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THE PSALTER IN EXILE: TRANSLATION, CORRECTION, AND REVISION OF THE PSALMS AT THE STUART COURT IN SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE*

INTRODUCTION

In 1700 a small volume of psalms came out barely larger than the palm of an adult's hand. The title page reads "The Psalmes of David, Translated from the Vulgat", revealing the content of the publication and the source biblical text. The only other information to be gathered from it is year of the publication, given at the bottom of the page in Roman numerals: "M. DCC.". The title page remains frustratingly reticent about the identity of the translator(s), prospective audience, place of the publication and the name of the printer and, even though the title page is known in two states, neither bears the desired

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imprint, being differentiated by the presence of a vignette depicting Saint Jerome, which does not function as a printer's device but as an ornament. The translation of the psalms it offered was subsequently reprinted in 1704 in a "review'd and corrected" edition, in the same portable format of a duodecimo. The title page is also recorded in two states, this time with and without the imprint. The copies with the imprint tell us that the book was "Printed and to be Sold. At ST. GERMAIN EN LAYE. *By* WILLIAM WESTON, *Printer and Stationer, to the* KINGS *most Excelent* MAJESTY *of* Great Britain *for his Houshold and Chapel.* 1704."

From the *Preface* appended to both editions, we learn that the translation was "intended only for the privat devotions of Lay persons" and that it was "revised and corrected by some persons who are the most propper judges of such writings". So, we know that there were two improvement procedures: one executed on the manuscript translation before it was printed in 1700; the other one was applied to the printed version and produced "a review'd and corrected" edition of 1704. It is clear that we can appreciate the corrections between the two printed editions, but without knowing what changes were introduced between the manuscript version and the print, it is impossible to tell what the program behind the second revision and correction was. And in fact, *if* there was a program at all. And while most researchers working on several-hundred-year-old biblical translations do not have the luxury of glimpsing into an early stage of a completed work, an opportunity of this type presents itself in this case due to the extremely fortuitous survival of a unique manuscript which came to light only last year: the manuscript psalms translated from the Vulgate preserved in the Scottish Catholic Archives in Aberdeen in two volumes (SCA MM/2/7 and SCA MM/2/8).

My discovery of this manuscript in 2022 equips me with three complete versions of the translation, representing successive stages of the text, all emerging within the lifespan of the translators and—in one way or another—approved by them. It is the process of translating, correcting and revising this Psalter that constitutes the focus of this contribution. This paper seeks to bring to light this otherwise unexplored text. First of all, I reveal the history behind its emergence and the textual revisions it went through (Sections 2 and 3). Secondly, I examine and classify the differences recorded between the three ssuccessive redactions of the text based on Psalms 1–50 (Sections 4 and 5) to assess the nature of these revisions and draw conclusions concerning the revision process as a whole (Section 6). Finally, it is also my objective to show a sample text of the original translation to be appreciated in its original state and compared with the two printed editions (Appendix).

1. AUDIENCE AND CONTEXT

As already noted, the source text of the translation was the Vulgate, which immediately suggests a Catholic endeavour and—to a great extent—rightly so. Protestant translators are known not to have looked upon the Vulgate with the veneration of the Church of Rome; however, when it comes to English prose Psalms, their most popular Protestant versions at the time when our translation emerged were—paradoxically—heavily dependent on the Vulgate text. In particular, the psalms of the *Book of Common Prayer* were drawn from Coverdale's *Great Bible* from 1539 (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik, 2021; Cummings, 2002, 2011; Jacobs, 2013). Not knowing Hebrew, Coverdale, in his own words, "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche [i.e. German] and Latyn". The Bible commissioned by King James (printed in 1611) offers the *Book of Psalms* in a revised Coverdale's rendition—in effect, again, a Vulgate-based source text (Charzyńska-Wójcik, 2021; Daniell, 2003). This is not to say that there were no English prose translations of the psalms which were based on the original Hebrew (on the contrary!), but to underscore the fact that the most popular versions of the Protestant prose psalms were indeed based on the Vulgate, in a striking parallel to the vicissitudes of Jerome's direct translation of the Psalter from Hebrew.[1] So in the case of the Psalter, the Vulgate itself as a source text is not a uniquely Catholic trait, but a direct declaration to this effect might be *indicative* of Catholicism.

The translation of *The Psalmes* was indeed made at the court of a Catholic monarch. In particular, it was prepared at Saint Germain-en-Laye, where James II Stuart, the deposed king, established his court in exile after being replaced on the throne by his Protestant family: William of Orange (his nephew and son-in-law) and Mary (James II's elder daughter by Anne Hyde). James II's court was not uniformly Catholic, just as it was not uniformly English. It was indeed a heterogenous community of English, Scottish, and Irish Catholics and Protestants joined by loyalty to James II as the rightful king of what was soon to be called Great Britain (Charzyńska-Wójcik & Corp, in press; Corp, 2004, 2018). As we learn from the *Preface* to the Psalms, the translation was meant only for the "privat devotions of Lay persons": a disclaimer that would go well both with Catholics, obliged to pray the Latin psalms liturgically, and Protestants, with the psalms of the *Book of Common Prayer* to be performed as part of the service. In view of the above, the prospective reader of *The Psalmes* offered in the appealingly portable duodecimo was any member of the exiled court, either Catholic or Protestant, English, Scottish or Irish.

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[1] Jerome's Psalter translated directly from Hebrew (*Psalterium Hebraicum*) never became a liturgical text being ousted by the translations mediated through the Septuagint, i.e. *Psalterium Romanum* or *Psalterium Gallicanum*, the latter ultimately making it to the biblical canon (Charzyńska-Wójcik, 2013).

The translation was made by two men: John Caryll (1625–1711) and David Nairne (1655–1740) (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik, 2019, 2023; Corp, 2004, 2018). The former was a Catholic nobleman from an ancient English family and the joint secretary of King James II and of Queen Mary of Modena, who followed the (mis)fortunes of his king into exile (Corp, 2004; Glickman, 2009). The latter was a Scot, brought up in an Episcopalian family, who left Scotland voluntarily (before the events of 1688) and converted to Catholicism while in France. During his stay in Paris he was employed at the court on account of his linguistic abilities and clear handwriting, ultimately to work as Caryll's subordinate in both of the latter man's capacities, which made Nairne a double undersecretary: to the King and Queen (Corp, 2018). Due to the survival of Nairne's extremely detailed diary (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS 14266), we know with great precision when the translation process began, where it took place, and even in how many sessions it proceeded.

2. TRANSLATION

The translation started on Monday, December 31, 1697, when David Nairne "began in Mr Car*yll's* chamber to write out the translation of *the* Psalmes".[2] Then Nairne's diary records work on the translation on January 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 13, 26, 29, February 7, 10, 12, 17, 19, 21, 23, and March 2, 7, and 14, when Nairne says: "I finished *the* trans*lation* of *the* psalmes in *the* morning". So, the work proceeded in 19 sessions. We know where Nairne worked (invariably "at Mr Car*yll's*") and sometimes for how long ("fornoon & afternoon", "till it was late", "in the afternoon", "till 9 a clock at night"). We are also occasionally updated on the progress of the work by reference to the psalm reached on a particular date ("wee came the length of"). Considering that the 150 psalms contain about 50,000 words, this means that the work proceeded at a pace of about 2,631 translated words *in manuscript* per session. Considering that the writing time itself must have constituted a great part of the project's workload, this work pace seems questionable, so I decided to try to verify it.

As we read in Nairne's Diary, soon after the completion of the translation project, Nairne made a fair copy of the whole text. We first learn about this activity on March 21, 1697, when Nairne says "I gave Mr Car*yll the* 1st caier [i.e. quire] of *the* trans*lation* writt out faire in 8vo". Two days later, on March 23, 1697, Nairne "finishd 4 quaternios or Catiers of *the* trans*lation* to *the* 21 Psalme". And then, on May 10 we read that Nairne "writt to Mr White*ford* [3] & sent him *the* 1st Tome of the Psalmes to be boun'd for the Q*ueen*". On

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[2] All quotes from the diary are presented in the original spelling, with abbreviations expanded and italicised.

[3] Father Charles Whiteford was the procurator and prefect of studies at the Scots College in Paris (Corp, 2018).

May 16, Nairne "ended *the* fair Copy of *the* Translation of *the* Psalmes", with which he clearly proceeded exactly as with the first "tome": "I writt to Mr White*ford* & sent him *the* 2ᵈ Tome of *the* Psalmes to bind". On June 1, Nairne "returned to St Germ*ain*" (from Paris, where he had stayed with his wife since May 28) and he saw "La*dy* Melf*ort* & Mr Se*creta*ry that night & brought him *the* Psalmes bound". All passages just quoted deal with making a fair copy of the freshly completed translation of the psalms but they do not shed light on the copying speed, as the entries do not record the process of copying itself and only report the progress of an activity.[4] Significantly, however, these entries gave me a strong incentive to look for the manuscript psalms bound for Queen Mary Beatrice of Modena—an issue I will return to in a later part of this contribution. However, as Caryll and Nairne's translation ultimately did get printed, at some stage there must have been a copy made for the printing. The process of its preparation was likely to have been recorded in the diary, and fortunately this was indeed the case. On July 4, 1697 Nairne's diary entry reads: "I began again *the* Copie of *the* Psalm[s] for printing". And 12 days later, on July 15 he "finishd *the* writing of *the* 1ˢᵗ 50 psalmes. & gave to Mr Mon*not* to begin his share. & Mr demster was to write the last 50. J was but 12 days a writing my share being 104 pages, w*hich* J began [on] *the* 4ᵗʰ".[5] This provides a very accurate description from which to derive the copying speed. The 104 pages were copied in 12 days, which gives an average ratio of eight to nine pages a day; and as the first 50 psalm contain 16113 words in the manuscript redaction,[6] each page contained about 155 words (154.9). This translates into an average ratio of copying at around 1342 words a day.

