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Englising the Bible
in Early Modern Europe:
The case of *Ruth*

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
Department of Biblical Studies.

2014

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Institute for Interdisciplinary Biblical Studies, September 2014.

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ABSTRACT

Iona Catharine Hine: Englishing the Bible in early modern Europe, the case of *Ruth*
(under the direction of David Chalcraft)

Working from twin premises, that a translator's ideology is present in their work and that English bible versions are advantageously examined in a European context, this thesis asks two questions: How might one locate ideological interference in early modern translations of the Bible? How did ideological commitments affect what constituted 'good' Englishing in early modern Europe?

The method employed for locating interference is newly devised: Christiane Nord's translation-oriented analysis is applied to Hebrew and English versions of the book of *Ruth*, then combined with data collated from more than fifty bible versions and commentaries from the early modern period (English versions from Coverdale to King James, i.e. 1535–1611). Nord's system highlights epistemological differences and pragmatic translation issues. The collation provides a European context against which English versions can be assessed. French, Germanic, Italian and Spanish translations are considered as well as Latin and English. Themes of justification, virtue, migration, and domestic relations are drawn out from the commentaries of Johann Böschenstein, Johann Brenz, Johann Isaac Levita, Ludwig Lavater, Johann Drusius, and Edmund Topsell. Discussion is also informed by social history and textual studies.

Ultimately, it is argued that as participants in a broader project of vernacularisation, English translators allowed social, moral and theological concerns to affect their translation decisions, sometimes in conflict with the plain sense of the Hebrew source. 'Good' Englishing reflected epistemological commitments, shifting notions of authority, and judgments about what was fitting for a vernacular audience. Elements considered include the confessional implications of reward for work (*Ruth* 2.12) and kindness to the dead (1.8; 2.20); gendered translations of *chayil* as virtue and valour (2.1; 3.11; 4.11); Ruth's status as "stranger" (2.10); and Naomi's *mar* (1.13, 21).

An appendix provides fresh analysis of Coverdale's (European) sources and their impact upon his translation of *Ruth*.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Englishing the Bible in early modern England has been conducted under supervision from Diana Edelman (until July 2012) and David Chalcraft (to the present), both of whom have encouraged and challenged the research presented herein. Others have also nurtured the work-in-progress, and particular gratitude extends to Phil Withington (Dept. of History, Sheffield) and Fleur Houston who both read early drafts of Chapter 6. I am also grateful to the students and staff of the Department of Biblical Studies at Sheffield as well as staff and postgraduate students in analogous departments at the Universities of Leeds, Manchester and at Durham University, who have listened to the earliest outworkings of this project and were (largely) kind in their questioning.

My studies have been made possible by a generous studentship from the University of Sheffield, without which this work would not exist. Parts of Chapters 5 and 7 have been aired at conferences and I am grateful for the encouragement offered by members of the Society of Biblical Literature, the Society of Old Testament Studies, and the European Association of Biblical Studies.

Among others who have fuelled this project, thanks is due to J. Cheryl Exum, who supported the research proposal in its earliest incarnation; James Crossley, Will Lamb, Hugh Pyper, and John Barrett, whose different contributions to Sheffield's King James Bible Project facilitated the evolution of the enquiry (or better its retreat) toward the early modern era; Rachel Muers for first suggesting *Ruth*; Ben Quash for initial encouragement and for inadvertent sustenance (courtesy of his *Abiding*); Graham Davies who always took great care with his undergraduates; the late Melanie Wright, who set me on the path to better dissertation writing; Jacky Hodgson and colleagues in Special Collections at the University of Sheffield, also their counterparts at Cambridge University Library, Manchester John Rylands Library, the National Library of Scotland, Oxford's Bodleian Library, and the libraries of King's College London and the University of Chicago, Illinois.

As one whose university career began in the 1990s, I cannot fail to appreciate the ways in which digital resources are constantly evolving and extending. The breadth of data collated within this study would have been impossible without the many digitisation projects, and the growth of Open Access collections. I therefore acknowledge all who contribute to the digital domain.

In addition, my sincere appreciation goes: To those who have willingly given their expertise where my own was lacking, including Sasha Anisimova, Deborah Kahn-Harris, Harry M. Hine (for whose proofreading I am immeasurably grateful), Giovanni Battista Quaglia, Mark L. Solomon, and Casey Strine. To those who helped stretch my thinking about translation studies, including Svea

Schauffler, and the students of 'BIB6033: Word into Words' (2012, 2013). To many who have given moral, practical and intellectual support, including Agata Kroh, Alison Bygrave, Anne James, Chris Meredith, Cynthia Shafer-Elliott, David Chandler, Dougald Hine, Emma Rhatigan, Esther Hamori, Gavin Schwartz-Leeper, Hilary Perry, Ian Bramall, John Sawyer, Josh Robinson, Laura Cole, Katie Edwards, Mike Kok, Minna Shkul, Natalie Quinn, Siân Hayward, the Sikorsky family, Steven Cooper, Trudi Gehring, and others. To Robin and Ann Hine, for raising me well and keeping me going.

Finally, for doing the laundry, buying the San Miguel, and listening as I rumbled toward conclusions, words are insufficient; nonetheless, I dedicate this work (warts and all) to David Matthew Clark.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. General abbreviations

ANE	Ancient Near East
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs (ed.), <i>Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> .
CDCH	<i>Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> , ed. D.J.A. Clines.
CE	Common era
CHB	<i>Cambridge History of the Bible</i> , original series
CNRTL	Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales. http://cnrtl.fr/
CUP	Cambridge University Press
Douche	Varieties of German, Dutch, Flemish and Low German (see Ch. 2 §4.1.2)
DWB	<i>Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm</i> . 1854–1961, 1971.
DWDS	<i>Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache</i> . http://dwds.de/ incorporating the <i>Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen</i> (EWD, ed. Pfeifer)
edn	edition
Elyot	<i>The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knight</i> (Latin-English, 1538)
EM/EME	Early Modern/Early Modern English
ENHG	See fNhd
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> (1473–1800), British Library. http://estc.bl.uk/
EWD	See DWDS
Fr	French
fNhd	Frühneuhochdeutsch, ‘Early New High German’. 1350–1650 CE.
GKC	<i>Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. E. Kautzsch and A.E. Cowley. 1910 edn.
INL	<i>Historische woordenboeken</i> , Instituut der Nederlandse Lexicologie. http://gtb.inl.nl/
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
L	Lavater, sermons on <i>Ruth</i> , Latin edition (1578)
Mhd/MHG	Mittelhochdeutsch / Middle High German i.e. 1050–1500 CE in DWB; others 1050–1350 CE
MS / ms(s)	Manuscript / manuscript(s)
Nhd/NHG	Neuhochdeutsch / New High German i.e. post-1500 CE in DWB usage; others post-1650 / standard German
NK	Nijhoff & Kronenberg, historical bibliography for Low Countries
NT	New Testament
OED	Oxford English Dictionary, online edition. http://oed.com/
OG	Ordinary Gloss, quasi-standard commentary in mediaeval Latin bible manuscripts
OrT	Original text
OT	Old Testament
OUP	Oxford University Press
P	Pagitt, translation of Lavater’s commentary on <i>Ruth</i> (1586)
Palsgrave	<i>Lesclarissement de la langue francoyse</i> (French–English dictionary phrasebook, 1530)
r	recto (front of folio leaf)
R	<i>Ruth</i> (the book of)
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
STC	<i>Short Title Catalogue</i> , ed. Pollard et al. All references are to the 2nd edn.
Suppl.	Supplementary series
TL	Target Language
TT	Translated Text
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i> . http://ustc.ac.uk/ . Cf. p
v	verso (rear of folio page)
v. / vv.	verse / verses
VD16	Bibliography of Deutsch/German-speaking territories, 16th century.
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> (journal).
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke</i> (‘Weimar Ausgabe’)
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

B. Bible versions

B&N	Bindseil and Niemeyer (eds.). Critical edn of Luther's bible. 1545 text and variants.
Barb-Crt	Barbier and Courteau. Printers. 1562. (First edn 1559.) Geneva. French.
Bps	Bishops Bible. First edition. 1568. English.
Bps02	Copy of the Bishops Bible, 1602 edn, annotated by King James' translators
Bug	Bugenhagen. April 1534. Low Douche.
BW	BibleWorks 9.0
Compl.	Complutensian polyglot. 6 vols. 1522 (publ.). Hebrew-Latin-Greek.
Cov	Coverdale Bible. 1535. English.
C- <i>Ruth</i>	Coverdale's text of <i>Ruth</i> .
Diod	Diodati. Two editions: 1607; 1641. Italian.
F&M	Forshall and Madden (eds.). Critical edn of Wycliffite Bible, 4 vols. Middle English.
Ferr	Ferrara Bible. OT (Hebrew parts only). 1553. Ladino.
Halb	Halberstadt Bible. 1522. Douche.
GtB	Great Bible. 1539; 2nd edn 1540. Alias 'Cranmer' or 'Whitchurch'. English.
Gt- <i>Ruth</i>	The text of <i>Ruth</i> as found in the Great Bible
Gva	English Geneva Bible. 1560.
Gve	French Geneva Bible. 1551 edn.
KJ	King James Bible. 1611 text. Longer quotations via 1769 Blayney edn (distinguishable by modern orthography).
L1 (a, b)	Phase-1 Luther (cf. L24)
L24	<i>Der Ander Teyl</i> , containing Luther's first version of <i>Ruth</i> . 1524. Phase-1.
L2	Phase-2 Luther (cf. L34)
L34	Complete Luther Bible. First edition, 1534. Phase-2.
L3	Phase-3 Luther (cf. L41)
L41	Revised Luther Bible. 1541. Phase-3.
L4	Phase-4 Luther (cf. L45)
L45	'Final edition' of Luther Bible. 1545. Phase-4.
LXX	Septuagint. Greek version of Jewish scriptures; following Rahlfs edn.
M- <i>Ruth</i>	The text of <i>Ruth</i> as found in the Matthew Bible
Marc-Mor	Marcourt & Morand (eds.). French Geneva Bible. 1540. Alias <i>Bible de l'Épée</i> .
Mont	Montanus' Polyglot. 1572. Greek-Hebrew-Latin.
Mnst	Münster's diglot. OT. 1534–1535. 2 vols. Hebrew-Latin
MT	Masoretic text, <i>Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> , BibleWorks edn, unless otherwise stated.
MtB	Matthew Bible. 1537. English. Containing Tyndale's translation of <i>Ruth</i> .
O- <i>Ruth</i>	The 'Original' (Hebrew) text of <i>Ruth</i>
Oliv	Olivétan's bible. 1535. French
Pg	Pagninus Bible. 1528. Latin.
Rna[-V]	Reina Bible, publ. 1569. Revised by Valera, publ. 1602. Reina[-Valera]. Spanish.
Rust	Rustici. 1562. Geneva. Italian.
Scheide	Manuscript. Wycliffite, Princeton Scheide M12. ca. 1410. Middle English.
Trem[ellius]	Tremellius & Junius (Latin). First publ. –1579. See Bibliography §Bibles for edns
V34	Vorsterman Bible. 1534 edn. NederVlaams-Douche.
Vg	Vulgate. Stephanus edn for <i>Ruth</i> ; Clementine edn for books other than <i>Ruth</i> .
VUS	Vulgate. Critical edn. Ed. & publ. Robert Estienne, alias Stephanus. 1528.
Wyc	Wycliffite MSs. ^{EV} = Early Version, ca. 1380. ^{LV} = Late Version, ca. 1395.
Z	Zurich bibles. Swiss Douche. Z30, Z31, Z34. Editions of 1530, 1531, 1534.

Full publication details of bible versions are given in the Bibliography at the end of this study. See also the discussion in **Chapter 2, §§3–4**, which introduces these and other versions.

TO THE READER

Please note the following conventions employed throughout this study: Italics are used to differentiate the book of *Ruth* from the character Ruth. Chapter and verse references are normally presented in the more abbreviated form, *Ruth* 1.1 becoming R1.1, &c. Original spelling is retained for extended quotations, though orthography is amended to aid the modern reader: The letters “u” and “v” are deployed according to modern usage in English texts, but original typography may be retained in foreign language sources; long “f” is amended to “s”; the letter thorn (Þ) is transliterated using an italicised “*th*”; superscript vowels and the consonants “m” and “n” are restored to the main text and such insertions are distinguished by italics in foreign-language sources. Spelling may be modernised when a single word or phrase is the subject of extended discussion. Direct quotations are marked with double quotation marks (“ ”). Single quotation marks are used to demarcate translations (or paraphrases) of non-English sources.

Hebrew is transliterated according to the SBL *Handbook of Style*'s general-purpose style, with the exception of the harsh ך, which I have chosen to represent as “ch” (imitating the final sound of Scots “Loch”). Thus, for example, *chesed* and not *besed* or *kesed*, and *chayil* not *hayil* or *kehayil*. (Using “h” conflicts with the transcription of ך, while “k” may be used for כ, and “kh” for its spirant form; I therefore take “ch” to be less misleading.)

Bibliographical details of the main primary sources (bibles and commentaries) are given in Chapter 2 and in the Bibliography (under Bibles or Other primary sources). They are otherwise referred to and quoted using conventional shorthand forms and abbreviations thereof, typically the name of the translator (e.g. Münster; Mst), editor (Montanus; Mnt) or publisher (Mentelin; Ment), occasionally the location (Zurich; Z) or another moniker (Great Bible; GtB). Luther is a special case, his editions being denoted by date or phase (see Ch. 2, §4.1.2.2). Commentaries are referred to by the writer's name (so e.g. Brenz). All conventions are detailed in Chapter 2 and the Bibliography. For abbreviations, see also the Bibles section in the List of Abbreviations (above).

Data tables and figures are located together at the end to facilitate comparison, and referred to in the body of the text. The reader is strongly advised to scrutinise the tables because the arguments of Chapters 2–7 are commonly dependent on the analysis of a frequently complex data set. The text of *Ruth*, according to the 1611 King James Version, is supplied below for reference.

Translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.

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The book of *Ruth*

According to the 1611 King James Bible

CHAP. I¹

1 Nowe it came to passe in the dayes when þe Iudges ruled, that there was a famine in the land: and a certaine man of Bethlehem Iudah, went to sojourne in the countrey of Moab, he, and his wife, and his two sonnes.

2 And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife, Naomi, and the name of his two sonnes, Mahlon, and Chilion, Ephrathites of Bethlehem Iudah: and they came into the countrey of Moab, and continued there.

3 And Elimelech Naomies husband died, and shee was left, and her two sonnes;

4 And they tooke them wives of the women of Moab: the name of the one was Orpah, and the name of the other Ruth: and they dwelled there about ten yeeres.

5 And Mahlon and Chilion died also both of them, and the woman was left of her two sonnes, and her husband.

6 ¶ Then shee arose with her daughters in law, that shee might returne from the countrey of Moab: for shee had heard in the countrey of Moab, how that the Lord had visited his people, in giving them bread.

7 Wherefore she went foorth out of the place where she was, and her two daughters in law with her: and they went on the way to returne unto the land of Iudah.

8 And Naomi said unto her two daughters in law, Goe, returne each to her mothers house: the Lord deale kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me.

9 The Lord graunt you, that you may finde rest each of you in the house of her husband.

Then she kissed them, and they lift up their voyce and wept.

10 And they said unto her, Surely wee will returne with thee, unto thy people.

11 And Naomi said, Turne againe, my daughters: why will you goe with mee? Are there yet any moe sonnes in my wombe, that they may be your husbands?

12 Turne againe, my daughters, go your way, for I am too old to have an husband: if I should say, I have hope, if I should have a husband also to night, and should also beare sonnes:

13 Would ye tary for them till they were growen? would ye stay for them from having husbands? nay my daughters: for it grieveth me much for your sakes, that the hand of the Lord is gone out against me.

14 And they lift up their voyce, and wept againe: and Orpah kissed her mother in law, but Ruth clave unto her.

15 And she said, Behold, thy sister in law is gone backe unto her people, and unto her gods: returne thou after thy sister in law.

16 And Ruth said, Intreate mee not to leave thee, or to returne from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will goe; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God:

17 Where thou diest, wil I die, and there will I bee buried: the Lord doe so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.

18 When shee sawe that shee was stedfastly minded to goe with her, then shee left speaking unto her.

19 ¶ So they two went untill they came to Bethlehem: And it came to passe when they were come to Bethlehem, that all the citie was mooved about them, and they said, Is this Naomi?

¹ Transcription with modified orthography and omitting marginalia and chapter summaries. For the latter, see **Table 3.2**.

20 And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi; call mee Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.

21 I went out full, and the Lord hath bought me home againe emptie: Why then call ye me Naomi, seeing the Lord hath testified against me, and the Almighty hath afflicted me?

22 So Naomi returned, and Ruth the Moabitesse her daughter in law with her, which returned out of the countrey of Moab: and they came to Bethlehem, in the beginning of barley harvest.

CHAP. II

1 And Naomi had a kinseman of her husbands, a mighty man of wealth, of the familie of Elimelech, and his name was Boaz.

2 And Ruth the Moabitesse saide unto Naomi, Let me now goe to the field, and gleane eares of corne after him, in whose sight I shall finde grace. And shee saide unto her, Goe, my daughter.

3 And she went, and came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers: and her happe was to light on a part of the fielde belonging unto Boaz, who was of the kinred of Elimelech.

4 ¶ And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers, The Lord bee with you; and they answered him, The Lord blesse thee.

5 Then said Boaz unto his servant, that was set over the reapers, Whose damosell is this?

6 And the servaunt that was set over the reapers, answered and said, It is the Moabitish damosell that came backe with Naomi out of the countrey of Moab:

7 And she said, I pray you, let mee gleane and gather after the reapers amongst the sheaves: so shee came, and hath continued even from the morning untill now, that she taried a little in the house.

8 Then said Boaz unto Ruth, Hearest thou not, my daughter? Goe not to gleane in another field, neither goe from hence, but abide here fast by my maidens.

9 Let thine eyes be on the field that they doe reape, and go thou after them: have I not charged the young men, that they shall not

touch thee? and when thou art athirst, goe unto the vessels, and drinke of that which the yong men have drawn.

10 Then she fel on her face, and bowed her selfe to the ground, and said unto him, Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldest take knowledge of me, seeing I am a stranger?

11 And Boaz answered and said unto her, It hath fully bene shewed me, all that thou hast done unto thy mother in law since the death of thine husband: and how thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativitie, and art come unto a people, which thou knewest not heretofore.

12 The Lord recompense thy worke, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.

13 Then she said, Let me finde favour in thy sight, my lord, for that thou hast comforted mee, and for that thou hast spoken friendly unto thine handmaid, though I be not like unto one of thy hand-maidens.

14 And Boaz sayde unto her, At meale time come thou hither, and eate of the bread, and dip thy morsell in the vineger. And shee sate beside the reapers: and he reached her parched corne, and she did eate, and was sufficed, and left.

15 And when shee was risen up to gleane, Boaz commanded his young men, saying, Let her gleane even among the sheaves, & reproch her not.

16 And let fall also some of the handfuls of purpose for her, and leaue them that she may gleane them, and rebuke her not.

17 So she gleaned in the field untill even, and beat out that she had gleaned: and it was about an Ephah of barley.

18 ¶ And shee tooke it up, and went into the citie: and her mother in lawe saw what shee had gleaned; and shee brought foorth, and gave to her that she had reserved, after she was sufficed.

19 And her mother in law said unto her, Where hast thou gleaned to day? and where

wroughtest thou? blessed be hee that did take knowledge of thee. And shee shewed her mother in law with whom shee had wrought, and said, The mans name with whom I wrought to day, is Boaz.

20 And Naomi said unto her daughter in law, Blessed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his kindnesse to the living and to the dead. And Naomi said unto her, The man is neere of kin unto us, one of our next kinsemen.

21 And Ruth the Moabitesse said, He said unto me also, Thou shalt keepe fast by my yong men, untill they have ended all my harvest.

22 And Naomi said unto Ruth her daughter in law, It is good, my daughter, that thou goe out with his maidens, that they meete thee not in any other field.

23 So shee kept fast by the maidens of Boaz to gleane, unto the end of barley harvest, and of wheat harvest, and dwelt with her mother in law.

CHAP. III

1 Then Naomi her mother in law said unto her, My daughter, shal I not seeke rest for thee, that it may be well with thee?

2 And now is not Boaz of our kinred, with whose maidens thou wast? Behold, he winnoweth barley to night in the threshing floore.

3 Wash thy selfe therefore, and annoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee, and get thee downe to the floore: but make not thy selfe knowen unto the man, untill hee shall have done eating and drinking.

4 And it shall be when hee lieth downe, that thou shalt marke the place where hee shall lie, and thou shalt goe in, and uncover his feete, and lay thee downe, and he will tell thee what thou shalt doe.

5 And shee said unto her, All that thou sayest unto me, I will doe.

6 ¶ And she went downe unto the floore, and did according to all that her mother in law bade her.

7 And when Boaz had eaten and drunke, and his heart was merrie, hee went to lie downe at the ende of the heape of corne: and she came softly, and uncovered his feet, and laid her downe.

8 ¶ And it came to passe at midnight, that the man was afraid, and turned himselfe: and behold, a woman lay at his feete.

9 And hee said, Who art thou? And she answered, I am Ruth thine handmaid: spread therefore thy skirt over thine handmaid, for thou art a neare kinseman.

10 And hee said, Blessed be thou of the Lord, my daughter: for thou hast shewed more kindnesse in the latter ende, then at the beginning, in as much as thou followedst not yong men, whether poore, or rich.

11 And now my daughter, feare not, I will doe to thee all that thou requirest: for all the citie of my people doeth know, that thou art a vertuous woman.

12 And now it is true, that I am thy neare kinseman: howbeit there is a kinseman nearer then I.

13 Tary this night, and it shall be in the morning, that if hee will performe unto thee the part of a kinseman, well, let him doe the kinsemans part; but if hee will not doe the part of a kinseman to thee, then will I doe the part of a kinseman to thee, as the Lord liveth: lie downe untill the morning.

14 ¶ And shee lay at his feete untill the morning: and she rose up before one could know another. And he said, Let it not be knowen, that a woman came into the floore.

15 Also he said, Bring the vaile that thou hast upon thee, and holde it. And when she helde it, he measured sixe measures of barley, and laide it on her: and he went into the citie.

16 And when shee came to her mother in law, she said, Who art thou, my daughter? and she tolde her all that the man had done to her.

17 And she said, These sixe measures of barley gave he me, for he said to me, Go not emptie unto thy mother in law.

18 Then said she, Sit still, my daughter, until thou know how the matter will fall: for the man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing this day.

CHAP. IIII

1 Then went Boaz up to the gate, and sate him downe there: and beholde, the kinsman of whome Boaz spake, came by, unto whom he said, Ho, such a one: turne aside, sit downe here. And hee turned aside, and sate downe.

2 And hee tooke ten men of the Elders of the citie, and said, Sit ye downe here. And they sate downe.

3 And he said unto the kinsman: Naomi that is come againe out of the countrey of Moab, selleth a parcell of land, which was our brother Elimelechs.

4 And I thought to advertise thee, saying, Buy it before the inhabitants, and before the Elders of my people. If thou wilt redeeme it, redeeme it, but if thou wilt not redeeme it, then tell mee, that I may know: for there is none to redeeme it, besides thee, and I am after thee. And he said, I will redeeme it.

5 Then said Boaz, What day thou buyest the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy it also of Ruth the Moabitesse, the wife of the dead, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance.

6 ¶ And the kinsman said, I cannot redeeme it for my selfe, lest I marre mine owne inheritance: redeeme thou my right to thy selfe, for I cannot redeeme it.

7 Now this was the maner in former time in Israel, concerning redeeming and concerning changing, for to confirme all things: a man plucked off his shooe, and gave it to his neighbour: and this was a testimonie in Israel.

8 Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee: so he drew off his shooe.

9 ¶ And Boaz saide unto the Elders, and unto all the people, Ye are witnesses this day, that I have bought all that was Elimelechs, and all that was Chilions, and Mahlons, of the hande of Naomi.

10 Moreover, Ruth the Moabitesse, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren, and from the gate of his place: ye are witnesses this day.

11 And all the people that were in the gate, and the Elders said, Wee are witnesses: The Lord make the woman that is come into thine house, like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel: and do thou worthily in Ephratah, and bee famous in Bethlehem.

12 And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, (whom Tamar bare unto to Iudah) of the seed which the Lord shall give thee of this yong woman.

13 ¶ So Boaz tooke Ruth, and she was his wife: and when he went in unto her, the Lord gave her conception, and she bare a sonne.

14 And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed be the Lord which hath not left thee this day without a kinsman, that his name may bee famous in Israel:

15 And hee shalbe unto thee a restorer of thy life, and a nourisher of thine old age: for thy daughter in law which loveth thee, which is better to thee then seven sonnes, hath borne him.

16 And Naomi tooke the childe, and laid it in her bosome, and became nurse unto it.

17 And the women her neighbours gave it a name, saying, There is a sonne borne to Naomi, and they called his name Obed: hee is the father of Iesse the father of David.

18 ¶ Now these are the generations of Pharez: Pharez begate Hezron,

19 And Hezron begate Ram, and Ram begate Amminadab,

20 And Amminadab begate Nahshon, and Nahshon begate Salmon,

21 And Salmon begate Boaz, and Boaz begate Obed,

22 And Obed begate Iesse, and Iesse begate David.

Introduction

When people set out to translate the Bible into English, they did so as inhabitants of the world for which their translated texts were destined. Their encounter with the biblical text was mediated: by their own presuppositions about the natural order of things and the import of the text to be translated; by the skills they had acquired; by others' attempts at translation, both ancient and new; and by some sense of what would constitute a 'good' translation. This last might be a combination of philological, aesthetic, and normative pressures, but it also reflected their common conception of the text as "Scripture", God's word; and what they thought that must say. It was thus a reflection of their ideological commitments.

How did ideological commitments affect what constituted 'good' Englishing in early modern Europe? How might one locate ideological interference in early modern translations of the Bible? These are the questions that this study seeks to answer. It is occupied with the interaction between language and values manifest in the various bible translations produced in the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, seeking to situate the work of English translators, and the ways in which they accommodated their own worldview within the biblical text (and vice versa), alongside that of their European counterparts. This illustrates the participation of Englishers in a broader scholarly and social discourse, but it also provides something against which to test inferences of ideological interference. Previous studies of early modern English bibles have shown limited interest in ideology. Prominent exceptions have either failed to test their inferences (as in the case of Ilona Rashkow's *Upon the Dark Places*) or overlooked the European-ness of the translation enterprise (as Naomi Tadmor's *Social Universe of the English Bible*).¹ This study, oriented around the book of *Ruth*, is a corrective.

Englishing the Bible in Early Modern Europe is the outworking of an enquiry into different patterns of interpretation in the modern period, an enquiry that unexpectedly drew its author toward the earliest of modern interpretation and an interdisciplinary endeavour. The text of *Ruth* is approached using techniques from Translation Studies, most particularly the method of translation-oriented analysis developed by Christiane Nord (and modelled in **Chapter 3** of this study). The analysis draws on recent biblical scholarship, including standard commentaries, but it also engages with the discourse of the early modern period by exploring commentaries from that era; the

¹ Ilona N. Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places: Anti-Semitism and Sexism in English Renaissance Biblical Translation* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990); Naomi Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible: Scripture, Society, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).

exegetical discourses come to enlighten each other. Working thematically, it draws upon various streams of historical scholarship, including social, theological, and literary histories.

This introduction offers a brief map of the study that follows, intended to aid the reader to access an intensely involved series of investigations. **Chapter 1** gives theoretical and historiographical context for the scrutiny of early modern *Ruths*. It defines ideology, giving examples of its conscious interference in translation. Consideration is also given to the resources needed in order to identify subtler ideological transformations in translation, including contemporaneous discourse. Examples of English involvement in wider European discourse are presented, supporting the premise that one may meaningfully look to European scholarship and European bibles for information about the ideological concerns that occupied early modern translators. In addition, some parameters are delineated, including the restricted denotation of “Europe” within this study, which refers largely to Western Europe, with a bias toward the North-West.

In **Chapter 2**, explanation is offered for the use of other terms (“early modern” and “Englishing”). The early modern English versions are introduced, including a demonstration of some of the immediate textual relationships based on a sample from *Ruth* 1 and with reference to existing textual studies. This is supplemented by bibliographical information about other bible versions used in the data samples. Other primary literature, primarily commentaries, is also introduced. The chapter closes with discussion of concerns that pertain to the discussion of ideology (intentionality, equivalence and linguistic competence).

As already noted, **Chapter 3** examines *Ruth* from a translation-oriented perspective, giving a summative profile of the Hebrew text based on the model of the translation theorist, Christiane Nord. This is contrasted with an extratextual profile of early modern *Ruths*, drawing particular attention to the effect of incorporation into “the Bible” and to the physical and rhetorical features of early modern bibles. A close analysis of *Ruth* 1.1, first in Hebrew and then in early modern Englishings, gives further examples of the particular questions and challenges faced by a translator. The chapter also introduces some particular and common shifts from Hebrew source to early modern translation.

The subsequent investigation is quasi-forensic, exploring small elements of *Ruth*’s Englishing and their relation to European versions and to contemporaneous social and theological concerns. So, in **Chapter 4**, translators and annotators are observed Christianising the text (interpreting *Ruth* in terms of Jesus’ lineage) and responding to points where the narrative appears to challenge or support their doctrinal stance (particularly the showing of *chesed*, kindness to the dead; reward for works; and the prospect of Orpah’s [G]od[s]). The comparison of vernacular versions demonstrates common hermeneutical approaches and solutions to such theological problems.

Chapter 5 examines the translation of *chayil* with regard to Boaz and Ruth. This responds to the suggestion that describing Ruth as a “virtuous woman” is discriminatory, the Hebrew referring more directly to her strength or status as a woman of reckoning and a peer to Boaz. While Ruth’s virtuous quality is fixed, Boaz’s status as *gibbor chayil* shifts repeatedly, travelling from “honest” in Coverdale’s text to “mighty . . . of wealth” in the King James Bible. The shifting patterns of translation are explored in the context of other canonical passages and in relation to contemporaneous literature about the ideal qualities of men and women.

In **Chapter 6**, attention turns to the translation of the Hebrew word *nokriyyah*, translated as alien (Tyndale) and stranger (Coverdale). It was Coverdale’s term that King James’ translators chose. Their choice is shown to accord with other vernacular versions, and with the treatment of Hebrew ‘others’ throughout the canon—especially in legislative contexts. Ruth’s status as an English stranger (French *estrangere*, Spanish *extranjero*, Douche *frembde*)² links her to the injunctions that gave gleaning rights to the Hebrew *ger*, rights she is seen to take up in *Ruth 2*. Beyond this pattern of homogenisation, in which four discrete Hebrew terms become subsumed into a single vernacular one, lies a field of fertile exegesis: Commentaries and social history show the significance of migrant strangers in sixteenth-century Europe, and Ruth is presented as a model stranger.

Chapter 7 is occupied with a grammatical crux, the translation of *mikkem* in *Ruth 1.13*. In English bibles, Naomi is grieved on behalf of her daughters-in-law and “for your sakes” is the reading adopted by King James’ translators. This conflicts with the trend of translation in the late sixteenth- and early-seventeenth century—with even the Geneva and Bishops Bibles including the alternative “more than you” in their margins, presenting Naomi focused perhaps on her own woes. The outworkings of the two interpretations are explored from ancient versions to exegesis in the present day, demonstrating the tensions between traditional interpretation and unbiased attention to the Hebrew text. Particular illumination is gained from the somewhat indignant note included in Johann Isaac’s commentary on *Ruth*.

Chapter 7 is followed by the **Conclusion**. To anticipate its findings: scrutiny of the book of *Ruth* in multiple early modern translations shows that English versions were conditioned by a similar set of social, theological and moral concerns to their European vernacular counterparts. Ideological interests are conveyed not only in the marginal annotations and prefatory matter, but within the translated texts themselves. The patterns are especially distinctive when compared with contemporaneous Latin versions of the Bible.

² The early modern spellings are retained here and elsewhere in the study.

Some issues were confessional and divisive; and shifting notions of authority presented a special difficulty for Protestant translators. There were also common concerns. Assumptions about the nature of the text, as part of sacred history, affected both translation and presentation. But when judging the fittest text, very often social and moral factors were in play. Viewing English translations of *Ruth* as a subset of European discourse reveals how much of its characters' virtue and generosity was a gift to the early modern homilists as they strove to restructure church and society.

A two-part **Appendix** presents the results of an independent analysis of Coverdale's sources for *Ruth*, prompted by weaknesses in recent scholarly accounts, and explores how this mix of sources affected his translated text.

The reader is encouraged to consult the **data tables and figures**, located at the end of this study.

Chapter 1: Europe and Ideology

1 OVERVIEW

Quoting a brief passage from the dedication of the Coverdale Bible, Richard Duerden counted eighteen verbs that present scripture as an active power contributing to social good. This trope of scripture as power was accepted by opponents of reform,¹ and its broader adoption can be seen in the frontispiece of the Great Bible² and in the presentation of a bible within coronation pageants (for both Mary and Elizabeth Tudor).³ Yet the body of textual studies of early modern bible translation commonly lacks consideration of impact, presenting results “in the form of raw data with very little discussion of the implications of those changes for the reader”.⁴ Explanations for translation decisions focus on linguistic and aesthetic concerns, without consideration for other ideological factors. This study intentionally focuses on the latter category. To provide an illustration:

“Mus ein from weib sein gewest Ruth.”
“She must have been a pious woman, Ruth.”⁵

Such were the words Luther wrote by *Ruth* 1.16 as he and his colleagues undertook a revision of their translation in April 1540. The judgment recurs at *Ruth* 2.10, this time a straight declaration: “Ein from weibichen gewest die Ruth”; ‘Ruth was a pious little woman’. There was no purpose to these annotations. They were not intended to appear within a published bible. But the thought accompanied the translation, and the commitment to her good character affected interim verses

¹ Duerden points to the exchange between Tyndale and Thomas More, the commissioned defender against heresy. Richard Duerden, “Equivalence or Power? Authority and Reformation Bible Translation,” in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O’Sullivan (London: British Library, 2000), 9–23.

² Greenslade regards the design of the titlepage for the Coverdale Bible as confirmation that royal approval had been obtained in advance, since the king is shown distributing bibles. (Although Greenslade passes no comment on them, the royal coat of arms and motto at the base of the woodcut better substantiate this theory; it is hard to imagine their inclusion without permission. Cf. *The Coverdale Bible, 1535; with an introduction by S. L. Greenslade*, facsimile reprint of the Holkham copy in the British Library: C.132.h.46 (Folkestone: Wm. Dawson, 1975), 12. In the case of the Great Bible, the king’s authoritative position is greatly enhanced – now enthroned above the title, the king distributes scripture downward and his citizens respond, “Vivat Rex! Long live the king!”

³ “. . . the bestowing of a Bible . . . became a contested or climactic point in the coronation pageants of Mary and Elizabeth” (Duerden, “Equivalence or Power?,” 17). One of the ceremonies in Elizabeth I’s coronation pageant seems to have acted out the design of the 1557 Geneva New Testament title page.—This observation is my own though based on information received from Mark Finney (personal communication, 2010), and has been published in “The UnAuthorized Version: A Digital Companion to the Exhibition,” in *Telling Tales of King James’ Bible: 1611–2011*, cathedrals and general edition; CD-Rom (Sheffield: Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 2010).

⁴ Vivienne Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2001), ix.

⁵ Martin Luther. Quoted from the critical edition of the manuscript. “Text der Bibelrevisionsprotokolle 1539–1541 und handschriftliche Eintragungen Luthers in sein Handexemplar des Alten Testaments von 1539/1538,” in *D. Martin Luthers Werke*, ed. Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, WA: Die Deutsche Bibel, 1522–1546 3 (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1911), 365; volume referred to hereafter as WA DB 3.

too. The Hebrew of *Ruth* 2.7 is awkward to the point of obscurity; Daniel Lys illustrates the confusion by listing 19 different interpretations of the verse, all from published bibles.⁶ In the ‘pious’ revision session, Luther changed his earlier translation, that Ruth ‘had not gone back home even for a little’ to say that she ‘stays little at home’. Supporting this, he comments in the manuscript “dictum de usu. habitu”—‘a comment on her custom, or disposition’; a vernacular gloss is also supplied, for the margins of the printed edition: “Ist nicht der metzen eine die da heimsitze und faullentze auff dem polster.” ‘[She] is not one of those maids who sits at home and lazes about on pillows’.⁷ In the translated text, the reader is told about Ruth’s character; she is made to embody a desirable characteristic in sixteenth-century culture: readiness for hard work. The potential for such a reading may exist in the source text; yet it is ultimately interpretive, the gloss ensuring the translator’s appraisal is transmitted with the translation.

This insight into the work of Luther and his companions is possible because his reflections were recorded in manuscript and the manuscripts were preserved. Such testimony is rare for early modern English bibles, limited to handwritten amendments in two copies of the Bishops Bible made by scribes working on what became the King James Version, and two copies of (some of) the notes of John Bois, a member of the King James’ revision committee, recorded largely to satisfy his own interests. Is it then possible to speak meaningfully about the ideological dimension of the English translators’ work? The answer presented in this study is affirmative, and it is affirmative partly because of the extent to which the Bible’s Englishing was part of a broader European phenomenon of vernacularisation. For this study relies upon examples such as that of Luther, being founded upon two major premises: that the influence of a translator’s ideology may be detected in a translated text; and that advantage may be gained by examining English versions of the Bible in a European context. This chapter is intended as a foundation to support those two premises, situating this study with regard to existing scholarship in the fields of early modern historiography (including social and reformation history), translation studies, biblical studies, and with regard to textual studies focused on early English bibles. It also sets out chronological, geographical and linguistic parameters, and introduces key concepts including ideology, vernacularisation and Confessionalisation. It provides an overview of pertinent precedents, and supplies historiographical context for one of this study’s most significant claims: that translators sought to provide different bibles for the vernacular vulgar folk than for the Latin-literate elite.

⁶ Daniel Lys, “Résidence ou repos? Notule sur Ruth ii 7,” *VT* 21, no. 4 (1971): 497–501.

⁷ WA DB 3:365. In the published bible, the wording is amended slightly: “Das ist, Sie ist nicht der Metzen eine, die da heim auffm Polster sitzen und faulentzen etc.” Martin Luther, trans., *Biblia: Das ist: Die Gantze Heilige Schrift: Deusch auff’s New Zugericht. D. Mart. Luth.* (Wittenberg: Lufft, Hans, 1541); USTC 616672.—Luther’s editions are subsequently referred to by shorthand, “L41” indicating this 1541 edition; see **Ch. 2, §4.1.2.2** and the **List of Abbreviations** above.

2 TERMS AND CONTEXT (1): IDEOLOGY

Translation “openeth the window”. The metaphorical claim appears within the preface of the King James Version.⁸ It is a polemical one, enhancing the authority of the product. Drawing out the metaphor, the reader of the translated text has the capacity to look directly upon substance formerly inaccessible. The translator’s act of mediation is rendered invisible, transparent. Implicit is the belief that letter and message are divisible. Such an epistemological position is essential for translation; for if translation is to function, message and letter must be separated. Yet modern translation theorists would be more cautious about the extent of its success, less confident about the possibility of wholesale transfer, and uncomfortable with the metaphor of transparency.⁹

Antoine Berman’s influential essay on the gains and losses endemic in translation, identifies trends such as clarification, ennoblement, standardisation.¹⁰ The result is a transformed text, and between that translated text (TT) and its source text (ST) lie significant gaps. Following a similar path, Maria Tymoczko takes translation as a form of metonymy: the TT comes to represent the whole of the ST, though it only conveys part of it.¹¹ The translator as agent selects and prioritises parts to transfer. As agent, the translator is never a neutral actor.

This is in part recognition that translation is embedded in culture. Analysing the communicative challenges faced by non-natives in the USA, E.D. Hirsch conceptualised “cultural literacy”: In addition to the explicit content of a text or message, information is assumed and therefore required to interpret a communication. The assumed information is proportionately greater than the superficial content, the latter visualised as the tip of an iceberg.¹² To achieve competence, a translator needs to be literate in both source and target cultures; they may also need to bridge cultural gaps so that the recipient can comprehend the communication. When the source culture is distant in time as well as space, accessibility to the invisible portions may be profoundly limited; this

⁸ ¶5; see Gerald Bray, ed., *Translating the Bible: From William Tyndale to King James* (London: Latimer Trust, 2011), 211. Quotations from early modern English bible prefaces are taken from Bray’s edition unless otherwise specified, using the paragraph numbering therein.

⁹ For a critique of the translator’s conventional “invisibility”, see especially the work of Laurence Venuti, including *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*, second (revised) edition; first edition: 1995 (London: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁰ Antoine Berman, “Translation and the Trials of the Foreign,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. and trans. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000).

¹¹ Cf. Theo Hermans, “Translation, Ethics, Politics,” in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday, revised edition (London: Routledge, 2009), 102.

¹² The iceberg metaphor is Hirsch’s. The image has been picked up within translation studies, developed especially by David Katan; see his “Translation as Intercultural Communication,” in *The Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. Jeremy Munday, revised edition (London: Routledge, 2009), 78–9.

For discussion in the context of bible translation, see Ernst-August Gutt, “Aspects of ‘Cultural Literacy’ Relevant to Bible Translation,” *Journal of Translation* 2, no. 1 (2006): 1–16; or the summary thereof in I.C. Hine, “The Quest for Biblical Literacy: Curricula, Culture and Case Studies,” in *Rethinking Biblical Literacy*, ed. Katie Edwards (London: Bloomsbury | T.& T.Clark, forthcoming).

is exacerbated when there is little or no additional testimony, a circumstance well known to biblical scholars. The translator is also resident within the target culture and subject to its influences; they must conform or otherwise react to its norms and expectations, with particularly acute pressures related to patronage (who has commissioned them) and professionalism.¹³

Writing of the cultural turn in Translation Studies, Theo Hermans concluded that “translation, enmeshed as it is in social and ideological structures, cannot be thought of as a transparent, neutral or innocent philological activity.”¹⁴ The sense of “ideological” here is not confined to the narrow and frequently derogatory application of “ideology” to political views, as e.g. Marxist ideology. By Hermans, and throughout this study, “ideology” is conceived of more widely as a synonym for worldview—the set of ideas with which any person looks out at the world. This is further theorised following Teun van Dijk.¹⁵

Ideology, as articulated by van Dijk, is both shared and individual, created and maintained through cognitive, social and discursive means. It is shared insofar as it is formed and informed by social forces, part of “the public domain”;¹⁶ but it is individual to the extent that it is cognitive, pertaining to the realm of the mind and more particularly—in van Dijk’s terms—to beliefs (including opinions, judgments, emotions and knowledge).¹⁷ Both the social and individual elements are manifest in discourse; hence, van Dijk: “if we want to know what ideologies actually look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced, we need to look closely at their discursive manifestations”.¹⁸

2.1 Ideological interference in early modern translation

There are some prominent and established examples of conscious ideological interference in the Bible’s early modern Englishing. Responding to William Tyndale’s translation of the New

¹³ See further Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), chapter eight

¹⁴ Hermans, “Translation, Ethics, Politics,” 95. See similarly André Lefevere: “On every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations enter into conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poetological nature, the latter tend to win out.” via Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 197. Munday credits Lefevere and Lawrence Venuti with an initial critique of the tendency of translation scholars to analyse a translator in isolation from external pressures, particularly of professionalism and patronage (in Lefevere’s case) and the workings of the publishing industry (Venuti). *Ibid.*, 193ff. Lefevere’s examples include the translation of Anne Frank’s diary for a German audience; an example which appears again in the work of Naomi Seidman, who suggests that holocaust literature provides the closest parallel to a modern sacred text, in terms of the politics of translation. Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

¹⁵ Teun A. van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Sage, 1998). Van Dijk is the theorist used by Jeremy Munday in his studies of ideology in translation, prompting my own engagement with his work. See e.g. Jeremy Munday, “Translation and Ideology: A Textual Approach,” *The Translator: Studies in Intercultural Communication* 13, no. 2 (2007): 195–217.

¹⁶ Dijk, *Ideology*, 16. There is perhaps some overlap with Bourdieu’s sociology, and the notion of *habitus*. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 234.

¹⁷ Dijk, *Ideology*, 18–20.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

Testament, Thomas More focused his critique on a handful of terms, words where Tyndale's English choices departed from convention and implicitly destabilised the actual structure of the Church. In key passages, what had been "church" (ἐκκλησία, *ecclesia*), "priest" (πρεσβύτερος, *presbyteros*) and "bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος, *episcopus*) in vernacular preaching and theology (and in Wycliffite translation) Tyndale made "congregation", "elder", and "overseer".¹⁹ Philological arguments could be advanced to support Tyndale's position. In English, "priest" was the standard translation for ἱερεὺς, those who performed cultic sacrifice in the temple; to conflate this with the role of πρεσβύτερος by using the same English term is misleading. At the same time, to change the translation was to undermine scriptural support for the institutional Church, and Tyndale was not a naive philologist but a knowing "agent of change".²⁰ The old terms were resurrected for the Great Bible, lending support to the hierarchies of the English Church.²¹

In his 1535 prologue, Coverdale argues that the selection of words is unimportant. He draws attention to his choice to use both "repent" (reformer's language) and "do penance" (traditional ecclesiastical terminology) in a deliberate attempt to demonstrate that his adversaries were mistaken; the two terms indicated, he argued, the same concept.²² The argument is unconvincing, especially as Coverdale's agency and, one might say, expediency is demonstrated by change in terms elsewhere: His distinctive translation of Deut 25.5-10 configures legislation in terms of generic kinship rather than specific brother-/sister- in-law obligation. It is upon the death of a "kinsman" that a man should marry the widow, a "kinswoman", a significant amendment to Tyndale's clear

¹⁹ The issue arose in part because in certain places the Vulgate had transliterated rather than translated. So in Acts 14.23 Paul and Barnabas appoint *per singulas ecclesias presbyteros*. This was received in English as the ordination of priests (so in Wycliffite versions: "ordeined prestis"). In Tyndale's text, this became "ordened them elders by eleccion in every congregacion". The displacement of "bishops" for *episcopos* occurs at Acts 20.28, again disrupting a passage that had provided precedent for the Church's structure. Wycliffite versions had "the Hooli Goost hath set you bischops, to reule the chirche of God"; Tyndale, "the holy goost hath made you oversears to rule the congregacion of God". The use of "congregation" rather than "church" is comparable to Luther's use of "Gemeinde" and not "Kirche" (cf. H.C. Erik Midelfort, "Social History and Biblical Exegesis: Community, Family, and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1990), 9–10).

Tyndale also uses "senior" as a translation of πρεσβύτερος, typically where the Vulgate also had *senior*.

²⁰ The phrase is borrowed from Lynne Long, *Translating the Bible: From the 7th to the 17th Century*, Ashgate New Critical Thinking in Theology & Biblical Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 163; for Long's treatment of Tyndale v. More, see 141–149. For a detailed account of the exchange between Tyndale and More, see Matthew DeCoursey, ed., *The Thomas More / William Tyndale Polemic: A Selection; Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Matthew DeCoursey*, [E-book], Texts Series 3 ([Sheffield]: Early Modern Literary Studies | Humanities Research Centre, Sheffield Hallam University, 2010), <http://purl.org/emls/moretyndale.pdf/>. Though the two wrote rhetorically, Janice James emphasises the depth of their different convictions, cf. Janice James, "Establishing an English Bible in Henry VIII's England: Translation, Vernacular Theology, and William Tyndale" (PhD, University of York, 2011), chapter 4. See also David Ginsberg, "Ploughboys versus Prelates: Tyndale and More and the Politics of Biblical Translation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19, no. 1 (1988): 45–61.

²¹ See Patrick Collinson, "William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation," *Reformation (Tyndale Society Journal)* 1 (1996): 72–97; HTML edition, unpaginated, accessed Mar 05, 2014, <http://www.tyndale.org/reformj01/collinson.html/>.

²² ¶20; see Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 76. As Greenslade observes, Coverdale's account here is confusing rather than convincing (see *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 15–16) but that heightens its significance as an example of Coverdale engaging with the potency of translation.

“brother”, “sister-in-law”. This was recognised by contemporaries as a political action because it obscured a text that had the power to publicly contradict the annulment of Henry VIII’s first marriage (for which he had claimed marriage to a brother’s wife was prohibited).²³ The translator exercised lexical selection even as he attempted to dismiss its potency.

These examples reflect conscious ideologically oriented word choice. Yet broadly conceived, ideology is to be understood as both conscious and unconscious, in the same way that a translator’s decisions may be explicit or automatic.²⁴ Applying van Dijk’s concept to translation, Jeremy Munday states:

We contend that it [lexicogrammatical selection] is always ‘ideological’ in the sense that the lexical priming of the individual expresses and is influenced by the beliefs that are “the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group” [in van Dijk’s words] and by the social and educational backgrounds of the individual . . .²⁵

The concept of “lexical priming” is significant, and is concerned particularly with the largely unconscious formation of verbal associations resulting in “probabilistic and preferred groupings of words into collocations, colligations and semantic associations”.²⁶ The major theoretical proponent of lexical priming, Michael Hoey, holds that “Every word is primed for use in discourse as a result of the cumulative [effects] of an individual’s encounters with the word.”²⁷ This is in itself logical, but Hoey goes further in showing how familiarity with genre and word-use in a given domain allows readers to reconstruct a text; a task that relies on shared lexical associations. Lexical priming is arguably a branch of the broader theory of intertextuality: the *déjà lu* acts on writer as well as reader (and so on the translator, conceptualised by André Lefevere as a re-writer).²⁸ What applies to writers applies perhaps more acutely to bible translators, for whom multiple precedents may contribute to the priming. As Richard Marsden has remarked with regard to the tendency to

²³ Cf. J. F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (London: Lutterworth, 1953), 116. Also Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 131–2. The endurance of Coverdale’s translation is surprising.

²⁴ This comparison is made by Jeremy Munday, “The Relations of Style and Ideology in Translation: A Case Study of Harriet de Onís,” in L. Pegenante et al. (eds.), *Actas del III congreso Internacional de la asociación Ibérica de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación: La Traducción del Futuro: Mediación Lingüística y Cultural en el Siglo XXI. Barcelona 22–24 de Marzo de 2007* (Barcelona: PPU). AIETI 1 (2008): 57–68; consulted via unpaginated PDF from AIETI online, accessed Jun 05, 2014,

http://www.aieti.eu/pubs/actas/III/AIETI_3_JM_Relation.pdf/. See also Munday’s other publications including *Introducing Translation Studies*, chapter eight; “Translation and Ideology: A Textual Approach”; *Style and Ideology in Translation: Latin American Writing in English* (Routledge, 2008).

²⁵ Munday, “The Relations of Style and Ideology in Translation,” n.p.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Michael Hoey, *Lexical Priming: A New Theory of Words and Language* (London: Routledge / AHRB, 2005), 13. For an example of the empirical work, see Michael Hoey and Matthew Brook O’Donnell, “Lexicography, Grammar, and Textual Position,” *International Journal of Lexicography* 21, no. 3 (2008): 293–309.

²⁸ Lefevere emphasises the extent to which differing ideologies mean a translator is in effect a writer (rewriter) producing a new text; the translation is *not* a facsimile of the source text. See above, **n.13**.

On intertextuality, and the role of prior reading in determining genre, see John Barton, “Déjà Lu: Intertextuality, Method or Theory?,” in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes (London & New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 1–16.

approach Tyndale’s “biblical” English as “tabula rasa”, forgetting that English biblical language was already in existence: “Translators are as much appropriators as creators”.²⁹

Returning to Munday’s statement, his point is that lexical and grammatical options ‘suggested’ to the translator by the source text necessarily reflect their experience of the target language. This cumulative experience is, on the one hand unique, being the product of a particular set of encounters; but as the target language itself, the experience is also shared to a degree with others of comparable social and educational background. It therefore reflects an individual ideology that emerges partly from common social and cultural forces. Applying Hoey’s corpus-based methodology and van Dijk’s concepts to a North American translator of Latin American literature, Munday detects a “religious veneer” and “ideologically-motivated stereotypes” foreign to the source text.³⁰ Munday is able to trace these interventions to comparable phenomena within the translator’s cultural landscape. Such interference is plausibly unconscious.

The case for viewing Coverdale’s amendments to Deut 25.5-10 as a deliberate and ideologically-motivated act is strong because the significance of the political backdrop is well-established, and the change ill-justified by biblical scholarship. Henry had been in communication with bible scholars and theologians across Europe, hoping to secure support for his annulment. One positive response came from Ulrich Zwingli, the chief divine of Zurich, and the major translator of the bible version upon which Coverdale based his work.³¹ Without knowing the historical context, Coverdale’s change would seem odd but not necessarily ideological. To construct a case for reading other shifts and selections as ideological requires the assembly of a similar (if less concrete) backdrop for the issues concerned; the more so where unconscious interference is suspected.

From van Dijk comes the suggestion that ideology, beliefs which structure experience, can be located in discourse: in verbal exchange, whether written or oral. If one seeks to link translation to

²⁹ Richard Marsden, “‘In the Twinkling of an Eye’: The English of Scripture before Tyndale,” *Leeds Studies in English* 31 (2000): 145. Drawn from 1 Corinthians (15.52) Marsden’s title is one of several phrases used to illustrate how Tyndale’s choices reflected earlier Englishings of biblical content. Others include “Eat, drink, and be merry”, “Am I my brother’s keeper?”, “Death, where is thy sting?”, “Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour”, and “I stand at the door and knock”. See also Marsden’s earlier article, “Cain’s Face, and Other Problems: The Legacy of the Earliest English Bible Translations,” *Reformation (Tyndale Society Journal)* 1 (1996): 29–51.

³⁰ Munday, “The Relations of Style and Ideology in Translation,” n.p. See also chapter nine in Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, *The Translator as Communicator*, e-Book (London: Taylor & Francis, 2005).

³¹ See Rory McEntegart, *Henry the Eighth, the League of Schmalkalden, and the English Reformation* (Woodbridge, Suff.: Boydell, 2002), 39. Walter J. Hollenweger, “Zwingli’s Einfluss in England,” *Zwingliana* 19, no. 1 (1992): 171–86. Guy Bedouelle, “The Consultations of the Universities and Scholars Concerning the ‘Great Matter’ of King Henry VIII,” in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1990), 21–36.

Coverdale used the 1534 edition of the Zurich Bible, published after Zwingli’s death. For the significance of Zurich, see discussion in **Chapter 2, §3.1**. A more detailed discussion of this and of Coverdale’s sources is found in the **Appendix**.

ideology, this logically entails finding (or recognising) that ideology elsewhere in discourse, and in contemporaneous discourse at that. If, for example, potential “sexism” were to be detected in the translated text, one might reasonably ask how it correlates with perspectives expressed elsewhere in contemporaneous discourse. With what should the early modern versions correlate? The strategic answer of this study is dependent upon the European dimension of early modern biblical scholarship, something to which previous studies of ideology in English bibles have paid but slight attention.

2.2 Ideology and early modern bibles: previous studies

Mary Chilton Callaway’s brief study of “inwardness” serves as a good example of the desirability of considering sources beyond the obvious versions. Her central argument that the “trope of human ‘inwardness’” in the KJV reflects “early modern inclinations towards interiority”, facilitated by a shift in the meanings of “inner” and “inwards” in the previous century, is not incorrect. But its expression is Anglocentric. The “inward parts” of Psalm 51.6 (which provides Callaway’s first case study) are Sebastian Münster’s “interioribus”. A faithful account of the “early modern inclinations” ought to extend to Münster and his peers, and their context.³²

Naomi Tadmor’s recent monograph, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, demonstrates how the terms *rea* (Vulgate: “proximus”, “amicus”) and *shaken* (Vulgate: “vicinus”) were positioned in English to promote neighbourliness (the preferred Englishing of “proximus” and “vicinus”), with multiple social implications; and that marriage terminology was persistently introduced into the Old Testament in the English versions, giving the social mores of sixteenth-century England a biblical base.³³ Her description of this process, the addition of local culture within the translated texts, as ‘Anglicisation’ shows the dominant English-orientation of the study. However, if the evidence of the present study is considered, the process of ‘transposition’ into “terms that made sense to people at that time and invoked certain notions and ideas” (17), was less distinctively English than it was representative of similar patterns across Europe. Despite these shortcomings, both Tadmor and

³² Mary Chilton Callaway, “Truth in the Inward Parts” (presented at the SBL International Meeting, London, 2011). Callaway’s argument focuses on two examples, Psalm 51.6 (“Behold, thou desirest truth in the *inward parts*. . .”; Hebrew: בטחוח) and Romans 2.29, (“But he is a Jew, which is one *inwardly* [Greek: ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαϊσῷ]; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God”; emphasis added). For Münster’s role, see Westcott’s analysis of the psalm, in *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, ed. William Aldis Wright, 3rd edition (London: Macmillan & Co., 1905), 183. See also **Ch. 2 §3**. Similar interpretations exist in other versions, e.g. Jud’s “intimis”.

³³ Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*; the examples given here form the core of chapters one and two. Her account of *rea*’s renderings has also appeared as “Friends and Neighbours in Early Modern England: Biblical Translations and Social Norms,” in *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe: 1300–1800*, ed. Laura Gowing, Michael C. W. Hunter, and Miri Rubin (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 150–76. (Tadmor uses the transliterations *re’a* and *shakhen* in her own discussion, the Hebrew terms being רַעַךְ and רֵשֶׁת.)

Callaway provide good examples of how cross-canonical patterns may be identified, especially with the aid of modern technology.³⁴

Iлона Rashkow includes *Ruth* among her examples when discussing how antisemitism and sexism (allegedly) affected the English “Renaissance” translations, in her monograph *Upon the Dark Places*. There are multiple flaws in her methodology and argumentation including factual errors so that it is difficult to draw out her better insights. Pertinent to the present study is her lack of attention to context, so that she is led to argue that when Coverdale’s titlepage makes “no mention of the Jewish source of the Hebrew text . . . no mention of the Hebrew text at all”, this is an attempt to assure the reader “that the new text is wholly Christian”. Even the slightest “significant bibliographical” research would have shown that Coverdale was honest and direct in avowing his dependence on “Douche” and Latin sources; pretending he had translated from Hebrew would have been dishonest, and were one to follow Rashkow’s logic, one must surely wonder what Coverdale had against the Hellenes, there being no reference to Greek either.³⁵ According to Rashkow, another sign of Coverdale’s Christianisation is the capitalisation of son in *Ruth* 4.17, though there is neither “Son” nor “son” in Coverdale’s text, but simply “child”.³⁶ (The theme of Christianisation is explored in **Chapter 4** of the present study.) To suggest ideology without regard for context is plainly foolish, to err in the information used to support the argument careless at best. Rashkow also neglects the imposition created by her own reading of the different texts as part of the Hebrew canon, taking for granted “the biblical writer” who “infuse[d] the text with an indeterminacy of meaning, an *intentional* enigma” so that “a nuance hangs on nearly every word”.³⁷ She contradicts her own confidence in saying what the Hebrew text does or does not say at key points, while also presuming the author of each Hebrew passage was privy to the received canon. What literary readers may fairly read as meaningful intertexts (the reader participating in the

³⁴ Unfortunately the tools available are limited, especially for non-English texts. Regrettably, I have not had access to the Chadwyck-Healey database during this study, limiting quantitative analysis of the Great and Matthew Bibles. (i.e. *The Bible in English*; Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1996; CD-Rom and online: <http://collections.chadwyck.co.uk/>.)

³⁵ The quotations are taken from Rashkow’s article “Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization,” (*Sixteenth Century Journal* 21, no. 2 (1990): 223), which overlaps substantively with her monograph, *Upon the Dark Places*. She makes no attempt to define or distinguish between antisemitism and anti-Judaism.

³⁶ “There is a child born unto Naemi”. For the complaint, see Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 122. Insinuating a christological reference, she seems to have conflated Coverdale with King James, where “son” does appear (albeit uncapitalised). This change from “child” to “son” was made by the First Westminster Company. Rashkow also refers to Isa. 9.6, where the Genevan translators (but not Coverdale) had capitalised “a *Somme* is given” and complemented this with the marginal explanation: “The author of eternity, and by whom the Church and every member of it will be preserved forever, and have immortal life.”

³⁷ “Hebrew Bible Translation and the Fear of Judaization,” 224, emphases added. For her confidence, see for example on R3.9: “Ruth has just pointed out Boaz’s legal position and has, by her actions, invited him to marry her in fulfillment of that responsibility.” (*Upon the Dark Places*, 125.) Setting aside Tadmor’s observations that marriage language is not at home in the Hebrew Bible (see above), this ignores the fact that the key concept of R3.9, the *go’el*, generates “[s]ome of the most difficult problems of interpretation of the book of Ruth”, it being far from clear what if any legal responsibility Boaz has (Frederic W. Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1996), 166-169 (166)).

creation of meaning) require much more support before they can be regarded as deliberate allusions made by the author; assuming them to be so is not so different from integrating Christological cross-references on the basis of an extended canon. (Both are ideological.) Because of its overlap with the present study, Rashkow's work will be referred to again within this study, but always under the qualification of J.A. Emerton's judgment: "there are so many weaknesses in Rashkow's claim to find 'Anti-Semitism and Sexism in English Renaissance Biblical Translation' [her book's subtitle] that the general thesis of this book must be rejected".³⁸

All of the above deal specifically with English versions. Helen Kraus' study embraces five languages: the Hebrew Masoretic Text, Jerome's Latin Vulgate, Luther's German bibles (1524, 1534, 1545), the KJV (1611), and the Dutch Statenvertaling (1637).³⁹ Her focus falls on Genesis 1-4, with a particular interest in how passages concerned with gender were handled by the different versions, and with an eye to their relationship with early modern society. She thus picks out six pertinent passages, and uses these to sample the translators' choices, working chronologically through the versions, and exploring what is "lost" by the different translations.⁴⁰ The result is a nuanced account of where "the blame for the inequality of the gender relationship through the centuries lies".⁴¹ The present study samples data in a different manner and seeks to emphasise European connections in a way Kraus does not; it also has less direct stake in the social setting of the Hebrew text.⁴² Nonetheless, Kraus' study is perhaps the closest analogue.

There is some conceptual overlap between the undertakings of this study and Jonathan Sheehan's work on the so-termed Enlightenment Bible. As the expression suggests, Sheehan's focus is on a later period, and features the curious translations that emerged, largely in Germany, in the eighteenth century. By this point, biblical scholarship had become "cut off" from the project of producing vernacular bibles.⁴³ Sketching the circumstances of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, Sheehan takes the view that bible translation drew to a halt once sufficient 'authorised' status had accrued to standard national or confessional texts. The Protestant Churches could now fix their

³⁸ J.A. E[merton], "[Book Review:] Ilona N. Rashkow, 'Upon the Dark Places: Anti-Semitism and Sexism in English Renaissance Biblical Translation,'" *VT* 45, no. 3 (1995): 414.

³⁹ Helen Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: OUP, 2011). Tadmor refers also to Hebrew and Latin, and the others attend to the Hebrew text. It is in considering additional early modern vernaculars that Kraus differs.

⁴⁰ Passages range from three to eleven verses each, arranged in thematic (one might say issue-led) groups, which function as subheadings within each chapter.

⁴¹ Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*, 193.

⁴² Because Kraus' central enquiry is about the responsibility for attitudes around gender and especially subordination, others have criticised the lack of analysis of the Hebrew social setting (such as might correspond to that offered for the other eras). See e.g. Rachel Wielinga, "[Book Review:] Helen Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*," *Expository Times* 124, no. 12 (2013): 613-613; Carol Meyers, "[Review:] Helen Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*," *Religion and Gender* 2, no. 2 (2012): 371-74.

⁴³ Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2005), 20.

canon according to the “good” (enough) versions they had arrived at. His treatment of authority in the early modern vernacularisation process informs the later analysis of the present study.⁴⁴

Most recently published, Jeffrey Shoulson’s *Fictions of Conversion* offers a tour-de-force treatment of *Ruth* as a figure of conversion in the early modern period (see his chapter two), employing the commentaries of Ludwig Lavater (in Pagitt’s translation) and Edmund Topsell within his discussion. The monograph arrived too late to have a significant impact on the present study, though it perhaps excuses the light treatment given to Shoulson’s theme. There is some overlap between his observations and my own analyses, particularly with regard to the typological treatment of *Ruth* in pre-modern exegesis, and the text’s Christianisation more generally (see **Chapter 4**). As a writer alive to how the Bible was read and applied in the early modern period, Shoulson provides a good model for discussion of the interaction between text and social context.⁴⁵

Also approaching from a literary perspective and focused on exegesis (rather than biblical translation) is Debora Shuger’s monograph, *The Renaissance Bible*.⁴⁶ Her epistemology—that European discourse has unparalleled value for understanding English readings of the Bible—has proven to be a major endorsement for the present study’s approach. In terms of her biblical engagement, her book focuses on exegesis of Matthew’s Passion Narrative (occupying three of five chapters) also exploring early modern conceptions of Christ’s death through Jephthah’s daughter and Mary Magdalene. The work is in broad sympathy with the present enterprise, though different in form and approach.

Finally, acknowledgement should be given to Vivienne Westbrook’s study, *Long Travails and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision*. Westbrook sets out to examine political dimensions, “‘vested interest’ or agenda”, within the early modern versions that followed the ‘original’ translation work of Tyndale and Coverdale.⁴⁷ She specifically rejects the “attempt to find precedents for all of the changes made”, surmising correctly that such an approach is “only a limited way of appreciating” the revisers’ work.⁴⁸ The present study is also not directly interested in finding “precedents” but

⁴⁴ There are some inaccuracies in his account of the period, as e.g. his suggestion that the “Dutch established their own authoritative text in 1618” (15); though the Statenvertaling was commissioned that year, it was not completed until 1637; (see below, **Ch. 2 §4.1.2.3**).

⁴⁵ Jeffrey S. Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion: Jews, Christians, and Cultures of Change in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); for the discussion of *Ruth*, see 64–81. For the significance of Topsell, Pagitt, and Lavater to the present study, see **Chapter 2**. Shoulson’s sources also include Richard Bernard and Thomas Fuller, both of whom feature in the final case-study of this thesis (see **Chapter 7**).

⁴⁶ Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity*, first paperback edition; hardback 1994 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁴⁷ Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, ix.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, xiii. It is in many ways limited. See also Daiches, “It is impossible to pronounce dogmatically on questions of sources and influence”, who goes on to say that “if we confine ourselves to relations between texts, something at least can be achieved”. David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible: an account*

appreciates the power of precedents to contextualise translation decisions and show connections with (or differences from) what was happening elsewhere. In this respect, greater emphasis is given to Shuger’s observation that “One cannot get an accurate picture of the cultural workings of the Bible—of the polymorphic paper mountain of biblical discourses—in the English Renaissance by examining only insular, vernacular material.”⁴⁹ It is to be hoped that historiographical “howlers” (to borrow Collinson’s term) are also avoided.⁵⁰

3 TERMS AND CONTEXT (2): EUROPE

England’s educated elite operated in a European setting, and it is in the literature of early modern Europe—its bible translations, its commentaries, its diverse biblical discourses—that evidence of contemporaneous ideological concerns may therefore be sought. Multiple arguments may be adduced to support the consultation of European sources.

3.1 European influence

In his award-winning monograph *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided*, Diarmaid MacCulloch expressed his desire to challenge what he called “complacent insularity” on the part of historiographers. Previous scholarship on the Church of England had overlooked how the “kaleidoscope of religious loyalties in offshore islands” (the British Isles, or as MacCulloch prefers, the “Atlantic Isles”) “interacted with changes in mainland Europe”.⁵¹ Addressing the Royal Historical Society, MacCulloch lamented the “English habit of talking about the rest of Europe as ‘the Continent’”. Such habits reinforce wilful ignorance about the influence of mainland Europe upon the English; until Richard Hooker’s day (i.e. the early 1600s), “the flow of ideas in the Reformation seems . . . to be a matter of imports from abroad, with an emphatically unfavourable English balance of payments”.⁵² A decade before MacCulloch, Debora Shuger justified her employment of non-English sources in a study of the English “Renaissance Bible” on the grounds that “intellectual culture” in this period “was part of a European discursive economy”. “To ignore the textual commerce linking England to Continental humanism and Protestantism” would have produced a “useless” study.⁵³

of the development and sources of the English Bible of 1611 with special reference to the Hebrew tradition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 182.

⁴⁹ Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 1998, 10.

⁵⁰ Patrick Collinson, “[Book Review: Vivienne Westbrook:] Long Travail and Great Paynes: A Politics of Reformation Revision,” *English Historical Review* 118, no. 476 (2003): 497.

⁵¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided 1490–1700*, reprint; first edition: London: Allen Lane, 2003 (London: Penguin, 2004), xxiv.

⁵² Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Sixth Series)* 15 (2005): 76–7.

⁵³ Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 1998, 6.

Much “textual commerce”, to appropriate Shuger’s phrase, was made possible by the use of Latin. Latin was the lingua franca or “esperanto” of Europe’s educated, without regard for their confessional loyalties.⁵⁴ As the primary language of scholarship and theological discourse, it was Latin that facilitated the spread of new ideas whether in respect of Humanism or the Reformation. Printing was also a significant factor, enabling the speedy dissemination of texts that could be read by every educated intellectual in Western Europe (and translated into vernaculars for other readers to absorb). The result was a “universe of [printed] discourse” that addressed common academic interests including theology, medicine, law and ethics.⁵⁵ Neither the association of Latin with the Roman Church, nor the drive to communicate faith in a language uneducated lay people might understand, had an immediate effect on the use of Latin among the educated. Swiss Reformers published commentaries, paraphrases, and bibles in Latin.⁵⁶ In Lutheran territory, Latin remained “as a language and as a culture . . . the heart of the whole programme” of education.⁵⁷ Its precision lent it to theological debate, and texts published in Latin might reach a wide intellectual readership. The definition of Europe ought to be further qualified. When considered in terms of production, dissemination and consumption of printed texts, Ian Maclean’s conceptual “universe of discourse” extends “principally [to] Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Great Britain and the Low Countries”.⁵⁸ (The omission of Switzerland here apparently an oversight.) Rephrased in terms of languages, this list corresponds to the vernaculars King James’ translators stretched to consult: “the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch”.⁵⁹ (That this “Dutch” and Coverdale’s “Douche” should both be seen as umbrella terms for Germanic languages more broadly, this being the contemporaneous English conception, is explained and illustrated in the **Appendix**. Recognising this, the term “Douche” is employed throughout this study.)

⁵⁴ The latter comparison is MacCulloch’s; see his *Reformation*, 672.

⁵⁵ Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980), 2; see also Andrew Pettegree, “Translation and the Migration of Texts,” in *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2007), 113–28.

⁵⁶ See especially R. Gerald Hobbs, “Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800) ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 452–511. Also Peter Opitz, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 407–51.

⁵⁷ Richard Gawthrop and Gerald Strauss, “Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany,” *Past & Present*, no. 104 (1984): 33.

⁵⁸ Maclean’s criterion is that they “received books published on matters of common academic interest” including “theology, medicine, law and ‘practical philosophy’”; Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 2.

⁵⁹ “The Translators to the Reader”, ¶13; via Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 2011. On the General Meeting, see Edward Craney Jacobs, “Two Stages of Old Testament Translation for the King James Bible,” *The Library* 2, no. 1 (1980): 16–39 (16).

The particular influence of European discourse upon English discourse is attested by patterns of correspondence, translation and the movement of people. For sale at Oxford in 1527–28 was “a range of evangelical polemic and commentary . . . with authors including Luther, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Lambert, Zwingli, and Melanchthon”.⁶⁰ In 1525 Bugenhagen, known also by the alias Pomeranus, addressed a pamphlet to ‘the Christians in England’, expressing his delight to learn of their existence.⁶¹ Thomas Cranmer’s correspondence paved the way for the transfer of several European figures to England during the brief reign of Edward VI. Such correspondence was not restricted to confirmed reformers. The paradigmatic humanist, Desiderius Erasmus, was a letter-writing networker whose correspondence “embraced the entire continent”, including friends in England.⁶²

Ideological sympathies and scholarly respect are evident in published texts too, whether as covert borrowing or overt translation. Tyndale was profoundly influenced by the translation strategies of Luther and borrowed parts of his New Testament prefaces.⁶³ Coverdale is famous for his efforts in translating the Bible, a task in which he openly declared his reliance upon contemporaneous European versions; hitherto unobserved is his extensive use of the preface to the Zurich Bible within his own address to the reader.⁶⁴ Basel Hebraist Sebastian Münster’s Hebrew-Latin diglot has been established as the major reference point for the revisions that shaped the Great Bible (discussed in **Ch. 2** below). Homilies destined for use in England’s churches transpire to be substantially translations of those prepared by the French humanist Jacques Lefèvre and his circle.⁶⁵ Such textual appropriation was not only a product of the Henrician era. The Genevan translators freely acknowledged their “diligent reading of the best commentaries” and “conference with the godly and learned brethren”, leading G. Lloyd Jones to posit a delay in completion while they awaited Calvin’s lectures on Daniel.⁶⁶ The influence of the French Genevan version of *Ruth* on its

⁶⁰ Richard Rex, “Humanism and Reformation in England and Scotland,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 531.

⁶¹ Johann Bugenhagen, *Ainn sendprieff . . . an dye Christen inn Engla[n]d* (Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1525); USTC 610510. The Bodleian’s copy of the pamphlet (Tr.Luth. 99 (7)) is bound together with Boeschstein’s commentary on *Ruth*.

⁶² MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 98.

⁶³ An act sometimes taken as indicative of Tyndale’s Lutheran tendencies. See Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 192–211; Ralph S. Werrell, “Tyndale’s Disagreement with Luther in the Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans,” *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 3 (1962): 57–68; Collinson, “William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation,” incl. n. 82; James, “Establishing an English Bible,” 123–5.

⁶⁴ For the detail of this see **Appendix Pt I §5.3.6**.

⁶⁵ Guy Bedouelle, “Une adaptation anglaise des Epistres et Evangiles de Lefèvre d’Etaples et ses Disciples,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 48, no. 3 (1986): 723–34.

⁶⁶ The words appear in the preface to the 1560 Geneva Bible, ¶13 (cf. Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 2011, 111–2). Lloyd Jones’ major evidence is a letter from Coverdale approving the “proposal to await the opinion of your kind preceptor, Master Calvin on the remaining chapters of Daniel”. As Maurice Betteridge notes, “Calvin’s Geneva in the decade 1550–1560 was a hive of vigorous and critical biblical scholarship.” See G. Lloyd Jones, “The Influence of Mediaeval Jewish Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England: With Special Reference to the Book of Daniel” (PhD, King’s College London, 1975), 121; Maurice S. Betteridge, “The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14, no. 1 (1983): 41.

English counterpart features in the **next chapter**, suggesting interpretive nuance in its presentation as a bible translated “according to the Ebrue”. Coverdale published overt translations of a variety of “Douche” literature, including a version of Heinrich Bullinger’s tract on marriage.⁶⁷ English editions of Calvin’s works constituted a significant percentage of the reformer’s publications in the last decades of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸

There was face-to-face interaction too. It was a trip to England that inspired Erasmus to learn Greek, a path that led to his controversial Latin translation of the New Testament first published in 1516; Erasmus’ subsequent work was sponsored by two Archbishops of Canterbury.⁶⁹ English scholars enrolled at universities in mainland Europe, including Wittenberg.⁷⁰ Henry VIII sent envoys to consult European scholars (see above). Under Edward VI, prominent reformers took up posts at the English Universities: Peter Martyr Vermigli, Martin Bucer, Immanuel Tremellius, Paul Fagius, etc.⁷¹ Some decades later, Johann Drusius sought refuge at Lambeth Palace (see below, Ch. 6, §4.3).

It is not insignificant that a majority of the Bible’s early modern Englishings were produced in mainland Europe, in territory less hostile to these endeavours, and with the opportunity for direct contact with other scholars. Coverdale and Tyndale operated in Antwerp. Marian exiles found shelter and scholarly support in Geneva. English Catholics produced their translation in the relative safety of Flanders (and temporarily northern France).

In response to this European context, the range of bible versions consulted in this study extends to the major language groups of Western Europe, and to Lutheran, Reformed and Roman Catholic confessions. Other literature is principally that generated in Douche-speaking territories or written in English. This reflects both accident and historical reality. It is perhaps accident that the available texts are mainly of Douche authorship (and exclude Francophones); at the same time, Douche territory encompassed Lutheran and Reformed polities, and the range of commentaries includes works in Latin and English as well as Douche. Thus the sample remains diverse. As regards

⁶⁷ Heinrich Bullinger, *Der christlich Eestand: von der heiligen Ee harkommen wenn wo wie, unnd von waem sy vfgesetzt und was sy sye wie sy recht bezogen werde was iro ursachen frucht und eer* ([Zurich]: Christoffel Froschouer, 1540). USTC 632939; VD16 B 9578; digital copy | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. For Coverdale’s translation, first published in 1541, see **Bibliography** and below **Ch. 5, §3.2.2 n.58**.

⁶⁸ See MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 318, and references therein.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 99, 103.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Mozley’s discussion of Tyndale’s possible enrolment in Wittenberg, a hypothesis based on the known enrolment of some Englishmen. J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), 52–3.

⁷¹ See Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).

historical reality, “the Protestant civilizations of northern Europe” were the major source of scholarship and theology consumed in early modern England.⁷²

There were undoubtedly transmissions beyond these boundaries. In Edward VI’s London, it was a Polish theologian, Jan Łaski, who ministered to the model congregation of the Stranger Church; “[t]he remarkable career of this cosmopolitan Pole”, MacCulloch observes “is a symbol of how effortlessly the non-Lutheran Reformation crossed cultural and linguistic boundaries”.⁷³ Looking to the north-east, Francis’ study of how Luther’s vernacular bible affected other versions extends to Danish and Swedish.⁷⁴ The parameters put in place within this study reflect the patterns of ideological commerce recognised in the period and in recent scholarship. They are also pragmatic. Though one might extend the samples in other directions, linguistic, geographical, and confessional, borders must be chosen, and there are inevitably gaps and scope for further research.

3.2 Change and discourse in early modern Europe

The case for consulting European discourse has been put. In view of Shuger’s “discursive European economy”, the quest for sources of enculturation deserves to be extended: What were the prevalent ideological concerns in early modern Europe? An exhaustive answer would constitute a monograph in its own right; what follows is but the briefest sketch, oriented toward major areas of cultural change, and intended to provide background for themes developed further in the main body of this study.

The sixteenth century was a time of change in multiple respects. Humanism had already begun to transform the curricula in Europe’s universities; the educated elite were to learn not only Latin as had been customary but the refined Latin of Cicero, complemented by Greek and sometimes Hebrew.⁷⁵ They would thereby gain access to the classical world and to Scripture in its native tongues. The Roman Church’s Western European monopoly collapsed under pressure created by the encounter with Scripture in those native tongues and the resulting reappraisal of traditions based on God’s Latin Word. Latin too had undergone a classical rebirth in the fifteenth century. Awareness of its shifting forms prompted Lorenzo Valla’s textual criticism; applied to the New Testament, that in turn prompted Erasmus’ *Novum*

⁷² Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 1998, 6.

⁷³ MacCulloch, “Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture,” 83.

⁷⁴ Timothy A. Francis, “The Linguistic Influence of Luther and the German Language on the Earliest Complete Lutheran Bibles in Low German, Dutch, Danish and Swedish,” *Studia Neophilologica* 72, no. 1 (2000): 75–94.

⁷⁵ Erasmus had suggested that Hebrew ought to be on the curriculum though he himself never learned it. On the corresponding growth of trilingual colleges see Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, 141ff. The founding documents of St John’s College, Cambridge, restricted conversation to the trilingua except in private rooms and at feasts. See Lloyd Jones, “The Influence of Mediaeval Jewish Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England,” 98. On a cautionary note, MacCulloch observes that “Hebrew never required the academic status or commanded the general respect apparent in the study of Greek in humanist higher education” (*Reformation*, 689).

Instrumentum—a new translation of the New Testament that took it outside its ecclesial confines.⁷⁶ Among the sixteenth-century biblical scholars were many humanists, distinguished by their willingness to engage with the pool of classical ideas and learning. The consequences of contact with classical languages and ideals, itself an accident of the Ottoman conquests,⁷⁷ were not only significant for interpretation of the Bible: Erasmus’ original bestseller was a book designed to enhance rhetorical skill, an annotated collection of proverbs appealing to anyone desirous of Ciceronian eloquence and the appearance of fine education.⁷⁸

There were social transformations too: in the new Protestant regimes (and throughout Europe), heightened attention was given to people’s moral conduct, a reality manifested in the appearance of marriage courts. Patterns of authority shifted, as religious and political identity became more closely allied within local territorial polities, a process of “confessionalisation”.⁷⁹ Each of these changes impacted individual and collective ways of comprehending the world, people’s ideology. Not only doctrinal positions but political, social and cultural opinions and practices had the capacity to affect how the Bible was translated.

Not every concern of early modern life or the early modern worldview is relevant to *Ruth*, the focal biblical text of this study. In the investigation of ideological interference, it is logical also to consider what particular concerns this biblical narrative may have raised for early modern translators and readers.

4 THE CASE OF *RUTH*

As a biblical text marked by little divine intervention, *Ruth* touches upon aspects of life and experience that would have seemed quite ordinary for sixteenth- and seventeenth- century audiences. The mix of vulnerabilities and independence brought by widowhood (**Chapter 7**), the pragmatic role of remarriage, and the importance of sons were all familiar to the inhabitants of early modern Europe—though some of the biblical mechanisms for addressing property transfer and providing assistance might seem alien (cf. **Chapter 3**). The significance of reputation in the community, whether as an honest man or virtuous woman would have been well known, even as

⁷⁶ Ibid. 81–3, 99–101. Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*, trans. Oscar Beck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 39, 90, et passim.

⁷⁷ MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 78.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 99. His *Colloquies* were similarly targeted; see Augustijn, *Erasmus*, 161–2.

⁷⁹ “[R]eligion became a source of conflict that reinforced political divisions rather than bridging them. Christian universalism was supplanted by confessional particularism.” Philip S. Gorski, “Historicizing the Secularization Debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ca. 1300 to 1700,” *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1: Looking Forward, Looking Back: Continuity and Change at the Turn of the Millenium (2000): 157. Some effects of confessionalisation on the translation of *Ruth* are discussed in **Chapter 4**, below.

reformers sought to renegotiate Christian ideologies of virtue (**Chapter 5**). The migrant experience, whether brought on by food shortages, religiously motivated, or linked with other changes of circumstances, was common in the period and affected many translators and commentators directly (**Chapter 6**). These themes emerge, alongside the confessional battle for possession of the biblical text and its right interpretation (**Chapter 4**), both within the bibles and in the surrounding biblical discourse.

The book of *Ruth* has several advantages as a case study. It falls among those books (Joshua–Chronicles) for which Coverdale and Tyndale produced independent translations, creating diversity not available in other sections of the canon (see **Chapter 2**). Because it is a self-contained narrative, one may consider questions of coherence within each translation and how the bibles present it (including prefatory material, chapter summaries, headings; see **Chapter 3**). At the same time, it is embedded in the wider canon, sharing language with other biblical narratives, facilitating comparison in terms of vocabulary and questions about possible links which have (or have not) been made in the translations.⁸⁰ It has also been the object of various literary or narrative readings, including much relevant attention to detail.

The work of modern biblical scholars is important for this study; among those who have read the text attentively and provide insight for this study, one should include the commentaries of Bush, Campbell, and Holmstedt.⁸¹ For literary readings, David Gunn & Dana Nolan Fewell raised significant issues in their unconventional commentary, *Compromising Redemption*, prompting more careful scrutiny of how a reader's presuppositions may determine the interpretation of the different actors and their motives.⁸² The work of Adele Berlin and Athalya Brenner also features in discussion within **Chapters 3 and 7**,⁸³ while it is a regret that David Shepherd's reconsideration of the threat Ruth faces in the harvest field has not received greater attention within this study.⁸⁴ Daniel Lys and Alastair Hunter also deserve special mention because both consider a range of translations with regard to a key phrase or phrases, providing a partial model for the case studies of

⁸⁰ While consistently included in the canons of the Hebrew Bible and Old Testament, *Ruth's* position in the canon differs between versions. Most Christian canons follow the Septuagint in placing *Ruth* between Judges and 1 Samuel, where it forms part of the 'historical books'. In the Jewish canon, it is one of the five *megillot*, but has no fixed position within these. For further discussion of the significance of its position, see **Chapter 3**.

⁸¹ Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, repr. 2003, Anchor Bible Commentary (New York: Anchor Bible, 1975); and Robert D. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text* (Waco, Tex.: Baylor Univ. Press, 2010).

⁸² Dana Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Compromising Redemption: Relating Characters in the Book of Ruth*, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1990).

⁸³ Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative*, first edition 1983; reprint with errata (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994); Athalya Brenner, ed., *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible*, Second Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).

⁸⁴ David Shepherd, "Violence in the Fields? Translating, Reading, and Revising in the 'Book of Ruth' Chapter 2," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63, no. 3 (2001): 444–63. A supplementary study of early modern translations of the Hebrew verbs דָּבַק, בָּלַם, נָגַע, גָּעַר and פָּגַע remains to be completed.

later chapters.⁸⁵ An anthology of Talmudic, Midrashic and rabbinic sources translated and assembled by Meir Zlotowitz is an important point of reference, assisting the demonstration of how early modern bibles interacted with traditional Jewish modes of interpretation.⁸⁶ D.R.G. Beattie’s survey of the *Jewish Exegesis of Ruth* provides more detail on certain points.⁸⁷ The “handbook” produced by de Waard and Nida, and intended to assist bible translators, is also a useful counterpoint to independent observations on the issues faced when translating *Ruth*.⁸⁸ Where older modes of Christian interpretation are of concern (especially within **Chapter 4: Theology, Doctrine and Confessionalisation**), Lesley Smith’s compilation (and translation) of medieval sources is invaluable.⁸⁹ Other recent scholarship will be referred to *ad loc*.

* * *

Speculation about the concerns of early modern discourse is insufficient. Rather, it is necessary to deploy a range of resources, including both primary and secondary literature, in order to generate a fuller picture of how *Ruth* might be and was read in the early modern period. The selection of primary sources is explained, together with a discussion of their limitations, in the **next chapter**.

Comprehension of the early modern European worldviews is also mediated by modern history-writers. Discussion of secondary literature is largely reserved for the immediate context and adjusts according to the themes under consideration in each chapter. One dimension, which emerges gradually throughout this study and does not therefore receive a chapter of its own, deserves to be introduced at this point: increased and intentional differentiation between texts produced for vulgar and elite audiences, the vernacular and the Latin. This phenomenon was observed during the process of data analysis, and only secondarily identified as a manifestation of a trend also diagnosed by other scholars.

⁸⁵ Alastair Hunter, “How Many Gods Had Ruth?,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 34, no. 05 (1981): 427–36; Lys, “Résidence ou repos?”

⁸⁶ Meir Zlotowitz, ed., *The Book of Ruth | Megillas Ruth: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources*, trans. Meir Zlotowitz, Artscroll Tanach Series (New York, NY: Artscroll Studios, 1976).

⁸⁷ D.R.G. Beattie, *Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth*, JSOT Suppl. 2 (Sheffield: Dept. of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1977).

⁸⁸ Jan de Waard and Eugene Albert Nida, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Book of Ruth*, second edition (New York, NY: United Bible Societies, 1992). (First edition, 1973.)

⁸⁹ Lesley Janette Smith, *Medieval Exegesis in Translation: Commentaries on the Book of Ruth; translated with an introduction and notes by Lesley Smith* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: published for TEAMS [Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages] by Medieval Institute Publications, 1996).

5 VERNACULAR BIBLES FOR VULGAR AUDIENCES

There has been a very successful segment of reform propaganda that constructs the emergence of English bibles during the sixteenth century as a simple tale of those who wished to keep God's word out of public hands in order to preserve the status quo of the institutional (Roman) Church, and those who wished to liberate God's word and bring it to all people. The story is told with the assumption that the latter was the only right view, and that this is proven by its historical triumph: the Protestant Englishers won. The facile nature of this narrative is the premise for Alexandra Walsham's reappraisal of the Douai-Rheims Bible, published in the *Journal of British Studies* in 2003.⁹⁰ Attitudes to the translation of Scripture were much more complex and mixed; and there was widespread concern among educated churchmen about the inherent risks of making the (whole) Bible available to the masses.

Knowing that English bibles were already in circulation, Thomas More favoured placing copies of the bible under each bishop's control, so that he might discern who might read and how much.⁹¹ While requiring parishes to provide accessible bibles, Thomas Cromwell enjoined readers to "avoid all contention and altercation therein" and "use honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same", referring "the explication of obscure places to men of higher judgement in scripture" (Sept 1538).⁹² In his Great Bible preface (1540), Cranmer reiterated Gregory of Nazianzus' embargo on intellectual interaction with the text: "I forbid not to read but I forbid to reason".⁹³ Three years later, an act of law forbade scripture-reading by any "people of the lower sort", a measure more extreme than its precedents but on a continuum.⁹⁴

Such caution begs the question why bibles were to be made available. Gillian Brennan's answer, that "progressive thinkers . . . realized . . . it would be easier to control the ideas of the masses by using the vernacular",⁹⁵ is informed in part by the production of authorised versions of other popular genres: An official primer was licensed in 1544 "for avoiding of the diversity of primer books",⁹⁶ with "none other to be used throughout [the King's] dominions".⁹⁷ "[I]f uniformity was carefully maintained, religious works in English could provide a means of managing the

⁹⁰ Alexandra Walsham, "Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible," *Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 141–66.

⁹¹ DeCoursey, *The Thomas More / William Tyndale Polemic*, 26–7.

⁹² Via Gillian Brennan, "Patriotism, Language and Power: English Translations of the Bible, 1520–1580," *History Workshop*, no. 27 (1989): 28.

⁹³ Molekamp treats these words as Cranmer's own, but his preface is substantially paraphrase of patristic teaching; the prohibition occurs within a long paraphrase of Nazianzus' *De Theologia* (¶¶11–13; via Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 89). Femke Molekamp, "Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of Their Early Modern Readers," *Electronic British Library Journal*, 2006, 5.

⁹⁴ The targets of the prohibition were "women . . . artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen [and] labourers"; Brennan, "Patriotism, Language and Power," 29.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁶ Via *ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁷ As stated in its title. Cf. *Ibid.*, 36.

transmission of information to the lower classes”, judges Brennan (31). This attitude was not peculiar to the English.

Following the turmoil of the Peasants War (and troubles with Anabaptists throughout Douche-speaking territories), Luther became more cautious in his promotion of bible-reading. This may account for the delay in publication of his complete bible (published in 1534) and for his decision to rework the Vulgate to create a Latin text in keeping with the Hebrew (publ. 1529).⁹⁸ The evidence of this change is documented in Gawthrop & Strauss’ re-examination of literacy in early modern Germany: Encouragement for daily reading by “every Christian” was removed from Luther’s NT prefaces.⁹⁹ In school curricula, the Bible appeared principally in Latin and Greek (i.e. for the intellectual elite) and not until fourth or fifth form, “its reception . . . prepared by several years of catechism drill”.¹⁰⁰ The catechism was itself, to quote Luther, the “layman’s Bible”;¹⁰¹ and from it the “common crowd” would learn “what counts as right and what counts as wrong in the land where they live and earn their daily bread”.¹⁰² Reading the Bible directly might prove less conducive to good social order.

If there was caution about translating the Bible into the vernacular, and apprehension about the “common crowd” reading the Bible, there was also concern about how it should be translated. Bishop Gardiner was accused by John Cheke of deliberate obfuscation when he isolated ninety-nine Latin terms that should be left unaltered; but many of the Latin words Gardiner wished to retain were themselves transliterations of Greek terms and most were central to doctrine and practice, the cognates of words like penitence, mercy (*miser cordia*), baptise, mystery, and Holy Spirit (*Spiritus Sanctus*).¹⁰³ Such protections were a natural dimension of conservatism, and Cheke would have known this (taking in effect Tyndale’s side against More). Each side sought to malign their opponents by attributing to them the meanest

⁹⁸ A task only partially completed. See Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Text der Vulgata-Revision von 1529*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, WA: Die Deutsche Bibel, 1522-1546 5 (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1914). (WA DB5.)

⁹⁹ Gawthrop and Strauss, “Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany,” 34.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 36. See also the précis of Strauss’ research in Alister E. McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 138–9.

¹⁰¹ A description recorded in Luther’s table-talk; see Gawthrop & Strauss, “Protestantism and Literacy in Early Modern Germany,” 35.

¹⁰² *Via ibid.*, 37–38. The statement, taken from the preface to the Shorter Catechism (1529) is also quoted by Brennan, “Patriotism, Language and Power,” 33.

¹⁰³ Among the former category are *ecclesia*, *baptizare*, *presbyter*, *synagoga*, *apocalypsis*, *parabola*, *didragma*, *episcopus*, *apostolus*, *Christus*, and *pascha*. Gardiner’s list was recorded in Fuller’s *Church History of Britain* (first published 1648). I have consulted a later edition, *The Church History of Britain, from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII [1648]; with a Preface and Notes by James Nichols*, ed. James Nichols, third edition, vol. 2 (London: Thomas Tegg, 1842), 108–9. I take “sandalium” to be a misprint or errant transcription of *scandalum*, another transliterated term, the theological significance of which is examined in Paul Arblaster, “Totius Mundi Emporium’: Antwerp as a Centre for Vernacular Bible Translations, 1523–1545,” in *The Low Countries as a Crossroads of Religious Beliefs*, ed. Arie Jan Gelderblom, Jan L. De Jong, and Marc Van Vaecck (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 9–31. On Cheke’s critique, see Brennan, “Patriotism, Language and Power,” 18.

of motivations; as Hermans has said with regard to translations from the Dutch Renaissance, the accompanying rhetoric should “be approached with caution”.¹⁰⁴

There were tangible concerns about vernacular consumption. Molekamp’s detailed examination of the British Library’s collection of English Geneva Bibles shows that there was also deliberate differentiation between editions intended for elite and vulgar audiences: Editions printed in Geneva employed the roman font familiar to those with a classical education;¹⁰⁵ editions published in England often employed a black letter typeface, based on the cursive script used in medieval manuscripts.¹⁰⁶ The font was not the only distinguishing feature of black-letter editions: They reiterate Cranmer’s prohibition of reasoning. They incorporate an index of “English wordes, conducting unto most of the necessariest and profitable doctrines, sentences and instructions” along with “Certaine questions and answers concerning predestination”, “The summe of the whole Scripture of the bookes of the olde and Newe Testament” and the “Glossary of strange names”. Black letter was the font of popular vernacular publications, of the children’s ABC and catechism; if the vernacular was associated with the “lower classes”,¹⁰⁷ these bibles were targeted toward a vulgar readership. As Molekamp observes, “the reader of the roman quarto was being offered the latest in Continental biblical scholarship [i.e. the updated New Testament translations, absent from all black-letter editions] along with a full arsenal of cosmological, historical as well as instructive peritexts, while the black letter reader was being carefully educated in the basics of bible-reading and theology”.¹⁰⁸ Books were tailored to the reader, controlling the content to be consumed.

With such differentiation in view, it is not necessarily surprising if the evolution processes of Latin and vernacular versions in the era demonstrate different priorities. Latin bibles were targeted at a more technical audience, one schooled in grammar and language. There are common trends in the evolution of Latin and vernacular, e.g. increased consistency in the translation of terms across the canon (see especially **Chapters 5 & 6**). Yet particular ideological interests are permitted to interfere with this process in the vernacular editions. Just as one is justifiably suspicious of King James’

¹⁰⁴ “The liminary discourses—prefaces, dedications, laudatory poems—in particular are to be approached with caution, for they invariably display the rhetoric proper to the genre”. Theo Hermans, “Translating ‘Rhetorijckelijck’ or ‘Ghetrouwelijck’: Dutch Renaissance Approaches to Translation” (UCL Discovery, 13pp.; originally published in T. Hermans & J. Fenoulhet (eds.), *Standing Clear: a Festschrift for Reinder P. Meijer*. London: Centre for Low Countries Studies, 1991, 151–72., 1991), 2, http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/957/1/91_FestschriftRPM.pdf/.

¹⁰⁵ MacCulloch describes how humanist copyists “painstakingly mimicked the ‘italic’ characteristics of what they took to be ancient script” and were in turn imitated by the printers of such texts. MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 79.

¹⁰⁶ Such editions formed a small majority in England. See Naseeb Shaheen, “Misconceptions about the Geneva Bible,” *Studies in Bibliography* 37 (1984): 156–58.

¹⁰⁷ Brennan, “Patriotism, Language and Power”, 32. Not having Latin or Greek as mother tongue was sufficient cause for using what were in the classical world pre-educational years to acquire these languages; such was Thomas Elyot’s advice for England’s prospective elite, assuming the vernacular’s inferiority. Cf. *ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰⁸ Molekamp, “Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices,” 6. Other quotations in this paragraph are via Molekamp unless otherwise indicated.

translators' claim that there are no ambiguities in "in doctrinal points that concern salvation", one ought also to scrutinise for ideological interference their judgments about when "not to stand curiously upon an identity of phrasing".¹⁰⁹ What determined the fittest translation? It is with the different manifestations of ideological interference, conceived in terms of the engagement with different source texts and engagement with a range of confessional and social interests, that this study is principally concerned.

¹⁰⁹ See the address to the Reader, ¶¶ 14-15 (Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 231-2). Using imprecision as a rhetorical flourish the translators acknowledge that "some learned men somewhere, have been as exact as they could that way" before justifying their own choice in terms of communicative function: "profit" is best brought "to the godly Reader" in the wrappings of a varied vocabulary (¶15, 232-3).

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Chapter 2: On sources and method

1 OVERVIEW

What sources feature within this study, how were they chosen, and how are they handled? **Chapter 1** provided support for the key premises and a partial historiographic backdrop. **Chapter 3** details the process of translation-oriented text analysis. The present chapter introduces the sources, explains their selection, and draws on previous scholarship to explain their interrelationships, illustrating this with a passage from *Ruth* (R1.2-4). It also explains the use of the terms “early modern” and “Englishing”.

2 TERMS AND CONTEXT (3) EARLY MODERN

In discussing the sixteenth- and seventeenth- centuries, historians employ different labels for the period, depending in part upon the focus of their study. Intellectual histories tend to be presented under “the Renaissance” umbrella, alluding to the influence of classical learning on the elite of the period.¹ When the central topic is religion, “Reformation” is the customary branding.² By contrast, the bibliography of the present study shows “early modern” to be associated principally with social and cultural histories.³ The borders are permeable, with broad studies often applying more than one term.⁴ Scholarship on the Bible of this era has employed all three labels.⁵

¹ E.g. Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, Panizzi Lectures 2009 (London: British Library, 2011); Paul F. Grendler, “The Universities of the Renaissance and Reformation,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2004): 1–42; Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*; Glenda McLeod, *Virtue and Venom: Catalogs of Women from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991); Neil Rhodes, ed., *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations 9 (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013); Debora Kuller Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible: Scholarship, Sacrifice, and Subjectivity*, Paperback (1st publ in Hardback, 1994) (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998); William Howard Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

² E.g. Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen G Burnett, eds., *Jews, Judaism, and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Stephen G. Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Patrick Collinson, “William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation”; Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: OUP, 2002); Duerden, “Equivalence or Power?”; John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2002); Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); MacCulloch, *Reformation*.

³ E.g. Harriette Andreadis, *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-Sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Thomas Betteridge, ed., *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2007); Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, eds., *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, n.d.); Wyn Ford, “The Problem of Literacy in Early Modern England,” *History* 78, no. 252 (1993): 22–37; Christopher Highley, “Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England,” *Reformation* 15 (2010): 51–61; Alexandra Shepard, “Honesty, Worth and Gender in Early Modern England, 1560–1640,” in *Identity and Agency in English Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Henry French and Jonathan Barry (Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87–105; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, second edition, *New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); Daniel

This study locates itself within the “early modern” framework for several reasons: The time period of the “Renaissance” within Europe extends back to the late fourteenth century, whereas this study is concerned specifically with the Englishing process that began in the 1500s.⁶ Its concerns extend beyond the domain of intellectual history. In these respects, “Renaissance” would be an inappropriate label. “Reformation” would be equally unhelpful, whether in suggesting that the accent of this study is upon religion, doctrine and theology; or falsely intimating that the bible translation work under consideration is limited to that associated with Protestant reforming parties.⁷ “Early modern” also has its weaknesses: The term suggests radical discontinuity between this period and what went before and significant continuity with what has followed. Others have already addressed this point. One need read only the opening chapters of MacCulloch’s *Reformation* to grasp something of the pluriformity of religious practice in the early 1500s, and will find in Eamon Duffy’s *Stripping of the Altars* the demonstration of how slowly change might be effected; while Alister McGrath’s *Intellectual Origins of the Reformation* shows both the heterogeneity of what came to be known as “the Reformation” and how scholastic and humanist developments in the late medieval period contributed to that heterogeneity.⁸ Acknowledging continuities, this study intentionally explores connections with pre-modern interpretation of the Bible, whether antique or medieval; but it is not itself a study of those periods.

The “early modern” label has advantages: The interpretations set in print in the period under scrutiny went on to affect scholarship in the (later) modern era, an aspect of the “early modern” picked up within the final case study (**Chapter 7**). It is thus fitting to place the Englishing work within the “modern”. The “early modern” label also allows for the continuity between the contents

Woolf, “Memory and Historical Culture in Early Modern England,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* | *Revue de La Société Historique Du Canada* 2, no. 1 (1991): 283–308

⁴ Thomas A. Brady, Heiko Augustinus Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002); Brian Lugioyo, *Martin Bucer’s Doctrine of Justification: Reformation Theology and Early Modern Irenicism*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (New York: OUP, 2010); David M. Whitford, *Reformation & Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research*, Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 79 (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State Univ. Press, 2009).

⁵ Ruth B. Bottigheimer, “Bible Reading, ‘Bibles’ and the Bible for Children in Early Modern Germany,” *Past & Present*, no. 139 (1993): 66–89; Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, eds., *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*; Michele Osherow, *Biblical Women’s Voices in Early Modern England*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009); Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*; Magne Sæbo, ed., *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008); Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*.

⁶ See for example: Margaret Ann Franklin, *Boccaccio’s Heroines: Power and Virtue in Renaissance Society* (Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2006); Randolph Starn, “Reinventing Heroes in Renaissance Italy,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (The Evidence of Art: Images and Meaning in History) (1986): 67–84.

⁷ This is, of course, a narrow interpretation of “Reformation”.

⁸ MacCulloch, “Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture”; McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1992). On the pace of change in the sixteenth century see also Collinson, “William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation,” and references therein.

of this study and the work of Naomi Tadmor, whose subtitle locates her work in “early modern England”.⁹ Tadmor places emphasis on ‘Anglicisation’, the cultural adaptation of the Bible to reflect the English social universe. The emphasis of the present study is different. Nonetheless its anchor rests in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the English versions under consideration stretching from the first published version of *Ruth* in the Coverdale Bible (1535) to that of King James’ translators (1611). Although the King James Version provides the chronological endpoint (and its continued impact is a subject for discussion in the final case-study), the intention is to examine the development of translation through the early modern period for its own sake and not only for the Authorised Version that marks the close of early modern translation endeavours.¹⁰ In inspecting the evolution(s) of the English Bible(s), interest need not be confined to the “fittest” translations that survived; the dead ends also provide fertile information about ideological concerns. They may also expose blind-spots in subsequent biblical interpretation, though such a contribution is a by-product rather than an intentional goal of this study.

3 TERMS AND CONTEXT (4): “ENGLISHING” *RUTH*, 1535–1611

The term ‘Englishing’ was widely used for the activity of bible translation, attested in the Wycliffite prologues and throughout the sixteenth century.¹¹ It is employed in this study not only because it belongs to the period under consideration but also because it draws attention to the tension between the conception of translation as a purely linguistic activity and the cultural dimensions of translation in practice. Where referred to collectively, early modern English and its derivatives may be designated by the acronym, EME.

3.1 English bibles from Coverdale to King James

A considerable body of previous scholarship has focused on textual sources, identifying tools and intermediaries employed by the early modern Englishers; curiosity about their interrelationships may be traced back to the first edition of B.F. Westcott’s study, *A General View of the History of the*

⁹ Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, 2010.

¹⁰ See similarly Vivienne Westbrook: “The perception of the King James Authorised Version as the definitive English Bible dictated the agenda of Westcott’s history, and has done subsequent histories”. *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, vii.

¹¹ See OED online, s.v. “English, *v.*”, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/62252/>; also Long, *Translating the Bible*, 4.

English Bible (1868),¹² or perhaps to Samuel Bagster’s *English Hexapla* (1841).¹³ Awareness of influential connections is a healthy precursor to other branches of investigation.

¹² Consulted here in the third edition, i.e. B.F. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, ed. and revised by W.A. Wright. London: Macmillan, 1905.

See also Ward Allen, “John Bois’s Notes,” *Renaissance News* 19, no. 4 (1966): 331–43; John Bois, *Translating for King James: Being a true copy of the only notes made by a translator of King James’s Bible, the Authorized Version, as the final committee of review revised the translation of Romans through Revelation at Stationers’ Hall in London in 1610–1611*, ed. Ward Allen (London: Allen Lane, 1970); Ward Allen, *Translating the New Testament Epistles 1604–1611: A manuscript from King James’s Westminster Company* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1977); F. F. Bruce, *The English Bible: A History of Translations from the Earliest English Versions to the New English Bible*, revised [second] edition; first edition 1961 (New York: OUP, 1970); Charles C Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible, 1340–1611* (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941); Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*; David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2003); Gerald Hammond, “William Tyndale’s Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther’s German Bible and the Hebrew Original,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1980): 351–85; Gerald Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1983); Ronald Arbuthnott Knox, *On Englishing the Bible* (London: Burns, Oates, 1949); G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2, The West from the Fathers to the Reformation (Cambridge: CUP, 1969); S. L. Greenslade, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 3: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge: CUP, 1963); Jacob Isidor Mombert, ed., *William Tyndale’s Five Books of Moses: Called the Pentateuch, Being a Verbatim Reprint of the Edition of M.CCCC.XXX. Compared with Tyndale’s Genesis of 1534, and the Pentateuch in the Vulgate, Luther, and Matthew’s Bible, with Various Collations and Prolegomena* (London: S. Bagster & Sons, 1884); W. F. Moulton, *The History of the English Bible* (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, 1878); Adam Nicolson, *God’s Secretaries: The Making of the King James Bible*, first US edition (New York: HarperCollins, 2003); David Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1993); idem., “John Bois’s Notes on the Revision of the King James Bible New Testament: A New Manuscript,” *The Library* 6, no. 4 (1996): 328–46; idem., “[Buttons and Ribbons, Hartgoats and Hedgehogs, Soleams and Stellios: A Wayward Courtesy Lecture for Laborious Fainty Snoutnosed Runagates] On Some Words in Tyndale’s Old Testament but Missing from the Authorized Version,” *Reformation (Tyndale Society Journal)* 1 (1996): 129–37, 289–344; idem., *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005); Alfred William Pollard, *Records of the English Bible: The Documents Relating to the Translation and Publication of the Bible in English, 1525–1611* (H. Frowde, 1911); Edwin Elliott Willoughby, *The Making of the King James Bible: A Monograph with Comparisons from the Bishops Bible and the Manuscript Annotations of 1602, with an Original Leaf from the Great “She” Bible of 1611* (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop | Plantin Press, 1956). (I have been unable to obtain a copy of this last item.)

For the bibles of 1535–1540 see in addition, Paul Arblaster, Gergely Juhász, and Guido Latré, *Tyndale’s Testament* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones, eds., *The King James Bible after Four Hundred Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010); Gergely Juhász, “Antwerp Bible Translations in the King James Bible,” in *The King James Bible After Four Hundred Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 100–123; Guido Latré, “The Place of Printing of the Coverdale Bible,” *Tyndale Society Journal* 8 (1997): 5–18; Guido Latré, “The 1535 Coverdale Bible and Its Antwerp Origins,” in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O’Sullivan (London: British Library, 2000), 89–102; Mozley, *William Tyndale*; Mozley, *Coverdale*; Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Valerie R. Hotchkiss, and David Price, *The Reformation of the Bible, The Bible of the Reformation: Catalog of the Exhibition by Valerie R. Hotchkiss and David Price* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1996); Sæbo, *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament*.

