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# GLOSSING PSALMODY IN LATE MEDIEVAL DEVOTION: THE INFLUENCE OF PSALTER GLOSSES ON A LATE MEDIEVAL PRAYER TO THE FIVE WOUNDS

One of the most common types of non-liturgical prayer found in late medieval prayerbooks is that in which a Latin Psalm, often introduced only by its incipit, is offered for use in a specific circumstance defined in a corresponding vernacular rubric.[1] Despite the ubiquity of these bilingual prayers in devotional manuscripts "right up to the end of the Middle Ages" (Scott-Stokes, 2006, p. 21), the vast majority have never been critically edited. As a consequence, their compilers' rationale for selecting specific Psalms for use in specific contexts, or how their contemporary users would have emotionally responded to the performance of these Psalms, have been little considered in current scholarship.

In this article, I propose that a particular genre of text, Psalter glosses, influenced conventional understandings of the Psalms to a significant extent. These glosses could frame the Psalms in several ways, appearing in Psalter manuscripts as interlinear glosses, marginal commentary, direct insertions into the original text, or any combination of these methods.[2] The various forms which glosses took illustrates the numerous ways in which they could influence the reception of the glossed text: as Trotter (2018) observes, the "seductively simple definition" of a gloss given by the medieval scholar Isidore of

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[1] Despite the volume of research dedicated to Books of Hours, their non-liturgical texts remain relatively understudied; for an overview of the field, see Smith (2003, pp. 1–9). For the standard liturgical contents of a Book of Hours, including its Psalms, see Gunhouse (2019); for those of the vernacular equivalent, the primer, see Littlehales (1895).

[2] In this paper, the use of the term "gloss" therefore refers to all of these text types.

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Seville—"when the meaning of one word is made clear by the use of another"—has been expanded in current scholarship "to refer to productions ranging from *synonyma*, bilingual word-lists which may reasonably be seen as the ancestors of modern dictionaries, to interlinear or marginal annotations of texts, either in another language or in the same language as the original document" (p. 581). We can, therefore, think of a gloss as a method of elucidating the meaning of a text through translation, either literally, in the use of one language to explain a text written in another, or symbolically, in the use of synonyms or analysis to state the inner meaning of a text, given in the same language as the original.

Although the presence of glosses is typically perceived as indicating the academic, rather than devotional, use of a Psalter (Lindstedt, 2021, pp. 80–83), the manuscript record shows that a significant number of non-liturgical Psalters were glossed, and that such manuscripts were owned not only by clerics and academics, but also by lay men and women.[3] This finding invites a reassessment of the influence of Psalter glosses on the composition and reception of prayer texts in medieval Books of Hours, which are typically approached as "learned expositions of its [the Psalter's] texts" exclusively accessible to Latinate and literate men: "clerics … preachers … and academics" (Kuczynski, 2019, p. xvii). Instead, expositions of the Latin liturgical texts that comprised the core components of Books of Hours are almost exclusively restricted to those conveyed in their accompanying illustrations (Aston, 1984; Smith, 2003; Wieck, 2001), meaning that unillustrated manuscripts generally receive even less scholarly attention.

Using a prayer to the Five Wounds of Christ that survives in four manuscripts dating from the mid-fourteenth to late-fifteenth centuries as a case study, I propose that glosses and commentaries on the Psalms were far more accessible than is conventionally assumed, and offered their users a type of devotional literacy that was text-based, rather than image-based. The ways in which this prayer's selection of Psalms complements the deeper significance of their texts, as communicated in their glosses, challenges the view that "the late medieval laity's expanded consciousness and use of religious texts was *inseparable* from an increased, enriched engagement with pictorial imagery" (Smith, 2003, p. 3, emphasis mine) by proposing that the received significance or interpretation "lying behind" the performance of a particular Psalm could have been accessed textually, as well as visually.[4]

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[3] "Non-liturgical" Psalters refers to manuscripts in which the Psalms are not rearranged and excerpted, as in Missals, Breviaries, and the monastic *cursus*. On the "specialisation of the various types of liturgical Psalters" in the Middle Ages, see Palazzo (1998, pp. 129–134, quoted at p. 131). There is, to my knowledge, no study of the prevalence or ownership of glossed Psalters in late medieval England.

[4] All four texts are given in full in the Appendix, as are references to catalogue descriptions of the manuscripts; the text is untitled in all of its witnesses.

## 1. READING, PRAYING, AND WRITING (ABOUT) THE LATIN PSALMS

The ways in which writing *about* the Psalms enriched their users' devotional engagement with them thus offers a different approach to the question of why, given the availability of vernacular translations of the Psalter, the majority of such prayers remained in Latin. The conventional answer is that Latin psalmody appealed to the laity precisely *because* of its unfamiliarity, replicating their experiences of attending Mass in their parish churches. Duffy (2006), for example, proposes that

> [t]he very *raison d'être* of the Book of Hours was to offer lay people a suitably slimmed down and simplified share in the Church's official cycle of daily prayer.… This perhaps helps explain the otherwise apparently baffling fact that all over Europe the overwhelming majority of Books of Hours remained in Latin, and their lay users went on apparently contentedly reciting the prayers contained in these books even though they were written in a language that few of them could have understood perfectly. (p. 30)

Duffy's emphasis on literal understanding as subordinated to a sense of liturgical participation exemplifies the traditional approach to non-monastic reception of the Latin Psalms: that the psychological and emotional effects of *saying* the Psalms surpassed a need or desire to understand *what was said*—and, by extension, what was *meant*. For James Morey, the popularity of abbreviated Latin Psalters in devotional books indicates that "acting like monks probably appealed to their lay imitators" (Morey, 2019, p. 17), while Sutherland (2015), following Lawton (2011), characterises translations of the Psalms as "the liberation of [the] vernacular voice" from "Latinate liturgical practice" (p. 6). However, in the vast majority of devotional manuscripts, including the four analysed in this article, the incipits of the Psalms are given in Latin, indicating that this was the expected language of psalmody. Furthermore, "liturgical" and "private" prayer cannot be consistently separated in historical contexts, and there is no reason to assume that the Latin Psalms could, or would, not have been performed in non-liturgical devotion. As Boynton (2013) reminds us,

> the modern categories of "liturgy" and "devotion" imply too rigid a separation to apply consistently in the late Middle Ages. Many earlier prayer texts identified by modern scholars as "private" or "devotional" are so profoundly rooted in the liturgy that they are properly said to be liturgical, and they are usually transmitted in liturgical manuscripts such as psalters. (pp. 118–119)