Corroboration of this being Nairne's copying speed comes from an entry from August 1, 1697, where Nairne states that he "finished *the* last 25 Psalmes w*hich* [he] copied in 4 or 5 days". Apparently, the original division of labour between John Caryll's three secretaries, with the remaining 100 psalms allotted to Monnot and Demster was modified to the effect that Dempster was not involved in copying at all and his share seems to have been divided between Nairne and Monnot. The last 25 psalms, i.e. Psalms 126–150 contain

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[4] Interestingly, Nairne does not seem to have considered the place where he did the copying relevant as it is never mentioned in the diary, in striking contrast to the translation process always accompanied by the information about its location. If the place is not explicitly mentioned in the clause describing the translation, it is either mentioned elsewhere in the entry or implied by reference to some other (usually secretarial) activity, which could not be performed outside the court, where the correspondence was kept.

[5] Etienne Monnot was a bilingual Frenchman (from Bordeaux), a Paris acquaintance of Nairne from the 1680s, employed as a junior clerk, originally by Lord Melfort (Corp, 2018; Gregg, 1993). Nicholas Dempster, a Scotsman (from Muresk) was also recruited by Nairne to work alongside him and Monnot for Lord Melfort. Both Monnot and Dempster were retained when Melfort's position as secretary of state to James II was transferred to Caryll in 1694 (Corp, 2018).

[6] The words are calculated based on my edition of Psalms 1–50 excluding the short arguments to the psalms.

5,160 words in the manuscript redaction and it took Nairne "4 or 5 days" to copy them, which means copying between 1,032 and 1,290 words a day.

Recall that the translation itself was produced at an estimated ratio of 2,631 words per day, which in comparison with the copying speed of between 1,039 and 1,342 words per day does seem a lot. Recalculating this into pages to make it less abstract, we arrive at about 17 pages of translation a day, in contrast to the copying speed of between eight and nine pages a day. These values cast serious doubt on our estimates for the translation ratio, considering that writing is an inherent and purely mechanical part of translation, which in itself is much more cognitively challenging. Unless it is not. That is to say, unless the text of the translation was pre-drafted and the two men worked on its final shape, reading it together, discussing the choices, and writing only the corrections over the draft. Given the extraordinarily detailed nature of Nairne's records, the absence of any mention of this activity in the diary must be taken to mean that the draft was prepared by John Caryll. The final version of the text was negotiated with Nairne, who must have been responsible for writing the corrections (or filling in the places left out by Caryll) during the 19 sessions recorded in the diary.

Does the diary corroborate this scenario? Specifically, does the way Nairne describes the work reveal the type of collaboration proposed above based on the translation ratio? I examined all diary entries from this perspective and arrived at two lists: verbs describing Nairne's involvement with the text (presented in 1 below together with the immediate context) and pronouns used in passages recording the progress of the translation (cf. 2 below, also shown in the immediate context).

(1)

a. WRITE OUT: I began in Mr Car*yll's* chamber to write out *the* translation of *the* Psalmes (December 31, 1696)

b. WRITE: I writt at Mr Carylls *the* transl*ation* of *the* Psal*mes* (January 2, 1697)

c. WRITE: I writt *the* afternoon *the* transl*ation* (January 3, 1697)

d. WRITE: I writt at Mr Car*yll's the* transl*ation* (January 4, 1697)

e. WRITE: I writt *the* transl*ation* at Mr Car*yll's* (January 5, 1697)

f. WRITE: I writt *the* transl*ation* at Mr Car*yll's* … (January 9, 1697)

g. WRITE: I had a sitting of 3 or 4 houres at Mr Car*yll's* writing *the* transl*ation* of *the* psalmes (January 13, 1697)

h. WRITE: I was w*ith* Mr Caryl fornoon & afternoon writing *the* translation (January 26, 1697)

i. WRITE: I writt *the* translation … (January 29, 1697)

j. WRITE: I writt *the* translation … (February 7, 1697)

k. WRITE: I … writt Psalmes till it was late (February 10, 1697)

　l.　WRITE: J writt in *the* afternoon at Mr Car*yll's the* transl*ation* (February 12, 1697)

　m.WRITE: I writt *the* translation till it was later at Mr Carylls (February 17, 1697)

　n.　WRITE: I writt at Mr Caryls till 9 a clock at night … (February 19, 1697)

　o.　WRITE UPON: I writt ^upon^ the translation … (February 21, 1697)

　p.　WRITE: I writt w*ith* Mr Car*yll* till 9 at night (February 23, 1697)

　q.　WRITE: I writt at Mr Car*yll's the* 118 Ps*alme* (March 2, 1697)

　r.　WRITE: I writt 15 pages of *the* transl*ation* … (March 7, 1697)

　s.　FINISH: I finished *the* transl*ation* of the psalmes in *the* morning (March 14, 1697)

　The verb *write*, used transitively or intransitively, describes the activity in 16 of the 19 entries. There is one instance of *finish*, which does not add to the picture, and there are also two very interesting cases: *write* followed with a preposition: *write out* and *write upon*. *Write out* is a phrasal verb used by Nairne in the context of copying (February 4, 1695: "I began to write out Mr C poeme about *the* plot"). The prepositional construction *write upon* also suggests an activity on a previously prepared text. The entry with this verb (see item o above) is especially revealing, as Nairne makes very few corrections in his diary. In this entry, the preposition *upon* is written in superscript above the line, representing one of these rare cases. As is clear from the quotes presented in (1), the clause would have been perfectly grammatical without the preposition, so Nairne's addition signifies a modification important enough for Nairne to compromise the aesthetics of the entry. And the difference between *writing* and *writing upon* clearly conveys modified sense. The 16 entries employing the verb *write* in the context of the translation convey the idea of Nairne's intellectual involvement in the emerging text of the translation, as is clear from a comparative analysis of other activities recorded in the diary, such as when Caryll *dictated* a text (July 4, 1697: "I writt a paper in English … which Mr Car*yll* dictated") or Nairne copied Caryll's text (January 29, 1697: "J copied Mr Caryls answer to …"). In short, the many instances described in the diary where Nairne's involvement is clearly not authorial are expressed by means of: *write over*, *write (out) a fair copy*, *duplicate, correct, copy*. All 16 instances of *write* with Nairne as the subject of the activity in the context of the translation should be viewed from this perspective.

　The impression of collaboration between the two men is corroborated by an analysis of the pronouns used in passages recording their progress, shown in (2) below.

　(2)

　a.　**he** came *the* length of *the* 40 Psalme this day (January 9, 1697)

　b.　**wee** came *the* length of *the* 70 Psalme (January 29, 1697)

　c.　**wee** came *the* length of the 79 Ps (February 7, 1697)

　d.　**wee** came *the* length of *the* 103 psalme (February 19, 1697)

    e. **wee** came to *the* 105 ps*alme* (February 21, 1697)

    f. **wee** came to *the* 109 Psalme (February 23, 1697)

    g. **I** writt at Mr Car*yll's the* 118 Ps*alme* (March 2, 1697)

    h. **I** … came to *the* 138 psalme (March 7, 1697)

    i. **I** finished *the* transl*ation* of the psalmes (March 14, 1697)

As can be seen, five of the nine examples (2b–2f) point to the common agentivity, with one instance pointing to Caryll's agentivity (2a) and three showing Nairne as the agent of the translation (2g–2i). In sum, there is enough data to conclude that the work on the translation was a joint venture and *The Psalmes* should be seen as co-translated by John Caryll and David Nairne.

In conclusion so far, the two men, John Caryll and David Nairne, were jointly responsible for the translation of the Psalms from the Vulgate, as originally posited by Gregg (1993) and substantially developed by Corp (2004 and 2018). And while Gregg and Corp did change the attribution of the translation (so far resting solely on John Caryll[7]) to include David Nairne as a co-translator, neither researcher investigated the nature of the two men's collaboration. The data analysed here offer a reconstruction of the two men's collaboration. It follows that John Caryll most likely prepared the first draft, and it was probably his task to reach out to the commentary on the Psalms by Robert Bellarmine in preparing the translation of the more difficult passages.[8] The sessions described in the diary record the emergence of the final version of the manuscript version of the translation, whose text should be attributed to both of men. The later arrangement of the two translators (and friends) was to publish the book anonymously, with an anonymous preface by David Nairne (cf. the diary on July 27, 1697: "I writt *the* Preface to *the* Psalmes" and December 30, 1699: "I writt *the* Preface to *the* last corected Translation of *the* Psalms & carryd *the* book to Dr Betham"), where Bellarmine is invoked as the translator's authority. But they let everyone believe that "The Psalmes of David, translated from the Vulgat" was the work of John Caryll, who personally handed a copy of *The Psalmes* to the king and the queen, as we read in the diary on Thursday, October 14, 1700: "I went to the leué & to salut. J writt over some of the blotted sheets of the memoirs [of the king]. I rec*eive*d my months mony & doyles. Mr Caryll presented to *the* K*ing* & Q*ueen* a book of psalms to each". Nairne's presence at *leué* (i.e. levee) signals the opportunity for the joint

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[7] Despite that all library catalogue entries for *The Psalmes* continue to attribute the translation to John Caryll only, a situation which should clearly be rectified.