¹³ *The English Hexapla: Exhibiting the Six Important English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures, Wiclif, M.CCC.LXXX. [1380]; Tyndale, M.D.XXXIV [1534]; Cranmer, M.D.XXXIX [1539, i.e. the Great Bible]; Geneva, M.D.LVII [1557]; Anglo-Rhemish, M.D.LXXXII [1582, Rheims NT]; Authorised, M.DC.XI. [1611, King James]; the Original Greek Text after Scholz, with the Various Readings of the Textus Receptus and the Principal Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine Manuscripts, and a complete collation of Scholz’s Text with Griesbach’s Edition of M.DCCC.V [1805]; preceded by an Historical Account of the English Translations.* (London: S. Bagster, 1841). Other early works include: H. C. Conant, *The English Bible: History of the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English tongue. With specimens of the Old English Versions* (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1856); Anthony Johnson, *An historical account of the several English Translations of the Bible and the opposition they met with from the Church of Rome. By Anthony Johnson, A.M. Rector of Swarkeston in Derbyshire* (London: C. Rivington, sold by J. Roe Bookseller in Derby, and S. Lobb Bookseller in Bath, 1730); John Lewis, *A Complete History of the Several Translations of the Holy Bible, and New Testament, into English, Both in Ms. and in Print: And of the Most Remarkable Editions of Them since the Invention of Printing* (London: Printed for W. Baynes, 1818).

A reader approaching EME versions without external knowledge of their origin would recognise varying but significant levels of agreement. The following overview includes some illustrations of their textual relationships, based on a sample from *Ruth* 1 (vv. 2-4). The sample is set out in **Table 2.1** at the end of this study (the reader being advised to make reference to it throughout the ensuing discussion; and to note the convention hereafter of referring to the book of *Ruth* by the initial “R”, the sample considered being thus R1.2-4). Latin and other vernacular sources referred to are introduced in the next section (§3.1).

Between the printing of the first English bible and that of the King James or Authorized Version little over three-quarters-of-a-century later, a further six different English bible versions were produced. The first complete Bible was prepared by Miles **Coverdale (Cov)** using William Tyndale’s earlier publications, revised in comparison with other translations and completed with Coverdale’s own translation of the Old Testament books from Joshua onwards.¹⁴ For the latter section, Coverdale was compelled to rely on a mix of Latin and “Douche” sources, and he also used these to revise Tyndale’s text for other parts of the Bible.¹⁵ A thorough and careful investigation of Coverdale’s *Ruth* shows that his major source was the Swiss-Douche version printed at Zurich in 1534; the latter text is distinctive compared with other Zurich bibles and Luther’s 1525 edition on which their *Ruths* were based. The detail of this dependence is presented within the **Appendix** to this study, exposing a particular dimension of European influence. Summaries of Coverdale’s sources elsewhere have been sloppy, particularly in suggesting that Coverdale used an earlier edition of Zurich and that Luther was “obviously” among his Douche sources. It is certain that Coverdale consulted the Latin translation of Santes **Pagninus** (1528); and he was further influenced by the Vulgate, probably in **Stephanus’** 1534 edition. On the possibility that he encountered Luther’s translation not only as mediated by Zurich but through the Low Douche edition of **Bugenhagen**, see the **Appendix**. Coverdale was based in Antwerp, and his bible was printed there in October 1535. It is possible that he also consulted locally printed editions, such as those printed by Willem **Vorsterman**.

If comparing the sample (R1.2-4; **Table 2.1**) with Coverdale’s sources, one would find that he owes the orthography of proper names to his Douche sources (indicated by the transliteration of *qamets* as an ‘a’ sound rather than ‘o’; cf. Naemi, Arpa); the pronominal “which” at the head of verse 2 corresponds to Douche “der”. Word order and expression are also dominated by the Douche

¹⁴ Miles Coverdale, trans., *Biblia: that is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe*, (n.p.: n.p., 1535); STC 2063; USTC 442663. Hereafter, “Coverdale Bible”, or “Cov”. A second printing of the preliminaries omitted the words “out of Douche and Latyn” (USTC 502727; STC 2063.3); on this and the place of printing see **Appendix, Pt. I §2**.

¹⁵ The presumption that “Douche” (Coverdale’s own term) is best glossed as “German” is methodologically questionable, and the term “Douche” is retained with reference to all Germanic languages throughout this study. See §4.1.2 below, and discussion in the **Appendix**.

models, so the Douche “Moabitische weyber” become Coverdale’s “Moabitish wyves” (R1.4). The presence of “the one . . . and the other. . .” in the naming of the sons (R1.2; patterned on the Hebrew of R1.4) is due not only to the Vulgate (see similarly the Wycliffite and Douai texts) but the transmission of that phraseology in the 1534 Zurich edition. Coverdale’s dependence upon the latter bible extended to the silent borrowing of significant portions of its prefatory discourse, a decision that indicates deliberate and willing employment rather than accidental opportunity.¹⁶

Two years after the publication of the Coverdale Bible, the **Matthew Bible (MtB)** appeared, bearing the words “Set forth with the Kinges most gracious lyce/ce” at the base of its titlepage.¹⁷ Compiled by John Rogers (chaplain of the English Merchants’ House at Antwerp) it incorporated Tyndale’s translations including previously unpublished material (Joshua—II Chronicles) as well as Coverdale’s work, and Rogers’ own translation of the Prayer of Manesses, but all claimed to be the work of one “Thomas Matthew”.¹⁸ This pretence seems to have been intended to aid circulation of a work that might otherwise have been confiscated due to association with a confirmed heretic. (Tyndale had been executed in 1536.) The Matthew Bible’s *Ruth* is therefore presumed to be **Tyndale’s** work, and is referred to as such in the body of this study. It is wholly independent of Coverdale’s *Ruth*, so that the two provide separate testimony of how one might English *Ruth* in the 1530s.

Overlap in lexical choices may be due to the limits of English vocabulary (as with “man” or “sons”), to lexical priming (see **previous chapter, §2.1**) including pre-existing patterns of biblical Englishing,¹⁹ or to common sources of influence (both were familiar with Lutheran Douche versions, the Vulgate, and Pagninus’ work).²⁰ It may also be coincidence; different paths of influence may perceptibly lead to the same outcome: One of the most striking agreements in the sample is the sentence division in R1.2, attributable in Tyndale’s work to direct sensitivity to the

¹⁶ This, and the cumulative case for Coverdale’s dependence on Zurich 1534 within the translation, is illustrated in the **Appendix**.

¹⁷ Documentary evidence shows Cranmer petitioning Cromwell to obtain this license in August 1537, the edition having already been printed; this accords with the words’ position outside the borders of the woodcut. The printer, Richard Grafton, went on to request its protection under the privy seal but was rebuffed. See Mozley, *Coverdale*, 125–31.

¹⁸ John Rogers, ed., *The Byble: which is all the Holy Scripture: in whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament truly and purely translated into Englysh by Thomas Matthew* [i.e. William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale], ([Antwerp: Matthew Crom for] Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch (London), 1537); USTC 410342; ESTC S121981. Hereafter, the “Matthew Bible” or “MtB”.

¹⁹ See Marsden, “In the Twinkling of an Eye.”

²⁰ For evidence of Tyndale’s use of Pagninus, see G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1983), 118–20; and for Tyndale’s sources more generally, see Hammond, “William Tyndale’s Pentateuch.” Some earlier investigations are marred by failure to take into account changes between Luther’s earliest editions and the enduring 1545 text. So e.g. John Rothwell Slater, “The Sources of Tyndale’s Version of the Pentateuch” (PhD, University of Chicago, 1906); Dahlia M. Karpman, “William Tyndale’s Response to the Hebraic Tradition,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 110–30.

Hebrew pause (see **Chapter 3 §4.1–2**) and in Coverdale’s to his reliance on Zurich 1534 (and thereby indirectly to the Hebrew).²¹

That the Matthew Bible was not wholly agreeable is indicated by the swift advent of a new version, “authorised and appointed by the commandment of” Henry VIII;²² a version that has come to be known as the **Great Bible (GtB)**, on account of its large format. A first edition appeared in 1539,²³ but the preface by Thomas Cranmer (Archbishop of Canterbury) belongs to the editions from 1540 onwards. The text was a revision of the Matthew Bible produced by Coverdale (together with the publishers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch) with sponsorship from Thomas Cromwell, the royal Chancellor. England’s bishops were instructed to ensure that a copy was placed in every parish church;²⁴ they had themselves previously petitioned the king for an approved vernacular bible.²⁵ By the end of 1541, Grafton and Whitchurch had completed seven print runs, facilitating parishes’ acquiescence.²⁶

The dependence of the Great Bible upon the Matthew Bible is visible: Discounting orthography, from the naming of Elimelech (R1.2) until that of Ruth (R1.4a) the two diverge only twice. The odd translation “of the nacyons of the Moabites” (R1.4), seemingly Tyndale’s attempt to clarify that Mahlon and Chilion had not stolen others’ wives, is a tell-tale sign of the dependence. The divergence in the final portion of the sample (R1.4b) is led by Sebastian Münster’s 1534 Latin Bible, Coverdale’s “guide” in the Hebrew portion of the Old Testament. “[V]ery occasionally” Coverdale turns to the Vulgate, Pagninus or another source; sometimes returning to his 1535 bible on “matters of style”.²⁷

A rival revision of the Matthew Bible was also produced in 1539, named after the reviser Richard **Taverner**.²⁸ Customarily, as within the present sample, Taverner’s OT amendments are style-

²¹ Stephanus’ Vulgate also begins a new sentence here, but Pagninus has a comma, and Luther’s 1524 and 1534 *Ruths* have comparable mid-sentence punctuation.

²² So the titlepage of the 4th and 6th editions; cf. Mozley, *Coverdale*, 252.

²³ *The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the Content of all the Holy Scripture, bothe of [th]e Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by [th]e dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges* ([Paris: Francis Regnault; and London:] Rychard Grafton [and] Edward Whitchurch, 1539; STC 2068; ESTC S122342. Hereafter, “the Great Bible”, “Great”, or “GtB”).

The KJV instructions refer to it as “Whitchurch’s” version, after the printer; it is also sometimes referred to as “Cranmer’s Bible”. The 1540 edition had a more thoroughly revised OT, but this does not affect *Ruth*. For detailed background, see Mozley, *Coverdale*, chapters eleven and twelve, esp. 222–3, and 252–5.

²⁴ See Mozley, *Coverdale*, 120–1, 169–173; and Pollard, *Records*, XLIII. The injunctions came first from Cromwell, and were then reiterated in 1541 in a royal proclamation.

²⁵ See Pollard, *Records*, XXVI. Their petitions continued, in that Stephen Gardiner was dissatisfied with the Great Bible and sought the restoration of several Latinate terms; see **Chapter 1, §5**.

²⁶ For dates of editions, see Mozley, *Coverdale*, 218–9.

²⁷ Münster’s text at R1.4b is “habitaveruntq[ue] ibi quasi decem annis.” For the reliance on Münster, see *ibid.*, chapter 12, esp. 221–5 (221). Further examples may be found in Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, and Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*.

²⁸ *The Most Sacred Bible: whiche is the Holy Scripture, conteynyng the Old and New Testament, translated in to English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most saythful exemplars, by Rychard Taverner* (London: In Fletestrete at the

oriented.²⁹ His approach presupposes that a formal register is appropriate for the English Bible, and that this might legitimately supersede attention to the detail of the source text. (He was not a Hebraist.) Syntactic agreement throughout the sample shows his dependence on Tyndale.

Scholarly studies have often neglected Taverner’s work because it has but a negligible role in the genesis of the King James Version;³⁰ its minimal presence in the present study is due rather to the absence of differences in the case studies pursued.³¹ The same may be said of Becke’s revision of the Matthew Bible (1549).³²

During the reign of Mary I, some of those who had sought and found exile in Geneva began work on a new version, the **Geneva Bible (Gva)**.³³ Published in 1560 (following the release of a New Testament in 1557), its titlepage boasted of its basis in the “Ebrue and Greke” and promised “most profitable annotations upon all the hard places”. It became the point of reference for ordinary readers and for bishops, running into many editions. It was quoted repeatedly in the preface to the King James Version, and its notes (which developed across the editions) were reprinted alongside the text of the KJV in later years.³⁴

Comparing Geneva and Great Bibles, it is evident that the Genevan translator(s) operated with the established version as base text (cf. **Table 2.1**). (Agreement with the Matthew Bible’s text is thus accidental.) Viewed as a revision, there are distinctive patterns in the Genevan amendments.

Additions and omissions commonly match the Hebrew text more directly, as in the removal of

sygne of the sonne by Iohn Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet, 1539); ESTC S123017; STC 2067; USTC 503081. Hereafter, “Taverner”, or “Tav”.

²⁹ “[T]here is not”, says Daiches, “the slightest indication of any recourse to the Hebrew text”. Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, 151.

³⁰ A position typified by Westcott: “With these [minor] exceptions his [Taverner’s] revision appears to have fallen at once into complete neglect.” Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 84. For a critique of this approach, see Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes*. For Taverner’s possible effects on the KJV, see (briefly) Mozley, *Coverdale*, 347–8.

³¹ Of ca. 58 changes made to *Ruth*, many are minor (the 5-fold extension of “till” to “until” for example). Some changes have more substance, e.g. “bereaved” for “left desolate of” in R1.5; R2.7 “went not once home” (not “tarried not long in the house”); R2.23 “returned to” (not “dwelt with”); R4.6 “am content to lease my right here” (“cannot purchase it”). None have a bearing on the passages investigated in the body of this thesis. (Spellings have been modernised.)

³² *The Byble, that is to say all the Holy Scripture: in qhych are contayned the Olde and New Testamente, truly [and] purely translated into English, & nowe lately with greate industry & diligence recognised*, ed. Edmund Becke (London: [S. Mierdman for] Ihon Daye, dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres, dwelling in Peter Colledge, 1549); USTC 504300; ESTC S106943. For more on Becke, see Wright’s contribution to Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 72–3, n.3; also Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, chapter five.

³³ William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, trans., *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament: translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers langages, with moste profitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader*, first edition (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560); USTC 450496; STC 2093. Hereafter, “Geneva” or “Gva”. For passages outside *Ruth*, collations have been made from Mark Langley’s transcription of a 1599 edition, published as part of BibleWorks 9.0; though reference has also been made to a facsimile edition: *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 edition; with preface, introduction and bibliography by Lloyd Berry*; preface, etc. reprinted from University of Wisconsin facsimile edition, 1969 (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2007).

³⁴ Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 1:120.

“and they were” (R1.2). The transposition of “Naomi’s husband” to “the husband of Naomi” also matches Hebrew word order. Gone are the spurious “nations” of R1.4.

The substitution or introduction of words at the head of a verse is a typical Genevan intervention. Opening word(s) are altered in 31 of *Ruth*’s 85 verses. This was the first versified English bible, bringing fresh attention to these syntactical connections. With one exception, the alterations ensure the basic Hebrew conjunction (*vav*) is translated, (normally) with one English term, and often with sequential force.³⁵ The opening “And” of R1.2 is a stylistic decision, continuing the description from the previous verse in a way that matches the Hebrew but had been judged unnecessary by Tyndale. R1.3 is one of seven verses where an opening “And” (GtB) was displaced by “Then” in the Genevan *Ruth*, so that narrative progress is more overtly demarcated. (This was extension rather than innovation; compare Tyndale (i.e. MtB)’s “Wherfore” in R1.1.)

If revisions were oriented around the Hebrew text, there remain signs of significant mediation. For example, the presence of “assistants” in R4.4 can only be explained by reference to a (repeated) printing error in the contemporaneous French Geneva text: “assistans” appears where one might expect “assistrans”, the latter being an antique form of the verb “asseoir”, ‘sit’.³⁶ The Hebrew root שָׁבַב (*y-s/b-b*) encompasses both sit and dwell, generating the more standard Englishing “inhabitants” in the Bishops and King James versions.³⁷ One may wonder what the uptake of this error indicates about the translator(s)’s Hebrew competence, or their esteem for the French edition. Greenslade indicates that the translators also consulted the available Latin editions: Pagninus (1528 edn, and Stephanus’ 1557 edn), Münster, Jud, and Castellius.³⁸ Daiches cautions hasty judgment about Pagninus’ contribution, noting that such readings may have arisen directly from the Hebrew; but then he also supposes the connection

³⁵ The exception is R1.9, where the Great Bible’s “and” is removed, separating the elements of Naomi’s speech. Common changes include the reduction of “And so” to “So” (e.g. R1.22) and the changing of “And” to “Then” (seven times, including R1.3).

³⁶ The French error persists (being present in the 1562 Barbier-Courteau edition) and may stem from a misread manuscript. For the antique orthography, see the *Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales* (CNTRL) s.v. “asseoir, *verbe trans.*” etym. accessed 29 Jan 2014, <http://cnrtl.fr/etymologie/asseoir/>. Many more examples of wilful dependence on the French edition may be observed: “be deferred” for the *hapax legomenon* הַשִּׁיבֵנִי corresponds to the French “differer” (R1.13); the technical rendering of the *Hiphil* form הַשִּׁיבֵנִי “caused me to return” accords with French “m’a fait retourner”; both “I pray thee” (R2.2) and “I pray you” (R2.7) have direct equivalents in the French text (“ie te prie”; “ie vous prie”). Once the correspondence is observed, shifts in vocabulary also appear to have been suggested by the French: “family” for “famille” (R2.3); “servant” for “serviteur” (R2.5; cf. also vv 6, 9, 21); “affinity” for “affinité” (R2.20).

³⁷ Possibly the Genevan translator(s) were thrown by Tyndale’s form, “inhabitans”, a lexical choice perhaps influenced by Pagninus’ “habitoribus”. The sense ‘sit’ was favoured by both LXX and Vulgate. Coverdale’s “citizens” is based on Luther’s domestication, transmitted by Zurich: “burgeren” (“burghers”).

³⁸ CHB 3:157. See also Lloyd Berry, “Introduction to the Facsimile Edition,” (reprinted from 1569 University of Wisconsin Facsimile edn) in *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 10–11.

to the French version to be one of “common methods and sources” rather than textual, a supposition shown to be at least partially mistaken by the case of the “assistants”.³⁹

Though Elizabeth I was in power when the Geneva Bible was published, some of its annotations caused concern in the English Church because of the confessional ideas they promoted. Its technical annotations also (inadvertently) exposed shortcomings in the Great Bible. By 1568, Matthew Parker (then Archbishop of Canterbury) had persuaded his fellow bishops to put together an alternative,⁴⁰ and this **Bishops Bible (Bps)** replaced the Great Bible as the official bible for use in churches. ⁴¹ (Copies of the Geneva Bible were not printed in England until soon after Parker’s death.)⁴²

The Bishops Bible’s status as a revision of the Great Bible is evident. In R1.2–4, the former follows the latter in syntax, vocabulary, and in the transliteration of most proper nouns. (Elimelech is an exception.) Twice in the sample, the Bishops’ translator agrees with the Geneva Bible, omitting phrases not in the Hebrew (“and they were”, “nacyons of the”). These agreements pertain to the Hebrew text and could have been arrived at independently; but additional examples within *Ruth* show that the Geneva Bible had been consulted throughout. This is particularly evident where changes are stylistic, the Hebrew text having no direct bearing upon them: R1.5 “desitute” (Gt: desolate; Heb. —); R1.6 “arose” (Gt: stode up); R1.9 “graunt” (*so also Coverdale*; Gt: give).⁴³ In further instances where changes pertain to the Hebrew text, the Bishops’ substitutes also ostensibly follow a Genevan example;⁴⁴ including passages that remain challenging to a bible translator.⁴⁵

³⁹ Daiches may be correct on the first point; see *The King James Version of the English Bible*, 179. His judgments are based on a survey of Isaiah.

⁴⁰ Writing to William Cecil, Secretary of State, to request royal license for the new version, Archbishop Matthew Parker observes that there “be publicly used some translations which have not been laboured in your realm, having inspersed divers prejudicial notes which might have been also well spared” (letter, 5 Oct 1568, quoted by Westcott). See Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 100 n.1. Collinson attacks the view that this version was “a response . . . to the marginal notes of the Geneva”, but there is some substance to this traditional presentation. Collinson, “[Review:] Long Travail and Great Paynes,” 497. Though not all translators involved were bishops, evidence suggests that the task of revising *Ruth* fell to the Bishop of St David’s, Richard Davies. His initials appear after 2 Samuel in the 1568 edition, and Parker reports Davies’ responsibility for Joshua–2 Samuel in his letter to Cecil. See Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 99–101. (In some places the printed initials do not tally with Parker’s report.) For Davies’ competency in Hebrew, see Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, 135.

⁴¹ Matthew Parker, ed., *The Holie Bible: Conteynyng the Olde Testament and the Newe*, (London: In povvles Churchyarde by Richarde Iugge, printer to the Queenes Maiestie, 1568); ESTC S122070; USTC 506837. Hereafter, the “Bishops Bible”, “Bishops”, or “Bps”. Reference is also made to the 1602 edition (“**Bps02**”; ESTC S122093) which has some variation in paratextual material; and to the copy thereof held by the Bodleian Library, which was used by King James’ translators (see below, n.58).

⁴² Cf. Betteridge, “The Bitter Notes”, 41. The printer, Jugge, received a patent (with permission to print the Geneva Bible) only three days after Parker’s death.

⁴³ These instances are selected from R1.6–9. Other significant cases include R2.14: “At the meal time”, “morsel”, “beside”; R3.7 “went to lie . . . at the end of”; R3.13 “sleepe” (Gt: lie still).

⁴⁴ See thus R1.10 “Surely” (Gt: —); R1.12 “go your way” (Gt: and go); R1.17 “do so to me and more also” (Gt: do so and so to me); R3.8 “caught hold” (Gt: groped); R4.14 “and his name shalbe continued” (Gt: to have a name; Mt: that shall have a name); R4.16 “the women”. For changes that might have come about

There are yet some examples of independent Englishing in the Bishops' *Ruth*, if not within the present sample (one such features in discussion of R1.1 in the **next chapter**). One may also see the text-producer negotiating between the innovations of the 'unauthorised' version (e.g. versification, and annotative practices comparable to Geneva) and conservation of the traditional (cf. e.g. the lettered paragraph markers in the margins, as also in the Great Bible).⁴⁶ Like previous translators, those responsible for the Bishops Bible made use of sixteenth-century Latin versions, consulting the same texts as their Genevan predecessors, i.e. those of Münster (used "in spurts"), Pagninus, Castellio, and Jud.⁴⁷

The next English version of *Ruth* was more translation than revision. Though Queen Elizabeth did not engage in the same violent persecution as her half-sister, some clerics went into exile in order to retain communion with Rome and train new priests. From their refuge in Douai (temporarily relocated to Reims during the 1580s), Gregory Martin and his colleagues produced a New Testament (Reims, 1582) and an Old Testament, in two volumes, published at Douai in 1609 and 1610.⁴⁸ Based on "the Authentical Latin", these were intended to assist the Roman clergy in defending their faith, and contained many lengthy notes at the end of each chapter and in the margins. Although commonly referred to collectively as the Douay-Rheims Bible, the translations were not united in a single volume until 1635 (this later being reprinted in revised form under the editorship of Richard Challoner).⁴⁹ In the present study, the Old Testament volumes are normally

purely from the Hebrew, see e.g. R3.16 "who are you?" and the use of "redeem" and "redeeming" in R4.4–7. "Surely" might be an attempt to translate the initial *ky*.

⁴⁵ For example, the treatment of idiom (R3.7 "cheared his heart", Gt: "made him merry"; R4.1 "Ho, such one", Gt: "and called him by his name"), word-play (R3.9 "the wing of thy garment"; Gt: "thy wing"; Mt: "thy mantel"), or a foreign concept such as *ge'ullab* (R3.13 "then will I doe the duetie of a kinsman"; Gt: I will have the[e], cf. also Gt R3.13a "mar[r]ye the[e]").

⁴⁶ Norton remarks upon the absence of paragraphing from the Bishops Bible, overlooking the presence of these letters in the 1568 edition, which would have facilitated cross-reference with editions of the Vulgate where such letters continued in use. See Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 1:164. Annotations were also adopted selectively; see CHB 3:159–61. The presentation of *Ruth* in early modern bibles is considered in **the next chapter**.

⁴⁷ Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, 181. See also Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 231.

⁴⁸ Gregory Martin, trans., *The Holie Bible: faithfully translated into English out of the Authentical Latin, diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other editions in divers languages: with arguments of the bookes, and chapters, annotations, tables, and other helpes, for better understanding of the text: for discoverie of corruptions in some late translations: and for clearing controversies in religion. By the English College of Doway; The Second Tome of the Holie Bible faithfully translated into English . . .*, 2 vols. (Douai: Laurence Kellam, at the signe of the holie Lambe, 1609); STC 2207; ESTC S101944; digital copy: EEBO: 1021:01. Hereafter "Douai OT" or "Douai". Publication was delayed for want of "good means", if one is to believe its preface, quoted via CHB 3:163–213. That Pope Clement VIII (fl. 1592–1605) was opposed to "any Licence granted to have [the Scriptures] in the vulgar tongue" was presumably also a factor (King James' translators to the reader, ¶9; via Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 218).

⁴⁹ Gregory Martin and William Allen, trans., *The Holy Bible faithfully translated into English out of the Authentical Latin: diligently conferred with the Hebrew, Greeke, & other editions in diuers languages: with arguments of the bookes and chapters, annotations, tables, & other helpes, for better understanding of the text: for discoverie of corruptions in some late translations, and for clearing some controuersies in religion*, (Rouen: Printed by John Cousturier, 1635); STC 2321; D&M 387. Richard Challoner, ed., *The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgat: diligently compared with the Hebrew, Greeke, and other editions in diuers languages. And first published by the English College at Doway, Anno 1609. Newly revised, and corrected, according to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures. With annotations for clearing up the principal*

referred to in shorthand as the **Douai OT**. There is some obvious syntactic overlap between this version of *Ruth* and those of the medieval Wycliffite manuscripts, due to their common dependence upon the Vulgate (see **Table 2.1**).

The royal commissioning of a new version in 1604 was prompted by a request for a larger set of ecclesiastical changes, and advanced by the King’s dissatisfaction with certain notes in the Geneva Bible and known shortcomings in the existing text.⁵⁰ The Bishops Bible had been the product of several individuals working separately. Their inconsistent approaches (within their own portions and when compared with each other) led to criticism.⁵¹ James’ translators were furnished with copies of the Bishops Bible to use as their base text, and instructed to consult five other English versions: Tyndale’s, the Coverdale Bible, the Matthew Bible, the Great Bible, and the Geneva Bible.⁵² As a result, studies of the **King James Version (KJ)**⁵³ typically engage in comparison of these specified precursors, taking a genealogical approach.⁵⁴ However, documentary sources discovered in recent decades have proven that the revision committee or so-called “General Meeting” consulted the Rheims NT (though this was not part of their brief).⁵⁵ Scholars have generally reckoned the Douai OT to have arrived too late to affect the King James Version,⁵⁶ but this is not necessarily the case: John Bois’ notes demonstrate they had to hand a 1610 edition of Chrysostom.⁵⁷ It is therefore conceivable that they would have taken an interest in the newly available Catholic text, and exerted themselves to get a copy, especially of the 1609 volume. To discount this is to pay insufficient attention to the spread of publications in the period.

difficulties on Holy Writ., ([Dublin?]: n.p., 1750); ESTC T107533; D&M 1089. Challoner was significantly affected by the King James Version.

⁵⁰ Cf. Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 1.7, 144–5. James’ antipathy to notes is recorded in William Barlow’s account of the Hampton Court Conference; Archbishop Bancroft’s written instructions provided for limited marginalia (cross-references, and literal glossing of awkward Hebrew or Greek terms).

⁵¹ “[D]egrees of thoroughness or freedom” varied, not only between books but also within books (Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, 181). Similarly, Westcott, “The execution of the work is . . . extremely unequal” (*A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 231).

⁵² As stated in the fourteenth rule: “These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops’ Bible: Tyndale’s, Matthew’s, Coverdale’s, Whitchurch’s, Geneva”; via Norton, *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 1.147. Though there are some variations, the substance of that mandate is extant in at least five manuscript copies; for details, see Norton, “John Bois’s Notes”, 329 n.8. An abbreviated account of the translators’ rules, and Samuel Ward’s report to the Synod of Dordrecht, may be found in the first chapter of Norton’s *A Textual History of the King James Bible*. A similar exposition appears in Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611–2011* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), chapter two, esp. 35–42.

⁵³ *The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: newly translated out of the originall tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by His Maiesties speciall commandement: appointed to be read in churches.* (Imprinted at London: by Robert Barker, 1611); STC 2217; ESTC S122347. Hereafter “King James”, “KJ”.

⁵⁴ So e.g. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (third and previous editions); Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*; Bruce, *The English Bible*; Hammond, *The Making of the English Bible*; Daniell, *The Bible in English*.

⁵⁵ Allen, “John Bois’s Notes”; Bois, *Translating for King James*; Norton, “John Bois’s Notes.”

⁵⁶ So e.g. Norton’s remark that “the KJB translators did not have it to consult when they did their work”; *A History of the Bible as Literature*, 1:328.

⁵⁷ Allen, “John Bois’s Notes”, 343.

Did Douai's "country" (R1.2) influence the King James? The manuscript annotations of the First Westminster Company, which had been tasked with translating the Pentateuch and so-called Historical books (including *Ruth*) survive in a copy of the 1602 Bishops Bible held by the Bodleian, and these demonstrate that some lexical changes common to both the KJV and Douai OT had been made prior to the General Meeting's work.⁵⁸ The shift from "land" to "country" is among those made in that first stage. Consequently, the overlap with the Douai lexicon is simply coincidental, one of several such. Most such overlap testifies to a common Latin influence (see the discussion of "famine" in the **next chapter, §4.2**), with an increased willingness to use Latinate language in the King James Version when compared to its predecessors. In this particular instance, while distinction between Judah and Moab may be gleaned from the Vulgate, it is also present in the Hebrew and the particular word-choice is not a direct cognate of Latin "regione". The King James' lexis was logically influenced by the "country" of the preceding verse (cf. R1.1),⁵⁹ potentially reinforced by Beza's "contree" and Diodati's "contrado". Westcott includes also Reina and Valera's Spanish version as a significant influence upon King James' translators, though this may be as much presumption as conclusion.⁶⁰

This introduction of the English versions should serve to indicate the complexity of textual relationships. It is in light of connections between the English versions, that one may sometimes discuss the Englishing process in terms of what was retained, selected, rejected, preferred, ignored, or unknown.

As the accumulation of previous versions increases the possibility of selecting a good translation, originality decreases. That does not diminish the ideological involvement of the translator or reviser (as one might characterise those after Tyndale and Coverdale); for they too exercise selectivity, and, however occasional, moments of originality attest the autonomous engagement of a reviser with their chosen source(s); an aspect that will be demonstrated in the **next chapter (§3.2)**. Even the choice of sources is ideological: Bishops Bible translators began with the Great Bible, and the King James, with the Bishops, because these bore the official endorsement and authority of the English Church. The Douai boasted of its dependence upon the "authentic Latin", the Vulgate's authority having been declared by the Tridentine Council in 1546, "pro authentica habenda"; for

⁵⁸ So e.g. "afflicted" in R1.21. *Ruth* is one of the case-studies in Edward Jacobs' study, "Two Stages of Old Testament Translation for the King James Bible." Of interest among Jacobs' conclusions is the following statement: "Ruth is the sample book that the General Meeting [i.e. the revision committee] has revised most significantly" (39). I have also made an independent inspection of the Bodleian copy, i.e. *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old Testament and the New. Authorised and Appointed to Be Read in Churches* (London: Robert Barker, 1602); STC 2188; ESTC S122093 | annotated copy: Bodleian Arch. A. b. 18 (formerly Bib. Eng. 1602. b. 1). (The copy was recatalogued in 2012.)

⁵⁹ The Douai's designation "land of Moab" in R1.1 is especially confusing; see **next chapter, §4.2**.

⁶⁰ Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 256. There is but one further mention of Reina (or "Reyna" as Westcott calls him) in the volume, in the chronological list of bible editions.

the Douai translators this was manifest in the version approved by Pope Clement (in partial contradiction of his immediate predecessor, Pope Sixtus).⁶¹ Whence one ought properly to derive authority was a major concern for all.

The relationships outlined also further illustrate that English translators and revisers were participants in a larger European project of bible translation. In the present study, English versions are discussed in relation to other versions not in order to prove specific paths of dependence (a restrictive approach adopted in some previous studies) but rather to consider how the Englishings fitted within the wider patterns of early modern bible translation.⁶² To that end, a broad body of vernacular data is collated and compared. Elsewhere samples are commonly limited to Latin versions, supplemented perhaps by one or two ‘significant’ vernaculars.⁶³ It would be too bold to claim that the present study’s collation provides a ‘control’. No translation intended as “Scripture” could remain unaffected by centuries of interpretive and exegetical reading. Nor might any translation be ideologically neutral, or an early modern text remain isolated from the tumult of shifting worldviews. Even the most philological of enterprises would be influenced by precedent, as mediated by the available tools, training, and theory. If not a control, the broad collation does yet provide for informed comparison of how translations were evolving in the period. This in turn provides information about issues such as linguistic competence (see below §4.3) and conserving tendencies.

English versions of *Ruth* have been consulted and are referred to principally in their first editions. An exception is the Bishops Bible, where preference has been given to the 1602 edition because of its use by King James’ translators. Comparison with the 1568 edition has been made and any divergences (principally in annotation) are indicated within discussion. Where broader collation was required (i.e. going beyond the confines of *Ruth*), digitally available editions have been used where possible, so that such samples employ a 1599 edition of the Geneva Bible, the 1769 text of the King James Bible (a principally orthographical revision), and the first edition of the Bishops Bible.⁶⁴ Tyndale’s Pentateuch has been consulted in Mombert’s critical edition.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Sixtus’ text (1590) was one outworking of the Tridentine councils, but immediately supplanted by his successor because of multiple errors in the text, leading to the rather carping remarks of King James’ translators that the Clementine text (1592) though “containing in it *infinite* differences from that of Sixtus, (and many of them weighty and material) . . . *must be authentic by all means*”. KJ Translators to the Reader ¶12; Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 228, emphasis added.

⁶² The treatment of the Coverdale Bible within the **Appendix** may be regarded as an exception to this, itself standing as a corrective to gaps in other recent scholarship.

⁶³ See, for example, Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*, where presentation of his Isaiah case-study features only the Hebrew text, LXX, Vulgate, Münster, and the rabbinic lexicographer David Kimchi. (He had discussed other versions in the body of his study, but does not include them in the data as set out in the final section of his monograph.)

⁶⁴ *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments*; ed. Benjamin Blayney; first ‘standard’ edition: Oxford: T. Wright and W. Gill, printers to the University, 1769; ESTC T91970; transcribed by Mark Langley for

4 ADDITIONAL SOURCES

Assessing how ideological negotiations undertaken by English translators of *Ruth* relate to the “heterogeneous mass” of scriptural discourse produced elsewhere in (Western) Europe,⁶⁶ requires the identification of sources that might represent that mass; in the present case, a combination of bibles and commentaries. Pre-1600 items are identified with reference to the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), which covers the area and languages under consideration; reference is also made to other region- or language-specific catalogues.⁶⁷

4.1 Bibles

Neither did we think much to consult the Translators or Commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek or Latin, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch . . .⁶⁸

A number of considerations were given when selecting the early modern bibles that are included in this study: Firstly, the selection of the seven principal English versions from Coverdale to King James (as outlined above) reflects the study’s interest in evolution, concerned not only with the survival of the fittest but with lines of interpretation that did not flourish.⁶⁹ Secondly, the Latin translations of the sixteenth century were a necessary point of reference, their employment by English translators having been established in previous textual studies. Thirdly, the presence of other early modern vernaculars in the sample was determined by the language groups explicitly referred to by English translators (exemplified by the above quotation from the King James Bible’s preface). In each case, care was taken that the first printed editions should be included (Lefèvre, Brucioli, Ferrara), alongside those editions that have been noted by other scholars as having made significant developments (e.g. Olivétan, Beza, Diodati). The case of “Douche” is more

BibleWorks, v. 9.0: BibleWorks LLC, 2011.

The Bible: Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke (1599, ESTC S4131?); transcribed by Mark Langley (without paratext) and digitised: BibleWorks, v. 9.0: BibleWorks LLC, 2011. *The Bishop’s* [sic] *Bible* (1568, USTC 506837?); transcribed and digitised: StudyLight.org, 2002.

The Coverdale Bible has been searched using Early English Books Online (EEBO): Miles Coverdale, trans., *Biblia: That Is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, Faithfully Translated in to Englishe*, ([Antwerp and Southwark: de Keyser; preliminaries by James Nicolson], 1535); USTC 502727; STC 2063.3; digital copy and transcription: EEBO: 1909:01. Samples have commonly been checked against physical and/or facsimile editions, and sometimes compiled directly from these.

⁶⁵ Mombert, *William Tyndales Five Books of Moses*. This takes the 1530 edition as its main text but includes a collation of the changes to Genesis in the 1534 edition and between the 1530 Pentateuch and the Matthew Bible.

⁶⁶ Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 2.

⁶⁷ USTC records can be accessed online, by adding the record number to the end of the common URL: <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/>. For details of other catalogues, see under **Reference** in the Bibliography.

⁶⁸ “The Translators to the Reader”, ¶13; via Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 2011.

⁶⁹ As explained above (§3.1), the omission of Taverner and Becke is determined only by absence of difference in the major case-studies.

complicated, because there were more versions, and the re-examination of Coverdale's sources (within the **Appendix**) dictated particular consideration of those from the early part of the period; this accounts for the preponderance of Douche texts within the sample.

This study is primarily concerned with how early modern translations treated a text that was originally written in Hebrew, but the sample is not limited to versions that were based directly on that Hebrew text; such a restriction would necessarily exclude the 1535 Coverdale Bible, the Douai OT, and perhaps the Great Bible also. In practice, bible translations tended to be dependent on a range of sources, even as they might emphasise the authority of one. Geneva publicised its reliance on the "Ebrue and Greek", the Douai on Latin, but neither was impervious to other influences. This hybridity prompts the inclusion of diverse ancient, pre-modern, and early modern versions within the sample, including such ancient versions as were consulted by James' translators (the Septuagint, Targums, etc.). Where relevant, the sample is supplemented by data from printed editions of pre-modern translations based on the Vulgate (pre-Lutheran Douche versions, for example), and by the Douai OT's early modern peers, i.e. those new translations that treated the Vulgate as a major source text (so e.g. Lefèvre's French). Although not printed until the nineteenth century, the English manuscript versions associated with John Wycliffe and his followers feature as a point of comparison. These Wycliffite manuscripts are quoted according to the early (c.1380) and late (c. 1395) composite texts presented in Forshall and Madden's edition (**F&M**), or occasionally following the digitised Princeton Scheide manuscript.⁷⁰ Together with the ancient versions and the Vulgate itself, these Vulgate-oriented editions attest to continuities and alternatives in translation.

Some bibliographic background for the specific editions considered is necessary:

4.1.1 Latin versions⁷¹

There were multiple versions of the Vulgate in circulation during the sixteenth-century, a matter tackled by the Council of Trent and resulting (eventually) in the Clementine Vulgate (1592). The latter has been referred to in electronic edition where canonical searches were necessary. To mitigate anachronism, discussion of *Ruth* typically refers to the Vulgate text prepared by Robert Estienne, and designated according to his Latin appellation, "**Stephanus**". That of the

⁷⁰ John Wycliffe, *Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers*, ed. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, 4 vols. (Oxford: OUP, 1850), accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://archive.org/details/holybiblecontain03wycluoft/>. Anon, "[Bible]," Ms. codex; "John Purvey's version of Wycliffe's translation"; 409 leaves, parchment (England, ca 1410), Scheide M12 (F&M 154), Princeton: William H. Scheide Library, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/vq27zn490/>.

⁷¹ I alighted somewhat late upon Josef Eskhult's essay: "Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical Contexts, Philological Justification, and the Impact of Classical Rhetoric on the Conception of Translation Methods," in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 167–86. His characterisation of the different versions is convincing and to be commended for those wishing to form a more concrete impression of them.

Complutensian Polyglot is also considered where it diverges from Stephanus (as is its Septuagint). Stephanus' first edition appeared in Paris in 1528, and another edition was produced in Antwerp in 1534;⁷² comparison has shown differences only in the paratext (principally indicating differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew). Unless otherwise specified, reference is to the Paris edition ("VUS").⁷³ The six-volume **Complutensian Polyglot** (publ. 1522) was produced in Spain in the second decade of the sixteenth-century, though its publication was delayed by licensing; its columns set out the text in Greek (LXX or NT, both with interlinear Latin glosses), Hebrew, and Latin (according to the Vulgate).⁷⁴

A Catholic Humanist and Hebraist, Santes **Pagninus** (**Pg**) produced the first of several new translations of the Hebrew Bible, published at Lyon in 1528.⁷⁵ His literal approach appealed to people of different confessions, and his bible was one of Coverdale's Latin sources. Sebastian **Münster**'s two-volume Latin-Hebrew diglot (1534–1535)⁷⁶ was replete with annotations concerning traditional Jewish interpretations, though there is little evidence of this in *Ruth*. The tactic caused controversy as some (mainly Lutheran) reformers became suspicious of Jewish

⁷² Robert Estienne [alias Stephanus], ed., *Biblia: breves in eadem annotationes, ex doctiss. interpretationibus, & Hebraeorum commentariis. Interpretatio propriorum nominum Hebraicorum. Index copiosissimus rerum & sententiarum utriusque testamenti*, (Antwerp: Martinus Caesar [Merten de Keyser], sumptu & opera Godefridi Dumaei, 1534); critical edn of the Vulgate; USTC 403904.

⁷³ Robert Estienne [alias Stephanus], ed., *Biblia: [With] Hebraica, Chaldaea, Graecaque et Latina Nomina virorum, mulierum, populoru[m], idolorum, urbium, fluviorum, montiu[m], catorumque locorum qua in Biblijs, utriusque testamenti sparsa sunt, restituta, hoc volumine comprehenduntur, cum interpretatione latina: Indices item duo, alter in vetus testamentum, alter in novum* (Paris: Ex officina R. Stephani, 1528); critical edn of the Vulgate; USTC 181095. **VUS**.

⁷⁴ Diego López de Zúñiga et al., eds., *Vetus testamentu[m] multiplici lingua nu[n]c primo impressum: Et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico Greco at[que] Chaldaico idiomate. Adiu[n]c[t]a vnicui[que] sua latina interpretatione. [vol. 2:] Secūda pars Veteris testamenti Hebraico Greco[que] idiomate nunc primum impressa: adiuncta vtri[que] sua latina interpretatione. etc.*, 6 vols. (in Academia Complutensi Alcalá de Henares: Industria Arnaldi Guilielmi de Brocario, 1514); USTC 44338. **Complutensian Polyglot**.

⁷⁵ Sante Pagninus, trans., *Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector utriusq[ue] instrumenti novam tranlacione[m] aeditum a Reverendo Sacrae Theologicae Doctore Sancte Pagnino lucesi concionatore apostolico Praedicatorij ordinis, necnon et librum de interpretamentis hebraicorum, aram[a]eoru[m], graecorumq[ue] nominum, sacris in literis contentoru[m], in quo iuxta idioma . . .*, (Lyon: Antonius du Ry, impensis François Turchi; Dominici Berticinium & Jacques Giunta, 1528); USTC 145898. Hereafter, "Pagninus", or "Pg".

⁷⁶ Sebastian Münster, trans., *Miqdash yeyay, `esrim ve-arba` sijrey ha-miktav ha-kadosh . . . | En tibi lector Hebraica Biblia: latina planeq[ue] nova Sebast. Mnsteri tralatione, post omnes omnium hactenus ubiuis gentium aditiones evulgata, & quoad fieri potuit, hebraica veritati conformata: adiectis insuper è Rabinorum co[m]mentariis annotationibus haud penitendis, pulchre & uoces ambiguas & obscuriora quaq[ue] elucidantibus . . . [Vol. 2:] Otzar yesba': Sefer haNavi'im akhronim ve-sefer ketuvim va-bamesh Megilloth . . . | Veteris instrumeti tomus secundus, prophetarum oracula atq[ue] hagiographa continens, hoc est, Prophetas maiores & minores Psalterium Iiob Proverbia Danielem Annalium libros duos Canticum canticorum Ruth Threnos Ecclesiasten Esther. Hi sacri & canonici libri, amice lector, sic ad Hebraicam veritatem genuina versione in Latinum sunt traducti, ut ne quidem ad latum unguem ad ea dissidea[n]t. Quibus praeterea in locis & sententijs obscurioribus opera Sebastiani Mnsteri non parum accessit lucis per annotationes, quas vel ex Hebraeorum commentarijs, vel ex probatoribus Latinis scriptoribus adiecit*, 2 vols. (Basel: Ex officina Bebeliana; Michaelis Isingrinii & Henrici Petri, 1534, 1535); first edition; USTC 661173; VD16 B2881; D&M 5087. Referred to as "Münster" or "Mnst", and according to the date of the second volume (1535).

authority.⁷⁷ Despite this, Münster’s bible was a major point of reference for subsequent English versions, beginning with the Great Bible (see above).

At Zurich, the circle around Zwingli also produced a Latin Bible. Much of the work is credited to Leo **Jud** (sometimes **Juda**), though it was published posthumously in 1543.⁷⁸ Sebastian Châteillon’s Latin edition (1551),⁷⁹ described as the “highwater mark” of rhetorically-oriented sense-for-sense translations,⁸⁰ was disparaged by some for its departures from the Hebrew (or Greek) source text, a matter of concern in the final chapter of this study. Like Estienne, Châteillon was better known by his Latin moniker, **Castellio**; the derivative form **Castellius (Cast)** is used to refer to his Latin text, the former for his French vernacular version (see below). King James’ translators also had the benefit of two further Latin versions: a polyglot edition including an interlinear gloss based on Pagninus, overseen by Benito Arias **Montanus**’ (publ. 1572);⁸¹ and the Latin text produced jointly by Immanuel **Tremellius (Trem)** and his son-in-law Francis du Jon (alias Junius; publ. 1576-1579; repr. London, 1580). For ease of reference, the latter is frequently referred to under Tremellius’ name alone.⁸²

⁷⁷ See especially the discussion of Forster and Isaac in **Chapter 7**. Also Stephen G. Burnett, “Reassessing the ‘Basel–Wittenberg Conflict’: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship,” in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 181–201.

⁷⁸ Konrad Pellikanus, ed., *Biblia Sacrosancta Testame[n]ti Veteris & Novi: è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretib. religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum. De omnibus sancte scripture libris eorumque praestantia . . . H. Bullingeri expositio–Argumenta in omnia tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti capita, elegiaco carmine conscripta per R. Gualth[er]*, trans. Leo Juda et al., (Tiguri [Zurich]: C. Froschouer, 1543); USTC 616576; VD16 B2619; digitised copy: Zentralbibliothek Zurich: Bibl 34.b. Others were involved in the project, but the Hebrew translation was largely Jud’s. See Eskhult, “Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical Contexts, Philological Justification, and the Impact of Classical Rhetoric on the Conception of Translation Methods,” 178.

⁷⁹ Sébastien Castellio, trans., *Biblia Interprete Sebastiano Castalione: una cum eiusdem annotationibus: Typographus lectori: In recenti hac translatione, Lector, fideliter Expressam Hebraea at[que] Graece sente[n]tia Veteris ac Novi Testamenti veritatem, Latini sermonis puritate & perspicuitate servata, es habiturus: Id quod ipse legendo, & cum ceteris editionib. conferendo, item ex praefatione & annotationibus, illustres rerum difficiliorum imagines habentibus, plenissime cognosces*, (Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1551); VD16 B2626/27; USTC 616639/40; Cambridge University Library, 1.23.14.

Castellio’s translation of *Ruth* consulted in the original 1551 edition; other portions from the reprinted edition of Sebastian Castellio, trans., *Biblia Sacra: ex Sebastiani Castellionis Interpretatione et Postrema Recognitione. Praeter Diss. C. Wollii de eo quod pest in hac versione. Iam accesserunt Notae ex Margine Subiectae Chartae Geographicae et Templi Salomonis Delineatio*, reprint; (Lipsiae [Leipzig]: Walther, 1734); digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

⁸⁰ So Hobbs, “Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation,” 486.

⁸¹ Benito Arias Montanus, ed., *Hebraicorum biblicorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio et Novum Testamentum Graece cum interpretatione Latina interlineari* (Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1572); USTC 405720; University of Sheffield | RBR F 225.48. Changes to Pagninus’ text are italicised throughout, with the earlier readings placed in the margin.

There was also an earlier revision, the work of Miguel Servetus (who was later executed for heresy at Geneva); comparison with Pagninus’ 1528 *Ruth* text showed no differences affecting the case studies. See Michael Servetus, ed., *Biblia sacra ex Santis Pagnini translatione, sed ad Hebraicae linguae amussim novissimè ita recognita, & scholiis illustrata, ut planè nova editio videri possit: accessit praeterea Liber interpretationum Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Graecorumque nominum . . . ordine alphabetico digestus, eodem authore*, trans. Sante Pagninus (Lugduni [Lyon]: Apud Hugonem à Porta, 1542); USTC 140337.

⁸² Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, trans., *Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra sive Libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum Ecclesiae a Deo traditi, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Junio: accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur apocryphi, Latine redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio, multo omnes quam ante emendatus editi, numeris locisq[ue] citatis omnibus capitum distinctioni quam hac editio sequitur*,

This completes the set of Latin bible versions.⁸³

4.1.2 Germanic or “Douche” bibles

The term “Douche” is preferred within this study because it reflects the linguistic divisions as conceived by early modern translators (the King James’ translators’ “Dutch” is judged more confusing than Coverdale’s orthography) and reduces the tendency to identify such bibles with the geographical area of modern Germany. Full bibliographical details for the versions discussed may be found in the **Bibliography**, under § **Bibles**.

4.1.2.1 Pre-Lutheran editions

The history of printed Douche bibles begins with Johannes **Mentelin** whose printed bible (Strasbourg, 1466) was produced from a pre-existing translation of the Vulgate.⁸⁴ This formed the basis for a further thirteen High Douche bibles, including a revision by **Pflanzmann** (Augsburg: 1475, with illustrations), and a further reworking by **Koberger** (Nuremberg, 1483).⁸⁵ In the same period, four Low Douche versions were produced: two at Cologne (Quentell, 1478/9; the **Kölner** bibles),⁸⁶ one at **Lübeck** (Arndes, 1494), and another at **Halberstadt** (Stuchs, 1522).⁸⁷ The Kölner and Lübeck editions were based on the same manuscript family, and connected to the Douche bible printed at **Delft** in 1477 (Meers & Yemantzoon).⁸⁸

Such a collection of precursors meant Luther had much established language to draw on, and was able to choose from a wide pre-existing biblical vocabulary; but his approach—beginning with the Hebrew, and adapting for a domestic audience (“verdeutschen”)—was original.⁸⁹ Though no particular relationships to precursors are evident, comparison suggests greater correlation with the

exactius respondentibus: quibus etiam adjunximus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinum conversos (London: Henry Middleton [and Thomas Vautrollier], C[hristopher] B[arker], 1580); USTC 509177; ESTC S122426; STC 2056; digital copy | EEBO 1677.04. Reference has been made to later editions: for Joshua-Esther (including *Ruth*), the 1593 edition (London: Guilel. Norton); and where reference to the rest of the canon was required, a 1630 edition (Geneva: Phillipum Albertum). For full bibliographical details of these, see the bibliography of primary sources. The translation is referred to as “Tremellius-Junius”, “Tremellius”, or “Trem”.

⁸³ For some existing observations on the influence of these versions on English bibles, see Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*; idem “The Influence of Mediaeval Jewish Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England”; Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*.

⁸⁴ Dated (on linguistic grounds) to the early fourteenth century; cf. W. B. Lockwood, “Vernacular Scriptures in Germany and the Low Countries before 1500,” in CHB 2:433.

⁸⁵ The latter was based on an interim revision produced by Zainer (Augsburg: 1477).

⁸⁶ One Low Rhenish, the other Low Saxon. The very existence of two editions published in the same year is testimony to the significance of dialect: the publishers deemed it worthwhile adapting the text to suit readers not only in the Lower Rhineland but also neighbouring Saxony; see CHB 2:434.

⁸⁷ USTC 616608.

⁸⁸ For background to the Delft bible, see CHB 3:352–4.

⁸⁹ See Luther’s letter on translating, “Ein sendbrief D.M. Luthers. Von Dolmetzschen und Fürbit der heiligenn,” in *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 2, WA, 3: Deutsche Bibel (Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1909), 632–46 (i.e. WA DB 3:632–46). Also Eric W. Gritsch, “Luther as Bible Translator,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), 62–72.

Low Douche lexicon.⁹⁰ The picture is complex because there is crossover between the families, but in the case of *Ruth*, Luther has “barmhertzickeyt” (for רַחֲמִים, *chesed*; R1.8; 2.20; 3.10) as do the Low Douche versions;⁹¹ uses “Leib” (לֶבַע, *me’ay*; R1.11) as do Lübeck, Halberstadt and the High Douche versions; and rejects additions not present in the Hebrew.⁹² These and other Vulgate-based vernacular versions provide an occasional reference-point in discussion of change and stability.

4.1.2.2 Phases of Luther

There was considerable development in Wittenberg versions of *Ruth*, so that four separate Luther editions are referred to in the course of this study, published in the years 1524, 1534, 1541 and 1545 and denoted hereafter by the shorthand **L24**, **L34**, **L41** and **L45** respectively.⁹³ For both L24 and L41, manuscript records of the drafting process survive.⁹⁴ These are referred to as **L24ms** and **L40ms**. Where it is necessary to refer to Luther’s bible more generally, this is done in terms of numbered phases that overlap with the key *Ruth* versions: **phase 1** (c 1523-1528; L24), **phase 2** (1530-1537; L34), **phase 3** (1539-1542; L41), and **phase 4** (1544-1546; 1545). Labelling by phase is

⁹⁰ Heinz Bluhm, “Martin Luther and the Pre-Lutheran Low German Bibles,” *Modern Language Review* 62, no. 4 (1967): 642–53. The quantity of significant agreement in Bluhm’s sample was slight but favoured what he terms Low German. Bluhm observes that even with more plentiful examples, it would not be possible to establish whether lexical overlap is due to direct influence or simply to anticipation. Bluhm does propose an alternative explanation: good translations will logically resemble each other at points. The Low bibles are more imaginative and indeed more ‘free’ translations, leading Bluhm to describe them as superior to the High ones. If I have understood Bluhm correctly (and he does not provide criteria for his judgment) where the High texts may be hampered by holding close to the Vulgate, the freedom of the Low texts means that sometimes they happen upon words more suited to Luther’s work with the Hebrew—and words which Luther thus happened upon independently. That no earlier Douche versions claim a particular relationship with Luther’s work is corroborated by my own less complete survey of *Ruth*.

⁹¹ “Barmherzigkeit” (NHG) is arguably a development of “erbermd”, since the two terms are partially cognate—drawing on the common root “barmen”. Underlying the root is the concept of help for the poor (arm). For the High consensus, cf. Mentelin (1466) 1.8 “erbermbd”, 2.20 “genade”, 3.10 “erbermbd”; Eggestein (c 1468) “erbermde”, “gnade”, “erbermde”; Pflanzmann (1475) “erbermbde”, “gnad”, “erbermb”; Zainer (1475-6): “erbermd” (3x). (Delft has “ontfermherticheit”, “gratie”, “ontfermherticheit”.) The derivation is comparable—Pfeifer’s entry for “barmen” refers to the Old English “ofearmian”, “mit anderem Präfix und anderer Stammbildung”, that is with a different prefix and root formation. See EWD in DWDS, s.v. “erbarmen,” accessed Aug 01, 2011, <http://dwds.de/?qu=erbarmen/>.

⁹² As at R1.5, for example, the Latin adverb “orbata” has no correlate in the Hebrew. The Low and High bibles agree in translating the verb “remansit” with “bleiben” though some differ over the complement: “bleef berouet” (Koln, Halb), “beleyb beraubt” (Ment, Egg, Pfl); but “belib verwayset” (Zn) and “blef vorlaten” (Lubeck). Luther uses the same root, but in a compound form, compensating for the lack of complement: “überbleib”.

⁹³ These numbers refer specifically to new versions of *Ruth*. The first was published in 1524 in the second volume of Luther’s Old Testament translations, *Der Ander Teyl*, reissued in 1525 with one slight revision and again in 1526. The second version, i.e. the first substantial revision, was published in the complete Wittenberg bible of 1534. This was revised again for the 1541 bible, and for 1545. A similar pattern of revision, i.e. initial publication in the mid-1520s followed by reprints bearing very slight changes, then by more substantial revision in the 1530s, can be observed in other parts of the Old Testament. The individual editions from 1524, 1534, and 1541 have been examined directly. Other readings are taken from the critical edition compiled by Bindseil and Niemeyer: Heinrich Ernst Bindseil and Hermann Agathon Niemeyer, eds., *Dr. Martin Luther’s Bibelübersetzung nach der letzten Original-Ausgabe, kritisch bearbeitet*, 7 vols. (Halle: Druck und verlag der Canstein’schen Bibel-Anstalt, 1850). Full bibliographical details are supplied in the Bibliography at the end of this study.

⁹⁴ That of 1539–1541 (WA DB 3) has been mentioned already (cf. **Chapter 1, §1**). A transcription of the 1524 manuscript, comprising Judges to Song of Songs, was the first to be published in the Weimar bible series (WA DB 1; 1906).

beneficial because it better reflects the existence of multiple printings, and the scale of reprinting of Luther-based texts outside of Wittenberg.⁹⁵

4.1.2.3 Other Douche bibles

The complete bible of Johannes **Bugenhagen** (alias Pomeranus), was the first bible to use Luther's approved text throughout and bore Luther's name on the titlepage. A Low Douche text, it was published at Lubeck at the start of 1534.⁹⁶ It may have been used by Coverdale (see **Appendix**). It is referred to by the abbreviation **Bug**.

Of considerable significance are the bible(s) printed at **Zurich** by Christoffel Froschouer in 1530-1534 (referred to as **Z30**, **Z31** and **Z34**). Zurich's *Ruths* are revisions of a phase-1 Luther text. The 1534 edition (**Z34**) is distinctive, reintroducing elements found in the Vulgate and making other amendments that prove its identity as Coverdale's major "Douche" version.⁹⁷

In the Low Countries, the first *Ruth* of the sixteenth-century appeared in a 1525 four-volume Old Testament.⁹⁸ Its text was based on the 1477 Delft Bible and so is not treated separately in this study, though Luther's phase-1 text is evident in the Pentateuch. Two further translations swiftly followed, both based on the available portions of phase-1 Luther. The first was **Liesvelt's** (1526), "the bible of choice for sixteenth-century Dutch Protestants"⁹⁹ (This has also been consulted in the later 1542 edition.) The second was published at Antwerp by Willem **Vorsterman**; though

⁹⁵ The latter portions of the Old Testament do not quite fit this model, but are not immediately relevant. Further detail is given in the **Appendix, I. 5.4.2**. A fuller account can be found in Siegfried Raeder, "The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Martin Luther," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 363–406.

⁹⁶ Johann Bugenhagen, trans., *De Biblie: uth der uthbleggine Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich uthgesettet, mit sundergen underrichtingen, als men seen mach*, (Lübeck: Ludowich Dietz, 1533 [col.: 1534]). USTC 629067; VD16 B2840; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Though it bears the date MDXXXIII on the titlepage, MDXIII stands in the colophon at its close, suggesting its printing was completed in April (the beginning of the calendar year).

The extent of lexical correspondence has been analysed by Timothy Francis, and valued at ca. 97 per cent agreement. Though this figure is very high, it is not untypical of High to Low (or Low to High) Douche translations, with a control sample averaging 96 per cent correspondence. Timothy A. Francis, "'Schy van Worde Tho Worde' or 'Reyne Sprake'? How 'Pure' Was the 1534 'Bugenhagen' Translation of Luther's Bible into Low German?," in *Landmarks in the History of the German Language*, ed. Geraldine Horan, Nils Langer, and Sheila Watts, *British and Irish Studies in German Language and Literature* 52 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 35–56; see also Francis, "Linguistic Influence of Luther."

⁹⁷ *Bibel Teutsch der Ursprünglichen Hebreischen und Griechischen warheit nach auff's treünlichst verdolmetschet*, Zurich: Christoph. Froschouer, 1534. USTC 616427. Hereafter "Zurich 1534", "Z34".

Mozley emphasised the particularity of the 1534 edition in his monograph on Coverdale, but this has been overlooked by subsequent scholars. This, and the tendency to state that Luther was "obviously" one of Coverdale's sources, provoked my reinvestigation of the question, presented as an appendix to the present study.

⁹⁸ *Hier beghint Die Bibel int Dütsche neerstelick overgheset . . .* (Antwerp, Hans van Roemundt; for sale Delft: Peter Kaetz, 1525); USTC 437277. R1.1-7 and R3.1-15 are missing from the copy consulted (Univ. Gent. BHSL Res 1422), but key terms considered in this study were as the 1477 Delft OT. For background to the edition, see Arblaster, "Totius Mundi Emporium," 18.

⁹⁹ *Dat Oude ende dat Nieuwe Testament*, first edn (Antwerp: Jacob Liesvelt, 1526); USTC 400463; NK386. See Arblaster, "Totius Mundi Emporium," 19.

based on Luther, the text was revised independently (“gecorrigeert”) in consultation with the original versions. Vorsterman’s first Bible was published in 1528;¹⁰⁰ this study has relied principally upon the 1534 edition (**V34**), which would have been available as Coverdale undertook his translation task.¹⁰¹ Though mooted as a potential source for Coverdale, the Douche bible published at Worms in 1529 is not considered here, because its *Ruth* text exhibits no substantive differences when compared with that of Luther.¹⁰²

Opponents of Luther also produced vernacular bibles, though these often betray traces of Luther’s textual influence. That of Johann **Eck** (1537, produced “at the command of his prince”)¹⁰³ and the 1548 **Leuven** Bible represent orthodox Catholic Douche texts in this study.¹⁰⁴

Completing the set of Douche Bibles are: the Mennonite translation printed by **Biestkens** in 1560 and taken over by Dutch Lutherans;¹⁰⁵ the annotated **Deux-Aes** Bible (based on Liesvelt, 1562);¹⁰⁶ and the **Statenvertaaling**, the official bible of the Dutch Reformed Church, commissioned by the Synod of Dordrecht and published in 1637.¹⁰⁷ The last became the enduring text for Dutch Protestants, acquiring a cultural status comparable to the King James Version in England.¹⁰⁸

4.1.3 Romance versions

The first French bible of the sixteenth-century was produced by the “evangelical humanist”, Jacques **Lefèvre**, providing a straightforward translation of the Vulgate;¹⁰⁹ the Old Testament was printed at Antwerp in 1528, incorporated into a complete bible in 1530, and reprinted with slight revision and annotations in 1534 and 1541.¹¹⁰ The 1534 edition furnished both peritext and

¹⁰⁰ Vorsterman, *Den Bibel Tgebeele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met Grooter Naersticheyt naden Latijnschen Text Gecorrigeert* (Antwerp: Willem Vorsterman, 1528). NK392; USTC 402988.

¹⁰¹ *Das Bibel: Tgebeele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* (Antwerp: Vorsterman, 1534). NK405; USTC 437650. This edition was a reprise of the 1528 text, interim versions having moved closer to the Vulgate. On the care and diligence exercised by the revisers, which stretched to consulting the Complutensian Polyglot with the aim of conforming Lutheran versions more closely “with more traditional translation options”, see Arblaster, “Totius Mundi Emporium”, 23. Comparison of V34 *Ruth* with the 1531 edition shows only two substantive differences: replacement of “Boos” with “Gods” in the summary of R2; and removal of a redundant clause produced when harmonising Hebrew with Vulgate in R2.23.

¹⁰² *Bjblia: beyder Allt und Neuen Testaments Tentsch* (Worms: Peter Schöffner, 1529). USTC 616843.

¹⁰³ CHB 3:109. *Bibel: Alt und New Testament, nach dem Text in der hailigen Kirchen gebraucht* (Ingolstadt: Krapff; Augsburg: Weissenhorn, 1537). USTC 616841.

¹⁰⁴ *Den gbeheelen Bybel*, (Leuven: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1548); USTC 400782. See CHB 3:123

¹⁰⁵ *Den Bibel, inboudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* ([Emden?]: Biestkens, 1560); USTC 632419.

An earlier edition appeared at Emden in 1558. CHB 3:124.

¹⁰⁶ *Biblia: dat is, de gantsche Heylighe Schrift, grondelick ende trouwelick verduydschet* (Emden: [?Gellius Ctematius], 1562); USTC 401121.

¹⁰⁷ *Biblia, dat is, de gantsche H. Schrifture* ([Leiden]: Paulus Aertsz[oon] van Ravensteyn, [1637]); D&M 3307.

¹⁰⁸ CHB 3:352–3.

¹⁰⁹ Lefèvre’s text was not wholly original, drawing on Jean de Rély’s *Bible historiale*, from which he stripped away non-biblical accretions. See further CHB 3:115–7. Lefèvre is sometimes referred to by the Latin alias “Stapulensis”, which derives from his place of origin, Étapes.

¹¹⁰ Editions consulted for this study are: *La Sainte Bible en Francoys* (Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1530) USTC 378; USTC 424 (Antwerp: Merten de Keyser, 1534); and USTC 73408 (Antwerp: [Antoine des Gois], 1541). Revisions in the 1534 edition were partly based on Stephanus’ 1532 edition of the Vulgate. See CHB 3:115–7.

paratext for the Matthew Bible.¹¹¹ Pierre **Olivétan** prepared a new version, making use of Lefèvre’s text but operating with the Hebrew in view and with assistance from other sources including Pagninus’ Latin;¹¹² this was first published in Neuchâtel in 1535, and became the basis for further Protestant editions. Subsequent editions appeared at Geneva, including the 1540 Bible de l’Épée referred to hereafter by reference to its editors, Antoine **Marcourt** and Jean **Morand (Marc-Mor.)**;¹¹³ a revision coordinated and prefaced by Calvin in 1551 and referred to by the shorthand **Genève** within this study (**Gve**);¹¹⁴ and a freshly annotated edition in 1559 courtesy of the printers Barbier & Courteau.¹¹⁵ The pair provided the template for future Geneva editions in English, Latin, French and Italian;¹¹⁶ a 1562 reprint of theirs has been employed for the current study (“**Barb.-Crt.**”), alongside Jean de Tournes’ outwardly Catholic (but textually Protestant) Lyon Bible (1564 edn).¹¹⁷ Theodor Bèze (alias Beza), Corneille Bertram (professor of Hebrew) and others collaborated on the most substantial revision, published at Geneva in 1588; R.A. Sayce terms this “the Geneva Bible *par excellence*”, though it is referred to within the present study as **Beza’s** edition.¹¹⁸ To these one must add Castellio’s French version (**Châteillon, Chât**), a text that like his

¹¹¹ Mozley, *Coverdale*, 146.

¹¹² *La Bible, qui est toute la Sainte escripture*, (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Wingle, 1535); USTC 1096. See Dominique Barthélemy, Henri Meylan, and Bernard Roussel, eds., *Olivétan, celui qui fit passer la Bible d’Hébreu en Français: Études* (Biel / Bienne: Swiss Bible Society, 1986). Also CHB 3:117–9.

¹¹³ *La Bible, en laquelle sont contenus tous les livres canoniques*, (Geneva: Jean Girard, 1540); USTC 4700. Alias *La Bible de l’Épée*, the revision was based on Olivétan’s own notes, but carried out by Marcourt and Morand, who consulted Münster’s Latin version (and not Hebrew directly). See Max Engammare, “Cinquante ans de révision de la traduction biblique d’Olivétan: Les bibles réformées Genevoises en Français au XVIe Siècle,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 53, no. 2 (1991): 351–2.

¹¹⁴ *La Bible, qui est toute la sainte Esriture . . . reveuz* (Genève: Jean Crespin, 1551); USTC 5622. There was an interim edition in 1546, which returned to the 1535 text; Calvin’s 1551 edition is similarly a revision of the 1535. Engammare judges the changes in the OT to be mainly aesthetic, affecting style and lexis; and reliant upon a 1546 edition of Münster’s Latin (“Cinquante Ans de Révision de La Traduction Biblique d’Olivétan,” 355–7). The 1551 text was reprinted with ‘Arguments’ for each book in 1552, and versified in 1553. For the latter see *ibid.*, 359; CHB 3:442. On the complex history of versification, see G. F. Moore, “The Vulgate Chapters and Numbered Verses in the Hebrew Bible,” *JBL* 12, no. 1 (1893): 73–8. The first Latin edition to be versified according to the now standard English system was that of Stephanus; in Genevan editions, this prompted new, detailed, chapter-head summaries. The Bomberg press issued a Hebrew Bible with numbered verses in 1547–8, but it employed the slightly different verse divisions used by Pagninus. Moore traces versification to R. Isaac Nathan’s fifteenth-century biblical concordance.

¹¹⁵ Their innovations are the subject of further discussion in **Chapter 4 §5.2**. Two editions with different sets of annotations appeared in 1560. These were too late (one may assume) to affect the English Geneva version, the preface of which is dated 10 April, 1560 (barely two weeks into the new year under the Julian calendar). The 1559 edition, not consulted directly for this study, is USTC 5696: *La Bible, qui est toute la sainte Esriture: ascavoir le vieil et nouveau Testament: de Nouveau reveue, avec Arguments sur chacun livre, nouvelles annotations en marge, fort utiles: par lesquelles on peut, sans grand labour, obtenir la vraie intelligence du sens de l’Esriture, avec recueil de grande doctrine* ([Geneva]: Nicolas Barbier; Thomas Courteau, 1559).

¹¹⁶ CHB 3:443.

¹¹⁷ *La Bible: qui est toute la sainte Esriture* ([Geneva]: Nicolas Barbier; Thomas Courteau, 1562) USTC 5717; *La Sainte Bible* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1564) USTC 6535. See CHB 3:120.

¹¹⁸ *La Bible, qui est Toute la Sainte Esriture* (Genève: [?] Jérémie des Planches], 1588); USTC 60663. See CHB 3:119. On the thorough character of the revisions and their attentiveness to the Hebrew (while embracing a ‘sense-for-sense’ approach), see Engammare, “Cinquante Ans de Révision de la Traduction Biblique d’Olivétan,” 364–6. The other revisers are identified as Charles Perot, Jean Jacquemot and Jean-Baptiste Rotan.

Latin was based directly on the Hebrew.¹¹⁹ His approach is not dissimilar to Luther's, leading Sayce to characterise it as 'gallicising'; it was not well received, indicating the tide of conservatism in French translation (and more personal hostility towards Castello).¹²⁰

In 1532, Antonio **Brucioli** published a bible in his native Tuscan¹²¹—a language that, aided by its publishing prestige, evolved into the national language of Italy. Further editions followed, all at Venice; that of 1539 also features in the present study's sample.¹²² It has been suggested that Brucioli was dependent on Pagninus for the Old Testament, but there are significant elements of independence in his translations.¹²³ F. **Rustici** revised Brucioli's OT, the result being published at Geneva in 1562 (with Massimo Teofilo's NT).¹²⁴ An independent translation was produced by Giovanni **Diodati**, the professor of Hebrew and later of Theology at Geneva, published in 1607 and in revised form (with increased annotation) in 1641.¹²⁵

Parts of the Bible had been printed in Catalan, Portuguese and Spanish in the first half of the sixteenth century, but the first complete translation of the Hebrew Bible—and of *Ruth*—was that presented in the two editions of the **Ferrara Bible** (both 1553).¹²⁶ Characterised linguistically as a Ladino bible, its editions targeted discrete audiences: Jews and Christians. The word-for-word approach made it a useful tool for later translators. The first complete Christian bible was the work of Cassiodoro de **Reina** and "collaborators", published at Basel in 1569;¹²⁷ another edition appeared in 1602, lightly revised by Reina's associate, Cipriano de Valera (the **Reina-Valera**

¹¹⁹ Châteillon (i.e. Castello), Sébastien, trans. *La Bible nouvellement translattée avec la suite de l'histoire depuis le tems d'Esdras insqu'aux Maccabées, e depuis les Maccabées insqu'a Christ: item avec des annotations sur les passages difficiles*. Par Sebastian Chateillon, (Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1555). USTC 5655.

¹²⁰ As an independent thinker, Castellio was openly critical of Calvin. A particular point of contention in this period was the execution of Miguel Servetus for heresy in 1553, an act Castellio strongly condemned. "Geneva devoted much energy to unsuccessful efforts to silence [Castellio] and destroy his reputation." MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 245.

¹²¹ *La Biblia: quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento, tradotti da la Hebraica verita in lingua Toscana*, ([Venice]: Lucantonio Giunti, 1532). USTC 802599.

¹²² *La Biblia quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento*, (Venice: [Frederico Torresano, for Bartolomeo Zanetti], 1539). USTC 802865.

¹²³ Kenelm Foster remarks somewhat judgmentally that Brucioli had seemingly drawn on Pagninus "heavily—without acknowledgement", as if acknowledgement was customary; see CHB 3:110–3 (110). Evidence of Brucioli's independence may be seen in the translation of *chayil* as applied to women, cf. **Table 5.2**, and discussion in **Chapter 5**. Brucioli's was not the first new Italian bible, Nicolò Malerbi having prepared one from the Vulgate, published at Venice in 1471; see Max Engammare, "De la Chaire au Bucher: La Bible dans l'Europe de la Renaissance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 61, no. 3 (1999): 739.

¹²⁴ *La Biblia, che si chiama il Vecchio Testamento*, (Geneva: Francesco Durone, 1562). USTC 804180.

¹²⁵ *La Bibbia*, (Geneva: Jean de Tournes, 1607); D&M 5598. *La Sacra Bibbia*, (Geneva: Pietro Chouët, 1641); D&M 5600.

¹²⁶ The edition consulted for this study is: *Biblia en lengua Española traduzida palabra por palabra dela verdad Hebrayca* (Ferrara: a costa y despesa de Jeronimo de Vargas, 1553); USTC 800960. The other edition bore a Hebrew dedication and its translators Hebrew names. See CHB 3:127; and Leo Wiener, "The Ferrara Bible II," *Modern Language Notes* 11, no. 1 (1896): 12–21.

¹²⁷ *La Biblia: que es, los sacros libros del Vieio y Nuevo Testamento*, (Basel: Thomas Guarin, 1569). USTC 671413. "Collaborators" is Kinder's term; one is identifiable as Francisco Zapata; cf. Arthur Gordon Kinder, *Cassiodoro De Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis, 1975), 36.

Bible).¹²⁸ This version served subsequent generations of Spanish-speaking Protestants. (It is unclear whether Reina’s sympathies are better categorised as broad or varied: He was initially connected to the Francophone Reformed communities in London and Frankfurt, but became pastor to a Lutheran congregation in Antwerp at their request.¹²⁹ He apparently corresponded with Castellio (then at Basel) during a stay at Geneva;¹³⁰ while a personal dedication appears in one copy of his bible: to Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, thanking him for saving the manuscript from destruction.¹³¹ Reina thus embodies the complexity of interplay between scholars in England and the rest of Europe.)

4.2 Pre-modern sources

In addition to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts, and their immediate predecessors (typically the first printed bibles; in English the Wycliffite manuscripts), ancient versions have also been consulted, these having exercised influence over many of the translators, as is shown not only in commentary but also by the Prophezei sessions for which the Zurich Church was renowned. Here, the bible was expounded from Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts in turn.¹³²

The text of the Septuagint has commonly been consulted in Rahlfs’ 1935 edition, this having been compared with the Complutensian Polyglot only in matters of acute interest. Bomberg’s series of Hebrew bibles are widely agreed to have been influential. Editions from 1517 and 1525 have been reviewed for textual variants; as have the Complutensian Polyglot, Münster’s Hebrew text, the Montanus Polyglot, and the 1494 Soncino edition, finding no substantive differences.¹³³ Where the Hebrew of *Ruth* is referred to in this study, it is typically quoted from a modern digital edition based on the Leningrad Codex.¹³⁴

Where relevant, consideration has been given to Jewish exegesis, including the Aramaic Targums.¹³⁵ Münster and others took pains to consult rabbinic sources, though others distrusted the rabbis and

¹²⁸ *La Biblia: . . . Segunda edicion. Revista y conferida con los textos hebreos y griegos y con diversas translaciones* (Amsterdam: Lorenzo Jacobi, 1602); D&M 8475.

¹²⁹ Kinder, *Casiodoro De Reina*, 63.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹³² See Opitz, “Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Oecolampadius, Zwingli and Calvin,” esp. 420–22; Hobbs, “Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation,” (including use of the prophezei model at Strasbourg); or see the very brief account in Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 34.

¹³³ The comparisons were limited to points of particular focus (prompted by odd translation): R2.8–9 and R3.1–2 (interrogatives); R3.13 (enlarged consonants); R3.15 (who went into the city); and R4.15 (Ruth better than seven sons).

¹³⁴ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, Michigan-Claremont encoding; modified by Groves-Wheeler Westminster Morphology and Lemma Database (edn 4.14) (Norfolk, Va: BibleWorks LLC, 2011).

¹³⁵ Principally using C.M.M. Brady’s English translation but with reference also to D.R.G. Beattie, “The Targum of Ruth: Translated with Introduction, Apparatus and Notes,” in *The Targum of Ruth: Translated with*

studiously avoided ‘infection’.¹³⁶ This attitude was often accompanied by hostility to scholastic exegesis too, but Lyra and the standardised medieval collection of bible annotations known as the Ordinary Gloss continued as a point of reference for some.¹³⁷ The interaction between early modern and medieval ideas is of particular concern in discussion of theology (**Chapter 4**); Lesley Smith’s English anthology of medieval exegesis has been the principal point of reference in this regard (see **Ch.1 §4**).¹³⁸

4.3 Limitations

There are some limitations to taking so broad a sample: It has not always been possible to consult the first edition of early modern versions; where relationships of dependence are considered, this ought to be taken into account. In addition, it has been necessary to use restricted samples in some circumstances: when the translation of a term has been analysed across the canon, it has not been judged expedient to compile data from every version. Assembling such samples digitally is complicated by wide variation in orthography, while the absence of transcribed digital editions for many earlier and intermediary editions means that such data collection is a protracted and impractical process. Moreover, the resulting data may be unwieldy. In these instances, preference has been given to enduring editions. Sample choices are detailed within each section, with data tables and figures (numbered according to the chapters) supplied at the end of the study.

4.4 Commentaries

Commentaries on *Ruth* constitute an additional sample, furnishing not only translations but also information about how the Hebrew and translated versions of *Ruth* were being read in the early modern period. Alongside the paratext that accompanies bible translations, commentaries provide the clearest evidence of the contemporary discourses with which *Ruth* was associated.

Several *Ruth* commentaries were published in the course of the sixteenth century, ranging from a pamphlet for students learning Hebrew (presented in the vernacular Douche by Johann Boeschstein, 1525)¹³⁹ to the verbose and “godly” homilies of Edmund Topsell, who chose *Ruth*

Introduction, Apparatus and Notes by D.R.G. Beattie. *The Targum of Chronicles: Translated, with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* by J. Stanley McIvor., *The Aramaic Bible* 19 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); D.R.G. Beattie, “The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D.R.G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, JSOT Suppl. 166 (Sheffield: JSOT Press | Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 340–48; C. M. M. Brady, “Targum Ruth in English,” *Targuman*, accessed Jun 18, 2011, <http://targuman.org/blog/targum-ruth/targum-ruth-in-english/>.

¹³⁶ See above, **n.77**, and discussion of Forster in **Chapter 7**.

¹³⁷ See e.g. Ludwig Lavater’s references to “Lyra” (Nicholas Lyra) discussed below, **Ch. 4, 2.2.4, n.48**. For background to the Ordinary Gloss, see McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*, 125–6.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Medieval Exegesis in Translation*.

¹³⁹ Johann Böschenstein, *Die warhafftig histori der Moabitischen frauen, Ruth: wie sie zum gesetz Gotes, und dem Boas vermehelt ward, gebar den Obed den vater Yschai, der was der vater Davids, auss welchem geboren ist Jhesus der ewig geporn sun*

as his preaching text in part to respond to England's experience of "dearth" in the mid-1590s.¹⁴⁰ More widely circulated was the commentary of Johann Brenz, based on the Vulgate (though Brenz was himself a reformer) and intended as a preaching aid; first published in Latin in 1535, a Douche edition followed in 1539, with the original edition reprinted in 1536, 1544, 1546, 1553, and 1562, and the Douche in 1551, 1552 and 1560.¹⁴¹ Johann Isaac's commentary was published at (Catholic) Cologne in 1558.¹⁴² It is in part a response to the author's frustration with other Hebraists who are, in his view, providing bad information about Hebrew grammar. He accompanies a text-oriented analysis of *Ruth* (mainly the parsing and translation of verbs and difficult grammatical points) with occasional notes criticising the bible translation of Sebastian Castellio and a lengthy appendix criticising the Lexicon of the late Johann Förster (see **Chapter 7**).

In 1576, Ludwig Lavater published a series of 28 sermons all on the book of *Ruth*.¹⁴³ Lavater was a pastor at Zurich and subsequently Antistes, i.e. head of the Zurich Church, a post he held for a year prior to his death in 1586. His style reflects the Zurich hermeneutic, incorporating references to classical sources and to fellow commentators to enlighten the text; then applying it to the immediate social concerns of his pastorate, with lively treatment of the sexual threats one might find in the harvest field addressed to a male Latin-literate audience. Remarkably, Lavater's commentary was Englished some years later in 1586 by the eleven-year-old Ephraim Pagitt;¹⁴⁴

Gottes unser erloeser, von Hebraischer sprach wort von wort in Teuetsch (den ersten schuelern der Hebrayschen zungen zue nutz) vertenetscht durch Johann Boeschentayn. Item die ordenung und ermanungen so die Hebreer sich gebrauchen ueber ire gestorbnen in jrer begrebnus. Nuremberg: Hans Hergot, 1525. | USTC 637419; VD16 B3046. For Boeschenstein's other translations, see CHB 3:104–5.

¹⁴⁰ Edward Toppell, in *The reward of religion; delivered in sundry lectures upon the booke of Ruth, wherein the godly may see their daily and outward tryals, with the presence of God to assist them, and His mercies to recompence them: verie profitable for this present time of dearth, wherein many are most pittifully tormented with want, and also worthie to be considered in this golden age of the preaching of the Word, when some vomit up the loathsomnes therof, and others fall away to damnable securitie* (London: John Windet, 1596). The commentary was reprinted in 1597, 1601 and again in 1613.

¹⁴¹ This list is of standalone editions, or those published as an addition to Judges. The *Ruth* commentary was also included in larger volumes. The editions consulted for this study are: Johannes Brenz, *In librum Iudicum et Ruth commentarius: Iohanne Brentio authore*, reprint; first edn, 1535; (Hagenau: Braubach, 1536). USTC 665989; VD16 B7760; digital copy: Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum. Johannes Brenz, *Das Buch der Richter unnd Ruth ausgelegt*, trans. Hiob Gast, (Augsburg: Steiner, 1539). USTC 626938; VD16 B 7764 [Ruth only]; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

¹⁴² Johanne Isaac, *Hegyonot: Meditationes hebraicae in artem grammaticam, per integrum librum Ruth explicatae, una cum aliarum rerum nunnullis accessionibus, huius linguae tyronibus cum primis utilibus ac necessariis. authore Iohanne Isaac, amplissimi Senatus Colonien[sis]. publico Professore. Ad Summae Spei Atque Indolis adolescentem Iohannem a Liskirchen. Adiecta sunt etiam quaedam contra fallacissimam Castalionis Bibliorum interpretationem, simul & contra confusissimum D. Iohannis Fursteri, quandoq[ue] Professoris Vvittenbergensis, Lexicon, omnibus tum Hebraica lingua, tum sacrarum literarum studiosis utilissima, ac maxime necessaria.* (Cologne: Jacob Soter, 1558); USTC 661249.

I refer to him as Johann Isaac in accordance with his titlepage, though other scholars refer to him as Johann Isaac Levita; the latter I take to be a designation, akin to 'Ruth the Moabite'.

¹⁴³ Ludwig Lavater, *Liber Ruth: per Ludovicum lavaterum tygurinum, homiliis XX VIII expositus. Accessit index*, USTC 672875; VD16 L824; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1578). It was soon included in a collected volume of Zurich commentaries (1582) and reprinted alone in 1601.

¹⁴⁴ Ludwig Lavater, *The Book of Ruth expounded in Twenty Eight Sermons: by Lewes Lavaterus of Tygurine, and by hym published in Latine, and now translated into Englishe by Ephraim Pagitt, a Childe of Eleven Yeares of Age*, trans. Ephraim Pagitt (London: Robert Waldegrave, dwelling without Temple-bar, 1586). Where this and the original Latin edition are discussed, the versions are commonly referred to by the abbreviations "L" for Lavater's Latin and

that this coincided with the highpoint of Lavater's career is likely no accident. Pagitt's intended audience was female, his principal dedicatee being Anne Seymour, widow of the late Lord Protector of Somerset—indeed all his dedicatees are women, and he indicates that this text provides a fitting education for those who have experienced both widowhood and exile.¹⁴⁵ Had he passed through adolescence, he may well have reconsidered and bowdlerised some of Lavater's more risqué material.¹⁴⁶

The commentary of the Flemish Hebraist Johann van den Driesche, alias Drusius, (1586, repr. 1617, 1632) is explanatory.¹⁴⁷ Dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been of service to him during a period of exile in England, the hundred-page commentary follows a philological approach, discussing difficulties in interpretation, various solutions and giving reasons for Drusius' preferences. It includes a complete translation from the Hebrew, set in parallel columns with the Vulgate (the "editio vetus").

Together these commentaries provide insight into the Hebrew skills and exegetical concerns of scholars in the early modern period. The selection is not exhaustive, and leans somewhat toward reformers' discourse, as does much material discussed. Johann Isaac, together with the bibles of Santes Pagninus (1528), Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1530), Johann Eck (1537), the Leuven Bible (1548) and the Douai OT (1609, 1610), represents the Roman side of the reformation debates. A further study might glean more about the Catholic hermeneutics of this period.

As noted in the previous chapter, this study also draws on a wide range of recent studies of *Ruth*, these having been consulted prior to the commencement of the early modern study, and providing a benchmark by which early modern translations may be assessed (as well as provoking questions about older interpretive trends).

4.5 Reference works

"P" for Pagitt's English.

In adult life, Pagitt wrote two major works: *Christianographie, or, The description of the multitude and sundry sorts of Christians in the world not subject to the pope* (1635) and *Heresiography, or, A Description of the Heretickes and Sectaries of these Latter Times* (1645). See further, S. C. Dyton, "Pagett [Pagit], Ephraim (1574-1646)," ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, *Oxford DNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), accessed Jun 05, 2014 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21125>.

¹⁴⁵ See **Chapter 6, §5.3.1**.

¹⁴⁶ This is explored in more detail in an as yet unfinished paper. See **Chapter 1, n.83**.

¹⁴⁷ Joannes Drusius, *Historia Ruth: ex Ebraeo Latine conversa, & commentario explicata. Eiusdem historiae tralatio Graeca ad exemplor Complutense, & notae in Eandem. Additus est tractatus, An Ruben Mandragoras invenerit. Opera ac studio I. Drusij* (Franekeræ: Aegidius Radaeus, 1586). The edition consulted for this study is normally the 1632 reprint: Joannes Drusius, *Historia Ruth: ex Ebraeo Latine conversa, & commentario explicata. Eiusdem historiae tralatio Graeca ad exemplor Complutense, & notae in Eandem. Additus est tractatus, An Ruben Mandragoras invenerit. Opera ac studio I. Drusij*, reprint of 1586 orig. (Amsterdam: Ioannem Ianssonium, 1632). A brief comparison with the original showed no significant differences beyond pagination. Page numbers refer to the 1632 text.

Claims of ideological interference have to take into account the historical meaning of words. As Basil Hatim contends, within descriptive translation studies “language use has to be assessed within [the] parameters [of its sociolinguistic context] and not in the light of such criteria as universal logic.”¹⁴⁸ Knowing how words were employed in the past requires specialised reference tools.

In English, one important tool is the electronic corpus available via Early English Books Online (EEBO). More than 40,000 of the 70,000 texts available through the database have now been entered in searchable form,¹⁴⁹ such that it is possible to consider other appearances of terms and groups of terms (collocations) when discussing a translation choice. The EEBO search facilities include filters so that earlier and/or contemporaneous usage can be brought into focus, though the corpus is limited to printed works, beginning in 1473.

Similar tools exist in other languages: The integrated corpus of historical lexicons covering medieval and early modern forms of Flemish, Dutch, and Low German provided by the Institute for Dutch Lexicography (INL) is directly intended to provide information about language usage in the period.¹⁵⁰ Historical forms of German are documented in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (DWB) produced by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, a work populated with examples and chronologically organised with many examples drawn from the sixteenth-century;¹⁵¹ the digital edition is located within a wider database of Germanic forms, *Woerterbuchnetz.de*. Additional etymological information is provided by the *Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (DWDS).¹⁵² Other post-1850 resources consulted include the selection of dictionaries provided by the *Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales* (CNRTL), and Lewis and Short’s Latin dictionary.¹⁵³ For English, the OED is the

¹⁴⁸ Basil Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation*, Applied Linguistics in Action (Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education, 2001), 125.

¹⁴⁹ Statistics from Call for Papers issued by the University of Oxford in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Text Creation Partnership (the collaboration which produces searchable transcriptions for EEBO), and circulated via the Textual Scholarship group on JISC.ac.uk, 13 April 2012.

¹⁵⁰ Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, “Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank: Historische Woordenboeken,” accessed October 26, 2013, <http://gtb.inl.nl/>.

¹⁵¹ *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, Wörterbuchnetz | Trier Centre for Digital Humanities, 2011; print edition: Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1854–1961, 1971, 16 vols., accessed Jun 01, 2014, <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB/>. Where there is more than one lemma for a given word, or a long entry, volume and column of the printed edition are included with the reference.

The woerterbuchnetz.de hub also provides access to other digitised lexica, including Benecke, Müller, and Zarncke’s dictionary of Middle High German (*Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, **BMZ**).

¹⁵² *Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, <http://www.dwds.de/>.

Particular reference is made to the *Etymologische Wörterbuch des Deutschen* module (**EWD**) accompanying each entry. The online edition of the EWD is based on the second print edition (1993) but continues to be corrected and supplemented by the original editor, Wolfgang Pfeifer.

¹⁵³ CNRTL is a web resource created under the auspices of the National Centre for Scientific Research in France (*Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*). Its lexical portal combines resources including three editions of the Académie Française’s dictionary, a Middle French dictionary, and an updated digitised version of the Treasury of the French Language (*Le Trésor de la Langue Française*). <http://www.cnrtl.fr/>.

Charlton Thomas Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin dictionary: founded on Andrews’ edition of Freund’s Latin dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. and Charles Short, LL.D.* (Oxford:

standard point of reference, though one must be cautious with regard to its evidence for the first appearance of terms.¹⁵⁴

Bi- or multilingual dictionaries produced in the early modern period provide another source of relevant information. Those consulted include Thomas Elyot's English Latin dictionary (publ. 1538);¹⁵⁵ two French-English dictionaries (Palsgrave 1530; Cotsgrave 1611); Baret's trilingual *Alvearie* (1573); Dasypodius' *Dictionarium Latinogermanicum* (1536); the Latin glosses in Maaler's *Wörterbuch Die Teütsch Sprach* (1561); Nebrija's *Dictionarium latinohispanicum, et vice versa* (1560); and Orozco's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611). Full bibliographical details are supplied *ad loc* and in the Reference section of the Bibliography.

A range of other sources, primary and secondary, are referred to throughout this study, whether in terms of historical discourse, translation studies, or biblical studies. These have been selected in relation to the themes emerging, and are accounted for in their context.

One secondary source deserves independent mention here, because it adds extra context to the discussion of shifting norms in the course of the sixteenth century: Looking at translation of non-religious texts in the Tudor era, Massimiliano Morini has argued that the material available to medieval translators had led to a broad concept of translation, focused on “mere transmission of content” and thus permitting “rewriting, and the metamorphosis of the original”.¹⁵⁶ Humanist discourse, combined with the “new attitude to textual integrity and authorial rights” (7) created by printing, led later translators to seek justification for their approach, with a combination of desire to understand the source in philological terms (cf. 67) and a different freedom, brought about by a growing trust in the capacities of English, the freedom to domesticate. These three factors, Humanism, printing and a shift in the perception of English (from marginal to imperial) explain, for Morini, how the theory and practice of translation developed during the sixteenth century. One may therefore legitimately ask whether features of the earlier modern translations (Tyndale, Coverdale) are attributable to a different concept of translation, acceptability and fidelity, and whether the later versions (Douai-Rheims, King James) show evidence of the increased interest in philology and greater confidence about the English language. Morini deals also with the

Clarendon Press, 1879). Consulted in the online digitised edition of Perseus Digital Library.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>.

¹⁵⁴ See Norton, “On Some Words in Tyndale’s Old Testament but Missing from the Authorized Version,” 129–37, 289–344.

¹⁵⁵ I.e. *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot Knyght* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1538). As Elyot explains in his preface, the work was encouraged by Henry VIII, with the effect that Elyot was forced to extend his original text—including longer entries from “M” onward, and an appendix with additions to A–L, based on the king’s own library.

¹⁵⁶ Massimiliano Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2006), 6. Further page references are given in the main text.

figurative language used to describe a translator's work, and so provides tools for reflection on equivalent peritextual discourse.¹⁵⁷

5 THEORETICAL CONCERNS

5.1 Intention

Engagement with other contemporaneous sources is intended primarily as a check and balance upon the inference of ideological dimensions in the English versions. There are significant perils attached to discussion of intentionality with regard to translators, just as with regard to writers more widely.¹⁵⁸ Even where the translator's own testimony is available (e.g. in the prefaces) one must remember that the genre is rhetorical and the testimony potentially misleading. An autograph manuscript such as those made by Luther during the 1540 revisions is an exceptional piece of evidence, but even that treats only limited instances of intervention and with sparse annotation. To reiterate a principle established in the previous chapter, both conscious and unconscious translation decisions are ideologically led; this principle permits the discussion of ideological influences without requiring proof of deliberate interference. That is not to say that there should be no checks or balances.

Contemporaneous sources provide legitimate information about the kind of concerns brought to the text. Philologically-oriented commentaries show how the Hebrew text was being read. Homiletical commentaries attest the application of both source and translated texts. Together these, along with related discourse, may support (or weaken) hypotheses about ideologically-led interpretations. Support does not constitute proof (or its reverse). For, while other discourse can

¹⁵⁷ The terminology here is borrowed from Gérard Genette's *Paratexts* (1997). "Peritexts" are those textual elements attached to the text, whether put in place by author and/or publisher; hence prefaces, glossary, titling. "Epitexts" are external documents such as correspondence, reviews, and promotional material. Cf. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 233.

¹⁵⁸ Authorial intention has been problematised in mid-twentieth-century discussion of the distinction between the role of author and reader in constructing a text's meaning. As a positivist, Wolfgang Iser advocated the reader's participation in a meaning-making process that is ultimately guided by the author. Stanley Fish's seminal book, *Is there a Text in this Class?* radically questioned this authorial determination, a theoretical position that facilitated subsequent committed readings. Both Iser and Fish constitute positions in the spectrum of reception criticism. Wolfgang Iser, *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974). Stanley Eugene Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980). Such theoretical discussion has had considerable impact on allied disciplines including biblical studies and translation studies. For the former, see John F.A. Sawyer, "The Role of Reception Theory, Reader-Response Criticism And/or Impact History in the Study of the Bible: Definition and Evaluation" (presented at the Society of Biblical Literature, Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas: (Blackwell Bible Commentaries), 2004), <http://bbibcomm.net/files/sawyer2004.pdf>. Mary Snell-Hornby characterises function-oriented theories of translation as a response to the problems raised by reader-response theorists; see Mary Snell-Hornby, *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?*, e-Book, Benjamins Translation Library 66 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006), 104ff (section 3.3).

show the presence of an ideological stance in the shared domain, this does not capture the individual's unique ideological station. Showing the presence of a reading elsewhere cannot prove it was in a translator's mind. Argumentation is thus necessarily both circumstantial and cumulative.

In addition, all arguments take as their foundation the reality of underdetermination: If ideology is *a* factor, it is not therefore *the only* factor determining any translation or part thereof.¹⁵⁹

5.2 Notions of equivalence

Discussion of the bible versions in different languages requires a serviceable concept of equivalence. Much translation discourse into the mid-twentieth century was concerned with issues of literalness. Operating between two poles, critics have traditionally found fault with translations on grounds of either excessive literalism (being “slavish”) or excessive liberty (“infidelity”).

Laurence Venuti, Naomi Seidman, and others have done much to demonstrate the ideological loadedness of these terms: what one person perceives as “slavish” (a slave to the source language), a reappraisal might find “creative” (innovative with the target language).¹⁶⁰ “Equivalence” came to the fore with Eugene Nida's attempt to put translation into a scientific context, using Chomsky's generative-structuralist account of language. Working down to the deep structure of universal language, one might identify kernels of meaning beneath the source text and redress them in the target language without becoming preoccupied with word-for-word correspondence; Nida operated in terms of “dynamic” (later “functional”) equivalence rather than “formal equivalence”, asking his trainee translators to think in terms of the reader's response to the text.¹⁶¹ While the universalist paradigm has been largely abandoned (though Anna Wierzbicka's work on Natural Semantic Primes might be seen as an effort to recover some universals),¹⁶² Nida's influence went beyond the structuralist camp, and equivalence continued as a central theme of discussion in translation studies into the 1990s (and perhaps the present day).¹⁶³

In recent translation theory and particularly within descriptive translation studies, the notion that translated terms might not be equivalent has been abandoned in terms of an assumed equivalence. Such is the epistemological position of this study. Equivalent may then refer to “any [target

¹⁵⁹ See Andrew Chesterman, “On Explanation,” in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni, Benjamins Translation Library, EST 75 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 375–6.

¹⁶⁰ Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*; Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*.

¹⁶¹ Eugene A. Nida, *Towards a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964); Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, reprint; first edition 1969, [in series:] *Helps for translators 8* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2003).

¹⁶² Wierzbicka has sought to demonstrate the existence of “natural semantic primes” (NSPs), a quest both theoretical and empirical. NSPs are terms which exist in all spoken language, and which cannot be reduced to more basic concepts. See further Anna Wierzbicka, *Semantics: Primes and Universals: Primes and Universals* (Oxford: OUP, 1996).

¹⁶³ See further, Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 61–9, 77–81.

language] text or portion of text which is observed *on a particular occasion* . . . to be the equivalent of a given [source language] text or portion of text” (to borrow Catford’s definition of textual equivalence);¹⁶⁴ it is to this extent synonymous with the concept of correspondence. When it is necessary to be more specific about the nature of interlingual relationships, this is done mainly with reference to shared etymological derivation (cognateness) and common “denotation” (such words as would be associated in a bi-lingual dictionary).¹⁶⁵ Where an equivalent diverges significantly in form of expression, the descriptive term “paraphrase” is often most appropriate.

5.3 Linguistic competence

What was the benchmark of early modern Hebrew expertise? Is an errant reading the result of ignorance or design? The matter of Hebrew competence has already received attention from David Daiches and from G. Lloyd Jones,¹⁶⁶ but it gains in importance when one is seeking to explain divergences from the Hebrew text in terms of conscious ideological interference. There are some examples that beg for the latter interpretation: The assertion in both Coverdale and Matthew Bibles that Obed is “better than seven sons” conflicts with the Hebrew, where Ruth is incontrovertibly the clause’s subject (see the coda to **Chapter 5**). Though the clause may be awkward to translate clearly in some languages, there is nothing ambiguous or difficult in the Hebrew. If Tyndale could navigate the conjunctive and disjunctive accents (as suggested by the Matthew Bible’s interpretation of R2.14; see **Ch. 3, §4.2, n.64**) he would hardly have erred without incentive. A surely deliberate intervention is the reframing of Ruth’s report as indirect speech in R2.21; in Hebrew she purports to quote his words directly, but the quoted speech does not match his—leading commentators to suggest she is playing games.¹⁶⁷ Tyndale’s treatment diminishes the significance of the seeming contradiction (see **Tables 2.2 and 2.3**).¹⁶⁸ Such examples of interference show wilful disruption of the Hebrew ST, but Tyndale’s Hebrew credentials are well established.¹⁶⁹ The matter of linguistic competence becomes most acute in discussion of *mikkem* within **Chapter 7**; the use of contemporaneous philological commentaries being the primary means

¹⁶⁴ *Linguistic Theory of Translation* (1965) via Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 92–3.

¹⁶⁵ The latter is borrowed from Koller’s typology of equivalence, as featured in *ibid.*, 73–5.

¹⁶⁶ Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*; Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*; “The Influence of Medieval Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England”.

¹⁶⁷ For this idea in recent commentary, see Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, 98–9. For its acknowledgement and dismissal in early modern commentary, see Lavater, *Ruth in Sermons (translated)*, 87r. This passage is part of an as yet unfinished supplement to the present study. See **Ch. 1, n.83**.

¹⁶⁸ In the Hebrew text, the contradiction is brought to the fore as the preposition-noun phrase appears at the head of Ruth’s sentence, even as Ruth reproduces the exact verbal form Boaz had used, with a superfluous paragogic *nun* (י)—a form that some scholars argue is archaizing for the sake of character. See further Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 97. Also Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 48–9, 120–1.

¹⁶⁹ Despite Karpman’s doubts; see Karpman, “William Tyndale’s Response to the Hebraic Tradition”; and in response, Hammond, “William Tyndale’s Pentateuch”, esp. 353 n.11.

of showing what Hebrew knowledge was available. Consultation of sixteenth-century tools, such as Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis*, is a further aid.¹⁷⁰

6 SUMMARY

This chapter has introduced the EME versions of *Ruth*, and provided information about other versions that are included in the data samples of subsequent chapters. The chronological parameters of the study have been established, aligned to the production of EME *Ruths* and thus stretching from 1535 (Coverdale) to 1611 (the King James Bible). The nature of different early modern commentaries has been described, and their role within the study elaborated.

Some theoretical issues have also been addressed: The role of the data samples has been explained in terms of patterns of evolution. The problem of historical semantics is to be mitigated by consultation of historical dictionaries including those produced in the era and modern reference works documenting past usage, as well as digital corpora.

The next chapter outlines the preparatory assessment of the Hebrew text of *Ruth* and highlights critical differences between it and its presentation in early modern bibles. This sets the scene for the detailed discussion of alleged ideological interference in the remainder of this study.

¹⁷⁰ Johannes Reuchlin, *Principium libri (Joannis Reuchlin phorcensis, LL. Doc. ad Dionysium Fratrem suum Germanum de Rudimentis Hebraicis*, first edition; VD16 R1252; USTC 686605; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Pforzheim: Anshelm, Thomas, 1506). For an example of the possible influence of *de Rudimentis* on translation of *Ruth*, see Appendix, Pt II §1.6.2.

Chapter 3: Analysing *Ruth*

1 OVERVIEW

This chapter demonstrates the methods of comparison and analysis employed prior to the generation of specific case studies. A profile of the Hebrew text identifies particular concerns from a translation perspective. The process is illustrated in more detail through a sample verse, exploring how early modern translators handled its idiosyncrasies and probing some ideological dimensions of their decisions. This is complemented by a partial profile of the rhetorical positioning of the early modern versions, to show how presuppositions about the kind of text conditioned its interpretation.

2 TRANSLATION-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS

In examining translations, it is natural to compare source and translated texts. Different models have evolved to facilitate such comparison. The preparatory work for this study involved application of Christiane Nord's profiling system to the Hebrew text of *Ruth* in order to give attention to all the features of which a competent translator should be aware.¹ Nord's model was favoured for several reasons: It is highly structured, providing a clear matrix by which a text can be assessed. It is applicable to both ST and TT and thus provides for informed comparison. It has been well tested, developed in the classroom over the course of Nord's career.² Nord draws on a functional linguistics model, putting the emphasis on the purpose of the text as a major determinant of a successful translation. The criticisms of functionalism, e.g. the focus on translation purpose at the expense of the source, are not directly relevant to the model's application in this study, as its inquiries are concerned with description and diagnosis (do functions differ?) rather than prescription (what should the function be?). The procedure facilitates broad observations about gaps between the conception of *Ruth* in the early modern period and views espoused in current biblical scholarship. It also highlights significant lexical concepts and presuppositions.

¹ Christiane Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Methodology, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis* (Amsterdam; Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1991).

I have worked with the first English edition of Nord's textbook; amendments within a second edition (2005) consist mainly of adjustment to the terminology. Preference for the original edition is purely pragmatic.

² A similar case is made by Pavlína Pobočíková, "Changes in a Source Text during Repeated Translation" (Diploma thesis, Masaryk University, 2012), accessed Aug 07, 2013, http://is.muni.cz/th/217560/ff_m/.

Nord's model produces two kinds of profile: an analysis of the text's external features, bringing together what is known about the text—the **extratextual profile**; and an analysis of internal features—the **intratextual profile**.

3 HEBREW RUTH

The following profile focuses exclusively on *Ruth* as a complete narrative, exploring its constructions within recent biblical scholarship and with particular reference to the commentaries of Edward Campbell (Anchor Bible, 1975), Frederic Bush (WBC, 1996) and Robert Holmstedt (2010)—chosen because of their close attention to the Hebrew text.³

3.1 Extratextual profile

Nord's extratextual profiling collates information about the text's **sender** and **receiver**, the **time** and **place** of composition, and the **medium** employed, as well as the **intention** and **function** of the text.⁴

The identity of *Ruth*'s **sender(s)** is unknown. Modern scholars have considered multiple hypotheses, including female authorship, and elite composition, but the pursuit of authorship is convincingly dismissed by Frederic Bush as “an exercise in futility”.⁵ Views about the **date** of *Ruth*'s composition have varied widely. By virtue of its content, the text must postdate any historical King David. Edward Campbell put the case for an early date, with oral origins “in the Solomonic period” moving to written form during the ninth century.⁶ The argument rests on demonstrating an insufficiency of data for a later date, rather than strong evidence for an early one, and Jack Sasson highlighted the circular reasoning to which such debate is subject. On linguistic grounds, Bush has suggested that *Ruth* may be dated to the “transitional” period between Standard and Late Biblical Hebrew, assigning an early post-exilic date; Robert Holmstedt hesitates a similar proposition, placing *Ruth* in “a period of Aramaic ascendancy but not dominance”. Like Bush, Holmstedt is convinced that the composer is deliberately creative with language such that using linguistic-based strategies to date the text is inherently problematic.⁷

³ Bush, *Ruth–Esther*; Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*; Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 2010.

⁴ For detail, see Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*, 40–86.

⁵ Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 17. Edward Campbell suggested the narrative may have been part of the repertoire for female story-tellers (*Ruth (AB)*, 22–3), an idea dismissed by Sasson, because there is no evidence of oral origins and because a folktale may be an elite construction (Jack M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation*, Second edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989), cf. esp. 214). Athalya Brenner saw the cooperation between Ruth and Naomi as possible evidence of female origins; Athalya Brenner, “Female Social Behaviour: Two Descriptive Patterns within the ‘Birth of the Hero’ Paradigm,” *VT* 36, no. 3 (1986): 273. See also F. van Dijk-Hemmes, “Ruth: A Product of Women’s Culture?,” in *A Feminist Companion to Ruth*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 134–39.

⁶ Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 28.

