowledge, Robert M. Ball in his comprehensive study on the works and books owned or consulted by Gascoigne (2006) was the first to provide a transcription of the never-quoted-note. It reads: "Nota quod predictus Magister Triuet scripsit optimam expositionem super psalterium beati Jeronimi quod transtulit pure de hebreo in latinum nichil mutans ad instanciam sophronij et ego vidi triuet [super ps *inserted*] cum T. veysy stacionario londoni et psalterium ab hebreo translatum est in isto paruo libro meo cum psalterio hebreo 1432^o".⁶ Ball was not concerned with the previous interpretations given to that note by the scholars of Trevet, but its wording excludes the understanding offered by Pronger. Gascoigne provides three pieces of information. The first is of a bibliographic character: (1) "Note that the aforementioned Master Trivet wrote an excellent commentary on the Psalter of Saint Jerome, which (Jerome) faithfully translated from Hebrew into Latin, without changing anything, at Sophronius's request". The second and the third are expressed by paratactic clauses: (2) "And I saw Trivet on the Psalter at T. Veysy, stationary in London"; (3) "and a Psalter translated from Hebrew is in this small book of mine together with a Hebrew Psalter, (in the year) 1432". Clauses 2 and 3 refer to different books. The first is Trevet's *Expositio*, which Gascoigne came across at Veysy's bookshop. The second is clearly the manuscript in which Gascoigne was writing the note. (Gascoigne seems to stress that he has the same Latin version that was commented on by Trevet.) In fact, beside the adjective "meus", it is also referred to as "iste parvus liber" in the rubric which precedes the note on fol. 98^v. It has already been observed that the Latin Psalter in Auct. D. 4. 5 and the Hebrew one in Bodl. Or. 621 were bound together until the nineteenth century, which explains a joint reference by Gascoigne to the Latin and the Hebrew Psalters.⁷ At

SCHLANGER, *Les manuscrits hébreux*, p. 18, n. 13; SAENGER, "The British Isles", p. 106, and NOTHAFT, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts*, p. 341.

⁵ STADLER, "Textual and Literary Criticism", pp. 35–41.

⁶ BALL, *Thomas Gascoigne*, List III. Libraries used by Gascoigne, *s.v.* London, *penes* T. Veysey, No. 32, pp. 111–12.

⁷ See F. MADAN, H. H. E. CRASTER *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. 2, part 1, Oxford, 1922, p. 94, No. 1878, and conservation note on the modern flyleaf of Auct. D. 4. 5 (dated 16 February

the same time, “parvus liber” hardly matches the characteristics of the diglot Psalter in Corpus Christi College 11.⁸ What Gascoigne did see at Veysy’s was a copy of Trevet’s *Expositio* alone.

Although Gascoigne’s note does not provide arguments for the association (textual or codicological) of Trevet’s commentary with a Hebrew Psalter, this episode is otherwise informative about the late circulation and reception of Trevet’s *Expositio*. By 1432 a copy must have entered the second-hand book market.⁹ It could hardly be any of the extant manuscripts: the ownership of the English copies (G, H, B) as well as most of the continental or continent-related ones (A, N, C, R) is relatively well documented for the fifteenth century. Not only did Gascoigne see the book, but in the margins of fol. 1^{r-v} of Auct. D. 4. 5 he also quoted from the dedicatory letter (referred to as Trevet’s prologue). These annotations were subsequently copied as a continuous note on fol. 98^v in a more formal cursive but corrected and annotated in Gascoigne’s usual untidy script (in the transcription below, the latter is referred to as TG).¹⁰ That the latter is a copy of the former is suggested by the fact that the incipit formula for the beginning of the Psalter was first repeated and then cancelled. The citations are not literal but they paraphrase or summarize respective passages; they are exact enough, however, to prove there was consultation of the work.¹¹ Ball suggested

1987); BALL (*Thomas Gascoigne*, List II. Books owned by Gascoigne, No. 9, p. 90) also considers them one item. The two manuscripts differ slightly in the dimensions of the written space but are almost identical in the dimensions of the leaves: Auct. D. 4. 5 (fol. 7^r, central bifolium of quire I): 144 × 101 mm (102 × 66+3 mm), double outer vertical ruled line, 20 written lines; Bodley Or. 621 (fol. 7^r, central bifolium of quire I): 145 × 99 mm (90 × 58 mm), 22 written lines.