[8] As a matter of fact, Caryll seems to have worked with Bellarmine's commentary all the way through as his source text, as evidenced by the verse divisions and their numbering, which conform with Bellarmine's edition rather than that of the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (cf., e.g., Psalm 34, divided into 32 verses in the former and 28 in the latter, with *The Psalmes* replicating Bellarmine's divisions).

handing-in of the book but it did not happen. This clearly demonstrates their choice to publicly dissociate Nairne from the translation in order to enhance the product's value, since Caryll was an aristocrat and a secretary of the king and queen. In contrast, Nairne's origins were much more humble and his employment at the court as an undersecretary was also much less prestigious than Caryll's, without even an apartment in the chateau— an important status symbol. Moreover, Caryll had been in the immediate circle of the queen. As noted by Williams (2023, p. 105), Mary of Modena placed strong emphasis on promoting creative arts at her court and provided Caryll's appointment as her private secretary as a form of literary patronage.

That the two translators' arrangement, i.e. Nairne's staying in the penumbra with Caryll as the front man, was agreed upon for the good of the project is further corroborated by an unrelated slightly later event. Soon after James II's death in September 1701, Nairne was selected by the queen herself to author a short biography of the king. Having meticulously prepared the text, he was ultimately dissociated from the final product and the text was published under a more recognizable name.[9]

3. REVISION AND CORRECTION

As mentioned above, I recently discovered the manuscript copy of *The Psalmes* prepared by Nairne for the queen in 1697 in the catalogue of Sir Duncan Rice Library in Aberdeen. Inspired by Nairne's diary describing the preparation of the copy, I followed all possible leads to trace the fate of the queen's possessions. Coming across Halloran's description of "two volumes of 'The Psalms of David, Translated from the Vulgate' in manuscript, beautifully bound in red leather with gold tooling and gold edges" (Halloran, 1997, p. 189), I was almost sure this was the manuscript I was looking for. First moved to Columba House in Edinburgh, and subsequently relocated to Aberdeen, the two volumes are currently in the possession of Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA MM/2/7 and SCA MM/2/8). Upon examining the manuscripts in the Wolfson Reading Room of Sir Duncan Rice Library, I confirmed that they are written in David Nairne's hand.[10]

The survival of the manuscript written immediately upon the completion of the translation means that the text it contains is free from textual improvements of "the most propper judges of such writings". The proposed modifications seem to have been imposed collectively on the text at a later stage (Nairne's diary on December 6, 1699: "I writt *the*

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[9] For more on that, see Gregg (1993), Corp (2015, 2018), and Charzyńska-Wójcik (in prep.).

[10] David Nairne's biographer, Professor Edward Corp confirms that the manuscript is written in Nairne's formal hand (personal communication, June 10, 2023).

corections of the psalms" and December 7, 1699: I writt *the* corections"). The text offered in the manuscript made for the queen, can, therefore, be considered identical with the original. In effect, we have an autograph copy.

For the sake of this contribution, I examined the first 50 psalms in the three extant versions to see how they differ. The total number of verses compared is 860, while the number of words is slightly different in each of the three redactions, which I will be referring to here as 1697 (16,113), 1700 (16,029), and 1704 (15,620). I catalogued all differences between the three texts, wondering how to interpret them in the light of the words on the title page of the second printed edition: "review'd and corrected". How is one to distinguish revisions from corrections? Fortunately, an analysis of the texts offers an indication of what is meant by that.

It seems that the first printed edition of *The Psalmes* contained numerous mistakes—a fault which the translators seem to have spotted at an early stage (still before the first copies were presented to the future owners). Nairne records in his diary on September 25, 1700: "I corrected some Copies of *the* Psalms" and then on October 2, 1700: "I corrected the printed psalms". Apparently, he must have compiled a list of such corrections, which was subsequently printed and bound with *The Psalmes*. The existence of copies of the first edition of *The Psalmes* with and without errata has been recorded for quite some time now (Clancy, 1974, p. 77).[11] Judging from the fact that Nairne was able to correct "some Copies" within one day, the list could not have been very long. However, when one looks at the errata list appended to the copies Clancy (1974) refers us to (for instance CN, Case 3A 1861, i.e. the Chicago Newberry Library copy), it seems an impossibility for Nairne to have inserted all these corrections onto several copies within a day filled with other activities as well. "Errata in words or letters" covers two and a half pages, to which is added a list of over five pages with corrections "in points". The list is followed with a brief text which explains that "the Printer understood not the language in which the book is printed". Nairne would certainly not have been able to impose this list of errata on several copies of the printed psalms in a day, which seems to undermine the reconstructed scenario of corrections proposed above. There is, however, another errata type which has not been recorded in the literature so far and is, to the best of my knowledge, only to be found in Yale, Beinecke 1976 2720. The errata contained there is just below two pages and ends with the following disclaimer: "Besides these Erratas in words, the Readet [sic] will find a great many mistakes in the placing of points for commas, and commas for points, and in adding them wher they should not be, and ommitting

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[11] Clancy's (1974) catalogue, among other inaccuracies associated with *The Psalmes*, erroneously suggests a link between the two states of the title page and errata. This mistake can be said to be rectified in the second edition (Clancy, 1992, p. 133), where the errata is not mentioned at all.

[sic] them wher they sshould [sic] be; all which are too many to be here specified, and which the sense of the Text must lead him to rectify." All of this suggests that the titular corrections in 1704 refer to the printer's deficiencies of the 1700 edition, while revisions are to be interpreted as refinements of the translation as such. In the following discussion, I am going treat the textual interventions spotted between the three redactions as instances of revision rather than correction. Instances where the 1704 text corrects the printing mistakes from 1700 are not going to be addressed here.[12]

Let us now pause for a moment to reflect upon what types of textual changes can be expected. Given that there are three redactions of the text, it is natural to expect that some passages will be different in all three of them, representing an ABC-pattern, where A refers to the passage as it appears in 1697, B the version from 1700, and C the final redaction from 1704. We also expect there to be places which were revised before the first printing in a way which did not provoke any further interventions, resulting in an ABB-pattern. It is reasonable to expect passages left uncorrected between the manuscript and the first edition that were seen as requiring revision before the second printing: AAC-revision type. Finally, it would not be impossible to see some of the revisions between 1697 and 1700 reversed in 1704, resulting in an ABA-pattern. Their number (if it were to be high) and type (if they were not directly related to the Latin original) would signal reviewers' access to the manuscript psalms.

The manuscript Psalms were presented to the Italian-born queen, who spent her childhood in a convent, aspiring to become a nun (hence knowing the Latin Psalter by heart). The gift of an English translation of the Psalter, therefore, was most probably intended as a way of securing the queen's favour towards the project: *a tactic clearly successful* given the emergence of two printed editions within the next couple of years. It was not expected that the queen would read the psalms carefully or use the volume in her private devotions.[13] The exquisitely bound and beautifully written copy was to honour her, possibly also as a patroness of creative arts, and to secure a royal go-ahead for the enterprise. The text contained in the manuscript was thus not meant to please any authority by its combined linguistic and theological correctness, but represents what Caryll and Nairne thought was the best way of expressing the Psalter text in English. It therefore offers a unique glance into their work. The royal favour was certainly not dependent upon any particular turn of phrase, the translators' decision to interpret a Latin noun as plural or singular or to render a Latin verbal form as future or present tense in English.

As the psalms needed to receive an ecclesiastical approbation to be printed (and they did receive as many as three approbations, all printed in the introductory part of the

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[12] They are discussed in detail in Charzyńska-Wójcik (in prep.).
[13] This is confirmed by the pristine state of the queen's copy preserved in Aberdeen.

book), the translation was subsequently presented to several "persons who are the most propper judges of such writings". And it is their corrections that Nairne's diary records as being imposed on the text on December 6 and 7, 1699, as noted above.

Considering what has been said about the multifarious printer's mistakes in 1700, it is expected that the 1704 copy corrects them, which it mostly does.[14] But the title page announces not only a correction but also describes the text as "review'd", so it seems reasonable to assume that the revisions were substantial enough to deserve a mention.

In conclusion so far, revisions of four types are expected: ABC, ABB, AAC, and ABA. The actual number of types of revisions is going to be presented below. It has to be borne in mind, however, that while ABB- and AAC- revision types represent one change each, ABC- and ABA-revisions introduce two interventions each: one between the manuscript and the first printed edition (AB), the other between the two printed editions, when either a completely new form is introduced (BC) or we see a change towards the form originally encountered in the manuscript (BA).

4. TEXTUAL INTERVENTIONS

Let me begin by explaining that what counts as a revision here is a passage situated between otherwise identical chunks of text.[15] This means that differences range from one or two words (cf. 33.19: [1697 and 1700] these —[1704] those or 33.22: [1697] be Delinquents—[1700] faile—[1704] miscarry) to longer passages (38.9: [1697] Like a shadow and like an image—[1700] True it is, that—[1704] Full of vain imaginations or 33.5: [1697 and 1700] never blush for shame—[1704] not be put to confusion). In extreme cases whole verses constitute a difference as they do not share any passages that could be marked out as identical between differing places (32.17: [1697] He will be deceived who trusts to his horse, Let his vigour and strength be never so great, The horse will not save the man—[1700 and 1704] Who relys on his horse for safety, will be deceived, by his great strength and speed he will not be saved), though this happens rarely.[16]

In the corpus made up of Psalms 1–50 there are 860 verses, among which there are as many as 790 differing passages understood as defined above. Importantly, this value does not refer to the number of places where the three versions differ but indicates all instances

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[14] This is not to say that the second printed edition rectified all printer's mistakes from 1700 and that it does not introduce new ones.

