



# *The Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Ruth*

Article

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# The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Ruth, a critical edition (London, British Library, ms. Royal 1 C III)<sup>1</sup>

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Few Bible stories are as beloved as this Old Testament record of exile and return, barrenness and plenty, and loyalty and love. Edward F. Campbell, Jr., calls Ruth 'a Hebrew historical short story', the 'work of a master story-teller', 'an intricately woven, magnificently crafted tale'.<sup>2</sup> For Lesley Smith as well, it is 'a book of great charm and narrative craft'.<sup>3</sup> Ruth is clearly also a free-standing, fully developed dramatic narrative in which dialogue predominates and poetry alternates with prose. The story's rhythmical, semipoetic quality leads Campbell to propose that it must have circulated orally before it was written down.<sup>4</sup> Much of the artistic word-play that characterizes the Hebrew Ruth—assonance, alliteration, chiasmus, inclusio, and punning—is understandably lost in Anglo-Norman, and yet, like the older work, our text uses repetition effectively.<sup>5</sup>

Two copies of the Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Ruth are extant, namely, London, British Library, ms. Royal 1 C III (*L*), containing Genesis through Tobit;<sup>6</sup> and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (=BnF), ms. français 1 (*P*)—by far the fullest witness of the Anglo-Norman Bible (ANB)—which provides Genesis through Hebrews 13.17.<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Watson has claimed that the ANB, the first prose vernacular Bible produced in England, has been almost completely ignored by scholars.<sup>8</sup> It is true that several recent studies have focused less specifically on the ANB than on its parallels with the *Bible d'Acre* and the *Bible de Jean de Sy*.<sup>9</sup> Still, there is evidence of

renewed interest in the ANB for its own sake: in 2006, Thierry Revol edited the ANB's Genesis (this is unpublished, however), and Revol's students have editions of Exodus and Kings in hand.<sup>10</sup> Catherine Léglu's study considers *L* in its literary, historical, and socio-cultural context, and Kathryn A. Smith is examining the program of illustrations in *P*.<sup>11</sup> This essay concerns the book of Ruth in *L* and *P*, the critical edition being based on *L*.

An English production from ca. 1350 or somewhat earlier, *L* is a large book (39 x 27 cm) of 315 parchment leaves that belonged at some point in the fifteenth century to Reading's Benedictine abbey of St Mary.<sup>12</sup> A fifteenth-century inscription on fol. 1 reads *Hic est liber monachorum claustraliu[m] de Redyng*. *L* is decorated with twelve puzzle initials in red and blue, although none appears in the Ruth section. Ruth turns up as expected between Judges (fols. 162v-182r) and 1 Kings (185r-214v).<sup>13</sup> James P. Carley suggests tantalizingly that *L* bears 'a characteristic Henrician label'<sup>14</sup>; the British Library's description adds: 'probably entered the collection during the reign of Henry VIII as one of ten manuscripts from Reading Abbey brought to Hampton Court in 1530'.<sup>15</sup> Characteristic of *L* is its occasional use of glosses in English or Latin, each typically one or two words in length, to clarify or correct the Anglo-Norman text. Although this observation is valid for Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, and 2 Kings, e.g., no such glosses occur in Ruth.<sup>16</sup> Given that *L* includes only the first seventeen books of the Old Testament and concludes with the final words of Tobit and an explicit at the end of a quire, the codex may well represent the first installment of a planned multi-volume work.<sup>17</sup> At least two scribes contributed to *L*.<sup>18</sup> The book of Ruth is nearly always legible, and its meaning routinely apparent. Nobel's assessment of the ANB's language, that 'parfois [ . . . ] le texte devient incompréhensible [ . . . ]', clearly does not apply to Ruth, as these pages show.<sup>19</sup>

*P* is a very large (535 x 340 mm), illuminated in-folio of 411 leaves that was prepared by an English workshop for John de Welles and his wife, Maud, daughter of William, Lord Ros. The fourth baron de Welles, John was born in Lincolnshire in 1333. As his son and heir, also named John, was born in 1350, the fourth baron must have

married young.<sup>20</sup> He followed Edward III's expedition to Gascony in 1359 and was twice summoned to Parliament. At his early death in 1361—a plague year—John held estates in Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Essex, and Northampton.<sup>21</sup> *P* is decorated with the coats-of-arms of John and Maud and those of their parents.<sup>22</sup> In addition, *P* has 78 historiated initials and four miniatures which Berger describes as 'assez grandes mais fort laides'. The painting of a secular woman at prayer in the upper margin of fol. 3 suggests that the book was intended for Maud.<sup>23</sup> Berger points out further that on fol. 77v, 'devant le livre de Ruth, est une miniature fort curieuse représentant un enterrement', no doubt the burial of Elimelech. Ratcliff reminds us that—the canonical epistles having been inserted between Acts and Romans—the only biblical material missing in *P* is the end of the final chapter of Hebrews and the Apocalypse. That *P*'s index lists the Apocalypse among the book's contents prompts Ratcliff to conclude that the Apocalypse 'formed at one time part of the manuscript'.<sup>24</sup>

The distinguished Berger is perhaps too severe in calling the ANB 'un texte déplorable au point de vue de la pureté du langage, mais bien intéressant comme témoin de l'idiome parlé à cette époque chez nos voisins'. He acknowledges meanwhile that 'ce style n'est pas dénué de force ni la langue de caractère'.<sup>25</sup> Nobel judges the ANB to be 'une traduction textuelle, que nous qualifierons même de servile, de la Vulgate',<sup>26</sup> and this certainly holds for Ruth. *L* follows the text of *V* word for word.<sup>27</sup> Wanono suggests, moreover, that the particular version used by the translator of the ANB was likely from 'la tradition textuelle irlandaise de la Vulgate'.<sup>28</sup> Of *L* and *P*, states Nobel, 'c'est assurément *L* qui fournit la version la plus authentique', proposing further that *P* may have been copied from *L*.<sup>29</sup>

As noted, the ANB's audience extended beyond the aristocratic de Welles family (*P*) and the royal abbey at Reading (*L*). Nobel, Wanono, and others have assembled convincing evidence that the ANB shared the same source-text as the *Bible d'Acre* and perhaps also, in some passages, that of the *Bible de Jean de Sy*.<sup>30</sup> Nobel makes the important point that 'une source anglo-normande identique à celle de la *Bible anglo-normande* a influencé la rédaction de la *Bible d'Acre* et cela jusqu'aux Livres des Rois'.<sup>31</sup> He hypothesizes further

that the source-text in question ‘fut une traduction textuelle proche de celle que nous livre le manuscrit de Londres’ (=L).<sup>32</sup> This hypothetical Anglo-Norman source-text would necessarily predate the oldest manuscript of the *Bible d’Acre* (ms. Arsenal 5211, dated 1250-1254), and could therefore be as early as the first half of the thirteenth century or the end of the twelfth.<sup>33</sup> LÉglu postulates that Jean de Sy chose the insular ANB as a model rather than the readily available *Bible du XIIIe siècle / Bible de Paris* because the Parisian lecturer and master of theology had joined King Jean le Bon’s court-in-exile in England in 1356, after the Battle of Poitiers.<sup>34</sup>

A comparison of three sections of Ruth in *L*, *P* and *V* allows a detailed appraisal of the manuscripts’ similarities and differences. (The passages are shown in parallel in the Appendix.) The overarching impression is that *L* and *P* derive from the same source-text: the length of the passages in the two manuscripts is nearly equal; the order of events and speeches is the same; and the vocabulary, syntax, and verb tenses are often identical. Such differences as we find have minimal impact overall on our understanding of the passages.<sup>35</sup> Our comparison shows a) **insignificant differences of word order**, e.g., *A qi Noemy dist* 24, *ne moy departe de toi* 28-29, *ja a la mynuict le bier se douta* 85, *Beneit es tu fille de Nostre Sire* 87-88, and *de le bail Noemy* 118; b) **minor insertions or deletions**, e.g., *Voi ta cosine est returnee* 24, *en cele morra jeo* 27, *Car qi es tu?* 86, *quar tu es moun proschein* 87, and *Vous di jeo estes tesmoignes* 120; c) **substitutions of equivalent words or expressions**, e.g., *Ou qe* 25, *et cestes choses ajoste* 28, *Estende ton paille sur ta servaunte* 87, *deinz les portes* 90, *Et il dist as greindres en naissaunce* 117, and *sa mesnie et de ses freres et del poeple* 120;<sup>36</sup> d) **changes of verb tense**, e.g., *ou qe tu averas demorree* 26, *tu moy averas dit* 89, *s’il te volt retenir* 91-92; and e) **combinations of a-d**, e.g., *Orpha boisa sa soergre* 23, *vist une moiller gisaunt a ses piez* 86, and *adecertes ne volt* 92.

