

The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Judges,
a Critical Edition

(BL Royal 1 C III)

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with an introduction and notes by Huw Grange

[publication info]

Cover image: *Judges: Samson rending Columns of Temple. Illustration of Judges 16. 29-30.* The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.638, fol. 15v. Purchased by J. P. Morgan (1867-1943) in 1916. Photography: The Morgan Library & Museum

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ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Anglo-Norman
ANB	Anglo-Norman Bible
AND	Anglo-Norman Dictionary
ANJ	Anglo-Norman Judges, 12 th -century translation of the book of Judges made for Knights Templar (ed. d'Albon)
<i>BM</i>	<i>Bible moralisée</i> , illustrated moralized Bible first produced in 13 th century
DMF	Dictionnaire du Moyen Français
DMLBS	Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
<i>EBR</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and its Reception</i>
FEW	Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch
<i>Hist.schol.</i>	Peter Comestor's <i>Historia scholastica</i>
<i>Hom.</i>	Origen of Alexandria's <i>Homilies on Judges</i>
Josh	Joshua, the Old Testament book
<i>Jud.</i>	Isidore of Seville's <i>In librum Judicum</i>
Judg	Judges, the Old Testament book
<i>L</i>	London, British Library, Royal MS 1 C III (base manuscript)
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version Bible
OT	Old Testament
<i>P</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 1
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: 1844-1865)
<i>Post.litt.</i>	Nicholas of Lyra's <i>Postilla litteralis</i>
<i>Post.mor.</i>	Nicholas of Lyra's <i>Postilla moralis</i>
<i>Quaest.</i>	Augustine of Hippo's <i>Quaestiones in Iudices</i>
<i>SHS</i>	<i>Speculum humanae salvationis</i> , 14 th -century illustrated work of popular theology
<i>V</i>	Jerome's Latin 'Vulgate' Bible
<i>VB</i>	The 'Benedictine' or 'Rome' edition of the Vulgate Bible (ed. A. Gasquet)

INTRODUCTION

The Old Testament book of Judges

Edited here for the first time is the book of Judges from the Anglo-Norman Bible (ANB), ‘the first full prose vernacular Bible produced in England’.¹ Preserved in two fourteenth-century manuscripts—one more or less complete, the other closing with the book of Tobit—the ANB stands out among medieval vernacularizations of the Bible for its fidelity to the letter of the Latin Vulgate.² Like other recent and planned editions of the ANB’s Old Testament (OT) books, our text is based on British Library, Royal MS 1 C III (= *L*), a volume best known for its series of multilingual glosses.³

‘In those days there was no king in Israel’ (Judg 21. 25 etc.; *A ces jours n’estoit nul roi en Israel*, line 1218). So runs the refrain of the final chapters of Judges. As the seventh book of the Hebrew Bible, Judges relates a turbulent, transitional period in the history of the Israelites. The twelve tribes have claimed their Promised Land, having crossed the River Jordan and conquered Canaan (as recounted in the book of Joshua). As yet, however, they have no king. Only under Saul will Israel’s loose tribal confederation unite under a single monarch (as 1 Samuel will go on to relate).

At the book’s core (Judg 3. 7-16. 31) is a cycle of saviour stories. The literary paradigm is outlined at Judg 2. 11-19. Rather than eradicate the indigenous Canaanites (as instructed), the Israelites have mingled with their foes after Joshua’s death, and embraced their gods. Yahweh, moved to anger, hands over his chosen people to external enemies, but when they repent and cry for help he raises up a ‘judge’

¹ Delbert Russell, ‘The European Background: “pe Bible and opere bookis of deuociun and of expositioun” in French’, in *The Wycliffite Bible: Origin, History and Interpretation*, ed. Elizabeth Solopova (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 49-65 (p. 56). The ANB is catalogued as no. 469 in Ruth J. Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, with the collaboration of Maureen B. M. Boulton (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), p. 255.

² On Jerome’s Bible, known since the sixteenth century as the ‘Vulgate’, see Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, ‘The Latin Bible, c. 600 to c. 900’, in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 69-92. We quote the Vulgate from the ‘Stuttgart’ text, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, 5th edn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), with variants supplied from the ‘Benedictine’ text, *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, ed. Aidan Gasquet, 18 vols (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1926-1995), IV (1939). The Modern English translation is taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

³ Of the ANB’s OT books, Ruth, Joshua and Tobit have been published thus far. See Brent A. Pitts, ‘The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Ruth: A Critical Edition (London, British Library, ms. Royal 1 C III)’, *Reading Medieval Studies*, 44 (2018), 173-97; Brent A. Pitts (ed.), *The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Joshua: A Critical Edition (BL Royal 1 C III)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020); and Brent A. Pitts, ‘The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Tobit: A Critical Edition (London, British Library Royal 1 C III, fols. 312r-315v)’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 82 (2020), 1-77. Critical editions of the ANB’s 1-2 Esdras (by Brent A. Pitts and Thomas Hinton), 1-2 Samuel (by Brent A. Pitts and Maureen B. M. Boulton), and 1-2 Kings (by Brent A. Pitts and Heather Pagan) are in hand. The ANB’s Genesis and Acts have been the subject of doctoral theses. See Thierry Revol, ‘Bible anglo-normande, Genèse, édition’ (unpublished doctoral thesis: Université Marc Bloch-Strasbourg II, 2006); and Nora Elizabeth Ratcliff, ‘Edition and Study (Mostly Linguistic) of a Section of an Anglo-Norman Translation of the Bible (14th Century): The Acts of the Apostles in MSS B.N. fr. 1 and 9562’ (unpublished doctoral thesis: St Andrews, 1955). Many thanks to Thierry Revol for providing a copy of his thesis.

to deliver them. ‘Judge’, like the Hebrew *šōfēṭim*, implies a judicial role, but our protagonists appear in the guise of ‘swashbuckling, charismatic military leaders’.⁴ Using their fighting nous (or at least harnessing a propensity towards violence), the elevated judge liberates the Israelites from oppression. Peace, however, is only ever temporary. Israel is eventually lured back into syncretism, and the cycle starts over.

Apostasy, punishment, repentance, deliverance: this pattern is repeated twelve times, although the six ‘minor’ judges garner only the scantest of mentions (Judg 10. 1-5, 12. 8-15). For all its repetitive structure, however, the book of Judges is far from pedestrian. The first judge, Othniel, may conform largely to expectations, delivering Israel in battle from the tyrannical king Cushan-rishathaim (Judg 3. 7-11), but for the most part it is downhill from there. Political, moral and religious degradation will be reflected in ever-greater deviation from the established narrative pattern.⁵

Next to be raised up after Othniel is Ehud, the silver-tongued assassin who dispatches Eglon, fat king of the Moabites, in grisly fashion (Judg 3. 12-30). The ‘tales of the unexpected’ continue with Deborah (Judg 4. 1-5. 31), the only judge who is a woman, and the only one, moreover, who actually judges.⁶ Here, military command is provided, albeit half-heartedly, by Barak, who leads Israel to victory over the Canaanite king Jabin. As Deborah prophesies, however, the glory of the day will go to a woman: Jael lures the fleeing enemy general Sisera into her tent, hammering a peg through his head while he sleeps.

In Gideon the Israelites find a champion capable of routing the Midianites with as few as 300 men (Judg 6. 1-8. 35). But he, too, is a reluctant deliverer, demanding multiple proofs of upcoming victory from Yahweh. He is responsible, moreover, for constructing an ephod (or priestly garment) that will ‘snare’ the Israelites, leading them back to apostasy. Following Gideon’s death, it is not a foreign enemy that oppresses Israel, but his son, Abimelech, who seizes power as king after murdering all but one of his 70 half-brothers (Judg 9. 1-57). Deliverance in this case comes not from a judge, but from an anonymous woman who drops a millstone on the wicked king’s head.

Jephthah is the judge who liberates Israel from its next set of oppressors, the Ammonites (Judg 10. 6-12. 7). That he is elected by his own tribe rather than Yahweh does not bode well, and, sure enough, his leadership is compromised by a bid to secure divine favour with a catastrophic vow that results in the sacrifice of his only daughter. By the time we meet Samson, one of the Bible’s most notorious characters, the cyclical pattern is in disarray (Judg 13. 1-16. 31). Samson is destined from before birth to deliver Israel from the Philistines, but his penchant for foreign women, and for Delilah in particular, leads him to reveal the source of his superhuman strength and be delivered into the hands of his enemies. The blinded, enslaved Samson will save Israel, but only by collapsing a temple on the Philistine masses and himself.

Samson is the last judge to be named in the book. In the two ‘appendices’ that constitute the final chapters of Judges, Israel fails to make it past the ‘apostasy’ stage of the cycle. The first episode sees a marauding band of Danites plunder an idol devoted to Yahweh, kidnap a less than pious priest and devastate the sleepy city of Laish (Judg 18. 1-31). In the second—a true ‘text of terror’—the gang-rape and murder of a Levite’s concubine by a group of Benjamites leads to civil war (Judg 19. 1-21. 25).⁷ The

⁴ Susan Niditch, *Judges: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), p. 1.

⁵ P. Deryn Guest, ‘Judges’, in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, ed. James D. G. Dunn and John W. Rogerson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), pp. 190-207 (p. 199).

⁶ We first encounter Deborah under her palm tree between Ramah and Bethel, where ‘the Israelites came up to her for judgment’ (Judg 4. 5). For characterization of Judges as ‘tales of the unexpected’, see Guest, p. 193.

⁷ Of the four episodes analysed by Phyllis Trible in her classic feminist study of the Bible, two are from Judges (Judg 11 and 19). See *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives* (London: SCM, 2002).

tribe of Benjamin is all but wiped out, only surviving thanks to the abduction of 600 virgins. As John Thompson puts it, '[t]here is no catharsis of redemption here, only a mind-numbing senselessness in the wake of bestial savagery'.⁸

Among the key themes of Judges is the preservation of Israel's identity in the face of threats from internal and external enemies. This is a text that rails against social assimilation and religious syncretism, but one that also warns against the dangers of internal division. From the failure of several of Israel's tribes to support Deborah (Judg 5. 15-17) to the anarchy of civil war described in the final chapters, instead of fighting their external enemies, the Israelites increasingly turn against themselves.

With its roll-call of remarkable women, Judges also inevitably raises questions about gender. In Deborah the Israelites find a 'mother' (Judg 5. 7; *mere en Israel*, line 217) and one of their more successful judges; in Jael they discover an assassin extolled as the 'most blessed of women' (Judg 5. 24; *Beneite soit Jael [...] entre femmes* 248). If, in the case of Jael, a non-Hebrew woman saves the day, in Samson's story foreign women seem to pose a particular threat to Israel's cohesion. The women of Judges are dangerous, wielding tent-pegs and millstones to devastating effect. But they also bear the brunt of male violence, from Jephthah's dignified daughter, killed because of her father's grave error, to the hundreds of virgins forced into marriage to settle a civil war itself triggered by murder and rape.

Perhaps most of all, however, Judges prompts reflections on leadership. The judges whom Yahweh raises up are undoubtedly flawed. But does this book set out 'a crowning argument for the establishment of the monarchy', paving the way for the anointing of Saul and David as kings in 1 and 2 Samuel?⁹ Or do the judges function as 'red herrings', reminding us that Yahweh, Israel's true judge, may employ the most unlikely of men and women to reveal his power?¹⁰

'In those days there was no king in Israel'. Twice the refrain comes with a second part: 'all the people did what was right in their own eyes' (Judg 17. 6, 21. 25; *chescun fist ceo qe a ly estoit veu dreiturel* 1218-19). Look to the book of Judges for lessons on how to be governed and to live with others, and we may struggle to find positive role-models. This 'saga of faithlessness, death, and mourning', however, provides no end of captivating negative exempla.¹¹

Manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Judges

Two witnesses of the ANB's book of Judges have come down to us. London, British Library, Royal MS 1 C III (*L*) preserves the books of the OT from Genesis to Tobit inclusive.¹² Ending with an explicit to

⁸ John L. Thompson, *Writing the Wrongs: Women of the Old Testament among Biblical Commentators from Philo through the Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 179.

⁹ Victor H. Matthews, *Judges and Ruth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 10.

¹⁰ Guest, p. 193, citing Yairah Amit, 'Judges 4: Its Content and Form', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 39 (1987), 89-111, p. 89.

¹¹ Tribble, p. 67.

¹² For detailed description of *L*, see Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge: étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrites en prose de langue d'oïl* (Paris: Champion, 1884), p. 231; George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols ([London]: British Museum, 1921), I, p. 14; Anne Wanono, 'Une bible anglo-normande à la source d'une bible française au XIV^e siècle? Le français en Angleterre pendant la guerre de Cent Ans et la compilation biblique de Jean de Sy', in *Un espace colonial et ses avatars. Naissance d'identités nationales: Angleterre, France, Irlande (V^e-XV^e siècles)*, ed. Florence Bourgne, Leo Carruthers and Arlette Sancery (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 203-19 (pp. 211-13); Catherine 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 (pp. 137-38); Pitts, *Joshua*, pp. 28-29; and the detailed record at <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts>, which provides colour images of fols 62r, 65r-v, 66r, 70r and 185r.

Tobit, it no doubt formed (or was intended to form) the first part of a multi-volume work.¹³ Its Judges, spanning fols 162r-183r, is located, as expected, between Joshua and Ruth. Our second manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 1 (*P*), once formed a complete Bible.¹⁴ In its present state, however, it lacks the final chapter of Hebrews and the entirety of Revelation. Its book of Judges is located at fols 69r-77v. Three further manuscripts preserving a compendium of biblical history include the ANB's Acts of the Apostles, but their Judges is a *mise en prose* of the *Poème anglo-normand sur l'Ancien Testament*.¹⁵

Measuring approximately 370 x 250 mm, *L* is a large in-folio volume of 315 parchment leaves, now bound in white parchment. The text, the work of at least two scribes, according to Catherine Léglu, was written in an Anglicana script in two columns of between 38 and 54 lines.¹⁶ The volume is unillustrated and decorated relatively plainly. Twelve puzzle initials in red and blue, with some pen-flourishing, mark the beginning of individual books, including one for Judges on fol. 162v. Chapters are marked by smaller initials and roman numerals in red or blue, with running titles supplied in black ink. Between fol. 200r and the end of the volume the decoration and rubrication was left uncompleted. Léglu notes the similarity of the hands and decoration to those in London, British Library, Additional MS 54325, produced *c.* 1350, concluding that 'a common workshop produced both'.¹⁷

L has long attracted the attention of scholars on account of its Latin and English glosses. Restricted to a single word or short phrase, some of these occur in-line with the text and are underlined; others were copied in the margins. Various explanations for their inclusion have been offered. That the glosses sometimes occur immediately after blanks in the French text suggested to Berger that the translator was insufficiently versed in French: he supplied an English rendering 'en attendant qu'il eût trouvé le mot français'.¹⁸ For Warner and Gilson, the glosses functioned to explain 'debased French'.¹⁹ In the most comprehensive study of the glosses so far, albeit limited to the first 48 folios of the volume, Nobel noted that the text in *P* corresponding to the glossed text in *L* is often highly unsatisfactory, indicative of a faulty exemplar.²⁰ He pointed, moreover, to a range of functions. If some glosses serve to rectify

¹³ Léglu 2016, p. 137.

¹⁴ Full colour reproduction available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525072746>. The table of contents on fols Ar-Br suggests the volume was once complete. For detailed description, see Berger 1884, pp. 230-31; Ratcliff, pp. vi-xiii; François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VII^e-XX^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987), pp. 157-60; Wanono, pp. 209-11; Pitts, *Joshua*, pp. 29-30; and Kathryn A. Smith, 'Found in Translation: Images Visionary and Visceral in the Welles-Ros Bible', *Gesta*, 59 (2020), 91-130 (pp. 96-97).

¹⁵ On the biblical compendium (Dean and Boulton, no. 470)—preserved in London, British Library, Additional MS 54325; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MSS 6260 and 9562—see Maureen B. M. Boulton, "'Les histoires de la Bible' en anglo-normand: une Bible factice", in *Pour acquérir honneur et pris': Mélanges de moyen français offerts à Giuseppe di Stefano*, ed. Maria Colombo Timelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: CERES, 2004), pp. 17-26 (p. 25). The *Poème anglo-normand* is no. 462 in Dean and Boulton.

¹⁶ Léglu 2016, p. 137. A noteworthy feature of the Judges hand is the use, on more than 130 occasions, of double long-*s*, especially in word-initial position. This graphy occurs notably in proper nouns, e.g., *Ssymeon* 5, 30, *Ssisare* 180, 191, 202 etc., *Ssoc(h)ot(h)* 412, 417, 428 etc., *Ssichem* 468, 473, 478 etc., and *Ssampsom* 762, 768, 777 etc., to name only these, but we also find it in adv. *ssi or Ssi* 35, 330, 331 etc. and in cardinals *ssessaunte* 470, 474, 477 etc. and *ssis* 964, 973, 976 etc. There are also examples of 'double *F*' for *F* or *f* initial in *ffiger* 488 and *Ffinies* 1121. In our text, where double long-*s* occurs within a word, it is resolved -*ss*-. It is otherwise resolved as *S* or *s*, and double *F* as *F* or *f*.

¹⁷ Léglu 2016, p. 133. Add. 54325 is one of the manuscripts that preserves the ANB's Acts.

¹⁸ Berger 1884, p. 234.

¹⁹ Warner and Gilson, p. 14.

²⁰ Pierre Nobel, 'Gloses anglaises et latines dans une traduction biblique anglo-normande (ms. Londres B.L. Royal 1 C III)', in *Si a parlé par moult ruiste vertu': Mélanges de littérature médiévale offerts à Jean Subrenat*, ed. Jean Dufournet (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 419-35.

imprecise or erroneous renderings in French, others explain French words or phrases that are obscure, ambiguous or newly coined. Léglu has helpfully remarked that, rather than point to lack of fluency in French, some of these functions are indicative of a glossator who was highly sensitive to the nuances of the French language.²¹

Twenty-two words or phrases are glossed in English, Latin or both languages in the Judges section of *L*. These are presented in the table below, alongside the text of *V* and the reading found in *P*. Further commentary on individual glosses may be found in the notes.

ANB (<i>L</i>)	Vulgate (<i>V</i>)	ANB (<i>P</i>)
<i>en curres od faucils <u>sibes</u></i> (ME ‘scythes’) 35	<i>falcatis curribus</i>	<i>des charettes faucillés</i>
<i>le sarge</i> in margin: <i>sagum sarge</i> (L ‘cloak, mantle’, ME, AN ‘serge’) 131	<i>sagum</i>	<i>l’escauberck</i>
<i>le fauchoun <u>sicam</u></i> (L ‘dagger’) 138	<i>sicam</i>	<i>la spee</i>
<i>currez od faucils <u>sibes</u></i> (ME ‘scythes’) 162	<i>falcatos currus</i>	<i>charettez faucillés</i>
<i>un bussel a gourde</i> (ME ‘a bottle, flask’) 194	<i>utrem</i>	<i>un vessel</i>
<i>les siflementz <u>hissyngez</u></i> (ME ‘whistles’) <i>des fouks</i> 235	<i>sibilos</i> (var. <i>filios</i>) <i>gregum</i> (var. <i>grecum</i>)	<i>les filz des grieux</i>
<i>tresbuchantz</i> in margin: <i>hedelynges per preceps</i> (ME, L ‘headlong’) 245	<i>per praeceps</i> <i>ruentibus</i>	<i>sodainement</i> <i>cheiauntz</i>
<i>galouns <u>lagenas</u></i> (L ‘flask, gallon-jar’) 378	<i>lagoenas</i>	<i>vasseux</i>
<i>retentir <u>claptogider</u></i> (ME ‘clap together’) <i>lour galouns entre eux</i> 385	<i>conplodere inter se</i> <i>lagoenas</i>	<i>lour vesseals</i> <i>enterferir</i>
<i>fermals <u>broches</u></i> (ME ‘brooches, necklaces, collars’) 451	<i>monilibus</i>	<i>fermails</i>
<i>un vesture pur un chapellain .i. <u>ephot</u></i> 453-54	<i>ephod</i>	<i>ephot</i>
<i>l’allier <u>peveporn</u></i> (ME ‘thornbush’) 494	<i>ramnum</i>	<i>l’allier</i>
<i>ma veale <u>vitula</u></i> (L ‘calf, heifer’) 797	<i>vitula mea</i>	<i>ma veal</i>
<i>lia ... en la meiene</i> in margin: <i>brondes</i> (ME ‘torches’) 810	<i>faces</i> (var. <i>fascas</i> , <i>facies</i>) <i>ligavit in medio</i>	<i>lya des lieures et tisouns en mylieu</i>
<i>mistrent l’aseure <u>chalf of pe legge</u></i> (ME ‘calf of the leg’) <i>sur le quisse</i> 820	<i>suram femori</i> <i>inponerent</i>	<i>a lour quisses</i>
<i>la Jowe <u>maxilla</u></i> (L ‘jawbone’) 823	<i>Maxilla</i>	<i>la Jowe</i>
<i>ly filz en lei <u>gener</u></i> (L, ME? ‘son-in-law’) 1010	<i>gener</i>	<i>il come frere</i>
<i>pailles <u>chaffes</u></i> (ME ‘chaff’) 1042	<i>paleas</i>	(omitted)
<i>en le southlyme <u>presshewald</u></i> (ME ‘threshold’) 1062-63	<i>in limine</i>	<i>en terre</i>

²¹ Léglu 2016, p. 141.

<i>ly sacrifices holocausta</i> (L ‘burnt offerings’) 1119	<i>holocausta</i>	<i>sacrifices</i>
<i>peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas</i> (L ‘peace offerings’) 1119-20	<i>pacificas victimas</i>	<i>peisibles offrendes</i>
<i>peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas</i> (L ‘peace offerings’) 1176	<i>pacificas victimas</i>	<i>peisibles sacrifices</i>

There are several examples here of glosses supplementing problematic renderings of the Vulgate text. AN *allier* 494 (AND s.v. *alier* ‘service tree, mulberry tree’) makes for an unexpected rendering of *V ramnum* (‘thorn or bramble bush’). The ME gloss *beveþorn* (‘thornbush’) surely comes closer to capturing the sense of the Latin. Similarly, glosses are found in *L* where the translator appears to have used one word instead of two (*tresbuchantz* 245) or to have resorted to circumlocution (*un vesture pur un chapellain* 453-54). Support may also be found here for Nobel’s suggestion that French that is obscure, ambiguous or newly coined receives a gloss. AN *veale* 797, a feminine form of *veel*, is listed in FEW as a fourteenth-century hapax (XIV, 547: **vitellus*), its rarity perhaps prompting the addition of *V*’s *vitula* (‘heifer’). AN *pailles* 1042 is ambiguous insofar as it might mean ‘straw’ or ‘chaff’; the ME gloss specifies that the latter is meant.

It is noteworthy that several of *L*’s Judges glosses occur in passages that present a challenge to any translator of the Vulgate (rather than one whose French was limited). The glossator, for example, was neither the first nor the last to be puzzled by Philistines forced by Samson to ‘lay their calves on their thighs’ (Judg 15. 8). AN *aseure* 820 (‘calf of the leg’) might also have been obscure enough a term to warrant the ME gloss here. Errors in the translator’s source may, of course, have compounded translation difficulties. See, for example, the variant readings recorded in the ‘Rome’ edition of the Vulgate (*VB*) corresponding to lines 235 and 810.

Some of the discrepancies between *L* and *P* where the text is glossed in *L* are highly suggestive. The *P* scribe sometimes seems to resort to guesswork (e.g., 131, 810, 1010, 1062-63). Some of these solutions, such as *escauberk* (‘scabbard’) for *V sagum* (‘cloak, mantle’), are not entirely illogical, but they nonetheless represent a significant departure from the Latin. It seems plausible to suggest that, in such cases, blanks may have been left in the common ancestor of *L* and *P*, perhaps where the Vulgate posed particular difficulty for the translator(s), and that the *L* and *P* scribes found different solutions, the one supplying an AN rendering facilitated by a multilingual gloss, the other hazarding a guess without always having further recourse to *V*.

Berger considered *L* a fifteenth-century production, but an earlier date of the first half to middle of the fourteenth century has been given in more recent scholarship.²² It was without doubt made in England. At some point in the fifteenth century the volume was held at Reading Abbey: an inscription on fol. 1r reads *Hic est liber monachorum claustraliu[m] de Redyng*. From Reading it entered the Royal Library during the reign of Henry VIII, probably before the Dissolution.²³ Although Berger suggested that a Reading monk was likely to have been responsible for the translation, and Nobel that *L* may have

²² Berger 1884, p. 231. A date in the earlier half of the fourteenth century is given in Anna C. Paues (ed.), *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. xix. Pierre Nobel suggests a date in the first half or middle of the century in ‘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, p. 453; Wanono follows suit (p. 211). Léglu opts for c. 1350 (2016, p. 133).

²³ James P. Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London: British Library, 2000), p. xxxvi.

been copied at Reading, these remain conjectures.²⁴ As Léglu notes, '[o]wner inscriptions show that Reading Abbey acquired a large number of manuscripts from private hands in the later Middle Ages'.²⁵ *L* has tended to be viewed in scholarship as a monastic 'study aid' that would have facilitated access to the text of the Latin Vulgate.²⁶ This position, however, has recently been challenged by Léglu, who likens *L*, in terms of its size and lack of paratexts, to two-volume Bibles designed for secular audiences.²⁷ If a non-monastic readership is to be envisaged for *L*, given the glosses it must have been one that was expected to care about even minor departures from the text of the Latin Vulgate. That would have been highly unusual for a lay audience, to say the least.

With dimensions of 530 x 360 mm, *P* is a particularly large in-folio volume of 417 parchment folios. Folio numbers (roman numerals) in purple ink are present on verso sides. Several scribes were responsible for its text, copied in a neat *textualis* in double columns of c. 61 lines. There are no glosses. *P* is considerably more ornately decorated than *L*.²⁸ Chapters in *P* are marked by initials in gold, red, white, blue and pink, with vine extensions. Chapter numbers are given in red and running heads in red and purple. Seventy-eight large historiated initials and four miniatures mark the beginning of individual books (and particular psalms), with partial borders and vine tendrils supporting birds and grotesques and sometimes incorporating coats-of-arms (see *infra*). The beginning of Judges is marked on fol. 69r with a historiated initial depicting an enthroned king before a crowd in the upper register, and Judah and Simeon forging their alliance in the lower. Berger characterized the illuminations as 'assez grandes mais fort laides'.²⁹ Avril and Stirnemann are kinder, noting their 'conception assez naïve', but suggesting that the artist 'a forgé une iconographie nominaliste fort intéressante à partir du début du texte de chaque livre'.³⁰ More recently, Kathryn A. Smith has gone considerably further towards rehabilitating the manuscript's 'ingenious' artwork, '[b]y turns historical, exegetical, didactic, political, devotional, visionary, and even medical'.³¹

As Berger noted, *P*'s decoration incorporates the coats-of-arms of four noble families with interests in Lincolnshire and the north of England, those of Welles, Bardolf, Ros and Badlesmere.³² To him, this indicated that the volume was intended for John, fourth Baron Welles (born in 1333/34 to Adam de Welles and Margaret de Bardolf) and his wife Maud (daughter of William, third Baron Ros and Margaret de Badlesmere).³³ John and Maud were married and had a son (also John) by 1350. That the elder John died in 1361 would suggest a date of production for *P* of between c. 1350 and 1361.

²⁴ Berger 1884, p. 236; Pierre Nobel, 'La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acree: question de source', in *L'Histoire littéraire: ses méthodes et ses résultats. Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Bertaud*, ed. Luc Fraisse (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 429-48 (p. 431); Nobel 2002, p. 452; Pierre Nobel, 'La Bible de Jean de Sy et la Bible anglo-normande', *Florilegium*, 24 (2007), 81-107 (p. 85).

²⁵ Léglu 2016, p. 133.

²⁶ *L* is referred to as a 'study aid' in Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 67. Nobel suspects *L* was made 'pour l'étude des moines' (2002, p. 471); Wanono, too (pp. 212-13). It is called 'une Bible de travail pour un clerc' in Tatiana Romashkina, 'La Bible anglo-normande: traduction et adaptation à la croisée de facteurs socioculturels', *Questes*, 38 (2018), 43-62 (p. 58).

²⁷ Léglu 2016, p. 138.

²⁸ For comprehensive description, see Avril and Stirnemann, pp. 157-60.

²⁹ Berger 1884, p. 230.

³⁰ Avril and Stirnemann, p. 159.

³¹ Smith, pp. 109, 98.

³² Berger 1884, p. 230.

³³ On these families, see G. E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 8 vols (London: G. Bell, 1887-1898), VI, 401; and VIII, 76.

Noting the woman at prayer depicted in the upper margin of fol. 1r, Léglu wondered whether Maud was the primary recipient of the volume.³⁴ Smith, in her recent study of *P*'s artwork, accords Maud a different—and even more significant—role. In the ‘Welles-Ros Bible’, as Smith terms *P*, Biblical history becomes family history, the heraldic decoration transforming scripture into ‘an account of the Welles barons’ past, present, and hoped-for future’.³⁵ In the king before his subjects in the historiated initial introducing Judges, for example, Smith sees the king of England summoning his barons; in the two brothers, Simeon and Judah, united against the Canaanites, she sees Robert, second Baron Welles and his younger brother Adam, the third baron, united against the Scots.³⁶ The recipient of the Bible, Smith argues, partly on the basis of terms included in a glossed Hebrew alphabet on fols 258v-259r, was not Maud but her son, John, the fifth baron.³⁷ This could point to a later date for *P*, most likely after Maud obtained her son’s wardship (that is, after c. 1366).³⁸ Maud’s role, for Smith, is revealed in, among other details, the small initial depicting Jerome addressing a female patron at the beginning of the Esther prologue on fol. 152v: Maud commissioned both *P* as a material artefact and the particular recension of the text it preserves.³⁹ Smith finds clues as to the identity of Maud’s fourteenth-century Jerome in the clerics and acolytes depicted on fols 177v and 179v wearing white habits. She suggests that ‘a Carmelite chaplain both composed the translation and contributed to the shape of the Bible’s visual program’.⁴⁰

The Welles family were evidently bookish. The early-fourteenth-century volume known as the ‘Welles Apocalypse’ (London, British Library, Royal MS 15 D II) was certainly in their possession in the fifteenth century, and may have entered the family collection ‘as part of a bride’s dower about 1315’.⁴¹ A fifteenth-century booklist in this volume and a 1430 inventory made at the manor of Belleau detail a wide range of reading material in French and English, secular and pious. The 1430 inventory records an old chest with a Bible and a book of civil law stored in the chapel.⁴² The second of these was in French (London, British Library, Royal MS 20 D IX), but the Bible cannot be securely identified as *P*.

By the late fifteenth century, *P* was in the library of Louis de Bruges (c. 1427-1492), who had his own blazon painted at the base of fol. 1r. This, in turn, was overpainted with the French royal arms when the volume was acquired by Louis XII of France (1462-1515).⁴³ The current red leather binding also bears the royal arms, in gold tool-work.

Sources and influence of the Anglo-Norman Bible’s book of Judges

Whereas most medieval vernacularizers of the Bible did not hesitate to adapt the text ‘pour le gloser, l’embellir ou accentuer son impact moral’, the translator (or translators) responsible for the ANB

³⁴ Léglu 2016, p. 131.

³⁵ Smith, pp. 113-14.

³⁶ Smith, p. 110. On the literal level, Smith suggests the king might be read as Joshua instead of King Adoni-bezek (cf. Avril and Stirnemann, p. 157).

³⁷ Smith, pp. 103-07.

³⁸ Smith, p. 107.

³⁹ Smith, pp. 98-100.

⁴⁰ Smith, p. 107.

⁴¹ Mary Hamel, ‘Arthurian Romance in Fifteenth-Century Lindsey: The Books of the Lords Welles’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 51 (1990), 341-61 (p. 352).

⁴² Hamel, pp. 349-50; Smith, p. 121, n. 143.

⁴³ Avril and Stirnemann, p. 159.

remained remarkably faithful to the letter of Jerome’s Vulgate.⁴⁴ Nobel finds the ANB’s vocabulary and syntax so Latinate that the text, in places, becomes ‘incompréhensible en l’absence de la source qui donne le sens’.⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the profusion of manuscripts preserving the Vulgate and the fact that modern critical editions privilege the earliest witnesses, this servility might at least give an editor some glimmer of hope of being able to establish the family of manuscripts to which the ANB’s Latin source-text belonged.

Berger noted that the chapter divisions in the two surviving ANB manuscripts were those of the ‘Paris Bible’, produced commercially in large numbers from the early thirteenth century. By c. 1230 the chapter divisions of the Paris Bible had become the norm.⁴⁶ The Paris Bible, however, was not the source of the ANB’s text, according to Berger; rather, the ANB represented ‘les derniers éclats de l’ancien texte irlandais’.⁴⁷ Berger did not expand on what he meant here, but Ratcliff interprets his remark as a suggestion that the ANB’s source-text included interpolations from the pre-Jerome Old Latin text, a particular characteristic of Irish-type manuscripts.⁴⁸ Comparison of the ANB’s book of Judges to the so-called ‘Rome’ edition of the Latin Vulgate (*VB*) suggests that the ANB’s source-text had readings unique to several of the major families of manuscripts established by the Benedictine editors. A small number of readings plausibly point to an influence of pre-Jerome or ‘mixed’ families (traditionally labelled with the sigla $\Lambda\Sigma\Pi$):

ANB (<i>L</i>)	Vulgate (<i>V</i>)	Pre-Jerome variants in <i>VB</i>
<i>touz ces maux</i> 283	<i>haec omnia</i>	<i>haec omnia mala</i> ($CA^LX\Sigma$)
<i>dire</i> 652	<i>docere</i>	<i>dicere</i> (Λ^{H2})
<i>il vint</i> 666	<i>venias</i>	<i>venisset</i> (Λ^H)
<i>od sa line</i> 865	<i>putamine</i>	<i>stamine</i> ($\Lambda^L\Sigma M^*$)

Meyer noted similarities between the ANB’s book of Genesis and what has become known in scholarship as the Acre Bible.⁴⁹ The latter has survived in three copies in French—two produced in Acre in the thirteenth century—and in Occitan translation.⁵⁰ In a series of articles and in the introduction to

⁴⁴ Claude Buridant, ‘Translatio medievalis: théorie et pratique de la traduction médiévale’, *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature*, 21 (1983), 81-136 (p. 136).

⁴⁵ Nobel 2002, p. 459.

⁴⁶ Berger 1884, p. 236. On the ‘Paris Bible’, see Laura Light, ‘The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-Century Paris Bible’, in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 228-46; and Frans van Liere, ‘The Latin Bible, c. 900 to the Council of Trent, 1546’, in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2*, pp. 93-109.

⁴⁷ Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), p. 30. On the Irish Bible, see Raphael Loewe, ‘The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate’, in *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 2: The West, from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 102-54 (esp. pp. 128-33).

⁴⁸ Ratcliff, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁴⁹ Paul Meyer, Review of *La Bible au Moyen Age* by Samuel Berger, and *Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen Age*, by Jean Bonnard, *Romania*, 17 (1888), 121-44 (p. 137).

⁵⁰ The witnesses in French are Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 5211 (the ‘Arsenal Bible’ made in Acre for King Louis IX, c. 1250-1254); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions françaises MS 1404 (also produced in Acre, c. 1280); and Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 3 (a fourteenth-century copy of NAF 1404). The Occitan text is preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 2426. On the Acre manuscripts, see Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, with contributions from Francis Wormald (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 67, 96; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d’Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton: Princeton University

his edition of the Acre Bible's Books of Genesis and Exodus, Pierre Nobel has argued that the resemblance between the ANB and the Acre Bible also extends to Exodus and Judges.⁵¹ The direction of influence is clear to him: 'Il est [...] indéniable qu'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'.⁵² This would suggest that the ANB (or something very like it) was completed by 1254 at the latest, the date of the earliest extant manuscript of the Acre Bible.

The Acre Bible's book of Judges complicates Nobel's theory. The Judges text in the Acre Bible also survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 6447, a compilation of biblical history and saints' lives produced in northern France c. 1275, and in a fragment now in the Gardner A. Sage Library, dated c. 1200 and probably of English origin.⁵³ A rhymed prologue of 148 octosyllabic lines, present only in NAF 1404 and Condé 3, reveals the circumstances of production of this translation: it was made at the request of *Maistre Richart et frere Othon*, now identified as Richard of Hastings, First Master of the Temple in England c. 1155-c. 1177, and Odon of Saint-Omer, a Provincial Master of the Temple before 1155.⁵⁴ The prologue presents the book of Judges as a model for the Knights Templar whom Richard and Odon lead. Full of examples of men who risk life and limb to defend Christendom, this is a text in which the Templars *molt porront grant bien trover / De cens et de bele voudie / Qu'afiert a lor chevalerie*.⁵⁵ Nobel states that, like the Acre Bible, '[I]a *Bible anglo-normande* des mss L et P utilise le même texte des Juges qui date du XII^e'.⁵⁶ He remains unsure, however, whether the Acre Bible draws directly on the Templar text or incorporates it via the ANB.⁵⁷

A sense of the similarities and differences between the ANB's Judges and the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Judges (ANJ) utilised in the Acre Bible can be gleaned from the extract given in Appendix A, which relates the Israelites' successful bid to lure the Benjamites away from the city of Gibeah (Judg 20. 40-48). Barring the omission in NAF 1404 of Judg 20. 41-42 and the commonplace corruption of numerals, the Gardner Sage fragment and the Acre Bible preserve much the same text. For this passage at least, if the ANB were among the source-texts for the Acre Bible, any significant influence must have occurred by the turn of the thirteenth century (the date of the fragment's production), if not by the mid-twelfth century (the date of the ANJ's production). This would push back the generally accepted date of the ANB quite considerably.

It is certainly possible to pick out superficial similarities in word-choice and phrasing between the ANB and the ANJ. See, for example, the italicized words in Appendix A. The two vernacular texts, however, clearly entertain different relationships to the Latin Vulgate. The translator (or translators) of the ANB sought to capture every word of the Latin, down to the most minor conjunction. Its syntax is

Press, 1976), pp. 74-75; and Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 282-95, 414-16.

⁵¹ Nobel 2001; Nobel 2002, p. 454; Pierre Nobel (ed.), *La Bible d'Acre: Genèse et Exode. Édition critique d'après les manuscrits BNF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 et Arsenal 5211* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2006), p. xxxiii.

⁵² Nobel 2001, p. 445.

⁵³ For a synoptic edition of this Judges text that presents all manuscripts apart from the fragment, see [André] d'Albon (ed.), *Le Livre des Juges: les cinq textes de la version française faite au XII^e siècle pour les chevaliers du Temple* (Lyon: A. Rey, 1913). For the fragment (no. 444.1 in Dean and Boulton), see Gerald A. Bertin and Alfred Foulet, 'The Book of Judges in Old French Prose: The Gardner A. Sage Library Fragment', *Romania*, 90 (1969), 121-31.

⁵⁴ D'Albon, p. 1 (v. 6). On the identity of the patrons, see Bertin and Foulet; and K. V. Sinclair, 'The Earliest Old French *Livre des Juges*: A Note on the Translator and his Patrons', *Neophilologus*, 81 (1997), 349-54.

⁵⁵ D'Albon, p. 1 (vv. 40-42).

⁵⁶ Nobel 2001, p. 447.

⁵⁷ Nobel 2001, p. 446.

highly Latinate. By contrast, the twelfth-century translator who worked for the Templars took rather more liberties with the Latin. Some material has been rearranged (part of Judg 20. 41 appearing before 20. 40, for example). Some information has been condensed (e.g., *furent occis* for *V's ceciderunt atque prostrati sunt*, Judg 20. 43), or omitted altogether (e.g., *mensibus quattuor*, Judg 20. 47). There is a general tendency, however, to augment. This commonly takes the form of binomials (e.g., *occis e mort* for *V's percusserunt*, Judg 20. 48). But even in this extract we might point to several additions that serve to clarify the Latin text. It is towards their pursuers (*vers cels ki chacé les orent*) that the Benjamites look in the ANJ (Judg 20. 41, but here 20. 40). The Benjamites scatter in several directions because there is nowhere *que cil d'Israel ne lur corussent sure* (Judg 20. 45). It is to the city of Gibeah that the Israelites return (Judg 20. 48). In respect of the book of Joshua, Pitts refers to the text of *L* and that of the Acre Bible as belonging to 'different genres'.⁵⁸ The same may be said of Judges, the one a remarkably close translation, the other interpolating a twelfth-century text with a tendency towards small-scale explanatory gloss.

If the ANB were a source for the Acre Bible's Judges, it might be expected that some of the errors in the former would have crept into the latter. If the two vernacular texts of Judges are compared to the Vulgate text of the Stuttgart edition, the ANB and Acre Bible appear to preserve several common errors:

Vulgate (V)	ANB	Acre Bible (NAF 1404, ed. d'Albon)
<i>et clementia in fortes</i> (var. <i>portis</i>) <i>Israhel</i> (Judg 5. 11)	<i>et sa deboneiretee en les portes</i> (MS) <i>de Israel</i> 224	<i>et sa pitié as portes d'Israel</i> (p. 18)
<i>cur adprehenderunt nos haec omnia</i> (var. <i>haec omnia mala</i>) (Judg 6. 13)	<i>por quei nous ount pris touz ces maux?</i> 283	<i>por quoy nos aprientent tant maus de toutes ces choses que nous souffrons?</i> (p. 21)
omitted (but var. <i>et cum reversus fuero victor in pace</i>) (Judg 8. 7)	<i>Com jeo avera returnee venquiour en pees</i> 418	<i>et que je puisse retourner venqueor de mes henemis</i> (p. 28)
<i>egrediaturque ignis de viris Sychem et de oppido Mello et devoret Abimelech</i> (but var. om.) (Judg 9. 20)	(omitted)	(omitted)
<i>abiit ergo Gaal spectante</i> (var. <i>expectante</i>) <i>Sycimarum populo</i> (Judg 9. 39)	<i>Lors s'en vait Gaal, le poeple dé Sichimiens attendaunt</i> 541-42	<i>Atant c'est Gaal tornés et vint au pueple de Siccimam que il atendoit</i> (p. 37)
<i>quia de altera</i> (var. <i>adultera</i>) <i>matre generatus es</i> (Judg 11. 2)	<i>pur ceo qe tu es engendree de mere avoutiere</i> 611-12	<i>por ce que avoutire estes et de mere soignante</i> (p. 42)
<i>angelus Domini in flamma pariter ascendit</i> (Judg 12. 6)	<i>le angel adecertes mountast ensemment en la flamble</i> 747-78	<i>et li angeles ensemment en cele flambe meismes monta</i> (p. 50)
<i>quod mel de corpore</i> (var. <i>ore</i>) <i>leonis adsumperat</i> (Judg 14. 9)	<i>qe il out pris le meel de la bouche du leon</i> 775-76	<i>que il eust pris de la bouche au lyon</i> (p. 52)

As the variant readings recorded in the Rome edition of the Vulgate (VB) attest, however, almost all of the 'errors' apparently shared by the ANB and the Acre Bible are present in witnesses of the Latin

⁵⁸ Pitts, *Joshua*, p. 145.

Vulgate. Rather than offering evidence that the ANB was used as a source for the Acre Bible, they might alternatively point to similar Latin source-texts.

For Nobel, the notion that the Acre Bible influenced the ANB was ‘en aucun cas envisageable’.⁵⁹ We might nonetheless speculate, if only for a moment, that the translator (or translators) responsible for the ANB consulted a copy of the twelfth-century Templar Judges during the translation process. If they did, however, they did not always heed its lessons. In the following cases, the ANB departs from the text of the Vulgate (and indeed from variants recorded by the Benedictines), while the Acre Bible records the correct reading:

Vulgate (V)	ANB	Acre Bible (NAF 1404, ed. d’Albon)
<i>erat autem Debbora prophetis uxor Lapidoth quae iudicabat populum in illo tempore (Judg 4. 4)</i>	<i>Et Delbora prophetesce estoit la femme de Lapidoth lequel (MS) a cel temps juggea le poeple 163-64</i>	<i>A ycel tens que Sisarra travailla le pueple Deu fu dame Delbora pros, qui fu uxor Lapideth. Ceste fut prophete et maistre a toz les fiz Israel. Si justisa le pueple a cel tens par bon example et par doctrine. (p. 15)</i>
<i>et stetit in vertice montis Garizim (Judg 9. 7)</i>	<i>et estuet el haterel de la mountaigne de Garizim 481-82</i>	<i>et ce mist au somet dou mont que Gazarim est només (p. 34)</i>
<i>deverteruntque ad eam ut manerent ibi (Judg 19. 15)</i>	<i>Et cil devindrent a cele q’il remaindroient illoeqe 1033</i>	<i>si tornerent cele part (p. 65)</i>

In sum, it is difficult to argue for more than a superficial resemblance between the ANB’s book of Judges and that of the Acre Bible. The date of the ANB’s production cannot be brought forward to the thirteenth century (or indeed to the twelfth century) on the basis of the use of the ANB’s Judges by other translators.

As for the influence of the ANB on the fourteenth-century *Bible de Jean de Sy*, however, we are on firmer ground. A Parisian theologian, Jean de Sy (‘Johannes de Siaco’) was commissioned to produce a translation of the Bible by the French king John II the Good (1319-1364). Jean seems to have taken his translation at least as far as Jeremiah 18: the Louvre inventory of 1373 records two volumes of a *Bible faite par maistre Jehan de Sy, du commandement du roy Jehan* (from the Pentateuch to Judg 1 and from the Wisdom books to Jeremiah 18), as well as 62 unbound quires of the same translation.⁶⁰ The *Bible de Jean de Sy*, however, has only come down to us in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 15397, which preserves Genesis 8 to the end of Deuteronomy. This volume includes mention of the years 1355 and 1356.⁶¹

It was Berger who first hypothesized that the *Bible de Jean de Sy* was, ‘en grande partie, pas autre chose qu’une excellente révision de la Bible anglo-normande’.⁶² Tesnière considered the *Bible de Jean de Sy* to be independent of earlier translations, but studies by Nobel and Wanono have lent support to

⁵⁹ Nobel 2001, p. 431.

⁶⁰ Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale (later nationale)*, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie impériale [later ‘nationale’], 1868-1881), III (1881), p. 117 (nos 31 and 32).

⁶¹ On fols 155r and 156r respectively. See Nobel 2007, p. 85.

⁶² Berger 1884, p. 243.

Berger's conjecture.⁶³ Jean made use of the ANB, as well as the Vulgate and perhaps also the *Historia scholastica*.⁶⁴ His reasons for drawing on an Anglo-Norman source, rather than, say, the widely available *Bible du XIII^e siècle*, have been the subject of much discussion. Meyer refused to believe Jean would have sought a model in England. If he used the ANB, then it must have been a continental production.⁶⁵ Since Delisle, it has been noted that John II the Good would have had ample opportunity to acquire a copy of the ANB: after being defeated at the Battle of Poitiers in September 1356, the French king was held captive at various locations in England until 1360.⁶⁶ Léglu goes further, suggesting that Jean de Sy would only have used the ANB if he himself were working away from Paris: she hypothesizes that Jean joined the French king's court-in-exile in late 1356.⁶⁷

If Jean de Sy drew on the ANB, his Bible provides us with a more stable *terminus ante quem* for the ANB's Judges than the approximate dates of production of manuscripts *L* and *P* alone: the ANB must have been completed by 1356. The *Bible de Jean de Sy* also points to the existence of a further ANB witness that has not survived: on the basis of errors and lacunae Nobel concluded that '[a]ucun des deux manuscrits existant actuellement de la [ANB] n'a [...] servi de modèle à Jean de Sy'.⁶⁸ If this is true, there must once have been at least three different manuscripts of the ANB's Judges, in the hands of three very different audiences: the monks of Reading, Lincolnshire-based nobility, and a royal theologian from Paris.

