

### 432. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8846

Illustrated Triple Psalter ("The Paris Psalter")

[Ker Supp. 419, Gneuss —]

**HISTORY:** An unfinished deluxe illustrated tripartite Psalter with an extensive corpus of Latin marginal and interlinear glosses on the Gallicanum, from the Latin "Glossa Ordinaria"; a continuous Anglo-Norman French gloss to the Hebraicum; and a few scattered OE glosses to the Romanum. *Pace* Heimann's positing of an intermediate copy (Heimann 1975), the manuscript is probably a direct copy of the "Eadwine Psalter" (Cambridge, Trinity College R. 17. 1 [85]), as well as possibly making direct use of the "Utrecht Psalter" (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek 32, Stirnemann in Gibson et al. 1992: 186–191). The Psalter dates to the late 12c (c. 1170–1190), written and partly illustrated in Canterbury, but appears to have come to Catalonia by the 14c (Meiss 1941), where the program of illustrations may have been completed by an artist known as the Master of San Marcos between 1350 and 1370 (Sclafer and Laffitte et al. 1997: 39). Although ending at Ps. 98.6, the Psalter is not physically incomplete; rather, the omission of Latin marginal commentary after the first verse of Ps. 98 and of the Anglo-Norman gloss from f. 174v suggests that the work was abandoned. Listed by Delisle (1863–74) and described by Leroquais (1940–41: 2: 78–91), who treats each miniature in the manuscript.

In two 19c references to an inventory of the library of Jean Duc de Berry (1340–1416) from the Archives du Cher, Comte de Bastard (1792–1883) claimed the inventory had a clear reference to a manuscript that could only have been this Psalter. Delisle was unable to confirm the reference, since the inventory was lost in a fire in the Archives du Cher (see Stirnemann in Gibson et al. 1992: 192; Sclafer and Laffitte et al. 1997: 37–39). After its possible stint in Jean Duc de Berry's library, the book can be traced to the Library of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530, regent of the Netherlands) and it appears in inventories of Margaret's library from 1516 and 1523. According to an inventory of 1565, the book had passed to Margaret's niece, Marie of Hungary (1505–1559), sister of Charles V (1500–1558). Her *ex libris* plate

was attached to the previous binding. When Marie died in 1559, the book entered the Library of Burgundy in Brussels, where it was inventoried in 1615–1617 for Archdukes Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella (1566–1633). In 1794, the manuscript was transferred from Brussels to Paris, entering into the Bibliothèque Nationale from the library of Napoleon I (1769–1821); its Napoleonic binding was made in 1809 by P. LeFebvre (Sclafer and Laffitte et al. 1997).

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** i + 177 + iii leaves, foliated A, B, 1–175. Foliated in ink in upper right of leaves; a second foliation in pencil agreeing with that in ink is partly erased throughout. Signature marks in two hands, written in the lower right of the margins of the following folios: ff. 53r–56r, 61r–64r, 69r–72r, 77r–80r, 85r–88r, (in the second hand) ff. 141r–144r (with two asterisks in Indian-yellow in another hand on f. 144r), [149r]–152r, 157r–160r, 165r–168r; a dash is used to mark the beginning of the second part of a quire at ff. 57r, 65r, 73r, 89r, 153r, 161r, 169r. The numerals on ff. 28r (‘.iii.’), 36r (‘.iiii.’) and 44r (‘.v.’) mark the end of quires, and suggest that this numeration did not take into account the illustrations of Quire I, or was written before the quire was added. Modern signatures (in Arabic numerals) appear on ff. 13r–16r (‘a1’–‘a4’), 29r–32r (‘D1’–‘D5’), 37r–40r (‘e1’–‘e4’, with a dash on f. 41). Furthermore, a small cross is written at the top right of ff. 17r and 25r, and ‘eø’ at the top right of f. 24r. Two pencil doodles in the bottom margin of f. 162r, others on ff. 101v and 148v, and an outline drawing of a head in the bottom margin of f. 23r.

Leaves measure 484 × 315 mm., with a written space of c. 303 × 295 mm.; ample lower margins measure c. 103/120 mm. Leaves have been trimmed: note cropped signatures and the illustration at the top of f. 101v, where the pinnacle and flag are cropped.

The first four folios present a pictorial introduction to the Psalms; ff. 1–3v and 4v are divided into a 3 × 4 grid of panels, with decorated frames around the borders. F. 4r consists 18 round medallions all bordered by a heavy blue and gold frame. In the picture cycle of ff. 1–4, the positions of ff. 3 and 4 should be reversed: f. 4v contains scenes from the Annunciation, ending with the suicide of Herod, while f. 3r presents 12 scenes beginning with the baptism of Christ. The prefatory picture cycle is drawn in black ink with gold background and richly painted in blue, red, purple, green, and brown.