In *L*’s Ruth, the gender of nouns is mostly as expected, but *paille* ‘cloak’ is apparently masc. at 81, 85, 87, and 95. The disintegration of the case system may be seen in the use of *bier* as obj.sg. 69; also, obj.pl. *biers* 103; meanwhile, *baroun* appears as nom.sg. 6 and obj.sg. 53, and *barouns* as obj.pl. 15, 18.<sup>37</sup> Nouns ending in *-z* are usually

plural, e.g., *enfa(u)ntz* 3, 8, 49 etc., *filz* 4, 6, 12 etc., and *Moabitz* 5, 10, 35 etc., but note sg. *maritz* 9, *foiz* 71, 95, 114, and *filz* 126, 128, 131.

Pres.indic.3 of *aver* is uniformly archaic *ad* 33, 34, 35 etc.;<sup>38</sup> of *dormir*, *dorme* 80 (cf. imper.2 *dormes* 93); of *voler*, *volt* 91, 92;<sup>39</sup> and of *saver*, *sciet* 90. Pret.3 of *-ir* and some *-re* verbs is written mostly without final *-t*, e.g., *issi* 2, 11, *respoundi* 17, 25, 40 etc., *aherdi* 24, *quilli* 41, 64, and at least five additional examples.<sup>40</sup> We find pret.3 *boisa* 'kissed' 15, 23;<sup>41</sup> *vist* 86 (<VEER); and *estuet* (<ESTER) 46. Imperf.3 of *aver* is *out* 11, 42, 64 etc. or, in one case, *avoit* 29. Imperf.3 *ert* 113, 115, 121, is nearly as common as *estoi(e)t* 3, 7, 37 etc.<sup>42</sup> The endings of fut.1 forms alternate among *-a* (*morra* 27, *voldra* 105, *ostera* 111), *-ei* (*serrei* 71, *prendrei* 92), and especially *-oi* (*porroi* 19, *irroi* 38, *quilleroi* 38, *averoi* 39, and five additional examples).<sup>43</sup> Syncopated fut. forms are *demorroi* 26 and *querroi* 76; inorganic *e* occurs consistently in expanded fut. reflexes of *aver* 26, 27, 39 etc., *purvoier* 77, *descovrer* 80, *ferre* 82, 89, and *achater* 108.<sup>44</sup> Pres.subj.2 of *aler* is first archaic *auges* 47, then *voises* 73, a thirteenth-century form;<sup>45</sup> and pres.subj.3 of *doner* is *doint* 14, likewise associated with the thirteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Final unstressed *-e* falls in imper.2 *guerdown* 55 and *estend* 95 (cf. *estende* 87).<sup>47</sup> The use of graphy *-z* for *-s* masks imper.2 in *voillez* 89, *reposez* 91, *declinez* 102, *seez* 102, and *achatez* 106.<sup>48</sup> We find imper.2 *eschues* 94 (<ESCHUER 'avoid') and imper.5 *voilletz* 21.

Expected determiners are omitted in *fait est famyne* 2 and *Et femmes* 126. Enclisis produces *al* (= *a le*) 57, 59, 64 etc., *du* 119 and *del* (= *de le*) 12, 55, 110 etc.; *el* (= *en le*) 38, 46, 64; *as* (= *a les*) 70, 71, 74 etc. (cf. *asqueus* 32), *des* (= *de les*) 1, 10, 11 etc. (shown also as *dé* 5, 35, 45), and *es* (= *en les*) 1, 14, 77; also, *nel* (= *ne la*) 29. Contrariwise, *as* is re-analyzed as *a les* 30, 43, 49; *del* as *de le* 104, 118; *des* as *de les* 136; and *asqueles* as *queles* 16-17.

For sg.obj.pron.1, *moy* does double duty in unstressed and tonic functions, e.g., *moy ad remesné* 34, *moy appelez vous* 34, *Ceo dist il a moy* 71, and several further uses; similarly, *toi / toy* occurs as unstressed or tonic sg.obj.pron.2 in *qe nul ne toi areste* 73, *Si ne toi voi nul hom* 79, *toy sciet estre une femme de vertue* 90, *jeo toi*

*prendroi* 92-93, etc. Additionally, *moy*, *toi*, and *soi* are reflex. in *jeo moy regeie* 112, *tu toi abesseras* 81, and *soi assist* 102-103.<sup>49</sup> Unstressed sg.obj.pron.3 is usually *ly* 51, 58, 62 etc., but we also find *luy* 98, 102, 108 etc. Obj.pron. *la* 97 is once substituted for *ly*. Tonic obj.pron.3 is usually *ly* 29, 76, 96 etc., or *luy* 25, 125, although we encounter tonic *soi* in *porta ensemble a soi* 60. The pl. of *ly* is *lour* 11, 13, 103. *Eux* 74 stands for *eles*.

Though possession may be shown by intervening prep. *de* 1, 6, 12 etc., elsewhere it is expressed almost exclusively by possess.adj. The possess. is never indicated by intervening prep. *a* or by juxtaposition. We do find *south qi celes* 56, however, ‘beneath whose wings’,<sup>50</sup>

The letter *k* lacks, and *w* appears only in *eawes* 50 and *lower* 55.<sup>51</sup> The letter *y* frequently stands for *i* in spellings like *famyne* 2, *nuyt* 19, and *cosyn* 37.<sup>52</sup> In the category of typical AN *memoire* / *memorie*, only *contrarie* 25 occurs.<sup>53</sup> Characteristic AN spelling *-aun* is used especially in pres.part., e.g., *chaiaunt* 51, *ahouraunt* 51, *quillaunt* 63, and others, but also in nouns, e.g., *enfauntz* 3, 8, *reme(s)nauantz* 60, 67, *viaunde* 67; in adj. *pussaunt* 35, 37; and in prep. *avaunt* 21 and *devaunt* 44, 52, 54 etc.<sup>54</sup> We also encounter the typical AN trigraph *-oun* repeatedly, e.g., in *regioun* 5, 10, 45, *baroum(s)* 6, 18, 53, *dount* 7, 67, *peregrinacioun* 12, 36, and several others.<sup>55</sup>

We find doubled consonants in *jugge(s)* 1, 2, *reddour* 63, *longgement* 72 (cf. *longement* 74), *bussshels* 65 and *bussheux* 96, 98; *assaciee* 67 (cf. *asacé* 60) and *custumme* 113; and in several verb forms, e.g., *appellee* 3, *morrurent* 8, *irroms* 16, etc. On ten occasions, the scribe’s (capital) *S* resembles a narrow, inverted *V* with descenders extending below the line, e.g., in *Si* 38, 61, *Soies* 78, *Seez* 103, *Salmon* \*134 etc. Geminated vowels appear in *celes* ‘wings’ 56, *pee* 116, and *peez* 81 (cf. *piez* 85, 86).<sup>56</sup> Aphetic forms are limited to *fauntile* 20.<sup>57</sup> An *e*-glide is retained between *g* + *r* in *soegere* 66 (cf. *socre* 68, *soegre* 72, 83); between *v* + *r* in *oevereigne* 55, 68, and *oeveree* 69; and between *v* + *n* in *joevenes* 88.<sup>58</sup>