Comparison of manuscripts L and P

Samuel Berger considered manuscript *L* to be 'certainement plus correct et d'un meilleur langage que la grande Bible de Paris' (i.e. *P*).⁶⁹ Scholars working since have agreed that *L* preserves a text that is both closer to the original translation and more carefully copied, or as Nobel has put it 'plus authentique'.⁷⁰ The *P*-redactor may have attempted to produce a 'better' text than the one surviving in *L*—one less Latinate in terms of lexis and syntax—but these efforts sometimes backfired.⁷¹ In the inventory of medieval translations supervised by Galderisi, *P*'s text is described, simply enough, as 'souvent corrompu'.⁷²

The chapter segmentation for Judges is the same in *L* and *P*, with two exceptions: in *L* chapter IX begins at Judg 8. 33 (line 463), while in *P* it begins at Judg 8. 29 (line 458), and in *P* the beginning of chapter X is delayed to Judg 10. 3 (line 580). *P*'s chapters IX and X correspond to the beginning of new chapters in several families of the Vulgate ($\Delta FT \Phi \Omega^M$).

⁶³ M.-H. Tesnière, 'Bible de Jean de Sy', in *Dieu en son royaume: La Bible dans la France d'autrefois, XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles*, ed. François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale / Cerf, 1991), p. 15; Nobel 2007; Wanono 2008.

⁶⁴ Nobel 2007, p. 104.

⁶⁵ Meyer, p. 138.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Delisle 1881, III:117 n. 32; Ratcliff, p. xxxi; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 179; and Wanono, p. 206.

⁶⁷ Léglu 2016, pp. 141-43.

⁶⁸ Nobel 2007, p. 97.

⁶⁹ Berger 1884, p. 231.

⁷⁰ Nobel 2007, p. 85. See also Paues, p. xix; Wanono, p. 208; and Romashkina, p. 48.

⁷¹ Nobel 2007, p. 85; Romashkina, pp. 55-58; and Thierry Revol, 'Traduire un texte sacré. Analyses syntaxiques de la *Bible anglo-normande*', *Linx*, 78 (2019), where the *P*-redactor's efforts are described as 'quelquefois désastreux' (para. 1).

⁷² Claudio Galderisi (ed.), *Translations médiévales: cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles). Étude et répertoire*, with the assistance of Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), II.i, p. 126.

The extracts supplied in Appendix B provide insight into the textual similarities and differences between the two surviving witnesses of the ANB's Judges. In sum, *L* and *P* can be said to preserve a similar word-for-word rendering of the Vulgate. The text of *L* is by no means error-free, e.g., *en son lieu de souper pur yverne* (MS) for *V*'s *in aestivo coenaculo* (Judg 3. 20, cf. *P en une sale de estee*). Some of its errors appear to be those of a translator, e.g., *jeo moy excuseroi* for *V me excutiam* (Judg 16. 20, 'I will shake myself free'; cf. *P moy defenderoi*), or *en la unccioun tresgrasse* for *V pinguisimo adipe* (Judg 3. 22, 'very thick fat'; cf. *P del tresgras suet*).⁷³ Errors in *P*, by contrast, are more obviously those of a copyist, e.g., *choses* for *V choris* (Judg 11. 34; cf. *L chores*), *les eawes del Jordan* for *V vada Jordanis* (Judg 12. 5, 'the fords of the Jordan'; cf. *L lé wees de Jordan*), omission of *L ceo qe jeo pri: Moi lais* (Judg 11. 37, through eyeskip). The *P*-redactor tended to make minor additions (e.g., *V aperientes P cil en overauntz le huis*, Judg 3. 25; *V in tempore ejus P en la temple de son chief*, Judg 4. 22), and to deviate more readily from the word order of the Latin (e.g., Judg 3. 19, 12. 4, 16. 19). Occasionally *P*'s reordering impinges on sense, e.g., in the description of the Spirit of the Lord descending upon Jephthah at Judg 11. 29, where the second occurrence of *V Galaad* is displaced to later in the verse in *P*.⁷⁴ The text of *P*, moreover, reveals a concerted (though not unfailing) effort on the part of a redactor to render Latinate features of the *L* text into more standard AN. *L*'s many calques on the ablative absolutes and other participle phrases of the Vulgate text are particular targets here. Compare, for example, *L Les huis del cenacle clos ententivement* with *P Ahot ententivement clost les huis de la sale* (*V clausis diligentissime ostiis coenaculi*, Judg 3. 23); or *L Et Jahel en issue... ly dist* with *P Et Jahel en est issue... et ly dist* (*V egressaque Jahel... dixit ei*, Judg 4. 22). Similarly, where *L* tends to preserve future perfect forms found in Latin after *cum* or *si*, the redactor of the *P* text favours the future or present, e.g., *L com ascun avera venuz P com ascun vendra* (*V cum venerit aliquis*, Judg 4. 20), and *L Si tu averas baillee les filz P Si tu bailles les filz* (*V si tradideris filios*, Judg 11. 30). Much more rarely, the more Latinate syntax is found in *P* rather than *L*, e.g., *P et trestouz issuz* for *V egressisque omnibus* (Judg 3. 19; cf. *L et trestouz issirent*).

Divergences in word-choice between *L* and *P* in the extracts given in Appendix B are plentiful. Variants are often synonymous, e.g., *L forciblement P vigerosement* (*V valide*, Judg 3. 22), *L paille P mauntel* (*V pallio*, Judg 4. 18), *L chief P teste* (*V capitis* Judg 4. 21). The equivalent word or expression in *P*, however, is routinely less precise, e.g., *L le fauchoun* ('dagger') *P la speei* ('sword') (*V sicam* 'dagger', Judg 3. 21), *L cenacle P sale* (*V coenaculi*, Judg 3. 23, 3. 24), *L jeo m'en isseroi P jeo m'en irroi* (*V egrediar*, Judg 16. 20). Some of the variant readings in *P* can be understood as alternative, and in some cases equally valid, renderings of the Latin. Consider, for example, *L prist le fauchoun P mist la speei* (*V tulit sicam*, Judg 3. 21, where *tulit* might be rendered 'he removed' or 'he put on') and *L en la couche de estee* (MS *el lit estyval*) *P en la sale de estee* (*V in aestivo cubiculo*, Judg 3. 24, where *cubiculo* could be interpreted as 'bed' and 'chamber'). See also the table of contrastive word-choices in *L* and *P* given in Appendix C.

Our impression that the redactor of the *P* text consulted a copy of the Vulgate is confirmed when we look beyond the extracts of Appendix B. Readings in *P* point to a redactor who interpreted the same Latin text differently from the *L* redactor, e.g., *V arte* (Judg 20. 32) is taken to be an adverb in *L* (*fortment* 1131) and as the ablative of *ars* ('with guile') in *P* (*par quointise*). The redactor of the *P* text, moreover, was able to correct translation errors present in *L*, correctly rendering, for example, *V racemus* (Judg 8. 2) as *raysyn* (*L braunche* 404 probably renders *ramus*) and *V tumbant* (Judg 8. 3) as *emflerent* (*L se*

⁷³ AN *unccioun* is unattested in AND (s.v. *unciun*) and FEW (XIV, 28: *unctio*) as 'bodily fat', the sense of *adipe* in the Latin here.

⁷⁴ *Galaad* here is actually a genitive form, but this does not seem to have been grasped in either *L* or *P*.

doutoient 407 no doubt renders *timebant*).⁷⁵ He also appears to have made his own translation errors, e.g., *Vfunditus* (Judg 7. 13; ‘completely’) becomes *foundement*.

Ratcliff was led to believe, in respect of the ANB’s book of Acts, that the text of *P* had been revised ‘in conjunction with a copy of the Vulgate which was not identical with the one used for the initial translation’.⁷⁶ This holds for Judges, too. It is clear from these examples that the *P* redactor consulted a Latin manuscript that was not the one originally used for the translation:

Vulgate (V)	Variant reading in ‘Rome’ edition (VB)	ANB (L)	ANB (P)
<i>vacabat</i> (Judg 5. 17)	<i>vagabat</i>	<i>dona entent a</i> 237	<i>s’en vait des</i>
<i>aut docere potes</i> (Judg 11. 25)	<i>aut dicere potes</i>	<i>ou tu pusses dire</i> 652	<i>ou qe pusses aprendre</i>
<i>per trecentos annos</i> (Judg 11. 26)	<i>per .CCCC. annos</i>	<i>par trent ans</i> (MS) 654	<i>par quatre centz ans</i>
<i>vinciri debeas</i> (Judg 16.13)	<i>vinceri debeas</i>	<i>tu en ers liez</i> 874	<i>tu deives estre vencuz</i>
<i>palantes</i> (Judg 20. 45)	<i>latentes</i>	<i>soi estapissauntz</i> 1161	<i>pursuiauntz</i>

The *P* redactor may have produced a text that, in places, muddies the sense of the Vulgate. But to describe that text as ‘souvent corrompu’ obscures the fact that, at least intermittently, he was drawing upon a Latin source to improve his model as best he could.

That the Vulgate was consulted in the redaction of both the *L* and *P* texts complicates any attempt to determine the relationship of these witnesses to each other and to the original translation. With a copy of the Vulgate at hand, a redactor would have been able to correct the errors and fill in the textual lacunae of his vernacular source-text. It seems likely, however, that the text preserved in *L*, with its Latinate lexis and syntax, reflects the original translation more closely than *P*, whose text has been ‘improved’, but only patchily. Translation errors in *L* but not *P* suggest that *P* was not consulted in the redaction of *L*. That the text of *P* poses particular barriers to comprehension where *L* is glossed with the Vulgate text suggests that *L* itself was not used in the redaction of *P*. It seems plausible, however, that the text that the *P* redactor used as his source was highly similar to *L*.

Language

Orthography

The characteristic late AN graphy *-aun*, reflecting velarization of /a/ before nasals, dominates in the ANB’s book of Judges, e.g., in *viaunde(s)* 12, 902, 938 etc. (but *viande(s)* 357, 1048), *enfaunt* 363, 426, 440 etc. (but *enfant* 365), and *aunz* 155, 579, 713 etc. (but *anz* 77, 117, 122 etc.). P.pr. forms (*disauntz* 2, *baillaunt* 15, *issaunt* 40 etc.) provide hundreds of additional examples.⁷⁷ Likewise, there is a marked preference for *-oun* (over *-un* or *-on*), a graphy commonplace in AN by the mid-fourteenth century. Consider, for example, *mountaigne(s)* 16, 34, 58 etc., *countries* 602 (but *contrees* 32, 631, 647), and

⁷⁵ Neither *ramus* nor *timebant* is listed in the variants of the Benedictines’ ‘Rome’ edition of the OT Vulgate (VB).

⁷⁶ Ratcliff, p. cxxx.

⁷⁷ Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013), § 1.6.

occisioun 95, 188, 392 etc., and a host of ind.pr.6 and fut.6 forms (e.g., *sount* 88, 222, 229 etc.; *vount* 28, 73, 479 etc., but *vont* 634; and *averount* 350, 352, 1209 etc.).⁷⁸

In several monosyllabic words, a vowel before a single final consonant is doubled to indicate length. Falling into this category are *feer* 139, 883, *laas* 431, *meel* 773, 776, 796, *meer* 237, 368, *toor* 306, 309, 315, and *vaal* 325, 341, 855.⁷⁹ The older *ei* graphy is generally preferred to Continental *oi*, e.g., in *quei* 68, 234, 254 etc., *seif* 193, 841, 842, and *treis* 36, 354, 355 etc. Our scribe, however, tends to opt for *-oit* over *-eit* in ind.impf.3 and cond.3 forms (58 occurrences to 29) and *-oient* over *-eient* in ind.impf.6 and cond.6 (83 to 3).⁸⁰ Occasionally, the Old English digraph *ea* represents /ɛ/ where *ai* would be expected. Note *leat* 194, 249, and *eagrement* 615.⁸¹ Levelling of /ie/ to /e/ characteristic of AN occurs in, e.g., *manere* 44, 66, 197 etc. and *perre* ('stone') 297, 300, 308 etc., but note use of the digraph *ie* in *bier(s)* 23, 108, 273 etc. (as both subject and object), *pier* 24, 792 (alongside *pere(s)* 65, 79, 82 etc.), and *niefs* 237.⁸² Reduction of /ie/ to /i/ is suggested by *barbir* 890. Weakly stressed vowels are sometimes raised to /i/, particularly in contact with palatals. See, e.g., *chivaux* 244, *derichief* 712, 998, *liccherie* 1055, 1079.⁸³ The scribe makes frequent use, finally, of *y* for *i*, notably in the context of many minims (*chemyn* 23, 934, 952 etc., *mynuyt* 384, 852), but also in short words including *moy* 5, 12, 25 etc. (rarely *moi* 675), *ly* 8, 22, 23 etc. (rarely *li* 879), and *boys* 307, 310, 315 etc.⁸⁴

Hiatus between vowels is marked by *h*, e.g., in *ahournementz* 442, 447, *regehi* 886, representatives of *ahourer* 84, 92, 97 etc., and the names *Ahot* 127, 135, 137 etc. and *Jahel* 189, 191, 197 etc.⁸⁵ The letter *w*, meanwhile, serves as an intervocalic glide, e.g. in *clowe* 250, *nuwes* 213, *owailles* 268, *trowagers* 57, and representatives of *vower* 661, 679, 923.⁸⁶ An 'inorganic' *e* is inserted between consonantal groups, notably *v + r*, *cheverel(s)* 294, 740, 769 etc., *oevereigne* 75-76, 869, 1035 etc., and representatives of *deliverer* 90, 95, 118 etc., *ovrir* 145, 146, 194 etc., and *overer* 575, 826, 843. Svarabhaktic *e* is likewise encountered in future and conditional forms of *aver* 20, 21, 74 etc. and *saver* 332.⁸⁷

Our text furnishes ample evidence of doubled consonants, a characteristic graphemic feature of AN. Keeping it brief, we note *robb(e)auntz* 240, 613, *liccherie* 1055, 1079 (*-cc-* occurs particularly before *h*), *proffit* 933, *jugge(s)* 90, 94, 96 etc., *chapellain* 453-54, 937, 940 etc. (just one of hundreds examples of *-ll-*), *custumme* 107, 680, 956, representatives of *appeller* with *-pp-* 44, 164, 166 etc., and *curre(s)* 35, 162, 170.⁸⁸ Before /a/, *ch* is employed alongside *c*, e.g. *Chananeum* 3, 5, 7 etc. (but *Cananeu* 108) and *camel(e)s* 271, 367, 453 (but *chameux* 442).⁸⁹ The graphy *k* is for the most part restricted to final position, e.g., *cink* 108, 944, 955 etc., *sok* 157, *estomak* 1013, but we note also *karoles* 1208 (but *caroles* 519, 1215), *bokerel(l)* 740, 745, *pakels* 1038, and *wakerauntz* 476, 550.⁹⁰ Preconsonantal *l* tends to be

⁷⁸ Short, § 6.7, where *-oun* is said to be 'current by the middle of 14th century'.

⁷⁹ Short, § 3.5, 'under the influence of the ME system of vowel quality'.

⁸⁰ Short, § 12.1.

⁸¹ Short, § 3.6.

⁸² Short, § 9.

⁸³ Short, §§ 4.5*, 19.13.

⁸⁴ Short, § 8.1**, an orthographical trait that 'gains in popularity from the middle of the 13th century'.

⁸⁵ Short, § 19.3.

⁸⁶ Short, §§ 5.4, 19.3, 28.3.

⁸⁷ Short, § 19.11, the introduction of inorganic *e* dating 'from the first half of the 12th century'.

⁸⁸ Short, § 30.2.

⁸⁹ Short, § 26.1.

⁹⁰ Short, § 27.1.

retained, as in *haltesce(s)* 10, 11, 298 etc., *altier(s)* 67, 304, 307 etc., *alme(s)* 208, 238, 243 etc., *ciels* 213, *camels* 271, 453, and representatives of *voler* 47, 172, 640 etc. Note, however, the plural forms *chivaux* 244, *maux* 283, *noveux* 218, 585, 832 etc., *chameux* 442, and *queus* 76, 86, 109 etc.⁹¹

Final *s* and *z* are frequently confused, e.g. in *noz* 151, 284, 376 etc., *currez* 162 (*cures* at 35, 170, 181 etc.), and *secchez* 488 (*secches* 491, 861), and most notably in imper. forms such as *donez* 26, *entrez* 191, *prechez* 344 (all imper.2), and *aparceives* 210 and *bailles* 1091 (both imper.5).⁹² Note, too, the use of *-tz* for *-z*, a fourteenth-century trait: *comaumentz* 93, 572, *postz* 853, *filtz* 22, 1139, 1178, and most notably in pl. forms of pr.p, e.g., *disauntz* 2, 207, 474 etc., *ensuiauntz* 9, *assegeauntz* 14.⁹³ The *th* digraph is encountered in *south* 12, 154, 164 etc. and its various compounds, e.g., *pardesouth* 351, 359, 568, *southmyst* 648, *southlyme* 1062. In addition to its function as an intervocalic glide, *w* occurs in initial position in *wees* 151, 693, *wakerauntz* 476, 550, and representatives of *weymenter* 254, 390, 1173.⁹⁴

Regarding *-aire/-arie* and *-oire/-orie*, we encounter only the ‘unmetathesised’ forms typical of AN, among them *adversarie(s)* 87, 320, 901 etc., *victorie* 173, 674, 842, and *anniversary* 1204.⁹⁵ Metathesis is evident in *pernaunt* 197, 836 and *furment* 803.⁹⁶ Typical of AN texts, prefixation is fluid. Among verbs, we find representatives of *asseer* 1014 and *seer* 1034, 1166; *atapir* 529, *estapir* 1161 and *tapir* 863, 1074, 1206; *colper* 310, 315, 318 etc. and *decolper* 307; *conforter* 47, 124, 364 and *reconforter* 844, 1013; *crier* 117-18, 127, 161 etc. and *escrier* 1068; *defaillir* 252, 410, 432 etc. and *faillir* 200; *emparer* 273, 469, 859 etc. and *parler* 70, 88, 222 etc.; *ensuire* 9, 133, 327 etc. and *suire* 83, 139, 150 etc. Note, too, *ahournementz* 442, 447 and *ournementz* 448, 449-50, 452-53, and *contre* 3, 5, 8 etc., and *encontre* 1056, 1094, 1103.⁹⁷

Nouns, articles, adjectives and pronouns

The gender of nouns is for the most part as expected. A dozen or so fem. nouns appear with the masc. indef.art. *un*, among them *busine/busyne* 148, 326, *chaunceoun* 227, *femme* 568 (but *une femme* 174, 571, 609 etc.), *fille* 1054 (but *la fille* 681), and *plaie* 667 (but *la plaie* 139). Note also *cel nuit* 337, 361 (but *cele nuit* 305). The list of masc. nouns appearing with a fem. indef.art. is shorter: we find *baroun* 802 (but *son baroun* 730, 731, 1007), *fil* 875, and *paille* (‘cloak’) 192 (but *un paille* [MS *son pail*] 449), as well as *ceste pecchee* 1091-92. Given its instability in this text more generally, however, final *-e* cannot be taken to be a reliable morphological marker. Several fem. nouns, meanwhile, are accompanied by the ostensibly masc. def.art. *le*, e.g., *caroigne* 1066 (but *la caroigne* 772), *quisse* 820 (but *la / sa quisse* 131-32, 138, 459), and *posterne* 142, but such cases might be explained by weakening of *la* to *le*, perhaps under northern French influence.⁹⁸ We also observe a handful of fem. nouns with enclitic forms of the masc. def.art. (*al, del* etc.), e.g., *al visne* 491, *al femme* 733, *del covertour* 908, perhaps the consequence of non-normative application of enclisis rather than fluctuation in gender.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Short, § 21.1, where preconsonantal *l*'s ‘long-lived retention in spelling’ is noted.

⁹² Short, §§ 25.1, 34.4.

⁹³ Short, § 25.2*.

⁹⁴ Short, § 28.2.

⁹⁵ Short, § 13.4.

⁹⁶ Short, § 22.4.

⁹⁷ Short, § 30.1.

⁹⁸ Short, § 1.8.

⁹⁹ Short, § 31.2*.

More noteworthy is the repeated use of *la* with *cheine* ('oak tree') 279, 296, 480 etc., and pairing of *sa* with *cosinage* 43, *trone* 137 and *curre* ('chariot') 255 (but *son curre* 186). *Tisoun* ('fleece, sheepskin'), moreover, is always accompanied by the masc. def. art. and modified by an ostensibly masc. adjective (*sek* 336, but *ceste tisoun* 331). *Meiene* ('middle') is consistently fem. 51, 53, 112 etc.

The archaic masc. sg.nom.def.art. *li* occurs sporadically, chiefly in *ly Sire Dieu* and variants 167, 273-74, 648 etc., but also with subjects including *filz en lei* 1010, *flum* 243 and *jugge* 96 (none with defunct flexional -s). *Ly* is also occasionally used with direct and indirect objects, as in *Michas [...] out od soi ly enfaunt chapellain* 939-40 and *Jeo psalmeroi a ly Sire Dieu* 211.

The text preserves several enclitic forms. *A + le* is consistently *al*, e.g., *Ele mist sa main senestre al clowe* 250 (45 occurrences in total). *A + les* forms *as* (49 occurrences), e.g., *Mesnes eux as eawes* 347-48, with the re-analysed form *a les*, e.g., *descendi le poeple de Nostre Sire a les portes* 225, making six appearances. *De + le* presents as either *del* (23 occurrences), e.g., *Cil departirent del mount de Galaad* 345, or *du* (21 occurrences), e.g., *Les remenauntz du poeple sount salvez* 228-29. *De + les* becomes *des* (or *dé*) in more than 150 cases, e.g., *tu tresfort dé biers* 282, with the re-analysed form *de les* featuring eleven times, as in *jeo cherroi en les mains de les nyentcircunscis* 842-43. *El* occurs for *en + le* (45 occurrences), e.g., *il purge son ventre en la couche de estee* 144. *En + les* forms *es* (26 occurrences), e.g., *descende es pavillouns* 361, or remains *en les* (8 occurrences), e.g., *Nostre Sire combati en les fortz* 229. We find *nel*, the enclitic form of *ne + le*, on six occasions, e.g., *Jeo nel voloi dire a mon pier* 792.¹⁰⁰

With regards to forms of possess.adj., sg. *my* is employed alongside *mon* in *my sire* 191, *my Sire* 283, 288, *my pere* 673 and *Sire my Dieu* 911. The use of the masc. form of the possess.adj. before fem. nouns beginning with a vowel is inconsistent. Compare *ta ancelle* 1043 with *ton espee* 570, and *sa enfa(u)nce* 719, 725 with *son espaulde* 557-58.

Our scribe much prefers masc. subj.pron.6 *il* to *ils*, with only two examples of the latter 476, 602. There are no cases of a corresponding fem. form *eles*. Disjunctive forms of pronouns are favoured throughout. Instead of an indirect obj. pron., we encounter, e.g., *Nostre Sire ad a moy renduz si com jeo fis* 12-13, *nous feroms a toi mercy* 41, *Nostre Sire regarda a luy* 286, *Bailles a nous les homes de Gabaa* 1091, *jeo feroi a vous mals* 809, *il ne voleit moustrer a eux qe il out pris le meel de la bouche du leon* 775-76. The disjunctive forms also feature frequently in unstressed position, e.g., *tu moy as donee la terre secche* 26, *jeo toi demoustrera cel hom* 201-02, and *cil luy ensevelirent es boundes de sa possessioun* 77-78. Perhaps due to confusion of disjunctive *lui* and indirect object pronoun *li / lui*, use of direct and indirect obj.pron.3 and obj.pron.6 in unstressed positions is fluid. Consider, for example, *Judas s'en vait od Symeon son frere et ferirent ensemble Chananeum [...] et ly occirent* 30-31, *Qi est Abimelech [...] qe nous le servissoms?* 521, *vint Sampson volaunt visiter sa femme et la aporta un cheverel des chevres* 804-05, and *nous les dirroms* 1210. *Soi / soy* is the disjunctive form of the reflexive pronoun, but this, too, can be found in unstressed position, e.g., *Cil adcertes soi estapissauntz* 1161.

Qe is by far the most frequently employed rel.pron. in the text, performing double duty as both subject and object.¹⁰¹ *Le quel*, however, in its various guises makes almost 200 appearances. As a rel.pron., *qi* only appears as a possessive, e.g., *un filz qi teste nul razour ne tuchera* 718, or as the object of a preposition, e.g., *les dieus des Amorreux en qi terre vous habitez* 277-78, *un lieu a qi noun est Camon* 584.

¹⁰⁰ Short, § 33. 'Scribal restoration or re-analysis of letters lost in enclisis explains such apparent barbarisms as *a le, de le, a les* etc.'

¹⁰¹ Short, § 32.2.

Verbs

Examples of dual inf. forms include *combatre* 264, 1101, 1106 etc. and *combater* 231; and *savoir* 119, 582, 840 etc. and *saver* 222, 319, 404 etc.

Ind.pr.1 of *estre* is *sui* or *suy*, with a single instance of *suis* 571. Ind.pr.3 of *avoir* consistently takes the form of archaic *ad*.¹⁰² In addition to subj.pr.3 of *morir* in *moerge* 318, 320, 914, another subj.pr.3 in *-ge* occurs in *devourge* 507 (but *devoure* 497).¹⁰³ Note also imper.2 *fierges* 571. Among imper.2 forms, there is general hesitancy in the use of final *-s*, e.g., *demoustre* 41, 874 and *demoustres* 868; *mesne* 1022 and *mesnes* 167, 318, 347 etc.; and *pren* 296, 488, *preigne* 306 and *preignes* 228, 763. The subject pron. may be used with the imper., e.g., *defoule tu les fortz!* 243, and *cessez vous de ceste folie* 1053-54. As for the negative imper., the *V* construction using *nolite* is reflected in *Ne voillez despiser, si ne voillez cesser* 960-61 and *Ne voillez, freres, ne voillez faire cest mal* 1052-53.

Two fut.1 terminations are common, *-oi* and *-a* (reduced from *ai*). We find, for example, both *mesnera* 169 and *mesneroi* 1054. Fut.1 in *-ai* occurs in *deliverai* 288 and *mettrai* 780. Among contracted forms, we note fut.1 *delivera* 355 and representatives of *doner* 21, 449, 781 etc. and *enseignurer* 445, 446.¹⁰⁴ Fut.2 of *estre* is *ers* 874, and fut.3 either *ert* 173, 342, 718 etc. or, less commonly, *serra* 3, 607, 885 etc.

In the ind.impf., endings in *-oi-* predominate, but occurrences of *-ei-* include *poeit* 154, *maneit* 638, 939, 1006 etc., and *soleit* 805.¹⁰⁵ Ind.impf.3 of *estre* is mostly *estoit* 18, 20, 31 etc., but *ert* features at 40, 836, 849 etc. Ind.impf.3 of *avoir* is sometimes *avoit* 161, 458, 459 etc., but the scribe habitually employs the pret. form *out* 22, 34, 36 etc., including in the formation of the pluperf. Ind.impf.1 of *poer* is *poiea* at 403 and *poeia* at 406.

The pret.1 termination of *-er* verbs in *-ai* is routinely reduced to *-a*, as in *mesna* 64, 274, *jura* 65, and *delivera* 597 (but *deliverai* 275). Pret.3 forms of *-ir* and some *-re* verbs typically lack final *-t*, e.g., *respoundi* 25, 256, 293 etc., *deguerpi* 105, 1005, *fic(c)hi* 138, 198, 199 etc.¹⁰⁶ There is hesitation over the pret.6 termination for *-ir* verbs. In this text, we find both *combatirent* 8, 242, 614 and *combaterent* 16, 239 (although inf. *combater* 231 is also attested), and both *ensevelirent* 77 and *ensevelerent* 917.¹⁰⁷ Note also pret.3 *offra* 249, pret.1 *vowi* 923 and a single case of a pret.1 form with a characteristic Western French ending, *jeo vink* 1076.¹⁰⁸ *V abiit* ('went') is on one occasion rendered as pret. *s'en ala* 43, but the ind.pres.3 form *s'en vait* 6, 19, 30 etc. is otherwise ubiquitous. Pret.6 usage is not quite so stark, but still striking: cases of *s'en vo(u)nt* 28, 73, 479 etc. outnumber those of *(s'en) alerent* 216, 484, 615.

Syntax

Possession is for the most part expressed through use of *de*, e.g., *Othoniel le filtz de Xenez* 22, or the possess.adj., e.g., *Gedeon son filz* 280. *De* + tonic pron. is a common alternative to the construction with the possess.adj., e.g., *le clou ficchi en la temple de ly* 202-03. The archaic construction by means of juxtaposition occurs with *fil(t)z* as the first substantive, e.g., *Josue le filz Nun* 76, *le filz Gera* 128, *les filz*

¹⁰² Short, §§ 1.3*, 24.2**. *Ad* survives in AN through to the fifteenth century, the *d* no doubt serving to 'distinguish the form from homonyms'.

¹⁰³ Short, § 34.5.

¹⁰⁴ Short, §§ 11.10, 34.8.

¹⁰⁵ Short, § 34.6.

¹⁰⁶ Short, § 34.9.

¹⁰⁷ Short, § 8.7.

¹⁰⁸ Short, § 34.3.

Obab 177, but we also encounter *la maisoun moun pere* 289, *la maisoun Dieu* 1041, 1102, 1118, and *l'ost Dieu* 1177.¹⁰⁹

The instability of final *-e* and *-s* frustrates any attempt to assess the agreement of adjectives and past participles for number and gender. In terms of adjectival agreement, however, consider *quele chose est plus fort de leon?* 796-97, *les queus estoient assurez* 423, *de divers colours* 257-58, and *totes les choses qe precious estoient* 983-84. In terms of p.p. agreement, we note, e.g., *la femme occis* 1075-76, *la plus beale dé femmes est a ly eslutz* 257, and *Nostre Sire les avera baillee en mes mains* 623.

Avoir is used as an auxiliary in compound verb forms where *estre* might be expected, e.g., with *entrer* (*Qe com il out od luy entree* 202), *venir* (*com ascun avera venuz* 195) and *aler* (*com les filz de Israel [...] ussent alee* 1114). It is also employed with reflexive forms, e.g., *j'ai les mill cent deners les queus tu te avoies departi* 920.¹¹⁰

We find dozens of examples of use of the pret. for impf. in the V, e.g., *Et Juda s'en alaunt contre Chananeum qe habita en Ebron* 17, *il haboundere[n]t en curres od faucils* 34-35, *Delbora [...] a cel temps juggee le poeple* 163-64. Counterexamples—use of impf. for pret.—are also present, e.g., *Lors issoient de la cognacioun de Dan* 964 and *cil se assistrent ensemble et mangerent et bevoient* 1014.¹¹¹ As previously noted, ind.pres. forms of *aler* routinely replace the pret. The reverse—pret. for ind.pres.—occurs in *Por quei demora sa curre de returner?* 254-55 and *Galaad [...] habita en la meiene de Effraym et de Manasse* 691-92. A rare occurrence of cond. for ind.impf. can be found in *ensuiroient plus et plus* 1149-50. The Latin p.fut. is rendered in our text as *estre a + inf.*, as in *par les queles Effraym fust a returner* 693, *l'enfaunt qe est a nestre* 728-29, and *choses qe sount a venir* 753.¹¹² Pret. forms frequently take the place of expected subj.impf., e.g., in *il ne lour dona point lieu q'il descenderent* 58-59 and *le quel il oirent les comaundementz de Nostre Sire [...] ou non* 111-12.

Regarding some of the more Latinate syntactic structures employed in the text, we note accusative infinitives of the type *Et demaintenaunt entendy Manue ly estre l'angle de Nostre Sire* 749-50, *les filz de Benjamyn quidoient eux a fuir* 1149, and *les habitatours de Jabis de Galaad sount trovez ne mye avoir estee en cel host* 1183-84. Frequent use is made of participial constructions. Examples featuring p.pr. include *Et Adonibezek s'enfui, le quel cil ensuiauntz pristrent les haltescs de ses mains et de ses piez trenchez* 9-10, *les filz de Juda, assegeauntz Jerusalem, la pristrent* 14, and *Et Juda s'en alaunt contre Chananeum [...] il feri Sisai et Ahiman et Tholmai* 17-18; and, with p.p., we note *Le quel lessee s'en ala en la terre de Sechym* 43, *Et cil returnee de Galgal ou ydoles estoient, dist al roi* 133-34, and *les servauntz du roi entrez virent les huis du cenacle clos* 143. The syntax of the V's many ablative absolutes, meanwhile, is followed closely, as these examples attest: *Sessaunte et dis rois, les haltescs de lour mains et piez trenchez, quillèrent les remenauntz* 11-12, *Les huis del cenacle clos ententivement et fermez par cerrure, Ahot adecertes s'en issi* 141-42, and *Gedeon—dis biers de ses servauntz pris—fist si com Nostre Sire out comaundee* 310-11.¹¹³

Hypothetical constructions supply further examples of calques on Latin. The fut.perf. is frequently employed in the protasis of hypotheses, e.g., *Si tu averas fait Israel sauf [...] jeo mettroi ceste tisoun de leine en l'eir* 330-31, *Si rosee avera estee en le tisoun* 331, and *si vous moy avez establiz roi* 495.

¹⁰⁹ Short, § 31.3.

¹¹⁰ Short, § 35.

¹¹¹ Short, § 34.7. With respect to the ANB's Genesis, Revol points to the L-redactor's muddling of pret. and ind.impf. as 'une des seules fois où il se détache de la traduction littérale mot à mot de la Vulgate' (2019, para. 10).

¹¹² Revol 2019, para. 14.

¹¹³ On participial constructions in the ANB's Genesis, see Revol 2019, para. 20-23.

Elsewhere, we find subj.pres. in the protasis, e.g., *si vous eiez establiz* 498 and *si tu moy constreignes* 740-41.

The verb *entrer* is often used transitively, e.g., *Jeo entrera une partie des pavillouns* 379-80, *il entrerent le temple* 519, and *il ne volt entrer les termes de Moab* 640.¹¹⁴ *Se consailler* takes a direct object in *lé filz de Israel se consaillerent Nostre Sire* 2 and *ly prierent q'il se consaillast Nostre Sire* 951-52 (but see 1122). *Escouter*, by contrast, is followed by the preposition *a* in *Il ne voloien[t] escouter a ses paroles* 1056-57. When preceding an infinitive, *comencer* typically takes *a* (384-85, 511, 986 etc.), but *de* also occurs (606-07, 1016, 1210), and we also encounter *cil comencera pur deliverer Israel* 719-20 and *l'esperit de Nostre Sire comencea estre od ly* 755-56.

Lexis

From ox-goads to donkey jawbones, the book of Judges features an extensive cache of weapons. From a lexical perspective, we note *fauchoun* 138, the 'kind of sword (with a curved blade)' (AND s.v. *fauchun*) that Ehud uses to assassinate king Eglon, and the *esslenges* 1098 with which the Benjamites can 'sling' stones to within a hair-breadth. Until the time of Deborah, the Canaanites are able to hold the plains, armed as they are with iron chariots equipped with *faucils* 35, 162, 181, an AN variant of *faux* ('scythe'). The anonymous woman who wields a millstone to devastating effect during the Battle of Thebaz 'strikes' it against king Abimelech's head. The verb is *hortela* 569 (AND s.v. *hurtler*), no doubt a variant of *hurter* ('to strike'), perhaps influenced by ME *hortel*.

Passages detailing burnt offerings are a rich seam of vocabulary in Judges. Gideon uses *un busshes de ferine* 294-95 (AND s.v. *bussel* 'bushel') to make *pains azimels* 294, 297, 299 etc. ('unleavened bread'). *Pain azime* is the more common expression (AND s.v. *azime*), but *azimeux* is also attested ('of Passover'). Gideon places his offering in a *canistre* 295 (AND 'basket'), a Latinism with little currency on the continent (FEW II, 198: *canistrum*). In the prelude to Samson's story, the hero's father offers to prepare a *bokerel(l)* 740, 745 (AND s.v. *bukerel* '(young) he-goat') for God's angel. This diminutive form of *bouc* seems to be peculiar to AN.

The story of Micah's Idol yields several noteworthy terms. Micah's mother instructs him to have her 11,000 shekels turned into *chose schulpté et consufflee* 924, the final word here attested in AN (AND s.v. *consuffler* 'to melt'), but not, apparently, in other varieties of French. Micah places his idol in a shrine, where he also installs his *ephot et teraphin* 927, glossed here as *vestmentz de prestre et ydoles* 928. Besides priestly apparels, other garments we encounter in Judges include Ehud's *sarge* 131 (AND 'serge', but here a sort of cloak) and the 30 *sindones* 781, 782 (AND s.v. *sindonie* 'shroud', but NRSV 'linen garments') that Samson wagers on his opponents' incapacity to answer his riddle. When Delilah binds Samson with brand-new ropes, he snaps them *com fils de tistours* 872 ('like threads of cloth'). Among the items of jewellery mentioned, we note *bules* 442, unattested in AND in the sense of an amulet worn around the neck.

Turning to music and dancing, we note that Gideon and his 300 companions strike together gallon-jars and sound *estives* 378 (AND s.v. *estive* 'pipe'; FEW XII, 271: *stipes* 'esp. de flûte') as they ambush the Midianite camp. When Jephthah returns home after his victory over the Ammonites, he fatefully sets eyes on his daughter, who greets him with *tympanz et chores* 670. If the first item designates a timbrel or tambourine, the second refers to a type of round-dance (AND s.v. *coer*), unless it points to 'a musical instrument' (AND s.v. *chore*) or 'sorte de cithare' (DMF s.v. *chore*). Finally, we note that the verb used to describe how Deborah performs her victory song is *psalmer* 211, an usual variant of *psalmoier*.

¹¹⁴ Short, § 35.

Curious usage of several geographical terms can be noted. On two occasions, the *L* scribe writes of a mountain's *haterel* 481, 854, ordinarily the 'nape' or 'back of the head' (AND s.v. *haterel*), to indicate its summit. The Midianite camp ambushed by Gideon is situated *el vaal a la plaie septentrionale del Halte Tertre* 341, *plaie* here referring to the mountain's northern flank (DMLBS s.v. *plaga* 'strip of land'). In the first chapter of Judg, Achsah asks her father for *terre rouissaunt en eawes* 26 and is given *le rouissaunt par desus et le rouissaunt par aval* 27. This use of *rouissaunt* to refer to irrigated land lacks attestation in AN.

The ANB's Judges makes extensive use of compound words. We find three adjectives prefixed by *nyent-* (*nyentnombrable* 270, *nyentcircunciscis* 843, *nyentcreable* 1079) and one p.pr. (*nyentsachaunt* 893). Note, too, verbal forms prefixed by *avaunt-* (*avauntmistrent* 1134, *avauntaler* 1207), *encontre-* (*encontreesteaunt* 957), *fors-* or *hors-* (*forstrait* 878, *horstreauntz* 421), and *south-* (representatives of *southturner* 67, 104, 218, *southfossee* 321, *southfowy* 323 and *southmyst* 648).

The book of Judges in medieval culture

'The book of Judges receives little attention prior to the seventeenth century,' one modern Judges commentator has claimed.¹¹⁵ It could be countered, however, that, in the case of the Middle Ages at least, much of the story of the book's reception remains to be written. David Gunn provides an overview in his reception history of Judges, and book-length studies of its most renowned heroines and heroes devote space to the Middle Ages, too.¹¹⁶ A comprehensive account of the place of Judges in medieval culture would need to draw on numerous sources that circulated widely in the Middle Ages but still lack an accessible modern edition. That is well beyond our scope here. Our focus will instead be on the cultural artefacts—textual and iconographic, but also sculptural, dramatic and musical—most likely to have been familiar to the recognized medieval readership of the ANB: the monks of Reading Abbey, a noble family of Lincolnshire, and a Parisian theologian with a royal patron.¹¹⁷

For medieval audiences, the book of Judges was history. While elsewhere in the world Hercules was performing his labours and Troy was being razed—at least according to Peter Comestor's twelfth-century universal history, *Historia scholastica* (*Hist.schol.*)—the Israelites were being led by judges.¹¹⁸ The book's basic narrative paradigm of apostasy and repentance may be relatively straightforward, but the literal sense of the text was not always easy to establish for medieval audiences (nor is it for us). Its language is, at times, opaque. Augustine, in *The City of God*, for example, deemed Deborah's song of victory over the Canaanites (Judg 5)—today typically considered to rank among the earliest parts of the

¹¹⁵ Lee Roy Martin, *The Unheard Voice of God: A Pentecostal Hearing of the Book of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 18.

¹¹⁶ David M. Gunn, *Judges* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005). On Deborah, see Joy A. Schroeder, *Deborah's Daughters: Gender Politics and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 29-69; on Jael, Colleen M. Conway, *Sex and Slaughter in the Tent of Jael: A Cultural History of a Biblical Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 43-67, and P. Scott Brown, *The Riddle of Jael: The History of a Poxied Heroine in Medieval and Renaissance Art and Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 30-65; and on Samson, F. Michael Krouse, *Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 31-62.

¹¹⁷ On Reading Abbey's medieval library, see Coates. A booklist in BL Royal 20 D II and the inventory of the manor of Belleau in 1430 reveal some of the Welles family's books (see Hamel, pp. 347, 349-50). On the French royal library under Charles V (r. 1364-1380), see Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1907).

¹¹⁸ For the text of *Hist.schol.* (Coates, nos 89-90; Delisle 1907, nos 96-98), see PL 198:1049-644 (Judges at 1271-92). See also Mark J. Clark, *The Making of the 'Historia scholastica', 1150-1200* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015).

OT—to be too obscure for comment.¹¹⁹ The book’s chronology can be confusing. Events described in Joshua are ostensibly repeated in Judges, and Christian scholars were influenced by a Jewish tradition that considered the book’s appendices (Judg 17-21) to record events from the very beginning of the judges era.¹²⁰ The more fanciful episodes of Judges, moreover, could tax the credulity of even the most faithful of Christians. Origen, for example, struggled to ‘knock something out of’ the 150 pairs of foxes that Samson sends into the Philistines’ fields, their tails tied together and a lit torch set in each vulpine knot.¹²¹

Barriers to understanding the literal sense of Judges were overcome, at least until the Victorines of the late twelfth century, by privileging allegorical interpretation. These stories of charismatic saviours lent themselves particularly well to typological readings that uncovered prefiguration of the coming of Christ. Textual details, especially their figurative meanings, were harnessed, often ingeniously, to support such Christological interpretations. Almost all of the judges could be read in this way. Ehud, for example, was considered Christ-like for assassinating the fat Moabite king Eglon, likened to the ‘all-consuming’ devil.¹²² Jephthah, moreover, was akin to Christ because he sacrificed his own virginal flesh (in the judge’s case in the not unproblematic form of his only daughter).¹²³ Christological glosses were also given to heroes and heroines who were not raised as judges. Most notably, Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, was considered a forerunner of Christ for hammering a tent-peg through the skull of the enemy general Sisera in the time of Deborah and Barak. A connection was often made between Jael’s peg and the nails of the Cross.¹²⁴

Above all, however, typology was applied to Gideon and Samson. Two picture bibles, the *Bibles moralisées* (*BM*) produced from the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth-century *Speculum humanae salvationis* (*SHS*), serve to illustrate how typological readings of these stories were vulgarized for lay audiences. In the Oxford-Paris-London *BM* (like other copies linked to the French royal family), 18 medallions depict scenes from Gideon’s narrative (Judg 6-8).¹²⁵ Corresponding images showing episodes from the New Testament forge links between Gideon and Christ. By killing the Midianite kings Zebah and Zalmunna and seizing their riches, for example, Gideon pre-empted Christ’s defeat of the devil and rescue of prophets and patriarchs in the Harrowing of Hell. Gideon is depicted clutching a crown,

¹¹⁹ Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), XVIII:15 (p. 840). Delisle 1907, nos 294-97.

¹²⁰ Gunn, p. 232.

¹²¹ Origen, *The Song of Songs: Commentary and Homilies*, trans. R. P. Lawson (New York / Mahwah, NJ: Newman Press, 1956), p. 260. Coates, no. 43.

¹²² See, for example, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (*SHS*), an illustrated work of popular theology originally compiled as a preaching aid. For the text, see *Speculum humanae salvationis: texte critique, traduction inédite de Jean Mielot (1448)*, ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, 2 vols (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1907-1909); and, for images, the iconographical database of the Warburg Institute (<https://iconographic.warburg.sas.ac.uk>). Ehud and Eglon feature in ch. 29. Such was the *SHS*’s success that by the end of the Middle Ages, there was ‘hardly a library in northern Europe that did not possess an example’, the French royal library included. See Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: ‘Speculum humanae salvationis’ 1324-1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 24, and, on the Royal Library’s copy of a French translation of the *SHS*, p. 83.

¹²³ See, for example, Augustine’s *Quaestiones in Iudices*, edited in *PL* 34:791-824 (Q.49). The bulk of this commentary was incorporated into the ‘standard’ (though by no means fixed) gloss of the later Middle Ages, the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

¹²⁴ See, for example, Origen, *Homilies on Judges*, trans. Elizabeth Ann Dively Lauro (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2010), Hom. 5, p. 80. Origen’s homilies also featured in the *Glossa Ordinaria*. A similar reading is made in the early *Bibles moralisées* (*BM*) linked to the French royal family, e.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 270b, fol. 106r. On the *BM* more generally, see John Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

¹²⁵ Bodley 270b, fols 106r-110r.

while Christ, in the image below, grabs the arm of one of the righteous as they emerge from a monstrous hell-mouth.¹²⁶ The portents of victory over the Midianites that Gideon demands from God are also found to reveal the secrets of the Gospel. The heavenly dew that moistens Gideon's fleece without affecting the ground, for example, prefigures the Holy Spirit, here depicted as a dove, impregnating Mary while preserving her virginity.¹²⁷

Chapters of the *SHS* are typically set out as a double-page spread, with four miniatures above four columns of text comparing three episodes of the OT to one from the New. Samson features in several. For tearing asunder a lion's jaws on the road to Timneh, he is likened to Christ vanquishing the devil through the Passion.¹²⁸ For entering an enemy city, rising at midnight and making off with the city gates, Samson is said to resemble Christ, resurrected at midnight and destroyer of the gates of Hell.¹²⁹ For suffering torment at the hands of the Philistines, moreover, having lost his hair and strength due to Delilah's deception, Samson prefigures Christ, who suffered similar anguish in the house of Caiaphas.¹³⁰ Images in *SHS* manuscripts of Samson's blinding and torture hint at his (and Christ's) eventual revenge: he already has his hands on the pillars he will demolish to bring down the building and all the Philistines with it.

It was not only types of Christ that were discerned in Judges, but types of the Church, too. Ecclesiological glosses were given, for example, to the 'foreigner' Jael (the Church was 'assembled from foreign peoples'), to the ground moistened by heavenly dew while Gideon's fleece remained dry (the Church received 'the salutary shower of the heavenly Scriptures') and to Jephthah's daughter, who rejoiced at her father's victory (as the Church did at Christ's).¹³¹ It was but a small step to add an anti-Jewish gloss by pairing Ecclesia with Synagoga. Revealing to Barak that she has assassinated the commander of their enemy, Jael is like the Church showing Jews what true victory looks like.¹³² Gideon's fleece, miraculously dry having once been miraculously sodden, points to God's withdrawal of grace from Israel in favour of Christianity.¹³³ As for Jephthah's daughter, she could be read as Synagogue as well as the Church. In the *BM*, she welcomes her triumphant father home with song and dance, before asking him to delay the fulfilment of his vow. The two corresponding interpretative medallions depict Synagogue and Jews wallowing in worldliness after Christ's victory in the Resurrection. In the final pair of medallions, Jephthah's daughter is shown sliced in two, her upper half (white) corresponding to Christendom, her lower half (black) to the Jews.¹³⁴

If typological interpretations of Judges were legion in the Middle Ages, far fewer commentators seem to have looked to this particular book for prophecies of the end of days. The story of Gideon's wicked son Abimelech (Judg 9) seems to have lent itself best to 'anagogical' readings of this sort. Isidore finds several parallels between Abimelech and Antichrist in his commentary on Judges. As Abimelech was

¹²⁶ Bodley 270b, fol. 110r.

¹²⁷ Bodley 270b, fol. 107v. On the 'miracle' of Gideon's fleece in medieval Marian lyric, see Gunn, pp. 96-97.

¹²⁸ Ch. 29.

¹²⁹ Ch. 32. In this case, the less said about Samson's visit to a prostitute, the better.

¹³⁰ Ch. 19.