⁷ The linguistic argument is an outworking of generative linguistics. Scrutinising syntax, orthography and vocabulary, Bush found significant correlation with ten features of SBH, and eight of LBH. A high

The **medium** of communication is written text with minimal non-verbal content. As with other biblical texts, written vocalisation postdates the original composition; the processes of versification, division into chapters and paragraphs may also be deemed secondary. Its incorporation into canon, adjoined to other narratives (e.g. with Judges as in the LXX; or as part of the five *megillot*, that is the festival scrolls—in second place following the liturgical sequence of the Jewish year, or adjacent to Proverbs as in the Leningrad codex) is a later step.⁸

Place of composition is uncertain. Is the composer directly familiar with the locations (a new exile, a returner, a pre-exilic resident) or operating with cultural memory of the location? The intratextual setting is specific, involving transition between Bethlehem-Judah and Moab. Although Holmstedt draws attention to the absence of scenic detail in the dialogue of chapter 1, even this marginal location is explicitly “on the way/ road” to Judah.⁹ Movements up and down, directions embedded in the Hebrew verb form,¹⁰ also imply spatial positions in or outside of the city; at least this is to be inferred by the knowing reader (compare the explicit ‘entering’ at R3.15). This information suggests that both composer and intended audience are familiar with aspects of topography. Yet these are generic qualities of life in hilltop settlements. If passage to Moab (a dryer area) is intended as a logical response to famine (with cause unspecified, but plausibly drought-related) rather than a narrative device, this suggests a composer unfamiliar with the precisions of climate and topography.¹¹ The evidence is inconclusive given the apparent disinterest in circumstantial detail (viz. the absence of an explanation for the famine). The role of David within the narrative frame (4.17, 22) suggests that Bethlehem is not an arbitrary setting; and intrabiblically, the description of

concentration of “late elements influenced by Aramaic” at 4.7, where the narrator explains the custom of removing a sandal, extends into the following verse with the use of the collocation (שלף נעל) in place of the SBH verb (חליץ). Providing that the narratorial intervention is seen as a poetic device rather than a later addition, this need not conflict with the transitional dating. Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 28–9; Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 39. In a more extended discussion of the matter (concerned in part with orthographical testimony), Ziony Zevit posits a sixth-century BCE date. See Ziony Zevit, “Dating Ruth: Legal, Linguistic and Historical Observations,” *ZAW* 117, no. 4 (2005): 574–600.

⁸ *Ruth* exhibits an unusually high degree of mobility within biblical canons. Jerome knew some appended it to Judges; Josephus may have been one such, endorsing a twenty-two-book canon. Cf. Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 33.

⁹ אל־אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה . . . בְּדֶרֶךְ (R1.7). Holmstedt’s remarks are puzzling, in that biblical narrative is broadly acknowledged to provide limited contextual information.

¹⁰ E.g. the use of יָרַד at 3.3, 6. Such instances suggest that basic Hebrew is verb-framed rather than satellite-framed; that is, in including direction within a verb, the directional import of context is provided without recourse to adjunct phrases (satellites). Compare English “go *down*”. However, the limited vocabulary of biblical Hebrew together with the common use of directional prepositions such as ב and אַחֲרֵי suggests that Hebrew does not conform fully with either typology.

For the implications of grammar on conceptualisation, see the discussion in L. Ronald Ross, “Advances in Linguistic Theory and Their Relevance to Translation,” in *Bible Translation: Frames of Reference*, ed. Timothy Wilt (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2002), 113–51. The citation from Slobin is representative: “typologies of grammar have consequences for ‘typologies of rhetoric’ . . . the effects of such typologies may be strong enough to influence speakers’ narrative attention to particular conceptual domains” (via Ross, 130).

¹¹ See e.g. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *Ruth*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville, Ky.: John Knox, 1999), 19–20.

Ephratim from Bethlehem Judah (R1.2; compare 1 Sam 17.12) carries Davidic connotations, plausibly intended by the composer.¹²

The narrative's **purpose** is also subject to debate.¹³ Eichhorn saw in *Ruth* a case for the decency of David's forebears, possibly provoked by derogatory allegations about his Moabite connections (cf. 1 Sam 22.6); a view that has had periodic resurgences.¹⁴ Is Ruth's behaviour exemplary (see **Chapter 5**)? May Moab (denotatively neutral) be interpreted as connotatively negative within the *Ruth* text (see §3.1 below)? The case for such political propaganda is so uncertain that one scholar has taken the Davidic material to be secondary.¹⁵ Others have viewed *Ruth* as a theological polemic, a reinterpretation of *chesed* challenging narrow conceptualisation of legal obligation.¹⁶ Such readings often coincide with the view that (a post-exilic) *Ruth* must contain some response to the debate about intermarriage, and the hostile xenophobia present in Ezra-Nehemiah—challenging the judgment that all foreign wives are to be put away. But if such argument were being advanced, it is extremely subtle and the highly-evolved readings require some considerable imposition.¹⁷ (This is not to deny that, removing the prescriptive pedagogical component, and as put into service by some contemporary cultural exegetes, *Ruth* may be a legitimate participant in the wider discourse about boundaries and renegotiation of identity in the context of exile and return.)¹⁸

¹² A unique form; the singular gentilic adjective, אַפְרַתִּי, appears in Judg 12.5, 1 Sam 1.1 and 1 Kgs 11.26, in addition to the verse that (re)introduces David in 1 Sam 17. A reversed chain of influence is highly improbable, but the association may be non-textual, grounded in a potential generic association between David, Bethlehem and *Ephrati* identity.

¹³ What are separate categories for Nord (intention, motive, and function) are here treated under the umbrella term 'purpose'.

¹⁴ Or, according to Goethe's paraphrase, the provision of "anständige, interessante Voreltern" (upstanding and interesting ancestors) for David; see the 'notes and reflections' (Noten und Abhandlungen) in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *West-östlichen Divan*, (first publ.: Stuttgart, 1819); Berlin Ausgabe: Poetische Werke 3: Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1965; online transcription, accessed May 11, 2014, <http://www.zeno.org/nid/2000484632X/>. Something similar is seen in Sasson's complex reading of *Ruth* alongside other ANE texts, where he argues that the narrative was intended to bolster David's claim for kingship (*Ruth*, 1989). For a direct counter-argument, see Berlin, *Poetics*, 110: "David is already the known figure [in the genealogy], and is satisfactorily legitimized in 1 Sam 16 and elsewhere." The second genealogy (R4.18-22) is an act of closure in which the characters are moved out of "splendid isolation" and situated "among the body of main characters in the tradition".

¹⁵ So Erich Zenger, *Das Buch Ruth* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1986). For a systematic refutation of this, see Andrea Beyer, "The Aim and Purpose of the Book of Ruth: The Davidic Genealogy as *Finis Operis*?" (presented at the European Association of Biblical Studies, Thessaloniki, 2011).

¹⁶ See e.g. Sakenfeld, *Ruth*, 1999; Andre Lacocque, *Ruth: A Continental Commentary*, trans. K.C. Hanson (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2005). The position might be said to start with Rabbi Zeira in Midrash Ruth Rabbah (2.15), who explains Ruth's presence in the biblical canon as a lesson in the rewards of *chesed*. At the same time, there are anti-Judaic nuances in Lacocque's exposition of *Ruth* as a "subversive" response to strict legalism ("respecting the letter of the Law"; 31); and his emphasis on Law versus a thinly-veiled Gospel.

A more extreme example of legally-oriented reading is presented by Joshua Berman, who takes *Ruth* as "a legal homily" that works through Deuteronomy 24.16-25.10 in sequence, commenting midrashically on the different laws. Joshua Berman, "Ancient Hermeneutics and the Legal Structure of the Book of Ruth," *ZAW* 119, no. 1 (2007): 22–38 (23).

¹⁷ For the view that *Ruth* is naive and gentle in tone, see e.g. Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 67.

¹⁸ See especially Bonnie Honig, "Ruth, the Model Emigrée: Mourning and the Symbolic Politics of Immigration," in *Ruth and Esther: A Feminist Companion to the Bible*, ed. Athalya Brenner, Second Series (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 50–74.

Beneath scholarly arguments and assertions about *Ruth*'s purpose, D.F. Rauber has argued, lies "an hubristic assumption that for a work of high literary art we can say with confidence, 'The purpose of X is' and fill in the blank with 25 words or less."¹⁹ The present scholarly consensus seems to be of accord with Rauber in viewing *Ruth* as a literary work, valuable for its poetics without regard to polemics. This does not mean that readers are of one mind. Within literary readings of *Ruth*, a division occurs between those who regard it as a pleasant tale, filling gaps with theological niceties, and those who fill in the blanks with an earthy realism. Is *Ruth* a beautiful whole set in an idyllic landscape?²⁰ Or is it a tale of women's struggle for survival in a hostile and dangerous patriarchal context?²¹ Is God active or absent?²² That so many kinds of reading might be sustained shows just how much is owing to interpretation, and so also the power of translation as a mediator.

What kind of audience was *Ruth* intended for? What **recipient** is envisaged? Campbell's theory of oral prehistory allows for an entertaining performance at pre-exilic city gates. Sasson suggests an elite and highly literate audience, familiar with the paradigms of other ANE literatures.

Unannotated references to David and other biblical figures indicate that the ideal receiver would be

¹⁹ D. F. Rauber, "Literary Values in the Bible: The Book of Ruth," *JBL* 89, no. 1 (1970): 27–37.

²⁰ "[D]as lieblichste kleine Ganze" as Goethe termed it, disputing Eichhorn's polemical reading while introducing his readers to the finer points of "oriental" poetics. Goethe also uses the adjective "idyllische". Cf. *West-östlichen Divan*.

Narrative unity has been questioned, and not only by Zenger (see above), prompted by the duplicate genealogies (R4.17; 4.18–22) and the designation of Obed as Naomi's child (R4.17). Both Sasson and Athalya Brenner have entertained the possibility of two birth narratives fused into one, in order to explain the repetition, apparent incoherence around Obed's naming, and his ascription to Naomi rather than Ruth (R4.17, 'a child is born to Naomi'). Sasson, *Ruth*; Athalya Brenner, "Naomi and Ruth," *VT* 33, no. 4 (1983): 385–97. Brenner has subsequently refined her position; see Athalya Brenner, "Naomi and Ruth: Further Reflections," in *A Feminist Companion to Ruth*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 140–44.

Rauber accounts for the passing of Obed from Ruth to Naomi (R4.14–17) as a final restitution of fullness, a significant motif in the narrative; drawing connections between the assertion of emptiness in 1.21 and Ruth's role in reversing this, with gifts of nourishment in 2.18 and 3.17. Cf. Rauber, "Literary Values in the Bible", 30, 34–5. On the integral purpose of R4.18–22, see Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative*, 110 (quoted above, n.14).

²¹ Phyllis Trible, "Chapter 6: A Human Comedy," in *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress, 1978), 166–99. Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*. Jennifer L Koosed, *Gleaning Ruth: A Biblical Heroine and Her Afterlives* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2011). Wilda C. Gafney, "Mother Knows Best: Messianic Surrogacy and Sexploitation in Ruth," in *Mother Goose, Mother Jones, Mommie Dearest: Biblical Mothers and Their Children*, ed. Cheryl Kirk-Duggan and Tina Pippin (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 23–36. Shepherd, "Violence in the Fields?"

²² Where some emphasise human agency, observing that *Yhwh*'s only direct actions are reported at R1.6 (resolving the famine) and R4.13 (granting conception), others read the text in terms of divine puppetry. Lacocque combines the two: "The human agent is the essential vehicle for the divine direction of this story (collective and individual)." Lacocque, *Ruth*, 73. A more extreme theological reading is given by Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 29: "God is the primary actor in the drama." For further theologising, see e.g. Robert L. Hubbard, *Book of Ruth*, second (revised) edition, New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1995); Ronald M. Hals, *The Theology of the Book of Ruth* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress, 1969). See also Bush's argument that God is not "hidden" but presupposed by the context (citing David Clines on Esther): "there is nothing *hidden* or *veiled* about the causality of events . . . : it is indeed *unexpressed* but it is unmistakable, given the context within which the story is set" (via Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 55).

familiar with other aspects of the community story. Familiarity with some practices is presumed (e.g. *ge'ullah*, gleaning), while the explanation of past custom at R4.7 caters to the non-expert.

Are there other purposeful allusions in addition to individuals named? Some readers have noted similarities with passages in Genesis, Ruth 'sticking' to Naomi like husband to wife (Gen 2.24/R1.14-16) and leaving parents and homeland after Abraham's model (Gen 12.1/R2.12). If Ruth's interactions are modelled upon those, the narrative weaves itself into some form of canon and anticipates a receiver's recognition. Over time, the narrative was received in the context of the wider Deuteronomic history (indicated by its position in the LXX) or as one in a series of festival tales, here linked to *Shavuot*, harvest-time. The extent to which *Ruth* is judged to cohere with a broader canon (by design or destiny) is a major factor in determining a translator's approach, one concerned with perceived **function**. This completes the extratextual profile of the Hebrew text.

3.2 Intratextual profile

Intratextual profiling involves consideration of **subject matter, content** (within which stand both coherence and cohesion as subcategories), **presuppositions, composition, non-verbal elements, lexis, sentence structure, suprasegmental features, and effect**.²³ The profile given here is an abridgement, outlining the kind of concerns encompassed by each of Nord's categories. It is followed by an illustration of subtler issues that may arise when considering the text from a translator's perspective, using a sample verse from *Ruth*; the sample also provides the context for the main discussion of lexical and suprasegmental features.

The title suggests that the text is principally concerned with one person, Ruth. Where **subject matter** is not explicit, Nord proposes a concise summary. In the present case then, the subject matter is how a widow (R1.2) bereaved of two sons (R1.5) and despairing for the future (R1.11-13, 20-21) is given new life (R4.15) through the improbable actions of a Moabite daughter-in-law, whose commitment to her mother-in-law (R1.16-17; 2.11), and willingness to prostrate herself (R2.10; 3.7-14) before her/their (R2.20; 3.2) kin-redeemer, gains her status, praise and blessings as a doer of *chesed* (R3.10), an *esbet chayil* (R3.11), one (to be) like Rachel and Leah as a builder of Israel (R4.11), and "better than seven sons" (R4.15); as well as *Yhwh*'s gift of conception (R4.13): a son who will be [King] David's grandfather (R4.17). As the summary shows, Ruth's 'story' is a significant component of the narrative; but Naomi also has a role throughout, and appears without Ruth at the climax ("a son is born *to Naomi*", R4.17), a move not anticipated in the title.

In terms of **coherence** in *Ruth*, there is one significant syntactic incoherence, the conclusion of the overseer's words in R2.7; the verse is so overwhelmed by adverbs and prepositions that Edward

²³ For an elaboration of these, see Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*, 89–127. The term "lexic" is here amended to "lexis".

Campbell declined to offer any translation for the final fourteen words.²⁴ The legal scenario in R4 is complicated by lack of clarity about Ruth's relationship to the land and questions of obligation (cf. especially scholarly discussion regarding the word *רומחה* in R4.5); these problems are exacerbated by uncertainties about cultural praxis. Attempts to apply legislation from other portions of the canon to *Ruth* (and vice versa) have been unproductive. Another coherence issue concerns the atypical use of affixes, mostly during Naomi's speech in R1; this is discussed in **Chapter 7 (§3)**, in the context of R1.13. The custom of replacing *ketiv* ('what is written') with a traditional *qere* ('what is to be read') in problematic passages provides translators with a ready-made solution to some textual incoherencies, though others have sought to read the *ketiv* creatively.²⁵ A translator will typically smooth out such details, determining the matter in one or other direction.²⁶

Cohesion is also commonly enhanced in translation, including the trend of "explicitation" identified by Shoshona Blum-Kulka.²⁷ This may involve the naming of the verb's subject, something especially common in the LXX as a result of its gender-neutral verb forms (cf. the addition of 'Boaz's at R3.14 and 'Ruth' at R3.16). Similar is the adaptation of phrases connected by the paratactic Hebrew conjunction *vav* (or *vav*, 'and'), so that they form more complex sentences in the translated text (examples of this may be seen in the sample that follows, together with discussion of **presuppositions**).²⁸

As a **composition**, *Ruth* is a single narrative with episodes consisting largely of direct dialogue, linked together using a range of rhetorical devices including summary sentences (e.g. R1.22; 2.1). Despite the "wholeness" of the narrative, as an ancient text, transmitted through manuscript traditions, there are inevitably some variants in the textual witnesses, leading to hypotheses about 'original' readings distinct from these. The testimony of other ancient

²⁴ See Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 85, and discussion on pp. 94–6. For a more extended treatment, see Lys, "Residence or repos?"; and discussion in Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 113–9. Luther's wranglings with this text were referred to in **Chapter 1**, cf. §1.

²⁵ See for example the 1st singular form *ושכבתי* (*ketiv*: I will lie down) where 3rd singular *ושכבת* (*qere*: lay you down) would be expected in R3.4. Cheryl Exum takes this and similar 'errors' in the preceding verse as Naomi accidentally imagining herself in the situation; cf. J. Cheryl Exum, "Is This Naomi?," in *Plotted, Shot, and Painted: Cultural Representations of Biblical Women* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 129–74. See also Holmstedt's reading of R4.5, where the other *go'el's* refusal (R4.6) is accounted for as a response to Boaz's threat to acquire 'the wife of the dead' (reading *קניתי*—*ketiv* and not *קניתה*). Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 190–2.

²⁶ The wider tendency of translators to resolve ambiguity is one of the destructive tendencies identified by Antoine Berman: "Where the original has no problem moving in the *indefinite*, our literary language tends to impose the definite" ("Translation and Trials of the Foreign," 289).

²⁷ See Munday, *Introduction to Translation Studies*, 147.

²⁸ Modern scholarship suggests the parataxis is not necessarily as simple as had been assumed. For a highly evolved version of this, see Holmstedt's discussion of modal forms in "Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah: A Generative-Typological Analysis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54, no. 1 (2009): 111–39; "The Typological Classification of the Hebrew of Genesis: Subject-Verb or Verb-Subject?," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 11 (2011); and its elaboration in Holmstedt's commentary on *Ruth*.

versions (the LXX, Targum, etc.) proves to be an additional influence upon the translator, as shown in discussion throughout this study.

Traditional manuscripts present *Ruth* with minimal spacing or division, save the separation of verses (following the *soph pasuq*). Division into chapters was introduced in the medieval period, probably following the example of Stephen Langton (d. 1228). These numbers were printed in the Bomberg Bibles (1517–). Verse-numbering in Hebrew bibles was introduced in the 1547–8 Bomberg Bible (4 vols), following the same pattern as the Latin text in Pagninus’ 1528 bible (OT).²⁹ The evolution of such chapter and numbering systems, while reflecting possibilities within the original composition, is an imposition motivated by its later reception as a reference text—a historical shift in **function**. Such systems of division are most aptly thought of as **paratext**, that is material added to and external to the text proper.³⁰

As a text, *Ruth* is a verbal entity; editions may be accompanied by non-verbal communication such as illustrations, but these are additional to the text to be translated. One possible candidate for **non-verbal element** is the enlarging of consonants, a feature that varies between manuscripts and editions.³¹

Many of the issues faced by a translator of *Ruth* fall into the **lexis** category: *Hapax legomena*, such as R1.13’s *ta’agunah*. Stylised use of language like the alliteration of R1.13, כִּי־מַרְלִי מֵאֵד מִכֶּם כִּי־יִצְאֵהוּ בִי יְדִיהוּהוּ (*ki-mar-li m’od mikkem ki yax’ah bi yad yhw*). Possible shifts in register—do Naomi and Boaz speak in a more formal manner than other characters?—does Ruth have a Moabite accent?³² The effective transmission of non-standard language is uncommon in translated texts, partly because the translator must be competent enough to recognise it, but also because it may not match their priorities; the issue has received particular attention in literary-oriented translation studies.³³

²⁹ See also **Chapter 2, §4.1.3, n.114**, and Moore, “The Vulgate Chapters and Numbered Verses in the Hebrew Bible”. Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury.

³⁰ See also **Chapter 2, §4.3, n.157**.

³¹ Rashkow has argued that early modern translators overlooked the significance of an enlarged consonant at R3.13; I find her argument unconvincing, especially as she does not consider what texts they operated with, nor supply evidence to support her claim that “tarry” (a common word in early modern English) is less suggestive than “lodge” or the Hebrew לִינִי in that setting. Enlarged letters do appear in the printed editions of the early 1500s but not at *Ruth* 3 to my observation. See further Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 128–9.

³² Several commentators have suggested deliberate use of “style-shifting” for characterisation. So, for example, Campbell observes that “Boaz and Naomi talk like older people [. . . with] archaic morphology and syntax” (*Ruth* (AB), 17). Francis Landy sees stilted embarrassment in Boaz’s speech at R3.10-13: “His speech is remarkable . . . for its combination of linguistic excess with syntactic incoherence. . . . Speaking too much is a sign of unease, in which the urgency of desire and the fear of frustration mingle”; Francis Landy, “Ruth and the Romance of Realism, or Deconstructing History,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 62, no. 2 (1994): 302. Holmstedt suggests that a “unique collocation” in R2.2 reminds the audience of Ruth’s foreignness; and sees the “grammatical mess” in R2.7 as the result of the speaker’s nerves (*Ruth*, 48; with more extended discussion, 41–9. See also Sasson, *Ruth*, 88.

³³ See Berman, “Translation and the Trials of the Foreign”; Anthony Pym, “Venuti’s Visibility [Review: Lawrence Venuti’s *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.],” *Target* 8, no. 2 (1996): 165–77; Munday, “The Relations of Style and Ideology in Translation”; idem. *Introducing Translation Studies*, 96, 151–2, 224, et passim.

Other stylistic features are more obvious (and less subjective): Rhetorical questions, wordplay, and leitmotifs may be detected by an intermediate Hebraist, as demonstrated in the sample and discussion below.

Shifts in **sentence structure** have been mentioned already, though not the complication of “markedness”. Repeatedly in *Ruth*, word order is used to highlight an aspect of the communication. Thus when Naomi contrasts her status departing with that of her return, she opens with the superfluous pronoun אֲנִי—emphatically ‘I’—followed immediately by the adverb מְלֵאָה (‘full’; R1.21). Full, is how she was; empty, how she is.³⁴

To the category of **suprasegmental** features belongs punctuation. In biblical Hebrew, a system of conjunctive and disjunctive symbols, or accents, assists in determining relationships between words and phrases. The system is believed to predate the introduction of vowel points, but is nonetheless post-biblical.³⁵ The major division of a verse is indicated by the *athnah* symbol, a subscript circumflex beneath the word’s stressed syllable (as R1.1: בְּאֵרֶץ). The potential impact for translators is illustrated in the sample analysis below. The Masoretic vocalisation is then a tertiary addition, and one upon which the differentiation of *qere* and *ketiv* depends; its most important manifestation in *Ruth*, as elsewhere in the Hebrew canon, is the designation of an alternative vocalisation for the divine name, a matter discussed in more detail in **Chapter 4**.

Nord offers no checklist for the consideration of “**effect**”. Rather, she is keen to emphasise the translator’s duty to consider the effects of both ST and TT—keeping in view the function intended for the translated text.³⁶ The potential ‘effect’ of the translated texts, in comparison with and detached from their Hebrew source, will be an important question in considering how ideological import may have affected the bibles’ audiences.

This account of the Hebrew text of *Ruth* has identified some factors a competent translator might consider, to be supplemented by analysis of a sample verse. Consideration of the presentation of *Ruth* in early modern bibles, comprising a partial profile of the early modern texts (focused on subject matter and function), follows that verse analysis.

³⁴ A second example occurs in Ruth’s quotation of Boaz’s speech in R2.21. See discussion in **Ch. 2 §5.3**. See also **Appendix II §1.6.3**.

³⁵ See Paul Joüon and T Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, translated and revised by T. Muraoka (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2006), 58 n.5. The 1910 English edition of Gesenius’ grammar supports speculative derivation of some accents from Greek gospel-books; W. Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar; as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch; second English edition, revised in accordance with the Twentieth-Eighth German edition (1909)*, ed. E. Kautzsch and A.E. Cowley (Oxford: OUP, 1910) 57 (§15b); via digitised edn: BibleWorks, v. 9.0: BibleWorks LLC, 2011. Hereafter, GKC.

³⁶ Nord, *Text Analysis in Translation*, 130–40.

4 SAMPLE ANALYSIS: RUTH 1.1

The sample analysis emphasises the decisions a translator is obliged to make. Subsequent analysis of English versions serves to illustrate how early modern translators approached their task, again making reference to Nord’s profiling technique.

4.1 *Ruth 1.1 in Hebrew*

In a modern edition of the Hebrew Bible, the consonantal text is commonly supplemented by accents and Masoretic vocalisation:

וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם שֶׁפָּט הַשֹּׁפֶטִים וַיְהִי רָעַב בְּאֶרֶץ וַיֵּלֶךְ אִישׁ מִבֵּית לְחָם יְהוּדָה לְגוֹר בְּעוֹדֵי
מוֹאָב הוּא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּשְׁנֵי בָנָיו:

To facilitate analysis, the verse is here approached in sense units:

וַיְהִי The verbal form **וַיְהִי**, translated as “Now it came to pass” in the King James Version, is a narrative marker, intimating a change of perspective and in this case opening a coherent narrative that spans four chapters, with a total of 85 verses.³⁷ In terms of genre, the phrase prepares the reader not for fiction (‘once upon a time...’) but anecdote (‘Twas . . .’).

בַּיּוֹם שֶׁפָּט הַשֹּׁפֶטִים The next phrase supplies temporal context. Narrative events occur ‘in the days of the *shophetim*’s *shophet-ing*’. Though unremarkable in modern English, the use of plural ‘days’ to indicate a broad span of time is idiomatic, occurring elsewhere in Hebrew narrative with reference to an individual’s lifetime (‘the days of Abraham...’) or an otherwise bounded era. The narrative events are thereby placed in the past, in an era different to that of the projected audience.

The Hebrew root *sh-ph-t* is used here for both noun and verb (the latter akin to participial form). What may seem tautologous and dispensable (of course *shophetim* do what *shophetim* do) is a feature of Hebrew poetics but may also generate questions for the attentive reader. One could legitimately read the Hebrew as suggesting the *shophetim* were being *shophet-ed*, as the grammatical link between noun and infinitive construct is loose; this possibility is advanced by Midrash Ruth Rabbah and other Jewish interpreters for exegetical purposes.³⁸ A technically-oriented translation might preserve this potential (as in LXX *Ruth*), though the default interpretation will take *shophetim* as subjects. The modern translator is at a disadvantage, not knowing whether *shophetim* were still in existence but not functioning in the projected audience’s era (‘when they used to do their job’),

³⁷ Although chapter divisions may postdate its composition, the placement of chapter breaks is guided by summary points within the text; see **Composition (§3.2 above)**.

On deployment of **וַיְהִי** as a marker, see discussion of R1.1 in Holmstedt, *Ruth*; and Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative*, 102–3.

³⁸ See Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 60; also Beattie, *Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth*.

whether others (non-*shophetim*) perform the function, or if it had become irrelevant. Was the ‘curiously emphatic’ phrase intended to convey a more specific time-phrase, when more than one *shophet* was in operation?³⁹ Or is it intended to stress that this is the pre-monarchic era, allowing for David’s emergence at the narrative’s close? The sender **presupposes** that the projected audience will have existing mental associations about the period of time, but the nature of these associations is uncertain.

That the term *shophet* is here left untranslated is deliberate. A translator will search for some kind of equivalent within the target language lexicon. Decisions about **lexis** are interpretive acts. The translation of some terms may seem unproblematic, whereas the difficulty of translating others has been given prominence in theoretical discussion. Among the latter are *chesed*, *chen* (its untranslatability wagered by Luther), and *go’el*.⁴⁰ That *shophet* is not customarily regarded as difficult indicates the power of convention;⁴¹ *shophet*’s English translation will be discussed in the **next section**.

ויהי רעב בארץ The narrative context is supplemented by a second ויהי clause, offering additional context and narrowing the time period: At this time, there was *ra’av*, hunger in the *eretẓ* land. The location of the affected *eretẓ* is not specified—as this Hebrew noun can be used denotatively for totality of land, i.e. the earth, its restrictive identity must be inferred from the events that follow. Yet restriction is also suggested by the foregoing *shophetim*, such that the projected audience may be expected to supply its identity automatically.

As noted above, the cause of the *ra’av* is also unspecified, though its resolution is associated with the deity, *Yhwh* (see R1.6). In specifying the existence of a famine, the time-frame now adjusts to the more immediate miniature narrative of R1.1-6; marriages and deaths occur in a ten-year period (R1.3-5), closed by news of the famine’s end (R1.6).

וילך איש These two words constitute predicate and subject, ‘went a man’. This is the first of 10 occurrences of the verb הלך (*h-l-k*, ‘go’) in this first chapter, and of 18 in the whole book of *Ruth*. What Bush reckons a motif is automatically diminished in English by the gap between present tense “go” and simple past “went”.⁴² As in English, *h-l-k* is a common lexical verb

³⁹ For further discussion of the “curious emphasis” here, see Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 57-8.

⁴⁰ For *chesed* and *go’el*, see Robert Bascom, “The Role of Culture in Translation,” in *Bible Translation: Frames of Reference*, ed. Timothy Wilt (Manchester: St. Jerome, 2002), 81–111. For Luther’s comments on *chen*, see Gritsch, “Luther as Bible Translator,” 70. Also Ernst R. Wendland, “Martin Luther, the Father of Confessional, Functional-Equivalence Bible Translation: Part 1,” *Notes on Translation* 9, no. 1 (1995): 16–36. For *go’el*, see also discussion in **Appendix Part II, §1.3.1**.

⁴¹ On some other Hebrew terms commonly taken for granted, see James Aitken, “Lessons for Modern Translation Theory from Aquila and Other Odd Ancient Predecessors” (presented at the Signs of the Times, Heythrop College, London, 2013).

⁴² Bush counts הלך alongside שׁוּב as features of the “theme of this opening act”; *Ruth–Esther*, 58–9.

and its density of use is not so pronounced as a second movement verb, **שׁוּב** (*sh-w-b*); meaning ‘turn’ or ‘return’, this latter term appears 15 times in *Ruth*, including 12 times in R1.6-22. Return is thus the major motif of this opening chapter. The two verbs appear in immediate succession as Naomi commands her daughters-in-law (‘go, return’ R1.8); the second is reiterated in marked fashion in Ruth and Orpah’s response, where they insist that they will ‘return’ (**נָשׁוּב**, *nashuv*) with Naomi to *her* people (R1.10). Should the translator prioritise the literary motif, risking incoherence, or adjust the expression and diminish the motif? Any decision will reflect the translator’s view of the text’s function.

מבית לחם יהודה Does the phrase qualify the verb or the noun? Does the man go ‘from’ or is he ‘from’ *Beth-lechem Yehudab*? Or indeed both? The preposition *min* (in apocopated form, **מ**) may be legitimately read as either ‘[man] of’ or ‘[went] from’;⁴³ what is capable of multiple interpretation in the source language (SL) often has to be fixed in translation.

The treatment of proper nouns is another consideration. The name commonly Englished as Bethlehem has semantic content in Hebrew: *beth-lechem* means ‘house of bread’. This meaning becomes significant as the narrative develops: Elimelech and family leave Bethlehem because there is no food in the house of bread; when food is restored, it is because *Yhwah* gives *lechem lachem* (R1.6), ‘bread to them’—‘them’ being those who have stayed in *Beth-lechem*, the house of bread. *Lechem* is an established synecdoche for foodstuff, but its deployment in R1.6 carries resonance for the ST reader. A translator prioritising poetics might English *beth-lechem* as ‘breadbasket’ in R1.1. It is widely agreed that the secondary name, *Yehudab*, is present because there was another settlement with the same name;⁴⁴ it places events in a definite geographical location.

לָגוּר בְּשָׂדֵי מוֹאָב The construct verbal form, *lagur*, may indicate purpose (‘in order to’, ‘with the aim of *gur-ing*’) but need not carry such force acting as an adverbial complement to the main verb; ‘the man went to *gur* . . .’. The difference is not significant in English but might occupy translators operating in other languages; in any case, the construction implies that the journey’s end is deliberate. The verb *gur* (**גּוּר**) itself belongs to the same consonantal root (*g-w-r*) as the noun *ger* (**גֵּר**), a concept dealt with in detail within **Chapter 6**; it suggests a transitory stay, but one that might also become permanent.⁴⁵ As with *shophet*, a translator will need to gauge the suitability of lexical equivalents.

⁴³ See further discussion in Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 56.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 63.

⁴⁵ Training translators with reference to an English translation, Waard & Nida comment, “The expression . . . represents a rather technical Hebrew term to designate dwelling in some place for an indefinite amount of time as a newcomer and without original rights”; *A Translator’s Handbook on the Book of Ruth*, 7.

Seday Moav is the journey's planned terminus. The form of the construct noun *seday* is uncertain; because of variation in the consonantal root, it may be either a singular or plural form, so that one may translate either 'territory-of' or 'fields-of'. Different forms are deployed within *Ruth*, and it is ultimately for the translator to decide whether singular or plural is appropriate in this circumstance. *Moav*, or Moab as it is customarily Englished, denotes the region to the east of Judah. As the narrative develops, Moab's distinctiveness is shaped in terms not only of geography but of ethnicity and divine loyalty (see esp. R1.15 and discussion in **Chapter 4**). To what extent the projected audience is expected to infer other connotations is uncertain. Within the Hebrew canon, Moab is given a heightened negativity: Introduced as the progeny of an incestuous union (Gen 19.37), Moab's people led Israel into idolatry (Num 25). They failed to feed the Israelites emerging from the wilderness (Deut 2.28-29; 23.3-4) and were particularly excluded from cultic practice (23.3-4). Yet elsewhere this negativity is not obvious; thus Solomon's Moabite women are not distinguished from the others (cf. 1 Kings 11.1, 8) and when David sends his parents to Moab for refuge the text gives no indication that this might be a problematic course of action (1 Sam 22.3-4).⁴⁶ An early audience may have been sensitive to an illogical move east (toward a dryer less fertile area) rather than west (seaward, towards the fertile plains) in a time of famine (see §2.1 above). If the ST's projected audience applied such knowledge, they might perceive Elimelech's journey as ill-omened from its inception and so anticipate the deaths of R1.3-5. A translator must determine the significance of such information for the TT recipient, and whether it ought to be supplied to aid their appreciation. At the very least, the ST presumes that Bethlehem-Judah and Moab are locations the existence of which the audience already knows. They are, moreover, real historical locations and so give the narrative "plausibility" if not historicity.⁴⁷

הוא ואשתו ושני בניו The pronoun הוא ('he') is redundant in a simple sentence, the male subject being indicated by the main verb; here it facilitates the introduction of further journeyers: 'his *ishah*, and his two *banim*'. The primary denotation of *ishah* is 'woman'. The plural of *ben* (son) must include at least one male, but functions as a common plural and may thus include female offspring too; a family with two *banim* might therefore consist of two sons, or one son and one daughter. The Hebrew audience does not yet know its composition, though the matter is clarified by their naming in the next verse. A translator will have to decide whether to imitate the information-flow of the ST or pre-empt the resolution.

Viewed as a whole, the verse supplies basic information about time and geographical setting, and opens the action. Within the wider composition, the action is part of a rapidly-related

⁴⁶ It is from this text that the suggestion that *Ruth* originated as an explanation of David's Moabite connections emanates. See discussion in §3.1.

⁴⁷ For emphasis on plausibility, see Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 59.

prologue that drives forward the return-narrative. It is connected syntactically (by the basic conjunction *waw*) to the verse that follows, supplying the names of the travellers and affirming the outcome of their journey.

Summary

The analysis of a single verse demonstrates some of the questions that face any translator: calculating what information is presupposed and what may need to be supplied (and what quality of comprehension is necessary for the target audience); making decisions about how best to bridge cultural gaps; choosing between meanings where the ST is ambiguous; opting to replicate the poetics of the original or to adapt in favour of the target language. The examples given here are indicative not exhaustive.

4.2 *Ruth 1.1 in early modern English*

This section continues the discussion of R1.1, exploring its treatment in early modern English bibles in parallel with the foregoing analysis of the Hebrew text. The English texts are set out in full in **Table 3.1** (located at the end of this study). The English translation set alongside the Hebrew words below is that of the 1611 King James Version.

וַיְהִי | 'Now it came to passe'

Only three of the early modern versions provide a translation for the narrative marker. The Great Bible's "It fortun'd . . ." is kin to Sebastian Münster's Latin opening: "Factum est . . ." In the Bishops Bible, this was amended to "It came to pass", an increasingly common Englishing of this Hebrew verbal form. The substitution may be regarded as ideological, matched by a change at R2.3, where "her chance was" (GtB) becomes "so it was" (Bps).⁴⁸ The latter substitute has no formal or semantic relation to the Hebrew phrase, which combines verb and cognate noun emphasizing the accidental nature of Ruth's arrival at Boaz's field: 'her chance chanced' (KJ: "her hap was to light").⁴⁹ That the change is not a good rendering of the Hebrew could suggest linguistic incompetence; it also shows that something else motivated the change. The accumulation of such changes, and the removal of fortune, indicates an ideological motive. It is through the

⁴⁸ The collocation "c*me to pass(e)" finds 29 matches in Tyndale's 1534 New Testament, 48 in Coverdale's, 67 in the Bishops NT, 79 in the Geneva NT (1599 edn), and 87 in the King James NT (translating forms of *γίνωμαι*). Distribution in the OT (excluding the Deuterocanonical books) is patchier with 75 occurrences in Coverdale (of which 19 are past tense), falling to 47 (11 past tense) in the Geneva, jumping to 151 (81 past tense) in the Bishops, and a much increased 537 in the King James OT (of which 396 are past tense). Lacking searchable data for the Matthew and Great Bibles, a sample demonstrates that some of Coverdale's uses are taken over from Tyndale's Pentateuch (cf. Gen 1.9, 11, 24) but not all (cf. Gen 1.7, 15). Some of the King James' occurrences were already present in the Great Bible but not necessarily taken over by the Bishops (so e.g. Gen 9.14; 1 Sam 1.20). This makes the tendency to replace accidental language (especially where God is implicated) with the phrase more prominent; see e.g. Gen 4.8; 7.10; 19.29.

⁴⁹ וַיִּקַּר מִקֶּרֶךְ. It may be that (like some modern commentators) the Bishops' translators (or Parker as editor?) reckoned God to be behind Ruth's 'chance'. For the Hebrew, see discussion in Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 110.

accumulation of data, across the canon and across Europe, that the present study ventures to explore such questions.

The Bishops opening was extended by King James' translators to include an initial "Now", the English temporal adverb replacing the more basic conjunction ("and it came to pass") in reaction to the particle's position at the head of the book. Hebraists now regard the initial *vav* (ו) as an integral part of an antique verb-form.⁵⁰ The King James' customary "and" and R1.1's "now" reflect a different grammatical explanation of the Hebrew consonant: reading *vav* as the regular Hebrew conjunction which, when joined to an imperfective form (something in the process of happening), was thought to convert its meaning to that of the perfective (something complete). This grammatical hypothesis, still current in some Hebrew teaching, is known either as '*vav*-conversive' or '-consecutive'.⁵¹ The resulting English phrase is exotic (now perceived as 'biblical language') in contrast to earlier openings, and suggests that particular value is being placed on the detail and structure of the ST, transferring each semantic token to the TT.⁵²

בִּימֵי שֹׁפֵט הַשְּׁפִטִים | in the dayes when *the* Judges † ruled

King James' translators conveyed the Hebrew idiom directly, as had Jerome (and therefore the Wycliffite and Douai texts). Previous English versions had converted it, yielding "In the time"; or simply "when". An exception is the Great Bible, where "in the dayes" has migrated into a superscript phrase; though the expression represents the Hebrew text, the whole phrase equates to the Vulgate's opening: "In diebus unius iudicis . . ." (Douai: "In the dayes of one Iudge . . .").

Translators have a range of strategies for handling figurative language. The strategies adopted will normally reflect the translator's conception of the translated text's function. Priority may be placed upon communicating in ordinary language, so readers 'will understand it and recognise that we are speaking their language', to paraphrase Luther's *Letter on Translation*.⁵³ Or a translator may sacralise

⁵⁰ "[T]he *vayyiqtol* is not aspectual, but is the retention of an older preterite verb . . . In [Biblical Hebrew] this has become primarily a verb used in narrative to carry the mainline event and action description; it is in this usage that it has the complex fused form of the *wa-y-yiqtol*"; *ibid.*, 8. Although Holmstedt's account of Hebrew grammar is not wholly accepted, the view that *vayyiqtol* (or *vayyiqtol*) is a legacy form predates his work and is widely received.

⁵¹ Among the 'literal' facets of Young's Literal Translation (1863) is the rendering of such verbal forms 'unconverted'. R1.1, for example, is rendered as "And it cometh to pass . . . and there goeth a man . . .", etc.

⁵² The LXX played a significant role in determining later translators' approach to the Hebrew verb form, using *καὶ ἐγένετο* ('and it happened'), to translate *וַיְהִי* here and elsewhere in Hebrew narrative. The same expression is used to introduce narrative episodes throughout the New Testament, where Tyndale commonly translated it 'And it came to pass'. See e.g. Matt 7.28; 9.10; 11.1; 13.53. In the Vulgate, this NT phrase becomes "Et factum est".

⁵³ Adapted from Michael D. Marlowe's revised translation of Luther's "Luther's Open Letter on Translating [German Text and Revised English Translation of 'Sendbrief Vom Dolmetschen']," trans. Michael D. Marlowe, Gary Mann, and Charles M. Jacobs, *Bible Research: Internet Resources for Students of Scripture*, (June 2003), accessed Apr 04, 2014, <http://www.bible-researcher.com/luther01.html/>. For the original text, see WA DB 2:632–46.

the source language, and attempt wholesale transfer of the (exotic) figure. Another more pronounced case, ‘the gate of my people’ (R3.11), features in **Chapter 5**.

The decision to translate the Hebrew noun *shophetim* as “judges” is unanimous. The convention draws upon the Latin (*iudex*) and is reinforced by the noun’s use as the English title of the canonical book of *Shophetim*, i.e. Judges (Vg: “Iudices”; Wycliffite mss have “iugis”, a spelling influenced by Old French). Early modern translators were accustomed to read *Ruth* directly after the book of Judges (and apparently conducted their translation work according to the order of the Christian canon).⁵⁴ Whether or not the book of Judges would have been known to the projected audience, or was intended by *Ruth*’s composer(s), an early modern audience—at great distance from both works’ origins—would rely substantially upon the former to interpret the latter whether reading in Hebrew or English.⁵⁵ Had the Englishers chosen a different term at R1.1 this hermeneutical potential would have been diminished.

Despite the early modern unanimity, the suitability of “judge” as a translation of *sh-ph-t* is not unimpeachable. Central to the English and to the associated Latin concepts, “*iudex*” and “*iudicare*”, is the notion of arbitration. To judge is to formulate a careful opinion. The terms are also strongly associated with legal proceedings.⁵⁶ ‘Judging’, particularly in the sense of deciding or arbitrating, is a function of *sh-ph-t* in parts of the Hebrew canon (see e.g. Gen 16.5, where Sarai invites *Yhwh* to *sh-ph-t* between her and Abram with regard to Hagar). Yet it is not formally developed, nor is it a characteristic emphasised within the book of *Shophetim*. Holmstedt suggests “chieftain” as a translation more fit for the context (for both *Ruth* and the book of Judges).⁵⁷ The capitalisation of the noun in most EME versions suggests titular application and that it refers to a distinct group of people.

In deploying a juridical term, the English texts not only connect *Ruth* with the events of Judges. They also orient the reader to expect juridical activity, an expectation partially fulfilled by the scene at the gates in *Ruth* 4: Boaz’s interaction with the other kinsman is by design a public event (R4.4). Reputable senior figures are sought out (R4.2). Others are summoned to attest their status as witnesses (R4.9-11). The King James Version introduces the chapter by explaining that “Boaz calleth into iudgment the next kinseman”. This language reflects court-like elements present in the scene. Boaz’s proactive narrative role plausibly provoked his association with a known *shophet* in

⁵⁴ Demonstrated in the order of publication of Luther’s translations, for example, and the portions of bible translation completed by Tyndale before his death.

⁵⁵ On the textual relationship between Judges 19-21 and *Ruth*, see Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 35–6.

⁵⁶ The same may be said of the Greek *κρίτης* and *κρίνω*, used in LXX R1.1.

⁵⁷ Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 54. An idea borrowed from Ellis Easterly; though see also the observation in Waard & Nida: “. . . in many languages it is necessary to render this first clause as ‘During the time when chiefs ruled the count[r]y of Israel’” (*A Translator’s Handbook on the Book of Ruth*, 6, cf. also 3). Their ‘necessity’ belongs to their commitment to sense- and effect-oriented translation.

post-biblical interpretation.⁵⁸ However, the implication that the other kinsman is being judged is misleading. What occurs is a property transaction, sealed by a (purportedly) customary exchange. Any negative judgment of the kinsman's actions is a product of interpretation not text.

The translation of the accompanying verb is partly a question of style. In the Matthew and Great Bibles (under Tyndale's influence) Judges "judge", mirroring the Hebrew poetics.⁵⁹ In later versions, "judged" appears as a more direct translation in the margins (indicated by a dagger in the KJ text, quoted above), displaced by "ruled". This extends their action beyond the denotative meaning of "judge" thereby addressing the shortcomings of the conventional English noun. It gives preference to the familiar (and not to Hebrew poetics). It also locates judges as analogous to other rulers, reminding the attentive canonical reader that 'there was no king' (cf. Judg 21.25).

וַיְהִי רָעַב בְּאֶרֶץ | that there was a famine in the lande:

The verbal form, וַיְהִי, is the same as at the head of the verse. In the King James translation, the opening clause has been subordinated to this one, others having omitted the opening verb.

"Famine" is derived from the Latin "fames"; it was part of the English lexicon from the fourteenth century but does not appear in *Ruth* versions prior to the seventeenth century.⁶⁰ Its use here would seem to be the result of compound influence from Latin bibles and romance vernaculars.⁶¹ Tyndale and Coverdale both opted for "dearth", a word of Middle English ancestry, retained in the other sixteenth-century bibles. This is indicative of a broader trend: Tyndale drew mainly on Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, while King James' translators sometimes opted for Latinate vocabulary, introducing neologisms on occasion and overlapping with the Douai OT.⁶² Coverdale and Tyndale were also influenced by contact with Douche or Germanic translations, some approximating English "dearth" in sound if not orthography.⁶³ The lexical choice at this point may also have been affected by the 'priming' effect of previous biblical translation including Tyndale's New Testament, the Cursor Mundi, and another fourteenth- (or possibly thirteenth-) century poem based on

⁵⁸ On the identification of Boaz with Ibzan, cf. **Ch. 4 §5.2.1**.

⁵⁹ Tyndale, Gerald Hammond has observed, "often takes care to reproduce . . . the cognate accusative" ("William Tyndale's Pentateuch", 379).

⁶⁰ OED (1894 edn) cites *Piers Plowman*: "Famyn schal a-Ryse þorw Flodes and foul weder." OED online, s.v. "famine, *n.*" §1.a. accessed Mar 15, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/67977/>.

⁶¹ "Fames" is the term used at R1.1 by all sixteenth-century Latin bibles, while Diodati has "fame" and Beza "famine". A similar case is the use of "afflicted" in R1.21: Münster and Castellius have "adflixerit", Beza "m'a affligée" and Diodati "m'ha afflita". KJ coincides with Douai but without cause to presume direct influence.—"Afflicted" appears in (a secondary revision of) the verse in the Bodleian Bishops Bible, "famine" alone having been added at the General Meeting (see also discussion in **Ch. 2 §3.1**).

⁶² The point is made but not teased out by David Norton; see his "On Some Words in Tyndale's Old Testament but Missing from the Authorized Version" (n.p.).

⁶³ If Douche association has affected lexical choice, Bugenhagen's "düre tydt" is closer than the Swiss Douche "theürung" (Z34; following L24). See also V34: "dieren tijt". For the translators' exposure to Douche versions, see **Ch. 2 §4** and the **Appendix, Part I**.

Genesis and Exodus.⁶⁴ The choice of “land”, implicitly with reference to the territories of Judah or Israel, was even more strongly established. A note is used to avert the TT reader’s confusion: this is “the land of Canaan”. Situated in the margin, this is a visible intervention. Though it might therefore be ignored by the public reader, such annotation helps to reconceptualise the Bible as reference text and object for (independent) study, and annotations may assume a pedagogical tone.

A colon interrupts the King James text where the Hebrew *athnah* appears. The punctuation creates a pause (aiding those reading aloud) and mitigates the parataxis. Both Coverdale and Tyndale had a full stop at this point (as did Vulgate and following it Douai), separating context and action. In Tyndale’s case, this may also reflect direct awareness of the Hebrew *athnah* accent.⁶⁵

יהודה | וילך איש מבית לחם יהודה and a certaine man of Bethlehem Judah went

Opening a new sentence, the Matthew Bible draws out a causative link between the famine and the family’s departure: “*Wherefore* a certain man”. Identifying Elimelech as “a certaine man”, King James’ translators agree with earlier approved versions (Great, Bishops) and with Tyndale. There is no obvious basis for this over-translation in the Hebrew (*ish* being ‘a man’). The 1602 edition of the Bishops Bible had distinguished “certaine” with a smaller roman typeface, but the original 1568 makes no such distinction and nor do the other versions.

The preposition *min* with the phrase that follows is taken as a qualification of person rather than action; Elimelech is a Bethlehemite. Coverdale alone differs, the structure of his sentence (“*And there went a man* from Bethleem . . .”) replicating the Hebrew word order, led by his Latin sources.⁶⁶

There is some attempt to improve the exactness of Bethlehem’s transliteration (see especially Geneva’s “Beth-léhem”), though the familiar compound form obtains, and the Hebrew *Yehudah* is Englished as “Juda” (or possibly “Iuda”) in all but Geneva and King James. There is no attempt to translate the meaning of *Beth-lechem*. The geographical setting thus supports the unfolding of events as historical or history-like. The Genevan annotator explains the additional designation “Judah” with the observation that “there was another citie so called”. An abbreviated version of this

⁶⁴ OED (1894 edn) s.v. “dearth” §3.a., accessed Mar 15, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/47752/>. See Marsden’s critique of the “tabula rasa” approach to Tyndale in “Cain’s Face, and Other Problems”, and “In the Twinkling of an Eye”.

⁶⁵ On Tyndale’s sensitivity to accents, see Hammond, “William Tyndale’s Pentateuch”, 368.

Attention to accents would also account for the Matthew Bible’s untypical interpretation of R2.14: “And Booz when the time of refection was come, said . . .”. The tendency of early modern versions to make this a continuation of Boaz’s earlier speech (KJ: “And Boaz said unto her, At mealtyme . . .”) has been criticised by Rashkow, who seems to take accent literacy for granted (*Upon the Dark Places*, 123, 127–8). (The reader is reminded to exercise caution when reading Rashkow’s monograph; see above **Ch. 1, §2.2.**) Holmstedt supports the more common early modern reading of the speech, seen in the KJV; *Ruth*, 132–3.

⁶⁶ Pagninus and Stephanus’ Vulgate place the verb at the head of the new sentence (“Abiitque . . .”). Douche sentences also begin with a conjunction, “Und”, but the verb follows its grammatical subject.

appears also in the Bishops Bible, as do the verse's other annotations. Paratext was thus used to compensate for knowledge that could not be presupposed.

לגור בשדי מואב | to sojourn in the country of Moab

The somewhat specialised verb “sojourn” had been Tyndale’s choice, present in all EME versions except that of Coverdale. Insofar as Tyndale’s Pentateuch had been the base text for Coverdale, only a fraction of the former’s sojourn(er)s were retained.⁶⁷ That Coverdale’s encounter with the biblical text was mediated is logically a factor; Tyndale sought to convey the sense of a Hebrew term to which Coverdale remained oblivious. (See further discussion in **Chapter 6**.)

Wycliffite manuscripts and EME versions from Matthew to King James differentiated “the land [of Judah]” from the “country [of Moab]”. The exceptions to this trend are Coverdale and the Douai OT. The latter is puzzling given that the Vulgate distinguished “terra” and “regione”. Coverdale was under Douche influence, Luther having amended his draft translation of *seday* (“feld”, field) to “land” before going to press.⁶⁸ The difference is of minimal consequence. No suggestions are given with regard to the implications of Moab, allowing for its absorption as fact rather than gesture. Further into the narrative, however, Genevan annotations not only indicate that Moab is a land inhabited by “idolaters” (against R1.9) but also that being not only a stranger but a Moabite was especially negative (at R2.10: “Even of the Moabites . . . enemies to God[']s people”). Such paratextual imposition is explored further in **Chapters 4 and 6**.

הוא ואשתו ושני בניו | he, and his wife, and his two sonnes

Pre-1539 versions omitted the redundant pronoun “he”, substituting the preposition “with”. The Vulgate included the same standardisation, taken over also by the Douai. The Great Bible reintroduces the pronoun, another example of increasing attention to individual ST tokens. Though the Vulgate had translated the offspring (legitimately) as “liberi” (Douai: “children”), in all but the Douai these are explicitly sons. As the names could not have been relied upon to convey gender as in Hebrew, some compensation was logical, but this was not necessarily a deliberate intervention to that effect. “Wife” in Tyndale’s use retained its broad sense—not yet restricted to married women.⁶⁹ Its cognates in other languages (*weib*, *wijf*) continued to be applied to women

⁶⁷ Surveying the Pentateuch, King James’ translators used a form of sojourn (as verb or noun) 40 times across 39 verses (twice in Lev 25.47). Tyndale used a form of sojourn in 22 of these verses. Coverdale uses sojourn 4 times in 3 verses, always with Tyndale as precedent.

⁶⁸ This remains in all printed editions. For the manuscript, see WA DB 1:30.

⁶⁹ See Rev 17.6 in editions of Tyndale’s New Testament. This general meaning remained with reference to women “of humble rank or ‘of low employment’” (so OED online, s.v. “wife, *n.*” §1. accessed Jun 05, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/228941/>) but is not otherwise reported after the sixteenth century.

more broadly, sharing the Hebrew indeterminacy, but as English shifted Naomi's relationship to Elimelech was more firmly regularised by the English term.⁷⁰

4.3 Summary and application

In the course of one verse, the translators negotiated multiple possibilities, selecting, rejecting, refining and innovating according to their requirements. Insofar as a pattern of evolution is visible, it perhaps tends toward the increased replication of individual semantic tokens, or what Nida termed formal equivalence.⁷¹ The triumph of “in the days” (not “in the time”) and “it came to pass” reflect this. Where there is divergence from this trend, compensatory measures are employed, as in the marginal annotation on “ruled” in the Geneva, Bishops and King James Bibles.

Individual versions have their own characteristics. The Geneva Bible's treatment of proper nouns suggests a move into technical text-type, attempting close reproduction of sounds from the Hebrew source language (SL) and using accents to aid pronunciation. This was modelled on its Genevan predecessor. The resulting text highlights the words' foreignness; while accompanying paratext suggests historicity.

The most likely case of conscious ideological interference in the translated text is the replacement of the Great Bible's accidental language. However, decisions such as the retention of the conventional Englishing of “judges” also reflect the worldview brought to the text by its English translators. Paratext provides more fertile examples of the translator (or annotator) guiding the reader, as in the later exegesis of Moab.

The case studies pursued in the next chapters are the result of the profiling process, Hebrew and EME texts having been compared and the particular challenges facing a translator considered. The **next chapter** gives particular attention to the theological and more narrowly confessional issues that arose for those translating *Ruth*. **Chapters 5 and 6** each focus on a particular keyword. This facilitates pursuit of cross-canonical samples, showing how relationships between SL and TL correspondents became increasingly consistent, so that when correspondents diverge, this suggests a particular contextual concern. In **Chapter 5** the term scrutinised is *chayil*, a word applied significantly to both Ruth and Boaz and exhibiting remarkably different trends of stability (with regard to Ruth) and change (with regard to Boaz). **Chapter 6** focuses on the word *nokriyyah* and the way in which its dominant translation at R2.10, “stranger”, created a fresh set of canonical intertexts thereby setting Ruth up as a social model. **Chapter 7** is occupied with a point of

⁷⁰ The cultural Anglicisation of male-female relationships in the English bible is treated in the second chapter of Tadmor's *The Social Universe of the English Bible*. Germanic languages commonly had a separate term, as “Frau” or “vrouw”.

⁷¹ Theo Hermans singles out biblical translation as an oddity in this respect: “As the vernacular cultures become more self-confident and assertive . . . literalism is eventually pushed back into ‘special purpose’ categories, notably Bible translation”; Hermans, “Translating ‘Rhetorijckelijck’ or ‘Ghetrouwelijck.’”

grammar: how the preposition and pronoun compound *mikem* modify the verbless penultimate clause of R1.13. A particular and surprising conservatism of interpretation is found in the EME versions. That this is not an abstruse point is illustrated with examples drawn from later commentary, showing how King James' translators' reading affected subsequent interpretation of *Ruth* (and of Naomi).

Before proceeding to such specific in-depth analysis, some further observations about the general framework in which early modern *Ruths* were presented will be beneficial.

5 RUTH IN EARLY MODERN BIBLES

Rather than follow Nord's model rigidly or assess each version separately, the following digest combines consideration of extra- and intratextual factors for the EME versions, focusing particularly upon subject matter and presentation of *Ruth* and of early modern bibles more generally. This approach emphasises *Ruth's* status as a canonically embedded book, and generates observations about how the text might be received.

5.1 Subject matter

In EME bibles, the book of *Ruth's* subject matter is made apparent by the inclusion of paratextual summaries and so-called Arguments at the head of the book or of each chapter within the narrative. The Arguments (features of the Geneva and Douai-Rheims versions) are treated in detail in the **next chapter**; the summaries are set out in **Table 3.2** (at the end of this study).

The briefest summaries (in the Great Bible) set the scene or act as *aides memoires*: "Elimelec goeth with his wyfe and chylidren into the lande of Moab" (R1); "Ruth gathereth corne in the felde of Booz" (R2). They might be used (as such phrases often are today) to introduce the passage read aloud during worship, without spoiling the plot.⁷² This approach stands in contrast to the Matthew Bible (from which the Great Bible summaries are drawn) where the summaries are a narrative-in-miniature. In Coverdale, the effect is enhanced by the gathering together of the summaries at the head of the book; Coverdale's sentences are based on Zurich's but errors have been corrected, and details added to achieve a coherent story.⁷³ This approach has ramifications

⁷² On the strategies of such summaries as considered from a modern translator's perspective, see Christiane Nord, "Guiding the Reader's Reception: Pericope Titles in the New Testament," ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Päivi Pahta, *COLLEGIUM: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences 7*: Translation, Interpretation, Meaning (2012): 63–76.

⁷³ In the Zurich version, the spelling of Boaz (Boas, Boos) is inconsistent, and an orthographic error produces the wrong noun ("thüre", door, appears where one would expect "theüre", famine—cf. "theürung" in R1.1). At a narrative level, the text refers to Ruth as "verlassne witwen" without mentioning the death of the sons. Then in the summary of chapter three, Z34 implies that Ruth has invaded Boaz's bedchamber ("an

for the poetics of the full narrative; fastforwarding to the denouement, while constraining the reader's focus to particular events. It is a precursor to the Arguments.

In keeping with the referential developments highlighted above (**Ch.2 §3.2**), the Geneva Bible indexes events throughout the chapter, taking advantage of its newly introduced versification. See thus the entry for R4: "1 Bóaz speaketh to Ruths next kinseman touching her mariage. 7 The ancient custome in Israél. 10 Bóaz maryeth Ruth, of whome he begetteth Obéd. 18 The generation of Phárez." The King James' indexing summaries are more extensive than the Geneva, a total of 136 words to Geneva's 81 (the Great Bible has just 40); this reflects the absence of an "Argument", a more polemical type of paratext.

Though featuring language from the translated text (e.g. famine, taking knowledge, sheweth favour, six measures, redemption), the longer summaries are also interpretive, incorporating evaluation of narrative events not present in the source text (so KJ R1.14 "with great constancie accompanieth"; 1.19 "where they are gladly received"). Similarly in the Geneva and Bishops Bibles, the reader is advised of Boaz's "gentleness[s]". The shifts are sometimes subtle but have a compound effect. Coverdale's version consistently foregrounds Ruth, a step in keeping with the book's title. Naomi is not even named and although R2.1 introduces Boaz in terms of Naomi, the summary connects Ruth and Boaz through *her* husband and not through Elimelech. At *Ruth* 4, land and alternative *go'el* are wholly ignored. Coverdale also domesticates: Ruth is not subject to a rights-discourse but simply happens to 'marry' the well-spoken Boaz—the introduction of the latter terminology is common, and is among the topics dealt with by Naomi Tadmor.⁷⁴ From bereavement, to barn to marriage, Coverdale goes beyond his source in guiding his reader to an unambiguous interpretation of "good words". Such optimistic gap-filling is not peculiar to the paratext, as demonstrated within the detailed investigations of subsequent chapters.

Ideological interference in such paratext is often obvious; analysing English translations of Latin American political material, it was only in the paratext that Munday could confidently identify interference.⁷⁵ More complex is the consideration of factors that may affect lexical choice (see discussion of underdetermination and other factors in **Ch. 2 §4**).

das bett"), perhaps inspired by some artistic impression of the scene. Coverdale returns events to the barn. Other variations are set out in **Appendix Pt II, §1.1**.

⁷⁴ Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*.

⁷⁵ Munday, "Translation and Ideology". Munday expresses caution about claiming ideological explanations when some shift is inevitable and the translator's experience of the languages involved will affect their selection, so that lexical priming may be the greater factor. See esp. 213-4.

5.2 As canonical text

Critical to the reception of early modern bibles was their presentation as “the Bible”, a complete book. Tyndale declared his intention to remain in exile for as long as the English were denied access to a complete bible, any bible.⁷⁶ Translators were theologically Christian, and their scholarship canonically-driven: the push for a printed English Bible was concerned with the iconic seamless whole, not its disparate parts.⁷⁷ This incorporation shifts the profile of the translated *Ruth* in significant ways.

When *Ruth* is positioned within an early modern Bible, there are competing notions of ‘sender’, illustrated here with regard to the peritext or prefatory matter of the different bible versions.⁷⁸ As “God’s Holy Scripture”, God is the ultimate *writer* (Coverdale ¶15). At a human level, the translator(s)—more often anonymous than named—typically address the reader as senders of the translated text.⁷⁹ Coverdale is identified by name, but he intimates that his work has been reviewed by others, undergoing “correction” (¶13), and is to some extent a team production (gainsaying the notion of a translator as an isolated entity).⁸⁰ The translator’s role is displaced by Cranmer’s preface in the Great Bible (from 1540 onward), speaking in his role as Archbishop of Canterbury and so projecting the Church as the book’s sender.⁸¹ Yet in the illustrated titlepages of the Great and Coverdale Bibles, and some editions of the Bishops Bible, the English monarch is presented as sender; a motif especially pronounced in the Great Bible, where Henry hands down bibles and receivers respond “Vivat Rex”, “Long live the King”.⁸² Red ink highlighted royal endorsement on the Matthew Bible’s titlepage.⁸³ The monarch is also the dedicatee in English Bibles, so that her or his presence is invoked as a kind of sponsor or supporting authority;⁸⁴ King James’ implicit approval is reinforced by Robert Barker’s status as “Printer to

⁷⁶ Asked to return (by Stephen Vaughan on behalf of Thomas Cromwell), Tyndale required “only a bare text of the scriptures to be put forthe . . . be it of the translation of what person soever shall please his magestie”. The wording is Vaughan’s, quoted here via James, “Establishing an English Bible,” 62. The passage appears also in Mozley, *William Tyndale*, 198; and is discussed by Collinson, “William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation”, n.p.

⁷⁷ Cf. Long, *Translating the Bible*.

⁷⁸ As in **Chapter 1**, for ease of reference, prefatory addresses are quoted according to their paragraphing in the original editions, following the example (and mainly in the modernised English) of Bray, *Translating the Bible*.

⁷⁹ In the 1534 Zurich Bible, the printer also addresses the reader, explaining innovations in this new edition, and thereby perhaps overshadowing the anonymous translator(s).

⁸⁰ See **Ch. 1, §2, n.13**.

⁸¹ In the fourth and sixth editions, the titlepage is rewritten, stating that the translation is “approved and authorized” by the King and claims verification by two bishops (Durham and Rochester) sought, Mozley hypothesises, because of Cromwell’s demise. Mozley, *Coverdale*, 252–3.

⁸² Cranmer’s preface also ends with the words “God save the king”.

⁸³ See **Ch. 2, §3.1 n.17**. The location suggests the statement was added after the woodblock had been designed.

⁸⁴ So in the Matthew Bible, the dedicatory’s rhetoric places the book under the “proteccyon” and “defence” of its dedicatee, so that it might have “save condet” (safe conduct) and seem safe to read (“to thyntent that [it] myght frelyer and boldelyer be occupyed in the handes of men”); quoted from the Hendrickson facsimile

the Kings most Excellent Maiestie”.⁸⁵ When subject to oral delivery (in church, home, or marketplace) these bibles acquired an additional sender or intermediary—the acoustic reader, one who might add their own layer of interpretation.

Who were the intended **receivers**? For whom did the translators translate? Much might be written about the projected audience of the different bible prefaces. One ought properly to speak of audiences, as each set of prefatory texts seems to imagine a range of interlocutors.

As a vernacular English text, Coverdale presents his work as a patriotic act, a text destined for “our most prosperous nation” (like other nations—¶11).⁸⁶ The final portion of his preface, not unlike Cranmer’s, is a prescription for the ordinary reader, lay or ordained.⁸⁷ This reader is conceived to be of some social standing or leverage, someone who can aid the poor (¶16) and employ a tutor for their children (¶22); this reader is also assumed to be male (¶22).

The Matthew Bible has only a brief address “To the Chrysten Readers”, in keeping with the pseudonymy of its translator(s). The “prudent reader” is encouraged to use the table for the exhortation of “certayne personages” and “*commune* [common, i.e. ordinary] people” and to answer heretics and confound “adversaries”. The catechistic “Summe and content” (borrowed from Lefèvre) supplements this material, catering for readers in need of basic religious pedagogy, and so circumscribing doctrine.⁸⁸ The presence of additional materials including a liturgical calendar, the calculation of Easter through to 1557, and a table with gospel and epistle readings show that the publisher anticipates its use by clergy and in churches over a period of time.

The preface-writers commonly anticipate criticism, so that it is normal to seek the reader’s kindness in such circumstances, and invite them to make it better.⁸⁹ This defensive element is a logical response to the controversial nature of the translation enterprise; it also shows that elite readers

edition (the Matthew Bible preface is not included in Bray’s collation). Cf. *Matthew’s Bible: A Facsimile of the 1537 Edition; combining the translations of William Tyndale & Myles Coverdale, edited by John Rogers; with an Introduction by Dr. Joseph Johnson* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2009), dedication “To the moost noble & gracious Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght. . .”, ¶¶1–2.

⁸⁵ See the King James’ titlepage (1611). In the UK, printing of the King James Bible is still subject to royal approval, now largely devolved to the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses in England, and the Scottish Bible Board in Scotland.

⁸⁶ Brennan cautions against reading such statements as indicative of a deliberate “proto-national impulse”, a phrase borrowed from Benedict Anderson; see Brennan, “Patriotism, Language and Power,” 20. Yet it is not clear that Coverdale made the same division between the vernacular audience (the vulgar lower social orders) and the Latin-literate elite that appears within much contemporaneous discourse.

⁸⁷ See his concern for those who preach with (no!) reference to a text of which they have little or no independent knowledge (¶22).

⁸⁸ For the Matthew Bible’s dependence on French paratext, see Mozley, *Coverdale*, chapter eight.

⁸⁹ So e.g. Coverdale (¶13): “And though I have failed anywhere . . . love shall construe all to the best” and “I doubt not that thou wilt help to amend it, if love be joined with thy knowledge” (see ¶11–13 more generally). Bishops (¶13): “correct the same in the spirit of charity, calling to remembrance what diversity hath been seen in men’s judgments in the translation of these books before these days” via Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 2011, 70–1, 126. Coverdale’s words draw on the Zurich preface (Z34): “Und ob wir gleych etwo gefadt . . . hettend / sind wir in hoffnung / liebe werde soelichs . . . dulden unnd verbessern.” (Cf. **Appendix Part I, §5.3.6**).

could be expected to read such addresses. Another indication that literate engagement was anticipated is shown in the use of non-vernacular phrases. In the prefatory materials of the Bishops and King James Bibles, Latin phrases appear, normally accompanied by an English rendering. In the Bishops Bible, a final example is not translated, suggesting care for the vernacular audience was limited.⁹⁰ In the King James preface, two examples of lexical controversy in the patristic era also pass untranslated;⁹¹ its whole discourse is replete with classical references that require a level of literacy that exceeds vernacular culture;⁹² as a result the tone is rhetorically imposing, conveying authority. These prefaces were evidently not designed with a purely vernacular-bound audience in view.

The projected audience of preface and bible is not necessarily co-extensive. As the term suggests, the audience is not restricted to the direct reader. Having been “Appointed to be read in churches” meant judged fit for public reading. The ‘great’ size of the Great Bible was not only a visible manifestation of its status as an officially endorsed edition; its physical dimensions limited portability, pointing to its *raison d’être* as the approved liturgical text, to be set in all churches and read aloud during worship.⁹³

Production of printed bibles involved a shift of **medium**, the text’s idiosyncrasies shared with multiple ‘identical’ copies.⁹⁴ This seems to have had its attractions for the scholarly community, for as Scott Mandelbrote has observed with regard to the tools employed by the seventeenth-century translators (and printers), they had come to revere “traditions embodied in print”.⁹⁵ Situated in

⁹⁰ See ¶14. The paragraph’s first example refers to a Latin text but is explained in English; the second is offered only in Latin; cf. Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 126–7. Observe also the tendency to quote from the Vulgate, implicitly assigning authority to the Latin; so ¶¶ 1, 2, 5, 10, and 12.

⁹¹ “A godly Father in the Primitive time showed himself greatly moved, that one of newfangledness called *κράββατον*[.] *σκήμπος*, [couch, stool] though the difference be little or none; and another [Jerome] reporteth that he was much abused for turning *Cucurbita* [gourd] (to which reading the people had been used) into *Hedera* [ivy].” ¶15

⁹² Thus in ¶4: “Men talk much of *εισεσώνη*, how many sweet and goodly things it had hanging on it; of the Philosopher’s stone, that it turneth copper into gold; of *Cornu-copia*, that it had all things necessary for food in it, of *Panaces* the herb, that it was good for all diseases; of *Catholicon* the drug, that it is instead of all purges; of *Vulcan’s* armor, that it was an armor of proof against all thrusts, and all blows, etc. [. . . Scripture] is a Panary of wholesome food, against fenowed traditions; . . . a Pandect of profitable laws . . .” (Greek characters reinstated from 1611 edn.)

⁹³ The tendency to read “acoustically” was not restricted to liturgical settings or approved versions, so that “the illiterate within earshot shared in the exercise” of bible reading more generally (to quote Collinson, “William Tyndale and the Course of the English Reformation”, n.p.). Reading independently was the cause of considerable disruption in and outside churches. Cf. Brennan, “Patriotism, Language and Power,” esp. 25–27.

⁹⁴ On differences between manuscript and print culture, see MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 70–76.

⁹⁵ Scott Mandelbrote, “The Authority of the Word: Manuscript, Print and the Text of the Bible in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. Julia C. Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 153. There was, Mandelbrote writes, “a broad sense of contentment [among King James’ translators] that printed Latin versions of the texts of the Old Testament also sufficed in general for accurate translation” (alongside the ancient versions and contemporary European translations), a position that prompted criticism from others (144).

iconic volumes, *Ruth* becomes a subsection of the chronologically-organised narrative that leads from Creation in Genesis to return from exile in Ezra-Nehemiah; and of the larger division that constitutes the ‘Old Testament’ (a matter discussed in the **next chapter**). Formally designated as “the book of *Ruth*”, and sometimes separated from its neighbours by elaborate printed borders,⁹⁶ or the use of a new page,⁹⁷ early modern *Ruth* is nonetheless an embedded text, with a fixed canonical position. The location betwixt Judges and 1 Samuel (following the Septuagint tradition, see above) commends history-oriented reading and affects the context supplied by R1.1 (see previous discussion). It also places emphasis on David, the character who links *Ruth* with *Samuel*.⁹⁸

The manner of presentation bears significance too: Luther’s editions and Tyndale’s had used a single-column without reference marks,⁹⁹ suggesting something comparable to the ordinary vernacular narrative text, to be read from start to finish rather than dipped in and out of selectively, though the effect is diminished by the presence of chapter headings. The Coverdale text is laid out in two columns, indirectly mimicking manuscript style, more directly appropriating that of the 1534 Zurich Bible.¹⁰⁰ Such presentation facilitated cross-referencing, with reference-letters apportioned to each chapter section. With the exception of the Douai-Rheims, subsequent English Bibles emulate Coverdale’s pattern, establishing “distinctive biblical form”.¹⁰¹ The transformation from narrative to reference text is completed in the Geneva New Testament by the aforementioned introduction of verse-numbering, making referencing more authoritative,¹⁰² but also fixing the Bible as a distinctive kind of text. Such presentation, with a new line for each verse, provided a homogenous style to accommodate the multiple genres of the biblical library; visually, the text was one, and *Ruth* was one four-chapter part.¹⁰³ Another aspect of the reference evolution was an increasing volume of paratext, its proliferation paused only by the restrictions of King James’ commission (see **Ch. 2, §3.1**).

⁹⁶ So King James, BishoPs

⁹⁷ For the start of *Ruth* alone in the Becke and Geneva Bibles; for both start and close in Coverdale, Taverner, the 1568 Bishops Bible, and the second printing of the Great Bible (STC 2069); and for the close alone in the 1602 edition of the Bishops Bible and the first and third printings of the Great Bible (STC 2068, 2070). The last option suggests reading *Ruth* as an appendix to Judges.

⁹⁸ In the Zurich preface, it is argued that, if the Hebrew canon is to be fitted into twenty-two books (as some had historically; see **above, §3.1, esp. n.8**) *Ruth* belongs better with Samuel, as an introduction or preface, than with Judges. Coverdale’s selective translation omits this discussion. As a non-Hebraist producing a vernacular text, the discussion likely seemed irrelevant, but it provides evidence of one early modern translator, faced with a differently ordered Hebrew canon, giving fresh consideration to how the books ‘belong’ together. (For a comparison of elements from the Zurich and Coverdale prefaces, see **Appendix Part I, §5.3.6**.)

⁹⁹ Bugenhagen’s edition includes the markers, but Luther’s Wittenberg editions are consistently marker-less.

¹⁰⁰ See further **Appendix Part I, §5.3**, and discussion in Ernst Nagel, “Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel,” *Zwingliana* 6, no. 8 (1937).

¹⁰¹ The phrase is David Norton’s; see *A History of the Bible in Literature*, 1:166.

¹⁰² Versification “made evidence for particular arguments more accurately identifiable and consequently more authoritative”. Long, *Translating the Bible*, 172.

¹⁰³ Paragraph divisions continue to be indicated, marked by an initial paraph symbol at the verse-head (¶) but this is overpowered visually by the use of a new line for each verse in Geneva and King James Bibles.

One of the most dramatic shifts within the early modern period itself is exposed by Nord's category of "**place**", and the relative positions of sender and receiver. Printing vernacular bibles in the early sixteenth-century could be dangerous for the publisher, a reality sometimes represented by deliberately misleading information on the titlepages. Painstaking scholarship has demonstrated that most of Tyndale's New Testament editions, his Pentateuch, and the Coverdale Bible were printed in Antwerp, where Merten de Keyser reserved a separate typeface to disguise his involvement with 'heretical' literature.¹⁰⁴ As both Coverdale and Tyndale were based at the English Merchants' House in Antwerp during this period, this discovery is not wholly surprising. The complete absence of information about printer-publisher in the Coverdale and Matthew Bibles dislocated the translated text from its physical place of origin, perhaps accentuating the significance of the prefatory addresses. Is their communicative approach also closer to the horizontal, truly addressed to the vernacular reader? Geneva and Douai versions boasted of their origins on titlepage and internally.¹⁰⁵ Their cachet came precisely from their association with exile and consequently (implicit) freedom to translate correctly. Specifying their origins not only in London, but as products of the ruling monarch's printer, the Bishops and King James Bibles claimed roots in the English establishment.

Reviewing the extratextual categories with regard to the early modern *Ruth*, one finds that in English only the Douai annotator attends to the question of authorship (**sender**), remarking that it "was written, as is most probable, by Samuel".¹⁰⁶ No specific statements are given concerning the conceived 'original audience' of *Ruth* (**receiver**) or the **medium** of communication. The **time** of composition is not discussed, though there is some interest in narrative chronology. That and the remaining categories (**purpose, place**) featured in discussion in the analysis of R1.1 and will be returned to in subsequent chapters.

¹⁰⁴ Using a range of false imprints, de Keyser was responsible for the printing of Protestant works including most of Tyndale's Pentateuch (in association with Joannes Grapheus [1530]), the highly controversial *Obedience of a Christen Man*, and the 1530 English Psalter ascribed to George Joye. De Keyser also collaborated with another printer, Adraien von Berghen, on a 3-volume edition of Luther's *Postillen*. See Paul Valkema Blouw, "Early Protestant Publications in Antwerp, 1526–30," *Quaerendo* 26, no. 2 (1996): 94–110. For the Coverdale Bible, see Guido Latré, "The Place of Printing of the Coverdale Bible"; and "The 1535 Coverdale Bible and Its Antwerp Origins," in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O'Sullivan (London: British Library, 2000), 89–102.

See also, **Appendix Part I, §2, n.11.**

¹⁰⁵ The location appears at the end of both dedication and address to the reader in the Geneva Bible, while the Douai text is presented as the product of "The English College of Doway", making its associations clear

¹⁰⁶ "Argument" preceding the book of *Ruth* (Douai OT, 564). Contrast the Geneva Bible's curiously non-committal statement: "*it semeth* that this historie apperteineth to the time of the Iudges". (Geneva Bible, 119v; emphasis added). The two texts are discussed further in the **next chapter, §5.2.**

6 SUMMARY

Loss and gain are inevitable dimensions of translation. This chapter has employed Christiane Nord's translation-oriented model of text analysis (§2) to illustrate questions that arise in the interpretation and translation of *Ruth*. The analysis of the Hebrew text has been illuminated by insight from recent biblical scholarship, seeking to identify issues to which a Hebrew-based translator may be sensitive (§3). These include idiom, leitmotifs, cultural gaps and different syntactic patterns. Detailed analysis of a sample (R1.1; §4) allowed comparison of the Hebrew text with the solutions and strategies adopted within early modern English versions. This was followed by an interim summary (§4.3), making connections between the results of that analysis and the detailed investigations of the remaining chapters.

Differences between the Hebrew *Ruth* and her early modern counterparts are manifest not only within the text, but also its accompaniments. The impact of being not only canonised but bound physically within a Christian bible has been highlighted by applying (parts of) Nord's checklists to the early modern English bibles (§5). The diverse forms of *Ruth*'s Christianisation form the main topic of the **next chapter**.

Chapter 4: Theology, doctrine, and confessionalisation

1 OVERVIEW

This chapter explores the interaction between translation of *Ruth* and the translators' Christianity. Some translators used *Ruth* as an exercise for Hebrew language students (Johann Böschenstein, 1525; Johann Isaac, 1558) or with a heavily philological focus (Johann Drusius, 1586). Others translated it as part of the process of producing homiletical commentary (Ludwig Lavater, 1578, transl. Pagtt, 1586).¹ In the majority of cases, sixteenth-century translations of *Ruth* were produced as part of a bible. In all cases, it was assumed to be part of scripture, God's word. This shared assumption had as its counterpart an expectation that the book's theology necessarily reflected Christian orthodoxy. It is the practical working out of that assumption, in translation and in the annotations that supplemented translations, that is the focus of this chapter. The nature and scope of orthodoxy was itself being stretched and challenged. As a result, while some translation cruxes were common to Christian translators of any era (e.g. the *elohim* of R1.15-16), other aspects of the text drew special attention because they impinged upon freshly important doctrinal matters (e.g. the question of reward at R2.12). Both common crux and doctrinal dilemma are treated within this chapter, which focuses particularly on a comparison of translation and annotation features in English bibles with bibles from mainland Europe: To what extent are the issues under scrutiny shared with others? Are solutions common? Are there connections between the ways of thinking that are implicit in any English edition(s) and non-English school(s) of thought or model(s) of reform? Are there aspects of interpretation that appear particular to the English version(s)? Although bibles are the main focus in this chapter, the study of their annotations is supplemented by examples gleaned from commentaries on *Ruth* whenever these shed light on the motivation behind the often terse marginalia.

2 DESCRIBING THE DIVINE

A principal site of theology for any translator is the handling of terms that describe or name the divine. Two examples are explored here: the translation of the divine name, and of *elohim* in *Ruth* 1.15-16 (see **Table 4.1**).

¹ The full bibliographic details of the commentaries are given in the Bibliography and in **Chapter 2** (above) §4.4.

2.1 Translating the Tetragrammaton

As an example of oaths the Matthew Bible invokes the speech of Benhadad, king of Aram. Laying siege on Samaria he declares, “*The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people that follow me.*” (1 Kgs 20.10, KJ). The opening clause matches Ruth’s words at R1.17, though Ruth’s pledge is not to *gods* but to “the LORD”.² In Hebrew, Ruth refers to the Israelite god by name. However, in ancient versions and this English version, the name is not transliterated but replaced by an alternative noun. This was a long-established practice, motivated by a mix of awe and reverence.³ Because the masoretic scribes declined to vocalise the four consonants of this name, it is sometimes designated technically as the tetragrammaton, i.e the four-letter word (*Yhwh*). The distinction given to *Yhwh* as Israelite god is marked in this English version not only by the distanced translation, but also by the use of uppercase letters. These serve to distinguish it pragmatically from other titular uses of the noun, lord. The practice of capitalisation emerges during the sixteenth century, following examples in Luther and in Tyndale’s Genesis (a practice not followed in the rest of his Pentateuch volumes).⁴ The take-up of these two practices, replacing rather than transliterating, and using capitals, represents pragmatic and theological continuity; the specialness of God’s name was to be protected in the new vernacular versions.⁵

² That is, in Hebrew the phraseology is the same, though Benhadad invokes *elohim* rather than *yhwh*. MtB: 1 Kgs 20.[10]: “thus do the Gods to me and so therto, yf the dust of Samaria be ynoughe for all *the* people that folow me, that every man maye have an handful.”

³ In vocalised Hebrew manuscripts, *Yhwh* either stands vowel-less or with the pointing of the substitute noun, *adonai* (lord). The practice predates the records of vocalisation. The Septuagint uses *κύριος* (lord), and the Vulgate *dominus*. In Jewish commentary, other nouns also substitute, e.g. *ha-shem* (‘the name’), *shekinah* (presence).

⁴ This observation is based on Mombert’s critical edition of the 1530 printing; the notes on changes to orthography and typography suggest no change in the 1534 edition. The table “expoundinge certeyne words” at the end of Tyndale’s Genesis volume explains, “as oft as thou seist LORde in great letters (excepte there be any erreure in the prentinge it is in hebrewe Iehovah, thou that arte or he that is”. Via Mombert, *William Tyndale’s Five Books of Moses*, 155; for Mombert’s discussion of orthography, cf. xciv–v.

⁵ For variations, see Castellio’s use of Latin “Iova” (which I take to be a deliberate fusion, domesticating a more common attempt at transliteration, ‘Iehovah’, in a manner reminiscent of the Latin god Jupiter, whose non-nominative forms employ the root “Iov-”) and Beza’s “PEternal” (used throughout his 1588 bible). Eternal had also been Olivétan’s choice at Ex 3.14 and became a dividing line between Protestant and Catholic bibles. Against the Jupiter inference, Eskhult reports (criticising Hobbs) that Castellio objected to his contemporaries’ accusation that he was using Jove. Even given this reported reaction, it seems improbable that Castellio had not been aware of the assonant parallel in choosing this form. Cf. Eskhult, “Latin Bible Versions in the Age of Reformation and Post-Reformation,” 62 n.12; for L’Eternal, see CHB 3:115; and Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach, “Three French Bible Translations,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbo (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 553–75.

For a wide-ranging theoretical discussion (and critique) of the translation traditions, see Robert P. Carroll, “Between Lying and Blasphemy or On Translating a Four-Letter Word in the Hebrew Bible: Critical Reflections on Bible Translation,” in *Bible Translation on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century: Authority, Reception, Culture, and Religion*, ed. Athalya Brenner and Jan Willem van Henten, Papers from the colloquium “Bible Translations on the Threshold of the 21st Century: Issues of Translation Authority in Religious Beliefs and Cultural Reception” (2000: Amsterdam), *The Bible in the 21st Century* (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 53–64.

2.2 Orpah's *elohim* (R1.15)

One difficulty that beset translators of *Ruth* is a contradiction between the theology articulated by the characters' and their own preconceptions. As Christians, sixteenth-century bible translators were committed to the idea of one true God, excluding all others: they were exclusive monotheists, and their preferred discourse was therefore 'monotheological'.

If Naomi is taken as representative of the worldview of the text, the Hebrew book of *Ruth* acknowledges the existence of at least one other deity, the *elohim* to which Orpah reportedly returns (R1.15). In Naomi's speech, and in Ruth's response (R1.16-17), divinity, kin, and territory are interconnected. It is not that a deity can only act within their own territory. According to Naomi, *Yhwh* may recognise actions that occur outside of his territory, and may choose to show *chesed*—kindness without obligation—to Ruth and Orpah even though they are not of his people nor in his territory, because they have been involved with his people (R1.8-9). However, there is an assumption present in the speech of both Naomi and Ruth that communal identity involves allegiance to the same god as well as common kin and territory. Orpah's visible return to the land of Moab is interpreted by Naomi as allegiance not only to the territory but also to people and *elohim* (R1.15). Ruth, responding, commits to go with Naomi (to whatever territory), to be part of Naomi's people, and to share Naomi's *elohim* (R1.16).⁶ It is in the context of this statement, which reaches its climax in the specificity of an oath made in *Yhwh*'s name (R1.17), that Naomi finally accepts Ruth's intention. This three-fold relationship stands in conflict with the Christian conception of a single deity who is god of all people and all places. The monotheological problem represented by the theology of Naomi and Ruth is compounded by the fact that Naomi actively recommends that Ruth follow Orpah's return to her *elohim*. Naomi, Bethlehemite, Israelite, follower of *Yhwh*, has no difficulty in endorsing an alternative religious loyalty. English bible producers progressively employed a combination of typography, translation and annotation in order to counteract this aspect of their Hebrew source. Parts of this process relied on existing conventions in the text's interpretation, but other aspects show the producers' involvement in ideological discourses particular to their place in sixteenth-century Christianity.

A translation decision in this passage is unavoidable because the underlying Hebrew term, *elohim*, is the same in both verses. It is grammatically plural, but it is used frequently elsewhere in the Hebrew corpus, in conjunction with *Yhwh* or alone, with singular verb forms. In Benhadad's speech, the number of *elohim* is clear from the Hebrew verb forms which are both plural: he swears by gods (1 Kgs 20.10, see §2.1 above). In the present instance there is no verb or other

⁶ "Ruth's celebrated pronouncement to Naomi makes clear, nations, gods, and lands are necessarily linked", as Jeffrey Shoulson remarks, cf. *Fictions of Conversion*, 66.

grammatical indication to assist interpretation. A translator would look to context as determinative, and it can be argued on the basis of Ruth's subsequent invocation of *Yhwh* that she had a grasp on Israel's monotheistic paradigm.⁷ Yet that decision can be contested—there is, as Alastair Hunter has observed, no reason to be certain that Ruth subscribed to monotheism,⁸ nor does the textual environment support the exclusive monotheism with which many translators have approached the text.⁹ There is no immediate information to indicate whether Orpah's *elohim* should be taken as plural or singular. The choices therefore reflect the translator's own idea about what is correct, their theological ideology.

2.2.1 Converting *elohim*

In a partial parallel to the special treatment of *Yhwh*, the uniqueness accorded to the Christian deity is represented typographically in English by the use of an initial capital: God, in contradistinction to god or gods. Focusing on this element of translation exposes a kind of evolution in the way that English bibles handled R1.15-16. Tyndale's Orpah, the Matthew Bible's Orpah, returns to her "God". Coverdale's Orpah returns to her "god". From the Great Bible onward, successive English Orpahs return to their "gods" (see **Table 4.1**).¹⁰

Pre-sixteenth century texts made little use of capitals whether to designate proper nouns (as in modern English) or nouns more generally (as in modern German); regrettably this lack is masked in the critical edition of Wycliffite manuscripts produced by Forshall & Madden in the nineteenth century, where capitalisation followed the modern convention, though consulting manuscripts directly shows that it was commonly reserved for sentence-openings.¹¹ Capitalisation is equally limited in Douche bibles printed in the fifteenth century. The question of what prompted changes in convention is beyond the scope of the present study, but Luther's bibles introduced increasingly strategic use of capitals, and already in his 1524 translation of *Ruth*, proper nouns are capitalised.¹²

⁷ The naming of *Yhwh* is considered to be the critical point in her speech, because *elohim* was its more common completion. See discussion in Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 74–75.

⁸ Hunter begins by acknowledging the force of context: "No doubt the capitalised form 'God' can be justified where the context makes it clear that the deity referred to is Yahweh the God of Israel." He then goes on to question whether the capital "G" accurately reflects Ruth's own conception—Yahweh need not be the sole deity in Ruth's mind ("How Many Gods Had Ruth?" 428). Some modern commentators prefer to use a lower-case "g" (see e.g. Fewell & Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, 32, 97; Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 67).

⁹ See Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion*, chapter two.

¹⁰ For the orthography of Orpah see the **Appendix**.

¹¹ See for example the Scheide copy, i.e. "[Ms. Bible. Wycliffite, Late. Scheide M12]," Codex parchment (England, ca 1410), Scheide M12, Princeton University Library. Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. William H. Scheide Library., <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/vq27zn490>.

The use for sentence-openings was also typical in Latin manuscripts. Scrutiny of additional Wycliffite manuscripts is desirable to secure this point.

¹² Proper nouns are capitalised in the 1522 Halberstadt Bible also. It is not my intention to suggest that Luther was responsible for the change, but his example would have been influential among bible producers. His own approach to capitalisation seems to have changed, in that some short pamphlets on the Ten Commandments, published prior to his OT translation work, and the first edition of his Catechism, 1529, leave the *elohim* of Ex. 20.3 in lower case but it is otherwise upper case, *Goetter*.

The divinities of Orpah and Naomi were distinguishable only, and perhaps accidentally, by a missing “t” in R1.15: Orpah returned to her “Got” and Ruth proclaimed her allegiance to Naomi’s “Gott”. In later versions there is no orthographical differentiation, so Tyndale’s two Gods reflect the same even-handed translation strategy used by Luther.¹³ The Zurich versions and the Nether-Douche bibles of Liesvelt similarly retain parity of number and capitalisation. The Low Douche Lutheran text produced by Johannes Bugenhagen also has a singular form in both verses, but the parity is partly masked because the stem vowel changed between cases. Thus Orpah returns to her “Gade” (dative), whereas Ruth declares that Naomi’s “Godt” is hers (nominative).¹⁴

The alternative plural translation had a long history. Both Septuagint and Vulgate had taken *elohim* as unambiguously plural. Targum Ruth went further, employing the plural form of an altogether different noun, דחלה, for that to which Orpah returned and to which Ruth was incited to return.¹⁵ Naturally, vernacular translations based on the Vulgate, including the Wycliffites and pre-Lutheran Douche versions, incorporated the plural-singular contrast. The implication that Orpah’s theism was wrong, different and perhaps inferior was thus embedded in the translated texts. The sixteenth-century Latin versions also preferred to conserve the traditional plural form at R1.15. Castellio went so far as to substitute “patrios penates”, the family’s household deities in this verse. Pagninus was, as is to be expected, more conservative, giving “ad deos suos”, to her gods; likewise Münster, Jud and Tremellius.¹⁶ What Coverdale encountered in his sundry sources, therefore, was a contradiction. This contradiction apparently met with recognition of the monotheological problem demanding a solution.¹⁷ The nature of his solution has no exact parallel. Capitalisation had been used in addition to the plural in the French bible of Lefèvre and was continued in subsequent French bibles, giving “dieux” / “Dieu” (see **Table 4.1**). The Nether-Douche editions of

¹³ Luther appears reluctant to allow for plural *elohim* elsewhere, as for example Gen 6.2 where his text has *kinder Gottes* (not *kinder Goetter*) and cases such as Gen 20.13 and 35.7 where the accompanying verb is plural, “thus hiding the traces of a premonotheistic conception of god”, as Schwarzbach says of Olivétan; see Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach, “Three French Bible Translations,” in *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbo (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 563.

¹⁴ These remarks are based on a cursory examination of Bugenhagen’s usage in Genesis. His orthography is inconsistent, such that “Godt”, “Got” and “God” all appear for the nominative form in the first chapter of Genesis. Both “Godt” (nominative) and “Gades” (genitive) appear in Gen 1.1. The vowel shift from *o-* to *a-* is noted in the Grimms’ dictionary, as part of a lengthy discussion of recorded forms: “der mnd. übergang von o zu a erscheint bei got, in den flektierten formen des wortes, vereinzelt schon im späten 14. jh., häufig seit dem 15. jh.” See DWB, s.v. *Gott*, (8:1019). It is also possible that Bugenhagen’s preferred nominative form was influenced by Luther; see discussion of Luther’s linguistic influence in Francis, “The Linguistic Influence of Luther and the German Language”.

¹⁵ Presumably in acknowledgement of the 3sf suffix, “her” (gods and people), the Targum adds “to *your* people and to *your* deities (דחלתך)” at the end of R1.15.

¹⁶ The last uses capitals in both verses, as does Drusius in his commentary. The earlier versions preferred lower case throughout.

¹⁷ If the hypothesis that Coverdale encountered Luther through Bugenhagen is correct (see **Appendix Part I, §5.4.2**) the vowel-switch could have been a further factor in provoking Coverdale’s shift.

Vorsterman followed the same practice, but also included a marginal note suggesting the Hebrew might better be translated “God”. Coverdale’s introduction of distinction by capitalisation into the English text suggests that he would not accept presenting Orpah with an equivalent deity, even if Naomi may have done so. Yet in his 1535 bible, he also resisted the pluralising convention that was taken up in later versions (following the prompt of Münster’s Latin text).

Allying Ruth with God and not gods is an interpretive step. Other possibilities are available, and the choices are theologically driven. Given that no translator of the Hebrew text could be immune from interpretive dilemma, explicit attention to this kind of detail might be anticipated in publications intended as aids for those learning Hebrew.¹⁸ However, the sixteenth-century reality was different. While Johann Isaac Levita’s Latin handbook to Ruth’s grammar was unusual in opting for the singular in both verses (*Deum, Deus*), he makes no comment on this choice or the morphology. Yet more striking is the case of Böschenstein, whose vernacular edition of *Ruth* (1525, Nuremberg), explicitly designed and annotated to assist new Hebraists, differentiates textually between Orpah’s “goettern” and Ruth’s chosen “Got”. While his marginalia are normally attentive to textual translation and comprehension issues, he offers no acknowledgement that the same Hebrew *elohim* underlies both, but relies on curt marginal summaries to support his ideological reading; thus Orpah is said to separate and return to the Heathen, Gentiles,¹⁹ while the heathen Ruth enters God’s law.²⁰ Böschenstein’s students thus receive theology in place of philology. The sense that a translation dilemma was being covered over rather than addressed is strengthened by recurrent annotation in the sixteenth-century bibles. Covert indications that Orpah’s *elohim* were less real or valid could not themselves resolve the concern presented by Naomi’s commendation of Orpah’s actions (R1.15), and her repeated attempts to send both Ruth and Orpah back to Moab (R1.8-9; R1.11-13; R1.15).

Looking for patterns in the European sample, one might observe in **Table 4.1** a chronological shift in the treatment of Orpah’s *elohim*. From Luther’s 1524 manuscript until Biestkens Bible (1560), the singular v. plural readings are almost evenly split (a ratio of 15:17) and thereafter all versions supply a plural form. Yet under detailed scrutiny, one should also note that the data is significantly affected by Luther’s lasting decision to employ the singular, his influence extending over 11 of the 16 Douche versions in the early part of the sample. The awakening to and mitigation of problematic textual theology is most keenly illustrated in the English versions, which gradually move toward the most theologically fitting translation.

¹⁸ See for example Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 88, and references to Campbell, Bush, and Sasson there.

¹⁹ R1.15: “schied . . . ab, und keret wider zu^o den Heyden.”

²⁰ R1.16: “begibt sich die Heydin ruth in das gesatz Gotes.”

2.2.2 Annotating “Turn again” (R1.8-15)

2.2.2.1 *Infected by idolatry*

In the margins of the Geneva Bible, Naomi is reckoned to have been influenced by her time in Moab, “dwelling among idolaters”. Her insistent advice that Ruth and Orpah return, and more particularly the value she places on “rest... in the house of [a Moabite] husband” (R1.9) is taken as a sign that she has “waxen colde in þ^e true zeale of God”. Her words show “respect to the ease of þ^e body” rather than concern for the “comfort of þ^e soule”. Naomi’s action is judged to be wrong and an explanation (idolaters’ influence) is provided for this. Because the criticism is lodged in response to Naomi’s first speech, the Moabites are designated as “idolaters” before the encounter with Orpah’s “gods”, guiding the reader’s interpretation: If Moab is a land of idolaters, their “gods” are in fact idols. If Naomi thinks otherwise, she is misguided. The annotation is reprinted, verbatim, in some editions of the Bishops Bible, including that used by King James’ translators, though it was affixed to the previous verse—a sign that it was less the detail (rest in a husband’s house) that offended, and more the general injunction to return.²¹

The association of Moabites with idolatry, worshipping idols, was longstanding and is repeatedly recorded in commentary on *Ruth*. In the paratext that accompanied medieval Latin bibles and commentaries, Orpah’s return was “to the ceremonies or the error of idolatry”.²² In leaving native land, Ruth abandoned idolatry,²³ refusing to turn “back to the worship of idols”.²⁴ Expounding the same verse in the late sixteenth-century, Topsell constructed a convenient paraphrase of R1.15, “as if she [Naomi] had said, indeed for kindreds sake she is gone backe, but it is unto idols & false Gods. Yea & more also, unto devilles”.²⁵ The Douai annotators agreed that Ruth left behind “idolatry” and “false goddes”.²⁶ That Moabites were idol-worshippers thus had broad non-confessional consent.

If there was a common foundation, there were also polemical or partisan features in its expression. French bibles produced at Geneva had Ruth renounce not gods or idolatry but false “religion”,²⁷ an expression that evaded the implication of other deities but also positioned Ruth as an example for

²¹ The comment is attached to the mothers’ house (R1.8)—the husbands of v. 9 had already been subsumed into a commendation of the institution of marriage, present in editions of the Bishops Bible from 1568 onward. The original edition of the Bishops Bible had a different note at R1.8 (see below §4), later omitted to make space for the Genevan one.

On the use of the Bishops Bible by King James’ translators, see above **Ch. 2**. The Genevan note is found in earlier editions too; so e.g. STC 2141 (1584) and STC 2149 (1588).

²² Hugh of St Cher, quoting in part interlinear comment from the Ordinary Gloss [OG]; both at R1.14. This and subsequent medieval sources quoted via Smith, *Medieval Exegesis in Translation*, unless otherwise indicated.

²³ OG R1.16-17.

²⁴ Lyra (on literal interpretation of R1.16); Smith, 59.

²⁵ Topsell, 57, emphases added/

²⁶ Note to R1.15, discussed below.

²⁷ So Barbier-Courteau (1562 edn): “Elle renonce sa gent & la fausse religion d’icelle, pour se conioindre au peuple de Dieu & demeurer au vray service d’icelui.”

contemporaries who left country for the sake of whatever the reader perceived as true religion (on which theme see **Chapter 6** below). In humanist-oriented commentaries, an interest in the identity of the deity or deities to which Orpah returned normally accompanied the acknowledgment that this was idolatry. Drusius thus cites “Chamos” as the Moabite deity, providing his readers with an almanac reference should they wish to verify the matter.²⁸ Lavater engages in a longer discussion, refusing to regard “Chemos” and “Baal Peor” as two names for the same deity because he was convinced that gentiles were polytheists;²⁹ his humanist exegesis thus rejected the unions of land, kin-group, and deity suggested by Naomi’s words in the Hebrew text. But the specifics of Orpah’s divine allegiance are not discussed in a bible’s margins, not least because it could expose the monotheologically-suspect ambiguity to the vernacular reader.

2.2.2.2 *A deliberate test?*

Holding Naomi responsible for a mistaken attempt to send Orpah and Ruth back to Moab was a relatively unusual solution. More commonly her actions were explained as an appropriate test of motivation. Naomi aimed to test their constancy, Lavater preached, lest they should “fall back to Idolatry”, a fall that might have ramifications for others around them. He quotes 2 Peter 2.21 to illustrate the fate of those whose “slide into errors” causes others’ offence: better for an apostate “never to have knowne the truth”, than knowing it “to fall away”.³⁰

Tremellius included the test hypothesis in the margins of his Latin bible:

ut fidem ejus *exploret*, fratriciae exemplum proponit³¹

[that her faith *might be tested*, (the) sister-in-law’s example is put forward]

A longer version of this explanation, partially acknowledging the rejected and problematic alternative, appeared in the margins of Beza’s French bible:

Ceci est dit par Nahomi, non point pour destourner Ruth du vrai Dieu,
mais *pour esprouver sa foy*. voyez une semblable facon de parler Ios.
24.15.³²

²⁸ “Nam proprium erat numen ei genti, Chamos appellatum: unde illud, popule Chamos, de Moabitis.” [sic] Drusius, 36.

²⁹ “Sunt qui Baal Peor & Chemos unum eundemque Deum fuisse volunt, quibus non adsentior. eo quod *gentes plures Deos coluisse certum sit*.” Lavater, 27r.

Such discussion anticipates, to an extent, modern biblical scholarship. See, for example, Holmstedt’s reference to the Meshe Stele, which demonstrates that “Kemosh was the national deity of Moab”, balanced by the observation that “polytheism was the norm in the ancient Near East” (Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 2010, 88). The similarities should not be exaggerated; on the particular historical interests of humanist bible scholarship, see Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 45–54.

³⁰ In a sermon on R1.10-13 (L22r-v): “an non fuisset utile, eas ex idololatria ad veram religionem adduci, & tanquam ex incendio liberari? Respondeo, cupivisse quidem Naomi ambas ad veri Dei cultum converti, sed voluit sua illa dehortatione, *explorare illarum constantium* . . . Satius tamen esset apostatis illis 2. Pet. 2. non cognovisse viam iustitiae, quam ubi cognoverunt, converti ab eo, quod illis traditum fuit sancto praecepto, &c.” English text from Pagitt’s translation (hereafter “P”), 31v. The same passage had been used by Hugh of St Cher elsewhere in his list of potential explanations for Naomi’s actions; see Smith, 43.

³¹ Tremellius–Junius. Emphasis added.

[This is said by Naomi, not to turn Ruth away from the true God, but *to test her faith*. See a similar way of speaking (in) Jos. 24.15]

A similar ‘not/but’ formula appeared in the margins of the Douai OT: “Noemi *persuaded not* to idolatre, *but insinuated* that if Ruth would not returne to her countrie, she must also leave the false goddes.” The chosen verb, insinuate, acknowledges that such motivation is not present in the words but must be read into them. Ruth must read between Naomi’s lines.³³

2.2.2.3 *Behind the blame*

The English Geneva annotator was not completely alone in seeking to blame Naomi. “It would seem”, observed the thirteenth-century scholar Hugh of St Cher, “that Naomi sinned because she advised Ruth to remain in idolatry”.³⁴ An earlier exegete, Rabanus Maurus, had used allegorical tactics to resolve the theological problem: Naomi represented “the Synagogue” who “holds back from faith whoever she can”.³⁵ In this way, Naomi’s words were not vindicated but condemned by association with Jewish resistance to Christianity, an ahistorical and anti-Jewish hermeneutic. This capacity to balance Christian interest in this Old Testament scene with hostility to things Jewish is attested also in commentary from Ambrose, who reckoned that by her speech at R1.16-17, Ruth simultaneously “entered the Church and was made an Israelite”—she had the benefits of being among God’s people without the disadvantage of being Jewish.³⁶ There is no equivalent anti-Jewish hermeneutic among the sixteenth-century *Ruth* commentators sampled.³⁷ Where there was hostility, it was generally targeted at all those outside the sphere of true believers rather than to Jews as archetypal unbelievers. The Geneva hypothesis had pedagogical advantages for a writing community who resisted “dwelling among idolaters” and a reading community at risk from living among people who did not observe ‘true’ religion. Similar hints of sectarianism—the desire to be the true Church apart from the sinful world—underpin another Genevan annotation.

³² Beza. Emphasis added.

³³ For another example of the test rhetoric, see Topsell on R1.15: “Naomi ceaseth not throughly *to trie and examine* the minde of Ruth, for what cause shee woulde goe with her” (55, emphasis added).

³⁴ *Postillae*, via Smith, 43.

³⁵ Quoted by Hugh of St Cher, in Smith, 43. Rabanus Maurus was a ninth-century monk and theologian.

³⁶ This extract from Ambrose’s commentary on Luke was included in some medieval manuscripts as an addition to the Ordinary Gloss. See Smith, 32.

³⁷ That is not to say that anti-Jewish remarks are wholly absent. In the context of the midrashic suggestion that Ruth was Eglon’s daughter, Lavater comments, “Solent autem Iudaei magnifice de suis hominibus loqui, & nescio quam nobilitatem affectare, more illorum qui cum Codro pauperiores & obscuri sint, tamen inter peregrinos magnas opes, & familiae interdum splendorem mentiuntur” (11v–12r). Pagitt translates (16r–v): “But the Iewes are woont to vaunt much of theyr countrie men, and ambitiously to counterfeit, I know not what nobilitie according to the maner of them which being poorer then Codrus [an Athenian king who feigned to be a pauper] and of no estimation, yet sometime they doe falsly brag of great riches, and nobilitie of their familie when they are amongst strangers.”

An Eglon connection is present in Targum Ruth (cf. Brady, “Targum Ruth in English”) and in Midrash Ruth Rabbah (cf. Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 67).

2.2.3 No persuasions (R1.16)

No perswasions can prevaile to turne them backe from God whom he hath chosen to be his. (GVA; R1.16, margin)

Determination was a quality consistently predicated of Ruth; indeed, it is discerned by Naomi in the biblical text (cf. R1.18). Medieval commentary had taught that the contrasting reactions of R1.14 signified those who “fall back from the fellowship of faith to original errors” (Orpah) and those who (like Ruth) had “immutable purpose”.³⁸ This persistence, despite Naomi’s opposition, was also emphasised by sixteenth-century commentators. In Lavater’s homily, Ruth’s sticking power in spite of all arguments was an example for Christians, that they should likewise not be led away from true religion whether by flattery or by threat.³⁹ To Topsell, Ruth’s words in response to Naomi (R1.16) “proceed of a stedfast persuasion in the knowledge of God, and an assured hope”; “she opposeth the stedfastnes of her mother, against the backsliding of her sister”.⁴⁰

There is, however, a particular tone to the Genevan annotation. It is worded so that the contents apply not only to Ruth but also to “them... whom he hath chosen” more generally. The elect are thus assured that they will prevail (and that anyone who does not was not truly chosen); an ideology that could offer reassurance to a community whose common identity was forged by fleeing religious persecution. Persistence despite dissuasion was a sign of being truly called. The focus is different in the French Genevan bibles, where Ruth is taken as a type of the Gentiles, called to join the people of God:

Elle renonce sa gent & la fausse religion d’icelle, pour se conioindre au peuple de Dieu & demeurer au vray service d’icelui. En quoy est figuree la vocation des Gentils, qui devoient estre conioints au peuple de Dieu par Iesus Christ issue de Ruth selon la chair.

[She renounces her people & her false religion, *to be joined with the people of God* and to remain truly at his service. *In which is prefigured the calling of the Gentiles*, who ought to be joined with the people of God through Jesus Christ, issue of Ruth according to the flesh.]

Taking Ruth as a figure of the Gentiles was again a conventional interpretation, though placed here in less mystical context than a comparable extract from Hugh of St Cher’s commentary: “In this

³⁸ OG R1.14 (Smith, 13). Hugh of St Cher offered a more concise statement of the same contrast, with Ruth signifying those who “persevere in grace” (Smith, 47).