⁸ Its dimensions are 290 × 210 mm; cf. the layout: the Hebrew text is written in the inner column of 210 × 55 mm (23–29 lines), the Latin in the outer column (210 × 33 mm, approximately 48–54 lines); see PORMANN, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 81.

⁹ The date 1432 refers directly to the note and provides a *terminus post quem non* of Gascoigne’s visit to the bookshop. The first information about Thomas Veysy dates from 1429 (see C. P. CHRISTIANSON, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300–1500*, New York, NY, 1990, pp. 168–69).

¹⁰ Besides the ductus the most striking differences are the forms of “e” and Tiro-nian “et”.

¹¹ These citations do not present any significant variant reading that would allow association with the particular branch of the tradition. It only allows us to observe that they do not present errors proper to γ: “cum primis” (Ep. ded. 6); “edicioni” (Ep.

that Gascoigne may have purchased the copy from Veysy.¹² He also noted that beside the notes in the Latin Psalter, Gascoigne once referred to Trevet's *Expositio* in his *De vita S. Jeronimi*.¹³ Below, a diplomatic transcription of the two sets of notes is provided in parallel columns (a few differences are highlighted in boldface).

[fol. r, upper margin]

hic incipit psalt(er)iu(m) t(ra)nslatu(m)
s<ecundum> veritatem hebraicam. vn(de)
no(ta) triuet. sup(er) psalt(er)iu(m) istud
in cui(us) p(ro)logo sic dicit [a cross with
four dots]

[fol. r, lower margin] [cf. Ep. ded. 6]
s(ecundum) aug(ustinu)m. de doct(r)ina
x(rist)iana. li(br)o. j^o. i(n) p(r)imis eccl(e-
s)ie t(em)p(or)ib(us): quisquis h(ab)uit
aliquale(m) noticia(m) g(r)ece lingue et
latine; aus(us) fuit transferre scriptura(m)
[cf. Ep. ded. 7] vn(de) corrupcio scripture
i(n)troduc(a) est. vn(de) aus(us) [e(st)?
cancelled] b(ea)t(us) jero(nimus) edici-
o(ne)(m) .70. i(n)t(er)p(re)tu(m); pure de
greco. i(n) latinu(m). **v(er)tere** [ending
uncertain] [cf. Ep. ded. 8] q(ue) translatio.
[postea expunct.] **s(anc)ti** Jero(nim)i;
postea viciata p(er) alios f<uit>. et i(de)o
Je(r)o(nimus) rogat(us) p(er) **paula(m)**
iteru(m) transtulit. psalt(er)iu(m) miscens
cu(m) eo edicio(ne)(m) theodocionis
ex(empl)o orige<nis> [the last line lost
partly to trimming, should read: qui eodem
modo prius fecit. hec ibi triuet.]

[fol. 98^r] [the first line lost to trimming; it
probably held Gascoigne's customary formula
IHC maria]

¶ In isto. p(ar)uo. libro. co(n)tin(et)ur.
psalt(er)iu(m). translatu(m) p(er) b(ea)-
t(u)m Jeronimu(m) de hebreo in latinu(m)
[a tie-mark refers to a marginal addition,
faded or washed out: secu(n)du(m) b(ea)-
tum) Jero(nimu)m]

[hic incipit psalteriu(m) translatu(m) s(e)-
c(un)d(u)m veritatem hebraicam. *erased
and crossed out*] vn(de) no(ta) triuet.
sup(er) psalteriu(m) istud in cui(us) p(ro)-
logo s(i)c dicit.