¹³¹ On Jael and the Church, see, for example, Origen, *Hom.* 5, p. 80. The miracle of Gideon's fleece is read thus in Ambrose's *De viduis* (Coates, no. 3), ch. 3, *PL* 16:231-62 (col. 240). On Jephthah's daughter as the Church, see, for example, Nicholas of Lyra's fourteenth-century Biblical commentary, the *Postillae litteralis et moralis super totam Bibliam* (*Post.litt.* and *Post.mor.*). The sections on Judges lack a modern edition and are here cited from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MSS 11973 (*Post.litt.*) and 351 (*Post.mor.*). In this case, see *Post.mor.*, fol. 61r.

¹³² Origen, *Hom.* 5, p. 81.

¹³³ See, for example, Origen, *Hom.* 8, p. 105; and Ambrose, *De viduis*, ch. 3 (cols 240-41).

¹³⁴ Bodley 270b, fols 113v-114r.

Gideon's son by a concubine, so Antichrist will be the son of Synagogue. As Abimelech usurps power by killing all 70 of his half-brothers apart from one (Jotham), so Antichrist will conquer the world, all but wiping out the Christian faithful. And as the trees who elect the bramble king of the forest will eventually be consumed by fire, according to 'Jotham's fable', so Antichrist's followers will receive their just, fiery deserts.¹³⁵ The *BM* takes the interpretation one step further. As his final act, Abimelech tries to smoke out the good people of Thebez, besieged in a tower. He meets his end when an unnamed woman drops a millstone on his head. In the corresponding interpretative medallion in the *BM*, Antichrist is shown attempting to destroy the remaining Christian faithful with the fire of lust and the smoke of sin. Instead of a millstone, a well-aimed lightning bolt is God's weapon of choice.¹³⁶

The book's cycles of apostasy and repentance not only provided lessons about the past and the future, but also about the present. Isidore found in Judges an injunction to repent of sin. As the Israelites strengthened their temporal enemies by worshipping foreign gods, so we bolster our spiritual enemies (devils) when we sin. Conversely, as the Israelites flourished under their judges when they returned to God, so we can prosper under our spiritual leaders (bishops and doctors of the Church) after performing penitence.¹³⁷

In the later Middle Ages, Crusade propagandists sought to inspire audiences with stories from Judges: these heroes of yesteryear who triumphed in the Holy Land could show contemporary pilgrims how it was done.¹³⁸ In one of his sermons, for example, Jacques de Vitry urged listeners to wield Ehud's sword, Shamgar's ploughshare and Samson's donkey jawbone.¹³⁹ The book of Judges provided more than poster-boys, however. It lent credence to 'the most common of contemporary explanations of defeat', that the crusaders brought disaster on themselves by sinning; that temporal and spiritual battles, in other words, were inextricably linked.¹⁴⁰

Among the artefacts testifying to crusader interest in Judges is the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Judges (ANJ) produced for the two Templar Masters mentioned above, Richard of Hastings and Odon of Saint-Omer. As the ANJ's prologue notes, the book of Judges, replete with acts of *chevalerie*, made for particularly apt reading material for members of the military orders.¹⁴¹ In the thirteenth century, the ANJ was interpolated into copies of the Acre Bible produced in the Holy Land. The two best-known manuscripts, both sumptuously illuminated, mark the beginning of Judges with images of the Israelites praying to God for guidance. It is tempting to imagine the Acre Bible's readers seeing themselves in the picture.¹⁴²

That Judges was a source of inspiration to budding crusaders is also suggested by the Painted Chamber in the royal palace at Westminster. Decorated with 'all the warlike stories of the whole Bible' in two phases in the thirteenth century, the Painted Chamber was among medieval Europe's most spectacular

¹³⁵ For Isidore's *In librum Judicum*, see *PL* 83:379-90 (Abimelech features in ch. 6, cols 386-88). This text was also interpolated into the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

¹³⁶ Bodley 270b, fol. 112r.

¹³⁷ Ch. 1 (cols 379-80).

¹³⁸ Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 55.

¹³⁹ Maier, p. 95.

¹⁴⁰ Penny Cole, D. L. d'Avray, and J. Riley-Smith, 'Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the Dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV', *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 227-47 (p. 233).

¹⁴¹ D'Albon, p. 1 (vv. 40-42).

¹⁴² See the top left panel on fol. 81r of Arsenal 5211, and fol. 65v in NAF 1404.

painted rooms of state.¹⁴³ Although it was destroyed by fire in 1834, we know from earlier sketches that there was at least one scene from Judges, depicting Abimelech's story. Other Judges episodes no doubt figured, too, but these would not have been recorded in the early nineteenth century owing to their already poor condition. In his study of the Painted Chamber's images, Matthew Reeve argues that Edward I had the chamber redecorated in 1292 as a sign of his determination to continue the crusade after the loss of Acre.¹⁴⁴ If scenes from Judges served to demonstrate the king's commitment to recovering the Holy Land, however, the Abimelech mural may have come to have particularly personal significance for him. During the siege of Stirling in 1304, Edward had a rock thrown at him from the castle. Fortunately for Edward, it narrowly missed, but his advisors encouraged him to stay inside his tent lest he share Abimelech's fate.¹⁴⁵

The lesson the Israelites provided about the importance of repentance was a simple one. Imitation of individuals, however, proved rather more problematic. The Bible itself points to the heroes and heroines of Judges as moral exemplars. Not only is the spirit of the Lord said to stir in many of the judges, but Barak, Gideon, Jephthah and Samson are singled out in Hebrews as 'models of the faith' (11. 32-34). As for Jael, she is praised in the Song of Deborah as the 'most blessed of women' (Judg 5. 24). Yet the men and women who lead the Israelites to victory indulge in behaviour that readers throughout the centuries have sometimes regarded as less than virtuous. In the later Middle Ages, solutions of sorts were borrowed, often via the *Glossa Ordinaria*, from Augustine (who concluded that the spirit of the Lord must act through good and bad) and Origen (who advised his followers to copy the good bits and ignore the bad).¹⁴⁶ There remained the question, however, of precisely which actions were worthy of imitation.

In the remainder of this section, we will consider some of the ways in which that question was answered in the Middle Ages, limiting ourselves to the stories of the heroes celebrated by Hebrews, beginning with Barak. It is Barak, of course, who is lauded in Hebrews, even though Deborah is the named judge, Barak is reluctant to fight, and it is Jael who receives the glory by assassinating Sisera. Some Church Fathers cited the case of Deborah as they sought to delineate a role for women in the Church. Ambrose, for example, brought Deborah into his argument in favour of offering widows an official position as mentors to virgins: 'You women, then, have no excuse because of your nature'.¹⁴⁷ In the later Middle Ages, Deborah would often be depicted prophesying under her palm-tree, but she was also shown as a military commander, wielding a sword and leading Barak and his men into battle. The *BM* provides one such example.¹⁴⁸ More often, however, Deborah's authority is curbed. The ANB translator makes Deborah's husband the judge, a not uncommon manoeuvre.¹⁴⁹ In the later thirteenth century, Aquinas turns to Deborah when considering women's eligibility for holy orders. He concludes

¹⁴³ The Chamber's decoration was described thus by contemporaries, quoted in Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1986), p. 103. On the Chamber's history and its enmeshment with politics and propaganda, see also Matthew M. Reeve, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster, Edward I, and the Crusade', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 189-221; and Paul Binski, 'The Painted Chamber at Westminster, the Fall of Tyrants and the English Literary Model of Governance', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 74 (2011), 121-54.

¹⁴⁴ Reeve, p. 211.

¹⁴⁵ According to the *Flores historiarum*. See Binski 2011, p. 149.

¹⁴⁶ Augustine, *Quaestiones*, Q.49; Origen, Hom. 3, p. 65.

¹⁴⁷ *De viduis*, ch. 8 (col. 249).

¹⁴⁸ Bodley 270b, fol. 105v.

¹⁴⁹ See Schroeder.

in the negative: Deborah may have had temporal authority, but no woman could have spiritual authority over men.¹⁵⁰

As for Jael, typological readings may not have detracted from her reputation as ‘most blessed of women’, but, when turning to her for moral edification, it was difficult to ignore the deceit, violation of hospitality, intimations of sexual impropriety, and murder. (It is not for nothing that she has been referred to as the ‘Bible’s most challenging and problematic heroine’.¹⁵¹) With its sequence of scenes showing Jael welcoming Sisera, pouring him milk, and wielding her hammer, the Paris St Louis Psalter gives special visual emphasis to Jael’s transgressions.¹⁵² In the later Middle Ages, Jael featured in the line-up of famous domineering women known as the ‘Power of Women’ *topos*. Typical of the genre, Chaucer adds to Jael’s crimes in the prologue to the ‘Wife of Bath’s Tale’ by making Sisera her husband, thus reducing her to ‘an antifeminist type of the sexually dominant, violent, treacherous wife’.¹⁵³

Of all the judges, it is Gideon who is favoured as a model for princes in John of Salisbury’s mid-twelfth-century treatise on the principles of government, the *Policraticus*. That Gideon whittles down his army of thousands to 300 is a reminder, for John, of the importance of recruiting the very best fighters.¹⁵⁴ More significant, however, is Gideon’s response to the Israelites when they ask him, and his heirs after him, to rule over them. ‘I will not rule over you,’ Gideon says, ‘and my son will not rule over you; the Lord will rule over you’ (Judg 8. 23). For John of Salisbury, insofar as he subordinates his own lordship to God’s, Gideon encapsulates ‘the responsibilities and duties of the prince’. He laments that Gideons are sorely lacking in his own time: ‘Who among so many thousands desiring to rule wishes to be like Gideon?’ he asks.¹⁵⁵ In the later Middle Ages, one prince in particular emulated Gideon, or at least actively encouraged the comparison. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1396-1467) not only made Gideon co-patron (alongside Jason) of his Order of the Golden Fleece but commissioned the *Story of Gideon* tapestry cycle, the most opulent of the era, which cast him in the mould of his favourite biblical hero.¹⁵⁶

Some of Gideon’s actions were nonetheless a source of concern for medieval audiences. His suspicion of his angelic interlocutor could be justified: Origen, for example, praises him for taking the time to check that he was indeed dealing with an angel of light.¹⁵⁷ More problematic was the golden ephod Gideon had made out of booty seized from the Midianites, prompting a return to apostasy. Influenced by Jewish commentators who thought that Gideon’s intentions might at least have been good in creating

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, ed. Roberto Busa, Corpus Thomisticum, 4-12, 9 vols (Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1888-1906), III/Suppl., Q.39, art. 1. Coates no. 119

¹⁵¹ Brown, p. 9.

¹⁵² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin MS 10525, fol. 48r. On the representation of Jael in this psalter, which was made for King Louis IX, see Brown, pp. 44-45.

¹⁵³ Brown, p. 37. On the prologue to the ‘Wife of Bath’s Tale’, see Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 115 (vv. 769-70); and on the Power of Women motif more generally, see Conway, pp. 53-61. According to the booklist in Royal 20 D II, the Welles family owned a copy of the ‘*caunturbere tlase*’ [sic] (Hamel, p. 347).

¹⁵⁴ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and trans. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), VI:2. Delisle 1907, nos 500-01.

¹⁵⁵ *Policraticus*, VIII:22.

¹⁵⁶ On the *Story of Gideon* tapestries, see Marina Belozerskaya, ‘Critical Mass: Importing Luxury Industries Across the Alps’, in *Cultural Exchange between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)*, ed. Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 161-78.

¹⁵⁷ Hom. 9, p. 107.

a memorial to a great Israelite victory, Nicholas of Lyra makes the case for and against Gideon's sinful death in his *Postilla*.¹⁵⁸

Perhaps most at odds with the status Hebrews accords him as a paragon of the faith is Jephthah. In exchange for victory over the Ammonites, Jephthah infamously vows to sacrifice the first living being to meet him on his return home from battle. For medieval audiences, it was clear where Jephthah's faults lay: he should not have made such a rash promise in the first place, and he certainly should not have fulfilled it when his only daughter was the first to greet him. Augustine was among the Church Fathers who pointed to the daughter's death as punishment for the father's recklessness.¹⁵⁹ Aquinas suggested that Jephthah must have received hidden prompting from God if he merited the praise in Hebrews.¹⁶⁰ Nicholas of Lyra, for his part, drew on Jewish tradition to argue that the sacrifice was only ever symbolic: Jephthah's daughter became a nun.¹⁶¹

Jephthah's pious and dutiful daughter is held up as a model for women in the Middle Ages, and for nuns in particular. In his *De virginitate*, for example, Ambrose cites her example as part of his efforts to recruit girls to the religious life.¹⁶² In Abelard's lament for Jephthah's daughter, sung from the perspective of the virgins of Israel, the sacrificial victim is typically understood by modern audiences as a foil for Heloise, who 'sacrificed' herself by taking the veil at Argenteuil.¹⁶³ Disconcertingly fanatical, the daughter in Abelard's *planctus* 'almost contemptuously compels her faltering father to keep his vow', hesitating only for a moment as she prepares for death as if it were her wedding day.¹⁶⁴ Peter Dronke reminds us that, though we admire her heroism, we cannot help but deplore the waste of such a sacrifice. 'The one thing we can no longer do after experiencing Abelard's *planctus*', he writes, 'is to accept the biblical narrative of the event without questioning its implications'.¹⁶⁵

Samson's divinely inspired strength made him a firm medieval favourite. His defeat of the lion on the road to Timneh was an iconographical staple found in ecclesiastical contexts (for example on the medieval misericords of Lincoln Cathedral) and less pious ones, too (for example on gaming counters).¹⁶⁶ As a role model, however, Samson was clearly problematic. His destruction of the Philistines and simultaneously himself caused concern, prompting Augustine and Aquinas to wonder whether Judges justified suicide (they both ultimately concluded not).¹⁶⁷ More controversial still were Samson's dalliances with Philistine women, most notably Delilah. In the later Middle Ages, Samson continued to provide a negative exemplum, a reminder of the need for the soul to resist temptations of the flesh. Fault, however, was increasingly placed squarely with Delilah.¹⁶⁸ Three examples no doubt familiar to audiences of the ANB will suffice here. In the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, Delilah is depicted stripping Samson of his strength by shearing him herself, a typical iconographic detail but one that lacks

¹⁵⁸ *Post.litt.*, fol. 37v-38r. See also Gunn, p. 95.

¹⁵⁹ *Quaestiones*, Q.49.

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, Aquinas, II/2, Q.88, Art. 2.

¹⁶¹ *Post.litt.*, fols 42r-43r.

¹⁶² Ambrose, *De virginitate* (PL 16:263-302), ch. 2 (cols 267-68) (Coates, no. 3). See Thompson, p. 121.

¹⁶³ Thompson, p. 145.

¹⁶⁴ Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000-1150*, 2nd edn (London: Westfield College, 1986), p. 115.

¹⁶⁵ Dronke, p. 144.

¹⁶⁶ On Lincoln Cathedral's Samson misericord, see G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain*, with M. D. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 95. On gaming counters featuring Samson, see Catherine Léglu, *Samson and Delilah in Medieval Insular French: Translation and Adaptation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 35-39.

¹⁶⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, I:21, 26; Aquinas, II/2, Q.64, Art. 5. See also Gunn, p. 175.

¹⁶⁸ Gunn, p. 179.

textual support. Delilah's panel stands out: hers is the only one in the window with a red background.¹⁶⁹ Blame likewise lies firmly with Delilah in Chaucer's 'Monk's Tale': as Michael Krouse puts it, in Chaucer's hands the story is reduced to a 'good-man-bad-woman plot'.¹⁷⁰ A final example is provided by the lyric drama *Samson, dux fortissime*, performed by the monks of Reading.¹⁷¹ The play is based on Abelard's *planctus* for Samson, which, for Dronke at least, undermines the idea of women's responsibility for the fall of great men by parodying misogynistic *topoi*.¹⁷² There are no pointers to parody in *Samson, dux fortissime*, however. Samson falls unequivocally due to *fraus mulieris*.¹⁷³

Editorial considerations

In the text edited here, editorial restorations of missing letters are shown in square brackets. Following accepted editorial practice, *i* appears as *i* or *j*, and *u* as *u* or *v*; *w* stands as written. In cases where the distinction of *c* and *t* or *u* / *v* and *n* is unclear, readings are based on a legible occurrence of the word elsewhere in our text. Double long-*s* appears as *-ss-* in our text only when it occurs within a word (e.g., in *assegeauntz* 14). Word-initial double long-*s* is resolved as *S* or *s*, and word-initial double *F* as *F* or *f*. *L*'s chapter headings appear as bolded upper-case Roman numerals. The edited text reflects expunctions and strikethroughs, superscript insertions, and letters corrected by the scribe, which are not otherwise noted; also unnoted are occurrences of faded or smeared but legible letters, holes unrelated to the text's integrity, and insignificant marginal notations. Abbreviations are expanded in the text without further comment. As stated, the AN translation adheres mostly very consistently to the text of the Vulgate book of Judges. There are occasional departures, however, and these appear in the Rejected readings.

¹⁶⁹ Christine Hediger, 'Le vitrail des Juges de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 49 (2001), 85-100 (p. 97).

¹⁷⁰ Krouse, p. 59. See Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 242 (vv. 2061-62).

¹⁷¹ For the text of *Samson, dux fortissime*, see R. W. Hunt, Review of *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* by F. J. E. Raby, *Medium Ævum*, 28 (1959), 189-94. See also Léglu's analysis (2018, pp. 73-76).

¹⁷² Dronke, p. 137. For the text of the *planctus*, see pp. 121-23.

¹⁷³ Hunt, p. 193 (v. 15).

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THE ANGLO-NORMAN BIBLE'S BOOK OF JUDGES

[fol. 162r] **Ci finist le livre de Josue et [fol. 162v] comence le livre dé Jugges.** Après la mort de Josue lé filz de Israel se consaillerent Nostre Sire, disauntz: ‘Qi ascendera devaunt nous contre Chananeum et serra ducs de bataille?’ Et Nostre Sire dist: ‘Judas mountera. Voi, j’ai donee la terre en ses mains’. Et Judas dist a Symeon son frere: ‘Mounte od moy en ma sort et combates contre Chananeum, et jeo irroi od toi en ta sort’. Et Symeon s’en vait od luy, et Judas mounta. Et Nostre Sire bailla en lour mains Chananeum et Phereseum, et il ferirent en Bezek dis mill des hommes. Et il troverent Adonibezek en Bezek et il combatirent contre ly et il ferirent Chananeum et Phereseum. Et Adonibezek s’enfui, le quel cil ensuiauntz pristrent les haltesces de ses mains et de ses piez trenchez. Et dist Adonibezek: ‘Sessaunte et dis rois, les haltesces de lour mains et piez trenchez, quillèrent les remenauntz des viaundes south ma table. Nostre Sire ad a moy renduz si com jeo fis’. Et cil le mesnerent en Jerusalem, et illoeqe est il mort.

Por ceo les filz de Juda, assegeauntz Jerusalem, la pristrent et la ferirent en bouche de espee, baillaunt tote la citee a flamme. Et denaprès descendauntz combaterent contre Chananeum qe habita es mountaignes et al meridien et en champestres. Et Juda s’en alaunt contre Chananeum qe habita en Ebron—le noun de qi estoit de auncien temps Chariatharbe—il feri Sisai et Ahiman et Tholmai.

Et cil alaunt de illoeqes s’en vait as habitatours de Dabir, le auncien noun de qi estoit Cariathsepher, c’est la citee des Lettres. Et dist Caleph: ‘Cil qe avera feruz Cariathsepher et l’avera degastee, jeo luy dorroi Axam ma fille a femme’. Et com Othoniel le filtz de Xenez, le meindre frere de Caleb, la out pris, il ly dona sa fille a femme. La quele, alaunt el chemyn, son bier ly amonesta qe ele demaundast un champ de son pier. Laquele, com ele seaunt en un asne eust suspiree, Caleb dist a ly: ‘Quele chose as tu?’ Et ele respondi: ‘Doignes a moy ta beneisoun. Pur ceo qe tu moy as donee la terre secche, donez a moy terre rouissaunt en eawes’. Lors ly dona Caleb le rouissaunt par desus et le rouissaunt par aval.

Les filz adcertes de Cinei—les cosyns de Moisen—s’en vount de la citee dé Palmes od les filz de Juda en le desert de son sort qe est a la meridien de Arad, et cil habitèrent od ly. Et Judas s’en vait od Symeon son frere et ferirent ensemble Chananeum qe habita en Sephat et ly occirent. Et le noun de la citee estoit apelle Horma, c’est a dire ‘escomengement’. Et Judas prist Gazam od ses contrees et Ascalon et Accaron [fol. 163r] od lour termes. Et Nostre Sire fust od Juda, et il out les mountaignes ne il ne pout oster les habitatours de la vallee por ceo q’il habouderent en cures od faucils sipes. Et cil donerent a Caleb Ebron—si com Moises out dit—le quele osta de ycele les treis filz de Enac, si ne osterent point les filz de Benjamyn Jebuseum, habitatours de Jerusalem. Jebuseus habita od les filz de Benjamyn en Jerusalem desqes a cesti jour present.

La maisoun adcertes de Joseph mounta en Bethel, et Nostre Sire fust od eux. Car com il assaillerent cele citee qe einz ert apellee Luza, il virent un hom issaunt de la citee et il ly distrent: ‘Demouste a nous l’entree de la citee, et nous feroms a toi mercy’. Le quel, com il out a eux moustree, il ferirent la citee en bouche de espee et il lesserent cel hom et tote sa cosinage. Le quel lessee s’en ala en la terre de Sechym et edifia illoeqe une citee. Et il la apella Luzam, la quele est en tiele manere appellé desqes a cesti jour.

Manasses adcertes ne osta pas Bethsan et Tanat od ses villes ne les habitatours de Dor et Jeblaam et Maggedo od ses villes. Et Chananeus prist habiter od eux. Et puisqe Israel est confortee, il les fist truagers ne il ne les volt oster.

Adecertes Effraym ne occist point Chananeum, le quel habita en Gazer, mais il habita od ly.

Zabulon ne osta pas les habitatours de Cethron et de Naalon, mais Chananeus habita en la meiene de eux et fait est a ly truager.

Aser adcertes ne osta pas les habitatours de Accon et de Sidon, de Alab ne de Achazib ne de Alba et de Afet et Roob. Et il habita en la meiene de Chananeu, habitatours de cele terre, ne il nel occist.

Neptalim ne osta point lé habitatour de Bethssames ne de Bethanath et habita entre Chananeum, habitatours de la terre. Et ly Bethsamiciens et Bethaniciens furent a ly trowagers.

Et Amorreus destreigneit les fils de Dan en la mountaigne ne il ne lour dona point lieu q’il descenderent as choses plus plaines. Et il habita en la mountaigne de Hares—qe est entrepretee

‘tesmoignance’—en Ahilon et Sabalym. Et la main de la maisoun de Joseph est agrevee en Amorreum et il est fait a ly truger. Et le terme dé Amorreu est fait de l’ascendement de la Perre et les soverains lieus.

II Et l’angle de Nostre Sire mounta de Galgala desques al lieu des Plorauntz et dist: ‘Jeo vous mesna hors de Egipte et vous ay mesnee en la terre por la quele jeo jura a voz peres. Et jeo ay promys qe jeo ne feroi point mon covenaunt vain od vous [*fol. 163v*] pardurablement en tiele manere, nomeement qe vous ne feissez alliaunce od les habitatours de cele terre et southturnez lour altiers, et ne voliez oir ma voiz. Por quei avez vous fait ceste chose? Por quele chose jeo ne les voloi oster de vostre face qe vous eussez enemys et lour dieus soient a vous en tresbuschement’. Et com le angle de Nostre Sire out parlee totes cestes choses as filz de Israel, il leverent lour voiz et plorerent. Et le noun de cel lieu est apellee des Plorauntz ou des Lermes. Et cil sacrifierent illoeqes lour sacrifices a Nostre Sire.

Por ceo Josue lessa le poeple, et les filz de Israel s’en vount chescun en sa possessioun q’il la avereient. Et servirent a Nostre Sire touz les jours de Josue et des aunciens qe par longtems ve[s]quirent après luy et avoient conuz touz les oeveraignes de Nostre Sire les queus il fist od Israel. Et Josue le filz Nun, le serf de Nostre Sire, de cent et dis anz, est mort. Et cil luy ensevelirent es boundes de sa possessioun en Thamathsare, el mount de Ephraym, a la partie septentrionale del mount de Gaas. Et tote cele generacioun est assemblé a lour peres, et autres susleverent qe ne avoient conuz Nostre Sire ne ses oeveres q’il out fait a Israel.

Et les filz de Israel firent mal el regard de Nostre Sire et servirent a Baalym et lesserent le Sire Dieu de lour peres qe les out mesnee de la terre de Egipte. Et suirent dieus estranges et les dieus des poeples qe habiterent enviroin de eux et les ahourerent. Et moverent Nostre Sire a ire, lessauntz ly et servissauntz a Baal et a Astaroth. Et Nostre Sire, coroucee contre Israel, les bailla es mains des ravissauntz les queus les pristrent et vendirent as enemys qe habitoient enviroin ne il ne poient reesteer a lour adversaries. Mais ou qecunqe il voillent aler, la main de Nostre Sire estoit sur eux si com il parla et jura a eux, et il sount grantment turmentez.

Et Nostre Sire resuscita jugges qe les delivererent de les mains des degastauntz mais il ne les volent oir, fesauntz fornicacioun od dieus estrang[e]s et les ahourauntz. Il deguerperent tost la voie par la quele lour peres avoient entrez. Et cil oiauntz les comaumentz de Nostre Sire firent tut le contrarie. Et com Nostre Sire eust resuscitee les jugges, mercy estoit encliné en lour jours. Et il oy les gemissementz des turmentez et les delivera de la occisioun des degastauntz. Et puisque ly juge fust mort, il retournerent et fesoient mult greindres choses qe lour peres avoient fait en suauntz dieus estranges et les servissauntz et les ahourauntz. Il ne lesserent lour controveries ne la tresdure voie par la quele il soloient aler. [*fol. 164r*] Et la deverie de Nostre Sire est corucee en Israel, et il dist: ‘Por ceo qe ceste gent fist mon covenaunt vain le quel jeo fis od lour peres et despit oir ma voiz, et jeo ne otera point les gentz les queles Josue lessa et il est mort, qe jeo prove Israel en eux le quel il gardent la voie de Nostre Sire et voisent en cele si com lour peres les garderent ou noun’. Lors lessa Nostre Sire totes celes naciouns ne il ne les voleit tost southturner ne ne les dona es mains de Josue.

III Ceo sont les gentz les queles Nostre Sire deguerpi, qe il apreist Israel en eux et touz yceux qe ne conustrent point les batailles des Chananeus et qe lour filz apreissent de ceo en avaunt de estriver od lour enemys et avoir la custumme de batailler contre les cink sages biers dé Philistiens et de chescun Cananeu et Sydonum et Eveum, les queus habiterent en la mountaigne de Lyban del mount de Baal et Hermon desques a l’entree de Emath. Et il les lessa q’il provereit Israel en eux le quel il oirent les comandementz de Nostre Sire qe il comaunda a lour peres par la main de Moisen ou noun. Ensement les filz de Israel habiterent en la meiene dé Chananeu et Ethei, dé Amorreu, dé Pherizeï, dé Evei et dé Jebusei. Et il pristrent lour filles a femmes et il donerent lour filles a lour filz et servirent a lour dieus.

Et il firent mal el regard de Nostre Sire et il ublierent lour Dieu, servissauntz a Baalim et a Astaroth. Et Nostre Sire corucee contre Israel les bailla es mains de Chuserasathaym, roi de Mesopotamie, et il luy servirent par oit anz. Et il crierent a Nostre Sire le quel suscita a eux un salveour. Et Othoniel les delivera, c’est a savoir le filz de Cenez, le meindre frere de Caleb. Et l’esperit de Nostre Sire fust od ly, et il juggea

Israel. Et cil s'en issi a bataille, et Nostre Sire bailla en ses mayns Chuserasathaim, le roi de Syrie, et luy agravanta. Et la terre reposa par quarante anz. Et Othoniel le filz de Cenez est mort.

Et les filz de Israel se ajosterent a faire mal el regard de Nostre Sire le quel conforta vers eux Eglon, roi de Moab, por ceo q'il firent mal en son regard. Et il acoupla a soi lé filz de Ammon et de Amalech, et cil s'en vait et feri Israel et out la citee dé Palmes. Et les filz de Israel servirent a Eglon, roi de Moab, par dis oit anz.

Et puis crierent il a Nostre Sire le quel suscita a eux un salveour, Ahot par noun, le filz Gera le filz de Gemini, le quel usa l'un et l'autre main pur destre. Et les filz de Israel envoierent par luy douns a Eglon, roi de Moab, le quel fist a soi une espee de ambespartz trechaunt eiaunt en la meiene le manuel de la [fol. 164v] longure de une palme de main, et il estoit ceint de ceo desouth le sarge en la destre quisse. Et cil offri douns a Eglon, roi de Moab. Eglon adecertes estoit trop cras. Et com il out offri douns a ly, il ensui ses compaignouns qe od ly vindrent. Et cil returnee de Galgal ou ydoles estoient, dist al roi: 'Sire roi, jeo ai a toi secree parole'. Et cil comaunda silence, et trestouz issirent qe estoient entour ly. Si entra Ahot a luy, et il sist soul en une sale de estee. Et cil dist: 'Jeo ai a toi la parole de Nostre Sire'. Le quel soy leva demaintenaunt de sa trone. Et Ahot estendi a ly sa main senestre et prist le fauchoun sicam de sa destre quisse et le ficchi en son ventre si forciblement qe le manuel sui le feer en la plaie et fust restreynt en la unccioun tresgrasse. Ne il ne restrai point l'espee hors mais si com il out feruz, il le lessa el corps et tantoust la fiente s'en isse par les secrez de nature. Les huis del cenacle clos ententivement et fermez par cerrure, Ahot adecertes s'en issi par le posterne.

Et les servauntz du roi entrez virent les huis du cenacle clos et distrent: 'Paraventure il purge son ventre en la couche de estee'. Et cil attendauntz longement q'il soi vergoignerent et voiauntz qe nul ne les overi, porterent la clief. Et cil overauntz troverent lour seigneur gisaunt mort en terre.

Ahot adecertes dementre qe cil estoient troeblez s'enfui et passa al lieu des Ydoles dount il returna. Et il vint en Seirath et demaintenaunt sona un busyne en la mountaigne de Effraym. Et les filz de Israel descendirent od ly, soi meismes alaunt el front. Le quel lour dist: 'Suez moy, car Nostre Sire ad donee les Moabitz noz enemys en nos mayns'. Et cil descenderent après luy et ocuperent les wees de Jordan les queus aloient outre en Moab. Et ne lesserent point chescun passer, mais il ferirent les Moabitz en cel temps enviroun dis mill touz fortz hommes et vigorous—nul de eux poeit eschaper. Et a cel jour Moab est humiliee south la mayn de Israel, et la terre se reposa par oitaunte aunz.

IIII Après ly fust Sangar, le filz Anath, le quel feri lé Philistiim—sis centz hommes—par un sok. Et cil ensement defendi Israel.

Et les filz de Israel ajousterent a faire mal el regard de Nostre Sire après la mort de Ahot. Et Nostre Sire les bailla es mains de Jabin, roi de Chanaan, qe regna en Asor. Et il out un dустre de son host, Sisaram par noun, et il adecertes habita en Aroseth des gentz. Et les filz de Israel crierent a Nostre Sire, quar il avoit [fol. 165r] noef centz currez od faucils sibes et il les ad agravantee grantment par vint anz.

Et Delbora prophetesce estoit la femme de Lapidoth la quele a cel temps juggea le poeple et sist south une palme qe estoit appellee par son noun entre Rama et Bethel el mount de Effraym, et les filz de Israel mounterent a ele en touz juggementz. La quele envoia et appella Barach, le filz de Abinoem de Cedes Neptalym et ly dist: 'Ly Sire Dieu de Israel toy comaunda: "Va et mesnes le host el mount de Thabor. Et tu prendras od toi dis mill de combatours de les filz de Neptalim et des filz de Zabulon. Jeo adecertes mesnera a toi el lieu de l'eawe de Cison Sisaram, prince de l'host de Jabin, et ses cures et tote la multitude et jeo les bailleroi en ta main". Et Barach dist a cele: 'Si tu veignes ovesqe moy, jeo en irroi. Et si tu ne vols venir, jeo ne irroi'. La quele ly dist: 'Jeo adecertes irroi od toy, mays a cesti foiz ne ert point la victorie a toi recountee, quar Sisara ert baillee en la main de une femme'. Lors s'en leva Delbora et s'en vait od Barach en Cedes, le quel—Zabulon et Neptalim appelez—mounta od dis mill de combatours eiaunt Delboram en sa compaignie.

Et Aber Cineus out departi jadis des autres Cineux ses freres, les filz Obab, lé cosyn de Moisen, et out tendi ses tabernacles desqes a la valleie qe estoit appellee Senium, et si estoit ceo jouste Cedes.

Et countee estoit a Sisare qe Barach le filz de Abinoem eust mountee al mount de Thabor, et il assembla noef centz curres od faucils et tote le host de Aroseth des gentz desqes a la eawe de Cison. Et Delbora dist a Barach: ‘Lieve tu, quar ceo est le jour el quel Nostre Sire bailla Sisaram en tes mains. Voi, il est ton dустre.’ Lors descendi Barach del mount de Thabor et dis mill de combatours od ly. Et Nostre Sire espounta Sisaram et touz ses curres et tote la m[u]ltitude en bouche de espee el regard de Barach ataunt qe Sisara descendaunt de son curre s’enfui a pee. Et Barach pursui les curres et son host fuiauntz tanqe a Aroseth des gentz, et tote la multitude des enemys chairent desqes a occisioun.

Sisare adecertes fuiaunt parvint al tentorie de Jahel, la femme de Aber le Cyneu, car pees estoit entre Jabin, roi de Asor, et la maisoun de Aber le Cineu. Lors s’en issi Jahel el contrecours de Sisare et ly dist: ‘Entrez a moy, my sire, entrez. Ne doutes tu pas’. Le quel entrant son tabernacle et par ly covert de une paille, dist a ly: ‘Jeo te pri qe tu moy doignes [fol. 165v] un poi de eawe quar j’ai seif grantment’. La quele overi un bussel a gourde de leat et luy dona a boivre, si lui coveri. Et Sisara lui dist: ‘Esta devaunt le huis del tabernacle, et com ascun avera venuz demaundaunt toi et disaunt: “Ne ad il nul hom ci?”, tu respoundras: “Nul n’est yci”’. En tiele manere Jahel la femme Aber prist un clou du tabernacle, pernaunt ensemment un maillet. Et ele entra privement et od silence fichi le clou en la temple de son chief et la ficchi feruz du maillet en la cervelle desqes en terre. Le quele acompaignaunt a dormir a mort failli et est mort. Et voi, Barach vint en serchaunt Sisaram. Et Jahel en issue en contrecours de ly, ly dist: ‘Vien et jeo toi demoustrera cel hom qe tu quers’. Qe com il out od luy entree, vist Sisare gisaunt mort et le clou ficchi en la temple de ly.

Por ceo Nostre Sire humilia a cel jour Jabin le roi de Chanaan devaunt les filz de Israel, les queus cressoient de jour en jour. Et par forte main empiendrent il le roi Jaby de Chanaan si la q’il le ussent ostee.

V Et a cel jour chaunterent Delbora et Barach le filz Abinoen, disauntz: ‘Vous qe par vostre eind[eg]ree de Israel offristez voz almes a peril, benesquiez Nostre Sire.

‘Oiez, vous rois, si aparceives des orailles, vous princes. Jeo le suy, jeo le sui qe chauntera a Nostre Sire. Jeo psalmeroi a ly Sire Dieu de Israel.

‘Ha, Sire, com tu issis de Seir et passas par les regions de Edom, la terre est meue et les ciels et les nuwes degouterent des eawes. Les mountaignes decurrurent de la face de Nostre Sire et Synai de la face de Nostre Sire Dieu de Israel.

‘En les jours de Sangar le filz Anath et es jours de Jahel, les sentes reposerent. Et cil qe entrerent par eux s’en alerent par sentes hors de la voie. Les fortz en Israel cesserent et se reposerent si la qe Delbora se leva, et ele leva mere en Israel. Nostre Sire eslust noveux batailles et cil southturna les portes des enemys. Escu et lance apparurent en quaraunte mill de Israel. Mon quoeur ayme les princes de Israel qe par propre eindegree offristez vous a blame.

‘Benesquiez Nostre Sire, vous qe montastes sur asnes lusauntz, et sees en jugement et alez en la voie et parlez. Saver mon ou les curres sount ensemble feruz et l’ost des enemys est destruitz. Soient les justices de Nostre Sire recountez illoeqes et sa deboneiretee en les fortz de Israel.

‘Donqe descendi le poeple de Nostre Sire a les portes et avoient [fol. 166r] la seignurie.

‘Lieve toi, lieve toi, Delbora! Lieve toi, lieve toi et paroles un chaunceoun. Lieve tu, Barach, et preignes tes cheitifs, tu filz de Abinoem. Les remenauntz du poeple sount savez. Nostre Sire combati en les fortz, il les osta de Effraym en Amalech et après luy en Benjamyn. En tes poeples, tu Amalech, de Machir descendirent princes et de Zabulon qe mesnerent host a combater. Ly ducs de Isachar furent od Delbora, si suirent il les traces de Barach le quel si com cheaunt en chief et enferné se dona a peril. Ruben devisa contre soi meismes, et estrif des hommes de grant corage est trovee. Por quei habites tu entre deux termes qe tu oies les siflementz hissynges des fouks? Ruben devisa contre soi meismes; kontek est trovee des hommes de grant corage. Galaad reposa outre Jordan, et Dan dona entent a niefs. Aser habita el rivail de la meer et demora en portz. Zabulon adecertes et Neptalim offrirent lour almes a la mort en la region de Merome.

‘Les rois vindrent et combaterent, les rois de Chanaan combaterent en Thanach joustes les eawes de Maggedon. Et nepurquant cil robbauntz, rien ne emporterent. Combatuz est contre eux del ciel. Les estoilles, mesnauntz en ordre et en lour cours, combatirent contre Sisare. Le flum de Cison trahi lour caroignes et ly flum de Cadumim et ly flum de Cison. Ha, tu, ma alme, defoule tu les fortz!

‘Les ungles de lour chivaux chairent, cil fuiaunt en fole hast et les tresfortz des enemys tresbuchantz hedelynges per preceps.

“‘Maldietz la terre de Meroz”, dist l’angle de Nostre Sire, “maldiez ses habitatours, quar il ne vindrent point a l’aide de Nostre Sire en l’aide de ses tresfortz”.

‘Beneite soit Jahel, la femme de Aber ly Cineu, entre femmes, et soit ele beneit en son tabernacle. Ele dona leat al demaundaunt eawe et ele offra bure en la fiole dé princes. Ele mist sa main senestre al clowe et la main destre al maillet des feveres. Et ele feri Sisaram queraunt en son chief le lieu de plaie, forment perceant sa temple. Il tresbucha entre ses piez; il defailli et morrust. Il estoit turnee devaunt ses piez et just mort et cheitifs.

‘Sa mere regardant par une fenestre weymenta et parla du cenacle: “Por quei demora sa curre de retourner? Por quei targerent les piez de ses charettes?” Une plus sage de ses autres femmes respoundi cestes paroles a sa soerge: “Ore paraventure devise il espoilles, et la plus beale dé femmes est a ly eslutz. Vestures de divers colours sont donee a Sisare en preie, et divers colurez hustilmentz [*fol. 166v*] est assemblé a hourner cols”. En tiele manere perissent touz tes enemys, Sire. Cil adecertes qe toi ayment resplendent si com le solail resplent en sa naissance’.

Et la terre se reposa par quarante anz.

VI Les filz de Israel adecertes firent mal el regard de Nostre Sire le quel les bailla en la main de Madian par sept anz, et cil sont de eux trop emprientz. Et cil firent fosses et caves en mountaignes et tresfortz lieux pur combatre. Et com Israel eust semee, mounterent Madian et Amalech et autres des naciouns orientales et ficchauntz lour pavillouns vers eux auxint com il estoient en herbes, il degasterent totes choses desqes a l’entree de Gaze. Et il ne remistrent riens de tut en tut en Israel apurtenaunt a vie, ne owailles ne boefs ne asnes. Cil adecertes et touz lour fouks vindrent od lour tabernacles et paremplirent totes choses a la similitude des locustes, degastauntz quelecunqe chose la nyentnombrable multitude des hommes et dé camels avoient touchee. Et Israel est trop humiliee el regard de Madian et il cria a Nostre Sire, demaundaunt aide des Madianitz.

Le quel lour envoya un bier prophete, et les empara: ‘Cestes choses dist ly Sire Dieu de Israel: “Jeo vous fis ascendre ensemble de Egipte et vous mesna hors de la maisoun de servage. Et vous deliverai de la main des Egipcians et de touz les enemys qe vous turmenterent et les engettai a vostre entree. Et jeo bailla a vous lour terre et dis, “Jeo suy le Sire vostre Dieu. Ne doutez les dieus des Amorreux en qi terre vous habitez”. Et vous ne voillez oir ma voiz’.

Et l’angle Dieu vint et sist south la cheine qe estoit en Effra et partint a Joas, pere de la mesnie de Ezri. Et com Gedeon son filz out feruz et purgee les furmentz en la pressure qe Madian fuierent, le angle de Nostre Sire apparust a luy et dist: ‘Nostre Sire soit od toy, tu tresfort dé biers’. Et Gedeon dist a ly: ‘Sire, jeo toi pri, my Sire, si Nostre Sire soit od nous, por quei nous ount pris touz ces maux? Ou sont ses merveilles les queus noz peres nous counterent et distrent: “Nostre Sire nous mesna hors de Egipte”?, ore adecertes nous ad il deguerpi et nous ad baillee en les mains de Madian’. Et Nostre Sire regarda a luy et ly dist: ‘Va en ceste ta force et tu deliveras Israel de la main de Madian. Sachez qe jeo toi ai envoyee’. Le quel respognaunt dist: ‘Jeo toi pri, my Sire, en quele chose deliverai jeo Israel? Voi, ma mesnie est malade en Manasse, et jeo le plus petit en la maisoun moun pere’. Et Nostre Sire luy dist: ‘Jeo serroi od toi, et feriras Madian auxint com un hom’. Et cil: ‘Si jeo ai trovee’, fait il, ‘grace devaunt toi, doignes a moy signe qe tu le soiez qe paroles a moy. Ne retournez [*fol. 167r*] point de cy si la qe jeo retourne portaunt sacrifice et offrende a toy’. Le quel respoundi: ‘Jeo attendroi ton avenement’.

Lors entra Gedeon et quiseit un cheverel. Et il fist les pains azimels de un bussches de ferine, et mettaunt les chars en un canistre et le jus des chars el pot, les porta touz south la cheine et les offri a ly. A qi l’angle de Nostre Sire dist: ‘Pren les chars et les pains azimels, et tu les mettras sur ceste perre. Et

enverses le jus par desur'. Et com il out issint fait, l'angle de Nostre Sire estendi la haltesce de une verge la quele il tynt en sa main et tucha les chars et les pains azimels, et feu mounta de la perre et degasta les chars et les pains azimels, et l'angle de Nostre Sire esvanist de ses oels. Et Gedeon voiaunt q'il estoit l'angle de Nostre Sire, dist: 'Halas a moy, Sire, Sire Dieu, quar jeo vi l'angle de Nostre Sire face a face'. Et Nostre Sire ly dist: 'Pees soit od toi. Ne toi doutes, tu ne morras'. Por ceo Gedeon edifia illoeqe un altier a Nostre Sire et l'apella 'la Pees de Nostre Sire' desqes a cesti jour.

Et com il fust unquore en Effra qe est de la mesnie de Esri, a cele nuit Nostre Sire dist a ly: 'Preigne le toor de ton pere et un altre toor de sept anz, et tu destrueras le altier de Baal qe est de ton pere. Et decolpes le boys qe est entour le altier. Et tu edifieras un altier al Sire ton Dieu en la haltesce de ceste perre sur la quele tu mys le sacrifice adevaunt. Et tu prendras le secound toor et tu offeras sacrifice sur le summet des fustz les queus tu colpas du boys. Por ceo Gedeon—dis biers de ses servauntz pris—fist si com Nostre Sire out comaundee. Et cil doutaunt la maisoun de son pere et les hommes de cele citee ne voleit faire ceo par jour, mais il acomplist les touz par nuit.

Et com les biers de cele citee eussent par matin levee, il virent le altier de Baal destruit et le boys colpee et l'autre toor mys sur le altier qe adonqe estoit edifiee. Et cil distrent ensemble: 'Qi fist cestes choses?' Et com il ussent enquis le auctour du fait, il en est dit: 'Gedeon le filz Joas fist totes cestes choses'. Et il distrent a Joas: 'Mesnes ton filz q'il moerge por ceo q'il ad destruit le altier de Baal et ad colpee le boys'. As queux cil respoundi: 'Saver moun si vous estes les vengeours de Baal qe vous combatez pur ly? Moerge cil qe est son adversarie einz qe la lumere du matin viegne. S'il soit dieu, venge il soi de cil qe southfossee ad son altier'. De cesti jour est Gedeon appelee Gerobaal por ceo [*fol. 167v*] qe Joas dist: 'Venge Baal soi de cil qe southfowy son altier'.

Por ceo tote Madian et Amalech et les poeples de l'orient sount assemblez, et cil passauntz outre Jordan mistrent lour pavillouns el vaal de Jezrael. L'esperit adcertes de Nostre Sire vesti Gedeon le quel sonaunt en un busine apella la maisoun de Abiezer q'il luy ensuist. Et il envoya messagers en tote Manassen les queus ly mesmes lui suirent et autres messagers en Aser et Zabulon et Neptalim les queus ly occurrerent.

Et Gedeon dist a Nostre Sire: 'Si tu averas fait Israel sauf par ma main si com tu parlas, jeo mettroi ceste tisoun de leine en l'eir. Si rosee avera estee en le tisoun soul et secchesce en tote la terre, jeo le saveroi qe tu deliveras Israel par ma mayn auxint com tu parlas'. Et issint est il fait. Et il levaunt de nuit, le tisoun expressé parempli un phiole de rosee. Et il dist autrefois a Nostre Sire: 'Ne soit ta deverie corucee contre moy si jeo toi avera unquore assaié queraunt signe el tisoun. Jeo pri qe le tisoun soit solement sek et tote la terre moste de rosee'. Et Nostre Sire fist a cel nuit si com il out demaundee, et secchesce fust solement el tisoun et rosee en tote la terre.

VII Por ceo Jerabaal, le quel est Gedeon, levaunt de nuit et tote le poeple od ly, vin[t] a la fontaine qe est appelee Arad. Et les pavillouns de Madian estoient el vaal a la plaie septentrionale del Halte Tertre.

Et Nostre Sire dist a Gedeon: 'Mult de poeple est od toi, et Madian ne ert point donee en ses mains qe Israel ne se esjoie contre moy et die: "Jeo sui deliveree par mes forces". Paroles al poeple et prechez a touz oiauntz: "Cil qe est pourous et doutous, returne il"". Cil departirent del mount de Galaad, et illoeqes retournerent del poeple vint et deux mill des biers, et dis mill remistrent solement.

Et Nostre Sire dist a Gedeon: 'Unquore est le poeple grant. Mesnes eux as eawes, et jeo les proveroi illoeqes. Et de quel qe jeo te avera dit q'il voise od toi, voise il, et returne cesti le quel jeo avera defenduz'. Et com le poeple out descende a les eawes, Nostre Sire dist a Gedeon: 'Cil qe averont leschee de lange les eawes si com les chiens soloient lescher, tu les deviseras pardesouth. Cil adcertes qe averont beuz lour genoils acourvez serrount en l'autre part'. En tiele manere fust le nombre de ceux qe lescherent les eawes lour mains gettauntz a lour bouche, treis cent hommes. Et tote l'autre multitude—lour genoils encourvez—bevoient. Et Nostre Sire dist a Gedeon: 'Jeo vous delivera en treis centz biers qe lescherent les eawes et jeo bailleroi Madian en ta main. Si retourne tote [*fol. 168r*] l'autre multitude a lour lieu'. En tiele manere—viandes prises et busin[e]s por le nombre—il comaunda tote l'autre multitude aler a lour

tabernacles, et cil od treis centz biers se dona a bataille. Les pavillouns adecertes de Madian estoient pardesouth en la vallee.