Ritual, as Boynton observes, does not necessarily imply liturgy; prayers with liturgical uses, above all the Psalms, could also serve "private" devotional functions, and prayers based on the Psalms, like the example examined here, can certainly be described as "profoundly rooted in the liturgy". Furthermore, vernacular and Latin psalmody did not have

to be mutually exclusive or analogous devotional practices. Sutherland (2015) observes that, while there is no evidence that vernacular Psalters were intended to substitute those of the Latin Psalms in public contexts, there is "abundant evidence that many of them were intended to supplement and comment on such Latinate practices, and even to replace them in private contexts" (p. 4). Psalter translations, she continues, thus "provide a resource and means of expression for those who cannot, *or choose not to*, read the Latin" (Sutherland, 2015, p. 6; emphasis mine). The presence of the Latin Psalms in our prayer thus invites us to reassess conventional approaches to the performance of the Psalms in the late Middle Ages: in the same way that Psalter glosses were not exclusively used by academic audiences, the Latin Psalms need not be exclusively connected with liturgical prayer.

## 2. ENCOUNTERING THE (GLOSSED) PSALMS IN LATE MEDIEVAL DEVOTIONAL BOOKS

The likelihood that the owners of late medieval devotional books would have possessed, or had access to, a complete Psalter, either in Latin or the vernacular, is high: Sutherland (2015) observes that the Psalter is so well attested in documentary sources that "it would be much harder to find a will or inventory that does not include the book than it is to find one that does" (p. 10). These same sources indicate that the probability that these Psalters might have been glossed is similarly high: in 124 wills and inventories proved in the fifteenth century (Raine, 1864), we find 30 references to Psalters, of which 12 are either described as glossed or embedded within a commentary, while in 157 wills proved in the first decade of the sixteenth century (Raine, 1869), we find nine references to Psalters, of which three are glossed.[5] A conservative estimate would therefore put the ratio of glossed to unglossed Psalters as roughly one in three. In the libraries of religious houses this ratio is much higher: all 16 of the Psalters listed in Leicester Abbey's library catalogue of 1493 are described as glossed (James, 1936, pp. 141–142), as are nine of the 12 Psalters listed in the catalogue of the brothers' library at Syon Abbey (Gillespie & Doyle, 2001). The incidence of glossed Psalters reflects Kuczynski's (2019) view that such texts "indicat[e] … the necessary interrelationship between the Psalter and learned expositions of its texts during the Middle Ages" (vol. 1, p. xvii), but their ownership by non-academic audiences invites the possibility that these "learned expositions" influenced devotional, as well as didactic, engagements with the Psalms.

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[5] The decline in Psalter ownership in these wills is consistent with trends of the later Middle Ages: see Goldberg (1994) and Sutherland (2015, pp. 15–16).

This proposal is supported by the diverse ownership of glossed Psalters. As we might expect, it is relatively straightforward to find examples of ownership among religious men: Elias Stoke (d. 1436), a parish priest, willed his colleague John Rowe "Psalterium meum glossatum" (Kingsford, 1922, n.p.), as did an unnamed priest of a York diocese in 1451 (Raine, 1864, p. 117). William Hawk (d. 1472) left fellow priest Thomas Sayle "meum Psalterium optimum, manu mea conscriptum, et glosatum per Hugonem de Vienna" (Raine, 1864, p. 220), while Thomas Morton, a canon of York cathedral, owned "j Psalterio cum nova glosa diversorum doctorum" valued at 40 shillings (Raine, 1864, p. 110).[6] However, ownership of glossed Psalters is also documented among religious women and laypeople. In addition to numerous Psalters, abbreviated Psalters, and Books of Hours, David Bell identifies at least five Psalter commentaries owned by female religious houses (Bell, 1995, pp. 119, 138, 141, 151).[7] The author of *The Myroure of Oure Lady*, a fifteenth-century devotional treatise originally composed for the nuns at Syon and later printed for lay audiences, translated "but fewe" of the Psalms, "for ye may haue them of Rycharde Hampoules drawing" (Blunt, 1873, p. 3); Rolle's Middle English Psalter translation was accompanied by an extensive commentary. In 1467, Robert Est bequeathed to the nuns at Hampole a copy of this same gloss, which he claimed to be "de propria scriptura beati Ricardi heremite, ibidem jacentis" (Raine, 1864, p. 141). The layman John de Scarle left a friend his glossed Psalter in his 1403 will (Raine, 1864, p. 23), while, in her will of 1399, Eleanor Bohun left her daughter Isabel "[un] psautier veil, tanque a la nocturn de *Exultate*, glosez" and "autre liure nouel du Psautier glosez, de la primer *Domine exaudi* tanque a *omnis spiritus laudet Dominum*" (Bell, 1995, p. 141; Sutherland, 2015, p. 16).[8] The fifteenth-century laywoman Margery Kempe was read "þe Bybyl wyth doctowrys þerupon" by her confessor, indicating that glossed Bibles were another way of accessing the Psalms for such audiences (Meech & Allen, 1940, p. 143).

It is likely, therefore, that the Psalters of the men and women performing the prayer edited in this article were glossed. But precisely which glosses might they have contained? There were a huge number of commentaries on the Psalter available to the educated reader. The Syon catalogue, which documents one of the largest monastic libraries prior to the Reformation, contained copies of the following authors "super Psalterium": Pelbart Temesvari, Ludolph of Saxony, Nicholas de Lyra, Peter Lombard, the "Common Gloss",

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[6] On the cost of books in the later Middle Ages, see Bell (1995, pp. 13–21).

[7] As Bell does not describe the individual Psalters manuscripts identified in his survey, it is possible that some of them might contain glosses.

[8] Although Sutherland (2015) interprets the second item as a reference to a Psalter "glossed/annotated according to the primer", it is more likely that this is a reference to the first Psalm in the manuscript being Psalm 101, *Domine, exaudi orationem meam*. This would then be the first ("primer") Psalm beginning *Domine exaudi*, as Psalms 129 and 141 begin likewise. My re-punctuation of the original text reflects this interpretation.