The layout of the Psalter is complex and programmatic, based on that of the “Eadwine Psalter” [85]. The leaves are ruled for five columns; the two innermost columns from the gutter outward contain the Hebraicum with Anglo-Norman gloss and the Romanum with no gloss but for the five in-

stances of OE glossing; a third column provides space for Latin glosses to the Gallicanum. These three columns are narrow, and between the second and third column they are triple bounded. The main column on each page is roughly twice as wide and double bounded; it contains the Gallicanum in a larger script with space and ruling for interlinear glosses. On the outside of each leaf is a narrow column with further glosses to the Gallicanum. The leaves are double pricked in the outside margin, and ruled for both the main text and the interlinear and marginal glosses, and the outside column is usually custom ruled for the gloss. The writing area for each leaf is single bounded. Each psalm is preceded first by a Latin preface, in two or three columns with a different layout from the columns of the Psalter text, and an illustration which takes up approximately one-third of the whole page with frames marked with black lines, and all frames by the English artist. Rulings gradually become sloppier, and bounding verticals are often ignored, while the plummet used to make the rulings becomes more pronounced. Beginning on f. 93, no framing line is used.

Illustrations are in two series: an English artist of the date of the writing who illustrated Pss. 1–39 (ff. 10r–70r), Pss. 42–44 (illustrations on ff. 75r, 76r, 78v), Ps. 48 (f. 86v), Pss. 50–51 (ff. 90v, 92r); after which, a Spanish artist completed the illustrations to Pss. 40–41 (ff. 72v, 73v), Pss. 45–47 (ff. 80v., 81v), Ps. 49 (f. 88v), Pss. 52–92 (ff. 93r–174r), while the Psalter was in Catalonia in the 14c (Meiss 1941: 73–77). Illustrations before f. 93, by the English artist, predominately use blues, browns, pinks, and at times green; backgrounds are typically burnished gold, with figures in conventional stiff poses. Beginning on f. 93, there is greater use of green ink in addition to the introduction of grey and red; backgrounds are at times patterned, and architecture and figures more numerous and naturalistic, with lavish details incorporated.

Historiated initials at ff. 93r, 94r, 97r, 98v, 100r, 103v, 106r, 107v, 108v, 111r, 113r, 117r, 120v, 121v, 126r, 131r, 145r, 146r, 149r, 150v, 152r, 154r, 156v, 161r, 169v, 170v, 173v, with an initial showing a dragon at 124r. The prefatory matter at f. 5r shows gold initials with alternating ink and blue infill. At the beginning of the Psalter proper (f. 6r), the three “B”s of ‘Beatus’ are in gold with light brown inlay (first and second) or blue inlay (third) on a blue (first and third) or brown (second) background; ‘BEATUS VIR’ to the Gallican all in gold. The three scrolls at the top are blank. Small initial letters are in gold on alternating pink and blue backgrounds with alternating blue and pink infill. At f. 103v, the initial letter “D” of ‘Deus’ in the Gallican column was originally planned to be roughly a third larger, judging from the outline. On f. 51r, top margin, a drawing was begun but erased;

on f. 72v, bottom right, is an illustration incised in drypoint showing a hart and, to its right, a figure which properly illustrates Ps. 41.2, although here placed within Ps. 40. Throughout, in extremely light tan or burgundy ink, taking on the aspect of offset, are a series of letters (some written backwards), words, and diamond-patterned background, irregularly shaped, although they do not form figures: f. 137v and 149r show, e.g., 'MEDDICE'; see also ff. 95r, 98r, 111r, 125r, 133r, 150r, 151v, 157r, 160r.

Each Psalm has a red rubric, and each column of psalm text is usually labeled "Gall.," "Rom." or "Ebr." in red usually in the upper, but sometimes in the lower margin. Each Psalm has a large decorated initial capital and much smaller decorated initial capitals for each verse. The main text and gloss are written in black ink in later 12c Gothic hands with notable consistency. There may have been several scribes at work on the book, writing in several different sizes or registers of script (the large Gallicanum; the medium collects, Hebraicum and Romanum; the interlinear and marginal glosses). Only the Anglo-Norman gloss and OE glosses seem to vary from the primary script style in the codex. The Anglo-Norman gloss may be later, though its differences from the Latin text hand may stem from a style associated with its language or exemplar. The OE gloss seems to be by the Anglo-Norman glossator. It has been noted that neither the scribes nor the artists can be tied to known Christ Church monastic scribes or artists and that they may represent the work of artisanal professionals, who made this book on a commission for export to the Continent for diplomatic purposes (Dodwell 1990: 22–23; Dodwell 1954: 98–100; Stirnemann in Gibson et al. 1992: 190). The script draws on that of the "Eadwine Psalter" yet displays the more fractured look of Gothic textura. The complex textual layout and rich illustration suggest a highly coordinated effort between well-trained and well-funded makers of books.