Et mesmes cel nuit dist Nostre Sire a luy: 'Lieve et descende es pavillouns, quar jeo les ai baillé en ta main. Si ceo noun tu averas doutee de aler soul, descende Phara ton enfaunt od toi. Et com tu averas oie quei il parleront, lors serrount tes mains confortez et tu descendras plus asseur as pavillouns de tes enemys'. Lors descendi cesti et son enfant Phara es parties des pavillouns ou les veilles des armez estoient, Madian adecertes et Amalech et touz les poeples orientals enversés en la vallee si com multitude des locustes. Cameles adecertes estoient sanz nombre si com areine qe gist el rivail de la meer. Et com Gedeon out venuz, un counta son soungé a son proesme. Et en ceste manere recounta il ceo q'il out veu: 'Jeo vi un soungé, et un pain cendrinous de orge estoit a moy veu estre volupee et descendre es pavillouns de Madian. Et com ceo out venuz al tabernacle, ceo ly feri et le subverti et le fist en tote manere owel desqes a la terre'. Cil respoundi a qi il parla: 'Ci n'est altre chose si noun l'espee de Gedeon, le filz de Joas, le bier de Israel. Dieu ad baillee en sa main Madian et touz ses pavillouns'.

Et com Gedeon out oi le soungé et la interpretisioun de ceo, il ahoura et returna as pavillouns et dist: 'Levez, quar Nostre Sire ad baillee en noz mains les pavillouns de Madian'. Et il disseveri treis centz biers en treis parties et lour dona estives en lour mains et galouns lagenas voides et lampes en la meiene des vasseux. Et lour dist: 'Fetez ceo qe vous moy avez veu faire. Jeo entrera une partie des pavillouns, et ceo qe jeo avera fait, l'ensuiez. Quant l'estive avera sonee en ma main, sonez vous par environ des pavillouns et criez ensemble a Nostre Sire et Gedeon'.

Et Gedeon entra en un partie des pavillouns, et treis centz biers qe od luy estoient. Les veilles de la mynuyt comenceantz et les gardeins suscitez, il comencerent a soner od busines et retentir claptogider lour galouns entre eux. Et com il ussent sonee en treis lieux par environ des pavillouns et ussent debrisee lour ydres, il tindrent lampes en mains senestres [*fol. 168v*] et busines sonantz en lour destres. Et il crierent: 'L'espee de Nostre Sire et de Gedeon!', chescun esteaunt en son lieu par environ des pavillouns hostils. Por ceo sount touz les pavillouns troeblez, et cil criaantz et weymentaantz s'enfuirent. Et jadumeins les treis centz biers y parmayndrent sonantz dé busines. Et Nostre Sire envoya espe[e] en touz les pavillouns, et il se occirent par divers occisioun, fuiaantz desqes a Bethsecha et desqes a l'haltesce de Abelmeula en Thebath. Les biers adecertes de Israel criaantz ensemble de Neptalim et de Aser et de tut Manasse, pursuirent Madian.

Et Gedeon envoya messagers en chescun mountaigne de Effraym, disaunt: 'Descendez el contrecours de Madian et occupiez les eawes desqes a Bethbera et Jordan'. Et tut Effraym cria et occupia les eawes et Jordan tanqe a Bethbera. Et il occist deux hommes pris de Madian, Oreb et Zeb—Oreb en la perre de Oreb et Zeb el pressour de Zeeb. Et il pursuirent Madian, portaantz les chiefs de Oreb et Zeb a Gedeon outre le flum de Jordan.

VIII Et les biers de Effraym distrent a ly: 'Quele chose est ceo qe tu voleies faire qe tu ne nous apellas quant tu alas a bataille contre Madian?', estrivaunt fortment et portaantz force deprés. As queus il respoundi: 'Car quele tiele chose poeia jeo faire quele vous avez fait? Saver moun si le braunche de Effraym ne est meillour qe les vendenges de Abiezer. Nostre Sire ad baillee en voz mains les princes de Madian, Oreb et Zeb. Car quele tiele chose poeia jeo fair[e] quele vous avez fait?' Qe com il out parlee, lour esperit se reposa dount il se doutoient contre luy.

Et com Gedeon venist a Jordan, il le passa od treis centz biers qe od luy estoient. Et cil ne poeient pursuir les fuiaantz pur lacesse. Et il dist a les biers de Sochoth: 'Jeo vous pri, donez pains al poeple qe est od moy, quar il unt trop defailli qe nous pussoms pursuir Zebee et Salmana, rois de Madian'. Respoundirent les princes de Sochot: 'Paraventure les palmes des mains de Zebee et de Salmana sount en ta main, et pur ceo tu nous demaundes qe nous doignons dé pains a ton host?' As queus il dist: 'Com Nostre Sire avera doné en mes mains Zebee et Salmana, jeo defolera voz chars od espines et ronces de desert'. Et cil alaunt de illoeqe, vint a Phanuel et parla tieles choses as biers de cel lieu. [*fol. 169r*] A qi cil respondirent si com les biers de Sochot respounderent. Et cil lour dist en tiele manere: 'Com jeo avera returnee venquiour en pees, jeo destruerai ceste tour'.

Zebee adcertes et Salmana reposerent od tut lour host, quar quinze mill hommes remistrent od totes les compaignies des peuples orientals, cent et vint mill des combatours et horstreauntz lour espee occis. Gedeon adcertes mountaunt par la voie de yceux qe demorrerent en tabernacles a la part orientale de Nobee et de Jecbaa feri les pavillouns des enemys les queus estoient assure et rien ne virent de contrarie. Et voi, Zebee et Salmana s'enfuirent, les queus Gedeon pursuiaunt prist tote lour host troeblee.

Et cil retournaunt de bataille devant la naissance du solail, prist un enfaunt des biers de Sochoth et ly demanda les nouns des princes et de les plus senez de Sochoth, et cil descript sessaunte et dis et sept hommes.

Et il vint a Sochoth et lour dist: 'Voiez Zebee et Salmana sur les queus vous moy reprovastes, disantz: "Paraventure les mains de Zebee et de Salmana sont en tes mains, et por ceo demandes tu qe nous doignons pains as biers qe sont laas et defaillirent?"' Lors prist il les plus cenez de la citee et espines et ronces du desert et defola et debrisa od eux les biers de Sochoth. Et abati la tour de Phaniel, touz les habitours de la citee occis.

Et cil dist a Zebee et a Salmana: 'Queus estoient les biers qe vous occistes en Thabor?' Les queus respondirent: 'Semblables a toy, et un de eux auxint com filz de roi'. As queus il dist: 'Il furent mes freres, les filz de ma mere. Nostre Sire vist, si vous les ussez gardees, jeo ne vous occiasse'. Et il dist a Jether, son filz primes engendree: 'Lieve, si les occies'. Le quel ne traist pas son espee quar il douta por ceo q'il fust unquore enfaunt. Et Zebee et Salmana distrent: 'Lieve toi et tresbusches en nous, quar la force de homme est joste le age'. Gedeon se leva et occist Zebee et Salmana. Et prist les ahournementz et les bules dont les cols des chameux roials soloient estre enbealiz.

Et touz les biers de Israel distrent a Gedeon: 'Enseignes tu nous et ton filz et le filz de ton filz, quar tu nous as delivree de la main de Madian'. As queux il dist: 'Jeo ne vous enseignuroi ne moun filz ne vous enseignura, mais Nostre Sire vous enseignura'. Et il lour dist: 'Jeo vous demande un peticioun: Doignez a moy les ahournementz des orailles de vostre preie', car les Ismaeliciens soloient avoir ournementz de or des orailles. Les queus respondirent: 'Nous [fol. 169v] les te dorrons volenters'. Et cil estendaunt un paille sur la terre, il getterent lour ournementz des orailles de lour preie. Et le pois des ournementz des orailles demandee fust mill et sept centz cycles de or sanz hournementz et fermals broches et vestures de purpre dont les rois de Madian furent acustummez de user et estre les ournementz de or des cols des camels. Et Gedeon fist de ceo un vesture pur un chapellain .i. ephot et le mist en sa citee, Ephra. Et tut Israel en ceo fist fornicacioun, et ceo est fait a Gedeon et tote sa maisoun en tresbuschement. Madian adcertes est humiliee devant les filz de Israel ne il ne poeient plus outre eslever lour cervelles. Mais la terre se reposa par quarante anz as queus Gedeon fust souveraigne.

Por ceo Jerobaal le filz Joas s'en vait et habita en sa maisoun. Et il avoit sessaunte et dis filz les queus sont issus de sa quisse por ceo q'il avoit plusours femmes. Sa concubine adcertes q'il avoit en Sichem engendra a luy un fiz, Abimelech par noun. Et Gedeon le filz Joas morrust en bone veillesce et est enseveliz es sepulcres de Joas son pere en Ephra, de la mesnie de Ezri.

IX Adcertes puisqe Gedeon morrust, les filz de Israel turnerent et firent fornicacioun od Baalim. Et il firent alliaunce od Baal q'il fust a eux en un dieu, ne il ne se remembrerent del Sire lour Dieu qe les delivra de les mains de touz lour enemys par environ, ne il ne firent mercy od la maisoun de de Jerobaal et Gedeon solom touz les biens q'il out fait a Israel.

Lors s'en vait Abimelech le filz de Jerobaal en Sichem, as freres de sa mere. Et les emparla et a tote la cognacioun de la maisoun de sa mere, disaunt: 'Paroles a touz les biers de Sichem: "Quele chose vous est meillour, qe sessaunte et dis biers—touz les filz de Jerobaal—vous enseignurent ou un bier vous enseignure?"' Et voiez ensemment quar jeo sui vostre os et vostre char'. Et les freres de sa mere parlerent de ly a touz les biers de Sichem totes cestes paroles et si enclinerent il lour quoeer après Abimelech, disantz: 'Il est nostre frere'. Et il donerent a ly sessaunte et dis livres de argent du temple Baal BIRTH, le quel se lowa de ceo biers meseis [et] wakerauntz, et ils le suirent. Et il vint en la maisoun de son pere en Effra et occist ses freres, les filz de Jerobaal—sessaunte et dix biers—sur une perre. Et Joathan le plus petit filz de Jerobaal remist et est muscee. Touz les biers adcertes de Sichen sont assemblez, et touz

les mesnies de la citee de Mello s'en vount et establirent Abimelech roi joste la cheine [fol. 170r] qe estuet en Sichen.

Qe com ceo fust countee a Joathan, il s'en vait et estuet el haterel de la mountaigne de Garizim. Et voice levee, il cria et dist: 'Vous, biers de Sichen, oiez moy issint qe Dieu vous oie'.

'Les fustz du boys s'en alerent q'il enhoindrent sur eux un roi:

'Et il distrent a l'olive: "Comaunde tu a nous".

'Le quel respoundi: "Ne pusse jeo deguerpir ma crassetee dount deus et hommes en usent et venir qe jeo soi enhauncee entre les arbres?"

'Et les arbres secchez distrent a l'arbre figer: "Vien et pren regne sur nous".

'Le quel respoundi a eux: "Ne pusse jeo refuser ma dulçour et mes tressuefs fruitz et aler qe jeo soi avaannee entre les altre arbres".

'Et les arbres secches parlerent al visne: "Vien et comaundes a nous". La quele respoundi: "Ne pusse jeo refuser mon vin qe esleesce dieu et hommes et estre avaannee entre les autres arbres".

'Et touz les fustz distrent a l'allier beveborn: "Vien et comaundes sur nous".

'Le quel lour respoundi: "Adecertes si vous moy avez establiz roi a vous, veignez et reposez south ma ombre. Si vous adecertes ne voillez, isse feu de l'allier et devoure les cedres de Liban".

'Por ceo ore si vous eiez establiz dreiturelement et sanz pecchee Abimelech roi sur vous et eiez bien fait a Jorobaal et od sa maisoun et eiez renduz foiz a les bienfaitz de luy, le quel se combati por vous et dona sa alme a perils q'il vous defendist de la main de Madian—vous qe ore estes levee contre la maisoun de moun pere et avez occis ses filz, sessaunte et dis biers, sur une perre—et avez establiz Abimelech, le filz de sa ancelle, roi sur les habitatours de Sechim pur ceo q'il est vostre frere. Por ceo si vous avez fait dreiturelement et sanz vise od Jorobaal et od sa maisoun, esjoissez vous hui en A[bi]malech et esjoisse il en vous. Si vous avez adecertes fait malement, isse feu de ly et degaste les habitatours de Sichem et de la citee de Mello et devourge il Abimelech'. Queles choses com il out dit, il s'enfui et s'en vait en Herrera et habita illoeqe pur pour de Abimelech son frere.

Et en tiele manere regna Abimelech sur Israel par treis anz. Et Nostre Sire envoya un tresmalveis esperit entre Abimelech et les habitatours de Sichem les queus le comencerent a escomenger et emporter la felonie de la occisioun des sessaunte et dis filz de Jerobaal et por la effusioun de lour sank en Abimelech lour frere et entre autres princes de Sichemoriens qe ly avoient aydee. Lors mistrent il aguaites contre ly en la haltesce des mountaignes, et dementres q'il atte[n]drent son avenement il haunterent [fol. 170v] larcines, fesauntz lour preies des trespasauntz. Et countee est a Abimelech.

Lors vint Gaal le filz de Obed od ses freres et passa en Sichamam a qi avenement les habitatours de Sichem susdrescez issoient es champs, degastauntz visnes et defolauntz les grapes. Et les caroles des chauntauntz faitz, il entrerent le temple de lour dieu. Et entre les mangers et les boivres maldistrent il Abimelech, Gaal le filz de Obed criaunt: 'Qi est Abimelech et quele est Sichem qe nous le servissoms? N'est il pas le filz de Jerobaal? Et establiz Zebul son serf prince sur les hommes de Emor, le pere de Sichem? Por quei donques le serviroms? A ma volentee qe ascun donast cest poeple desouth ma main qe jeo ly oste de la meiene de Abimelech'. Et il est dit a Abimelech: 'Assemblez la multitude de un host et vien'.

Por ceo Zebul, le prince de la citee, les paroles de Gaal le filz de Obed oies, il se trop corucea. Et il envoya privement a Abimelech messagers, disaunt: 'Voi, Gaal le filz Obed vient en Sichamam od ses freres et combatte la citee contre toi. Lieve por ceo de nuit od le poeple qe est od toi et atapissez el champ. Et al primer matin, le solail naissaunt, tresbuschez toi sur la citee. Et cil issaunt od son poeple contre toi, fai a luy ceo qe tu pusses'.

Por ceo Abimelech se leva de nuit od tut son host et mist aguaites joste Sichimam en quatre lieux. Et Gaal le filz Obed issi et estuet en l'entree de la porte de la citee. Lors se leva Abimelech et tut son host od luy del lieu des aguaitz. Et com Gaal out veu le poeple, il dist a Zebul: 'Voi, une multitude de poeple descende des mountaignes'. A qi il respoundi: 'Tu voies umbres des mountaignes si com testes des hommes, et tu es desceuz par cest erreur'. Et altrefoiz dist Gaal: 'Voi, le poeple descende de l'umbil de

la terre. Et une compaignie vient par la voie que regarde la cheine'. A qi dist Zebul: 'Ou est ore ta bouche dount tu parlas: "Qi est A[bi]malech que nous le servissoms?" Ne est point ceo le poeple que tu despisoies? Isses et combatez contre luy'. Lors s'en vait Gaal, le poeple dé Sichimiens attendaunt, et combati contre Abimelech. Le quel pursui luy fuiaunt et ly constreynt en la citee, et multz de sa partie trebuscherent tanqe a la porte de la citee. Abimelech adecertes sist en Ruma. Zebul adecertes engetta Gaal et ses compaignouns hors de la citee ne il ne estoit suffert a demorer en ycele.

Pur ceo en le jour ensuiaunt, le poeple se issi en le champ. [*fol. 171r*] Qe com ceo fust countee a Abimelech, il prist son host et le departi en treis compaignies, mettaunt aguaitz es champs. Et il voiaunt que le poeple s'en issi hors de la citee, il se leva et tresbuschea en eux od sa compaignie, combataunt et assaillaunt la citee. Deux compaignies adecertes wakerauntz par le champ pursuirent lour enemys. Abimelech adecertes combati la citee par tote cele jour, la quele il prist, ses habitatours occis. Et ceo meismes destruit issint q'il desparplierent siel en ycele.

Qe com cil que habitoient es tours dé Sichimyens ceo oissent, il entrerent le temple de lour dieu Berith ou il avoient fait od ly alliaunce, et de ly out pris le lieu le noun de qi estoit trop bien garniz. Abimelech adecertes oiaunt les biers de la tour dé Sichimiens assemblez, il mounta el mount de Selmon od tut son poeple. Et un coign pris, il colpa la braunche de un arbre. Et il emportaunt ceo mis sur son espaulde, dist a ses compaignouns: 'Ceo que vous moy avez veu faire, ceo facez vous demaintenaunt'. Lors cil colpauntz braunches estrivablement des arbres, ensuirent lour dustre. Les queus envirauntz le lieu garniz, le arderent. Et fait est que mill des hommes furent occis par feu et fumee, hommes et femmes ensemment, de les habitatours de la tour de Sechim.

Abimelech adecertes alaunt de illoeques vynt en la citee de Thebes la quele cil enviraunt assegea od un host. Lors estoit en la meiene de la citee une halte tour a la quele il s'enfuirent ensemble, les biers et les moillers et touz les princes de la citee—la porte close tresfortement—et esteaunt sur la couverture de la tour par pinacles. Et Abimelech mountaunt joste la tour combati fortement et cil aproschaunt a l'huis se afforcea de y mettre feu pardesouth. Et voi, un[e] femme jettaunt de amount un pece de une mole la hortela a la teste de Abimelech et debrisa sa cervelle. Le quel appella tost son esquier et ly dist: 'Trays ton espee et moy fierges que paraventure il ne soit dit que jeo suis occis de une femme'. Le quel acomplissaunt ses comaundementz, ly occist. Et cil occis, touz cil de Israel que od ly estoient sount returnee a lour seges. Et Dieu rendi le mal que Abimelech out fait contre son pere—ses sessaunte et dis freres occis—et ceo que les Sicheमित overerent lour est reguerdonee. Et la malesoun de Joathan, le filz de Jeroboal, vint sur eux.

X Après Abimelech leva un duk en Israel, Thola le filz de Phua, le uncle de Abimelech, un bier de la lignee de Isachar que habita en Sanir del mount de Effraym et juggea Israel par vint et treis aunz. [*fol. 171v*] Et il est mort et enseveliz en Sanir.

Aprés luy aproscha Jahir, un hom de Galaad, le quel juggea Israel par vint et deux anz, eiaunt trent filz seauntz sur trent pollains des asnesces et princes de trent citez les queles sount appellés de soun noun 'Avoth Jahir', c'est a savoir les citez de Jahir, desqes a cesti jour en la terre de Galaad. Jahir adecertes est mort et enseveliz en un lieu a qi noun est Camon.

Et les filz de Israel ajoustauntz noveux pecchez a vieux firent mal el regard de Nostre Sire et servirent as ydoles Baalim et Astaroth et as dieus de Sirie et de Sidon et de Moab et de les filz de Amon et des Philistiens. Et il deguerpirent Nostre Sire et ne ly honurerent. Contre les queus Nostre Sire est corucee et les bailla en les mains dé Philistiim et des filz Amon. Et cil sount turmentez et grantment oppress par dys et oit anz. Et touz que habitoient outre Jordan en la terre dé Amorrei que est en Galaad en tant que les filz de Amon, le Jordan passee, degasterent Judam et Benjamyn et Effraym. Et Israel est trop turmentee.

Et cil criauntz a Nostre Sire, distrent: 'Nous avoms pecchee a toi por ceo que nous avoms deguerpiz Nostre Dieu et serviz a Baalym'. As queus Nostre Sire parla: 'Ne vous oppresserent point les Egipcians et les Amorreux et les filz de Amon et dé Philistiim et Sydoniens et Amalechitz et Chanaan? Et vous clamastez a moy, et jeo vous delivera de lour main. Et nepurqant vous moy avez deguerpiz et avez ahoree dieux aliens. Por ceo jeo ne vous ajoudera plus outre que jeo vous delivre. Alez, si appelez les

dieus les queus vous avez esluz, si vous deliverent il en temps de anguisse'. Et les filz de Israel distrent a Nostre Sire: 'Nous avoms pecchez. Rende a nous ceo qe toi plest, solement nous delivrez ore'. Les queles choses disauntz, ils degetterent totes ydoles des dieus estranges hors de lour countrees et servirent Nostre Sire, le quel enpitiva de lour meseys.

Por ceo les filz de Amon criauntz, ficchirent lour pavillouns en Galaad, contre les queus les filz de Israel assemblez ficchirent lour pavillouns en Masphat. Et les princes de Galaad distrent chescun a ses proemes: 'Cil qe primes avera comencee de nous decombatre contre les filz de Ammon serra duk du poeple de Galaad'.

XI A cel temps estoit Jepthe de Galaad, un bier tresfort et combatour, le filz de une femme putaigne qe neez estoit de Galaad. [fol. 172r] Et Galaad out une femme dont il prist filz les queus puisq'il ussent creuz, il engetterent Jepthe, disauntz: 'Tu ne porras estre heir en la maisoun de nostre pere pur ceo qe tu es engendree de mere avoutiere'. Les queus il fuaunt et eschuaunt habita en la terre de Tob. Et les biers souffretous et robbeauntz sont a luy assemblez et ly suirent si com prince.

En ces jours se combatirent les filz Ammon contre Israel, les queus permenauntz eagrement, lé greindres de naissance de Galaad alerent q'il preissent en lour aide Jepthe de la terre de Tob. Et il luy distrent: 'Vien et soies nostre prince et combates contre les filz de Ammon'. As queus cil respondi: 'N'estes vous point cil qe moy haistes et degettastes de la maisoun de moun pere et ore venez a moy constreintz de busoigne?' Et les princes de Galaad distrent a Jepthe: 'Por ceo sumes nous venuz par cel enchaisoun a toi qe tu vois od nous et combates contre les filz de Ammon. Et soies tu dustre de touz cil qe habitent en Galaad'. Lors lour dist Jepthe: 'Si vous adecertes soiez a moy venuz qe jeo combate pur vous contre les filz de Ammon et Nostre Sire les avera baillee en mes mains, jeo serroi vostre prince'. Les queus ly respondirent: 'Nostre Sire qe ad oy cestes choses, il est mediatour et tesmoigne qe nous faceoms noz promesses'. Et en tiele manere s'en vait Jepthe od les princes de Galaad, et tut le poeple ly fist lour prince. Et Jepthe parla totes ses paroles a Nostre Sire en Maspha.

Et envoya messagers al roi des filz de Ammon q'il deissent en sa persone: 'Quele chose est a moy et a toi quar tu veins contre moy qe tu degastes ma terre?' As queus il respondi: 'Por ceo qe Israel prist ma terre quant il descendi hors de Egipte des contrees de Arnon desqes a Jaboch et Jordan. Por ceo ore la moy rend od pees'. Par les queus Jepthe maunda altrefois et lour comaunda q'il deissent al roi Ammon: 'Cestes choses dist Jepthe: "Israel ne prist point la terre de Moab ne la terre des filz Ammon. Mais quant il issirent de Egipte, il s'en vont par desert desqes a la Ruge mere et vint en Cades"'. Et il maunda messagers al roi de Edom, disaunt: 'Soeffre qe jeo passe par ta terre', le quel ne voleit otrier a ses prier[e]s. Et il envoya al roi de Moab le quel [fol. 172v] ly meismes despit doner passage. En ceste manere maneit il en Cades et environa de une costere la terre de Edom et la terre de Moab. Et il vint contre la orientale partie de la terre de Moab et ficchi ses pavillons outre Arnon, ne il ne volt entrer les termes de Moab. Arnon adecertes est la marche de la terre de Moab. En tiele manere maunda Israel messagers a Seon, roi des Amorreux qe habita en Esebon, et luy distrent: 'Lais qe jeo passe par ta terre desqes al flum'. Le quel soi meismes despisaunt les paroles de Israel nel lessa passer par ses termes, mais une multitude porchacee sanz fin issi contre luy en Jasra, si luy reestuet fortment. Et Nostre Sire luy bailla es mains de Israel od tut son host. Le quel luy feri et prist tote la terre des Amorreux, habitatours de cele region, et totes ses contrees de Arnon desqes a Jaboch et del desert desqes al Jordan. Por ceo ly Sire Dieu de Israel southmyst Amorreum combataunt contre luy son poeple de Israel. Et vols tu ore tenir sa terre? Ne sont mye cestes choses qe Chamos ton dieu tynt dues a toi par dreiture? Ceo adecertes qe ly Sire Nostre Dieu venquissour avoit eschairent en nostre possessioun, mais paraventure tu en es meillour de Baalach le filz Sephor, roi de Moab? Ou tu pusses dire q'il ad estrivé contre Israel et ad combatuz contre luy quant il habita en Esebon et en ses villetes et en Aroer et en ses villes ou en totes ses citez joust le Jordan par treis centz anz, por quei en tant de temps nulle chose ne assaiastez sur ceste reherce? Por ceo jeo ne pecche point en toi, mais tu fais mal contre moy, proferaunt a moy batails noun pas dreitureux. Nostre Sire, arbitrou de cest jour, juge entre Israel et les filz de Ammon'. Et le roi des filz Ammon ne voleit poi[n]t otrier as paroles de Jepthe qe il out envoiee par messagers.

Por ceo est l'esperit de Nostre Sire fait sur Jepthe. Et il environaunt Galaad et Manasse et Masfa et Galaad et de illoeqes passaunt as filz Ammon, vowa un vou a Nostre Sire, disaunt: 'Si tu averas baillee les filz Ammon en mes mains, quicunqes primes avera issu des portes de ma maisoun et avera curruz a moy returnaunt od pees des filz Ammon, jeo lui offerroi sacrifice a Nostre Sire'. Et Jepthe passa as filz Ammon q'il combatereit contre eux, les queus Nostre Sire bailla en ses mains. Et il feri de Aroer si la qe tu viens en Memnyth—vint citez—et desqes a Abel qe mys est od visnes, un trop grant plaie. Et les filz de Ammon sount humiliez des [fol. 173r] filz de Israel.

Et Jepthe returnaunt a sa maisoun en Masfa, sa fille primes engendree ly occurrust od tympan et chores, quar il ne out altre enfaunt. La quele veu, il decira ses vestures et dist: 'Halas, ma fille, tu moy as deceu, et toi meismes es deceu, car jeo overi ma bouche a Nostre Sire, si ne pusse jeo plus faire'. A qi ele respondi: 'Ha, my pere, si tu averas overt ta bouche a Nostre Sire, fai a moy quelcunqes chose tu as promys, la vengeance et la victorie de tes enemys a toi grantee'. Et ele dist a son pere: 'Moi grantes seulement ceo qe jeo pri: Moi lais qe jeo envrone par deux moys les mountaignes et plore ma virginitee od mes compaignouns'. A qi cil respondi: 'Va', et cil la lessa par deux moys. Et com ele alast od ses compaignes et ses perengals, ele deplora sa virginitee es mountaignes. Et les deux moys acompliz, ele returna a son pere. Et il fist a luy si com il avoit vovee, la quele ne conust baroun. De ceo crust la manere en Israel et la custumme en est gardé qe après le tourne de l'an les filles de Israel se assemblent en un et deplorent la fille de Jepthe dé Galadiciens par quatre jours.

XII Et voi, traisoun est neez en Effraym, quar il passauntz a l'aquiloun distrent a Jepthe: 'Por quei ne voloies tu alaunt a bataille contre les filz de Ammon nous appeller, qe nous alassoms od toi? Por ceo nous ardroms ta maisoun'. As queus il respondi: 'Un grant estrif estoit a moy et a mon poeple contre les filz de Ammon, et jeo vous appellai qe vous donassez aide a moy et vous ne voloiez. Quele chose jeo voiaunt, mys ma alme en mes mains. Et jeo passai as filz Ammon, et Nostre Sire les bailla en mes mains. Quei en ai jeo deservi qe vous levez contre moy en bataille?' Et touz les hommes de Galaad a luy apellez, se combati contre Effraym. Et les biers de Galaad ferirent Effraym pur ceo q'il out dit: 'Galaad est futifs de Effraym et il habita en la meiene de Effraym et de Manasse'. Et les Galadiciens occuperent lé wees de Jordan par les queles Effraym fust a retourner. Qe com un hom out a eux venuz fuaunt de Effraym et out dit: 'Jeo toi pri qe tu moy soeffres passer', et les Galadiciens ly distrent: 'Saver moun si tu ne es Eufrateus'. Le quel disaunt: 'Jeo nel suy pas', il luy demaunderent: 'Di pur ceo a "sebboloth"', la quele est [fol. 173v] entrepretizee 'espiz'. Le quel respondi a 'tebboloth' en mesmes cele letre neyntpussaunt demoustrer l'espiz. Et cil estranglirent demaintenaunt ly pris el passage de Jordan. Et en cel temps chairent de Effraym quaraunte et deux mill.

Et Jepthe dé Galadiciens juggea Israel par sis anz et est mort et enseveliz en sa citee de Galaad.

Aprés ly juggea Israel Abessam de Bethleem le quel out trent filz et ataunt de filles. Les queles il envoaunt hors, les dona as maritz et prist femmes a ses filz de mesmes cel nombre, mesnaunt eux en sa maisoun. Le quel juggea Israel par sept anz et est mort et enseveliz en Bethleem.

Aprés qi Haylon de Zabulon ensui et juggea Israel par dis anz et est mort et enseveliz en Zabulon.

Aprés cesti Abdon le filz de Hellel de Pharaton juggea Israel, le quel out quaraunte filz et si out il de eux trent cosyns mountauntz sur sessaunte et dis pollains des asnes. Et cil juggea Israel par oit anz. Et cil est mort et enseveliz en Pharaton de la terre de Effraym, el mount dé Amalechi.

Et derichief les filz de Israel firent mal el regard de Nostre Sire, le quel les bailla es mains d[é] Philistiens par quaraunte aunz.

XIII Un bier estoit adcertes de Saraa de la ligne de Dan, Manue par noun, eiaunt une femme baroigne. A qi l'angle de Nostre Sire apparust et ly dist: 'Tu es baroigne et sanz enfauntz mais tu conceveras et enfaunteras un filz. Garde pur ceo qe tu ne beives vin ne cisere ne qe tu ne manges nulle chose orde, quar tu conceveras et enfanteras un filz qi teste nul razour ne tuchera. Car cil ert Nazareus a Nostre Sire de sa enfaunce et del ventre de sa mere et cil comencera pur deliverer Israel de la main des Philistiens'. La quele, com ele venist a son marit, ele luy dist: 'Le bier de Dieu vint a moy eiaunt volte angelin trop espountable. Qe com jeo usse demaundé qi il fust et dount il venist et par quel noun il fust

appellee, il ne moy voleit dire més il respoundi cestes choses: “Voi, tu conceiveras et enfaunteras un filz. Eschuiques qe tu ne boives vin ne cicere et qe tu ne uses rien ord, car l’enfaunt ert Nazareus de Dieu de sa enfance et del ventre de sa mere desques al jour de sa mort”.

Lors pria Manue Nostre Sire et dist: ‘Sire, jeo te pri qe le bier Dieu qe tu envoias veigne altrefois et nous enseigne quele chose nous devons faire de l’enfaunt qe est a nestre’. Et Nostre Sire oi Manue priaunt, et [fol. 174r] l’angle de Nostre Sire apperi altrefois a sa femme seaut el champ. Et Manue son baroun n’estoit od ly. La quele com ele out veu l’angle, ele se hastea et currust a son baroun et luy counta, disaunt: ‘Voi, le bier moy apperi le quel jeo vi devaunt’. Le quel se leva et ensui sa femme. Et cil venaunt al bier, ly dist: ‘Es tu cil qe parlas al femme?’ Et cil respoundi: ‘Jeo le sui’. A qi dist Manue: ‘Quant ta parole ert acomplie, quele chose vols tu qe l’enfaunt face ou de quei il se deit garder?’ Et l’angle de Nostre Sire dist a Manue: ‘De totes les choses qe jeo parla a ta femme se deporta il. Si ne mangue il riens qe naist de visne, si ne boive il ne vin ne cicere, si ne use il riens ord. Et paremple cil et garde ceo qe jeo luy ay comaundee’.

Et Manue dist a l’angle de Nostre Sire: ‘Jeo toi pri qe tu entendes a mes prier[e]s et qe nous faceoms a toi un bokerel des cheverels’. A qi l’angle respoundi: ‘Si tu moy constreignes, jeo ne mangera point tes pains. Mais si tu vols faire sacrifice, le offres a Nostre Sire’. Et Manue ne savoit q’il fust l’angle de Nostre Sire. Et il luy dist: ‘Quei est toun noun qe si ta parole soit acomplie qe nous te honuroms?’ A qi cil respoundi: ‘Por quei demaundes tu moun noun le quel est merveillous?’

Lors prist Manue bokerell de un chevre et sacrifices et les mist sur une perre offraunt a Nostre Sire qe fait merveilles. Cil adcertes et sa femme regarderent, et com la flambe de l’altier mountast al ciel, le angel adcertes mountast ensemment en la flamble. Qe com Manue et sa femme ussent veu, il chairent en la terre enclin, et le angle de Nostre Sire ne apparust plus outre a eux. Et demaintenaunt entendy Manue ly estre l’angle de Nostre Sire. Et il dist a sa femme: ‘Nous murroms de mort pur ceo qe nous veismes Dieu’. A qi la femme respoundi: ‘Si Nostre Sire nous voldra occire, il ne out point pris offrende et sacrifice de noz mains, ne il ne nous out pas demoustré totes cestes choses, ne il ne nous ust dit choses qe sont a venir’.

Et ele en tiele manere enfaunta un filz et appella son noun Sampson. Et l’enfaunt crust, et Nostre Sire le benesquist. Et l’esperit de Nostre Sire comencea estre od ly es pavillouns de Dan entre Saraa et Hestahol.

XIII En tiele manere descendi Sampson en Thampantha, et il voiaunt illoeqes une femme des filles dé Philistiim mounta et counta a son pere et a sa mere, disaunt: ‘Jeo vi [fol. 174v] une femme en Thampantha de les filles dé Philistiens la quele jeo vous pri qe vous me preignes a femme’. A qi son pere et sa mere distrent: ‘Ne ad il nulle femme en les filles de tes freres ne en tut ton poeple qe tu vols prendre femme dé Philistiim les queus ne sont pas circuncis?’ Et Sampson dist a son pere: ‘Preignes ycele a moy quar ele plust a mes oels’. Lors ne savoient ses parentz qe la chose fust fait de Nostre Sire et qe il queist occasioun contre les Philistiens, quar a cel temps enseignuroient les Philistiens a Israel.

Lors descendi Sampson od son pere et sa mere en Thampantha. Et com il venissent as visnes de la citee, un chael de un leon cruel rugissaunt les apparust et vint en countrecorraunt eux. Et l’esperit de Nostre Sire chai en Sampson, et il decira le leon si com il out detariee un cheverel en pieces eiaunt rien de tut en tut en ses mains. Et ceo ne voleit il demoustrer a son pere et a sa mere. Et cil descendi et parla a la femme la quele plust a ses oels. Et après aliquantz des jours, cil returnaunt qe il la preist se declina q’il veist la caroigne del leoun. Et voi, un esseim des ees estoit en la bouche du leon et un ree de meel. Le quel com il out pris en ses mains, il mangea en la voie. Et cil venaunt a son pere et a sa mere les dona partie, les queus mangerent ensemment. Nepurquant il ne voleit moustrer a eux qe il out pris le meel de la bouche du leon.

Et en tiele manere descendi son pere a la femme et fist un manger a Sampson son filz, car joevenceux soloient faire en tiele manere. Lors com les citezeins de cel lieu ly veissent, il le donerent trent compaignouns les queus serroient od luy, as queus Sampson parla: ‘Jeo mettrai a vous un devinail le quel si vous moy avez expount deinz sept jours de la mangerie, jeo vous dorroi trent sindones et

altretant de cotes. Si vous adecertes nel porrez expoundre, vous moy dorrez trent sindones et cotes de mesmes le nombre'. Les queus ly respondirent: 'Di le devinail qe nous le oioms'. Et cil lour dist: 'Del mangeant issi le manger et du fort issi la dulcour'. Ne il poient par treis jours expoundre la proposicioun.

Et com le jour septisme aprochast, cil distrent a la femme de Sampson: 'Blaundies a ton baroun et ly amonestes q'il te demoustre qe le devinail signifie. Qe si tu nel voldras faire, nous te arderoms et la maisoun de ton pere. Saver moun si vous nous apellastes por ceo a les noeces qe vous nous despoillastes'. [fol. 175r] La quele espaundi lermes a Sampson et soi complaint, disaunt: 'Tu moy hays, si ne moy aymes. Por ceo ne vols tu point expoundre a moy le devinail le quel tu as mys as filz de moun poeple'. Et cil respondi: 'Jeo nel voloi dire a mon pier ne a ma mere, et le porroi jeo toi demoustrer?' Lors plora ele a ly par les sept jours de la mangerie. Et al derreine com ele estoit moleste al septisme jour, il la expout, la quele demaintenaunt la demoustra a ses citezeins. Et le distrent a ly le septisme jour einz le rescous du solail: 'Quele chose est plus douce de meel? Et quele chose est plus fort de leon?' Le quel lour dist: 'Si vous ne ussez aree en ma veale vitula, vous ne ussez trovee ma proposicioun'.

Et en tiele manere descendi en ly l'esperit de Nostre Sire, et il descendi en Ascalon et feri illoeqe trent hommes des queus les vestures despoillez, les dona a cil qe expoundrent le devinal. Et cil trop corucee descendi en la maisoun de son pere, et sa femme prist une baroun de ses amys et de ses baudestrottes.

XV Adecertes après alquant de temps com jour de messiou de furment aprochast, vint Sampson volaunt visiter sa femme et la aporta un cheverel des chevres. Et com il volsist entrer en son lit auxint com il soleit, son pere ly defendi, disaunt: 'Jeo quidoi qe tu la hays et por ceo jeo la baillai a ton amy. Més ele ad ascun soer qe soit plus joevene et plus beal de ly, soit ele a toi femme por ly'. A qi Sampson respondi: 'De ceo jour ne ert point coupe en moy contre les Philistiens, quar jeo feroi a vous mals'. Et il s'en vait et prist treis centz de goupils et joint lour cowes a cowes et lia tisouns brondes en la meiene. Les queus il allumaunt de feu, les lessa q'il currurent cea et la. Les queus s'en vount demaintenaunt es bledz dé Philistiens. Les queus allumez les bledz ensemble portez et unquore esteauntz en le estuble sount ensemble ars en tant qe la flambe degasta les visnes et les oliveres. Et les Philistiens distrent: 'Qi en ad fait cestes choses?' As queus il est dist: 'Sampson le filz en lei de Thamnathei por ceo q'il prist sa femme et l'ad donee a un altre, et por ceo en ad il fait cestes choses'. Et les Philistiens mounterent et arderent tant la femme [fol. 175v] com son pere. As queux Sampson dist: 'Jalemeins qe vous avez ceo fait, nepurquant jeo attendroi unqore vengeance de vous et lors reposerai jeo'. Et cil les feri en grant plaie issint qe cil esmerveillauntz mistrent l'aseure chalf of þe legge sur le quisse. Et cil descendaunt habita en une caverne de la perre a Ethan.

Lors s'en alauntz les Philistiens en la terre de Juda ficchirent lour pavillouns en un lieu qe après est appellee Lehi, c'est a saver la Jowe maxilla, ou lour host est enversee. Et cil de la lignee de Juda lour distrent: 'Por quei moutez vous vers nous?' Les queus respondirent: 'Nous venoms qe nous liassoms Sampson et qe nous le rendoms ceo qe il en ad overee a nous'. Lors descendirent treis mill dé biers de Juda al fosse de la perre de Ethan, si distrent il a Sampson: 'Ne scies tu qe les Philistiens nous surmountount? Por quei voloies tu faire cestes choses?' As queux il dist: 'Si com il firent a moy, issint ai jeo fait a eux'. 'Nous sumes', fount il, 'venuz pur toi lier et bailler es mains dé Philistiens'. As queus Sampson respondi: 'Jurez et moy promettez qe vous ne moy occiez'. Et cil distrent: 'Nous ne toi occieroms, mais nous toi bailleroms liee'. Et cil le lierent de deux noveux cordes et ly mesnerent de la perre de Etham.

Les queus com il ussent venuz al lieu de Jowe et les Philistiens criauntz luy occurrussent, l'esperit de Nostre Sire descendi en ly. E si com lyn soloit estre degastez par arsurre, issint sount les liens dont il ert liez rompuz et desliez. Et cil pernaunt la jowe de un asne trovee la quele y gisoit deprés, occist de cele mille biers. Et dist: 'En la jowe de un asne, en la jowe de polain de asne ay jeo ostee et feruz mill biers'. Et com cil chauntaunt out acompliz cestes paroles, il getta la jowe de sa main et apella le noun de cel lieu Ramathlehy, c'est a savoir la El[ev]acioun de la Jowe.

Et cil en eyaunt seif grantment cria a Nostre Sire et dist: 'Tu as donee en la mayn de ton serf ceste grant sanctee et victorie. Et voi, jeo moerge de seif et jeo cherroi en les mains de les nyentcircuncis'.

Lors overi Nostre Sire le messeler en la jowe de l'an[e], et eaves s'en sount de ceo issues les queles prises il reconforta son esperit et receust ses forces. Por ceo est le noun de cel lieu appellee la fountaigne de ly [fol. 176r] Appellaunt de la Jowe desques a cesti jour. Si juggea il Israel es jours dé Philistiim par vint anz.

XVI Lors s'en vait il en Gazam et vist illoeqes une femme putaigne, si entra en ly. Qe com les Philistiens ussent oiz et sovent les ert countez Sampson avoir entree la citee, cil luy environerent lé aguaitz mys en les portes de la citee. Et cil attendauntz illoeqes par tote la nuit od cilence qe matin fait, il luy occierent issaunt. Lors dormy Sampson desques a mynuyt. Et cil levaunt de illoeqes, prist a[m]bedeux les partes de la porte od ses postz et la cerrure et porta yceux—mys en ses espauldes—a l'haterel de la mountaigne qe regarde a Hebron.

Et après ceo ama il une femme la quele habita el vaal de Soreth qe fust appellé Dalida. Et les princes dé Philistiens vindrent a luy et distrent: 'Deceive ly et apreignes de ly en quei il ad tant de force et com nous le pussoms surmounter et ly turmenter liee. Quele chose si tu averas fait, nous toi dorroms chescun mill cent deners'. Lors emparla Dalida a Sampson: 'Di a moy, jeo toi enpri, en quei ta grant force soit, et quele chose ceo soit dount tu liee ne porras rompre'. A qi Sampson respoundi: 'Si jeo fusse liee de sept cordes de nerfs noun pas unquore secches mais moistes, jeo serroi ensevré si com altres hommes'. Et lé mestres dé Philistiens ly apporterent sept cordes si com ele out dit dount ele ly lia, aguaitz tapissauntz vers soy et attendauntz la fin de la chose en la couche. Et ele cria a ly: "Ha, Sampson, les Philistiens sount sur toi!" Le quel debrisa les liens si com ascun out rompee un fil de lyn retort od sa line com ceo avera pris le arsure de feu. Et il n'est pas conuz en quele chose sa force en est.

Et Dalida ly dist: 'Voi, tu moy as degabbee et parlee as fauxment. Ore moy demoustres tantsolement dount tu deys estre liee'. A qi il respoundi: 'Si jeo fusse liee de noveux cordes qe unqe ne furent en oevereigne, jeo serroi enfirms et semblable as altres hommes', dount Dalida le lia altrefois. Et ele cria: 'Les Philistiens sount sur toi, Sampson!', lé aguaitz apparaillez en la couche. Le quel debrisa les liens si com fils de tistours.

Et Dalida dist a ly altrefois: 'Desques a quant moy deceyveras tu et parleras fausine? Demouste a moy dount tu en ers liez'. A qi Sampson respoundi: 'Si tu [fol. 176v] averas pliee', fait il, 'sept cheveux de ma teste ove une fil et averas ficchi un clou envoluee de ceux en la terre, jeo serroi enferm'. Quele chose com Dalida out fait, ele luy dist: 'Les Philistiens sount sur toi, Sampson!' Le quel, levaunt de dormir, forstrait le clou od les crins et od le fil.

Et Dalida li dist: 'Coment dis tu qe tu moy aymes com ton corage ne soit od moy? Tu as menti a moy par treis foiz et ne moy voilletz dire en quei ta tresgrant force en est'. Et com ele fust a ly moleste et aherdi a ly par multz des jours noun pas donaunt espace de repos, sa alme defailli, si fust ele lasse desques a la mort. Donqe cil overaunt la veritee de la chose, la dist: 'Feer ne mounta unqes sur moun chief por ceo qe jeo sui Nazareus, c'est a dire, consacree a Deu del ventre de ma meer. Si ma teste fust reese, ma force departera de moy et jeo defailleroi et serra com altres hommes'.

Et ele voiaunt qe il le out regehi tut son corage, envoya as princes des Phi[li]stiens et lour comaunda: 'Venez cea unquore une foiz quar il ad a moy overt son quoe'. Les queus mounterent la pecune prise od eux, la quele il avoient promys. Et ele luy fist dormir sur ses genoils et recliner son chief en son sein. Et ele apella un barbir et ria sept de ses crins et ly comencea degette et de soi deboter. Et demaintenaunt sa force se departi. Et ele dist: 'Les Philistiens sount sur toi, Sampson!' Le quel levaunt de dormir dist en son corage: 'Jeo m'en isseroi si com jeo avaunt fesoï et jeo moy excuseroi', nyentsachaunt qe Nostre Sire ust de soi departi. Le quel, com les Philistiens ussent pris, demaintenaunt cil luy creverent les oels et luy mesnerent a Gazam liee de cheines et mys en chartre de moler. Et ja recomencerent ses cheveux a recrestre.

Et les princes dé Philistiens assemblerent en un q'il sacrifieroient honorables sacrifices a lour dieu Dagon et q'il manger[oi]ent illoeqe, disaunt: 'Nostre dieu en ad baillee nostre enemy Sampson en noz mains'. Quele chose le poeple ensemment voi[aun]t loerent lour dieu et distrent meismes les choses: 'Nostre dieu en ad baillee nostre adversarie en nostre mayn, le quel osta nostre terre et occist plusours.

Et cil esjoissauntz par lour mangeries, lour viaundes prises comaunderent qe Sampson fust appellee et juast devant eux. Le quel mesné hors de prisoun, jua devant eux. Et cil ly firent esteer entre deux pilers. Le [fol. 177r] quel dist a un enfaunt governaunt ses alures: ‘Lais moy qe jeo touche les pilers qe sustiegnent totes les maisouns qe jeo soi sur eux reclinee et moy repoise un poy’. Lors ert la maisoun pleine des hommes et des femmes, et touz les princes dé Philistiens estoient illoeqes. Et del couvertour et del soler entour treis mill des hommes et des femmes regarderent Sampson juaunt.

Et cil—Nostre Sire appellee—dist: ‘Ha, Sire Dieu, remembre de moy. Et tu, Sire my Dieu, rende a moy ma aunciene force qe jeo moy venge de mes enemys et jeo receive vengeance pur la perde de mes deux lumeres’. Et cil pernaunt ambesdeux les pilers dount la maisoun estoit susteint et tenaunt l’un a destre et l’autre en senestre dist: ‘Moerge ma alme od les Philistiens’. Et les pilers fortement ensemble feruz, la maisoun chai sur touz les princes et sur l’autre multitude qe illoeqes estoit. Et cil morraunt occist mult plus q’il ne out occis vivaunt. Ses freres adcertes et tote sa cognacioun descendauntz, porterent son corps et le ensevelerent entre Saraa et Hestael el sepulcre de son pere Manue. Et il out juggé Israel par vint aunz.

