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MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS AND FALSE GO-BETWEENS: ON EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD ENGLISH *PATER NOSTER*

Abstract: The Lord's Prayer played an important role in the formation of early Anglo-Saxon Church. The significance of *Oratio Dominica* was raised in ecclesiastical epistles and reflected in state charts and laws issued at the time. Poetical paraphrases of the prayer formed part of contemporary religious literature. Their authors continued the long-standing Cædmonian tradition and used the ancient Germanic poetic diction to express Christian values. Translation of these poems requires close reading of the manuscript or its facsimile and working with reliable editions. Scholarly commentary and editorial guidance help to analyse the poems' thought and grammar. Therefore, the selection of a dependable critical edition is the prerequisite to the esthetically satisfying and adequate translation of these extraordinary Anglo-Latin poetical masterpieces.

Keywords: editing, Old English, *Pater Noster*, the Middle Ages, manuscripts.

*Poterat iam perfecta esse grammatica sed ... factum est, ut, quidquid dignum
memoria litteris mandaretur, ad eam necessario pertinent.*

St. Augustine, *De ordine*

From Bede to Wanley – *Pater Noster* in Anglo-Saxon culture and tradition

Translation of a medieval text must be based on careful re-reading of evidence from manuscripts and reliable editions which give some attention to the poem's *mise-en-page* and its place within the codex. The awareness of scribal and editorial conventions as well as the understanding of structural principles underlying vernacular metrical compositions are essential for a competent and stylistically refined translation of the Old English *Pater Noster* paraphrases.

Significance of the Lord's Prayer in early medieval English church

Old English translations of *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and *Gloria* reflect the shaping of Christian faith in the early Anglo-Saxon world. Complementary to more direct documents, such as homilies and letters written by Bede, Ælfric, Wulfstan, Aldhelm and other ecclesiastical authors, these texts bear witness to the contemporary religious *praxis*. Some of them are faithful prose renditions of liturgical Latin texts. Others, for example *Oratio Domini*, are meditative poetical paraphrases inspired by the original prayer.

Ever since the beginning *Pater Noster*, like *Credo*, occupied a privileged position in the canon of prayers. The role of the Lord's Prayer in the catechesis of early Anglo-Saxon church was raised in Episcopal statutes, manuals of religious instruction, numerous expositions in verse and prose, vernacular translations; it was echoed in homiletic literature and drama. According to King Edgar's laws, every Christian man ought to teach his children *Pater Noster* and the *Creed*, and unless he knows these prayers himself, he cannot be buried in consecrated earth nor receive the Holy Communion; he who will not learn them is not a true Christian and cannot act as a godparent at a baptism or as a sponsor at a confirmation (Aarts 1969).¹

¹ The tenth *Capitulum* at Clovesho in 747 urged priests to learn both prayers (i.e. *Pater Noster* and *Credo*) in English and to preach them to their local congregations. In 787 church authorities ordered godparents to teach their godchildren the vernacular *Pater Noster dum ad perfectionem aetatis pervenerint*.

The Lord's Prayer and the Creed were two pillars of catechetical instruction. This privileged status of both prayers in the formation of early Anglo-Saxon church is well attested in ecclesiastical epistles. In his 8th-century letter to Egbert, the bishop of York, Bede urges his addressee to preach the Catholic faith in line with the tenets of *Pater Noster* and *Credo*. Uneducated priests, who did not speak Latin, were encouraged to learn the vernacular versions of the prayers. This plan was contrived in response to *ignorantia sacerdotum*, common at the time.

In qua videlicet praedicatione populis exhibenda, hoc prae ceteris omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quae apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem, quam sancti Evangelii nos scriptura edocet, omnium, qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriae radicibus infingere cures. Et quidem omnes, qui Latinam linguam lectionis usu didicerunt, etiam haec optime didicisse certissimum est; sed idiotas, hoc est, eos qui propriae tantum linguae notitiam habent, haec ipsa sua lingua dicere ac sedulo decantare facito. Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari adhuc vita constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis, qui Latinae sunt linguae expertes, fieri oportet. Sic enim fit, ut coetus omnis fidelium quomodo fidelis esse, qua se firmitate credendi contra immundorum spirituum certamina munire atque armare debeat, discat; sic, ut chorus omnis Deo supplicantium quid maxime a divina clementia quaeri oporteat, agnoscat. Propter quod et ipse multis saepe sacerdotibus idiotis haec utraque, et symbolum videlicet, et Dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translata obtuli (*Aepistola ad Egbertum episcopum*, Plummer 1896, I : 405–423).

And in setting forth such preaching to the people, I consider it above every other thing important, that you should endeavour to implant deeply in the memory of all men the Catholic faith which is contained in *the Apostles' Creed*, and *the Lord's Prayer* as it is taught us in the Holy Gospel. And, indeed, there is no doubt that those who have studied the Latin language will be found to know these well; but the vulgar, that is, those who know only their own language, must be made to say them and repeat them over and over again in their own tongue. This must be done not only in the case of laymen, who are still in the life of the world, but with the clergy or monks, who are without a knowledge of the Latin tongue. For thus every congregation of the faithful will learn in what manner they ought to show their faith, and with what steadfastness of belief they should arm and fortify themselves against the assaults of unclean spirits: and thus every choir of those who pray to God will learn what they ought especially to ask for from the Divine Mercy. Wherefore, also, I have myself often given English translations of both these, namely, the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer*, to uneducated priests (trans. Ch. Plummer, 1896).

Bede's own translations of the prayers have been lost. Whether they were prose renditions or poetical paraphrases is unknown. The extant vernacular versions of *Pater Noster* include 10/11th-century prose texts by Ælfric, an abbot of Eynsham and Wulfstan, the archbishop of York. The latter addresses his congregation in a homily *To eallum folce*:

Leofan menn, understandað georne, eall swa eow mycel ðearf is, þæt geowes cristendomes gescead witan, 7 ge eac geleornian þæt ge cunnan þæt ælc cristen man mid rihte cunnon sceall; þæt is pater noster 7 credo in Deum. And butan ge hit on Leden geleornian magan, geleorniaþ hit on Englisc þus: Eala ure fæder þe on heofenum eart, a sy ðin nama ecelice gebletsod; 7 ðin ricedom ofer us rixie symble, 7 ðin willa gewyrðe swa swa on heofonum eac swa on eorðan. Geunn us to þissum dæge dæghwamlices fostres. And us gemildsa swa swa we mildsia þam ðe wið us agyltaþ; and ne læt ðu us costnian ealles to swyðe, ac alys us fram yfele, amen (Bethurum 1998: 166).

Beloved, recognize that it is indeed very important that every one of you should know the Christian's shelter; and that you should learn it, so that you know, as every Christian man ought to, *Pater Noster* and *Credo in Deum*. And unless you can learn it in Latin, you should learn it in English: Father of us all, who art in heaven, may Thy name be always hallowed. May Thy kingdom always rule over us, and may Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Grant us today our daily sustenance. And have mercy on us, as we have mercy on those who trespass against us. And do not lead us into temptation too much, but deliver us from evil. Amen (trans. M.O.).

The same subject returns in other homilies. For instance, in *Sermo de baptisate* Wulfstan quotes the first words of the Latin *Pater Noster* and, once again, stresses their fundamental value for a Christian community:

He is ure ealra fæder, 7 þæt we swuteliað þonne we singað, *Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum, et reliqua*. Be ðyssum we magon gecnawan þæt we syn þurh cristendom ealle gebroðra þonne we ealle to anum heofonlicum fæder swa oft clypiað swa we *pater noster* singað. (Bethurum 1998: 180)

He is the Father of us all and we declare this when we sing *Pater Noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum, et reliqua*. In this way we may learn that we are all brothers in Christ since we all call one heavenly Father as often as we sing *Pater Noster* (trans. M.O.).

The extant prose translations of *Pater Noster*, though based on the scriptural sources from the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospel of St.

Luke, are not identical (Cook 1891).² This implies that there may have been no single canonical text of the prayer in the vernacular. Significant differences are also attested in the metrical versions of *Oratio Dominica* recorded in three independent manuscripts (cf. critical editions by Dobbie 1942, Ure 1957, Noronha 1971, Anderson 1986 and Muir 2000).³ The oldest among the three poetical versions is the short text from the 10th-century *Exeter Book* (Ms. 3501, Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, fol. 122v). The remaining two come from later manuscripts, dated to the first half of 11th century (Ms. 201, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 167–169, Ms. Junius 121, Oxford, Bodleian Library, fols. 45r–45v). The latter hinge on the same underlying idea: consecutive Latin versicles are followed by extended meditative and eulogistic passages in the vernacular. The poetical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer from the Cambridge manuscript comprises 123 poetical lines. The text from the Bodleian codex is shorter; along with metrical versions of *Gloria* and *Credo* it forms part of the Benedictine Office. These two vernacular, poetical paraphrases of *Oratio Dominica* are the subject of the following analysis.

Selected modern editions and translations of the Lord's Prayer II and III

Modern history of these two Anglo-Saxon literary monuments begins in 1705 with the publication of a catalogue comprising nearly all extant Old English manuscripts – *Antiquae Litteraturae Septentrionalis Liber alter. Seu Humphredi Wanleii Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium, qui in Angliae Bibliothecis extant, nec non multorum veterum codici Septentrionalium alibi extantium Catalogus Historico-Criticus, cum totius Thesauri Linguarum Septentrionalium sex Indicibus*. Its author, Humfrey Wanley, a palaeographer and a curator of the Harley Library, registered and transcribed the full texts of both prayers (cf. vol. II, LP II=*Paraphrasis poetica Orationis*

² Cook (1891) discusses the most important differences among the extant prose Old English versions of the prayer. He also outlines the evolution of the English prayer from Anglo-Saxon to modern times.