³⁹ “Rutha adhaesit socruī suae, neque ullis argumentis ab ea potuit avelli. . . . Orandus est Deus, ut nos quoque a vera religione neque blanditiis, neque minis atque terroribus sinat abduci.” (L26r-v) Pagitt’s English translation of this passage employs “perswation” as a cohesive link between the sentences, and is perhaps under influence from the Geneva Bible (the version which Pagitt uses for the homily texts): “Ruth tarried with her mother in law and could not be drawn from her by any perswasions . . . We must pray to God that he wil suffer us neither by flattering perswasions, nor threatnings and terrors, to be led away from true religion.” (P36v-37r.)

⁴⁰ Topsell, 63, 61. See also L26r.

way the Church of the Gentiles declares that she will go wherever the flesh of Christ ascends”.⁴¹ Typological Christianisation features also in the “Argument” at the head of the English Geneva version (explored further below, §5.2) leaving space for application in the reader’s contemporary sphere as the narrative is read. The question of how and why Ruth maintained her determination is to be considered in due course.

2.2.4 Is or shall be (R1.16)

English translations of Orpah’s *elohim* shifted from singular to plural gods very quickly, and under the direct influence of Sebastian Münster (see above §2.2.1). Münster was also responsible, because of Coverdale’s reliance upon him for the Great Bible revisions, for a lasting change to the presentation of Ruth’s commitment to Naomi’s God: “your God *is* my God” (Cov, MtB) became “your God shall be my God” (GtB). As discussed with regard to the singular-plural dilemma, there is no copulative verb in the Hebrew at this point. In Greek and Latin, the present tense could be understood without a copulative (though one might stretch it to imagine a future reading).⁴² Where one was supplied in the sixteenth-century versions, it was normally the present tense, so “est”, “ys”, “is” or “ist” in French and Douche versions, and in the English of Coverdale and Tyndale.⁴³ Ilona Rashkow has argued that the future form contradicts the natural force of the phrase, though this viewpoint has not received full support and the future context of the preceding clauses suggests that Münster’s reading is tenable.⁴⁴ However, Münster’s proposed resolution had the effect of eliminating a different exegetical possibility (that Ruth and Orpah had accepted their husbands’ *elohim* and Ruth is reminding Naomi that she had already changed her affiliations—speaking declaratively) and presents Ruth in subordination to Naomi, who is given the power to contest Ruth’s statement, a power heightened by the plea-oriented translation of Ruth’s opening

⁴¹ From the allegorical portion of Hugh’s commentary, at R1.16; cf. Smith, 47. The words echo a similar passage in the Ordinary Gloss: “. . . the Church, having been called from the Gentiles, abandoned her native land” (Smith, 13). Note, however, that for the OG Ruth has become the whole Church, ousting Jews.

⁴² Such omission would be “highly unusual . . . if it were future tense” (H.M. Hine, private communication). The copulative issue affects the preceding clause also, as reflected in the Douai version: “thy people, my people, and thy God my God” (R1.16).

⁴³ In the Matthew Bible, “are” appears for “is” in the first clause, i.e. “thy people are my people”. French versions from Lefèvre onward have “est”, with the exception of Châteillon (*sera*). The Douche versions of Luther, Zurich, Bugenhagen, Vorsterman and Liesvelt all have present tense. Neither the Spanish version of Reina nor Valera’s revision supply a copulative verb here. Sixteenth-century Latin versions also reproduce the null copula clauses, with the exception of Münster who supplies the simple future “erit” in parentheses, and Castellio who paraphrases: “communis mihi . . . erit”.

⁴⁴ Rashkow sees the Hebrew people-God clauses as leaving “no doubt” that Ruth has “*already* disavowed . . . *already* abandoned . . . *already* renounced” (*Upon the Dark Places*, 143-145). On the tenability of the alternative reading, see e.g. Holmstedt (*Ruth*, 90) who prefers the present, but allows also for the future reading. Bush follows the future reading without passing comment.

verb—“*Entreat* me not...”⁴⁵ The present tense gives Ruth a greater agency, retains an ambiguity between its performative and declarative potentials, giving her “strength and conviction”.⁴⁶

Whatever the force of these observations, it was Münster who suggested this reading for Coverdale’s revision, and Münster who continued to exert influence over subsequent English versions including that of King James. There is little to suggest that Münster was deliberately subjugating Ruth, and it is more plausible that he was influenced by the rabbinic expansion of Ruth’s speech at R1.16-17 in which it was taken as a conversion type-scene, with Naomi relating to Ruth the implications of becoming Jewish. The Targumic interpretation was received as an addition to the Ordinary Gloss [OG],⁴⁷ and appears in the widely-circulated commentary of Lyra.⁴⁸ Thus, following Jewish exegesis, Ruth affirmed her intention in R1.16, confirming it with the incontrovertible oath to *Yhwh* in R1.17.

2.3 Summary

The representation of *Yhwh* as a deity of unique significance was attested by the reverence with which his name was treated by generations of interpreters. This transferred into sixteenth-century English texts through the use of “Lord” in place of a transliteration, and its consistent capitalisation in the King James version (following the example Tyndale intended to set).

The translation of the technically plural term, *elohim*, varied between bibles and in consecutive verses. This has been shown to be a conscious reflection of tensions between the implicit ethno-theism of the ST and translators’ exclusive monotheism. The Geneva Bible and the established English translations conserve a traditional translation solution, interpreting Orpah’s *elohim* as gods and Ruth’s as God. Such covert indications that Orpah’s *elohim* might be less real or valid did not themselves resolve the concern presented by Naomi’s commendation of Orpah’s actions (R1.15). Translation decisions were therefore complemented by other interventions in the margins throughout *Ruth* 1. These marginalia constitute a further response to the monotheological problem presented by Naomi’s repeated efforts to send her daughters-in-law back to Moab, not only to land and kin, but also its *elohim*.

⁴⁵ Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 144. This latter point will be treated in the supplementary article referred to above (Ch. 1 n.83).

⁴⁶ So *ibid.*, 145.

⁴⁷ Smith, 32.

⁴⁸ Smith, 59: beginning “Here the Hebrews say that willing converts to the God of Judaism must be told the most difficult parts of the Law” In the early 1500s Catholic humanists like Lefèvre advocated the “stripping away” of glosses and bible editions without commentary were published; cf. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, 74. Yet (as remarked in Chapter 2, §4.2), it is evident that commentators continued to make use of Lyra. Lavater refers to him directly in comments on this scene (cf. Pagitt, 19r–v, also 109v–110r, where Lavater uses Lyra as his source for Rashi). See also Oecolampadius’ use of Lyra observed by Opitz, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin”, 409.

The English Geneva annotator apportioned blame to Naomi, an unusual but not wholly unprecedented course of action. More commonly, her words were interpreted as a test, an interpretation “insinuated” by the Douai annotator, presented in French and Latin bibles, and articulated most fully in the homiletic commentaries where Ruth serves as an example of the oppressed but truly religious, an aspect of her character that is explored further in **Chapter 6, below**. Whether test or mistake, Ruth is noted for her perseverance in the face of opposition.

The supply of a future copulative (“shall be”) at R1.16, adopted from the example of Sebastian Münster’s Latin *erit*, may affect the reader’s perception of Ruth (who is thereby seen to defer to Naomi) but evidence for a significant ideological motive—that there was an intention to reduce Ruth’s agency as Rashkow suggests, to have her seek permission rather than assert her will—is wanting. Rather it was in keeping with the conception of this scene in terms of religious conversion.

3 JUSTIFICATION (R2.12)

Ruth’s commitment to Naomi’s people and god, articulated by a Genevan annotator as the result of God’s choice (§2.2.3 *above*) is described further by Topsell, who identifies the mechanism by which Ruth is sustained despite the trial Naomi presents:

she [Naomi] trieth, molesteth, & vexeth her; yet *by the saving grace of God*
his assisting spirit, in the end she [Ruth] acquiteth her selfe⁴⁹

Translators and annotators had further opportunity to explore beliefs about the mechanics of salvation as the narrative proceeded. Indeed, they were provoked to it by Boaz’s invocation of reward for her *po’al*, her deed, behaviour or work, at R2.12. Boaz tells Ruth that his treatment of her proceeds from what he has been told about her, how she helped her mother-in-law, leaving kin to come to a new place. This is followed by two “nearly synonymous” blessings,⁵⁰ in which Boaz suggests that Ruth should be rewarded for her actions, impinging on a central question of sixteenth-century theological debate. Some background is desirable.

⁴⁹ Topsell, 59; emphasis added.

⁵⁰ Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 128.

3.1 From the New Testament to the Council of Trent

What is justification...? What are the causes of justification? What part is played by God? And what is required of man?⁵¹

Among questions posed for discussion at the Council of Trent were some that concerned the most prominent and complete division between Protestant and Catholic reformers: the doctrine(s) of justification.⁵² There was, prior to the Reformation, no official stance on justification, the process by which one could become “iustus” (the term Jerome chose to translate Greek *δικαιος*), justified or righteous. Different schools of thought, within religious orders and between universities, reflected the ideas of Augustine further refracted through the lenses of Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Gabriel Biel, William of Ockham, and others.⁵³ Their disagreement was the result of a fundamental tension between the recognition of absolute dependence on God’s grace and the duty to do good according to Christian law.

A particular distinction was advanced between the initial gift of grace and a Christian’s subsequent behaviour, with the concomitant suggestion that some continued effort might be required to secure eternal life.⁵⁴ Haziness about how this might operate combined with medieval accretions to doctrine, particularly the existence of purgatory, and a saint’s capacity to bypass it. Out of these convolutions arose the idea that indulgences, which could be granted as a reward for actions, might have an effect on a person’s place in the next life. Indulgences were properly intended to reduce the acts of penance required by the Church to satisfy its earthly demands; but there was a growing misconception that they might also affect the next life, minimising the pains of purgatory.⁵⁵ As a

⁵¹ Extract from the questions appointed (on 22 June 1546) for consideration at the sixth session of the Council of Trent, meeting in January 1547; transl. via Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, second edition (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 256.

⁵² The doctrine of justification is, in the words of Jaroslav Pelikan, “the chief point of difference separating Protestantism from Roman Catholicism”, “the foundation of the entire Reformation”; cf. Pelikan, Hotchkiss, and Price, *The Reformation of the Bible*, 139; Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, Volume 4: Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700), paperback edn (University of Chicago Press, 1985), 139. McGrath is more cautious, observing that “the early Reformed church never attached the same importance to the *articulus iustificationis* as did the early evangelical faction within Germany” (McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 225); see also Calvin’s deferral of justification to Book III of his *Institutes* (1559; McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 224).

⁵³ For a description of the range of ideas represented at Trent, see *ibid.*, §26. For the view that Luther was *au fait* with the different branches of thought but judged them all to be verging on Pelagianism, see Heiko A. Oberman, “‘Iustitia Christi’ and ‘Iustitia Dei’: Luther and the Scholastic Doctrines of Justification,” *Harvard Theological Review* 59, no. 1 (1966): 1–26.

⁵⁴ Such ideas emerged in interpretation of passages such as Rom 2.6–7: “Who will render (*reddet*) to every man according to his deeds (*opera*): To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life (*vitam aeternam*) . . .”

⁵⁵ See, for example, Tyndale’s brief and dismissive account of supererogatory works in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1528) in comment on Luke 10.35: “As do they which interpret . . . by that which is bestowed *opera supererogationis* (howbeit *superarrogantia* were a meeter term), that is to say, deeds which are more than the law requireth; deeds of perfection and of liberality, which a man is not bound to do, but of his free will, and for them he shall have an higher place in heaven, and may give to other of his merits; or of which the pope, after his death, may give pardons from the pains of purgatory.” William Tyndale, “The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,” in *The Works of the English Reformers: William Tyndale and John Frith*, ed. Thomas Russell, vol. 1 (London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1831), 122.

tangible manifestation of the idea that deeds (or indeed financial transactions) could make a difference to God, indulgences were easy targets for Luther and other reformers. The merit of good works was a dividing line in public rhetoric, partly because of its association with ecclesiastical excesses. Yet, as Alister McGrath has demonstrated in great detail, Protestant and Catholic reformers disagreed not only with each other but also among themselves about what justification was and how it operated, and the relation between faith and works.

The broad view that one could not earn salvation had been established by Augustine in response to the teaching (or Augustine’s perception of the teaching) of Pelagius, that Christians would be rewarded for their efforts to follow Jesus’ teachings—an incentive for them to make the best possible effort. The Pelagian injunction was predicated theoretically on the possibility that humans could be sinless. Augustine disagreed radically, because he perceived humanity as utterly fallen and utterly sinful. Without God’s grace, people were incapable of goodness. In this, Augustine was principally dependent on the teachings of Paul (cf. Rom 3.23; 5.12 &c.). However, the scriptural witness is complex, and an apparent contradiction between the roles of faith (πίστις, *fides*) and works (ἔργα, *opera*) crystallised in the following excerpts from Paul’s letter to the *Romans*, and the letter of *James*:

Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith [δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει, “iustificari... per fidem”] without the deeds of the law [χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου, “sine operibus legis”].
(Rom 3.28)

Ye see then how that by works [ἐξ ἔργων, “ex operibus”] a man is justified [δικαιοῦται, “iustificatur”], and not by faith only [οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως μόνον, “non ex fide tantum”].
(Jam 2.24)

Luther’s insertion of “allein” (only) into the verse from *Romans* served to cement the potential contradiction, promoting his emphasis on faith as the sole criterion for (or agent of) justification (“sola fides”).⁵⁶ In addition, Luther moved *James* and other New Testament writings that contradicted this emphasis to the back of his bible. These two textual interventions remain as permanent witnesses to the break between Luther and the Church of Rome. If Luther hoped thus to dismiss concern about the value of good works, he was not successful. There was plenty to fuel the scriptural debate, including the suggestion earlier in *Romans* that a person was to be rewarded κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, according to their works (Rom. 2.6). Goodness may well be predicated on God’s freely given grace (Rom. 3.24) but honour and eternal life were among the benefits available

⁵⁶ Though not part of Tyndale’s text, “alone” is defended in the margins of the Matthew Bible with reference to Ambrose: “S. Ambrose expoude . . . iustified by fayth alone, by the gift of God[,] Thys worde, alone, (althoughe many be therwyth uniuistly offended) is also evidently expressed by S. Paul hymselfe . . .” *Rom.* 3, margins. Luther’s own justification for the translation is given in his letter on translation; cf. WA DB 2:632–46.

to those who continued in good works, while torment awaited others (cf. Rom 2.7–10). The scripture-oriented dispute extended into Old Testament exegesis and *Ruth* proved susceptible to interventions, though its textual opportunities were a better prospect for the Catholic reform parties than for Protestants.

3.2 “Booz doubted not but reward was due to good works”

At Trent, the decisive document concerning the doctrine of justification was phrased principally in and through biblical texts, rather than employing terms that had evolved in post-biblical discussion. This demonstrates an acceptance that scripture could form the principal basis for such doctrine, but perhaps more important was that avoiding technical language created space for those whose technical interpretations differed. What was important was to rule out unacceptable views.⁵⁷ Although R2.12 is not among the passages cited, the Vulgate text of the verse contains key terms also found in the Tridentine formula. Compare the verse as it appears in the Clementine Vulgate, the official edition for the Douai scholars, with an extract from the Tridentine decree on justification:

*Reddat tibi Dominus pro opere tuo, et plenam mercedem recipias a Domino Deo Israël, ad quem venisti, et sub cuius confugisti alas.*⁵⁸

[Douai: Our Lord *render* unto thee for thy *workes*, and God grant thou mayest receive a full *reward* of our Lord the God of Israel, to whom thou art come, & under whose winges thou art fled.]

Atque ideo bene *operantibus* usque in finem, et in Deo sperantibus proponenda est vita aeterna, et tanquam gratia filiis Dei per Christum Iesum misericorditer promissa, et tanquam *merces* ex ipsius Dei promissione bonis ipsorum *operibus* et meritis fideliter *reddenda*.

[And, for this cause, to those working (*operantibus*) well unto the end, and hoping in God, life eternal is to be proposed, both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward (*merces*) which is according to the promise of God himself, to be faithfully rendered (*reddenda*) to their good works (*operibus*) and merits.]⁵⁹

The English verb “render” is drawn from the post-classical Latin “rendere”, itself a corruption of the Latin “reddere” and its use in the Douai text for R2.12 thus reflects the Vulgate’s influence, but

⁵⁷ The Council’s position was “a response to past errors”, as McGrath puts it (*Iustitia Dei*, 277).

⁵⁸ The texts of the Clementine and Stephanus editions are identical at this point, with the exception of orthography (only Israel is capitalised in Stephanus’ text).

⁵⁹ Council of Trent, Session 6: 13 Jan 1547. *Decretum de Justificatione*. Chapter XVI: De fructu justificationis, hoc est, de merito bonorum operum, deque ipsius meriti ratione. Latin text via Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes*, vol. 2: The Greek and Latin Creeds, with translations, Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiae Universalis (New York: Harper, 1882), 107. Schaff’s English translation is here amended in order to make clear that both “working well” and “hoping in God” are required for the receipt of life eternal

also the Church's official language.⁶⁰ When Boaz appeared to suggest that God should "render" Ruth recompense for her deeds (R2.12), the Douai annotator could comment enthusiastically: "Booz doubted not but reward was due to good workes."

3.3 Reformers on Ruth's works

Just as the teaching that people were justified by faith alone was anathema to the Catholics,⁶¹ the notion that merit could be earned through good works was anathema to the Protestants. In homiletic commentaries on *Ruth*, Johann Brenz, Ludwig Lavater, and Edmund Topsell go to great lengths to contest the Catholic perspective. Quoting the Vulgate text, Brenz first questions, "Are not these words seen to affirm the merits of works?" Then states his reply: "These words do not commend the worth of our works, rather they commend the mercy and promises of God."⁶² Before posing the question, Brenz had already begun to manipulate the biblical text, telling the reader that Ruth was commended primarily for her faith and only secondarily for her assistance to Naomi—something she could not have done without faith, because daughters-in-law naturally hate mothers-in-law (a theme returned to in **Chapter 7**).⁶³ Lavater moves from the observation that Papists ("Papistae") use this and similar passages to show that eternal life is promised in exchange for good works, to an attack on the worst excesses—the sale of so-called supererogatory works.⁶⁴ In what follows, he rehearses his position on faith and works at some length, quoting Augustine with approbation: "Deum in nobis coronare sua dona, non nostra merita"; 'God crowns in us his own gifts, not our merits'.⁶⁵ If good works are ultimately possible only because of God's grace then they do not merit reward; the benefit of good works has still to be defended, and the *Ruth* text is taken as proof that good works may be praised though they should not be done in order to get

⁶⁰ Wycliffite bibles use "yield" at this point. On the origins of "render", see OED online, s.v. "render, *v.*", accessed May 29, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/162386/>. Comparing sixteenth-century Latin versions, "reddat" appears in Pagninus' version, but forms of the verb "rependere" (repay) in the versions of Münster, Jud and Tremellius, attesting the desirability of avoiding Roman language among the Protestant reformers.

⁶¹ "Si quis dixerit, sola fide impium justificari . . . anathema sit." Trent, Session 6. Canon IX. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 112.

⁶² "Sed quid est q[uod] Boas addit: Reddat tibi Dominus pro opere tuo, et plenam mercedem recipias a Domino Deo Israel? An non haec verba videntur merita operum affirmare? Respondeo. Haec verba non commendant dignitatem operum nostrorum, sed commendant misericordiam & promissiones dei." Brenz, cclxxxviii (288); English translation mine.

⁶³ "Hoc loco commemoratur encomium Ruth. *Ac primum commendatur a fide. . . . Quia enim creditur Deo Israel & promissionibus eius, ideo benefecit post mortem viri socruī suae, alioqui duobus nominibus invisae, q[ui]ppe] Iudae, & q[ui]ppe] socrus, quae solent odisse nurus.*" Ibid.

⁶⁴ L49r.

⁶⁵ Translation adapted from Pagitt, 69r. This Augustine text was the basis for medieval discussion of merit (so McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 109) and is cited also in Martin Bucer's discussions of justification; see Lugioyo, *Martin Bucer's Doctrine of Justification*, 143.

praise but out of obedience to God's commands.⁶⁶ Taking Boaz's words as praise, and not as prayer, serves to divert attention from the underlying theology.⁶⁷

Topsell's understanding of good works is Calvinist as demonstrated by the reference to sanctification and election within his exposition: "they [good works] were given to the faithfull, for outwarde testimonies of fayth, and of God his spirite, that by them they might assure themselves and others to be sanctified and elected".⁶⁸ He too goes on the offensive against Catholics, alert to the particularities of their position:

I cannot conceale the subtilty of our English papists . . . being asked whither workes merit, they answere no, meaning those workes which goe before faith, whereas they everie one doo confidently beleeve that workes after fayth doo merite eternall life. (120)

Against this, Topsell pursues a logical argument: God is by nature just, so would not withhold what is deserved. "By the which we see, that the praier of Bohaz, the merite of Ruth, & the iustice of God, cannot stand together." (121) Boaz prays, God is just, so Ruth cannot merit. The substance of Boaz's prayer has therefore to be reinterpreted; she is to be recompensed "because shee had forsaken her owne idolatrous people, to come to the Lordes common wealth... no worke assuredly, but faith" (121). By stressing that her destination is "the Lordes common wealth", Topsell forwards his case that faith is the ultimate cause of Ruth's actions and Boaz's prayer. Such rewriting is ubiquitous and it is supported by a particular choice made when translating the verse into the English vernacular. To quote one further passage from Topsell:

Faith caused Abraham to come into the land of promise, from his owne idolatrous cuntry: and *this same faith* caused Ruth to come from the COUNTRY of Moab to the people of the Iewes, and therefore Bohaz addeth, that she was *come to trust under the winges of God, but confidence proceedeth of faith, and not of workes*.⁶⁹

Comparison of Ruth's migration with Abraham's is deferred to another chapter of this study (see **Ch. 6 §5.2**), though it bears observing that Abraham is presented as the exemplar *par excellence* in both *Romans* (4.1-3) and *James* (2.21-24). Important now are two aspects, Ruth's destination "under the wings" and the assertion that she had "come to trust".

⁶⁶ "Ex hoc vero loco colligimus *bona opera* hominum *esse laudanda* . . . Non quidem propterea studendum est virtuti, ut laudemur, sed *propter dei praeceptum*, sit tamen ut ad virtutes, laude & praemiis excitemur." (L50r-v, emphasis added.)

⁶⁷ Implication that Christians stand under a legal obligation to God reflects Lavater's place within the Zurich school of thought, where justification was tied to obedience. See McGrath: "For Zwingli, the 'righteousness of faith' [is] based upon obedience to God"; the right-believing person "submits . . . to the law willingly, in contrast to the unbeliever." *Iustitia Dei*, 218.

⁶⁸ Topsell, 123. On the subordination of justification to sanctification within Calvin's *Institutes*, see McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 225.

⁶⁹ Topsell, 121; emphasis added. The Abraham allusion is supported by a marginal reference to Hebrews 11.8, i.e. "By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out. . . obeyed" (Geneva).

3.4 *Yhwh's wings*

Commentators of all backgrounds were keen to identify the phrase “under the wings”⁷⁰ as figurative rather than literal: *Yhwh* ought not to be conceived of as a winged deity. This concern is expressed in different ways. One strategy is substitution, whether in the body of the text or through qualification in commentary. Thus Targum Ruth replaces the wings with *Shekinah*, God’s dwelling;⁷¹ while some medieval Christian interpreters allied the wings with “the two testaments”, incipiently Christianising Ruth.⁷² Some commentators collate other passages where *Yhwh* is described as having wings, drawing particularly on the Psalms—partly because the figure is common there, complemented by the same verbal construction (see below), but perhaps also to suggest by means of the comparison that Boaz’s language was poetic.⁷³ Some also make a connection with Jesus’ use of a similar and explicit figure in Matt. 23.37: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even *as* a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings . . .”.⁷⁴ In reformers’ commentaries, the wings were interpreted as abstract concepts, ranging from a directly implied protection⁷⁵ to a theological mix of mercy, clemency and power.⁷⁶ Such modulation occurs in the margins of the Bishops Bible, where wings are qualified by a gloss: “Of mercy, might, protection, and providence.”⁷⁷ Later commentators, with increasing frequency, expressly denote the status of this language as figurative, using terminology derived from

⁷⁰ Heb. תחת כנפיו (*tachath-kē napayw*); i.e. under his (two) wings.

⁷¹ *Shekinah*, from the root שכן (*sh-k-n*), has the nesting of birds within its range of meaning; for a biblical example, see Ps 55.7. It is commonly used to denote God’s presence or dwelling with people, as in Targum Ruth: “you have come to become a proselyte and to shelter under the shadow of his glorious *Shekinah*” (transl. Brady, “Targum Ruth in English”). The Targum text for R2.12 is expansive; part of it was reproduced as an addition to the Latin Ordinary Gloss, but the relevant phrase was omitted (see English text in Smith, *Medieval Exegesis in Translation*, 33).

⁷² See Ordinary Gloss, also Hugh of St Cher in Smith, 18, 50.

⁷³ See, for example: the Ordinary Gloss, which cites the precise Hebrew parallel at Ps 57.1; Brenz, whose text associations include Deut. 32.11; Ps 17.8 (given as Ps 16); Ps 36.8 (35.8 in the Vulgate, quoted but not identified); and, by a semantic link with shadow, Luke 1.35; and Lavater, whose enumeration suggests use of a concordance—he quotes six psalms, Isaiah, and Matt. 23.37 (see below).

Interpreting Midrash Ruth Rabbah, Zlotowitz suggests that the intention that drives its list of wing-references is also anti-anthropomorphic. However, the main focus of the passage quoted is to show the great power of righteousness (*tzēdekab*)—though other wings are available (those of the earth, sun, cherubim and seraphim), the righteous take shelter “under the wings of Him at whose word the world was created”. (See Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 97.)

⁷⁴ KJ, emphasis modified. The passage is cited by Hugh of St Cher (Smith, 50), and Topsell (124), and is the culminating case in Lavater’s list (L48v; P67r).

⁷⁵ Protection is conveyed through the Latin “praesidium” (protection, help, guard; so Castellius, Drusius), “defensio” (defence; so Jud) and a more human “tutela” (guardianship; so Jud, Drusius).

⁷⁶ See equally Johann Brenz’s comments on the passage: “Alae Domini sunt *potentia, clementia & misericordia Dei*.” Brenz, cclxxvii (287).

⁷⁷ The Geneva note in this location also identifies the wings as “protection” though it is principally concerned with the nature of the reward (see §3.6).

classical study.⁷⁸ In English bibles, the migration of the phrase from the end of the sentence (as in Hebrew) to precede the verb may also have been intended to distract attention from this figure.⁷⁹

The issue at stake is at least partly an anthropomorphic concern, as also exposed in the rejection of a physical visitation at R1.6 and clarificatory glosses when Naomi asserts that she has been struck by *Yhwb*'s hand at R1.13.⁸⁰ Yet there is little cause to contest that the Hebrew phrase is reasonably interpreted as figurative; Ruth is implicitly likened to a young bird that seeks protection beneath its parent's wings.⁸¹ In this respect, the Vulgate text reproduces the figure: Ruth has taken refuge, "confugisti", under divine protection.

3.5 "Come to trust"

In contrast to the plain interpretation of the Vulgate, when translating the Hebrew form, *lachasot* (root *חָסַח*, *ch-ṣ-ḥ*), the Matthew, Geneva, Bishops and King James Bibles all agreed that Ruth had come "to trust".⁸² Though destination (under the divine wings) migrated backward in the sentence, the message remained consistent: Ruth's move was motivated by "trust", a word belonging to the semantic domain of hope, confidence, and faith. The Great Bible stands alone against this trend, Ruth having come "to abide". If the original metaphor was of bird-like protection, why were the English translators so nearly unanimous in their decision to break away from that metaphor? Birds do not "come to trust".

The great majority of new Latin versions, as well as the French, Nether-Douche, and Spanish sixteenth-century bibles complete the clause with verbs that complement the bird metaphor.⁸³

⁷⁸ See Tremellius: "*metaphora* a pullis avium" (margin ad loc); Drusius: "*trahatio* à pullis avium" (44); Lavater: "*Metaphora* sumitur ab avibus vel gallinis, quae pullos suos alis tegunt . . ." (48r; translated as "metaphore" in Pagitt, 66v). Such declarations reached the vernacular margins of French bibles: "une maniere de parler . . . des oiseaux" (Barbier-Courteau, 1562).

⁷⁹ This occurs first in the Great Bible, apparently following Münster's example, and is retained in subsequent English versions. Wycliffite versions had also placed wings before the verb, in response to the Vulgate syntax where the verb disrupts the adverbial clause, separating noun from preposition and pronoun (*sub cuius confugisti alas*).

⁸⁰ Geneva, R1.6 margin: "By sending them plentie againe." Bishops Bible, R1.13 margin: "By taking away my two sonnes, that were your husbands." These concerns are evident in other European versions, so Beza directs readers to Genesis 21.1 (Sarah's conception) where he annotates to the effect that when "visit" is attributed to God it signifies manifest consequences of divine action: "Le mot visiter, quand il est attribué à Dieu, signifie une declaration manifeste par les effets ou de sa misericorde ou de ses ingeniens, comme qui diroit en cest endroit, Dieu fit cognoistre sa grace à Sara par les effets accomplissant sa promesse." For the Bishops' annotation, compare Tremellius at R1.13: "i. non per me factum est ut vos desererem; sed divina voluntate, qua ego filiis, vos viris orbatae sumus."

⁸¹ As a counterpoint to this conclusion, Drusius is persuaded that the best interpretation is to think not of *Yhwb*'s wings but the wings of the *cherubim*: "aut respexit ad alas cherubimorum, quibus arca tegebatur. hoc verius videtur" (44).

⁸² Coverdale had the very similar "to put her trust".

⁸³ A partial exception is Drusius, whose choice of verb "recipere" (receive) is integrated with the preceding bestowal of reward, neglecting the bird metaphor. However, Drusius presented his version and the Vulgate together, in parallel columns, such that neither version can be correctly termed the "main text", and his subsequent elaboration of the phrase includes "confugere". For further exceptions, see Pagninus and Lavater below.

Perhaps what is most notable, in contrast to the English versions, is the sheer variety of verbs used to serve this purpose. Olivétan has “pour estre couverte”, ‘to be covered’, an expression characterised by descriptive plainness rather than the inference of motivation, and paralleled by Reina’s “para cubrirte”.⁸⁴ Most verb choices are more interpretive. Sometimes hiding is connoted, as by Münster’s “latitare” (be concealed) or Marcourt–Morand’s “cacher”. Johann Isaac’s “lateas”, comprises hiding unknown in safety, while Tremellius’ “obtegere” implies cover, concealment and protection. The pursuit of protection is foremost in other versions: Jud (“confugere”) and Lefèvre (“prendre refuge”) follow closely the Vulgate’s example. Liesvelt and Vorsterman similarly set Ruth’s intention as seeking safety or refuge, while the noun they employ, “toevlucht”, is especially apt because it connotes a bird’s flight (“vlucht”). Some sense of retreat is evident in Beza’s “retirer”. Despite the variety, each verb can be fairly applied to a bird’s passage, whether purely descriptive or attributing motivation; in this respect, they correspond to the Hebrew also. The Great Bible’s “abyde” is also applicable to a bird, though it emerges not from the Hebrew but from Coverdale’s fresh attempt to synthesise his sources and has interesting intratextual implications.⁸⁵

The other English versions have their counterparts in sixteenth-century Europe too, following an important ancient precursor: the Septuagint. In Greek, the Hebrew construction is translated by the perfect active of *πειθω, πεποιθέναί*—Ruth came to “have become persuaded”, and hence trust or have confidence in.⁸⁶ The same idea, if not quite the same expression, is represented by Pagninus’ adverbial construction: “ad sperandum”; Ruth came ‘to hope’.⁸⁷ It also underlies Luther’s “Zuversicht hättest”; Ruth came that she might have hope or confidence. Given Zwingli’s predilection for the Greek,⁸⁸ it is not surprising that Luther’s interpretation was replicated in the Zurich editions; Bugenhagen, too, remained faithful to his Wittenberg mentor. The result is a broken metaphor. Yet this interpretation had support from traditional interpretation of other passages, especially the collocation of *kanaf* (wing) and the verb *חָשַׁב* (*ch-š-b*) within the Psalms. The construction of R2.12 has an exact parallel only at Ps. 57.1, where the refuge was interpreted as hope by both Vulgate (“sperabo”, Ps. 56.2) and LXX (*ἐλπίζω* Ps. 56.2). Similar phraseology, sheltering (*ch-š-b*) in-the-shadow-of the divine wings (*kanaf*), is taken as either hope or protection

⁸⁴ The sense is again ‘to be covered’; the verse is unchanged in the 1602 Valera revision.

⁸⁵ Coverdale’s use of “abide” in *Ruth* is among topics considered in the separate article referred to above (cf. **Ch. 1, n.83**). He employs the term to describe Ruth’s action in R1.14; in her pledge at R1.16; and in Naomi’s speech at R3.18.

⁸⁶ See Timothy Friberg, Barbara Friberg, and Neva F. Miller, *Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament*, (orig. publ. in Baker’s Greek New Testament Library: Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2000) digitised edition: BibleWorks, v. 9.0, s.v. *πειθω*.

⁸⁷ Likewise Lavater. Pagitt’s translation of Lavater’s commentary retains the Geneva Bible’s text at this point, i.e. “come to trust” (P65v).

⁸⁸ See **Appendix Pt I, §5.4.1**.

elsewhere in the Psalter⁸⁹ and once in the LXX (Ps. 90.4; Heb. 91.4). The metaphor had been broken in translation out of preference for a faith-oriented reading, and this brokenness was a feature of sixteenth-century English versions.

The example first set by the Septuagint supported the English commentators when they sought to equate Ruth's deserts with her faith. That equation is epitomised by Topsell's words: "she was *come to trust* under the wings of God, *but confidence proceedeth of faith*, and not of workes". The consistency with which "trust" was chosen thus served not only to silently diminish the possibility that the "wings" would be understood literally, but also to ground Ruth in faith (and not in flight) and so furnish a counter-argument to the Catholic doctrine of works.

3.6 The nature of reward

Remaining with R2.12, the English translators were divided over whether Ruth was to be recompensed (Cov, Gva, KJ) or quited (in the sense of requite; MtB, Gt, Bps). Recompense had been Coverdale's choice, presented with "vergelte" (glossed by Dasypodius with Latin "compensare") and "reddat" ('give back') by his sources.⁹⁰ A majority of the sixteenth-century Latin versions chose a form of "rependere" though disagreeing over whether subjunctive or future indicative was more appropriate.⁹¹ Whatever the preferred translation, that (in Boaz's view) Ruth deserved some kind of payment was incontrovertible.

The nature of the full Genevan comment on this verse is pedagogical, in that it focuses on Ruth's ongoing behaviour. Present tense verbs and conditional particle ("if") together suggest that what Ruth has already done is insufficient. Her trusting must continue:

signifying that she shall never want anie thing if she put her trust in
God and live under his protection.

Geneva, R2.12 *margin*

God's providence is contingent—*let the reader understand*—upon ongoing faith and the corresponding behaviour. The annotation also compensates for the incongruity of trusting under wings by doubling the clause in paraphrase—both "trust" and "live" substitute for the same

⁸⁹ For hope ("spera-"), see further Ps 35.8 (Heb. 36.8) and 90.4 (Heb. 91.4). For protection ("protegere"), see Ps 16.8 (Heb. 16.8; Hiphil form, hide); 60.5 (Heb. 61.5).

⁹⁰ See Petrus Dasypodius, *Dictionarium Latinogermanicum: voces propemodum universas in autoribus Latinae linguae probatis, ac vulgo receptis occurrentes Germanice explicans, magno labore pridem concinnu[m], nunc autem revisum, castigatu[m] & auctum non mediocriter, Petro Dasypodio autore* ([Strasbourg]: Wendelinum Rihelium, 1536); cf. USTC 636359. s.v. "verGelten" (listed under "Ge"); Lewis & Short, s.v. "reddo."

⁹¹ Münster and Jud favoured the subjunctive "repandat", 'may he repay', the translation also employed by Johann Isaac (20) and Drusius (13) in their commentaries. Tremellius preferred "rependet", 'he shall repay'; Castellius' paraphrastic translation subsumed the two payments into one, also using the future form: "factum Iova . . . cumulatisimo praemio *rependet*". Pagninus had "reddat" (as Vulgate), and Lavater was undecided between "reddet" (fut. indicative, 'shall repay') and "reddat" (present subjunctive, 'may he repay') in his preaching text (47r), glossing the quotation with "Deus tibi repandat" in the body of his sermon (49r).

Hebrew verb. Rejection of Catholic doctrinal interpretation lies below the surface, and there is no interest in the specificity of Ruth's reward, which in Boaz's wording is potentially two-fold. 'Never wanting anything' is all-encompassing but also indistinct.

The Douai annotator chose to press a spiritual understanding of the reward. What could, in the Hebrew source, be taken as concern for material well-being and for the blessing of fertility—concerns that are rooted in the narrative and resolved as it progresses⁹²—became in interpretation matters of reward not only in this life but also in the life after this:

Yea a ful reward, answerable to Ruth[']s pietie: Which must be
spiritual and eternal.

Douai, R2.12 *margin*

Such spiritualisation was again a longstanding mode of interpretation. In Targum Ruth, Boaz desires Ruth's perfect reward "in the next world", and it is by "merit" of her proselytism that she ought to be "saved from the judgment of Gehenna so that [her] portion may be with Sarah, and Rebekah, and Rachel, and Leah." While in Ruth's response (based on R2.13) she acknowledges her admission to "the congregation of the LORD" and Boaz's assurance "of inheriting the next world in righteousness". A version of this Targum text was included as an addition to the Ordinary Gloss, though the vocabulary shifts toward Christian language—with Boaz showing mercy, Ruth being received into "the house of the Lord" and Boaz bearing her "faith... from the world to come, where reward comes to merit".⁹³ Drusius also refers specifically to the Targum ("paraphrasi Chaldaica") on this point: "*Rependat opus tuum, in hoc seculo: Sit merces perfecta, in seculo venturo.*"⁹⁴ The division between the two rewards, one given 'in this world' and one in the next reflects some of the ideas about two stages of justification. The Douai annotation is specifically attached to the second "full" or perfect reward, which was conceived of as pertaining to eternal life.⁹⁵ Whether Ruth's "pietie" is devotional action (such as her attention to her mother-in-law) or devotional intention (coming to the LORD God of Israel), or both, is left to the reader to determine.⁹⁶ One

⁹² Interestingly, earlier in *Ruth*, Brenz repeatedly foregrounds the stigma of Ruth's infertility among both Moabites ("in illis gentibus magnum opprobrium", cclxxvii [277]) and as an additional barrier to her reception by the people of Israel ("in quo & gens Moabica & sterilitas & viduitas maximae abominationi errant", cclxxx [mispaginated, actually 278]). Though a spiritual interpretation of the present verse predominates, he lists her posterity not only in Christian terms but also with regard to Israel's kings among her rewards: "dum posterius eius facti sunt reges in terra Israel, & in futuro saeculo accipit perpetuam foelicitatem, non propter dignitatem, opere, sed propter Christum, cuius ipsa magna avia fuit" (cclxxxix [289]).

⁹³ Targum text via Brady; OG via Smith, 33.

⁹⁴ Drusius, 44. '*May he requite your labour*, in this age; [and] *May your reward be complete*, in the age to come.' The italicised passages represent quotations from the biblical text.

⁹⁵ Both the Ordinary Gloss and, following it Hugh of St Cher, gloss reward with "eternal glory" and a reference to John 16.24, "Seek. . . so that your joy may be complete" (Smith, 18, 50).

⁹⁶ Both senses were current; cf. OED online, s.v. "piety, *n.*", accessed Aug 04, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/143641/>.

ought to note that the interpretation of Ruth’s *po‘al* in terms of faith was present already in the Ordinary Gloss, where it was secured by reference to John 6.29:

Your deeds] your faith. Hence, This is the work of God, that you believe in Him whom He sent.⁹⁷

3.7 Summary

The Douai annotator made a very explicit claim that R2.12 supported the Catholic view that work could “merit reward” (§3.2). The Protestant reformers worked to construct an alternative reading of Boaz’s words that would make her faith the basis of reward. To this end, Boaz’s closing words in which he likened Ruth’s migration to that of a bird seeking shelter were configured according to the Septuagint’s model: she had come “to trust” and as “the LORD God of Israel” represented the end point of that journey, this could be construed as a religious move that deserved the prescribed reward (§§3.3–3.5). In this, the English versions (with the exception of Douai) concurred with Luther, against a larger number of Latin, French, Spanish, and Douche versions that retained the full figurative force of the bird metaphor (§3.5). Where the metaphor was retained, and where it was broken, comments normally appeared in the margins; these served to control interpretation, and ensure the reader did not conceive of *Yhwh* as a winged-being (§3.4). Though the positions taken are partisan and testify to contemporary concern about doctrines of justification (especially within commentary), translators, annotators and commentators all draw on a considerable body of pre-existing material, showing the breadth of pre-reformation views about faith, work, and reward (§3.6).

Thus far, the issues explored through translation and annotation have been substantially theological (speech about God, as with *Yhwh* and *elohim*) or doctrinal (concerned with correct belief, as with the question of reward for work). A third dimension of concern is with practice, what Christians ought to do—and in keeping with the focus of the present chapter—religious rites and practices.

4 KINDNESS TO THE DEAD (R1.8; 2.20)

Naomi twice refers to ‘the dead’ as beneficiaries, of Ruth and Orpah’s actions (R1.8) and of either Boaz or *Yhwh*’s actions (R2.20). The 1568 Bishops Bible annotates both verses, assigning the actions of R2.20 to Boaz:

[R1.8 *margin*] Declaring by your kyndnesse to me their mother, howe dearely you loved them when they were alyve, and what affection

⁹⁷ Via Smith, 18. Again, the John text appears in Hugh of St Cher’s *Postillae*, but is there given as complementary: “For your deeds, *and* by faith. . .” (emphasis added; via Smith, 50).

you bare towards them, and the remembrance of them nowe that they are dead.

[R2.20 *margin*] They are sayd to do good to the dead, which do good to their frendes beyng alyve, for their sakes.

Others also annotated these verses. In French ‘the dead’ of R1.8 were identified as their husbands (“vos deux maris”), whom they had treated gently and with humanity (“lesquels vous avez traitez doucement & humainement”).⁹⁸ At R2.20, the same French edition set Boaz as one who did good to the deads’ friends in need.⁹⁹ Tremellius’ Latin version included short comments on each verse. The first, having determined that Naomi is referring to her late sons, stresses that the benefits occurred during the sons’ life-time.¹⁰⁰ In the second, the subject is left ambiguous, but the dead are defined as “mortuorum nostrorum”, i.e. ‘our dead’, and the benefit is their “recordationem in nobis”, how they are recollected through Naomi and Ruth.¹⁰¹ The English Geneva Bible carries a comment at R2.20, including Naomi’s husband among the dead (as well as her sons) and limiting their benefits to “when they were alive”—the present, unceasing, benefits are “now to us” (i.e. to Naomi and Ruth).¹⁰²

The frequency of such comment is testimony to concern over how one might (and how one ought) to interpret the matter of dead people benefitting. Was Naomi suggesting that the living (Ruth, Orpah, Boaz) had some kind of control over what happened after this life? Without ever articulating that question, and though disagreeing in points of detail, the marginalia achieve consensus in their implicit answer: No, the benefits pertain purely to the world of the living. This was a sensitive matter, and it also impinged upon the choice of vocabulary within the main text.

4.1 Expressing *chesed*

The breadth of meaning of the Hebrew term *chesed*, Drusius told his readers, could not be expressed by any one Latin term.¹⁰³ It is this term that describes the benefits done or shown to the dead in the two verses under discussion. *Chesed* is also the word used in Boaz’s commendation of Ruth’s

⁹⁸ Barbier-Courteau, 1562 edn.

⁹⁹ “C’est, de mesme grace qu’il a fait aux vivans, il fait maintenant aux morts, est bien faire aux amis d’iceux qui en ont nécessité.” “That is, of the same grace that he has done to the living, he does now to the dead, [that] is doing well to their friends who are in need.”

Beza’s 1588 bible has a similar comment for this verse, intimating that Boaz’s friendship (“amitie”) to Elimelech, Mahlon and Chilion is demonstrated to be sincere because the same friendship is now extended to their relations (“ceux qui leur appartient”).

¹⁰⁰ R1.8, margin: “filios meos, maritos vestros, quum viverent.”

¹⁰¹ The full comment reads: “i. erga nos, & mortuorum nostrorum recordationem in nobis.” A standard translation for “recordationem” would be remembrance or recollection; in this instance action is implied in association with the recollection—the remembrance takes the form of assistance to Naomi and Ruth.

¹⁰² See also comparable annotations in the bibles of Rustici, Reina-Valera, and Diodati (1607).

¹⁰³ At R1.8: “late igitur patet id nomen, neque uno Latino vocabulo exprimi satis commodè potest. . .”. (32) See similarly Bascom, “The Role of Culture in Translation”, 98.

actions at R3.10. It remains difficult to translate, but has been described as loyalty that exceeds obligation between parties with a pre-existing relationship.¹⁰⁴ Comparison of sixteenth-century versions (see **Table 4.2**) shows two distinct trends in its translation: some prioritised consistency in SL-to-TL transfer, others prioritised (theological) context. The patterns are complicated by a syntactical ambiguity. In R2.20, the Hebrew approximates “Blessed be he [i.e. Boaz] of *Yhwb*, who . . .”. A case can be made for the relative pronoun referring back either to Boaz or Yhwh as its antecedent, the doer of *chesed*. For a translator who wants to distinguish between the sphere of divine action, and the nature of human action, the identity of the actor becomes decisive for the translation of the action. Many translators take R2.20 as a parallel to R3.10, where Ruth is unambiguously the doer-of-*chesed* and target of the blessing.¹⁰⁵ Thus Tyndale omits part of the blessing clause in R2.20, making the translated *chesed* unambiguously Boaz’s doing;¹⁰⁶ there and in R3.10 (where the *chesed* is Ruth’s) it is Englished as (human) “goodness”. At R1.8, *chesed* is desired of God but compared with the past *chesed* of Ruth and Orpah. It is illogical to desire goodness of the supreme good, so this *chesed* is framed as ‘dealing kindly’. Kindness was a revolutionary translation, and one that eschewed traditional ecclesiastical language.¹⁰⁷

In the Wycliffite versions, Ruth’s actions at R1.8 and R3.10 are designated “mercy” following the Vulgate’s “*misericordiam*”; and it is “grace” that Boaz(?) demonstrates in R2.20 (VUS: “*gratiam*”). The Vulgate’s influence is visible in other vernacular versions where the established correlates appear. (See e.g. Lefèvre, Eck and Leuven in **Table 4.2**.) Operating from mixed sources, Coverdale adopted the majority’s consistent treatment of *chesed* but chose the conventional language of mercy. His own attempt to qualify mercy’s manifestations takes the form of a marginal reference at R2.20 to Tobit, repeated in the Great Bible: The passage recounts how Tobit delayed celebrations of Pentecost in order to ensure appropriate burial for a man who had been killed.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to the pre-death care of the Geneva Bible, this is kindness *after* death. The parallel is weak

¹⁰⁴ See Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Heseḏ in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for the Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978); and idem. *Ruth. Chesed* in Sakenfeld’s view is “an act of loyalty”, “beyond the call of duty” (*Ruth*, 60). There is a kind of implicit obligation, in that no other provider “is apparent on the immediate horizon of the situation” (*Ruth*, 24).

¹⁰⁵ For sixteenth-century translators favouring the opposite view, see Reina, Lavater and Drusius.

¹⁰⁶ The Matthew Bible text reads “Then said Naomi . . . blessed be he for he ceaseth not . . .” With *Yhwb* missing, Boaz is the only available antecedent.

¹⁰⁷ Tyndale’s most relevant interactions with Thomas More pertained to the Greek *χάρις* and his use of “favour” rather than “grace” in certain New Testament passages. See Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation*, esp. 190–196.

Tyndale favoured a specifically English lexicon and resisted standard ecclesiastical language oriented on the Vulgate unless its connotations were pertinent to the context. Some have characterised his vocabulary as Anglo-Saxon, though David Norton suggests this distinction emerged because of the subsequent Latinisation of English (see *A History of the Bible as Literature*, vol. 1, chapter 8, esp. 106, and elsewhere: “Tyndale’s linguistic resourcefulness lay not in ransacking Latin but in marshalling the contemporary, often oral and dialect, resources of English”, (“On Some Words in Tyndale’s Old Testament but Missing from the Authorized Version”, n.p.)

¹⁰⁸ Tob. 2.2–7.

insofar as Boaz cannot be understood to have buried Elimelech, Mahlon, or Chilion, and it seems to be Coverdale's own work; but it gives an example of practical help post-mortem. Such examples and clarifications were intended to counter well-developed ideas about how the living could show mercy to the dead, and how the dead might benefit from God's grace.

4.2 Purgatory, prayer, and practical kindness

If faith were the sole mechanism of justification, the elaborate machinery constructed around efficacious good works was redundant. Within the assemblage the Protestant reformers sought to dismantle were the workings of penance and the doctrine of purgatory. Their progress was hampered by considerable lay investments, economic and ideological, in the existing system. In its most vivid medieval imaginings purgatory might inspire fear, but it also gave hope; it also provided a means for the living to maintain some semblance of relationship with the dead, through prayer and through the Eucharist.

Augustine had allowed for the efficacy of prayers for the dead.¹⁰⁹ Gregory the Great (d. 590) went further in affirming that such prayer could achieve their "mitigation and ultimately release" from "purgatorial fire".¹¹⁰ He accorded a special status to the Eucharist, as the ultimate in mitigating measures, illustrating this with the case of a monk from his own order who (after death) assured the monks that the thirty masses conducted on his behalf were sufficient to obtain his release from purgatory's pains. From such teaching stemmed the sponsorship of masses in honour of the dead. Pre-Reformation England's wealthy were keen to ease their purgatory by bequests conditional upon the repeated recitation of the Mass.¹¹¹ Both the Church and "the dead" were beneficiaries of this system.

It was not that the pattern of a person's lifetime could be reversed; the unrepentant wicked were directly condemned. Purgatory concerned those who had repented. The formal process of repentance required that the sinner be contrite and confess, and make 'satisfaction'. Absolution might be pronounced before the satisfaction had been completed, but was dependent upon its completion. Logic identified gaps in this process: If a person confessed but died without having satisfied the other requirements, would they receive the same punishment as the unrepentant

¹⁰⁹ Augustine's attitude seems to have been non-committal. See Graham Robert Edwards, "Purgatory: 'Birth' or Evolution?," *JEH* 36, no. 04 (1985): 634–46. Ambivalent attitudes around prayer for the dead lingered; so Luther saw it as 'no sin' and Henry VIII thought it a charitable act. See Luther's *Confession concerning Christ's Supper* (1528) and for Henry, Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), esp. 76–7; Richard Rex, "The Religion of Henry VIII," *The Historical Journal* 57, no. 01 (2014): esp. 24–5.

¹¹⁰ R. R. Atwell, "From Augustine to Gregory the Great: An Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory," *JEH* 38, no. 2 (1987): 175.

¹¹¹ On pre-Reformation religious practice, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, esp. chapters three, nine, and ten.

wicked? Contrition required knowledge. If a sin was committed through ignorance rather than deliberately, the sinner might remain in ignorance and so not pursue the appropriate path of repentance. Did such a person deserve eternal damnation? It was these intermediate cases from which, following the trajectory of Augustine and Gregory, the doctrine of purgatory evolved. Purging, cleansing fire was an image with scriptural roots; the substantive notion of a place dedicated to such cleansing, “purgatory”, became official doctrine only at the 1274 Council of Lyon.¹¹² It is as a counterpoint to the practical accretions of this doctrine that the margins of *Ruth* come alive. The association is made explicit in homiletic commentaries on *Ruth*.

Operating with the Vulgate text, Brenz addresses himself to part of R1.8, “Faciatis Dominus vobiscum misericordiam, sicut fecistis cum mortuis”, ‘May the Lord do to you mercy, just as you have done with the dead’. He begins his comments with a question: “Quid? num sentit socrus, quod hæc duae nurus pro maritis suis mortuis multa sacrificaverint?”—does Naomi think that her two daughters-in-law may have made many sacrifices for their dead husbands? The literal translation is not ideal in modern English, because Brenz is not concerned with metaphorical sacrifices but with ritual ones, especially what the Douai annotator referred to as “the holie sacrifice”.¹¹³ This concern becomes clear as Brenz’s argument progresses: Mercy for the dead, the Lutheran Reformer answers, *does not* consist of “Missas pro peccatis mortuorum instituire”, instituting masses for the sins of the dead.

Forty years later, Lavater preaches on the same verse: “But no man ought to think that of any preposterous zeal, they did offer I know not what sacrifices [*sacra instituerint*], or mumble up some prayers for them [*aut preces pro ipsis fuderint*] which were departed.”¹¹⁴ Again, it is clear from what follows that Lavater’s concern is not only with construction of what Ruth and Orpah may have done in the narrative but with its current application. To quote from Pagitt’s translation,

“The Masse Priestes doe exhort men that they shew mercy to the dead, that is, hier [hire] Masses to be said for the forgiveness of sinnes, and that they should provide to celebrate the seventh daies the moneths daies and yeare daies, &c. that their soules might be freed out of purgatory. But sith that God hath appointed so many kindes of sacrifices yet (as [Peter Martyr] observeth) it is not read that hee did appoint any at all for them that are tormented in purgatorie, which he would have done if our soules shuld suffer any torments in purgatory. . . . [T]he third place which is called purgatory is invented

¹¹² Goff’s *Naissance de Purgatoire* places emphasis on the appearance of a substantive form (‘purgatory’) rather than adjectival (‘purgation’) in the twelfth century, suggesting a shift in how (and where) the cleansing was imagined. Cf. Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1981); and in translation *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). The account offered here draws also on Edwards, “Purgatory: ‘Birth’ or Evolution?” and Tarald Rasmussen, “Hell Disarmed? The Function of Hell in Reformation Spirituality,” *Numen* 56, no. 2 (2009): 366–84.

¹¹³ R2.4 margin: “The Church useth this salutation in the *holie sacrifice* and other divine office.”

¹¹⁴ Translation P26r, orthography modernised. For the full Latin see L18v. More literally, “fuderint” is ‘pour out’.

of man. If any man wil do good to the dead, let him bestow it on the widdow and his Children and friends . . ." (26v)

Pagitt's Mass Priests are Lavater's "Sacrifici", encouraging people to show mercy to the dead by investing in masses for the expiation of sins, and to keep them out of purgatory. Such practices were part of the whole tapestry of ideas and practices to which the Protestant reformers objected. "Even in its most modest form the Reformation" sought an end to "weekly, monthly, and annual masses for the dead; the belief in purgatory; Latin worship services; the sacrifice of the Mass...".¹¹⁵ Any text that could be drawn in to support these ideas and practices required refutation, and the subtle annotations had just this end in view. Telling people what being good or kind to the dead meant was controlling their reading, their understanding and their actions—going beyond mere translation.

Ruth may have been an acutely sensitive textual domain. For in pre-Reformation Europe, the power of communication with the dead, visions of souls in purgatory, and the capacity to act on behalf of relatives were attributes of widowhood. Husbands especially might have their purgative experience ameliorated by the religious devotion of their surviving wives.¹¹⁶ As Katherine Clark has shown, the ideal of chaste dedication to the spiritual wellbeing of one's dead husband was so well established that it could be satirised. If the medieval holy widow was expected to 'remediate her husband's sins' (192) and "rehabilitate the souls of the dead" (202), Ruth, Naomi and Orpah have no such engagement.

Ilona Rashkow argued that the English bibles replaced *chesed* with Christian overtones of grace and mercy,¹¹⁷ but that case is ill-founded. It is true that Coverdale used mercy, following the Latins'

¹¹⁵ Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1975), 96.

¹¹⁶ Katherine Clark, "Purgatory, Punishment, and the Discourse of Holy Widowhood in the High and Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16, no. 2 (2007): 169–203. See further references in the text.

¹¹⁷ "The translators interpret [*chesed*] to mean something akin to 'loyalty' with the attendant implication of obedience and subservience. . . .these changes [to the character of Ruth and Naomi] reflect the Christian view of [*chesed*] as 'grace' or 'mercy', terms frequently chosen by English renaissance translators . . . [I]t is clear that the English Renaissance translators read Naomi and Ruth as examples of idealized women who are shown 'mercy' and 'grace'. . . a reading that does not fully comport with the fullness of the Hebrew concept of [*chesed*]" (*Upon the Dark Places*, 150–1). Rashkow provides no evidence to support these criticisms, which appear in the conclusion of her chapter on *Ruth*; her reading of loyalty is particularly skewed, and overlooks the fact that a source she uses to support her critique, K. D. Sakenfeld's monograph *Faithfulness in Action: Loyalty in Biblical Perspective* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Fortress, 1985) takes loyalty as the primary characteristic of *chesed*. That Rashkow's remarks are also ill-founded where grace is concerned is evident from a combination of factors: If the Douai version is omitted from consideration, grace is used just twice in the Matthew, Great, Bishops, and King James versions of *Ruth*. It does not occur at all in the Coverdale and Geneva versions of *Ruth*, which opt for "favour" in the two verses affected (R2.2, 10). The term thus translated is not *chesed* but *chen* which occurs also at R2.13; it is there translated as "favour" (with the sole exception of the Douai version). Just as Drusius drew attention to the difficulty of expressing *chesed*, Luther passed comment on *chen*, for which his own favoured translation was *Gnade*. (cf. Gritsch, "Luther as Bible Translator", 70). The variance in English *Ruth* translations is due less to the difficulty in finding an equivalent, and more to the fact that Ruth states that she has found *chen* in Boaz's eyes (R2.10) but then seeks to find *chen* in his eyes (R2.13) complicating narrative cohesion; an alternative TL term at R2.13 resolves this difficulty. A further objection

“misericordia”, but even his own later self would have seen this as naive. That the Douai version also operated with mercy is a sign that translation was a profoundly confessional matter, and one closely integrated with church practice.

4.3 Summary

Existing accounts of the translation of *chesed* in *Ruth* do not attend properly to the patterns of translation in the sixteenth-century English versions and that of King James. Reforming translators had a particular reason to avoid suggesting that anyone showed mercy to those who had died, a point that becomes clear when commentary on these passages is examined. In translation, this was conveyed by avoidance of the conventional theological terms (in English “mercy”) and the use of more neutral language (“kindness”, “goodness”; see **Table 4.2**). Catholic translators preferred translations that facilitated connection of Ruth and Orpah’s actions with the fate of the dead.

5 RUTH AND THE CHRISTIAN METANARRATIVE

The most prevalent strand of theologising in editions of *Ruth* is its conversion into a Christian text. Ilona Rashkow advanced a number of observations about the translators’ Christianising tendencies in the context of her monograph on anti-Semitism and sexism in English Renaissance bible translation.¹¹⁸ However, her remarks are limited in scope partly because she does not seek to examine how the techniques and ideas of the English bible producers related to European contemporaries and to earlier translators and commentators. The English text producers were independent agents, but they also worked within a common Christian heritage. Labelling their work as ‘anti-Semitic’ is a polemical reaction that fails to acknowledge or engage with the anti-Jewish hermeneutic inherent in Christian exegesis of the Hebrew Bible.

All the issues that have been explored thus far relate to the primary assumption of the text into the Christian canon, a theme already broached in the **previous chapter**. As Christians colonised the Hebrew Bible, it was transformed into the Old Testament, the first part of a longer narrative that culminated Christologically in the New Testament. The degree to which Christian ideas are imposed on pre-Christian texts has varied, and reformers were generally resistant to highly-

to Rashkow can be lodged, this time with regard to the assumption that grace was understood wholly in Christian terms in the period; Tyndale argued that his translation of *χαρις* as favour (in 10 of 155 NT occurrences) was justified because the conventional “grace” was too closely associated with day-to-day language, in particular being ‘in my lady’s grace’, and so inappropriate for communicating what was generously God-given. See DeCoursey, *The Thomas More / William Tyndale Polemic*, 25.

In French versions from Olivétan until Beza’s revision, “grace” appears for *chesed* on occasions not associated with the Vulgate; yet scrutiny suggests Olivétan’s motivation was probably also to distinguish between actions in which humans were implicated and those restricted to the divine.—This interpretation relies on the view that French versions took R2.20 as pertaining to *Yhwh* rather than Boaz.

¹¹⁸ Prominent examples being her remarks on grace, mercy, and *chesed* (see previous note).

developed allegorical readings commonly found in medieval commentary. Yet as studies of individual reformers' approaches to scripture show, there was always some residue of Christ-centred interpretation in their exegesis.¹¹⁹ Where texts from the Septuagint had been incorporated into the New Testament, Christological readings of the Old Testament passages were particularly difficult to resist. The criticism of allegory was of its excesses rather than its realities.¹²⁰

The fundamental implication is that in the sixteenth century, Christians could only approach the task of translating *Ruth* through a Christian lens.¹²¹ The view that Scripture was sufficient and so could be used to inform its own reading is progressively worked out in unannotated cross-references, through which the reader is expected to make correct sense of the text. In subsequent bibles, optimism about the vernacular reader's capacity to arrive at correct sense recedes, and the margins are populated with increasing guidance on how to read, what to think and what not to think. The arrival of the so-called "Argument" at the head of each book, observed in French bibles produced in Geneva in the 1550s and subsequently in the English Geneva Bible and the Douai Old Testament, was a final control, telling the reader what the text had to say, its goal and purpose (see below, §5.2.1). As spiritually-oriented summaries, they provide testimony to the particular theological concerns of the annotators; they also provide a good illustration of how the availability of a European model could affect the development of English ones.

5.1 Cross-references and Christ in the margins

For the Christian reader, *Ruth* had a very obvious connection to the New Testament because the genealogy presented at the close of *Ruth* (4.18-22) correlates directly with the genealogy given in Matt. 1.3b-6a, though the women (Ruth and Rahab) appear only in the New Testament version. This textual connection was highlighted within English bibles by the inclusion of a cross-reference in the margin, often at the head of the *Ruth* genealogy.¹²² Coverdale included a second cross-reference, to the parallel material in 1 Chronicles (given as "1 Par. 2. a"), following the example of the Zurich 'concordance' (see **Appendix**). This pair of cross-references was reproduced at R4.18 in the Great, Geneva, Bishops and King James Bibles, appearing also against R4.12 in the last of

¹¹⁹ See e.g. Hobbs, "Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation".

¹²⁰ Or of excessive reliance upon it. So e.g. Tyndale criticised the tendency to take allegory as a text's most important meaning; Jamie H. Ferguson, "Miles Coverdale and the Claims of Paraphrase," in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 145–6.

¹²¹ It is hardly an accident that those translators who come closest to stepping outside Christian traditions of its translation (Isaac, Tremellius) were converts of Jewish origin.

¹²² The Douai OT places the reference at R4.17, where the shorter Boaz–David portion of the genealogy is given. The cross-reference is curiously absent from the Matthew Bible, though it appeared in both the French bibles that Rogers used as a source for his annotations. The Becke 1549 reprint reproduces the 1537 annotations throughout. Taverner uses a different set of annotations, limited largely to cross-references, with the following entry at R4.18: "Pharez generacion. Math. i. a".

these.¹²³ This readiness to connect *Ruth* with all relevant material might mitigate the charge of Christianisation, but in Coverdale's case that charge is reinforced by his independent decision to regularise the orthography of names using a New Testament model (as noted in the **Appendix**).

Other sixteenth-century bibles also included such cross-references. French bibles from Lefèvre to Beza consistently point to the parallel passage in Matthew. Within the more thoroughly annotated versions of 1559-1560, the connection is identified: "Ceste description est celle mesme qu'a fait S. Matthieu, declairant la genealogie de Iesus Christ", 'the genealogy is the same as that made by St Matthew', for Christ's genealogy.¹²⁴ For Coverdale, Zurich was the major influence, but the Matthew reference appears three times in the margin of Bugenhagen's *Ruth*—at the beginning, to support the observation that Boaz is David's ancestor and develop the Christological connection; at the first mention of Ruth (R1.4) to situate her as a heathen or gentile in Christ's lineage; and at R4.18.¹²⁵ In Böschenstein's aid to Hebrew learners, R4.18-22 is omitted (presumably because the names supplied little exercise) but the Christological connection is made in the pamphlet title, which incorporates the phrase: "der vater Davids, auss welchem geborn ist Jhesus der ewig geporn sun Gottes unser erloeser", 'the father of David, from whom Jesus is begat, the eternal begotten son of God, our saviour'. This genealogical connection was already embedded in Christian interpretation, emerging in the gospel of Matthew itself.

The Douai Old Testament used the *Ruth* genealogy as an opportunity to knit together the narrative of Old and New Testaments, subordinating the whole *Ruth* narrative to one "final cause".—The language of causality here is Aristotelian, at once part of the toolkit of the Catholic exegete, and treated with suspicion by the first generation of Protestant reformers:

Here appeareth the final cause of writing this historie, to shew the Genealogie of King David from Iudas the Patriarch, of whom Christ should descend, so prophecied: Gen 49. and shewed to be performed: Mat. 1.

The statement of purpose stretches from Judah to David, according to the *Ruth* genealogy, but is tied in with prophecy that could link Judah, David and Christ for the Christian exegete.¹²⁶ A French Protestant annotation went further, having observed that the genealogy matches Matthew,

¹²³ In addition to a more standard reference to Gen 38.29, and in association with the main text: "And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, (* whom Tamar bare. . .").

(The combination of parenthesis and asterisk refers the reader to the marginal note.)

¹²⁴ Reference to Matthew and Chronicles appears at R4.17, with this note linked to Phares at R4.18. Following Olivétan, editions in 1540 and 1551 refer only to Matthew 1. Editions of Lefèvre's text and Geneva editions of the 1560s generally include 1 Chronicles, as did Beza's 1588 revision.

¹²⁵ The opening summary advises the reader that the narrative concerns David's tribe, because Boaz is David's ancestor (*Davids Older vater*) and that *unses HEREN Christi* (our Lord Christ) was of David's tribe. At R1.4, the marginal comment is: "Syr suestu dat Christus ock van den Heydenen her kumpt, Mathei. i."

¹²⁶ See Gen 49.10, "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Iudas and a duke out of his thigh, til he doe come that is to be sent, and the same shal be the expectation of the gentiles" (Douai 1609). This text was included in comments at R4.18 in the Ordinary Gloss and in HoSC's *Postilla* (see Smith, 29, 54).

the annotator asserts that its purpose can be defined by the New Testament message: “Donc nous est donné à entendre, que la presente histoire a pour son but Iesus Christ.”¹²⁷ The genealogy is David’s but it is Jesus that is the goal of *Ruth*!

Explicit statements about Ruth and Christ did not appear in the earliest English bibles, but as the Douai example shows, opportunities for annotation were recognised by later marginalia. The Geneva and Bishops Bibles share a marginal note at R1.4, observing that “By this wonderful providence of God, Ruth became one of Gods houshold of whome Christ came.”¹²⁸ Ruth’s marriage to Mahlon is a providential event; it is not relevant to discuss if and how the relationship was reconciled with Mosaic legislation about Moabites (as happened in French margins), because the progress of events shows it to be part of God’s plan.¹²⁹

5.2 The Argument of *Ruth*

5.2.1 Geneva bibles

The omission of reference to gentiles in the English note at R1.4 was not a sign of disinterest; rather, the Geneva Bible had already presented the case for interpreting *Ruth* within a Christian schema in the so-called Argument that introduced the narrative. A supplement to the chapter summaries, such arguments did not rehearse the contents of a book but considered its pedagogical purpose: what should it teach the (Christian) reader? It is assumed that the reader is one of “us” and is seeking Christian messages in the text. The *Ruth* argument draws out two points, first placing the reader within the narrative, and then looking beyond it:

[1] This booke is intituled after the name of Ruth: which is the principal persone spoken of in this *treatise*. [2a] Wherein also figuratively is set forthe the state of the Church which is subiect to manifolde afflictions, and yet at length God giveth good and ioyful issue: [2b] *teaching us* to abide with pacience til God deliver us out of troubles. [3] Herein also is described howe Iesus Christ, who according to the flesh ought to come of David proceded of Ruth, of whome the Lord Iesus did vouchesave to come, notwithstanding she was a Moabite of base condicion, and a stranger from the people of God: [3b] *declaring unto us* thereby that the Gentiles shulde be sanctified by him and ioyned with his people, and that

¹²⁷ In English, “Thus we are given to hear that the present narrative has as its goal, Jesus Christ”; Barbier-Courteau (1562 edn).

¹²⁸ Orthography as Geneva 1560.

¹²⁹ Compare the following annotation from the French bibles of Barbier & Courteau in which preoccupation with the prohibition against Moabites in the Israelite assembly dominates, and is resolved by a rabbinic solution—the law is not concerned with marriage to Moabite women, but excludes male Moabites from ‘communion’: “Il n’estoit point defendu de contracter mariage avec une femme Moabite. Mais bien que l’homme Moabite ne fust receu à la communion de la congregation d’Israel, iusques apres la dixieme generation.”

there shulde be but one shepefolde, and one shepherde. [4] And it *semeth* that this historie apperteineth to the time of the Iudges.¹³⁰

The first and last sentences contribute little to the argument, but describe it as a “treatise” and ascribe it, with a level of doubt, “to the time of the Iudges”. The annotator would have been aware, as Münster had been, that “multi Hebraei”—many Hebraists, or indeed Jews—reckoned Boaz to be the same as the judge Ibzan.¹³¹ Advocated in Targum Ruth, in the Talmud, and by Rashi, this view was not unanimous, though there was a common desire to establish a firm relationship with the book of Judges and its chronology.¹³² The Geneva annotation implicitly rejects such debate, at the same time conserving a link to the preceding book as the capitalisation of “Iudges” indicates.

The reader is first advised to view the book “figuratively”, or in effect, allegorically: *Ruth*’s story represents that of the Church, “subiect to manifold afflictions”. In medieval commentary both Ruth and Naomi were aligned figuratively with the Church. The journey from affliction to joyful issue is Naomi’s domain as well as Ruth’s, though the English term “affliction” only enters her mouth with the Douai and King James versions (see R1.21) so need not have been in view for the Genevan annotator and their reader. The Argument does not give further detail of who or how the Church is. The reader is left to apply this hermeneutical key from which they should learn an important lesson: wait patiently until God delivers—because, and the causality is only implicit—God *will* deliver. The use of present tense in the first part of the sentence, typical of annotations in this version of *Ruth*, leaves open the space for application to the Church of the sixteenth- (and seventeenth-) century reader: the Church *is* subject to manifold afflictions.

That the book concerns also “howe Iesus Christ ...proceeded of Ruth” is a secondary but important consideration as the length of the third sentence demonstrates. Because in Christian terms Ruth belongs to the paternal genealogy, leading from Abraham to *Joseph*, it is that Jesus *ought* to be David’s descendant, not that he is.¹³³ However, as is implied by the Matthean genealogy, Ruth’s otherness—a Moabite, not “from the people of God”—makes her a figure also of the introduction of Gentiles into “his people”.

¹³⁰ First edition; numbering and emphases added.

¹³¹ At R1.1 and again at 1.6, Targum Ruth identifies Boaz with “Ibzan the Pious”; similarly Rashi. Münster passes comment at the end of *Ruth* 1. The association was based partly upon a similarity in their consonantal roots. Cf. Judg 12.8,10.

Luther notes it twice in his 1540 revision manuscript, at Judges 12.8, “‘Ebsan’, dicunt fuisse Boas quidam”, and reciprocally R2.1: “Unus Iudicum scilicet] *Ibzan Abessan*” (WA DB 3:358, 365). Though Bugenhagen contextualises *Ruth* as a book about David’s kin, he also tells his reader that the events took place after Jephthah’s time and before Samson’s birth, an observation apparently based on the same identification of Boaz with Ibzan.

¹³² The combination of ‘judges judging’ in R1.1 plausibly acted as a prompt, the strange expression moving some rabbinic interpreters to envisage several judges operating simultaneously (see above, **Ch. 3, §4.1**).—In an instance of idiosyncrasy, Josephus placed events in the lifetime of Eli. For other views, see Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 60; and Beattie, *Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth*.

¹³³ If Jesus vouchsafed to proceed from Ruth through Joseph, this was not quite “according to the flesh”.

These ideas and their form in the preface have parallels with other contemporaneous paratext. New Arguments were introduced in the French Geneva editions produced in 1559. Max Engammare describes those in the Old Testament as more lengthy, more spiritual, and paying more attention to Christ and the teaching or education (“enseignement”) of the Church. Their author is unknown, but the printers’ preface advised that they were designed to give the goal and intention of each book, providing clear intelligence about what one was reading.¹³⁴ The French argument for the book of *Ruth*, reproduced here from a bible printed by Barbier and Courteau in 1562, has strong textual parallels with the English version:

Ce petit *traité* est *intitulé* du nom de Ruth, a cause qu’il contient l’histoire d’icelle: & est inseré entre les saincts livres, non point a cause d’elle principalement: mais pour donner a entendre la genealogie de Jesus Christ, qui *selon la chair* doit venir de David descendu de Ruth. Or combien qu’elle fust femme Moabite, de basse condition, & estrangere du peuple de Dieu, toutes fois le Seigneur n’a point dedaigné sortir d’icelle, nous monstrant par cela que par luy les infideles seroyent sanctifiez & conioints avec son peuple, & qu’il n’y auroit qu’une bergerie & un pasteur.¹³⁵

The *traité intitulé* is a treatise intitled. English o[u]ght is French *devoit*. If reference to a 1562 edition leaves the direction of dependence unproven, there are yet indications of French entering English. *Ruth* might be well described in English as of low or mean estate, but the “base condicion” of the Geneva text corresponds precisely to the French “basse condition”. To determine that the English is dependent on the French is not to say that the adoption was uncritical; what is in French the principal “cause” of the narrative is secondary in the English text.

The theology of sanctification in both versions is Calvinist. The motif of shepherd and sheepfold, itself derived from scripture, was used by Calvin in commentary on the Psalms, being especially suited to the concept of election: “God’s care for those who are his own is like the solicitude of a shepherd for the sheep entrusted to him”.¹³⁶ The metaphor was further supplied to Genevan Christians in the writing of Simon Goulart, as an answer to any question about their election—they were to quote Psalm 23 (The Lord is my shepherd), Psalm 100 (we are his people and the sheep of his pasture) and John 10 (My sheep hear my voice) before declaring: “I have heard this voice and

¹³⁴ “En premier lieu, pour avoir plus claire intelligence de ce qu’on lira, vous avez un argument sur chacun livre, lequel contient en somme ce qui est traité en iceluy, avec le but et intention où il pretend. . .” (via Engammare, “Cinquante Ans de Révision de la Traduction Biblique d’Olivétan”, 360.

¹³⁵ Barbier-Courteau, 1562 edition; italics added to highlight strong correspondence with the English text.

¹³⁶ Via Jerome W. Berryman, *Children and the Theologians: Clearing the Way for Grace* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Morehouse, 2009), 101. Berryman himself espies the potential of this interpretation within Calvin’s election mindset. On the English translators’ likely consultation of Calvin, see **Ch 1 §3.1**; and Jones, “The Influence of Mediaeval Jewish Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England”.

heeded it. Thus, I am one of the sheep of this Great Shepherd, who has given me life to bring me into his sheepfold . . .”.¹³⁷

The distinct concern of the English annotator, to encourage those under “manifold afflictions”, speaks to people exiled (like Naomi) or otherwise oppressed. Abiding patiently is arguably Ruth’s reaction to Naomi in R1.14, as suggested by the sixteenth-century Englishers: “but Ruth abode still by”.¹³⁸

5.2.2 The Douai Old Testament

The Douai Argument has a greater interest in the historical context of Ruth, not only putting Ruth “in the time of the Iudges” but also advising that this was “about the time of Abesan Iudge” (a statement made without reference to Boaz) and that the writer was probably Samuel.¹³⁹ Though each chapter has its own summary of contents, the Douai Argument relates the sum of “the historie of Ruth” in terms familiar to Protestant reformers: “her coming from Moab, her conversion to true Religion, godlie conversation, and mariage with Booz of the tribe of Iuda”. The last is “a more principal matter” because “not onlie king David, but consequently also our SAVIOUR, the Redemer of mankind descended from her”. It is, in fact, so much the principal matter that the wider message of the Argument is subsumed into an accompanying marginal summary:

The historie of Ruth is regestred in holie Scripture, for the genealogie of David, and especially of our Saviour Christ.¹⁴⁰

It is in this way that the reader is invited to approach the text. The Douai annotator was, like those of Geneva, also interested in Ruth’s signification as a Gentile, and the Argument is presented in very conventional terms:

Wherby was foresignified that as salvation thus proceeded from the Gentiles together with the Iewes: so the Gentiles are made partakers of the same grace.

Gentiles join with Jews and partake in grace. Genevan readers could place themselves among God’s people; in the Douai text the applicability to a reader’s life is minimal, for the union is not with the generic people of God, but with ‘the Jews’, God’s original chosen. This difference in function bears some relation to the intention behind each publication; the Geneva Bible was

¹³⁷ Via Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin’s Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536–1609* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 296. Goulart was a pastor at Geneva from 1566, remaining there till his death in 1628.

¹³⁸ This translation of the Hebrew phrase *וַיִּשְׁבַּח בָּהּ* is the subject of discussion in a supplementary paper on the “abiding” dimension of *Ruth* (pending completion). A relevant meditation might be found in Ben Quash, *Abiding: The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Lent Book 2013* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), see esp. chapter one.

¹³⁹ So the summary begins: “Amongst other things that happened to the people of Israel, in the time of the Iudges . . .” (making the connection with the canonical antecedent), finishing: “This mariage of Ruth came to passe about the time of Abesan Iudge. The booke was written, as is most probable, by Samuel: and is divided into foure chapters, whose contentes folow in their places.”

¹⁴⁰ This marginal summary appears to the right of the Argument.

planned to provide guidance on “hard places” for an ordinary reader, whereas the Douai text was produced not for a popular audience but as a tool for those controverting Protestant teaching, who were likely themselves teachers and preachers. The Douai annotator goes on to cite scripture:

More clerly prophecied, as S. Hierom noteth, by Isai (cap. 16.) saying:
*Send forth o Lord the lambe, the Ruler of the earth, from the Rocke of the desert to
the mount of the daughter of Sion.* That is from Ruth the gentile to
Hierusalem, or rather to the Church.

The Isaiah 16 passage is an extended prophecy concerning Moab, interpreted with reference to Ruth by Jerome, whose authority the Douai commentator presumes.¹⁴¹ Scripture informs scripture so that not only is *Ruth* conceived of as a narrative oriented toward Jesus, but Ruth is herself part of what has been prophesied.

5.3 Summary

In the annotated English bibles, Christ and the Church constituted the point of approach and the point of closure. The whole text of *Ruth* is framed by initial Arguments and final cross-references, and thereby converted to a text with a uniquely Christian message. This was not an innovation on the part of the annotators. Rather, each annotator interacts with sources that they deemed authoritative—whether at Geneva, or in the vast store of earlier Christian exegesis. This is not to say that the English annotators did not exercise independent agency. They selected and adapted the available resources, weaving their own tapestries of meaning. Nonetheless, both the elaborate argumentation of these late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century bibles and the plainer referencing and annotation of earlier texts are best comprehended in the context of broader European practice. To the extent that the translators and annotators Christianised the text, they were following well-established patterns.

6 SOME CONCLUSIONS

At the start of this chapter, a number of questions were posed. The first concerned the extent to which the theological and doctrinal issues raised by *Ruth* were commonly perceived, and whether solutions were shared. One positive example of shared solutions derived from textual intercourse is the use of Argumentation derived from French Geneva Bibles in the English versions (§5 above). This was not simply a matter of what was available locally; the English Genevan community had sought refuge there because the city’s Christians had sympathetic views. The currency of the

¹⁴¹ For Jerome’s comments, see Steven A. McKinion, ed., *Isaiah 1-39*, vol. Old Testament X, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 128–9.

notion of election in the *Ruth* text (as in the annotation to R1.16, cf. §2.2.3 above) in places where no French precursor is evident demonstrates that underlying ideas about the mechanisms of salvation were shared.

As regards the perception of problems, little has been found that is without parallel in other European bible versions. Often these parallels were not just a matter of contemporary concern, but represented earlier Christian interaction with the text. This is seen in the image of Ruth ‘coming to trust’ under God’s wings (ultimately derived from the Septuagint, §3.4–5 above) and in related questions about the significance of Ruth’s physical and spiritual endeavours. These spoke particularly to the question of justification, which received heightened attention during the period as a result of its centrality to reformation debates; but as justification was an older conversation, so responses drew on other aspects of scripture and have parallels in medieval and patristic exegesis.

The Matthew Bible is shown to be different, as in Tyndale’s willingness to give Orpah a God and not gods (§2.2 above), or the absence of any reference to the New Testament (despite Rogers’ annotations). It is not possible to recover the motivations of either Tyndale or Rogers in this regard, but it is interesting that the first English bible to engage so thoroughly with *Ruth*’s Hebrew text was at the same time the most independent from tradition. Orpah’s God might be regarded as a part of an experimental openness present at the start of the English return to the sources, though one must not exaggerate; Tyndale’s text does endorse many aspects of traditional exegesis, including that Ruth came “to trust”.

The value of the present mode of enquiry is ascertained particularly in the case of annotations on R1.8 and R2.20, with regard to the question of *chesed* shown to the dead. It is with the assistance of contemporaneous commentary that it becomes possible to establish that what may otherwise seem to be simple clarifications targeted at an obtuse vernacular reader are in fact engaged with matters not only of doctrine but also practice, in that case the provision of masses for the dead (see §4 above). The homiletic commentaries of Brenz and Lavater establish this most clearly.

Were there elements of interpretation that were particular to an English version or versions? The tone of the Genevan annotations engages the reader in a distinctive way, but present-tense explanations and comparisons with the reader’s own experience occur in the margins of other versions too (in annotations on helping the dead in French bibles, for example).¹⁴² While the different English bibles have their own style and praxis, the plurality of European bibles means that

¹⁴² So also the annotations on oath-swearing formulae in the Matthew Bible, brought over from Lefèvre’s bible (cf. R1.17; 3.13). An enquiry into the interface between such annotations and the ongoing presence of Lollardy in an English context or the more immediate Anabaptist crises in mainland Europe proved inconclusive; at R1.17 especially, the major motive seems to be clarification of aposiopesis. See **Appendix Pt II §2.4.**

there is typically a precedent even as original material may emerge. If an exception is required to make the rule, it is the particular realism with which Naomi is deemed to have been infected by her time in Moab (“waxen colde”), resulting in blame not wholly unprecedented but extremely rare when compared with the standard test hypothesis (§2.2.2 above).

Reviewing the findings as a whole, it is clear that the interference of theological perspectives is not confined to points of contemporary contention. Reward for works was a matter of disagreement between the Geneva and Douai translators, but they shared a common assumption about the role of *Ruth* as part of a Christian metanarrative and this affected other translation decisions. As the sixteenth century progressed, translators united in their denigration of Orpah’s *elohim* (§2.2); anthropomorphisms were also a common cause for concern (§3.4). While the generation of Christ was reasonably regarded as at best secondary to the narrative purpose (though see section §5.2 above) annotators were nonetheless agreed that *Ruth* was appropriately encountered with Christ’s coming and consequent redemption as a backdrop.

Chapter 4 has focused upon a soft topic: That translated bibles exhibit ideological intervention due to *a priori* theological commitments on the part of a translator and the community by and for whom the text is produced is unsurprising. Detecting some currents of interference in the era of confessionalisation has been a relatively ‘safe’ enterprise. The thrust of this thesis, however, is that such interference is not limited to the obvious ideological battlefields such as theology. Rather, as worldviews are comprehensive, ideological interference can be expected and identified with regard to social and moral attitudes also. In **Chapter 5**, the subject of investigation is how societal presuppositions about gender affected translation of the term *chayil* in *Ruth* and across the biblical canon.

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Chapter 5: Translating *chayil* | חַיִל

*Virtuous women, valorous men: exploring gender as an ideological influence*¹

R2.1: And Naomi had a kinsman of her husband's, a mighty man of wealth (אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר חַיִל) . . .

R3.11: . . . for all the city of my people doth know that thou art a virtuous woman (אִשְׁתׁ חַיִל)

R4.11: And all the people that were in the gate, and the elders, said . . . do thou worthily (וַעֲשֶׂה־חַיִל) in Ephratah . . .

1 OVERVIEW

The Hebrew term *chayil* (חַיִל) appears three times in the book of *Ruth*, referring to both Ruth and Boaz. In Hebrew the descriptions suggest equality; both characters are *chayil* people.

Of fifty-one early modern translations sampled (see **Tables 5.1–6**), no more than eight preserve a semantic connection between the application of *chayil* to Ruth and Boaz. The clear exceptions are Antonio Brucioli, who uses the Tuscan “virtu” (R2.1; R4.11) and cognate “virtuosa” (R3.11);² and the commentator Johann Isaac, and the Latin gloss of Montanus’ Polyglot, both using forms of Latin “virtus” for each *chayil*.³ A further twenty-six translations convey a link between the *chayil* of R4.11 and one of the other instances, but not between the *chayil* of Boaz (R2.1) and the *chayil* of Ruth (R3.11). Translated, the value reckoned to Ruth and that reckoned to Boaz become irreconcilable, and receivers of each translated text are left oblivious to the original parity.

There is much to suggest that this pattern of translation reflects the gendered ideology of the target culture: ideas about the value of women and men in early modern Europe are being imported into the translated texts. This chapter explores cultural and linguistic contexts of the terms chosen to translate *chayil*, tracing its contours and comparing movement in the translation of *chayil* texts of *Ruth* with others in the biblical canon. The investigation finds that some late sixteenth- and early

¹ A version of this chapter was presented at the Historical Sociolinguistics Network conference in Sheffield, 6 February 2014; I am grateful for the feedback received.

² This applies to the 1532 edition only. In 1539, Brucioli substitutes “di faculta” for “virtu” at R2.1. Note that Brucioli’s verb in R4.11, “faccia”, is ambiguous, representing both 2s and 3s subjunctive forms.

³ The exceptions may be expanded to eight: Johann Eck’s use of a compound “tugend-reich”, ‘virtue-rich’ in R3.11 (for Ruth), links with Boaz’s “reichtum” (R2.1, wealth) and the “tugend” of R4.11 (applied to Ruth). Later French bibles (1540, 1551, 1562, 1588) continue to use “vertu” or “vertueusement” in R4.11 now with reference to Boaz, while retaining “vertueuse” for Ruth at R3.11. The interpretation history of R4.11 is dealt with in §5 below. (The “further twenty-six” includes these versions.) Were Ferrara’s “faze” to be taken as 3s (i.e. referring to Ruth), it would form a ninth exception; more likely, the lexical choice is itself an indicator that Boaz is the intended subject—the ambiguity is an accident of the TL rather than an intentional one.

seventeenth-century versions adopted a different standard of consistency in the translation of *chayil*, even as Ruth and Boaz remain divided. If these later versions prioritised the transfer of semantic networks across the canon, were gender presuppositions responsible for the continued destruction of the ST link between Ruth and Boaz?

1.1 Defining *chayil* | חַיִל

Chayil appears 267 times in the Hebrew Bible, and a further 44 times in Classical Hebrew.⁴

Holladay's *Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon* (2000) imposes four divisions in its analysis of *chayil*: (1) capacity and power; (2) property and wealth; an aspect subdivided but including landownership, fitness for military service, bravery and (illustrated by Prov 12.4) “worthy wife”; (3) army; and (4) the “upper classes of a city (important by virtue of property & military value)”.⁵ Holladay also observes that *chayil* is not attributed to God. The *Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (2009) similarly divides *chayil* into four categories, the latter three being largely comparable to Holladay. The first CDCH division is subdivided into (a) “power, might, strength” (of humans); and (b) ability (illustrated with Gen 47.6; Prov 12.4; and 1 Chron 9.13). As a *chayil* woman, Ruth is thereby apportioned to either “ability”, an able woman (CDCH), or “qualified” in a manner that (puzzlingly) pertains to property and wealth (Holladay).⁶

In his 1506 *De Rudimentis*, Johann Reuchlin identified four principal senses of *chayil*: “robur”, “virtus”, “fortitudo” and “exercitus”. The last of these is a discrete application of the term, corresponding to the third division in the modern dictionaries (army); this sense may be set aside in the ensuing discussion, having no plausible application to what is said of Ruth.⁷ “Robur” refers particularly to (physical) strength, but by extension also power, authority and effectiveness. “Fortitudo” also suggests strength, but is a predominantly mental quality indicating attitudinal firmness, hence bravery, resolution, fortitude.⁸ “Virtus” has a larger scope, owing its origins to the word “vir”, man; the breadth of its applications is to be discussed in detail because it is from this term that Ruth's English “virtue” derives its meaning(s). Wealth and property are absent.

⁴ David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* [CDCH] (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009).

⁵ Said with particular reference to Samaria. Holladay, sv. *chayil*. William Lee Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, Based upon the Lexical Work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1971) digitised in BibleWorks, v. 9.0: BibleWorks LLC, 2011; s.v. “חַיִל.”

⁶ How Holladay came to group the woman of *chayil* under the second subheading rather than the first is hard to understand; the sense of “qualified” (Holladay's word) would belong better in his first division.

⁷ Though see Castello's translation of R2.1 in both French and Latin (**Table 5.3**), criticised by Isaac in his 1558 commentary.

⁸ See Lewis & Short, s.v. “robur”, “fortitudo” and “virtus”.

2 RUTH: אִשֶׁת חַיִל | *ESHET CHAYIL* (R3.11)

Eshet chayil is a construct phrase, derived from the combination of the Hebrew word for woman (*ishah*) with the noun *chayil*, identifying Ruth as a ‘woman-of *chayil*’. Both narrative context and canonical context may influence the construction and translation of its meaning.

2.1 Narrative context

Under Naomi’s instruction, Ruth comes to Boaz in the night, finding him at the threshing floor and lying down at his feet (R3.1-8). When he wakes, she identifies herself and tells him to act because he is a *go’el*, someone in a position to assist Naomi and Ruth (R3.9). In response, Boaz praises Ruth: she has not run after attractive young bachelors (*bachurim*; R3.10).⁹ He will do what she says because ‘all the gate of my people’ (a synecdoche representing everyone in Bethlehem) ‘know that you [are] an *eshet chayil*, a woman of *chayil* (R3.11). There is an obstacle: a nearer *go’el* (redeemer, relative) must first be given the chance to act (R3.12). But Boaz guarantees that he will ensure a swift resolution, whoever acts as *go’el* (R3.13). As the narrative resolves, the other *go’el* declines to *g-’l* (redeem) land and take Ruth (R4.6), leaving Boaz to assume this role.

At R3.11, Boaz’s words are intended to reassure: ‘Fear not’, he says. He does not tell her that she is *chayil* as if it were his own judgment. Rather he asserts that this is the general public opinion. He also tells her that it is “known” (established, agreed) rather than simply “said” (conjectured, reckoned, open to doubt); everyone ‘recognises’ that she is a woman of *chayil*. On this ground, he agrees to her request (albeit with a concession to the other *go’el*). The way that Boaz frames his statement points to an important quality of *chayil*: it is a criterion subject to public assessment.

Why does it matter that others see Ruth as a *chayil* woman? Partly, it grants her parity of status with Boaz. She has come to Bethlehem as an outsider, a woman with limited resources obliged to glean in order to gather sustenance and support her mother-in-law (see esp. **Ch. 6**, below). Her request for help is predicated on a relationship with Boaz that is itself uncertain—her link to the community is through a marriage that began and ended in Moab. There is no surviving brother-in-law, and no levirate obligation. Ruth’s *chayil* is a marker of social status, of acceptance. Boaz’s willingness to act as *go’el* is dependent upon and guaranteed by this marker.

This parity is repeatedly highlighted by those commenting on the Hebrew text. Thus Edward Campbell writes, “we dare not detach this description of Boaz [R2.1] from the expression . . . he

⁹ *Bachur*, the term conventionally translated as “young men” (Heb: בָּחֹרִים) implies “fully grown” and “unmarried” (Holladay)—eligible bachelors.

himself will use to compliment Ruth [R3.11]”.¹⁰ Similarly Robert Holmstedt claims that “the assessment of Ruth [in R3.11] ... matches the narrator’s assessment of Boaz”;¹¹ “precisely” so according to Frederic Bush. The “words of praise”, Bush asserts, “bring immediately to mind the narrator’s description of Boaz”.¹² (Despite such express intentions, each of these commentators goes on to disassociate the two instances of *chayil* within their own English translation.)

2.2 Canonical context

As a woman of *chayil*, Ruth has counterparts only in Proverbs. At Prov 12.4, a woman of *chayil* is a crown to her husband, juxtaposed with a shame-bringing female, who is akin to arthritis (rot in his bones). At Prov 31.10-31, an acrostic poem describes the attributes of a woman of *chayil*: a woman active in trade, caring for her household and estate, bringing praise to her *ba’al* (lord, master, Englished as ‘husband’) and to herself. Though ‘many daughters do (or make) *chayil*’, she surpasses them all (Prov 31.29). The woman of *chayil* is thus defined by her faithful relationship to a proprietary man (cf. also Prov 31.11) as well as by her active role in managing the estate. In each instance, *chayil* is acknowledged by public acclaim—a crowning glory.

In Hebrew bibles, the woman of Proverbs 31 and Ruth may be especially closely linked because the books are commonly placed together in the Hebrew canon. Seen thus, the poetic *esbet chayil* closing Proverbs 31 provides the prologue to an *esbet chayil* case-study.¹³

2.3 Patterns of translation

At R3.11, the phrase was Englished with minor variation as either woman of virtue, or virtuous woman (see **Table 5.1**). This reiterated virtue has parallels in other languages. In Luther’s texts Ruth is fixedly a “tugendsam Weib”. Bugenhagen’s “doegentsame” is Low Douche orthography for the same term. In the Vorsterman and Liesvelt texts, Ruth is “duechdelijck”, the adjectival form of “duechden”. Pre-reformation bibles had employed the same terms: The Mentelin Bible (printed 1466, trans. c. 1300) had Ruth as a woman of “ein weip der tugent”, the Delft Bible (printed 1477, based on a fourteenth-century version) has her as “een wijf van duechden”, and in the Lubeck Bible (printed 1494) Boaz calls Ruth “een wif der do^oghet”. Wycliffites used “womman of vertu(e)”.¹⁴ In romance languages, and in Latin versions, “virtu-” also dominates, translating

¹⁰ Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 90.

¹¹ Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 165.

¹² Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 182. See also at 174: “Boaz’s description of Ruth here [R3.11] matches *precisely* the narrator’s identification of Boaz” (emphasis added).

¹³ The placement of *Ruth* varies, but codices such as the *Leningradensia* place it immediately after Proverbs. See **Ch. 3** above, §3.1.

¹⁴ F&M 1.684.

Ruth's *chayil* in 18 of 23 editions. Of the sixteenth- and seventeenth- century versions consulted, only 9 (< 19%) depart from the 'virtue' tradition—falling to 7 (<15%) when the Zurich editions are counted as one.¹⁵ Translation was thus essentially conservative.

The tradition conserved belonged to the Vulgate: Jerome's Boaz told Ruth that all the people within his city's gates know, "mulierem te esse virtutis"—'a-woman you to-be of-virtue' (R3.11). The syntactical shift from "of virtue" to "virtuous" may be attributable to Pagninus' influence (cf. discussion of Coverdale's text in the **Appendix**), but the foundations of Ruth's virtuous reputation were thus much older.

There is much greater variety and change in the translation of the other women of *chayil* (see **Table 5.2**). It is significant, however, that while in Jerome's text a different term was used on each occasion, the English Geneva Bible and the King James Version use "virtuous" for all. Looking across the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, translators increasingly apply the *Ruth* term to at least one other *esbet chayil*, except where they remain tied to the Vulgate.¹⁶

¹⁵ The Zurich translations of *chayil* in *Ruth* exhibit only orthographical adjustments. The *esbet chayil* of Prov 31.10 changes from the 1531 edition onward; cf. **Table 5.2**.

¹⁶ When the English versions are considered in isolation, the change from zero agreement (Cov, MtB, GtB, Bps) to full agreement (Gva, KJ) is total. This is partly because Coverdale alone was responsible for the previous versions of Proverbs. His initial selection overlooked two possible connections in his sources (Z34: R3.11 | P31.10. L1 and Pg: P12.4 | P31.10; the latter overlap apparently influenced by the LXX), and his key point of reference for the Great Bible revisions (Münster) made no connection between the *chayil* women. The pattern reflects his translation priorities, and his lack of access to the Hebrew ST. These English versions and Münster, together with translations wholly led by the Vulgate (like the Douai OT—and excepting Eck), account for 11 of 13 sampled versions in which there is no agreement. (The others are Rustici's Italian and the Ferrara Spanish edition.) They run counter to the general trend. 17 of the sampled early modern versions have lexical agreement between two *chayil* women (18 with Eck's partial "reich"). Such agreement between 2 texts provides the modal average within the 48 translations sampled. The specific agreement is most commonly between Ruth and Proverbs 31.10 (8 times; see especially texts based on phase-2 Luther). Agreement between Prov 12.4 and Prov 31.10 is also well represented (7 times; cf. phase-1 Luther and the LXX). Beginning with Brucioli (1532) 8 versions have lexical agreement between 3 of the 4 texts, typically focused on the three *esbet chayil* women (i.e. excluding Prov 31.29) but also within Proverbs (Beza) and omitting Prov 12.4 (Statenvertaling). 5 versions have lexical agreement between all 4 *chayil*-women texts; the English Geneva Bible is the first of these, introducing "virtuously" to Prov 31.29. What is in the English sphere a radical jump (from 0 to 4 agreements) is less drastic considered in the light of 3-fold agreement in the 1551 French Geneva version. 3-fold agreement was the high-watermark for French versions, but the English 4-fold agreement is later equalled by key translations in Latin (Montanus, Tremellius), and Italian (Diodati) as well as replicated in the King James Version. Neither Tremellius nor Diodati uses a virtue-oriented term.

The mean average of agreement among early modern versions, which stands at 1.76 (1.72 including pre-modern versions) for the sample as a whole, moves from 1.53 for the 29 editions published before the English Geneva Bible to 2.43 for it and the 13 subsequent editions. This reflects not only the introduction of 4-fold agreement in some versions, but also the fact that the only Catholic or Counter-Reform bible in the sample post-1560 is the Douai OT: there are less zeros to bring down the mean. When five identifiably Catholic versions are removed, the pre-Geneva mean is 1.68 shifting to 2.62 for the remaining period. The convergence therefore involves both a reduction in versions that have no lexical agreement, and a marked increase in those having 4-fold lexical agreement. The translations that went on to be most influential in each language, i.e. Beza; Diodati; KJ; Luther (1545); Reina-Valera; Statenvertaling; Tremellius, all have a minimum of 2-fold lexical agreement.

(The 5 Catholic versions omitted for the recalculation are: Pagninus, Lefèvre, Eck, Leuven, and Douai. Vorsterman also shows strong Vulgate-orientation but is probably best regarded as a conservative version

3 READINGS OF RUTH'S "VIRTUE"

What might a sixteenth-century English and (or) Latin-speaker have understood by the descriptions "virtutis", "of virtue" and "virtuous"? Although Ruth is consistently termed either "virtuous woman" or "woman of virtue", the import of this epithet could be interpreted in different ways.

The discussion that follows brings together three major strands of discourse: denotations of Latin "virtus" in the classical world as these affected Renaissance Humanism; early modern commentary on R3.11 and virtue; and interpretation of the other women of *chayil* (virtuous in the KJ canon).

Repeated consideration is given to the ways in which Ruth's virtue (and the attributes ascribed to the other *chayil* women) reflected early modern expectations about female behaviour. In particular, the investigation demonstrates that chastity was not the only dimension of female virtue that interested Christians reading *Ruth* in the sixteenth century, and was unlikely to have been decisive for the English translators. With this exercise complete, the discussion of Ruth's virtue concludes with an appraisal of the implications of "virtue" compared with those of *chayil*.

3.1 The virtue of chastity

Early in the twentieth-century, Katharine Bushnell argued that Boaz's statement would be received by the "common folk" as a statement about Ruth's sexual behaviour, that she was known to be chaste.¹⁷ This view has theoretical support from the OED where the use of "virtue" and "virtuous" as a reference to female chastity is attested by examples from 1578 (Lindsay's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*) and 1600 (Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*).¹⁸

3.1.1 Female chastity in early modern Europe

Chastity was seen by many as the supreme female virtue. Writing for Catherine of Aragon and her young daughter (the future Queen Mary), Jean Luis Vives emphasised this: "Quae sola si desideretur, perinde est ac si viro desint omnia, quippe in femina *puđicitia instar est omnium*. . . .

without specific confessional allegiance. Were his editions to be excluded, the pre-Geneva average would move to 1.82. All figures have been calculated to 2 decimal places.)

Overall, virtue-oriented terms constitute a small majority of agreements (18 of 31 versions; 49 of 83 words; an average of ca. 59 per cent). They are most strongly represented in Luther phases 2–4 and associated Douche versions, some non-Latin romance versions, and in the English versions already identified. When frequency of agreement is measured, the woman of Proverbs 31.10 emerges as 'most agreed with' featuring in 27 of the 31 versions concerned. One may regard virtue-readings as based on Ruth, the original virtuous woman; though from a TT perspective, the virtuous women of Sirach also have a role.

¹⁷ Katharine C. Bushnell, *God's Word to Women*, reprint of 1943 edn; first edn: Chester/Southport, 1910 (Dallas, Tex.: Lighthouse Library International, 2003), ¶¶630, 626 (chapter 78).

¹⁸ Cf. OED online, s.v. "virtuous, *adj.* and *n.*" §5.a. e.1, accessed 05 Jun, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/223850/>; and s.v. "virtue, *n.*" §2.c, e.2; <http://oed.com/view/Entry/223835/>. The previous edition of the OED (1989) suggested four earlier texts in which "virtuous" was used with reference to a woman's chastity, but these are less convincing and have been removed as of December 2013. The 1989 definitions may be viewed at <http://www.oed.com/oed2/00278138/>. See there the use of "virtuous" in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*. §2.b.

[D]icas impudicam, *hoc uno verbo detraxisti omnia*—“If that one thing is missing, it is as if all were lacking to a man. In a woman *chastity is the equivalent of all virtues*. . . . [C]all her unchaste and *with this one word you have removed all*.”¹⁹ Vives’ conduct book was translated and published in the vernacular for audiences across Europe;²⁰ and it drew on an older tradition of Christian thought.

Chastity stood firm as the bastion of female virtue even as the Renaissance sparked a shift in Christian ideals. Major figures in Christian Antiquity emphasised sexual propriety but placed special value on celibacy for both sexes. The celibate ideal rested not only on Paul’s advice to the Corinthians (cf. esp. 1 Cor 7.7-8), but also the teachings of key figures like Jerome and Augustine,²¹ and was widely accepted in the medieval period. A reappraisal of this view was catalysed by critical awareness that not all who vowed celibacy kept their vows; a major aspect of the reformers’ polemic. Yet the reevaluation of marriage was also a reaction to the influence of classical sources and Christian humanists were its instigators.²² Aristotle had presented marriage as natural, part of “the good life”. Following through this logic, Erasmus damned celibacy as “unnatural” and equated it with abortion.²³ Despite such shifts, Catholics, Reformers, and Humanists from all sides retained a common cultural assumption that chastity was a nonnegotiable standard of female virtue.²⁴ Reformers might elevate the status of chastity within marriage (sex for procreation only) but fundamentally they agreed with Vives that whatever her marital status, a woman’s chastity was of primary importance. An interest in Ruth’s chastity is therefore to be anticipated among early modern audiences.

3.1.2 Chastity in the reception of *Ruth*

Unannotated, the Hebrew scene itself suggests that Ruth’s sexual reputation may be at stake. It is night-time. At Naomi’s instigation Ruth has washed, perfumed herself and perhaps put on her

¹⁹ Juan Luis Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae: Liber Primus: [with] Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes*, ed. Constantinus Matheussen and Charles Fantazzi, trans. Charles Fantazzi, vol. 1 (Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 62–65, emphases added. The Latin original was published in 1524; a revised edition followed in 1538.

²⁰ There were Castilian, French, Germanic, Italian, and Dutch editions. Vives’ influence has also been traced in Spanish works. The English translation “enjoyed enormous popularity in England, where it continued to be printed for sixty years”. See Fantazzi’s introduction to the modern English edition, Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 30–35 (33).

²¹ “The principal Latin Fathers of the early church”, Constance Jordan writes, were of accord with regard to the superiority of celibacy over “married fidelity”, a view that was “absolutely unexceptionable” and continued largely unchallenged into the medieval period. Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1990), 26. See also McLeod, *Virtue and Venom*, 45: “Jerome asserts that chastity is woman’s crowning virtue, equal to eloquence, military glory, and political achievement in man.”

²² Margo Todd, “Humanists, Puritans and the Spiritualized Household,” *Church History* 49, no. 1 (1980): 18–34; Merry E. Wiesner, “Wandervogels’ Women: Journeyman’s Concepts of Masculinity in Early Modern Germany,” *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 4 (1991): 768.

²³ Todd, “Humanists, Puritans, and the Spiritualized Household”, 20.

²⁴ On the particular emphasis upon *female* chastity and its cultural basis, see Keith Thomas, “The Double Standard,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20, no. 2 (1959): 195–216.

finest clothes. She has come unobserved to the threshing floor, uncovered, and lain down at Boaz's feet.²⁵ Much here is suggestive of a potential sexual encounter. Boaz's concern that no one should know "the woman came to the threshing floor" (R3.14) reflects the dubious appearance of her actions. Boaz's blessing (R3.10) is predicated upon the assertion that Ruth has not run after attractive young bachelors like Saul and Samson.²⁶ That Boaz excludes himself from the category of *bachurim* subtly counteracts suspicion that Ruth's actions are motivated by physical attraction; she is praised for shunning such enticement.²⁷ It also provides the antecedent to Boaz's assertion that everyone knows she is a woman of *chayik*; that she has 'not run after' the bachelors is reasonably construed as common knowledge. It is therefore neither illogical nor far-fetched to see her sexual conduct as an aspect of her *chayil* status, good sexual conduct being a behavioural standard for women in the source culture as well as for the translation's audience.²⁸

Morally ambiguous aspects of the narrative attract attention from the early modern commentators. Ruth's intentions, Ludwig Lavater argued, could be misconstrued as "whordome or theft".²⁹ Thus Naomi's instruction that she should ensure no one sees her was justified (R3.3), a detail that might otherwise seem to indicate impropriety. To Johann Brenz, the plan was redolent of prostitution: "scriptura non commemoret haec, ut commendet aut doceat nos lenocinium".—"Scripture would not commemorate this in order to commend or teach us procurement," he wrote, supplying

²⁵ A Hebrew audience might imagine Ruth exposing Boaz's genitalia (euphemistically 'the place at his feet') or that she uncovers herself. So Kirsten Nielsen, "Le choix contre le droit dans le livre de Ruth: De l'aire de battage au tribunal," *VT* 35, no. 2 (1985): 204–7. Though see also the dismissal of this idea in Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 153. For a broader analysis of commentators' tendency to "romanticize" the scene (encompassing treatment of the sexual innuendo) see Exum, "Is this Naomi?" esp. 147–158.

²⁶ Cf. 1 Sam 9.2; and Judg 14.10.—Though translations describe *esbet Shimshon* as Samson's "wife", the narrative itself suggests the events take place at an extended pre-wedding party, his bachelor's or stag-do; having been disloyal in exposing the riddle, the woman is subsequently given to another of the men who had attended the party.

²⁷ The inclusion of "rich or poor" as a qualifier of *bachurim* implicitly counteracts the idea that Ruth is motivated by Boaz's apparent wealth.