[15] Spelling, capitalisation, and punctuation divergences do not classify as differences.

[16] A change of one word in a passage as contrasted by what seems an independent rendition of a verse clearly reflects very different depth and extent of revision but interventions of the latter type are infrequent enough to justify not introducing another parameter by which to classify revisions (such as involving the number of affected words).

where at least two versions show differing passages. As the 790 passages are located in 465 verses, there are verses without a single difference and many verses with multiple changes. The largest number of differences within one verse is seven, which only happens once in the corpus. There is also one verse which shows six differences. Five and four revisions are to be found in four and 14 verses respectively. Three differences are recorded in 66 verses, while over twice as many verses (124) contain two changes. This number again needs to be more than doubled (255) to represent the number of verses which show a single revision. In sum, 46% of verses repeat in full (textually) between all three versions. But for any two consecutive texts, the proportion of the shared text will obviously be higher. The remaining 54% of verses show at least one difference between at least two of the three compared versions. Almost 55% of the differing verses are limited to one revision.

When it comes to the distribution of the revisions within Psalms 1–50, it seems generally smooth, with no places in the corpus particularly prone to revisions (for example the beginning, reflecting the reviewers' initial zeal) or retentions of the existing text[17] (see Figure 1).
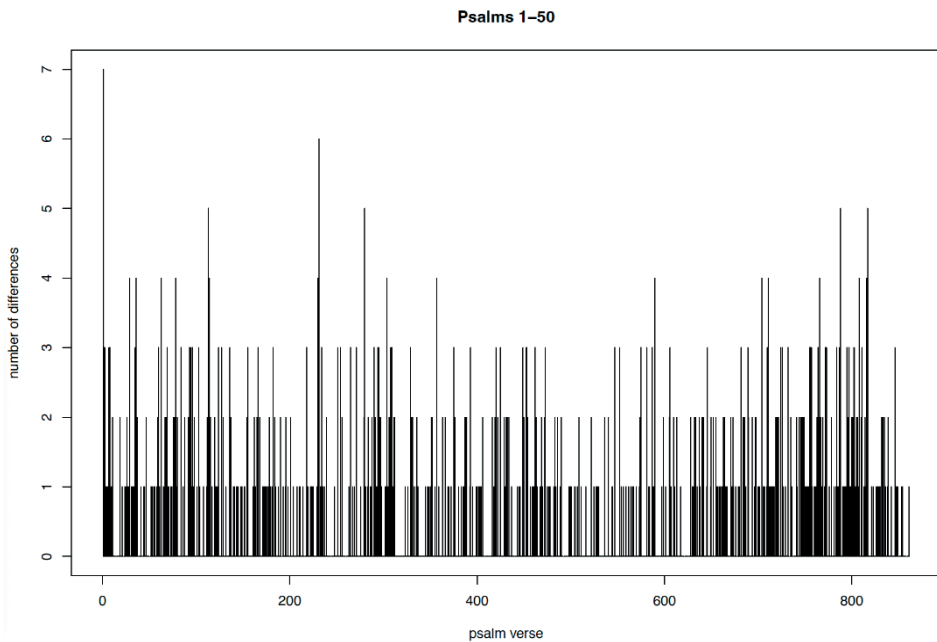

Figure 1. The distribution of revisions across the analysed corpus:
Psalms 1–50, verses 1–860

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[17] This conclusion, although true with respect to Psalms 1–50, might need to be modified when the whole revision project is considered (cf. Charzyńska-Wójcik, in prep.).

The numbers 0–7 along the vertical axis indicate the number of differences in a verse, while the horizontal axis represents the placement of a verse between verse 1 and 860 in the corpus. So, the higher the line, the more revisions are recorded in a given verse, whose position in the corpus is indicated by the horizontal line. A more detailed distribution of revisions, visualised in terms of individual psalms is presented in Figure 2.
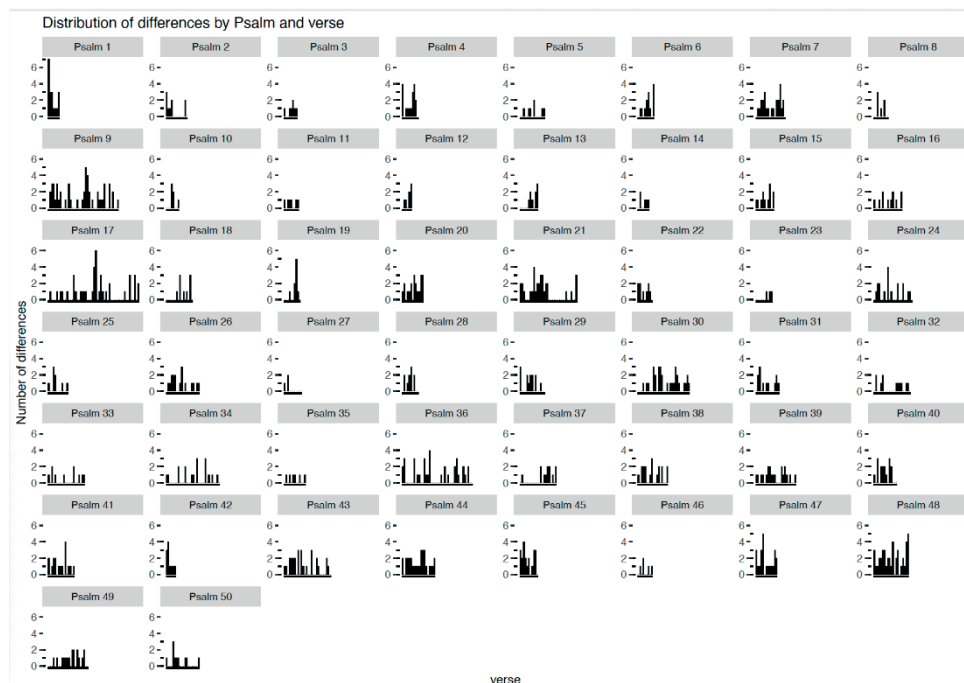

Figure 2. Distribution of differences by psalm and verse

Each bar chart in Figure 2 above (and in Figures 3–6 as well) is scaled in proportion to the length of the psalm (to be read off the horizontal axis) and the number of differences in each verse (to be consulted with the vertical axis). The longest psalm in the sample is Psalm 17, with 54 verses, the shortest psalms in this corpus have only six verses—Psalms 6 and 42. The actual number of verses is not shown on the charts for lack of space but the relative length of the psalm is represented by the length of the black horizontal line at the base of the bars. Each verse is visualised in terms of the number of revisions it represents. When a verse is preserved without a change throughout the whole revision process, it is represented by a blank. For example, each verse in Psalm 1 shows a revision, with verse 1 showing as many as seven of them. In contrast, no verse of Psalm 11 shows more than one revision, with three verses represented as blanks, indicating that they only contain text shared by all three redactions. Psalm 27 features most verses without any

interventions and has only two verses with revisions: one verse with one revision and another one with two changed passages.

On the whole, an average ratio of the number of revised passages per verse is 0.918 (number of affected passages divided by the number of verses in the corpus) and—as several passages were revised twice, the overall ratio of the number of revisions per verse is 0.995 (total number of changes divided by the number of verses in the corpus). Observe that this means an average of almost one revision per verse.

What transpires from Figure 2 is that although individual psalms show a differing number of revisions, few psalms show a particular preponderance for revisions or for retentions, with changes to be encountered in every psalm. In particular, there are only three psalms whose revision per verse ratio is below half the overall average (Psalms 5, 23, 35) and only four in which this ratio exceeds the doubled average for the corpus (Psalms 1, 42, 45, 48). This indicates that whatever approach the reviewers adopted, when both redactions are viewed jointly, this agenda was executed with similar commitment over the entire text examined here.

4.1 The timing of textual interventions

It is now time to break down the data into subtypes. I classified all 790 differing passages based on which version (if any) they share a text with. The results fall into the four expected types discussed above: ABC, ABB, AAC, and ABA. An overwhelming majority of corrections were introduced between the manuscript and the first printed edition, with 663 places showing differences (ABA + ABB + ABC). As many as 595 of these revisions were definitive, i.e. they were retained in the second printed edition from 1704 (ABB-type)—a number which speaks both of the scale of this initial revision and of its soundness.