³ The Anglo-Saxon poetical paraphrases of *Pater Noster* are known as *The Lord's Prayer I, II, III* (LP I – Ms. 3501, Library of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral, fol. 122v; LP II – Ms. 121 Junius, Oxford, Bodleian Library, fols. 45r–45v; LP III – Ms. 201, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 167–169, respectively).

Dominicae, pp. 147–148; LP III=*Paraphrasis brevior poetica Orationis Dominicae*, p. 48).⁴

For many years Wanley's *Catalogue* remained the sole reliable and comprehensive inventory of Anglo-Saxon literary heritage. Over 250 years later Neil Ker did justice to the achievements of his grand predecessor in a preface to his own catalogue (*A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing the Anglo-Saxon*, Oxford 1957: xiii):

A cataloguer of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon has the privilege and the responsibility of following a great palaeographer. (...) His [Wanley's] catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is a book which scholars will continue to use or neglect at their peril. His opinion on any given matter will always be worth knowing.

Wanley's palaeographical skills have been continually praised by historians. Yet, comparative studies of manuscripts, facsimiles and later editions reveal certain flaws in Wanley's transcripts. With all due respect to the impressive accomplishment of the 18th-century erudite, undertaken at the time when philological studies of the earliest English literary history were still underdeveloped, one cannot ignore erroneous renditions.⁵ Regrettably, some of these errors may negatively affect the reading of the Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrases.

Wanley's pioneering work does not adequately elucidate the manuscript context of the two prayers. The author does not mention that *Paraphrasis brevior poetica Orationis Dominicae* forms part of the *Benedictine Office* along with the adjacent texts of *Credo*, *Gloria* and psalm passages – all in the vernacular. Neither does he mention that the longer poetical paraphrase borders on other metrical prayers in Old English. Also, the editorial layout obliterates the arrangement of the Latin and vernacular sections. No editorial notes are provided to clarify these substantial issues.

Wanley's renditions of the characteristic Old English letter-symbols are generally faithful. However, in a few cases he departs significantly from the manuscript representation proposing disputable morpheme and word divisions contrary to the palaeographical evidence. The *Catalogue* author

⁴ For a short biography of Humfrey Wanley and a description of his accomplishments see Douglas (1939) and Joy (2005). Wanley is also mentioned in a concise history of early modern studies devoted to the Anglo-Saxon literacy by Graham (2008).

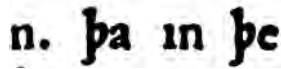
⁵ The origins and development of Anglo-Saxon philological studies are discussed in the anthology *The Recovery of Old English. Anglo-Saxon Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Timothy Graham (2000).

does not take into account glosses or scribal corrections added by later readers of the codices. It is particularly prominent in the case of the shorter paraphrase from the Bodleian codex, which is heavily glossed by a 13th-century scribe associated with the Worcester monastic centre. Characteristic quivering handwriting of the monk, known as the “Tremulous Hand,” appears on many folios of Ms. Junius 121 BL. On folio 46r of Ms. 121 BL the Worcester master put a Latin gloss above the Old English pronoun *þam* (dat. pl.) which seemed unclear to him. The last letter of the Anglo-Saxon word is rendered separately. This detachment had been enforced by the presence of a small, round hole at the level of handwriting. The impairment of the parchment tissue must have taken place before the process of writing because the Anglo-Saxon scribe intentionally placed <m> just after the moth-hole. The 13th-century Worcester monk linked the detached letters of the word by an underlining and added a gloss – *illis*, the Latin counterpart of the Old English grammatical form (cf. Fig. 1(a) below). This emendation highlights the entire phrase which echoes the Latin words: *debitoribus nostris* (cf. Old English *þam þe wiD us oft agyltaD*; those who often trespass against us; trans. M.O.).

Humfrey Wanley must have overlooked the manuscript defect.⁶ He ignored the representational manoeuvre of the first Anglo-Saxon scribe as well as the Tremulous Hand’s later emendations. The 18th-century palaeographer copied the original entry and imposed his own, erroneous interpretation on the Old English sequence. In an effort to establish the sense and grammatical structure of the aforementioned phrase Wanley made an assumption that <m> stands for two separate letters <in>. Thus, he represented the entire sequence as **þa in þe wiþ us oft agyltaþ*, against the logic of the Latin exemplar (cf. Fig. 1b below).⁷ Wanley neither translated the Old English passages nor provided any editorial commentaries. Hence, his own understanding of the dubious phrase can hardly be reconstructed. Unfortunately, some of the later editors and translators, deceived by the *Catalogue* representation, reiterated this mistake as well as many others.

⁶ Apparently, the defect is insignificant. On a high-resolution image of folio 46r, reproduced by the Bodleian Library Photographic Research Imaging Services, it looks like a faded ink spot. Therefore, it may be easily confused with a point – a scribal diacritic used elsewhere by the Tremulous Hand to mark *lapsus calami*. The damage of the manuscript tissue may be discerned only *via* close examination of the codex itself. The author wishes to take this opportunity to thank the Bodleian Librarians for the permission to work with the manuscript and for their assistance.

⁷ An asterisk [*] denotes incorrect forms or outputs inconsistent with the attested manuscript data.



(a) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45r

(b) Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 48

Figure 1. The Old English pronoun *þa m þe* “those (who)” (dat. pl.)

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Both metrical paraphrases of *Oratio dominica* were edited in several 18th and 19th-century volumes of Old English literature. Most of these publications are reliable critical works testifying to the authors’ acquaintance with editorial practice and to their sound knowledge of the Old English language. These comprise, for example, Etmüller’s *Scopas et Boceras* (1850), *Bibliothek II* by Grein (1858), *Be Domes dæge* by Lumby (1876) and *Das Benediktiner Offizium* by Feiler (1901). However, some of the early modern editions are far less credible. One such example is a three-volume work *The History of the Anglo-Saxons* by Sharon Turner, first published in London in 1803. Turner, a lawyer and a historian, was a keen enthusiast of early Anglo-Saxon culture. He would spend hours in the British Library pondering over Wanley’s *Catalogue* and available Old English manuscripts. Unfortunately, his inadequate education and want of philological training are responsible for many errors imported into his textual representations. Turner’s edition and translation of *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae* abound in typographical mistakes and substantial misjudgements. And yet, despite all due reservations about its shortcomings, it was Turner’s work that was selected as the editorial basis of the first Polish translation of *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae* (cf. Choroszy 2008: 525).⁸ Regrettably, Turner’s mistakes have left their trace in the Polish version.

⁸ The Polish translations of the Old English metrical *Pater Noster* paraphrases, discussed in the present paper, are included in the anthology by J. Choroszy (2008). The titles of the Polish versions correspond to those used by Wanley in his *Catalogue*: *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae*, pp. 735–755; *Paraphrasis brevior poetica Orationis Dominicae*, pp. 756–757. Both paraphrases were translated by Jan Cygan. The Polish translation of the shorter poem from Ms. Junius 121 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) is based on Wanley’s rendition in the *Catalogue*, also included in the anthology. The longer poem in Old English from Ms. 201 CCC (Cambridge) is quoted after Turner’s *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1840, 6th edition) which served as the translator’s reference edition. Translations by Jan Cygan,

Comparative analysis of manuscripts, early modern and contemporary editions *vis-à-vis* the few English translations of *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae* show clearly that a carefully selected editorial source is essential for all translatory and critical enterprises. A contaminated edition, like the one included in Turner's *History*, may be an interesting historical specimen, but it cannot serve as a reference authority. Even solid critical editions are merely instrumental guides to the intricate paths of the original text. Working with medieval texts means perpetual return to the manuscript – the closest witness of a complex and often entangled history of its contents – at least *via* the medium of a legible facsimile. The manuscript with its characteristic layout and ornamentation, its array of texts, frequently deliberately compiled, is the natural environment of any written form attested within its range. Without the manuscript a text is a different, almost naked artefact. To ignore the primary source often means to misinterpret the texts it contains. Likewise, the poor understanding of editorial conventions may turn a legitimate decision of a former critic into a serious mistake and subsequently distort the text. The following sections are concerned with a few examples of false editorial and philological strategies executed in the process of work on the metrical compositions of *Pater Noster*.

***Hus ofer sand-ceosol getimbred* – “House built on the sand”:**
***Paraphrasis brevior poetica Orationis Dominicae*, Ms. Junius 121,**
fol. 45r, 45v, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Wanley, *Catalogus...*,
p. 48⁹

Translators who choose Wanley's 18th-century oeuvre as their reference source must critically examine its textual representation. The Polish version of *Paraphrasis brevior*, based on the *Catalogue*, proves that it may, indeed, be a great challenge. The absence of additional cues, such as punctuation or editorial notes, known from modern editions, forces a translator

quoted below, are marked as (trans. J.C.), while alternative solutions by the present author are indicated as (trans. M.O.).

⁹ The quotation used in the title of this section comes from an Old English version of the Gospel of St. Matthew 7: 24–7. It also appears in the citation from Jerzy Starnawski, given below, in which he uses the evangelic metaphor to talk about translations and critical works based on unreliable editions.

to pay special attention to the text's grammar. An inattentive copying of Wanley's punctuation or his arbitrary morpho-syntactic divisions must result in falsifying the original concepts.