Pres.indic. and pret. coincide in past narration in *Et il s’en vount ensemble et vindrent en Bethleem* 31, *En tiele manere s’en vait ele et quilli espiz* 41, and *et ele mangea et est asacé* 60. Imperf. is used



occasionally in contexts where the perf. is expected, e.g., *se coucheit* 85. A sg. verb accompanies a compound subject at 120-21. We find fut.perf. for fut. in *tu en averas alee* 25-26, *tu averas demorree* 26, *tu moy averas comaundee* 82 etc. Our text uses *qe* + subjunct. without change of subject to signify purpose or goal, e.g. *un hom issi de Bethleem Juda q'il peregrinast et demorast en la regioun de Moabitude* 2-3 (see also 10, 45, 61);<sup>59</sup> and, frequently, the pres.part. as gerundive, e.g., in *Et cil entrantz la regioun dé Moabitz demorerent illoeqes* 5 (cf. 12-13, 51).<sup>60</sup> In if-clauses, *si* may be followed by the pres.indic. (91, 92, 107), cond. (19), fut. or fut.perf. (20, 100) or pres.subjunct. (49, 62). *Quei* 'what' may also be followed by subjunct. (107). Pleonastic *ne* occurs at 28, parataxis of *qe* at 63.

Legal vocabulary includes *cognacioun* 42, *dreit de propinquitee* 92, 106, 111, *doner lieu* 111, 115, *tesmoignaunce* 115, *tesmoi(n)gues* 117, 120, 121, *bail* 118, *heritage* 119, and *successour* 126. There are several uses of *si la qe* 'until' + subjunct. 20, 72, 74, 79, 99-100.<sup>61</sup> Ruth is *la Moabite* 38, 45; 'Moabites' is commonly *Moabitz* 5, 10, 35 etc., but Latinate *Moabitude* 3 and *Moabitudis* 7 also appear. 'With' is *od* 3, 6, 10 etc. or *ovesqe* 29. *Entrer* is transitive at 5, 31, 97 etc. Substantive infin. are *returner* 30, *lower* 55, and *boivre* 80. Doublets include *siauntz* 39, 41, and *si(e)ours* 43, 44, 46 etc.; *ventuler* 65 and *venter* 78; *proschein* 77, 87, 91 etc. and *proesme* 115; and *chauce* 114 and *chauceure* 116.

*Cognacioun* ('kinsman', 'kinship group') 42, *propinquitee* ('kinship, propinquity') 92, 106, 111, and *proschein* ('next of kin') 77, 87, 91 etc., reflect customs of levirate marriage and responsibility to family as explained in the Hebrew Bible. Levirate marriage involves the 'marriage of the widow of a deceased and childless man by a relative of that man'.<sup>62</sup> Schipper translates the Hebrew equivalent of *proschein* as 'kindred redeemer', i.e., 'a close relative who performed whatever functions were necessary to restore the status quo'.<sup>63</sup> With the death of her husband and sons, Naomi risks the loss of her place, protection, and privileges in the clan, thus her bitter desperation upon departing Moab (1.11-13) and arrival in Bethlehem (1.20-21). As Naomi's closest living relative, the unnamed kinsman has the first option to purchase her field. By the custom of propinquity, Boaz can accept the field only if the kinsman relinquishes his right to it. Boaz's

reminder that whoever buys the field should also marry Ruth 'is not because of a legal mandate but because the situation requires it'.<sup>64</sup> By acting as kindred redeemer, Boaz takes responsibility to sustain Elimelech's line and that of Elimelech's son, Ruth's dead husband Maalon. The birth of Obed, Ruth's son with Boaz, restores Naomi's place and guarantees comfort in her old age, but especially extension of the lineage. Thus the point of Ruth is the genealogy in 4.18-22, which establishes the Moabite gleaner as the great-grandmother of David, Israel's greatest king.<sup>65</sup>

*Euphrateux* (4) may refer to a clan or 'sub-phratry' of Ephrathites to which Elimelech, Boaz, the unnamed kinsman, and all their dependents belonged.<sup>66</sup> In Ruth's speech, *un debonair housbond* (39) is 'a kind head of a family or household'.<sup>67</sup> *Ephi* (65) refers to an ephah, a Hebrew measure of volume;<sup>68</sup> a *place* (78, 79, 83) is a threshing-floor. Bethlehem's *porte* (90, 101, 121) was the town's gate and the seat of the council of elders that deliberated and decided local matters.<sup>69</sup> *Juda* (2, 5, 13) and *Jude* (124) refer to Judah; Latinate *Lyam* (122) to Leah; and iterations of *Ysai* (132, \*135) to Jesse, the father of David.

Between the ninth and twelfth centuries, the number of chapters into which Ruth was segmented varied from ten to four.<sup>70</sup> *L* and *P* divide Ruth into five chapters, even though the system of capitulation devised in the early thirteenth century and ascribed to Stephen Langton finally called for only four.<sup>71</sup> *L* opens with a rubric (line 1) that marks the end of Judges and the beginning of Ruth. Each succeeding chapter is then set off by a Roman numeral and a capital letter. Regarding the length of *L*'s five chapters, we see that chaps. 1-3 conform to the arrangement shown in the Vulgate. *L*'s chap. 4 corresponds to Ruth 4.1-12, its chap. 5 to Ruth 4.13-22. Thus *L*'s 'extra' chapter stems from the division of chap. 4, the split occurring at v. 13, Boaz's marriage to Ruth.

As noted, *L*'s Ruth is a straightforward translation of *V* without commentary or gloss. Although commentaries lie beyond the scope of this essay, we may conclude with a brief survey of the exegetical milieu in which the ANB's Ruth was composed and consulted.<sup>72</sup> Estimating from dates shown in de Martel's *Répertoire*, we find approximately eighteen commentaries and six sermons on Ruth from the twelfth

century, 29 and 38 from the thirteenth, and 19 and 35 from the fourteenth. Among these, the *Glossa ordinaria*, a whole-Bible commentary that assembled the chief patristic opinions, was widely used in schools from the early 1100s. Most of the *Glossa's* Ruth derives from Rabanus Maurus's ninth-century commentary.<sup>73</sup> The Tobit, Esther, Judith and Ruth sections were often unified in a single manuscript, 'making up what seems to have been a favorite collection of Bible stories'.<sup>74</sup> The *De sancta trinitate* of Rupert of Deutz († 1130), including Ruth, adopts a dialogical format.<sup>75</sup> Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (c. 1170) offers a compressed commentary that is largely based on Josephus.<sup>76</sup> Stephen Langton must have begun his glosses on the historical books, including Ruth, c. 1180-85. Two anonymous commentaries appeared in the time of Innocent III.<sup>77</sup> From thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris, we have commentaries by the aforementioned Hugues de St Cher (c. 1190-1263), a Dominican whose *Postillae* rely on Langton; and the Franciscan Nicolas de Lyra (c. 1270-1349), a Hebraist whose commentary integrates the work of Rashi of Troyes (1040-1105).<sup>78</sup> To these, Spicq adds works by Guillaume d'Altona († c. 1265), Nicolas de Gorran († 1295), and Thomas Walleis († 1340).<sup>79</sup>