XVII A cel temps estoit un bier del mount de Effraym, Michas par noun, le quel dist a sa mere: ‘Voi, j’ai les mill cent deners les queus tu te avoies departi et sur les queus tu avoies juree moy oiaunt, et il sount vers moy’. A qi ele respoundi: ‘Beneit soit mon filz a Nostre Sire’. Por ceo les rendi il a sa mere la quele ly dist: ‘Jeo consecrai et vowi cest argent a Nostre Sire qe mon filz le receive de ma main et q’il le face chose schulpté et consufflee. Et ore jeo le baille a toi’. Por ceo il le rendi a sa mere. La quele prist deux centz deners et les dona a l’orfevre q’il en feist de ceo chose schulpté et consufflee qe fust en la maisoun de Miche. Le quel adcertes apparaila en ceo un esglise a Dieu et fist ephot et teraphin, c’est a savoir vestementz de prestre et ydoles. Et cil emplu la main de un de ses filz, et il est fait a ly chapellayn. A ceuz jours n’estoit roi en Israel, mais chescun fesoit ceo qe ly estoit vis dreiturel.

Un autre jovencel adcertes estoit de Bethleem Juda et de sa cognacioun, et cil estoit un Levit et habita illoeqes. Et cil issuz de la citee de Bethleem voleit peregriner ou q’il out trovee a ly proffit. Et com il venist el mount de Effraym fesaunt son chemyn et out decliné un poi en la maisoun de Miche, il est de ly demaundee: ‘Dount viens tu?’ Le quel respoundi: ‘Jeo suy un Levit de Bethleem Juda et voise qe jeo habite ou qe jeo porroi et avera a moy veu proffitable’. ‘Remesnes’, fait il, ‘vers moy et soies a moy amy et chapellain, et jeo toi dorroi [fol. 177v] par chescun an dis deners et double vesture et les choses qe sount necessaries a ta viaunde’. Et il escouta et maneit vers le hom et fust a ly si com un de ses filz. Et Michas emplu sa main et out od soi ly enfaunt chapellain, disaunt: ‘Ore sai jeo bien qe Dieu fait bien a moy, eiaunt un chapellain de la lignee dé Levitz’.

XVIII En yceux jours n’estoit roi en Israel, et la lignee de Dan quist a soi possessioun q’il enhabiteroit car desqes a ces jours il ne out pris sort entre les autres lignes. Lors envoyerent les filz Dan de lour lignee et de lour mesnie cink biers tresfortz de Saraa et Hestahol q’il espiassent la terre et la regardassent entere. Et cil lour distrent: ‘Alez et regardez la terre’. Qe com cil alauntz venissent el mount de Effraym et entrassent en la maisoun de Miche, il reposerent illoeqes. Et cil conussauntz la voiz del levit jovencel et usauntz son diversorie, distrent a ly: ‘Qi toi mesna yci? Quei faces tu ci? Por quele enchaisoun voloies tu ci venir?’ Le quel lour respoundi: ‘Cestes choses et cestes en ad Michas a moy donee, et pur guerdoun moy ad il lowee qe jeo soi a ly chapellain’. Et ly prierent q’il se consaillast Nostre Sire et q’il pussent saver s’il irroient par bon chemyn et si la chose eust espleit. Le quel lour respoundi: ‘Alez od pees. Nostre Sire regarde vostre voie et le chemyn en quel vous alez’.

Et les cink biers alauntz en tiele manere vindrent a Lais. Et il virent le poepl[e] habitaunt en ceo sanz nulle doute joste la custumme dé Sidoniorum, assure et quiete, nulle ne lour encountreesteant de tut en tut et de grantz richesses et devisee de loinz de Sidon et totes gentz. Et cil returnez a lour freres en Saraa et Hestahol respoundirent as querauntz ceo q’ils avoient fait: ‘Levez, et aloms a eux car nous avoms veu une terre mult plentivous et riche. Ne voillez despiser, si ne voillez cesser. Aloms, si la preignons, y ne ert nulle travail car nous entreroms assureurs en une region treslarge. Et Nostre Sire nous dorra le lieu en quel defaute ne y est de nulle chose de ceuz qe sount engendrez en la terre’.

Lors issoient de la cognacioun de Dan, c'est a saver de Seraa et Hestahol, sis cent biers ceintez des armes de batail. Et cil en alaunt manoient en Chariath[j]arim de Judé, quel lieu de cel temps prist le noun des pavillouns de Dan et est areredos de Chariath[j]arim. De illoeqes passerent il el mount de Effraym.

Et com il ussent venuz a la maisoun de Miche, les cink biers qe primes estoient maunde a regarder la terre de Lachis distrent a lour altres freres: 'Ne conussez [fol. 178r] qe en ceste maisoun est ephot et cheraphin et mahonerie et la chose esculpté et sufflee? Veez quei vous plest'. Et com il se declinassent un poi, il entrent la maisoun de ly jovencel levit qe fust en la maisoun de Miche et luy saluerent de peisibles paroles, et les sis centz biers esturent a l'huys si com il estoient armez. Més cil qe estoient entreez la maisoun de ly jovencel soi aforcerent de emporter la chose esculpté et ephot et cheraphin et lé ydole et la chose consufflee. Et le chapellain estuet devant la porte, sis centz biers tresfortz attendauntz de loinz. Cil adcertes qe avoient entree emporterent la chose esculpté, ephot et les ydoles et la chose consufflee, as queus dist le chapellain: 'Quei fetez vous?' Les queus respoundirent: 'Teis toi et mette ton doy sur ta bouche. Vien od nous qe nous eyoms toi pere et chapellain. Quel est il a toi mieux, qe tu soiez chapellain en la maysoun de un hom ou en une lignee et mesnie de Israel?' Qe com il out oie, il otria a lour paroles et prist ephot et les ydoles et les choses esculptés et s'en vait od eux.

Les queus com il alassent et feissent lour petitz et lour jumentz et totes les choses qe precieus estoient aler devant eux et fussent ja loinz de la maisoun de Miche, les biers qe habiterent en la maisoun de Miche criauntz, les ensuirent et comencerent a crier après lour dos. Qe com il eussent regardee areredos, il distrent a Miche: 'Quei vols tu a toi? Por quei cries tu?' Le quel respoundi: 'Avez vous emportee mes dieus qe jeo avoi fait a moy et moun chapellain et totes choses qe jeo avoi, et dies: "Quele chose est a toi?"' Et les filz de Dan ly distrent: 'Eschuiques qe tu ne paroles plus outre a nous, et qe biers commuz de corage viegnent a toi et tu meismes perisses od tote ta maisoun'. Et cil en tiele manere, le chemyn pris, s'en vount. Et Michas, voiaunt q'il estoient plus fortz de soi, returna en sa maisoun.

Les sis centz hommes adcertes amesnerent le chapellain et les choses qe nous avoms avaunt dit et vindrent a Lays al poeple reposaunt et asseur et les ferirent en la bouche de espee et baillerent la citee a arsure, nul adcertes de tut en tut portaunt aide por ceo q'il habiterent loinz de Sidon et ne avoient rien de compaigne ne de busoigne od null hom. La citee adcertes estoit assise en la regioun de Roob, la quele cil reedifiauntz derichief y habiterent, le noun de la citee appallee Dan [fol. 178v] joste le noun de lour pere—le quel Israel out engendree—la quele avaunt estoit dit Lais. Et il mistrent a soi une chose esculpté et Jonathan le filz Jersan le filz Moisen et ses filz chapellains en la lignee de Dan desqes al jour de lour cheitiftee. Et le ydole de Miche remist vers eux en tut le temps qe la maisoun Deu fust en Silo. Si ne out il a cel temps roi en Israel.

XIX Un hom levites estoit habitaunt en la costere de la mountaigne de Effraym le quel prist une femme de Bethleem Juda, la quele ly deguerpi et returna en la maisoun de son pere en Bethleem et maneit illoeqes vers luy par quatre moys. Et son baroun ly sui volaunt ly recounciller et blauder et remesner od soi, eiaunt en sa compaignie un enfaunt et deux asnes. La quele le prist et ly mesna en la maisoun de son pere. Quele chose com son soerge out oy et ly out veu, il vint contre luy joious et enbracea le hom. Et ly filz en lei p gener maneit en la maisoun de son soegre par treis jours, mangeaunt et bevaunt od ly compaignablement. Cil adcertes, levaunt par nuit al quarte jour, s'en voleit aler. Le quel son soegre tenoit et ly dist: 'Goustes avaunt un poy de pain et—ton estomak reconfortee—en tiele manere en isseras tu'. Et cil se assistrent ensemble et mangerent et bevoient. Et le pere de la pucelle dist a son filz en lei: 'Jeo toi pri qe tu remesnes hui et qe nous esleesceoms ensemble'. Més cil levaunt comencea de voiller aler, et nepurquant son soegre le tint grantment et ly fist demorer od ly. Le matin fait, le Levites apparaila son chemyn. Le quel son soegre emparla autrefoiz: 'Jeo toi pri', fait il, 'qe tu preignes un petit de manger et—tes forces reprises—si la qe jour cresse denaprès t'en voisies'. Lors mangerent il ensemble, et ly jovencel se leva q'il alast od sa femme et od son enfaunt. A qi le soegre emparla autrefoiz: 'Regarde qe le jour soit plus declinaunt al rescous et s'en haste al vespre. Remesnes hui vers moy et mesne jour joyous, et demain en irras tu qe tu voisies en ta maisoun'.

Son filz en lei ne voleit otrier a ses paroles mais demaintenaunt s'en vait et vint contre Jebus—qe en altre noun est nomee Jerusalem—mesnaunt od ly deux asnes chargez et sa concubine. Demaintenaunt com il ussent venuz joste Jebus et le jour fust chaungee en nuit, et l'enfaunt dist a son sire: 'Vien, jeo toi pri, declinoms nous a la citee dé Jebuseux et y remesnoms'. A qi son seigneur respondi: 'Jeo ne entrera point la citee des estrange gent qe ne est des filz de Israel, mais jeo passeroi desqes a Gabaa. Et com jeo avera parvenuz [fol. 179r] illoeqes, nous y remaindroms ou certainement en la citee de Rama'. Lors passerent il Jebus et pristrent le chemyn comencee, et le solail lour coucha prés de Gabaa qe est en la lignee de Benjamyn. Et cil devindrent a cele q'il remaindroient illoeqe. Les queus—com il ussent entree—il sistrent en la rue de la citee, et nul ne les voleit recevoir en hostel.

Et voi, un hom veillard lour aproscha, turnaunt du champ et de son oevereigne al vespre, le quel ly meismes estoit del mount de Effraym et cil peregrin habita en Gabaa. Les hommes adcertes de cele regioun estoient les filz de Gemini. Et ly veillard, ses oels levez, vist hom seaunt od ses pakels en la rue de la citee et il luy dist: 'Dount viens tu et ou vas tu?' Ly quel ly respondi: 'Nous sumes venuz de Bethleem Juda et nous aloms a nostre lieu qe est el costee de la mountaigne de Effraym dount nous alames en Bethleem. Et ore aloms nous a la maisoun Dieu, et nul ne nous volt recevoir en sa maisoun. Nous eiauntz pailles chaffes et fein en provende a noz asnes et pain et vin en us de moy et de ta ancelle et de l'enfaunt qe est od moy, nous ne busoignoms de nulle rien si de hostel noun'. A qi le veillard respondi: 'Pees soit od toy. Jeo toi dorroi totes choses qe sont necessaries, solement jeo toi pri qe tu ne remesnes en la reu'. Et cil le mesna en sa maisoun et dona provende a ses asnes. Et puisq'il out lavee lour piez, il les resceust a manger. Cil mangeantz et reheitaantz lour corps de viande et de boivre après le travaille du chemyn, les biers de cele citee vindrent—les filz de Belial, c'est a saver, sanz jug.

Et cil environaantz la maisoun du veillard, comencerent a bouter les portes, criantz al sire de la maisoun et disaantz: 'Mesnes hors le bier qe entra ta maisoun qe nous luy en usoms'. Et ly veillard issi a eux et lour dist: 'Ne voillez, freres, ne voillez faire cest mal, quar un hom est entree ma maisoun. Et cessez vous de ceste folie. J'ai un fille virgine, et cest hom ad une concubine. Jeo les mesneroi a vous qe vous les humiliez et acompliez vostre liccherie, tansolement vous pri qe vous ne oeveres cest pecchee encontre nature en le hom'. Il ne voloien[t] escouter a ses paroles. Quele chose ly hom voiaunt, mesna hors sa concubine et la bailla a eux a escharnier. Les queus, com il l'avoient usee par tote la nuit, il la lesserent al matin. Et la femme, les obscurtez departissaantz, vint a l'huis de la maisoun ou son seigneur maneit et illoeqes tresbucha.

Et le matin fait, le hom se leva et overi le huis q'il acomplist sa voie comencee. Et voi, sa concubine gisoit devaunt le huis, ses mains estenduz en le southlyme presshewald. A qi, cil quidaunt de reposer, emparla [fol. 179v]: 'Lieve, qe nous en aloms'. La quele riens ne respoignaunt, il entendaunt qe ele estoit morte la porta et la mist sur son asne et returna en sa maisoun. La quele com il out entree, il prist son espee. Et cil trechaunt le caroigne de sa femme od ses os en douze partz et quarters, les mist en touz les fins de Israel. Quele chose com chescun out veu, il escrierent: 'Tiele chose ne fust unqe fait en Israel puisqe noz peres mounterent de Egipte desqes a cesti temps. Portez vous la sentence et jugez en commun quele le oevereigne soit en fait'.

XX En tiele manere touz les filz de Israel assemblez sont issuz si com un bier, de Dan desqes a Barsabee et la terre de Galaad a Nostre Sire en Maspha et touz les angles des poeples et totes les lignes de Israel en la esglise de Dieu. Et illoeqes assemblerent quaraunte mill de gentz pedestres combatours, et il ne tapist les filz de Benjamyn qe les filz de Israel ussent descendee en Maspha. Et ly levit baroun de la femme occis—demaundee coment tant de felonie ert fait—respondi: 'Jeo vink en Gabaa de Benjamyn od ma femme et jeo tourna illoeqes. Et voi, les hommes de la citee environerent de nuit la maisoun en la quele jeo manoy, voillaantz moy occire et travaillaantz ma femme de nyentcreable arsurre de liccherie, et al derrein ele morra. La quele resque, jeo colpai en peces, si maundai jeo les parties en touz les termes de vostre possessioun, quar ja tant de felonie ne si graunt pecchee ne estoit fait en Israel. Vous estes ci touz filz de Israel: jugez vous ceo qe vous devez faire'.

Et tut le poeple esteaunt respoundi auxint com en la voiz de un hom: ‘Nous ne retourneroms pas en noz tabernacles ne chescun ne y entrera en sa maisoun. Mais nous feroms ceste chose en commun contre Gabaa: Soient dis biers eslutz de cent de totes les lignees de Israel, et cent de mill, et mill de dis mill q’il portent viaundes a l’host. Et qe nous combatauntz contre Gabaa de Benjamyn pussoms rendre a ly por sa felonie ceo q’il ad meri’.

Et tut Israel vint a la citee si com un hom de une pensee et de un consail. Et il envoierent messagers a tote la lignee de Benjamyn q’il deissent: ‘Por quei est tant de felonie trovee en vous? Bailles a nous les homes de Gabaa qe fesoient ceste pecchee q’il moerent et le mal soit ostee de Israel’. Les queus ne voloient oir le comandement de lour freres les filz de Israel, mais de totes les citez qe estoient de lour sort vindrent en Gabaa q’il lour portassent aide et combatassent encontre tut le poeple de Israel. Et trevez sount des Benjamyns vint et cynk mill treaut [fol. 180r] lour espees estre les habitatours de Gabaa, les queus estoient sept cent biers tresfortz combatauntz altresibien od la senestre com od la destre. Et issint gettauntz perres a certain de esslenges q’il pussent adecertes ferir un chevoils et qe le coupe de la perre ne serroit portee de altre part. Des biers adecertes de Israel sanz les filz de Benjamyn sount trevez quarante mill treautz espees et appareillez a combatre.

Les queus levauntz vindrent en la maisoun Dieu qe est en Silo. Et cil se conseillerent a ly et distrent: ‘Qi serra prince en nostre host de la batail encontre les filz de Benjamyn?’ A qi Nostre Sire respoundi: ‘Soit Judas vostre duks’.

Et les filz de Israel demaintenaunt levauntz par matyn, ficchirent lour pavillouns joste Gabaa. Et cil alauntz de illoeques a combatre contre Benjamyn, comencerent pur assieger la citee. Et les filz de Benjamyn issauntz de Gabaa occirent des filz Israel a cel jour vint et deux mill des biers. Les filz adecertes de Israel, affiauntz en lour force et en lour nombre, redrescerent lour escheele en meismes le lieu el quel il avoient avaunt combatee issint nepurquant q’il mountassent adeprimes et plorassent devant Nostre Sire desques al nuit. Et il se consaillerent a ly et distrent: ‘Doi jeo plus outre aler a combatre contre les filz de Benjamyn mes freres ou noun?’ As queus il respoundi: ‘Mouitez a eux et comencez la bataille’.

Et com les filz de Israel a un altre jour ussent alee contre Benjamyn a bataille, les filz de Benjamyn se mistrent hors des portes de Gabaa. Et cil en contrecorrauntz enragerent en eux od tant occisioun q’ils agravanterent dys et oit mill des hommes treautz lour espees. Por la quele chose touz les filz de Israel vindrent en la maisoun Dieu et cil seauntz plorerent devant Nostre Sire. Et il junerent a cel jour desques al vespre et offerent a ly sacrifices holocausta et peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas et demaunderent sur lour estate. A cel temps estoit illoeques l’arche de alliaunce de Nostre Sire et Finies, le filz de Eleazar, le filz Aaron, provost de la maisoun. Lors se consaillerent il a Nostre Sire et distrent: ‘Devoms nous plus issir a bataille contre les filz de Benjamyn noz freres ou reposer?’ As queus Nostre Sire dist: ‘Mouitez quar demain les bailleroi jeo en voz mains’.

Et les filz de Israel mistrent agaitz par environ de la citee de Gabaa. Et la terce foiz mesnerent il lour [fol. 180v] host contre Benjamyn si com une foiz et altre, mais les filz de Benjamyn issirent hardivement hors de la citee. Et lour enemys fuiauntz de loinz pursuirent il issint q’il naffrerent de eux si com al primer jour et al secound. Et chairent turnauntz lour dos par deux sentes dount la une ert mesnee en Bethel et l’altre en Gabaa. Et agravanterent deprés trent hommes, car il les quidoient occire en la manere acoustommee. Les queus—feignauntz fortment fuite—firent lour counsail q’il les trairent loinz de la citee et si com fuiauntz les mesnerent as sentes avaunt dites. En tiele manere touz les filz de Israel levauntz de lour seges, avauntmistrent lour escheele el lieu qe est appellé Balthamar. Les aguaitz adecertes qe estoient entour la citee se comencerent a demoustrer un poy a issir de l’occidentale partie de la citee, mais altre dys mill hommes de Israel—habitatours de la citee—estoient apellez a bataille. Et la bataille est agrevee contre les filz de Benjamyn, et ne entendirent qe la mort estuet a eux de chescune part.

Et Nostre Sire les feri el regarde des filz de Israel, et il occirent de eux a ycel jour vint et cink mill et cent hommes, trestouz combatours et treautz espees.

Et les filz de Benjamyn, com il se veissent estre plus bas, il comencerent a fuir. Quele chose les filz de Israel voiauntz, il lour donerent lieu por fuir q'il venent a les aguaitz apparaillez, les queus il avoient mys joste la citee. Les queux, com il ussent levee sodeinement de lour buschementz et Benjamyn dona le dos as occiauntz, il entrerent la citee et la ferirent en la bouche de espee. Les filz de Israel adcertes avoient donee signe a ceus q'il avoient mys en aguaitz qe puisq'il ussent pris la citee, q'il allumerent feu q'il demoustrassent la citee prise par la fume mountaunt en halt. Qe com les filz de Israel mys en mesmes cest estrif ussent veu—quar les filz de Benjamyn quidoient eux a fuir et il les ensuioient plus et plus, trent hommes de lour host occis. Et il virent si com une colompne de fumee mounter de la citee. Benjamyn adcertes regardaunt areredos vist la citee prise et les flambes estre portez en halt. Et cil qe primes feignerent la fuite se aresturent forciblement, lour face tournee. Qe com les filz de Benjamyn ussent veu, il se turnerent a la fuite et comencerent aler a la voie del desert. Et lour adversaries adcertes illoeqe les pursuiauntz, mais cil qe avoient ars la citee se contrecurrurent a eux. Et issint est il fait qe il furent [fol. 181r] occis de l'une et l'autre part de lour enemys ne nul repos n'estoit plus outre de les morriauntz. Et cil chairent et sount abatuz a l'orientale part de la citee de Gabaa, et ceus furent adcertes qe furent occis en meismes cel lieu dis et oyt mill des biers, trestouz tresfortz combatours. Qe com cil de Benjamyn veissent qe remistrent, il s'enfuirent el desert et s'en vount a la perre qi noun est Remon. Cil adcertes soi estapissauntz en cele fuite et alauntz en divers lieux, occirent il cink mill des hommes. Et com il aloient plus outre, il les pursuirent et occirent altres deux mill. Et issint est il fait qe touz cil qe chairent de Benjamyn en divers lieux estoient vint et cink mill des combatours touz prestz a batailler. Et en tiele manere remistrent de tut le nombre de Benjamyn qe poient eschaper el desert sis centz de biers, et cil sistrent en la perre de Remon par quatre mois. Les filz de Israel adcertes returnauntz ferirent en espee touz les rementails de la citee—des hommes desques as jumentz—et flambe devoraunt degasta totes les citez et les villes de Benjamyn.

XXI Lors jurerent les filz de Israel en Maspha et distrent: 'Nul de nous ne dorra as filz de Benjamyn femme de noz filles'. Et touz vindrent a la maisoun de Dieu en Silo. Et cil seaunt en son regard desques al vespre leverent lour voiz et comencerent a plorer par graunt weytement, disauntz: 'Ha, Sire Dieu de Israel, por quei est cest mal fait en ton poeple qe une ligne soit hui tollue de nous?' Cil adcertes levauntz mult matin a l'autre jour firent un altier et offriront illoeqes offrendes et peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas et distrent: 'Qi ne mounta pas en l'ost Dieu de totes les lignes de Israel?' Car il se avoient liez par grief serment com il fussent en Maspha qe cil serroient occis qe y defaillirent. Et les filz de Israel mesnez par penaunce sur lour frere Benjamyn comencerent a dire: 'Une ligne est tollue de Israel. Dount prendront il femmes? Car nous avoms juree trestouz en commun nous ne doner pas a eux nos filles'.

Por ceo distrent il: 'Qi est celui de totes les linees de Israel qe ne mounta pas a Nostre Sire en Maspha?' Et voi, les habitours de Jabis de Galaad sount trovez ne mye avoir estee en cel host. Et com il fussent a cel temps en Silo, nul de yceux est illoeqes trovee. Por ceo envoierent il dis mill de tresfortz biers, si lour comauderent [fol. 181v] il: 'Alez, si ferez les habitours de Jabis de Galaad en la bouche de espee, altresibien lour femmes com lour enfauntz. Et ceo ert ceo qe vous devez garder: occiez tote chose de gendre masculin et les moillers qe unt conuz lour barouns, mais reservez les virgines'. Et en Jabis de Galaad sount trovez quatre centz virgines qe ne savoient lit de baroun, et cil les mesnerent as pavillouns en Silo en la terre de Chanaan.

Et il envoierent messagers as filz de Benjamyn qe estoient en la perre de Remon et les comauderent q'il les preissent od pees. Et les filz de Benjamyn vindrent a cel temps, et femmes lour sount donez de les filles de Jabis de Galaad, car il ne receurent altres les queles il bailleroient en semblable manere.

Et tut Israel dolust grantment et fist penaunce sur la occisioun de une des linees de Israel. Et les greindres de naissance distrent: 'Quei feroms nous des remenauntz qe ne unt pris femmes, et totes les femmes en Benjamyn chairent? Et grant cure est a nous a porveer par tresgrant estudy qe une linee ne soit ostee de Israel. Nous constreintz par serment et de maleisoun ne pooms doner a eux noz filles en la quele maleisoun nous disames: "Maldit soit celui qe avera donee femme de ses filles as Benjamyns"'.
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Et cil pristrent conseil et distrent: ‘Voi, la sollempnitee de Nostre Sire est en Silo, et la anniversary est assise al septentrional de la citee de Bethel et a l’orientale partie de la voie qe tende de Bethel desques a Sichem et al meridien de la citee de Lebna’. Et cil comaunderent as filz de Benjamyn et distrent: ‘Alez et tapissez en les visnes. Et com averez veu les filles de Silo avauntaler si com il soloient por mesner karoles, issez sodeinement des visnes et les ravissez qe chescun eit une femme. Et alez en la terre de Benjamyn, et com lour peres et lour freres averount vers vous venuz et averount comencee de soi compleindre et de estriver, nous les dirroms: “Empititez de eux quar il ne les unt point raviz par dreiture de bataillauntz et de venqueours mais eux priauntz q’il les poessent prendre. Vous ne les donastes a eux et de la vostre partie est le pecchee”. Et les filz de Benjamyn firent si com lour fust comaundee et joste lour nombre ravirent il a soi a chescun une femme de celes qe mesnerent les caroles. [fol. 183r] Et cil s’en vount en lour possessiouns, edifiauntz citez et habitauntz en yceles. Et les filz de Israel retournerent par lour lignees et par lour mesnies en lour tabernacles.

A ces jours n’estoit nul roi en Israel, et chescun fist ceo qe a ly estoit veu dreiturel. **Ci finist le livre des Jugges et comence le livre de Ruth.**

Rejected readings

L and *P* present divergent but related versions of the ANB's Judges. To show all textual differences in *P* would overwhelm this section without contributing to the usefulness of the edition. After careful consideration of evidence from *P* and *V*, therefore, differences are generally not shown in cases where the text of *L* is clear and complete and no emendation is necessary. Numbers in the following refer to lines of our text (*L*) as printed here. Lightly edited readings from *P* indicate significant variants in Paris, BnF MS fr. 1, and *V* the corresponding Vulgate text. The translator of *L* occasionally follows the Benedictine Vulgate, and these readings appear below with the abbreviation *VB* var.

The notes for *L* generally do not mention the copyist's second thoughts—e.g., strikethroughs, expunctions, or the insertion of superscript letters—rather the edition silently follows the copyist's corrected text. Purely orthographical differences with *P* are not recorded. For chapter numbers, *L* prefers upper-case Roman numerals I, II, III etc., while the scribe of *P* writes *Capitulum i*, *Capitulum ij*, *Capitulum iij* etc. This preference of *P* is not otherwise recorded here. Word-separation in variant readings from *P* follows that of the edited text or of entries in the Anglo-Norman Dictionary.

Place-names have not been altered except in cases where evidence elsewhere in *L* or, occasionally, in *P* or *V*, makes a compelling case for a clearer, standard spelling. All alterations of toponyms are noted in Appendix E, 'Geographical names in the Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Judges', q.v. for side-by-side comparison of place-names in *L* and *P* with Latin and modern English equivalents. In cases where *P*'s reading differs from *L*'s, the variant reading is routinely shown not among the Rejected readings but in Appendix E.

Rejected readings from *L* appear below in **bold** font. In each entry, the penultimate reading (in AN) is from *P* and the final text (in Latin) from *V*.

10 les (**MS las**) haltesces de; les derreine parties de; summitatibus 16-17 meridiem et en (**MS m. en**) champestres; m. et en c.; meridiem et in campestribus 18 Sisai et Ahiman (**MS Haiman**) et Tholmai (**MS Tholmaius**); S. et Cholmai et Achiman; S. et Ahiman et Tholmai 21 Cariathsepher et l'avera degastee jeo] **C. jeo**; C. et l'avera d.j.; C. et vastaverit 22 il ly (**MS la**) dona sa fille; il lui d. Axam sa f.; dedit ei filiam suam 31-32 et ly occirent Et le noun de la citee estoit apellé Horma c'est a dire escomengement Et Judas prist] **et ly oc. Et J.p.**; et le tuerent Et le n. de la ci.est.ap. Horma c'est a d.esc. Et J. p.; et interfecerunt eum vocatumque est nomen urbis Horma id est anathema cepitque Iudas 34 mountaignes] **mountana**; mountaignes; montana 53 et Roob Et il habita] **et R.h.**; et R. Et il h.; et Roob habitavitque 56 et Bethaniciens] **et Bethtamiciens**; et Bethaniciens; et Bethanitae 60 tesmoignance en Ahilon (**MS t. et Hailon**) et; testacioun en Hailon et; testaceo in Ahilon et 67 et southturnez lour altiers] **et southmys l. altier**; et . . . souzversee lour autiers; et aras eorum subverteretis 72 cil sacrifierent illoeqes lour (**MS s.l.**) sacrifices; c. illoqes sacrifierent hostes; immolaveruntque ibi hostias 99-100 Por ceo qe ceste (**MS ceo ceste**) gent; Por ceo qe cest g.; quia . . . gens ista

109 Eveum] **Eneum**; Eveum; Eveum 110-11 q'il provereit Israel en eux le (**MS I. le**) quel; qe il p.I. en eaux le q.; ut in ipsis experiretur Israhelem 113 Chananeu et Ethei dé Amorreu dé Pherizei dé Evei et] **Chanau et Ethei de P. de Enei et**; Chananeu de Ethei de Ammoreu de Pherezeu de Evei et; Chananei et Hetthei et Amorrei et Ferezei et Evei et 115 Et (**MS Et twice**) il firent mal 118 Othoniel] **Oconiel**; Otoniel; Othonihel 122 Othoniel] **Ocoinel**; Othoniel; Othonihel 128 le filz Gera le filz de Gemini] **le f. de Gem.**; le f. Gera le f. Gem.; filium Gera filii Iemini 130-31 manuel de la (**MS de la twice**) longure 131 palme de main et il estoit ceint (**MS p. Et il est c.**); p. de main et il esteit c.; palmae manus et accinctus est 136 en une sale de estee Et] **en son lieu de souper pur yverne Et**; en une sale de estee Et; in aestivo cenaculo 144 ventre en la couche de estee Et] **v. el lit estyval Et**; v. en la sale de estee Et; alvum in aestivo cubiculo 145 porterent la chief] **p. la chef**; pristrent la chef; tulerunt clavem 153 temps enviroin dis mill touz fortz] **t. par tut e. dis m.f.**; temps par entour a dis m. tous f.; tempore illo circiter decem milia omnes robustos 163-64 Lapidoth la quele (**MS le quel**) . . . juggea; Lapidoch le quel j.; L. quae iudicabat 165-66 mounterent a ele en touz juggementz] **m. en t.j.**; m. a ycele en chescune j.; ascendebantque ad eam . . . in omne iudicium 166-67 Abinoem (**MS Abionem**) de Cedés Neptalym; Abnoem de la lignee de N.; Abinoem de Cedés N. 170 Sisaram] **Siriam**; Sisare; Sisaram 177 Obab] **Ebal**; aoab; Obab 187-88 et tote la multitude] **et qe t. la mlitude**; et

t. la m.; et omnis hostium multitudo 198-99 clou en la temple (MS **cl. sur les temples**) de son chief; cl. en la temple de sa teste; supra tempus capitis eius clavum 200 dormir a mort failli et] **dor. failli et**; dor. a mort defailli et; soporem morti . . . defecit

214 face de Nostre Sire et (MS **de ly Sire de**) Synai; f. de notre seignor et Sy.; facie Domini et Sinai 222 ou les] **si les**; ou les; ubi 224 les fortz] **les portes**; les portes; fortes 228 Abinoem] **Abimoen**; Abmoen; Abinoem 238 lour almes (MS **almes twice**) a • regioun de Merome] **r. de Rome**; r. de me Reme; in regione Merome 239-40 rois de Chanaan combaterent en Thanach] **rois combaterent contre Chanaan en Thanath**; roys de Chanaan combatirent en Thanath; pugnaverunt reges Chanaan in Thanach 243 Cadumim] **Cadimum**; Cadimum; Cadumim 244 Les ungles] **Len u.**; Les u.; unguiae 250-51 maillet des feveres Et] **m. Et**; m. des feveres et; fabrorum malleos 264 mountaignes et tresfortz (MS **trespetitz**) lieux pur combatre Et (MS **com. contre eux Et**); mountz si se firent tresfortes l. por com. Et; montibus et munitissima ad repugnandum loca 265 Israel eust semee mounterent Madian et Amalech] **I. enragee il s'en vait sur M. et A.**; I. eust semee M.A.; cumque sevisset I. ascendebat M. et A. 268-69 et touz lour (MS **et I.**) fouks; et touz l.f.; et universi greges eorum 279-80 Joas (MS **Joab**) pere de la mesnie de Ezri; Joas le filz de Ozri; Ioas patrem familiae Ezri 284 sount ses merveilles] **so. touz ses m.**; so. ses m.; sunt mirabilia eius 286 regarda] **respoundi**; regarda; respexit 291-92 toi doignes a moy signe qe tu le soiez qe paroles] **toi qe tu saches qe tu p.**; toy d. a moy si. qe tu le so. qe p.; da mihi signum quod tu sis qui loquaris 293 Le quel] **Les q.**; Le q.; qui 294-96 cheverel Et il fist (MS **il mettaunt**) les pains azimels de un busshes de ferine et mettaunt les (MS **et les**) chars en un canistre et le (MS **et mettaunt le**) jus des chars el pot les porta touz south la cheine; chev. et de un poy de faryne fist il pains aliz et mist des chars en un can. et la jus des chars mettaunt el pot et il por. totes cestes choses s. une cheine; hedum et de farinae modio azymos panes carnesque ponens in canistro et ius carniuum mittens in ollam tulit omnia sub quercum

305 est de la (MS **est la**) mesnie de Esri; est de la m. de Esri; est familiae Ezri 308 en la haltesce] **de la h.**; en la h.; in summitate 330 tu averas fait Israel sauf par] **tu averas f. le poeple de I.s. par**; tu as f.s.I. par; salvum facis . . . I. 331-32 leine en l'eir Si rosee avera estee en le tisoun soul (MS **en le soul**) et secchesce en tote la terre; laine en la terre si la r. soit tut en cest tisoun soul et sec. soit en la terre; lanae in area si ros in solo vellere fuerit et in omni terra siccitas 332 saveroi] **sai**; saveroi; sciam 348 jeo te avera (MS **jeo a.**) dit; je te dirroi; dixero tibi 350-51 qe averount leschee de lunge les eawes (MS **qe a. leschee les e.**) si com les chiens soloient lescher; qe lescheront les e. si com les ch.sol. lescher de lunge; qui lingua lambuerint aquas sicut solent canes lambere 367-68 si com areine] **si a.**; si com a.; sicut harena 381-82 Nostre Sire et (MS **S. en**) Gedeon; N. Seignor et G.; Domino et Gedeoni 392 et il se (MS **il les**) occirent par divers occisioun fuauntz; et chescun de eaux feri autre a la mort Et f.; et mutua se caede truncabant 399-400 pursuirent Madian portauntz les chiefs de Oreb (MS **purs. les ch. de M. portauntz O.**) et Zeb a Gedeon; pursuent M. et porterent les testes de O. et Z. a G.; persecuti sunt M. capita O. et Z. portantes ad G.

407 Qe (MS **Quar**) com; Qe com; quod cum 418 venquiour] **vengeour**; venqueour; victor 440 distrent Lieve toi et tresbusches] **d. et tr.**; d.L. tu et te tr.; tu surge et inrue 442 soloient estre enbealiz] **s.en.**; s. estre en.; decorari solent 449 cil estendaunt un paille (MS **son pail**) sur; il mistrent un mauntel sur; expandentesque . . . pallium super 452-53 les ournamentz de or des cols (MS **o. des cols**) des camels; les cercles de or des chamels; torques aureos camelorum 466 od la maisoun de Jerobaal et Gedeon (MS **m. de G.**); od la m. de Jerobaal et de G.; cum domo Hierobbaal Gedeon 467 fait a (MS **f. as**) Israel; fait a I.; fecerat I. 472-73 parlerent] **parlererent**; parlerent; locuti sunt 473 ly a touz les biers] **ly as b.**; ly a touz les b.; de eo ad omnes viros 477-78 Joathan le plus petit filz (MS **petit frere**) de Jerobaal; Joa. . . le filz de Jer. le plus petit; Ioatham filius Hierobbaal minimus 479 s'en (MS **sent**) vount; alerent; abierunt 489 refuser ma dulçour] **refuser mas dulcours**; retenir ma dulcour; deserere dulcedinem meam 491-92 nous La quele respoundi Ne pusse (MS **nous pusse**) jeo refuser; nous Et ele res. Ne p. ieo point retenir; nobis quae respondit numquid possum deserere 495 quel lour respoundi Adecertes si vous] **q.r.A. si v.**; q.r. a eux si v.; respondit eis si 496-97 voillez isse feu de l'allier (MS **de Liban**) et; v. soit f. issu hors de chimenee et; non vultis egrediatur ignis de ramno et 498 ceo ore si] **ceo si**; c. ore si; nunc igitur si • dreiturelement et sanz pecchee Abimelech] **d.A.**; d. et s.p.A.; recte et absque peccato . . . A.

520-21 Abimelech Gaal le filz de Obed (MS **Obel**) criaunt; Amalech Obeth le f. Gaad c.; Abimelech clamante Gaal filio Obed 523 Por quei donques le serviroms] **P.q. le s.**; P.q. donques le s.; cur igitur servimus ei 524-25 Abimelech Et il est dit a Abimelech Assemblez la multitude de un host] **Ab.As. la m. de un h.**; Ab. Et il est dyt a Ab.As. la m. de ton h.; Ab. dictumque est Ab. congrega exercitus multitudinem 528 combate] **maldie**; combate; obpugnat 532 Abimelech se leva de nuit (MS **A. de n.**); A. se l. . . par n.; surrexit . . . A. . . nocte 537 desceuz] **descenz**; deceux; deciperis 544-45 Zebul adecertes engetta (MS **engenta**) Gaal et ses compaignouns; Z.G. et ces com. en getta; Z. autem G. et socios eius expulit 576 sur eux] **sur ly**; s. eux; super eos 581 des asnesces et] **des asnes et**; des asnesces et; asinarum et 599 appelez les (MS **les twice**) dieus

615 lé greindres de naissance de Galaad alerent (MS **n.a.**); les plus haltz hommes de G.a.; perrexerunt maiores natu de G. 632 Jepthe] **Jeppe**; Jepthe; Iepthae 640 Arnon] **Jordan**; Arnon; Arnon 642-43 passe par ta terre desqes al (MS **te. al**) flum; passe ta te. desqes a f.; transeam per terram tuam usque ad fluvium 646 luy feri et prist tote (MS **et tote**) la terre; lui

ferist et tote la terre; percussit eum et possedit omnem terram 647 Arnon] **Armon**; Arnon; Arnon 648 contre luy son (MS **c. son**) poeple; c. lui por s. poeple; contra illum populo suo 649 Chamos] **Chames**; Chamos; Chamos 650 tynt dues a toi par (MS **dues par**) dreiture; tient . . . donee a toy p.dr.; possedit . . . tibi iure debentur 654 citez jouste le Jordan par treis centz anz] **ci. par ordre par trent anz**; ci. jouste le Jordan par quatre centz a.; civitatibus iuxta Iordanem per trecentos annos 655 temps nulle chose ne (MS **t. ne**) assaiestez sur ceste reherce Por; t. nulle chose ne as assaiee sur c. demaunde P.; tempore nihil super hac repetition temptastis 666 Aroer] **Abcer**; Arcer; Aroer • Abel] **Abes**; Dabeb; Abel 669 Et Jepthe retournaunt] **Et a J.r.**; Et J.r.; revertenti . . . Iepthae 669-70 Masfa sa fille primes engendree (MS **f. une e.**) ly occurrust; M. la prime e.f. lui o.; Maspha . . . occurrit unigenita filia 681-82 Jepthe dé Galadiciens] **Jepthe**; Gephte le Galadiciens; Iepthae Galaaditae 692 Galadiciens] **Gaddiciens**; Galadiciens; Galaaditae 695 Galadiciens ly distrent (MS **G.d.**) Saver; G. dist a ly S.; dicebant ei Galaaditae

702 Après ly juggea Israel Abessam (MS **ly A.**) de Bethleem; Ap. cesti jugea Abethsan de B.; post hunc iudicavit I. Abessan de B. 714 Saraa] **Sarara**; Sareia; Saraa 716 et enfaunteras (MS **et enfaunteras twice**) un fiz 738-39 Et paremple cil et garde ceo (MS **cil ceo**) qe jeo luy ay comaundee Et; Et ceo qe j. ay com.p. cil et le g. Et; et quod ei praecepi impleat atque custodiat 756 Saraa et Hestahol] **Sarara et et H.**; Saraa et Estohal; Saraa et Esthaol 779 trent compaignouns les (MS **t. les**) queux serroient; t. compaignouns qil fussent; sodales triginta qui essent 790 et soi complaint disaunt Tu] **et luy demaunda Tu**; et soi c. disaunt Tu; et querebatur dicens 793 par les sept (MS **par s.**) jours; par les s.j.; septem . . . diebus

803-04 com jour de messioun de furment aprochast (MS **estoit**) vint; c. les jours de misson des blez aprochast v.; cum dies triticeae messis instarent venit 806-07 Més ele (MS **Si ele**) ad ascun soer; Mes ele ad une sorour; sed habet sororem 808 De ceo jour ne (MS **De ceo ne**); De cesti jour ne; ab hac die non 810 a cowes et lia tisouns brondes en (MS **lia en**); a lour c. et lya des lieures et t. en; ad caudas et faces ligavit in 821 de la perre (MS **de p.**); de la p.; petrae 824 Et cil de la] **Et les plus senez de la**; Et cil de la; dixeruntque . . . de 829 fount] **sount**; fount; inquiunt 840 Ramathlehy] **Ramathleby**; Ramathei; Ramathlehi 851-52 il luy occierioient (MS **occirent**) issaunt; il le occierioient . . . iss.; ut . . . exeuntem occiderent 859 soit] **est**; soit; sit 869 enferms] **ferms**; fiebles; infirmus 870-71 autrefois Et ele cria Les (MS **a.L.**) Philistiens sount sur (MS **P. sur**) toi Sampson lé aguaitz (MS **S.ag.**) apparaillez en la couche (MS **en ta c.**); al. Et cria ha S. les P. sount ap. en ag. en ta couche; rursum . . . clamavit Philisthim super te Samson in cubiculo insidiis praeparatis 880 et ne moy (MS **et ne moy twice**) voilletz 882 repos] **ropos**; repos; quietem 895 Gazam liee de cheines et mys (MS **G. liee et il firent liee de cheines et mys**) en chartre de moler Et; G. liee de cheines et li fir.mol. clos en la char. Et; Gazam vinctum catenis et clausum in carcere molere fecerunt 900 dieu et distrent meismes les choses Nostre dieu (MS **c. dieu**); dieu m. et dis.N.d.; eademque dicebat . . . deus noster

912-13 Et cil pernaunt ambesdeux les pilers (MS **Et les pi.**) dount la maisoun estoit susteint et tenaunt (MS **s. cil t.**) l'un a destre; Et cil pernaunt ambesdeux les pi.do. la m.est. sustenue un a des.; et adprehendens ambas columnas quibus innitebatur domus alteramque earum dextera 915 sur l'altre (MS **lastre**) multitude; s. tote lautre m.; et ceteram multitudinem 922-23 mere la quele ly dist Jeo] **m.J.**; m. la quele ly dist J.; matri suae quae dixerat ei 937 soies a moy (MS **a moy twice**) amy 940 od soi] **od soit**; od soi; apud se 943 enhabitereit] **enhabiterent**; enhabitereit; habitaret 945 Saraa] **Sarara**; Saraa; Saraa 951-52 se consaillast Nostre Sire (MS **c. son seigneur**) et; se c. a N. seignor et; consuleret Dominum et 953 vostre voie (MS **vos. terre**) et; vos. loye et; viam vestram et 956 habitaunt en (MS **en twice**) ceo 970 ephot et (MS **et twice**) cheraphin 973-74 biers esturent a l'huis si com il estoient armez Més cil qe estoient (MS **ar. Et cil estoient**) entreez; b. . . . qe estoient ar. esturent devaunt la porte Mes cil qe estoient; viri ita ut erant armati stabant ante ostium at illi qui ingressi fuerant 976 porte sis centz biers tresfortz (MS **sis mill de b. armez**) attendauntz de loinz; p. od sis centz b.t.att. eux armee de l.; ostium sescentis viris fortissimis haut procul expectantibus 979 mette] **metta**; met; pone 981-82 il otria (MS **il escouta**) a lour paroles; il se arcorda a lour p.; adquivit sermonibus eorum 984 et fussent ja loinz] **et f.l.**; et f. ja l.; iamque . . . essent procul 985 les biers qe habiterent en (MS **qe habi en**) la maisoun de Miche; P *om.*; viri qui habitabant in aedibus Michae 991 perisses] **proisses**; perisses; pereas 994 ferirent] **feri**; ferirent; percusserunt 997 La (MS **Une**) citee; La ci.; civitas

1016 Més cil levaunt] **Et c.l.**; Mes c.l.; at ille consurgens 1017 soegre le tint (MS **so. se t.**) grantment et; so. li t. ferm et; obnix eum socer tenuit et 1032 lignee] **citee**; lignee; tribu 1052 qe nous luy (MS **qe n.l. twice**) en usoms 1057-58 et la bailla a eux a escharmier (MS **et les b. a es.**); et la b. a eux por foloyer; et eis tradidit inludendam 1059-60 a l'huis de la maisoun ou (MS **l'huis ou**) son seigneur maneit; al huis de la mai. soun se.man.; ad ostium domus ubi manebat dominus suus 1068 puisqe noz peres (MS **pu. nostre pere**) mounterent; pu. noz peres descendirent; ex eo die quo ascenderunt patres nostri 1078 environerent de nuit la (MS **e. la**) maisoun; e. de nuit la m.; circumdederunt nocte domum 1081-82 felonie ne si graunt pecchee (MS **ne tant de p.**) ne estoit fait; fel. ne si graunt outrage ne fust fait; nefas et tam grande piaculum factum est 1085-86 dis biers eslutz de cent de (MS **eslutz de c. et de**) totes; dis b. esbitz et c.b. de touz; decem viri eligantur e centum ex omnibus 1090 tote la lignee] **totes les lignees**; tut la lignee; omnem tribum 1095 poeple de Israel Et] **p. Et**; p. de Israel Et; Israhel populum

1102-03 conseillèrent a ly et (MS **c. et**); c. a Dieu et; consuleruntque eum 1108 deux mill] **treis m.**; deux m.; duo milia 1109 redrescerent lour escheele (MS **lour un e.**); r. il lour e.; rursum . . . aciem direxerunt 1111-12 consaillèrent a ly et (MS **c. et**); c. a ly et; consulerentque eum et 1112 Doi jeo plus outre aler (MS **j. aler**) a combatre; D.j.p.o. avaunt aler a c.; debeo ultra procedere ad dimicandum 1113-14 a eux et comencez la bataille Et (MS **et c. Et**); a eux si lour dones bataille Et; ad eum et inite certamen 1120-21 estoit illoeques l'arche] **e. l'arche**; e. illoqe larche; ibi erat arca 1132 counsail q'il les traient (MS **q'il soi t.**) loinz de la citee; cou. por ceo qil les avoient trait hors de la ci.; consilium ut abstraherent eos de civitate 1135-36 se comencerent a demoustrer un poy a issir (MS **d. a i.**) de l'occidentale; si com. moustrer un poy a aler del oc.; paulatim se aperire coeperunt et ab occidentali . . . procedere 1148 filz de Israel mys (MS **de Benjamyn m.**) en mesmes cest estrif; f. de Israel mys en c.es.; filii Israhel in ipso certamine positi 1149-50 quidoient eux a fuir et il les ensuiroient plus (MS **f. ensuiroient p.**) et plus trent; quidoient qe cil fuioient et il les ens. hastivement et t.; putaverunt . . . eos fugere et instantius sequebantur . . . triginta 1151-52 regardaunt areredos vist la citee prise et les flambes (MS **la c. et les fambes**); r. la c.p.a. et les flambes; retro aspiciens captam cerneret civitatem et flammam 1155 pursuiauntz mais cil (MS **p.c.**); p. mes c.; persequuntibus sed et hii • se contrecurrent a eux Et (MS **se c. Et**); se currurent a eux Et; occurrerunt eis 1158 ceuz] **teux**; ceuz; V *om.* 1186 comaunderent] **comanda**; comaunderent; praeceperunt 1189 mais reservez (MS **et r.**) les virgines; mes r. les v.; V *var.* uirgines autem reseruate • Jabis de Galaad] **Gabis de Gal.**; Jabes Gal.; Iabisgalaad 1190 quatre centz] **quaraunte c.**; quatre c.; quadringentae 1199 a porveer] **a prover**; a porvoier; providendum 1199-1200 ostee de Israel Nous] **o. de les nostres Nous**; o. Nous; deleatur ex Israhel

1205 desqes a Sichem et] **d. al Secche et**; d. a Sichem et; ad Sycimam et 1207-08 Silo avauntaler si com il (MS **si il**) soloient por mesner karoles issez; S. aler por m.k. com custume est iss.; S. ad ducendos choros ex more procedere exite 1209 lour peres (MS **l. perers**); l. peres; patres earum

Critical notes

Our aims here are twofold: to elucidate the relationship of base manuscript *L* to both manuscript *P* and to the Latin Vulgate (*V*), and to indicate some of the principal ways in which the ANB's book of Judges may have been interpreted by medieval audiences.