Punctuation

Modern punctuation is much different from the system of signs used in the Middle Ages. Medieval signs, for instance *litterae notabilior* or *virgula*, would designate textual boundaries between independent sections or autonomous entities. *Punctus* or *punctus elevatus* were commonly used by medieval authors to mark pauses and rhetorical intervals. In contradistinction to modern practice, they would rarely, if ever, codify the syntactic structure of a text.

Manuscripts differ with respect to the range and number of punctuation marks. In *Paraphrasis brevior* from Ms. 121 Junius (Bodleian Library) punctuation is modest. Capital letters indicate internal divisions, abbreviations are encoded by a macron entered above a letter. Latin and Old English passages are separated by a point regularly placed at the level of mid-line. Thus, *punctus* brings order to the bilingual text in which original phrases occasionally merge with the vernacular fragments forming long visual sequences.¹⁰

Sometimes rhetorical divisions coincide with syntactic constituents of a sentence. For example, in the third passage of *Paraphrasis brevior* adjectival phrases referring to God – *mihta wealdend* (mighty Ruler) and *rihtwis dema* (righteous Judge) – are set apart from the main clause. Commas, used in the Polish translation, are placed in exactly the same positions as *punctus* in the original text (cf. Fig.2).¹¹

¹⁰ *Punctus* placed at the bottom of the line occurs once again on folio 45v, after the first syllable of the Old English word *wealdend* (i.e. weal.dend). It marks the transposition of the word's second syllable to the next line (Fig.2). Apparently, *punctus* at the bottom of the line seems to have been placed in the second passage after the personal pronoun *ic* "I" (Fig.3.P1 below) and in the fifth passage after the pronoun *urne* (Fig.4.b). However, careful analysis of the manuscript indicates that these two signs may be accidental, insignificant spots or the remains of a careless erasure. Similar marks are discernible in many places on both folios.

¹¹ The symbols [•] and [.] encoding medieval punctuation marks in the Old English quotations are used in this section only. In the remaining sections modern punctuation system has been applied, both in transcriptions of the Old English texts as well as in the edition samples. Internal division of the poems into separate passages corresponds to the sections marked by the alternating Latin and Old English sequences.

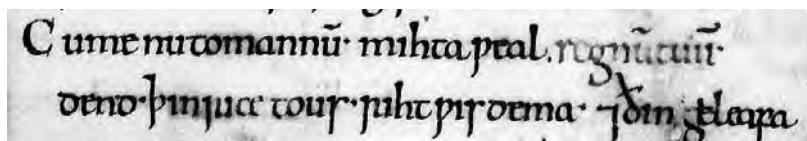


Figure 2. Passus 3: *Adveniat regnum tuum*. Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45v

Cume nu to mannū• mihta weal. dend• þin rice to us• rihtwis dema• [...]

Niech przyjdzie do ludzi, potężny władco, Twoje królestwo do nas, sprawiedliwy sędzio
(trans. J.C.)

(May Your kingdom now come to [the] men, to us, mighty Ruler, righteous Judge)

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More often, however, textual structure is much more complex, as illustrated by the opening fragment of the prayer (Fig.3). Here punctuation is less consistent: only one of two adjectival phrases – *halig dryhten* (holy Lord) – is singled out by *punctus*. The other, *fæder manncynnes* (Father of the mankind), is graphically indiscernible.

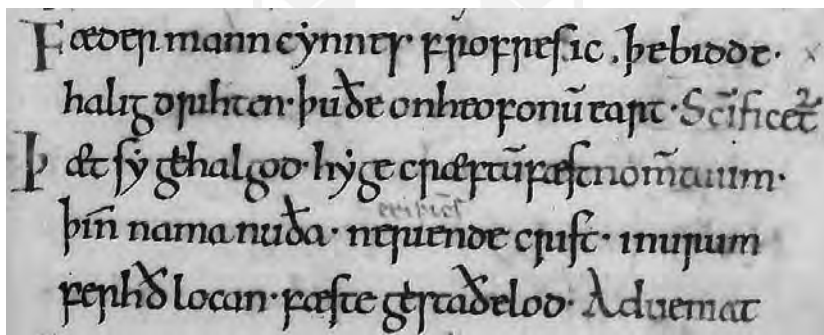


Figure 3. Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45r

Passus 1 (P1): *Pater noster qui es in celis.*

Passus 2 (P2): *Sanctificetur nomen tuum.*

P1: *Fæder mann cynnes frofres ic.(.)þe bidde•halig dryhten•þu þe on heofonum eart•*

P2: *þæt sy gehalgod•hyge cræftum fæst þin nama nu Da•neriende crist•in urum ferhþ
locan•fæste gestabelod•*

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The author of the Polish translation seems to have been misled here by the absence of punctuation cues, for he mistakenly identified the noun *frofres* (consolation, gen. sg.) as the head of an adjectival phrase defining God (see 1a). However, the analysis of grammatical structure clearly indicates that *frofres* is the direct object (see 1b). Given this, the sentence has an archaizing OSV form in which the object *frofres* precedes the subject *ic* (I) and the verb *bidde* (1st sg. present; cf. *biddan* ‘ask, beg’; inf., with gen./objects) of the sentence.

(1) Passus 1: *Pater noster qui es in coelis* – Polish translations

a. Ojcze, rodzaju ludzkiego pociecho, proszę cię, święty Panie, który jesteś w niebie... (trans. J.C.; Father, Consolation of mankind, I beg you, holy Lord who are in heaven...)

b. Ojcze rodzaju ludzkiego, proszę cię, święty Panie, o pocieszenie, Ty, który jesteś w niebie. (trans. M.O.; Father of mankind, I pray you for solace/consolation, holy Lord who are in heaven; cf. also trans. by Bradley 1995: 539)

The version proposed in (1b) forms a self-contained unit. By contrast, the translation in (1a) finds its conclusion in the next fragment of the prayer, following the Latin versicle: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum: Dæt sy gehalgod hyge cræftum fæst þin nama nu þa neriende crist in urum ferhplocan fæste gestapelod*. Accordingly, these words have been translated as: *Niech będzie uświęcone ze wszystkich sił bardzo Twoje imię, zbawicielu Chrystusie, w naszych sercach mocno utwierdzone*; (trans. J.C.; May Thy name be hallowed with all might, very much, Christ Saviour, in our hearts fixed strongly). However, the latter interpretation infringes on the grammaticality of the Old English sentence. Given that the clause *Þæt sy gehalgod* represents optative subjunctive, by analogy to the *coniunctivus optativus* form *Sanctificetur*, the semantic and grammatical coherence of both passages can be reconciled. On this interpretation, the entire excerpt becomes a prayerful supplication: *Ojcze rodzaju ludzkiego, proszę cię o pocieszenie, święty Panie, Ty, który jesteś w niebie. Oby było uświęcone imię Twe, mocą naszego rozumu utrwalone, Chryste-Zbawicielu, w sercach naszych niewzruszone* (trans. M.O.; Father of mankind, I pray you for solace, holy Lord, Thou who art in heaven. May Thy name be hallowed now, Christ-Saviour, [may it be] firmly established in our minds and steadfast in our hearts).

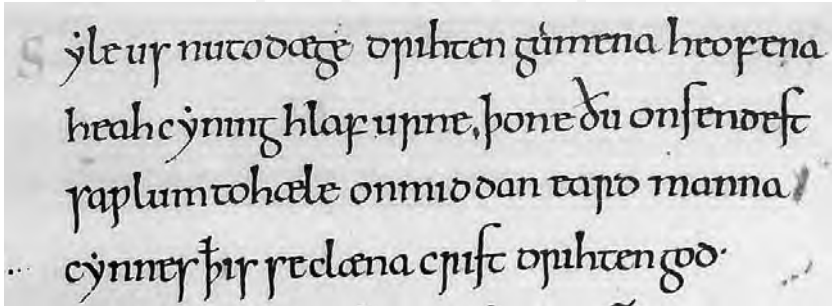
Another example of erroneous interpretation concerns the fifth passage: *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie: Syle us nu to dæge drihten gumena heofena heah cyning hlaf urne þone þu onsendest sawlum to hæle on middan eard manna cynnes þ# is se clæna Crist drihten god*. (Give us

today, Guardian of people, high King of Heavens, our bread, **which/that** You send to heal the souls of the mankind on this middle earth; this is the immaculate Christ, Lord God; trans. M.O.). Also here, the wrong exegesis results from an incorrect interpretation of manuscript evidence. Paradoxically, one of the key words in this fragment is the emboldened function word *þone*. On the one hand, it refers anaphorically to the object *hlafularne* (our bread) and, on the other, it defines *panem supersubstantialem* as Christ-Saviour sent to the earth from heaven. In Wanley's transcription the grammatical term *þone* is preceded by *punctus* (Fig.4a). However, careful scrutiny of the manuscript folio (Fig.4b) shows that it is an unfounded editorial move.

Panem nr̄m cotidianum da nobis hodie.

þyle uþ nu to ðæge drihten gūmena heofena beah cýning hlafularne. þone þu onsendest
 , þaplum to hæle on midðan earðe manna cýnnes þ̄ iþ se clæna criþt drihten god.

(a) Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 48.



(b) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45v

Figure 4. Passus 5: *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*

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First, contrary to the scribal practice, the sign between *urne* and *þone* is placed at the bottom rather than at the mid-line. Second, it has an irregular shape, much different from a typical round exemplar attested in the manuscript. It looks as if it were a random ink-spot rather than an intended scribal point. The dubious sign is represented in the leftmost box in Figure 5 below; the remaining examples illustrate average instances of *punctus* attested on the same folio.