Augustine, Cassiodorus, Thomas Waleys, Lethbert of Saint-Ruf, Richard Rolle, Robert of Bridlington, Nicetas of Remesiana, Caesarius of Arles, Isidore of Seville, Petrus de Harentals, Richard Ullerston, Gilbert de la Porree, Hugh of Saint-Cher, Hugh of Vienna, and John Halgrin of Abbeville, in addition to several more anonymous, unspecified, or unidentified works (Gillespie & Doyle, 2001). In order to ensure that the reading of the Psalms contained in our prayer accurately reflects the circumstances of its original audiences, it is important to establish the Psalter glosses that they would have been able to access, on the basis of the glosses most frequently referenced or attested in the sources described above. These are:

### 2.1 The "Common Gloss"

This term designates the corpus of interlinear and marginal glosses that accompanied medieval Bibles, including the Psalter: in the Syon catalogue, for example, we find three Psalters described as "cum glosa communi" (Gillespie & Doyle, 2001, p. 122). The influence of this gloss on the cultural uses and interpretations of the Bible cannot be overlooked: as Morard (2024) observes, "la Bible glosée récapitule le patrimoine fondamental du Christianisme medieval … elle a contribué, grâce au réseau des maîtres et des prédicateurs, à la construction culturelle et religieuse de l'Europe" (n.p.). While it is impossible to cite a definitive version of the Common Gloss—as Morard (2024) notes, "la Bible latine du Moyen Âge tardif n'est donc ni un texte figé, ni un texte unique" (n.p.)—the "meta-texte" produced by the *Sacra Pagina* project offers a representation of what the most common "Common Gloss" contained, which was accessible not only to academics and monks, but to laywomen like Margery Kempe.

### 2.2 Richard Rolle's (d. 1349) Commentaries on the Psalter

As the most popular vernacular translation and commentary of the Psalter, which "reached a remarkably extensive and diverse audience", Rolle's original Middle English Psalter Commentary survives in 19 manuscripts, while a later Wycliffite-interpolated version is attested in several more (Sutherland, 2015, p. 57; Hanna, 2010). Again highlighting the discrepancies between modern and medieval perceptions of "liturgical" and "personal" prayer, Sutherland (2015) observes that, "mirroring the conventions of Latin liturgical Psalters, manuscripts [of Rolle's Middle English text] suggest that in the late Middle Ages, Rolle's Psalter was read in awareness of, if not active conjunction with, the liturgical context in which the Psalms featured so dominantly" (p. 58). Rolle also composed a Latin commentary on the Psalter, which, like the Latin prayers explored in this paper, has never received a critical edition; as van Dussen (2018) observes, "more attention has been given

to Rolle's later English Psalter commentary, [although it] is far from a translation of the Latin text"—the Latin text is an independent commentary, deserving of further study (p. 41). As the later version of Rolle's Middle English commentary is the only one to have been critically edited (Hudson, 2012–2014), all citations that are consistent between the three versions will be quoted from this edition, with the corresponding references to the earlier Middle English version (Bramley, 1884) and a representative version of the Latin text (Illinois) given alongside them.

### 2.3 A glossed Wycliffite Psalter

This Middle English translation of the Psalter resembles the Common Gloss in its *mise-en-page* of an interlinear gloss and marginal commentary; it survives in full in one manuscript and in part in 11 more (Kuczynski, 2019, pp. xix–xliv). Its selection and adaptation of sources allows its glosses to "fall into self-defining groups across the length of the book", touching on a broad range of topics that emphasise the "immediate relevance [of the Psalms] to the individual and social concerns of Christians in early fifteenth-century England" (Kuczynski, 2019, pp. xviii–xix). Although Kuczynski (2019), like the majority of commentators on Psalter glosses, characterises the users of this Psalter as "clerics … preachers … [and] academics" (p. xvii), and its use, consequently, as non-devotional, he does concede that "an entirely orthodox clerical or lay reader could profit devotionally and morally from the materials assembled in [its text]" (Kuczynski, 2019, p. xix). Sutherland (2015) similarly writes that, "far from dislocating their users from the practices of the church community or from its acceptable teachings", manuscripts of the Wycliffe Psalms "could well have been used to complement entirely orthodox devotional activity" (p. 64), being used as translations of the Latin text.

### 2.4 The *Glossed Prose Psalter*

This "translation of a glossed version of the Gallican Psalter" is unique in that its Middle English text translates not the Latin Psalms that accompany two of its four manuscripts, but an Anglo-Norman intermediary text (Sutherland, 2015, pp. 53–54). Unlike the other glosses examined here, it offers a "radical" (Black & St-Jacques, 2012, vol. 1, p. xlv) approach to the presentation of the Psalter glosses on the manuscript page, in which the glosses are indicated by underlining in the Latin text, but then silently integrated into their corresponding translations. Six manuscripts of this gloss have been identified, of which two give a bilingual Latin/Middle English version, two only the Middle English version, one a bilingual Latin/Anglo-Norman version, and one only a continental French

version (Sutherland, 2015, pp. 53–56; Black & St-Jacques, 2012).[9] Unlike Rolle's translation, whose manuscripts primarily suggest devotional use, the *Glossed Prose Psalter* manuscripts "provide reasonably direct access to biblical texts, [and] all encourage a relatively learned textual consumption though their inclusion of explanatory commentaries" (Hanna, 2005, p. 7). However, although Sutherland (2015) and Hanna (2005) thus define the reception of this Psalter as "a devout lay audience with a voracious appetite for biblical learning" (Sutherland, 2015, p. 56), the hitherto unrecognised influence of its glosses on the bilingual Latin/Anglo-Norman abbreviated Psalter contained in Bodley indicates that it was also received by religious audiences (Lindstedt, 2023).

## 3. A CASE STUDY: A PSALMIC PRAYER TO THE FIVE WOUNDS OF CHRIST

What does interpreting our prayer to the Five Wounds through the lens of these Psalter glosses tell us about the reception, performance, and significance of its chosen Psalms to its contemporary audiences? Is there a connection between the dedication of particular Psalms to particular Wounds? Why dedicate a sequence of Psalms to the Five Wounds at all?