²⁸ Much rests on the convention that women are a man's property, and can be damaged by sexual involvement with a man who is not their owner. In Deuteronomic legislation, when the sexual act concerns a virgin, it may be compensated and resolved by transferring ownership (Deut 22.28–29; elsewhere compensation alone is a possibility, cf. Ex. 22.17). The woman's willingness is relevant only if she is a virgin (Deut 22.23–27). If the woman has already been possessed sexually, the damage is irreparable and discovery results in her death (Deut 22.22). A man may reject a woman if he determines that she is not a virgin; if he is proven wrong, he must keep her; if not proven innocent she is stoned to death (Deut 22.13,21). See further, Angelika Engelmann, "Deuteronomy: Rights and Justice for Women in the Law," in *Feminist Biblical Interpretation: A Compendium of Critical Commentary on the Books of the Bible and Related Literature*, ed. Luise Schottroff, Marie-Theres Wacker, and Martin Rumscheidt, trans. Lisa E. Dahill and et alii, English edition, edited by Martin Rumscheidt; translated from German: *Kompendium Feministische Bibelauslegung*. Corrected edition: Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012), 91–93. On the prejudicial effect of translating Hebrew relationships in terms of marriage, see Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, chapter two. For a diachronic discussion of attitudes to women's sexual conduct and their relation to the conception of women as male property, see Thomas, "The Double Standard".

²⁹ P95r, L67v.

examples of other biblical events that could not be thought exemplary (Noah's drunkenness, Lot's incest, and Judah's sex-with-a-seeming-prostitute).³⁰

In Lavater's view, Ruth's speech to Boaz (R3.9) is indicative of her own fear that her intent may be misinterpreted. She reminds him that he is a *go'el*, "Least hee should thinke, that she was a bold and unshamefast woman to come into a mans bed in the night unknown" (P100v; L71v). For both Lavater and Brenz, Boaz anticipates two fears on Ruth's part—that he might judge her to be "impudica" (immodest, unchaste, shameless) or that he, in his present intemperate state (i.e. being drunk), may "force her to commit whoredome" (so Pagitt translating Lavater) and thereby lose her "pudicitia" (modesty, chastity; Brenz).³¹ The commentators thus visit their own fears upon the scene.

In pronouncing Ruth a "virtuous woman" ("mulier virtute praedita"), Lavater's Boaz assures her that "he is ready to mar[r]y her" (P104r; L74r, "paratum esse, eam in uxorem suscipere"); his reaction being determined by the belief that she did *not* act "of lightness or lust" ("ex levitate & libidine") but at her mother-in-law's command and with regard to the law (P102v; L73r). In the shape of whoredom, unshamefastness, extramarital sex, and lust, Lavater repeatedly rejects the threat of sexual impropriety. Both he and Brenz are caught up in the difficulty of excusing behaviour that they cannot commend (and so must excuse) whilst also commending Ruth's character. This is done predominantly through Boaz's eyes, excusing and even praising his response (and *his* chastity). Boaz's words become a medium through which to evaluate Ruth's intentions.

Some of this was presaged in pre-modern commentary. Peter Comestor's brief retelling of *Ruth*, widely circulated in the medieval *Historia Scholastica* glosses Boaz's response to Ruth as reassurance that her "chastity would be safeguarded".³² To Nicholas Lyra, Ruth's eschewing of attractive males constituted proof that she was motivated by "love for a child" and not "love of lust". Lyra makes the antithesis explicit through ventriloquy: "I am an old man", says this Boaz, "in whose bed there

³⁰ Brenz answers his own rhetorical question: "Quid haec aliud sunt, quam impudicarum muliercularum negocia, & turpium vetularum ac lenarum copulationes, quibus iuvenulae seducuntur, & impuris scortationibus obiciuntur?" "What other are these, than the business of shameless women, and copulations of dirty old women and of madams, through whom young women are seduced and exposed to impure fornicators?" Brenz, ccxcii [292]. Brenz's language is yet more vivid in his native tongue—or rather Hiob Gast's translation: "Sind das nit handlungen und gewerbe, welliche unzuächtigen frawen unnd schendlichen vetteln unnd alten Copplerin zu stehen, mit welchem die iungen frawen verfuert unnd inn huererey unnd unreinigkeit gestuertzet werden?" Brenz (trans.), cciii [203].

³¹ It is Lavater who draws attention to Boaz's potential drunkenness, and is generally willing to imagine the worst: "bene potus, stuprum ei inferre conaretur" (L74r; P104r). Brenz writes: "Timebat enim Ruth, ne ob hoc factum iudicaretur a Boas impudica aut forte ne pudiciciam temere amittat."—"For Ruth was afraid lest because of this action Boaz should judge her immodest, or perhaps lest she should infortuitously lose her chastity"; ccxcv-i [295-6].

³² Via Smith, 38.

is not such delight".³³ Yet pre-modern commentators tended to interpret Ruth's "virtuous" public status through an allegorical lens; "it was the conviction of the faithful that the Church is full of virtue" advised the Ordinary Gloss at this point.³⁴

Despite the overlap with pre-modern commentary, some aspects of the chastity discussion are testament to the Reformers' own pastoral concerns and to distinctive early modern interests. Boaz's declaration that Ruth is known to be "mulier virtute praedita" is immediately followed by Lavater's advice that a man should check his potential bride's public reputation for chastity and honesty ("pudicitia & honestate") before contracting marriage, lest every barber knows her to be filthy and unchaste ("turpem & impudicam"; L74r-v). Both Lavater and Brenz see Boaz's wish to settle the matter with the other *go'el* as a model, using the biblical narrative as a platform for their own critique of clandestine weddings: "How often have those private marriages (*clandestinae illae nuptiae*) had a sorrowful & lamentable end?" asked Lavater rhetorically (P96f; L68r). One should not make contracts "clam et inhoneste", secretly and dishonestly, but "legitime coram testibus", lawfully, before witnesses, Brenz declared.³⁵ Reformers asserted control over marriage in a way that the Roman Church had not, taking an active interest in people's personal lives.³⁶ The combination of night-time encounter with public negotiation made *Ruth* an opportunity to promote their views. Belief in the biblical couple's chastity was a critical constituent of this. Yet if the commentators took an interest in Ruth's chastity, they did not necessarily see this as the sole or particular grounds of her translated virtue. That this is true of translators too, is indicated by the Geneva Bible's annotation on R3.10: "Thou shewest thy selfe from time to time more vertuous."—One's chastity does not visibly increase.

3.2 'Virtuous women' as women of virtues

The Latin "virtus" has long served as a category for "moral qualities regarded as of special excellence or importance" (OED "virtue" 3b), a role assumed under the influence of the Greek

³³ Ibid., 62.

³⁴ Ibid., 23. For the same interpretation in Hugh of St Cher, see Smith, 52. Hugh is arguably a more bashful commentator; in the literal portion of his comments, the only allusion to sex is the assertion that staying at the threshing floor involved "abstaining from the embraces of women"—exonerating Boaz (Smith, 44).

³⁵ Brenz, ccc [300]. Reforming church practices under his aegis, Brenz had brought together clergy and "pious, honest, and intelligent" lay people to function as a body for ecclesiastical judgment, including "as a marriage court"; these people were to serve as "visitors, superintendents, church presbyters, or whatever else one would like to call them" (James Martin Estes, *Christian Magistrate and Territorial Church: Johannes Brenz and the German Reformation*, reprint, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 109 n.30). Brenz is thus not only drawing out connections between scripture and contemporary experience, but using scripture to reinforce contemporary policy.

³⁶ See Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995); Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1-4*, chapter five. See also additional remarks on Brenz in Ch. 6, §5.4.

philosophical tradition.³⁷ The Greek counterpart to “virtus”, ἀρετή (*areté*), was conventionally divided into four elements: φρόνησις (*phronésis*, practical wisdom); ἀνδρεία (*andreia*, bravery); σωφροσύνη (*sōfrosuné*, moderation); and δικαιοσύνη (*dikaíosuné*, justice). These so-called cardinal virtues are found in numerous antique sources including the deuterocanonical book of Wisdom. They were also propounded in Latin by Cicero, perhaps the most influential of Classical Humanists as “prudentia”, prudence (practical wisdom); “fortitudo”, fortitude (bravery); “temperantia”, temperance (moderation); and “iustitia”, justice or “aequitas”, equality (righteousness). Such lists were not fixed, nor were they exclusive. Other qualities might also be enumerated, depending on the (rhetorical) context.

A particular point of discussion concerned the virtue(s) of women: Do men and women have a common nature, so that they should aim toward a common set of virtues? If there are differences, are these of order or category? That is: are women less able to attain virtue than men, or designed to attain different virtues? Simplifying the debate, Ian Maclean outlines a basic contrast between Plato (in the voice of Socrates) and Aristotle. Plato judged men and women to be of the same kind and so capable of and bound by the same virtues. Aristotle differentiated: Men and women might both aim to be courageous, but the manifestation would be different. Men’s courage lay in commanding and women’s in obeying.³⁸ Prudent speech in men might be eloquence, but among women silence. In Aristotelian thought, women and men complemented one another, with women conceived of as principally, naturally passive; and men as active.

The ancient debate about women’s virtue was revived by the Western rediscovery of Greek thought, i.e. the Renaissance. Renaissance responses to the so-called “querelle des femmes” (‘question of women’) took different forms: Books such as Boccaccio’s *De mulieribus claris* (‘On Famous Women’; -1374) recorded the lives of exemplary women, while insinuating that such behaviour was inappropriate for their sex.³⁹ Conduct manuals like that of Jean Luis Vives (see above §3.1.1) provided practical advice addressed to women at all stages of life (in practice differentiated principally as virgins, wives and widows). In the era of mass printing,

³⁷ See Myles Anthony McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: “Virtus” and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), esp. 128–9.

³⁸ See Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 54–5. Whether Aristotle had intended to enumerate different sets of virtues, or different degrees of virtue is uncertain.

³⁹ For a general account of these ‘catalogues’ of female virtue, see Mcleod, *Virtue and Venom*. For a more detailed treatment of Boccaccio’s contribution, see Franklin, *Boccaccio’s Heroines*. Franklin suggests that Boccaccio’s real intended audience was male, given both the Latin medium and the emphatic assertion that emulating the women Boccaccio commemorates was “contrary to female nature” (28). For a woman to be “clara”, famous, indicated that she had stepped beyond her proper domestic sphere, “venturing into a world reserved for men”; Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism*, 37. Female fame was akin to infamy. For the background to the “querelle des femmes” more generally, see Margaret L. King and Albert Jr. Rabil’s introductory essay to the series, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996–2010, 60 vols.); in Vives’ *The Education of a Christian Woman*, ix–xxvii.

illustrations of virtuous women, often with accompanying verse, provided exemplars for both elite and middling audiences.⁴⁰ Biblical women including Ruth and the *chayil* woman of Proverbs 31 feature in such publications, contributing to the definition of female virtue that early modern intellectuals wanted to promote.

3.2.1 Ruth and women's virtues in women-oriented literature

When Ruth appears in virtue literature, it is normally in association with her actions toward Naomi. Thus she appears fleetingly in the third part of Vives' conduct-book, as an example for widows: Remaining with one's in-laws was good practice, Vives argued, because it tended to encourage respect for the dead husband and therefore continued chastity. Vives gives Ruth as a positive example of this practice. Yet the threshing-floor episode may also have been a silent prompt to the proviso that follows: a widow ought not to remain with in-laws if this involves exposure to "licentious and wayward young men" who might "harm her good name or even put her chastity in jeopardy".⁴¹

Ruth also appeared as one of twelve Old Testament models in Hans Sachs' poem, *Der Ehrenspiegel*, 'The Mirror of Honour'. Each woman is presented as the manifestation of an honourable quality and, as the title indicates, the female reader was encouraged to reflect these qualities. A companion print was produced providing a visual mirror for the women to imitate. In this case, Ruth's principal quality was "die gütig", kindness or grace. In the potted history Sachs offers, her kindness is mirrored by God's benevolence ("gütigkeit"), while in the closing counsel, women are encouraged to emulate Ruth's service to her (late) husband's relatives.⁴²

The emphasis on Ruth's actions toward Naomi has support in the biblical text: it forms part of Boaz's praise in R2.11 (see discussion in **Ch. 4** above) and is therefore considered by some commentators to be the substance of the 'former *chesed*' to which Boaz refers in R3.10.⁴³

Expounding the "virtuous woman" statement, Lavater appeals to Ruth's conduct toward Naomi,

⁴⁰ See esp. Ilja M. Veldman, "Lessons for Ladies: A Selection of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 16, no. 2/3 (1986): 113–27.

⁴¹ Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 317.

⁴² The close of the poem reviews what can be learned from each woman's example. Of Ruth Sachs writes, "Zum Syebenden, so sie sind gütig / Ge[be]n Mannes freundschaft auch dienstmütig" i.e. 'With the seventh, that they are kind, giving [to] husband's relatives also *dienstmütig*' (emphasis added). This is the only instance of the compound "dienstmütig" recorded in DWB [s.v.] (2:1131). "Dienst" denotes service or duty. "Mütig" (without *umlaut*) means bold and courageous, but can also denote enthusiasm. The compound may also be a play on "demütig", 'humble'.

Sachs (1494-1576) was a young contemporary of Luther; the poem was first published in 1530, with a revised edition in 1540. The quotation is taken from the 1870 collected works and reflects the 1530 edition. Hans Sachs, "Der ehren-spiegel Der Ehren-spiegel der Zwölf Durchleuchtigen Frawen deß Alten Testaments," in *Hans Sachs: Collected Works*, ed. Adelbert von Keller and Edmund Goetze, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 102 (Tubingen: Literar. Verein, 1870), 1:209.

⁴³ See e.g. Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 170.

giving this (and the general honesty with which Ruth has hitherto lived) as the basis for Boaz's judgment that Ruth is 'most worthy of the best husband' ("optimo marito dignissima").⁴⁴

3.2.2 Ruth and the reception of the Proverbial women

Luther, Brucioli, Olivétan and others brought the common *chajil* of Ruth and the woman of Proverbs 31 into the vernacular. Brucioli and Olivétan included the woman of Proverbs 12.4 within the virtuous circle, as did the Latin version produced by Leo Jud. This suggests an awareness of the intertext(s). It also created the possibility that text-receivers could make connections between the women. Early modern comment on these women's virtues could therefore feed into the reception of Ruth as "virtuous woman".

The woman of Proverbs 31 is a frequent presence in virtue-literature as the embodiment of the honest housewife. Earlier interpreters had tended to treat her as a paradigm of the Church, in a similar fashion to the typological readings of *Ruth* and the Song of Songs.⁴⁵ The reassessment and new-found appreciation of marriage led Humanists and Reformers to see the text as a model for real, married, women. An early manifestation of this is her presence among the inhabitants of *La Cité des Femmes* (1405). The book constituted a proto-feminist response to books like Boccaccio's. Its author, Christine de Pizan (alias Pisan) employed the Proverbial woman again as an example in her conduct book, *Le Livre des Trois Vertus*, in advice on how ladies "who live on their manors ought to manage their households and estates".⁴⁶ The Proverbial woman also stands at the core of Vives' advice to married women.⁴⁷

In the margins of early modern bibles, annotators frequently identified the woman of Proverbs 31 as an exemplary housewife; "de huessmoderen spyelen", the housemother's mirror, as Bugenhagen expressed it.⁴⁸ Such vocabulary reflects a dimension of the biblical text: the woman described has charge of the household. To Münster the passage constituted a description of "officia mulieris

⁴⁴ "Cogitat [Boaz] item quod honeste hactenus [Ruth] vixerit: & erga socrum ita se gesserit, ut optimo marito dignissima sit." L73r, emphasis added. In Pagitt's translation, Boaz "doth consider that she hath lived hitherto well [lit. honestly], and so behaved her selfe toward her mother in-law, that she was worthie of a notable husband" (P102v).

⁴⁵ McLeod, *Virtue and Venom*, 48. See also discussion above, **Ch. 4**.

⁴⁶ Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Or, The Book of the Three Virtues; translated with an introduction and notes by Sarah Lawson*, first edition (of this translation) (New York, NY: Penguin, 1985), 130–3. Although Pizan only refers directly to Proverbs at the end of the section (133; Pt ii, §10), the passage is paraphrased and improvised upon in what precedes. See also Anne R. Larsen, "Legitimizing the Daughter's Writing: Catherine Des Roches' Proverbial Good Wife," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21, no. 4 (1990): 565. Pizan's particular provocateur had been Jean de Meun. See further Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan (1364–1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman," *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (1976): 173–84; Sarah Hanley, "The Salic Law," in *Political and Historical Encyclopedia of Women*, ed. Christine Fauré, trans. Richard Dubois, e-Book edn (New York: Routledge, 2003), 6–8; McLeod, *Virtue and Venom*, 8ff.

⁴⁷ Cf. Larsen, "Legitimizing the Daughter's Writing", 564.

⁴⁸ "Salomo hefft veele van boesen wiven screven. Nu scriffte he van einer Gades fruchtende und gude hussmoder, geschicket ys, Hyr schoeden sick de huessmoderen spyelen."

matrifamilias"—the role of the female householder, the "materfamilias" ('household-mother'). The description, Münster observed, differed only from the Classical Philosophers in the addition of god-fearing and faith ("timore dei & fide"; cf. Prov. 31.30). That Beza deemed her a model housewife is evident from his early poetic paraphrase, where the title identifies her as 'faithful woman' and 'good housewife'.⁴⁹—In French as in sixteenth-century English (see the Great and Bishops Bibles, **Table 5.2**) this woman's fidelity can be understood in relation to both God and husband (Prov. 31.10-11, 30). In his bible Beza terms her "la femme mesnagere" and directs his reader to Prov. 12.4 where he contrasts her with "celle qui ayant honte de se mesler de son mesnage fait honte auz siens", 'she who, ashamed to get involved with her housework, brings shame to hers' (i.e. to her household).⁵⁰

It was as "huswifly" that the woman of Proverbs 12.4 had been commended in the Great and Bishops Bibles, contrasted with "she that behaveth her selfe dishonestly". This habit of reading Prov. 12.4 as an example of housewifery is peculiar, but derives in part from a desire to clarify the opposition between the woman of *chayil* and the *mebishah* (מבישה). Both LXX and Targum treated the latter as if cognate with a common Aramaic word meaning evil or bad, with which it shared four consonants (בישה).⁵¹ Jerome took the Hebrew term, as modern scholars do, as a derivation from the root *b-w-sh* (בוש), denoting shame. The word that Jerome chose, "confusio", is also given by Reuchlin as the initial gloss on *b-w-sh*: "Confusus est. erubuit." In post-Classical Latin, "confusio"—which means 'mix' and is the root of English 'confusion'—had a special sense, blush.⁵² At some point in the interpretation history, the shame-confusion became disordered, mixed up. From this came the contrast of the orderly housewife and her disorderly counterpart.⁵³—Beza's "se mesler" means 'mix (oneself) up in'. Among reformers, this line of interpretation may have begun with Melancthon, whose annotated Latin translation of Proverbs was published before Luther's first translation, the latter being accompanied by the same

⁴⁹ Théodore de Bèze, *Virtus de la femme fidele et bonne mesnagere: comme il est contenu aux Proverbes de Salomon Chapitre XXXI, sur la chant du Pseaume XV* (Lausanne: Jean Rivery, 1556); USTC 4931.

⁵⁰ Diodati elaborated upon this, explaining that the woman might bring shame to herself and others "per la sua dishonesta vita, e mali costumi, e poco senno, e valore, dishonora se, e suoi . . ."—'through her dishonest [dishonourable] life, and bad habits, and poor sense, and worth, dishonours herself, and hers'. (The remark is taken from his 1641 edition, and is not present in that of 1607.)

⁵¹ So LXX: κακοποιός, Targum בישתא. This connection is evident in Tremellius' marginal explanation: the bad-mannered ("malē morata") is she who causes shame ("pudori").

⁵² Reuchlin's second gloss means 'redden'.

⁵³ Münster explains "mulierem confusibilem intellige במעשיה מתעצלת ignavam in rebus gerendis, & quae non sedulo facit officium suum"—'by woman-confusion understand [Heb: one sluggish in deeds] lazy in regard to getting things done, and who is not sedulous in doing her duty'. There are, Münster says, some who take *mebishah* "pro מתאחרת que scilicet tarda & segnis est in exequendis domus ministerijs", 'as [Heb: negligent], i.e. one tardy and slack in the performance of her domestic tasks'. This corresponds to Gersonides' remarks on the passage, though perhaps communicated by an intermediary (via Kimchi perhaps). So the 'confusion' is not dependent on Jerome. For Gersonides on Prov 12.4, cf. Wendy Zierler, "How to Read Eshet Chayil," in *More Precious than Pearls: A Prayer for the Women of Valor in Our Lives: Eshet Chayil: Commentary and Reflections*, ed. Mark B. Pearlman, e-Book (n.p.: Rethink Partners | Sinai Live Books, 2012), 49–50.

annotations now in Douche.⁵⁴ A woman's role, Melanchthon thought, was to have care of the domestic sphere. Although by no means the only interpretation of the passage, the housewife's enduring presence is testament to the extent to which (reformers thought) female honour was predicated upon good housekeeping.⁵⁵ Even a man cognisant of the strength or courage comprehended by *chayil*, expounded Proverbs 12.4 in terms of housewifery, "the honour and Profit of a virtuous woman".⁵⁶

Cohabiting with Naomi, Ruth is not an obvious candidate for the "honest housewife".⁵⁷

Moreover, three generations of English churchgoers had heard in Proverbs 31 the merits not of a "virtuous woman" but an "honest faithful" one.⁵⁸ Distanced by translation, any connection between the model housewife and Ruth's status in R3.11 may seem stretched. Yet categories of

⁵⁴ Melanchthon translates "mulier sedula corona est viri, et illaudata mulier tabefacit ossa" and annotates: "Mulierem decet esse οἰκουρον & custodem rei familiaris"—'woman ought to be [Greek: housekeeper] and keeper of domestic matter'. In the Douche edition, the annotation reads "Ein weib sol eyn hausmutter sein", i.e. 'ein weib [a woman] should be a housemother [housewife]'. (The text of Münster's 1524 translation of Proverbs has "mulier fortis" and "quae confusibiliter agit".)

Philipp Melanchthon, *Paroimiai, sive Proverbia Solomonis filii Davidis, cum adnotationibus Philippi Melanchthonis*, USTC 682807 (Haguenau: Johann Setzer, 1525); Martin Luther, trans., *Die spruch Salomo*, USTC 637313; VD16 B3622 (Erfurt: Melchior Sachssen, 1526); *Proverbia Salomonis: iam recens juxta Hebraica[m] veritat? translata, & annotationibus illustrata*, USTC 661265; VD16 B3564 (Basel: Johann Froben, 1524).

⁵⁵ The text was also construed in sexual terms. The foremost early modern proponent of this was Sebastian Castelleo, for whom the shameful woman was akin to pus in her husband's member, "quasi quoddam pus in eius membris" (Latin, 1551); "êt comme une apostume des membres". Though Latin "membrum" could mean simply "limb", the transformation of the rot into "pus" would surely have suggested the symptoms of a sexually transmitted infection, syphilis. It is not irrelevant that the Latin term Castelleo chooses for the shameful woman is "pudenda", a post-classical term for genitalia. In French he uses "vilaine", a word also used of prostitutes (though it is not certain whether it was so used in Castelleo's time). Cf. CNRTL | Lexicographie | s.v. "vilain-aine, subst. et adj." II.A.1, accessed Jun 01, 2014, <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/vilaine/>.

The verse is somewhat unusual in the wider context of Proverbs, where women are not otherwise associated with shame. See Johanna Stiebert, *The Construction of Shame in the Hebrew Bible: The Prophetic Contribution* (London: Sheffield Academic (Continuum), 2002), 71.

On the significance of syphilis in the early modern period, see MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 630–3, et passim. Also Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations*, chapter five.

⁵⁶ Robert Filmer (d. 1653), cited by Garthine Walker, "Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996): 238. Filmer left a manuscript commentary on Prov 12.4. For a transcription of the full text, see Margaret J. M Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), Appendix I. See also the brief account in Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500–1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1995), 381–2.

⁵⁷ As the early modern "housewife" or "materfamilias" was characterised by her domestic domain and status, not in terms of marriage but as chief female, the household's 'mother', a widowed or even never-married woman might be a housewife. See Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations*, chapter eight.

⁵⁸ Coverdale's double-translation, reproduced in Matthew, Great and Bishops Bibles, has its basis in Zurich's "fromm biderb weib". The Bishops Bible had "or, vertuous" in the margin at Prov 12.4.

See also the partial paraphrase of Prov 12.4 as an epigraph to the 1543 English edition of Bullinger's *Golden Boke of Christen Matrimonye*: "An honeste lovyng and diligente wyfe is a crowne, that is to saye, a great honour and glory, to her husbande. But she that behavethe her selfe dishonestly, is a corrupcion in his bones". Heinrich Bullinger, *The Golde[n] Boke of Christen Matrimonye: Moost Necessary [and] Profitable for All The[m], That Entend to Live Quietly and Godlye in the Christen State of Holy Wedlock Newly Set Forthe in English by Theodore Basille*, [trans. Miles Coverdale, from Bullinger, *Der Christlich Estand*]; second English edition; (London, in Botolph lane at the sygne of the whyte Beare: John Mayler for John Gough, 1543). STC 4047; USTC 503389; ESTC S110661; digital copy and transcription | EEBO 71:26.—Though Theodore Basille, alias Thomas Becon, is credited on the titlepage, the translation first published in 1541 had been produced by Miles Coverdale (see Mozley, *Coverdale*, 329). The epigraph is absent from the first edition.

honesty and virtue overlapped. In Edmund Topsell's commentary the Proverbial woman appears as proof that Ruth's behaviour is "in substance very honest" even if it "seemeth unlawful". The "finely appareled" woman is a model for Ruth's careful washing and dressing (R3.3), while her "watch in the night" justifies Ruth's night-time activities. "[S]eeing an honest woman may do these thinges", Topsell concludes, "Ruth did no dishonestye in this."⁵⁹ (The implications of honesty in early modern English are discussed below, §4.3.1.) In this instance, the woman of Proverbs 31 was used as a gauge of Ruth's conduct.

It was Ruth's honest conduct that, in Lavater's view, showed Ruth's potential as "most worthy" ("dignissima") wife to an eminent husband.⁶⁰ As a rule, however, Lavater is more inclined to interpret Ruth in the light of classical virtues than scriptural models, as evidenced in his comments on R2.10 where he praises her humility, thankfulness and shamefastness: Humility ("humilitas"), he says, is "egregia virtus", a notable virtue, and combats pride ("superbia"). Shamefastness ("verecundia") is evident in her posture ("that she fell downe to the ground, and did not impudently look on Boaz"). Lavater supports this praise by reference to Cicero—"shamfastnes (as Cicero saith) is the keeper of al vertue"—and then to a generic proverb, "Mulieres ornat silentium" ('silence adorns women') adding finally a citation from Sophocles.⁶¹ Not only are Lavater's humanist credentials thus assured; but the breadth of meaning assigned to female virtue and ascribed to Ruth in the early modern period is firmly attested.

In her "faithful" incarnation, the Proverbial woman also served another element of Ruth's virtue's exposition. At first pass Topsell glosses *esbet chayil* as "the estate of her person, and uprightnes in her living" (184-5). Subsequently, however, he substitutes godliness and religion for virtue: "Boaz saith, that all the cittie knew Ruth to be a *godly woman* . . . all the cittie knewe her *religious*" (186). "[B]y this wee gather", Topsell writes, "what it is that most commendeth women: for Boaz saith vertue; and if all [th]e world crie the contrary, yet Bathsheba the mother of king Salomon will confirme it: for thus she saith, Favour is deceitful, beautie is vaine; but a *woman that feareth God*, shee shall get praise for her selfe" (186). The quotation is Proverbs 31.30, part of the *chayil* woman's encomium.⁶² Topsell then makes the equation explicit: "vertue and the feare of the Lorde *are both one thing*. So that this is the thing they are most commended for, if *religion* will take any roote in their hartes: . . . onely *the feare of the Lord* endureth for ever."⁶³ One might compare the Targumist's

⁵⁹ Topsell, 169–70. That Topsell has in mind the woman of Proverbs 31 is made explicit in the margin. He would have found both women as objects of virtue in the Geneva Bible, but nonetheless employs "honest" as the major lexical motif in discussion of the scene.

⁶⁰ See §3.2.1, n.44 above.

⁶¹ L46v–47r. P65r–v. That this reading is imposed is self-evident: Ruth is *not* silent in this scene.

⁶² Topsell, 186. Chapter and verse are indicated in Topsell's margin for his readers' benefit. For the association with Bathsheba, see Tremellius' introduction to the passage: "quo videtur Bathschebah Schelomonem filium praemonuisse, tum ut studiose observaret, quam sibi uxorem adjuncturus esset".

⁶³ Topsell, 186–7. Emphases added.

perception: the Aramaic Ruth was “a righteous woman” (אִינְתָּא צְדִיקָתָא), with “strength (חֵילָא) to bear the yoke of the commandments of the LORD”.⁶⁴

Commentators were selective about the Proverbial qualities they applied to Ruth, but in different ways. Chastity was a component, and this is encouraged by the narrative context. At the same time, her *chased* and other qualities open to public observation (her industry, for example, a theme to be considered further in the **next chapter**) fed into the perception that Ruth would make a good wife for Boaz. By increasing the population of virtuous women (reuniting the *chayil*), translators presented a more complex scriptural model. For the attentive vernacular reader, therefore, Ruth’s status as “virtuous woman” might prompt associations with the other women of *chayil* extending beyond chastity, and beyond the narrowly domestic realm. Just as commentators were selective about the parts of the Proverbial paradigms they extracted, readers too could exercise selection. The poem of Proverbs 31 was especially susceptible to selective readings because of the numerous features it delineated.⁶⁵ As a sustained narrative, *Ruth* was also capable of generating multiple pictures of virtue.

In the introduction to this chapter, definitions of *chayil* allied it with power, strength, ability and courage. It was also observed that Boaz’s words are an indicator of Ruth’s public status.

Translating *chayil* as “virtuous woman” points toward her social worth, her reputation according to general consensus; but in modern English it lacks the powerful connotations of *chayil*. Early modern translators may have disagreed.

3.3 The virtue of manly courage

In the OED, the definitions for virtue include “The possession or display of manly qualities; manly excellence, manliness, courage, valour” (OED s.v. “virtue” §7). The examples span the period from 1400 to 1670, qualified by the observation that later uses tended toward the sense still current, i.e. “Conformity of life and conduct with the principles of morality” (“virtue” §2.a). Another entry records the use of virtue as a synonym for “physical strength, force or energy”, common in the

⁶⁴ English via Brady, “Targum Ruth in English”.

⁶⁵ The French poet Catherine des Roches was one attentive reader: Des Roches revitalised the encomium of Proverbs 31 in paraphrase; her rewriting pays particular attention to the woman’s action in the public domain. This was an aspect of the text suppressed by reformers, as Anne Larsen has demonstrated: The biblical woman purchases a field and plants a vineyard “with the fruit of her hands” (*mipperi keppeya*; Prov 31.16). In Beza’s poetic version (see above, n.49), she acquires vineyards already planted (“Vignes desja toutes plantées”, cited by Larsen, “Legitimizing the Daughter’s Writing”, 569). In Luther’s paraphrase the verse is altered beyond recognition, and the woman is fixed firmly in the domestic domain by the addition of “in the house” in the next verse. Commerce with the outside world is thereby prohibited, in keeping with views Luther expressed elsewhere (cf. Larsen, 570). In contrast to these, Roches’ proverbial housekeeper plants and cares for the field herself, skirts tucked in and arms exposed, anticipating a good vintage. The French text, with English translation, is given in Larsen’s article.

fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries ("virtue" §6). These meanings pertain to aspects of the Latin progenitor, "virtus". Each retained some currency in early modern English.

The Latin "virtus" has its origins in the word "vir", 'man'. "Vir" and "virtus", man and 'manliness', retained a strong association in Classical thought, exploited rhetorically by Cicero and others.⁶⁶ Connected with this manliness were adjacent notions of power, strength and courage. (As precursor rather than progeny, the Greek *ἀνδρεία* has a comparable etymological origin, being drawn from the Greek term for man, *ἀνήρ*, *ἀνδρός*.)

A close and multifaceted study led Myles McDonnell to conclude that in pre-Classical Latin the dominant expression of "virtus" was 'courage-in-battle'. It is this notion that is expressed in the Old Latin text of 1 Maccabees: "moriamur in *virtute*" says Judas Maccabeus, encouraging his comrades not to flee but face an honourable death in battle—"we should die with *virtus*" (1 Macc 9.10). In the cardinal virtues, this notion is conventionally expressed as "fortitudo"; but "fortitudo" is not found in pre-Classical Latin sources and may thus be considered a neologism. It comes into prominence when "virtus" has assumed the role of *ἀρετή* as the category 'virtue'. "Fortitudo" is thus a substitute for the courage otherwise expressed by "virtus".⁶⁷ That the substitution was not exhaustive is demonstrated by the Maccabees translation and by other passages. In the Vulgate text of Wisdom 8.7, "virtus" appears twice, first as the overarching category of virtues (cf. LXX *ἀρεταί*), and then among the cardinal virtues, where the Greek had *ἀνδρείαν*: ". . . labores huius magnas habent *virtutes*: sobrietatem enim et sapientiam docet et iustitiam et *virtutem*", 'her labours have great virtues, for sobriety and wisdom [she] teaches and justice and virtue'.⁶⁸ The verse exemplifies both the potential for confusion between senses of "virtus" (prompting the introduction of "fortitudo"), and the preservation of courage or fortitude among the connotations of "virtus". In Latin, Ruth could be construed as courageous.

The non-moral connotations of "virtus" were not limited to courage. Taking the Vulgate as a point of reference for post-classical Latin usage, there are frequent examples of "virtus" used where the SL term denotes and ST context demands strength or power.⁶⁹ In the case of *chayil*, consider Ps.

⁶⁶ See Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 53, and 109 n.34.

⁶⁷ McDonnell, *Roman Manliness*.

⁶⁸ The deployment of "virtus" in place of the two Greek nouns is clear. The LXX text reads, ". . . οἱ πόνοι ταύτης εἰσὶν ἀρεταί σωφροσύνην γὰρ καὶ φρόνησιν ἐκδιδάσκει δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν", translated as "her labours are *virtues*: for she teacheth temperance and prudence, justice and *fortitude*" in the King James.

The presentation of the cardinal virtues should be counted among features that support the view that the book of Wisdom is a Greek composition rather than a translated text. Although a Hebrew version of 1 Maccabees is no longer extant, its existence is attested in antiquity and supported by internal features of the Greek text (John R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 17–19). There are no equivalent attestations for the book of Wisdom; see Lester L. Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, reprint; original edition: Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997, T&T Clark Study Guides (London: T&T Clark/Continuum, 2003), 32–3.

⁶⁹ "Virtus" translates a wide range of Hebrew terms. For example: כח (Deu 4.37) מאד (2Ki 23.25) עז (1Ch 13.8) דבר (2Ch 9.5) and חיל (Psa 18.33).

59.11 (Vg 58.11): “disperge illos in *virtute* tua”, ‘scatter them by thy power’ (KJ).⁷⁰ In the New Testament, “virtus” appears repeatedly for the Greek *δύναμις* (*dunamis*), a pattern established in the LXX.⁷¹ The gospel narratives report that Jesus felt his *dunamis* go out; in the Vulgate it is his “virtus”.⁷² In a parable, money is distributed according to the *dunamis* of the recipient; in the Vulgate it is “virtus”, and in English “ability”.⁷³

To recap: The Vulgate (both in passages translated by Jerome and in passages taken from the Old Latin) uses “virtus” not only as a synonym for Hebrew *chayil* or Greek *ἀρετή*, but also for a range of terms that denote strength, power, ability and courage. These included Greek *δύναμις* and *ἀνδρεία*. In *Ruth*, where Jerome used “virtus” for Hebrew *chayil*, the LXX has forms of *δύναμις* (R3.11, R4.11). It is possible that Jerome’s intent was to convey the ‘manly’ aspect of “virtus” insofar as this engendered implications of strength, courage, and ability.

3.3.1 Virtue as power in early modern vernaculars

Cognates of “virtus” in other languages also bore strength and power among their meanings. Though now associated with morality (a sense developing in the sixteenth century), the German “Tugend” has within its historical meanings both manliness and effective power.⁷⁴ The descendants of “virtus” in romance languages share the Latin remit, as Brucioli’s use of the Tuscan “virtu” suggests. Dictionary evidence demonstrates the continued use of both “vertu” and “vertueux” as male-associated strength-bearing terms in French. Cotgrave’s French-English dictionary (1st edn, 1611) defines the French “vertueux, euse” as “vertuous, honest, sincere; *manfull, valiant*; worthwhile; that[?]s furnished with good parts, and qualities” (emphasis added).⁷⁵ In Palsgrave’s 1530 introduction to French, “vertue strength” is given a distinct entry, and translated as “vertue,

⁷⁰ Hebrew: *הניעמו בחילך*, *hani'emo b'chelka*. See also Ps 84.7 (Vg 83.8): “ibunt de *virtute* in *virtutem*”, Hebrew: *לכו מחיל אל-חיל*, *yelku mechayil el-chayil*; more familiar in Coverdale’s Englishing, “they go from strength to strength”. “Virtus” also translates *chayil* at (Vg) Ps 17.33, 40; 32.16-17; 48.7; 59.14; 107.14; 109.3; 117.16; Joel 2.22; and *Ruth* 4.11.

⁷¹ E.g. 12 times in Matthew: 7.22; 11.20-21, 23; 13.54, 58; 14.2; 22.29; 24.29-30; 25.15; 26.64.

⁷² Mk 5.30; Lk 6.19; 8.46.

⁷³ Mt 25.15. So Tyndale, Geneva, KJ, NRSV, &c.

⁷⁴ “[M]ännliche Tüchtigkeit” (manly prowess), “Kraft” (power), and “Heldentat” (heroic feat) are given among the MHG synonyms by Pfeifer (EWD in DWDS, s.v. “Tugend”, accessed Aug 06, 2013, <http://dwds.de/?qu=tugend>). In the New Testament, Tugend was used for *dunamis* and pertained mainly to power, employed in parallel to the Vulgate’s “virtus”. See DWB online, s.v. “Tugend, f.”, §I. (22:1561–2).

⁷⁵ See also the definition of “Vertu: f.”: “vertue, goodnesse, honestie, sinceritie, integritie, worth, perfection, desert, merit; also, *valour, prowess, manhood*; also *energie, efficacie, force, power, might*; also, a good part or propertie, a commendable qualitie” (emphasis added). (Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, STC 5830; ESTC S107262; digitised version of first edition, assembled by Greg Lindahl: <http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/cotgrave/> (London: Adam Islip, 1611).)

Anne Larsen also refers to Cotgrave for a contemporaneous definition of virtuous; see “Legitimizing the Daughter’s Writing”, 565.

efficace, force".⁷⁶ This range of meaning is especially significant given the apparent influence of French Geneva bibles upon the English Geneva Bible's shift from "of vertue" to "vertuous".⁷⁷

Led by Jerome's example, in Tyndale's New Testaments it was "vertue" that Jesus felt go out from him when touched (Mk 5.30; Lk 6.9; 8.46). In Paul's letter to the Philippians, "*the vertue* of his [Christ's] resurreccion" is a constituent of faith or effecter of righteousness (3.10). Tyndale exploits this sense of virtue elsewhere in his writings, as for example in his prologue to Leviticus where in one brief passage he refers to both the "vertue" of Christ's death and the "vertue and power" of similitudes.⁷⁸ (The latter use shows virtue's English scope was not limited to the association with divine power.) Together these examples show that power, efficacy and strength were recognisable applications of virtue in early sixteenth-century English, though the OED suggests this denotation was waning. King James' translators replaced the Philippians "vertue" with "power"; but in the gospel texts, virtue persists.

The OED attests English "virtue" as courage, strength and power in the sixteenth century. Tyndale's translation, conserved by the KJV, shows "virtue" in use for strength and power within the biblical canon. It is these denotations that most clearly pertain to the semantic domain of Hebrew *chayil*.

3.3.2 Ruth's virtue as strength and fortitude

The power-implications of Ruth's "virtus" were explored in at least two sixteenth-century publications, one Latin and the other English. Nicolas of Hannappes, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem in the late thirteenth century produced a compilation of biblical examples organised by subheadings. An English translation was published in 1561, dedicated to Elizabeth I. This work, *The ensamples of vertue and vice, gathered oute of holye scripture* contains a subsection entitled "Of the fortitude and strength of wemen", furnishing nine examples. The catalogue includes Michal who acts "strongly and manfullye" ("viriliter"); and the Maccabees' mother who bears her sons' death "stronglye", joining "a mans harte to the weake thought of a woman".⁷⁹ Ruth precedes Michal in this list:

⁷⁶ John Palsgrave, *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse: compose par maistre Iehan Palsgrave Angloys, natyf de Londres, et gradue de Paris* (London: J. Hawkins; Richard Pinson, 1530). Consulted via reproduction: *L'éclaircissement de la langue française; suivi de la Grammaire*. Paris: F. Génin, 1852, s.v. (284).

⁷⁷ Coverdale had set a precedent at R3.11, but the consistent use of "vertuous" for the Proverbs texts is in keeping with the French versions (see also Jud's Latin). The English Geneva translators seem to have made an independent decision regarding the translation "do vertuously" at Prov 31.29. Cf. **Tables 5.2**.

⁷⁸ See Mombert, *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses*, 290, ll. 21–22, 29–30. Tyndale also used "vertues" to translate the plural form of Greek *dunamis* at Mark 6.2; the KJV has "mighty works".

⁷⁹ So Paynell translating Hannappes' Latin: "bono animo ferebat, & foemineae cogitationi masculinum animum inserebat". Nicolas de Hannappes, *The Ensamples of Vertue and Vice: gathered oute of Holye Scripture. By Nicolas Hanape Patriarch of Ierusalem. Very necessarye for all Christen Men and Women to loke upon. And Englyshed by Thomas Paynell* ([London]: [J. Tisdale], 1561; USTC 505896), n.p.; Nicolas de Hannappes, *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla, ex universe, divinae scripturae promptuario desumpta, per R. Patrem D. Nicolaum Hanapum Patriarchum olim*

Booz saide unto Ruth, the whyche hadde forsaken her country and her go[d]des[.] The comen people, [tha]t dwelleth wythin the gates of the city doth knowe, that thou arte *a woman of vertue*.⁸⁰

Dixit Booz ad Ruth, quae reliquerat patriam & deos suos: Scit enim omnis populus *qui* habitat inter portas urbis meae *mulierem te esse virtutis*.⁸¹

That the speech is drawn from *Ruth* 3 (paraphrased) is indicated in the margin. The clause that identifies Ruth, ‘the which had forsaken her country and her gods’, may be understood as a dimension of her fortitude: Boaz’s words and Hanapus’ indexing is the result of her break with Moab and its religion. But this is at best implicit. For Michal, the single Latin term “viriliter” is doubled in translation; for mother Maccabeus, a Latin ‘good soul’ becomes English “strength”. No English term for strength appears within the elaboration of Ruth, except “virtue”. Hannappes recognised the virtue of fortitude in Ruth. In leaving “woman of vertue” untouched, his translator suggested the English audience would recognise the strength inherent in this phrase.⁸²

Another commentator makes the “virtus”-strength connection clear: In his analysis of R3.11, Johann Drusius remarks on the philological background of “virtus”. It is not in opposition to vice (“vitio opponitur”) that Ruth’s “virtus” should be understood, but rather contrasted with stereotypical female weakness (“virium infirmitati”). For this reason, Drusius explains, an alternative translation is preferable, “mulier strenua” (strong, valorous woman), “animi quadam fortitudine praedita”—‘a soul furnished with some fortitude’. The restrictive term “fortitudine” is necessary to compensate for the multiple and prominent moral connotations of “virtutis”. In Greek, Drusius concludes, he should have translated *eshet chayil* as *guné andreia*.⁸³ This is the expression used by the Septuagint translator of Proverbs (12.4; 31.10). Drusius’ style is dense and he makes no reference to the Proverbs texts, but he was almost certainly conscious of those other *andreia* women as he wrote.⁸⁴ The solution Drusius proposes, “mulier strenua”, accords with the

Hierosolymitanum, (Antwerp: John Steel, 1544; USTC 408393), 349v. (Some texts refer to Nicolas’ birthplace in the Latin forms Hanapis, or Hanapus, the USTC designating him Nicolaus Hanapus; the English and Latin versions cited may be found under Nicolas Hannappes on EEBO.)

⁸⁰ Hannappes (trans. Paynell) *Ensamplis of Vertue and Vice*, n.p., emphasis added.—The printed text has “goodes” but cf. the Latin text and R1.15: “her people and . . . her goddes”, GtB.

⁸¹ Hannapes, *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla*, (1544 edn) 349v.

⁸² An earlier abridged edition, published as *Exempla sacrae Scripturae* and associated (wrongly) with Saint Bonaventure, omitted Ruth, suggesting its editor considered her a weaker example of female fortitude. Abigail and Raguél’s daughter are also omitted (cf. 1 Sam 25; and Tobit 3). See [Nicolas de Hannappes], *Exempla sacrae Scripturae*, abridged (from *Virtutum vitiorumque exempla*); ([Paris: Pierre Levet], 1494; USTC 201269), n.p. Judith is also absent from the English edition, presumably an indication of dependence upon a Latin edition like that printed at Antwerp in 1544 (quoted above) where Judith is similarly lacking.

⁸³ “[virtutis nominis significatio] non enim virtus apud illos vitio opponitur, sed virium infirmitati [. . .] [E]st igitur cur malim, mulier strenua, & animi quadam fortitudine praedita. [. . .] Graece vero verterim, γυνή ἀνδρεία.” ‘For [the import of *virtutis* is] not virtue as opposed to vice, but to women’s infirmity . . . It is for this reason I prefer, “strong woman” [*mulier strenua*], furnished with some fortitude of mind. . . . [In] Greek certainly I should have translated, *guné andreia* [manly, strong woman].’ Drusius, 60.

⁸⁴ Supporting this theory, the intervening sentence (omitted from the quotation) is Drusius’ dismissal of another translation option, “mulier opulenta”, i.e. opulent or wealthy woman. No commentator or bible

translation of the four *esbet chayil* texts in Tremellius' Latin bible. The irony is, in Drusius' own translation, set at the head of his commentary in parallel with the Vulgate, Drusius terms Ruth "mulierem virtutis". He does not follow his own preferences, but conforms to convention.

It would be possible to adduce other examples of a woman's virtue conceived as power or ability in sixteenth-century discourse.⁸⁵ Yet it is pertinent for the present investigation that the sense of manliness and courage was in decline by the seventeenth-century, while the equation of women's virtue with chastity was emergent.

3.4 Summary

The Septuagint characterised Ruth as dynamic and powerful. It is not only plausible that a similar power perspective underlay Jerome's choice of "virtutis", it is also the best possible explanation for the decisions made by those early modern Hebraists who continued to treat Ruth's *chayil* as virtue within their target language. Consciousness of the capacity of "virtue" to indicate power and strength justified the continuity and conservatism of the English translators and of others. It is unimaginable that King James' translators were oblivious to the strong and manly ancestry of "virtus".

The English decision to conserve Ruth's virtue occurred within a wider set of intertextual decisions. In the first early modern bibles, the *chayil* women appear highly domesticated: steadfast, housewifely, honest, faithful, and virtuous. Considered alongside the annotations of other bibles, and the various phenomena through which moral values were being inculcated, these English terms have been shown to represent models which women in early modern Europe were all desired to emulate. Reviewed in this light, it is evident that in the King James Version's multiple virtuousness, the greatest domestication (steadfast housewives, and honest faithful women) had in fact been

version suggests such a translation, but wealth is the line of interpretation pursued by many versions in Proverbs 31.29—see **Table 5.2**. See also the direct discussion of Prov 31.29 in Drusius' discussion of R4.11, discussed below, §5.1. Drusius' own commentary on LXX *Ruth* (based on the Complutensian text) appears at the end of his Hebrew commentary. Ibid. 73–101.

⁸⁵ See for example the English translation of a French commentary on Proverbs (the former published in London in 1580, the latter written in French by Michel Cop and published at Geneva in the mid-sixteenth century): "Nowe that *this vertue or power* ["vertu ou force"] ought to be exercised as hath bin said, Solomon doth shew it, when he calleth 'A vertuous woman, the Crown of her husband.' [Prov 12.4] For as we cannot reioyce of a tree, neither glory nor boast of his goodnesse and excellencie, except it bring us forth good fruit: even so, if a woman doeth not *exercise her power* ["n'exerce sa vertu"], and shewe the same by honest and godly conversation [i.e. behaviour], she cannot be the crown of her husband. For he cannot reioyce nor glorie *in the vertue* ["de la vertu"] of his wife, as of an excellent and honourable vessel, except that this vertue be shewed outwardly ["ceste vertu se monstre exterierement"] by godly exercise." Michel Cop, *Sur les Proverbes de Salomon: exposition familiere, en forme de briefves homilies, contenant plusieurs saintes exhortations convenables au temps present*. Par Michel Cop (Geneva: Conrad Badius, 1556) USTC 2906: 220; idem., *A Godly and Learned Exposition Upon the Proverbes of Solomon: Written in French by Maister Michael Cope, Minister of the Woorde of God, at Geneva: And Translated into English, by M.O.*, transl. Marcelline Outred (London: Thomas Dawson for George Bishop, 1580) USTC 509023: 202v.

discarded. In making women “vertuous”, the English Geneva Bible followed the example of its French counterpart (extending it to Prov 31.29). Semantically, the impact was somewhat different because the French “vertueux,-se” seems to have retained a stronger connection with the manly roots of Latin “virtus”, while in English the associations of virtue were shifting in favour of moral and (as the sixteenth-century drew on) also sexual concern. Yet the surpassing ‘virtuous’ doings of the women at Prov. 31.29 hardly reflects sexual behaviour, but stands as a reference to all the activities of the Proverbial woman, a woman whose early modern fame stretched beyond the pages of any bible. Similarly, the increasing virtue of Geneva’s marginal comment at R3.10 points to a virtuous reputation built through the accumulation of diverse actions, not a statement about chastity. Making these women all “virtuous” meant that Ruth could be read alongside such complex models. (Vernacular readers could also make associations with the aphorisms of Sirach, where the significance of a virtuous woman was further developed.)⁸⁶

If the Latin-educated translators saw in “virtus” a justification for vernacular virtue, it is improbable that all text-receivers could have made a similar equation, especially as the strength meaning waned and the moral and sexual implications waxed. Early modern readers of English bibles would not have been encouraged to conceive of Ruth as courageous, valorous or capable except insofar as the narrative itself suggested this. Nor would they have had such a view of the Proverbial women. A few non-English translators propagated figures that approximated more to Jerome’s rendering of Prov 31.10 (“mulierem fortem”, ‘strong woman’). In Douche, Latin and French bibles, terms that denoted strength and valour (“redlich”, “strenua”, “vaillante”) appear as descriptions of the Proverbial women. Yet even there such power did not normally extend to Ruth.⁸⁷ In homogenising the *chayil* women and presenting them as virtuous paragons, and reducing the currency of virtue elsewhere, the Geneva Bible isolated virtue as a female characteristic.⁸⁸

Insofar as the Geneva and King James translators knowingly chose “virtuous” and not “of virtue”, they leaned toward a moral interpretation of the phrase: as virtuous, Ruth could embody multiple virtues. This was pedagogically fertile territory. Audience and preacher might conceive of Ruth as one of a set of women who were morally good in early modern terms (and therefore also chaste). “Virtuous” women suited the hermeneutic with which women were encouraged to read the Bible:

⁸⁶ See Sir 26.1–3; 36.24. Translations vary, but the adjective “virtuous” is used in Sir 26.1–2 (KJ); vv. 1 and 3 (Cov; Luther phases 1–4 “tugentsam”); and by Coverdale and the Geneva Bible at Sir 36.24. The Greek adjectives translated are ἀγαθή (Sir 26.1, 3) and ἀνδρεία (Sir 26.2). The adjective at Sir 36.24 is an insertion and marked as such in the Geneva translation; versification of the latter chapter varies between versions.

⁸⁷ Tremellius is an exception; see **Table 5.2**.

⁸⁸ Coverdale had presented Job as an “innocent & vertuous man” (Job 1.1, 8; 2.3). In the Great Bible, the description was revised to “perfect & iust man”, but in the poetic section, “vertuous man” remained (cf. Job 8.20). There were, in Coverdale’s text, as many mentions of “vertuous” men as “vertuous” women. (For Ruth’s peers in Coverdale, see Sirach 26.1, 3.)

Writing about advice given to women bible-readers in 1540s France (and how it reflected the ideals of the male advisers), René Paquin quotes from a treatise that sounds much like the Genevan annotation: “l’auteur . . . recommande à sa destinataire de ne pas chercher ‘aultre chose en icelles [Écritures]’ que de s’ ‘amender, & aller de vertu en vertu” —“the author recommends to his reader not to seek “anything other in these [Scriptures]” than to “correct (oneself), and go from virtue unto virtue”.⁸⁹ As an epithet, “virtuous” commended itself as a model for women’s present application.

Of course the characteristics of a *chayil* woman are themselves gendered. The woman of Proverbs 31 has a wide scope. Her mercantile and agricultural pursuits go beyond the domestic limitations imposed on an early modern bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, her preoccupation with garment-making, food provision, and household management gives her a gender-specific sphere in which to achieve *chayil*. She is not the one who assumes a place at the city gates, participating in civic affairs. To some extent, the linguistic divisions imposed in translation reflect conceptual divisions present in the source culture: what was required of a capable citizen was not the same as what was required of a capable wife (nor of a capable priest; see below §4.3.3).

4 BOAZ: איש גבור חיל | ISH GIBBOR CHAYIL (R2.1)

The suggestion of gender-based ideological interference in translation of Ruth’s *chayil* is complicated by the separation of Boaz from his *chayil* peers. The full epithet, *gibbor chayil*, locates Boaz as one of a large group of men, predominantly characterised as “mighty . . . of valour” in the King James Version. The English expression mirrors the Hebrew construct form, in which *chayil* modifies *gibbor*, “valour” corresponding to *chayil*. In English, Boaz’s epithet ranges from “honest man” to “mighty man of wealth” (see **Table 5.3**).⁹⁰ No valour is ascribed to him.

4.1 Narrative context

The phrase *ish gibbor chayil* is the only description of Boaz that is not concerned with his relation to Naomi and Ruth. It is part of the narration, and therefore provides ‘objective’ information.

Following his introduction at R2.1, the reader will hear how Ruth ‘happens’ upon Boaz’s field (R2.3), how Boaz commands his workers to attend to her needs (R2.9), praises her actions (R2.11-12), and ensures she receives a generous return on her gleaning (R2.14-16), a series of events that

⁸⁹ René Paquin, “Pour Une Lecture Féminine de La Bible À La Renaissance: Socialisation et Principes Herméneutiques Dans Trois Traités Anonymes Mis À l’Index,” *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 22, no. 4 (1998): 39. The quotation is drawn from *Exhortation à la lecture des saintes Lettres, avec suffisante probation des Docteurs de l’Eglise, qu’il est licite, & nécessaire, icelles estre traduites en langue vulgaire: & mesmement en la Francoyse* (Lyon: Etienne Dolet, 1542) USTC 973. Published anonymously, Paquin suggests its author may have been Girard Roussel, a disciple of Lefèvre.

⁹⁰ The bibles edited by Taverner (1539) and Becke (1549) retain the Matthew Bible’s text at this point. These are the only early modern versions that do not change how the phrase is Englished.

lead up to the threshing floor scene. The phrase *ish gibbor chayil* conditions expectations about how Boaz will act in subsequent narrative; its translation affects the audience's perception of the nature and origins of Boaz's status and the kind of person he is.

The sixteenth-century Hebraist, Johannes Reuchlin glossed *gibbor* as “potens”, “fortis” and “robustus”—able, strong, and hardy. These suggestions overlap with his entry for *chayil* (see §1.1 above), converging in the assumption of power. Beyond this basic convergence, as a collocation *gibbor chayil* does not straightforwardly denote but bears multiple connotations. Translations reflect different decisions about the sense that is relevant to the narrative, decisions left open for the Hebrew audience.

4.2 Canonical context

The expression's constituent parts appear frequently in isolation, or paired only with forms of *ish* or *ben* (son).⁹¹ The exclamation of David, now proverbial in English, decries how the *gibborim* (Saul and Jonathan) have fallen (2 Sam. 1.25). Moses is instructed to recruit god-fearing and truthful *chayil* men to govern the people (Ex. 18.21ff). Saul recruits every *gibbor* man and son-of-*chayil* to fight the Philistines (1 Sam 14.52).

The full phrase is used repeatedly within the Hebrew canon, with reference to individuals like Boaz, and to broader collectives (commonly in military contexts; cf. e.g. 1 Chr 11.26). Nine individuals are described as *gibbor chayil*: Gideon, Jephthah, Kish (Saul's father), David, Jeroboam, Naaman, Zadok, Eliada, and Boaz.⁹² Universally male (the collocation *gibbor chayil* is nowhere associated with women), these men are also people of high status. Ilona Rashkow has claimed that the description provides a “very precise image” for a Hebrew audience, and that such men are “beyond reproach”.⁹³ However, this does not follow from the texts concerned: David's reputation is sullied by his subsequent action (the taking of Bathsheba). The same may be said of Saul (heir to a *gibbor chayil*, his father being introduced as such immediately prior to the encounter with Samuel that ends

⁹¹ CDCH records 159 instances of *gibbor*; it is absent from the legislative corpus (Exodus–Deuteronomy) but both terms are otherwise well-represented throughout the Hebrew canon.

⁹² Judg 6.12; Judg 11.1; 1 Sam 9.1; 1 Sam 16.18; 1 Kgs 11.28; 2 Kgs 5.1; 1 Chr 12.28; 2 Chron 17.17; and R2.1. The collocation is modified to incorporate the definite article for Gideon: *gibbor bachayil* (Judg 6.12); the words are spoken by a divine messenger and some give the definite article superlative meaning; cf. **Table 5.4**. In the other cases, the term appears in narration, except with regard to David where it is a servant's description.

⁹³ Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 123. Rashkow contrasts the Renaissance reader's perspective: “All the [English] reader knows is that Boaz is to be viewed positively” (127). See also Bush: “it *always* designates one who possessed social standing and a good reputation”. Whether Bush intended this judgment to refer to *gibbor chayil* or to *chayil* alone is unclear, but the statement is made in discussion of this phrase at R2.1. Bush, *Ruth*, 100, emphasis added.

Contrasting caution is found in Fewell and Gunn's analysis; cf. *Compromising Redemption*, Part II: chapter two, esp. 83–4. A version of the chapter is also published as Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, “Boaz, Pillar of Society: Measures of Worth in the Book of Ruth,” *JOT*, no. 45 (1989): 45–59.

with Saul’s anointing). In two cases, qualification follows immediately upon their identification as *gibbor chayil*: Jephthah is *gibbor chayil* and son of a sex-worker (Judg 11.1). Naaman is *gibbor chayil* and afflicted with a skin disease (of which he is to be healed, 2 Kgs 5.1). The objections are reinforced when the equivalent plural form (*anshey gibborey chayil*) is included in consideration. In 1 Chronicles, the emphatic identification of Ephraim, Ishi, Eliel, Azriel, Jeremiah, Hodaviah, and Jahdiel, as ‘heads of household’ includes the designation *anshey gibborey chayil*, and a further description—these are men of name, i.e. of renown (5.24). Yet in the very next verse, they are shamed as men who have “transgressed against the God of their fathers, and [gone] a whoring after the gods of the people of the land, whom God destroyed before them” (1 Chr. 5.25). Perhaps a *gibbor chayil* man ought to be beyond reproach, but the audience’s expectation might equally be that of a mighty fall.

In taking *gibbor chayil* as a concept, as more than the sum of its parts, this discussion assumes that Rashkow is in part correct: A reader of the Hebrew canon would form associations between these men (and plausibly recognise a cultural concept that existed outside the world of the text). At least if encountering *Ruth* after the other narratives, expectations about Boaz would be based on his *gibbor chayil* peers. Yet those expectations may be taken as broad rather than “precise”. It is difficult to discern whether the early modern translators Raskow criticises saw *gibbor chayil* as a concept but chose to pay greater attention to immediate context when translating, or did not perceive it as a concept. Perhaps more interesting is the question of how Boaz was handled by translators who made visible efforts to transmit the phrase as a concept. The comparison of a dozen prominent *gibbor chayil* texts, including the nine named individuals, serves to demonstrate differing patterns of agreement (see **Table 5.4**).

In the 27 early modern versions sampled, five demonstrably repeat the same TL phrase in parallel with its Hebrew occurrences: Montanus’ revision of Pagninus transformed Gideon, Jephthah, Boaz, David and Eliada into men “potens virtute”, ‘potent in *virtus*’ (and similarly Asahel & co. in 1 Chr 11.26). Tremellius used a form of “valens robore” in 9 of the 12 verses sampled; and Beza uses “fort [et] vaillant” in 10. The Ferrara Bible, a Jewish enterprise, goes furthest in using “barragan de fonsado” for all except Naaman (“barragan de fuerça”).⁹⁴ Attribution of physical strength is a dominant characteristic of these more consistent renderings (“robore”, “fort”, “fonsado” and perhaps “virtute”). The patterns show that these versions took the Hebrew text as authoritative and treated *gibbor chayil* as a coherent concept. The fifth exemplar of consistent translation is the King James Bible, in which 7 of the 12 texts have “mighty . . . of valour”. If one takes “of valour” and “valiant” as undifferentiated synonyms, David is also part of this King James

⁹⁴ The Ladino “barragan” equates to later Spanish “valiente”; cf. Wiener, “The Ferrara Bible II”, 21. “Fonsado” denotes army but may have a wider sphere of reference comparable with English “force”. (Wiener’s study is limited to words beginning with a–b.)

set.⁹⁵ Boaz is an exception, and he is an exception also in Tremellius' translation. Such decisions are best explicated in the broader context of early modern translations of Boaz's *chayil*.

4.3 Readings of Boaz's *chayil*

4.3.1 Honest

Boaz's entrance into sixteenth-century English was as Coverdale's "honest man". The phrase owes its origin to Douche sources. Finding a satisfactory translation for Boaz's epithet evidently challenged Luther, who experimented with six different renderings (see **Table 5.3**). Though he made no other substantive changes between the first printing of *Ruth* in 1524 and the issues of 1525 and 1527 (all characterised as 'phase 1'; see **Ch. 2 §4.1.2.2**) Luther's Boaz metamorphosed from "streitbar Held", a battle hero in parallel with Gideon and Jephthah,⁹⁶ to "redlicher mann", changing again in the phase-2 1534 text to "ehrlicher mann". "Redlich" bore associations with strength, religious rectitude and diligent or upright character,⁹⁷ and was glossed by a contemporaneous lexicographer as "liberalis", in Classical Latin that which befits a freeman, hence dignified, honourable.⁹⁸ Dasypodius glossed "ehrlich" as "honestus".⁹⁹ Though in modern German "ehrlich", like English "honest", is primarily an antonym of fraud or deceit, the early modern connotations were different and pertained especially to honour.¹⁰⁰ Another sixteenth-

⁹⁵ The translation of David's *gibbor chayil* as "mighty valiant" differs because the phrase comes within a longer description, rather than because any difference of meaning was intended. With the exception of Jeroboam, the men so described were already marked as "valiant" in the Geneva Bible, though the remainder of their epithets varied.

⁹⁶ "Streitbar" is glossed by DWB with the Latin "bellicosus", warlike or combative. Writing Lutheran propaganda, Michael Stifel used the expression "die streitbar kirche", equivalent to the church militant (published 1522). Luther compared the purposes of the Gospel-message in Jesus' time (teaching, "lehrewort") with his own time, when it had become "streitbar worden", a matter of confrontation.. "Held", glossed as "hero, vir fortis" (hero, strong man) in DWB, was Luther's chosen translation for Saul and Jonathan as David lamented their fall (2 Sam. 1.25). A different Hebrew term, *milchamah* forms part of David's description in 1 Sam 16.18 and is there translated as "streitbar". See DWB, s.v. "streitbar" (19:1340) and "held" (10:930)

⁹⁷ For the imputation of strength, note Maaler's 1561 lexicon (via DWB s.v. "redlich" §3) where "redlicher kriegsmann" is glossed with the Latin "fortis in armis, strenuus miles", 'one mighty in arms, a strong soldier'. For upright character, see Maaler's equation of the "frommer redlicher und aufrechter man" with "vir sanctissimus", i.e. a most holy man; and the further glosses for "redlich" including "industrius" (industrious) and "ingenuus", 'like a freeman, noble, upright, frank, candid, open, ingenuous' (DWB s.v. "redlich" §3, 4 (14:478); and on "ingenuus", Lewis, *ELD*; the entries occur on fol. 329r–v in Maaler).

For the original, see Josua Maaler, ed., *Die teutsch sprach: Alle Wörter, Namen und Arten zu reden in hochteutscher Sprach dem A B C nach ordenlich gestellt unnd mit gutem Latein ganz fleissig unnd eigentlich vertolmetscht . . .* (Zurich: Christoph. Froschouer., 1561), 329b–c.

⁹⁸ Petrus Dasypodius, *Dictionarium Latinogermanicum*, 397r. For "liberalis", see Lewis & Short (s.v. §II). See also Stieler's equation of "redlichkeit" with "virtus", and "ehren" with "dignitas" in the late seventeenth century: "seine redlichkeit erhält ihn bei ehren, integritatis subsidio tutus est ab omni dedecore, virtus dignitatem ejus sustentat"—'his redlichkeit retains him in ehren, by aid of integrity made safe from every disgrace, virtus sustains his dignitatem' (via DWB s.v. "redlichkeit" 4c. (14:483)).

⁹⁹ Dasypodius, 311r. Dasypodius also glossed the quality of "Ehr[e]" as "Honos, Honor, Doxa, Nomen, Gloria, Decor," and "Dignitas".

¹⁰⁰ See EWD in DWDS, s.v. "ehrlich, *adj.*", accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://www.dwds.de/?qu=ehrlich>: "zuverlässig, aufrichtig, redlich' [i.e. reliable, sincere, honest], heute meist im Gegensatz zu *betrügerisch* [now in

century lexicographer, Joshua Maaler, translated “wol erkannter und redlicher eerlicher man” with the Latin “spectatus et honestus vir”, “honestus” thus functioning as the parallel to “redlicher eerlicher” in a description of burgherly honour.¹⁰¹ It was “redlicher” that stood in the Zurich edition to which Coverdale often deferred (see **Appendix**), but both Douche adjectives correspond in some sense with Coverdale’s “honest”.¹⁰² The terms invoke early modern civic culture and values and classical ones.

The most influential writer on the concept of “honestas” (‘honourableness’) was Cicero, for whom it encapsulated the same characteristics as “virtus”: to be “honestus” was to be prudent, temperate, moderate and courageous. (It is in this light that one may comprehend the attributions of honesty to Ruth, adjusted to suit societal expectations of women.) Distinct from “virtus” was the emphasis upon the public dimension: because honour, “honestas”, was publicly recognised it was an indicator of respectable social status. Among the actions of honest men, Cicero advocated “caring for the state” as “the greatest and best work among men . . . the human approximation to divine work”.¹⁰³ The best men, the most honourable, were those involved in such care. Being an “honestus” man is therefore not merely a moral judgment but a public perspective, concerned with outward perceptions and the individual’s standing within a community.¹⁰⁴ As “honest man”, Boaz is presented as reputable; he shares this designation with his descendant, David.

Coverdale’s own concept of honesty would have been influenced by his education. At the Augustinian friary in Cambridge, he encountered Robert Barnes, whose syllabus centred not only on Scripture but the classical sources common to a humanist education, including Cicero. Like Luther’s “redlich” and “ehrlich”, therefore, Coverdale’s term serves as an indicator of social status.¹⁰⁵ The vernacular reader need not have been exposed to the finer points of humanist learning to conceive of honesty in terms of honour; such application may be traced back to the early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Though recent scholarship on the centrality of “honesty” in English

opposition to fraudulent]; . . . [but in MHG] *erlich* ‘ehrentvoll, ruhmreich, ansehnlich, vornehm’ [full-of-honour, rich-in-fame, (outwardly) respectable, noble].”

¹⁰¹ Citation via DWB, s.v. “redlich” §4 (14:478).

¹⁰² Insofar as the two terms are to be differentiated, I suspect that “redlicher” lies closer to “streitbar” in the imputation of physical strength, whereas “ehrlicher” belongs more closely to the domain of sixteenth-century civic life. Similarly, the presence of “Bürgern” at the city gates (Luther and Zurich R4.4; Coverdale’s citizens) temporarily transports the Hebrew scene into a sixteenth-century European city.

¹⁰³ Walter Nicgorski, “Cicero’s Paradoxes and His Idea of Utility,” *Political Theory* 12, no. 4 (1984): 566.

¹⁰⁴ The DWB entry places Maaler’s usage under the definition “die in bürgerlichen ehren aufrecht stehen, ehrsam”, ‘those of elevated civic status, honourable’. DWB, s.v. “redlich”, §4 (14:478).

¹⁰⁵ For the significance of “honestas” as social capital in England, see especially Phil Withington, “Public Discourse, Corporate Citizenship, and State Formation in Early Modern England,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (2007): 1016–38. For Barnes’ curriculum and Coverdale’s time at the Friary, see Korey Maas, *The Reformation and Robert Barnes: History, Theology and Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suff.: Boydell, 2010), 11. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, 2. Their source is Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*.

¹⁰⁶ See OED (2nd edn, 1989) s.v. “honest, *adj.*” esp. §§1a and 2a. <http://www.oed.com/oed2/00107665/>. In the current (3rd) edition, the relevant entries may be found s.v. “honest, *adj.* and *adv.*”, A. *adj.* §§1.b and 2a. Cf. OED online, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/88149/> (accessed Jun 05, 2014; entry updated March 2014).

culture has taken Elizabeth I's reign as its starting point, it is clear from such work that a primary association with social credit was firmly established: recognition that one was trustworthy was gained through the available combination of *honest* labour, *honest* dealings in trade, sexual *honesty*, or a level of economic wellbeing that allowed one to assume unimpeachable credit—the wealthy man had no need to vouch for his worth.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the introduction through honesty alone invoked the kind of figure whose “discretion, good Credett, honest Mynde and Christian lyke behaveour” merited a role in local governance, suggesting that Boaz was a “substantial” and “propertied” inhabitant—qualities realised later in the narrative.¹⁰⁸ Whatever pattern of inference was drawn, identifying Boaz as an “honest man” would surely have suggested that this was a man who *ought* to deal properly with Ruth and Naomi.

4.3.2 Mighty (and strong)

Tyndale introduced Boaz as a “man of myght”, a quality held in common with two other *gibbor chayil* men, Gideon and Kish. Jephthah is “a stronge man”, Zadok a young man “of great power”, David “an actyve man”. Such variation destroys the ‘underlying network of signification’ (to borrow Antoine Berman’s phrase)—in English, Boaz is associated with just two of his Hebrew peers, and he is given only one facet, might.¹⁰⁹ Used here without qualification, “might” denotes undefined potency, allowing an English audience to proceed with unguided expectations about how this man’s might will become manifest.¹¹⁰

More than its close synonym “power”, “might” readily connotes physical strength. The latter is brought out in the Great Bible where Boaz is described as a man “of strength and might” (based on Münster’s “fortem & strenuum”); and thereby set in parallel with Kish, father of Saul (Boaz’s solitary peer in the sample, cf. **Table 5.4**). Though strength does not qualify might, the reader is primed to interpret the latter quality in terms of the former. For a generation of English bible readers, Boaz’s was physically imposing. Physical power is manifest in some other vernaculars too,

¹⁰⁷ See Alexandra Shepard, “Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580–1640,” *Past & Present*, no. 167 (2000): 75–106; Shepard, “Honesty, Worth and Gender in Early Modern England, 1560–1640.”

¹⁰⁸ Steve Hindle, “A Sense of Place? Becoming and Belonging in the Rural Parish, 1550–1650,” in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2000), 109. It is “men of substance” who are taxed by Geneva’s Menahem (2 Kgs 15.20, courtesy of Tyndale) and it was “substantial men of the parish” who were permitted to join church functionaries in the beating of bounds under Archbishop Grindal’s 1571 articles for the Province of York (*ibid.*, 108).

¹⁰⁹ Rashkow goes on to criticise this destruction of the Hebrew semantic network in her comparison of the English and Hebrew texts (see above, **n.93**). Her observations are based on a more restricted corpus, excluding the Matthew Bible. For Berman, see “Translation and the Trials of the Foreign,” 292. Common to Tyndale’s renderings is the collapse of two SL terms (*gibbor chayil*) into one TL term. Luther’s versions evince the same trend in R2.1.

¹¹⁰ A reader’s expectations are set up by the preceding heading, which intimates that Boaz is a landowner and will show Ruth favour—see **Ch 3 §5.1**; but a hearer’s bypass this constraint.

in the “starcker” of Boeschenstein, for example.¹¹¹ The LXX qualification, δυνατὸς ἰσχύι, ‘powerful in [physical] might’, also belongs to this family of interpretation.

In choosing the more abstract “great power”, the Geneva version retreated from such connotations; glossing the phrase, the annotator advises that Boaz’s power encompasses authority, virtue (like Ruth) and riches. The gloss both attests the deliberate vagueness of “power” and removes any imputation of physical might. In the Bishops Bible, Boaz’s economic wellbeing moves from the margin into the text, presenting a man “of power and wealth”. It was, of course, this version that King James’ translators were required to consider first. Yet their fresh and consistent approach to the translation of *gibbor chayil* throughout the canon has already been observed: why was this not applied to Boaz?

4.3.3 Rich in goods

Many interpreted Boaz’s *chayil* in terms of wealth or property. The Latin “*facultas*”—the lexical form of Tremellius’ “*facultatibus*”—denotes general ability or opportunity, but it is used concretely of goods, riches and property, synonymously with the Vulgate’s “*opes*”.¹¹² This differentiates it from Tremellius’ regular term “*robore*”, which is used of physical power and strength. The reading of Boaz’s *chayil* as wealth was suggested by the Vulgate’s “*magnarum opum*” (‘great resources’). The economic interpretation of these resources was propagated not only in Catholic-oriented versions like those of Lefèvre, Vorsterman, Eck, and the theologians of Leuven and Douai, but by others too (see **Table 5.3**). Böschenstein’s “*reycher*” is unambiguously “rich”; similarly Pagninus’ “*divitiis*” and Jud’s “*opulentum*”. French versions followed Olivétan’s “*en biens*” knowing that it applied primarily to material goods and only secondarily to moral ones.¹¹³ The “*faculta*” that

¹¹¹ Similar lines of interpretation occur elsewhere. That “redlich” could imply strength has already been noted, though this can be strengthened by consideration of Jael who, celebrated for slaying Sisera with a tent-peg, epitomised “redlich” in Sachs’ Mirror of Honour (see §3.2.1 above). In Sachs’ exposition, Jael’s “redlich” ties together physical power and mental courage: “Jael, *die redlich*. / Judicum 4. / Jael . . . / Haben all redlich frawen ehr. / . . . / Sie nam eyn nagel und ein hamer, / Als er entschieffe, sie mit not / Schlug durch sein kopff, das er blieb tod. / Also errettet wardt das land / Durch der redlichen frawen hand. / . . . / Redligkeyt erhelt leut und land.” Jael, the *redlich*, Judges 4. [In] Jael all *redlich* women have honour . . . She took a nail and hammer, as he slept she with violence, struck through his head, that he lay dead; thus was rescued the land, through the *redlich* woman’s hand. . . *Redlichkeit* preserved people and land.’ (1530 text as reproduced in Sachs’ *Collected Works*; Sachs, “Der ehren-spiegel der zwölf durchleuchtigen frawen deß alten testaments,” 205–6.) See also the 1540 edition, “Jahel . . . keyn fraw was redlicher / . . . Also sie durch ir redlich that . . . Das sie durch redligkeyt und sterck . . . Sonder redlich darwider kempfft . . .” ‘Jael . . . no woman was *redlicher* . . . So she through her *redlich* deed . . . That she through *redlichkeit* and strength . . . But *redlich* fights against . . .’; Hans Sachs, *Die Zwölf Durchleuchtige Weyber des Alten Testaments: Inn der Flammweiß zu singen* (Nuremberg: Wachter, 1540; USTC 637521), fol. 7–8 (unpaginated).

Out on a limb (and perversely so in the judgment of Johann Isaac) is Castellio’s presentation of Boaz as a military man. Though drawing on an established sense of *chayil* (army; cf. esp. 1 Chr 11.26), Castellio’s reading is somewhat bizarre. See Isaac, *Hegyonot: Meditationes*, 21.

¹¹² See Lewis & Short, s.v. “*facultas*”.

¹¹³ There is perhaps something similar in the manuscript draft for Luther’s original translation of *Ruth*, where “mechtig am gutt” was written and struck out. “Das Gut” denoted the totality of a person’s possessions, used especially with regard to real estate, suggesting Boaz’s status as a land-owner, a man whose power is in his property. It could also be seen to suggest a moral interpretation ‘mighty in [what is] good’. On the

appears in Brucioli's 1539 edition (and similarly in Diodati) shares the domain of the cognate Latin, but was a recognised expression for "wealth, riches, [and] goods".¹¹⁴ The same is true of Douche "vermog[h]en" (so *Deux Aes*, *Statenvertaling*). A large minority of versions, vernacular and Latin, support this perspective of Boaz's character, depicting him as a man of means. If some of the chosen terms were ambiguous, potentially intended to capture multiple resonances of *chayil*,¹¹⁵ the English "wealth" is scarcely so.

The imputation of wealth was validated by narrative development: Boaz is a landowner, with multiple workers at his command. The revised introduction implies Boaz's ability to provide assistance for Naomi and Ruth. It is not the less surprising that King James' translators (removing the conjunction in agreement with the Hebrew syntax) turned Boaz's *chayil* into the most restrictive "wealth". The precedent of other English versions is important, but the disruption of a decisive pattern, a pattern innovative in its consistency, suggests something more is going on. For wherever the *gibbor chayil* pairing appears, the KJ uses either "valour" or "valiant" within its translation; the exceptions are limited to Menahem's wealthy tax-payers (2 Kgs 15.20), some "very able" priests (1 Chr 9.13), two passages where direct translation of *chayil* is omitted, and Boaz and Kish.¹¹⁶ (From a text-reception perspective, "valour" is conserved wholly for translations of *chayil*, and "valiant" is used elsewhere in a highly limited fashion.¹¹⁷) What aspect of context would have prompted the displacement of the primed collocation, "mighty man of valour" with "mighty man of wealth", or "mighty man of power" in the case of Kish?

4.3.4 Unvalorous

To Beza, Boaz is "homme fort et vaillant" along with his peers. Neither he nor Tremellius makes an exception of Kish. For earlier French Geneva versions though, Boaz and Kish are both

absence of capitalisation for nouns in the early 1500s, see **Chapter 4, §2.2.1**.

One may note in this light Johann Isaac's interpretation of *chayil*'s "virtute", based on the Targum, as oriented by "lege Dei", God's law—an overtly moralising interpretation. Isaac cites the Targum directly as his authority, translating it "vir fortis, strenuus in lege", 'a strong man, active in the law'. See **Table 5.3** and Brady, "Targum in English".

¹¹⁴ See John Florio, *Queen Anna's Ne[w] [w]orld of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues, collected, and newly much augmented by John Florio, Reader of the Italian unto the Sovereigne Maiestie of Anna, crowned Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. and One of the Gentlemen of hir Royall Privie Chamber. Whereunto are added certaine necessarie rules and short observations for the Italian tongue* (London: Melch. Bradwood [and William Stansby] for Edw. Blount and William Barret, 1611). STC 11099. s.v. "facultà".

¹¹⁵ Drusius uses the same term as the Vulgate, giving the genitive plural of "ops"; he then draws his readers' attention to the polysemy of the Hebrew term: "Vox Ebraica חיל πολύσημα est"—'the Hebrew word *chayil* is a *polyseme* [i.e. a word with multiple meanings]. The remark suggests he deliberately employed a multifaceted term in Latin. Drusius, 39.

¹¹⁶ See the Gadite "men of might" (1 Chr 12.8; *gibborey hachayil*; the phrase is part of a longer descriptive chain); and Nebuchadnezzar's "most mighty men. . . in his army" (Dan 3.20). The latter passage is in Aramaic rather than Hebrew, which may have influenced the translation; "army" translates a second *chayil*.

¹¹⁷ Of 38 OT uses, 30 translate *chayil* (incl. at 1 Chr 28.1 for *gibbor chayil*). The remaining 8 comprise: Isa 10.13 and Jer 46.15 (translating אַבִּיר; Isa 33.7 (translating אַרְאֵלִים; hapax); Song 3.7 (2x) and Jer 9.2 (for forms of *g-b-ṭ*); 1 Chron 19.13 (for the *hithpael* of חָזַק); and inserted for sense at 1 Sam 26.15.

“puissant en biens”.¹¹⁸ Why should Boaz (and often Kish) be different? The answer logically lies in the narrative circumstances and in the sphere of reference of the rejected terms (valour, “robore”).

Tremellius’ standard Latin terms, “robur” and “valens”, occupy a similar semantic domain, suggesting strength, and through that power and vigour. The former stems from the word for oak-wood and can therefore be thought to have a connotation of firm, sturdiness. “Valens” is a participial form from the verb “valeo”; though its primary meaning is strength, it has secondary application in terms of wider power and influence, and even value. Thus “robore” (ablative) qualifies the nature of an *ish gibbor chayil*’s “valens” as one of physical strength.

The structure of the KJ phrase is similar; “of valour” qualifies or specifies the nature of the man’s might. But what does “valour” mean? Etymologically, like Tremellius’ “valens”, valour stems from the Latin “valeo”. Over time, words from this root were transmitted into other vernaculars. Other descendants include the French “vaillant” and “valeur”, Italian “valore”, Spanish “valiente”, “valor”, and in modern English valiant, valid, value, and valence. Studying valour’s use in sixteenth- and early seventeenth- century English, it becomes clear that it was employed with multiple senses: In the medieval period, it suggested personal worth (whether due to qualities or rank; OED 1a). By the late sixteenth-century this sense had been largely displaced by a more specific reference to boldness and courage, particularly in situations of war and conflict (OED 1c). It could also be used of material worth (OED 2) and even the specific monetary value of something (OED 3). The homophones “valor” and “valure” were also used synonymously. The OED suggests that “valor” was more commonly used for monetary and material worth, while “valure” could have the extra sense of physical strength and might; but the attestations show interchangeable use, a by-product of a language in which spelling was not yet standardised.

It is notable that “valour” does not appear in English bibles prior to the KJV, and that the imputation of boldness and courage, seemingly the primary implication of “valour” today,¹¹⁹ came to the fore in the late sixteenth-century. Analysis of the (limited) digitised corpus available on EEBO suggests a very significant rise in the currency of both “valiant” and “valour” during the period of this investigation. The quantity of texts produced has steadily increased throughout the printing era, and the quantity of digitised material on EEBO reflects this. For the period 1473-1570 (“P1”) the database includes c. 1600 digitised texts; for 1571-1620 (“P2”), c. 4800—a three-fold increase. Consequently, if a term’s usage remained constant across the period, one would anticipate

¹¹⁸ See 1551 Gve in **Table 5.4**; Barbier-Courteau has the same.

¹¹⁹ Examples in the British National Corpus (bnc.bl.uk) deploy the word predominantly in military or military-like contexts. The OED entry has not been revised since the original 1916 edition; cf. OED online, s.v. “valour | valor, *n.*” accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/221237/>.

three times as many occurrences in the later period.¹²⁰ EEBO provides results for text-records (containing one or more occurrence of the term; “R”) and for hits within text-records (all occurrences of the term, “H”). A search for other terms (courage, chaste, honest, honesty, mighty, substance and wealth) found that R²:R¹ fell close to the 3:1 increase ratio measured by record (with increases of between 2.5 and 3.38 to 1). “Valiant” grew by a ratio of 4.3 to 1, and “valour” by 9.13 to 1. Even greater contrasts appear when increases in hits are analysed. The results are shown in **Figure 4.1** (Growth in usage) at the end of this study.¹²¹

Breaking down usage of “valiant” into decades and comparing the number of text-records with the terms with the overall number of digitised records available for the decade indicates an extreme jump in usage in 1520-1529 (affecting a relatively small group of records) with another pronounced phase of increase from 1560 onward (**Figure 4.2**: Occurrences of valiant).¹²² Further scrutiny shows that this increase was due to extremely high frequency in texts translated from French, Latin, Spanish and Italian. Thus 87 per cent of occurrences of “valiant” in the corpus for 1520-1529 (316 of a total 363) appear in a two-volume translation of the French chronicles of Froissart, while two other translated works account for a further 9 per cent; just 4 per cent of hits occur in ‘indigenous’ texts.

Comparing data on “valour” for the period 1550-1619 (**Figure 4.3**) a jump in the decade 1570-1579 is significantly related to the publication in 1579 of a translation from Italian: 403 of the decade’s 501 hits appear in a one-volume translation of *The historie of Guicciardin conteining the vvarres of Italie and other partes* (London, 1559). Once such scrutiny is imposed, it becomes evident that translation had a significant role in the increased currency of these two Latinate terms. It is also evident that the words normally appear in certain genres: conduct books concerned with warfare and chivalric behaviour; and chronicles of past history. This contributes to the recognisable sense of valour as “The quality of mind which enables a person to face danger with boldness or firmness; courage or bravery, esp. as shown in warfare or conflict; valiancy, prowess.”¹²³ This sense, cultivated through translation in the course of the sixteenth-century, fits the context in which King James’ translators employ the word. While many of the *gibbor chayil* men engage in conflict, Boaz and Kish are not shown in such situations. With valour conceived of as a “quality of mind” in face

¹²⁰ This neglects the possibility that texts become longer, but the data for words considered roughly adheres to the anticipated 3-fold increase.

¹²¹ All searches were carried out using the ‘include variant spellings’ option, so that the search for “valour” included valour, vallour, valoure, ualour, valovr, valours, valors, vallours, valoures, and valovrs. By way of indication, in the period 1473-1570, valour appears 243 times (in 112 records) in the digitised EEBO corpus; courage appears 5363 times (in 627 records) and virtue 18502 times (1125 records) during the same period. In the period 1571-1620, valour appears in 1041 records.

¹²² Samples are inevitably vulnerable. The searchable text on EEBO does not include the Geneva Bible, where “valiant” appears 74 times; it also features 35 times in the Coverdale Bible. Use of “vaillant” in the French Geneva version could have primed the English translators’ vocabulary but they are less consistent in their application.

¹²³ OED s.v. “valour | valor, n.”, §1c.

of danger, there is little narrative justification for perceiving them in this way. Kish's *gibbor chayil* status is relevant insofar as it pertains to his son.¹²⁴

Yet power need not exclude valour, as is demonstrated by a marginal note in the Geneva and Bishops Bibles, qualifying “mightie in power” (1 Sam 9.1): “That is, both valiant and rich”. “Or, substance” appears in the margin of the King James Version, as an alternative for “power”. In this instance, the Geneva and Bishops translators plainly saw “power” as undefined, avoiding a choice between valiant and rich and open to both interpretations. King James’ translators conserved their predecessors’ term (at the expense of the “mighty . . . of valour” pattern they were establishing) but also implicitly rejected their marginal “valiant” alternative. If it was not out of the question that Kish might be valiant (for some sixteenth-century readers), no one suggests that the English Boaz is valiant—unless Geneva’s marginal “virtue” is to be taken in all senses.

There is a possible ideological dimension: ageism. In R3.10, Boaz praised Ruth for not following desirable bachelors (*bachurim*, people like Saul) and thereby suggested that he was not desirable. He calls her “daughter” (as Naomi does) potentially indicating a significant age difference. The commentaries are attentive to this detail, and repeatedly term Boaz an “old man”. Thus Lavater (in Pagitt’s translation) remarks that Ruth “had rather marry *an olde man*, than doe against the law” (P102r; rpt 103v). Paraphrasing R3.10, Topsell develops the unattractiveness of Boaz: “thou forsakest younge and youthfull husbandes to come to mee *a diseased olde man*”.¹²⁵ Lines later, Topsell again underlines the difference: “she was a young woman, and therefore by nature desired a young companion, and not to bee troubled with a *withered olde man*” (183). Elsewhere, Lavater discusses the prejudice that exists against old women.¹²⁶ Might Boaz’s age have suggested the vigour of valour was inappropriate? As father of a king-ready man, was Kish also beyond valorous?

4.4 Summary

Discussion so far has suggested that narrative factors were at play in translators’ choice of vocabulary, and that there was a particular conservatism about the translation of these terms in *Ruth* that did not apply elsewhere. In the Geneva and King James Bibles, the other women of *chayil* converged on Ruth’s virtuous example, becoming “from time to time more vertuous”. King James’

¹²⁴ In the preceding verse, Samuel has been commissioned to make a king (1 Sam 8.22). Saul, son of a *gibbor chayil*, a “choice young man” (Heb: *bachur*) is sent on an errand that leads him to Samuel. From the introduction, he is ideally appointed to be the people’s king—in their eyes.

¹²⁵ Topsell, 182.

¹²⁶ “[W]hat is despised more than a poore widow? Adde to these that she was now olde, and such cannot well nourishe themselves, because they are forward, and subiect to many diseases. And old age is a disease by it self. *Olde women as the common people say, are unworthy of life*, and they are mocked with many reproches.” (P22r; L15v) Though see Laura Gowing on disparity between status of women and men in old age: *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), 50.

translators did not bring Boaz into the fold of men of valour but retained his wealth (inherited from the Vulgate through the Bishops' mediation), though he was among the “mighty” men.

5 RUTH OR BOAZ? ועשה-חיל | VA‘ASEH-CHAYIL (R4.11)

The last *chayil* text occurs within the blessing pronounced in response to Boaz’s acquisition of *Ruth*. In the Masoretic text, it applies to Boaz, but other traditions applied it to Ruth. This seems to have affected how the word was translated, a further indicator of gender-oriented translation.

Responding to Boaz, those present say:

We are witnesses. The LORD make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel: and do thou worthily [*va‘aseh–chayil*] in Ephratah, and be famous in Bethlehem: And let thy house be like the house of Pharez, whom Tamar bare unto Judah, of the seed which the LORD shall give thee of this young woman. (R4.11-12, KJ)

The pre-modern interpretation history of this *chayil* clause is complex, due to different readings of the accompanying verbal form. The Hebrew word ועשה (*v-‘s-b*) is vocalised in the masoretic tradition as a masculine singular imperative (עשה, ‘*aseh*), prefaced by the conjunction (ו, *v*). The verb’s scope spans both ‘do’ and ‘make’. Targum Ruth supports the imperatival reading. In the Septuagint, however, the verb is translated as a third-person plural aorist active indicative, [καί] ἐποίησαν, ‘they made / did’. Rachel and Leah are therefore the subjects of the clause; the wish is that Ruth will be like Rachel and Leah who together built the House of Israel (bearing significant children) and did or made *chayil* (translated by δύναμιν, power—the term also used at R2.1 and R3.11). In terms of Hebrew grammar, the verbal form is apparently read as an infinitive absolute, with the sense ‘making’ or ‘doing’.¹²⁷ The Vulgate reads the clause as if it referred to Ruth: “ut sit exemplum virtutis”; “that she may be an example of vertue” in the words of the Douai OT. This is odd given the masculine form of the Hebrew verb. Unvocalised, it is possible to read the word as a feminine singular participle (with conjunction).¹²⁸ Or one may hypothesise a variant text with final *tav*, reflecting the apocopated feminine form (induced by the conjunction);¹²⁹ this last possibility presumes a basic future expression (‘she will be’) to have been transposed to jussive (‘may she be’) in translation.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ I.e. as עשה. See Esther 9.17-18.

¹²⁸ Qal active, i.e. עשה—see Holladay’s entry (Hol. 6607).

¹²⁹ עשה. See Lev 25.21. This is mere conjecture, having no textual support.

¹³⁰ Imperatives following a jussive-force imperfect are commonly construed as result or purpose clauses: ‘God give . . . so that . . .’ For further discussion of the Hebrew text, see Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 239–43.

The rival readings may have been provoked by the complexity of the preceding clauses: The speakers address Boaz. They open with an imperfect form (“God will give”) that assumes jussive meaning in context (“May God give...”). The indirect object of the verb is Ruth (“the woman coming into your house”). The object, the gift, is being ‘like Rachel and Leah’, an idea clarified by the subsequent identification (“who built the House...”). When a subject is sought for the *chayil* clause, God, Ruth, and Rachel and Leah are visible candidates for antecedent even as they do not fit the verb’s imperative vocalisation. Among modern commentators, the force of the imperative in the *chayil* clause is normally understood as teleological: ‘May God give . . . *with the result that you . . .*’? This applies to the next clause also, though its interpretation is complicated by the presence of a regular imperative where a passive form would be more immediately intelligible.¹³¹

5.1 Early modern translation

Early modern readings of the *chayil* clause are mixed. The ambiguity of the translated clause in some languages means that discerning a pattern involves a degree of subjectivity. The most visible change is the decline in translations that treat Ruth as the subject; by 1537, this interpretation appears to have been confined to those translators who relied on the Vulgate for ideological (confessional) reasons (Leuven, Douai; cf. also Eck).

Coverdale’s is one of six early modern versions in the sample that replicated the Vulgate’s paraphrastic translation (see **Table 5.5**). In two such versions, Latin “exemplum” is translated with the Douche “spiegel” (mirror, reflection) to the effect that Ruth conforms to the popular genre of “mirror” conduct-literature. Tyndale’s translation, seen in the Matthew Bible, is also concerned with Ruth’s virtue; as are the translations of Pagninus and Olivétan. It is possible that Pagninus influenced the others in this. In the Matthew Bible, the clause attracts a marginal comment, one that may be original (not having been borrowed from Olivétan or Lefèvre): “That is, that she may lyve well and honestly”. It is not inconceivable that Tyndale’s text was altered at this point to fit the comment; were it his own clarification, this would modify the strength of Ruth’s earlier “virtue” (cf. §3.3.2 above). The variety of interpretation attracted by this phrase is curious: the application to Ruth by Hebrew-oriented translators (Pagninus, Olivétan, Tyndale), Boeschenstein’s odd “er” (which might refer back to ‘the LORD’ or to the potential offspring as subject), and Luther’s different combinations.

¹³¹ What King James’ translators Englished as “be famous” is in direct rendering ‘call a name’ (שֵׁם וְקָרָא־שֵׁם, *uqra’-shem*), a *qal* form where one might anticipate the *niphal*, ‘be called a name’. As in English, the Hebrew ‘name’ (*shem*) can be used metonymically for ‘reputation’ or fame; this line of thought is evident in the Vulgate’s “habeat celebre nomen”, “may you have a famous name” (Douai). For recent discussion of the clause, see Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 239–243. The Vulgate retains Ruth as subject of the latter clause, using the subjunctive (“habeat”, ‘may she have’); the Septuagint uses a future indicative form, ἔσται, ‘he/she/it will be’ a name (καὶ ἔσται ὄνομα ἐν Βαβυλῶνι). The Greek noun ὄνομα (name) also has the capacity to connote fame.

As in the example given in the first chapter of this study (see **Ch. 1 §1**), evidence of conscious interference on the part of a translator is found in Luther's manuscripts. In his 1540 revision notes, Luther directly states a preference for reading Ruth as the subject, taking the clause as a conclusion to the comparison with Leah and Rachel: they were women of virtue and so should Ruth be. This idea also seems to have been present in his original draft, where he wrote "das sie thatten thu"; the unfixed orthography means that there are other viable interpretations of the phrase, but the most logical is "that which they [i.e. Rachel and Leah] did, may [she] do (*subi.*) [in Ephrata and be famed (*imp.*) at Bethlehem]" (NHG 'das sie taten tu[e]').¹³² In the 1540 comment, Luther also concedes that Boaz may be subject of the Hebrew clause, concluding "Si etiam de Boas dicitur", 'Even if it be said of Boaz . . .'.¹³³ His resistance to this vocalised reading is surely a symptom of his wider distrust of the masoretic tradition.¹³⁴ One may conjecture that his final move from "ehrlich" (which matched R2.1 in his 1534 phase-2 text) to "wachse seer" was intended to diminish the lexical connection to Boaz.¹³⁵ The Latin-literate reader (more likely to know the Hebrew clause concerns Boaz) is guided by a marginal annotation explaining: "Id est, Det Deus ut *cum illa* magnificeris, ut certe factum est, nam peperit Obed, avum Davidis"—'I.e., May God give (*subi.*) that *with her* you will be praised; and undoubtedly it is done, for s/he brought forth Obed, David's

¹³² The full sentence in the manuscript runs as follows: "Der herr mache das weyb das ynn deyn haus kompt, wie Rahel und Lea die beyde das haus Israel gebawet haben das sie thatten thu ynn Ephrata und sey berufen zu Bethlehem." The *chayil* clause is challenging because "thu" may be either 2s imperative or 3s subjunctive (likewise "sey" in the next clause, "werde" in the phase-2 text, and "wachse" in phases 3-4), and because "sie" is the nominative form of both female singular ("she") and common plural ("they") pronouns, while "das" may be a relative pronoun ("das") or subordinating conjunction (NHG *dass*), and fNhd did not distinguish nouns by using capital letters so that "thatten" may be the plural of deed (NHG *Taten*) or the 3pl preterite (i.e. past tense) indicative '[they] did' (NHG *taten*). Of the available permutations, those taking "thu" as subjunctive make best sense, entailing comparison of Ruth with Rachel and Leah: (1) "so that she may do (*subi.*) deeds [in Ephrata and may be famed (*subi.*) at Bethlehem]" (NHG 'dass sie Taten tue'); (2) "that which they [i.e. Rachel and Leah] did (*pret.*), may she do (*subi.*) [in Ephrata and be famed (*subi.*) at Bethlehem]" (NHG 'das sie taten tu[e]'). In either case, the desire-come-injunction appears to be that the couple have children and continue building the house of Israel (through their great-grandson, David). 'Deeds' (*Taten*) is the more believable rendering of *chayil*. Luther may have been affected by the LXX's plural. For Luther's published translations, see **Table 5.5**. The 1524 manuscript is quoted from the transcription in WA DB 3:35.

¹³³ His full annotation, switching between Douche (italicised in my translation) and Latin, is: "Et fac virtutem in Ephrata. thu guts in Ephrata. Sey ein fraw von grossen thaten, ein tugentsam fraw die viel nutz schaffe. Ich wolts gern auff Ruth, 'Sicut Lea &c.: edificarunt domum', sic Ruth faciat tuam domum clarissimam[.] Ut illae duae fuerunt mulieres virtute &c. [v.12] Si etiam de Boas dicitur, tamen ipsa Ruth includitur." In English: 'And do [*imperative*] virtue in Ephrata. Do good [*things*] in Ephrata. Be a woman of great deeds, a virtuous woman who produces much benefit. I would rather (read the phrase) of Ruth, "As Lea &c.: built a house", so Ruth should make your house very famous(.) For these two were women of virtue &c. (v.12) Even if it be said of Boaz, nevertheless Ruth herself is included.'

¹³⁴ See **Ch. 7 §2**.

¹³⁵ Pursuing this line of thought, it seems that the vocabulary of interim editions may be taken as a sign that the Boaz-oriented imperative was intended: "redlich" overlaps with the term used of Boaz at R2.1 in phase-1b, and "ehrlich" with phase-2 versions. The Zurich editions certainly apply the text to Boaz—the ambiguity no longer present because Swiss subjunctives had a different form (see R1.8, 17: "thu^ey"). See also remarks on the "alemannisch" form in DWB s.v. "thun", A.2.c. (21:435).

grandfather'.¹³⁶ Though the first clause addresses Boaz, the subsequent verb “peperit” might be applied to either Ruth (has borne) or Boaz (has begotten).¹³⁷

Returning to the English versions, a noticeable change of vocabulary accompanies the move from translations concerned with Ruth’s *chayil* to those where Boaz’s *chayil* is invoked. The former speak of Ruth’s virtue, and the latter of Boaz doing valiantly or worthily. This division is not limited to the English versions. Setting aside the romance languages, where one may imagine that the legacy of Latin etymology, the ‘manfulness’ of virtue remained present for longer,¹³⁸ few versions applying R4.11 to Boaz employ the same term that they use of Ruth in R3.11.¹³⁹

The Great Bible is the first English version to present the clause as an imperative addressed to Boaz. The adverb “valeauntly” is Coverdale’s Englishing of Münster’s “strenue”. Münster had used “strenuum” for *chayil* at R2.1 (connecting what has already been said of Boaz with what is commanded of him), but this semantic link does not carry into the English text because (as has been discussed above) Coverdale reused Tyndale’s “might” as the counterpart to “strenuum” (*chayil*).

The Geneva and Bishops Bibles both translate the verb with a second singular subjunctive, “that thou mayest doe worthily”. An equivalent subjunctive is found in the French Geneva Bibles,¹⁴⁰ in Castellio’s Latin bible and Isaac’s commentary. Of the complements, the French adverb “vertueusement” (Gve) is syntactically closest.¹⁴¹ Unlike the French term, the English “worthily” does not correspond to terms used elsewhere in *Ruth*. Of interest though is the tradition of the Nine Worthies, “a well-defined group in literature and art early in the fourteenth century”, “chivalric heroes-in-chief” and “champions of the ‘three laws’”. Among these Worthies, is the biblical David, a model knight, whose virtues were “manifested... in deeds”.¹⁴² Could it be that

¹³⁶ Emphasis added. In the critical edition of the manuscript, the opening clause of the note (“Id . . . magnificeris”) appears but is associated with the next clause, and prefaced with “fac cum illa scilicet uxore mirabilia”—‘do wonderful things with her, namely, your wife’. WA DB 3:367.

In the Deux-Aes Bible, the Latin note is associated with the earlier phrase “als Rahel ende Lea”.

¹³⁷ “In classical Latin, the verb is almost exclusively used of mothers (with only one early passage of a father—and the text has there been doubted).” H.M. Hine, private communication, May 2014.

¹³⁸ The French bibles retain “vertu” (following Lefèvre and Olivétan) when changing the subject of the verb. On virtue’s cognates in the romance languages, see §3.3.1 above.

¹³⁹ See above §1, n.2. Observe that though Rustici and Lavater both use forms of “virtus” in R4.11, their terms for Ruth are different (“bene” and “proba” respectively). Lavater immediately glosses, “age strenue”, ‘do strenuously’.

¹⁴⁰ For “faces”, read modern French “fasses”, the 2s present subjunctive of “faire”, ‘do, make’. Curiously, Marcourt-Morand’s text combines “face” (3s subj, modern French “fasse”) but prefaced it with the 2s pronoun “tu”; the latter has been taken as the dominant factor when classifying this version in **Tables 5.4–5**.

¹⁴¹ Isaac’s “virtutem” is a substantive noun approximating “that thou mayest do virtue”. Castellius “praeclara” is the neuter plural of the adjective “praeclarus” (lit. ‘very clear’) and has assumed substantive form, ‘that thou mayest do very bright things’ (understand magnificent, distinguished, famous).

¹⁴² So Starn, “Reinventing Heroes in Renaissance Italy,” 74–5. Although there were occasional variations, Starn lists the following nine: “Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus of the Old Testament; Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar of pagan law; Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey de Bouillon of the new dispensation.”

‘doing worthily’ was in part a foreshadowing of this couple’s role as Davidic progenitors? The Worthies would certainly have been a recognisable trope for early audiences of the KJV.¹⁴³

Revising the Bishops’ text, King James’ translators retained the vocabulary but returned to the imperative form: “do thou worthily”. This is a questionable ‘improvement’, replicating the grammar of the Hebrew clause but without the subjunctive sense modern scholars infer (previously introduced at Geneva). In the margin, an annotation provides an alternative to “worthily”: “Or, get thee riches or power”. The latter has its parallel in Drusius’ discussion of the clause; he, like Tremellius, translates this *chayil* with Latin “opes”, ‘resources’.¹⁴⁴ Noting other meanings of *chayil* (army, strength, virtue), Drusius suggests that the implication of power, “potentiae nomen”, is well interpreted by “opes”, citing Jerome’s translation of Prov. 31.29: “multa filiae fecerunt potentiam: proinde interpretatur à Hieronymo, congregaverunt divitias”—‘many daughters have made power [*potentiam*], which is interpreted by Jerome as, have gathered riches’.¹⁴⁵ Riches represent an acceptable overlap between the male and female domains.

¹⁴³ Found in Renaissance Italy as the “nove Prodi”, and in French as “Les Neuf Preux”, the Nine Worthies are listed in Caxton’s introduction to Malory’s King Arthur (1485). An English account of their lives compiled by Richard Lloyd was published in London in 1584; they provided the premise for Richard Johnson’s *Nine Worthies of London* (1592), a catalogue of his worthy contemporaries. The original Nine Worthies, sometimes accompanied by nine female worthies (an unfixed set), were depicted in woodcuts and other artwork (including a famous mural at Piedmont). They were also paraded at pageants as satirised by Shakespeare in *Love’s Labours Lost* (on the reality of such pageants, see Roberts who quotes the script of a Coventry pageant dating back to 1455. John Hawley Roberts, “The Nine Worthies,” *Modern Philology* 19, no. 3 (1922): 297–305; Clare Asquith, “Oxford University and ‘Love’s Labours Lost,’” in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, ed. Dennis Taylor and David N. Beauregard, Studies in Religion and Literature 6 (New York, NY: Fordham Univ. Press, 2003), 89–90. The trope continues to appear in English publications in the seventeenth century; cf. e.g. Fletcher’s *Nine English Worthies* (London, 1606); and Thomas Middleton’s *Masque of Heroes* (London, 1619).

For the role of the Nine Worthies in Renaissance Italy, see Starn, “Reinventing Heroes in Renaissance Italy.” For female worthies in Low Countries’ woodcuts, see Veldman, “Lessons for Ladies”. I owe the Caxton reference to Woolf, “Memory and Historical Culture in Early Modern England,” 293. (The *Nine Worthies* of which forty copies were destined for Shrewsbury School were not Johnson’s but Lloyd’s; *pace* Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York, NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 2002), 56–7.) See also OED online s.v. “worthy, adj., adv., and n.” C. (n.) §1.c.; OED online, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/230401/>.

Pagitt uses both “worthily” and “valiant” as counterparts to “strenue” when translating Lavater’s comments on the clause—it is possible this is influenced in part by Pagitt’s own use of the Geneva Bible. See P139v–140r; L99r–v.

¹⁴⁴ Tremellius’ choice of verb, “compara” (2s present imperative active), suggests not only procurement (see Drusius on Prov 31.29) but also ‘coupling together’ or uniting, an additional nuance that must be deliberate. In his margin, Tremellius adds: “quod precamur, ut qui opes in hoc matrimonio non spectasti, opulentus ex eo fias”, ‘which thing we pray, so that you who have not sought wealth (*opes*) in this marriage, should become wealthy (*opulentus*) from it’.

¹⁴⁵ “בְּיָדָאָהוּ סִימְלִיטָא דִּיכִי פְּרוּ עוֹ, קוּדוּדוּ אִיכִי פְּרִימִיטָא דִּיכִימִיטָא, נֹתוּם אִיכִי. אִיכִימִיטָא וּפְּרִימִיטָא אִיכִימִיטָא, & רֹבֹר: וּנְדֵי אִיכִימִיטָא, פִּיכִי אִיכִימִיטָא דִּי אִיכִימִיטָא. ל.2. c.29. *Quin ipsum potentiae nomen pro opibus sumitur*, ut Prov 31.29. multa filiae fecerunt potentiam: proinde interpretatur à Hieronymo, congregaverunt divitias.” Drusius, 67.

Drusius goes on to comment upon the double translation of the Prov 31.29 clause in the LXX, suggesting it may have been a marginal note that migrated from the margins (“scholion quod ex margine in contextum migravit”).