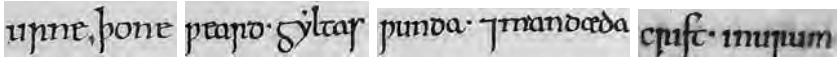


Figure 5. *Punctus, Paraphrasis brevior*, Ms. Junius 121, fols. 45r–45v

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The Polish rendition of *Paraphrasis brevior*, following Wanley’s *Catalogue*, retains *punctus* before *pone*; in translation a dot is found in the corresponding position. Clearly, the sign, mistakenly identified as a punctuation mark by Wanley, was granted the double status of a rhetorical and syntactic symbol by the Polish translator. Accordingly, *pone*, rendered by the Polish conjunction *albowiem* (for, because), opens a new sentence, which is signalled by the use of a capital letter: *Daj nam dzisiaj, Panie ludzi, nieba wysoki królu, chleba naszego. Albowiem ty zsyłasz na zbawienie dusz do świata ludzkości tego, który jest czysty, Chrystus Pan Bóg* (trans. J.C.; Give us today, Lord of men, the high King of heaven, our bread. For Thou send to the salvation of this world’s souls the one who is clean [i.e. immaculate], Christ, Lord God).

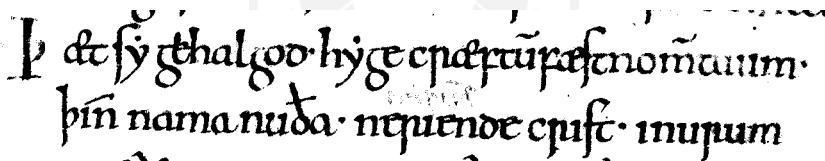
This translatory rendition is highly controversial. None of the lexicographic sources or dictionaries list such a meaning for the grammatical form *pone*. The formal agreement between *pone* (acc. sg. masc.) and the direct object – *hlaf* ‘bread’ (acc. sg. masc.) in terms of inflection and gender implies that the former is an anaphoric pronoun. Given this, one can hardly deny that the Polish reading of the passage departs significantly from the subtle but distinct ontological equivalence between “bread” (*chlebem naszym*, “our bread” = *hlafurne* = *panem supersubstantialem*) and immaculate Christ (*se clæna Crist*) drawn in the original. Inevitably, the syntactic breach obliterates the correlation between *panem supersubstantialem* and the first person of the Holy Trinity, invoked at the end of this passage – *æt is se clæna Crist drihten god* (*to jest nieskalany Chrystus, Pan Bóg*; this is the immaculate Christ, Lord God; trans. M.O.).

Morphological perils

Following scribal conventions, Wanley represented lexical elements of compounds separately. Apparently, due to this practice true compounds can hardly be distinguished from nominal and adjectival phrases or idiomatic collocations. However, despite the superficial uniformity between

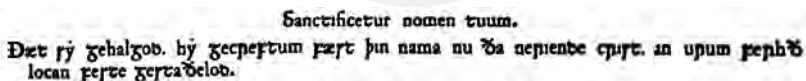
these groups, compound formations can usually be identified due to their internal morphological structure: in true compounds the first lexical element is always uninflected, while in phrases both elements are marked by relevant inflectional suffixes. This system, consistently applied by the Junius 121 scribe, is less systematic in the 18th-century *Catalogue*: *ferhþ locan*, *lif dæge*, *heofon wuldre*, *middan eard*, *sige drihten*, *wom dæde* (but *mandæda*), *mann cynnes* (Wanley: **manne cynnes*), *hyge cræftum* (Wanley: **hy gecræftum*), (*in*) *ferhþ locan* (Wanley: **infernþ locan*), *rihtwis dema* (Wanley: **riht wisdema*; note: in this case the Polish rendition is concurrent with the manuscript data: *rihtwis dema* – *sprawiedliwy sędzio*; trans. J.C.; righteous Judge).

In the light of the manuscript evidence some of Wanley's editorial judgments seem haphazard and illegitimate. An example of such an ill-founded reading can be seen in the second passage. As shown in Figure 6a caesura falls between two nominal constituents: *hyge* (mind, thoughts, intellect) and *cræftum* (skill, craft; dat. pl.). Wanley's representation – **hy gecræftum* – departs significantly from the manuscript rendition (see Fig.6b).



(a) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45r

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(b) Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 48

Figure 6. Passus 2: *Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Ðæt sy gehalgod hyge cræftum fæst, þin nama nu þa, neriende crist.*

Wanley's lexical arrangement is partly justified by a common scribal practice of detaching prefixal *ge-* from the lexical stem. The particle was often written separately or even attached to the preceding word. In this case, however, *-ge* is not a prefix but an intrinsic part of the nominal root,

i.e. the second syllable of the noun *hyge*.¹² Although it is difficult now to reconstruct Wanley's reasoning, it seems that he must have interpreted **hy* as a meaningful constituent. He may have taken it for an irregular variant of the 3rd person pl. personal pronoun *hie* (they) or a rare form of the 3rd person sg. pronoun *he* (he). Had it been the case, the arbitrarily conceived **gecræftum* might have been interpreted as the dative plural form of the noun *cræft* (skill, craft; also: physical strength, power, courage, virtues, talents). According to some dictionaries, in the plural *cræft* may have occasionally denoted "huge quantities or large numbers." Again, the author of the Polish translation confides in the 18th-century edition and renders the awkward structure word by word: *ze wszystkich sił bardzo* (trans. J.C.; with all powers/strength, very much).

The awkwardness and ungrammaticality fade away once we return to the manuscript representation *hyge cræftum* and interpret it as a nominal compound denoting "mind, wisdom, intellect." Not only is this reading corroborated by the scribal rendition, but it is also supported by independent examples from the extant Old English literature. Furthermore, this reading complies with metrical requirements of Germanic verse-structure. In the hierarchically arranged prosodic lines lexical words were ranked higher than function words. Therefore the stipulated quasi-pronoun form **hy* is not the optimal candidate for the strong metrical position. By contrast, the compound noun *hygecræftum* is salient enough to implement the strong foot of a common metrical pattern (see (2); note: || = caesura, | = foot boundary, alliterating segments are given in bold print).

(2) Ðæt sy | **ge**halgod || **hyge**-cræftum | fæst

Similar arbitrary divisions are found in other places. In the sixth passage of the prayer, following the versicle *Et dimitte nobis debitoribus nostris*, Wanley misinterpreted the phrase *alet lices wunda* and incorrectly tied two autonomous words *alet* and *lices* to create a nonexistent complex form **aletlices* (see Fig. 7a). Paleographical cues are not substantial in this case,

¹² The contour of the letter <e> in Ms. Junius 121 is an important cue. In the prefix <e> is systematically represented with a small vertical ascender. This diacritic helps to distinguish the bound morpheme *ge-* from a non-autonomous sequence *ge*. The contrast is discernible in Fig. 6a above. In *gehalgod*, where *ge-* represents the prefix, the vowel is marked with the diacritic, while in the adjacent *hyge* it has a regular, bare contour.

all three words being evenly spaced, but there are no premisses to stipulate the distribution proposed by the 18th-century Anglo-Saxonist (Fig.7b).

Et dimitte nobis debita nrā.

Forgyf us gumena weard, gyltas 7 synna 7 ure leahtras aletlices wunda. 7 mandæda swa
pe mildum wiD De ælmihtigum gode oft abylgæat.

(a) Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 48

(b) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45v

Figure 7. Passus 6: *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*

Forgyf us, gumena weard, gyltas and synna and ure leahtras, alet lices wunda and mandæda swa we mildum wiD De ælmihtigum gode oft abylgæat.

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The form **aletlices*, coined by Wanley, can hardly be defended as a legitimate entity in this context. In an Old English dictionary by Bosworth and Toller (1898) the term *aletlic* (pardonable) is glossed by Latin *remissibilis*. Here, the fictitious form **aletlices*, seems to have been recognised as a modifier of the noun *wunda* (wounds). Hence, in the Polish translation this expression has been rendered by the phrase *zadawnione rany* (the old wounds): *Przebacz nam, opiekunie ludzi, winy i grzechy i nasze wyzwicka zadawnione rany* (trans. J.C.; Forgive us, Guardian of men, guilts and sins and our abuses, the old wounds). Yet, considering the grammatical incongruity between the putative genitive singular form of the pseudo-compound **aletlices* and the genitive plural *wunda*, this interpretation must be rejected.

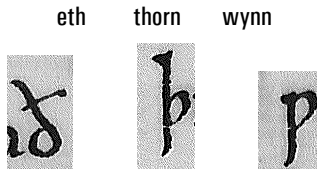
The analysis of the passage and its manuscript context indicates that Wanley's structural decomposition of the sequence in question is wrong. In fact, *alet* is an imperative of *aletan~alætan* (release, pardon, forgive), while *lices* (of the body, gen. sg.) forms a collocation with the next word, *wunda*, in the sense "body's wounds" (or: wounds/injuries inflicted to somebody).

In the light of these facts, the entire passage can be read as follows: *Forgive us, Guardian of men, our guilts and sins, and our trespasses; forgive the manslaughter (i.e. the wounds inflicted to other men) and crimes.* (Przebacz nam, Strażniku ludzi, winy i grzechy, i nasze występki; daruj ciosy innym zadane (i.e. rany ciała) i zbrodnie; trans. M.O.).