The distribution of these revisions in individual psalms and verse with each sub-type marked with a different colour, is illustrated in Figure 3 below.
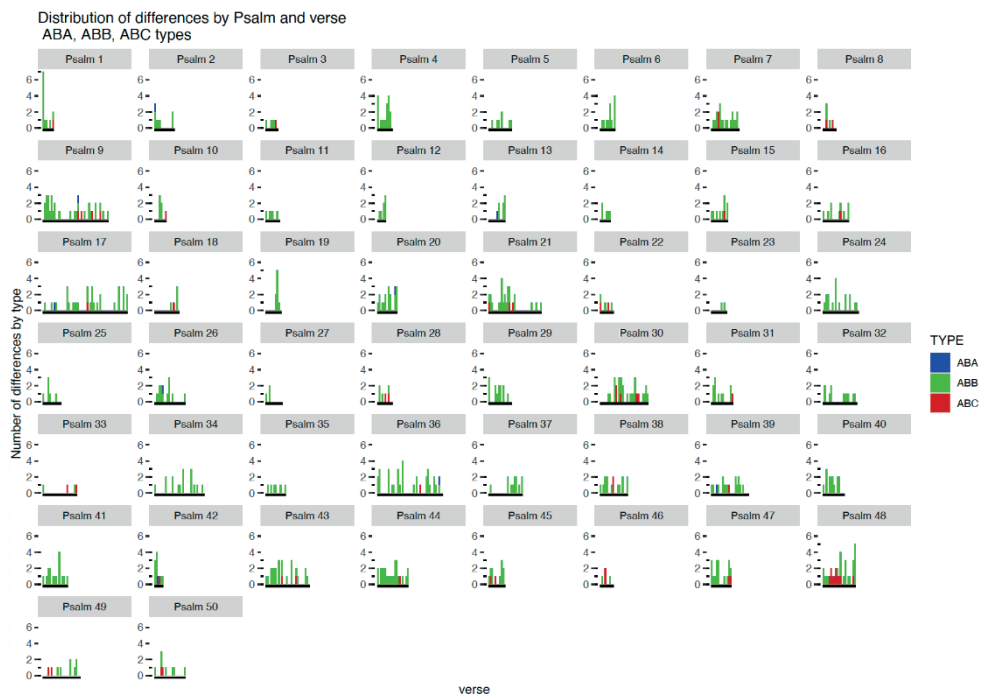
Figure 3. The distribution of revisions between 1697 and 1700 in Psalms 1–50

The 663 differences recorded in the corpus in this redaction produces a ratio of an average number of interventions per verse at **0.77**. An average number of interventions per verse calculated for each psalm individually ranges between 1.833 (Psalm 42) and 0.182 (Psalm 33), with only five psalms below half the average for the entire corpus (Psalms 18, 23, 27, 33, 49) and four psalms with the ratio above the doubled average for the corpus (Psalms 1, 4, 42, 48). Most psalms' ratios are located closer to the overall average.

When it comes to the revisions between 1700 and 1704 (AAC + ABC + ABA), 195 passages were deemed to require interventions. This produces an average ratio of the number of revisions per verse at 0.227. The overall distribution of these revisions in individual psalms is presented in Figure 4, where the colours correspond to revision types.
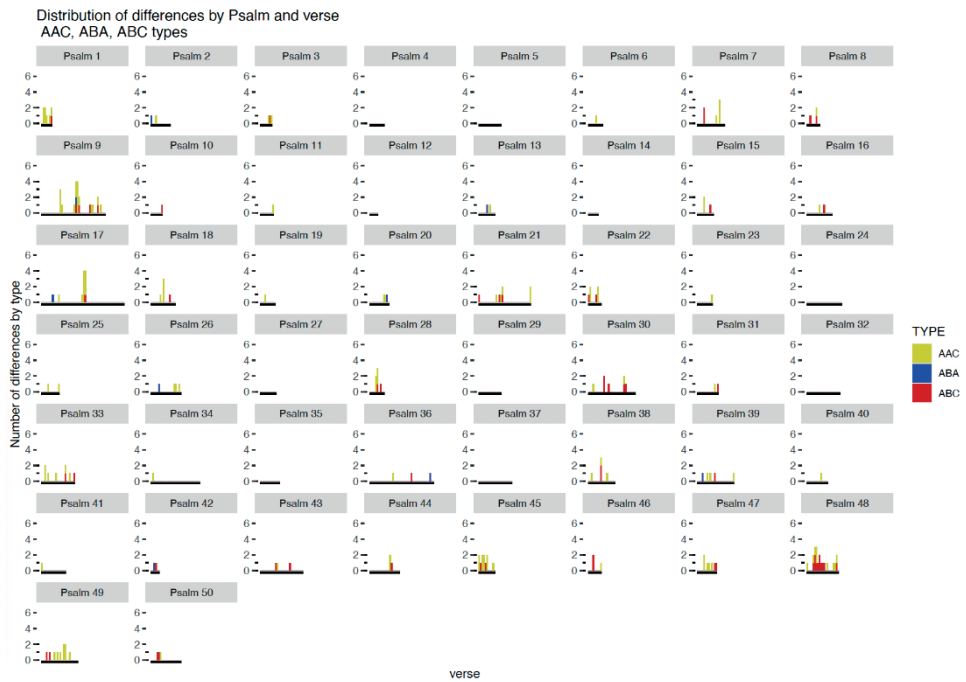
Figure 4. The distribution of revisions between 1700 and 1704 in Psalms 1–50

As transpires from Figure 4, as many as 10 psalms receive no changes in this redaction (Psalms 4, 5, 12, 14, 24, 27, 29, 32, 35, 37) and another 10 show an average ratio of revisions per verse below half the average (Psalms 2, 6, 11, 16, 19, 23, 34, 36, 40, 43). Seven psalms show a revision ratio exceeding the double the overall average for this redaction (Psalms 1, 9, 22, 28, 45, 47, 48).

Out of the total of 195 interventions introduced in this redaction, 127 changes (i.e. 65.1%) were introduced into passages which were left intact between the manuscript and the first printed version (AAC). As many as 12 psalms were unaffected by this revision type (Psalms 4, 5, 10, 12, 14, 24, 27, 29, 32, 35, 37, 42). This is shown in Figure 5.
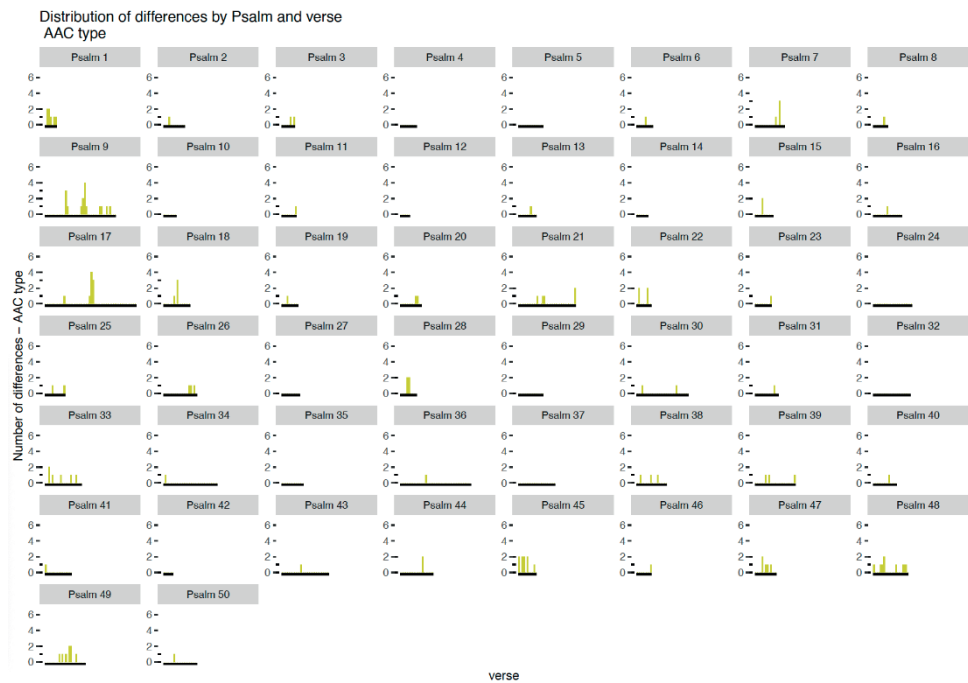
Figure 5. The distribution of revisions of the of AAC type in Psalms 1–50

The remaining 68 instances represent the most unstable passages in the corpus, coinciding with some of the AB_-differences discussed above. In particular, they are cases already revised between the manuscript and the first print but still considered imperfect and changed between the two printed editions. These revisions fall into two further subtypes, depending on how they were ultimately resolved. In 59 passages each redaction has a different text (ABC). A further nine places represent cases where the second printed edition reverts to the manuscript forms, whether consciously or not (ABA).[18] The distribution of these revisions is jointly represented in Figure 6.

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[18] A detailed analysis of each of the ABA-revisions (to be offered in Charzyńska-Wójcik, in prep.) reveals that they are revisions rather than reversals and at no point do they require access to the manuscript version.
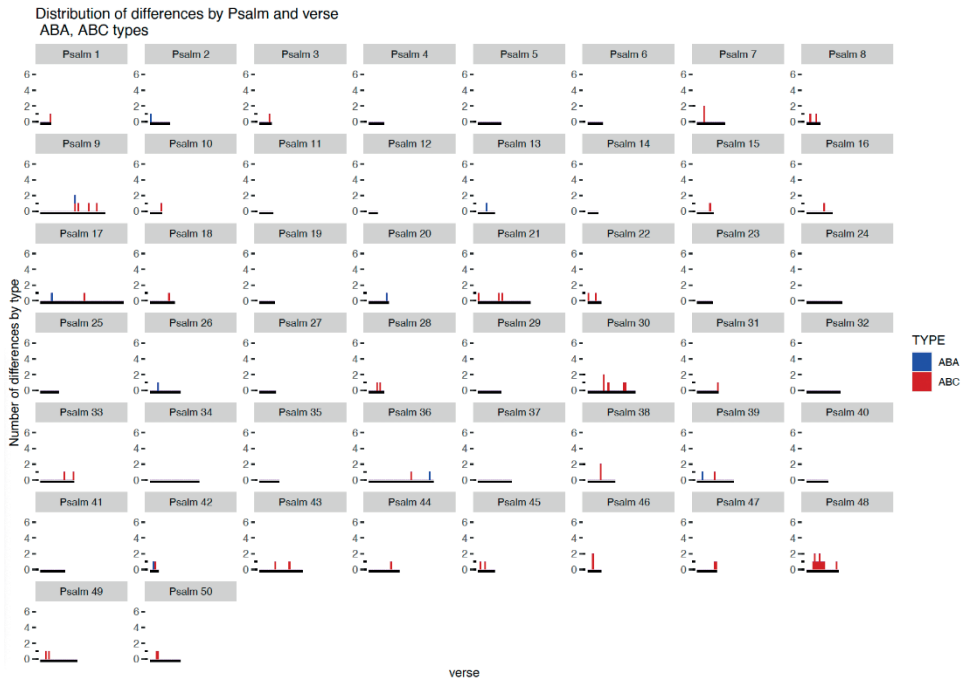
Figure 6. The distribution of the unstable passages in Psalms 1–50: ABA and ABC

To summarise this part of the discussion, the first redaction introduced many more interventions than the second one, with fewer revisions than average in five psalms and more than average in four. The number of these outliers in the second redaction grows on both ends to 19 and seven psalms respectively. In effect, between the two redactions there are as many as 24 psalms with a significantly lower number of revisions and 11 with significantly more revisions. Interestingly, these differences are levelled out to only three and four when the revision project is assessed as a whole. This means that when looked at in isolation, some psalms seem to have received little attention of the reviewers, but when the revision is viewed as a whole project, these deficiencies are made up for. What this indicates is that the revision process was guided by the same underlying principles.