What in Drusius makes the main text, in the KJ is confined to the margins. Does the allocation of marginal potency, or the Worthies-connotation of “worthily”, negate what has been said about an unvalorous Boaz? Perhaps. However, R4.11 is concerned with the building of the House of Israel, and so with the future potential of the couple’s line. This concern would therefore justify the anticipation of future ‘worthiness’; while “power” remains an ambiguous description. “Worth” also has an economic aspect, and may have been favoured because it touched upon the sphere of wealth (pertaining to the marginal “riches”) while retaining wider import.¹⁴⁶ In late sixteenth-century usage, “worth” could also be an indicator of personal rank and attainments (OED 3a). To the extent that worth could be measured in social and economic terms, it was an effective counterpart to *chayil*. Some more recent bible translations term Ruth a “worthy” woman.¹⁴⁷

One interpretation not promoted within English versions is that which associates the clause with the Davidic line. This idea is implicit in Luther’s note on “wachse se[h]r” (wax *or grow* greatly; phases 3-4) where Obed and David are given as proof. It is also one of the possible interpretations enumerated in Lavater’s homily on the passage, though as he observes this theme is covered already by other aspects of the blessing.¹⁴⁸

5.2 Summary

At R4.11 then, the English versions move from forms of “virtue” when Ruth is subject, through “valeantly” when Boaz first becomes subject, to “worthily”. Of special interest is the shift to “valeantly” in the Great Bible. The vocabulary here is not an obvious response to other European versions, but is a reaction to the change of subject. The use of Münster’s version in the preparation of the Great Bible is established, but while that version logically influenced the change of subject, “strenue” has limited bearing upon “valeant”. This strongly suggests that virtue and valour are gender-specific qualities in the translator-editor’s mind, i.e. for Coverdale. This conforms with the pattern seen in the wider sample, where a majority of vocabulary agreements favour the same-gender character; despite the verbal ambiguities there is enough to suggest deliberate pairing (or severance) in many versions. In opting for “do worthily”, later English translators may be thought to have neutralised the final *chayil* clause, yet this perception may also be mistaken given the cultural presence of the Worthies, conceived primarily as chivalric figures. Absent is any sense that the clause was concerned with procreation.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. OED online s.v. “worth, n.” §1a, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/230376/>. The use of “worth” to denote pecuniary value goes back to the ninth century and is thus the word’s longest-standing application.

¹⁴⁷ So e.g. NRSV (but R4.11 “may you produce children”); cf. also NJB “a woman of great worth” (R4.11 “grow mighty”), RSV “woman of worth” (R4.11, “may you prosper”).

¹⁴⁸ See discussion in Homily 24, L98v–99v; translation in Pagitt 138v–140r.

6 CONCLUSIONS

There is good evidence that King James' translators took an interest in the translation of the phrases (*ish*) *gibbor chayil* and *esbet chayil*, enhancing consistency across the canon. This was done without regard for the internal literary character of the *Ruth* narrative, although the two kinds of consistency (internal and intertextual) are not incompatible.

While Bushnell argued that "virtuous woman" would be taken as a statement about Ruth's chastity, this was not a foregone conclusion for early modern readers. King James' translators may have justified the retention of the familiar term (and its spread through Proverbs) on the basis of the classical sense of virtue as manly strength, courage and ability (Latin "virtus"). Nonetheless, they would have been aware that virtue's moral nuances were more potent in their contemporary social environment. Whether their own conception of *chayil* was affected by their own ideas of social virtue, or whether they knowingly accepted its domestication, is hard to tell. What is certain is that women were encouraged to seek out virtuous models as they read the Bible; from an early modern perspective, loyal hard-working Ruth could supply some elements of this.

Bushnell's criticism draws its force from the fact that, in the King James Bible (also the Geneva, and in Bushnell's time, the RV and ASV) only women were virtuous. *Chayil* men were largely characterised by valour. Both English terms represent missed opportunities. Exercising virtue's classical force, Boaz and his *gibbor chayil* comrades could have been 'mighty men of virtue'. Employing the full range of early modern "valour" and its homophones (valor, valure) the semantic scope of *chayil*, comprising physical strength, social status, and economic worth, could have been conveyed in terms that (re)integrated Ruth and Boaz, as well as connecting *Ruth* with the wider canon.

If Ruth was divided from her male peers by ideologically gendered translation, Boaz too was denied his due share of valour. The case for considering Boaz to have been prejudicially separated from his *gibbor chayil* comrades on grounds of presumed senility is not secure, especially as the "well-to-do" portrayal is clearly a further instance of conservatism (retaining the Vulgate's interpretation). Yet his increasing isolation as translations of *gibbor chayil* changed constitutes an identity crisis worthy of independent consideration, a crisis compounded by the extreme variation in translation of his epithet.

When an ST term has such a broad semantic scope, tensions inevitably emerge between the demands of the immediate context and the term's application elsewhere. With respect to *chayil* in the *Ruth* narrative, the iterative neglect (or perhaps even rejection) of the link between Boaz and

Ruth in translated texts means that an important aspect of Boaz's words is inaccessible to the TT receiver. Ruth cannot equal Boaz in terms of wealth, but in worth, virtue and valour she could. What is especially striking is that this disconnectedness continues in modern bible translations.¹⁴⁹

Coda

As evidence of gender assumptions in the text, it is also worth noting the unexpected persistence of a Ruth-less reading of R4.15: The women mark Obed's birth. Speaking to Naomi they say, "thy daughter in law, which loveth thee, which is better to thee than seven sons, hath born him" (KJ). In the Hebrew text, the main verb (*yeladattu*, "hath born") appears mid-sentence with an object suffix ("him"). The subsequent Hebrew *asher* ("which") is followed immediately by the feminine pronoun (*bi*) which serves to indicate that Ruth is the subject of the clause that follows. The word Englished as "better" (*tohab*) is also in feminine form.¹⁵⁰ A Hebrew reader could not fail to recognise that it is Ruth who is better than seven sons. In the KJ text this clarity is achieved by rearranging the syntax.

Prior to the Great Bible, it was not Ruth who was better than seven sons but Obed. In the Wycliffite versions, this detail is easily accounted for: Jerome had changed the syntax, the Latin sentence reading 'for of your daughter-in-law [he] is born, she-who loves you, and is much more to you, than if you had seven sons'.¹⁵¹ The verbal expression "natus est" (is born) does not require a separate subject; Obed can be supplied from context. That the following clause applies to Ruth and not Obed is indicated by use of the feminine pronoun, *quae*. However, in Latin manuscripts various particles beginning with the letter "q" were conventionally abbreviated.¹⁵² Changing the relative pronoun from "quae" (nom. f. sing.) to "qui" (nom. m. sing.) required only a small slip. For this verse, it is not difficult to imagine a copyist 'correcting' so that the phrase came to say that "he" (Obed) is better than seven sons. The Clementine Vulgate reads "quae te diligit" ('[she] who loves you'), Stephanus' critical edition had "qui".¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Of particular note in this regard is Ellen Davis' translation. Davis openly prioritises "verbal consistency" (xiii). Identifying Ruth as "a valorous woman", Davis tells her reader, "Boaz unconsciously names her as a match for himself" (83). Yet at R2.1 Boaz is introduced as "a man of considerable substance" (38). Supporting this translation decision, Davis comments that "Boaz is no longer a young man" (39). Ruth and Boaz are connected by the clause at R4.11, "do valorously". Ellen Davis and Margaret Adams Parker, *Who Are You, My Daughter? Reading Ruth Through Image and Text* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2003). Given the use of virtue-terms for both Ruth and Boaz in early modern French texts, one may also note the use of "parfaite" ('perfect') for Ruth in the modern French *Bible de Jérusalem* (1973).

¹⁵⁰ Hebrew: בלתיך אשר-אהבתך ילדתו אשר-היא טובה לך משבעה בנים. Translated according to syntax: 'Thy daughter-in-law, which loveth thee, hath born him, *she* who is better to thee than seven sons'. (Emphasis added.)

¹⁵¹ Clementine Vulgate: "de nuru enim tua natus est, quae te diligit, et multo tibi melior est, quam si septem haberes filios".

¹⁵² This continued into the printing era; see e.g. R4.15 in the Complutensian Polyglot, where the pronoun appears as "q" with a line through its tail.

¹⁵³ The correct "quae te diligit" appears in the margin of the 1534 edition, one of many instances where divergences from the Hebrew text are indicated.

Pagninus translated the Hebrew correctly, printing “quae” in full. Luther erred. The Zurich editions have “die” (nom. f. s.). Coverdale was therefore confronted with disagreement between his sources. On this occasion, he rejected Zurich and Pagninus. This is uncharacteristic, and suggests that the idea of a grandson better than seven sons was more palatable. That Tyndale also preferred to make Obed the subject is more startling. The reading would require two deviations in the Hebrew text, and a search of early printed Hebrew bibles has produced no suggestion that there was such an edition in circulation. The evidence suggests ideological bias: for these translators, a *male* grandson could exceed sons, a *female* daughter-in-law hardly could.

* * *

Chapter 5 has been occupied with the translation of a single Hebrew term (*chayil*) within *Ruth* and across the Hebrew canon. **Chapter 6** uses the single occurrence of *noḵriyyah* in R2.10, translated as “stranger” in several of the English versions, as the occasion to explore the gap between the strangers of the English canon and the variety of Hebrew ‘others’ they came to represent, showing how English patterns of translation relate to their European counterparts, and illustrating the fertility of Ruth’s role as a stranger within early modern discourse.

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Chapter 6: Translating *nokriyyah* | נכריה

*Viewing Ruth as a model stranger (R2.10)*¹

1 OVERVIEW

Early modern English bibles translate the Hebrew word *nokriyyah* (R2.10) with two different terms: alien, and stranger. Looking at these Englishings in the context of the wider canon, it becomes clear that aliens are rare and strangers are ubiquitous, the distribution sitting at odds with that of the Hebrew terms translated. What factors may have influenced the choices? What would the effect of such Englishings have been, in the context of sixteenth-century Europe? How did the two different English translations, stranger and alien, fit with ideas about contemporary Others? The discourse found in commentaries on *Ruth* and literature on strategies for managing poverty, migration and exile in Reformation Europe, serve to shed light upon the patterns of translation in English, Latin and other vernaculars.

The commentators address Ruth's question: why Boaz helped Ruth, a *nokriyyah*; and they frame their answers by locating her as both biblical and contemporary stranger. Analysing her actions, they then apply their conclusions to tell their contemporaries who may (expect to) be helped, how and why. Some commentaries focus more on the world of the narrative, others on the world of their audience; but Ruth is consistently situated as a model stranger, in dialogue with Abraham and the pentateuchal *ger*. This mode of reading Ruth relies upon a prior hermeneutical step: the standardisation of Hebrew 'others'. Once situated in a nexus of homogenized 'stranger' texts, *Ruth* could be exploited to encourage and support emergent ideas about the deserving and undeserving poor. For the godly reader, Ruth becomes an exemplar of the good stranger, pious, faithful and deserving; as a stranger, read in the English canon, her deserts are justified by biblical legislation. At the same time, her example is used to condemn the undeserving stranger: lazy, irreligious, or otherwise outside the sphere of godly (and God's) provision; and Boaz's actions are presented as a model for the godly of the sixteenth-century.

To make sense of differences between the English and Hebrew texts, it is necessary first to examine where *nokriyyah* belongs in the nexus of Hebrew 'others', an examination that is followed by a study of how the Hebrew 'others' were treated in translation, including the Ancient Versions and a selection of

¹ A presentation based on this chapter was given to the inaugural 'Windows into Research' session, part of the Sheffield Centre for Early Modern Studies programme, 6 November 2013; I am grateful to my fellow panellists (Anthony Milton and Emma Rhatigan) and to those present for questions and discussion. I am also grateful to Phil Withington and Fleur Houston who both read and responded to early drafts.

sixteenth-century translations. Together, these steps facilitate a descriptive and analytical account of how the alien-stranger of R2.10 fitted into the wider englishing of biblical ‘others’, including the strangers that appear in what were perceived as key intertexts; specifically the legislative passages of Leviticus and Deuteronomy concerned with gleaning (Lev 19.9-10; 23.22; and Deut 24.19-21) and the future of a brother’s widow (Deut 25.5-10). Having set Ruth’s *nokriyyah* in the context of other biblical texts, it is then possible to consider the relationship between Ruth’s portrayal as alien-stranger and the sixteenth-century European experience of ‘others’.

2 NARRATIVE CONTEXT (R2.4–10)

An understanding of Ruth’s words in their narrative context is a necessary prerequisite for this investigation. The speech in R2.10 constitutes Ruth’s response to Boaz, who has instructed her to stick with his female-labourers during the harvest, commanded his male-workers not to trouble her, and given her permission to drink from the water the workers have drawn.

מדוע מצאתי חן בעיניך להכירני ואנכי נכריה:

Why have I found grace in thine eyes, that thou shouldest take
knowledge of me, seeing I *am* a **stranger**? (R2.10 KJ)

This is their first encounter and Ruth knows only that this man is the owner of the land that she has happened upon in her quest to find a favourable place to glean (R2.2-9). The reader is privy to more information: Boaz is a relative of Elimelech, late husband of Ruth’s mother-in-law, Naomi (R2.1). Responding, Boaz explains that he has heard about her commitment to her mother-in-law (following the death of her own husband), leaving land and kin behind (R2.11); he then invokes a blessing from “the LORD God of Israel, under whose wings” she has “come to trust” (R2.12 KJ).²

In the Hebrew text, Ruth’s speech is marked by wordplay: *nokriyyah* (נכריה) is cognate with the verb translated ‘thou shouldest take knowledge of’ (consonants נכר, *n-k-r*). However, *nokriyyah* does not denote an unknown person as might be understood from the English “stranger” but is more specific in its connotations. Ruth is emphasising that Boaz’s actions in ‘recognising’ her run counter to expectation, given her ‘unrecognisable’ status.

Drusius paid special attention to the wordplay. He translates the first verb with the Latin “agnoscas”, acknowledge, explaining that Ruth is articulating the perception that Boaz has great regard (“tantem rationem habeam”) for her.³ On Ruth’s self-definition, he comments:

² See **Chapter 4, §3**.

³ Drusius also points to the verb’s recurrence in Naomi’s speech at R2.18 (Latin: “cognitor”) and elsewhere (cognoscas, noscas)—all forms of knowing; and considers Boaz’s intent as future, i.e. he

CUM *sim peregrina*] Causa est cur malim, *cùm sim ignota*. ad verbum, & *ego ignota*. Nota figuram, *ut noscas me, cùm sim ignota*: paronomasia est. Porrò *ignota*, id est, peregrina. Ebraicè NOCHRIA. sic vocantur peregrinae mulieres per antiphrasin, quòd peregrinae dum sunt, earum genus ac parentes ignorantur: vel quòd peregrino habitu & vultu facilè aliis innotescant.

(43-4, emphases as original)

ALTHOUGH I am a foreigner] There is a reason why I prefer, “*although I am [an] unknown*”, or literally, “*and I [an] unknown*”. Note the figure, “*that you should know me, although I am [an] unknown*”: it is a pun. “*Unknown*” then, that is to say, “foreign”, in Hebrew *nokriyyah*. So foreign women are termed by antiphrasis,⁴ because as they are foreign, their origin or parents would be unknown: or because by their foreign habit⁵ and countenance they would easily become known to others.

Although Drusius declares a preference for translating the Hebrew word with “ignota” to transmit the pun, his actual translation employs a more conventional Latin translation, “peregrina”. To use his preferred term in that unannotated context would be to sacrifice comprehensibility in favour of aesthetics. This contest between ST poetics and TT communication offers a good example of a translation crux, and it is one which translators have typically passed over.

desires to know her, and have the benefit of her regard: “noveris, amare, eique bene velle, & commodorum ipsius rationem habere”. Drusius, 43.

⁴Technically, antiphrasis is the rhetorical term for a “figure of speech by which words are used in a sense opposite to their proper meaning” (OED online, “antiphrasis, *n.*”, §1; accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/8771>). Despite Drusius’ explanation, one must be clear that the “proper” referential meaning of *nokriyyah* is someone unknown, rather than that it is here used to mean that against its normative sense.

⁵ Given that Drusius is commenting on something that can be observed, the logical interpretation is in terms of clothing, but its meaning is not limited and pertains to character more broadly. Tho. Elyot provides an extensive gloss for “habitus”: “the fourme or state of the body, sometyme of other thynges, Also apparayle. Also it sygnyfyethe a qualytie or propertie, whiche a manne hath conceived by education, longe exerceyse, or custome, habyte.” Thomas Elyot, *The dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght*, USTC 502989; ESTC S111493; digital copy and transcription: EEBO | 36:01 (London: Thomas Berthelet, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1538). s.v. “habitus”.

3 CANONICAL CONTEXT

(*Nokriyyah* and ‘others’ in the Hebrew Bible)⁶

Informed scrutiny of *nokriyyah*’s translation requires knowledge of Hebrew concepts of otherness. Discussion focuses on the pentateuchal legislation and select Historical books (Joshua–Chronicles) because of the intertextual connections made by *Ruth* commentators and because for these portions of the Old Testament both Tyndale and Coverdale act as witnesses and interpreters of the text (see **Ch. 2 §3.1**).⁷ There are four principal terms due consideration: *ger*, *toshav*, *zar* and *nokriyyah*.

3.1 גר | *ger*

Ger is by far the commonest term. It is used throughout the Pentateuch to refer to non-native residents, people living in but not ‘originally’ from a place (as e.g. Gen 23.4, for Abraham). In legislative contexts, the *ger* is a hybrid—not quite inside, but more privileged than other outsiders. A *ger* is permitted to participate in cultic acts (Lev 17.8-12; 22.18; Num 15.1, 14-16; 19-10) and required to keep the Sabbath (Ex 20.10, 23.12; Deut 5.14;), observe the Day of Atonement (Lev 16.29) and the Feast of Passover (Ex 12.19, 48; Num 9.14), and stick to the same sexual ethics (Lev 18.26).⁸ Discussion of the *ger*’s right to participate frequently climaxes with a general statement that the *ger* is under the same legislation:

All that are **born of the country** [*ba’ezrach*], shall do these things after this manner... And if **a stranger** [*ger*] sojourn [*yagur*] with you... and **will offer an offering** made by fire... **as ye do, so he shall do.** ...**One law** [*torah*] **and one manner** [*mishpat*] shall be for you, and for the stranger [*ger*] that sojourneth [*haggar*] with you. (Num 15:13-16 KJV)⁹

⁶ This brief account draws particularly on Rolf Rendtorff, “The Ger in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch,” in *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 77–87; Mary Douglas, “The Stranger in the Bible,” *European Journal of Sociology* 35, no. 2 (1994): 283. There are more detailed surveys of the literature, for example Christiana van Houten’s *The Alien in Israelite Law*, JSOT Suppl. 107 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991); however, the sixteenth-century exegetes did not conceive of the patterns of legislative evolution with which such scholarship is engaged and so it provides a less appropriate anchor-point for what follows. Chronological hypotheses about when and in what order the components of the Bible were written fall outside the sphere of the present study. It may be argued that the seeds of Higher Criticism were already present in the Renaissance encounter with the biblical text, but sixteenth-century scholarship was largely pre-critical, or differently critical; see Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*. Scholars were confessionally-committed, theologically Christian, and their scholarship canonically-driven; see discussion in **Chapter 4, §5**.

⁷ The “Historical books” under consideration are limited to those for which both Tyndale and Coverdale completed independent translations. Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah are therefore excluded, despite the prominence of the *nokriyyah* in Ezra–Nehemiah.

⁸ A *ger* can be made unclean in the same way as Israelites (Lev 17.15), and faces the same punishment (iniquity, Lev 17.16). The *ger* is also forbidden to dedicate a child to the Ammonite deity, Molech (Lev 20.2). Note also their status as equal witnesses to the law and its covenants (Deut 29.10-11; Deut 31.12).

⁹ Italics as original; other emphases added; the pairing of *ger* and native *ezrach* (אֶזְרָח) continues through the passage, with both forgiven for ignorance (15.29) but not for presumption (15.30), with the repeated assertion that they are under one law (תּוֹרָה—*torah*, 15.29) and that both *ezrach* and *ger* can be cut off for the blasphemy of presumption (15.30). See also Exodus 12.48-49, where the circumcised *ger* can keep Passover, under one and the same law (*torah*).

Mary Douglas has argued that the *ger* was “only an outsider to the extent that ancient ties of kinship had recently broken down”, that the legislation reflects priestly attitudes to descendants of Jacob who are not descendants of Judah, provoked by the return of exiles and the subsequent need to renegotiate insider/outsider boundaries.¹⁰ Her argument is insightful, but the issue is as much with ‘mixed ties’ as ‘broken ties’, as can be demonstrated from the case law in Leviticus 24: The child of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian father involved in a fight with an Israelite man (24.10), in the camp, has “blasphemed the name” (24.11). The matter is brought for judgment: the blasphemer is to be stoned to death (24.14). The verdict is followed by a further pronouncement:

And **he that blasphemeth** the name of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death, *and* all the congregation shall certainly stone him: **as well the stranger** [*ger*], **as he that is born in the land** [*ezrach*], when he blasphemeth the name *of the LORD*, shall be put to death.

(Lev 24.16, KJV)

A judgment concerning someone whose patrilineal descent is not Israelite generates general law for all incomplete kin: the *ger* is to be treated the same as the fully Israelite *ezrach* even in matters of religious law (blasphemy). This is a community defined by descent, and the *ger*'s membership qualifications are imperfect.

The *ger* is also entitled to support: In Leviticus, the *ger* is paired with the poor (*ani*) as one entitled to glean in field (23.22) and vineyard (19.10). In Deuteronomy, the *ger* is consistently grouped with widows and orphans as the object of charity—a recipient of tithes (Deut 26.11-13; 14.29),¹¹ someone who must not be obstructed or oppressed (Deut 27.19; 24.17)¹² and who is entitled to glean grapes, olives and grain (Deut 24.19-21). In Deuteronomy 10, the injunction to circumcise hearts (10.16) is meant to engender care for the widow, orphan and *ger* (10.18),¹³ and God's love for the *ger* is to be replicated: “for ye were *gerim* in the land of Egypt” (10.19).¹⁴ The translation of such texts proves to be important for the exegesis of *Ruth*.

The technical use of *ger* within legislation overlaps with, but does not constrain wider application of, the cognate verb, *gur*. *Gur* is the verb used to explain the intention of Elimelech's move to Moab, to live as a *ger* (R1.1) and appears frequently throughout the Hebrew canon, sometimes in relation to the *ger* but also with other outsider groups. It connotes both journeying and temporary settlement.

¹⁰ Douglas, “The Stranger in the Bible”, 286. Douglas' discussion is focused on Leviticus and Numbers.

¹¹ The Levite is also included in tithing, and the context suggests that a lack of landownership causes and legitimates dependence upon tithes.

¹² Compare Exod 22.20 and 23.9 where the *ger* alone is not to be oppressed.

¹³ In this case, it is *Yhwh*/God who operates on behalf of the widow and orphan, and loves the *ger*.

¹⁴ Modified KJ. Compare Lev 19.33-34. Use of prior experience to support such obligations occurs frequently.

3.2 תושב | Toshav

Toshav is a much less common term; 7 of 14 occurrences fall within a single chapter of Leviticus concerning provisions for the Jubilee year.¹⁵ In that context, the *toshav* is first included in the Israelite household, the last in a list of those who should eat the land's produce in the seventh year (Lev 25.6): “thy servant, . . . thy maid, . . . thy hired servant, and . . . the stranger [*toshav*] that sojourneth [*gur*] with thee”. The notion that the *toshav* is a guest in the household is supported by Leviticus 22.10, where a priest's *toshav* is explicitly excluded from those who can eat what is holy.¹⁶

Later in Leviticus 25, the *toshav* is linked with the *ger* to affirm that assignments of land are temporary and must be relinquished in the Jubilee—because the land is the LORD's and “ye are strangers [*ger*] and sojourners [*toshav*] with me [i.e. with the LORD]” (Lev 25.23 KJV); some would translate ‘tenant’.¹⁷ If an impoverished Israelite sells himself to a *ger* or *toshav*, he can be redeemed (or redeem himself) without awaiting Jubilee—from which we glean that both the *ger* and the *toshav* could ‘own’ slaves, a privilege (Lev 25.47-49)—at the same cost as a *sakir* (a hired servant; Lev 25.50). Reversing this, children of a sojourning *toshav*¹⁸—were eligible for Israelite purchase (Lev 25.45). Like the *ger*, the *toshav* is entitled to refuge (Num 35.15) but is not otherwise subject to particular provision.

The *toshav*'s intermediate status—less than a *ger* but more than a hired servant—is suggested by the *toshav*'s pairing with the *sakir*: In Exodus, the *toshav* shares the *sakir*'s exclusion from Passover (Ex 12.45). In Leviticus, an impoverished brother, i.e. a fellow Israelite, is to be treated with the same care as would be shown to *toshav* and *sakir* (Lev 25.35, 40; not as a foreigner or slave).

Both *toshav* and the *ger* thus feature prominently in legislation alongside what Rendtorff terms “the majority of the community that is addressed”, with the latter regarded as the more “permanent figure” (81). The two terms are so deeply culturally embedded that they continue to present a challenge for any translator.

¹⁵ Rendtorff, “The Ger in the Priestly Laws”, 79.

¹⁶ The statement is clarificatory, lest a *toshav* be regarded as an eligible insider, the broader category of outsiders (*kol-zar*) having already been excluded.

¹⁷ The pairing is also used in Ps 39.13 (English 39.12) and 1 Chron 29.15, again to foreground impermanence, and is there associated with patriarchal experience “as *were* all our/my fathers”. It is how Abraham describes himself when petitioning the “sons of Heth” for land to bury Sarah (Gen 23.4)—land which he wishes to buy, establishing land ownership for his successors (though a *ger* is not ordinarily permitted or expected to own land).

¹⁸ The consonants of *toshav* and *ger* stand adjacent, with plural suffixes and the article, and with no conjunction (cf. similarly Lev 25.6). The Masoretes vocalise as a participle: הַגֵּרִים (*haggarim*); though the verbal noun form stands outside the sample, one may observe that Luther and other versions under his influence read it as a regular plural form of the noun, i.e. הַגֵּרִים (cf. Z34 “frömbdlingen” and Coverdale “strangers”). Taking *haggar* as a qualification of *toshav* makes best contextual sense—if the *toshav* remains long enough to have children, buying them is acceptable. Any notion that a *ger*'s children were available for purchase conflicts with the positive privileges. See Rendtorff, “The Ger in the Pentateuch”, 80, n.6.

Ruth does not situate herself in either of these ‘other’ categories. A *nokriyyah* is a more distant outsider.

3.3 נכרי(יה) | Nokri(yyah)

The legislative writers were less concerned with the *nokriyyah* and her male counterpart, the *nokri*, presumably because they were not living on the doorstep—but perhaps also because they had no kinship relation, and thus were less ambiguous than the *ger*. The terms are nearly always used in a negative context, and commonly as adjective rather than noun: an unmarried daughter must *not* be sold to a *nokri*-people (21.8); the Israelites must *not* set a *nokri*-king over them (glossed as one ‘not of your brethren’, i.e. kin; Deut 17.15); the *nokri* is *not* allowed to eat the Passover meat (Ex 12.43), and the *nokri*’s bread is *not* suitable for offering (Lev 22.25). The *nokri* is exempt from financial benefits—there is *no* obligation to forgive their debt in the seventh year (Deut 15.3) and Israelites may charge interest on loans to the *nokri* (Deut 23.21). All of these points show how the *nokri*, in person and as category, is excluded.

The *nokri* is repeatedly placed at a distance from the community, sometimes emphatically so, someone “from a far land”, whether an impartial observer¹⁹ or a potential worshipper.²⁰ Outside the Pentateuch, *nokri* is frequently used to qualify deities.²¹ It is seldom used with regard to specific individuals, but is the term David uses for Ittai the Gittite (2 Sam 15.19) and is also the common category to which Solomon’s many women are consigned, women otherwise designated as Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, Hittites (1 Kings 11.1, 8). These are expressly non-Israelites, and *nokri* may be conceived of as “foreign”.

3.4 זר | Zar

The remaining term, *zar*, is relative. In the discussion over who may eat what is holy (Lev 22.10-14), “every *zar*” is used to exclude everyone outside the priest or *kohen*’s household (22.10).²² This was to include even a priest’s daughter if she married an outsider (*ish zar*, Lev 22.12) though if divorced or widowed and childless, she could return to the household and once again consume the holy food (22.13). In Numbers, also, the warning that any non-priest who ventures near the

¹⁹ Deut 29.21—the *nokri* from afar joins the future children of the community and, later, the nations (*goyyim*; Deut 29.24) as a witness to the punishment that will befall Israel if they fail to keep the covenant.

²⁰ See Solomon’s intercession on behalf of the *nokri* “that is not of thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for thy name’s sake” (1 Kgs 8.41; a near-identical version appears at 2 Chr 6.32-33).

²¹ Jos 24.20, 23; Judg 10.16; 1 Sam 7.3; 2 Chron 33.15 &c; *nokri* is also used to qualify altars (2 Chron 14.2).

²² See the similar commandment in Exodus 29.33: only Aaron’s descendants may eat the holy atonement offering. The restriction around the use of holy oil similarly excludes those who are not descendants of Aaron (Exod 30.33), even if they were Levites.

sanctuary will be killed is phrased in terms of the *zar*.²³ The word *zar* occurs only once in Deuteronomy (25.5), where it refers to anyone outside the family-household of the deceased: the widow of a man who dies without progeny must not be given to a *zar* but should be taken by his brother so that a child can be raised up (and the line of inheritance preserved). Represented most strongly in the margins of the 1534 Zurich Bible, this passage from Deut 25—the passage manipulated by Coverdale in Henry VIII’s favour (cf. **Ch. 1 §2.1**)—has been a major point of cross-reference for commentators on *Ruth*. Some interpret the transactions of *Ruth* 4 in light of the levirate laws outlined in these pentateuchal verses, the struggle to account for differences between theory and practice attracting Rauber’s criticisms (cf. **Ch. 3 §3.1**). Early modern cross-references need not have assumed that Boaz was acting as *levir*. The Deuteronomy passage also deals with the ritual removal of a sandal (לְגַי, *na’al*), so that this commonality could itself have prompted the intracanonial association.²⁴

Zar features only twice in the Historical books, but is very prominent in Proverbs and recurs also in plural form (*zarim*) within the major prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel bemoan what the *zarim* have done, anticipate their punishment, detail how the people have consorted with *zarim*, and depict the *zarim* as enemies who will oppress and kill the people.²⁵ In this context, the insiders are the House of Israel, leaving all other peoples to be *zarim*, outsiders. In Proverbs, *zarab* is used polemically, frequently in partnership with *nokriyyah* to indicate an external threat, personified as a woman whose sexual behaviour is outside the acceptable boundaries.²⁶

²³ Num 3.10, 38; 18.4, 7; see also 17.5 (KJ 16.40). At Num 1.51, the exclusion is of anyone outside the tribe of Levi—those Levites who were not descendants of Aaron were to assist in pitching tent for the Tabernacle.

²⁴ The translation of *go’el*—a term acknowledged to present issues for any translator, cf. Bascom in **Ch. 3, §4.1, n.39**—was raised as an issue by Rashkow, who observes that the use of “kinsman” aids concordance with Deut 25.5-10 (a text concerned with reappropriation of a brother’s widow). Among her evidence is this cross-reference in margins at c. R4.7. I disagree with some of her conclusions, partly because she does not fully grant the difficulties in interpreting the scene, but also because she ignores the sandal link; though I would not go so far as Zevit, who claims that the “sandal ceremony . . . is exactly the same” (Zevit, “Dating Ruth”, 580). I have chosen not to contribute further to the mound of discourse on the transactions of *Ruth* 4 and the issues of *ge’ullah*, though it does represent an opportunity for further study. For Rashkow’s analysis, see *Upon the Dark Places*, 129–132.

²⁵ The crimes of the *zarim* include devouring the land (Isa 1.7) and entering the LORD’s sanctuaries (Jer 51.51). Punishments include being turned to dust (Isa 29.15) and being put into service as the people’s shepherds (Is 61.5). For the people’s flirtations with the *zarim*, see Jer 2.25; 3.13; also Hos 5.7; and for the *zarim* as enemies and instruments of Yahweh’s punishment, see Ezek 7.21; 11.9; 28.7, 10. Though less prominent, *nokri* is also used in such contexts. Thus in Jer. 5.19, the punishment for serving foreign (*oker*) gods is to serve *zarim*; and in Ezekiel 44.7-9, the house of Israel is accused of having brought foreskinned *ben-nekar* (foreign sons) into the sanctuary.

²⁶ This foreign-outsider woman flatters (2.16; 7.5), and entices to adultery (5.20). As a *nokriyyah* she is likened to a prostitute (*zonah*; 23.27) and an evil woman (*esbet ra*; 6.24); while the *zarab*’s speech is figured as a trap (22.14) and a visual temptation (23.32). The account is highly connotative, as Claudia Camp has argued: “[I]n Proverbs 7 we are confronting not a social reality of wanton wives but rather a sociopsychological reality of men threatened by a multiply stressed social situation”. “The Strange Woman image . . . draws on the prophetic heritage of equating strange religion with strange sex, specifically in the form of Woman Israel who goes, in the same gesture, sexually and religiously strange. It is also tied to the postexilic rejection of the ‘foreign’ wife as both agent and sign of the subversion of community boundaries and temple purity. [In Proverbs] the significance given to in-group and out-group status is intensified by identification with

Translation may be expected to reflect context, but if a single gloss is sought to cover all instances of *zar*, “outsider” is a reasonable choice.

3.5 Summary

It is possible that a *ger* was partly defined by past or incomplete kin-relationship to the community, as with the man punished for blasphemy in Lev. 24.10-16. The *toshav* is a less significant figure and does not have the same privileges as a *ger*, but is due basic protection as a guest or tenant and is a neutral presence.

Zar is a relative term, operating in contrast to insiders in a given situation: In Deut 25.5, in a household where brothers dwell together, if one dies, his widow should not be made available outside the household to a *zar* man but taken by a surviving brother. *Zar* indicates any other man, in contrast to those in the household.²⁷ Similarly, a *zar* person who intervenes with priestly tasks will be punished, meaning any outsider, any other who is not a priest.²⁸ In the prophetic literature, *zar* is also used to distinguish ‘others’ in contrast to Israelites.

The legislative writers had little concern for the *nokeriyah* and her male counterpart: They had no kinship relation, so were less ambiguous than the *ger*, and they were not immediately present unlike the *toshav*. Where the terms occur the context is typically negative, excluding the *nokeri* in person and as category, from participation in cultic practices and from shared economic benefits. When the Hebrew Ruth terms herself *nokeriyah*, her expression connotes foreignness and exclusion. This woman is a Moabite in Israel.

4 HEBREW ‘OTHERS’ IN TRANSLATION

The disruption of underlying semantic networks is a recognised hazard of translation. Translation is not lexicography and contextual concerns will often provoke the translator to use different target language (TL) terms for a single source language (SL) term.²⁹ Continuity for key words remains an appropriate concern; and consistency of terms has heightened significance within legal (or religious) code. In approaching ancient and early modern versions, one may therefore ask: To what extent

personified forces of good and evil.” Claudia V. Camp, *Wise, Strange, and Holy: The Strange Woman and the Making of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 63, 67.

²⁷ See equally the case of a priest’s daughter who marries out; Lev 22.12-13.

²⁸ Some cultic responsibilities devolved specifically on the *kohenim* (Aaron’s descendants), others more widely on the Levite tribe; *zar* indicates anyone other than those with the given responsibility. See e.g. Num 1.51; 3.10, 38; 18.4, 7; also 17.5 (KJ 16.40); also Exod 29.33; 30.33; and Lev 22.10-14.

²⁹ A lengthy translation almost inevitably destroys the “underlying network of signification” of the ST and its “word-obsessions”; Berman, “Translation and the Trials of the Foreign,” 292. Cf. also Ch. 1, §2.

were translations of the Hebrew “others” systematic? Do they reflect the legal and social contexts of the source text(s)?

4.1 The sample

Due to technical restrictions, particularly the limited availability of digitised texts, the analysis of early modern versions below relies upon a selection of the passages that deal with Hebrew ‘others’ rather than the full canon, and upon a limited set of early modern versions. The same sample has been applied in discussion of the Ancient Versions, though not exclusively.

The sample includes 31 verses, with 45 Hebrew ‘others’: 23 instances of *ger*, 10 *nokeri-yyah*, 8 *toshav*, and 4 *zar*. The selections are principally from the pentateuchal legislation (Exodus-Deuteronomy), because it is in this context that translators are required to negotiate the meanings and interplay between the categories, and where the terms occur most densely. This sample has the advantage of involving passages where ‘others’ are juxtaposed and/or repeated in close succession. Passages that were cross-referenced with *Ruth* within early modern bibles are deliberately included, balanced with other similar material. The selection is supplemented by a smaller number of ‘historical’ others—historical in the sense that they are drawn predominantly from the so-called Historical books (Joshua-Chronicles), and that they refer to specific individuals or places. While the conclusions here are not based on a full survey of the Hebrew canon, they are intended as a representative and manageable sample.³⁰ Statistical data are represented in **Tables 6.1–6.4** and **Figures 6.1–6.4** at the end of this study.

4.2 The Ancient Versions

The patterns of translation in the Ancient Versions provide a point of comparison for early modern ones. Developments in the Christian conception of the “peregrinus” prove to be of special significance.

4.2.1 Others in the Septuagint

Readers of the Greek Septuagint (LXX) encounter four common terms for ‘other’; two predominantly used for the resident others (the *ger* and *toshav*) and two applied more broadly to outsiders. In the sample, *προσῆλυτος* (*proselutos*) translates 20 of the 23 *ger* and is preserved solely for this application. With one exception (*παρεπίδημος* at Gen 23.4), *toshav* is given as *παροίκος*, but *παροίκος* also translates *ger* on the 3 outstanding occasions (Gen 23.4; Deut 14.21; 2 Sam 1.13). The

³⁰ The texts are: Gen 23.4 (2); Exod 12.43, 45, 48-49; Exod 23.9 (3); Lev 19.10; Lev 22.10 (2), 12-13, 25; Lev 23.22; Lev 24.16, 22; Lev 25.23 (2), 45, 47 (5); Num. 35.15; Deut 14.21, 29; Deut 15.3; Deut 23.21; Deut 24.19-21; Deut 25.5; Deut 29.11[10]; Deut 31.12; Judg 19.12; 2 Sam 1.13; 2 Sam 15.19; 1 Kgs 11.1, 8; and R2.10.

sample thus shows high overall consistency in the handling of these two Hebrew terms. The exceptions are interpretive.

Προσήλυτος is formed from the aorist stem of προσέρχομαι, ‘to come toward, approach’, and thus emphasises a prior movement; originally used for any incomer, it acquired a special meaning in the Jewish context: the proselyte, someone making a religious move into Judaism. Such usage is apparent in the New Testament³¹ and seems to underlie the LXX usage: a proselyte, once attached,³² is entitled to the same protections and must observe the same law. Παροίκος occurs for *ger* where προσήλυτος is deemed inappropriate: in the consumption of meat prohibited to the major community (Deut 14.21); and for Abraham (Gen 23.4).³³ Προσήλυτος is correspondingly rare in the Historical books;³⁴ any *ger* that cannot be regarded as a proselyte is παροίκος, as with the Amalekite at 2 Sam. 1.13; and the verb παροικέω is used for *gur*.³⁵ As far as the Greek interpreters of the pentateuchal legislation were concerned, it is the προσήλυτος who is entitled to gleaning rights, can participate in cultic activities, and is to be judged under the same law.

In legislation, *zar* is normally translated with ἀλλογενής (*allogenes*), ‘of another kind’; Deut 25.5 is an exception: the widow is not to be given έξω άνδρί—to an ‘outside male’. *Nokeri* is translated with a neutral term, ἀλλότριος (*alotrios*)—someone or something ‘from another’ with few exceptions, of which Ruth (α ξένη, *xené*) is one. This last term provides the etymological basis of *xenophobia*, fear of the foreigner. It is rare in the LXX, appearing on seven other occasions.³⁶

4.2.2 Others in the Vulgate

Jerome’s translation is distinguished by a tendency to choose terms according to the immediate context, rather than pairing SL and TL terms as the LXX had. He used the two nouns “advena” and “peregrinus” interchangeably for *ger*, frequently combining the former with the verb

³¹ See especially Matt 23.15, where the Pharisees are accused of making great efforts to proselytise, with ill consequences for the converts.

³² Where the Hebrew uses both noun and verb (the *ger* who *gur*) the LXX replaces the verb with a participle, normally from πρόσκειμαι implying attachment. Thus Lev 16.29: ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ προσκείμενος. See also Lev 17.3-13 (*5); Lev 22.18; Num 15.15-29 (4*); 19.10; and Josh 20.9. Constructions are also formed with προσέρχομαι (Exod 12.49, τῶ προσελθόντι προσηλύτῳ), προσγίνομαι (Lev 18.26, ὁ προσγεύόμενος προσήλυτος; see also 20.2); and προσπορεύομαι (Lev 19.34, ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ προσπορευόμενος).

³³ Because both *ger* and *toshav* are used to define Abraham in this verse, we find an alternative translation for *toshav* also: παρεπίδημος. Comparable uses of παροίκος for *ger* include Deut 23.8—the community in Egypt were also not seen as proselytes; and similarly 1 Chron 29.15. The use of *ger* within the narrative portions of the Pentateuch could legitimately demand a different interpretation compared with the legislative definitions discussed above.

³⁴ Josh 9.2 (*2; Heb and English: 8.33, 35); 20.9—both pertaining to the *ger*’s inclusion in the community; 1 Chron 22.2 (*ger* who participate in temple construction); 2 Chron 2.16 (Solomon taking census); 2 Chron 15.9 (ingathering—these *ger* come from the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon); and 2 Chron 30.25 (rejoicing in the community assembly).

³⁵ So Judg 5.17; 17.8-9; 18.11, 17; and Ruth 1.1.

³⁶ 1 Sam 9.13; 2 Sam 12.4; Ps 68.9 (for *nokeri*, in parallel with *zar*/ἀπηλλοτριωμένος); Eccl 6.2 (for *nokeri*); Job 31.32 (for *ger*); Isa 18.2; and Lam 5.2 (juxtaposed with *zarim*/ἀλλοτρίοις).

“peregrinor” where the Hebrew combines *ger* and *gur*.³⁷ This latter tendency suggests that some lack of repetition was a stylistic choice. However, it is also arbitrary. Reading Jerome’s text, the “peregrinus” should be permitted to glean with the poor³⁸ and receive tithes³⁹ but the “advena” is entitled to the same three-fold gleaning rights as widow and orphan.⁴⁰ In Deuteronomy 10, obligations to *ger*, widow, and orphan are applied to the “peregrinus” (v.18) but the community are enjoined to love the “peregrinus” because they were “advena” (v.19). In a legislative context such alternating usage of “peregrinus” and “advena” has the effect of disrupting the legal framework.⁴¹ The TT waters are further muddled by the use of “peregrinus” (3 times), “advena” (twice) and “colonus” (once in the sample) for the *toshav*—a further term, “inquilinus” (guest, lodger, or tenant) appears for the *toshav* at Lev 20.10. A final point of supreme confusion is the use of both “peregrinus” and “advena” to translate the *nokri* of Deut 15.3: one could pursue debt repayment “from a pilgrym and comelyng” as the Wycliffite translators put it—the very people entitled to care and assistance elsewhere.⁴²

The *nokri-yyah* is most commonly translated in terms of “alienus” or “alienigena”, meaning ‘belonging to another’ and ‘of other kind, or origin’.⁴³ The “alienigena” is excluded from eating Passover (Ex 12.43) and bakes unsuitable bread (Lev 22.25).⁴⁴ Moreover, “alienigena” also translates *zar* on occasion, as in the consumption of holy meat at Lev 22.10, 13.⁴⁵ The priest’s daughter’s marriage is framed more specifically: “cuilibet ex populo”, to anyone of the people (Lev 22.12; a perspective that contrasts priest and populus). Other ‘other’ terms also appear, though

³⁷ This is true of Leviticus, where “advena” is given for *ger* in such situations, but “peregrinus” is normally given when *ger* stands alone. Sometimes “advena” appears as a transposition of the verb *gur* (see e.g. Gen 19.9; 21.23).

³⁸ Lev 19.10; 23.22.

³⁹ Deut 14.29.

⁴⁰ Deut 24.19-21; see also Deut 26.11-13.

⁴¹ Another example is his use of “colonus” (the resident of a colony) to clarify the settled nature of the “peregrinus” in Exod 12.48-49, a choice that distorts the shift from the specific case of Passover to the overarching law (*torah*) joining *ger* and native. The Hebrew text concerns a *ger* who is sojourning (*gur*); Jerome changes the hypothesis, paraphrasing the first instance (“Quod si quis peregrinorum in vestram voluerit transire coloniam”) and then reverses the pairing in the second (“colono qui peregrinatur”). Jerome uses the latter noun-verb combination again in Lev 18.26: “tam indigena quam colonus qui peregrinantur”. The native is “indigena”.

⁴² An annotator dissatisfied with this text added a marginal annotation to the manuscript: “of a pilgrim, in Ebreu it is, of a straungere; a straungere is he, that is not of the feith of Jewis”, the explanation being credited to Nicholas of Lyra. See F&M 1:503.

⁴³ Outside the sample, the term “extraneo” (‘extraneous’) is occasionally used especially in Proverbs (for both *zar* and *nokriyyah*).

⁴⁴ See also Exod 21.8: the daughter is not to be sold to “populo alieno”. The prevalence of “alien-” terms is stronger in the full corpus than in the sample.

⁴⁵ The LXX’s use of ἀλλογενής in Lev 22.10, 13, 25 may have influenced his translation at this point. It also seems possible that advena was construed as a correlate to the Greek προσήλυτος. However, it is important to be clear that Jerome used Hebrew and not the LXX as the basis of his final translation. While aware that diverse Hebrew terms underlie the translations (see p.40 n.35), Claussen discusses the LXX and Vulgate as if the latter were based on the former, saying that Jerome “confounded” the “sense” of “two distinct words found in the Septuagint” (39-40). Consequently, the discussion of both LXX and Vulgate is unsatisfactory, and sometimes incorrect even within its own scope; προσήλυτος is not “always peregrinus in the Vulgate”—see e.g. Josh 8.33, 35. Claussen, “Peregrinatio’ and ‘Peregrini’” 39-40.

much less frequently and mainly outside the sample. The widow of Deut 25.5 is not to be married (“nubet”) to “alteri”, ‘another’;⁴⁶ while the adverb *extranea* appears in conjunction with *aliena* to describe the strange woman of Proverbs.⁴⁷ Ruth, however, identifies herself adjectivally with the “peregrinus”: she is “peregrinam mulierem” (R2.10), a peregrine woman. Ittai the Gittite is also peregrine.

In Classical Rome, “peregrinus” was one of several legal statuses, and denoted “the denizens of those outlying parts of the Empire which had never been incorporated as Roman, or endowed with Latin rights—the provinces”.⁴⁸ They were subject to the law of their province, rather than to Roman law; and were consequently excluded from the provisions of civil law (the law for Roman citizens) which concerned the transfer of property, marriage, suffrage and trade. When outside their province, they were covered by “ius gentium” (common law). By Jerome’s time, it is possible that these distinctions had collapsed, that “the *constitutio Antoniniana* of A.D. 212 made all the free inhabitants of the Empire citizens”.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the legal distinction between citizen (“civis”) and non-citizen (“peregrinus”) underpins key pentateuchal texts in Jerome’s translation. It is this pairing that appears in the blasphemy case of Leviticus 24;⁵⁰ and outside the sample, the presumptuous individual of Numbers 15.30 is to be punished “sive civis sit ille sive peregrinus”, while the right to the same legal proceedings is again the same for citizen and “peregrinus” in Deut 1.16. Viewed in this manner, Ruth identifies herself with an underclass, the non-privileged, non-citizen.

To summarise, Jerome was not consistent in his approach to the Hebrew terms within the legal code. His translation is distinguished instead by a tendency to choose terms according to the immediate context, a very different strategy to the pairings of SL and TL terms in the LXX.⁵¹ Though it damages the ST patterns, Jerome evidently saw virtue in the context-sensitive approach.

⁴⁶ Forms of “alter” occur elsewhere for *zar* (“thymiana compositionis alterius”—another mix of incense; Exod 30.9) and also for *nokri* (the prohibited king is “alterius gentis hominem”, a man of ‘another’ people; Deut 17.15).

⁴⁷ See e.g. Prov 2.16; 7.5. The terms are used interchangeably, without regard to the specific SL term. “Extranea” and the masculine form “extraneus” appear 19 times in Jerome’s Old Testament (including 3 deuterocanonical appearances); 12 of these are in Proverbs.

⁴⁸ W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law: From Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), 58–66, 345–350. See also discussion in Herbert Felix Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*, ed. Barry Nicholas, third edition ed. B. Nicholas (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 58–66, 345–350.

⁴⁹ M. A. Claussen, “‘Peregrinatio’ and ‘Peregrini’ in Augustine’s ‘City of God,’” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 36. See also Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*, 345–7. Some distinctions continued to be made, and the precise provisions of the act are uncertain.

⁵⁰ Lev 24.16: “sive ille civis seu peregrinus fuerit”, ‘whether that (person) be citizen or peregrinus’; the general outcome is that they should have equal judgment (or judiciary): “aequum iudicium sit inter vos sive peregrinus sive civis peccaverit” (Lev 24.22).

⁵¹ See also his tendency to standardise, as with collocations concerning other deities—the Hebrew uses both *’acher* and *nokri* as modifiers (other deities, foreign deities) but Jerome uses “deos alienos” for both. For *nokri* deities, see e.g. Gen 35.2, 4; Josh 24.20, 23; and for *’acherim* Exod 20.3; Deut 6.14; &c.

It permitted him to position the Hebrew others against the backdrop of Roman civilisation, as in the contrast of “civis” (citizen) and “peregrinus” (foreign subject).

The Hebrew *nokriyyah* is typically translated as either “alienus” (other) or “alienigena” (of other kind, or origin) with the rarer term “extraneus” (‘extraneous’) occurring particularly in Proverbs (for both *zar* and *nokriyyah*). The widow is not to be married to “alteri”, another (Deut 25.5), and gleaning rights are given to both “peregrinus” and “advena”, the latter in combination with widow and orphan (Deut 24.19-21)—though widow and orphan are grouped with the “peregrinus” elsewhere in Deuteronomy (10.18; 14.29). Ruth is “peregrinam” (R2.10), and Elimelech sets out with his family “ut peregrinaretur”, that he might dwell as a “peregrinus” in Moab (R1.1). The term “peregrinus” was to take on an important role in Christian discourse.

4.3 Excursus: The peregrinus in Antiquity and the Middle Ages⁵²

Writing of the figure of the “peregrinus” and of “peregrinatio” in Augustine’s *Civitas Dei*, M.A. Claussen asserts that the English ‘pilgrimage’ would be an appropriate translation at some places in the Vulgate.⁵³ The English term, ultimately derived from the Latin “peregrinatio”, has within its scope generic wandering or journeying, and even exile; such senses were current in the sixteenth-century, but it is seldom so used in modern English; nor is the now standard English meaning, i.e. a journey, normally religious, to a site of special significance, supported by Claussen’s examples.⁵⁴ Yet Claussen’s treatment of Augustine is insightful and suggests that Augustine’s use of “peregrinatio” as a metaphor for the Christian life, an ongoing journey to the heavenly city, may in turn have influenced the concept of the developing practice of purposeful pilgrimage to a set goal (rather than wandering or sojourning without purpose). When Augustine referred to people undertaking journeys “with a set goal of a religious nature” (the modern sense of pilgrimage) he did not use the word “peregrinus”, but by envisaging the Church as the “peregrina” par excellence, alienated in this world but citizen of the heavenly “patria” homeward bound, he created a conceptual space in which such travellers *could* become known as “peregrini”, pilgrims.⁵⁵

⁵² Discussion here draws on Claussen, “‘Peregrinatio’ and ‘Peregrini’”; Dee Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature: 700–1500* (Woodbridge, Suff.: D.S. Brewer, 2001); Cynthia Hahn, “Peregrinatio et Natio: The Illustrated Life of Edmund, King and Martyr,” *Gesta* 30, no. 2 (1991): 119–39; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2001). Works referred to hereafter by author’s surname.

⁵³ Claussen, 40.

⁵⁴ See OED online, s.v. “pilgrimage, *n.*,” accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/143868/>. The conceit of pilgrimage as “a period of travelling or wandering from place to place; (in early use) a period of exile, a foreign sojourn” is now limited to “literary” contexts (§2); though all its meanings draw on ways that the Latin “peregrinatio” has been understood. Claussen’s examples involve journeying with or without a specific goal, but none convey a journey with religious purpose (and her account of R1.1 is mistaken).

⁵⁵ Claussen, 42.

Augustine’s thinking was scripturally inspired, the Bible itself being richly stocked with ideas about journeying, as Dee Dyas has observed (see her chapter one). The phenomenon of Christian place-pilgrimage can be traced back to the late third century; and the conceit of Christian as “peregrinus” was present in other patristic thought (Dyas, 36, 44, 51–2; 27–32). Claussen includes Tertullian within her discussion (39). Yet it

This bears consideration because historical shifts in the understanding of who a “peregrinus” is are intimately connected with ideas about who should be given assistance alongside widow, orphan, and the generic poor.

It was apparently common practice, throughout the Middle Ages, for the wealthy to establish foundations or bequeath money to support widow, orphan and “peregrinus”, or the poor and the “peregrinus”.⁵⁶ It is not possible to know to what extent the “peregrini” intended were religious-travellers or another kind of stranger or foreigner;⁵⁷ but pilgrims certainly benefited from such facilities, many being sited at or en route to key sites. Moreover, problems with unwelcome strangers led to practical and symbolic efforts to identify real pilgrims.⁵⁸ The use of the term “peregrinus” alongside the widow and orphan (or the poor) strongly suggests that such acts of generosity were intended as a fulfilment of the biblical commandments, though modern medievalists may have missed this link.⁵⁹ In the pre-Reformation West then, there were two solutions to the question of who the “peregrinus” was: the pilgrim and the true Christian. Furthermore, the Church was itself the personification of the female “peregrina”.⁶⁰ With this backdrop we turn to examine the translation of biblical others in the early modern period.

was Augustine who exerted the greatest influence on Latin Christians throughout the Middle Ages. (See also discussion in Hahn.)

⁵⁶ Multiple examples can be gleaned from Webb, esp. 12–21. For examples outside Italy, see Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1986), 4. Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Yale Univ. Press, 1986), 4. For England, see Hahn, 120.

⁵⁷ See Webb, 7–8, 14.

⁵⁸ In Santiago, pilgrims had to secure “written permission” if they wished to beg for alms during Holy Week and Easter (ibid., 89). Such moves may be seen as part of a wider desire to control; Boniface VIII’s requirement that outsiders (*peregrini aut forenses*) attend church for a minimum of 15 days in order to qualify for papal indulgence is itself a mitigation of the requirement that locals attend for 30 days “continuously or at intervals” during the year 1300 (ibid., 76).

The identification of the ‘true *peregrinus*’ is also apparent in a surprising twelfth-century illustration of the life of St Edmund, where the text refers to generosity to widow and orphan while the image depicts “four men begging for alms” (Hahn, 120, et passim). Hahn shows that the image used recognised pilgrim symbolism and so functioned as a representation of Edmund’s identification with the “*bona fide* pilgrim” (121; emphasis original), declaring “his unity, not with just any poor, but with true and spiritual pilgrims” (123): “Edmund, the ruler, is allied with the humble, the exiled, and the spiritually pure pilgrim.” (124) The text accompanying the alms scene is compared with “the [then] current understanding of some of the most important king’s duties: ‘. . . that he defend and protect widows and orphans and strangers . . . [and] feed the needy with alms”’ (120). Hahn describes the latter statement, drawn from Anglo-Saxon sources (and possibly attributable to St Dunstan) as “the first mention of *peregrinus*, the Latin word for stranger and pilgrim” (presumably in the Anglo-Saxon canon; Hahn is unclear), observing that “[t]he phrase, ‘widows and orphans,’ occurs over and over again in the literature on the duties of the king” (135, n.16).

⁵⁹ The bequests were explicit in their use of the term “peregrinus” and not one of the alternatives (Webb, 76). Dyas’ survey of meanings of “peregrinus” and the shifting meanings of its English counterparts in Old and Middle English includes reference to the Vulgate (Dyas, esp. 1-2), but neither she nor Webb connect the biblical injunctions and pilgrim provision.

⁶⁰ Interesting in this light is Isidore of Seville’s introduction to the book of Ruth: “Now let us look at Ruth, for *she is a ‘type’ of the Church*. First she is a type *because she is a stranger* from the Gentile people who renounced her native land and all things belonging to it.” (Smith, *Medieval Exegesis*, 7; emphasis added.)

4.4 Early modern versions

The Latin versions produced by Pagninus, Münster, Jud, Castellio, Montanus, and Tremellius & Junius are important witnesses to sixteenth-century scholarship, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. How did they translate the Hebrew others?

As a first observation, one can see that they are, with one exception, remarkably consistent in their use of “peregrinus” for *ger*.⁶¹ Moreover, while as a liberal translator Castellio employs “peregrinus” on two occasions for terms other than *ger*, the others apply it in a strict and restrained manner.⁶² It would be a mistake to read these translators solely within the discourse of secular and ancient Roman legislation, as if their translations were wholly a consequence of their common humanist education; the Roman Church’s Canon Law preserves Latin terminology for domicile even to the present day, and there is no hint in our sixteenth-century texts of the “civis”–“peregrinus” divide that Jerome had incorporated.⁶³ Nonetheless, the strategic use of “peregrinus” for *ger* is in keeping with the technicalities of a legislative context, and relies on its role as “the most important technical term of Roman law referring to foreigners”⁶⁴ rather than the more specific and common application to pilgrims.⁶⁵

Once *ger* is set aside, terms are less consistently handled both within and across versions, suggesting that the immediate context was regarded as decisive in both interpretation and understanding and that they were less immediately ‘legal’.⁶⁶ This is not necessarily inappropriate—we have seen

⁶¹ The principal exception is Leo Jud’s version, where “peregrinus” is used within the Deuteronomy legislation but in other contexts he prefers to alternate between “advena” (incomer) and “incola” (resident—temporary by implication). This has a particular impact for the reference to patriarchal experience: In Exod 23.9, the people are reminded that they were “advena”, and in Lev 25.23 they are addressed as “incolae” and “inquilini”; of these, only “incola” appears in Abraham’s self-description at Gen 23.4.

A more minor exception is the inversion of “peregrinus” and “advena” in Münster Lev 25.23, but this has little consequence for the TT reader as the terms stand as synonyms in this verse; also the variation in Castellius at Lev 25.45–47, largely explained by his paraphrastic tendencies.

⁶² Lev 22.12; R2.10.

⁶³ Lev 24.16–22 and elsewhere; see discussion above. There is general agreement among the sixteenth-century versions that the closest equivalent to Hebrew *ezrah* is the Latin “indigena”.

On Canon Law in the Roman Catholic Church today, see Beal: “Following Roman law, the code recognizes four [domiciliary] possibilities: the resident (*incola*), the newcomer (*advena*), the traveler (*peregrinus*), and the homeless (*vagus*).” John Phillip Beal, James A. Coriden, and Thomas J. Green, eds., *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 2000), 144.

⁶⁴ Gottfried Schieman, “Peregrinus,” ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, *Brill’s New Pauly* (Brill Online, 2006), accessed May 23, 2014, <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/peregrinus-e913400/>.

⁶⁵ In common with earlier critics, the sixteenth-century reformers had a dim view of pilgrimage, a matter to be discussed below. In England, Lollards publicly objected to both pilgrimage and icons (Webb, 241–5); Webb cites other less controversial figures among the critics, but concludes that there is “little reason to suppose” that such views had “a very wide currency” (242). For a minimalist view of their impact, see Richard Rex, *The Lollards, Social History in Perspective* (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

⁶⁶ Tremellius and Montanus could be regarded as having a ‘policy’ of consistency for the other Hebrew ‘others’, though the latter’s falls short with regard to *toshav*. Tremellius seldom uses the same Latin term for more than one Hebrew term. 7 of 8 *toshav* are “inquilinus”; 7 of 10 *nokri*- are “alienigena”; 3 of 4 *zar* are “alienus”. “Alienus” occurs once for *nokri* (Deut 14.21), and “extraneus” appears twice for *nokri* (2 Sam 15.19, Deut 23.21) and once for *zar* (Deut 25.5). The data set would need to be extended to allow firm

already that the Hebrew *zar* is essentially relative in its application. There are some common trends: Taking the versions together, a significant majority of instances of *nokri-yyah* (45 of 60) are given as forms of either “alienigena” or “alienus”, with a further 10 using “extraneus”. However, the same set of terms also translates *zar*, albeit in different proportions.⁶⁷ While “inquilinus” could be conceived of as the ‘favoured’ translation of *toshav*,⁶⁸ it occurs in less than half of the total instances (21 of a possible 50) and is rivalled by “advena” (17).⁶⁹ Despite the many variations, the sixteenth-century translations do not tend to shift between different TL terms when the same Hebrew term appears in close succession, as at Lev 22.10-13;⁷⁰ nor do they fall into the trap of applying *ger* terms to a *nokri* text (as Jerome had done at Deut 14.21, for example).

Two points stand out from the comparison of *nokri-yyah*: (1) Divergence increases in the non-legislative narrative, though the sample is small and the trend exaggerated by the case of Ittai the Gittite who is variously “alienigena” (twice), “advena”, “extraneus” and “hospes”.⁷¹ (2) With the exception of Castellius,⁷² Ruth, like a majority of “nokri-” is presented as either “aliena” or “alienigena”.

Overall, these Latin versions demonstrate that whatever motivated the vernacular translators, the homogenization of ‘strangeness’ was not due to ignorance. In addition, the contrasting approach of Castellius shows that when the scope of the TT permitted, the perception of Ruth as a model “peregrina” (re)surfaced. The same will be seen within commentary. Nonetheless, the overall trend of the sixteenth-century Latin translators was for differentiation; the concerns of the vernacular translator were different.

4.4.1 Sixteenth-century vernacular versions

With the exception of the Spanish example, the European vernacular versions represented maintain a consistency in the translation of *ger* with a single TL term that is comparable to the sixteenth-century Latin versions. However, it is equally obvious that some vernaculars do not retain the chosen term exclusively for *ger*, a decision that has an impact on the overall coherence and cohesion of the legislation, and on *Ruth*.

conclusions to be drawn on this point. Montanus has overlap between *nokri-* and *zar*, using “extraneus” all 4 times for the latter, and twice for *nokri-*.

⁶⁷ “Alienigena” occurs 3 times (out of 24), “alienus” 8, “extraneus” 12, with Castellius substituting “hominus peregrinus” on one occasion (Lev 22.12).

⁶⁸ Most acutely so for Tremellius (7 of 8) and Jud (6 of 8).

⁶⁹ “Advena” is Pagninus’ favoured term, found in 6 of 8 instances; Castellius and Montanus each employ it 4 times. “Incolae” is used 7 times across the set. Translation of *toshav* is omitted at Lev 25.47 by both Tremellius and Castellius (Lev 25.47) due to a mix of paraphrase and contraction. It appears also as “peregrinus” due to inversion in Münster (Lev 25.23) and as “convenae” in the same verse of Castellius. (The latter term ‘people-collected-together’ is used of refugees.)

⁷⁰ This observation is more true of Pagninus, Münster and Tremellius than Jud. Castellius stands between these poles.

⁷¹ 2 Sam 15.19. There is no equivalent divergence in Montanus.

⁷² Castellio’s critic, Johann Isaac (see **Ch. 7, §2**), likewise uses “peregrina” for Ruth in R2.10.

4.4.1.1 *Douche ‘others’*⁷³

In the pentateuchal legislation, Luther normally translated *ger* as “fremdling”.⁷⁴ That this was deliberate is shown by the reduced use of “fremdling” for other ST ‘others’ in his phase-2 and later editions.⁷⁵ By 1545, there are two occasions in the sample when “fremdling” translates a word other than *ger*;⁷⁶ and two occasions where *ger* is not translated by “fremdling”;⁷⁷ thus 21 of 23 *ger* are “fremdling” in the sample from Luther’s final version. One exception is important: Abraham is not a “fremdling” but “einer frembder”;⁷⁸ he is further described as “einwoner” and consequently the link between the legislation and this ancestral experience is broken.⁷⁹ That both “frembd” and “fremdling” derive from the same etymological root (Gothic “fram”) could be regarded as a mitigating factor.⁸⁰ “Frembd” as noun (e.g. “ein frembder”) or adjective (“frembd”) accounts for 7 of the 8 *nokri-yyah* and 2 *zar* (the outsider marriages of Lev 23.12 and Deut 25.5), as well as defining Abraham.

In Latin and Greek, noun and predicative-adjective may be indistinguishable: Jerome’s “peregrinam” is obviously adjectival and this suggests that the use of “peregrina” or “alienigena” in other Latin versions is appropriately interpreted as substantive—that is, as a noun; but technically “peregrina”, “alienigena” and also the Greek ξένη could be taken as adjectival in Ruth’s speech. Such an understanding (of the Hebrew) seems to arise in Luther’s translation of R2.10: If a word could be used as both noun and adjective (compare English ‘alien’), the noun ought to be distinguished by the presence of an article (‘an alien’). In Luther’s translation, Ruth is “frembd” without an article, ‘alien’; Ittai the Gittite is likewise “frembd”.⁸¹ Despite the various qualifications and nuances, it is evident that Luther was operating systematically in his representation of *ger* and (for the most part) *nokri-yyah*.

⁷³ For the use of “Douche” to describe sixteenth-century Germanic languages, including Low German and what became Dutch, see above, **Chapter 3, §4.1.2**.

⁷⁴ NHG “Fremdling”. The “b” in the stem is present throughout sixteenth-century Douche versions, and is preserved in discussion; the noun also remains uncapitalised in this period. DWB give the Latin *peregrinus* and *hospes* as glosses, and the German *gast* as a potential synonym. DWB, s.v. “fremdling, m.” (4:130).

⁷⁵ See Lev 22.10, 12.

⁷⁶ Both in Lev 22: for *zar* at v.13, and for *nokri* at Lev v.25.

⁷⁷ Lev 25.47, a pronoun being substituted for the third instance of *ger*; and Gen 23.4, discussed below.

⁷⁸ Gen 23.4; NHG Fremd[er]. This was the pre-Lutheran standard; cf. e.g. the Pflanzman, Halberstadt and Delft bibles. Bugenhagen’s Low Douche version employs the cognate adjective, “froemmet”, making Abraham a “froemmet man”.

⁷⁹ NHG “Einwohner”; in Coverdale’s English, “indweller”. In phase 1, Luther also used “Einwohner” at Lev 25.23 (for *toshav*)—‘you are but *frembdlinge* and *eynwohner* with me’—providing some link between Abraham and the community, but this was replaced by “geste” in later editions.

⁸⁰ DWB, “fremd” s.v. (4:125): “*extraneus, peregrinus, alienus*. aus der partikel *fram*”.

⁸¹ R2.10; 1 Sam 15.19. There is some confusion over capitalisation: the editors of the critical edition imply that the word is capitalised (*Frembd*) at R2.10 in the 1545 edition (p.106), which became definitive. I have been unable to confirm this, but it is not capitalised in the 1534, 1541, or 1554 Wittenberg editions and would seem to be errant, given the lack of an article. The formal practice of capitalising nouns evolved during the 1500s and is not used in any phase-1 Luther texts; it may be that the nineteenth-century editors themselves introduced the capital at this point—there is no supporting footnote.

To what extent would a TT reader appreciate Luther's distinction between "frembd-er" and "frembdling"—terms defined by the Grimm's *Deutsches Woerterbuch* largely through their biblical deployment? The latter was (perhaps) not a new word, but it seems that Luther gave it greater currency.⁸² His own slippage was greater in the phase-1 editions and this remains in Zurich versions, suggesting that the Swiss translators had not recognised the strategy.⁸³ The Vorsterman text introduces a new "vremdelinc" at Ex 12.45, and at Lev 22.12 there is a marginal annotation, "the. [i.e. Hebrew:] eenen vremdelinc" to a Vulgate-inspired main text: "vanden gemeynen volcke" (from the common people; "cuilibet ex populo"). The annotation is perplexing because the Hebrew term is *zar*; by referring to the Vulgate, the NetherVlaams-Douche translator arguably improves on Luther phase-1 but still proffers "frembdling" as if it were the 'true' text. There is thus no evidence that these other Douche translators recognised a special use of "frembdling". In fact, the absence of a different term or expression for *zar* is the major failing of Luther's strategy as seen in the sample. 33 of a possible 45 Hebrew others are rendered in Douche in some form of "frembd-", and R2.10 is within this category (see **Tables 6.3** and **6.4**, and **Figure 6.2**).

The other Douche texts follow Luther's earliest example, with the Statenvertaling reaching the peak of 37 "vreemd-(linck)". Some small variance is visible in the Vorsterman text,⁸⁴ and there is an important difference in Zurich, present already in the 1530 edition: Abraham describes himself as "hindersaess"—NHG Hintersasse; one living in territory (or a household) under another's dominion.⁸⁵ This is a further severance of the ancestral-legislative link within the sample because Zurich also preserved an additional "eynwohner" at Lev 25.23, which would otherwise have connected Abraham with the community's experience;⁸⁶ removing Luther's initial "einwo[h]ner" is thus a fresh disruption. Despite these individual aspects, the advantages and disadvantages that accrue to Luther's strategy are represented again in these other Douche texts.

4.4.1.2 Romantic 'others'

The French "estranger" (étranger) appears 36 times in the 31 verse sample of Olivétan's translation, including all 23 instances of *ger*, and the 4 instances of *zar*. "Estranger" is also the translation of

⁸² DWB opens its definition: "*peregrinus, hospes, gast*, mhd. Vremdelinc"; however, the first (and earliest) examples cited are from Luther (DWB, s.v. "Fremdling, *m.*" e1. [4:130]). The *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* reports that the term was only recorded (*opgeteekend*) in the sixteenth century, "maar zal wel ouder zijn"—but had earlier origins (*Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, s.v. "vremdelinck", accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/MNW&id=69046&lemma=vremdelinc/>). "Frembd"/"vre(e)md" and "pelegryn" appear as translations for the Vulgate's "peregrinus" in pre-Lutheran High and Low Douche bibles.

⁸³ Cf. Lev 22.10, 12.

⁸⁴ Exod 12.45; Lev 22.10 ("huysknecht", a servant, for "Hausgenosse"), 12 (discussed above); Exod 23.9 (using "incomelingen" where the Vulgate has "advena"; compare Wycliffite 'comeling'); and Num 35.15 (where the Hebrew is *toshav*, "toecomelinghen onder v, dat hi daer vluchte"—cf. Vulgate: "peregrinis ut confugiat ad eas").

⁸⁵ DWB, "hintersasse" s.v. (1:1514).

⁸⁶ This was phase-1 Luther; see above.

choice for *nokri-yyah*, whether deployed as substantive noun,⁸⁷ predicative adjective,⁸⁸ or attributively of Solomon’s wives;⁸⁹ an alternative to “estranger” appearing only at Deut 14.21—one should sell the meat to “une forain”.⁹⁰ This latter shift shows that when necessary for sense, alternative terms could be used, but the French TT reader is not ordinarily given the opportunity to make such a distinction. The last of the four Hebrew others, *toshav*, is not translated as “estranger” within the sample; but nor does it have any standard translation, appearing as “hoste”,⁹¹ “forain”,⁹² glossed as “celui qui habite”,⁹³ and when referring to Abraham, “resident”. The rupture of ancestral-legislative context is mitigated because the omnipresent “estranger” translates *ger* in the last example (Gen 23.4). However, as a whole Olivétan’s product is a prime example of the new networks being forged through vernacularisation: what were three distinct Hebrew others became one great “Estranger”, and where an alternative survives it is nearly always because the verse already contains “estranger”. This is a bible much removed from its ST, estranged one might say. Perhaps surprisingly, such estrangement became a characteristic of later Genevan versions, including that of Beza; in the sample, two further *nokri* become “forain”⁹⁴ and “forain” also translates the 8 instances of *toshav*, but “estranger” translates all 34 other ‘others’, *ger*, *zar*, and *nokri*.

Casiodoro de Reina was a fluent French-speaker, and (with one exception) his extant letters are in French or Latin; he negotiated with the French Protestant Church in Elizabethan London, and ministered to French-speaking exiles in Frankfurt before taking up the position of minister for a Francophone Lutheran church in Antwerp.⁹⁵ It is thus highly plausible that some of the French estrangement afflicted de Reina’s Spanish “extranjeros”, a word closely connected to the Provençale “estrangier”.⁹⁶ The Spanish term translates 28 of the 45 sampled ‘others’, and 18 of 23 *ger*. Abraham describes himself as “peregrino & advenedizo” (Gen 23.4), echoing the Latin versions of Pagninus, Münster and Castellius. The term “peregrino” recurs in Leviticus, both characterising the community’s transient status (Lev 25.23, note “extranjeros” for “toshav”) and in

⁸⁷ Exod 12.43; Deut 15.3; 23.21. The *nokri*-city of Judg 19.12 may also be counted in this category, being modified by the phrase “des estrangers” (of strangers) rather than an attributive “estranger”.

⁸⁸ R2.10; 2 Sam 15.19. As with sixteenth-century German, use as substantive noun or predicative adjective is distinguished only by the respective presence or absence of an article.

⁸⁹ 1 Kgs 11.1, 8.

⁹⁰ A development from vulgar Latin “foranus” (from “foris”, ‘outside’), “forain” probably drew attention to the outsider status: the meat is *given* to the inside stranger, but sold to the outside one. See CNRTL | etym., s.v. “forain¹, aine, *adj.*” accessed Jul 01, 2013, <http://cnrtl.fr/etymologie/forain/>.

⁹¹ Lev 22.10; Lev 25.23, 47 (*2).

⁹² Exod 12.45, Lev 25.45.

⁹³ Num 35.15.

⁹⁴ Deut 15.3; 23.21.

⁹⁵ Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina*, Letters (xiii).

⁹⁶ See Eduardo de Echegaray, ed., *Diccionario general etimológico de la lengua Española: Edición económica arreglada del Diccionario etimológico de D. Roque Barcia, del de la Academia Española y de otros trabajos importantes de sabios etimologistas, corrigida y aumentada considerablemente*, digital copy: University of Toronto | archive.org (Madrid: Faquinetto, 1887), 329, s.v. “Extranjero, ra”. The alternative spelling “estrágero” appears in Nebrija’s 1560 dictionary (s.v. “estraño”).

adjacent legislation (cf. Lev 25.47 (x2)).⁹⁷ In these Leviticus exceptions, however, as with the French, it appears as a pair with “extranjero”: “extranjero” translates 8 of 10 *nokri-yyab* and 4 of 8 *toshav*. It is sufficient for the present survey to observe that this estrangement, comparable to though not quite so extensive as the French, extends to Ruth: “extranjera” (R2.10).⁹⁸

Italian versions treat *ger* more technically. Brucioli uses “peregrino” for every *ger* except that of Ex 12.49, where the native is contrasted with the “forestiere che peregrina”; the deviation seemingly stylistic, but disrupting the Hebrew distinction between the *ger* and other outsiders. “Forestiere” is used interchangeably for *toshav* (6 times), *nokri* (7, including Ruth) and *zar* (twice). In Diodati’s version, the distribution of “forestiere” is roughly reversed, with the latter covering 20 instances of *ger*; a majority of *nokri* (7) and *zar* (3) are translated with “straniere”, a derivative of Latin “extraneus”.⁹⁹ Ruth is an exception; as “forestiera” she is aligned with the *ger* against the majority of *nokri*.¹⁰⁰

4.4.2 Summary

Although strategies differ, the sixteenth-century Latin bible translations show that translators were willing and able to differentiate between Hebrew ‘others’ in a meaningful and mostly consistent way. The greatest consistency within and across versions is evident in the translation of *ger* as “peregrinus”; this is not simply a legacy of Jerome but combines similar exploitation of the broad legal scope of “peregrinus” while characterising this in opposition to the indigenous (*indigena*) rather than the citizen (*civis*). Though degrees of variation and overlapping of other ‘others’ distort the coherence of the wider legislation, Ruth is characterised by all but the most liberal translator (Castellio) as “alienigena”.

As the primary vernacular version of the Reformation, Luther’s phase-1 Pentateuch (Wittenberg, 1523) was formative for other Douche texts. Its successes and failures are for the most part reproduced in other Douche versions, though Luther improved an already good rate of consistency for his own later editions. This consistency is measured according to the distribution of “frembdling” and “frembd(er)”, the former used by Luther to represent *ger*. The principal problem with this strategy is that the distinction is easily lost on the TT reader.

⁹⁷ The remaining exception is Num 35.15.

⁹⁸ Spanish does not require an indefinite article in this context, so *extranjera* may be taken as either substantive noun (stranger) or predicative adjective (strange). The lower estrangement in comparison with Olivétan is due not only to the 5 instances of “peregrinus” but also the use of “extraño” for *zar* (and twice for *nokri*—Deut 12.43, Deut 23.21). This Spanish term is derived directly from the Latin “extraneus”. The Ferrara Bible employs “peregrino” for *ger*, “moradizo” for *toshav*, and uses “estraño” (f.pl. adj. “estrañas”) for both *zar* and *nokri*. Ruth is “estrangera”.

⁹⁹ A related adjectival form, “strano”, covers the other *zar* of Deut 25.5. (The *toshav* are “auventiccio”).

¹⁰⁰ Ittai the Gittite is similarly “forestiere”, the term also appearing for *nokri* at Exod 12.43.

Reina’s Spanish version (Basel, 1569) is less consistent because he employs “peregrino” in place of his more usual “extranjero” on five occasions; while these have the advantage of partially recreating the connection between the experience of Abraham and that of the community, Reina’s handling of *ger* is less consistent than the French or Douche. In any case, his translation—quite probably affected by the French model of Olivétan and his Genevan successors—created a different kind of consistency, one that destroyed the careful networks of the ST because he repeatedly employed a single TT term (“extranjero”) as the counterpart for multiple ST terms. This process, even more extreme in Olivétan’s text, is appropriately described as “estrangement”.

In the Douche versions, Ruth is “frembd” (like Abraham).¹⁰¹ In Spanish, she is “extranjero”, and in French “estrangere”. Though as “forestiere”, Ruth was differentiated from Brucioli’s “peregrino” *ger*, in Diodati’s version this same term brought her together with Abraham and the majority of *ger*. Strangeness shared with legislative others was thus the dominant vernacular account of Ruth, this homogenisation contrasting with the careful treatment of *ger* in Latin versions.

4.5 ‘Others’ in the English Bible

Figure 6.3 shows the quantity of the four Hebrew others translated as “stranger” or “strange” in five of the English versions. The homogenisation is comparable to that seen in the vernacular bibles of mainland Europe: In the five versions analysed, “straunger”/“stranger” appears an average of 33.2 times in the 31-verse sample, rising to 34.4 when the adjective “strange”/“straunge” is included in calculations. The Geneva Bible represents the peak, with 35 strangers (and 2 “strange”), whereas the Matthew Bible has only 31, and the Douai 25.¹⁰²

In all early modern Englishings, stranger is used for at least one instance of each Hebrew ‘other’. For the Matthew and Coverdale Bibles, the path of influence is visibly Douche, a point demonstrated by the description of Solomon’s *nokeřnyot* women as “outlandish” (Bugenhagen: “uthlendescher”)—a trait that survived in the Geneva and Bishops Bibles.¹⁰³ The homogenisation exceeds the Douche versions, however, because “frembdling” finds no special counterpart. In Coverdale, Geneva, Douai and King James, Ruth is “a stranger” like Abraham. In this respect, these English versions are closer to the French. Legislative distinctions are eliminated, diminishing the specifics of ST cohesion in favour of a new semantic network.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Having no article, the word is apparently deployed as predicative adjective (strange) at R2.10, though capitalised in some editions—see above, n.81; Abraham is *ein Frembder* (a stranger; Gen 23.4).

¹⁰² In the Great and Bishops Bibles, totals of strange(r) reach 34 and 35 respectively.

¹⁰³ 1 Kgs 11.1, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Deut 14.21 where Coverdale and the Geneva Bible both give and sell to the stranger (as also the Bishops Bible).

Lack of differentiation between Hebrew ‘others’ in the vernacular versions cannot be regarded as the result of ignorance. It might conceivably be taken as an indicator of indifference—the vernacular reader is not expected to take interest in the minutiae of biblical legislation; indeed, this perspective may be upheld with regard to those rules and regulations judged to be historical or “ceremonial”, and not pertinent to the Christian’s daily life.¹⁰⁵ Such material provided fodder for the mid-century Latin scholar, but was perhaps deemed unnecessary for the ordinary reader of scripture.¹⁰⁶ However, some rules were not dismissed: the Ten Commandments are an obvious example, but other passages were invoked in the margins, including the motif of loving strangers.¹⁰⁷ The privileged status of the *ger*, as recipient of the community’s generosity, was transmitted to the English “stranger”. Ruth’s “stranger” status thereby strengthened textual connections between *Ruth* and supposed intertexts—the gleaning legislation, for example—a pattern that becomes both pronounced and moulded within commentary, as demonstrated below (§5.4.1). If the prevalence of “strangers” may be regarded as a matter of indifference in some instances—and likely also ignorance in Coverdale’s case; it was equally advantageous in others, and plausibly deliberate.

Reading the English Pentateuch, the TT reader repeatedly encountered “the stranger”. The questions that now occupy us concern the reception of the translated text, and its homiletic potential. Who was this “stranger” in sixteenth-century English? What meanings and resonance might this term carry?

4.5.1 “Strawngers”, “Straungers” and “Alyanes”: Otherness in sixteenth-century English dictionaries

The *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483, manuscript) was a tool for an English reader who wished to locate an appropriate Latin term, perhaps for a task in composition. Its entries are not definitions in the modern sense, rather each English word (placed in alphabetical order) is accompanied by a brief list of equivalent terms. The *Catholicon* equates “strawnger” with *advena*, *alienigena*, *proselitus grece*, *adventicius* and *extraneus*; and “strawnge” with *alienus*, *barbarus*, *extraneus*, *forinsecus* and *peregrinus*.¹⁰⁸ Elyot, whose glossary operates in the opposite direction, includes “straunger” within the definitions

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. the marginalia in the Douai OT at Deut 14.21: “. . . this prohibition was ceremonial, only for that time and people” (a point taken to be demonstrated by the exception made for “the stranger”). Also the gloss on “for ever” at Exod 12.14 in the Geneva version: “That is, until Christs coming; for then ceremonies had an end.”

¹⁰⁶ If Shuger’s analysis of renaissance bible commentary is correct, the later commentators had increased interest in the “vestiges of a cultural logic” and so paid greater attention to the minutiae of translation in the legal corpus. Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, esp. 50–51.

¹⁰⁷ See the note at Lev 25.35 in the Douai OT: “Iewes for their advantage hold it lawful, to take usurie of strangers, not observing that it is also commanded often in scripture, *not to afflict but to love strangers*. *Exod.* 22.25. *Levit.* 19.” (Emphasis as original.) The Geneva annotators enlarge sympathetically at Exod 23.9 (a commandment not to oppress the *ger*): “For in that he is a *stranger*, his heart is soriful ynough.”

¹⁰⁸ *Catholicon Anglicum: An English-Latin Wordbook dated 1483* (London: Early English Text Society, 1881; ed. S.J.H. Herrtage), 367. “Strange” was a spelling of strong; there is no entry for foreign.

of *advena*, *alienigena* (“a stranger borne”), “allophylos”,¹⁰⁹ *externus* [sic] (“which is not of that country, a stranger”), *peregrinus* (“a stranger or alyen”) and *proselytus* (“a stranger borne”).¹¹⁰ “Stranger” is also included as an alternative to kin in the definition of *adoptio*¹¹¹ and for *hospites* in contrast with “countrey men” (*cives*) when illustrating the comparative sense of *et*.¹¹² Palsgrave’s aid for learning French (*Lesclairissement de la langue francoyse*, 1530) gives *estrangier* for the general stranger, but supplements this with *forayn* (“straunger of a farre countrey”) and gives also *alien* (under “Alyen straunger”).¹¹³ Thus “straunger” is seen to underpin English concepts of the outsider.

These examples support the complex picture presented by the OED: The introduction of the word on the basis of a French antecedent suggests foreignness was the basic component of the original meaning (hence OED 1: “one who belongs to another country, a foreigner”); but even the category of foreignness is relative and depends on where boundaries are drawn. Thus the term could denote “a new comer” from any external location (OED 2a), and was commonly used in registers (alongside Latin *extraneus*) to record the burial of someone not of the parish (OED 2b); and in household records with regard to any external visitor.¹¹⁴ Its use to indicate any unknown person, the basic meaning in modern English, was already present in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁵ All of these meanings were available and current in the sixteenth century, such that this one English word encompassed aspects of all the Hebrew ‘others’: incomer, household guest, outsider, and someone of different origin—though perhaps not capturing the imperfect kinship of the *ger*. At the same time, stranger does not carry temporal implications (of permanent or impermanent dwelling, for example) and its breadth as a concept and very versatility arguably made it ill-suited as a translation for any of the biblical terms, particularly in a legislative context. It is therefore pertinent to ask what made it such an attractive choice for translators, a question that has particular interest in the context of *Ruth*.

4.5.2 Tyndale’s alien

One ought to begin by noting that Ruth was not inevitably a “stranger” in the English tradition. In the Matthew Bible, Tyndale set her as “an alyaut”. Such was the translation incorporated into the

¹⁰⁹ A transliteration of the Greek term ἀλλόφυλος, ‘(of) another tribe’, though Elyot has only “a stranger”. The Greek term is used in the LXX especially in Judges-Chronicles, mostly in reference to the Hebrew פְּלִשְׁתִּי (Philistine) and remains rare in English. Cf. OED, s.v. ‘allophyle, *n.* and *adj.*’, accessed Aug 09, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/5417/>.

¹¹⁰ Elyot, s.v.

¹¹¹ “[W]here a manne maketh one his heyre, and taketh hym for his sonne, beinge of his owne kynne or a *straunger*.” (emphasis added). Elyot, s.v. ‘adoptio’.

¹¹² “Te admirantur & cives & hospites, As well thy countrey men as straungers do wonder at the[e].” Elyot, s.v. “et”.

¹¹³ Palsgrave, 277, 277, 194.

¹¹⁴ Cf. OED, s.v. “stranger, *n.* (and *adj.*)” s.v. §3a (accessed, Jul 10, 2013, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/191250/>), citing a source from 1509CE: “Straungers in the same week Imprimis Mr Roger Woodows & his wyff, & his iiij servants from Sondaye till Wedynsdaye.”

¹¹⁵ So Chaucer: “And, for he was a straunger, somewhat she Lyked him the bet, as . . . To som folk ofte newe thing is swote.” (From *The Legend of Good Women*, c. 1385CE; via OED, s.v. “stranger, *n.*”, *ibid.*)

Great and Bishops Bibles and preserved also in the revisions of Taverner (1539) and Becke (1549). Sebastian Münster's Hebrew-Latin diglot was the innovation that supported Coverdale when assembling the Great Bible—a process that began with the text of the Matthew Bible. Münster's "aliena" would have supported Tyndale's interpretation so its retention was a logical step. Alien connoted someone born elsewhere; a property common to the Latin terms listed in *Catholicon Anglicum* ("advena, Alienigena, adventicius, proselitus") and present also in Elyot's definition of "alienigena": "a straunger borne". This being said, the legal concept invoked by English "alien" was shifting: It had once been used with reference to location of birth, i.e. outside the relevant realm.¹¹⁶ However, by the late sixteenth century, creative legislators were attempting to have it defined in terms of descent: the child of an alien, even if born in England, should be deemed an alien.¹¹⁷ This was significant because by then in law an alien had fewer rights than a citizen or subject might: an alien was not permitted to own land, nor could they inherit, their participation in commercial activities was also restricted, and they were obliged to pay higher taxes.¹¹⁸ In the specific case of Margaret of Lennox, against whom a descent-oriented case was assembled, transmission of alien status (from her Scots father) would have impeded any claim to the English throne¹¹⁹—that the pleaders lost is evident, for the next English monarch was Scots-born, though an act of mutual naturalisation followed immediately.¹²⁰

Read against this legal backdrop, Ruth's alien quality might be understood not only in terms of birth ("I am not from here"), but in terms of descent ("I am not born of this people"), and in terms of contrasting social status ("You are a landowning citizen, and I am a legal nobody").

It could also be that Tyndale was reflecting the particular exclusion of Moabites from the Israelite community: "The Ammonites and the Moabites shall not come in to the congregacion of the Lorde . . . they shall never come in . . . because they met you not wyth bred and water in the waye when ye came out of Egypt" (Deut 23.3, MtB). Placement of a narrative within such canonical

¹¹⁶ It has often been assumed that foreign-born children of English parents were included in the category of "alien" because they faced inheritance issues; however, Keechang Kim argues that foreign-birth interfered with normal patterns of inheritance not because the children were legally aliens (and therefore disbarred from inheriting) but because their descent was unproven, so their status as rightful heir was uncertain. See Keechang Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law: The Origins of Modern Citizenship* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000). The standard case and Kim's rebuttal are set out in pp. 113–114.

¹¹⁷ Kim contrasts the thirteenth-century associations of alien (with "trial, jury, cognisance, king's writ, bastardy, inheritance, proof, etc.") and its use in sixteenth-century legal vocabulary (allied with "subjection, allegiance, legal protection, kingdom, liberty, [and] equality"); *ibid.*, 214.

¹¹⁸ This is true on both local and national levels. For a sociological account of the role of 'the stranger', including as tax-payer, see Georg Simmel, "The Stranger," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. Kurt Wolff, English translation of: "Exkurs über den Fremden" in G. Simmel, *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1908 (New York: Free Press, 1950), 402–8.

¹¹⁹ Lennox, daughter of Mary Tudor, was a potential claimant for the English throne. Kim carefully unpicks John Hales' argumentation around Mary Stuart's disbarment to show that Hales was already preparing his case against Lennox. Kim, *Aliens in Medieval Law*, esp. 160.

¹²⁰ The Act of Naturalisation introduces Kim's conclusion, *ibid.*, 196.

context could then also explain the contrasting treatment of Ittai the Gittite and the Amalekite who reports Saul’s death. Amalek stood accused of smiting the Israelites as they emerged from Egypt, and was to be “put oute... from under heaven” (Deut 25.19, MtB)—a commandment conventionally interpreted as requiring that his descendants be wiped out.¹²¹ Though the Amalekite identifies himself as the son of a *ger* (2 Sam 1.13), in Tyndale’s text he is an alien’s son, on a par with Ruth. The Gittites had no equivalent record of hostility and though Ittai is termed a *nokei* in the Hebrew text (2 Sam 15.19), he is a stranger in the Matthew Bible. In defining Ruth the Moabite and the unnamed Amalekite as “aliens”, Tyndale may have intended to connote greater cultural distance from their respective interlocutors. For the sixteenth-century TT reader, by invoking “alien” status, Ruth would have pointed to her origin outside the Bethlehemite territory and her consequent non-citizen status as reasons why Boaz’s attention runs counter to expectation; she may have also indicated her different descent. Tyndale’s translation decision is intelligible and justifiable, as is its retention in later Englishings, which leads back to the bigger question: Why did Coverdale and the Geneva translators find “the stranger” a more attractive option, and why did King James’ translators follow suit?

4.5.3 Coverdale’s stranger and the Douche *fremde*

Naturally, Coverdale’s translation was directly affected by his preference for Douche sources as well as by the translation work of Tyndale.¹²² In *Ruth*, Coverdale merely employed the same term that he had used elsewhere for the various “frembd-”, his lexicon primed by Tyndale’s Pentateuch. So Luther’s phase-1 text is arguably the ultimate influence on the stranger of R2.10. Of course, tracing textual lineage does not explain the Douche choice here or account for the broader pattern of vernacular homogenisation (including Tyndale’s deployment of stranger through the Pentateuch), nor does it explain why the Geneva and King James translators opted for stranger and not alien. Pursuing these questions, the answers begin with an observation: the figure of the stranger was extremely fertile, and its multiple resonances lent it to profitable exegesis. The very versatility (and ubiquity) of the stranger was productive for the early modern homilist, as may be amply illustrated.

¹²¹ On the traditional interpretation, see e.g. Avi Sagi, “The Punishment of Amalek in Jewish Tradition: Coping with the Moral Problem,” *Harvard Theological Review* 87, no. 03 (1994): 323–46.

¹²² Coverdale did not adopt Tyndale’s Pentateuch wholesale but continued to revise it in connection with the Douche sources. Examples of his adaptations may be seen in the sample of Hebrew ‘others’ in his use of “indweller” for “einwoner” (Gen 23.4; Lev 25.23). For examples of Tyndale’s linguistic influence on Coverdale, see the **Appendix**, esp. **Part II §2.2**.

5 RUTH THE STRANGER & THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EXEGETE

That the commandments to provide for strangers were pursued practically by Christians has been demonstrated above (§4.3), the medieval pilgrim being a significant beneficiary. Sixteenth-century Protestant reformers were hostile to pilgrimage, because it was intimately linked with problematic theological and ecclesiastical concepts:¹²³ If believers could only access God indirectly, they would benefit from the mediation of saints to whose shrines they travelled. Were it a meritorious work, pilgrimage should smooth the path to heaven (a misconception supported by the offer of papal indulgences to successful pilgrims).¹²⁴ Objections to the practical measures taken to fulfil the biblical obligations of care seldom led reformers to reject the obligations; instead, the obligations required a fresh interpretation.

5.1 Vagabonds, beggars and civic exegesis

“There are manye kinde of poore men [*multa genera pauperum*], but those are especially to be helped: whoe do willingly gette by their labour thinges necessary for them unlesse great hardnes of dearth doth hinder them.”¹²⁵

In the early stages of the Lutheran reformation, social justice was a priority. Luther complained that fraternities that had been established to do “good works” had become unsavoury societies, focused on “gluttony, drunkenness, useless squandering of money, howling, yelling, chattering, dancing, and wasting of time”.¹²⁶ Luther was also conscious of another major problem for the social order: large-scale begging. It is estimated that “paupers and vagrants” may have made up thirty percent of the population.¹²⁷ According to Luther’s account, the combination of religious mendicants and regular beggars held the average town to ransom on a weekly basis.¹²⁸ In 1528, introducing a new edition of *Liber Vagatorum*—later translated into English under the title “The

¹²³ See Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities*, 117.

¹²⁴ The indulgence allowed the pilgrim to replace outstanding acts of penance, but often misconstrued to involve absolution of guilt also. On indulgences and penance, see above, **Chapter 4, §§3–4**. For misconstructions concerning pilgrimage, see Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage*, chapter three.

¹²⁵ From Pagitt’s English translation of Lavater’s commentary; P76v–77r; Latin text via L55r.

¹²⁶ Carter Lindberg, “‘There Should Be No Beggars among Christians’: Karlstadt, Luther, and the Origins of Protestant Poor Relief,” *Church History* 46, no. 3 (1977): 316. That these were fraternities or “brotherhoods” is presumably not accidental: “brother” is the principal relationship by which members of the main covenantal community were mutually identified in the Pentateuch—hence the clarificatory clause “who dwell together” in Deut 25.5.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 317.

¹²⁸ “. . .each of the five or six mendicant orders visits the same place more than six or seven times every year. In addition to these there are the usual beggars, the ‘ambassador’ beggars, and the panhandlers. . . .sixty times a year a town is laid under tribute!” The passage is from the 1520 treatise, “To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation”; via Lindberg, “There Should Be No Beggars among Christians,” 317.

Book of Vagabonds and Beggars’, he owned that he had been conned on many occasions,¹²⁹ and justified the work’s republication because:

[W]hereas people will not give and help *honest paupers and needy neighbours, as ordained by God*, they give ... contrary to God’s judgment, ten times as much to Vagabonds and desperate rogues,—in like manner *as we have hitherto done* to monasteries, cloisters, churches, chapels, and mendicant friars, *forsaking all the time the truly poor*. For this reason, every town and village should know their own paupers, as written down in the Register, and assist them. But as to *outlandish and strange beggars they ought not to be borne with, unless they have proper letters and certificates*; for all the great rogueries mentioned in this book are done by these.¹³⁰

Begging was banned at Wittenberg, and while towns did not necessarily follow Lutheran social policy on all counts, the ban initiated by Luther (in association with von Karlstadt) was replicated among Catholics as well as in the outposts of the Reformers.¹³¹ At Basel, the statue of St Martin—a favourite patron saint—remained, but the adjacent beggar statue (the man with whom he split his cloak) was “removed and replaced by a tree stump”.¹³² Of course, such a ban could only be effective if it was balanced by a proper system that would provide for those in genuine need. In Wittenberg, poor relief was financed first by redundant religious endowments, but later by general taxation. The resulting common chest was distributed with care and “the Jacobite brethren, the mendicant monks, and other vagabonds” were specifically excluded from consideration.¹³³ Yet the “foreign poor” continued to present special problems for Luther; a reality attested to by his decision to republish the *Liber Vagatorum*.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ The admission comes within the book’s preface, and is cited by Lindberg (ibid., 333). The English translator reckoned Luther’s work to have been based on documents from a trial conducted at Basle in 1475, “when a great number of vagabonds, strollers, blind men, and mendicants of all orders, were arrested and examined”. Translation via *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, with a vocabulary of their language. Edited by Martin Luther in the Year 1528. Now first translated into English, with introduction and notes by John Camden Hotten* (London: John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly, 1860), xiii.

¹³⁰ From Luther’s preface, *The Book of Vagabonds . . .*, 4, emphasis added. There was a significant anti-Semitic undertone to Luther’s work. See Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, 151–2.

¹³¹ “[T]he city of Wangen offered almost the same social and medical assistance as all the other small Imperial Cities in South-Germany. . . . They all passed ordinances that prohibited begging or identified beggars. They distinguished precisely between the ‘deserving poor’ and the ‘undeserving poor.’ Every authority—*regardless of confession*—introduced special signs for beggars to wear in order to show that they were allowed to beg.” Peer Friess, “Poor Relief and Health Care Provision in South-German Catholic Cities During the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, ed. Thomas Max Safley, Studies in Central European Histories (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 88; emphasis added.

¹³² Lee Palmer Wandel, *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli’s Zurich*, paperback, first publ. 1990 (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), 110.

¹³³ Lindberg, “There Should Be No Beggars among Christians,” 327. For the dating and authorship of this document, the so-called Beutelordnung, see discussion in ibid., 325–6.

¹³⁴ Measures to redistribute monies from the endowments to the “truly poor” were in place by the beginning of 1521, but Lindberg quotes a letter from January 1525, where Luther acknowledges that “we are daily overrun by foreign poor” (ibid., 333). *Liber Vagatorum* was published in 1528.

5.1.1 Ruth the “painfull” labourer

Against this social background, the Lutheran scholar Johann Brenz (1536) is led to comment on the possibility that Ruth was reduced to the desperate circumstance of begging (*mendicare*)—a serious matter for a foreigner or widow (“quod procul dubio & peregrinae & viduae gravissimum onus fuit”).¹³⁵ However, construed as both widow and “peregrina”, she was saved from ignominy by the gleaning legislation of Deuteronomy. Preaching on the same passage (R2.1-3), Ludwig Lavater moved from consideration of the “hard and troublesome” (*laboriosum & difficile*) work involved in gleaning to a more general meditation on the virtues of “honest labour” (*labori honesto*), taking the opportunity to criticise those who are “burdensome to others, as straungers, Annabaptistes, & other idle fellows are”. The Latin text is not quite captured in Pagitt’s English, for his “straungers” are Lavater’s “validi mendicantes”—healthy beggars, the Latin term connoting particularly the religious orders so firmly rejected by reformers.¹³⁶ Ruth’s work is a persistent theme: Boaz notices Ruth because she is a stranger (*peregrinam*) “and painful” (*laboriosam*); at R2.15, rising after mealtime, “she doth not take the shadow like an idle and a slouthfull huswife [*otiosa & ignaua*]”. Propaganda takes precedence over textual uncertainties, so that at R2.7 the overseer is understood to have “commended” Ruth because she has been “painfull and diligent [*laboriosa & sedula*] from the morning... to midday”.¹³⁷ Luther regarded the undocumented stranger as a particular problem; Ruth’s documentation is her hard work.

The most detailed and vociferous attack on beggars occurs in Edward Topsell’s commentary, *The Reward of Religion* (1596) in the context of Boaz’s response to Ruth (R2.11) which is, “profitable for our dayes, that wee might also learne to whome we may give”.¹³⁸ Topsell’s England is afflicted by mass vagrancy:

our land is full of wandering and roaguing beggers, who as their life is most base, yet their manners are far worse: first they worke not at all, but are idle, and hee that worketh not, must not eate . . . (119)

The troublesome beggars—strangers not deserving assistance—are distinguished in part because they, like Lavater’s “alii otiosi homines”, are “idle”. It is not only idleness that Topsell diagnoses: These people are (for the most part) also fundamentally irreligious, “utterly voide of all feare of God, atheistes, ignorant persons, blasphemers, prophaners of Sabaothes”. Their irreligion is attested to by various kinds of antisocial conduct, including civil disobedience (“to magistrates and

¹³⁵ Brenz, cclxxxiii–iiii [283–4].

¹³⁶ P52r–54r (54r); L37v–39r (39r). Although “mendicantes” could be used of begging in general, the juxtaposition with “Anabaptistae”, another religious target, lends support to the technical interpretation. Ozment includes the abolition of mendicant orders in his list of quintessential Reformation demands; cf. *The Reformation in the Cities*, 117.

¹³⁷ P57v, 76r, 58v; L41v, 54v, 42v. On the difficulties presented by R2.7, see above, **Chapter 3, §3.2**.

¹³⁸ Topsell, 119.

maisters”), sexual impropriety (“common whooremaisters and whoores, having almost everye weeke newe husbands and wives”), and theft—in part indirectly, through their practice of begging, which deprives “poore labouring persons” of their due alms (119). Topsell’s depiction is vivid. The undeserving beggars “praye at every doore for any simple reliefe, with their hats on their heades, most unreverently”—i.e., without respectfully doffing their caps.¹³⁹ They feign different voices, counterfeit injuries, and are commonly drunk. These strangers are “the caterpillers of our country, the Canaanits of our common wealth, the ungodliest and unprofitablest members among us”.¹⁴⁰ Magistrates should not fail to pursue legal action against them, and the remainder of Topsell’s audience should “shut up their compassions for them, and bestowe it upon the poore labourers among us” (120).

Levels of migration were particularly high in the 1590s, due to some combination of harvest failure, economic depression and conflict.¹⁴¹ That magistrates were reluctant to act against vagrants is supported by Topsell’s contemporaries: Edward Hext complained that vagabonds bred “that feare in Iustices and other inferior officers that no man dares to call them into questyon”.¹⁴² Yet Topsell’s words are also part of a wider Protestant discourse that railed against the idle. The severity of the 1547 Vagrancy Act, which threatened anyone who refused work with two years enslavement (or long-term apprenticeships for child offenders), is well accounted for in terms of the hostility of the Protestant and “godly” regime.¹⁴³ Topsell’s adage, “hee that worketh not, must not eate”, borrowed from Paul’s epistles, was similarly applied in a preacher’s epigram from 1550: “if they refuse / to worcke for theyr meate, / then ought they to faste, / as not worthy to eate.”¹⁴⁴ Topsell’s comments on *Ruth* thus constitute a contribution to an existing scripture-based discourse

¹³⁹ An act more rebellious given they were obliged to wear hats as a symbol of their low status. See Hindle, “A Sense of Place?” 110.

¹⁴⁰ Topsell, 120. Based on the larvae’s potential for consuming crops, caterpillars were an established figure for the “rapacious person” or “extortioner”. Cf. OED s.v. “caterpillar, *n.*” §2, accessed Jun 26, 2013; <http://oed.com/view/Entry/28904/>.

¹⁴¹ Cf. A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), 31. In 1596, the Privy Council instructed the Archbishop of Canterbury that, in response to “the heaveie displeasure of God”, preachers should promote abstinence, prayer, charitable works and not “excessive and superfluous expences of vyctuales”; R. B. Outhwaite, *Dearth, Public Policy and Social Disturbance in England, 1550–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 6.

¹⁴² Cited by C. S. L. Davies, “Slavery and Protector Somerset; the Vagrancy Act of 1547,” *Economic History Review* 19, no. 3 (1966): 536. Hext’s statement was made the year that Topsell’s sermons were first published (1596). Hext was himself a Justice of the Peace, and a wealthy man, so he had both experience and interests to protect.

¹⁴³ Sketching the contribution of the regime’s religion as a factor in the legislation, C.S.L. Davies points to the influence Martin Bucer held over “Somerset’s circle”; see “Slavery and Protector Somerset”, 540. Bucer was originally among those reformers who targeted a political unit (in his case the city of Strasbourg) rather than the “gathered community of the elect” (Heiko A. Oberman, “Europa Afflicta: The Reformation of the Refugees,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 83 (1992): 97); thus, epistemologically and practically, he saw civil law as an appropriate instrument to enforce moral discipline.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Crawley; via Davies, “Slavery and Protector Somerset”, 539. The reference is to 2 Thess. 3.10. Crawley has crafted it into verse, whereas it stands embedded and unmarked (unlike some other scriptural references) in Topsell’s text.

that equated idleness with vagabondry.¹⁴⁵ Ruth, the hard-working stranger, is contrasted with the enemies of the commonwealth.

5.2 A familiar stranger: Ruth and Abraham

In Boaz's view, of course, Ruth is not a complete stranger: she is known ("All is told and shewed me", R2.11 Gva). Moreover, she is, by marriage, a relative as the account of her return with Naomi demonstrates: she has left father and mother (R2.11) to join Naomi's people (R1.16; 2.11). Her actions echo those of Abraham, a parallel present in the Hebrew text but heightened in English by their common identification as strangers.¹⁴⁶ The connection was not lost on sixteenth-century interpreters, who use the commonalities to suggest that Ruth was a religious migrant: "Faith caused Abraham... this same faith caused Ruth";¹⁴⁷ "Abrahams fayth is commended, who being called of God into a straunge land neglected all thinges... she [Ruth] doth shew indeed that shee was the daughter of Abraham";¹⁴⁸ "sicut & Abraham".¹⁴⁹ The commentators' interpretation of Ruth's intentions, drawing on Boaz's interpretation within the narrative, is framed not only by her actions as a model daughter-in-law but by the divine terminus: "the LORD God of Israel, under whose wings [she has] come to trust" (R2.12, KJV; a text enhanced in translation, see **Ch. 4, §3**). The hospitality that Boaz offers is thus justified. Her status as a religious migrant assumes importance within the reformers' discourse, a reflection of the significance and immediacy of exilic experience within the early reform communities. That Ruth had left all Moabite kin behind (R2.11) made her absorption less threatening, and aided her rhetorical application to the case of truly religious refugees.

5.3 Ruth & the experience of religious exile

Religious exile was a common experience in sixteenth-century Europe, both in terms of English people seeking protection in mainland Europe and foreigners seeking refuge in England. The existence of contemporary religiously-motivated exiles is recognised in the commentaries. For the Dutch commentator Johannes Drusius the most prominent recognition is the reference to his own "peregrinatio" in the dedication, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift, his

¹⁴⁵ Davies, "Slavery and Protector Somerset," 535–6. See also Paul Griffiths, "Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545–1645," in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric*, ed. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2000), 115–33.

¹⁴⁶ See Gen 23.4 in Coverdale, Geneva, Bishops, KJV. Abraham is commanded to get up and go (from root *hllk*) from his *eretx* (land), *moledet* (birth, conventionally understood as his relatives by birth) and *beyt av* (father's house; Gen 12.1). Ruth voluntarily left her father (*av*), mother, and *eretx moledet* (land of birth), coming (from root *hllk*) to another people (R2.11).

¹⁴⁷ Topsell, 121.

¹⁴⁸ P66r, translating L47v.

¹⁴⁹ Brenz, cclxxxviii [288].

“praesul amplissime”—the eminent protector-cum-patron.¹⁵⁰ Here Drusius connects his own experience of exile and the protection and hospitality he received from Whitgift with the experience of Ruth and the assistance of Boaz. *Ruth*, of all the books of the Old Testament, Drusius explains, provided a parallel with his own hard work (“nostris laboribus”), God’s benignity (“divina benignitas”) and Whitgift’s benevolence (“tua benevolentia”, 5) in the face of “haec mala peregrinatio”, ‘this evil peregrination’ (4).