[cf. Ep. ded. 6] s(ecundu)m aug(ustinu)m.
de doctrina cristiana. li(br)o. p(rim)o. In
p(r)imis eccl(es)ie te(m)p(or)ib(us); quisquis
h(ab)uit aliquale(m) not[ec]cia(m) grece
li(n)gue et latine; ausus fuit transferre scrip-
tura(m)

[cf. Ep. ded. 7] vn(de) corrupc(i)o scripture
introduc(a) est. vn(de) aus(us) [e(st)?
erased] b(ea)t(us) Jero(nimus) edicione(m)
.70. interpretu(m); pure. de. greco. in
latinu(m). **v(er)tebat**

[cf. Ep. ded. 8] que translatio. **s(anc)ti**.
Jero(nim)i. postea viciata p(er) alios fuit. et
i(de)o Jero(nimus) rogat(us) p(er) **paula(m)**
[et eustochium in marg. add. TG?] ite-
ru(m) transtulit. psalteriu(m) [a tie-mark
refers to marginal add. by TG, cf. Ep. ded. 9:
**id e(st) p(salterium) gallicanu(m). q(ua)
p(er) papa(m) damasu(m) et i(n)sta(n)cia
J(er)o(nim)i fuit ordinat(um) ut canere-**

ded. 7); names of Paula, Eustochium and Theodotion misspelled in Ep. ded. 8; the name of Sophronius misspelled in Ep. ded. 10 (in a different way it is also misspelled in β). All those errors, however, may have been emended *ope ingenii* by Gascoigne.

¹² BALL, *Thomas Gascoigne*, p. 112. However, it is uncertain whether the copy found at Veysy was the only source of Gascoigne's knowledge about the commentary. It is hard to believe that there was no other copy at Oxford than the one bequeathed to the university library by Duke Humfrey in 1444 (see Appendix H).

¹³ BALL, *Thomas Gascoigne*, List I. Works cited by Gascoigne, No. 319, p. 83.

[*fol. r^o lower margin*] et subdit ibid(em) Triuet; [*cf. Ep. ded. 10*] postea s(anc)t(u)s Jero(nimus) ob calu(m)pnia(m). judeor(um) qui dixeru(n)t [*multa crossed out*] i(n) edicione. ista. s(e)c(un)da. s(anc)ti Jero(nim)i. m(u)lta hebraice veritati diss(im)ilia co(n)tineri. rogatu [**sophronis** *expunct. and crossed out*] **sophronij** inmedi(a)te de hebreo i(n) latinu(m). psalteriu(m) transtulit h(ec) ibi Mag(iste)r. triuet. f(ate)r p(re)dicator in p(ro)logo. suo s(upe)r **psalt(er)iu(m)**.

t(ur).i(n).gallia.eti(n)p(ar)tib(us)co(n)-finibus] miscens cu(m) eo edicione(m) theodocionis ex(empl)o origenis; q(u)i eod(em) modo p(r)ius [*fecit in inter-linea scr. TG*]. hec ibi triuet. et subdit ibid(em) triuet. [*cf. Ep. ded. 10*] postea s(anc)t(u)s Jero(nimus) ob calu(m)pnia(m) Judeor(um) qui dixeru(n)t. **m(u)lta** i(n) edicione ista. s(e)c(un)da s(an)c(t)i Jero(nim)i. multa hebraice veritati diss(im)ilia co(n)tineri. rogatu **sophronij** inmedi(a)te de hebreo in latinu(m). psalteriu(m) transtulit hec ibi M(agiste)r Triuet. frater p(re)dicator in prologo suo sup(er) **psalteriu(m) hebraicu(m)** [*super and h. rewritten in black ink*].