4.2 The linguistic types of textual interventions

Now that we have seen *how many* passages were revised and *when* and *where* the revisions were introduced, it is time to see what kind of revisions were applied at which stage. To facilitate valid comparisons between types of changes introduced in 1700 and 1704, the discussion will be couched in terms of percentages since, as we have seen, the first revision was much more extensive than the second one.

All changes fall into four major types and some smaller subtypes and since the latter are represented by individual examples, they have been subsumed under the common heading "other". The four major types are: lexical modifications, grammatical interventions, combined lexical and grammatical changes, and word-order rearrangements (unaccompanied by any other changes). These types are illustrated in (3) below.

(3)

a. LEX

1.6: ¹⁶⁹⁷counsel—¹⁷⁰⁰Councill—¹⁷⁰⁴assembly

1.7: ¹⁶⁹way—¹⁷⁰⁰way—¹⁷⁰⁴journy

b. GRAM

3.6: ¹⁶⁹⁷will—¹⁷⁰⁰shall—¹⁷⁰⁴shall

9.24: ¹⁶⁹⁷is applauded—¹⁷⁰⁰is applauded—¹⁷⁰⁴applauds himself

c. LEX-GRAM

12.3: ¹⁶⁹⁷triumph—¹⁷⁰⁰be exalted—¹⁷⁰⁴be exalted

15.5: ¹⁶⁹⁷wilt restore—¹⁷⁰⁰wilt restore—¹⁷⁰⁴will make sure

d. word-order

20.4: ¹⁶⁹⁷will never—¹⁷⁰⁰never will—¹⁷⁰⁴never will

15.5: ¹⁶⁹⁷My share of inheritance is our Lord—¹⁷⁰⁰My share of inheritance is our Lord – ¹⁷⁰⁴Our Lord is my share of inheritance

e. "other" changes

31.7: ¹⁶⁹⁷shall every holy one—¹⁷⁰⁰every holy one will—¹⁷⁰⁴every holy one will

45.1: ¹⁶⁹⁷He is our support in our afflictions which lye heavy upon us—¹⁷⁰⁰he is our support in our afflictions which ly heavy upon us—¹⁷⁰⁴in our greivous afflictions he was our support

As is clear, two examples are provided for each type, with the first one representing the linguistic modification recorded among ABB- revision types and the second one doing the same for the AAC-revision type. In (3e) the ABB-type is a combined change involving a grammatical modification accompanied by a word-order rearrangement, while the AAC-type is a lexical modification associated with a word-order change.

The classification of changes introduced in the first redaction is presented in Figure 7, which shows collective data for ABB-, ABC-, and ABA-revision types classified on the basis of the type of linguistic intervention. Corresponding data illustrating changes introduced in the final redaction are given in Figure 8, which presents a linguistic classification of AAC-, ABC-, and ABA-revision types.
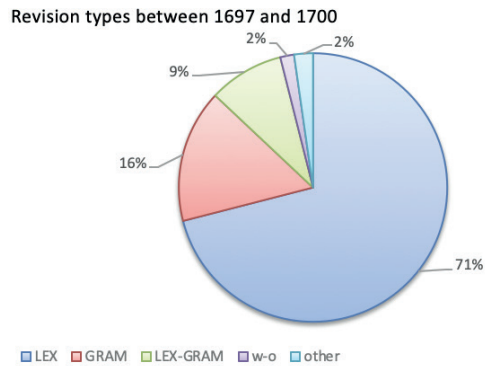
Revision types between 1697 and 1700

2%   2%

9%

16%

71%

☐ LEX ☐ GRAM ☐ LEX-GRAM ☐ w-o ☐ other

Figure 7. Classification of ABB-, ABC-, and ABA-revision types by linguistic features

Revision types between 1700 and 1704

2%   3%

8%

14%

73%

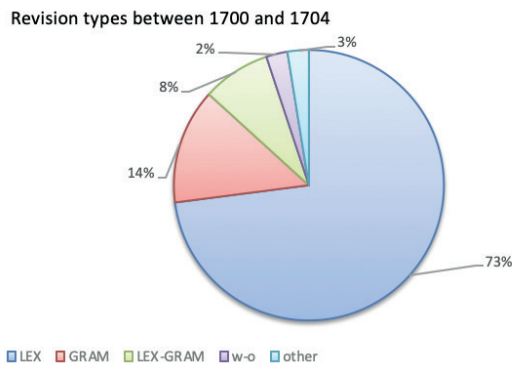☐ LEX ☐ GRAM ☐ LEX-GRAM ☐ w-o ☐ other

Figure 8. Classification of AAC-, ABC-, and ABA-revision types by linguistic features

As transpires from Figures 7 and 8, the most frequent interventions undertaken in both revisions were lexical. And while it is natural that rephrasings would constitute the most frequently encountered type of intervention, the fact that they constitute a very similar percentage of all the changes in either redaction is quite surprising. Lexical changes make up 71% of all changes introduced in 1700 and 73% of all new interventions introduced in 1704. The second largest group of changes in both redactions are grammatical in nature, with 16% and 14% participation in the 1700 and 1704 revision respectively. These are followed by combined lexical and grammatical changes, constituting 9% and 8% of all the changes introduced in the two redactions. Finally, 2% of all interventions affect only word-order. "Other" changes amount to 2% and 3% in 1700 and 1704 respectively. As is clear, not only all major types of changes but also their percentage participation in the affected passages converge in the two revisions.

These convergences of type and percentage participation of interventions introduced in the two revision processes echo the conclusion drawn from the number and distribution of interventions introduced into particular psalms in the two redactions. The two types of data are indicative of a steady effort put into the two revision processes and a generally consistent revision program, a conclusion all the more surprising in view of the fact that the revisions were performed by two or more individuals, certainly working separately.

4.3 An apparent incongruity of (some) linguistic interventions

An observation that seemingly casts doubt on the systematic character the proposed revisions follows from inconsistent choices of 3SG present tense verbal endings in the three redactions. In particular, some original -(*e*)*s* forms are retained in all versions even in places which clearly received attention being revised in other aspects (4a) or new -(*e*)*s* forms are introduced where verbs are revised (4b), other -(*e*)*s* forms are replaced by -(*e*)*th* forms in one version (4c) or in both (4d) and there is no consistency to it.

(4)
a. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*s*
9.30: [1697]lyes—[1700]sitts—[1704]sitts; 9.32: [1697]keeps—[1700]lays—[1704]lays; 9.34: [1697]minds—[1700]minds—[1704]remembers; 10.8: [1697]delights—[1700]loves—[1704]loves; 14.6: [1697]lends—[1700]puts out—[1704]puts out; 18.7: [1697]does feel—[1700]do's feel—[1704]feel's; 41.9: [1697]calls—[1700]comes upon—[1704]comes upon

b. _ vs. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*s*
1.1: [1697]stood—[1700]has stood—[1704]has stood; 1.1: [1697]sat—[1700]has sat—has sat; 14.5: [1697]_—[1700]looks—[1704]looks;

c. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*th*
22.1, 22.2 (x2): [1697]has—[1700]has—[1704]hath

d. -(*e*)*s* vs. -(*e*)*th* vs. -(*e*)*th*
9.8, 46.4: [1697]has—[1700]hath—[1704]hath; 9.31: [1697]watches—[1700]watcheth—[1704]watcheth; 15.9: [1697]sings—[1700]expresseth—[1704]expresseth; 38.9: [1697]passes—[1700]passeth—[1704]passeth; 44.3: [1697]dos—[1700]hath—[1704]hath

Particularly revealing in this context are instances like 17.37 (cf. 5 below), where in the first part of the verse the -(*e*)*th* forms replace the -(*e*)*s* form, while in the second part of the verse, where a revision is proposed in 1700 and retained in 1704, the personal verb form inserted by the reviewers ends in -(*e*)*s*.

(5)

17.37. Who {[1697]teaches| [1700]hath taught| [1704]hath taught} my hands to fight in battel,
And {[1697]_| [1700]has| [1704]has} made my arms like a bow of brass.