The critical edition is based on the ANB's book of Ruth in London, BL Royal 1 C III, fols. 182r-184v. The edition follows the manuscript closely but also introduces line numbers, paragraphs, capital letters, and punctuation according to modern conventions, both to clarify the meaning of the text and to make it easier to consult and reference. Where necessary, *j* is substituted for *i* and *v* for *u*. The final section, Rejected readings and palæographical notes, carefully records emendations, basing these on readings from *P* and *V*.<sup>80</sup>

## Notes

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- 1 I am grateful to Daron Burrows (Oxford), Catherine Léglu (Reading), Pierre Nobel (Strasbourg), and Clive R. Sneddon (St Andrews) for information and advice during the preparation of this study; likewise, to David Collins and Lynda Kinloch of the U of St Andrews Library for electronic access to Nora Elizabeth Ratcliff, 'Edition and study (mostly linguistic) of a section of an Anglo-Norman translation of the Bible (14<sup>th</sup>

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- century): The Acts of the Apostles in MSS BN fr. 1 and 9562', PhD St Andrews, 1955. The Imaging Services of the British Library promptly sent a digital reproduction of my base manuscript, for which I am very thankful; I have since examined *L* in London. My research would be impossible without the alert and able assistance of Shanna Alley and Jeff Waller, Interlibrary Loan, Carlyle Campbell Library, Meredith College.
- 2 Edward F. Campbell, Jr., *Ruth, A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (Garden City, NY, 1975), 3.
  - 3 Lesley Smith, trans., *Medieval Exegesis in Translation: Commentaries on the Book of Ruth* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1996), ix.
  - 4 Campbell, 5, 18-23. See pp. 10-13 for Campbell's remarks on poetry in *Ruth*. See also Jeremy Schipper, *Ruth, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, CT; London, 2016), 26-27.
  - 5 For word-play, see Campbell, 13-14; and Schipper, 7-9. Examples of repetition in *L* include 'empty' (*voide* 34, *voi* 99), 'next of kin' (*proschein* 77, 87, 91, 108, 110, 113, 115), 'children / child' (*enfa(u)ntz / enfaunt* 3, 8, 49, 50, 61, 130), 'rest' (*repos* 14, 76), and 'attach / cling / stay close' (*ajoint* 48, 72, 74; cf. *aherdi* 24).
  - 6 For descriptions of *L*, see [www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts); Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B.M. Bolton, *Anglo-Norman Literature, A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999), § 469; Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), 164; N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn. (London, 1964), 87; George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 1:14; and Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1884; rpt. 1967; [hathitrust.org](http://hathitrust.org)), 230-37, 386.
  - 7 For descriptions of *P*, see Ratcliff, vii-xiii, and Berger, 230-37, 324-25; for a digital reproduction of *P*, [gallica.bnf.fr](http://gallica.bnf.fr). Three additional manuscripts contain the ANB's Acts of the Apostles and Revelation: London, British Library, Additional ms. 54325; Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 9562; and Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 6260.
  - 8 I paraphrase Russell, 56. See N. Watson, 'Lollardy: The Anglo-Norman heresy?', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: the French of England, c. 1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al (Woodbridge, 2009), 334-46, at 338.
  - 9 P. Nobel, 'La Bible de Jean de Sy et la Bible anglo-normande', *Florilegium* 24 (2007): 81-107; idem, 'Les translateurs bibliques et leur public: l'exemple de la Bible d'Acre et de la Bible anglo-normande',

- Revue de linguistique romane* 66 (2002): 451-72; idem, 'La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acree: question de source', in *L'Histoire littéraire: ses méthodes et ses résultats, Mélanges Madeleine Bertaud*, ed. L. Fraisse (Geneva, 2001), 429-48; and Anne Wanono, 'Une Bible anglo-normande à la source d'une Bible française au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle?', in *Un espace colonial et ses avatars*, dir. Florence Bourgne et al (Paris, 2008), 203-19. See also Delbert Russell, 'The European Background: "Pe Bible and oPere bookis of deuociun and of exposicioun" in French', in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. E. Solopova (Leiden; Boston, 2016), 49-65, who dates the ANB to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.
- 10 Email correspondence with T. Revol (22 Aug 2016 and 15 Dec 2017). See Revol, *Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande (introduction, édition, notes, glossaires)*, diss. Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg II, 2006; and Nicolas Schwaller, *Edition commentée de la Bible anglo-normande: l'Exode* (Strasbourg), diss. in progress. I did not have access to Professor Revol's work for this piece, but can consult it for my critical edition of the ANB's Joshua, now in preparation.
  - 11 C. Léglu, 'Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation of the Bible (London, British Library, Royal MS 1 C III)', *Reading Medieval Studies* 42 (2016): 131-56; and correspondence with Léglu (18 Apr 2017) and K. A. Smith (24 May 2017).
  - 12 Léglu, 133, notes the similarity of *L*'s gothic cursive and decorative initials with those in BL Additional ms. 54325, which is dated to ca. 1350; she suggests further that the same workshop produced both, but for different audiences. Nobel (2002), 453, dates *L* 'de la première moitié ou du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle'. Anna C. Paues, *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge, 1902; books.google.com), xix, also sets it in 'the earlier half of the fourteenth century'.
  - 13 Such is the traditional place of Ruth in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, although Campbell, 33-36, consults Josephus and Jerome for arrangements in which Ruth was absorbed by Judges or pushed back from the Prophets to the Writings. See also Schipper, 10-13.
  - 14 J.P. Carley, ed., *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues, 7: The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London, 2000), xxxvi n. 48.
  - 15 See [www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts) for the description and a reproduction of fol. 185 and its puzzle initial.
  - 16 For *L*'s English glosses, see Léglu, 139; see further 149 (Fig. 5), for a reproduction of *L*'s *turteux* and its gloss, a *pankake*. Léglu notes blanks after words in *L*, perhaps intended for glosses that were never added; also,

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- examples of Latin glosses. See also Wanono, 212-13; P. Nobel, 'Gloses anglaises et latines dans une traduction biblique anglo-normande', in «*Si a parlé par moult ruiste vertu*», *Mélanges Jean Subrenat*, dir. Jean Dufournet (Paris, 2000), 419-435, focuses on the first 48 folios of *L*; idem (2001), 436; idem (2002), 467; and Paues, xx. *P* has no English or Latin glosses.
- 17 Léglu, 132, 137.
- 18 Léglu, 137, 139.
- 19 Nobel (2002), 459. It is equally difficult to see how Nobel's next statement, beginning 'La phrase n'a de français que l'apparence des termes', could anywise apply to Ruth. See Nobel (2000), 434.
- 20 Albert Welles, *History of the Welles Family in England and Normandy* (New York, 1876; archive.org), 40.
- 21 William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675-76; quod.lib.umich.edu), *sub* Welles; and Welles, *History*, 37, 39-40.
- 22 In this sentence and the next two, I follow Berger, 230, 324. See Léglu, 131-32, for the Welles family's library of books in Anglo-Norman and the statues of John and Maud de Welles in Lincoln Cathedral.
- 23 Léglu, 131.
- 24 Ratcliff, xii.
- 25 Berger, 237.
- 26 Nobel (2001), 431.
- 27 Nobel (2002), 457; Nobel (2000), 421 n.
- 28 Wanono, 208.
- 29 Nobel (2007), 85; Nobel (2001), 441 n. 50; see also Paues, xix.
- 30 For the *Bible de Jean de Sy*, see the conclusions of Nobel (2007), 104; see also Léglu, 132, and Wanono 215-18.
- 31 Nobel (2002), 454; Nobel (2001), 445.
- 32 Nobel (2001), 446; Nobel (2002), 454.
- 33 Nobel (2002), 454; Nobel (2001), 446.
- 34 Léglu, 141-43.
- 35 Selections reflect differences between each pair of excerpts, but the examples shown are not comprehensive. Henceforth, unless indicated otherwise, all line numbers reference *L*.
- 36 Other differences in *L* are *gourdes* 49 (*boulges P*; *sarcinulas V*), *bribe* 59 (*morseau P*; *buccellam V*), *myés* 75 (*granges P*; *horreis V*), and *cenour* 84 (*tasse P*; *acervum V*).
- 37 M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (Manchester, 1934; rpt. 1966), § 800.
- 38 Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2013), § 24.2\* \*.