[*a linea follows by TG: ista patent ecia(m) i(n) duob(us) p(ro)logis b(ea)ti Jero(nim)i sup(er) p(salteriu)m missis. sophronio amico b(ea)tissi(m)i Jero(nim)i {a linea}*] ¶ No(ta) q(uod) p(re)dict(us) mag(iste)r. Triuet. scripsit opti(m)a(m). expositio(ne)m sup(er). psalt(er)iu(m). b(ea)ti jero(nim)i. quod t(ra)nstulit pure de. hebreo. i(n) latinu(m) n(ichi)l muta(n)s ad i(n)sta(n)cia(m) sophronij. et ego vidi triuet {s(upe)r ps(alteriu)m *in marg.*} cu(m) T. veysy stacionario lo(n)doni(ense) [*? londoni Ball*]. et psalt(er)iu(m) ab hebreo t(ra)nslatu(m) e(st) i(n) isto p(ar)uo libro meo cu(m) psalt(er)<io> hebreo 1432^o]

[*in the space left blank in the inner margin, in between the text copied by the main hand and notes added by TG another annotation by TG reads: aue doc<t>or J(er)o(nim)e laus t(ib)i p(ro)p(terea) {? uel perpetua} et(iam) {?} gl(or)ia am(en)*]

APPENDIX H.
ENTRIES IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY-MODERN DOCUMENTS
THAT REFER TO TREVET'S *EXPOSITIO*, OTHER THAN
THOSE IDENTIFIED WITH EXTANT COPIES
(IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

1339. Blackfriars London, inventory.

“Postille Nicolai Treuet in duos libros Paralipomenon atque in Psalterium” (Ex inventario bibliothecae fratrum Predicatorum Londini per provincialem eorum Ricardum de Winkele A D 1339, reported by John Bale in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 64, fol. 191^r).

A copy of the *Expositio* was seen at the London friary by John Leland, between autumn 1534 and spring 1535, and included in his list as: “Triuet super Psalterium *Inter celebres ueteris testamenti translationes*” (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Top. gen. c. 3, p. 50).

Ed.: K. W. HUMPHREYS, *The Friars' Libraries*, London, 1990 (CBMLC, 1), D7, Nos., respectively, 3 and 14, pp. 199 and 201. James Willoughby has a new edition in hand, which will be published as the final volume in the series.

1396–1397. Padua. Franciscan convent of St Anthony, inventory.

“Item psalterium glosatum Nicolai travech in bona littera satis cum tabulis copertis corio çallo cum instrumentis figuratis in fine” (registered among “libri sine cathena”).

Ed.: K. W. HUMPHREYS, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St Antony, Padua at the beginning of the Fifteenth Century*, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 54, No. 285. (The work is absent from the inventory of 1449.)

1443. Avignon. Report of the sale of the books of Cardinal Avignon Nicolai OP, archbishop of Aix, France (d. 1443).

“Item, in Avinione, per manus judeorum, ut moris est, fuerunt venditi libri sequentes [...] 346. Item, postilla beati Thome *super epistola ad*

Corinthios, cum quadam postilla Traveti *super psalterium*, in uno volumine: fl. v.”

Ed. J.-H. ALBANÈS, “Vente du mobilier d’Avignon Nicolai, Archevêque d’Aix (1443)”, *Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Section d’archéologie*, Année 1884, No. 1, pp. 19–56, at 44. Bibl.: N. COULET, “Bibliothèques aixoises du XVe siècle (1433–1448)”, in *Livres et bibliothèques (XIIIe–XVe siècles)*, Toulouse, 1996 (Cahiers de Fanjeux, 31), pp. 209–39, at 213.

1444. Oxford. Indenture between Humfrey Duke of Gloucester and the University of Oxford, listing books given by the duke (25 February).

“4. Item Trevett super psalterium secundo folio *faciendum*.” (This *dictum probatorium* could belong to the phrase “ad faciendam melodiam” in Prologue, par. 35.)