Lapsus calami in modern edition

Anglo-Saxon scribes augmented the Latin alphabet they used with a few symbols to denote Old English phonological categories absent in the donor language. Two signs, *thorn* <þ> and *eth* <ð>, were used interchangeably to represent interdental fricatives, now designated by the grapheme <th>. Humfrey Wanley consistently reproduced the graphemes in his rendition of *Paraphrasis brevior poetica Orationis Dominicae*, departing from the manuscript exemplar once, in the second passus, in which he replaced capital *thorn* <Þ> by *eth* <Ð> in the word <Ðæt> (cf. Fig.6b above). Though formally unfaithful to the original this substitution does not carry any negative functional consequences.

Although based on Wanley's representation, the Polish edition is, by contrast, much less accurate. Also, typographic errors imported into this edition have far reaching consequences for the interpretation of the prayer. In passages 6 and 9 of *Paraphrasis brevior* the symbol of *wynn*, which represents the semivowel /w/, has been substituted by *thorn*. By convention, modern editions usually use <w> to represent Old English *wynn* in order to avoid confusion with graphically similar *thorn*. The manuscript sample below shows that despite certain similarities *thorn* and *wynn* have their own distinctive features (Fig.8a). The differences in their contours are somewhat obliterated in the *Catalogue*, in which a simplified typographic notation was adopted. Nevertheless, both graphemes are fairly distinguishable (Fig.8b).



(a) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45r

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b) Wanley, *Catalogus*, s. 48

Figure 8. The three symbols of the Old English alphabet

The erroneous substitution occurs first in passus six: *Sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, which continues the fragment discussed earlier. For the sake of clarity and coherence the whole passage has been reproduced below in its full form (the problematic Old English symbol and the false typographic equivalent are given in bold print): *Forgyf us gumena weard gyltas and synna and ure leahtras alet lices wunda. and mandaeda swa we mildum wið ðe ælmihtigum gode oft abylgæat* (cf. Choroszy 2008: 356: (...)) and *mandaeda swa ***pe** mildum wið ðe ælmihtegum gode oft abylgæat*.

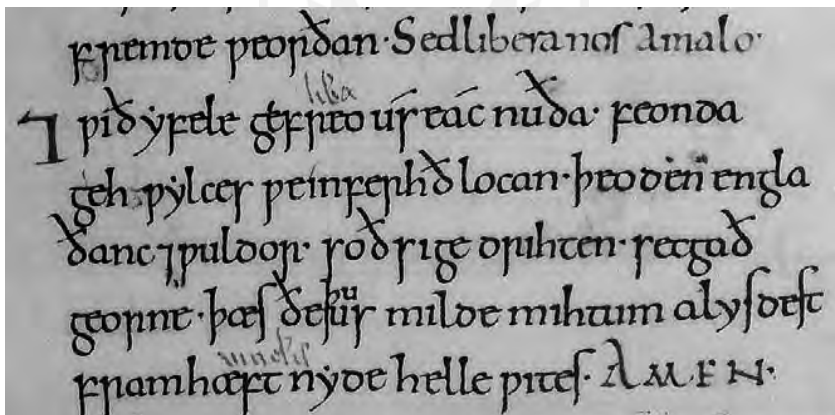
In a modern English translation by Bradley (1991: 540) the last part, beginning with words *swa we mildum*, was translated faithfully, in line with the intricate Old English syntax: *although we often offend against you, the almighty God, in your mercies*. This interpretation implies that *mildum* is a dative plural noun. Accordingly, it has been expressed *via* the prepositional phrase *in your mercies*. Clearly, it is not the only plausible reading. Alternatively, *mildum* may be a dative singular adjectival form and an element of the phrase defining God: *mildum* (wið ðe) *ælmihtigum gode* (mild, almighty God). This interpretation raises the question concerning the internal split of the adjectival phrase. Stylistic aspects aside, the shift of *mildum* to the front, before two function words *wið ðe* (against you), gains weight in the light of the metrical plan visualised in Dobbie's edition (1942: 78). As a lexically autonomous word, *mildum* is assigned a metrically significant position and incorporated into the alliterative contour of the poetical line (cf. (3) below). According to the Old English metrical principles, the alliterating element in the second hemistich must be as close to the caesura as possible. Had the prepositional phrase *wið ðe* preceded the noun, *mildum* would have been transposed to the very end of the metrical line – a strongly marked position for an alliterating pillar of the b-verse. Undoubtedly, the verse, as it stands, departs from the standard metrical pattern, for it ends with a sequence of three unaccented syllables. This deviation may be due to the relatively late date of Ms. Junius 121. Nevertheless, the author, or the scribe, seems to have deliberately construed a pattern which minimally infringes on the metrical contour and features the most salient of its cues – the strong alliterative accent.

3) Dobbie 1942:78

and | **mandæda** || swa we | **mildum** *[wið ðe]
 ælmihtegum | gode || oft | abylgæat.

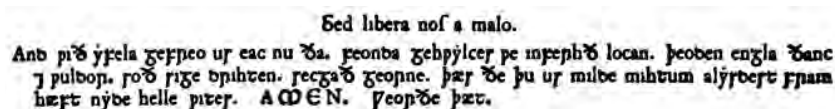
Despite the substitution of the graphemes in the form of the personal pronoun, the author of the Polish text has managed to retain the integrity of the original and proposed a translation which shows affinities with Bradley's version quoted above: *I przestępstwa, jakie w zamian za łagodność wszechmocnemu Bogu często odpłacamy* (trans. J.C.; and crimes which we pay the almighty God back in return for his mercy).

In the closing passage of the prayer *lapsus calami* occurs once again. In this case the erroneous representation of *wynn* in the personal pronoun *we* (we) contributes to considerable alteration of the text. Crucially, the counterfeit form is identical to a genuine relative pronoun *þe* (which). As before, the error is neither justifiable in the light of palaeographical evidence (Fig.9a), nor is it imported from the go-between transcript in the *Catalogue* (Fig.9b).



(a) Ms. Junius 121, fol. 45v

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(b) Wanley, *Catalogus* p. 48

Figure 9. Passus 9: *Sed libera nos a malo*. (...) *we in ferhp-locan*

The orthographic inaccuracy entwined with other errors releases a cascade of fallacious readings. Even though individual mistakes may not be grave, together they amount to a serious distortion of the final, closing passage of the prayer in its Polish version. Therefore, it is worthwhile to resume a close reading of the entire excerpt. The passage opens with the Latin versicle: *Sed libera nos a malo*, followed by an Old English paraphrase: *And wið yfele gefreo us eac nu ða. feonda gehwylces we inferhð locan. þeoden engla ðanc 7 wuldor. soð sige drihten. secgað georne. þæs De þu us milde mihtum alysdest fram haeft nyde helle wites. Amen.* A comparative representation in (4) features the faulty renditions in the Old English and Polish parts.

(4) *Paraphrasis brevior*: Passus 9, the Old English text and Polish translation (trans. J.C.)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) The Old English text, Choroszy, J. ed. 2008. <i>Ojczy nasz – nasz</i> . Vol. 2, p. 755. | (b) Polish translation, Choroszy, J. ed. 2008. <i>Ojczy nasz – nasz</i> . Vol. 2, p. 756. |
| 1 <i>And wið yfela gefreo us eac nu ða.</i> | A od zła wyzwól nas teraz.
(And release us now from evil) |
| 2 <i>feonda gehwylces þe inferhð locan.</i> | <i>Od wroga wszelkiego, który zamknięty w sercu.</i>
(From every fiend, <u>who [is] enclosed in [our] heart</u>) |
| 3 <i>þeoden engla ðanc 7 wuldor. soð sige drihten.</i> | <i>Narodu aniołów łasko i chwało, prawdziwy, zwycięski panie.</i>
([Thou], <u>the mercy and bliss of the nation of angels</u> , true and victorious Lord) |
| 4 <i>secgað georne. þæs De þu us milde mihtum alysdest fram haeft nyde helle wites.</i> | <i>Dobrze mówią, że Ty nas łagodną mocą wyzwoliłeś z niewoli kary cierpień piekła.</i>
(<u>They are right to say that you</u> , by your mild power, released us from the slavery of the punishment of the hell pains.) |

The end of the first syntactic unit in the Polish text coincides with the rhetorical pause, marked in the manuscript by a *punctus*. The punctuation mark has been retained in the edition and in translation (1). Textual analysis indicates, however, that the first Old English sentence ends with the

phrase *feonda gehwylces* (2). In order to see the relations which hold between particular elements within this piece, it is necessary to consider the second part of line (2), that is, the sequence **þe inferhþ locan*. In the Polish text these words have the status of a subordinate clause: *który zamknięty w sercu* (who [is] enclosed in [our] heart). This misinterpretation follows from the substitution of *wynn* by *thorn* in the first word. Once the appropriate notation is restored, the whole sequence regains the lost sense. Crucially, *we* is the subject of the sentence, *secgað* – its predicate (4). *Locan*, mistakenly recognized as a participial form in the Polish text (2), is, in fact, a nominal constituent of a compound *ferhþ-locan* (soul, spirit, heart; dat. sg.). Again, the *Catalogue* rendition, in which Wanley linked the preposition *in* with the noun *ferhþ* (soul, spirit), turned out to be misleading. The three elements form a prepositional phrase *in ferhþ-locan* (lit. in the breast/ in heart) and function as an adverbial of place.