Rejected readings from *L* are recorded in the previous section ('Rejected readings'). To show again all textual differences between *L* and *P* would overwhelm this section; we limit discussion here to the most significant variants in *P*. In the case of names of people and places, see also Appendices D and E. Word-separation in variant readings from *P* follows that of the edited text or of entries in the AND.

Information that may be easily gleaned from modern commentaries on Judges has generally been omitted below, except where it sheds light on medieval understandings of the text. For convenience of reference, medieval sources mentioned repeatedly are listed chronologically here:

Origen of Alexandria	<i>Homilies on Judges (Hom.)</i>	early 3 rd c.
Augustine of Hippo	<i>Quaestiones in Iudices (Quaest.)</i>	early 5 th c.
Gregory the Great	<i>Moralia in Job</i>	578-95
Isidore of Seville	<i>In librum Iudicum (Jud.)</i>	7 th c.
Anon.	<i>Anglo-Norman Judges (ANJ)</i>	c. 1160-70
Peter Comestor	<i>Historia scholastica (Hist.schol.)</i>	1169-73
Anon.	<i>Morgan Bible (Morgan Library, M. 638)</i>	1240s
Anon.	<i>Bible moralisée (BM)</i>	mid-13 th c.
Thomas Aquinas	<i>Summa theologiae (Summa)</i>	1265-74
Anon.	<i>Speculum humanae salvationis (SHS)</i>	1309-24
Nicholas of Lyra	<i>Postilla litteralis et moralis (Post.litt., Post.mor.)</i>	early 14 th c.

Numbers at the beginning of each paragraph below refer to one or more lines of our text. Quotations are immediately followed by references to the corresponding verse or verses in *V*. Relevant variants from the 'Rome' edition of the Latin Vulgate (*VB*) follow 'var.'.

2 *Après la mort de Josue* Judg 1. 1. For Isidore, the judges succeed Joshua as the apostles and Church Fathers will succeed Jesus, whose name is etymologically related to Joshua's (*Jud.*, col. 379). • *se consaillèrent Nostre Sire* Judg 1. 1, i.e. by consulting the oracle. The Comestor specifies (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1272) that this was through the priest Phinehas, recorded as ministering at the sanctuary at Bethel at line 1121 (Judg 20. 28).

4-5 *Judas ... Et Judas dist a Symeon* Judg 1. 2-3. The tribes of Judah and Simeon rather than the long dead individuals, as Augustine clarifies (*Quaest.* 2). The Comestor notes here that the Simeonite alliance with Judah was in fulfilment of Jacob's prophecy that Simeon would be 'scattered' in Israel (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1272; Genesis 49. 7). *Ancrene Wisse*, an early thirteenth-century ME rule for anchoresses, quotes Judg 1. 1-2 in its fifth part 'On Confession'. Joshua is glossed as *heale* ('health') and Judah as *schrift* ('confession'). Confession is said to rid the sinner of sin, as Judah purged Canaan of the Canaanites. See *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from Other Manuscripts*, ed. Bella Millett, 2 vols (Oxford: published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 2005-2006), I, 114-15.

8 *Et il troverent Adonibezek en Bezek* Judg 1. 5, inserted from left margin. The Comestor explains that the ill-fated lord had his hands mutilated to prevent him from fighting in future (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1272). *BM* makes Othniel (line 22, Judg 1. 13) responsible for punishing Adonibezek, and interprets him as a priest using a spiritual sword to lop off *cupiditatem et voluntatem malefaciendi* (fol. 104r). Nicholas of Lyra renders the name as *dominus fulguris*, figuring Adonibezek as a devil who dazzles sinners (*Post.mor.*, fol. 58v).

10-11 *les haltescs de ... les haltescs de (V summitatibus... summitatibus; P les derreine parties de... les derreine parties de)* Judg 1. 6-7.

11 *Sessaunte et dis rois* Judg 1. 7, figuring, for Nicholas of Lyra, the 70 nations rescued from the devil by Christ (*Post.mor.*, fol. 58v).

14-15 *les filz de Juda assegeantz Jerusalem la pristrent et la ferirent en bouche de espee* Judg 1. 8. As becomes apparent at lines 36-38 (Judg 1. 21), the Israelites did not completely expel Jerusalem's Jebusite inhabitants. *Hist.schol.* notes here that

the Jebusites remained in Jerusalem until the time of David (col. 1273). *L en bouche de espee* renders *V in ore gladii*, a much-used idiom in Josh and Judg for ‘with the edge of the sword’.

17 *Ebron* (NRSV Hebron) Judg 1. 10. The account of the conquest of Hebron and Debir given at Judg 1. 10-15 is a recapitulation of Josh 15. 13-19 (the repetition occurring for good reason, according to Augustine, *Quaest.* 3). Hebron’s alternative name of Kiriath-arba is also supplied at Josh 15. 3. According to the Comestor, it is a city of giants (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1273).

20 *Caleph* (NRSV Caleb, the form subsequently found in *L*) Judg 1. 12. Caleb represented Judah among the twelve spies sent by Moses to scout out Canaan (Numbers 13-14). As in *V*, it is grammatically unclear (at line 22, Judg 1. 13) whether he is Othniel’s uncle or older brother. Othniel will reappear as the first of the judges at Judg 3. 9-11.

26-27 *terre rouissaunt ... le rouissaunt par desus et le rouissaunt par aval* (*V inriguam ... inriguum superius et inriguum inferius*; *P terre reverdissaunte ... susseine terre rouissaunte et basse terre rouissaunte*) Judg 1. 15. The form *rouissaunt* is not attested in the sense of ‘spring’ in AND (but s.v. *rehaer* ‘to ret, soak’).

28 *Les filz adcertes de Cinei les cosyns de Moisen* Judg 1. 16. The Kenites were held to be descendants of Moses’ father-in-law (identified as Hobab at Judg 4. 11), but *Hist.schol.* specifies that these were descendants of Moses’ brother-in-law Jobal (col. 1273).

28-29 *la citee dé Palmes* (*V Civitate palmarum*; NRSV the city of palms) Judg 1. 16. Jericho is thus named at Deuteronomy 34. 3 and 2 Chronicles 28. 15. *Hist.schol.* gives Engaddi as another possibility (col. 1273).

32 *Horma* Judg 1. 17 (NRSV Hormah). As at Numbers 21. 3, an etymological tradition is cited ‘according to which the Israelites ban (*hrm*, wordplay on *hormā*) the Canaanite cities probably under influence of the king of Arad and call those cities Hormah’ (*EBR* s.v. ‘Hormah’). *P* (which we follow here) renders *V anathema* as *escomengement*.

35 *en curres od faucils sipes* (*V falcatis curribus*; *P des charettes faucillés*) Judg 1. 19. As a past participle, *faucillés* would usually mean ‘cut with a scythe’ rather than ‘equipped with scythes’ (FEW III 380a: **falcicula*). These well-armed enemies were left for Judah to fear *ad reprimendam eorum elationem* (Augustine, *Quaest.* 5).

39 *Bethel* Judg 1. 22. Augustine identifies Bethel, Israel’s central sanctuary and the location of the ark of the covenant, with the city of Scythopolis. That the city lies so far away from Scythia testifies, he suggests, to the Scythians’ former greatness (*Quaest.* 8).

47 *il les fist truagers* (*V fecit eos tributarios*) Judg 1. 28. The noun *truagers* (‘tributaries’) is not attested in AND.

60-61 *Et la main de la maisoun de Joseph est agrevee en Amorreum* (*V et adgravata est manus domus Ioseph*; NRSV but the hand of the house of Joseph rested heavily on them) Judg 1. 35. The sense here is that the house of Joseph (i.e. the Ephraimites) came down hard on the Amorites, but ANJ interprets *V adgravata* differently: the line of Joseph triumphed *ja soit que auques fust grevee* (p. 7).

63 *l’angle de Nostre Sire* Judg 2. 1, identified by ‘the Hebrews’ as the high priest Phinehas (line 1121), according to Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.litt.*, fol. 28v). • *de Galgala desqes al lieu des Plorauntz* (*V de Galgal ad Locum flentium*; *P de G. desque al lieu qe est dit Flentium*; NRSV from Gilgal to Bochim) Judg 2. 1. Gilgal was the first place in the Promised Land that the Israelites reached after crossing the Jordan. The name of this cultic site is suggestive of a circle of stones (note *ydoles* 134, Judg 3. 19). The folk etymology of Bochim (‘Weeping’) is given at lines 70-72 (Judg 2. 4-5).

68 *Por quele chose jeo ne les voloi oster* Judg 2. 3. Evidence, for Augustine, that some sins derive from God’s wrath (*Quaest.* 13).

73-79 *Por ceo ... mount de Gaas* Judg 2. 6-9. This account of Joshua’s death repeats, with minor variation, Josh 24. 28-31 (where it functions as a conclusion to the Conquest narrative). *Hist.schol.* notes as much: *hic recapitulat historiam de Josue ad continuandam ordinis seriem* (col. 1274). Origen’s *Hom.* 1 and 2 on Judges examine these lines, taking Joshua to be a forerunner of Christ. The virtuous possess ‘the days of Jesus [Joshua]’, following the apostolic example (pp. 39-40); sinners dwell in ‘the days of Manasseh or in the days of the Pharaoh or in wicked days of some other kind’ (p. 40).

78 *Thamathsare* (NRSV Timnath-heres) Judg 2. 9. This city of uncertain location was conflated in Christian tradition (e.g., by Eusebius and Jerome) with the Timnah of Genesis 38. 13, which lies to the north-west of Bethel. See C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges with Introduction and Notes*, 2nd edn (London: Rivingtons, 1920), pp. 56-57. The city is called Timnah (‘of the sun’), according to Nicholas of Lyra, because God granted Joshua’s request for the sun to stand still (Josh 10) (*Post.litt.*, fol. 29r).

- 84-85 *a Baal et a Astaroth* Judg 2. 13, corresponding to Jupiter and Juno, according to Augustine (*Quaest.* 16). For Origen, the Canaanite deities represent greed (*Hom.* 2, p. 57).
- 90 *jugges qe les delivererent* Judg 2. 16, prefiguring bishops and doctors of the church who freed Christian folk from the devil, according to Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.mor.*, fol. 58v).
- 93 *cil oiauntz les comaundementz de Nostre Sire firent tut le contrarie* (*V et audientes mandata Domini omnia fecere contraria; P cil o. touz les com. de NS f. le con.*) Judg 2. 17. *V omnia* is understood by the *P*-redactor to modify *mandata* rather than *contraria*.
- 95 *de la occisioun* (*V de caede; P du batre*) Judg 2. 18. Both renderings of *V caede* valid.
- 108 *les cink sages biers* (*V satrapas; P mestres*) Judg 3. 3, figuring, for Nicholas of Lyra, the five senses that lead us to vice (*Post.mor.*, fol. 58v).
- 111-12 *le quel ... ou noun* Judg 3. 4: ‘whether... or not’.
- 117 *Chuserasathaym* (NRSV Cushan-rishathaim) Judg 3. 8, meaning ‘their humiliation’, according to Origen (*Hom.* 3, p. 61). ‘Even now it is “Cushanrithathaim, king of Mesopotamia,” to whom are handed over the souls to be humiliated and stricken down, who, out of contempt for Christian humility, gave themselves over to pride and arrogance’ (p. 62). He urges listeners to repent ‘before Cushanrithathaim humbles you and necessity forces repentance against your will’ (p. 64).
- 118 *Othoniel* (NRSV Othniel) Judg 3. 9, meaning ‘the time of God for myself’, according to Origen (*Hom.* 3, p. 64). He wonders whether ‘there is any judge of the Church whom “God” considers worthy “to fill with his Spirit”,’ as Othniel was (lines 119-20; *Hom.* 3, p. 66).
- 124 *Eglon* Judg 3. 12, meaning the ‘whirling around’ or ‘orbits’ of the evil path, says Origen (*Hom.* 4, p. 70). Figures the constant motion of vice, for Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.mor.*, fol. 59r).
- 125-26 *la citee dé Palmes* (*V urbem Palmarum; NRSV the city of palms*) Judg 3. 13. Here *Hist.schol.* is clear that this is Jericho (col. 1274; see note to lines 28-29).
- 127-28 *Ahot ... le filz Gera le filz de Gemini* (*V Ahoth filium Gera filii Iemini; NRSV Ehud son of Gera, the Benjaminite*) Judg 3. 15. The Benjamites were often said to be left-handed (e.g., Judg 20. 16) or ambidextrous (1 Chronicles 12. 2), as Ehud is here. For Origen, Ehud’s two ‘right hands’ correspond to faith and deeds, and all saints can be called ambidextrous and all devils ambisinistrous (*Hom.* 3, p. 68). He later glosses Ehud’s name as ‘praise’ (*Hom.* 4, p. 70).
- 131 *le sarge* (*V sagum; P l’escauberck; NRSV clothes*) Judg 3. 16. *L sarge* (‘serge’) <SERICA. In *L* marginal *sagum sarge* supplies the *V* reading and a rendering in either AN or ME.
- 136 *une sale de estee* (MS *son lieu de souper pur yverne*) Judg 3. 20. A roof-top summer parlour with many windows was ‘well suited as a place for meditation or interviews of a personal nature’, A. E. Cundall and Leon Morris, *Judges and Ruth: An Introduction and Commentary* (London: Tyndale Press, 1968), p. 77. But according to the ANJ Eglon spends so much time there on account of his being *cargiés de malvaïse char* (p. 13).
- 136-37 *Jeo ai a toi la parole de Nostre Sire* Judg 3. 20. Not a lie, according to Augustine, since Ehud is fulfilling God’s command (*Quaest.* 20).
- 138 *le fauchoun sicam* (*V sicam; P la speei*) Judg 3. 21. AND s.v. *fauchun* ‘kind of sword (with a curved blade)’. Nicholas of Lyra suggests the *sica* is so called *a sonitu que facit quando de vagina extrahetur* (*Post.litt.*, fol. 30v). Medieval artists do not always capture the textual details of the scene, e.g., the *SHS* in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Haen. 3506, fol. 67r (where Eglon lacks corpulence and Ehud uses his right hand). For an illuminator who gets many of them right, see the *SHS* in Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 2505 (fol. 55r). For Origen, the sword represents the Gospels, with which all judges of the Church may become as praiseworthy as Ehud (*Hom.* 4, p. 71). In *SHS* Ehud’s assassination of Eglon is said to prefigure Christ’s defeat of the (all-devouring) devil (ch. 29). Eglon’s death may have provided inspiration for that of Constantine, king of the Britons, at the hands of a nameless Pict in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae*: Michael D. Reeve and Neil Wright (eds), *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of ‘De gestis Britonum’* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), VI:5. See also Gunn, pp. 35-38, and *EBR* s.v. ‘Ehud and Eglon’.
- 139-40 *en la unccioun tresgrasse* (*V pinguissimo adipe; P del tresgras suet*) Judg 3. 22. AN *unccioun* is not attested in AND as ‘bodily fat’; *adipe* seems to have been understood in *L* as ‘ointment’.
- 141 *la fiente* (*V alvi stercora; P les estrountz*) Judg 3. 22.

144 *en la couche de estee* (MS *el lit estyval*) (*V in aestivo cubiculo*; *P en la sale de estee*) Judg 3. 24. Both renderings of *V cubiculo* valid.

156-57 *III Après ly fust Sangar* (NRSV Shamgar) ... *Israel* Judg 3. 31, concluding Judg 3 in *V*. Also the beginning of ch. IV in *P*. Origen glosses Shamgar's name as 'foreigner there', as all men of God are (*Hom.* 4, p. 71). Shamgar is said to slay Philistines with a plough (in contrast to Ehud's sword), like the judge of the Church who drives away vice with a 'gentle admonition' (rather than 'the harshness of a word') (*Hom.* 4, pp. 71-72). In *SHS* (ch. 17) the 600 Philistines who are felled by Shamgar's ploughshare prefigure the Roman soldiers who fall to the ground before Christ (John 18. 6). That Shamgar performed this deed alone is not credible for Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.litt.*, fol. 31r). See also note to lines 836-37.

159 *Jabin* Judg 4. 2, meaning 'false understanding', according to Origen. He reminds us at this point that we get the leaders we deserve (*Hom.* 4, p. 74).

160 *Sisaram* (NRSV Sisera) Judg 4. 2, interpreted by Origen as 'vision of the horse' because the enemy general sees only according to the flesh (*Hom.* 4, pp. 74-75). Means *exclusio gaudii* for Nicholas of Lyra, and therefore represents the devil (*Post.mor.*, fol. 59r).

161 *Aroseth des gentz* (*V Aroseth gentium*; NRSV Harosheth-ha-goim) Judg 4. 2, so called, according to *Hist.schol.*, because of its diverse population (col. 1276).

162 *faucils sibes* Judg. 4. 3. See note to line 35.

163-64 *Delbora prophetesce estoit la femme de Lapidoth la quele* (MS *le quel*) *a cel temps juggea le poeple* Judg 4. 4. Deborah is introduced as a prophetess and a judge. Note that in both *L* and *P* the second function is conferred on husband Lappidoth (*le quel ... juggea*). 'Deborah' means 'bee' or 'speech', according to Origen, figuring prophecy, 'the sweet honey of the Divine Word' (*Hom.* 5, p. 77). For Nicholas of Lyra, Deborah represents priests and princes, who should sting with justice and console with honey (*Post.mor.*, fol. 59r). On the basis of Deborah's example, Origen invites women 'to avoid despairing in any way on account of the weakness of their sex, for even they themselves can become capable of prophetic grace' (*Hom.* 5, p. 77). Ambrose finds in Deborah evidence that *strenuos non sexus, sed virtus facit* (*De viduis*, ch. 8, col. 248). Aquinas cites her as an example of a woman in authority when considering whether female sex should be an impediment to receiving Orders, concluding that her power was restricted to temporal matters (*Summa*, III/Suppl., Q.39, art. 1). In *BM* Deborah is depicted receiving the Israelites and is interpreted as a prefiguration of the Church receiving sinners (fol. 105v). The Comestor conflates Lappidoth and Barak (line 166, Judg 4. 6), both of whose names mean *coruscatio* ('lightning') (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1276). Nicholas of Lyra is doubtful that they were one and the same (*Post.litt.*, fol. 31v).

164-65 *entre Rama et Bethel* (NRSV Ramah and Bethel) Judg 4. 5, interpreted respectively as *excelsa* and *domus Dei* by Isidore—fitting glosses, he suggests, given the heavenly content of Deborah's words (*Jud.*, col. 380).

166 *Barach* (NRSV Barak) Judg 4. 6, meaning 'a flash', according to Origen. Barak thus figures the Jews, who heard God's words, shone brightly for a short time, but failed to endure (*Hom.* 5, p. 78). For Nicholas of Lyra, Barak represents men who *fulgent industria naturali et tonant sententia judiciali* (*Post.mor.*, fol. 59r).

173 *ne ert point la victorie a toi recountee* Judg 4. 9, i.e. 'the victory will not be reported as being yours'.

175-76 *eiaunt Delboram en sa compaignie* Judg 4. 10. Deborah is sometimes depicted heading into battle wielding a sword, e.g., *BM*, fol. 105v. See also Gunn, p. 58 and *EBR* s.v. 'Deborah (judge)'.
177-78 *lé cosyn de Moisen* Judg 4. 11. See note to line 28.

189 *Jahel* (NRSV Jael) Judg 4. 17, meaning 'ascent' for Origen, who gives an ecclesiological gloss to Jael: 'there is no other ascent by which one may be raised up to heaven except through the Church' (*Hom.* 5, p. 80). For Isidore, Jael, as a foreigner, *figuram tenet Ecclesiae ex gentibus congregatae* (*Jud.*, col. 381).

194 *un bussel a gourde de leat* (*V utrem lactis*; *P un vessel de leat*) Judg 4. 19, offered, according to Nicholas of Lyra, because of its soporific qualities (*Post.litt.*, fol. 31v). For Origen, the milk represents moral instruction: nourishing for the virtuous, deadly for the wicked. We must all drink the 'evangelical and apostolic milk to put the Sisera in [us] to sleep' (*Hom.* 5, pp. 82-83). On other medieval interpretations of Jael and her milk, see Conway, pp. 44-46, and Brown, p. 34.

198-99 *ele ... fichi le clou en la temple de son chief* Judg 4. 21. For Origen, the tent-peg prefigures Christ's Cross, slaying the worldliness represented by Sisera (*Hom.* 5, p. 80). In *BM* the tent-peg is specifically the nails of the Cross, with Jael figuring the Church and Sisera the devil (fol. 106r). The gloss in *SHS* is similar except that Jael (alongside Judith and Tomyris) is a type of the Virgin Mary (ch. 30). Did Jael do wrong? asks Nicholas of Lyra. Yes and no: *in hoc fecit rem licitam et meritoriam, licet immiscuerit aliqua illicita*, including breaking a political pact, lying and flouting the rules of hospitality (*Post.litt.*, fols

31v-32r). In the *Canterbury Tales*, the Wife of Bath mentions her fifth husband's *book of wikked wyves* (p. 114, v. 685), including tales of women who *han dryve nayles in hir brayn, / Whil that they slepte, and thus they had hem slayn* (p. 115, vv. 769-70). See Gunn, p. 57; *EBR* s.v. 'Jael (person)'; Conway, pp. 45-46; and Brown, pp. 35-36.

201 *Jahel en issue en contrecours de ly* Judg 4. 22. Given an anti-Jewish gloss by Origen: Jael (the Church) shows her complete victory to Barak (the Jews), whose success was only partial (*Hom.* 5, p. 81).

211 *Jeo psalmeroi (V psallam)* Judg 5. 3. *Psalmers* not attested in AND, but s.v. *psalmoier*.

221 *vous qe montastes sur asnes lusauntz* Judg 5. 10. Glossed by Origen as those who rise above fleshiness to shine with chastity and modesty (*Hom.* 6, pp. 91-92).

224-25 *en les fortz ... a les portes* (MS *en les portes ... a les portes*; *V in fortes* [var. *portis*] ... *ad portas*; *P a les portes*; ANJ *as portes d'Israel* ...) Judg 5. 11. Note that *V fortes* and *portas* are also confused in the ANJ.

229-30 *il les osta de Effraym en Amalech et après luy en Benjamyn* Judg 5. 14, a reference, according to the Comestor, to Israelite victories over the Amalekites by Joshua (of Ephraim) and by Saul (of Benjamin) (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1277; Exodus 17. 8-16 and 1 Samuel 15).

232-33 *si com cheaunt en chief et enferné (V quasi in praeceps ac baratrum; P soudeinement)* Judg 5. 15.

235 *les siflementz hissyngez des fouks (V sibilos* ['whistling, piping'] *gregum; P les filz des Grioux*; NRSV the piping for the flocks) Judg 5. 16. MED s.v. *hissen* 'to whistle'. • *Ruben devisa contre soi meismes* Judg 5. 16. In *Hist.schol.*, the Comestor explains that some Reubenites wished to participate, but others were reticent (col. 1277).

237 *dona entent a (V vacabat* [var. *vagabat*]; *P s'en vait des)* Judg 5. 17, *P* perhaps rendering the *V* variant.

241-42 *Les estoilles ... combatirent* Judg 5. 20. A case of hyperbole, according to the Comestor: thunder and lightning are meant here (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1277).

243 *ly flum de Cadumim (V torrens Cadumim*; NRSV the onrushing torrent) Judg 5. 21. *Cadumim* is rendered as *antiquorum* in *Hist.schol.* and is understood as a reference to the Red Sea (col. 1277).

244 *Les ungles de lour chivaux chairent (V unglulae equorum ceciderunt)* Judg 5. 22, i.e. the horses' hooves beat down on the ground.

245 *tresbuchantz (V per praeceps ruentibus; P sodainement cheiauntz)* Judg 5. 22. In right margin, a gloss recording the *V* reading and a ME rendering: *hedelynges per preceps*.

246 *Meroz dist l'angle* Judg 5. 23. Meroz was a Canaanite prince, records the Comestor, who also relates the name to *arcanum* ('secret') and the fallen angels (col. 1277). According to Nicholas of Lyra, the angel is traditionally identified as Michael, but 'the Hebrews' claim this refers to Barak (*Post.litt.*, fol. 33v).

255 *les piez de ses charettes (V pedes quadrigarum illius)* Judg 5. 28, i.e. the sound of the horses' hooves.

258 *divers colurez hustilmentz (V supellex varia; P d. ourloure)* Judg 5. 30.

264 *tresfortz* (MS *trespetitz; V munitissima*) Judg 6. 2, the *L*-redactor no doubt rendering *minutissima* (confusion of minims).

265 *eust semee* (MS *enragee; V sevisset*) Judg 6. 3, confusing *serere* ('to sow') with *sevire* ('to rage')? • *mounterent Madian et Amalech et altres des naciouns orientals* (NRSV the Midianites and the Amalekites) Judg 6. 3. Origen interprets the Midianites as 'outside judgment' and Amalek as 'the people who squander' (*Hom.* 8, p. 100). The 'people of the East' would normally be Christians, but here they represent Christians who falsely claim to be the people of Christ (pp. 101-02).

266-67 *en herbes il degasterent (V in herbis ... vastabant; P acustumee et gasterent)* Judg 6. 4. Origen reminds us that, even if our worldly seeds fail, our spiritual ones can grow strong (*Hom.* 7, p. 95).

272 *des Madianitz (V contra Madianitas; P contre les M.)* Judg 6. 7.

273 *un bier prophete* Judg 6. 8. Strange, according to Augustine, for a prophet not to be named; perhaps to be equated with the angel of line 279 (*Quaest.* 31). Nicholas of Lyra reports that 'the Hebrews' identify this man as Phinehas (line 1121; fol. 34v).

280-81 *com Gedeon ... out feruz et purgee les furmentz en la pressure qe Madian fuiereit (V excuteret atque purgaret frumenta in torculari ut fugeret Madian; P horsbatereit et purgereit f. en la bature des blés q'il s'en f. de M.)* Judg 6. 11. Interpreting

Gideon's name as *circuiens in utero*, Isidore accords him a typological gloss: Christ would have the whole world in his hands and be born to Mary (*Jud.*, col. 384). In this scene, Gideon, under the oak, uses a rod to separate the grain from the chaff, just as Christ, in the shadow of the Cross, will come to separate the holy from vice, with the rod of justice (col. 381). In the *Bible* of Macé de La Charité, the scene shows *Que qui pensee ha nete et fine / Veoier peut la chose divine: La Bible de Macé de La Charité*, ed. J. R. Smeets, 7 vols (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1964-1986), II:101 (vv. 9595-96).

283 *por quei nous out pris touz ces maux (V cur adprehenderunt nos haec omnia [var. omnia mala]; P por q. n. fount ennemitz taunt des m.)* Judg 6. 13.

289 *malade (V infima [var. infirma]; P la p. b.)* Judg 6. 15.

291 *doignes a moy signe* Judg 6. 17. Gideon is sometimes interpreted as a doubting Thomas, but Origen praises his caution for checking his interlocutor is not a devil, on the model of Joshua (*Hom.* 8, p. 107; Josh 5. 13-14). For Nicholas of Lyra, since Gideon is testing the angel, he does not err by offering to perform a sacrifice outside the tabernacle and to the angel himself (*Post.litt.*, fol. 34v). See also Gunn, p. 97.

294 *azimels (V azymos; P aliz)* Judg 6. 19. *Pain azime* is the form recorded in AND, but s.v. *azimeux*.

299-300 *feu ... degasta les chars et les pains azimels* Judg 6. 21. According to Isidore, the goat-meat here represents carnal appetite, the broth carnal thought and the rock Christ. The scene shows how *caro Domini, spiritu repleta divino, peccata omnia conditionis humanae exureret* (*Jud.*, col. 382). In *BM* the sinner's *sensualitas* is said to be burned away through penance (fol. 106r).

306-07 *Preigne le toor de ton pere et un altre toor de sept anz ... Et decolpes le boys* Judg 6. 25. For Isidore, the second bull is a type of Christ (replete with the seven virtues), a sacrifice to end all other sacrifices (*Jud.*, col. 382). *BM* glosses the destruction of the sacred grove and the 'idol' as prefiguring Christ's routing of the Antichrist (fol. 106r). The sacrifice of the bull (here *vitulum crassum*) represents the martyrdom of the saints ('fat with love', as opposed to Jews and moneylenders, fol. 107v). The scene prefigures the institution of the Eucharist for Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.mor.*, fol. 59v).

310 *le summet (V struem; P un fasceau)* Judg 6. 26. *L's summet* a diminutive of *summe* 'load'?

325 *vaal de Jezrael* (NRSV Valley of Jezreel) Judg 6. 33. Origen glosses Jezreel as 'the seed of God' and suggests the Midianites attacked a place where spiritual fruits were yet to be borne (*Hom.* 8, p. 102).

330 *Si tu averas fait Israel sauf* Judg 6. 36. A dubious attempt to test God, according to Augustine (*Quaest.* 49), but not for Origen, 'for God would not have given heed to a petition that demands something against the law' (*Hom.* 8, p. 104). Aquinas exonerates Gideon, but nonetheless concedes that the request was probably made *ex debilitate fidei* (*Summa*, II/2, Q.97, art. 2). For Nicholas of Lyra, *quando petitur ex quadam familiaritate divina et voluntate seu desiderio ut manifestetur Dei gloria, tunc non est peccatum* (*Post.litt.*, fol. 35r).

333-34 *le tisoun expressé parempli un phiole (V concam ['shell, basin']; P une escale) de rosee* Judg 6. 38. For Origen, the fleece represents the Israelites, the only people 'moistened' by the word of God (*Hom.* 8, p. 105). The water squeezed out of the fleece is likened to the heavenly dew, 'the word of knowledge', with which Jesus 'washes the feet' of his disciples (*Hom.* 8, pp. 108-10). For Nicholas of Lyra, the fleece figures simple Christians receiving doctrine (*Post.mor.*, fol. 60r). In *SHS* (ch. 7) and *BM* (fol. 107v) this scene is a prefigurement of the Annunciation, with the heavenly dew that leaves the fleece undamaged read as the Holy Spirit impregnating Mary but preserving her virginity. An antiphon composed for the reception of the Crown of Thorns in Paris by Louis IX in 1239 likens France to Gideon's fleece, visited by dew-like grace (*EBR* s.v. 'Book of Judges'). See also Gunn, pp. 94-97, and *EBR* s.v. 'Gideon'.

337-38 *secchesce just solement el tisoun et rosee en tote la terre* Judg 6. 40. For Origen, the fleece now represents the Jews, who suffer 'a dryness and aridity for the word of God' (*Hom.* 8, p. 105). Likewise in Ambrose's *De viduis*, ch. 3 (cols 240-41). They are like sheep who refuse water from a spring, for Isidore (*Jud.*, cols 382-83). *BM* gives a similar gloss (fol. 107v). For Nicholas of Lyra, the land which now receives the dew represents the infidel (*Post.mor.*, fol. 60r). See Gunn, p. 96.

341 *plaié (V plagam)* Judg 7. 1, not attested in AND in the sense of 'region, country' (see also line 667).

344-45 *Cil qe est pourous et doutous returne il* Judg 7. 3. Echoing Moses' instructions to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 20, as *Hist.schol.* notes (cols 1278-79). Those who join Christ's army have nothing to fear, according to Origen: this is a different type of battle in which even women (like Deborah) can excel (*Hom.* 9, p. 113). In *BM* the lesson is specifically for clerics: those who are lukewarm in the war against the wicked will be rejected by God (fol. 107v). Nicholas of Lyra compares the fearful to those Christians unable to follow Christ *per viam austeritatis* (*Post.mor.*, fol. 60r).

350-52 *Cil qe averount leschee de lange les eawes si com les chiens soloient lescher ... Cil ... qe averount beuz lour genoils acourvez* Judg 7. 5. Enigmatic. ‘The best explanation appears to be that the 300 used their hands as a dog uses its tongue to scoop up water while they remained on their feet, watchful and prepared for any emergency’ (Cundall and Morris, p. 110). In the St Louis Psalter, the rejects are depicted flat on their stomachs (BnF, lat. 10525, fol. 51v; *a ventrillon*, fol. 51r). Nicholas of Lyra suggests that the kneelers were exhausted and parched, while the lickens remained fresh, making the latter the better fighters (*Post.litt.*, fol. 35v). Origen interprets the lickens as catachumens who stand tall against the devil after baptism, working with the hand and the tongue (deed and word), and the kneelers as those who thirst after sin. Soldiers of Christ are akin to dogs because of their loyalty (*Hom.* 9, pp. 116-17). For Augustine, the lickens figure the Cross (the letter Tau representing 300 in the Greek numeral system). The dog comparison, moreover, *significat quod contemptibilia et ignobilia elegit Deus* (*Quaest.* 37). Isidore interprets the unbent knees of the 300 as righteousness and the water they drink as the doctrine of wisdom (*Jud.*, col. 385). *BM* points to two types of clerics: the kneelers are overly attached to earthly things, preferring to drain prebends and rents than defend the Church (fol. 108r). In his tropological reading, Nicholas of Lyra suggests that the kneelers gorge on worldliness, while the lickens consume the bare minimum (*Post.mor.*, fol. 60r). John of Salisbury refers to this episode to illustrate the importance of recruiting a suitable company of soldiers (*Policraticus*, VI:2).

366 *enversés* (*V fusi iacebant; P gisoient confus*) Judg 7. 12.

367 *locustes* Judg 7. 12. Homeless devils, for Origen (*Hom.* 9, p. 118).

370 *ceandrinous* (*V subcinericius* [‘baked beneath the ashes’]) Judg 7. 13. Not in AND. • *volupee* (*V volvi; P voltret*) Judg 7. 13, lacking the sense of ‘rolled’ in AND (s.v. *voluper*). The sense of Latin *volvare* ‘to wrap up’ has perhaps been captured here.

372 *en tote manere* (*V funditus; P le fundament*) Judg 7. 13. *V funditus* (‘completely’) misrendered in *P*.

375 *com Gedeon out oi le soungue et la interpretisioun de ceo* Judg 7. 15. Aquinas cites Gideon’s use of the dream and its interpretation as evidence in favour of the lawfulness of divination by omens (*Summa*, II/2, Q.95, art. 7).

378 *galouns lagenas* (*V lagoenas; P vasseux*) Judg 7. 16.

385 *retentir claptogider lour galouns entre eux* (*V conplodere inter se lagoenas; P lour vesseals enterferir*) Judg 7. 19. Without the gloss, *L’s entre eux* is potentially ambiguous.

385-87 *com il ussent ... debrisée lour ydres il tindrent lampes ... et busines* Judg 7. 20. For Origen, the lamps of the 300 represent ‘the light of works and the brilliance of their deeds’ and the trumpets ‘knowledge of Christ’ (*Hom.* 9, p. 118). Isidore understands Gideon’s men as martyrs who sound trumpets (preaching), smash jars (their bodies) and let lamps shine (miracles). Significantly, they hold their trumpets with their right hand and the jars in their left (*Jud.*, cols 385-86).

402-03 *estrivaunt fortment et portauntz force deprés* Judg 8. 1. *BM* likens the quarrelsome Ephraimites to ‘manly’ priests reproaching a lazy and negligent bishop (fol. 108r).

404-05 *Saver moun si le braunche* (*V racemus; P le raysyn*) *de Effraym ne est meillour qe les vendenges de Abiezer* (NRSV Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abiezer?) Judg 8. 2. *L* apparently renders *ramus*. Nicholas of Lyra explains: *Racemus enim continet pauca grana, vindemie autem multa. Per hoc igitur significat quod pauce persone capte et occise a filiis Effraym erant majoris ponderis quam multitudo victa et occisa ab exercitu qui erat cum Gedeone* (*Post.litt.*, fol. 36v). In *BM* Gideon is here likened to a bishop who excuses himself from preaching, saying *melior est predicatio parvorum in ecclesia quam majorum* (fol. 108r).

407 *se doutoient* (*V tumbant; P emflerent*) Judg 8. 3, *L* no doubt rendering *timebant*.

410 *domez pains al poeple* Judg 8. 5. In *BM* Gideon is read as a type of Christ, instructing (reluctant) preachers to shake listless monks from their torpor (fol. 109v).

414-15 *et com jeo avera returnee en pees venquiour* (*V om. [var. et cum reuersus fuero uictor in pace]*) Judg 8. 7, anticipating line 418 (Judg 8. 9), a variant also present in *P* and ANJ.

415 *jeo defolera voz chars* Judg 8. 7. In *BM* the men of Succoth here represent reluctant preachers, who will be tortured with worldly troubles (fol. 109v).

424-25 *Zebee et Salmana ... les queus Gedeon pursuiaunt prist* Judg 8. 12. In *BM* Gideon is said to pursue and capture the two Madianite kings like a priest interrogating the way of the wicked and then shackling them with *caritas* (fol. 109v).

- 433 *defola et debrisa od eux les biers de Sochoth Et abati la tour de Phanuel* Judg 8. 16-17. Given a typological gloss by Nicholas of Lyra: as Gideon destroyed Succoth and Penuel after defeating the Midianites, *sic salvator noster post triumphum de demonibus et ascensionem ad celos populum judeorum et sacerdotes destruxit per Romanos* (*Post.mor.*, fol. 60v). In *BM* Gideon figures prelates who destroy the enemies of the Church by handing over heretics to lay justice (fol. 109v). In *SHS* (ch. 41) the men of Succoth are interpreted as the damned in hell. In manuscripts they are most commonly depicted being beaten, often with thorns or briars, while hanging upside down, but other torments include being drawn by horses, e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin 9585, fol. 47r.
- 438-39 *il dist a Jether ... Lieve si les occies* Judg 8. 20. According to *BM*, Jether is akin to a prelate who slays the two ‘kings’ of his own vices and the vices of those placed under him (fol. 110r).
- 440-41 *quar la force de homme est joste le age (V quia iuxta aetatem robur est hominis; P car tu es j. le a. et la f. de h.)* Judg 8. 21. In *P iuxta* has been understood as ‘near to’ rather than ‘according to’.
- 441-42 *Gedeon ... occist Zebee et Salmana Et prist les ahournementz et les bules (V bullas NRSV collars)* Judg 8. 21. In *BM* Gideon is glossed as a type of Christ, smashing the gates of Hell and leading the patriarchs and prophets (the booty) to Heaven (fol. 110r). *L bules* is lacking in *AND* (s.v. *bulle*) in the sense of an amulet worn around the neck.
- 445 *Jeo ne vous enseignuroi* Judg 8. 23. *BM*: bishops must take a leaf out of Gideon’s book and behave like one of their flock rather than lording it over them (fol. 110r). John of Salisbury holds up Gideon as a model for rulers. By his words and by his name (meaning ‘avoiding the harmful or iniquitous temptation of the Israelites’), Gideon seems to signify ‘the duties of the prince’ (*Policraticus*, VIII:22).
- 447 *les ahournementz des orailles (V inaires; P les anels des o.)* Judg 8. 24.
- 451 *fermals broches (V monilibus; P fermails)* Judg 8. 26. Both *V monilibus* and *AN fermals* mean ‘necklaces’ or ‘brooches’ (*AND* s.v. *fermail*). The *ME* gloss is similarly ambiguous (*MED* s.v. *broche*).
- 452-53 *les ournementz de or (MS om. de or) des cols (V torques aureos [var. aureos omitted]; P les cercles de or)* Judg 8. 26.
- 453-54 *un vesture pur un chapellain .i. ephot (V ephod; P e.)* Judg 8. 27. The *ANJ* gives a similar circumlocution to *L*, explaining that it would now be called *amit* (‘amicé’, p. 32). For Augustine, Gideon errs because such a sacred object was placed outside the tabernacle (*Quaest.* 41). The *Comestor* suggests that Gideon not only had the ephod made, but set up a tabernacle to rival the one at Shiloh and himself became a priest (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1280).
- 457 *la terre se reposa par quaraunte anz* Judg 8. 28. Augustine wonders why God demonstrated such patience, given the Israelites’ fornication with idols. The ephod must have been made at the end of Gideon’s rule, he surmises (*Quaest.* 42).
- 458 *Por ceo Jeroboal ...* Judg 8. 29. The beginning of ch. IX in *P*.
- 458-59 *sessante et dis filz* Judg 8. 30. Isidore casts Gideon once again as Christ here, his wives as Christian nations, his 70 children as the 70 languages of the world, the concubine as *Synagoga Satanae* and the bastard Abimelech as Antichrist (*Jud.*, cols 386-87).
- 460 *concubine* Judg 8. 31. Named as Dyohoma in *Hist.schol.* (col. 1280).
- 461 *Gedeon ... morrust* Judg 8. 32. *BM* depicts Gideon’s many sons in mourning (a detail absent from the Biblical account) and has them figure John the Evangelist and Nicodemus before the Cross (fol. 110r). Did he die in sin? asks Nicholas of Lyra. Difficult to say: he died *in senectute bona*, but had fallen *in ruinam* on account of the ephod (*Post.litt.*, fols 37v-38r).
- 468 *Lors s'en vait ...* The beginning of Judg 9 in *V*.
- 475 *Baal Birth (V Baalbrith; NRSV Baal-berith)* Judg 9. 4. Berith is rendered as *conjuratio* by the *Comestor*, i.e. the temple is named after the pledge to Abimelech (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1281).
- 476-78 *occist ses freres ... Et Joathan ... remist* Judg 9. 5. The gruesome scene is depicted in the Morgan Bible (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 638, fol. 13v), with one of Abimelech’s wretched companions holding the head of one of the victims. For Isidore, Abimelech represents Antichrist, with Jotham a *figura... residui populi Israel* who will escape his sword (*Jud.*, col. 387). *BM* gives a similar interpretation (fol. 111v).
- 479-80 *establirent Abimelech roi* Judg 9. 6. Not king of Israel, the *Comestor* notes (that honour would first go to Saul); only of Shechem (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1281). In *BM* Abimelech figures Antichrist, who will be worshipped by wicked infidels, the gifts of lines 474-75 representing usury and cupidity (fol. 111v).

- 481 *haterel* (*V vertice*) Judg 9. 7. Not attested in the sense of ‘summit’ in AND. Is *cervice* (‘neck’) being rendered here?
- 484 *Les fustz du boys s’en alerent* (*V ierunt ligna*; *P Les arbres de assemblerent*; ANJ *li arbre dou b. s’assemblerent*) Judg 9. 8. Note the similar departure from *V* in *P* and the ANJ, perhaps triggered by *congregati sunt* of Judg 9. 6. In *Against Lying*, Augustine speculates that ‘all this is invented in order that we may reach the matter intended by means of a narrative fictitious, to be sure, but bearing a true and not a false signification’: Roy J. Deferrari (ed.), *Treatises on Various Subjects by Saint Augustine*, Fathers of the Church, 16, repr. (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), pp. 113-79 (ch. 13, p. 162). The truth for Nicholas of Lyra was that the flora of Jotham’s Fable represent Gideon’s sons (olive tree, fig tree and vine) and Abimelech’s supporters (cedars), with the bramble figuring Abimelech himself. He notes that for ‘the Hebrews’, the fruit-producing trees represent Othniel, Deborah and Gideon (*Post.litt.*, fol. 38v). The parable is given an anti-Jewish gloss by Isidore: the Jews who planted the trees were not worthy of the Christian fruits (Christ, the Holy Spirit, divine law). The bramble, meanwhile, represents Antichrist (*Jud.*, col. 388). In *BM* the wood is glossed as *pravos principes* who try to corrupt *bonos scolares* boasting *claritatem olive et dulcedinem ficus et letitiam vinee* (fol. 111v). A similar moral gloss is found in Nicholas of Lyra’s *Post.mor.*, where the olive tree figures *homines devoti*, the fig tree *studiosi*, and the vine *humiles*, in opposition to the *homines indigni promotione* represented by the bramble (fols 60v-61r).
- 488 *les arbres secchez* (*V ligna*; *P les a.*) Judg 9. 10, cf. line 491.
- 489 *refuser* (*V deserere*; *P retenir*) Judg 9. 11, cf. line 492.
- 492-93 *estre avauncee* (*V commoveri* [var. *promoveri*]; *P e. connuis*) Judg 9. 13.
- 494 *l’allier beveporn* (*V ramnum*; NRSV bramble) Judg 9. 14. The ME gloss (MED s.v. *theve-thorn* ‘a thornbush’, ‘esp. the gooseberry and blackberry plants’) is rather closer to *V* (‘bramble, buckthorn’) than *L*’s rendering (AND s.v. *alier* ‘service-tree, mulberry tree’). *L*’s *allier* influenced by ME *raun* (‘rowan’)?
- 496-97 *isse feu de l’allier et devoure les cedres de Liban* Judg 9. 15. In *BM* Jotham’s fable is likened to the words of Enoch and Elijah. Like the royal bramble, the Antichrist *punget, destruet et comburet* (fol. 111v). A second interpretation sees the bramble as a wicked bishop, who causes the downfall of the similarly wicked churchmen who appointed him (fol. 112r).
- 507 *Mello* Judg 9. 20. Omission of *V egrediaturque ignis de viris Sychem, et de oppido Mello* through homeoteleuton. The omission also occurs in ANJ, but is an attested variant in *V*.
- 510-11 *les habitatours de Sichem ... le comencerent a escomenger* Judg 9. 23. In *BM* the division among the Shechemites (absent from the text) foreshadows the division sown by Antichrist (fol. 112r).
- 522 *N’est il pas le filz de Jerobaal* Judg 9. 28. Ironic, according to the Comestor: Abimelech is Gideon’s bastard (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1282).
- 542 *attendaunt* (*V spectante* [var. *expectante*]) Judg 9. 39.
- 544 *en tresbuschement* (*V in Ruma* [var. *in ruina*]; *P en les champagnes*) Judg 9. 41.
- 559 *estrivablement* (*V certatim* [‘in contention’]; *P* omitted; ANJ *a estrif*) Judg 9. 49, not attested in AND, but FEW has *estrivable* (XVII, 256a: **strid*).
- 563 *Thebes* (NRSV Thebez) Judg 9. 50. *Hist.schol.* warns against confusing this city with places of the same name in Greece and Egypt (col. 1282).
- 566-67 *esteauant sur la couverture de la tour par pinacles* (*V super turris tectum stantes per propugnacula*; *P cil de la t. e. en defense*) Judg 9. 51.
- 568-69 *une femme jettaunt de amount un pece de une mole la hortela* (*V inlisit*; *P feri*) *a la teste de Abimelech* Judg 9. 53. AND records *hurler* (‘to strike’). Nicholas of Lyra finds that the millstone hits Abimelech’s ankle rather than his head in the Hebrew text (a rather more probable scenario, he notes, given the subsequent request to his squire to run him through) (*Post.litt.*, fol. 39v). The woman is a type of Christ in *BM*: she takes revenge on Abimelech as Christ will on the Antichrist (after he has attempted to choke Christians with the fire of cupidity and the smoke of error, fol. 112r). In *SHS* she protects the faithful as the Virgin Mary does with her cloak (ch. 38). Images typically capture the mill-stone as it is about to be dropped, or while it is already in motion, with the squire standing by, poised to put Abimelech out of his misery. The scene is depicted in the Morgan Bible (M. 638, fol. 14r), but the Latin caption describes it as Gideon’s destruction of the tower of Penuel (line 433, Judg 8. 17).
- 577 *X Après Abimelech* Judg 10. 1. *P* delays the beginning of ch. X to line 580.