Most leaves containing illustrations are protected by modern paper overlays. A paper flyleaf at front bears the shelfmark 'Suppl. Lat. 1194' and the note 'Volume de 174 Feuillet | plus les Feuillet A. B préliminaires | Le Feuillet B est blanc | 16 October 1873.' Folio B has a stain on the recto and a smaller one on the verso, which also shows offset from the illustration on f. 1r. Leaves are slightly yellowed, with some wear along the bottom, but otherwise in excellent condition. Cover of brown leather over boards.

**COLLATION:** i (flyleaf), I<sup>6</sup> (ff. A, B, 1–4; A–B originally blank flyleaves), II–XXII<sup>8</sup> (ff. 5–172), XXIII<sup>2+1</sup> (ff. 173–175), iii (flyleaves).

[Note: Scلاffer and Laffitte et al. 1997 give a different collation: “1 bifolium et 4 ff ajoutés en tête (A–B et 1–4); 20 cahiers de 8 ff. (5–164) et 1 cahier de 10 ff. (165–174)” (39).]

## CONTENTS:

1. f. A recto Petition to the Virgin (14c Catalan hand): ‘Sancta regina om(n)ium genit(ri)x om(n)ipotentis v(ir)go maria’; ends: ‘p(er)om(n)ia s(e)c(u)la. amen.’ [BN stamp at bottom; ‘Suppl. Lat. 1194’ written in upper right; verso blank.]

f. B blank.

ff. 1r–4v Picture Cycle. Ff. 1r–3v each present 12 scenes treating from creation through the life of Jesus; f. 4r shows 18 medallions, without text, of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, the Virgin, and Jesus, with the twelve apostles. Titles to pictures added in the 14c Catalan hand of f. A recto.

[Note: The contents of these leaves have Old Testament scenes from Adam to David and from the Gospels. They are very similar but not identical to the picture leaves associated with the “Eadwine Psalter”: London, BL Add. 37472 (1) [165a], London, Victoria and Albert Museum 661 [319a], New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 521 and M. 724 [332a]. For a description of the scenes in the Paris MS pictorial preface (and the other illustrations) see Omont 1906 and Leroquais 1940–41: 2: 78–91. Cf. description of picture cycle in the “Eadwine” leaves [332a]. A deluxe and rare color facsimile was published by Moleiro Editor in 2004.]

2. f. 5r Prefatory Matter to the Psalter (3 cols.) from the “Glossa Ordinaria”: ‘Proph(et)ia est inspiratio diuina que | euentus reru(m)’; ends: ‘& ad uitam felici|ter faciant. nos p(er)uenire eternam. AMEN’.

f. 5v (3 cols. Below six-panelled illustration of first Psalm [title faded and not visible on the film]) **Incipit epistola beati ieronimi presb(ite)r(i). super s(e)c(un)d(u)m ebraicam ueritaten.** | ‘Eusebius ieronim(us) sophronio suo salute(m) di|cit’; ends: ‘Cupio te meminisse mei’.

3. ff. 6r–174v Triple Psalter with interlinear gloss and two columns of commentary. Ends incompletely at Ps. 98.6 ‘nomen’, the work abandoned at that point. Interlinear Latin gloss to Gallicanum and on two sides with the “Glossa Ordinaria” (no critical edition; a version printed by Adolf Rusch in Strassburg, circa 1481; reproduced in facsimile in Froehlich and Gibson 1991). Interlinear Anglo-Norman French gloss to Hebraicum (ed. Markey 1989); Romanum not glossed but for a handful of inadvertent OE words (see below).

[Note: The complex realities of the prefaces, text, glosses, scholia, prefaces, collects, and illustrations cannot be simply described. Each Psalm has a preface in two or three columns; the preface is followed by a large framed (up to f. 93) illustration

occupying the entire width of the page and about a third of its height. Following the illustration are the five columns of the Psalter texts and glosses, both interlinear and marginal. The Gallicanum dominates visually and textually, occupying approximately twice as much space and written in a larger script. Each Psalm (in its three versions) is concluded with a collect occupying the column not used for the next Psalm's preface; cf. the note on the contents of the "Eadwine Psalter" [85]. The textual material, its order and layout (except for the omission of the OE gloss to Romanum) is essentially identical to that of the "Eadwine Psalter"; cf. Stirnemann in Gibson et al: 186–89).]

ff. 6ra–174ve Hebraicum: 'B|EATUS [vir] | qui non abiit | in consilio i(m)pi-  
orum' [gloss:] 'ki ne alat | el cunseil de | feluns'; ends incompletely: 'in  
his qui in | uocant nom(en)' [Ps. 98 not glossed].

ff. 6rb–174vd Romanum [unglossed]: 'BEATUS [vir] | qui non abiit | in  
consilio i(m)pi|orum'; ends incompletely: 'inter eos q(ui) in|uocant  
nom(en)'.

ff. 6rc–173vc Latin glossing: '¶ Hec om(n)ia non om(n)i | bea [erasure]', etc.