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- 39 Short, § 6.9\*.
- 40 Short, § 24.4.
- 41 Pope, §§ 226, 718, 1187; F. J. Tanquerey, *L'évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XII-XIV siècles)* (Paris, 1915; hathitrust.org), 611-12.
- 42 Short, § 34.6.
- 43 Short, § 11.10; Pope, §1284; Tanquerey, 61-63.
- 44 Short, § 19.11. See also *soergere* [cf. *soe(t)g(e)re* 23, 53, 66, *socre* 38, 68].
- 45 Tanquerey, 356.
- 46 Tanquerey, 295.
- 47 Tanquerey, 365-68.
- 48 Short, § 25.1\*.
- 49 Short, § 32.3.
- 50 Tony Hunt, ed., *Les Paroles Salomon*, Anglo-Norman Texts, 70 (Manchester, 2012), 25.
- 51 Short, § 8.1\*\*.
- 52 Short, § 8.1\*\*.
- 53 Short, § 13.4.
- 54 Short, § 1.6.
- 55 Short, § 6.7.
- 56 Short, 45, § 5.4.
- 57 Short, § 19.10.
- 58 Short, § 20.4.
- 59 Claude Buridant, *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français* (St-Just-la-Pendue, France, 2000), § 281.
- 60 Buridant, § 257.
- 61 Ratcliff, 144.
- 62 Campbell, 7. For levirate marriage, see also Deut. 25.5-10.
- 63 Schipper, 139.
- 64 Schipper, 145, 173.
- 65 L. Smith, trans., ix.
- 66 For 'Ephrathites', see Campbell, 54-55; and Schipper, 39-40, 82-83, 172. According to the *Historia scholastica* and Hugues de St Cher's *Postillae in Ruth*, Ephrathah was an early name for Bethlehem (L. Smith, trans., 37, 42). Cf. *Effrata* 123.
- 67 Cf. Lat. *patris familias* (V Ruth 2.2); and AND<sup>2</sup> *sub deboneire* and *husbande*. The New Revised Standard Version has 'someone in whose sight I may find favor' (biblegateway.com).
- 68 Campbell, 104, proposes that Ruth's gleanings in 2.3 (here, line 65: *la mesure de ephi, c'est a saver treis busshels*) amounted to about 29 pounds; see also Schipper, 127-28. At line 96, after the night at the

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- threshing-floor, Boaz gives Ruth *sis bussheux de orge*. Nicolas de Lyra explains that an ephah equals ten gomors (Engl. omers), a gomor of manna being sufficient for one person for one day (L. Smith, trans., 60-61; see VExodus 16.16-18).
- 69 AND<sup>2</sup> *sub place* and *porte*. For *porte*, see illustrations 5-9 after p. 100 in Campbell.
- 70 My remarks follow Amaury d'Esneval, 'La division de la Vulgate latine en chapitres dans l'édition parisienne du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 62 (1978): 559-68. D'Esneval focuses on Ruth and Acts.
- 71 Thus d'Esneval, 563 n., notes that BnF lat. 14597 presents Ruth in six chapters on fol. 120 and in five on fol. 145v (see also d'Esneval, 561). We also find a five-chapter arrangement of Ruth in a collection of works by Stephen Langton in BnF lat. 393, fols. 8-31. In the *Glossa in Biblia* (gallica.bnf.fr), Ruth begins at fol. 44v.
- 72 For medieval commentaries on Ruth, I have consulted L. Smith, trans.; Gérard de Martel, *Répertoire des textes latins relatifs au livre de Ruth* (Dordrecht, 1990); and the electronic edition of Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950-1980), available at [www.repbib.uni-trier.de](http://www.repbib.uni-trier.de).
- 73 See L. Smith, trans., xv. For an English translation of the *Glossa ordinaria*'s Ruth, see L. Smith, trans., 11-36; see further J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina* (=PL) 198 (Paris, 1853; [hathitrust.org](http://hathitrust.org)): 1293-96. For Rabanus's *Commentarium in librum Ruth*, see PL 108, 1199-1224.
- 74 E. Ann Matter, 'The Church Fathers and the *Glossa ordinaria*', in Irena Backus, ed., *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West*, 2 vols. (Leiden, New York, and Köln, 1997), 1:83-112, at 90.
- 75 C. Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire de l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1944), 115-16; also, PL 167, 197-1570.
- 76 L. Smith, trans., xvii, 37-39. For the *Historia scholastica*, see James H. Morey, 'Peter Comestor, Biblical Paraphrase, and the Medieval Popular Bible', *Speculum* 61 (1993): 6-35.
- 77 G. de Martel, ed., *Commentaria in Ruth*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 81 (Turnhout, 1990).
- 78 For the *Postillae in Ruth* by Hugues and Nicolas, see L. Smith, trans., 41-55, 57-67.
- 79 Spicq, 322, 326, 348.
- 80 The version of the Vulgate consulted is Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, ed., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (=V), 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 2007; [www.bibelwissenschaft.de](http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de)) and, occasionally, [biblegateway.com](http://biblegateway.com); for Latin,



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the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources ([logcien.uchicago.edu](http://logcien.uchicago.edu)); and for Anglo-Norman, the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (=AND<sup>2</sup>), at [www.anglo-norman.net](http://www.anglo-norman.net).

## The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Ruth (London, BL Royal 1 C III, fols. 182r-184v)

[fol. 182r] **Ci finist le livre des Jugges et comence le livre de Ruth.** Es jours de un juggle quant les jugges furent gardeins de la terre, fait est famyne en terre. Et un hom issi de Bethleem Juda q'il peregrinast et demorast en la regioun de Moabitude od sa femme et ses deux enfauntz. Cil estoit appellee Elimelech, et sa femme, Noemy; et deux filz, l'un Maalon et l'autre Cheylon, Euphrateux de Bethleem Juda. Et cil entrantz la regioun dé Moabitz demorerent illoeques.

Et Elymelech le baroun de Noemy morrust. Et ele remist od ses filz, les queus pristrent femmes de Moabitudis dount la une estoit appellee Orpha et l'autre Ruth. Et il mesnerent illoqe par dis anz. Et ambedeux morrurent, c'est a saver, Maalon et Cheylon. Et la femme remist deprivee de ses enfauntz et de son maritz.

Et ele se leva qe ele alast en son pays od l'une et l'autre ses filles en lei hors de la regioun des Moabitz, car ele en out oy qe Nostre Sire out regardee son poeple et lour out donee des viandes. Por ceo issi ele del lieu de sa peregrinacioun od l'une et l'autre des femmes de ses filz. Et ele, myse ja en la voie de retourner en la terre de Juda, lour dist: 'Alez en la maisoun de vostre mere, si face Nostre Sire mercy od vous, si com vous avez fait od les mortz et od moy. Nostre Sire vous doint de trover repos es maisouns des barouns, les queus vous prendrez'. Et ele les boisa.

Les queles, lour voiz levee, comencerent a plorer et a dire: 'Nous irroms od toi a ton poeple'. A queles ele respoundi: 'Retournez vous, mes filles. Por quei venez vous od moy? Jeo ne ay plus filz en mon ventre qe vous pussez esperer de moy barouns. Ha, mes filles moabites, retournez! Car ja sui jeo comprise par veillesce et noun pas covenable a lien de mariage. Et ensement si jeo porroi a yceste nuyt conceivre filz et enfaunter, si vous voldrez attendre si la q'il cressent et acomplissent fauntile age, vous serrez veilles avaunt qe vous serrez mariez. Ne [fol. 182v] voilletz, jeo vous pri, mes filles, quar vostre anguisse mult moy emprent. Et la main de Nostre Sire est contre moy issue'.