This last question, at least, is relatively straightforward to answer. The dedication of our prayer exemplifies the ability of the Psalms to serve as a repository of texts that could be applied to current devotional trends: Duffy (2002) writes that "devotion to the Wounds of Jesus was one of the most popular cults of late medieval Europe, and in England it was growing in popularity up to the very eve of the Reformation" (p. 238; see also Pollick et al., 2022).[10] The contexts for its performance specified in its rubric, "mortel pecché ou … anguisse", likewise recall the "moralised devotions to the Wounds" found in contemporary prayerbooks (Duffy, 2022, p. 244). As with its dedication, the non-Psalmic elements that recur throughout the prayer—the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, *Adoramus te*, and *Qui crucis in patibulo*—are similarly conventional, as Connolly's (2019) reading of another contemporary prayer, whose content and style closely resemble that of ours, illustrates: the *incipits* of four Latin Psalms—three of which are shared with our sequence—are followed by a "reiterat[ed] … formula" containing the same elements as in our prayer, "*Qui crucis in patibulo / adoramus te Christi Ihesu pater ave & credo*"

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[9] Sutherland (2015) lists only four manuscripts of this text because she numbers only the Middle English versions. As the Anglo-Norman version of the *Glossed Prose Psalter* has not been edited and the Middle English and French versions occasionally contain variant readings, I have chosen to quote the Latin glosses in this article, as printed in Black & St-Jacques (2012, vol. 2).

[10] On the adaptation of older prayers and liturgies to the cult of the Five Wounds, see further Duffy (2022, pp. 238–248).

(p. 215).[11] The closing rubric of another fifteenth-century prayer analysed by Connolly (2019) similarly parallels that of our text: "without dought ye shall sure haue that thing ye pray for laufully, with Goddes grace" (pp. 214–215).

However, despite the apparent conventionality of this prayer, its engagement with the Psalms is not necessarily so. Although they share near-identical opening and closing rubrics, none of the four versions of this prayer contain the same Psalms or direct them to the same Wounds, indicating a degree of personal choice on the part of their compilers. Furthermore, none of the Psalms of the Passion (Psalms 21–30) are represented in any version, and only two of the four contain one of the seven Penitential Psalms, although these two groupings were the most commonly excerpted sequences of Psalms from the entire Psalter. The differences between each manuscript's number, arrangement, and dedication of the Psalms are summarised below:

| BODLEY | EMMANUEL | HARLEY | ADDITIONAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ps. 122: The Feet | Ps. 122: The Feet | Ps. 122: The Feet | Ps. 122: The Feet |
| Ps. 53: The Side | Ps. 53: The Side | Ps. 53: The Side | Ps. 53: The Side |
| Ps. 66: Right Hand | Ps. 66: Both Hands | | Ps. 66: Both Hands |
| Ps. 69: Left Hand | | | |
| Ps. 150: The Head | Ps. 150: The Head | Ps. 150: no direction | Ps. 150: The Head |
| | | Ps. 50: no direction | Ps. 50: The Whole Body |

### 3.1 Psalm 122

In all four versions, the first Psalm in the sequence is Psalm 122, directed to Christ's feet. As one of the 15 Gradual Psalms, it was traditionally believed to have been recited by worshippers ascending the 15 steps of the Temple at Jerusalem (Scott-Stokes, 2006, p. 9). This context was allegorized spiritually by Christian exegetes as the symbolic ascent of the soul to God, as exemplified in Augustine's gloss to Psalm 119, the first Gradual Psalm:

> Et sunt hic quindecim gradus, sicut in templo Salomonis totidem erant gradus, quibus ascendebatur in templum, quod est figura celestis templi ad quod his gradibus ascenditur. (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.)

In Rolle's Middle English commentary, this allegory of spiritual climbing is explicitly connected with the feet: "Þe title of þise fifteen salmes is song of degrees, þat is ioie of þouȝt in gostly steiȝing in þe whiche loue *þe foot* stireþ" (Hudson, 2014, pp. 1027–1028,

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[11] This prayer is not, however, dedicated to the Five Wounds, and is therefore not analysed further here.

emphasis mine; Bramley, 1884, p. 436). In his Latin commentary, the act of "stepping", while not connected specifically to the feet, figures the act of lifting the spirit to God as a form of "ascent": 'ita per has quindecim virtutes, in hijs quindecim psalmis contectas et ab illis quindecim gradibus configuratas, de presenti e[t]iam [MS ectiam] ad celestem patriam ascenditur, vnde et tituli dicitur canticum graduum' (Illinois, f. 167ᵛᵃ). The Wycliffite commentator translated "canticum graduum" as "þe song of greces eiþer stieris" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 2, p. 1), playing on the potential of the Middle English *stier* to indicate variant spellings of both the noun *stere* 'stair' (Middle English Dictionary [MED], 2024), and the verb *stiren* 'to advance' or 'to ascend' (MED, 2024). The choice of a Gradual Psalm as a prayer to Christ's feet is therefore contextually appropriate, referencing both the part of the body that takes literal steps and the devout intention to take spiritual steps to lift up the soul to God.

The choice of Psalm 122 to represent the Gradual Psalms reflects the similarity of its conventional interpretations to the purpose of this prayer as expressed in its rubric: deliverance from "pecché ou … anguisse". The *Glossed Prose Psalter* connects the text of the Psalm with the experience of affliction by sin: "quia multum repleta est anima nostra de peccato, obprobrium sit habundantibus nostris de peccato et despectio superbis" (Black & St-Jacques, 2012, vol. 2, p. 46). The titular Common Gloss quotes Cassiodorus's view that Psalm 122 is the "quartus gradus" of a fifteen-stage ascent to God, "inter quaslibet *angustias* constanter de Domino esse presumendum, donec misertus exaudiat" (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.). Rolle expresses a similar interpretation in his Latin commentary: "hic quartus gradus clemencie est" (Illinois, f. 67ᵛᵇ). The Wycliffite commentator opines that "þis salm is þe preier of sum hooli profete for delyueraunce of þe puple fro þe turment … in which þe puple was wondurfuli turmentid and dispisid"; he then continues, "so þe puple of Iewis, set in greet tribulacion vndur Antiok, siȝ þat þei myȝten not be delyuerid no but oneli of God, and settiden all her hope in him" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 2, p. 3).