The interpretation of the noun *þeoden*, adjacent to the adverbial, is also amiss. Translated into Polish as *narodu* (of the nation), it seems to be the genitive singular form of a feminine noun *þeod* (nation, people), while, in fact, it is the nominative singular masculine noun *þeoden* (prince, lord, leader of nation/people). The *-en* particle, erroneously recognized as the genitive suffix, is part of the nominal root. In this final section of *Paraphrasis brevior* the words *þeoden engla* are part of the ultimate supplication to God – *the Lord of angels*, eagerly addressed by the faithful with cries of thanks and praise (*we secgað georne ðanc and wuldor*). Grammatically *ðanc and wuldor* functions as the direct object, while *secgað* (1st pl. present tense) as the predicate of the complex sentence, which begins with the subject *we* (1st p. pl.). In the Polish version the subject is covert (since *we* had been overlooked due to the error in notation) and predicated by the verb in the 3rd person plural. Given that in Old English verbs have identical form in all persons of the plural number, the translator's decision to apply the 3rd person is entirely arbitrary. In Old English such an ambiguity was rare, for the subject was typically expressed overtly *via* a noun or a pronoun, as in the present case. Thus, a single, apparently trivial and minor mistake, which consists in confusing two letter symbols, has had dramatic consequences for the reading and translation of the entire closing formula. To conclude, the passus represented in (4) can be divided into two parts: (1) *And wiD yfele gefreo us eac nu Da.* and (2) *We in ferhD-locan, þeoden engla, þanc and wuldor, soþ-sige drihten, secgaþ georne, þæs þe þu us milde mihtum alysdest fram hæft-nyde helle-wites,* and translated: (1) *Uwolnij nas przeto*

od zła, wszelkiego wroga. (2) Z głębi serc naszych, Władco aniołów, z mocą głosimy dziękczynienie i chwałę Twoją, prawdziwy niezłomny Panie. Albowiem Ty swą łagodną mocą uwolniłeś nas od niewoli kaźni piekła. (trans. M.O.; And release us from evil, from every fiend. (2) In the depth of our hearts we eagerly thank Thee and sing Your glory, true, victorious Lord. For you have released us from the bonds of the hell tortures with the help of Your mild might.)

Translational palimpsests: *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae* Ms 201 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 167–169; Sharon Turner, 1840 (6th edition) *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. III, pp. 203–206.

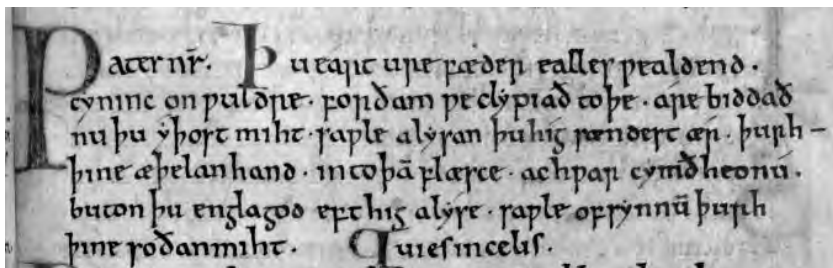
Although the longer paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer is also quoted as a complete entity in Wanley's *Catalogue*, the representation of the Old English poem in the anthology *Ojczy nasz – nasz* (Choroszy 2008) is based on Turner's 19th-century edition. Unfortunately, as noted earlier, Turner's transcript departs in many places from the manuscript representation.¹³ Also his translation is overcharged with errors. In the anthology by Choroszy Modern English and Polish versions are printed side by side. Regrettably, the Old English text of the poem has not been included in this volume, so the comparative evidence is limited. The negative influence of Turner's edition can be seen in many passages of the Polish version. Translatory mistakes derive from three different sources. First, working with a contaminated edition, the Polish author has a distorted image of the source text. Second, relying on Turner's reading of the original, he reiterates false interpretations of the 19th-century scholar conveyed *via* his translation. Third, in several places the Polish author departs even more considerably from the Old English input than Turner, when he misinterprets ambiguous translatory locutions of the latter. In consequence, the Polish version of *Paraph-*

¹³ In an endnote to the Polish translation of *Paraphrasis poetica Orationis Dominicae* the author states that Turner's translation is based on Wanley's *Catalogue* (cf. Choroszy 2008: 528). Although Turner does not state this explicitly in his commentaries to the poem, a comparative analysis of both sources indicates that they share a considerable number of mistakes. The 19th-century English scholar must have copied them blindly from the work of his predecessor.

rasis poetica Orationis Dominicae resembles a translatory palimpsest, in which the surface layer masks the original idea and sometimes makes it entirely incomprehensible.

The influence of the English medium is detectable already in the opening passage of the prayer. The relevant fragment, given below in Figure 10, shows Turner's 1840 edition (10a) and translation (10b) *vis-à-vis* the Polish text (10c). The corresponding excerpt from p. 167 of Ms. 201 CCC (Cambridge) has been provided in (10d) for comparison.

(a) The Old English text, according to Turner, Sh. 1840. <i>The History of the Anglo-Saxons</i> , Vol. III, p. 203.	(b) English translation (trans. Sh.T.); Choroszy, J. ed. 2008. <i>Ojcie nasz – nasz</i> . Vol. 2, p. 738.	(c) Polish translation (trans. J.C.); Choroszy, J. ed. 2008. <i>Ojcie nasz – nasz</i> . Vol. 2, p. 738.
<p>Thu eart ure Fæder, Eealles Wealdend, Cyninc en Wuldre, Fortham we clyprath. To the ere biddath. Nu thu ythost miht Sawle alysan. Thu hig sændest ær Thurh thine æthelan hand. Unto thain flocce: Ac hwar cymth hco nu Buton thu, Engla God! Eft hig alyse Sawle of synnum. Thurh thine sothan miht.</p>	<p>Thou art our Father, Governor of all, The King in Glory, Therefore we call Thee. To Thee ever pray. Now might thou most easily The soul redeem. Thou before didst send her Thro' thy noble hand Into the body: And where cometh she now But from Thee, God of Angels! Again redeem her, The soul from sins, Thro' Thy true power.</p>	<p>Ty jesteś naszym Ojcem, Władcą wszystkiego, Królem w Chwale, Dlatego Cię wzywamy. Do Ciebie się zawsze modlimy. Teraz Ty najłatwiej możesz Duszę zbawić. Ty wysłałeś ją najpierw Twoją szlachetną ręką Do ciała; A gdzie ona dąży teraz, Jak nie od Ciebie, Boże Aniołów Wybaw ją znowu, Duszę z grzechów, Przez Twoją prawdziwą moc.</p>



(d) Ms. 201 CCC, p 167

© Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Ilustracja 10. Passus 1. Pater noster: þu eart ure fæder, ealles wealdend, cyninc on wuldre, forðam we clypiað to þe, are biddað, nu þu ypost miht sawle alysan; þu hig sendest ær þurh þine æpelan hand in to þam flæsce. Ac hwar cymð heo nu, buton þu, engla god, eft hig alyse, sawle of synnum, þurh þine soðan miht.

Comparative analysis of the facsimile and the modern edition indicates that Turner was either incompetent or not careful enough to transcribe the text adequately. This relatively short passage abounds in mistakes, some of which significantly alter the meaning of the prayer. One such erroneous form is **ere* (Ms. *are*) translated as “ever.” The adverb *ere*, from earlier Old English *ær*, appears in this novel form around the 12th century. The word attested in the manuscript (c. first half of the 11th century) is, in fact, a feminine noun *ar* (mercy, grace, help) in dative singular. Turner automatically copies Wanley’s mistake. The mistaken form is then carried over to the Polish translation in which it coincides with a faulty syntactic division: *Dlatego Cię wzywamy. Do Ciebie się zawsze modlimy* (trans. J.C.; Therefore we call Thee. To Thee ever pray) instead of *Przeto wolamy do Ciebie, o łaskę błagamy* (trans. M.O.; Therefore we call Thee, beg for mercy).

In the final part of the same passage Turner failed to recognize the form of the personal pronoun *þu* (thee, you): *Ac hwar cymþ heo nu, buton þu, Engla God*. In Turner’s version the fragment is rendered as follows: *But where cometh she now but from Thee, God of Angels!* The Polish rendition is analogous to the Modern English translation: *A gdzie ona dąży teraz, jak nie od Ciebie, Boże Aniołów?* (trans. J.C.; And where comes it [the soul] now, but from Thee, God of Angels?). These translations imply that the pronoun is part of a prepositional phrase (cf. *but from Thee*). Had it been

the case, however, it would have been rendered in dative – *þe*, and not in the nominative – *þu*, as it stands in the manuscript and in Wanley’s transcript. Given this, the entire passage ought to be rephrased so that it opens with a rhetorical question: “And where does it [i.e. the soul] go now?” (trans. M.O.), followed by an affirmative address: “But Thou, God of Angels, will raise it anew, the soul from its sins, by your true might” (trans. M.O.)

An example of an incorrect graphemic notation and false interpretation occurs in the second part of the prayer, marked by the Latin versicle *Qui es in celis*. Here, Turner renders the Old English sequence *Ealle abugaþ to þe, þinra gasta þrym* as *All things bend to Thee, to the glory of Thy spirit*. This reading, restated in the Polish translation (cf. *Wszystko kłania się Tobie, Chwale Twojego ducha*; trans. J.C.; Everything bends/bows to Thee, to the glory of Thy spirit), implies equivalence between the pronoun *þe* (to Thee, dat. sg.) and the prepositional phrase *þinra gasta þrym* (cf. *Chwale Twojego ducha*; trans. J.C.). However, this assumption is at variance with grammatical relations within the clause, since *þrym*, unlike the pronoun *þe*, is not in the dative case. This masculine noun can denote (1) “multitude, host, troop” (often with a plural predicate) and (2) “glory, majesty, splendour.” The former meaning, amply attested in religious texts and liturgical poetry, seems to be adequate in the present context. This presumption is supported by two grammatical cues. First, the predicate *abugað* (they bow, present ind. pl.) has the plural form and, second, the phrase *þinra gasta* is expressed in the genitive plural, and not in the dative singular as implied by the English and Polish translations.