The Zurich pastor, Ludwig Lavater, engages with exile in the body of his commentary, comparing Ruth to people fleeing their country “this day . . . that they may publicly and freely heare and openly professe the pure religion”.¹⁵¹ Dedicating the English translation of Lavater’s commentary, Ephraim Pagitt justifies the act with reference not only to the recipients’ widowhood, but their experience of exile (under the reign of Mary I): “Did Ruth leave her cuntrye for religion? so have some of you.”¹⁵² It is evident that exile, whether direct or mediated by present strangers, was part of the audience’s experience.

5.3.1 A model refugee

During the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) London was host to an increasing number of Nether-Douche- and French- speakers, and smaller numbers of Spanish, Italians, and other Douche. Refugees joined an existing community of foreigners with motivations for migration economic as well as religious,¹⁵³ but the Protestant regime provided religious freedom for the godly and, under the leadership of the Polish reformer Johannes à Lasco (alias Jan Łaski), royal permission was secured to establish a Church for the religious exiles, with a Charter granted on 24 July 1550. The refugees provided their hosts with an opportunity “to demonstrate solidarity with suffering co-religionists abroad”.¹⁵⁴ It was also hoped that the so-called Strangers Church would provide a model for the nascent Church of England, as Lasco later wrote: “We thought in effect that encouraged by this example the English Churches themselves would be aroused to return to the apostolic worship in all its purity.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Drusius, 3–5 (5). The dedication, written at Lambeth, bears the date 1584.

¹⁵¹ “Quot sunt hodie, qui si exemplo Ruthae patriam suam fugiant, ut puram religionem libere possint audire & publice profiteri, risui se aliorum non exponant?” L50v; P70r–v.

¹⁵² [iii]. Pagitt dedicates the commentary to five women, “all in one estate of widdow-hode”, at least one of whom is also compared to Naomi who as “a sojourner in a strange cuntrye . . . lost there her husband”—this applies to Bridget Hussey, Countess of Bedford, whose first husband died in 1556 during their exile at Strasbourg. The chief dedicatee was Anne, Duchess of Somerset and so widow of the Lord Protector (and of her second husband, Francis Newdigate, d. 1582)

¹⁵³ London was “one of the most important entrepôts of Europe”. Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603–1642* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 9, see also p.2.

¹⁵⁴ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Lasco in a letter to the King of Poland, 6 September 1555; cited by *ibid.*, 35.

Though the aim recorded in the King's journal was that providing a formal Church would help to combat the proliferation of heresy,¹⁵⁶ the hope that strangers would assist the English reformation was not peculiar to the refugees. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer issued invitations to prominent reformers including Martin Bucer, who was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1549, Peter Martyr Vermigli, who was given the same position at Oxford, and Johannes Brenz, who was invited to fill the Cambridge chair after Bucer's death (but refused).¹⁵⁷ Cranmer's intention was, as Pettegree has put it, to "harness the best brains" so that England could become the reformed state par excellence.¹⁵⁸ The Archbishop provided lodgings for Lasco,¹⁵⁹ and it was the government that paid Lasco's salary of £100 per annum.¹⁶⁰ To the frustration of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, the Strangers Church was granted independence—permission to develop their own liturgy, governance structures, and so forth.¹⁶¹ Respect for, and hope in, their godliness inspired such freedoms.

Discontent with strangers' freedoms was not confined to church matters. Topsell addressed a vernacular audience. Among his addressees, and the wider English populace, were people hostile to the strangers, rejecting the idea "that any shoulde bee permitted to come and sojourne among us, like free borne children"—i.e. as equal citizens. In his lectures, he repeatedly emphasises that "poore harbourles strangers" ought to be assisted. Those who oppose this, Topsell warns, should be wary because they too could be exiled: "it is as easie to go out as to come into England, that is, they may as soone be driven to other places out of their owne country, to bee strangers there, as these are, repayred for succour hither."¹⁶² Despite such appeals, whatever freedoms England's strangers could negotiate were frequently challenged; and though both denizenship and naturalisation could be acquired for a fee, even the most religious foreigner was not treated like a

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 44.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. N. Scott Amos, "Strangers in a Strange Land: The English Correspondence of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli," in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 28–9. Estes, *Christian Magistrate and Territorial Church*, 38. The bible translator, Immanuel Tremellius was also among those who accepted the invitation.

¹⁵⁸ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 25–6.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 31.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 35.

¹⁶¹ Collinson has argued that the major cause of Ridley's hostility was not the freedom itself, but rather "the transparent hope of the more radical of English protestants . . . that the stranger churches would prove to be model churches, their practice normative for the Church of England itself." Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 129. The policy was amended when the Strangers Churches (as they became) had their charter restored under Elizabeth I, and were placed under the Bishop of London's jurisdiction, the post then being held by Edmund Grindal; see Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London*, 11.

¹⁶² Topsell, 115. For the plight of "poor harbourless strangers", see also Topsell's first lecture, where the phrase accompanies praise for the "heathen" Moabites who harbour Elimelech's family (and thus show that such hospitality is "natural"), contrasted with the "beastlike behaviour of many among us" when faced with "poore Christian strangers" (19–20).

“free borne” English person.¹⁶³ The lower classes suffered the worst discrimination both in terms of limitations on their participation in trade and in terms of outright hostility.¹⁶⁴ Discrimination against the lower classes is also attested in Lavater’s commentary on *Ruth*, accounting for Ruth’s question: “shee doth wonder and make great accompt of his *courtesie*, when *she being a straunger* was so well accepted of him” because “for the moste part *bannished men and poore men* are despised of the rich and mightie”, as are poor strangers.¹⁶⁵

Refugees were not accepted as equals by the host community; and their predicament required a different approach to social welfare. Luther had concentrated on developing measures to provide for the whole civic community,¹⁶⁶ but refugees were, inevitably, strangers to that community. The added pressure of language considerations and xenophobic attitudes among local citizenry meant that such exile communities were often self-governing,¹⁶⁷ had limited interest in the needs of others around them, and were not provided for by the local authorities. So refugees at Norwich, though liable for the standard English parish contributions, had no entitlement to financial assistance except what was provided by their church’s own “often elaborate but also very costly” relief systems.¹⁶⁸ Opportunities for integration were limited, and the Norwich authorities encouraged settlement only if the refugees’ skills would contribute to the local economy. Religion was nonetheless an important factor: Norwich had Calvinist sympathies, and the refugee community were regarded as “allies in the common fight against misdemeanours and other breaches of the social order”, while their church leaders were trusted to act as “guardians of their compatriots’

¹⁶³ When available, uptake of denizenship (a limited form of citizenship) was linked to commercial and economic opportunities as well as expectations about return or settlement: Where legal disabilities affecting the refugees’ participation in trade and retail were mitigated, there was little incentive to acquire denizenship, and when such disabilities increased there was a corresponding increase in applications for denizenship and/or naturalisation. As officially-recognised bodies, the Stranger Churches offered an alternative structure through which disabilities could be renegotiated, and when denizenship—which was especially important for those who wished to trade in London—became harder to obtain, church membership was an attractive compensation. On patterns of hostility and xenophobia, see Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England*, e-Book edition; orig. publ. 1996 (London: Routledge, 2005), passim. For denizenship see Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London*, chapter one; Raingard Esser, “Citizenship and Immigration in 16th and Early 17th-century England,” in *Citizenship in Historical Perspective*, ed. Steven G. Ellis, Guðmundur Hálfðanarson, and Ann Katherine Isaacs, Transversal Theme, I (Pisa: Pisa Univ. Press | Edizioni Plus, 2006), esp. 244–7 (denizenship in Norwich and London); and Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, passim. For subsequent limitations to the Stranger Church(es)’ freedoms, see Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal*; Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶⁵ P64r, emphasis added; “bannished men and poore men” translates “exules & pauperes” (L46r). In a parallel passage Pagitt has “straungers and the poor” for Lavater’s “peregrini pauperes” (L47v, P66r) suggesting the rich and mighty of England have a general distaste for strangers.

¹⁶⁶ Similarly, Zwingly’s successor, Heinrich Bullinger. On the dispute between Bullinger and his colleague, Leo Jud, see Oberman, “Europe Afflicta”, 96–7.

¹⁶⁷ The English authorities largely embraced the Stranger Churches’ leadership: discipline patterns, communication skills, and social pressure could be used to control and resolve problems with the foreign residents. See e.g. the role of the Austin Friars consistory in interrogating Dutch Anabaptists arrested by the English government (Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London*, 14).

¹⁶⁸ Esser, “Citizenship and Immigration in 16th and Early 17th-Century England,” 241

moral conduct and manners”.¹⁶⁹ The welcome refugees received was often contingent upon their religious profession as well as their labour. Ruth provided a model not only of the potential economic contributor, but also this second dimension of selectivity: she was a faithful migrant.

5.4 The Poor, the Widow, and the Christian Stranger

Summarising Boaz’s response to Ruth’s question, “the cause wherfore he did favor her”, Lavater does not follow the order of the text but gives priority to faith: “namely for the trust [*propter fidem*] she had in the God of Israel, & love towards her mother in law” (P66r; L47v). Boaz’s response, placing Ruth under God’s protection through her own choice, supports the case for granting hospitality to the religious stranger. Similar emphases are present when Lavater refers to the legislation providing for widow, orphan and stranger: “humanitie and kindnesse [*humanitatis*] towards the poore, widowes, straungers [*pauperes, viduas, peregrinos*]” should be concentrated “especially towards them that are newly converted [*ad fidem veram recens conversos*]” (P62v; L45r), a conflation justified by reference to Romans 14-15 and paralleled on the next page: “[T]he poore and straungers [*peregrini*] are to be nourished and intreated friendly: Novices in the faith are to be defended against those iniuries which they are in danger of” (P63r). The grouping of poor and strange with those “converted to true religion [*veram religionem*]” begins with the opening homily: “strangers [*peregrinos*] and poore men, our kinsmen and those which are newly converted to true religion are to be well handled, neither to be hurt in wordes nor deedes” (P5r; L4r). The foundations for conceiving the *ger* as primarily a proselyte were, of course, laid already—by Septuagint and perhaps the Vulgate’s “advena” (above, §4.2).

Topsell emphasised that help should be saved for those in genuine need (above, §5.1.1). Yet the help recommended for the ungodly was extremely limited: Turk, pagan, Jew, infidel, papist or heretic could be invited “for humanity or curtesy... to talke or table for a night or a small time” (partly because it might inspire their conversion). Yet it was only the “poore Christian straunger” that should be permitted harbour in the godly household; “none must dwell with thee,” Topsell instructed, “but such as wil be of thy profession”.¹⁷⁰ Such messages find their parallel in practical measures: In 1568, the London authorities determined that refuge for the non-religious should be limited to one day and night.¹⁷¹ In the war-torn Low Countries, Calvinists who first provided assistance to any southern refugee, then elected to assist only those who were themselves Calvinist.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 242. For Norwich’s role as a godly “model of . . . social welfare”, see Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford, 1994–1995* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 45, and chapter two (‘Godly Cities’) more generally.

¹⁷⁰ Topsell, 20-1

¹⁷¹ Esser, “Citizenship and Immigration in 16th and Early 17th-century England,” 245.

This un-civic focus was facilitated by the constitutive experience of exile—in England, and latterly at Emden: “Exile, migration, and persecution reinforced their identity as an embattled confessional community set apart from local civic traditions and culture.”¹⁷² Topsell’s attitude thus belongs to a larger discourse, borne out of refugee experience, whether real or imagined.

Faith-led exegesis of *Ruth* is found in Lutheran commentary too: Discussing Boaz’s assistance to Ruth, Brenz judged faith to be the decisive factor. Ruth’s faith provoked God’s favour (*propitium*); because she had God’s favour, Boaz helped her.¹⁷³ Brenz encourages his readers to strive to achieve the same faith in case they too should become “peregrini” and require assistance not from friends and neighbours but alien people: God’s favour (*propitium*) would be reflected in men’s grace (*hominum gratiam*).¹⁷⁴ The tone is different to Lavater and Topsell. It was more than a decade after the first publication of this commentary that Brenz himself was forced to seek refuge for the first time, and taken together with Luther’s strong civic focus, this lack of direct experience may explain the disinterest in the pragmatic dimensions of help for strangers. His wording is hypothetical, and lacks both the direct parallels introduced within his discussion of judgment and marriage (at R4.1–12) and the impression of particular danger present in the later commentaries.¹⁷⁵ Brenz asks his audience to imagine being in Ruth’s place, and the primary lesson he offers is theological: faith is what determines whether someone will receive help.

Faith is also presented as a deciding factor in migration—an appropriate motivation for choosing or resisting the move to a strange land. Lavater sets his audience in the place of Elimelech and Naomi at R1.1, advising that one should not “forsake those places where the pure word of God [*pura vox Evangelii*] is preached openly”.¹⁷⁶ Generalising from Naomi’s experience, he argues that obedience to a husband is praise-worthy, but when husbands are “despisers of true Religion [*verae religionis*]” and go where “godly men cannot be conversant with a safe conscience”, women should resist

¹⁷² Charles H. Parker, “Calvinism and Poor Relief in Reformation Holland,” in *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, ed. Thomas Max Safley, Studies in Central European Histories (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 107–120 (115). The specific experience of the Dutch-speaking reformers would have been bolstered by Calvin’s own vision as a French refugee and a European prophet; see Oberman, “Europa Afflicta”.

¹⁷³ “Nam Ruth erat mulier pia, quae habebat propitium Deum per fidem, & erat in conspectu Dei gratiosa. Efficit igitur Dominus, ut & Ruth, quamvis misera & peregrina, inveniat gratiam hominum etiam alienigenarum . . .” Brenz, cclxxxvi [286].

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, cclxxxvii [287].

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, the direct comparison of the city gates (R4.1) with the consistorium and Brenz’s identification of the witnessing *seniores* as “those we call senators” (*quos nos senatores vocamus*)—encouraging his audience to connect the narrative experience with their own. Brenz, ccxcix [299]. For Brenz’s experience of exile, and the significance of his policies on marriage within Protestant Germany, see Estes, *Christian Magistrate and Territorial Church*, 109. See also **Ch. 5, §3.1.2 nn. 35–6**.

¹⁷⁶ P12v–13r; L9v.

“open daunger”.¹⁷⁷ Naomi earns praise for her immediate return post-famine, “out of the idolatrous nation to the people of God”.¹⁷⁸ Yet Lavater concludes that were Naomi’s dissuasion of Ruth and Orpah due to genuine belief that they were better “amongst their acquaintance than amongst strangers [*inter peregrinos*]”, then her “sinne” would compare to those of Lavater’s own time who dissuade those “willing to forsake their country at this day, where they cannot worship Christ as they desire, and exhort them . . . [to] obey the Magistrates, and waite for better times”.¹⁷⁹ Theological targets (the people of God, the word of God, sin) are exegetically enmeshed with the early modern realities of exile and emigration.

5.4.1 Ruth and the Stranger’s entitlement to glean

The discourse of migration is engaged through the movements of Naomi and Elimelech, but the scriptural injunctions about support for the *ger* are invoked only for Ruth. This is logical: Bethlehemites were understood to be subject to this legislation. Moabites were not. Yet it is also striking that Ruth is universally regarded as an entitled stranger, as illustrated by Brenz’s use of Deut 24 to show that Ruth was not required to beg (above, §5.1.1), and repeated references to gleaning legislation by others: Drusius quotes the Deuteronomy passage at R2.2, to demonstrate that gleaning was permitted by law (*licebat ex lege*) for both widows and strangers (*viduae & peregrinae*).¹⁸⁰ That Ruth was legally entitled and nonetheless requested permission becomes grounds for Lavater’s critique of those who “go into other mens fieldes, and by theft and rapine” take what is *not* theirs (P94v).¹⁸¹ The partial exception is Topsell who marginalises gleaning legislation because in the “present time of dearth, wherein manye are most pitifully tormented with want” (titlepage), he wishes to condemn those who take without requesting. Ruth’s petitions become a vehicle for the argument only implied by Lavater: even the truly poor should not take “without the consent and favour of the owners” (99). Topsell dismisses a paraphrase of Deut 24, because “there is none that wil now stand in it”—he may not have scriptural support for this dismissal, but gleaning is an inconvenient response to contemporary social issues (99). He thus shows no interest in the gleaning rights of widow, despatches R2.6-7 with a scant paragraph, and focuses on the commandment to leave corners unharvested with a marginal reference to Lev 19.9, rather than the poor and the stranger who are to benefit (Lev 19.10).

¹⁷⁷ Naomi is “a notable example” because she “followed her husband into a straunge countrie [*exilium*]”. The subsequent warning against following an unprofessing husband is muted by Pagitt’s translation; his “godly men” are Lavater’s “piae mulieres”, pious or godly women, and Lavater’s words are addressed to them. L11r, P15r.

¹⁷⁸ L17r–v; P24r. A similar view is apparent in Topsell, though further spiritualised: “Naomi adventured her body and forsoke her goods, to come to the house of the Lord . . . yet by the providence of God she escapeth al, even so my brethren admit no delays, invente no excuses” (87).

¹⁷⁹ L23v; P33r.

¹⁸⁰ Drusius, 40. The quotation supporting this statement uses the Latin *advena* rather than *peregrina*, this conflation of terms perhaps testimony to the Vulgate’s continued reach.

¹⁸¹ Lavater also cites gleaning legislation from Lev 19, 23, 25 and Deut 24 at length in his sermon on R2.1–3; P50r–51r.

The inclusion of Ruth within gleaning legislation required standardisation, the equation of *nokriyyah* and *ger*. It may be objected that she was a widow and therefore doubly entitled, a perspective that accounts for the primary reliance on Deut 24 rather than the poor-stranger texts of Leviticus.

However, it is not clear that all widows were covered by the Deuteronomy texts; the collocation of stranger, widow and orphan finds its parallel in the witnesses gathered to hear the law later in Deuteronomy: *your children, your wives*, and the *ger* in *thy* encampment—these are the women and children of the community.¹⁸² Still, Ruth was Mahlon’s widow and so—reinforced by her choice to accompany Naomi—a community widow; her entitlement is a grey area. Whatever the ambiguities, for the commentators both her strangeness and her widowhood are significant, and the strangeness alone features in other legislation applied to Ruth’s case, such as Topsell’s invocation of Lev 19.33—the divine command not to “oppress” the stranger (115).

Although the sixteenth-century Latin translations normally distinguished different Hebrew ‘others’, the Latin commentaries attest a conceptual blurring. Drusius moves from “peregrina” to “advena” in his two-sentence comment on R2.2. In Brenz’s comments, Ruth is “peregrina” and “alienigena” according to context.¹⁸³ Lavater slips fluidly between Ruth as “alienigena” and the situation of “exules” (46r), commonly using “peregrinus”.¹⁸⁴ Even referring to the grounds of her question, Ruth who is “alienigena” in Lavater’s text for R2.8-10 (43r) transforms into “peregrina” as soon as the sermon on R2.11-13 begins: “Ruth miratur . . . quod nota & grata sit Booze . . . cum peregrina sit”.¹⁸⁵ Such movement is not of itself unexpected: the terms all belong to the semantic domain of alterity and could easily be taken as synonyms in contexts where precision was not required. But as a result of such slippage, Ruth could be conceived as a model other entitled to all possible protections, and an alternative to the medieval pilgrim. Ruth’s lingering peregrine identity left open one possible reinterpretation of the Augustinian conception of the Church in exile, her Moabite outsider-status a reminder that godly citizenship lay not on earth but in heaven.

5.4.2 Strange and *godly*: Englishing the continental commentators

In the English commentaries as in the English bibles, the stranger dominates. In Pagitt’s translation of Lavater’s commentary, “strange” and “stranger” translate *advena*, *ignotos*, *alienigenas*, *exteris*, *alium (deum)*, and *alienis*, as well as the many instances of *peregrinus* and the *validi mendicantes* mentioned above. “Stranger” also replaces other collocations, *exteris populis* (L14f; P19v) and *viro*

¹⁸² See Deut 29.11; also the similar text in Deut 31.12.

¹⁸³ She is “peregrina” as a widow in Brenz’s introductory summary, but “alienigena” in her role as Christ’s forebear (cclxxiii-v [274–5]).

¹⁸⁴ See the following instances taken from commentary on *Ruth* 2: *viduas peregrinas* 37v; *peregrinam & laboriosam* 41v; *pauperes, viduas, peregrinos* 45r; *peregrini pauperes* 47v; *peregrini hospicio excipiuntur*—50r; *viduam, pauperem, peregrinam, afflictam* 51r; &c.

¹⁸⁵ L47r. For Pagitt’s readers, she is a stranger on both occasions (P59v, 66r).

alieno vel extraneo (P118v, L84v—expounding Deut 25.5).¹⁸⁶ This standardisation means that some refinement is required in order to distinguish between strangers, and know who should or should not be given assistance; indeed, the standardisation that occurs within the vernacular translations facilitates the imposition of new distinctions. Topsell does not hesitate to distinguish according to his own terms; thus Boaz responds to Ruth “[s]o soone as hee understoode who that woman was” because she was “a *godly* stranger” (108, emphasis added). Throughout Topsell’s commentary godliness, religion, and profession are all used synonymously to indicate worthy examples, as is demonstrated by the following extracts from his lecture on R2.1-7 (emphases added):

you see these *two godly women* [Ruth and Naomi], as armed examples against your selfe . . . *with the godly* they indure wofull povertie. What colde intertainment doo they finde at Bethlehem, even in the Church of God, for whose sake one forsooke her countrie, the other her wealth, and both of them their welfare? so that *the profession of religion* looseth our friends, denieth our countrie, disquieteth our peace, ingendereth our trouble, consumeth our wealth, and decaieth our substance. Is this the profit of *your profession* . . . ? How shall we bee encouraged to *religion* . . . ? (94)

here wee see *what effect godlines worketh* in the hearts of children, for Ruth offered her service, which her mother intreated not, she abhorred no labor were is never so base [sic], she was not ashamed of her poverty, even in a straunge countrey: and *all this must bee imputed to her religion*. (97)

It is a mode of discrimination he imposes on the poor as well as the stranger:

wee must not without consideration give liberally to all, but with speciall favour do good to *the godly*: for you se Boaz telleth this second cause, of her [Ruth’s] forsaking both country and kindred [i.e. for religion, cf. 117] . . . so must wee with the like favour succour the *godly* and labouring poore (119)

the poorest must not have the greatest share, but *the godliest*, for povertie without *godlines*, is like the apple of Sodome . . . if *ungodly* poore folks be a little examined, they shal be found as the apple not worthy eating, so the other not worthy to be given to . . . (136)

So central are the godly to Topsell’s discourse that not only Ruth and Abraham are allied because they “forsook . . . parentage, country, & kindred”; but also in Topsell’s present, “the professors teamed by slanderous titles . . . for Christes sake have loste their kindred and adventured their lives” (118–19).¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ In the latter instance, Pagitt is following the Geneva Bible with the exception of “marrie” at v.7—Geneva has “take” and Lavater’s text is “ducere”; this shift seems to be Pagitt’s own initiative, though it matches the trend identified by Tadmor (cf. *The Social Universe of the English Bible*, chapter two).

¹⁸⁷ The objection to “slanderous titles” refers to the use of Puritan as a label for those “advanced protestants” who referred to themselves as “godly”. See Margo Todd, *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), Introduction.

While “godliness” is necessarily peculiar to English, Pagitt’s translation suggests that it has a counterpart in Lavater’s Latin: “pius”. It is the “pijs” who may anticipate reward “for their good deedes” and whose prayers (*piorum*) are like promises (L50v, P70v); the success of Naomi’s dubious plan is contingent on Boaz’s being a “pium” man (L67v, P95f); the “pij” may be “raysted by the grace of God out of great povertie” (L80v, P112v); and the marriage of a “pijs” couple is prone to less trouble than an “unequall” or mixed marriage (L95v, P134f). Though the pattern is not completely consistent,¹⁸⁸ Lavater is certainly imposing a comparable binary division between faithful believers and unbelievers.

It is difficult to extrapolate from the commentaries of Brenz and Drusius because their works are considerably shorter and different in approach, but the existence of a German translation for Brenz offers additional testimony in favour of the *pius*-godly equation: Brenz’s use of *pius* is almost entirely restricted to a tiny portion of *Ruth* 3, in discussion of the propriety of Ruth’s marriage to Boaz, where it is paired with forms of *pudica* (modesty, chastity).¹⁸⁹ This distribution stands in marked contrast to the repeated and broad distribution of godly and *pius* in the other commentaries. The exception is in a quotation commenting on Naomi’s role as nurse (and widow; cf R4.16) where it translates the Greek εὐσεβείν. In that context Tyndale had “godly” rule, Luther (whose phase-2 version is used in Brenz’s Douche text) “Goettlich”,¹⁹⁰ the Geneva Bible has “shewe godliness” and the KJV “shew piety” (1 Tim 5.4). In the German version of Brenz’s text, the “pius” of R3 becomes “goettselige”, “gottlose” its reverse, while “pietas” is “gotseligkeit” (ccii-cciiii); this data endorses the interpretation of “pius” as a rightful counterpart to “godly”. As to the difference in distribution, either the specialist use of “pius” was a later development, or—more probably—it gained particular prominence in the discourse of non-Lutheran reformers. This is to suggest, in effect, that while the English may owe a debt to Lutherans for the term (“Goettlich”, godly), its rhetorical application owes more to the linguistic piety of other reformers.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ The “godly men” who ought not to seek a spouse by going “to daunces and banquettes” are not *pijs* but *probis*; and the example set by the Moabites, providing hospitality (*hospitium praeberē*) for *pijs hominibus* becomes the yielding of “harbor to good men” in Pagitt’s English—perhaps because he considered Moabites incapable of recognising godliness (L10f–v, P14f).

¹⁸⁹ *Piae, impiae* (twice), *pijsima* appear within seven lines on p. ccxci [291], with the associated *pietas* appearing twice in the discussion immediately following (ccxci-ii [291-2]).

¹⁹⁰ NT editions prior to 1529 had “gottselig”. Coverdale follows Tyndale (and ultimately Luther).

¹⁹¹ “Godliness” was especially associated with Calvin’s emphasis on moral discipline as a sign of the true Christian, and this may have influenced the Geneva translation of 1 Tim 5.4; the French bibles move from “gouverner religieusement” (Olivétan 1535; Calvin 1551) to “monstrer piété” (Genève 1563). Oberman regards Leo Jud’s push for the distinction between Christian community and the civic polity as an approximate parallel to Calvin’s approach; it is difficult to know whether one may reasonably place Lavater within the same ‘camp’ as Jud. Lavater’s father had been instrumental in designing the system for administering care for the poor at Zurich; but Lavater himself died less than a year after his own appointment as *Antistes* (head of the Zurich Church, and a successor to his mentor Heinrich Bullinger), leaving insufficient evidence of his practical policies. As noted in **Chapter 2, §4.4**, Pagitt’s translation of the *Ruth* commentary appears to have been produced in the brief period when Lavater was *Antistes*.

6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Taken together, sixteenth-century commentaries on *Ruth* attest a profound social concern about who should be assisted and how the truly deserving might be discerned, the latter problem being especially acute when the claimants were previously unknown. The concern was part and parcel of an existing movement to consolidate and systematise poor relief, something that was not altogether new but made more urgent by reformers' rejections of previous ideas about how the Church should respond to the poor and needy. Pre-reformation attitudes to the poor had been bound up with concepts of merit; provision had been contingent on random acts of benefaction—encouraging begging, vagrancy, and social disorder (§5.1 above). Commentators' solutions to the problem of discernment range from practical measures based on observable data (supporting the labourers and not the idlers, §5.1.1) to theological premises based on divine promises (God would make known a person's godliness, and divine favour would protect the godly, §5.4). Complicating matters, both the *Ruth* text, and the role of labour as a discerning feature meant that the reformers had to make special effort to avoid the imputation that Ruth merited reward through works, an issue explored earlier in this study (Ch. 4, §3).

The commentators' emphases vary, but in each case, the book of *Ruth* provides a scripturally documented account of migration. That this theme of migration was felt to be directly relevant to the sixteenth-century Protestant experience in England and in mainland Europe is demonstrated repeatedly, including through the immediate experience attested in Drusius' dedication (§5.3). Ruth's character readily transforms into a model by which to discriminate the deserving "stranger". That Ruth was both solitary (not a large incoming community, possessed of the capacity for independent reproduction) and associated (travelling with Naomi, a native) would also have made Ruth an attractive model for the sympathetic representation of refugees. In this respect, having left kin behind was a particular asset (§5.2).

Precisely because Ruth was a *model* stranger, she could be employed to debar other strangers from early modern society. It has been argued elsewhere that the refugee experience led to a particular religious exclusivism within Calvinist poor provision: the godly should help the godly.¹⁹² The longer commentaries of Topsell and Lavater, which give extensive attention both to Ruth's questions (R2.2, 7, 10) and to the responses of Naomi and Boaz (R2.2-12), provide plentiful evidence of how this ideology sought to draw on scriptural precedent (§5.4).

For the debate between Jud and Bullinger, and the centrality of moral discipline to Calvin see Oberman, "Europa Afflicta", 97–99, 103–4. For the role of Hans Rudolf Lavater in Zurich's poor provision, see Wandel, *Always Among Us*, esp. 142–4.

¹⁹² See especially Parker, "Calvinism and Poor Relief in Reformation Holland."

Influenced by her widowhood, Ruth's strangeness is persistently associated with the injunctions to assist widows, orphans and strangers (§5.4.1); and the one exception to this pattern (Topsell) is itself testimony to pressing social concerns. That commentators also introduced the Levitical injunctions, which pair the stranger with the (unqualified) poor, shows that it was not only Ruth's widowhood that promoted this connection in the mind of scholar or preacher. The homogenisation of the stranger in pentateuchal legislation (§3)—the removal of distinctions—enabled the commentators to integrate this legislation into the *Ruth* narrative, finding new applications and distinctions to support their ideas about who deserved assistance. Parallels between Ruth and Abraham, as exemplary migrants moved by faith (§5.2), were also strengthened by their common English strangeness. Together these archetypal “peregrini” came to represent a figure of the gathered elect, at once in the world and yet not of the world; a refugee Church that recalls Augustine's ‘peregrinating’ City of God (§4.3), a vision especially suited to Calvinists. The strangeness of Ruth, in part a product of Coverdale, had a flexibility that Tyndale's more technical alien—the outsider from another country (§4.5.2) did not.

Why populate the Bible with strangers? Perhaps most decisive for the official English and the other vernacular versions was the mix of indifference and interest toward Hebrew others (§4.5): In portions of legislation that were theologically ‘abrogated’, distinctions in alterity were unimportant; where Christian ethics continued to see the legislation as relevant, flexible application was desirable and a generic term facilitated this. This, as well as the co-option of Ruth into stranger-narratives of the sixteenth century, is an aspect of ideological interference, of the translators' worldviews interacting with their decisions.

Coverdale's translation decisions were guided by the Douche, and the English Genevans in part by their French-speaking counterparts. Comparing their draft to the vernacular texts of their near-contemporaries in addition to the ancient versions could but have encouraged the decision of King James' translators to retain the “stranger” in *Ruth* and, for the most part, in the Pentateuch too. The English Ruth had hard-working, religiously-motivated and strange counterparts across Reformation Europe (§4.4).

Chapter 5 showed ideological interference contributing to divergent translations of a single Hebrew term in *Ruth*, a trend more clearly delineated when compared with the wider canon and with other versions. The aspects of worldview affected were those dealing with social or moral conduct as regards the roles of men and women. **This chapter** has suggested that ideological concerns may also have welcomed the opposite trend: the use of a single TL term to translate multiple SL terms, so that behavioural prescriptions from one part of the Hebrew corpus could be applied selectively in other contexts. This allowed Ruth to be used as a model of those to be

helped, as reforming discourses combined with other pressures (natural, economic, and political) to prompt reevaluation of the existing systems for supporting those in need. **The following chapter** moves away from the focus on vocabulary, canon, and early modern culture, looking instead at grammar, sources of Hebrew knowledge, and the longer-term impact of translation decisions. Its questions concern not only what facilitated the survival of the fittest, but what the fittest facilitated.

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Chapter 7: Translating *mikkem* | מכם

*'For your sakes' or 'more than you'?*¹

1 OVERVIEW

In *Ruth* 1.13, Naomi says no. No, my daughters. The clause that follows this negative, (כִּי־מַר לִי מְאֹד מִכֶּם) *ki mar li me'od mikkem*, is translated in the King James Version as “for it grieveth me much for your sakes”. The Geneva and Bishops Bibles had carried a marginal note at this point, observing that the Hebrew phrase “for your sakes” might also be translated with a contrast, i.e. “more than you”. What it is that grieves Naomi, or more literally makes her bitter, is not made clear by the Hebrew text but rather relies on interpretation. Commentators did not hesitate to fill the gap.

Previous chapters have focused on *Ruth*'s translation, interpretation and explanation within early modern contexts. This chapter steps beyond that, seeking both to explore how a detail of translation came to be judged as ‘fittest’ for the Authorized Version, and to examine its exegetical footprint in subsequent centuries. The case in question was the genesis of the present study; the endurance of an unexpected (and philologically improbable) line of interpretation provoked questions about how translation decisions were made. It seems that translating the *mikkem* of R1.13 as “for your sakes” and presenting Naomi's *mar* in terms of grief rather than bitterness made her a more palatable character, a model mother-in-law (to Ruth's model daughter-in-law). The more straightforward reading of *mikkem*'s grammar, Naomi claiming greater bitterness, bitterness “more than” Ruth and Orpah, a reading favoured by most modern bibles, was distasteful because it complicated Naomi's motivations in what was already a difficult scene (see Naomi's problematic affirmation of polytheism in R1.15, **Chapter 4 §2.2**).

Issues surrounding interpretation of the key clause are first examined, together with the patterns of its translation in the early modern period. The impact of the translation on Naomi's reception history is then considered through select examples from later English texts, and contrasted with the creative interpretations of some recent commentators. The vigorous argumentation of Johann Isaac, taking to task Sebastian Castellio for daring to translate *mikkem* as “on account of you”, provides a starting point and a window onto the wider dialogue concerning authority and Hebrew exegesis in the early modern period.

¹ Embryonic versions of this chapter were presented to the Society of Biblical Literature, International Meeting (London, 4–7 July, 2011); and the European Association of Biblical Studies (Thessaloniki, 8–11 August 2011). I am grateful for the feedback received.

2 MIKKEM AND JOHANN ISAAC

Where ought one to look for authoritative answers to questions of Hebrew semantics? The matter was much contested in early modern scholarship, and the positions adopted were deeply ideological. Johann Isaac's primary goal in producing a commentary on *Ruth* was to illustrate a correct approach to Hebrew grammar, how one might properly parse verbs and so forth.² Appended to his commentary is a 12-page critique of a new and well-received Hebrew Lexicon, while some copies are bound together with Isaac's own Hebrew grammar.³

The product critiqued by Isaac is that of Johann Forster, described on Isaac's titlepage as "confusissimum", 'most disorderly'. There was some level of provocation on Forster's part, or the part of his publisher (the lexicon was a posthumous publication): Its subtitle promoted the absence of Jewish influence; it was "non ex rabinorum commentis", 'not from the rabbis' fabrications'.⁴ This proved an effective selling point—at least half-a-dozen copies of the first edition remain in British libraries, and the work was reprinted in 1564 at Basel, only seven years after its original publication. Isaac was unimpressed. He illustrates the failings of Forster's work in his critique, but the premise itself was enough to cause offense: Forster had worked entirely by comparing biblical texts, without reference to other learning whether rabbinic or scholastic. In keeping with his Wittenberg contemporaries and as the titlepage proclaimed, Forster characterised rabbinic exegesis as *commentis*, fabrications, lies; as a Jewish product it was deliberately corrupt, a view that seems to have gained credence from Elias Levita's challenge to the dating of the traditional Masoretic vocalisation, the most basic layer of Jewish interpretation.⁵ Forster's buyer was promised a pure, untainted product. Isaac, sometimes styled "Levita" (i.e. descendant of Levi), had been a rabbi prior to his conversion to Christianity. At first a Lutheran,

² Isaac, *Hegyonot: Meditationes Hebraicae*.

³ In the latter's 1557 edition: לשון למודים [i.e. Language Studies] | *Perfectissima Hebraea Grammatica, Commodo Admodum Ordine in Tres Libros Distincta* (Cologne: Jacob Soter, 1557; USTC 661389; VD16 I329).—See the digitised version of Freimann-Sammlung University Library's copy (Frankfurt am Main); permanent reference number: urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:1-112238, accessed: May 28, 2014, <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/993267/>.

⁴ Johann Forster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum: non ex Rabinorum commentis, nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum bibliorum, & eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, cum phrasibus scripturae veteris et novi testamenti diligenter annotatis. Cui in fine adnexus est locorum S. scripturae in eo explicatorum Index fidelissimus*. (Basel: Froben & Episcopius, 1557). USTC 636340.

As Anthony Grafton has observed, the attitude with which Forster prepared his text was endorsed by Laurence Humphrey the "castigator" (or corrector) responsible for the "passionate preface" to the first edition of Forster's Lexicon. See Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 126–7.

Though Seidman refers to Forster's work in the course of her discussion of Wittenberg attitudes to Hebrew, she misses the imputation of falsehood in "commentis", translating it as "comments" (perhaps because of her reliance upon a secondary source here); cf. Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, 121.

⁵ Elias Levita had not meant to suggest that what was thus recorded was therefore of less authority, or that the traditions thus recorded were not of great antiquity; however, Christian Hebraists already concerned by the need to account for non-Christian interpretations of the Hebrew scriptures treated Levita's questioning as evidence of wilful manipulation. Cf. Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, "Early Christian Hebraists," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (1300–1800), ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 254–75.

Isaac later became a Roman Catholic and took up the post of Professor of Hebrew at the University of Cologne, where his commentary on *Ruth* was published. He was angry that the flawed product of a bigoted man like Forster was being sold in a way that reaffirmed prejudices and failed to provide an accurate account of Hebrew grammar. Isaac's frustration had both ideological and grammatical bases.⁶ His work on *Ruth* may be seen as a response to his peers' offensive epistemology and their disappointing Hebrew scholarship.

Forster was not the only Hebraist to upset Isaac with his approach. The subtitle to his meditations also announces the presence of "quaedam contra fallacissimam Castalionis Bibliorum interpretationem", 'some things against the most fallacious biblical translation of Castellio'. Isaac's own Latin was limited and he had no time for the high-flown Ciceronian style epitomised by Castellio.⁷ Isaac describes Castellio as an eminent "corrector", a term he uses to denote those who edit or translate the Hebrew scriptures. Yet he repeatedly diminishes this description with his rhetorical marvelling over Castellio's latest error. Unlike the discrete demolition of Forster, the criticisms of Castellio are incorporated into the body of Isaac's book, interrupting what are otherwise short analytical remarks on verbs and complex or unclear constructions. One such criticism is found at R1.13:

I can't help but wonder what should have come into the eminent Castellio's mind, that he, a distinguished Interpreter of the Hebrew text, translates *ki-mar-li me'od mikkem*: "Greatly for your cause I suffer", when in no way whatsoever does this sense reconcile with the Hebrew. I mean who is there of the learned in the Hebrew language, who does not know *ki* to signify 'because, since', *mar* 'acerbic' or 'bitter', *li* 'to me', *mikkem* 'out of you' or 'than you'! But if it is really so, that *mikkem* may be found employed in such a manner, i.e. meaning "concerning your situation, for your sake" [*vestra causa*], I ask him to show me the place.⁸

Isaac's exasperated exclamations demonstrate a lively personal engagement. Taking objection to the use of "occurrant" in R2.22, Drusius suggested any half-decently educated Hebrew scholar

⁶ The *Hegyonot's* critique opens with a justification for attacking the work of a scholar posthumously (41–42) closing with further criticism of Forster's uninformed prejudice against rabbinic exegesis (and a last reference to Castellio, 52).

⁷ See Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 127. When possible, Isaac had an assistant to ensure the correctness of his Latin expression, as he explains in the introduction to his polemical response to Wilhelm Lindanus published a year after his meditations on *Ruth*; *ibid.*, 119.

⁸ "Miror quid Castalioni egregio Hebraici textus correctori in mentem venerit, quod כִּי־מַר־לִי מֵאֲד מִכֶּם transtulerit: Valde vestra causa doleo: cum nullo modo tamen ea sententia cum Hebraeo conveniat. Quis enim studiosorum Hebraicae linguae est, qui ignoret כִּי quoniam significare מַר acerbum vel amarum, לִי mihi, מִכֶּם ex vobis vel quam vobis! Sim vero מִכֶּם in ea significatione usquam usurpatum reperitur, ut idem sonet quod Vestra causa, rogo, demonstret mihi locum." Isaac, *Hegyonot: Meditationes Hebraicae*, 14. Translation mine. The initial rather wooden translation of "vestra causa" is intentional, additional translations being offered on the occasion of its repetition. I have also taken "corrector" as 'Interpreter' in order to avoid imposing false limitations on the term.

would know better,⁹ but he did not identify any offender. Isaac was not afraid to identify his interlocutors, and a high view of his own “mastery of Judaica” gives his critique of Castello the air of self-righteousness.¹⁰

“Non ita, meae filiae”, Castello’s Naomi says at the close of her speech, “Equidem valde vestra causa doleo sed me Iovae manus urget.”—‘Not so, my daughters. Certainly, on your account I suffer intensely, but Jove’s hand bears upon me.’ Isaac focuses his criticism on two aspects of Castello’s translation, the phrase “vestra causa”, which corresponds to the Hebrew *mikkem*, and the opening “equidem” (‘Certainly’), corresponding syntactically to the Hebrew particle *ki*. Isaac explains the meaning of *ki* to his readers as an explanatory term (מלת הטיעם), a word that introduces ‘the cause for what is set before, through the phrase that follows, which supplies a reason for what preceded’. In other words, *ki* is a causal conjunction; “equidem”, ‘certainly’, is not.¹¹ Nor, Isaac implies, does “valde vestra causa doleo” explain what has gone before.

Despite Isaac’s objections, English versions of this verse, from the Wycliffite manuscripts to the King James Bible—and in more recent times too—take a very similar line to Castello so far as the core clause is concerned (see **Table 7.1**). As model mother-in-law, Naomi is oppressed by their anguish (based on the Vulgate’s “angustia”, ‘straits’) or grieved for their sakes.

3 NARRATIVE CONTEXT (R1.11-13)

The clause comes at the close of Naomi’s second attempt to persuade Ruth and Orpah to go back to Moab. She questions their motivation for continuing with her, observing that she cannot produce more sons for them to marry. Even were she to get pregnant tonight, Naomi demands, would they really cut themselves off from other men and wait for her new sons to come of age? It is at this point, in alliterative pulsing language, that she breaks off to respond, ‘No, my daughters... the hand of Yhwh has gone out against me’ (*al banotay . . . ki-yatẓ’ah bi yad-Yhwh*). The interim phrase, *ki mar li me’od mikkem*, makes the association between Naomi’s bitterness (*mar*) and her two daughters-in-law.¹²

The word to which Isaac draws special attention, *mikkem*, is composed of the preposition מן (*min*) in contracted form (מ, *mi-*) and the pronominal suffix כם ([-*k*]kem)—you (pl.). The form of the suffix

⁹ “Hoc pariter mecum sciunt, quicumque his litteris haud vulgariter imbuti sunt” Drusus writes, i.e. ‘anyone who has been half-decently educated in this literature knows this as well as I do’. Drusius, 50.

¹⁰ For his self-conceit, see Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe*, 124.

¹¹ “Deinde vero dictio כי hanc interpretationem falsam satis coarguit, quae semper est מלת הטעם, id est, dictio causalis: praeponitur enim sequenti sententiae, quae tanquam causa priori subjicitur.”—In translation: “Then indeed the word *ki* proves clearly enough that this interpretation is false, for it is always *mlt bt’m*, i.e. a causal expression: for it is set before the following clause, which supplements the former as a cause.’ Isaac, *Hegyonot*, 14. I am grateful to Mark L. Solomon (Leo Baeck College) for confirming the meaning of מלת הטעם.

¹² To give the Hebrew in full: אל בנתי כי-מר-לי מאד מכם כי-יצאה בי יד-יהוה

is atypical, resembling the standard masculine rather than the anticipated feminine form, but this is not the first such anomaly in *Ruth*. Modern commentators have suggested this may be dialectal, or the vestiges of a dual form.¹³ Isaac refers his reader to his remarks on הלהן, where he suggests the use of ך where ך is expected is motivated by euphony.¹⁴ The debate about the text's translation pertains rather to the meaning of the preposition, and the verse is commonly included in discussion of *min*'s functions within Hebrew grammars and lexicons.

The first gloss that Isaac provides for *mikkem* is “ex vobis”, ‘out of (or from) you’. This is in keeping with the view that *min* (“ex”) is primarily associated with “separation and distance”.¹⁵ Other functions of *min*, including that Isaac proposes for R1.13, are understood to derive from this basic association.

4 THE ‘COMPARATIVE’ *MIN* (ISAAC)

In Isaac's view the function of *min* at R1.13 is comparative. In the main text he annotates *mikkem*: “Mem est *mem comparativi*.”—i.e. the initial letter (מ, *mem*), representing the contraction of *min*, is here functioning in its comparative role.¹⁶ Having no specific construction for comparative or superlative, biblical Hebrew indicates contrast by means of this preposition, which precedes the object of comparison.¹⁷ So Naomi's *mar* (bitterness) is ‘more’ *me'od* (great) ‘than’ Ruth and Orpah. In Isaac's translation: “quoniam acerbius est mihi valde, quam vobis”, ‘since [it] is much *harsber* to me, *than* to you’.

The comparative force of *min* is widely accepted. It is found in R4.15, where Ruth is adjudged to be “better than (*min*) seven sons”.¹⁸ Despite the willingness of sixteenth-century interpreters to apply this phrase to Obed (see coda to **Chapter 5**), the comparative force of the expression was undisputed.

In Septuagint Greek, the comparative force is typically reflected by the combination of ὑπέρ with the accusative case.¹⁹ This practice is shown in the LXX rendering of the R1.13 phrase: ὄτι

¹³ See discussion in Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 75–6. The latter view is favoured by Campbell. For the stylistic view see also Holmstedt, *Ruth*, 47–8, though note his caution at 73–4.

¹⁴ See Isaac, 12 §61.

¹⁵ Joüon & Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §133.e. See also GKC §101 and §119.v.

¹⁶ Emphasis added. Isaac, *Hegyonot*, 13.

¹⁷ GKC 429 §133.1.

¹⁸ Heb: טובה לך משבעה בנים, *toḇah lak mishshiv'ab banim*; the preposition *min* is again present in its abbreviated prefixed form, *mi-*.

¹⁹ F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek: With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes*, Hendrickson's expanded edition; orig. edn.: Boston: Ginn, 1905 (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995), 84–5, §94a–d. Where the use is adjectival, the Greek comparative form is also used in the majority of occasions (see §94b).

ἐπικράνθη μοι ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς; and at R4.15, ἡ ἔστιν ἀγαθή σοι ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ υἱούσ. (A relatively minor change, a shift of case from accusative (ὑμᾶς) to genitive (ὑμῶν) would support Castello’s interpretation, but there is no evidence of such variants.)²⁰

In the Septuagint, and in Isaac’s wording, an impersonal subject is assumed: Isaac supplies the singular verb “est”, but it has no counterpart in the Hebrew clause which is verbless. Ἐπικρανθη similarly assumes an impersonal third-person subject, ‘it is bitter . . .’. The identity of the harsher or bitterer “it” must be inferred. In his comments, Isaac explains that Naomi’s comparison is of her loss (husband and sons) and theirs (husbands).²¹ To what extent this really functions as a direct explanation of Naomi’s previous words, ‘no my daughters’ is a moot point.²²

4.1 Elliptical comparison

A variation on the plain comparative (‘more/less than’) is proposed by some grammarians. Described as an ‘elliptical comparison’, it is made not with the other object directly but with the capacity of the other object to perform an unstated action. Paul Joüon suggested that such an interpretation was necessary in a context such as Ex. 18.18 “for the thing is too heavy for you” (*mimmekā*; simple comparative: ‘heavier than’). The reader must complete the ellipsis, supplying e.g. “to carry”.²³ Discussing this function in the context of *Ruth*, Joüon compares Naomi’s words with those of Abimelech in Gen 26.6: Is Abimelech concerned that Isaac is more powerful than the Philistines (Heb: *mimmenu*)? More than that, it is that he is *too powerful* for them, “le sens « tu es beaucoup trop puissant pour nous » est admis par beaucoup d’auteurs. Le sens *plus que vous* est bien inférieur.” Applied to *Ruth*, such argument yields the translation “je suis beaucoup trop malheureuse pour vous”, i.e. I am much too unhappy for you; ‘my existence is too sad for you to share it’, Joüon expands.²⁴ A similar use of *min*, designated “the comparative of compatibility” by Waltke and O’Connor, occurs in the previous verse, where Naomi declares herself ‘too old to have a man’ (R1.12).²⁵ The Hebrew construction there is composed of the first person singular verb

²⁰ Waard and Nida suggest that the LXX tradition also supports a causative reading akin to Castello’s, but Rahlfs’s critical edition of the Septuagint records no variants; (*A Translator’s Handbook on the Book of Ruth*, 82 n.43). Alfred Rahlfs, *Das Buch Ruth griechisch, als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Privileg. Wurt. Bibelanst., 1922).

²¹ “Quandoquidem meae res multo acerbius habent, quam vestrae: cum vobis maritorum tantum, mihi vero & mariti & filiorum charissimorum consuetudine carendum sit . . .” Isaac, *Hegyonot*, 13.

²² Isaac takes that phrase as a response to their desire to return with her (cf. R1.11-12), rather than a response to the questions: “Ne filiae meae resistite mihi, nolite etiam me invita ac recusante mecum parare reditum ad meos.” (Ibid.)

²³ Joüon & Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 141.i.

²⁴ “Mon existence est trop triste pour que vous la partagiez”; translation mine. Paul Joüon, *Ruth: Commentaire Philologique et Exegetique (Subsidia Biblica)*, repr. of second edition, 1953 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986), 40–41. See also his introductory praise of Naomi’s “efforts pour dissuader ses brus de partager sa triste existence” (2); and his gloss on the rest (“repos”) desired in R1.9, “qu’elles n’auraient pas en partageant l’existence incertaine de Noémi” (37), emphases added.

²⁵ Bruce K. Waltke and Michael Patrick O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, digitised | BibleWorks, v. 9.0: BibleWorks LLC, 2011 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §14.4f.

zaqanti ('I am old') followed by the preposition *min*, now prefixed to the verbal infinitive from the root *hyb*, to have, (*mihyot*, 'from to be') and the preposition-noun compound *l'ish* ('to/for a man').²⁶ That Naomi is claiming to be "too old" is beyond question. Of course in this case there is no ellipsis: the object of Naomi's incompatibility ('being to a man', i.e. finding a new partner—with the aim of conceiving) is supplied in the text. Isaac regards this construction as self-intelligible, and it passes without remark. Though grammatically conceivable, the early moderns do not make such a case for R1.13's *mikkem*.

4.2 In early modern bibles

The English versions are unanimous in their advocacy of a Castellio-style 'sorry-for-you' Naomi, but this is far from typical. Pre-Lutheran versions were naturally oriented toward the Vulgate, and its influence is discussed below in the context of Castellio's interpretation. However, translators increasingly leaned in Isaac's direction.

Isaac himself cites Pagninus in support of his case. Pagninus translates, "Ne filiæ meæ, quia amaritudo foret mihi valde plus q[uam]²⁷ vobis quia egressa est in me percussio domini."—"No my daughters, for *it* should be for me greater bitterness than for you, because a blow from the Lord is gone out on me."²⁸ Pagninus may well have influenced Brucioli who translates the middle clause "perche è amaritudine à me piu che à voi"—'for [it] is greater bitterness to me than to you'. The French, Spanish and Italian versions that King James' translators took pains to consult all gave precedence to the comparison, which was supported also by the Latin text of Tremellius-Junius, as may be seen from **Table 7.2**. The comparative element was also present in earlier French, Spanish and Tuscan editions and featured as an alternative in the annotations of other editions and in commentaries (see **Table 7.3**). It appeared in the margins of the Geneva and Bishops Bibles, and its complete absence from the 1611 King James Bible is therefore the more marked.²⁹

5 THE 'CAUSAL' *MIN* (CASTELLIO)

Castellio's translations operate within a different register from other versions, favouring lively rhetoric and flowing language—or 'maintaining the purity and perspicuity of Latin speech' in the

²⁶ I.e. *וקנתי מהיות לאיש*.

²⁷ "Quam" is represented by a standard abbreviation, in the form of a letter *q* with semi-colon affixed and a tilde across the top: \tilde{q} ; (Information on medieval Latin abbreviations from Dr Olaf Pluta, *Abbreviationes*TM, version CD-Rom (Bochum: n.p., 1993).)

²⁸ Pagninus uses the Latin "in" (transl. "on") as an equivalent to the Hebrew preposition *b*; it is details such as this that led Daniell to describe this version as "over-literal" (Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 181).

²⁹ An annotation "Or, more than you" does appear in some later editions of the KJV.

terms of his 1551 title-page.³⁰ He promised his readers a fresh translation that expressed the Hebrew sense faithfully.³¹ Yet he was willing to paraphrase and to adapt biblical imagery to his own culture, the allusion to syphilis at Prov. 12.4 offering a good example of his improvisational style (see **Ch. 5 §3.2.2 n.55**). Yet, as may be seen from **Tables 7.1** and **7.4**, the bent of Castellio’s interpretation at R1.13 was by no means unique. Isaac knew this, acknowledging that other ‘moderns’ (“Neoterici”) also arrived at the causal reading of *mikkem*, but reiterating his great wonder that so great a Hebraist had erred in this manner.³² Whether or not Isaac’s verdict is accepted, the origins of the causal reading merit attention.

5.1 Ancient and medieval interpretations

Causal readings of the clause are found in multiple antique and medieval sources. Isaac represents one strand of rabbinic judgment; and Meir Zlotowitz counts a fifteenth century Spanish rabbi, Yitzhak Arama (1420-1494), among advocates of a “more than” translation. Yet Zlotowitz judges “on account of” to be a more typical Jewish interpretation, making it the main text in his edition of *Ruth* and providing numerous examples of rabbinic causal interpretations within his anthologised notes. Among the rabbis whose remarks Zlotowitz records are two contemporaneous with Isaac, Moshe Alshich (1508-1593):³³

No, my daughters: My state of bitterness is *for you*—I cannot bear to see you in such a troubled state, for the hand of God has gone forth against me; you are sinless. It was for my sins that God has been punishing me, and you have been bearing my iniquity.

And Yoel Sirkes (alias Bach, 1561-1640):

I am embittered *for your sake*—seeing your bereavement, and remembering that *because of you* my sons died.

Sirkes provides two layers of causality: Naomi is not only concerned for her daughters-in-law, but also finds them responsible for the men’s deaths. Underlying this line of interpretation is a longstanding concern that Mahlon and Chilion’s deaths were punishment for marrying Moabites, “they did not escape punishment on that account” according to the midrash.³⁴ The same idea is

³⁰ “Latini sermonis puritate & perspicuitate servata”. See Castellius.

³¹ As expressed on the titlepage: “in recenti hac translatione, lector, fideliter expressam Hebrææ at[que] Græce sente[n]tiæ . . . veritatem”.

³² “Sunt etiam alii quidam Neoterici, qua in hac sententia lapsi sunt: sed in hoc tam diligente Hebraici textus correctore (si Diis placet) magis mirum videri poterat.” “There are also others, certain Moderns, who have slipped in this clause; but that so diligent a Hebrew corrector [as Castellio] can [make this slip] is (please God) to be regarded as most extraordinary.” Isaac, *Hegyonot: Meditationes Hebraicæ*, 14. (“Diis” is a plural form, likely used by Isaac to echo the Hebrew plural *Elohim*, on which see **Ch. 4, §2.2**; the parenthetical phrase is probably an apologia for marvelling at something human rather than divine—Isaac himself is being rhetorical.)

³³ Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 77–8; translation Zlotowitz; emphases added.

³⁴ Midrash Ruth Rabbah. See Beattie, *Jewish Exegesis of the Book of Ruth*.

implicit in Iggeres Shmuel's comments, though his Naomi denies that Ruth and Orpah bear responsibility: "no my daughters, *do not think* that my bitterness is *because of you*. Definitely not! The hand of G[o]d has gone forth against me – in retribution for my own sins". This line of thought, connecting Ruth and Orpah with their husbands' deaths, can be traced back to Targum *Ruth*.³⁵

For the interpretation of *mikkem*, the Targum is of little assistance because it employs the direct cognate (with feminine suffix), מִנְכוֹן,³⁶ and so offers no hope of disambiguation. Étan Levine offers a causal translation.³⁷ Beattie and Brady both take it as comparative.³⁸ More definite is Midrash Ruth Rabbah (dating perhaps from the ninth century CE), where the text is interrupted by the insertion of a clarification, בשבילכם, 'on account of you'.³⁹

The most ancient version to support a causal reading is the Syriac Peshitta, where causal and comparative translations are presented side-by-side. Here Naomi justifies her answer (to quote Edward Campbell's translation): 'Because I am very bitter on your account, and for me it is more bitter than [for] you'.⁴⁰ The preposition 'expresses the causal interpretation.⁴¹

Equally compelling for some early modern translators was the example of the Vulgate where the phrase reads "vestra angustia magis me premit", 'your straits press me more'. The translation is paraphrastic, with "angustia" (straits, distress) and "premit" (press, oppress) serving to translate the lone Hebrew word *mar* (bitter). The Vulgate is thus unambiguous in making the situation of Ruth and Orpah cause of Naomi's concern.

The Vulgate's influence upon pre-Reformation bibles, and those of the Counter Reformation, is marked. As noted above, the Wycliffite bible translations' choice of noun is visibly primed, giving

³⁵ See Targum at R1.5: "And because they [Mahlon and Chilion] had transgressed the decree of the Memra of the LORD and married into foreign nations, their days were cut short." (Brady, "Targum Ruth in English".) This is an evident dimension in some later rabbinical comments too: wilful marriage caused the sons' deaths (Rabbi Saul ben Aryeh Leib of Amsterdam, alias Binyan Ariel, 1717–1790); Naomi would not allow marriage to further sons, or marriages kept sons in Moab, so "because of them [the sons]" (Rabbi Chaim Yosef David Azulai, alias Chidah, 1724–1806)—this last comment a reflection in part of the seemingly 'masculine' suffix. Cf. Zlotowitz, *The Book of Ruth*, 77.

³⁶ ארום מריר לי מנכון ארום נפקת בי מחת מן-קדם יי:

³⁷ See Étan Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973).

³⁸ Beattie, "The Targum of Ruth", 20. Brady ("Targum Ruth in English"): "it is more bitter for me than you for the blow has gone out . . ."

Note that the Targum amends and extends the previous phrase (בבעו ברתי לא תמררוי [ן] נפש), 'Please my daughters, do not embitter my soul'), a trait seen also in a number of sixteenth-century versions. The undetermined referent of Naomi's negative, that is, the question to which she answers 'no', is dissolved by replacement; her words becoming an explicit plea that the daughters-in-law should not cause her further bitterness.

³⁹ Harry Freedman and Maurice Simon, eds. *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. Jacob Isaac Rabinowitz, (London: Soncino Press, 1939), 8:37.

⁴⁰ Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 70.

⁴¹ I.e. The Syriac preposition cognate with Hebrew על. I am grateful to Sasha Anisimova for confirming the Syriac detail.

“anguish” for “angustia”. The two versions take the verb, “premit”, differently—as ‘oppress’ (a lexically close term), and as ‘grieve’ (a more metaphorical interpretation). Similar patterns of influence can be seen in other European languages: The clearest parallel for lexical proximity is Lefèvre’s French translation, “votre *angoisse* me *opresse* fort” (your anguish oppresses me powerfully); also close to the Latin is the Halberstadt text (1522), where it is “angest” that “druecket” (presses) Naomi.⁴² The Delft bible (1477) constitutes a fair representative of the more interpretive strand: “uwe keytiuicheit pijnt mi”, ‘your situation (*lit.* captivity) pains me’. Whatever the translation approach, versions led by the Vulgate present Naomi as concerned more with her daughters-in-law than with herself. This is in keeping with Castellio’s reading.

5.2 Accounting for the causal *min*

There are two ways in which one may seek to account for the so-called ‘causal’ interpretation of *min*, grammatical and exegetical. An examination of Hebrew grammar and biblical texts customarily associated with this usage offers a technical explanation; while the subsequent survey of commentary provides insight into its exegetical functions.

5.2.1 Grammar

The ideas grouped under the ‘causal’ label vary considerably, as suggested by the rabbinic examples above. Strictly, one ought to distinguish between ‘for your sake’ (‘for you’ as objects, ‘on your behalf, ‘on your account’; *representative cause*) and ‘because of you’ (‘from you’ as agents, ‘on account of’; *agentive cause*) though this is often obscured in discussions. Ruth Rabbah’s **בשבילכם**, *lit.* ‘in the trail of’ can be applied with either sense.

Brown, Driver & Briggs’ Lexicon cites R1.13 in the treatment of **מן** at paragraph 2f, explaining its function as indicating “the remoter cause, the ultimate ground *on account of* which something happens or is done”.⁴³ For BDB as for Gesenius, this is a sub-category of the function of **מן** as “out of” (i.e. the partitive), and more particularly “the idea of *starting from*”, that is to say that Ruth and Orpah are the source of Naomi’s great pain.⁴⁴ It is *from* them. Yet BDB proposed to translate *mikkem* in R1.13 as ‘for your sakes’ (conserving the ‘authorised’ English interpretation). It is not clear that this follows from their data: other examples within the section are causal in an agentive (or instrumental) rather than representative causal sense: At Judges 2.18, the introduction of judges is justified: ‘for Yhwh was moved *on account of* their groaning (**מנאקתם**,

⁴² See also Eck’s 1537 bible: “ewer *angst truckt* mich meer”. “Drucken” provided the German term for printing.

⁴³ Remoter cause here being distinguished from 2.e, the efficient cause. BDB includes a further comment: “The line between [meanings 2.] e and f is not always clearly defined” (580).

⁴⁴ GKC §119z, p. 383. For the original German translation, see F.H.W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 752, §4b (‘wo die Ursache weniger naher ist, daher: wegen, ob. . . besonders nach den ZW., welche einen Affect ausdrücken. . .’).

minnaqatam) in the face of their crushers and their oppressors’). At Psalm 119.53, ‘horror has seized me, *on account of* the wicked (מרשעים, *mersha'im*) forsaking thy law⁴⁵—in this instance ‘because’ is the standard translation. The Psalmist is not concerned for the wicked (as Naomi is reputedly concerned for Ruth and Orpah), but reacts to the law, or *Torah*, being forsaken (though perhaps this equates to the ‘elliptical’ situation of Ruth and Orpah, see Campbell below). A case where the force of *min* might be representative is Jacob Milgrom’s controversial interpretation of the causal operation within his construction of purity regulations: Milgrom argues that in Lev 14.19, the priest must expiate *for* (i.e. on behalf of)—and not *from*—the sinner’s impurity (מטמאתו, *mittum'ato*).⁴⁶ These examples serve to show the ambiguities involved in charting grammatical function, a process that is at once interpretive and descriptive. The degree of symbiosis between BDB and the 1885 Revised Version (based on the King James Bible) should caution against taking the former’s testimony as determinative.

In Castellio’s case as in the English versions, Ruth and Orpah are not being construed as agents actively causing Naomi’s *mar* (the translation is not “because”) but as passive recipients, the beneficiaries of Naomi’s bitterness—bitter on their behalf. In this regard, Isaac argues that were the text intended to communicate this concept, several other terms could have been used appropriately: “Nam בגללכם [et] בעבורכם [et] למענכם istam quidem vim in significando habere . . .” — ‘For *biglalkem* [because of you], *ba'avurkem* [on account of you] and *lema'ankem* [for your sake] have that force of meaning’. (One might also consider the preposition על suitable for some of the interpretations suggested.) This is a persuasive counterpoint to the grammatical case assembled.

The purpose of this study is not to rule out causative interpretations (whether agentive or representative), but to draw attention to the relative weakness of the grammatical case. As Edward Campbell has observed, considering the causative hypothesis, “If we take ‘on account of you’ to mean ‘because of the situation in which you find yourselves,’ we are assuming an ellipsis and giving *min* a nuance for which there is no biblical parallel.”⁴⁷ Such weaknesses lead back to the question of why causative readings proved so pervasive. One kind of answer is the authorities upon which the

⁴⁵ The vocalisation of the apocopated *min* is here adjusted in reaction to the weak consonant that follows, so *me-* and not *mi-*.

⁴⁶ The causative force of *min* may also apply at Lev. 15.15 and elsewhere; for a brief discussion of the case in point, and further sources, see Maer dos Santos, “מן and the Sinner in Leviticus,” Blog, Ancient Wisdom Today, (December 5, 2009), accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://maer.vidanovaphilly.org/2009/12/05/min-and-the-sinner-in-leviticus/>.

The idea was first presented in Milgrom’s commentary on *Leviticus* (ICC; Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2004). It was contested by Roy Gane in *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), and “Privative preposition in מן in purification offering pericopes and the changing face of “Dorian Gray,” *JBL* 127, no. 2 (2008): 209–222. See also Milgrom’s reaction to the first critique: “The preposition מן in the חטאת pericopes,” *JBL* 126, no. 1 (2007): 161–163.

⁴⁷ Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 71.

translators chose to rest their decision: Isaac reckoned his rabbinic training fittest for the task. English translators commonly followed Münster, esteeming his Hebrew and perhaps also valuing his role as a midpoint between the competing confessions of Lutheran Wittenberg and Calvinist Geneva. In addition, examining Isaiah David Daiches noted the tendency of King James’ translators to base decisions on the guidance offered by David Kimchi’s *Sefer haShorashim*, or ‘Book of Roots’. Under Kimchi’s entry for *min*, comes the comment on R1.13: פִּירוּשׁ מִצַּד אֵהְבַתְכֶם, *perush mitsad abavatkem*. Kimchi’s use of the same second-person suffix—whether considered masculine, euphonic, or dual—complicates interpretation, but the verbal root is clear, אָהַב, ‘-b-b, ‘love’. In Kimchi’s view, Naomi’s words are motivated by love and Ruth and Orpah are its object. The generous Naomi owes something to the reliance of King James’ translators upon Kimchi (something Daiches reckons pragmatic, Kimchi’s Hebrew being particularly simple).⁴⁸ Another kind of answer may be found in the way that commentators expound the text.

5.3 Summary

The grammatical case for a comparative meaning of *mikkem* in R1.13 is straightforward, and can be supported by numerous examples including another from the book of *Ruth* (R4.15). In contrast, the causative case relies on a very small set of examples in which the function of *min* is subject to dispute, and has been called into question by modern commentators as well as in the sixteenth-century vignette provided by Isaac’s critique of Castellio. This leaves the question pending: why did King James’ translators not, at the very least, use the margins to indicate the Hebrew could be read as “more than you”? They had before them the model of the Bishops Bible which, following the Geneva Bible, had done just this (see **Table 7.3**). Such a marginal note would not have exceeded their remit, notes on alternative readings being among the permitted marginalia.

In responding to this question, the existence of a different marginal note at R1.13 in the King James Bible should not be overlooked.

⁴⁸ “Kimchi’s Hebrew is simple and straightforward compared with that of Rashi, while Ibn Ezra’s more philosophical prose presents even greater difficulties. Thus the way in which the English Bible translators used Hebrew commentators provides a very interesting index of their Hebrew knowledge” (*The King James Version of the English Bible*, 159). Qualifying his conclusions, Daiches later observes: “It is not always clear at what stage Kimchi’s influence made itself felt, for it came in in three ways at least—through Münster, through the Geneva Bible, and directly.” (207–8.) See also Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996): Christian Hebrew scholarship “had reached a plateau” in the late sixteenth century (105), being founded substantially upon Kimchi and on Elias Levita’s scholarship.

6 KING JAMES' NOTE ON R1.13

King James' translators glossed the words *mar-li me'od* "Hebr. I have much bitterness". Thus far the significance of the Hebrew word *mar* (מר) has been largely absent from discussion. It is the word represented by the verb "grieveth" in English versions, "jam[m]ert" (saddens) in Douche versions, Latin "doleo" (suffer) and also by the noun "wee" (woe, L24) and adverbs "sor[r]y" (Coverdale) and "marrie" (Châteillon)—as well as "angustia premit" in the Vulgate. So many different grammatical elements come to represent one Hebrew word partly because of the flexibility of Hebrew, and because there is no verb in the Hebrew clause. That there is so much semantic variety among the terms used is testament in part to the contextualisation and interpretation taking place within these translations.

There is far less variety within those versions that take a comparative view of the clause. In **Table 7.2** all of the terms pertain to the Latin "amarus", bitter: "amarius", "amargura", "amaritudine", and "amertume". Similarly **Table 7.3** has "amaritudo", "amarè", and "amaris". Several factors are involved here, including linguistic grouping (the texts concerned are mainly in romance languages, and share common etymological roots) and direct reliance (Reina worked with reference to French versions). The versions identified may also share an interest in lexically close translation: "amarus" is one of the two terms that Isaac gave for *mar* when discussing the meaning of the clause. Also important though is the assonance between the Latin and Hebrew terms: the term *mar* recurs in Naomi's dialogue at R1.20-21, where she dubs herself *Mara* and tells the townswomen that the Almighty has 'marred' her. English versions have had to convey this pun through glosses, but in the romance languages "amarus" facilitated the pun. At R1.13, the pun is not yet relevant, yet literary sensitivity may have contributed to its use at this first instance of the Hebrew root.—Isaac considered "acerbius" an acceptable translation also, but that term does not appear in other versions.⁴⁹ Had the English or Douche translators had access to a similar linguistic facility, there may have been less semantic diversity.⁵⁰

The standard Englishing of "amarus" is 'bitter'. This is how *Mara* is glossed in English versions including the Wycliffite manuscripts, the margins of the Matthew Bible, and parenthetically in the Great Bible—the pun important enough for the audience to hear. When the King James Version incorporated the note, "Hebr. I have much bitterness", English readers were given access to a more literal sense of *mar-li me'od* for the first time. What prompted Tyndale's choice of the English "grieveth", so well received by subsequent translators?

⁴⁹ Alting (1710) provides an exception to this ("nam acerbius mihi multo est, quam vobis") but falls outside the chronological period under consideration

⁵⁰ The diversity is, of course, very much diminished by the powerful influence of Luther.

Judging from the OED's silence (a risk—the matter deserves further attention), the strong semantic association between grief, mourning, and death may not have been established in sixteenth-century English. This is not to say that grieve and mourn could not be used interchangeably to describe the feelings of loss after a death, but that grief may not then have borne the same strong semantic significance when used by one widow to two others that it does today. The verb “grieve” did have connotations of vexation and oppression—the latter belonging to its original intimations of heaviness (as French “grave”). The impersonal expression, “it grieveth me”, therefore serves to avoid any implication that Ruth and Orpah are deliberately vexing, oppressing or otherwise hurting Naomi.

King James' translators judged that the bitter connection deserved to be conveyed in the margins. They did not attempt to incorporate it into their main text. A survey of English versions suggests that “bitter” does not appear in association with causal readings in the main text until the RSV (1952): “it is exceedingly bitter to me for your sake” (see **Table 7.5**). Marginal annotation aside, the First Westminster Company made no innovations in their treatment of R1.13, but ended Naomi's speech thus: “nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes that the hand of the LORD is gone out against me.” The mother-in-law was preoccupied with her sons' widows.

7 CULTURAL CONTEXT: WIDOWS AND MOTHERS-IN-LAW IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Was the mother-in-law a figure of interest in early modern Europe? Historiographers seem to have touched only tangentially upon the subject, whether in studies concerned with the household and family structures, or in research examining the role of women.

Positive relations between women and their daughters-in-law were not unknown. In “laying claim to six daughters” in the 1645 printing of *A Mothers Legacy*, Elizabeth Richardson drew her two daughters-in-law into the fold, assuming “gendered filial obligation”.⁵¹ James Daybell finds that “widows who predeceased their mothers-in-law left remembrances to the older women” and suggests that “[c]o-residence gave young wives an opportunity to develop warm relationships with their mothers-in-law and those of their sisters-in-law still living at home.”⁵² Sampling three parishes

⁵¹ Jennifer Heller, *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013); digital edition not paginated.

⁵² James Daybell, *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700* (Aldershot, Hants.: Ashgate, 2004), 37, 36. His cases seem to be mainly aristocratic; see similarly the kindness of Jeanne de France (sister of Louis XI) toward her mother-in-law, described in Susan Broomhall, “Gendering the Culture of Honour at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court,” in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephanie Tarbin and Broomhall (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2008), 191. Recent scholarship has indicated that co-residence was not the standard pattern in northern Europe (cf. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 71). Against this, Foyster provides examples of co-residence and its benefits in early modern England, providing considerable support for her broader argument

in Yorkshire, W. Coster finds that “bequests to mothers-in-law were much more common” than to other types of affinal relation.⁵³ However, sympathetic relations between Naomi and her daughters-in-law ran counter to expectation. Evidence from English wills suggests that “daughters-in-law were only really important when acting as the guardians of a testator’s grandchildren”;⁵⁴ both mothers and mothers-in-law would seek to attend the birth of grandchildren, making efforts to be support the preceding pregnancy and subsequent lying-in.⁵⁵ Having failed to supply heirs, Orpah and Ruth could not expect much of their husbands’ mother. Moreover, an early modern public might have frowned upon Ruth and Naomi’s continued cohabitation. Wiesner suggests it was suspicion of the “unnatural” unmarried life that prompted laws obliging “grown, unmarried daughters . . . to leave the household of their widowed mothers to find a position in a male-headed household if their mothers could not prove need for them at home.”⁵⁶ The absence of nunneries in Protestant England meant there was no acceptable alternative to marriage. Against this, and offering prime testimony of a biblical narrative’s tactical deployment as an exemplar for in-laws, one may look to Jean Luis Vives’ commendation of Ruth’s residence with Naomi, as an aid to the maintenance of the former’s chastity (see above **Ch. 5, §3.2.1**).

Scrutinising English legal cases, Elizabeth Foyster finds the widowed mother-in-law featuring most prominently as a source of “disruption to the stability of marriage”.⁵⁷ But problems, stereotypes and complaints pertained as much to the widowhood as the affinal relationship: Unlike her espoused counterpart, the widowed mother-in-law might remarry, threatening lines of inheritance; fear of another marriage’s repercussions prompted the stereotype of greedy lusty widows, disinterested in their living relatives’ wellbeing.⁵⁸ The husband-and-father dead, the widowed mother-in-law had less certain authority over her offspring, open to challenge from a daughter’s husband, and vulnerable to defamation. If coming to reside in the offspring’s marital home, she might easily provoke discord (a hazard that applied equally to

that the significance of consanguine relations after marriage should not be underestimated; Elizabeth Foyster, “Parenting Was for Life, Not Just for Childhood: The Role of Parents in the Married Lives of Their Children in Early Modern England,” *History* 86, no. 283 (2001): 313–27.

For early modern guidance on in-law relations in southern Europe, see James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007), esp. 101–2.

⁵³ W. Coster, *Kinsbip and Inheritance in Early Modern England: Three Yorkshire Parishes*, Borthwick Paper 83 (n.p.: Borthwick | University of York, 1993), 19.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁵ Daybell, *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, 23; Elizabeth Mazzola, *Women’s Wealth and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England: “Little Legacies” and the Materials of Motherhood*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 46.

⁵⁶ Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 77.

⁵⁷ Foyster, “Parenting Was for Life, not Just for Childhood”, 320.

⁵⁸ For an illustration of this, the widowed mother-in-law accused of “selfish greed”, see Elizabeth Foyster, “Parenting Was for Life, Not Just for Childhood: The Role of Parents in the Married Lives of Their Children in Early Modern England,” *History* 86, no. 283 (2001): 320. For the stereotype, see Charles Carlton, “The Widow’s Tale: Male Myths and Female Reality in 16th and 17th Century England,” *Albion* 10, no. 2 (1978): 118–29.

widowers).⁵⁹ Though a widowed mother-in-law, Naomi was not an obvious threat to Ruth and Orpah, daughters-in-law already widowed.

Treated realistically, these three childless widows might be figures of sympathy. Brenz shows concern for Ruth and Naomi's precarious predicament.⁶⁰ Ordinary readers might bring their own experience to bear upon the text, as the young Ephraim Pagitt anticipated (see **Ch. 2 §4.4**). Being widowed was a common experience, and there were limited opportunities for women's remarriage.⁶¹ Yet popular attitudes were commonly unkind. Childlessness was especially stigmatised, "invariably seen as the woman's fault".⁶² Not only child-bearing but also the "need for economic security" provided a driving force for many marriages, and "poor widows, particularly elderly ones, found it very difficult to find marriage partners".⁶³ Childless and, in her own view, past marriageable age, an early modern Naomi had something to feel bitter about. Were early modern readers to be given a choice between the English readings of R1.13, it is hard to anticipate how they might have taken Naomi's words—as generous counterpoint to the greedy-widow motif, or as hard-justified complaint.

8 EXEGESIS

The examples drawn from ancient and medieval versions above show that Naomi's words were frequently felt to require additional explanation in addition to translation. Early modern commentators also perceived a need to explain Naomi's words.

8.1 Sixteenth-century exegesis

Several translators saw fit to annotate their text at R1.13, hinting at the opacity of the final clauses. Castellio supported his own translations, in both Latin and French, with explanatory footnotes. In the Latin edition he writes, 'I part from you reluctantly, but Jove [Jehovah], who has bereaved me of your husbands, compels me'.⁶⁴ In French, 'The Lord has constrained me in this, for he has taken your husbands from me'.⁶⁵ These notes serve especially to expound the meaning of the final

⁵⁹ Foyster quotes William Gouge's discouragement of such co-residence; his *Domesticall Duties* was first published in 1622. See "Parenting Was for Life, not Just for Childhood", 321.

⁶⁰ See **Ch. 6 §5.1.1**.

⁶¹ Comparing the twentieth and seventeenth centuries, Carlton observes that "the main difference . . . is that of age"; "nearly ten times more people died before their children had grown up" ("The Widow's Tale", 121). On the low rates of widows' remarriage, see also Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 73.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 78.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 72–3. Pushed to define 'too old for remarriage', Richard Bernard suggested "about sixty years of age"; see Jennifer Panek, *Widows and Suitors in Early Modern English Comedy*, e-Book; print edition also 2004 (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), 33–4.

⁶⁴ "Invita a vobis divellor, sed cogit Iova, qui me vestris maritis privaverit." (Translation mine.)

⁶⁵ "le Seigneur m'en contraint, pourtant qu'il m'a ôté vos maris." (Translation mine.)

clause. The Bishops Bible accounted for Naomi's words similarly in its margin: the LORD's hand had struck, "By taking away my two sonnes, who were your husbands."

More commonly one finds either a note recording the possibility of an alternative reading (see **Table 7.3**) or annotations explaining in what sense Naomi's bitterness was worse than Ruth and Orpah's. Diodati follows through the thread of Naomi's speech, adding words to her mouth 'You have hope of future husbands, I do not.'⁶⁶ Tremellius focuses on the separation; the bitterer "it" is their parting, harder for Naomi than for her daughters-in-law.⁶⁷

Turning to the commentators, Drusius pursues the significance of the comparative. Having them at hand, as childless widows, will increase Naomi's sadness. He acknowledges the Vulgate reading, but reckons the comparative better suited to the context; Naomi's present distress ("aerumna") is greater because she has lost sons and husband while they have lost only husbands (as Isaac had remarked). As in Castellio's account, she leaves unwillingly, forced by the LORD. Drusius goes on to cite Tremellius' interpretation of the parting, expressing explicit approbation. In this way, Drusius incorporates multiple points of comparison, and Naomi (not the situation of Ruth and Orpah) remains the focus of attention.⁶⁸

Lavater considers both causal and comparative possibilities: Causally, Naomi is "moved, and very much grieved for their troubles, . . . her sorrowe did increase."⁶⁹ Pagitt's language is influenced by the Geneva Bible which provides his base text; Lavater's own words are closer to the Vulgate: "propter illas *angustia premi*, & valde dolere".⁷⁰ Comparatively, "she would say this, it shoulde grieve me more than you [*doleret quam vobis*], if for my sake [*propter me*] you shoulde come into any hard case." Here again, Pagitt's words echo the English text, but not unreasonably. At the same time, Lavater has turned the comparison so that Naomi's principle preoccupation is once again with her daughters-in-law and the "hard case" they would face in accompanying her. Elaborating, Lavater's Naomi stresses her poverty and troubles, that she cannot support them. Naomi is the antithesis of selfishness: "She is not so minded as they, who when they are oppressed with evill, doe wish all men to be oppressed with the same troubles: & do advise for their own *commoditie* by other mens

⁶⁶ "c. voi havete. qualche speranza d'esset consolate con marito, e figliuoli, ma non gia io." (Translation mine.)

⁶⁷ Original: "id est, etsi grave est quod deseritis me, mihi adhuc molestius est vobis privari"—i.e. although it is hard [for you] that you are leaving me, yet it is more painful for me to be deprived of you'.

⁶⁸ Drusius, 37–38.

⁶⁹ P30r.

⁷⁰ L21v. Pagitt's translation is inexact at this point, and rather reverses the order of Lavater's clauses.

troubles.”⁷¹ She does not keep her daughters-in-law from remarriage so that they can serve her, nor prostitute them for her own benefit.⁷²

Topsell incorporates the Geneva Bible’s gloss into the text, so that Naomi invokes both contrast (“more than”) and cause (“for your sake”) in her explanation: “It grieveth me much more for your sake than for mine owne”.⁷³ This is not a contrast between Naomi’s grief and Ruth and Orpah’s but between what she feels for herself, for her “owne” sake, and what she feels for them. Expounding, Topsell sees these words as intended to convey that Naomi sought to part with the women not because they were “troublesome and burdenous” but because of her “care” for them. He presents Naomi caught between parting with her daughters-in-law or risking their wellbeing in bringing them to Bethlehem. Her greatest grief comes at the thought of losing them because confidence that she will be reunited with husband and sons in God’s kingdom mitigates her grief at those deaths, but she faces losing Ruth and Orpah “for ever” as they return “to Infidels”. Naomi’s reaction is thus presented as a sign of “true friendship”, “godly friendship, like Jonathan’s and David’s” because she places their comfort before her own—though Topsell remains keenly aware that what Naomi counsels is earthly and not spiritual comfort. Again, Orpah and Ruth form the centre of Naomi’s focus.

8.2 After 1611

Guided by the most recent commentaries, the reader of the Hebrew *Ruth* would almost certainly perceive Naomi’s words as a contrast. From 1611 until the mid-twentieth century, however, English readers would find Naomi preoccupied with Ruth and Orpah’s situation.

Commentators with knowledge of Hebrew, or who took pains to consult those with the relevant expertise, might tackle both interpretations, but those guided by the authorised English text would not. Yet this difference does not seem to be decisive, as the priority of the English interpretation is detectable in exposition and characterisation of Naomi from those with Hebrew expertise and those without.

8.2.1 Commentators with Hebrew knowledge

John Gill’s *Exposition of the Old Testament* (1764) is compendium-like, accumulating learning from sources including Pagninus, Tremellius-Junius, and Drusius (all quoted at the base of Gill’s page, as is the Hebrew text of the *mikkem* phrase). His work thus provides a digest intelligible for the vernacular reader; this comprehensive approach made his work a valuable reference tool, one that

⁷¹ P30v.

⁷² Literally, ‘drive to things of depravity’ (*ad res turpes adigunt*)—of which Lavater promises not to speak. L22r; P30v. See also the discussion in **Ch. 5 §3.1.2**.

⁷³ Topsell, 47.

continues to be marketable.⁷⁴ He comments on both the comparative and causative readings. “[I]t grieveth me for your sakes” he explains the standard English wording, because she “could be of no manner of service to them” whether in supplying husbands or otherwise maintaining them. Longer comment accrues to the comparative reading (itself supported with reference to Pagninus et al) bringing together other expositors’ explanations: she had lost more; their separation was “more bitter and grievous” for her; her affection for them was “as strong, or stronger than theirs to her”; ending with a pragmatic speculation: “they had friends in their own country that would be kind to them, but as for her, she was in deep poverty and distress, and when she came into her own country, knew not that she had any friends left to take any notice of her”. This last consideration suggests a note of complaint not seen in previous exegesis, but Gill retains a generous opinion of Naomi, adding to his comments on R1.18 (where Naomi is reported to have stopped speaking to Ruth, observing her decision to be made): “otherwise, no doubt upon this a close, comfortable, religious conversation ensued, which made their journey the more pleasant and agreeable.”⁷⁵ That the comparative reading merits greater attention is probably an indication of its superior support from other exegetes.

Six decades earlier, the Bishop of Ely, Simon Patrick (who knew Hebrew) had concluded that the “mean condition God had reduced her unto . . . was the more heavy, because she was able to do nothing *for them*.”⁷⁶ Patrick thereby overlooks the comparative meaning. A contemporary of Gill, the preacher John Macgowan did show an awareness of the comparative meaning, treating it as an extension in a similar way to the Peshitta: “The words are by some read, *It is more bitter to me than to you*. She was a poor, an old, a childless widow.”⁷⁷ This is only a minor note in his exposition, and his characterisation of Naomi is extremely positive: “[n]othing but wisdom and kindness drop from her lips; all is maternal tenderness and piety, joined with a most becoming gravity.” She thus provides “an excellent lesson to parents . . . to prefer the good of your children, even to your own

⁷⁴ Last printed in 2005 (Paris, Ark: Baptist Standard Bearer), the presence of Gill’s work integrated with online bible resources (on sites such as biblestudytools.com, or studylight.org) demonstrates that it continues to be used, its format adapted to the digital age.

⁷⁵ John Gill, *An Exposition of the Old Testament: in which are recorded the Original of Mankind, of the Several Nations of the World, and of the Jewish Nation in particular: . . . and throughout the whole, the Original Text, and the Versions of it are inspected and compared; Interpreters of the best note, both Jewish and Christian, consulted; difficult places at large explained; seeming contradictions reconciled, and various passages illustrated and confirmed by testimonies of writers, as well Gentile as Jewish* (London: printed for the author, and sold by George Keith, 1763; ESTC T93022), 2: 368–9..

⁷⁶ *A Commentary upon the Books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth: By the Right Reverend Father in God, Symon Lord Bishop of Ely*, (London: for R. Chiswell, 1702; ESTC N28243 | ECCO 17049), 639. Patrick lectured in Hebrew at Queens College, Cambridge in the early 1650s. See further Jon Parkin, “Patrick, Simon [Symon] (1626–1707), Bishop of Ely,” ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, *Oxford DNB* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21568/>.

⁷⁷ John Macgowan, *Discourses on the book of Ruth and other important subjects: wherein the Wonders of Providence, the Riches of Grace, the Privileges of Believers, and the Condition of Sinners, are Judiciously and Faithfully exemplified and improved by the late Rev. John Macgowan* (London: G. Keith; J. Johnson; and J. Macgowan, 1781; ESTC T090906) 66.

personal happiness”.⁷⁸ The “for your sakes” reading is more productive for such preaching than an embittered woman could be.

8.2.2 Comments from the English text

Published in 1628, Richard Bernard’s is the first *Ruth* commentary to make the King James Version its basis. His interpretation is not dissimilar to Topsell’s—Naomi exemplifies the “grace of true friendship”. Although herself “greatly afflicted”, this affliction was augmented by “her daughters miserie with her”, “poore widowes” whose trouble she attributed to herself. “This good woman”, Bernard wrote “applieth the whole crosse to her selfe”—a phrase that places Naomi firmly within Christian exegesis as a type or follower of Christ.⁷⁹

Thomas Fuller’s 1654 commentary expands on “grieveth me much”, contrasting Ruth and Orpah’s present state of poverty with the potential that they “increase [their] calamitie by returning home with” Naomi and thereby “add more to [her] sorrow”. The increase (“add more”) hints at the comparative interpretation, but Fuller gives no further indication of this. Naomi’s feelings for their situation are more acute because she is aging, “the sun of [her] life . . . readie to set”—so her own tragedy is unimportant. “[A]ll my care is for you”, she says, selflessly.⁸⁰

Perhaps the most influential of commentators is Matthew Henry, whose multi-volume commentary has run to at least two dozen editions since its original publication in the early 1700s.⁸¹ To Henry, Naomi is a model mother-in-law: “Mothers in Law and Daughters in Law are too often at Variance”, he observes, but “Naomi could easier want herself, than see her Daughters want.” Her acute sense of grief, “the greatest Grievance” stemmed from her inability to provide them, while she also blamed herself for Ruth and Orpah’s situation. There is no sign here of the comparative “more than you”, but there is a strong indication that had this variant made it into the King James

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 50–1. For Macgowan, Naomi is also a “type of the church”, contrasted with “the clack of the foolish woman” (51). Such are the objects of Christian charity, and to give to such is to lend to the Lord.

⁷⁹ Richard Bernard, *Ruths Recompence: or a Commentarie upon the Booke of Ruth: Wherein is shewed her Happy Calling out of her owne Country and People, into the Fellowship and Society of the Lords Inheritance: her Vertuous Life and Holy Carriage amongst Them: and then, her Reward in Gods Mercy, being by an Honourable Marriage made a Mother in Israel: Delivered in Severall Sermons, the Briefe Summe whereof is now published for the Benefit of the Church of God*, ESTC S101697 (London: printed by Felix Kyngston; sold by Simon Waterson, 1628), 71–2.

A critical edition of Bernard’s commentary (currently embargoed) was not available for consideration in this study. Cf. Arlene McAlister, “Edition of Richard Bernard’s *Ruths Recompence*” (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2012), <http://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/7734>.

⁸⁰ Thomas Fuller, *A Comment on Ruth: [with the Text of Chapters 1–2]; Together with Two Sermons: The One, Teaching How to Live Well, the Other, Minding How to Dye Well*, ESTC R210330 (London: G. & H. Eversden, 1654), 77–8. (Also reprinted in Edinburgh: J. Nichol 1865 and London: William Tegg, 1868.)

⁸¹ Matthew Henry, *An Exposition of the Historical Books of the Old Testament: Viz. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I. & II. Samuel, I. & II. Kings, I. & II. Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. Wherein each chapter is summ’d up in it’s contents, the Sacred Text inserted at large in distinct paragraphs, each paragraph reduced to it’s proper heads, the sense given, and largely illustrated with practical remarks and observations* (London: Tho. Parkhurst; J. Robinson; and J. Lawrence, 1708; ESTC T190370; first publ. 1707). Editions currently on the market include a special edition of the KJV with Matthew Henry’s notes. *Matthew Henry Study Bible: King James Version*, revised and updated commentary; general editor: A.K. Abraham (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Bibles, 2010).

Version's margins it would also have entered into Henry's discussion, for at R1.16 he is led to remark, "The Margin reads it *Be not against me. Note, We are to reckon those against us, and really our Enemies, that would hinder us in our Way to the Heavenly Canaan.*" While those hearing the lectionary reading would not thereby be exposed to alternative readings, the marginalia provided fodder for preacher and commentator.—Of course such alternatives were themselves open to interpretation; Topsell had access to the 'more than you' reading through the Geneva Bible but continued to construe the double-translation in Naomi's noble favour.

The general attitude to Naomi is sustained throughout the nineteenth century. George Lawson (1805) reckons Naomi's distress for the young widows' situation equal to (rather than greater than) the hardship of her own widowhood, while she again considers it due punishment at God's hand: "It is bitterest of all, when we have reason to think that our sins have provoked God to punish us in the persons of our friends, or to inflict those strokes which our friends must feel as heavily as ourselves."⁸²

In 1807, Thomas Northcote Toller instructed his congregants: "Naomi's disinterestedness is a pattern to aged people".⁸³ Thirty years on, Henry Woodward commented that she "manifests the most generous preference of [her daughters-in-law's] interests, and their comforts, to her own". Evidence of the "most disinterested affection between Naomi and her daughters-in-law, each anxiously endeavouring to sacrifice self, to the benefit of the other" is traced specifically to R1.13, where "we find the former, at the 13th verse, giving full vent to all that was in her heart, in the following expressions: 'Nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much, *for your sakes*, that the hand of the Lord is gone out against me' "—the italics representing Woodward's own emphasis.⁸⁴ This peculiarly loving Naomi thus colonised interpretation, aided and abetted by the King James Bible which is the commentators' central point of reference.

One of the most telling remarks appears as a footnote to the Soncino edition of *Midrash Ruth Rabbah* (1939). The Midrash's parallel phrase **בשבילכם**, "on account of you", is pursued by Rabbi Chanina, who places Naomi's words in the mouth of Moses, in the context of Exodus 31.14: The LORD is against Moses because of Israel's actions. Chanina's picture is not one of generosity toward Israel, but a strong instrumental causality.⁸⁵ This **בשבילכם** is because-of-you blame not for-

⁸² George Lawson, *Lectures on the Whole Book of Ruth: To Which Are Added, Discourses on the Condition and Duty of Unconverted Sinners, on the Sovereignty of Grace in the Conversion of Sinners, And, on the Means to Be Used in the Conversion of Our Neighbours* (Edinburgh: J. Ritchie, for Ogle & Aikman, 1805), 34–5.

⁸³ Thomas Northcote Toller, *Expository Discourses on the book of Ruth: with a preface by the Rev. W. Scott* (n.p.: London, 1848), 11. The first sermon has a footnote stating "This sermon was preached August 9th, 1807". Later, at R2.19, Toller describes Naomi as "a pattern of maternal anxiety and prudent inquiry".

⁸⁴ Henry Woodward, *Sermons on Various Subjects: with three lectures on the first chapter of the Book of Ruth* (London: James Duncan, 1838), 351, 353–354.

⁸⁵ Freedman and Simon, *Midrash Rabbah*, 8:37–39 (II.18).

your-sake sympathy; yet the editors remark on the insertion that “this adds nothing to the E.V., [for your sakes] but really confirms it . . .”⁸⁶ The editors knowingly pass over the alternative Hebrew reading—even taking the KJV as an argument against it. At the same time, they overlook the potential negative sense of **בשבילכם**, though that is what is exploited within the Midrash. They are profoundly conditioned by the standard English translation, “for your sakes”.

While English commentators kept their eyes on the Authorised causal interpretation, bible versions espousing the comparative interpretation continued to appear in other vernaculars (so for example the Dutch Statenvertaling)⁸⁷ and eventually in English.⁸⁸ But because of the firm hold of the legally established Bible, ‘approved for reading in churches’ these were often limited to obscure editions, sometimes idiosyncratic, and destined for the vernacular scholar or a particular interest group.⁸⁹

8.3 Modern critique

The grieving Naomi, whose principal concern is for her daughters-in-law, seems unremittingly good. The causal reading epitomises this to the extent to which it neglects or sidelines the alternative (and potentially more natural) sense of the Hebrew. There are, of course, other aspects of the text that affect Naomi’s characterisation. In terms of weaknesses in the generous causative depiction it is possible to point to discussion of her silence at R1.18—it is not difficult to perceive the apologetic purpose behind Gill’s “*no doubt . . . comfortable . . . pleasant and agreeable*” journey to Bethlehem. The periodic exegetical concern to explain why a God-follower would direct someone to follow other gods also hints at the difficulty in reconciling a good Naomi with a wise religious one; recollect the Geneva Bible’s assertion that this is Naomi’s failing—she is “waxen colde” (see above **Chapter 4 §2.2**). In the face of such textual question-marks, the translation “for your sakes” is an extremely influential determination in favour of positive characterisation.

In recent decades, commentators have provided a corrective to such uncomplicated readings, a corrective that coincides strikingly with the introduction of bitterer texts within the mainstream of English bibles. An array of minor editions in the 1800s incorporated comparative bitterness, and

⁸⁶ Ibid., 37 (II.17). The midrashic comment runs counter to the comparative reading. In fact, Jewish English translations of the Bible are among the first to reconsider the verse; cf. the Leeser Bible’s “more bitter to me than to you” in **Table 7.5**. The use of the KJB as base-text for the 1917 JPS marginalises these independent readings.

⁸⁷ For some more recent comparative readings in vernacular European bibles, see **Tables 7.6–8**.

⁸⁸ See examples in **Table 7.5** including: Alexander Geddes (1797); Boothroyd (1853, noting the testimony of the LXX, Peshitta and Targum); Leeser (1854); Young’s Literal (1862); Conant (1872); Darby (1890); Rotherham (1902); and Ferrar Fenton (1902).

⁸⁹ Geddes was a reprobate Catholic priest whose Fragmentary Hypothesis was the Scots answer to German Higher Criticism. Boothroyd, an independent minister, self-published having taught himself Hebrew expressly for the purpose of making a translation. Ferrar Fenton spent some fifty years on his bible translation, a version heavily associated with ‘British Israelism’—Fenton having reckoned Welsh to be derived from Ancient Hebrew. Leeser’s version was destined for an American Jewish audience.

the Revised Version of King James' Bible brought back "more than you" as a marginal note (1885). —As with the vernacular versions from mainland Europe, the comparative interpretation appears with bitter(ness) rather than grieving. Yet it was the ill-received New English Bible (1970) that brought it into the main text of a committee-made translation, a translation choice repeated by the NIV (1978), with the "more than you" bitterness finally infiltrating the "King James family" in the NRSV (1989). It was at precisely this time that more complex explorations of Naomi began to emerge within biblical studies. Fewell & Gunn's *Compromising Redemption* was arguably at the vanguard; their challenge to customary readings provoking a robust scholarly exchange in editions of JSOT in 1988–9, the associated monograph appearing in 1990, a year after the NRSV's Naomi proclaimed "it has been far more bitter for me than for you".⁹⁰

Entering into her internal monologue, Fewell & Gunn's readers overhear Naomi react with horror to the proposal of her daughters-in-law:

Oh god, she thought, that's all I need! Yahweh on my back and these women as my shadow. . . . How could she deal with the stigma that a couple of Moabite women would bring? She just had to convince them to leave her.

As the scene progresses, and Orpah leaves, Naomi is again unsympathetic:

Naomi found it hard not to show her impatience. . . . Her words had no effect. Ruth started with a rejoinder. Her tone was determined. With sinking feeling and sudden weariness, Naomi knew that she would be stuck with her. [. . .]
The journey was long, tiring and silent.⁹¹

Only half-hearing Ruth's words this Naomi maintains an exhausted silence. Not dissimilar is Ellen van Wolde's notion of the scene:

[Naomi] does not radiate happiness but resignation; she is not relieved but accepts with a shrug of her shoulders. A little phrase like 'she saw that she was determined' [R1.18] doesn't seem to have much meaning, but this isn't the case. . . . Naomi is bitter and doesn't see the positive aspect of Ruth's choice. Perhaps she doesn't want Ruth to come with her and finds Ruth an encumbrance.⁹²

Then there is the voice Athalya Brenner gives to Naomi:

⁹⁰ Cf. Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, 69–82, 25–29; Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, "'A Son Is Born To Naomi!': Literary Allusions and Interpretation in the Book of Ruth," *JSOT* 13, no. 40 (1988): 99–108; Peter W. Coxon, "Was Naomi a Scold? A Response to Fewell and Gunn," *JSOT*, no. 45 (1989): 25–37; Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, "Is Coxon a Scold? On responding to the book of Ruth," *JSOT* 14, no. 45 (1989): 39–43; Fewell and Gunn, "Boaz, Pillar of Society." See also Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*.

⁹¹ Fewell and Gunn, *Compromising Redemption*, 28–29.

⁹² Ellen Van Wolde, *Ruth and Naomi: Two Aliens*, trans. John Bowden, first published in Dutch as *Ruth en Naomi, twee vreemdangers*. Baarn: Uitgeverij Ten Have b.v., 1993 (London: SCM Press, 1997), 10.

I shouldn't have let the girls come with me in the first place. . . . But I was weak and selfish. . . . To my consternation, my slightly standoffish, quiet, reserved, distant daughter-in-law chose to come with me . . .⁹³

These recent exegeses exercise considerable imagination, but they also draw on elements present within the biblical text. The more formal commentary of Frederic Bush reacts to the silence of R1.18 by observing, “Surely such a lack of reaction to Ruth’s warm and impassioned devotion speaks volumes *about the bitterness* that consumes Naomi in her return.”⁹⁴ These visions are scarcely compatible with the Naomi who grieves “for your sakes”. The failure to connect R1.13 with the bitterness of vv 20-21 in the early modern English versions is a further breaking apart of the semantic network that would lead to a more nuanced characterisation of Naomi—a less model mother-in-law. Her failure to introduce Ruth at the gates of Bethlehem, the curt acquiescence of R2.2—“go, my daughter”, with no warning about the possible opposition Ruth might find in the fields (cf. R2.22)⁹⁵—also suggest a more complex account of Naomi’s character would better match the biblical text.

There are older exceptions to the selfless picture: In a short commentary intended for Sunday School teachers, A.L. Hunt (1884) limits his comment to the supply of the literal “more than” as a correction to “grieveth”, explaining “my lot is worse than yours”—because (as many had observed before) Naomi has lost children as well as husband.⁹⁶ In a more developed departure from the generous interpretation—anticipating the episode in Fewell and Gunn—Henry Moorhouse (ca. 1881) reckoned that Naomi’s repeated commands to return were not a test of Ruth and Orpah’s resolve, but rather symptomatic of selfish fear. Having encouraged Moabite marriage (against God’s instruction), “she does not like to take the evidence of her shame and her sin back to Bethlehem”.⁹⁷

Positive readings also draw on aspects of the text. Naomi repeatedly terms Ruth and Orpah “daughters” in distinction to the narrator’s “daughters-in-law”. Topsell’s estimation of Naomi is shaped in part by R1.8-9 where she shews herself “a most godly example of mother-like love and godly charitie”.⁹⁸

The interpretation of Naomi’s generosity of character does not hinge only upon her words in R1.13, but it is critically affected by this phrase. The powerful drive to conserve “for your

⁹³ Athalya Brenner, *I Am . . . : Biblical Women Tell Their Own Stories* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2005), 114–5.

⁹⁴ Bush, *Ruth–Esther*, 87. Emphasis added.

⁹⁵ Cf. Shepherd, “Violence in the Fields?” My own study of early modern readings of this and related verses is a work-in-progress.

⁹⁶ Alfred Leedes Hunt, *Ruth the Moabitess: A Short Commentary, Critical and Expository, on the Book of Ruth* (William Hunt: London, 1884), 24–25.

⁹⁷ Henry Moorhouse, *Ruth the Moabitess: Bible Readings on the Book of Ruth* (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d.), 11. The book is undated, but a version was published by the Bible Institute Colportage Assoc. in Chicago in 1881. It was reprinted by Pickering & Inglis (London and Glasgow) in 1927.

⁹⁸ Topsell, 36.

sakes” in the English versions is epitomised by the omission of “more than you” from the margins of the King James Bible. This need not mean that the First Westminster Company or the General Meeting tasked with revision of the Companies’ work specifically imagined the preachers’ ideal mother-in-law, though Naomi’s generous mother-in-law model had productive application in the social sphere as the foregoing catalogue of exegesis shows. They were swayed also by traditional patterns of interpretation, and retained respect for the Vulgate (as Coverdale had done) as well as a high opinion of Sebastian Münster’s Latin bible.⁹⁹ Moreover, they had been commissioned to retain whatever was familiar, provided that it was not also errant.

8.4 Isaac’s last word

Isaac presented his interpretation with rhetorical certitude, partly because he reflected critically on how Hebrew would express the idea of sympathy or causality that others found in R1.13. Yet as the KJV is ideologically conservative, Isaac’s reading is also ideologically governed. As a Reformation era convert whose Hebrew education predated this conversion, he was immune from the subtle influence of the Vulgate’s traditional interpretation, and the concurrence of the Septuagint does not appear to have interested him. This in itself is representative of his worldview, which retains something of its original rabbinic orientation. But a Christian perspective is also evident in his exegesis. Explaining the final clause of the verse, he has Naomi recognise (*agnoscere*) and confess (*profiteor*) that all that has happened to her—the loss of husband and sons and consequent troubles—is due to the just judgment of God, and merited by her sins (*peccatorum*).¹⁰⁰ She concedes the theological justice of her predicament even as she asserts its greater magnitude, and thus appears to accept (rather than bemoan) her fate, and to teach such theological fatalism to her daughters-in-law.—This focus on a Naomi who acknowledges her sins occurs repeatedly in Christian commentaries, in spite of the fact that her words may equally be read as complaint: she says that the LORD has struck her, but the meaning of the causal connection is constructed by interpretation.

At the same time, Isaac was participating in a broader conversation about what constituted good or ‘pure’ Hebrew, and how the best Hebrew scholarship might be discerned. This study suggests that

⁹⁹ Montanus’ amendment to the verse may also have affected them.

¹⁰⁰ “. . . quas tamen miseriarum difficultates omnino me promeritum [sic], & causa meorum peccatorum iusto Dei iudicio mihi inflictas agnosco atque profiteor.” Isaac, *Hegyonot*, 13. Zakovitz’s anthology of *Ruth* commentary suggests other rabbis arrived at similar interpretations, but I suspect his translation reflects the linguistic influences of a Christian culture too, however inadvertently. For rites of confession in the early modern period (in Douche-speaking territories), see Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*, e-Book; first print edition, 1997 (London: Routledge, 2005).

the best Hebrew scholarship and the brief of a bible translator do not always coincide, and that very often there is an ideal beyond the written text, one that Isaac accidentally exposes.

It would be remiss to conclude this chapter without observing that there remain versions that favour the generous view. An incomplete list would include the REB (“For your sakes I feel bitter”, 1989); the deliberately conservative ESV (“it is exceedingly bitter to me for your sake”, 2001); and in German, the New Zurich Bible (“denn es tut mir bitter leid für euch”)—a version from which a twenty-first century Coverdale could still derive the same sense, “therefore am I sorry for you”. Nor is the generous reading of Naomi wholly exiled from modern commentary: At the tail-end of the 1970s, Phyllis Tribble wrote: “Throughout the exchange, her counsel is customary, her motive altruistic, and her theology tinged with irony.”¹⁰¹ Tribble’s sentiments chime with Macgowan just as Moorhouse coincided with Fewell and Gunn.

¹⁰¹ Tribble, “A Human Comedy,” 171.

CONCLUSION

1 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis set out to examine the English bible translations produced between 1535 and 1611 and their relationship with other versions, particularly those produced in Europe shortly prior to or contemporaneous with the English versions, taking the book of *Ruth* as its case-study. Previous studies have commonly focused upon textual relationships, seeking to illustrate genealogical connections between the versions and explain their differences in terms of philology and aesthetics. The present study has focused on the role of ideology in translation decisions, at both narrative and lexical levels. In so doing, it has demonstrated that shared investment in the Bible as ‘Scripture’ and its consequent role as a theological, social, and moral guide, competed with philological and aesthetic concerns. It has also indicated the shortcomings of discussing the process of ‘Englishing’ as if it were divorced from broader biblical discourse in Europe.

Two research questions have been pursued, one empirical and the other methodological:

(1) How did ideological commitments affect what constituted ‘good’ Englishing in early modern Europe? (2) How might one locate ideological interference in early modern translations of the Bible?

These questions are important. Every translator has an ideology, taken here as a synonym for worldview, of the features of which they are only partly conscious. Ideological interference, whether conscious or unconscious, is therefore an inevitable dimension of translation. Conceived as ‘Scripture’, the Bible is a powerful text. This was acutely so in the early modern European context, as competing confessions claimed authority through their interpretation of this text. When embedded in translation, imported ideology may assume the power ascribed to the untranslated text. That this occurs in theologically divisive passages is obvious enough. Call to mind the example of Luther’s “allein” in Romans 3.28, supporting his doctrine of justification by faith ‘alone’. What this study shows and illustrates is that ideological interference is not limited to such self-evidently controversial or conscious cruxes; rather there is a constant interplay between language and values. Unacknowledged, ideological interference can lead to persistent misreadings, to a loss of ambiguity and space for negotiation. For those who treat the Bible as authoritative and a model for living, this can have practical and enduring consequences. What obtained in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains the case for many in the present; one may therefore take this thesis not only as interesting history but also an ethical challenge to scholars to be open and self-aware about their role in interpretation.

Such a challenge requires sound methodological foundations. For without due care one may ascribe ideological motivations in error, and so fail to convict.