### 3.2 Psalm 53

The next prayer in the sequence, Psalm 53, is directed to the wound in Christ's side, which "had a particular fascination and devotional power" to contemporary audiences because "it gave access to his heart, and thereby became a symbol of refuge for his love" (Duffy, 2022, p. 244). Duffy's (2022) identification of this wound as a "symbol of refuge" is illustrated in contemporary devotional writing, in which it is often compared to physical objects characterised by empty space as part of a tangible iconography that centred on measuring, touching, and kissing (Duffy, 2022, p. 245; Sauer, 2016; Simpson, 1874). In a Middle English Passion meditation, Rolle compares the wounds to dovecotes,

honeycombs, stars, caves, and wells—hiding places offered to the speaker to seek refuge in the cavities of Christ's pierced flesh:

> Swet Ihesu, þy body is like to a dufhouse, for a dufhouse is ful of holys: so is þy body ful of woundes. And as a doue pursued of an hauk, yf she mow cache an hool of hir hous she is siker ynowe, so, swete Ihesu, in temptacioun þy woundes ben best refuyt to vs. (Oglivie-Thompson, 1988, p. 73)

As with the preceding Psalm, the connection between glossed interpretations of its meaning and the function of the prayer specific in the rubric is apparent: many glosses figure this Psalm as an expression of hope and trust in God, which is then linked to images of hiding or concealment. In the Common Gloss, the interlinear gloss to the *titulus* figures "in carminibus vel hymnis" as "laudibus, quia in adversis Deus laudandus" (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.). The Ziphites are then interpreted as follows:

> ZIPHEI.… Florentes interpretantur, et significant illos, qui hic florent in presenti et quasi virent copia temporalium, quorum gloria est ut flos feni, quod hodie floret et cras in clibanum mittitur. Inter quos *latet* David, id est, sancti quorum vita *abscondita est cum Christo* in Deo, inter quos sunt viles et absconditi.

Consequently, the interlinear gloss to Psalm 53:3 interprets the voice of the Psalmist as "verba Ecclesie *latentis* inter Zipheos, cuius bonum *intus est* et merces *occulta*", while that to Psalm 53:6, "ecce enim Deus adiuvat me", reads, "quod ipsi nesciunt *inter quos lateo*". Kuczynski (2019) observes that in one of the manuscripts of the Wycliffite commentary, we find this same "more pointed moralisation" of Psalm 53, "explaining that the Ziphites "betoken men þat florisch in vanite of þe world", from whom "Goddes children are hid" by their virtues" (vol. 2, p. 113). The Wycliffite commentator writes that "þis salm mai be expowned gostli aȝenes worste accuseris, excitynge myȝti men aȝenes innocentis, whose tresouns innocentis ascapen bi Goddis goodnesse" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 1, p. 79). For Rolle, this petition expresses the desire that God, "in þe memorie of þi sone Iesu oure saueour [shal] make me safe" (Hudson, 2013, p. 553; Bramley, 1884, p. 192; Illinois, f. 67rb). In his Latin commentary, the connection between performing this Psalm devoutly in one's heart and subsequent help from God is more explicitly articulated: "<u>Deus, exaudi orationem meam</u>, iam corde conceptam, <u>auribus</u>, id est, presencia tue maiestatis, <u>percipe</u>, id est, ad effectum capere, <u>verba oris mei</u>, id est, eandem orationem meam verbis prolatam" (Illinois, f. 67[rb]). We then find a similar use of the language of hiding and evasion to the Common Gloss: "<u>et Dominus susceptor est anime mee</u> contra fortes, vt fortes superem et alienos *euadam*". Here we see the theme of hiding with God, creeping into that refuge of the side-wound, in the allusion to David's literal hiding in the cave.

**3.3 Psalm 66**

The next sequence, centred on Psalm 66, is the first to vary between the four versions: in Harley it is omitted entirely, in Bodley it is directed to Christ's right hand, and in Emmanuel and Additional it is directed to both hands. Another interesting aspect of this Psalm is that, unlike the previous two Psalms, it contains no first-person verbs at all; nor does it explicitly mention anguish or sin, but expresses praise for God's creation, a seemingly contradictory emotion.

Why, then, was Psalm 66 chosen as the third Psalm in this sequence? In the glossing tradition, we find a recurring interpretation of the theme of this Psalm as an expression of gratitude to God for the mercy shown in the person of Christ. "As þe reyne firste moysteþ þe erþe er it bryng forþe fruyt," Rolle writes in his Middle English commentary, "so þe mercy of God is upon man first and more redy to ȝyue him grace þan he to aske it … [through] þe treuþe of his sone, Crist Iesu" (Hudson, 2013, pp. 611–612; Bramley, 1884, p. 229). The connection of the literal fruit invoked in the Psalm with the mystical fruit of spiritual grace is similarly stated in the *Glossed Prose Psalter*: "terra dedit fructum suum <u>per graciam suam</u>" (Black & St-Jacques, 2012, vol. 2, p. 26). For the Wycliffite commentator, the performance of this Psalm directly benefits the speaker through the invocation of the merits of Christ: "God haue merci, in sendynge us þe sauyour, on us, and blesse us: whanne þe Lord blessiþ us, we encreessen, and whane we blessen þe Lord, we encreessen" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 98–99). This commentary also includes a titular gloss on the meaning of this Psalm: "In Ierom þus: To þe ouercomere in salmes, þe song of writing of a delitable þing wiþ metre". Kuczynski (2019) observes that this gloss has no parallel in any extant commentary tradition, and instead appears to be an attempt on the part of the translator to define the "distinguishing features of devout song" (vol. 2, p. 128). By placing Psalm 66 in the middle of this sequence, its compiler begins a subtle transition from anguish to joy, mirroring the hoped-for emotional effect of performing this prayer in the received interpretations of its chosen Psalms.

What was the connection between this meaning and this Psalm's direction to either one or both hands? A possible answer lies in the titular Common Gloss of this Psalm: "psalmus qui monet ad bene operandum" (Morard et. al., 2024, n.p.). The idea of doing good works, and, therefore, avoiding sin, recalls the rubric of this prayer, recommending its performance for a person struggling with "mortel pecché". In Harley, we find Psalm 66 listed in a series of Psalms offered to its user to pray in specific circumstances, prefaced by the assertion that "Seint Hillerie, evesque de Poyters, ordina cestes Psalmes, qe sont cy escripte en ordre, et grant remedie trouera chescun bone Cristene de ferme fei qe les dirra en bone deuocion quant il auera mestiere de grace et de eide" (f. 103ʳ); this particular

Psalm is recommended to someone "q'est en volente de peschier".[12] In the Common Gloss, we find a marginal gloss to verse 4, "confiteantur tibi populi omnes", that explicitly contextualises this action in terms of guidance rather than praise: "quia invenerunt viam, post notitiam hortatur confiteri pro directione et iudicio". This 'via', which occurs in the preceding verse of the Psalm, is itself glossed as a path away from the darkness of sin and towards the light of good works: "que ad te ducit, id est, quo eamus et qua, quod in tenebris non potest fieri". The connection of one's works with one's hands is a recurring trope in medieval pastoral and devotional works. In the Passion meditation quoted above, Rolle more explicitly connects the wounds of the Passion with the fruit of grace:

> Þan was þy body lyk to hevyn, for as heuyn is ful of sterris, so was þy body ful of woundes.… Þe sterres ben cause of eche þynge þat is grene or groweth or bereth fruyt. Now, swet Ihesu, mak me grene in my beleue, growynge in grace, *berynge fruyt of good works*. (Oglivie-Thompson, 1988, p. 74)

And in his Latin commentary, he draws a similar comparison between the reception of the joy of salvation and good works: "Letentur iusti suavitate amoris tui, et exultant foris se hillares, *ostendentes in bonis operibus* gentes iam confitentes" (Illinois, f. 82vb). A Middle English translation of Birgitta of Sweden's *Revelations,* one of the most influential works of the fifteenth century, explicitly connects the wounds in Christ's hands with the necessity of good works as follows:

> And forþat myn handis were streyned with nayles, therfore *thin werkys, the wheche ar figured be thin handis*, schuld be oppened to þe poore pepyl and to myn comaundementis.
>     Cotton Julius F.ii (f. 6^r, London, British Library)

This connection is reiterated later in the text, when the Virgin Mary recommends a specific prayer to Birgitta to use "whan it delitis [þe] *to werke* or to rest or to ete" (f. 227^r). In Bodley, this prayer is the only Middle English devotion in the entire manuscript, where it is translated as follows:

> Ihesu Crist, Goddes sone, whose *hondes weren bounde* for my love fulle sore, governe and wyll *myn hondes* and alle myne other lymes, that alle my *werkes* mow wel begynne and graciously ende to yowre moost pay. Amen. (f. 94^r)

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[12] The rubrics to these Psalms are printed, with several transcription errors, in *Harleian Catalogue* (1808, pp. 637–638); the Psalms associated with the rubrics, however, are not included.

### 3.4 Psalm 69

Following its unique dedication of Psalm 66 to the right hand, Bodley contains another unique Psalm and direction: that of Psalm 69 to Christ's left hand. The choice to include this particular Psalm in this version of the sequence correlates with Duffy's (2006) observation that "the personal character of [Books of Hours] was often signalled by the inclusion of prayers specially composed or adapted for their owners" (p. 30): as Bodley's owner was a religious woman, she would have prayed this Psalm multiple times a day.[13] Its inclusion in this sequence therefore revivifies her daily liturgical performance by re-contextualising it in personal terms, adapting the same Psalm to a different context and meaning. Appropriately, the glosses to Psalm 69 correlate with the text and stated intention of the prayer's rubric: deliverance from suffering and sin, reinforced by its daily repetition before all the canonical hours. In his Latin commentary, Rolle's gloss of the opening verse likewise reads: "<u>Deus, in adiutorium meum intende</u> *quo semper egeo*, positus in tribulatione" (Illinois, f. 88vb). In the Wycliffite commentary, the *titulus* is interpreted as an explicit reminder of how David triumphed in persecution: "Þe title of lxix salm. To þe victorie of Dauiþ, to haue mynde. Dauiþ made þis salm whanne he was in þe persecucioun of Absolon his sone" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 1, pp. 106–107). One manuscript of this commentary adds an additional comment to this gloss: "þat God sholde hastely delyuer hym of þat persecucion, for so nedes vs euer to preye" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 2, p. 136). In the *Glossed Prose Psalter*, the torment of the soul is specifically figured as one of temptation: "confundantur et reuerantur simul, qui querunt, <u>id est temptant</u>, animam meam" (Black & St-Jacques, 2012, vol. 2, p. 28). Again recalling the use of this Psalm by religious communities, just as the previous Psalm's direction to the right hand recalled the context of *corporeal* works, that of this Psalm to the left hand complements this symbolism by evoking that of *spiritual* works, namely, liturgical prayer. The Common Gloss quotes Cassiodorus's justification of the use of this Psalm at the canonical hours as follows: "hic versiculus *ante omnes horas* in initio predicitur, quia cum orare solemus maxime temptare nititur diabolus ut musce morientes perdant suavitatem unguenti" (Morard et. al, 2024, n.p.).

### 3.5 Psalm 150

In two of the versions examined here, Bodley and Emmanuel, the last Psalm in this sequence of prayers is, appropriately, the last Psalm, Psalm 150; in Harley and Additional,

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[13] The only prayer in Bodley that retains its owner's name is an elevation prayer, which explicitly connects a petition for salvation to her recitation of daily religious services: "Par vostre pité de mei, oustez [mes pecches] par icest cervise de vostre passion et de nostre redempcion, a qui *touziours* fais vostre servant, Rose" (ff. 52^r–v).

it is the third Psalm in the sequence. Unlike the preceding prayers, whose primary themes are of judgment, tribulation, and petitioning for mercy, many glosses to Psalm 150 argue that its mystical meaning anticipates the promise made to the performer at the end of the text that his or her prayer will be heard by God. To the Wycliffite commentator, "þis salm is þe conclusioun of al þe book of salmes … in þis salm heuenli citeseyns ben excited to þe euerlastynge heriyng of God" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 2, p. 39). The ascent to heaven, figuratively evoked in Psalm 122, the first Psalm of the sequence, thus culminates in the successful arrival of the performer's soul to "þe firmament of [God's] vertu: þat is, in briȝt heuene, which is þe place of hem þat ben in blis" (Kuczynski, 2019, vol. 2, pp. 38–41). In his Middle English commentary, Rolle states that "in þat hiȝenesse of Goddes loouyng al psalmody is wrouȝt, þe whiche louyng is sungen heer wiþ suetnesse in cumpanye" (Hudson, 2014, pp. 1108–1109; Bramley, 1884, p. 492).

The direction of this Psalm to the head complements the symbolism of Christ as the head of the Church, members of a united body. In the Common Gloss, the titular glosses emphasise how this Psalm symbolises the perfect and eternal unity of God and the saints, using the image of an atom to illustrate its indivisibility:

> Athomus est hic psalmus, in quo intenditur ut laudetur Deus, quia sanctos congregavit et deposita fragilitate sue imagini restituit; iam conformes glorie sue, ubi omnis abundantia.… Monetur civitas Dei, scilicet unitas omnium sanctorum, ore et animo cantare. In hoc culmen omnis psalmodia perducitur que nuptiali dulcedine cantatur. (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.)