Por ceo, lour voiz levee, eles comencerent altre foiz a plorer. Orpha boisa sa soergre et returna. Et Ruth aherdi a sa soegre. A qi

Noemy dist: 'Voi, ta cosine est returnee a son poeple et a ses dieus. Va od luy'. La quele respondi: 'Ne soies tu contrarie a moy por ceo qe jeo te refuse et moy envoie. Ou qe tu en averas alee, jeo irroi; et ou qe tu averas demorree, jeo demorroi. Ton poeple est moun poeple et ton dieu est moun dieu. Quele terre qe toi avera pris morraunt, en  
40 cele morra jeo et illoeqe prendroi jeo lieu de sepulture. Cestes choses face Dieu a moy; et cestes choses ajoste, qe la mort sole ne moy departe de toi'. Noemy adecertes voiaunt qe Ruth avoit ordeinee de aler ovesqe ly, son corage endurzi, nel voleit contrarier ne plus outre  
45 amonester son retourner a les soens.

Et il s'en vount ensemble et vindrent en Bethleem. Les queles entrez la citee, isnele fame crust vers touz. Et les femmes distrent: 'Ceo est Noemy'. Asqueus ele dist: 'Ne moy appelez Noemy, c'est beale; mais appelez moy Mara, c'est amiere, quar ly Tut Pussaunt moy ad repleniz de tresgrant amertume. Jeo issi pleine et Nostre Sire moy ad remesné voide. Por quei donqe moy appelez vous Noemy, la quele Nostre Sire ad humiliee et ly Tut Pussaunt ad turmentee? Por ceo vint Noemy od Ruth dé Moabitz sa bruche de la terre de sa peregrinacioun et returna en Bethleem quant orges furent primes  
50 siees.  
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**II** Lors estoiet un bier—le cosyn Elymelech—un bier pussaunt et de grantz richesces, Booz par noun. Et Ruth la Moabite dist a sa socre: 'Si tu le comaundes, jeo irroi el champ et quilleroi espiz qe averount fuiz les mains des siauntz ou qe jeo averoi trovee grace de un debonair housbond en moy'. A qi ele respondi: 'Va, ma fille'.  
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En tiele manere s'en vait ele et quilli espiz après les dos des siauntz. Il avynt adecertes qe cel champ out un seignour, Booz par noun, qe estoit de la cognacioun de Elimelech. Et voi, il vint de Bethleem et il dist a les sieours: 'Nostre Sire soit od vous'. Les queus respoundirent: 'Nostre Sire te benesquie'. Et Booz dist a un jovencel qe ala devaunt ses siours: 'Qi pucelle est yceste?' Le quel respondi: [fol. 183r] 'Ele est une Moabite qe vint od Noemy de la region dé Moabitz. Et ele pria qe ele quillast les espiz qe remesnent suiaunt les traces des siours; si estuet ele el champ de matin desqes a ore et ne returna a maisoun a nulle moment'. Et Booz dist a Ruth: 'Oies, fille, ne ne auges tu a quillir les espiz en altre champ, ne ne departes de cest lieu, mais soies tu ajoint a mes pucelles et ensuies ou qe eles sierount.  
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Car j'ai comañde a mes enfauntz qe nul hom ne toi soit molest.  
 Mais si tu eies seif, va a les gourdes et boive les eawes dount mes  
 75 enfauntz boivent'.

La quele, chaiaunt en sa face et ly ahourant sur terre, ly dist:  
 'Dount vint ceo a moy, qe jeo troeve grace devaunt tes oels et qe tu  
 vols avoir une femme peregrine?' A qi il respoundi: 'Totes choses  
 80 sont a moy countez, les queles tu en as fait a ta soegre après la mort  
 de ton baroun; et qe tu as deguerpiz tes parentz et la terre en qi tu es  
 neez; et es venuz a un poeple le quel tu ne as conuz a devaunt. Nostre  
 Sire te guerdoun por ton oevereigne, si receives tu plener lower del  
 Sire Dieu de Israel a qi tu es venuz et south qi eeles tu es fuiee'.

La quele dist: 'Ha, my sire, j'ai trovee grace devaunt tes oels, qe  
 85 moy as confortee et parlee al quoe de ta ancelle, la quele ne suy pas  
 semblable a une de tes pucelles'. Et Booz ly dist: 'Quant heure serra de  
 manger, vien cea, si mangues de payn et moilles ta bribe en eysil'. En  
 tiele manere sist ele al costere des siours et porta ensemble a soi des  
 polentes. Et ele mangea et est asacié et emporta les remenauntz. Et se  
 90 leva de illoeques qe ele quillast espiz de coustumme. Lors comañda  
 Booz a ses enfantz, disaunt: 'Si ele voile sier od vous, ne ly defendez  
 et avalez qointement de voz galeines et soeffrez remesner qe ele quille  
 sanz reddour; et nul ne la repreigne quillaunt'.

Lors quilli ele el champ desqes al vespre. Et ele bataunt de une  
 95 verge ceo q'il out quilli et ceo ventulaunt, trova de orge auxint com la  
 mesure de ephi, c'est a saver treis busshels. Les queus ele portaunt  
 returna en la citee, si les demoustra a sa soegere. Et ensemment ele  
 porta et ly dona des remesnauntz de sa viaunde dount ele fust  
 assaciee.

Et sa socre ly dist: 'Ou quillis tu hui et ou fesoies tu oevereigne?  
 100 [fol. 183v] Beneit soit cil qe de toi ad empitvee'. Et ele demoustra od  
 qi ele out oeveree et dist le noun de bier, q'il fust appelee Booz. A qi  
 respoundi Noemy: 'Beneit soit il de Nostre Sire, quar il garda as  
 mortz mesmes la grace q'il out donee as vifs'. Et altre foiz dist ele:  
 105 'Cest hom est nostre cosyne'. Et Ruth dist: 'Ceo dist il a moy, qe jeo  
 serrei si longgement ajoint a ses siours si la qe touz ses bledz fussent  
 siez'. A qi sa soegre dist: 'Ma fille, il est meux qe tu voisies od ses  
 pucelles a sier, qe nul ne toi areste en altrui champ'. Et tiele manere

110 est ele ajoint as pucelles de Booz; et sia tant longement od eux si la que les orges et les furmentz fussent mys en myés.

115 **III** Adecertes puis que ele returna a sa soegre, ele oy de ly: 'Ha, ma fille, jeo querroi a toi repos et purvoieroi que bien soit od toi. Cesti Booz, as pucelles de qi tu es joint es champs, est nostre proschein, et a ceste proscheine nuit ventera il une place de orge. Soies tu pur ceo lavee et enhoynte et soies tu vestue de beals vestementz; et descende en la place. Si ne toi voi nul hom si la que il eit finiz son manger et son boire. Qant il adecertes s'en vait a dormir, entende le lieu ou il dorme. Et tu vendras et discoveras le paille doun il est covert a la partie de ses peez; et tu toi abesseras et girras illoeqe. Cil adecertes 120 dirra a toi quele chose tu deis faire'. La quele respondi: 'Jeo feroi quele chose que tu moy averas comaundee'.