OE CONTENT: Five vestigial occurrences of OE glossing remain, probably accidentally included by the scribe (each is at the end or beginning of its Psalm). On the Romanum column of text: f. 69v Ps. 38.14, 'ma ic ne beo'; f. 103v Ps. 59.3, '[.]od | ðu adrife | us 7 | tobrece'; f. 109v Ps. 64.2, 'þe | geriseð lofsang | god on sion 7'; f. 135r Ps. 77.1, 'folc | min | lage <ue>l ewe <ue>l æ mine'; f. 154v Ps. 87.2, 'god | helo minre' (see Hargreaves and Clark 1965; Toswell 1994).

ff. 6rd–174vb Gallicanum: 'BEA|TUS | VIR | qui non abiit in consilio impi-  
|orum' [interlinear gloss:]: '¶ consensu. ¶ Ut adam q(ui) uxori consensit  
a diabolo | decepte. ¶ a deo in regione(m) d(ei) qua(m)uis impii hoc  
molirent(ur). | ¶ cogitando. ¶ positus. | ¶ in praua op(er)atione que e(st)  
uia ad morte(m). | ¶ quia natus int(er) peccatores s(ed) n(on) tenuit  
eu(m) illecebra | ¶ serpentes 7 eue. ¶ u(el) in mundo', etc.; text ends:  
'inter eos q(ui) inuocant nomen'.

ff. 6re–174re Commentary: '¶ Abiit adam cu(m) p(er)suasioni diabo|lli con-  
sensit.'; ends before Psalms end on f. 174r margin below text: 'Intentio  
| monet auditores laudare d(omi)n(u)m 7 exultare'.

Collects ff. 6v . . . 174r (at end of each Psalm): 'Domine apud quem est  
sal|us plenitudo', etc. Last collect is to Ps. 97, 'Tibi d(omi)ne flumi-  
na . . . deser|uiant famulatu(m). P(er)' (collects ed. Brou 1949: 112–36,  
193–96, 139–51; see the entry on the collects in the "Eadwine Psalter"  
[85]).

f. 175 blank

**PHOTO NOTES:** A very deep gutter and its shadow obscures inner parts of text on most openings. F. 175 and three final flyleaves not photographed.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:**

Brou, Louis, ed. *The Psalter Collects from V–VIth Century Sources (Three Series)*. Henry Bradshaw Society 83. London: Harrison for HBS, 1949.

Delisle, Léopold. *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613*. Paris: Auguste Durand and Pedone-Laurel, 1863–1874.

Dodwell, C. R. *Canterbury School of Illumination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.

———. “The Final Copy of the Utrecht Psalter and its Relationship with the Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters.” *Scriptorium* 44 (1990): 21–53.

Froehlich, K., and M. T. Gibson. *Biblia latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1991.

Gibson, Margaret, T. A. Heslop, and Richard W. Pfaff, eds. *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*. London: The Modern Humanities Research Association; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.

Hargreaves, Henry, and Cecily Clark. “An Unpublished Old English Psalter-Gloss Fragment.” *Notes and Queries* 210 (1965): 443–46.

Heimann, Adelheid. “The Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter.” In *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, ed. Konrad Hoffmann and Florens Deuchler, 313–38. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.

Leroquais, V. *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques de France*. 3 vols. Macon: Protat Frères, 1940–1941.

Markey, Dominique. “Le Psautier d’Eadwine: Édition critique de la version hébraïque et sa tradition interlinéaire anglo-normande (MSS Cambridge, Trinity College R. 17. 1, et Paris, B.N. latin 8846).” Ph.D. diss., University of Ghent, 1989.

Meiss, Millard. “Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Catalan Workshop.” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 4 (1941): 45–87.

Omont, H. *Psautier illustré (XIIIe siècle): Reproduction des 107 miniatures du manuscrit latin 8846 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906.

*Psalterium glosatum (Salterio Anglo-Catalán)*. Barcelona: M. Moleiro Editor, 2004. [facsimile]

- Sclafer, Jacqueline, and Marie-Pierre Laffitte, with Françoise Bléchet, Marie-Françoise Damongeot, Mathieu Lescuyer, and Marie-Hélène Tesnière. *Catalogue générale des manuscrits latins nos. 8823–8921*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1997.
- Toswell, M. J. "A Further Old English Gloss in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 8846." *Notes and Queries* 239 (1994): 10–11.

†P.P. / M.T.H.