In the context of the Five Wounds, it is likewise appropriate that a number of glosses of this Psalm locate the origin of the heavenly joy it invokes as Christ's overcoming of the devil through his death: for Rolle, "þe ioie and þe honour þat he haþ ȝiuen to hem þat loouen him … is for he ouercam þe deuel þurgh his deeþ" (Hudson, 2014, p. 1109; Bramley, 1884, p. 492; Illinois, f. 188ra). The movement from anguish to joy desired in the rubric that opens this sequence is therefore articulated and evoked via its order and selection of Psalms: the performer praises God, secure in the knowledge that all things will, indeed, end in bliss for him or her, and that, by performing this sequence of Psalms, he or she will be delivered from anguish.

### 3.6 Psalm 50

However, in Harley and Additional the final Psalm is not the final Psalm, but the fiftieth Psalm, *Mierere Mei, Deus.* The cultural significance of this "widely translated and evocative Psalm" (Sutherland, 2015, p. 125) needs no introduction.[14] As in the rubric

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[14] On contemporary adaptations and uses of this Psalm, see further Sutherland (2015, pp. 34–45).

to this sequence, glosses of Psalm 50 define it, in Rolle's words, as "the uoyce of a man doynge penaunce" (Hudson, 2013, p. 540); in the *Glossed Prose Psalter,* we similarly read, "libera me de sanguinibus id est peccatis Deus" (Black & St-Jacques, vol. 2, p. 20). What is intriguing is, instead, its dedication to "the whole body" of Christ. On one hand, this dedication could reflect the direction of this Psalm "a persona iudicis", as specified in the Common Gloss (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.). On the other hand, it could reflect the connection of Psalm 50 in several glosses to contemplation of the Passion: that is, reflection on the "whole *wounded* body" of Christ. In the Wycliffite version of Rolle's gloss, the image of hyssop in verse 9 is explicitly connected to this theme: "and he is sprencled wiþ þis erbe *þat is bisye þenkyng upon þe harde passioun of oure lord Iesu Crist*, whereþurgh þe moste brennyng lust of synne is slockened" (Hudson, 2013, p. 543). The Common Gloss to the first verse of this Psalm connects the mercy requested of God by the performer to the mercy of God's voluntary Incarnation and Passion: "Magna misericordia Deum de celo deposuit corpore induit, ut pateretur moreretur" (Morard et al., 2024, n.p.).

## 4. FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF THE PSALMS IN LATE MEDIEVAL DEVOTION

Analysing the Psalms compiled in this prayer in light of the meanings accorded to them in the most widely circulated glossing traditions has shown that the Psalms had more resonance to a medieval audience than only their use in the liturgy and the formal worship of the Church. The high number of glossed Psalters owned by non-academic audiences indicates that rather than being performed for their sacred resonance by audiences with little understanding of their texts, the Latin Psalms were frequently accessed in Psalters with a glossing apparatus that both outlined conventional meanings of the Psalms and translated them for wider audiences. The forms in which the Psalms were received by medieval audiences consequently invites a wider reassessment of Psalmic prayers in late medieval prayerbooks, the vast majority of which have never been printed. Wider study of the cultural and literary uses of the Latin Psalms in the Middle Ages would both support that of vernacular Psalms, as in Atkin and Leneghan (2017), and Sutherland (2015), and open up new avenues for scholarship of the devotional literature and culture of the period.

APPENDIX: TEXTS OF THE PRAYER TO THE FIVE WOUNDS

**1. London, British Library, Harley 1260, ff. 163ᵛ–164ʳ[15]**

**Si vous soiez en mortiel pecché ou en anguisse, alez a moustier, et illoques genulez deuaunt le croice et priez a Dieu q'il eit mercy de vous, et q'il vous deliueir de uostre anguisse. Et ne priez nul rien qe soit contre la fei!**

**Et regardez bien lez piez Ihesu et ditez:** Pater noster. **V** Adoramus te Christe et benedicamus tibi | **R** Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. **Oratio:** Domine Ihesu Christe, etc. **Psalmus:** Ad te leuaui oculos meos, etc. Gloria patri, etc.

**Regardez les coustez Ihesu; ditez:** Adoramus te, etc. Pater noster. **Psalmus:** Deus in nomine tuo, etc. **Anthem:** Qui crucis in patibulo oblatus es pro populo. Clauis fossus et lancea; corona plexus spinea: per tua quinque uulnera pie Ihesu Christe, succurre michi peccatori in hac angustia.

**V** Adoramus te, etc. Pater noster. **Psalmus:** Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius. **Anthem:** Qui crucis.

**V** Adoramus te. Pater noster. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam, etc. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. In manus tuas, etc.

**Et sachez bien qe uostre requeste serra perfourmé en biene, et nul enemy pouer auera de vous le iour qe vous le ditez de bone quore.**

**2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 9, ff. 43ᵛ–44ᵛ[16]**

Si vous soiez en mortel pecché ou en anguisse, alez a moyster e engenulez devant la crois, e priez | Dieu devoutement ke il ait merci de vous, e que il vous grante vostre priere ausi veraiement com il granta Paradis au laron quant il pendist en la crois. Mes pernez bone garde que vous ne priez rien qui soit encontre la fei ne encontre la salu de l'alme!

Regardez primes en les pies Ihesu en la crois, e dites devoutement: **Pater noster. Ave Maria. V** Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi; quia per sanctam crucem tuam et piissimam mortem tuam redemisti mundum. **Psalmus:** Ad te levavi oculos meos, qui. **Oracio:** Qui crucis in patibulo oblatus es pro populo; clavis fosus et

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[15] As the British Library website is currently inaccessible, the only other catalogue entry available for this manuscript is *Harleian Catalogue* (1808).

[16] For descriptions of this manuscript, see *Medieval manuscripts in Oxford libraries* (2020), Pächt and Alexander (1973, #921), and van Dijk (1953, p. 151).

lancea; corona plexus spinea; per tua quinque vulnera, pie Ihesu, succurre michi in angustia.

Et puis regardez la coste e dites: **Pater noster. Et Ave Maria. V** Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi; quia per sanctam crucem tuam et piissimam mortem tuam redemisti mundum. **Psalmus:** Deus, in nomine tuo salvum me fac. **Oratio:** Qui crucis in patibulo, **ut supra.**

E puis regardez la maine destre, et ditez: **Pater noster. Et Ave Maria. V** Adoramus te, Christe, &c. **Psalmus:** Deus, misereatur nostri. &c. **Oratio:** Qui crucis in patibulo. &c.

Et puis regardez la meyne senestre, et ditez: **Pater noster. Et Ave Maria. V** Adoramus te, Christe. &c. **Psalmus:** Deus in adiutorium. &c. **Oratio:** Qui crucis in patibulo. &c.