Et ele descendi en ycele place et fist totes les choses que sa soegre ly out comaundee. Et com Booz ust mangee et beu et fust fait reheitee et s'en vait a dormir jost le cenour des garbes, ele vint priveement et le 125 paille discoverie de ses piez et se coucheit. Et voi, ja a la mynuit le bier se douta et fust troeblee; et vist une moiller gisaunt a ses piez. Et ly dist: 'Car qi es tu?' Et cele respondi: 'Jeo sui Ruth, ta ancelle. Estende ton paille sur ta servaunte, quar tu es moun proschein'. Et cil dist: 'Beneit es tu, fille, de Nostre Sire; et as surmountee la primere merci par la derreine, quar tu ne suis pas les joevenes poevres ou riches. Ne voillez por ceo douter mais quele chose que tu moy averas 130 dit, jeo le feroi a toi, car tut le poeple que habite deinz les portes de ma citee toy sciet estre une femme de vertue. Jeo ne refusoi pas moy estre ton proschein, mays un altre est plus [fol. 184r] proschein de moy. 135 Reposez yceste nuit et al matin s'il te volt retenir par dreit de propinquitee, ceo est bien fait. S'il adecertes ne volt, viste Nostre Sire, jeo toi prendroi sanz nulle doute. Dormes desques al matin'. Por ceo ele dormy a ses piez desques al departisoun de la nuit.

140 Lors s'en leva ele einz que hommes la conustroient entrechaungeablement. Et Booz dist: 'Eschues que nul ne conusse que tu venoies yci'. Et altre foiz dist il: 'Estend ton paille dount tu es covert et tien de l'une et l'autre main'. La quele ceo estendaunt et tenaunt, il mesura sis bussheux de orge et les mist sur ly. La quele les portaunt, entra la citee et vint a sa soegre. La quele ly dist: 'Ha, fille, quei as tu fait?' Et ele la counta totes les choses que ly bier luy out fait. Et ele dist: 145

‘Voi, il moy ad donee sis bussheux d’orge et dist: “Jeo ne voille toi retourner a ta soegre tote voi”. Et Noemy ly dist: ‘Attende, fille, si la que nous voiemus quele issue la chose ad, car le hom ne cessera s’il ne avera acomplie les choses q’il emparla’.

150 **IIII** Lors mounta Booz a la porte et sist illoeqe. Et com il veist son cosyn y passer dount la parole est einz eu, il luy dist: ‘Declinez un poy et seez ycy’, ly apellaunt de son noun. Le quel se tourna et soi assist. Booz adecertes provaunt dis biers des plus senez de la citee, lour dist: ‘Seez ycy’. Les queus seauntz, il parla a son cosyn: ‘Noemy vendi une partie de le champ de nostre frere Elymelech, la quele est returnee de la regioun des Moabitz. Quele chose jeo toi voldra oir et dire a toi devaunt touz les seauntz et devaunt les greindres de naissaunce de mon poeple: Si tu la vols aver de dreit de propinquitee, l’achatez et la eies. Si ceo adecertes toi desplest, demoustre ceo a moy, 155  
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Et ceo ert la aunciene custumme en Israel entre proscheins, que qant un [fol. 184v] donast lieu a la foiz a l’altre en son dreit, issint que la concessioun serroit ferme, le hom deschalcea sa chauce et la dona a son proesme. Ceo ert la tesmoignaunce de doner lieu en Israel. Lors dist Booz a son proschein: ‘Deschaucez ta chauceure’, le quel il deschalcea de son pee.

Et il dist as greindres en naissaunce et a tut le poeple: ‘Vous estes tesmoignes hui que j’ai totes les choses que furent a Elymelech et a Chelion et a Maalon de le bail Noemy; et que j’ai pris Ruth la Moabite, la femme Maalon, a ma femme, que jeo suscite le noun du mort en son heritage, que son noun ne soit ostee de sa mesnie et de ses freres et del poeple. Vous, di jeo, estes tesmoignes de ceste chose’. Tut le poeple que ert en la porte et les greindres de naissaunce respondi: ‘Nous sumes tesmoingnes. Nostre Sire face ceste femme, la quele entre ta maisoun si com Rachel et Lyam, les queles edifierent la maisoun de

185 Israel, qe ele soit ensample de vertue en Effrata et eit sollempne noun  
 en Bethleem. Soit ta maisoun si com la maisoun de Pharés, le quel  
 Thamar engendra a Jude de la semence qe Nostre Sire te doint de ta  
 pucelle'.

190 **V** Lors prist Booz Ruth et la prist a femme. Et il entra a luy et  
 Nostre Sire luy dona qe ele conceust et enfaunta un filz. Et femmes  
 distrent a Noemy: 'Beneit soit Nostre Sire, qe ne suffri qe successour  
 ne defaillist de ta maisoun; et qe son noun fust apellee en Israel; et qe  
 tu eies cil qe porra conforter ta alme et nurrir ta veillesce. Car un est  
 nee de la femme de ton filz qe toi amera. Et ceo toi est mult meux qe  
 si tu eusses sept filz'.

195 Et Noemy prist l'enfaunt et le mist en son sein, si usa ele le office  
 de nurrice et de porteresce. Les femmes voisines adecertes esjoissantz  
 a ly et disauntz: 'Un filz est nee a Noemy!', apellerent son noun  
 Obeth. Cil est le pere de Ysai, le pere de David.

200 Ceo sount les generaciouns de Pharés: Pharés engendra Esrom;  
 Esrom engendra Aaran; Aaran engendra Amynadab; Amynadab  
 engendra Naason; Naason engendra Salmon; Salmon engendra Booz;  
 Booz engendra Obeth; Obeth engendra Isay; Isay engendra David le  
 roi. **Ci finist le livre de Ruth et comence le prolog de les  
 livres dé Roys en ceste manere.**

## Rejected readings and palæographical notes

In the following, the rejected reading from *L* is shown without a siglum after the square bracket. *P* indicates the corresponding reading from Paris, BnF ms. fr. 1. The Latin text provides the corresponding Vulgate passage.

33 Mara] Murrera; Mara *P* 35 de Moabitz *inserted above the line* 35-36 Por ceo vint Noemy od Ruth dé Moabitz sa bruche de] Por ceo vint N. od R. de M. sa b. vint de; Ja est N. od R. la M. sa filastre venue de *P* 48 mes pucelles] noes p. *with m written over no*; mes p. *P* 54 le quel] le quele *with final e expuncted* 71 Cest hom est nostre cosyn] Cest noun est n. c.; Ceo est nostre hom prochein *P*; propinquus [. . .] noster est homo 74 pucelles de *inserted above the line* 81 adecertes] adetes; adecertes *P* 85 piez et se coucheit] p. se c.; p. et se c. *P* • mynuit] mymuit; mynuit *P* 92 viste Nostre Sire *inserted above the line* 105 Moabitz *with o written over another letter* 109 de la main *inserted above the line* 114 ferme] ferme *with er written over another letter* 120 chose] choses *with final s expuncted* 128 Car un] *with un inserted above the line* 130 prist l'enfaunt et le mist en son sein] prist l'enfaunt pris en son sein; prist l'enfaunt et ly mist en son sein *P*; susceptumque [. . .] puerum posuit in sinu suo 184 *Beneath* en ceste manere, *in lower margin, a catch-word*: la langge



Appendix: Comparison of *L*, *P* and *V*

Key : Excerpts from *L*, as edited, are shown below in the left-hand column; and excerpts from *P*, in the center column. (Superscript numbers in the left-hand column refer to line numbers in the edited text.) The corresponding passages from *V* appear in the right-hand column below.