577-78 *Thola le filz de Phua le uncle de Abimelech un bier de la lignee de Isachar* (NRSV Tola son of Puah son of Dodo, a man of Issachar) Judg 10. 1. Puah was Gideon's half-brother, born of different fathers (and different tribes), according to Augustine (*Quaest.* 47). The Comestor suggests that Puah was the half-brother of Gideon's father Joash (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1283).

602 *des dieus estranges* (*V alienorum deorum*; *P ANJ* omitted) Judg 10. 16.

608-09 *Jeptee* (NRSV Jephthah) ... *filz de une femme putaigne* Judg 11. 1. For Augustine, Jephthah's prostitute mother figures Synagoga (*Quaest.* 49). *BM* follows suit (fol. 112r). Nicholas of Lyra finds *hospitricis* for *meretricis* in the Hebrew text, allowing him to cast Jephthah (*vir fortissimus*) as a type of Christ, born to 'hospitable' Mary (*Post.mor.*, fol. 61r).

610 *il engetterent Jepthe* Judg 11. 2. Given an anti-Jewish gloss in *BM*: Jephthah is driven away by his half-brothers as Christ was by the Jews (fol. 112r).

611-12 *de mere avoutiere* (*V de altera* [var. *adultera*] *matre*; *ANJ d'aoutre ... et de mere soignante*) Judg 11. 2. Nicholas of Lyra states that *altera* is the correct form (*Post.litt.*, fol. 40v).

612-13 *la terre de Tob* (NRSV the land of Tob) *Et les biers souffretous et robbeautz sount a luy* Judg 11. 3. Tob is to be understood as 'Resurrection', according to Augustine, who reads Jephthah as a type of Christ. Jephthah is joined in Tob by thieves, like Christ on the Cross (*Quaest.* 49).

614 *les filz Ammon* Judg 11. 4. Ammon means *populis meroris*, according to Augustine: 'sad' because they are destined for hell (*Quaest.* 49).

614-15 *les queus permenautz eagrement* (*V quibus acriter instantibus*; *P Et com il se combatoierent fierement*) Judg 11. 5. In *L instantibus* has perhaps been understood as 'being present' rather than 'pressing hard, attacking'.

616 *Vien et soies nostre prince* (*V princeps*) Judg 11. 6. Augustine compares the Gileadites to those who turn to Christ having previously despised him. *Princeps* is primarily a reference to Christ, given there was no monarchy before Saul (*Quaest.* 49). *BM* also glosses Jephthah as Jesus here, but the Gileadites are Jews who receive him as the King of Israel when he enters Jerusalem on Palm Sunday (fol. 113v).

630 *descendi hors* (*V ascendit* [var. *descendit*]; *P s'en vait*) Judg 11. 13.

634 *issirent* (*V conscenderunt* [var. *descenderunt*]; *P descendirent*) Judg 11. 16.

644 *contre luy en Jasra* (*V contra eum in Iassa*; *P c. lui en Masphat*; *ANJ encontre elx en Maphat*) Judg 11. 20.

652 *Balaach le filz Sephor* (NRSV Balak son of Zippor) Judg 11. 25. In Christian tradition 'an idolator for having supported Balaam in making sacrifices' (*EBR* s.v. 'Balak'). • *Ou tu pusses dire* (*V aut docere* [var. *dicere*] *potes*; *P ou qe p. aprendre*) Judg 11. 25.

654 *par treis centz* (*MS trent*) *anz* (*V per trecentos annos* [var. *CCCC*]; *P par quatre c. a.*) Judg 11. 26.

655 *sur ceste reherce* (*V super hac repetitione*; *P s. c. demaunde*) Judg 11. 26. In *L repetitione* is rendered in the sense of 'repetition' (not in *AND*, but see *FEW* IV, 432a: *hirpex*), instead of 'request'.

660-61 *environaunt Galaad et Manasse et Masfa et Galaad et de illoeqes passaunt* (*V circumiens G. et Man. Maspha quoque G. et inde transiens*; *P env. G. et Man. et Massa et p. de i. a G.*) Judg 11. 29. For Augustine, Jephthah figures the members of Christ progressing against Gilead (*Abiiciens*) and Manasseh (*Necessitas*) (*Quaest.* 49).

662-64 *quicunqes primes avera issu des portes ... jeo lui offreroi sacrifice* Judg 11. 31. In *BM* Jephthah's vow to perform a sacrifice if he is victorious in battle prefigures Christ's prayer to God that he might defeat the devil (fol. 113v).

666 *si la q'il vint* (*V usque dum venias* [var. *uenisset*]) Judg 11. 33.

669-70 *sa fille primes engendree ly occurrust od tympan et chores* (*V choris*) Judg 11. 34. In *BM* Jephthah's joyful daughter represents Synagoga, wallowing in worldliness after Christ's victory (Resurrection) and requesting a delay in order to linger in *lucris temporalibus* (fol. 113v). Nicholas of Lyra understands her as the Church singing of Christ's triumph (*Post.mor.*, fol. 61r). The *choris* of *V* refers to dancing, but unless *AN chores* is a form of *coer* (*AND* 'singing, dancing') the scribe of *L* may have imagined another musical instrument here (*AND* s.v. *chore* 'a musical instrument', *DMF* 'sorte de cithare'). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français MS 1753, fol. 66v depicts Jephthah's daughter playing such a stringed instrument.

672 *si ne pusse jeo plus faire (V et aliud facere non potero; P si poei jeo autre chose f.)* Judg 11. 35.

675-76 *Moi lais qe jeo ... plore ma virginitee* Judg 11. 37. In Chaucer's 'Physician's Tale', Virginia, consenting to death at the hand of her father to avoid dishonour, asks for time on the model of Jephthah's daughter, *My deeth for to compleyne* (p. 192, v. 239). For a reading of the 'Physician's Tale' as a gloss on Judg 11, see Daniel T. Kline, 'Jephthah's Daughter and Chaucer's Virginia: The Critique of Sacrifice in the Physician's Tale', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 107 (2008), 77-103.

679 *il fist a luy si com il avoit vowe* Judg 11. 39, decapitating her in the St Louis Psalter (BnF, lat. 10525, fol. 54r) and the Morgan Bible (M. 638, fol. 13v). Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter was a particularly thorny matter for Christian commentators in the Middle Ages. As noted by Augustine (*Quaest.* 49) and the Comestor (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1284), Jephthah must have been worthy before the vow (when the spirit of the Lord descended upon him) and indeed afterwards (he garners praise for fidelity in Hebrews 11. 32-33). But to make a vow that failed to except human sacrifice was careless at best and to proceed to carry it through could hardly be considered commendable. Unlike Abraham, Jephthah had not been commanded to sacrifice his child (although Augustine wondered whether he had been in *City of God*, I:21, pp. 33-34). In the fourteenth century Nicholas of Lyra turned to Jewish scholars to find a loophole: the sacrifice was a symbolic one, Jephthah's daughter leading a life of seclusion for the rest of her days (*Post.litt.*, fols 42r-43r). As Augustine argues in relation to this episode, however, *Nec ideo peccata eorum non fuerunt peccata; quia Deus qui et malis bene utitur, usus est ei ad significanda que voluit* (*Quaest.* 49). And it was read typologically in a variety of ways. For Augustine, Jephthah prefigures Christ and his daughter the Church (*Quaest.* 49). For Isidore, they prefigure God the Father and Christ in his humanity (*Jud.*, cols 388-89). *BM* depicts the maiden sliced in two, a white part representing Christians and a black part Jews (fol. 114r). In *SHS* the scene is a negative prefiguration of the Presentation of Mary by Joachim and Anna: Jephthah stands ready to behead his daughter, usually crowned and standing on an altar (ch. 5). See also Gunn, pp. 139-42; *EBR* s.v. 'Jephthah', 'Jephthah's daughter'; Thompson, pp. 100-78; and Lois Drewer, 'Jephthah and His Daughter in Medieval Art: Ambiguities of Heroism and Sacrifice', in Colum Hourihane (ed.), *Insights and Interpretations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 35-59.

680 *De ceo crust la manere (V exinde mos increbuit [var. increvit]; P Et la novele c.)* Judg 11. 39.

681 *deplorient la fille de Jepthe* Judg 11. 40. To ensure nothing similar ever happened again (Augustine, *Quaest.* 49).

683 *traisoun est neez en Effraym* (NRSV Ephraim) Judg 12. 1, Ephraim meaning 'augmenting', according to Nicholas of Lyra. These men figure wicked clerics who seek nothing more than to 'augment' their coffers. It is eternal death they suffer at the fords of Jordan (*Post.mor.*, fol. 61v).

686 *Un grant estrif (V disceptatio ... vehemens; P Disceptacioun ... moult g.; ANJ g. l'e.)* Judg 12. 2.

701 *sa citee de Galaad* Judg 12. 7. *Hist.schol.* specifies *Sebethi* (col. 1284).

702 *Bethleem* (NRSV Bethlehem) Judg 12. 8. Perhaps the place in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun mentioned at Josh 19. 15 (*EBR* s.v. 'Bethlehem of Zebulun').

708 *Abdon le filz de Hellel* (NRSV Abdon son of Hillel) Judg 12. 13. Under Ibzan, Elon and Abdon, Israel was at peace, hence the lack of detail recorded about these judges, says the Comestor. Some say the episode of the Levite's concubine (Judg 19-21) occurred during Abdon's rule, however (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1285).

711 *el mount dé Amalechi* Judg 12. 15. In *V* ch. XII ends here.

715 *A qi l'angle de Nostre Sire apparust* Judg 13. 3. The scene prefigures the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary in *BM* (fol. 114r). Isidore pushes the typology further: Samson will save Israel from the Philistines as Christ will save his people from sin (*Jud.*, col. 389).

727 *Lors pria Manue Nostre Sire* Judg 13. 8, at the suggestion of his wife, according to *Hist.schol.*, to assuage his jealousy (col. 1286).

745 *sacrifices (V libamenta; P choses volentriues)* Judg 13. 19. In *BM* Manoah and his wife make this offering as Mary and Joseph will offer themselves to God (fol. 114r).

750 *Nous murroms* Judg 13. 22 (cf. Exodus 33. 20). Manoah must have thought that God was in the angel or else he called the angel God (Augustine, *Quaest.* 54).

754 *Sampson* (NRSV Samson) Judg 13. 24, meaning 'sun' for Isidore, a name also applied to Christ at Malachi 4. 2 (*Jud.*, col. 389). For Nicholas of Lyra, Samson can thus be said to represent prelates and scholars who 'illuminate' the Church

- (*Post.mor.*, fol. 62r). For the Comestor, Samson's name means *robustum* (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1286). In the *BM*, Samson uses his strength to bring down the Philistines as Christ will use his (together with wisdom) to crush the Jews (fol. 114r).
- 756 *es pavillouns de Dan* Judg 13. 25, the tribe of Dan lacking their own territory because of the encroachment of the Philistines (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1286).
- 757-58 *voiaunt illoeqes une femme* Judg 14. 1. In *BM* Samson heads to Timnah in search of a wife as Christ will descend to earth to wed the Church (fol. 115v).
- 767-68 *les apparust et vint en countrecorraunt eux* (*V apparuit ... et occurrit ei; P currust par devaunt eux*) Judg 14. 5.
- 768 *chai* (*V inruit; P sailist*) Judg 14. 6.
- 768-69 *il decira le leon si com il out detariee un cheverel en pieces* (*V dilaceravit leonem quasi haedum in frusta concerperet; P il dec. le leon en p. si com un ch.*) Judg 14. 6. The form *detarier* is not listed in *AND*, but see *FEW* XIII-1, 107b: *tar-* 'tourmenter'. In ch. 29 of the *SHS*, Samson is usually depicted astride the lion, wrenching its jaw with his bare hands, but sometimes (e.g., Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, germ. fol. 245, fol. 55r) he wields a weapon (contrary to the text). In *BM* (fol. 115v) and *SHS* the scene prefigures Christ's defeat of the devil. For Nicholas of Lyra, however, it is the lion who figures Christ, tormented bodily and yielding food (the Eucharist) after death (*Post.mor.*, fol. 62r). See Gunn 2005, pp. 175-76, and, on Samson as lion-killer in medieval visual culture, esp. sculpture associated with the 'Herefordshire School' and gaming counters for draughts and tables, L'églu 2018, pp. 28-43.
- 773 *un ree de meel* Judg 14. 8. Interpreted typologically by Isidore as the sweetness of the Gospels that triumphs over savage tyrants who 'roar' against Christ (*Jud.*, col. 389-90). In *BM* the honey represents sweet-souled prophets, saved from the mouth of hell in the Harrowing (fol. 115v).
- 776 *bouche* (*V corpore* [var. *ore*]; *P ANJ b.*) Judg 14. 9.
- 779 *il le donerent trent compaignouns* Judg 14. 11, or 'guards', according to the Comestor, because they feared Samson's strength (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1287).
- 781 *sindones* (*V sindones*) Judg 14. 12. *AND* s.v. *sindonie* 'shroud'; attested as garment in *FEW* XI, 641b: *sindon*.
- 784 *Del mangeaunt issi le manger et du fort issi la dulcour* Judg 14. 14. *BM* glosses 'food' as the sinner, who emerges from the 'eater' (devil) through penitance, becoming 'strong' through confession and 'sweet' through sermons (fol. 115v).
- 791-92 *le quel tu as mys* (*V quod proposuisti; P dount tu opposas*) Judg 14. 16.
- 793 *par les* (MS om. *les*) *sept jours* Judg 14. 17. One of the ways the Comestor attempts to make sense of the problematic chronology here is to suggest that the Timnite woman wept on the seventh day rather than for seven days (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1287).
- 794 *il la expount* Judg 14. 17. According to the *ANJ* Samson reveals his riddle *tant ke par amor ke par anui* (p. 53). The conclusion John Lydgate draws from this scene is that *women haue this condicioun, / Off secre thynges whan thei haue knowlechyng, / Thei bollyn inward, ther hertis ay fretyng: / Outher thei musten deien or discure, / So brotil is off custum ther nature*. See *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, ed. Henry Bergen, 4 vols (London: Early English Text Society, 1924-1927), I:179 (vv. 6352-56).
- 797 *veale vitula* (*V vitula*) Judg 14. 18. The feminine form *veale* ('heifer') is unusual (*FEW* XIV 547: *vitellus), perhaps warranting the Latin gloss here.
- 799 *descendi* (*V inruit* [var. *descendit*]; *ANJ est ... descendue*) *en ly l'esperit de Nostre Sire* Judg 14. 19.
- 802 *ses baudestrottes* (*V pronubis; P omitted; ANJ privé*) Judg 14. 20, *baudestrottes* inserted from left margin, interpreting *V* in the sense of 'procuresses, pimps' rather than 'groomsmen'.
- 805 *son pere ly defendi* Judg 15. 1. In *BM* the father figures the devil, who incited the Jews to stone and crucify Christ when he wished to examine their consciences (fol. 116r). For Nicholas of Lyra, he figures the Roman emperor, opposed to the marriage of Christ and Church (*Post.mor.*, fol. 62r).
- 810 *lia tisouns* (MS has blank for *tisouns*) *brondes en la meiene* (*V faces ligavit in medio; P lya des lieures et t. en mylieu*) Judg 15. 4. See L'églu 2018, p. 106. *ME* *brondes* ('torches'), inserted from the right margin of *L*, is not underlined. In *Ancrene Wisse*, the foxes, facing away from one other but tied by their tails, represent those who do not love one another, in whose tails (or ends) torches will be set, *bet is, bet fur [fire] of helle* (Millet, I:96). In *BM* the foxes represent infidels and sinners,

who are bound by the devil and burn with the fire of their crimes (fol. 116r). Nicholas of Lyra gives the foxes a more positive spin: they are preachers, tied with *caritas*, kindling faith in the Gentiles (*Post.mor.*, fol. 62v). See A. M. Dubarle, 'Les renards de Samson', *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 7 (1951), 174-76; and Gunn, p. 178.

810-11 *allumaunt de feu* Judg 15. 5. According to the ANJ *por les gourpuix plus enaigrir, ke en lor cors se desreaisent* (p. 54).

818 *attendroi* (*V expetam* [var. *expectam*]; *P prendroi*) Judg 15. 7.

819-20 *cil esmerveillauntz mistrent l'aseure chalf of be legge sur le quisse* (*V stupentes suram femori imponent; P a lour q.*) Judg 15. 8. Glossed in ME because vocabulary (and indeed sense) obscure? On this phrase, including the gloss, see Léglu 2018, pp. 100-01. Augustine struggles with the precise meaning, but determines that Samson at the very least left the Philistines stunned (*Quaest.* 55). *Modus autem est homini qui sunt attoniti et meditatundi imponere suram unius cruris super femur alterius*, suggests Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.litt.*, fol. 46r). The Comestor's explanation is that Samson struck those on foot (calf-users) before those on horseback (thigh-users) (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1288).

823 *la Jowe maxilla* (*V Maxilla*) Judg 15. 9. On this gloss, see Léglu 2018, pp. 101-02.

832 *cil le lierent* Judg 15. 13, prefiguring the Flagellation of Christ in *BM* (fol. 116r) and *Post.mor.* (fol. 62v).

835-36 *si com fustz* (*V lina* [var. *ligna*]; *P fustes*) *soloient estre degastez par arsure* (*V ad odorem* [var. *ardorem*] *ignis; P a l'ardour de feu*) Judg 15. 14.

836-37 *cil pernaunt la jowe de un asne ... occist de cele mille biers* Judg 15. 15, with evident divine intervention, for Nicholas of Lyra (*Post.litt.*, fol. 46v). In Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* (*PL* 75-76), Samson's jawbone-weapon represents preachers who triumph over worldliness (XIII:12, *PL* 75:1024). In *SHS* (ch. 17) the thousand Philistines killed by Samson prefigure the Roman soldiers who fall to the ground before Christ (John 18. 6; see note to lines 156-57). They are usually depicted at Samson's feet, as he wields a jawbone, sometimes with visible teeth. In *BM*, finally, the scene prefigures the Resurrection, in which Christ will break the bonds of death and confound his enemies (fol. 116r).

842 *jeo moerge de seif* Judg 15. 18. A punishment, according to 'the Hebrews', for praising himself instead of God (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1288).

844-45 *et eawes s'en sount de ceo issues les queles prises il reconforta son esperit* Judg 15. 19, prefiguring the miracles performed through persecuted preachers, according to Gregory's *Moralia* (XIII:12, *PL* 75:1024-25). In *BM* Samson is refreshed as faithful Christians will be by Christ's teachings from the Old Testament (fol. 117v).

848-49 *si entra en ly* Judg 16.1, in *BM* a type of Christ's marriage to the Church (fol. 117v). For Nicholas of Lyra, Samson's entrance prefigures the Harrowing of Hell (*Post.mor.*, fol. 62v).

850 *cil luy environerent lé aguaitz* Judg 16. 2, like the guards posted by the Jews beside Jesus's tomb, according to *BM* (fol. 117v; Matthew 27. 62-66).

852-54 *prist ambedeux les partes de la porte ... a l'haterel* (*V verticem*) *de la mountaigne* Judg 16. 3. The *L*-redactor perhaps renders *cervicem* instead of *verticem*, as at line 481. In *BM* the gates represent the saints whom Christ rescues from hell and leads up to heaven (fol. 117v). The scene is also a type of the Harrowing in *SHS*, which notes that both Samson and Christ rose at midnight (ch. 32). In *SHS* manuscripts Samson is generally shown carrying the two doors on his shoulders, but sometimes (e.g., Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 3974, fol. 35v) he bears the entire gate-house. A tropological gloss is given in *Post.mor.*: here Samson represents men who embrace the 'active' life of the preacher, removing the gates of the devil's city (fol. 62v).

855-56 *ama il ... Dalida* (NRSV Delilah) Judg 16. 4, spirit (Samson) bowing to flesh (Delilah), according to Isidore (*Jud.*, col. 390) and *BM* (fol. 118r). Delilah was increasingly held responsible for bringing about the downfall of a great man in the later Middle Ages. In the retelling of the story in Chaucer's 'Monk's Tale', the narrator laments, just before Delilah is introduced, *But soone shal he wepe many a teere, / For wommen shal hym bryngen to meschaunce!* (p. 242, vv. 2061-62). See Krouse, pp. 54-62.

858 *nous toi dorroms chescun mill cent deners* Judg 16. 5. Delilah's treachery featured in typological interpretations of her as Synagoga in opposition to Christ. See Gilbert Dahan, 'Les "figures" des Juifs et de la Synagogue. L'exemple de Dalila. Fonctions et méthodes de la typologie dans l'exégèse médiévale', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 23 (1988), 125-50. It was her love of money, according to Ambrose, that deceived Samson, 'the strongest man of all': *De officiis ministrorum*, *PL* 16:17-184, II:26 (col. 138).

862 *ensevré* (*V infirmus; P febles*) Judg 16. 7.

865 *un fil de lyn retort od sa line* (*V filum de stuppae tortum putamine* [var. *stamine* ‘warp, cloth’, *sputamine* ‘spit’]; *P un lieure d’estram retort*) Judg 16. 9, with illegible short gloss in right margin. If *V* might be rendered ‘a thread twisted from the husk of flax’, *L* is even less clear: ‘a twisted thread of flax with its cloth’? Nicholas of Lyra: *mulieres quando filant immiscent aliquid de sputo suo* (*Post.litt.*, fol. 47r).

866 *le arsure de feu* (*V odorem ignis; P le odour del.f.*) Judg 16. 9. See note to line 835-36.

872 *fils de tistours* (*V fila telarum; P f. de un drap*) Judg 16. 12. AND s.v. *tistur* ‘weaver’, but here ‘cloth’.

874 *tu en ers liez* (*V vinciri* [var. *vinceri*] *debeas; P tu deives estre vencuz*) Judg 16. 13.

880 *par treis foiz* Judg 16. 15. *BM* glosses Delilah’s three attempts to extract the truth from Samson as three ways in which the flesh seeks to deceive the spirit: the seven mortal sins, devising new-fangled sins, and pride. Penitence is the escape-route (fol. 118r).

881 *aherdi a ly* (*V iugiter adhaereret; P ententivement fust acustumee*) Judg 16. 16.

882 *si fust ele lasse desqes a la mort* Judg 16. 16, i.e. Samson’s soul rather than Delilah. The lesson to be learnt from the story, according to Lydgate, is this: *Suffre no nyhtwerm* [prostitute] *withynne your counsail kreepe, / Thouh Dalida compleyne, crie and weepe!* (I:184, vv. 6509-10). See also Gunn, pp. 179-80.

890 *ria sept de ses crins* Judg 16. 19. Delilah is often depicted in medieval visual culture shearing Samson herself. Among the depictions that capture more of the textual detail is a twelfth-century tables counter, possibly of English origin, showing Delilah handing shears to a barber (Léglu 2018, pp. 37-38). Samson’s shorn locks are glossed in *BM* as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, of which the spirit is deprived when it submits to the flesh (fol. 118r).

893 *jeo moy excuseroi* (*V me excutiam* [‘I will shake myself’]; *P moy defenderoi*) Judg 16. 20, *L* and *P* apparently confusing *excutere* and *excusare*.

894-95 *luy creverent les oels* Judg 16. 21. This scene is depicted in ch. 19 in some manuscripts of *SHS* as a prefigurement of the Buffeting of Christ (see also line 903).

895 *mys en chartre* Judg 16. 21. Citing ‘the Hebrews’, the Comestor says the Philistines also forced Samson to have sex with strong women *ut ex eo sobolem robustam susciperent* (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1289). For Isidore (*Jud.*, col. 390) and *BM* (fol. 118r) Samson is akin to sinners blind to the spiritual life and subjected to worldliness.

903 *qe Sampson ... juast devaunt eux* Judg 16. 25, prefiguring the mocking and the buffeting of Christ in *BM* (fol. 119v) and *SHS* (ch. 19).

908-09 *des hommes et des femmes regarderent Sampson juaunt* (*V utriusque sexus spectabant ludentem Samson; P appendoient a l’un et l’autre lignee juaunt od S.*) Judg 16. 27.

914-15 *les pilers fortement ensemble feruz* Judg 16. 30. See the cover of the present volume for the depiction of this scene in the Morgan Bible (M. 638, fol. 15v). The sample folio from *L* on p. ### includes the text corresponding to this episode. Samson’s apparent suicide troubled many Christian thinkers (see Krouse, pp. 37, 49). Augustine suggested that the Holy Spirit must have ‘secretly commanded him’ (*City of God*, I:21, p. 34). Aquinas cites the example of Samson when considering whether it might ever be lawful to kill oneself (*Summa*, II/2, Q.64, art. 5). Nicholas of Lyra claims that *non [...] Sanson intendebat se occidere per se, sed tamen per accidens, quia non poterat blasfematores nominis Deum occidere nisi seipsum cum eis occidendo* (fols 47v-48r). For Isidore (*Jud.*, col. 390) and Gregory (*Moralia* XXIX:14, *PL* 76:491), Samson, like Christ, triumphs over more people in death than in life. In *BM* Christ is said to have killed his enemies (*scilicet judeos et infideles*) with the two ‘pillars’ of the Cross (fol. 119v). In the *Bible* of Macé de La Charité the two columns represent *lecherie* and *covoytize*: when they crumble, so too does *la meson Sathan* they support (II:114, vv. 10315-22).

919 *A cel temps* Judg 17. 1. The Comestor, citing Josephus, suggests that the stories of Micah’s Idol and the Levite’s Concubine (Judg 17-21) took place after Joshua’s death and before the time of Othniel (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1290).

920 *les mill cent deners* Judg 17. 2. Delilah received this amount from the Philistines (line 858, Judg 16. 4), but Nicholas of Lyra dismisses the idea that she was Micah’s mother (*Post.litt.*, fol. 48v).

924 *chose schulpté et consufflee* (*V sculptile atque conflatile; P esculpture et consoufflure*) Judg 17. 3. AND s.v. *consuffler* ‘to melt’, but *P*’s *consoufflure* is not listed. In *BM* these represent the two types of sin, words and deeds, committed by the proud (fol. 119v).

927 *apparailla en ceo un esglise a Dieu et fist ephot et teraphin (V aediculam ... in ea Deo separavit et fecit ephod et theraphim; P ap. une maisonette et fist en ycel e. et t.)* Judg 17. 5, *L* and *P* apparently rendering *paravit* instead of *separavit*. AND lacks *teraphin* and variant spelling *cheraphin* at line 970.

928 *cil emplu la main de un de ses filz (V impevit ... unius filiorum suorum manum; P l'un des filz e. sa m. de terre)* Judg 17. 5. 'Filling the hand' was 'the standard expression for induction into the priestly office' (Cundall and Morris, p. 185).

932-33 *peregriner (V peregrinari)* Judg 17. 8, not attested in AND.

937 *soies a moy amy (V esto mihi parens; P obeissaunt)* Judg 17. 10.

939 *escouta (V adquevit; P se acorda)* Judg 17. 11.

942 *la lignee de Dan* Judg 18. 1, representing the Antichrist, predicted to be a Danite descendant because Dan is excluded from the list of tribes in Revelation 17 (Nicholas of Lyra, *Post.mor.*, fol. 63r).

945 *q'il espiassent la terre et la regardassent entere (V ut explorarent terram et diligenter inspicerent; P qu'il es. la t. et ententivement la r.)* Judg 18. 2.

947-48 *cil conussauntz la voiz del levit jovencel* Judg 18. 3. Nicholas of Lyra explains that, as in medieval Francophonia, there were different accents in ancient Israel, *sicut ydioma gallicum aliter pronunicatur in Northmannia et in Picardia (Post.litt., fol. 49v)*.

957 *nulle ne lour encontreesteaut de tut en tut et de grantz richescs (V nullo eis penitus resistente magnarumque opum; P si regarderent il la citee qe nul pour n'estoit en eux)* Judg 18. 7.

965-66 *Chariathjarim de Judé (NRSV Kiriath-jearim in Judah)* Judg 18. 12, meaning *Castra Dan*, according to the Comestor, but not to be confused with the place of that name where Samson was born (*Hist.schol.*, col. 1290; see line 756, Judg 13. 25).

970-71 *ephot et cheraphin et mahonerie et la chose esculpté et sufflee (V ephod et therafim et sculptile atque conflatile; P eph. et ch. et esculpture et consufflure par feu)* Judg 18. 14.

975 *la chose esculpté et ephot et cheraphin et lé ydole et la chose consufflee (V sculptile et ephod et theraphim atque conflatile; P les ymages de eph. et theraphim)* Judg 18. 17.

976 *de loinz (V haut procul)* Judg 18.17.

998-1000 *la citee appellee Dan ... avaut estoit dit Laish (NRSV Laish)* Judg 18. 29. For Nicholas of Lyra, the conquest of Laish by the Danites following the plundering of Micah's house prefigures the capture of Jerusalem by Antichrist after other lands have fallen (*Post.mor.*, fol. 63r).

1005-07 *la quele ly deguerpi ... son baroun ly sui* Judg 19. 2-3. In *Post.litt.*, Nicholas of Lyra suggests the Levite may have thrown her out due to infidelity or else she left with another man. It is not unusual behaviour for men to take back their erring wives, he suggests: *frequenter contingit quod viri, scientes uxores suas male egisse contra legem thori, eas tamen revocant* (fol. 50v). In *Post.mor.*, the Levite figures God, abandoned by unfaithful Synagoga, or else masculine reason struggling to exert itself over feminine sensuality (fol. 63v). See Gunn, p. 246; and Thompson, p. 202.

1010 *ly filz en lei p gener (V gener; P il come frere)* Judg 19. 4.

1017 *grantment (V obnixe; P ferm)* Judg 19. 7.

1025 *Jebus* Judg 19. 10, use of this alternative name for Jerusalem suggesting to Jewish scholars that these events occurred during Othniel's lifetime, prior to the capture of the city by the Israelites (Nicholas of Lyra, *Post.litt.*, fol. 50v).

1026 *com il ussent venuz (V aderant [var. erant]; P estoient)* Judg 19. 11.

1033 *devindrent (V deverterunt)* Judg 19. 15.

1038 *pakels (V sarcinulis; P asnes)* Judg 19. 17. Diminutive form of *pak* not in AND, but see FEW XVI 612b: *pak*.

1042-43 *pailles chaffes et fein en provende (V paleas et faenum ... pabulum; P f. et pr.)* Judg 19. 19. The ME gloss clarifies that *paille* in the sense of 'straw' is not to be understood here. Note that the word is omitted in *P*.

- 1046 *cil le mesna en sa maisoun* Judg 19. 21. In the Morgan Bible, the Levite and his wife are depicted as pilgrims, with purses and staffs (M. 638, fol. 15v). In *BM*, the old man who hosts the Levite prefigures Christ welcoming philosophers into the Church (fol. 119v).
- 1052 *qe nous luy en usoms* Judg 19. 22. The Comestor suggests, after Josephus, that the men of Gibeah may have lusted after the Levite's concubine rather than the Levite himself (*Hist.Schol.*, col. 1291). See Thompson, p. 200. In *BM*, however, they are explicitly *pessimi ... sodomite* akin to infidels and sinners wishing to destroy the Church. God protects the Church as the old man protects his guest (fol. 120r).
- 1057 *ly hom ... mesna* Judg 19. 25, i.e. the Levite. As the caption in the Morgan Bible puts it, *ipse hospes uxorem suam eis tradidit ne suum corpus libidinem exercerent* (M. 638, fol. 16r).
- 1058 *a escharnier (V inludendam; P por foloyer)* Judg 19. 25. • *com il l'avoient usee par tote la nuit* Judg 19. 25. In *BM* the concubine is a type of the Church, polluted by sinners (much to the chagrin of its ministers), as well as prefiguring holy martyrs slain by tyrants (fol. 120r).
- 1062-63 *en le southlyme bresshewald (V in limine; P en terre)* Judg 19. 27. AND s.v. *lyme* 'threshold'. Ambrose admires the actions of a dutiful wife: *ante ostium hospitis [...] projecit se atque exhalavit spiritum, supremo licet vitae munere affectum bonae conjugis servans, ut exsequias saltem sui funeris marito reservaret* (*De officiis ministrorum*, III:19, PL 16:177).
- 1063 *quidaunt de reposer (V putans eam quiescere; P q. de lui apeser)* Judg 19. 28. The concubine is understood as the subject of *quiescere* in *L*; as the object in *P*.
- 1065 *la mist sur son asne et returna en sa maisoun* Judg 19. 28, signifying reason being 'unloaded' from fleshiness in *BM* (fol. 120r).
- 1067 *les mist en touz les fins de Israel* Judg 19. 29, depicted in grisly detail in the Morgan Bible (M. 638, fol. 16v). In *BM* the dissemination of body-parts to the twelve tribes prefigures the Twelve Apostles preaching the Gospel (fol. 121v). For Nicholas of Lyra, however, it is the spread of news about Christian martyrs that is prefigured (*Post.mor.*, fol. 63v). See Gunn, p. 246.
- 1068 *mounterent (V ascenderunt; P descendirent)* Judg 19. 30.
- 1069-70 *quele le oevereigne soit en fait (V quid facto opus sit; P quoi ceo fait en bosoigne)* Judg 19. 30.
- 1071 *assemblez ... si com un bier (V pariter congregati quasi vir unus; P ensemblement a unez et touz les hommes)* Judg 20. 1.
- 1075 *ussent descende* (*V ascendissent; P assendissent*) Judg 20. 3.
- 1077 *jeo tourna illoeqes (V illuc ... deverti; P illoqes herbergere)* Judg 20. 4, *devertere* understood as 'to turn' in *L*; as 'to lodge' in *P*.
- 1078-79 *voillauntz moy occire* Judg 20. 5, either by raping him or by killing him for refusing to hand over the concubine (Nicholas of Lyra, *Post.litt.*, fol. 51r).
- 1079 *arsure de liccherie (V libidinis furore; P deverie de leccherie)* Judg 20. 5.
- 1092-93 *Les queus ne voloient oir le comaundement de lour freres* Judg 20. 13, like the Jews who refused to listen to the Twelve Apostles (*BM*, fol. 121v).
- 1094 *vindrent en Gabaa (V convenerunt in G.; P assemblerent ... en G.)* Judg 20. 14.
- 1104 *Soit Judas vostre duks* Judg 20. 18. In *BM* Judah is a type of St Peter, leader of the early church (fol. 121v).
- 1108 *vint et deux mill des biers* Judg 20. 21. The Israelite losses on the first day represent the martyrdom of the Apostles, according to *BM* (fol. 121v).
- 1113 *comencez la bataille* Judg 20. 23. God instructs the Israelites to fight on, just as he orders faithful Christians to resist the enemies of the faith (*BM*, fol. 122r).
- 1116 *enragerent en eux od tant occisioun (V tanta in illos caede bacchati sunt; P se combatirent tant hardiement en bataille)* Judg 20. 25.
- 1116-17 *dys et oit mill des hommes* Judg 20. 25, representing the martyrdom of the saints in *BM* (fol. 122r).

- 1119-20 *ly sacrifices holocausta et peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas* (*V holocausta et pacificas victimas*) Judg 20. 26. Glossed in Latin because both forms of sacrifice rendered in AN as *sacrifices*?
- 1122 *se consaillarent il a Nostre Sire* Judg 20. 28, like confessors and ‘all good Christians’ who ask God whether infidels and heretics should be slain with the ‘sword’ of the word of God (*BM*, fol. 122r).
- 1130 *agravanterent deprés trent hommes* (*V prosternerent triginta circiter viros; P mistrent il trent mille hommes enviroun eux en aguait*) Judg 20. 31, as all heretics and infidels will be conquered by the word of God (*BM*, fol. 122r). In the *Moralia*, Gregory suggests that the Israelites succeeded in avenging the crimes of the Benjamites on the third attempt because their own sins had been chastised during the first and second battles (XIV:29, *PL* 75:1057). For Nicholas of Lyra the Israelite victory represents the triumph over sin, following the battles of confession, contrition and satisfaction (*Post.mor.*, fols 63v-64r).
- 1131 *fortment* (*V arte; P par quointise*) Judg 20. 32, *arte* understood as adverb (‘hard’) in *L*; as ablative of *ars* (‘with guile’) in *P*.
- 1138 *la mort estuet a eux* (*V illis instaret interitus; P fussent les espies enbuschee*) Judg 20. 34.
- 1149-50 *plus et plus* (*V instantius; P hastivement*) Judg 20. 39.
- 1150-51 *il virent si com une colompne de fumee mounter* (*V viderent quasi columnam fumi ... conscendere; P il mounterent*) Judg 20. 40.
- 1161 *soi estapissauntz* (*V palantes [var. latentes]; P pursuiauntz*) Judg 20. 45.
- 1164-65 *des combatours touz prestz a batailler* (*V pugnatores ad bella promptissimi; P des ?chieves des tresfortz c.*) Judg 20. 46.
- 1165-66 *remistrent ... de Benjamyn qe poient eschaper el desert sis centz dé biers* Judg 20. 47. In *BM* the remaining ‘sodomites’ figure those devil-worshipping *bugaros* and *albigenses* who are scattered among Christians (fol. 123v).
- 1176 *peisibles sacrifices pacificas victimas* (*V pacificas victimas*) Judg 21. 4. See note to lines 1119-20.
- 1183-84 *sount trevez ne mye avoir estee* (*V inventi sunt ... non fuisse; P ne furent point*) Judg 21. 8.
- 1186 *ferez* (*V percutite; P ANJ occiés*) Judg 21. 10.
- 1194 *femmes lour sount donez* Judg 21. 14. For Nicholas of Lyra, an excellent example for leaders of the importance of showing compassion to those who have been punished (*Post.mor.*, fol. 64r).
- 1203-04 *la sollempnitee ... la anniversary* (*V sollemnitas ... anniversaria; P la s. ... laquele est usee par an.*) Judg 21. 19. *L* treats *V anniversaria* as a separate noun.
- 1214 *ravirent il a soi a chescun une femme* Judg 21. 23. Nicholas of Lyra suggests that the abducted virgins ‘probably’ agreed to marry their Benjamite captors (*Post.litt.*, fol. 53r). See Gunn, p. 249; Thompson, p. 203.

APPENDICES

A. Comparison of the Anglo-Norman Bible to the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Judges

This section enables comparison of the text of Judg 20. 40-48 as preserved in the ANB, the Gardner Sage fragment of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman Judges and the Acre Bible's book of Judges. In this extract, the Benjamites have been lured away from Gibeah by an Israelite army pretending to flee, leaving the city exposed to capture by a second Israelite force. The text of the Acre Bible, taken from d'Albon's synoptic edition, has been lightly edited (punctuation and final -é) to conform to modern practice. Superficial textual similarities between versions are shown in italics.

Vulgate (V) (Judg 20. 40-48)	ANB (lines 1151-69)	Gardner Sage fragment (ed. Bertin and Foulet, pp. 130-31)	Acre Bible (NAF 1404, ed. d'Albon, pp. 71-72)
[...] Beniamin quoque retro aspiciens captam cerneret civitatem et flammas in sublime ferri (Judg 20. 40)	[...] Benjamyn adcertes regardaunt areredos vist la <i>citee prise</i> et les f[1]ambes estre portez en halt.	Mes quant cil ki ainz feinstrent la fuie s'aperceurent de la fume, ki surdeit de la cité en la semblance d'un grant pilier, si retournerent fierement vers cels ki chacé les orent; e cil de Benjamin se regarderent e virent lur <i>cité prise</i> si que la flambe en ert muntée e la fume tresque as nues.	Mais quant cil qui enci fainstrent la fuie s'aparsurent de la fume, si retournerent fierement vers cele qui avant enchassé les avoient, et cil de Benjamin se regarderent et virent <i>luer cité prise</i> , si que la flambe estoit ja montée jusques as nues.
qui prius simulaverant fugam versa facie fortius resistebant quod cum vidissent filii Beniamin in fugam versi sunt (Judg 20. 41)	Et cil qe primes feignerent la fuite se aresturent forciblement, lour face tournée. Qe com les filz de Benjamyn ussent veu, il se turnerent a la fuite	Dunc guerpirent atant li filz Benjamin le champ as filz Israel si se sunt turnez en fuie	(omitted)
et ad viam deserti ire coeperunt illuc quoque eos adversariis persequentibus sed et hii qui urbem succenderant occurrerunt eis (Judg 20. 42)	et comencerent aler a la voie del desert. Et <i>lour adversaries</i> adcertes illoeqe les pursuiauntz, cil qe avoient ars la citee se contrecurrerent a eux.	par une veie ki meine al desert, mes cil d'Israel <i>lur adversaries</i> tresque illuec les unt siwis, e cil ki la cité orent alumee lur sunt encontre coruz.	(omitted)
atque ita factum est ut ex utraque parte ab hostibus caederentur nec erat ulla morientium requies ceciderunt atque prostrati sunt ad orientalem plagam urbis Gabaa (Judg 20. 43)	Et issint est il fait qe il furent occis de l'une et l'autre part de lour enemys, ne <i>nul repos</i> n'estoit plus outre de les morriauntz. Et cil chairent et sont abatuz a l'orientale part de la citee de Gabaa,	Si estoient ores atant menez d'ambes parz, e cil al dos e cil devant, que <i>nul repos</i> n'i ot des morans. Le nombre de ces de Benjamin ki en cel lieu furent occis vers l'orient de la cité	Le nombre de ceaus de Benjamin qui la furent ocis devers l'orient de la cité
fuerunt autem qui in eodem loco interfecti sunt decem et octo milia virorum omnes robustissimi pugnatores (Judg 20. 44)	et ceux furent adcertes qe furent occis en meismes cel lieu dis et oyt mill des biers, trestouz tresfortz combatours.	furent mil homes tut pruz e hardiz en bataille.	furent .x ^M . homes preus et hardis en bataille.
quod cum vidissent qui remanserant de Beniamin fugerunt in solitudinem et pergebant ad petram cuius vocabulum est Remmon in illa quoque fuga palantes et in diversa tendentes occiderunt quinque milia	Qe com <i>cil de Benjamyn</i> veissent qe remistrent, il s'enfuirent el desert et s'en vount a la perre qe noun est Remon. Cil adcertes soi estapissauntz en cele fuite et alauntz en divers lieux, occirent il cink mill des	Quant <i>cil de Benjamin</i> ce virent, ki a idunc esteient remis, lores fuirent vers le desert a la roche ke est Remon numee. Mes cil de Israel orent par tout enbuscié les lur ke cil de Benjamin ne saveient cele	Quant ce virent <i>cil de Benjamin</i> qui adonc estoient remés, foyrent lors vers le dezert et a la roche qui est renommee, mais cil d'Israel orent par tout enbuschiés les lues que cil de Benjamin ne savoient quele part fuir que

viros et cum ultra tenderent persecuti sunt eos et interfecerunt etiam alios duomilia (Judg 20. 45)	hommes. Et com il aloient plus outre, il les poursuirent et occirent altres deux mill.	part fuir ne tendre que cil d'Israel ne lur corussent sure. Si en unt mort en cele fuie cinc mil homes par nombre, e les altres ki ultre passerent si orent tant ke dous mil en unt mors.	cil ne lor corussent sorre; si en ont mort en celle fuye .v ^M . homes par nombre, et les autres qui encontre eaus passerent seguirent tant que .ii. mile en ont mors.
et sic factum est ut omnes qui ceciderant de Benjamin in diversis locis essent viginti quinque milia pugnatores ad bella promptissimi (Judg 20. 46)	Et issint est il fait qe touz cil qe chairent de Benjamyn en divers lieux estoient vint et cinc mill des combatours touz prestz a batailler.	E ensi avint a cels de Benjamin de tuz les vint e cinc milliers ki mururent en cele guerre, ki tuz furent pruz e enprenant, que en divers lieux furent occis.	Enci avint a ceaus de Benjamin de toz les .xxv ^M . qui morurent en cele guerre, que tuit furent pros, qu'en divers leus furent ocis.
remanserunt itaque de omni numero Benjamin qui evadere potuerant et fugere in solitudinem sescenti viri sederuntque in petra Remmon mensibus quattuor (Judg 20. 47)	Et en tiele manere remistrent de tut le nombre de Benjamyn qe poient eschaper el desert sis centz de biers, et cil sistrent en la perre de Remon par quatre moys.	De tut le nombre de Benjamin ne sunt remis ne mes sis centz homes ki eschaperent a peine. Cil fuirent vers le desert, si se tapirent en la roche ki est Remon numee.	De tot le nombre des fiz Benjamin ne sont pas remis ne mais que .v. ^C homes que a poyne eschaperent, ainz fuirent vers le desert, si s'atapirent en la roche qui Renon est nomee.
regressi autem filii Israhel omnes reliquias civitatis a viris usque ad iumenta gladio percusserunt cunctasque urbes et viculos Benjamin vorax flamma consumpsit (Judg 20. 48)	Les filz de Israel adecertes returnantz ferirent en espee touz les rementails de la citee des hommes desqes as jumentz, et flambe devoraunt degasta totes les citez et les villes de Benjamyn.	Dunc retournerent li fiz Israel en Gabaa, si unt occis e mort a glaive les remailles des premiers homes e femmes e almailles. Puis alerent avirunant les chastels e les viles dejuste e tutes les possessions ki afereient as fiz Benjamin; sis ont mis a feu e a flambe.	Donc retournerent li fiz Israel en Gabaa, si ont mort et ocis a glaive les remailles des premiers homes, et femes et males, puis alerent avironant les chastiaus et les viles dejuste et totes les possessions qui afferioient as fiz Benjamin, si ont mis en feu et en flambe.

B. Comparison of L and P

In the following, selected texts from *L* as edited here are shown in the left-hand column, and corresponding texts from *P* on the right. The texts from *P* have been lightly edited—capitalization, paragraphing, punctuation, and substitution of *j* for *i* and of *v* for *u*, when necessary—to facilitate reading and comparison.

1. Ehud assassinates Eglon, king of Moab (Judg 3. 17-25, lines 132-46)

[*fol. 164v*] Et cil offri douns a Eglon, roi de Moab. Eglon adecertes estoit trop cras. Et com il out offri douns a ly, il ensui ses compaignouns qe od ly vindrent. Et cil returnee de Galgal ou ydoles estoient, dist al roi: ‘Sire roi, jeo ai a toi secree parole’. Et cil comaunda silence, et trestouz issirent qe estoient entour ly. Si entra Ahot a luy, et il sist soul en une sale de estee. Et cil dist: ‘Jeo ai a toi la parole de Nostre Sire’. Le quel soy leva demaintenaunt de sa trone. Et Ahot estendi a ly sa main senestre et prist le fauchoun sicam de sa destre quisse et le ficchi en son ventre si forciblement qe le manuel sui le feer en la plaie et fust restreynt en la unccioun tresgrasse. Ne il ne restrai point l’espee hors mais si com il out feruz, il le lessa el corps, et tantoust la fiente s’en isse par les secrez de nature. Les huis del cenacle clos ententivement et fermez par cerrure, Ahot adecertes s’en issi par le posterne.

Et les servauntz du roi entrez virent les huis du cenacle clos et distrent: ‘Paraventure il purge son ventre en la couche de estee’. Et cil attendauntz longement q’il soi vergoignerent et voiauntz qe nul ne les overi, porterent la clief. Et cil overauntz troverent lour seignur gisaunt mort en terre.

[*fol. 70r*] Et cil offrist douns a Eglom, roy de Moab. Eglon adecertes estoit trop cras. Et com il lui out offert les douns, il repoir a od ses compaignouns qe od ly vindrent. Et cil returnee de Galgalis ou ydoles estoient, si dist al roy: ‘Une parole secree ai jeo a toy, sire roy’, et cil comaunda silence. Et trestouz issuz qe od ly estoient, si est Ahoth entree a lui. Et cil sist soul en une sale de estee. Et cil dist: ‘Jeo a toy la parole Deu’. Le quel soi leva demaintenaunte [*sic*] de sa trone. Et Ahot estendi a luy sa main senestre et prist la speei de la destre quisse et le ficchi en son ventre si vigerosement qe le manuel sui le feer en la plaie et destreint feust del tresgras suet. Ne il ne prist pas hors l’espee, més issi com il ly out feruz le lessa el corps et tantost par les secretz de nature les estrountz issirent. Et Ahot ententivement clost les huis de la sale et les ferma par cerrures, si s’en issi par une posterne.