Ed. A. SAMMUT, *Unfredo Duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani*, Padua, 1980, p. 73; cf. *Munimenta Academica, or Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford*, 2: *Libri cancellarii et procuratorum*, ed. by H. ANSTEY, London, 1868, p. 766; *The University and College Libraries of Oxford*, ed. by R. M. THOMSON, London, 2015 (CBMLC, 16), UO3. 4 (p. 32).

1481 or 1482. Siena. Franciscan convent of San Francesco, inventory.¹

Among the chained books “in quarto banco a dextris”

266. “Traucth [*sic*] super psalterium in bona littera antiqua tabulis corio azzurro ad ligaturas. Litteris K.H.”

267. “Postilla Traucth [*sic*] super psalterium in bona litera tabulis corio azzurro ad ligaturas. Litteris K.H.”

Ed. K. W. HUMPHREYS, *The library of the Franciscans of Siena in the Late Fifteenth Century*, Amsterdam, 1978, p. 76. According to the

¹ The inventory, which survives in a late seventeenth-century copy, is dated 1 March 1481. It has been observed that the expressed date might follow Siense style for reckoning the year and therefore should be construed as 1482 (*RICABIM*, 1. *Italia. Toscana*, No. 1698, pp. 287–88, at 288).

editor, *ibid.*, p. 75, also No. 261: “Opus Anglicanum super psalterium in littera diversarum manuum bona & mala tabulis corio azzurro per totum. Litteris I.F.” (among the books “in tertio banco a dextris”) probably refers to Trevet’s commentary.

1489. Florence. Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, inventory.

[21] “Postilla Nicolai Treveth super psalterium” (among the books “In 2o bancho [ex parte cimiterii]”).

Ed. G. POMARO, “Censimento dei manoscritti della biblioteca di S. Maria Novella. Parte II: sec. XV–XVI in.”, *Memorie Domenicane*, New Series, 13 (1982), pp. 203–353, at 316.

1494. Milan. Dominican convent of Sant’Eustorgio, inventory.

[351.] “Item psalterium glosatum, quod incipit *Reverendo patri* et finit *benedictus in secula*”;

[353.] “Item psalterium glosatum, quod incipit *Reverendo patri* et finit *benedictus in secula amen*.”

Ed. Th. KAEPPELI, “La bibliothèqu de Saint-Eustorge à Milan à la fin du XV^e siècle”, *AFP*, 25 (1955), pp. 5–74, at 44, both items are reported among the books kept “in nono bancho versus fontem a manu sinistra”. Cf. above, Appendix B, on the provenance of manuscript O.

1513. Vienna, Dominican convent, inventory.

“B 36. Nicolai Th<ri>vet Anglici, ordinis predicatorum, postilla super psalterio secundum aliam translacionem” (among the books “in pulpeto posteriori superiori B”).

Ed.: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, Bd. 1, *Niederösterreich*, ed. by T. GOTTLIEB, Vienna, 1915, p. 302.

[?] c. 1536–1540. Benedictine abbey at Gloucester, notes by John Leland.

“Trivet super Psalterium. *Humana natura*.”

Ed.: *English Benedictine Libraries. The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by R. SHARPE, J. P. CARLEY, R. M. THOMSON, A. G. WATSON, London, 1996 (CBMLC, 4), B49. 6 (p. 253).

It must be observed that the incipit provided by Leland is not that of our commentary. Several explanations should be taken into account by future research. First, the work seen by Leland could have been misattributed to Trevet. Secondly, it could have been imperfect at the beginning (only a full transcription of our commentary could allow us to verify whether such a phrase occurs in Trevet's work). Finally, if the copy were complete and the attribution authentic, then this could be the only witness to his mystical commentary, to which Trevet refers twice in his literal exposition (see Chapter 1, p. 50).

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MÜNCHEN, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

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Clm 23818: 153n

NAPOLI, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III

XXII 127: 220n

NEW YORK, Pierpont Morgan Library

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NÜRNBERG, Stadtbibliothek

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