An interpretation congruent with the grammatical details given above, rests on the assumption that both *þinra gasta þrym* and *ealla* constitute the complex subject of the sentence: *All the hosts of your spirits bow to Thee* (*Wszystkie zastępy Twoich dusz kłaniają się Tobie*; trans. M.O.). This reading is confirmed by another passage (i.e. *Fiat voluntas tua*) in which a similar phrase has been used: *þe þanciaD þusenda fela, eal engla þrym, anre stafne* (*Nieprzeliczone tysiące, wszystkie zastępy aniołów jednym głosem Tobie składają dziękczynienie*; trans. M.O.; *Many thousands, the entire host of angels, thank Thee with one voice*). Incidentally, the integrity of the passage just quoted has also been infringed in both translations. Turner must have misinterpreted Wanley’s notation, for he replaced the runic symbol *thorn* <þ> in the personal pronoun *þe* by <w>. Thus, he construed a grammatically plausible though contextually illicit form **we* (we), which he then interpreted as the sentence subject. The genuine form *þe* (thee, dat. sg.),

attested in the manuscript and conveyed correctly *via* Wanley's medium, has the function of the direct object. The faulty reading surfaces in Turner's translation of the piece – *And we thank a thousand times, Thou glory of all angels! With one united voice* – and in the Polish rendition, modeled upon the Modern English exemplar: *I my dziękujemy tysiąckrotnie, Chwała wszystkim aniołów! Jednym głosem*; trans. J.C.; as above).

Turner's methodological negligence emerges also in the translation of those passages which he had managed to render faithfully, in line with the original representation. The next passage of the prayer illustrates the point: *Syle us to dæg. drihten þine mildse. and mihta. and ure mod gebig. þanc and þeawas* [cf. Ms. *þanc and þeawas*, Wanley: *þanc and ðeawas*] *on þin gewil* (Daj nam dziś, Panie, Twoje miłosierdzie i moc (lit. siły/moce), i nakłoń nasze serca, nasze **myśli i obyczaje** do Twojej woli; trans. M.O., Grant us today, Lord, Your mercy and your strength, and bend/incline our hearts, our will and conduct to Your will). The highlighted nouns in accusative plural, *þanc and þeawas* (will and conduct), along with another one, *mod* (heart, soul, spirit, mind), function as the direct object. The former, *þanc*, denotes "thoughts, mind, will." The latter, *þeaw*, has two basic meanings: (1) "custom, habit, conduct, disposition, morals" and (2) "servant, slave" (cf. co-occurring variant *þeow*). Turner selects the second meaning, conveying the Old English plural form *þeawas* by its archaizing Modern English descendant *theows*. His decision may have been dictated by an urge to find an appropriate semantic complement to the second constituent of the phrase – *þanc*, which he translated as *thanes* (sic!). Clearly, Turner must have confused graphemes, taking the word final <c> of *þanc* for <e>. He thus created an artificial form **þane*, enforcing a strained sense contrary to the manuscript data and editorial evidence. Unaware of this translational trap, set by the English amateur-philologist, the Polish author follows in his steps: *Daj nam dzisiaj, Panie, Twoją łaskę i moc. I nasz umysł nakłoń, panów i slug, do Twojej woli.* (trans. J. C.; Give us today, Lord, your mercy and your might, and our mind incline, both thanes and theows, to Thy will).

Turner's translatory mistakes, ensuing from inaccurate reading of the original, contaminate the entire text, deforming the sense and the message of the Old English prayer paraphrase. A significant discrepancy between the source text and its 19th-century representation is discernible in the seventh passage, which paraphrases the Latin versicle: *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*. Here, the Anglo-Saxon author elaborates the original concept: *Forgif us ure synna þæt us ne scamige eft. drihten ure þonne þu on dome sitst.*

and ealle men up ariseD. þe fram wife and fram were. wurdon acenned. (Przebacz nam nasze grzechy, aby nas nie zawstydzaly więcej, Panie nasz, kiedy zasiądziesz w majestacie prawa i podniesiesz wszystkich ludzi, **którzy zrodzeni zostali z niewiasty i męża**; trans. M.O., Forgive us our sins, so that they do not ashame us any longer, our Lord, when Thou sit in judgement to raise all people **born from a woman and a man**). The relevant manuscript extract is given in Figure 11.

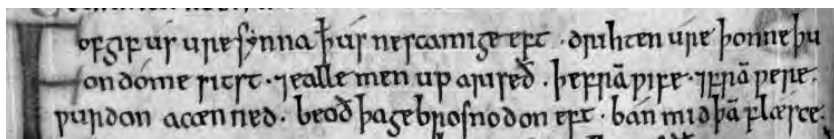


Figure 11. Ms. 201 CCC, p. 168

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The careful handwriting and the good condition of the folio combine to make the fragment legible. The passage was also rendered unflinching in the *Catalogue*. Nevertheless, Turner replaces the noun *wife* (wife, woman) by **wite* (punishment, torture), an attested Old English word, though entirely out of place in this context. With the first element of the phrase thus altered, he then strives to adjust the second constituent, *fram were*, and construe a reasonably meaningful unit. Undoubtedly, the intended meaning of the original prepositional phrase *fram were* must have been “from/by a man.” Clearly, Turner must have recognized the noun *were* (man, dat. sg.) properly, but seeking the logical counterpart to the misbegotten **wite* (torture, punishment), he abandoned the basic meaning of the term and adopted a metaphorical sense instead. He must have assumed that *wer* is a synecdoche denoting the value of a man’s life – *wergild*, rather than the “man” himself. This line of reasoning may have driven Turner to render the Old English phrase *fram were* (from/by a man) *via* Modern English **from [...]* *finēs*. However ingenious this interpretation might seem, it contradicts the grammatical context of the phrase. Close examination of the attested manuscript background reveals another ill-conceived form in Turner’s rendition, which further obliterates the correct reading of the passage quoted above. In the light of the manuscript data Turner’s interpretation turns out to be an unnecessary translational misuse.

The aforementioned mistake concerns the predicate *wurdon acenned* (cf. Wanley **wurdan acenned*). Turner must have identified it as a form of

subjunctive, since he restated the putative wish by a modal verb: (*we*) *may be born to be*. Although this part of the text is equally legible, the slightly irregular contour of the letter <o> in *wurdon* may raise doubts (Fig.12). Yet, the comparative sample below shows that the manuscript <a> letter is distinctly different from the <o> symbol, even though the latter may take a transitional shape, as in the case of *wurdon*, demonstrated in the leftmost upper slot.

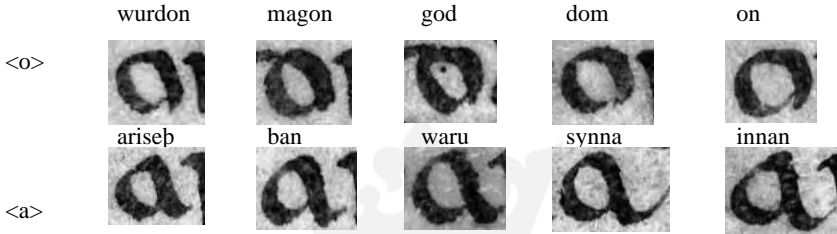


Figure 12. <o> and <a> letter-symbols in *Paraphrasis Poetica Orationis Dominicae*

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Deceived by the slightly irregular contour of the symbol, Wanley rendered the verb as *wurdan*. Turner also posited an incorrect pseudo-infinitival form **wurdan* never attested in that grammatical function. This form seems to be a blend of the infinitive *weorðan*, the past tense plural *wurdon* and the past participle (*ge*)*worden*. None of the existent grammatical forms of the word is concurrent with the entity conceived by the modern English scholars. In an attempt to reconstruct the meaning of an incomprehensible passage, Turner may have given more attention to the lexical and semantic relations than to the grammatical integrity and correctness. Also, given the late date of the manuscript from Cambridge, he may have considered the allegedly inconsistent form to be a token of inflectional levelling. Due to this process unstressed syllables of morphologically complex words were reduced and ultimately lost. The decay of the inflectional system was manifested *via* the graphemic confusion of endings in transitional texts. As a result, many contrastive grammatical categories lost their distinctive character in scribal representations. Yet, even though the process had already been well advanced in the 11th century, in this particular case it is not the scribe who is responsible for an inaccurate representation.

As usual, grammar is the key to the problem. The verb *weorþan* (to be, become) belongs to a group of strong verbs inherited from Proto-German-

ic. Cognate forms in many Indo-European languages testify to its ancient and common character. Ablaut or vocalic alternation in the root discriminated between the infinitive/present tense and the past tense forms (i.e. *we-orþan*, inf. *versus wurdon*, 1/3 p. pl. past). In this case *wurdon* as a passive auxiliary forms a complex predicate with the participial form *acænned* (cf. *acennan*, inf. give birth to, procreate, create): *were born*.