Et les servauntz du roy entrees virent les huis de la sale closes et distrent: ‘Paraventure cesti purge le ventre en la sale de estee’. Et cil attendauntz longementz si la q’il soi esvergoundroient et voiauntz que nul ne les overi, si pristrent la chef [*sic*]. Et cil en overauntz le huis troverent lour seignor gisaunt mort en terre.

2. Jael slays Sisara (Judg 4. 17-22, lines 189-203)

Sisare adertes fuaunt parvint al tentorie de Jahel, la femme de Aber le Cyneu, car pees estoit entre Jabin, roi de Asor, et la maisoun de Aber le Cineu. Lors s'en issi Jahel el contrecours de Sisare et ly dist: 'Entrez a moy, my sire, entrez. Ne doutes tu pas'. Le quel entrant son tabernacle et par ly covert de une paille, dist a ly: 'Jeo te pri que tu moy doignes [fol. 165v] un poi de eawe quar j'ai seif grantment'. La quele overi un bussel a gourde de leat et luy dona a boivre, si lui coveri. Et Sisara lui dist: 'Esta devaunt le huis del tabernacle, et com ascun avera venuz demaundaunt toi et disaunt: "Ne ad il nul hom ci?", tu respoundras: "Nul n'est yci"'. En tiele manere Jahel la femme Aber prist un clou du tabernacle, pernaunt ensemment un maillet. Et ele entra privement et od silence fichi le clou en la temple de son chief et la ficchi feruz du maillet en la cervelle desques en terre. Le quele acompaignaunt a dormir a mort failli et est mort. Et voi, Barach vint en serchaunt Sisaram. Et Jahel en issue en contrecours de ly, ly dist: 'Vien, et jeo toi demoustrera cel hom que tu quers'. Qe com il out od luy entree, vist Sisare gisaunt mort et le clou ficchi en la temple de ly.

[fol. 70v] Sisara tes [sic] fuaunt parvint al tentorie de Jahel la femme Ager le Cyneien, car pees estoit entre Jabin, roy de Asor, et la maysoun de Aber le Cineien. Lors s'en vait Jahel el contrecours de Sisare et lui dist: 'Entrees a moy, my seignor, si entres et ne doutes'. Le quel entraunt soun tabernacle et par ly covert de une mauntel, si dist il a la femme: 'Jeo toy pri que tu moy doignes un poy de eawe car j'ai graunt soif'. La quele overaunt un vessele de leat et lui dona a boivre, si lui coveri. Et Sisara ly dist: 'Esta devaunt le huis del tabernacle, et com ascun vendra et toy demande dissaunt: "Ne ad il nul hom ci?", tu responderas: "Nul ne y est"'. En tiele manere Jahel la femme Aber porta un clou du tabernacle, pernaunt ensemment un maillet. El entree privement et od silence mist le clou en la temple de sa teste, et cil feruz du maillet fichi le clou en la cervelle desques a terre. Le quele fesant compaigniee de dormir a mort, defailli et est mort. Et vous [sic] Barath suaunt Sisare venoit. Et Jahel en est issu en contrecours de ly et ly dist: 'Vien et jeo toy demoustrai cel hom que tu quers'. Qe com il out od ly entree, il vist Sisare gisaunt mort et un clou ficchee en la temple de son chief.

3. Jephthah's oath (Judg 11. 29-32, lines 660-65)

[fol. 172v] Por ceo est l'esperit de Nostre Sire fait sur Jepthe. Et il enviraunt Galaad et Manasse et Masfa et Galaad et de illoeqes passaunt as filz Ammon, vowa un vou a Nostre Sire, disaunt: 'Si tu averas baillee les filz Ammon en mes mains, quicunqes primes avera issu des portes de ma maisoun et avera curruz a moy returnaunt od pees des filz Ammon, jeo lui offerroi sacrifice a Nostre Sire'. Et Jepthe passa as filz Ammon q'il combatereit contre eux, les queus Nostre Sire bailla en ses mains.

[fol. 73v] Et l'esspirit de Nostre Seignor lors est fait sur Jepte, enviraunt Galaath et Manasse et Massa et passaunt de illoqe a Galaad as filz de Ammon. Si vowa un vou a Nostre Seignor, disaunt: 'Si tu bailles les filz Ammon en mes mains, quicunqes primes avera issu des portes de ma maison et avera curruz a moy returnaunt od pees des filz de Ammon, je le offerroi en sacrifice a Nostre Seignor'. Et Jepte passa as filz de Ammon por combatre contre eux, les queux Nostre Seignor bailla en ses mains.

4. Jephthah's daughter (Judg 11. 34-40, lines 669-82)

[*fol. 173r*] Et Jephthe retournaunt a sa maisoun en Masfa, sa fille primes engendree ly occurrust od tympan et chores, quar il ne out altre enfaunt. La quele veu, il decira ses vestures et dist: 'Halas, ma fille, tu moy as deceu, et toi meismes es deceu, car jeo overi ma bouche a Nostre Sire, si ne pusse jeo plus faire'. A qi ele respondi: 'Ha, my pere, si tu averas overt ta bouche a Nostre Sire, fai a moy quelcunqe chose tu as promys, la vengeance et la victorie de tes enemys a toi grantee'. Et ele dist a son pere: 'Moi grantes soulement ceo qe jeo pri: Moi lais qe jeo environne par deux moys les mountaignes et plore ma virginitee od mes compaignouns'. A qi cil respondi: 'Va', et cil la lessa par deux moys. Et com ele alast od ses compaignes et ses perengals, ele deplora sa virginitee es mountaignes. Et les deux moys acompliz, ele retourna a son pere. Et il fist a luy si com il avoit vowe, la quele ne conust baroun. De ceo crust la manere en Israel et la custumme en est gardé qe après le tourne de l'an les filles de Israel se assemblent en un et deplorent la fille de Jephthe dé Galadiciens par quatre jours.

[*fol. 73v*] Et Jephthe retournaunt a sa maisoun adecertes en Masfa, la prime engendree fille lui occurrust od tympan et choses [*sic*], si ne out il autre autre [*sic*] enfaunt. Et com cil la out veu, il decira ses vestures et dist: 'Ha, ma fille, tu moy as deceu, et toy meismes es deceu. Car jeo overi ma bouche a Nostre Seignor, si poei jeo autre chose faire'. A qi ele respondi: 'Ha, mi pere, si tu overis ta bouche a Nostre Seignor, fai a moy quelcunqe chose tu as grauntee, la vengeance et la victorie a toi grauntee de tes enemys'. Et ele dist a son pere: 'Grauntez a moy solement qe jeo environne par deux moys les mountaignes et pleygne ma virginitee od mes compaignes'. A qi cil respondi: 'Va', et cil la lessa par deux moys. Et com ele alast od a [*sic*] ses compaignes et ses parengales, ele deplora sa virginitee es mountaignes. Et les deux moys acompliz, ele est returnee a son pere. Et il fist a lui si com il out vowe, la quele ne conust baroun. Et la novele crust en Israel et custume en est gardee qe après le tourn de l'an les filles de Israel se assemblent en un et deplorent la fille de Jephthe le Galadiciens par quatre jours.

5. Shibboleth (Judg 12. 4-6, lines 690-99)

Et touz les hommes de Galaad a luy apellez, se combati contre Efraym. Et les biers de Galaad ferirent Efraym pur ceo q'il out dit: 'Galaad est futifs de Efraym et il habita en la meiene de Efraym et de Manasse'. Et les Galadiciens occuperent lé wees de Jordan par les queles Efraym fust a retourner. Qe com un hom out a eux venuz fuiaunt de Efraym et out dit: 'Jeo toi pri qe tu moy soeffres passer', et les Galadiciens ly distrent: 'Saver moun si tu ne es Efrateus'. Le quel disaunt: 'Jeo nel suy pas', il luy demaunderent: 'Di pur ceo a "sebboloth"', la quele est [*fol. 173v*] entrepretizee 'espiz'. Le quel respondi a 'tebboloth' en mesmes cele letre neyntpussaunt demoustrer l'espiz. Et cil estranglirent demaintenaunt ly pris el passage de Jordan. Et en cel temps chairent de Efraym quaraunte et deux mill.

[*fol. 73v*] Et cil apella touz les biers de Galaad a soi et se combati contre Ephraim. Et les biers de Galaad ferirent Ephraim por ceo qe il out dit qe Galaad estoit futifs de Ephraim et qe il habita en la mylieu de Ephraim et de Manasse. Et les Galadiciens occuperent les eawes [*sic*] del Jordan par les queles Ephraim ert returnee. Et com il venoient a l'eawe, cil de Ephraim s'en fuirent et distrent: 'Jeo toy pri qe tu me soeffres passer', et ly Galadiciens dist a ly: 'Saver mon si tu es Ephrateus'. Et cil ly dist: 'Jeo nel suis pas'. Si ly demaunderent: 'Dy ore "sebboloth"', la quele est entrepretizee 'espiz'. Le quel respondi: 'Tebboleth' par meisme cele letre espiz si ne poeit mostrer. Et cil pris demaintenaunt, si le estranglirent en cele passage del Jordan. Et en mesmes cel temps chairent de Ephraim quaraunte et deus mill.

6. Samson and Delilah (Judg 16. 15-22, lines 879-96)

[fol. 176v] Et Dalida li dist: ‘Coment dis tu qe tu moy aymes com ton corage ne soit od moy? Tu as menti a moy par treis foiz et ne moy voilletz dire en quei ta tresgrant force en est’. Et com ele fust a ly moleste et aherdi a ly par multz des jours noun pas donaunt espace de repos, sa alme defailli, si fust ele lasse desqes a la mort. Donqe cil overaunt la veritee de la chose, la dist: ‘Feer ne mounta unqes sur moun chief por ceo qe jeo sui Nazareus, c’est a dire, consacree a Deu del ventre de ma meer. Si ma teste fust reese, ma force departera de moy et jeo defailleroi et serra com altres hommes’.

Et ele voiaunt qe il le out regehi tut son corage, envioia as princes des Phi[li]stiens et lour comaunda: ‘Venez cea unquore une foiz quar il ad a moy overt son quoe’. Les queus mounterent la pecune prise od eux, la quele il avoient promys. Et ele luy fist dormir sur ses genoils et recliner son chief en son sein. Et ele apella un barbir et ria sept de ses crins et ly comencea degettre et de soi deboter. Et demaintenaunt sa force se departi. Et ele dist: ‘Les Philistiens sount sur toi, Sampson!’ Le quel levaunt de dormir dist en son corage: ‘Jeo m’en isseroi si com jeo avaunt fesoi et jeo moy excuseroi’, nyentsachaunt qe Nostre Sire ust de soi departi. Le quel, com les Philistiens ussent pris, demaintenaunt cil luy creverent les oels et luy mesnerent a Gazam liee de cheines et mys en chartre de moler. Et ja recomencerent ses cheveux a recrestre.

[fol. 75r] Et si lui dist Dalida: ‘Coment dis tu qe tu moy aymes com ton corage ne soit od moy? Tu as menti a moy par troiz foiz et ne veliez dire en quei ta tresgrant force est’. Et come fust a ly moleste et par multz des jours ententivement fust acustumee, si ne li dona ele espace de repos. Et sa alme defailli, si fust ele lasse desqes a la mort. Donqe cil overaunt la veritee de la chose la dist: ‘Feer ne mounta unqes sur moun chief por ceo qe jeo sui Nazareux, c’est a dire, jeo sui consecree du ventre de ma mere. Si ma teste fust reese, ma force departiroit de moy et jeo defailleroi, si serroi com autres hommes’.

Ele voiaunt q’il lui out regehi tut son corage envioia as princes des Philistiens et lour maunda: ‘Venez cea unquore une foiz car il ad overt a moy son cuer’. Les queus y vindrent et pristrent la peccunie la quele il l’avoient promise. Et elle lui fist dormir sur ses genoils et en soun sein recliner son chief. Et apella un barbier et si rai sept de ses crins et ly comencea degettre et de soi debouter, et demaintenaunt sa force se departi. Et ele dist: ‘Ha, Sampson, les Philistiens viegnent sur toy!’ Le quele levaunt de dormir si dist a son corage: ‘Jeo m’en irroi auxint com jeo avaunt fesoi et moy defenderoi’. Si ert il nyentsachaunt qe Nostre Seignor departi de ly. Le quel com les Philistiens eussent pris demaintenaunt il creverent ses oels et ly mesnerent a Gazam liee de cheines et li firent moler clos en la charter. Et ja recomencerent ses cheveux a recrestre.

C. Divergent word-choice in L and P

In this sample of [approximately](#) 300 contrastive word-choices in *L* and *P*, readings from *L* include line references. Reciprocal differences are not shown, e.g. *homme* [690](#) v. *bier* and *bier* [416](#) v. *homme*. The list also generally omits differences involving the interchange of prefixes, e.g. *mesner* [169](#) v. *horsmesner* and *restreindre* [139](#) and *constreindre* [741](#) v. *destreindre*. Verbs appear in their infinitive form, adjectives and nouns mostly in their singular form.

<i>L</i>	<i>P</i>
adecertes 45 , 622	auxsint, verreieement
agranter 162 , 1116	grever, abatre
aguait 514 , 850	espie, gardein
ahournement 447 , ournament 448 , 449-50 , 450 etc.	anel, preie, cercle de or
aler 19 , 620 , 1023 etc.	passer, venir, avaucer, estre
allier 496	cheminee
allumer feu 810-11 , 1147	mettre feu, arder
amonester 787	demaander
aproscher 580	venir
arsure 836 , 866 , 995 etc.	ardour, odeur, flambe, deverie
assembler 259	qiller ensemble
asseur 956	securement
ass(i)eger 14 , 1107	(se) combatre, decombatre
attendre 818 , 851 , 863	prendre, veiller, regarder
auncien 911	primer
aval, par 27	basse
avaunce, estre 490 , 493	demorer, connoistre
avauntmetre 1134	apparailler
azimels 294 , 297 , 299 etc.	aliz
bier, sage 108	mestre
blame 220	damage
bledz 812	fruitz
bokerel(l) 740 , 745	viande, cheverel
braunche 404	raysyn
busine † 357 , 387	estive
bussel 194	vessele
busshes 295	poy
ceintez 965	gardeins
cenacle 141 , 143	sale
chair 768 , 1163	sailir, estre occis
chapellain 988 , 993 , 1001	prestre
chescun 108 , 152 , 1084	tote, nul(lui)
cheitiftee 1002	cheitivesoun
chief 199 , 399	teste
chose ¹ 70 , 507 , 633 etc.	parole
chose ² 96	mal

chose (e)sc(h)ulpté 926 , 970-71 , 975 etc.	(e)sculpture, ymage
clamer 596	crier
cognacioun 964	lignee
comaander 485 , 491 , 494	regner, estre emperour
combatre 229 , 231 , 241 etc.	vencre, batailler, assaillir etc.
comencer 1113	doner
compaignie 547	conrei
compleindre 121	tencer
contrarie 424	adversetee
cosinage 43	cognacioun
co(u)ntree 602 , 631	bounde, partie
crassetee 486	gresse
crier 388 , 390	dire, faire graunt voiz
crins 878	cheveux
curre 35 , 162 , 170 etc.	charette
debriser 433	detruire
defoler 433	tormenter
degaster 506	consumer
degetter 602	mettre
deguerper 92 , 105 , 486	defailler, lesser, oster
deliverer 118 , 465 , 597	lyverer, getter
demorer 255	targer
demoustrer 698 , 793	mostrer, dire
denaprès 15	depuis
departir 920	esparnier
descendre 151 , 362 , 630 etc.	(s'en) aler, assendre etc.
desus, par 27	suseine
deverie 334	vengeaunce
deviser 351 ; devisee 957	desseverer, departir; departie
dire 652	aprendre
diversorie 948	office
doner 343 , 687 , 1144	bailler, faire, turner
doner entent 237	s'en aler
se douter 407	emfler
eagement 615	fierement
eindegree 220	volentee
L	P
emparler 1018 , 1021	dire

emporter 974	prendre
empreindre 205, 263	agavantir
encliner 94	esmoveir
enemy 1127	adversaire
enferm 876	fieble
engendrer 963	nester
enrager 1116	se combattir
ensevré 862	feble
ensuire 133	repairer
entere 945	ententivement
entrer 216	aler
enverser 297; (estre) enversé(e) 366, 824	espaundre, verser, giser; confus
envoier 510, 659	maunder
envoluper 876	lier entour
escharnier 1058	foloyer
escomenger 511	haier
escouter 939, 1056	(se) accorder, oir
esglise 927	maisonette
establiir 479	ordeiner
estendre 1062	esparplier
estrange 83, †91, 1029	autrui
estre 864, 891	venir
estrif 686	disceptacioun
estriver 652	estre coroucee
se excuser 893	se defendre
faillir 200	defaillir
faire 1076, 1091	porchacer
fauchoun 138	speei
fauxment 867	fausine
ferir 156, 280, 571 etc.	occire, hurter, horsbatre
fichir 198, 604	mettre
fiente 141	estrount
fil 865	lieure
filz en lei 815, 1010, 1015 etc.	cosin, frere, gendre
fin 1067	contree
fole haste, en 244	par assaut
forciblement 139	vigerosement
fortment 1131	par quointise
fosse 827	caverne
furment 803	blé
fust 484, 494	arbre
galouns 378, 385	vasseux, vesseals
grantment 1017	ferm
greindres de naissance 615	plus haltz hommes
habitatour 510, 1183	habitant
haltesce 10, 11, 393	pendaunt, derreine partie
honorable 897	tresgraunt
L	P

(hors)treant 421, 1095, 1100 etc.	portaunt
horteler 569	ferir
hostil 389	troeblé
huis 568, 973	porte
hustilment 258	ourloure
issir 634, 1014, 1052 etc.	descendre, entrer, aler
s'en issir 191	s'en aler
lacesse 409	lassetee
lier 874	veindre
lieu garniz 560	force
livre 475	pois
lusaunt 221	resplendissaunt
lyn 865	estrain
mahonerie 970	sculpture
manere 680	novele
manger 777	feste
meiene, de la 524	du mylieu
meiene, en la 51, 53, 112 etc.	en my(lieu), en la moyen, en graunter
meindre 22	plus juvene
mercy 466	misericorde
meseis 475, 603	bosoignous, cheitivetez
messeler 843	un des grantz deintz
mestre 862	graunt
mettre 792, 1067	opposer, envoier
mort 253	sanz alme
mouter 175, 421-22, 567 etc.	(s'en) aler, venir, ascendre, aproscher, descendre
nestre 683	lever
noun 103	nemye
occasioun 764	enchaisoun
(se) occire 31, 48, 392; occis 572	tuer, ferir; mort
occis, estre 1156	chair
occisioun 95, 188, 392	batre, mort
occupier 396	defender
oevereigne 869, 1070	oevere, bosoigne
ost 223	poepel
oster 101, 901	lessen, destruire
otrier 658	acorder, se arcorder
paille 192, 449	mauntel
pakel 1038	asne
parler 227, 333, 594 etc.	dire
partie 377, 1205, 1213	part, plaie
passer 147, 591, 643 etc.	outrepasser, aler, trespasser
pavilloun 266, 604, 605	tente
pecchee 1056, 1081, 1092	felonie, outrage, crueltee
peregriner 932-33	aler
peril 233	damage
permaindre 614-15	se combattre

phiole 334	estale v. escuele
plier 875	tresser
plorer 676	pleindre
plus et plus 1149-50	hastivement
plus petit 289	meindre
poeppe 535	gent
porter 996	faire
prendre 197, 703, 815 etc.	porter, doner, tollir, sentir, receive
pressure 281	bature
priere †739	parole
prisoun 903	charter
proferer 656	demoustrer
promettre 674, 831	graunter, faire covenaut
puisque 47, 96	depuis qe
queraunt 959	demaundaunt
ravissaunt 85-86	destruiaunt
receivre 1195	trover
refuser 489, 492	retenir
regarder 946, 969, 1021	cercher, espier
reguerdoner 575	render
reheiter 1048	repaistre
reherce 655	demaunde
reposer 1063	apeser
restraire 140	prendre hors
retentir 385	enterferir
ret(o)urner 255, 292, 1084	departir
robber 240	preier
rouissaunt 26	reverdissaunt
sacrifice 72, 745, 898 etc.	hoste, offrende, chose volentrive
sarge 131	escauberk
senez 427	eynees

sente 216	trace
sercher 200	suire
solement 601	tauntsollement
soloir 778	se acustumer
southfosser 321	suffouer
southlyme 1062	terre
southmettre 648, southturner 104	souzverser, southvertir
susciter 384	commoveir
tantsollement 868	nientmeins
temple 475	mahumet
terme 33, 644	contree, marche
tesmoignance 60	testacioun
teste 875	chef
tistours 872	drap
trahir 242	emporter
traisoun 683	contek
treaut <i>see</i> (hors)treaut	
tresbuscher 245, 543	chair
unccioun 139	suet
user 1052	desuser
vain 100	nientestable
veer 688	regarder
venir 1009, 1094	s'en aler, assembler
viaunde 938	vie
visiter 804	veer
voluper 370	volttrer
wakeraunt 550	alaunt
wees 693	eawes
weymenter 254, 390	se plorer, huiller
ydole 1002	sculpture
ydre 387	vesseal

D. Personal names in the Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Judges

This section is intended as an exhaustive list of personal names in the ANB's Judges. Numbers refer to lines in our text. An asterisk (*) indicates that the name is repeated in a line of text; a dagger (†), a reading modified in the edited text. Up to the first three appearances of a name are shown, after which etc. is used. Names referring primarily to tribes or tribal identity, e.g. *les filz de Israel*, *les filz de Ammon*, are excluded. Spellings involving *i* for *y* and *vice versa* are not differentiated. English language equivalents follow the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

Aaron 1121, Aaron
Abdon 708, Abdon
Aber 177, 189, 190 etc., Heber
Abessam 702, Ibzan
Abimelech 460, 468, 474 etc., Abimalech †505, Abimelech
Abinoem †166, 180, †228 etc., Abinoen 207, Abinoam
Adonibezek 8, 9, 10, Adoni-bezek
Ahiman †18, Ahiman
Ahot 127, 135, 137 etc., Ehud
Anath 156, 215, Anath
Astaroth¹ 85, 586, Astaros
Astaroth² 116, the Asherahs
Axam 21, Achsah
Baal 84, 307, 314 etc., Baal
Baalach 652, Balak
Baal BIRTH 475, Baal-berith
Baalym 81, 116, 464 etc., the Baals
Barach 166, 171, 174 etc., Barak
Belial 1049, Belial
Berith 554, El-berith
Caleph 20, Caleb 22, 24, 27 etc., Caleb
Chamos †649, Chemosh
Chuserasathaym 117, 121, Cushan-rishathaim
Cinei, Cenez *see* Xenez
Dagon 898, Dagon
Dalida 856, 859, 867 etc., Delilah
Delbora(m) 163, 174, 176 etc., Deborah
Dieu 115, 279, 927 etc., God
Eglon 124, 126, 129 etc., Eglon
Eleazar 1121, Eleazar
Enac 36, Anak
Ezri 280, 462, Esri 305, Esri
Finies 1121, Phinehas
Gaal 517, 520, 526 etc., Gaal
Gedeon 280, 282, 294 etc., Gideon *see also* Gerobaal
Gera 128, Gera
Gerobaal 322, Jerabaal 339, Jerobaal 466, 468, 471 etc., Jerobaal 458, 575, Jorobaal 499, 504, Jerubbaal *see also* Gedeon
Haylon 706, Elon
Hellel 708, Hillel
Jabin 159, 170, 190 etc., Jaby 206, Jabin
Jahel 189, 191, 197 etc., Jael
Jahir 580, 582, 583, Jair
Jecther 438, Jether
Jeptee 608, Jephthe 610, 616, 619 etc., Jephthah
Jersan 1001, Gershom
Jerobaal *see* Gerobaal
Joas †279, *317, 322 etc., Joash
Joathan 477, 481, 575, Jotham
Jonathan 1000, Jonathan
Josue 1, 2, 73 etc., Joshua
Judas *4, 6, 30 etc., Judah
Kenaz *see* Xenez
Lapidoth 163, Lappidoth
Manue 714, 727, 729 etc., Manoah
Michas 919, 939, 950 etc., Miche 926, 934, 947 etc., Micah
Moisen 28, 112, 178 etc., Moises 36, Moses
Nostre Sire 2, 3-4, 6-7 etc., the Lord
Nostre Sire Dieu de Israel 214, the Lord God of Israel
Obab †177, Hobab
Obed 517, †521, 526 etc., Ebed
Oreb *398, 399, 406, Oreb
Othoniel 22, †118, †122, Othniel
Phara 363, 365, Purah
Phua 577, Puah
Salmana 411, 412, 415 etc., Zalmunna
Sampson 754, 757, 762 etc., Samson
Sangar 156, 215, Shamgar
Seon 641, Sihon
Sephor 652, Zippor
Sire Dieu 82, 277, 302 etc., Lord God
Sire Dieu de Israel 167, 211, 273-74 etc., the Lord God of Israel
Sisai 18, Sheshai
Sisara(m) 160, †170, 173 etc., Sisare 180, 189, 191 etc., Sisera
Symeon 5, 6, 30, Simeon
Thola 577, Tola
Tholmai †18, Talmai
Xenez 22, Cinei 28, Cenez 119, 122, Kenaz
Zebee 411, 412, 414 etc., Zebah
Zebul 522, 526, 535 etc., Zebul
Ze(e)b 398, *399, 400, Zeeb

E. Geographical names in the Anglo-Norman Bible's book of Judges

This section is intended as an exhaustive list of toponyms in the ANB's Judges. Geographical tribal territories are included, but names referring primarily to forebears or to national or tribal identity are not shown. Numbers in the right-center column indicate the chapter and verse of the toponym's first appearance in the Vulgate's Judges.

Numbers in the left-hand column refer to lines in the edited text of *L*. Except for the substitution of *y* for *i* and *i* for *y*, all forms of place-names in *L* and *P* appear. Minor orthographical differences for Vulgate and modern English spellings are not shown. An asterisk (*) indicates that the name appears more than once in a line; a dagger (†), a reading modified in the edited text.

The text of reference for the Vulgate is *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, eds Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, 5th edn, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007; for the modern English Bible, the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

Anglo Norman Bible (<i>L</i>)	<i>P</i>	Vulgate	NRSV
Abel †666	Dabeb	Abel 11. 33	Abel-keramim
Abelmeula 393	Abelmeula	Abelmeula 7. 23	Abel-meholah
Accaron 33	Accaron	Accaron 1. 18	Ekron
Accon 52	Acho	Achcho 1. 31	Acco
Achazib 53	Achazib	Achazib 1. 31	Achzib
Afet 53	Afec	Afec 1. 31	Aphik
Ahilon †60	Hailon	Ahilon 1. 35	Aijalon
Alab 52	Alab	Alab 1. 31	Ahlab
Alba 53	Abia	Alba 1. 31	Helbah
Amalechi, mount dé 711	Amalach, mount	mons Amalech 12. 15	hill country of the Amalekites
Arad 29; fontaigne 340	Arad; fontaigne	Arad 1. 16, Harad	Arad, Harod
Arnon, *†640; contrees 631, 647	Arno(u)n; parties; contrees	finibus Arnon 11. 13	Arnon
Aroer 654, †666	Arcer	Aroer 11. 26	Aroer
Aroseth des gentz 161, 181-82, 187	Asseroth des gentz, Arosech des g., Adarosech des g.	Aroseth gentium 4. 2	Harosheth-ha-goiim
Ascalon 33, 800	Ascalon	Ascalonem 1. 18	Ashkelon
Aser 328	Aser	Aser 6. 35	Asher
Asor 160, 190	Asor	Asor 4. 2	Hazor
Avoth Jahir 582	Avhot Jahir	Avothiair 10. 4	Havvoth-jair
Baal et Hermon, mount de 109-10	Baal et Hermon, mount	mons Baalhermon 3. 3	Mount Baal-hermon
Balthamar 1134	Baalthamar	Baalthamar 20. 33	Baal-tamar
Barsabee 1072	Bersabee	Bersabee 20. 1	Beer-sheba
Benjamyn 592, 1077, 1087 etc.; terre 1209	Benjamin	Beniamin 10. 9	Benjamin
Bethanath 55	Bethanath	Bethanath 1. 33	Beth-anath
Bethbera 396, 397	Beth(I)era	Bethbera 7. 24	Beth-barah
Bethel 39, 165; citee 1204; see also Luza	Bethel, Bechel	Bethel 1. 22	Bethel
Bethleem 702, 931, 932 etc.	Bethle(e)m	Bethlehem 12. 8	Bethlehem
Bethsan 45	Bethsan	Bethsan 1. 27	Beth-shean
Bethsecha 392	Gethsetha	Bethseta 7. 23	Beth-shittah
Bethsames 55	Bethsames	Bethsemes 1. 33	Beth-shemesh
Bezek 7, 8	Bezec, Bezeth	Bezec 1. 4	Bezek
Anglo Norman Bible (<i>L</i>)	<i>P</i>	Vulgate	NRSV
Cades see Cedus			
Cadumim, flum †243	Cadimum, flum	torrens Cadumim 5. 21	---

Camon 584	Camon	Camon 10. 5	Kamon
Cariathsepher 20, 21, citee des Lettres	Cariathsephor, citee de lettres; Chariathsepher	Cariathsepher 1. 11	Kiriath-sepher
Cedes 166, 174, 179, Cades 635, 638	Cedes, Cades	Cedes 4. 6	Kedesh
Cethron 50	Cechro	Cetron 1. 30	Kitron
Chanaan 159, 204, 206 etc.; terre 1191	Chanaan; terre	Chanaan 4. 2	Canaan
Chariatharbe <i>see</i> Ebron			
Chariathjarim (de Judé) †965-66, †967	Chariathjarim (de la Giwerie)	Cariathiarim (Judae) 18. 12	Kiriath-jearim (in Judah)
Cison, eawe 169-70, 182; flum 242, 243	Cison, eawe; flum; Syson, fontaigne	torrens Cison 4. 7	Wadi Kishon, torrent Kishon
Dabir 19	Dabir	Dabir 1. 11	Debir
Dan 1072; citee 999; pavillouns 756, 966; <i>see also</i> Lachis	Dan; pavillouns	Dan 18. 29; castrorum Dan 18. 12	Mahaneh-dan, Dan
Dor 46	Edor	Dor 1. 27	Dor
Ebron (Chariatharbe) 17, 35, Hebron 854	Cariatarbe, Ebron, Hebron	Hebron (Cariatharbe) 1. 10	Hebron (Kiriath-arba)
Edom 212, 635; terre 638	Edom; terre	Edom 5. 4	Edom
Effra 279, 305, 476; Ephra 454, 462	Efra, Ephra, Efpbra	Ephra 6. 11	Ophrah
Effraym 592, 683, 692 etc.; mount(aigne) 78, 149, 165 etc.; terre 711	Eff(r)a(y)m; mount(aigne); Ephraim, mount(aigne); terre	(mons) Ephraim 2. 9	Ephraim
Egipte 64, 82, 274 etc.	Egipte, Egypt; terre	Aegypto 2. 1	Egypt
Emath 110	Emach	Emath 3. 3	Lebo-hamath
Emor 523	Emor	Emmor 9. 28	Hamor
Ephra <i>see</i> Effra			
Ephraym <i>see</i> Effraym			
Esebon 642, 653	Esebon	Esebon 11. 19	Heshbon
Etham 833; Ethan 821, 827, perre	Etham, Ethan; perre	petra Aetham 15. 8	rock of Etam
Gaas, mount 79	Gaas, mount	mons Gaas 2. 9	Mount Gaash
Gabaa 1030, 1032, 1037 etc.	Gabaa	Gabaa 19. 12	Gibeah
Galaad 236, 580, 591 etc.; mount 345; terre 583, 868	Galaad; Gala(a)th; mount; terre	Galaad 5. 17; mons; terra	Gilead; Mount; land of
Galgala(a) 63, 134	Galgala, Galgalis	Galgala 2. 1	Gilgal
Garizim, mountaigne 481-82	Garizim, mountaigne	mons Garizim 9. 7	Mount Gerizim
Gazam, Gaze(r) 32, 48, 267 etc.	Gaza(m), Gazer	Gazam 1. 18	Gaza
Halte Tertre 341	Halt Tertre	collis Excelsi 7. 1	hill of Moreh
Hares, mountaigne 59-60	Hares, mountaigne	mons Hares 1. 35	Har-heres
Hermon <i>see</i> Baal			
Herrara 508	Hera	Bera 9. 21	Beer
Hestahol 756, 945, 958 etc., Hestael 918	Estohal	Esthaol 13. 25	Eshtaol
Horma †32	Horma	Horma 1. 17	Hormah
Isachar 232	Isachar	Issachar 5. 15	Issachar
Israel 219, 268, 681 etc.	Israel	Israhel 5. 9	Israel
Jabis (de Galaad) 1183, 1186, †1189etc.	Jabes	Iabisgalaad 21. 8	Jabesh-gilead
Jaboch 631, 647	Jabot, Jebot	Iaboc 11. 13	Jabbok
Jasra 644	Masphat	Iassa 11. 20	Jahaz
Jebllaam 46	Jebllaam	Iebllaam 1. 27	Ibleam
Jebus 1025, 1026, 1031; <i>see also</i> Jerusalem	Jebus	Iebus 19. 10	Jebus
Jecbaa 423	Lethaa	Iecbaa 8. 11	Jogbehah
Anglo Norman Bible (L)	P	Vulgate	NRSV
Jerusalem 13, 14, 37 etc.; <i>see also</i> Jebus	Jerusalem	Hierusalem 1. 7	Jerusalem
Jezrael, vaal 325	Jezrael, vaal	valles Iezrahel 6. 33	Valley of Jezreel
Jordan 236, 325, *397 etc.; wees 151-52, 693; flum 400	Jordan; guees; eawes	vada Iordanis 3. 28; Iordanem	fords of the Jordan; Jordan

Jowe <i>see</i> Lehi , Ramathlehy	Juda(s)	Juda(m) 10. 9	Judah
Juda(m) 591, 931, 935 etc.; terre 822; Judé 966	Lachis; terre	terra Lais 18. 14; Lais 18. 27	Laish
Lachis, terre 969; Lais 955, 994, 1000; <i>see also</i> Dan	Lebona	Lebona 21. 19	Lebonah
Lebna 1206, citee	Lebi; (lieu de) la Jowe; fontaine de la Jowe de ly Apellaunt	Lehi, Maxilla 15. 9; locus Maxillae; fons Invocantis de Maxilla 15. 19	Lehi, En-hakkore
Lehi 823; la Jowe 823; lieu de Jowe 834; fontaine de ly Appellaunt de la Jowe 845-46; Elevacioun de la Jowe †840; <i>see also</i> Ramathlehy	Lyban; mountaigne	Libano 3. 3; mons	Lebanon; Mount
Lermes <i>see</i> Plora(u)ntz	Luza(m)	Luza 1. 23	Luz
Liban 497; mountaigne 109	Machir	Machir 5. 14	Machir
Luza(m) 40, 44; <i>see also</i> Bethel	Madian	Madian 8. 3	Midian
Machir 230	Mageddo	Mageddo 1. 27	Megiddo
Madian 406, 411, 452	Mageddon, eawes	aquas Mageddo 5. 19	waters of Megiddo
Maggedo 46	Manasse(n)	Manasse(n) 6. 15	Manasseh
Maggedon, eawes 240	Maspha(t), Massa, Masfa	Maspha 11. 11	Mizpah
Manasse(n) 289, 327, 661	Mello	Mello 9. 6	Beth-millo
Maspha(t) 605, 627, 1072 etc., Masfa 661, 669	Memnich	Mennith 11. 33	Minnith
Mello, citee 479, 506-07	me Reme	Merome 5. 18	---
Memnyth 666	Meroz, terre	terra Meroz 5. 23	Meroz
Merome, regioun †238	Mesopotame	Mesopotamiae 3. 8	Aram-naharaim
Meroz, terre 246	Moab; terre; termes	Moab 3. 12; terminus; terra	Moab
Mesopotamie 117	Malalon	Naalon 1. 30	Nahalol
Moab 124, 126, 129 etc.; terre 633, *639, 641; termes 640	Neptalym	Nephthalim 4. 6	Naphtali
Naalon 50	Noiee	Nobee 8. 11	Nobah
Neptalym 167, 328	Oreb, perre de	petra Oreb 7. 25	rock of Oreb
Nobee 423	Palmes, citee dé	civitas Palmarum 1. 16	city of palms
Oreb, perre de 398	Pees de Nostre Seigneur	Domini pax 6. 24	The Lord is peace
Palmes, cité(e) dé 28-29, 126	ascendement del Scorpioun et de la Pere	ascensus Scorpionis Petra 1. 36	ascent of Akraabbim
Pees de Nostre Sire 304	Phanuel; tour	Phanuel 8. 8; turris	Penuel; tower
Perre, ascendement 62	Pharatham	Farathon 12. 15	Pirathon
Phanuel 416; tour 418, 433	Flencium, lieu des Plorauntz ou dé Lermes	locus Flentium 2. 1	Bochim
Pharaton 708, 710	Rama	Rama 4. 5	Ramah
Plorauntz, (lieu) des 63, 71; (lieu) des Lermes 71-72	Ramathei; Elevacioun de la Jowe	Ramathlehi, elevatio Maxillae 15. 17	Ramath-lehi
Rama 165; citee 1031	Remmon; perre	petra cuius vocabulum est Remmon 20. 45; petra Remmon	rock of Rimmon
Ramathlehy †840; Elevacioun de la Jowe †840; <i>see also</i> Lehi	Roob; region	Roob 1. 31	Rehob, Beth-rehob
Remon, perre 1161, 1166, 1192	Ruge meer	mare Rubrum 11. 16	Red Sea
Roob 53; regioun 997-98	Sabalym	Salabim 1. 35	Shaalbim
Ruge mere 635	Sanir	Sanir 10. 1	Shamir
Sabalym 60	P	Vulgate	NRSV
Sanir 578, 579	Sareia, Saraa, Sarra	Saraa 13. 2	Zorah
Anglo Norman Bible (L)	Sechim, Siche(n), Sichem, Sichim; tour	Sychem 8. 31; terra Etthim 1. 26; turris Sycimorum 9. 47	Shechem; land of the Hittites; Tower of Shechem
Saraa †714, †756, 918 etc.; Seraa 964	Seir	Seir 5. 4	Seir
Sechim 503, terre 43; Sichem 460, 468, 470 etc.; tour 562; Sichen 478, 480	Seirath	Seirath 3. 26	Seirath
Sichen 478, 480	Selmon, mount	mons Selmon 9. 48	Mount Zalmon
Seir 212	Sennum	valles Sennim 4. 11	Elon-bezaananim
Seirath 148			
Selmon, mount 556			
Senium, valleie 178-79			

Sephat 31	Sephat	Sephath 1. 17	Zephath
Sichamam 517, 528, Sichimam 533	Sytimam, Sucimam, Sicuaam, Sicimam	Sychimam 9. 26	Shechem
Sichem, Sichen <i>see</i> Sechym			
Sidon 52, 586, 958 etc.	Sydoune, Sydon, Sydom	Sidonis 1. 31, Sidone	Sidon
Silo 1003, 1102, 1172 etc.	Silo	Silo 18. 31	Shiloh
Soc(h)ot(h) 409, 412, 417 etc.	Socoht, Socchot	Soccoth 8. 5	Succoth
Soreth, vaal 855	Soreht, val	valles Sorech 16. 4	valley of Sorek
Synai 214	Synai	Sinai 5. 5	Sinai
Syrie 121, 586	Syrie	Syria 3. 10	Aram
Tanat 45	Tanael	Thanach 1. 27	Taanach
Thabor 436; mount 168, 180-81, 184	Thabor; mount(aigne)	mons Thabor 4. 6	Mount Tabor
Thamathsare 78	Thamnathsare	Thamnathsare 2. 9	Timnath-heres
Thampnatha 757, 759, 766	Thammatha, Thamnatha	Thamnatha 14. 1	Timnah
Thanach †240	Thanath	Thanach 5. 19	Taanach
Thebath 393	Thebath	Tebbath 7. 23	Tabbath
Thebes 563	Thebes	Thebes 9. 50	Thebez
Tob, terre 612, 616	Chob, terre	terra Tob 11. 5	land of Tob
Ydoles, lieu des 147-48	Ydoles, lieu des	locus Idolorum 3. 26	the sculptured stones
Zabulon 231, 328, 706 etc.	Zabulon	Zabulon 5. 14	Zebulun
Zeb, pressour de 399	Zeeb, pressour de	torcular Zeb 7. 25	wine press of Zeeb

GLOSSARY

The glossary generally excludes words that are very common in Old French and Anglo-Norman except in cases where they are of particular lexical or thematic interest. Full line references are provided for words that occur fewer than four times; for words appearing four times or more, the third reference is followed by etc. Spellings with *y* for *i* are not listed separately. For infinitives not attested in the text, spellings have been deduced; such infinitive forms are directly followed by a semi-colon. An asterisk (*) marks a word that is repeated in the line indicated; a dagger (†), a word emended in the text.

The dictionaries of reference in this section are the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (=AND²), at www.anglo-norman.net; the Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français, at <http://www.deaf-page.de/>; Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, <https://apps.atilf.fr/lecteurFEW/index.php/page/view>; Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500), <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881), <http://micmap.org/dicfro/home/dictionnaire-godefroy>; Alan Hindley, Frederick W. Langley, and Brian J. Levy, *Old French-English Dictionary* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); and Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé (TLFi). The symbol § indicates that the word not is listed in any of the dictionaries shown.

abatre, *v.a.*; *pret.3 abati* 433; *p.p. as a. abatuz*

1157; level, raze; cut down, kill

acoupler, *v.a.*; *pret.3 acoupla* 125; join, pair up

adecertes, *adv.* certainly, assuredly 28, 39, 45
etc.

adeprimes, *adv.* immediately, firstly 1110-11

adevaunt, *adv.* before, previously 309

adonqe, *adv.* then 315

affier, *v.n.*; *p.pr. affiauntz* 1109; trust in

af(f)orcer, *v.refl.*; *pret.3 afforcea* 568, 6
aforcerent 974; strive

agравanter, *v.a.*; *pret.3 agravanta* 121, 6

agравanterent 1116, 1130; *p.p. agravantee*
162; defeat, overwhelm

agrever, *v.a.*; *p.p. agrevee* 61, 1137;
overburden, crush

aguait, *s.*; *pl.* 514, 532, 534 etc.; (place of)
ambush, surprise attack; watcher

aherdir, *v.n.*; *pret.3 ahherdi* 881; cleave to

ahourer, *v.a.*; *pret.3 ahoura* 375, 6 **ahourent**
84; *p.pr. ahourauntz* 92, 97; *p.p. ahouree*
598; worship

(ah)ournement, **ournament** *s.*; *pl.* 442, 447,

448 etc.; adornment, ornament

ajo(u)ster, *v.a.&v.refl.*; *pret.6 ajo(u)sterent*
123, 158; *fut.1 ajoustera* 598; *p.pr.*

ajoustauntz 585; join, unite, add, continue

aler, *v.n.* go 87, 98, 358 etc.; *ind.pr.2 vas* 1039,

4 **aloms** 1040, 1041, 5 **alez** 222, 954;

imper.2 va 167, 286, 677, 4 **aloms** 959, 961,

5 **alez** 599, 946, 953 etc.; *pret.2 alas* 402, 3

vait 6, 19, 30 etc., **ala** 43, 4 **alames** 1041, 6

vount 28, 73, 479 etc., **alerent** 216, 484, 615;

ind.impf.6 aloient 152, 1162; *fut.1 irroi* 6,

*172, **irras** 1023; *cond.6 irroient* 952;

sbj.pr.1 voise 935, 2 **voises** 620, 1020, 1023,

3 **voise** 348, 349, 4 **aloms** 1064; 6 **voisent**

102; *sbj.impf.3 alast* 677, 1020, 4 **alassoms**

685, 6 **alassent** 983; *p.pr. alaunt(z)* 17, 19,

23 etc.; *p.p. alee* 1114; **s'en a.**, go away, go

off 6, 17, 19 etc.; **a. outre**, go across, lead on

152

alien, *a.* foreign; *pl.* 598

al(i)quant(z), *adv.* a few, several 771, 803

alliaunce, *s.*; **faire a.** make a covenant / treaty

66-67, 464, 554; *see also arche*

allier, *s.* mulberry-tree, service-tree 494, †496
altier, *s.* altar 304, *307, 308 etc.; *pl.* 67
altrefois, *adv.* (once) again 334, 537, 632 etc.
altresibien, *adv.* as well (as) 1097, 1187
altretant, *adv.* as many 781
alure, *s.* step, walking; *pl.* 905
ambe(s)deux, *pron. as a.* both †853, †912-13
ambespartz, *adv.* on both sides 130
amonester, *v.a.*; *imper.2* **amonestes** 787; *pret.3*
amonesta 23; admonish, exhort
amount, *s.*; **de a.** from above 569
ancelle, *s.* handmaid, maidservant 503, 1043
angle, *s.* angel 63, 70, 246 etc.
anguisse, *s.* trouble, distress 600
apparoir, *v.n.*; *pret.3* **apparust** 281, 715, 749
etc., **apperi** 730, 732, 6 **apparurent** 219;
appear
aprendre, *v.a.*; *imper.2* **apreignes** 856-57;
sbj.impf.3 **apreist** 105, 6 **apreissent** 107;
teach, learn
apurtenir, *v.n.*; **apurtenaunt a vie** (still) alive /
living 268
aquiloun, *s.* north 683
arche, *s.* ark 1121
arder, *v.a.*; *pret.6* **ardherent** 560, 817; *fut.4*
ard(e)roms 685, 788; *p.p.* & *p.p. as a.* **ars**
813, 1155; burn, destroy by fire
areine, *s.* (grain of) sand 368
arer, *v.a.*; *p.p.* **aree** 797; plough
areredos, *adv.&prep.* behind 967, 986, 1151
armer, *v.a.*; *p.p.* **armez** 973; arm; *p.p. as s.*
armez armed men, fighters 365
arsure, *s.* fire, burning (heat) 836, 866, 995 etc.
ascendement, *s.* incline, (upward) slope 62
ascendre, *v.n.* come / go up, ascend 274; *fut.3*
ascendera 3
aseure, *s.* calf (of leg) 820
assaier, *v.a.&v.n.*; *pret. 5* **assaiastez** 655; *p.p.*
assaié 335; test, examine; try
assailer, *v.a.*; *pret.6* **assailerent** 40; *p.pr.*
assaillaunt 549; attack
asseer¹, *v.refl.*; *pret.6* **assistrent** 1014; sit; *see*
also seer
asseer², *v.n.*; *p.p. as a.* **assise** 997, 1204; set,
locate

assembler, *v.a.&v.n.&v.refl.*; *ind.pr.6*
assemblent 681; *imper.5* **assemblez** 525;
pret.3 **assembla** 181, 6 **assemblerent** 897,
1073-74; *p.p.* **assemblé(z)** 79, 259, 324 etc.;
gather, bring together, muster, reunite with
asseur, *adv.* surely, confidently 364, 961; *a.*
safe, secure 423, 956, 994
assieger, *v.a.* besiege 1107; *pret.3* **assegea** 564;
p.pr. **assegeauntz** 14
atapir, *v.n.*; *imper.5* **atapissez** 529; hide, lie; *see*
also tapir
ataunt, *adv.* as many 702; **a. qe** until 186
auxint, *adv.*; **a. com** (just) as, like 266, 290, 333
etc.
aval; **par a.** below, lower 27
avauntaler, *v.n.* lead off, herald 1207
avauntmetre, *v.a.*; *pret.6* **avauntmistrent**
1134; extend
avoir, *v.a.* have 107, 447, 849 etc.; *ind.pr.1* **a(y)**
64, 134, 136 etc., 2 **as** 25, 26, 444 etc., 3 **ad**
12, 150, 162 etc., 4 **avoms** 593, 594, 600 etc.,
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