## 1: Ruth clings to Naomi (1.14b-17)

<p>[<i>L</i>, fol.182v, lines 23-29] Orpha boisa sa soegre et returna. Et <sup>14</sup>Ruth alherdi a sa soegre. A q<sup>i</sup> Noemy dist: 'Voi, ta cosine est returnee a son poeple et a ses dieus. Va od <sup>15</sup>lui'. La quele respondi: 'Ne soies tu contrarie a moy por ceo que jeo te refuse et moy envoise. Ou que tu <sup>16</sup>en averas alee, jeo irroi; et ou que tu averas demoree, jeo demorroi. Ton poeple est moum poeple et ton <sup>17</sup>dieu est moum dieu. Quele terre que toi avera pres morraunt, en cele morra jeo et illoqe prendroi jeo lieu <sup>18</sup>de sepulture. Cestes choses face Dieu a moy; et cestes choses ajoste, que la mort sole ne moy departe de <sup>19</sup>toi'.</p>	<p>[<i>P</i>, fol. 77v] Si boisa lors Orpha sa soegre et returna. Et Ruth alherdi a sa soegre. A q<sup>i</sup> dist Noemy: 'Voy ta cosine, si est returnee a son poeple et a ses dieus. Va od lui'. La quele respondi: 'Ne moy contraries que jeo toy deguerpe et moy envoise. En quel lieu que tu voises, jeo en irroi; et ou tu demorras, jeo y demorroy. Ton poeple est moum poeple et ton dieu est mon dieu. La terre que toy prendra mort, en cele terre morroi jeo, et illoqe prendroi jeo lieu de sepulture. Dieu moy face ceste chose; et ceo ajouste, que la mort sole ne departe moy ne toy'.</p>	<p>Orpha osculata socrum est ac reversa Ruth adhesit socruui suae 15 cui dixit Noemi en reversa est cognata tua ad populum suum et ad deos suos vade cum ea 16 quae respondit ne adverseris mihi ut relinquam te et abeam quocumque pertexeris pergam ubi morata fueris et ego pariter morabor populus tuus populus meus et Deus tuus Deus meus 17 quae te morientem terra susceperit in ea moriar ibique locum accipiam sepulturae haec mihi faciat Deus et haec addat si non sola mors me et te separaverit</p>
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## 2: A midnight encounter (3.8-14a)

[L, fols. 183v-184r, lines 85-93] Et voi, ja a la mynuut le bier se douta et fust troëblee; et <sup>90</sup>vist une moëller gisaunt a ses piez. Et ly dist: 'Car qi es tu?' Et cele respondi: 'Jeo sui Ruth, ta ancelle. <sup>91</sup>Estende ton paille sur ta servaunte, quar tu es moum proschein'. Et cil dist: 'Beneit es tu, fille, de Nostre <sup>92</sup>Sire; et as surmountee la primere merci par la derreine, quar tu ne suis pas les joevenes poevres ou riches. <sup>93</sup>Ne voillez por ceo douter mais quele chose qe tu moy averas dit, jeo le ferei a toi, car tut le poeple qe <sup>94</sup>habite deinz les portes de ma citee toy sciet estre une femme de vertue. Jeo ne refusoi pas moy estre ton <sup>95</sup>proschein, mays un altre est plus proschein de moy. Reposez yceste nuit et al matin s'il te volt <sup>96</sup>retenir par dreit de propinquitee, ceo est bien fait. S'il adecerres ne volt, viste Nostre Sire, jeo toi prendrei <sup>97</sup>sanz nulle doute. Dormes desques al matin'. Por ceo ele dormy a ses piez desques al departisoum de la nuit.

[P, fol. 77r] Et voi, a la mynuut ja se doubra ly bier et fust troëblee; et vist la moëller gisaunt as piez. Et ly dist: 'Qi es tu?' Et cele respondi: 'Jeo sui Ruth, ta ancelle. Espaud ton pail sur ton servaunte, car tu es proschein'. Et cil dist: 'Fille, tu es beneite de Nostre Seignor; et as surmountee la primere merci par la derreine, car tu ne as point sui les poevres joevenes ou les riches. Ne voilles por ceo douter més: quele chose que tu moy dirras, jeo le feroi a toy car tot le poeple qe habite entre les portes de ma citee toy sciet un' femme de vertue. Jeo ne sui le plus prochein de un, més un autre est plus proschein de moi. Reposes yceste nuit et, le matin fait, s'il te voldra retenir par droit de propinquitee, ceste chose est bien faite. S'il adecerres ceo ne voldra, jeo toy prendrai sanz nulle doute, vist Nostre Seignor. Dormes desques a matin'. Et elle se dormi a ses piez desques al departisoum de la nuit.'

et ecce nocte iam media expavit homo et conturbatus est viditque mulierem iacentem ad pedes suos 9 et ait illi quae es illaque respondit ego sum Ruth ancilla tua expande pallium tuum super famulam tuam quia propinquus es 10 et ille benedicta inquit es Domino filia et priorem misericordiam posteriore superasti quia non es secuta iuvenes pauperes sive divites 11 noli ergo metuere sed quicquid dixeris mihi faciam tibi scit enim omnis populus qui habitat intra portas urbis meae mulierem te esse virtutis 12 nec animo me propinquum sed est alius me propinquior 13 quiesce hac nocte et facto mane si te voluerit propinquitatis iure retinere bene res acta est sin autem ille noluerit ego te absque ulla dubitatione suscipiam vivit Dominus dormi usque mane 14 dormivit itaque ad pedes eius usque ad noctis abscessum

## 3: A contract sealed (4.9-12)

[L, fol. 184v, lines 117-24] Et il dist as greindres de naissance et a tut le poeple: 'Vous estes tesmoignes lui que j'ai totes les choses que furent a Elymelech et a Chelion et a Maalon de le bal Noemy; et que j'ai pris Ruth la Moabite, <sup>118</sup>la femme Maalon, a ma femme, que jeo suscite le noun du mort en son heritage, que son noun ne soit osee <sup>119</sup>de sa mesnie et de ses freres et del poeple. Vous, di jeo, estes tesmoignes de ceste chose'. Tut le poeple <sup>120</sup>que ert en la porte et les greindres de naissance respondi: 'Nous sumes tesmoignes. Nostre Sire face <sup>121</sup>ceste femme, la quele entre ta maisoun si com Rachel et Lyam, les queles ediferent la maisoun de Israel, <sup>122</sup>que ele soit ensample de vertue en Efrata et eit sollempne noun en Bethleem. Soit ta maisoun si com la <sup>123</sup>maisoun de Pharés, le quel Thamar engendra a Jude de la semence que Nostre Sire te doint de ta pucelle'.

[P, fol. 78v] Et cil dist as greindres de naissance et a tote le poeple: 'Vous estes hui tesmoignes que jeo eic totes les choses que furent a Elymelech et a Chelion et a Malon; si prendrai Ruth la Moabie, la femme Maalon en mariage du balir Neomy, que jeo suscite le noun du mort en souu heritage, que son noun ne soit osee de sa mesnie ne de ses freres ne du poeple. Vous', fait il. 'festes] tesmoignes de ceste chose'. Si respondi tut le poeple que ert en la porte et les greindres de naissance: 'Nous sumes tesmoignes. Face Nostre Seignor ceste feme, la quele entrera ta maisoun si com Rachel et Lye, les queles edifirent la mayssoun de Israel, que ele soit ensample de vertue en Ephrata et eit noble nobile [sic] noun en Bethleem. Soit ta maisoun si com la maisoun de Pharés, le quel Thamar enfauncta de la semence de Juda, le quele Nostre Seignor toy doint de ceste pucelle'.

at ille maioribus natu et universo populo testes inquit vos estis hodie quod possederim omnia quae fuerunt Helimelech et Chellion et Maalon tradente Noemi 10 et Ruth Moabitidem uxorem Maalon in coniugium sumpserim ut suscitem nomen defuncti in hereditate sua ne vocabulum eius de familia sua ac fratribus et populo deleatur vos inquam huius rei testes estis 11 respondi omnis populus qui erat in porta et maiores natu nos testes sumus faciat Dominus hanc mulierem quae ingreditur domum tuam sicut Rachel et Liam quae edificaverunt domum Israhel ut sit exemplum virtutis in Ephrata et habeat celebre nomen in Bethleem 12 fiatque domus tua sicut domus Phares quem Thamar peperit Iudae de semine quod dederit Dominus tibi ex hac puella.