To place these alternating forms in a broader linguistic context, let me note that "[i]n the earlier sixteenth century {-s} was probably informal, and {-th} neutral and/or elevated; by the 1580s {-s} was most likely the spoken norm, with {-eth} a metrical variant" (Lass, 1999, p. 164).[19] The only English translation of the Bible authorised by the Catholic Church, known as the Douay-Rheims Bible, was prepared in the late 16th century (first printed in 1582 and 1609/1610). Given the time of the translation, it is only natural that the 3SG verbs should end in -(e)*th* there. Its major revision was prepared in the mid-18th century by Richard Challoner, who retains these forms "as a conscious element of what was perceived by English Catholics as the proper Biblical style, distinct from every-day speech" (Charzyńska-Wójcik, 2023, p. 29).

The Psalmes emerged over 100 years later than the Douay-Rheims Bible, i.e. at the time when -(e)*s* was a marker of 3SG present tense in unmarked cases. Observe, however, that *The Psalmes* predated Challoner's revision by 50 years. This throws light on Caryll and Nairne's enterprise, which was clearly guided by a different approach to Biblical translation, with the -(e)*s* forms representing the default in 1697 and only occasional verbs ending in -(e)*th* to be encountered there. To be precise, Psalms 1–50 contain the total of 12 3SG present tense verbs ending in -(e)*th*. This number almost doubles to 22 in 1700 and grows to 29 in 1704. Yet to fully appreciate the haphazard nature of these changes it would be necessary to know the number of retained -(e)*s* forms. Without having an annotated corpus, however, it would be a gargantuan task to count these forms. But to illustrate the overwhelmingly dominant nature of the -(e)*s* endings over the older form it is sufficient to present the ratio of *hath* to *has* forms in the three redactions. This is done in Figure 9 below. As is clear, the number of the older forms is raising steadily, clearly introduced at every redaction but the number of the retained -(e)*s* forms, which have become the standard by 1700, is overwhelming.[20]

[19] For more on that, see Charzyńska-Wójcik (2023).
[20] As is clear from the total number of -(e)*th* forms recorded in the three redactions, the number of occurrences of *hath* clearly overrepresents the overall frequency with which the older form of 3SG present tense is used. With this reservation in mind, the proportion of *hath* vs. *has* forms serves as a useful reference point, illustrating the general proclivity for the new form, with very little admixture of what by the time of the translation had become a marked choice.
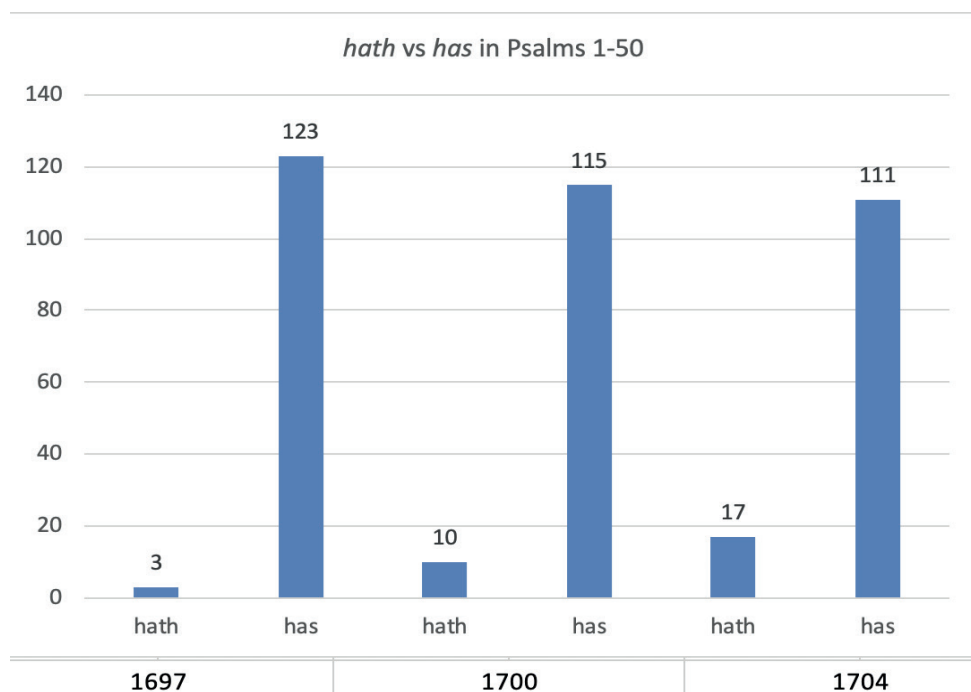
hath vs has in Psalms 1-50

Figure 9. Occurrences of *hath* vs. *has* in Psalms 1–50 in 1697, 1700, and 1704

The picture emerging from these data is that of a conglomerate of revisions proposed by (at least two) different reviewers, with their own—most likely unconscious—preference for the older or newer form, possibly influenced by their age and/or exposition to the English Biblical style, as represented in the Douay-Rheims Bible. The fact that this sporadic use of the older form could not have represented a conscious element of the revision program of any reviewer at any stage is prompted by the fact that among the multitude of changes in the first revision there are only two instances where the single modification in a passage is a change from the newer to the older form. (9.8: [1697]has—[1700] and [1704]hath; 9.31: [1697]watches—[1700 and 1704]watcheth). In the second revision, this happens only once (22.2: [1697 and 1700]has—[1704]hath). In all other instances, the -(e)*th* form emerges as a side-effect of another proposed change.

In effect, while the observed rise in the number of the older forms cannot be ignored in a study like this one, it does not constitute a counterexample to the general observation concerning the systematic nature of the revision process. The -(e)*th* forms should be viewed in proportion to (i) an overwhelming number of retentions of the new form and (ii) verbs introduced into a redaction with the new form. The sporadic emergence of the older form does not speak *against* a conscious revision program but reveals an

unconscious use of the -(e)th forms of reviewers focusing on other linguistics aspects of the emerging text.

5. CONCLUSION

The translation of *The Psalmes of David* made at the Stuart court at Saint Germain-en-Laye was executed between December 31, 1696 and March 14, 1697 by John Caryll and David Nairne. It was one of the three main objectives of this contribution to establish the nature of the two men's collaboration. The analysis was based on evidence from Nairne's diary and calculations concerning the translating speed and copying ratio. The most likely scenario reconstructed on the basis of the available data is that John Caryll prepared the first draft of the translation, while the final version of the text was negotiated by the two men.

Due to a chance survival of a recently discovered manuscript copy of the translation made by David Nairne immediately after the completion of the project (March–May of 1697), we can appreciate the text in its original redaction and compare it with its two printed editions, which came out in 1700 and 1704. It was the second objective of this contribution to examine and classify the differences between the three texts based on Psalms 1–50, i.e. in 860 psalm verses with a view to understanding the purpose, scope, and nature of the two textual revisions. It has been established that the manuscript from 1697 was revised in as many as 663 places before the first printing in 1700. It can be expressed in terms of a revision ratio of 0.77 revisions per verse. These changes fall into four major types of linguistic interventions (LEX, GRAM, LEX-GRAM, word-order). 89.7% of these changes were definitive, i.e. the passages corrected in 1700 were not further modified before the second printed edition. This leaves us with 10.3% of the passages which required another intervention. These numbers tally with independent historical data: the translators needed to obtain permission of church authorities to print *The Psalmes*. The extent of the revision reflects the translators' desire to conform to the suggestions proposed by those in whose power it was to issue (or withdraw) an ecclesiastical approbation. So, the purpose of the first revision was to procure approval for the text, a task in which the translators were singularly successful: two extensive approbations (tantamount to recommendations, or even advertisements of the text) were signed on March 5, 1700 (John Betham and John Ingleton), and the third one on March 26, 1700 (Edme Pirot).[21]

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[21] John Betham and John Ingleton were both doctors of divinity with degrees from Sorbonne. The former was the preceptor and the latter the subpreceptor of the Prince of Wales—James Francis Edward Stuart, the son of King James II, and Queen Mary of Modena. The third approbation was signed by

The first printed edition was further revised for the 1704 printing, resulting in 195 passages differentiating it from the 1700 edition. The revision ratio was much lower this time, at 0.22 revisions per verse. As many as 127 passages changed for 1704 had not been affected by the previous revision. The modifications introduced in 1704 fall into the same major linguistic types. The proportional participation of the types in the first revision is mirrored by the second revision: 71% vs. 73% of lexical changes, 16% vs. 14% of grammatical interventions, 9% vs. 8% of combined lexical and grammatical changes, 2% of corrections representing rearrangements of word order, and 3% of other changes. We can conclude that the second revision represents a serious enterprise, which fully justifies the attribute "review'd" on the title page of the 1704 edition.

Viewing the revision project as a whole, one can see that the second printed edition differs from the original manuscript version in as many as 781 passages affected by the four types of linguistic interventions. With very few exceptions, the interventions are smoothly distributed over the whole corpus. When it comes to the dispersion of textual modifications viewed from the perspective of individual psalms, the two revisions seem to complement each other in terms of the intensity of attention devoted to each psalm. On the whole, the number of changes, their types, and distribution signal a work of dedication and devotion, suggesting a systematic revision program.

In sum, the survival of Nairne's diary allowed me reconstruct the division of labour between two translators of the Psalms. The discovery of the autograph of the translation made possible a detailed comparison of the three redactions of the text of Psalms 1–50, revealing the work of at least two but most probably more individuals reviewing the English text to be offered to a prospective reader. It does indeed seem that they were, as we read in the Preface to *The Psalmes*, "the most propper judges of such writings", as evidenced by the extent of revisions, their types, proportions, and their complementary character. The results of the examinations presented here invite further studies on the remaining psalms. What transpires from the analyses presented here, however, is that the applied review procedures represented a guided and systematic process, a sample of which can be appreciated in the Appendix, where I provide the first redaction of the text as the base text. This was the third and final objective of this contribution: to show the original work of the two dedicated translators, which had been lost for over three centuries.