Typographical, grammatical and semantic errors imported by the Englishmen into their modern editions are reflected in the Polish translation: *Kiedy ty (sic!) zasiądziesz na sądzie, a wszyscy ludzie powstaną – aby odrodzić się od kary i zapłaty*. (trans. J.C.; When you sit in judgement and all men raise up **to be born again from punishment and fine**). Needless to say, this reading dramatically changes the theological insight of the Anglo-Saxon prayer.

In the final verse from the same passage (*Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*) Turner transmits another *lapsus calami* from Wanley's edition. A trivial substitution of the grapheme <m> by the symbol <n> turns the noun *mihta* (might, power, virtue; nom. pl. fem.), attested in the manuscript, into a grammatically parallel, but semantically distinct noun **nihta* (night, nom. pl. fem.). The false note is echoed in the 19th-century English and Modern Polish texts. Both are given below (13 a–b) next to an alternative Polish version (13c).

Many straightforward and grammatically transparent passages of the prayer become ambiguous in the Modern English translation. Inevitably, the Polish version based on the intermediate model rather than on the original text, not only perpetuates the mistakes of the false go-between, but also introduces its own misleading tracks. Translatory palimpsests, created in this way, obscure the primary textual layer and sometimes introduce incomprehensible variants, as exemplified by the closing lines of the second passage (*Qui est in celis*). A comparative analysis of the manuscript and Turner's edition of the corresponding fragment shows that the latter contains a serious error in the morphosyntactic division of the sequence: *ægh-wilcum men agen gewyrhta* (cf. Fig. 14). As before, Turner imitates blindly the typographic representation from the *Catalogue*.

Turner translates the fictitious form **menagen* as *multitude*, perhaps due to a remote association with the adjective *manig~menig* (many, numerous). Both this word and the entire phrase **in the multitude of Thy works* are interpreted erroneously. In fact, the whole fragment is at variance with the original idea, which echoes the Psalm verses: *And þine domas sind*

(a) English translation
(trans. Sh. T), Choroszcy,
J. ed. 2008.
Ojcie nasz – nasz. Vol 2,
p. 738.

*There to us will be
decreed
A day of two worlds,
Honor with the Lord,
Or servitude of devils;
As we shall either earn
Here while in life,
When our nights
Should be the greatest.*

(b) Polish translation
(trans. J. C.),
Choroszcy, J. ed. 2008.
Ojcie nasz – nasz. Vol. 2,
p. 738.

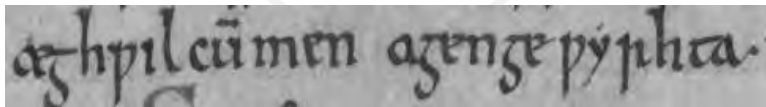
*Tam nam zostanie oznaj-
miony
Dzień dwóch światów,
Zaszczyt u Pana
Albo niewola u diabła;
Na który z dwóch zashu-
żyliśmy
Tu w życiu,
Kiedy nasze noce
Były największe.*

(c) Polish translation
(trans. M. O.)

*Tego dnia rozstrzygnie
się nasz los,
Przynana nam będzie
łaska Pana,
albo niewola u szatana,
podług tego, co zgroma-
dziliśmy
za życia, kiedy nasze siły
były największe.*

(Our fate will be decreed
on that day,
we shall be granted grace
with Lord,
or slavery with Satan,
according to what we
managed to accomplish
during our lives, when
our might was strong; lit.
strongest).

Figure 13. Passus 10: *Et dimitte nobis debita nostra*



(a) Ms. 201, p. 167

© Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

æghwīlcūmen azenge pýrhtta.

(b) Turner, Sh. 1840. *The History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. III

Figure 14. Passus 2: *Qui es in celis*

riht and rume, ræcþ æfne gehwam æghwīlcum men agen gewyrhta. These words sound false in the English translation: **And Thy judgements are righteous and large: they rule eternally every where in the multitude of thy works* (trans. Sh.T.); in Polish they become entirely obscure: *A Twoje sądy są sprawiedliwe i rozległe; sięgają równo, wszędzie, wszystkich wielu spraw.* (trans. J.C.; And Thine judgements are righteous and large: they reach equally, everywhere, all the manifold matters).

The fourth passage of the English paraphrase brings another mistake of a similar kind. The Anglo-Saxon author calls the Heavenly Kingdom *earða selost* (the best of worlds). This locution is already deformed in the modern English rendition, for Turner conveys it *via* a prepositional phrase *the happiest on earth*. In the Polish translation the same phrase is changed further and becomes an epithet of God: *Najlepszy na ziemi!* (trans. J. C.; The best on the earth!). The same collocation – *earða selost* – appears also in the eighth passage of *Paraphrasis poetica* (*Panem nostrum cotidianum*), where *þines fæder rice* (your Father’s Kingdom) is “the best of the worlds” (trans. M.O.), the promised land for those who live honestly. In the Modern English translation *earða selost* becomes *happiest of earth*, while in the Polish paraphrase: *lepsza od ziemi* (trans. J. C.; better than the earth). Again, this apparently insignificant alteration changes considerably the tone and meaning of both fragments.

There are many minor mistakes in Turner’s translation. For example, the noun *mihta~meahta* (might, power; gen. pl.) was interpreted as an attribute of *Wealdend* (ruler) in the same, fourth passage of the poem (*Adveniat regnum tuum*): **O mighty Governor!* (cf. its Polish equivalent: *Potężny Władco!*; trans. J.C.; Mighty Ruler!). In the light of the Old English psalm renditions this interpretation cannot be sustained. In adjectival phrases with *mighty* as the modifier of the head noun the attribute has invariably the form *mihtig/meahtig*: *mihtig cyning* (mighty King), *mihtig god* (mighty God), *mihtig dryhten* (mighty Lord); *meahta*, by contrast, is not an adjective but a noun (in genitive plural). Thus, the phrase *meahta wealdend* is grammatically parallel and synonymous to *wealdend engla* (the Lord of angels), a traditional expression common in religious prose and poetical prayers. The noun *meaht*, like *mægen* (strength, power) was often used as an equivalent of Latin *virtus*, which, in addition to its basic meaning of “virtue, power,” denotes also, especially in plural, “forces, army, hosts.” In the Old English translation of Psalm 79, the Latin phrase *Deus virtutum* is rendered as *mægna god* (God of power/hosts). These examples imply that

mihta wealdend from *Paraphrasis brevior* may have instantiated the same semantic function as *mæġna wealdend* or *mæġna god*.

A close reading of the editorial rendition and translation by Sharon Turner demonstrates how much of the genuine sense can be lost, if the original text is not treated with due respect. A translation based on such an unreliable edition cannot be successful. But even less rewarding is a translation which relies on a false go-between, removed from the prototype by two or more levels. Jerzy Starnawski comments upon such half-measures in his book on the editorial craft: “A literary historian who relies on a contaminated text puts at risk the results of his critical and analytical enquiries which may turn to become like the proverbial ‘house built on the sand.’ A reliable textual basis is the prerequisite for any successful scholarly research” (1992: 24; trans. M.O.).

At times a departure from the original is inevitable. Modern English has many forms ancestral to the language spoken before the Norman Conquest. Where native archaisms make it possible to express the character of ancient texts naturally, foreign terms grounded in an alien, culturally and temporarily distant Slavic idiom are less effective. The warlike spirit of the Anglo-Saxon tribes can be heard in the religious verses composed by the monks in christenized Britain. Christ-warrior in the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood* is featured as a Germanic thane. The pantheon of Anglo-Saxon saints includes figures like St. Guthlac, who fights against evil spirits like glorious heroes from ancient legends. Anglo-Saxon heroic tradition echoes also in the metrical paraphrases of *Pater Noster*, where the terms connoting social bonds serve to convey the key Christian ideas. Christ’s followers become *Cristes þegnas* (Christ’s thanes) – God’s warriors, the members of his retinue. In its primary sense the Old English *þegn* denoted a nobleman, a highborn warrior and a free man who was supposed to support his leader at war in return for the privileges and investitures granted by his royal protector. At court thanes would play different roles at the king’s service; in the classroom – they were students and apprentices. Hence, in the Anglo-Saxon Christian literature the Apostles became Christ’s *þegnes*. Christ himself was called a *þegn*. In poetry this term co-occurred with *eorl* (earl, warrior), *mann* (man), *beorn* (warrior, hero) and denoted a noble and courageous warrior. Latin glosses attest to the semantic richness of the Old English term: *miles*, *minister*, *servus*, *vir*, *discipulus*, *defensor*, *lictor*, *cliens*. The archaizing, modern form of the word *thane*, used in Turner’s translation, evokes the traditional Anglo-Saxon title. By contrast, the neutral

Slavic phrase *sludzy Chrystusa* (the servants of Christ), used in the Polish version, reveals neither the rich semantic connotations of the Anglo-Saxon original term, nor its historical relevance. However, one can hardly object to the translator's decision here.

The loss of such subtle distinctions is inevitable in translations of such texts as *Oratio Dominica*, which belong to the common Christian heritage, but acquire individual undertones in autonomous languages and different traditions. If the Old English poetical paraphrases of Christian prayers are acknowledged as witnesses to the religious life of the insular Germanic tribes, in translation poetic licence must be counterpoised by the substance of the original texts. Transferring these outstanding poetical artefacts of the Anglo-Saxon Christian culture into another language is a great challenge. Above all, the extant manuscripts must be studied with meticulous care and compared with reliable editions. The selection of a dependable critical edition is the prerequisite to an esthetically satisfying and adequate translation. The remote voice of an Anglo-Latin *sealmscop* may be faint, but it cannot resound with false notes introduced by unqualified editors or careless translators.

trans. Monika Opalińska

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