E puis regardez la teste, e ditez: **Pater noster. Et Ave Maria. V** Adoramus te, Christe. &c. **Psalmus:** Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius. **Oratio:** Qui crucis in patibulo. &c.

Et sachez que vostre priere serra oiez de Dieu, car ceo chose est prové.


### 3. Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 106, ff. 27ᵛ–28ᵛ[17]

**Si vous estes en pecché mortele ou en anguisse, ales a mostier. Si ennuilies devaunt la croiz, et pries a Dieu que il eit merci de vous, et qu'il vous graunt vostre priere si veraiment com il granta Paradis a<u> laron quant il pendi en la crois. Mes pernet bone garde que vous ne priet nulle chose que seit encountre la fey!**

**Et regardet les pees Ihesu en la Crois et dites: P**ater noster. **Et dites ceste V A**doramus te Ihesu Criste et benedicamus tibi. **R Q**uia per sanctam crucem et piissimam mortem tuam redemisti mundum. Et dites ceste Psalme, Ad te levavi oculos meos, **auvec G**loria Patri, **et puis ceste oresun: D**eus qui in crucis patibulo oblatus es pro populo; clavis fossus et lancea, corona plexus spinea: pro tua quinque vulnera, pie Ihesu Christe, succurre michi in hac angustia.

**Et puis regardes les costes Ihesu et dites: A**doramus te Ihesu, **come avaunt e dist, e trei fois P**ater noster **et A**ve Maria, **avec ceste Psalme, D**eus in nomine tuo, **et avec G**loria Patri, Sicut erat. **Oratio: D**eus qui in crucis patibulo.

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[17] For a description of this manuscript, see James (1904, pp. 90–94).

**Et puis regardes les mains et dites: A**doramus te, Ihesu, **et puis dites .iiii. fois P**ater noster et Ave Maria **od ceste Psalme, D**eus misereatur, **auvec ceste oreison, D**eus qui in crucis patibulo, **com auvaunt.**

**Et puis regardes la teste et dites: A**doramus te Ihesu, **od ceste Psalme,| L**audate Dominum in sanctis ejus **auvec** Glora Patri, **et l'orison apres,** Deus qui in crucis patibulo, **et dites .vii. P**ater noster et <A>ve Maria.

**Et sachez pur voir que ceste priere doit estre verrai, quar il est esprové par diverse gens.**

## 4. London, British Library, additional MS 88929[18]

Iff ye be in synne or tribulacion, knele downe on your knees befor the rood and pray God to have mercy on you and that he will foryeve you your synnes, and to graunt you your peticion as he graunted Paradise to the thefe.

Resite your peticion rightfully, and than devowtely behold the fete and sey: Adoramus te, Ihesu Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Miserere nobis. **And then sey this Psalm,** Ad te levavi oculos meos, **with** Gloria Patri. **And then sey this anthem,** Qui crucis in patribulo oblatus es pro populo; clauis fossus et lancea: per tua quinque vulnera, pie Ihesu, succurre nobis in hac angustia. **And then sey** Pater noster. Ave Maria.

**And then stedefastly behold the sydes, and sey:** [A]doramus. Qui crucis. **Psalmus:** [D]eus <in> nomine tuo. [P]ater noster. [A]ve Maria.

**And so behold the handes and sey:** Adoramus. Qui crucis. Deus misereatur. [P]ater noster. [A]ve Maria.

**And then behold the hed and sey:** Adoramus. [Q]ui crucis. [L]audate Dominum in sanctis ejus. [P]ater noster. [A]ve Maria.

**And so with a holl mynde to alle the body, sey:** [A]doramus. Qui crucis. [M]iserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, etc. Pater noster. Ave Maria. [C]redo in Deum.

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[18] As the British Library website is currently inaccessible, for a brief description of this manuscript see Clark (2011).

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## GLOSSING PSALMODY IN LATE MEDIEVAL DEVOTION: THE INFLUENCE OF PSALTER GLOSSES ON A LATE MEDIEVAL PRAYER TO THE FIVE WOUNDS

### S u m m a r y

Although the Latin Psalms prominently feature in the private prayers of late medieval devotional books, they remain little explored in comparison to their vernacular and liturgical equivalents. A common type of prayer found in such books, in which individual Latin Psalms are offered for devotional use framed by vernacular rubrics, suggests that there were conventional interpretations of individual Psalms that influenced their compilers' selection of the Psalms and their audiences' interpretative responses to them. In analysing an example of such a prayer, an unprinted devotion to the Five Wounds of Christ, in the light of Psalter glosses, we can explore this understudied dimension of medieval engagements with the Psalter.

**Keywords:** Book of Hours; Psalter; gloss; medieval English literature; Richard Rolle; Five Wounds of Christ; Biblia Communis; Passion meditation; Anglo-Norman

## GLOSOWANIE PSALMÓW W PÓŹNOŚREDNIOWIECZNYCH PRAKTYKACH MODLITEWNYCH: WPŁYW GLOS NA MODLITWĘ DO PIĘCIU RAN CHRYSTUSA

### S t r e s z c z e n i e

Choć łacińskie psalmy zajmują ważne miejsce w kontekście modlitwy prywatnej w późnośredniowiecznej literaturze dewocyjnej, stanowią one wciąż mało zbadany materiał w zestawieniu ze swoimi wernakularnymi i liturgicznymi odpowiednikami. Typowy rodzaj modlitwy, który odnaleźć można w tego rodzaju literaturze, gdzie pojedyncze psalmy łacińskie służą jako tekst o charakterze dewocyjnym okalany wyjaśnieniami w językach wernakularnych, sugeruje, że dla poszczególnych psalmów istniały konwencjonalne interpretacje, które motywowały nie tylko konkretny ich dobór przez twórców tego typu literatury, ale także interpretacyjną odpowiedź odbiorców tych tekstów. Ten mało zbadany wymiar średniowiecznego Psałterza będzie w tym artykule przedmiotem analizy, przeprowadzanej na konkretnym przykładzie takiej modlitwy, to jest na niewydanej do tej pory drukiem modlitwie do pięciu ran Chrystusa, w zestawieniu z glosą do psalmów.

**Słowa kluczowe:** *Book of Hours*; psałterz; glosa; średniowieczna literatura angielska; Richard Rolle; modlitwa do Pięciu Ran Chrystusa; Biblia Communis; medytacje pasyjne; anglo-normandzki

### A u t h o r ' s   b i o

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