Edme Pirot, the Sorbonne censor (Shelford, 2006, p. 161, and 2007, pp. 141, 144) as in France no work could be legally published without official approval (Goldzweig, 1980; Shelford, 2006).

6. POST SCRIPTUM

I have recently discovered another redaction of Caryll and Nairne's *Psalmes*. Having examined Poor Clares, Darlington manuscript of "The duties and sentiments of a penitent soul contained in the 7 penitential psalms" (Durham University Library, GB-0033-PCD MS 38), I can strongly affirm that the text of the psalms offered there is drawn from the psalms translated at Saint Germain and is written in the hand of Elizabeth Cornwallis, in religion Sister Cicely Joseph (Rouen).[22] And while the manuscript contains only a selection of psalms and not all the verses of the Seven Penitential Psalms, with some verses not quoted there in full, the textual sample given there is sufficient to warrant valid analyses.[23] My preliminary examination shows that the Durham manuscript differs in several places both from the manuscript for the queen and from the two printed editions, promising to shed even more light on the revision process.

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[22] Six items from the collection are attributed to her in the library catalogue of the Collection of Poor Clares, Darlington (accessed April 30, 2024): MSS 2 (single leaf), 6, 7, 13, 34, and 48. Three more manuscripts have been attributed to her by Temple (2019): MSS 12 and 30, and two more by Myers (2024): MS 67 and 68. To these, I can add MSS 11, 15, 33, 36, 37, 38, and 40, and the list is far from complete.

[23] The manuscript offers over 60% of the total number of verses in these psalms.

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APPENDIX

The base text is given after the manuscript from 1697. The passages with differences are presented in curly brackets with the spellings representing the texts they come from.

Psalm 48

1. {[1697]Hear what I say, all yee Nations| [1700]HEar what I say, all you Nations| [1704]ALl you nations, hear what I say}, Be atentiue all {[1697]yee| [1700]you| [1704]you} Inhabitants of the {[1697]earth| [1700]world| [1704]world}.

2. {[1697]Both the high and the low born| [1700]All that are born of the earth, all sons of men| [1704]All that are born of the earth, all sons of men}, Both the rich and the poor.

3. My mouth shall utter wisdome, And the meditation of my heart shall {[1697]produce| [1700]bring forth| [1704]bring forth} prudence.

4. J will {[1697]turn my ear to parables| [1700]give attention to parables| [1704]give attention to a parable}, And {[1697]I will open dark sentences| [1700]my proposition I will explain| [1704]my proposition I will explain} upon the harp.

5. Why shall I {[1697]be affraid| [1700]be affraid| [1704]fear} in the evill day? {[1697]Least J be found inuolued in the iniquity of my ways| [1700]least I be found involved in the iniquity of my ways| [1704]The iniquity of my heel will surround me}.

6. {[1697]_| [1700]They| [1704]Amongst those} Who confide in their strength, And {[1697]who| [1700]who| [1704]_} glory in the abundance of their {[1697]riches, lett them know that| [1700]riches, let them hear this| [1704]wealth}.

7. A brother {[1697]_| [1700]_| [1704]then} will not redeem a brother, {[1697]Much less will a man who is a stranger redeem him| [1700]will a man vvho is a stranger redeem him| [1704]will any other man redeem him}; He can not {[1697]give for himself wherwith to appease God| [1700]give for himself wherwith to appease God| [1704]apease God for himself};

8. Nor pay**[24]** the ransome of his own soul; {[1697]He will allways toyle and labour, And yet thinks he shall liue to the end of the world| [1700]he will allways toyle and labour, and so live on to the prefixt end of his days| [1704]His paine will be everlasting; yet he thinks, he shall still live on}.

9. {[1697]And that He shall not see| [1700]He will not look upon| [1704]And never see} death; {[1697]when he sees before his eyes wise men dying; certainly the fool and the insensible must also| [1700]tho he sees wise men dying before him: but the insensible man, and the fool at last must| [1704]tho' he sees wise and good men dying before him; But the insensible man *and* the fool at last must} perish;

10. And they will leave their {[1697]riches| [1700]houses| [1704]wealth} to strangers, And their sepulchers {[1697]shall| [1700]will| [1704]will} be their houses to the worlds end.

11. {[1697]Ther they will abide from age to age, Who have left| [1700]Their places of habitation passe from one generation to an other, they have left| [1704]And their mansions for all succeeding generations. They will only leave} their names to their lands.

12. Man when {[1697]he is| [1700]_| [1704]_} elevated in honour {[1697]he| [1700]_| [1704]_} looseth understanding; He is compared to {[1697]_| [1700]brute| [1704]brute} beasts that have no reason, and {[1697]becomes| [1700]he becomes| [1704]is become} like them.

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[24] Some passages, usually presenting added text, are underlined in the manuscript and italicised in the printed editions. These markings do not always coincide, as is the case here: the first printed edition italicises *Nor pay* but no other redaction marks this as an addition.

13. This way of theirs is the occasion of their fall, And yet they please and applaud themselves.

14. Like sheep {[1697]to the shambels| [1700]to the shambles| [1704]_} they are driuen into hell, And death will deuour them {[1697]for ever| [1700]_| [1704]_}.

15. And the just will[25] have dominion over them {[1697]when morning comes| [1700]in the morning| [1704]in the morning}, And all the props {[1697]and supports| [1700]_| [1704]_} of their worldly glory will {[1697]faile them below| [1700]sink, and faile them in hell| [1704]sink, and faile them in hell}.

16. But God will redeem my soul from the power of Hell, when he has taken me into his protection.

17. Be not concern'd, when {[1697]a| [1700]the unjust| [1704]the unjust} man becomes rich, And his house is in great glory;

18. For of all this {[1697]when he dyes he will carry nothing with him| [1700]when he dyes, he will carry nothing with him| [1704]he will carry nothing with him when he dyes}, Nor will his glory accompany him when he {[1697]descends into the earth| [1700]goes below| [1704]goes below}.

19. {[1697]During his life he shall be said to be happy, And he will praise thee as long as thou do'st well with him.| [1700]During his life, he shall be said to be happy, And he will praise thee, as long as thou do'st well with him.| [1704]In his life time he will receive blessings; He will praise[26] thee when thou art benefitial to him.}

20. {[1697]_| [1700]There| [1704]But there} He {[1697]will| [1700]will| [1704]shall} enter {[1697]ther| [1700]_| [1704]_} wher his fathers went before him, And for ever he {[1697]shall| [1700]will| [1704]will} not see light.

21. Man when he {[1697]was| [1700]is| [1704]is} elevated in honour {[1697]became voyd of| [1700]looseth| [1704]looseth} understanding; He {[1697]was| [1700]is| [1704]is} compared to brute beasts, {[1697]_| [1700]that have no reason| [1704]that have no reason} and {[1697]was| [1700]is become| [1704]is become} like them.

THE PSALTER IN EXILE:
TRANSLATION, CORRECTION, AND REVISION OF THE PSALMS
AT THE STUART COURT IN SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE

S u m m a r y

The paper concerns a little-known rendition of the Psalms, translated into English at the exiled court of King James II at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and printed anonymously first in 1700, and then in a revised and corrected edition in 1704. The translators were John Caryll and David Nairne. Thanks to the preservation of Nairne's *Diary*, we can meticulously examine the translation process and reconstruct the division of labour between these men. My discovery of the copy of the translation that Nairne made for Queen Mary of Modena immediately upon the completion of the original translation in 1697 (i.e., before the text was significantly altered by reviewers) offers a unique glimpse into the revision process. In-depth analysis of the variant readings introduced in the subsequent redactions reveals that the applied review procedures, though comprising a conglomerate of reviewers, represented a guided and systematic process aimed at both securing the approbations necessary to print the translation and providing readers with the best possible text.

Keywords: Psalms; translation; revision; John Caryll; David Nairne; exiled Stuart court

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[25] The actual form appearing in the manuscript is <uill>.

[26] <press>

PSAŁTERZ NA WYGNANIU:
TŁUMACZENIE, KOREKTA I REWIZJA PSALMÓW
NA DWORZE STUARTÓW W SAINT-GERMAIN-EN-LAYE

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest niezbadanemu dotychczas przekładowi psalmów na język angielski, którego dokonano na dworze króla Jakuba II na wygnaniu w Saint-Germain-en-Laye, po czym wydrukowano anonimowo w latach 1700 i 1704 (wydanie poprawione). Tłumaczami byli John Caryll i David Nairne, a zachowanie się *Dziennika* Nairne'a umożliwiło dokładne prześledzenie procesu tłumaczenia i rekonstrukcję podziału obowiązków między tłumaczami. Odkryty przeze mnie autograf tłumaczenia wykonany ręką Nairne'a dla królowej Marii z Modeny natychmiast po ukończeniu tłumaczenia w 1697 r., a więc przed wprowadzeniem do tekstu znaczących zmian przez recenzentów, daje niepowtarzalną możliwość wglądu w proces rewizji. Szczegółowa analiza wariatów wprowadzonych w kolejnych redakcjach ukazuje, że – mimo udziału co najmniej kilku różnych recenzentów – zastosowane procedury rewizyjne stanowiły część systematycznego procesu, którego celem było zarówno uzyskanie aprobacji niezbędnych do ogłoszenia tłumaczenia drukiem, jak i przekazanie w ręce czytelników jak najlepszego tekstu.

Słowa kluczowe: psalmy; tłumaczenie; rewizja; John Caryll; David Nairne; dwór Stuartów na wygnaniu

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