This concluding chapter presents a synthesis of the findings of earlier chapters, elaborating upon the key research questions. That synthesis is followed by discussion of the potential implications, and by discussion of the possibilities for future research. Consideration is given to its limitations, with a summary section restating the major conclusions.

2 THE METHODOLOGICAL QUESTION

How might one locate ideological interference in early modern translations of the Bible?

Among the shortcomings of Ilona Rashkow's work on early modern bible translations was the failure to give an adequate account of the translators' context, as illustrated by her claim that Miles Coverdale's attitude to Jews and Judaism can be discerned from his failure to mention Hebrew on the titlepage of the 1535 Coverdale Bible, ignoring the accuracy of his title.¹ She also alternates between presenting the meaning of the Hebrew text as clear and determined and treating it as ambiguous, without proper acknowledgment of the difficulties it might pose to a translator and with a considerable degree of whimsy. Nor does she observe her own tendency to read Hebrew narratives within a Hebrew canon and the effect of this framework. The cumulative impact of her errors, sufficient for the *VT* reviewer to reject her thesis in its entirety,² provided the impetus to ensure a more secure methodology in the present study.

Chapters 1 and 2 set out the parameters for this study, giving theoretical support for the pursuit of ideological interference through engagement with European discourse, and identifying the sources available, as well as highlighting some methodological issues, and mapping out the complex set of relationships between the early modern bible versions. It is in **Chapter 3** that the groundwork of the investigation is presented: Seeking to emulate the professional approach of a translator, the chapter draws competence in *Ruth* from the work of recent commentators, combining this with a translation-oriented analysis of a short sample from the Hebrew text, and comparing that with the early modern English versions. Christiane Nord's analytical model provides categories with which to break open the particular textual features that concern the self-aware translator, bringing to light the difficulties and the points of decision that might otherwise be overlooked. Her profiling technique, taking into account external and internal features of the text (and so facilitating discussion of the difference between *Ruth* approached as an independent text and as part of a

¹ He openly acknowledged his dependence on intermediaries, having used neither Hebrew nor Greek. See **Ch. 1 §2.2**, **Ch. 2 §3.1**, and the **Appendix**.

² E[merton], "[Review:] Upon the Dark Places".

canon), may be fruitfully transferred to other investigations of bible translation and related discourse. This is, to my knowledge, the first time it has been employed within biblical studies.

In addition to Nord's model, the 'hows' of locating ideological interference were found to depend on the seeking out of other evidence or testimony concerning the interpretation of *Ruth* within the period. Perhaps scholarly competence in the 'early modern' should be a *sine qua non* for studies of the early modern bible texts. This study illustrates the value of amassing data from Europe in order to make sense of English data, and of looking at both biblical and non-biblical discourses. It thus endorses Debora Shuger's assertion: "One cannot get an accurate picture of the cultural workings of the Bible—of the polymorphic paper mountain of biblical discourses—in the English Renaissance by examining only insular, vernacular material."³ In this respect it goes beyond the work of Naomi Tadmor, who has also presented evidence of how features of the "social universe" were built into the translated texts.⁴ The scrutiny of details within a specific portion of the Bible is comparable to Helen Kraus' work on Genesis 1-4's mutations in the course of four ancient and early modern translations.⁵ Despite such similarities, this study is differentiated both by the wide thematic approach (in contrast with Kraus' gender-focus) and by the sheer breadth of data considered. More than fifty bible versions have been compared, together with other compositions, in languages including forms of Douche (Germanic), French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as the more typical sample of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

3 SYNTHESISING THE FINDINGS

Immediate conclusions have been presented in the summaries of the respective chapters. This section will synthesise the findings, focusing on the empirical research question: **How did ideological commitments affect what constituted 'good' Englishing in early modern Europe?**

Translation is inevitably a decision-making process. A translator's preface commonly provides the occasion for a translator to explain their approach and account for some of the decisions made. In early modern texts, such accounts have a rhetorical function and one may doubt the contents.⁶ In his prologue, Coverdale claimed that there was no difference between "do penance" and "repent" (¶20),⁷ but the orthodox process for confession in the Western Church had come to rely upon a technical understanding of "penance" and used the biblical text in support of this. Coverdale knew that. His

³ Shuger, *The Renaissance Bible*, 10.

⁴ Tadmor, *The Social Universe of the English Bible*. Though I read Tadmor's essay "Friends and Neighbours in Early Modern England" at an early stage in this research project, its evolution was otherwise independent of her work, and the confluence only observed in my study's latter stages.

⁵ Helen Kraus, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations*.

⁶ See especially Hermans, "Translating 'rhetorijckelijck' or 'ghetrouwelijck'".

⁷ Via Bray, *Translating the Bible*.

claim was apologetic and not logical. 76 years later, King James' translators described their work as 'opening a window', so that their reader would attain a direct view. Yet as their metaphor implies, this encounter was framed, the perspective of approach controlled, the reader unable to touch or interact with the landscape beyond. Choices made in translation determined the reader's view, and that of their audience, their text becoming the version "approved to be read in churches".

One might imagine that the return *ad fontes*, to the sources as idealised by humanist scholarship, meant that knowledge about grammar and philology was a key determinant in the process of translation. However, it would be false to think that where sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translators departed from the most direct rendering it was because they were incapable. Command of Hebrew varied, and in the early sixteenth century a fairly rudimentary knowledge may have served to qualify a Christian Hebraist to educate others.⁸ Some choices were made in ignorance; an experience any translator of Job must encounter, and one endemic to *hapax legomena*. Yet other factors might prompt departures from the Masoretic Text. Three such can be drawn out of the present study: the epistemological view of the text; the location of authority (including doctrinal and confessional commitments); and the intended audience.

3.1 Textual epistemology

For sixteenth-century translators, *Ruth* was not an ordinary text. Rather it was part of the Bible, of Scripture. This affected their approach to translation and the decisions they made when translating.

Locating *Ruth* between Judges and Samuel as most of the versions did—the major exceptions being Münster's diglot and the Ferrara Bible, both of which were following a Hebrew canon—meant treating it as part of a chronologically-ordered narrative, a step (seemingly) first taken by those producing or copying the Greek Septuagint. This chronological placement, together with features such as cross-referencing and the transliteration of names, reflected a particular conception of the text as 'history'. For Christians, that history climaxed with Christ. The genealogy of Matthew's Gospel had already made an exegetical connection between Ruth and Jesus; setting cross-references to the Matthean genealogy in the margins of *Ruth* 4.18-22, and in Coverdale's case even adjusting the spelling of names so that they would match the New Testament exempla, was a further step in colonising the Hebrew Bible and transforming it into the Old Testament. Cross-referencing, facilitated by evolutions in type-setting such as the use of columns and versification, also indicated that this was a text to which readers should refer, and where one passage might legitimately be interpreted by means of another from what was originally a disparate text.

⁸ See especially the work of Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*; also Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*.

Thinking of *Ruth* as history meant paying correspondingly slight attention to the text's poetic qualities. David Norton has taken pains to dismantle the assumption that King James' translators intended to create a great work of literature, in keeping with their direct statement that "niceness in words was always counted the next step to trifling" (¶15).⁹ By ignoring (or not recognising) much playful use of language, the translators produced texts with less rhetorical power. For the Hebrew reader, Naomi's complaint that she has been embittered (*hemar*), coupled with the request to be called Bitter (*Mara*), harks back to her words in R1.13—her existing claim to great bitterness (*mar*). By transliterating the alternative name, and largely relegating explanation to the margin (to be seen but not heard), the rhetorical force of her words was lost (see **Chapter 7**).

Understood as part of a canon, *Ruth* was also the beneficiary (or victim) of a process of standardisation: Reviewing earlier translations, revisers commonly increased the lexical connections between passages by pairing a target language term with a Hebrew term. The patterns of change are complex, but the discipline of recreating semantic networks based on those of the source text is evident when one considers the collocation *gibbor chayil*. In early sixteenth-century versions, the phrase is translated in multiple ways. In Montanus, Beza, and Tremellius–Junius' translations and in the King James Bible, the majority of men designated *gibbor chayil* achieve common status, as 'mighty men of valour' in the last case (see **Chapter 5**). Boaz may be excluded from this; addressing their reader(s), James' translators defended their right not to tie themselves "to an uniformity of phrasing" or be "as exact" as possible in reproducing semantic networks.¹⁰ Nonetheless, translation was becoming methodical and the other cases of standardisation facilitated the task of conferring or comparing passages in the Bible as a whole. This focus on the broader text and the historical genre contributed to translators' neglect of the common *chayil* of Ruth and Boaz. Were *Ruth* to be approached as an independent literary entity, this immediate semantic correspondence and the parity of Ruth and Boaz would have a greater chance of recognition.¹¹

The move in favour of standardisation was also symptomatic of a more systematic and technical approach to the translation of Scripture, a product of evolving norms. There was discomfort with the commonly colloquial tone of Luther and Tyndale and the high-flown rhetoric of Sebastian Castellio. The impression that such was not fitting for a sacred text, a residual concern about the translation of Scripture into the vulgar tongue, informed a long-lived preference for strict literalism, a norm that conflicted with translation preferences in other genres.¹² This is visible in the King

⁹ "The translators to the Reader", via Bray, *Translating the Bible*. See Norton's *A History of the Bible as Literature*.

¹⁰ "The translators to the Reader", via Bray.

¹¹ As noted in **Chapter 5**, more recent scholars have, nonetheless, failed to connect Ruth and Boaz in their translations.

¹² See Morini, *Tudor Translation in Theory and Practice*; Hermans "Translating 'rhetorijckelijck' or 'ghetrouwelijck'".

James' "came to pass", a biblical idiom that linked New and Old Testaments, and in the restoration of the redundant "he" of R1.1 in the first authorised version (see **Chapter 3**).

3.2 Sources of authority

Protestantism challenged the Church of Rome's authority as interpreter of Scripture, and Humanism aspects of traditional interpretation. Though some criticisms reflected classical preferences rather than philology, Lorenzo Valla's critical appraisal of the Vulgate was predicated upon comparison with the Greek New Testament. Others also tried the translation against its foundation and found it wanting. The dethronement of the Vulgate was not dependent upon Luther or the Protestant movement (whereas its preservation by the reformed Latin Church was substantially affected by the Protestant challenge). Questioning the capacity of the Vulgate to mediate God's message, begot further questions: Who was qualified to produce or even recognise a good translation? If (with many Protestants) the Bible was now to be *the* source of authority, who could possibly authorise a translation thereof? Translating the Bible was rife with practical and philosophical problems.

Luther's hermeneutic was "sola fide", faith alone. Books that conflicted with the gospel so-conceived were consigned to the rear of his canon. Protestants more generally were convinced that no rewards could be gained by works. Both the text and marginal annotation of *Ruth* 2.12 attest sensitivity to this issue. Here, and in other instances, the translated Bible was moderated to ensure readers would not absorb an improper message: Ruth was not to be rewarded for her actions but because she had made a commitment to the one true God. The promotion of preferred values took precedence over the most direct reading of a text, so that Ruth did not shelter but trust beneath God's wings. *Chesed* shown to the dead (*Ruth* 1.8; 2.20) was about actions towards their relatives still living, not an ongoing connection to the deceased, or supplicatory sacrifices made on their behalf. Where the potential for theologically 'errant' readings could not be prevented by a translator's ingenuity, prophylactic measures were introduced in the margins (see **Chapter 4**). Such intervention did not itself fill the authority vacuum, but a hermeneutical principle such as "sola fide" could be used to measure 'correct' (or doctrinally acceptable) interpretation in cases of difficulty or ambiguity.

Hebrew scholarship had a particular authority problem. When Western Christians chose to return *ad fontes*, this extended beyond the Greek New Testament to an interest in the Hebrew Bible. However, Hebrew knowledge was not a common property. In the medieval and early modern period, those best versed in Hebrew were, or had been born, Jews. Jews were in many ways the quintessential other, having (supposedly) rejected Jesus and the Christian message.

Could their teaching be trusted? Would they deliberately mislead Christian scholars? Had they corrupted the biblical text, with its complicated vocalisation and traditions of differentiating between what was written and what ought to be read? Were they actually competent Hebraists? Hadn't their lack of appreciation for the Christians' hermeneutical key rendered them wholly incapable of making good sense of God's word? Add to this the peculiar English problem that there were no local Jews to consult.

Different strategies were adopted in response. Some took a logical approach and determined that since Scripture was the source of authority, one ought to apply it to its own interpretation. (The standardisation of correspondence between terms in source and translated texts, manifest in the 'mighty men of valour' (see above, §3.1) could both regulate and aid this process.) Such an approach is present already in the habit of cross-referencing and comparing passages; readers might be directed to make certain comparisons in the vernacular bibles' margins, but philological commentators also took advantage of versification when listing the texts that could aid interpretation. Quoting scripture to support interpretation was not a new practice,¹³ but the combination of printing technology (which facilitated the mass production of uniform editions) and versification made it a more accurate, user-friendly process. Johann Forster's Hebrew Lexicon, promoted as a product of scriptural comparison with none of the rabbinical "commentis", i.e. 'lies', was the outworking of extreme suspicion coupled with the widespread Protestant principle: 'interpret Scripture with Scripture' (see **Chapter 7**).

The Vulgate's authority did not wholly recede in Protestant circles. Its lexicon primed that of the English translators, and it is generally agreed to have been one of Coverdale's five sundry sources (see **Appendix**). The philological commentator, Johann Drusius, sets the "editio vetus" in parallel columns alongside his own translation of *Ruth*, referring to it throughout his discussion; Johann Brenz based his preacher-oriented Latin commentary on the Vulgate text. These men had rejected the authority of Rome, but they did not throw baby out with bath water. The Vulgate, together with the Greek Septuagint, constituted a resource for making sense of the Hebrew Bible, recovering meaning otherwise lost in transit. The comparison of ancient versions is a practice (and principle) to which modern biblical scholars continue to adhere: where there are textual difficulties, the versions may testify to a different and possibly original Hebrew text. *Ruth* presented minimal textual difficulties, but the nascent Hebraist was easily guided by traditional solutions, and the precedent set by the ancient versions plausibly reassured the early modern revisers as they changed Orpah's *elohim* to "gods" while retaining Ruth's "God" (see **Chapter 4**).

¹³ See, for example, medieval commentators reference to Psalms to interpret sheltering under *Yhwh*'s wings; **Chapter 4 §3.4**.

Nonetheless, the Vulgate had been demoted. It was no longer “the Bible”. This demotion created the conceptual space for new authorities. Consider Coverdale’s early preference for Zurich, manifest in the reproduction of its preface as his own (see **Appendix**). Münster early assumed a particular role for the English translators, a point already demonstrated by David Daiches and G. Lloyd Jones.¹⁴ The choice is interesting given that Luther regarded Münster’s approach as dangerous, too interested in Jewish sources of knowledge, and insufficiently concerned with what the ‘right’ interpretation should be; perhaps this public difference of opinion allowed Münster to be conceived of as both a moderate (non-Lutheran) scholar and a particular path of access to relevant Judaica. The matter falls outside the remit of the present study though it might bear further investigation. The case of Geneva’s errant “assistants” (*Ruth* 4.4) shows that similarities between the English version and its French counterpart were not simply a case of common sources (*pace* Daiches). Because this mistaken reading derives from a misprinted antique form of the verb “asseoir”, it also shows that the mode of dependence was textual (see **Chapter 2**). In testing their draft, King James’ translators did not scruple to consult “Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek or Latin, no nor the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch” (¶13). Scott Mandelbrote has remarked upon the readiness of these scholars to rely upon freshly printed sources, to yield to them the authority of sacred writ.¹⁵ Translations ‘from the Hebrew’ could be heavily mediated. If Tyndale’s was less so, was that only because there were less sources upon which to draw, or because he had a keen sense of divine inspiration, moved to communicate his own sense of gospel? Lack of precedent was also opportunity: he worked out his own solution to the problem of Ruth’s young men (*Ruth* 2.21), for example.¹⁶ Comparing his innovations and problem-solving with his successors, one might conjecture that the iterative process of the Bible’s early modern Englishing took its toll on the confidence and freedom with which the translator-revisers operated; they preferred to draw on others’ best efforts, to seek out human authorities.

3.3 Intended audience

Chapters 5–7 made repeated connections between the way that aspects of *Ruth* had been translated and the pedagogical ends of preachers and reformers, illustrating the ways in which its exegesis promoted the social order and its translation supported that exegesis. Early modern women were told to read the Bible in search of virtue; and Ruth was presented as a “virtuous” woman (*Ruth*

¹⁴ Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*; Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*; and idem. “The Language of Mediaeval Jewish Exegetes on Biblical Scholarship in Sixteenth Century England.”

¹⁵ Mandelbrote, “The Authority of the Word”.

¹⁶ Though resolving a seeming incoherence, this also constitutes an intervention to protect Ruth’s integrity. It is evident (cf. **Tables 2.2** and **2.3**) that English versions disassociated the words of Boaz (*Ruth* 2.9) and those of Ruth (*Ruth* 2.21) in order to reduce the contradiction between his speech and her report, Tyndale’s method being distinctive. Whether that trend extends also to other vernacular versions remains to be explored.

3.11). The passage had to be carefully negotiated because this same virtuous Ruth was currently lying prostrate on the threshing floor in the company of an unmarried and possibly inebriate man (see vv. 7–10); nonetheless in a Hebrew phrase that could have been read in terms of her strength of character, making her a woman to be reckoned with, a person of valour and ability, social mores intervened. Women’s gendered virtue was reinforced by the homogenisation of *esbet chayil* in translation, Ruth’s *chayil* counterparts becoming “virtuous” in English, as they were “tugendsam”, “vertueuse” and “deugdelijke” in other European vernaculars (see **Chapter 5**). Though it is true that the Latin “virtutis” with which these terms correspond was derived from a manly root, “virtus” being the counterpart to Greek *ἀνδρεία* in pre-Classical Latin, and connoting courage in military contexts, in late sixteenth-century English the implication of strength was eroded, the moral dominant, and the sexual just coming into being.

The lexical choice at *Ruth* 3.11 was conservative in that it reproduced the language of earlier Vulgate-based *Ruths*. It was also socially conservative, reinforcing Ruth’s reputation as a good woman and suitable ancestor for Jesus. The translations are consistently generous in their interpretation of the characters’ motives. Naomi is a good mother-in-law who cares more for her daughters-in-law than for herself (*Ruth* 1.13; **Chapter 7**). Ruth is hard-working and faithful. Such paths of interpretation are not only kind to the characters, they also aid the work of preachers, tasked with promoting a new hyper-morality.

With her status as “stranger” the English Ruth, together with her European counterparts, is co-opted into a network of outsiders. Types of ‘other’ differentiated in Hebrew, and in most of the sixteenth-century Latin versions, share Ruth’s “strange(r)” quality in the various vernaculars. This homogenisation facilitated her presentation as a model of the deserving migrant. Early modern cities were plagued by migrants, people whose credentials were uncertain and whose deserts were difficult to assess. As the age-old practice of charity toward “peregrini”—strangers or pilgrims—was dismantled and replaced with civic or ecclesial provision for the needy, the need to determine who qualified for such assistance became paramount. Ambiguities in *Ruth*, such as the protagonist’s activities in Boaz’s field prior to his arrival (related with considerable lack of clarity by the overseer in *Ruth* 2.7) were resolved decisively in favour of her presentation as a hard-worker.¹⁷ In strangeness as in virtue, vernacular translators collaborated with preachers to render a worthy stereotype.

The aspects of interpretation drawn out within this study were not uniquely English, rather they have been enlightened by parallels in other bibles and by a “heterogeneous mass of discourse”

¹⁷ See not only the discussion in **Chapter 6**, but also Luther’s remarks as related in **Chapter 1**.

drawn from other European sources.¹⁸ The desire to present a suitable translation, one that could reinforce the societal mores of life post-Reform, was shared. Idealised, this text (i.e. the Bible) provided the foundation for ethical prescription and civic structure. Social as well as theological values contributed to the assessment and consequent survival of the ‘fittest’ translation.

3.3.1 Elite v. vulgar

The first chapter of this study included examples of how editions of the Bible were moderated and adapted for different audiences. If access to the text could not be controlled by bishops, it could be influenced by lexical choice and guided by paratextual interventions. Has this study indicated similar acts of moderation and adaptation in the text(s) of *Ruth*? There are definite differences in the handling of the Hebrew others (considered in **Chapter 6**) such that the reader of a Latin bible might discern the difference between Hebrew *ger* and *nokri-yyab*. Incorporating Ruth into the same category as the beneficiaries of communal laws (including gleaning) made it easier to present her as an archetypal migrant. To this extent, the vernacular versions served the homilist.

The motivation need not have been (purely) pedagogical: Latin translations served an educated audience, and could be read by the scholarly elite of Europe. They might function as an aid to those reading Hebrew (especially when presented within a multilingual edition). They therefore had greater reason to stick close to the semantic networks of the source text. Again, the educated reader might take a greater interest in the minutiae of Hebrew legislation (though I would argue that the special position of the *ger* is not so minute). The average vernacular reader (or hearer) might be judged to have little ‘need’ of such information. That translators were making such judgments nonetheless demonstrates differentiation between their prospective audiences, just as the crowded margins of Genevan bibles attest an increased desire to police the reader’s interaction with the text.

4 CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD(S)

The present study is unique and contributes to scholarship in a number of respects. As a work of biblical scholarship, it demonstrates the impact of early modern bible translation not only historically but in the present; the endurance of Naomi’s sympathetic “for your sakes” (*Ruth* 1.13, **Chapter 7**) and the division of Ruth and Boaz (*Ruth* 2.1, 3.11, 4.11; **Chapter 5**) continue to affect modern translators and their readers. The study also shows the productivity of Nord’s translation-oriented analysis model as a tool for examining biblical text and comparing exegesis. Is it reception history? Those biblical scholars who regard themselves as exegetes and espouse historical criticism will take it as such, and have grounds for doing so. However, reception history, or reception

¹⁸ The phrase is Shuger’s; see *The Renaissance Bible*, 2.

criticism (as I prefer to call it) is a reflexive exercise, shedding light not only on what *has* been done but on what *is* being done when the Bible is read and studied.

As a study of the textual history of English bibles, *Englishing the Bible* has taken a wider sample of versions and thus a more comprehensive approach than previous studies, aided by its non-genealogical focus. Examining patterns rather than seeking to prove direct textual relationships has begun to better illustrate how the Bible's Englishing compares to other European translation enterprises.

It would be honest to admit that the present study has been haunted by Ilona Rashkow's earlier endeavours. Though only one chapter of her monograph (and of her doctoral thesis) was devoted to *Ruth*, its existence means that this is not the first thesis to scrutinise early modern *Ruths*. Yet Rashkow's errors have pressed me to establish a sound methodology, and to provide evidence to support what often began as intuitions. Consequently this thesis proffers a sound model for investigating and identifying ideological interference in early modern bible translations (with the potential for transfer to other text-types and eras).

Situated alongside recent historiography of the early modern period, *Englishing the Bible* is a further illustration of the non-insular character of England's educated in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The European character of intellectual and religious life in the early modern era was a basic premise of this study; at its close, the value and relevance of examining (other) European discourse to make sense of English discourse should be beyond doubt. (Might one claim it as an academic riposte to those who think Europe irrelevant to inhabitants of the Atlantic Isles?) Some aspects of this study mirror the work of Naomi Tadmor; the probing of "strangers" in **Chapter 6** is reminiscent of her thematic approach. It therefore bears reiterating that what she conceived of as "Anglicisation" is very often symptomatic of a wider European domestication. Future studies ought to take this into account.

The division of disciplines in early modern studies is not secure, with a significant quotient of scholarship on the early modern Bible emerging from literary scholars. Jeffrey Shoulson sits at the junction of English Literature and Jewish Studies; Debora Shuger's scholarship steps between historical, literary and biblical. Neither is concerned with translation as such, and this study differs from theirs in its textual orientation. It nonetheless contributes to the conversation about how the Bible was being read and rewritten in the early modern period in a manner compatible with such literary studies.

It is in substance a contribution to descriptive translation studies, especially as it has employed a translation-oriented model. It may also have something to contribute to historical sociolinguistics,

having lit upon the shifting meanings of terms such as virtue and valour, alien and stranger, and honesty, bitterness and grief—and their counterparts in the languages of early modern Europe.

5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Reviewing my original remit, it seems that the dead ends, those that were not “fittest” have been pushed to the edges more than anticipated. One aspect of this is to be addressed in the supplementary study of translations of **רָבַח** (*d-b-q*), a verb that appears four times in *Ruth*. Throughout the sixteenth century, its first appearance (*Ruth* 1.14) was rendered with the English verb “abide”. In the Douai and King James, it is “cleave”. The cause and impact of its ‘abiding’ merits further attention.

This study has focused on and sought to explicate patterns in the English bibles. Where it has consulted other versions, this has often been heuristic, and the scope of this thesis has not permitted greater investigation of the patterns from other perspectives. One question of interest is the approach of those with a Jewish education: Tremellius and Isaac were born Jews. The Ferrara Bible was produced in a Jewish language (Ladino) and in part for a Jewish audience (though it is also possible to detect other influences, the translation of *esbet chayil* exhibiting a similar diversity to the Vulgate). These are versions that espouse pronounced levels of consistency in the translation of concepts, especially *chayil* (the Ferrara’s *esbet* excepted). What kinds of sensitivity do they manifest?

There are other questions that remain open. That there are significant similarities between English and European versions does not mean that there are not also independent developments, and these could be further drawn out. The Bishops Bible is relatively under-researched, and the account in **Chapter 2** has barely scratched the surface concerning its revisions’ relationship to the Hebrew text. More can be done to probe the differentiation between vernacular bibles and their Latin peers. The two versions of Castello provide an interesting potential case study to compare how one (unusual) translator targeted vernacular and Latin audiences. His treatment of Proverbs seems particularly fertile territory for enquiry. In the sample more broadly, the hints of differentiation between texts targeting vernacular vulgar and Latin elite audiences draw on a relatively small pool of evidence (in terms of case studies) and need to be extended if less tentative conclusions are to be drawn.

6 LIMITATIONS

The parameters delineated in the opening chapters set out formal limits for this study, in terms of geography, chronological span, and language. In addition, the study has taken one short biblical

book, and one might reasonably question its capacity to represent the Bible more broadly, though the canonical sampling in **Chapters 5 and 6** offers some mitigation.

What came first, the translation or the exegesis? Like chicken and egg, while I have drawn on commentaries as evidence that ideas were present to affect translation, the existence of certain translations can itself have informed the ways in which commentators read the text. One must therefore continue to proceed with caution so far as claims of conscious ideological interference are concerned. This is, I think, an inevitable limitation. Only where, as in the case of Luther, there is direct autograph testimony can one hope to go beyond conjecture.

Having undertaken an interdisciplinary endeavour, it is self-evident that I am not equally versed in all aspects of this study. While I have done my best to compensate with wide-reading and by checking with others whose expertise in a given field is greater, I fear some blind-spots remain. Less obvious (I hope) is that I am more apprentice than master in some of the languages considered. Yet this may be reversed and considered a strength because, where (for example) a native German speaker may make assumptions about the meaning of “ehrlich”, one lacking fluency is driven to probe more deeply into the evidence concerning its resonances in the period. I have striven to take the same steps when working with English sources, appreciating that a lack of confidence can be beneficial.

In writing up, it has been difficult to articulate the process by which major case studies were arrived at (**Chapters 5–7**). This thesis has been a journey, and I take comfort in the admission of Gideon Toury, the founder of Descriptive Translation Studies, that his work has often been to “make [his] choices more than just intuition”, to find out and articulate why an intuitively selected case study is “potentially more illuminating than another”.¹⁹

7 SUMMARY

This thesis asked how one might locate ideological interference in early modern translations of the Bible, proposing that wider European discourse ought to be taken into account and that decisions about Englising are best seen as part of that discourse and not a discrete or insular matter. Taking the book of *Ruth* as its focus, the resulting enquiry has identified places where the translators’ values, their worldview, appear to have contributed to their language choices in ways that depart from or constrain the biblical text. Where a translation decision had to be made, the ideologically

¹⁹ Daniel Simeoni and Gideon Toury, “Interview in Toronto (an interview conducted by Daniel Simeoni, on September 16 and 18, 2003),” in *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*, ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni, Benjamins Translation Library, EST 75 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), 399–414.

convenient was preferred. Some bibles were promoted as faithful ‘according to’ Hebrew and Greek, but it is a gross mistake to imagine that these were the only versions—or even the primary versions—a translator was consulting. Translators might return *ad fontes*, to the sources as idealised by humanist scholarship, but the reader would not drink direct from the fount.

At core, this thesis’ findings challenge the conceptualisation of English bible translation as discrete ‘Englishing’, or ‘Anglicisation’ as Tadmor termed it, and suggest that future studies would do well to attend also to what was happening in Europe.

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Münster, Sebastian, trans. *Miqdash yeyay, `esrim ve-arba` sifrey ha-miktav ha-kadosh . . . | En tibi lector Hebraica Biblia: latina planeque nova Sebast. Mvsteri tralatione, post omneis omnium hactenus ubiuis gentium aditiones evulgata, & quoad fieri potuit, hebraica veritati conformata: adiectis insuper è Rabinorum co[m]mentariis annotationibus hand pœnitendis, pulchre & uoces ambiguas & obscuriora quaq[ue] elucidantibus . . . [Vol. 2:] Otzar yesha': Sefer haNavi'im akhronim ve-sefer ketuvim vahamesh Megilloth . . . | Veteris instrumenti tomus secundus, prophetarum oracula atq[ue] hagiographa continens, hoc est, Prophetas maiores & minores Psalterium Iiob Proverbia Danielem Annalium libros duos Canticum canticorum Ruth Tbrenos Ecclesiasten Esther. Hi sacri & canonici libri, amice lector, sic ad Hebraicam veritatem genuina versione in Latinum sunt traducti, ut ne quidem ad latum unguem ad ea dissidea[n]t. Quibus praeterea in locis & sententijs obscurioribus opera Sebastiani Mvsteri non parum accessit lucis per annotationes, quas vel ex Hebraeorum commentarijs, vel ex probatoribus Latinis scriptoribus adiecit.* First edition. 2 vols. Basel: Bebeliana, Michaelis Isingrinii and Henrici Petri, 1534–5. USTC 661173; VD16 B2881; D&M 5087. | **Münster (Mst)**

Servetus, Michael, ed. *Biblia sacra ex Santis Pagnini tralatione, sed ad Hebraicae linguae amussim novissimè ita recognita, & scholiis illustrata, ut planè nova editio videri possit: accessit praeterea Liber interpretationum Hebraicorum, Arabicorum, Graecorumque nominum . . . ordine alphabetico digestus, eodem authore.* Translated by Sante Pagninus. USTC 140337. Lugduni [Lyon]: Apud Hugonem à Porta, 1542. | Servetus edn of Pagninus, not sampled

Pellikanus, Konrad, ed. *Biblia Sacrosancta Testame[n]ti Veteris & Novi: è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretib. religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum. De omnibus sancte scripture libris eorumque praestantia . . . H. Bullingeri expositio– Argumenta in omnia tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti capita, elegiaco carmine conscripta per R. Gualth[er].* Translated by Leo Juda, Theodorus Bibliander, Petrus Cholinus, and Rudolph Walther. Zurich: C. Froschouer, 1543. VD16 B2619; USTC 616576. Digitised copy: Zentralbibliothek Zurich (Bibl 34.b): <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-1844/>. | **Jud**

- Castellio, Sébastien, trans. *Biblia Interprete Sebastiano Castalione: una cum eiusdem annotationibus: Typographus lectori: In recenti hac translatione, Lector, fideliter Expressam Hebraeae at[que] Graece sente[n]tiae Veteris ac Novi Testamenti veritate[m], Latini sermonis puritate & perspicuitate servata, et habiturus: Id quod ipse legendo, & cum ceteris editionib. confere[n]do, item ex praefatione & annotationibus, illustres rerum difficiliorum imagines habentibus, plenissime cognosces.* Basel: Johann Oporinus, 1551. VD16 B2626/27; USTC 616639/40; D&M 6131; Cambridge University Library, 1.23.14. | **Castellius (Cast)**; used for *Ruth*
- Castellio, Sebastian, trans. *Biblia Sacra: Ex Sebastiani Castellionis Interpretatione et Postrema Recognitione. Praeter Diss. C. Wollii de Eo Quod Pulchrum Est in Hac Versione. Iam Accesserunt Notae Ex Margine Subiectae Chartae Geographicae et Templi Salomonis Delineatio.* Reprint; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Leipzig: Walther, 1734. | **Castellius (Cast)**; used for portions other than *Ruth*
- Tremellius, Immanuel, and Franciscus Junius, trans. *Testamenti veteris Biblia sacra sive libri canonici, priscae Iudaeorum Ecclesiae a Deo traditi, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio: accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur apocryphi, Latine redditi & notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio, multo omnes quam ante emendatius editi, numeris locisq[ue] citatis omnibus capitum distinctioni quam haec editio sequitur, exactius respondentibus: quibus etiam adjunximus novi Testamenti libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio in Latinum conversos.* Reprint. (First edition in 5 parts, Frankfurt am Main: A. Wechelus, 1575–79.) London: Henry Middleton [and Thomas Vautrollier], C[hristopher] B[arker], 1580. USTC 509177; ESTC S122426; STC 2056; digital copy: EEBO 1677.04. | Tremellius: consulted in 1593 and 1630 editions.
- Tremellius, Immanuel, and Franciscus Junius, eds. *Bibliorum pars secunda [=volume 2]: Id est, Libri Historici Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, brevibusq[ue] Scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio & Francisco Iunio.* Vol. 2. 6 vols. London: William Norton, 1593. USTC 512469; ESTC S117084. | **Tremellius-Junius, Tremellius (Trem)**. Used for *Ruth*.
- Tremellius, Immanuel, Théodore de Bèze, and Franciscus Junius, trans. *Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra: sive Libri canonici priscae judaeorum Ecclesiae a Deo traditi: accesserunt libri qui vulgo dicuntur Apocryphi, latine redditi, et notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio, multo omnes quam ante emendatius editi et aucti locis innumeris, quibus etiam adjunximus Novi Testamenti libros ex sermone syro ab eodem Tremellio, et ex graeco a Theodoro Beza in latinum versos, notisque itidem illustratos; cum indice ad notas V.T. triplice, hebraeo, graeco et latino; accessit seorsum et de novo in eadem Biblia index locupletissimus, isque geminus, alter rerum et locorum communium, alter nominum propriorum, cum brevi eorundem explicatione et historia.* Geneva: Philippum Albertum, 1630. Digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. | **Tremellius-Junius, Tremellius (Trem-Jun)**: consulted for non-*Ruth* samples.
- Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX Latine redditum et ex auctoritate Sixti V Pontificis Maximi Editum. Additus est Index Dictionum et Loquutionum Hebraicarum, Graecarum, Latinarum Quarum Observatio visa est non inutilis futura (Roma: In aedibus Populi Romani, apud G. Ferrarium, 1588) | Latin Translation of the Septuagint with Apparatus, Authorised by Pope Sixtus V.
- Robert Bellarmin, Francisco de Toledo, and Aldo Manuzio. *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis: Sixti Quinti pont. max. jussu recognita atque edita.* Rome: Vatican, 1592. Transcribed by Pasquale Amicarelli for BibleWorks v9.0.: BibleWorks LLC, 2011 | **Clementine Vulgate (VUC)**

iii. Polyglot

Zúñiga, Diego López de, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Pablo de Coronel, Demetrius Ducas, Hernán Núñez, and Juan de Vergara, eds. *Vetus testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum: Et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico Greco at[que] Chaldaico idiomate. Adiuncta vnicui[que] sua latina interpretation.* [vol. 2:] *Secunda pars Veteris testamenti Hebraico Greco[que] idiomate nunc primum impressa: adiuncta utri[que] sua latina interpretatione. etc.* 6 vols. in Academia Complutensi Alcalá de Henares: Industria Arnaldi Guilielmi de Brocaro, 1514–1517 (publ. 1522). USTC 44338. | **Complutensian Polyglot (Compl.)**

Montanus, Benito Arias, ed. *Hebraicorum bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio et Novum Testamentum Graece cum interpretatione Latina interlineari.* Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1572. USTC 405720; University of Sheffield: RBR F 225.48. | **Montanus Polyglot (Mont)**

iv. Douche / German (incl. Switzerland and Low Countries, chron.)

Biblia. Strassburg: Johann Mentelin, 1466. USTC 74100; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek | **Mentelin**

Biblia. Augsburg: Jodocus Pflanzmann, 1475. USTC 740102; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek | **Pflanzmann**

Biblia. 4 vols. Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1474. USTC 740103; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek | **Zainer**

Hie hebet an die Epistel des heyligen priesters sant Jheronimi zu Paulinum von allen götlichen büchern der hystori. Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1483. USTC 740108 | **Koberger**

Hijr beghynt Genesis dat erste boeck der vijff boeckere Moysi. Cologne: [Heinrich Quentell?], ca. 1478. USTC 740113; cf. also USTC 740112 | **Kölner**

Hier beghit dat prologus vāder biblē des ouersetters te duytsche vtē latine. USTC 35295; OT only. Delft: Meer & Yemantszoen, 1477. | **Delft**

De Bible mit vlitigher achtunge recht na deme latine in dudelck auerghesettet: mit vorluchtinghe unde glose: des hochghelerden Postillatoers Nicolai de Iyra: unde anderen velen bilighen doctoren. Lübeck: Stephanus Arndes, 1494. USTC 740114 | **Lübeck**

Ising, Gerhard, ed. *Die niederdeutschen Biblefrühdrucke: Kölner Bibeln (um 1478), Lübecker Bibel (1494), Halberstädter Bibel (1522).* Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 54.2. Berlin: Akad. Verlag, 1963.

Biblia Dudesch dat Erste (-Ander) Deell. 2 vols. Halberstadt: Lorenz Stuchs, 1522. | VD16 B2839; USTC 616608. | **Halberstadt (Halb.)**

Luther, Martin, trans. *Das Ander Teyl des Alten Testaments.* Wittenberg: Christian Döring and Lucas Cranach, 1524. ?USTC 626820; VD16 B2908; Manchester University R28667.2 | **L24, phase-1 Luther**

Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Vorstücke: Luthers eigenständige Niederschriften der Erstübersetzung (Altes Testament: Buch der Richter–Hobes Lied).* Edited by Paul Pietsch. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. WA: Die Deutsche Bibel, 1522–1546 1. Weimar: H. Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1906. | WA DB 1. **L24ms**

Hier beghint die bibel int deutsche neerstelick overgheset: ende gecorrigeert, tot profite van allen kersten menschen, die welck in vier principael deelen gedeylt is als Genesis, der Coninghen boeck, Paralipomenon, ende die Propheten. 4 vols. [Antwerp; sold at Delft]: [printed by Hans van Roemundt]; sold by Peter Kaetz, 1525. NK 380; USTC 437277. | Not part of sample.

Dat oude ende dat nieuwe testament. Antwerp: Jacob Liesvelt, 1526. First edition; USTC 400463; NK386. | **Liesvelt (Liesv)**

Den Bibel: tgebeele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met grooter naersticheyt naden Latijnschen text gecorrigeert; en̄ opten cant des boecks die alteratie die hebreusch veranderinge: naerder hebreuscher waerheyt der boeckē die int hebreus z̄ijn: en̄ die griecsce der boeckē int griecs z̄ijn: en̄dinbout voor die capittelen gestelt: met schoonen figueren gbedruct: en̄ naerstelije weder ouersien. Gedruct Thantwerpen [Antwerp]: Willem Vorsterman, 1528. NK 392; USTC 402988. | **Vorsterman 1528 (V28)**

Biblia: beyder Allt und Newen Testame[n]ts Teutsch. Worms: Peter Schöffler, 1529. | USTC 616843; VD16 B2681 | Wormser | Not part of sample.

Die Gantze Bibel: Der Ursprüngliche Ebraischenn unnd Griechischenn Warbeyt nach auffs Aller Treüwlichest Verteütschet. Zürich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1530. USTC 636708; digital copy: E-Rara | **Zurich (Z30)**

Die Gantze Bibel der ursprünglichen Ebraischen und Griechischen waarbeyt nach auffs aller treuwlichest verteutschet. Zürich: Froschouer, 1531. USTC 636707; digital copy: E-Rara | **Zurich (Z31)**

Luther, Martin. Biblia, das ist, die gantze Heilige Schrift deudsch. Edited by Stephan Füssel. Facsimile of 1534 edition (i.e. USTC 616653; Wittenberg, Hans Lufft, 1534). 2 vols. Cologne: Taschen, 2002. | **L34, phase-2 Luther**

Bibel Teutsch der Ursprünglichen Hebreischen und Griechischen warbeit nach auffs treüwlichest verdolmetschet. Zurich: Chr. Froschouer, 1534. | USTC 616427. | **Zurich (Z34)**

Den Bibel: tgebeele Oude ende Nieuwe Testame[n]t met Grooter Naersticheyt naden Latijnschen Text gecorrigeert. ende opten cant des boecs die alteratie, die Hebreusche veranderinge, naeder Hebreuscher waerheyt, der boeckē die int Hebreus z̄ijn, ende die Griecsche, der boeckē die int Griecs z̄ijn, ende ooc op den kant ghestelt die oorspronghen van Steden, Landen, ende Conincrijcken. 2 vols. [Antwerp]: Willem Vorsterman, 1534. NK 405; USTC 437650. | **Vorsterman 1534 (V34)**

Bugenhagen, Johann, trans. *De Bible: uth der uthleggine Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich uihgessett, mit sundergen underrichtingen, als men seen mach.* Lübeck: Ludowich Dietz, 1533 [col. 1534]. USTC 629067; VD16 B2840; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. | **Bugenhagen (Bug)**

Eck, Johannes. *Bibel: Alt und New Testament, nach dem Text in der hailigen Kirchen gebraucht, durch doctor Johan[n] Ecken, mit fleiss, auf hohteutsch, verdolmetscht.* Ingolstadt; Augsburg: Krapff; Weissenhorn, 1537. VD16 B2702; USTC: 616841; digital copy: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. | **Eck**

Luther, Martin. “Text der Bibelrevisionsprotokolle 1539–1541 und handschriftliche Eintragungen Luthers in sein Handexemplar des Alten Testaments von 1539/1538.” In *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Text der Bibelrevisionsprotokolle 1539–1541 und handschriftliche Eintragungen Luthers in sein Handexemplar des Alten Testaments von 1539/1538*, edited by Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. WA: Die Deutsche Bibel, 1522–1546 3. Weimar: H. Böhlau Nachfolger, 1911. WA DB 3 | **L40ms**

Luther, Martin, trans. *Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift: Deudsch auffs New Zugericht. D. Mart. Luth.* Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1541. USTC 616672. | **L41, phase-3 Luther**

Den Bybel met groter neersticheyt ghecorrigeert: met verklaringen op dye canten, dye op dander noyt geweest en syn. Antwerp: Jacob van Liesvelt, 1542. USTC 404047; digitised copy and transcription: bijbelsdigitaal.nl | **Liesvelt 1542**

Luther, Martin, trans. *Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrift: Deudsch: auffs New Zugericht. D. Mart. Luth. Begnadet mit Kurfurstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit.* 2 vols. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1545. USTC 616673, VD16 B2718. | **L45, phase-4 Luther**; this and other Luther editions also via Bindseil & Niemeyer (see Reference works)

Winghe, Nicolaus van, trans. *Den Ghebeelen Bybel, Inhoudende het Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met Grooter Naersticheyt ende Arbeyte van Nyems overghestelt wt den Latijnschen Ouden Text, die Ouerduysent Iaren in die Heylighe Roomsche Kercke Ghehouden is Gheweest, Onlancs te Iouen by sekere gheleerde wt beuel der Keyserlijcker Maiesteyt Ghecorrigeert ende aldaer Ghedruet . . . Cum Gratia et Privilegio*. Leuven [in die vermaerde Universiteyt ende stadt van Loeuven]: Bartholomaeus Gravius, 1548. USTC 400782 | **Leuven**

Den bibel, inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament. [Emden]: Nicolaes Biestkens, 1560. USTC 632419; others place printing in Groessen, see USTC 421398. | **Biestkens**

Wingen, Govaert [Godfried] van, Jan Utenhove, and Jan Dyrkinus?, trans. *Biblia: dat is, De gantsche Heylighe Schrift, grondelick ende trouwelick verduytschet, met verklaringhe duysterer woorden, redenen ende spreucken, ende verscheyden Lectien, die in andere loslicke Ouersettinghen gheuonden, ende hier aen de kant toe ghesettet zijn: met noch rijcke aenwijsinghen, der ghelijck ofte onghelijckstemmenden plaetsen, op het allereghewiste met scheydtletteren, ende versen ghetale (daer een yeghelick Cap. na Hebreischer wijse, mede onderdeylt is) verteeckent*. [Emden: ?Gellius Ctematius], 1562. USTC 401121; D&M 3293 | **“Deux Aes” Bible**

Biblia, dat is, De gantsche H. Schrifture vervattende alle de canonijcke boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments: nu eerst door last der hoogh-mog Heeren Staten Generael vande vereenighde Nederlanden, en volgens het beslyt van de Synode Nationael, gehouden tot Dordrecht, inde jaeren 1618. ende 1619: uyt de oorspronckelijcke talen in onse Neder-landtsche tale getrouwelijck over-geset: met nieuwe by gevoegde verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen, aenteeckeningen vande ghelijck-luydende texthen, ende nieuwe registers over beyde de Testamenten. Tot Leyden [Leiden]: Paulus Aertsz[oon] van Ravensteyn, 1637. D&M 3307 | **Statenvertaling (SV)**

v. French

Lefèvre d’Etaples, Jacques, trans. *La Sainte Bible en Francoys: translatee selon la pure et entiere traduction de Saint Hierome, conferee et entierement revisitee, selon les plus Anciens et plus Correctz Exemplaires. Ou sus ung chascun chapitre est mis brief argume[n]t, avec plusieurs figures et histoires: aussy les concordances en marge . . . Avec ce sont deux tables: lune pour les matieres des Deux Testame[n]tꝝ: lautre pour trouver toutes Les Epistres . . . & Les Euangiles . . .* Second edition (revision of 1528). Antwerp: Martin Lempereur [Merten de Keyser], 1530. USTC 378; NK 417. | **Lefèvre 1530 (Lefv)**

La Sainte Bible en Francoys, translatee selon la pure & entiere traduction de Saint Hierome, derechief conferée et entièrement revisitée selon les plus anciens & plus correctz exemplaires . . . Antwerp: Martin Lempereur [Merten de Keyser], 1534. USTC 424; NK419. | **Lefèvre 1534**

Olivétan, Pierre Robert, trans. *La Bible: qui est toute la Sainte Escripiture: en laquelle sont contenus, Le Vieil Testament & Le Nouveau, translatez en Francoys. Le Vieil, de l’Ebrien: & Le Nouveau, du Grec. ¶ Aussi deux amples tables, lune pour l’interpretation des propres noms: lautre en forme d’indice, pour trouver plusieurs sentences et matieres. . .* Neuchâtel: Pierre de Wingle, 1535. USTC 1096; digital copy: e-rara | **Olivétan (Oliv)**

Marcourt, Antoine, and Jean Morand, eds. *La Bible, en laquelle sont contenus tous les livres canoniques de la Sainte escriture: tant du vieil que du nouveau testament: et pareillement les apocryphes; le tout traduit en langue françoise . . .* [Geneva: Jean Girard], 1540. USTC 4700; alias *La Bible d’Épée*; digital copy: e-rara | **Marcourt-Morand (Marc.-Mor)**

La Sainte Bible en Francoys, translatee selon la pure & entiere traduction de Saint Hierome, derechief conferee & entierement revisitee selon les plus anciens & plus correctz exemplaires. Ou sus ung chascun Chapitre est mis brief argument. ¶ Avec se sont deux tables, dont lune est pour les diversitez daucunes manieres de parler figuratifz & de divers motz qua[n]t a leur propre signification: L'autre table est pour trouver les Epistres & Evangiles de toute l'annee, Avec brief recueil des ans du monde. ¶ Outre plus L'interpretation daucuns noms Hebraïques, Chaldeens, Grecz, & Latins. . . . Cum Gratia & Privilegio Imperiali. Antwerp: "Martin Lempereur" [Merten de Keyser; col: Antoine des Gois], 1541. USTC 73408; titlepage as 1534 edition, colophon supplies printer and date. | Not part of sample.

La Bible: Qui est la sainte Esriture, en laquelle sont contenuz, le vieil Testament & le nouveau, translatez en François, & reveuz [by J. Calvin]: *le vieil selon l'Hebrien, & le nouveau selon le Grec.* Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1551. USTC 5622; digitised copy: e-rara | **Genève (Gve)**

Châteillon (i.e. Castellio), Sébastien, trans. *La Bible nouvellement translätée: avec la suite de l'histoire depuis le tems d'Esdras iusqu'aux Maccabées, e depuis les Maccabées iusqu'a Christ: item avec des annotations sur les passages difficiles.* Par Sebastian Chateillon. Basel: Johann Herwagen, 1555. USTC 5655; digital copy: Universitätsbibliothek Basel: e-rara.ch. | **Châteillon (Chât)**

La Bible, qui est toute la sainte Esriture: ascavoir le vieil et nouveau Testament: de Nouveau reveve, avec Argume[nt]s sur chacu[n] livre, nouvelles annotatio[n]s en marge, fort utiles: par lesquelles on peut, sans gra[n]d labeur, obtenir la vraye intellige[n]ce du se[n]s de l'Esriture, avec recueil de gra[n]de doctrine. . . [Geneva]: Nicolas Barbier & Thomas Courteau, 1559. USTC 5696 | Barbier-Courteau (edition not consulted directly)

La Bible, qui est toute la sainte Esriture: ascavoir, le Vieil et Nouveau Testament; avec argumens sur chacun livre, annotations augmentees, et nouvelles sur les Apocryphes. Quand [sic] au nouveau Testament, il a este revu & corrigé sur le Grec par les Ministres de Geneve, comme on verra en leur Epistre qui est a la fin de l'Apocalypse. Il y a aussi plusieurs figures & cartes, tant chorographiques qu'autres de nouveau adioustees. . . . Geneva: Nicolas Barbier & Thomas Courteau, 1562. USTC 5717; digital copy: e-rara | **Barbier-Courteau (Barb.-Ct)**

La Sainte Bible. Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1564. USTC 6535; digital copy: Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes | **Lyon 1564** (used only in Ch. 4)

Beza, Theodore, and Corneille Bertram, trans. *La Bible, qui est Toute la Sainte Esriture du Vieil & du Nouveau Testament: Autrement, L'Anciene & la Nouvelle Alliance. Le tous revu & conferé sur les textes Hebrieux & Grecs par les Pasteurs & Professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneve.* Geneva: [n.p.], 1588. | USTC 60663; digital copy: e-rara: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-3320>. | **Beza**

vi. Italian and Tuscan

Brucioli, Antonio, trans. *La Biblia: quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento, tradotti da la Hebraica verita in lingua Toscana, da Antonio Brucioli. Co' divini libri del nuovo testamento di Christo Giesu signore et salvatore nostro. Tradotti di greco in lingua toscana pel medesimo.* 2 vols. Venice: Lucantonio Giunti fiorentino, 1532. USTC 802599; digital copy: bibbia.filosofia.sns.it. | **Brucioli 1532 (Bruc)**

Brucioli, Antonio, trans. *La Biblia quale contiene i sacri libri del Vecchio Testamento, tradotti da la Hebraica verita in lingua Toscana per Antonio Brucioli, aggiuntivi duoi libri di Esdra, & più copitoli in Daniel, & in Ester, nuovamente trovati, & il terzo libro de Machabei. co divini libri del Nuovo Testamento di Christo Giesu signore, & salvatore nostro. Trodotti dal greco pel medesimo. Con due tavole l'una delle quali mostra i luoghi dove sieno i libri, & l'altra dichiara quello che particolarmente si contiene in ciascun libro. Con le concordantie del Nuovo & Vecchio Testamento.* In Venetia: Frederico Torresano for Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1539. USTC 802865; digital copy: Hathi Trust. | **Brucioli 1539 (Bruc)**

Rusticio, Filippo, trans. *La Bibbia, che si chiama il Vecchio Testamento: nouamente tradutto in lingua volgare secondo la verità del testo hebreo. Quando al Nuovo Testamento è stato riueduto e ricorretto secondo la verità del testo greco, e di molte et utili annotationi illustrato, con una semplice dichiarazione sopra l'Apocalisse*. [Geneva]: Francesco Durone, 1562. USTC 804180; digital copy: bibbia.filosofia.sns.it. | **Rustici (Rust)**

Diodati, Giovanni, trans. *La Bibbia: cioe, i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento; nouamente traslatati in lingua Italiana da Giovanni Diodati, di nation Lucchese*. [Geneva]: [Jean de Tournes], 1607. D&M 5598; digital copy: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, bne.es. | **Diodati 1607 (Diod)**

Diodati, Giovanni, trans. *La sacra Bibbia: tradotta in lingua Italiana, e commentata da Giovanni Diodati di nation Lucchese. Seconda editione [i.e. second edition], migliorata, ed accresciuta. Con l'aggiunta de' Sacri Salmi, messi in rime per lo medesimo*. Geneva: Pietro Chouët, 1641. D&M 5600; digital copy: bibbia.filosofia.sns.it. | **Diodati 1641 (Diod)**

vii. Spanish and Ladino

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Appendix

Coverdale's approach to Ruth

The appendix is presented in two parts, one constituting a reexamination of Coverdale's Douche sources, and a second demonstrating how his use of sources affected his translated text. These were first prepared as an integral part of *Englishing the Bible* and reflect a source-oriented approach to the question of how ideology affected *Ruth's* Englishing.

The Tables and Figures belonging to this study follow, including those relating to the Appendix.

Part I:

Coverdale’s “Douche” context

Part of the preparatory work for the thesis, this appendix re-examines the question of Coverdale’s sources: Who or what were his “fyve sundry interpreters”? To which Douche sources did he grant preference? The identity of Coverdale’s interpreters is important for two reasons: because his translated text (IT) emerges in relation to his source texts (STs, the product of the interpreters) and so his translation decisions must be analysed in relation to them, and because the choice of sources is itself ideological.

In modern scholarship, answers to the question of Coverdale’s sources are typically cursory, ill-informed and based on inaccurate information. In particular, it is necessary to question two common-place assumptions: that one source was “obviously” Luther; and that when Coverdale said “Douche” he meant German. Because of this latter equation, Coverdale’s term is preserved throughout this discussion (as in the body of the thesis). Varieties are distinguished by the prefixes “High-”, “Swiss-”, “Low-” and “NederVlaams Douche” where necessary. These terms and their application are explained below (§3.1).

As demonstrated below, textual evidence in *Ruth* points to the extensive, profound and purposeful use of the Swiss-Douche bible printed in Zurich by Christoffel Froschouer in 1534. In addition, it seems plausible that Coverdale encountered Luther through the prism of Johann Bugenhagen’s Low Douche (or in modern terms, Low German) edition rather than working directly with a Wittenberg text. He may also have known another Douche version, perhaps even one from the city of Antwerp where he was at work, though this remains open to question. The identity of his Latin sources has already been established (see **Chapter 2**, above). It is plausible that he possessed the critical edition first produced in Paris by Robertus Stephanus (alias Robert Estienne) in 1528, but reprinted at Antwerp in 1532; it is to that Stephanus text that Vulgate references in this Appendix normally refer.

The account of Coverdale’s translation practice offered in the preceding thesis is predicated upon the hypotheses of this chapter; they have provided the foundation for an exploration of the relationships—articulated especially in terms of grammar, style and lexical choice—between contemporaneous European versions, the Ancient Versions, and Coverdale’s work, in what was the *editio princeps* of the English bible. Further exploration of the impact of his sources is presented in the second part of this appendix.

1 OVERVIEW

John Rothwell Slater made the question of Tyndale’s sources the focus of his PhD thesis (Chicago, 1906). His findings were and remain significantly flawed because he consulted only the 1545 edition of Luther’s bible—a text to which Tyndale could not possibly have had

access.¹ A year earlier, W.A. Wright had produced his revised edition of Westcott's *History of the English Bible*. In his editorial preface, Wright explains that the question of different editions provided a particular focus of his revisions—Westcott had, like Slater, based his discussion of sources on single editions without consideration for the way in which the translations changed over time.² In the case of Coverdale's Bible, very few studies have taken care to examine editions separately, and their findings have been dealt with in isolation, rather than viewed synoptically. For that reason, and because Bluhm's criticism of the lack of "independent investigation" appears to be largely correct, discussion here begins with an independent examination of the text of *Ruth* (§§4-5.2), before placing findings in the context of other scholarship and observations concerning the Coverdale Bible as a whole (§5.3-5.4).³

Of the English bibles of the 1500s, that produced by Miles Coverdale exhibits the most direct debt to other European scholars: both in the continental title-page and the prefatory address to the reader, the direct influence of "Douche" is explicitly acknowledged. However one comes to unpack that term, the "Douche interpreters" are certainly European. Coverdale situates his contribution as part of a more general European project: his englishing is making available for the English nation what is already "plenteously provided for" among "other nations",⁴ whether *verdeutschten* for the Germans, *verteutschen* for the Swiss, *ghecorrigit* for the Vlanderen, *gedansket* or franchised(!) for the French.

The source question is well introduced by an extratextual profile of the Coverdale Bible (parts of which have been drawn on in **Chapter 3** above), using Christiane Nord's model.

2 C-RUTH EXTRATEXTUAL PROFILE

so make I this protestation . . . that I have . . . with a clear
conscience purely and faithfully translated this out of five sundry
interpreters, having only the manifest truth of the scriptures
before mine eyes (¶10)

- (a) **Sender:** The quotation is taken from the dedication, where Coverdale closes with a "protestation" that his "poor translation" is non-sectarian in intent. The paratextual material, including both the Continental and English versions of the titlepage, makes explicit the status of the text as a translation.⁵ As translation, Coverdale is its

¹ As observed by Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, 141 n.14; Slater, "The Sources of Tyndale's Version of the Pentateuch".

² Wright in Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, xi–xii.

³ Heinz Bluhm, "The 'Douche' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46, no. 1 (1947): 53–62.

⁴ ¶11. As in the main body of this study, quotations of Coverdale's prefatory material are taken from Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 60–78. Paragraphs 1 to 10 represent Coverdale's dedication to Henry VIII, while paragraphs 11–23 constitute his address to the reader.

⁵ The titlepage was reprinted, with a set of new preliminaries by the English distributor, James Nicolson. Due to the poor condition of surviving copies, it has been impossible to establish whether the full preliminaries (royal dedication, preface to the reader, contents pages) were indeed present in both versions; the matter is complicated by the existence of at least two unique additions to the

producer. However, both his reference to “correction” (§13) and the implication of commission (“according as I was required”, §11) testify to the involvement of others. To Coverdale the Bible is, of course, not an ordinary text; as “God’s Holy Scripture”, God is its ultimate *writer* (§15). With regard to the conceived original text (referred to hereafter as **O-Ruth**), there is no discussion of authorship; indeed, Coverdale’s prefatory material takes little interest in who wrote biblical books, aside from description of the Pentateuch as the books of Moses.⁶ *Ruth* receives no attention in Coverdale’s survey of the Bible (but nor do the individual books of the New Testament).

- (b) **Time:** According to Mozley, Coverdale’s translation was produced in the course of a year.⁷ The colophon in the first edition states that printing was finished on 4th October, 1535. No attempt is made to date or locate O-Ruth’s composition.
- (c) **Medium:** Coverdale’s Bible was published as a single printed volume in the somewhat ostentatious folio size.⁸ This is in contrast to Tyndale’s Pentateuch

preliminaries. Among major Coverdale scholars, Mozley was convinced that the full set of preliminaries could indeed have been present in both; Greenslade disagreed. See Mozley, *Coverdale*; Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible*, 1535.

Attempts to explain the reasoning for Nicolson’s amendment vary widely. It is often said to have been done to hide controversial Lutheran origins suggested by “Douche”, but it is also true to say that the description was not accurate—parts of Coverdale’s text are substantially Tyndale’s work, prepared from the original languages. I suggest a supplementary explanation, in part courtesy of Ernst Nagel, and in association with my work on the Zurich bibles. See §5.3.5 below.

⁶ Both Solomon and Moses might have been mentioned as ‘authors’, but Coverdale’s summary survey does not do so—partly due to the manner in which he has treated his prefatory source (on which see §5.3.6 below). Such traditional designations do appear in the titles of the books, in the list of contents (which might be considered part of the prefatory material) and in the running heads. One such is worthy of remark: “Salomons Balettes” seems to be Coverdale’s own coinage (so Bruce, *The English Bible*, 62); certainly I find no evidence to support David Daniell’s implication that the name would have been among those familiar to “those who know Wyclif” (*The Bible in English*, 183). Rather, the notion of the songs as ‘ballads’ was likely suggested to Coverdale by the header (*Lieder Salomons*) and description given in the Zurich Bible, quoted here from the 1534 edition: “Eyn über schön und hüpsch lied des Salomon gesungen hat” (there is no equivalent summary in the Coverdale Bible). The name was taken up by the Matthew Bible, which places greater emphasis on the authorship: *The Ballet of Balettes of Salomon: called in Latyne Canticum Canticorum*, “Salomon made this Balade or songe by hym selfe & his wyfe the daughter of Pharao” (ccxlv.v).

With regard to other books, David is not identified as author of the Psalter as a whole, though individual psalms may bear the designation, “A Psalm of David”; the header throughout Proverbs identifies them as “Salomons”; Solomon’s name is given explicitly with reference to Ecclesiastes in the contents list, but only a description (“the Preacher, the sonne of David, kynge of Jerusalem”) appears with the book itself.

⁷ Mozley, *Coverdale*, 7. No support is given for this statement, but it allows particularly for Coverdale’s use of Zurich’s 1534 text (discussed below). The same statement is repeated, again without specific support, in CHB 3:148. The letter from London printer Nicolson to Cromwell (August 1535) includes a sample of the printed text; Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible*, 1535, 11.

⁸ “The materiality of this large and expensive folio offered a sharp contrast to the humility of copies of Tyndale’s prohibited translation and Joye’s revision of the New Testament. . . . The Coverdale Bible established a firm precedent for the use of folio format in succeeding Bibles published during Henry

(which had been made available in separate parts),⁹ and is a sign of the printers' confidence that an English bible should now be able to circulate freely and at profit. The book of *C-Ruth* is found in the traditional canonical position for Christian bibles, i.e. after Judges, and has been laid out carefully such that it exactly fills both columns throughout three sides (xxiii.f–xxv.f).

- (d) **Place:** Despite earlier obscurity and disagreement, Antwerp is now accepted as not only the location where Coverdale worked—"the powerhouse of English bible translation"¹⁰—but also where his bible was printed. The omission of printing details from the original shows that this was a contraband production.¹¹ Guido Latré has played a lead in establishing an Antwerp printer (previous candidates having included Zurich, Worms, Cologne and Marburg as attested by various library catalogues).¹²
- (e) **Intention, Motive and Function:** In the translator's view, this bible is intentionally temporary: Coverdale states his intention to begin amending and improving the text immediately, inviting the assistance of others (¶13; the invitation is also given to the king—though likely as a political rhetorical gesture rather than a practical one, cf. ¶9) and hoping that others will also commence (or, in Tyndale's case, complete) their own translations (¶21). Indeed, Coverdale envisages a diversity of English interpretations corresponding to that already available in other languages (¶20–¶21, cf. also the "plenteous provision" of ¶11). His major plea to the reader is that "Scripture" should shape their *conversation*, not in the limited sense of speech,

VIII's reign and the early years of Edward VI." So John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, "The Materiality of English Printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible," in *The King James Bible After Four Hundred Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 84–5.

⁹ Arblaster, "Totius Mundi Emporium," 21.

¹⁰ Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 9.

¹¹ See P. Valkema Blouw's work on Merten de Keyser (alias Martin l'Empereur, Martinus Caesar, Martyne Emperowr) who employed a Schwabacher typeface (seen in the Coverdale Bible) almost exclusively for printing works where he did not wish to be identified as printer; cf. (Valkema Blouw, "Early Protestant Publications in Antwerp, 1526–30"). It thus functioned as a disguise, protecting him from potential persecution for the printing of controversial (Protestant) material. See further, **Chapter 3, §5.2, n.103.**

¹² See Latré, "The Place of Printing." Perhaps the most complete and accessible account is Latré's contribution to *The Bible as Book*, "The 1535 Coverdale Bible and Its Antwerp Origins". For earlier contributions to the debate see especially Harold R. Willoughby, "Current Errors Concerning the Coverdale Bible," *JBL* 55, no. 1 (1936): 1–16. Also Greenslade, *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*.

Though Latré assigns the bible to Merten de Keyser's workshop (and not specifically de Keyser), Valkema Blouw inadvertently provides grounds for questioning whether de Keyser could have been involved in the printing because he considered the existence of one publication, with colophon dated 29 October 1535, and bearing the false imprint of Hans Luft at Marlborow but the hallmarks of a different Antwerp printer, as evidence that de Keyser was "presumably dead by then" (Valkema Blouw, "Early Protestant Publications in Antwerp, 1526–30," 109).

but their whole outward engagement with the world.¹³ There is no extratextual information concerning the purpose of *Ruth*.

- (f) **Receiver:** Not only was the dedication formally addressed to the king, but a draft version of it was sent to the Chancellor, Thomas Cromwell, weeks before publication; the titlepage design shows a king distributing bibles, a further sign of trust that this project would receive royal approval.¹⁴ The king is thus addressed as the most prominent individual reader of the text (§1–10).

As a vernacular English text, it was intended for a national audience, “our most prosperous nation” (like other nations, §11). Yet the prologue reflects particular notions of readership: Coverdale was conscious of the reader whose literacy might challenge his own translation whether in principle or in detail, and addresses this person foremost to preempt or diminish any challenge (§11–§13). Yet it is not that every reader will be an expert: Coverdale addresses those who may need the expertise of others (§14), including preachers (§22). The anticipation of significant social standing has been discussed in **Chapter 3 (§4.2)**. The audience would have extended to those hearing, its dimensions suited to reading aloud and to prompting the preacher. There are no extratextual suggestions about C-*Ruth*’s ideal readership.

¹³ The exhortation is to “cleave” to “God’s Holy Scripture”, “so to follow it *in thy daily conversation*, that other men seeing thy good works and the fruits of the Holy Ghost in thee, may praise the Father of heaven and give his word a good report: for to live after the law of God, and *to lead a virtuous conversation, is the greatest praise* that thou canst give unto his doctrine.” §15 “Conversation” appears twice more in the prologue, connoting action and probably with an intended wordplay on conversion, thus “to the abhorring of thy old sinful life, and to the stablishing of thy godly *conversation*” §17. In favour of this interpretation, the OED reports that “conversation” appears for “conversion” in the second Wycliffite version (at Acts 15.3: *Thei telden the conuersacioun of bethene men*); the entry also records its use by Coverdale in the same passage (*Thei. . . declared the conuersacion of the Heythen*; OED s.v. “conversation, *n.*” §11, accessed Jan 10, 2013, oed.com/view/Entry/40748/). (As is to be expected, given the OED’s neglect of Tyndale, this is also the reading of Tyndale’s New Testament (1526), ad loc., suggesting the meaning was in wider commerce.) The principal definition in chronological terms, however, is: “The action of living or having one’s being in a place or among persons. Also fig. of one’s spiritual being” (§1) from which developed other senses including (the first also obsolete and the second archaic but both within Coverdale’s reach): “2. The action of consorting or having dealings with others; living together; commerce, intercourse, society, intimacy”, and “6. Manner of conducting oneself in the world or in society; behaviour, mode or course of life.”

¹⁴ Greenslade argues that the titlepage’s royal imagery stands as proof that some approval was forthcoming; that Nicolson reproduced the titlepage amending only text and not design lends credence to this interpretation, but insofar as the decision to publish in folio indicated confidence prior to any such approval (*viz.* the fact that a sample of the printing accompanied the petition for approval), it is as likely a reflection that times were changing—and an accompaniment to the tone of the dedication. (England’s Bishops had petitioned the king for an English bible in December 1534, cf. Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 11.)

3 COVERDALE'S DOUCHE INTERPRETERS

As has been noted in the extra-textual profile, Coverdale's text was overtly a translation. In the preface, he owns a particular dependence upon "Douche" sources: "And to helpe me herein, I haue had sondrye translacions, not only in latyn, but also of the Douche interpreters: whom (because of theyr syngular gyftes & speciall diligence in the Bible) I have been the more glad to folowe for the most parte, accordynge as I was required".¹⁵ Proceeding critically, one should first examine whether the evidence supports this statement with regard to *Ruth*, and then seek to identify more specifically which "Douche" sources Coverdale consulted and how this affected his translation. The two questions are, of course, interrelated (how does one check Douche usage without first identifying Douche sources to check against) and so care is taken to present the case in a detailed manner. The restricted definition of "Douche" that has become typical within Coverdale scholarship is first called into question.

3.1 Defining "Douche"

The equation of Coverdale's "Douche" with "German" is commonplace, communicated concisely in a standardised gloss given when quoting either Coverdale's dedication or the continental titlepage ("translated out of Douche and Latyn").¹⁶ Of those who quote Coverdale's words, it seems only one (Mozley) does not provide a gloss or clarificatory comment, and one glosses otherwise.¹⁷

The problem with this equation is that Coverdale himself would not operate with the same modern linguistic distinctions; the distinct conceptual separation between Dutch and German, which has political origins in addition to a linguistic base, postdates his era.¹⁸

¹⁵ "Preface to the Reader"; quoted from the original edition (cf. ¶11 in Bray).

¹⁶ So, e.g. Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 58. G. B. Gray, "English Versions and the Text of the Old Testament," in *Mansfield College Essays: Presented to the Reverend Andrew Martin Fairbairn, on the Occasion of His Seventeenth Birthday, Nov. 4, 1908*, ed. R. K. Evans (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), 117. Nagel, "Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel," 441; Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 96; Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 12; Bruce, *The English Bible*, 59; Hollenweger, "Zwingli's Einfluss in England," 176; Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 176, 460; Bray, *Translating the Bible*, 30. The reductive equation is implicit in others' studies too.

¹⁷ Mozley consistently modernises the spelling of Coverdale's words and thus gives "Dutch" unglossed when quoting both Coverdale's prologue and the titlepage (cf. *Coverdale*, 70, 81). This does not affect his view of the sources (discussed below, see esp. §5.3). The other exception is Tiemen de Vries who quotes and glosses the titlepage: "faithfully and truly translated out of Douche (Dutch) and Latyn". De Vries' account gives considerable weight to the evidence regarding van Meteren, placing the printing in Antwerp (188-9) and suggesting that "the originals" were (non-specifically) "the Dutch version [possibly Liesvelt is intended], and the Latin, called the Vulgate" (188) showing that he was unfamiliar with the wider discourse of five sources. Tiemen De Vries, *Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature*, digitised edition; first publ. Chicago: C. Grentzbech, 1916 (Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL), 2006), 188; accessed, Apr 06, 2013, <http://dbnl.org/titels/titel.php?id=vrie035holl01/>.

¹⁸ Discussing the standardisation of Dutch, Willemyns begins in the late sixteenth century, with the political separation of the Low Countries. Roland Willemyns, "Dutch," in *Germanic Standardizations: Past to Present*, ed. Ana Deumert and Wim Vandenbussche (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 95.

Today, those analysing from a linguistic perspective differentiate between Middle High German, Middle Low German and Middle Dutch as distinct languages¹⁹—each occurring in multiple dialectal forms, but these terms would have been alien to Coverdale. To preserve fidelity to Coverdale's own conceit while acknowledging these differences, "Douche" is employed as an umbrella term and group its varieties loosely under the categories of High Douche (approximating to High German, in modern linguistic terms), Low Douche (Low German), Swiss Douche (Swiss German) and NederVlaams Douche (the Douche spoken within the territories now belonging to the Netherlands and Flemish-speaking regions of Belgium) within my discussion. The intention is not linguistic precision, but rather an approximation of the concepts Coverdale and his contemporaries recognised—and these were not precise.

Within the 'Douche-speaking area', some distinctions were clear. On the titlepages of bibles, one finds varieties of what became the normative "Deutsch" (also *Deutzsch*, *deudsch*). While further south, in Nuremberg, Augsburg and Switzerland, one finds "teutsch" on the titlepages—the initial "t" representing the term's Teutonic links.²⁰ An edition of the Old Testament sold by Peter Kaetz at Delft in 1525, based in part on Luther's Pentateuch, was designated "duitsch"—providing an early example of so-called NederVlaams Douche.²¹ At Lübeck, in the north-western part of *Germania*, Bugenhagen's authorised translation of Luther's bible was described as "düdesch", 'Low Douche'.²² Coverdale would have recognised this diversity as pragmatic distinctions had to be made. Already in 1523, reprintings of Luther's bible translations at Basel were accompanied by glossaries to assist local (southern) readers.²³

These were different ways of speaking and Coverdale went some way to acknowledge this by using the designation "hye Almayne" in some translations, though this too was a broad term, indicating Luther's central form and Osiander's southern dialect.²⁴ It was also, explicitly, a

¹⁹ "Middle" in this case indicates the time period from c. 1300 to the early 1500s

²⁰ The differences here are primarily though not wholly orthographic (Lutheran bible portions published at Wittenberg carry at least three different spellings: *Deutzsch* (Luther NT, Wittenberg, 1522) *deudsch* (Luther, Wittenberg; Lotther, 1523); and *Deudsch* (Luther, Wittenberg; Lufft, 1534). In Switzerland and other *ober-* areas, "t" replaces "d"—thus *Teiitsch* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534; similarly the pre-Lutheran *Bibel teiitsch*, Augsburg: Sylvanus Ottmar, 1518); and in verbal form, *vertiitscht* ('douche-ised', Zurich: Froschauer, 1524) and *verteiitschet* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1531). Though the etymological origins are separate from the Latin term "Teutonicus" (which was used to refer to Douche-speakers) the two categories were equated from the ninth century onward, and this served to justify the "teutsch" spelling. See Martin Durrell, "Deutsch: Teutons, Germans or Dutch? The Problems of Defining a Nation," in *Landmarks in the History of the German Language*, ed. Geraldine Horan, Nils Langer, and Sheila Watts, *British and Irish Studies in German Language and Literature* 52 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 169–88.

²¹ *Hier Beghint Die Bible int Duitche* (Antwerp: Hans van Roemundt; sold [at Delft] by Peter Kaetz, 1525). USTC 437277.

²² USTC 629067. See also the "dudesch" Halberstadt Bible (1522), USTC 616608.

²³ The glossary, apparently published in 1523, "wird es durch sonszfraw erklärt", that is clarified the meaning of Luther's term for mother-in-law, "schnur" with the term "sonszfraw" (son's wife). So DWB, s.v. "schnur" (15:1394). (I have not traced the glossary publication details.)

²⁴ This observation is based on the bibliography provided by Mozley, *Coverdale*. Works so termed include Luther's commentary on Psalm 23 and Andreas Osiander's treatise on whether Christians should flee the plague, both written in what would now be regarded as High German, but neither

form of Douche: One of the texts where “hye Allmaynes” origins feature on the titlepage, *The Defence of a certain poor Christian man...* (STC 5889), also includes a statement in the closing colophon: “translated owt of douche”.²⁵ “Hye Allmayne” belonged to Coverdale’s notion of Douche, but it does not define that notion. Though dialects were diverse enough to require translation, the Douche terminology remained common, and both Douche- and English-speakers apparently conceived of the Douche-manner of speaking as a greater whole.²⁶

There is good contemporaneous evidence of “Douche” being used with reference to the Low Countries: In August 1537, the printer Richard Grafton wrote to Thomas Cromwell asking for an exclusive printing license to protect the Matthew Bible; as part of his case he complains that “douchemen, dwellynge within this realme go about the pryntyng of ytt, which can nether speke good englyshe, ner yet wryte none . . .”.²⁷ Grafton did nothing to indicate the identity of these “douchemen”; Pollard regarded Grafton’s words as a reference to Nicolson, printer of the English titlepage of Coverdale’s Bible and of a 1537 quarto edition of it.²⁸ Yet Grafton refers to “douchemen” suggesting that his concern was wider. E.J. Worman’s study of “alien members of the book trade in the Tudor period” shows a significant number of printer migrants from the Low Countries. According to his survey, at least seven of twelve foreign individuals recorded as active in the booktrade in England in the period 1500-1535 came either from Antwerp (3) or the regions of Gelderland (3) and Friesland (1) in what is now the Netherlands; of the remainder, three were French and two of uncertain origin.²⁹ The Antwerpens include Hans van Ruremund, naturalised in 1535 by

corresponding to Allemanisch, which was more technically a dialect from the Swiss-German territory. Thus in Mozley’s fifth appendix (324–6, 331): *A faithful and true pronostication upon the year 1536, translated out of hye Almayne into English by Myles Coverdale* (1535, original unknown, not in STC [nor USTC]; item 5), *A very excellent and sweet exposition upon the two and twenty Psalm, translated out of hye Almayne into English by Myles Coverdale* (1537, from Luther, STC 16999 [USTC 502891]), *How and whether a Christian man ought to fly the horrible plague of the pestilence, by Andrew Osiander* [a self-declared Lutheran, based principally in Nuremberg]; *translated by M.C. out of hye Almayne* (1537, STC 18878 [USTC 502893]). Mozley also records that in the preface to another book, Coverdale described the language of the source text as “hye Almaynes” (329; *The Supplication that the nobles and commons of Osteryke made lately by their messengers unto king Ferdinandus . . .*, 1542 [USTC 410440]). One attributed work uses the phrase “hye Dutch”: *The Original and Spring of all sects and orders, translated out of hye Dutch in English* (1537, STC 18849 [USTC 502900]).

²⁵ *The Defence of a Certayne Poore Christen Man: Who els shuldhaue [sic] bene condemned by the Popes lawe. Written in the hye Allmaynes tonge by a right excellent and noble prynce, and tra[n]slated into Englyshe by Myles Couerdale.* [Antwerp: S. Mierdman]. STC 5889. USTC 410469. The colophon reads as follows: “Printed at Nurenbergh, And translated owt of douche in to Englyshe by Myles Coverdale, in the yeare of our lorde. M.D.XIV. in the laste of Octobre.” The alternative location and printer are given by the STC. Mozley was unable to trace the original source document; see Mozley, *Coverdale*, 331.

²⁶ Discussing the terminology of the seventeenth-century linguist Jan van Vliet, Cornelis Dekker observes that “Duijts”, which I take to be cognate with Coverdale’s Douche, “could . . . have approximately the same meaning as Latin Teutonica” and “was used for any language from the Continental Germanic continuum”. Cornelis Dekker, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 256.

²⁷ XXXIII.E: ‘Richard Grafton to Cromwell, After August 28, 1537’ in Pollard, *Records*, 220.

²⁸ For the association with the quarto edition of the Coverdale Bible, see *ibid.*, 220 nn.1–2. Nicolson is understood to be “a native of the Low countries” (so Mozley, *Coverdale*, 110).

²⁹ Ernest James Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period: being an index to those whose names occur in the Returns of Aliens, Letters of Denization, and other documents, published by the Huguenot Society, with notes* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1906). Reginald Oliver is said to be of “Phrisia”, i.e.

the name John Hollybush, and seemingly responsible for the chaos of Coverdale's 1538 NT;³⁰ and one may extend Worman's list with another Antwerp bookseller, imprisoned at Westminster for selling English New Testaments in 1531, and likely a relative of Hans.³¹ If a gloss were to be proposed, Grafton's "douchemen" were as likely "Dutch" (or arguably Flemish) as "Deutsch".

Avoiding anachronism, the contemporaneous evidence suggests that "Douche" indicated forms of Dutch and German without distinction: In the dedication of the 1538 NT, Coverdale argues that "the holy goost" is "the authore of his scripture as well in the Hebrue, Greke, French, Dutche, and in Englysh, as in Latyn."³² "Dutche" in this instance is logically understood to encompass the broad Germanic language group, rather than a category excluding those Douche-speakers then most local to Coverdale. Twenty-five years later, John Foxe quotes from the royal declaration of 1555 that banned the books of writers including Tyndale and Coverdale but then extending to "any [equivalent works] in the Latin tong, Dutch tong, English tong, Italian tong, or Frenche tong."³³ In a more affirmatory context, addressing the reader in the 1611 KJV, the translators describe how in their work they had consulted translators or commentators not only in "Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greeke, or Latine" but also "the Spanish, French, Italian, or Dutch". Thus even from the most informed English perspective, there was no set distinction between Deutsch and Dutch

Friesland. The Gelderland trio are Henry Birckman, John Reynes, and Reynold Wolf. Those with confirmed Antwerp connections are Jan van Doesborch, Gerard Pilgrome (termed a "Douchman" in the 1524 record, cf. Worman, 50), and Hans van Ruremund.

Though their names indicate non-Antwerp Douche origins, Doesborsch and Ruremund are both reported as active in Antwerp before coming to England. (See e.g. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, "Nieuw Testament: Antwerpen, Hans Van Ruremund, 1525 [NK 381-NAT, II, 8 EN III, 19]," in *Post-Incunabula En Hun Uitgevers in de Lage Landen | Post-Incunabula and Their Publishers in the Low Countries*, ed. Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, reprint of first edition: 1978 (London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 68–69.

Those of French origin were Martin Coffyn, John Gachet, and possibly Richard Pynson (Worman associates him with the booktrade, but perhaps through a relative). James Gaver is "from the dominion of the emperor", i.e. the Holy Roman Empire, which included much of modern Germany, but also extended under the Habsburg dynasty into the Netherlands, Belgium and elsewhere. Wyllyam Wynkyne was recorded only as "stranger".

³⁰ Coverdale's 1538 diglot New Testament had to be reissued in a corrected edition (by another printer, Francis Regnault in Paris—Mozley, *Coverdale*, 184) and was subsequently reissued (a third edition) by Nicolson (printer of the English titlepage for the Coverdale Bible and of the original diglot), who in fact merely reprinted the text of the first edition, assigning it to John Hollybushe/Holybusche (who was one and the same as Hans van Ruremonde; see Ruremond's 1535 denization papers via Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period*, 56). Pollard's discussion is in the footnotes, *Records*, 135 n.2.

³¹ Known variously as Christopher van Endhoven or Christoffel van Ruremund, he died in prison leaving his business in the hands of his widow. So Pollard, *Records*, [135–]136 n.2. Though post-dating the period under discussion, Jacob van Meteren is another example of the many "Douche" book traders who relocated from Antwerp to London (denization 1552; Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period*, 41).

³² A portion of this address to Henry VIII is reprinted in Westcott, *A General View of the History of the English Bible*, 62. The full text may be found in Pollard, *Records*, 206–214 (209).

³³ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes: touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and de[s]cribed the Great Persecutions [and] Horrible Troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, specialllye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the Yeare of Our Lorde a Thousande, unto the tyme nowe present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies [and] wrytinges certificarie, as wel of the Parties them selves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops registers, which wer the doers rherof, by John Foxe*, 1st edn (London: John Day, 1563), 1216. USTC 506152.

at this time.³⁴ In Coverdale’s mind “Douche” did not equate to “German” and it is better to retain it as an umbrella term for the language spoken across the region that now includes Germany, Switzerland, Austria, the Netherlands and Flanders. Eadie’s highly explicit statement, that “Douche meant what is now called German—Deutsch, *not low German or Dutch*”, does not stand up to scrutiny.³⁵

The lazy equation of Douche and German may be accounted for also as part of the wider train of scholarly thought that had located the printing in Germany,³⁶ and as a result of the source-quest; if Coverdale’s “Douche interpreters” were Luther’s German (and Zurich’s Swiss-German), then there is little to be gained by the wider definition of Douche. Yet the designation of Luther as one of Coverdale’s sources is itself, for the most part, an unchecked assumption.

The key point is that Luther’s work initiated a plethora of bibles.³⁷ Although it has been claimed that his popularity was not the translation but the attractive, user-friendly, presentation,³⁸ once outside Wittenberg, the layout and illustration varied intensely between editions.

Beginning afresh, it is now possible to consider the evidence for Coverdale’s “Douche” sources with regard to *Ruth*, taking as a starting point something Coverdale had in common with the family of reformation Douche bibles: the orthography of proper nouns.

³⁴ Dutch appears on two further occasions in the prefatory material, once with reference to a reputed early “Dutch” version of the NT, said to have been produced by the bishop of Freising (Bavaria), and a second time arguing that when a speech made by the king is translated it is still the king’s speech, whether the target language is “French, Dutch, Italian and Latine”.

These English examples may be complemented by comparable evidence from the Douche sphere. For example, a Dutch bible (Francis’ designation) based on Luther’s 1534 text, “explains that it was written for those who could not understand the *Ostereesch* variety of *Duytsch*, i.e. Luther’s Meissen norm” (Francis, “Linguistic Influence of Luther,” 77; with reference to the bible published by Mierdman and Gheillyart in Emden, 1558). Even though aspects are beyond the comprehension of some *Duytsch*-speakers, Luther’s language is conceived of as a variation on the Douche theme and not as a distinct language.

³⁵ John Eadie, *The English Bible: An External and Critical History of the Various English Translations of Scripture, with Remarks on the Need of Revising the English New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1876), 1:280. Emphasis added.

³⁶ The narrow horizon of scholarship that had led to the assumption that Coverdale really did work from the Hebrew (in spite of his protestations; see Eadie’s demolishing of Whittaker on this point, *ibid.*, 1:282–4) was itself perhaps the result of overlooking the broad sphere of Douche: Swiss bibles had never been considered.

³⁷ “. . . the Lutheran translations transformed the market for vernacular bibles entirely. The medieval translations simply went out of print.” So Arblaster, “Totius Mundi Emporium,” 14.

³⁸ “Its [Luther’s Bible] popular success was due not to its being based on the Hebrew and Greek sources instead of the Vulgate but rather to its user-friendly presentation—with pictures (124 woodcuts in the 1534 edition), commentaries and marginal notes—and above all its accessible, seemingly ‘homely’ language.” John L. Flood, “Luther and Tyndale as Bible Translators: Achievement and Legacy,” in *Landmarks in the History of the German Language*, ed. Geraldine Horan, Nils Langer, and Sheila Watts (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 42.

3.2 The orthography of proper nouns as an indicator of Douche influence³⁹

One internal indicator of Coverdale's reliance upon "Douche" sources is the orthography of proper nouns. Names—of both people and places—operate as carriers-of-meaning in Hebrew narrative, exemplified by Naomi's punning in R1.20-21 (cf. above **Ch. 7, §6**). Such 'naming' is a concern in literary translation strategies. However, biblical translation procedures have tended towards documentary rather than literary praxis when representing names, using transliteration as a primary strategy—whether adapting the sound to the phonological system of the receivers (domesticating), aiming to replicate the orthography (retaining the exotic) or seeking some kind of compromise.⁴⁰ Because initial vernacular translations of biblical texts are seldom based on the original language(s), such transliteration is subject to multiple levels of interference. Common biblical nouns may acquire a standardised form within a given vernacular that is at some distance from the original (e.g. Jesus, Mary, Jacob—and more extremely the disciple James);⁴¹ while for less common nouns, multiple vernacularisations might coexist within a single TL—and even within a single TT.⁴² There is an epistemological dimension to such translation practice, which treats the nouns as historical data at the expense of any literary device.⁴³

In returning *ad fontes*, renaissance and reform translators had to choose between conserving familiar versions of the names or representing the originals more precisely. Pagninus leant strongly toward the latter practice, as did the Geneva translators—incorporating accents into their transliterations so that readers might pronounce the names 'correctly'.⁴⁴ King James' translators were specifically instructed to retain the (most) familiar versions. Where names were less familiar—as with the minor characters in *Ruth*—there was greater space for negotiation, and a resulting tendency to attend to the original languages. In Luther, this move had interesting consequences, specifically with regard to Ruth's sister-in-law, who is designated "Arpa". The unusual vocalisation has no precedent, whether in German bibles—

³⁹ The value of close attention to the spelling of personal names was suggested to me by Ora Schwarzwald's study, "Proper Names, Toponyms and Gentile Nouns in Bible Translations: Medieval Spanish and Post-Ladino Translations Compared", presented at the European Association of Biblical Studies, Thessaloniki, August 8–11, 2011) and to be published in *El Presente: Estudios sobre la Cultura Sefardi (Jubilee Book for Tamar Alexander)* 8.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nida, *Towards a Science of Translating*, 194.

⁴¹ Arguably, the preference for transliteration was established for Christian readers by the New Testament itself (and also the LXX), whose writers represented Hebrew and Aramaic names in Greek characters. Though consider *Simon/ Cephas / Peter*, where the new name is translated.

⁴² Nida records seven co-existent Swahili translations for 'Bartholomew' (Nida, *Towards a Science of Translation*, 194). Such diversity is increased when a name occurs in both Hebrew and Greek portions of the Bible.

⁴³ Recent scholars have taken different positions regarding the names in *Ruth*, whether these are carriers-of-meaning or historical data. The epistemological dimension was deep and significant: "For him [Tyndale], as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories" (Slater, "The Sources of Tyndale's Version of the Pentateuch," 6).

⁴⁴ The task is, of course, impossible—given the phonological gap between languages. The Geneva translators deliberately approached "the usual names" differently "for fear of troubling the simple readers"; familiar names thus underwent limited adjustment, principally accentuation. (Preface to the 1560 edn, cited via Long, *Translating the Bible*, 173.)

where we find consistently “orphan” (the traditional Latin)⁴⁵—or in other European vernaculars.

Luther’s opening “A” may result from an independent attempt to make sense of the Hebrew vocalisation, using book-learned (rather than teacher-taught) Hebrew skills: what is now conventionally regarded as a *qamets-qatan* or short ‘o’ sound (coming in an unstressed closed syllable) is read by Luther as the more common *qamets-gadol*, a long ‘a’ sound.⁴⁶ However, according to Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, the Zurich Hebraist Konrad Pellikan transcribed *qamets* with ‘a’ while recommending that it be transcribed â: “being *inter a clarum et o medium*”.⁴⁷ Luther could well have been influenced by equivalent advice. The hard *peh* that opens the second syllable accords with the conventions of Hebrew speakers, against Jerome’s “ph” (and against the Matthew Bible’s “Orphah”).⁴⁸

Leaving aside its origins, this otherwise unique transliteration recurs through Lutheran versions and is picked up and retained in the Zurich bibles. It is also how Coverdale spells the name. This is not the only occasion on which Coverdale appropriates the Douche spellings that originate with Luther. Pagninus (*Nabomi*) and Luther (*Naemi*) both take the first *qamets* of Naomi (Hebrew *no‘omi*) as an “a” sound—a trait that persists in modern English. Luther’s uncertainty about the transcription is visible in the draft manuscript for the 1524 text, where “Naemi”, “Noemi” and “Noami” all appear.⁴⁹ By 1534, “Naemi” was established as the standardised Douche spelling, the “e” influenced by Vulgate (*Noemi*) and Septuagint (Νωεμι), and written thus in the Zurich bibles, Bugenhagen’s Low-Douche and Liesvelt’s NederVlaams-Douche.⁵⁰ This is also Coverdale’s spelling, and although in the Matthew Bible one finds “Noemi”, the “a” entered the English mainstream, even as the “e” was amended to “o”—Luther’s influence being displaced by Münster’s diglot.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Texts sampled for this observation: High-Douche—Mentelin, Pflanzmann, Zainer, Koberger; Low/NederVlaams-Douche—Delft (1477), Köln (1478–9), Lubeck (1494), Halberstadt. For details see **Ch. 2, §3.1.2.1**.

⁴⁶ On Luther’s status as a book-learned Hebraist, see Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, chapter three, esp. 120–130.

Joüon & Muraoka (*A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 37–42) suggest that pronunciation was properly a variant of “o” in both cases—an observation made already by the medieval scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra (cf. 37 n.20), but scribal differentiation is attested in the Qumran documents (37 n.20) and pragmatically a distinction continues to be made by most modern scholars to demonstrate the plain *qamets gadol*’s origins in a primitive “a” and the *qamets qatan* in primitive “u” (40–42).

⁴⁷ Kessler-Mesguich, “Early Christian Hebraists,” 266 n.56. Pellikan’s introduction to Hebrew, *De modo legendi et intelligendi hebraeum* was published in 1504, as part of an encyclopedia. Study of vocalisation could prove a useful tool through which to explore the relative Hebrew skills of translators.

⁴⁸ Jerome’s “ph” almost certainly arose under influence from the Septuagint, which transliterates “ὀρφα”; the reason for that spelling is obscure (perhaps reflecting Alexandrian pronunciation in the era).

⁴⁹ “Naemi” appears throughout *Ruth* 1, except at R1.22, and in *Ruth* 2 up to and including R2.6. In R1.22 and from R2.20 onward, “Noami” was struck out during the redaction phase and replaced by “Noemi”. For discrepancy in the first printed edition, see **Table 2** and discussion in **§4.2** below. On *No‘omi* as the proper vocalisation, see Joüon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §6n.

⁵⁰ Vorsterman (1528, 1534) holds to *Noëmi*.

⁵¹ The exceptions are Taverner and presumably Becke—both based on the Matthew Bible; and the Douai OT. (Note also the Wycliffite *Noemy*.) The “o” of the second syllable appears in the Great

Other instances of commonality are less pronounced, but there is considerable correlation between the Douche orthography and that of Coverdale—e.g. in the capitalisation of EliMelech and AmmiNadab, the middle “e” of Mahelon, and the designation “Ephrates”/ *Ephrater* (see **Table A1**, at the end of this Appendix). The major sphere of differentiation occurs in the genealogy, and in this case the differences can be explained by a shift of strategy on Coverdale’s part: he amends all the spellings so that they agree with the equivalent NT genealogies. This is another ideological step, because by bringing the NT spellings into his OT, Coverdale gives primacy to the connected text, overwriting the Hebrew Bible with Christian metanarrative. He also strengthens the marginal cross-reference to Matthew and 1 Chronicles (where the genealogy is similarly harmonised).⁵² Of course, one must still account for the chosen orthography: In this instance Tyndale’s Englishing, rather than the continental Douche, predominates; perhaps motivated by the same argument of familiarity.⁵³

More evidence for Coverdale’s use of Douche sources will be presented in considering the question of specific sources. As prime translator of the Douche reformation, Luther’s versions must form a starting point.

4 THE CASE FOR LUTHER

In existing scholarship, Coverdale’s use of Luther is consistently presented as a certainty and seldom qualified by informed comparison of different editions. Though separated by nearly seventy years, Henry Guppy (1935) and David Daniell (2003) provide a similar account:

Modern research, based upon the sure foundation of internal evidence, has succeeded in practically demonstrating the authorities Coverdale had in mind when he wrote “fyue sundry interpreters.” They were the German-Swiss version of Zwingli and Leo Judd, in the dialect of Zurich, and printed at Zurich 1524-29; the Latin version of Pagninus, the first edition of which bears the date 1528; the German version of Luther; the Latin Vulgate; the Pentateuch (1529-30), and the New Testament (1525) of Tindale.⁵⁴

Bible and thereafter (Geneva, Bishops, KJV) also under Münster’s influence; for the Great Bible’s revision, see **Ch. 2 §3.1**.

⁵² In the Zurich bible of 1534, the genealogies of *Ruth* 4 and 1 Chron. 2 have matching orthography, except for Nahesson’s son who appears as Salmon (R4.20-1, 2x) and Salma (1 Chron); in Matt 1, we find Judas, **Phartz**, Hetzron, **Aminadab**, Nahasson, Salmon and Jesse, with Juda, Phares, Hezron, Aram, and Boos (alongside Aminadab, Salmon and Jesse) in Luke 3.

⁵³ An exception is made for Isai (OT)/Jesse (NT). I have checked against the text of 1534, and Coverdale’s spellings match that of Matt 1, although in Luke 3, Coverdale (with Tyndale) has *Esrom* and not *Hesrom*. This name may be justly regarded as the *shibboleth*, for the combination of terminal –*m* (apparently a Vulgate influence—so Wycliffites, Stephanus’ Vulgate, and some pre-Luther Douche bibles: *Esrom*) and initial *b* I have traced only to Tyndale’s 1534 NT (Matt 1; both 1526 genealogies have *Esrom*).

⁵⁴ Guppy via Edgar R. Smothers, “The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV,” *Harvard Theological Review* 38, no. 4 (1945): 249–50.

The “five sundry interpreters” turn out to have been the Swiss-German version of the whole Bible made by Zwingli and Leo Juda, printed at Zurich between 1524 and 1529, . . . the rather curious and over-literal Latin version of the Old Testament made by Sanctes Pagninus, first published in 1528; Luther’s German Bible, completed in 1532; the Vulgate; and Tyndale for the New Testament and half the Old.⁵⁵

Daniell gives the appearance of detail but his information is inaccurate in several respects: Luther did not publish a full Bible until 1534 (including a first publication of some apocryphal texts, the *Biblia* of 1534 also incorporated revisions to the historical books).⁵⁶ Coverdale may never have seen the Zurich volumes of 1524-1529; and only in a very brave estimation could Jonah and the Pentateuch be said to constitute “half” the Old Testament. Guppy is more precise about the Pentateuch, but generic reference to “the German version of Luther” is inadequate.⁵⁷ Reading such summary statements, one gains the impression that Coverdale consistently used a Wittenberg edition of Luther’s translation in its most complete available form. In this respect, Heinz Bluhm was correct in calling for a more systematic approach, and criticising the lack of “independent investigations”.⁵⁸

Bluhm lodged his criticism more than sixty years ago, but direct engagement with the question of Coverdale’s sources, and arguments supported by specific and detailed data, remain rare.⁵⁹ For this reason, and sensitive to Bluhm’s critique, the internal evidence with

⁵⁵ Daniell, *The Bible in English*, 176.

⁵⁶ The translation of the Apocrypha was completed by “learned friends at Wittenberg” and not by Luther himself. The Prayer of Manasses is an exception, having been translated and published repeatedly. (See CHB 3:96-97.) For the publication history of the Wittenberg Apocrypha, see under §5.4.2.1 below.

⁵⁷ See the examples of Slater and Westcott **above**, §1. Although Wright amends Westcott in order to reflect the difference between editions, his silent approach has shortcomings; see my discussion of their marginalia study, below, **n.59**.

⁵⁸ Bluhm, “‘Douche Sources of Coverdale’s Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm,” 54.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 54. Bluhm lists David Daiches’ *The King James Version of the English Bible* as a minor exception to his critique. Bluhm himself has contributed studies of Psalm 23, and Paul’s letters to the Romans and the Galatians, republished in his essay collection, *Martin Luther: Creative Translator* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965). Edgar Smothers conducted a close study of Psalm 84 with comparable results to Bluhm (“The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV”); Mozley’s work, *Coverdale and His Bibles*, encompasses the full corpus of the Coverdale Bible, but consequently incorporates less detailed and sometimes isolated examples to support its arguments; many of his points will be discussed subsequently.

Appendix four of Westcott’s *A General View of the History of the English Bible* (third edition, ed. W.A. Wright) may also be regarded as an exception to Bluhm’s criticism, though its findings are badly marred by (what I take to be) the combination of Westcott’s failure to take into account the significance of different editions (cf. Wright’s criticism, *A General View*, xi), and Wright’s silent amendments—which do not extend to the very limited data analysis. Westcott concludes that ‘Nothing could sum up the internal history of Coverdale’s Bible more accurately than this analysis’ (305). For the most part, Westcott records ‘only the Versions from which Coverdale’s renderings are derived’ (298 n.1); having first set aside ‘[s]imply explanatory notes’, he lays out the ‘sources’ for 55 cases (W§1-55), leaving the statistical significance of this data open to question (so Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 17; also Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible*; and Bluhm, “‘Douche’ Sources of Coverdale’s Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm”). Perhaps most limiting is the fact that Westcott’s analysis extends to just one paragraph in which he collates the alternative (marginal) renderings according to supposed source, highlighting those that appear most significant. No explanations are offered. Reading between the lines, it seems that a source was

regard to *Ruth* is now examined prior to a survey of how others' scholarship completes or contradicts these findings, and therefore their relevance for the wider Coverdale Bible.

4.1 Luther in context

Coverdale provided the *editio princeps* of the English Bible, but Luther's was the nineteenth Douche bible in print. The reader is advised to refer back to **Chapter 2** (§4.1.2.1) where an account of the pre-Lutheran Douche bibles has been given.

4.1.1 Phases of Luther

normally designated according to chronological precedence (thus Pg and not L34 in W§36, §40, and Pg not Tyndale at W§20) but this method is not consistent.

The idea that a reading might be indirectly derived (e.g. that where a reading from Luther's 1522 NT appears this is not because Coverdale had consulted that directly but only via intermediaries) is not considered. Thus the tallies Westcott offers reflect, perhaps accurately, a level of influence but not a textual connection. To give an example: A marginal reading at 2 Maccabees 2.13 (Cov: Some read: Nehemias; W§40) is inconclusive because although it matches the main text of L34 in orthography as well as content, another source has the content (Pg: Nechemiah) and the orthography (Nehemias) matches that found elsewhere in Coverdale (e.g. in the full title of 2 Esdr: "The Seconde booke of Esdras, otherwyse called the boke of Nehemias", F cxi). Moreover, as in other cases, the Low Douche edition of Luther's bible published under Bugenhagen has "Nehemias" in the given text. Despite the lack of commentary, Westcott does identify some coincidences as 'most remarkable' in terms of dependence upon Luther, but their value is limited: In the text of a four-word note at Genesis 3.6 (W§3) L23 differs only minutely from Zurich (L: weil, Z: dieweil). Ten verses later, the reproduction in the margin of Luther's head-bowing does indeed merit attention (W§4; the social ramifications of this note are discussed by Helen Kraus in her study, *Gender Issues in Ancient and Reformation Translations of Genesis 1–4*) but this could have been transmitted through an alternative Lutheran text, a point that applies also at Genesis 23.4 (W§10; L23: der fur mir legt). A key theological moment occurs at Romans 3.28 (W§54), where Coverdale indicates a possible 'only' (sic) in the margin, as had Luther's earliest NT and Lutheran successors generally; but this text and the note at Romans 10.17 (W§55: 'preaching' for German "predigte") would have been transmitted in any Zurich version. At W§47, Coverdale's note indisputably reproduces the text of Luther's 1522 NT's ("eyn glas mitt kostlichem wasser"/"A glas with precious water") but this is also the text of Z31 and Z34 (and logically the earlier versions too, though I have not checked this). From among these marginalia, the strongest case might be built on the marginal reading at Mark 3.21 (W§49) "Some reade: He wil go out of his witt", which matches L34, "er wird von Sinnen komen"; but this interpretation had been published already in Bugenhagen's Low Douche edition: "He wert van den synnen kamen." The (theological?) difficulty in having Jesus' family accuse him of insanity is reflected I think in the use of a future tense, but Bugenhagen also provides a marginal note on "van den synnen" as if to mitigate the accusation: "Se fruecheden, he dede syck wee mit arbeidende, gelyck also me secht. Du werst den kop dul maken"; the family have good intentions. (The Greek form, ἐξέστη, is aorist indicative active and so implies a state already arrived at.) By way of comparison, Vorsterman's 1534 Dutch-Douche bible has the past tense: "hy rasende gheworden was", 'he was become mad' or 'raging'.

Moving into Coverdale's main text, W§17 and W§19, regarded as 'singular' readings by Westcott-Wright (305), are given by Zurich as well as Luther. Thus despite the confidence of the closing sentence, and although supplying occasions where one might give ultimate credit to Luther for the line of interpretation (particularly that identified independently by Kraus; as the present study should demonstrate, the web of interpretation is so complex that 'original' interpretations are scarce), Westcott's examples do nothing to demonstrate a particular textual relationship between Coverdale and Luther—the listing of the note to Matt 1.18, discussed above in note (W§42), as a 'remarkable coincidence' between Luther and Coverdale is, to my view, mistaken but may arise from Wright's editing; the connection highlighted ad loc. is ostensibly with Zurich (the latter following L22). Of course, demonstrating a particular textual relationship might be an impossible task, given the manifold duplications of Luther's work.

Luther's text was not static. As outlined in **Chapter 2 (§4.1.2.2)** in the case of *Ruth* there are four major versions. The first was published in 1524 in the second volume of Luther's Old Testament translations, *Der Ander Teyl*, reissued in 1525 with one slight revision and again in 1526. The second version, i.e. the first substantial revision, was published in the complete Wittenberg bible of 1534. This was revised again for the 1541 bible, and for 1545. A similar pattern of revision, i.e. initial publication in the mid-1520s followed by reprints bearing very slight changes, then by more substantial revision in the 1530s, can be observed in other parts of the Old Testament. To simplify discussion, the versions are grouped and referred to according to the following phases: **phase 1** (ca. 1523–1528 (*R*¹:1524)), **phase 2** (1530–1537 (*R*²:1534)), **phase 3** (1539–1542 (*R*³:1541)), and **phase 4** (1544–1546 (*R*⁴:1545)). In addition to the aforementioned advantages, labelling by phase reflects the connections between the initial bible-by-parts and the Low Douche edition of 1534. There are some complications with this model with regard to the latter portions of the Old Testament, but these are not immediately relevant to the present discussion. Only the first two phases are relevant to the Coverdale Bible.

4.1.2 Other 'Lutheran' bibles

In the discussion that follows, reference will be made to the pre-Lutheran bibles and to the different phases of Luther's work where appropriate. In addition, reference will be made to the other contemporaneous Douche bibles described in **Chapter 2, §4.1.2.3**: Bugenhagen's Low Douche version (**Bug**); the Zurich bibles of the 1530s (**Z30–Z34**); and the contemporaneous NederVlaams-Douche version of Willem Vorsterman, based on phase-1 Luther texts but revised independently (**V34**).⁶⁰ Though mooted as a potential source, the Douche bible published at Worms in 1529 is not considered here, because its *Ruth* text exhibits no significant differences when compared with Luther's;⁶¹ similarly, Liesvelt's 1526 NederVlaams Douche bible contributes little in textual detail.⁶²

All quotations are first cited in the original orthography though English may be standardised during discussion. The selection of reference tools reflects those employed within the main body of this study.

4.2 Evidence from Ruth

Table A2 shows how Luther's translation of *Ruth* changed between its first publication (1524, **phase 1; L24**) and its inclusion in the complete Luther Bible, published at Wittenberg in autumn 1534 (**phase 2; L34**). Table entries are numbered in order to facilitate repeated

⁶⁰ Reference is normally to the 1534 edition (USTC 437650), itself a reprise of the 1528 text (interim versions having moved closer to the Vulgate. For further background, see **Ch. 2 §4.1.2.3, n.99**.

⁶¹ Bluhm is mistaken in including this among the list of hypothesised sources. Only one of the works I have reviewed suggests that the Worms bible, the work of Luther combined with translation from the Zurich divines and Denck and Haetzer's prophets, should be considered as a potential source—Bluhm's source is apparently E.E. Willoughby's *The Making of the King James Bible* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1956). See Heinz Bluhm, "'Fyve Sundry Interpreters': The Sources of the First Printed English Bible," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1976): 116.

⁶² Arblaster, "Totius Mundi Emporium," 19.

reference to the data. Orthographic variance is not recorded because only changes of sense could have an effect on Coverdale's translated text. An exception is made for "Naemi"; the spelling is consistent in the 1534 Luther but not in the 1524 edition.

Another category of changes is not relevant because they pertain to changes within the German language. The most common example is the increasing application of the augment *ge-* in the formation of the past participle; so L24 *gangen* became L34 *gegangen* (R2.7).⁶³ Three such changes occur in *Ruth* (see entries 23, 25 and 27 in **Table A2**). Though such an internal linguistic development could have no effect for Coverdale's englishing, these cases are listed at the end of the table for completeness. A similar situation is the shift between imperative forms in R2.8 (**Table A2**, entry 24), where *gang* becomes *gebe*; there is no difference of meaning here.⁶⁴ Included with these is the shift to (*zu*)*gehoeret* from (*zu*)*hoeret* in R2.11 (26), though it is arguably has a more important effect in clarifying the sense of Naomi's response.⁶⁵

Setting these aside, there remain 21 changes for consideration. Any consistent change, such as the replacement of *Nachman* with *Erbe* throughout, is treated as a single instance. Such changes are obviously significant, but as Coverdale's own translation in each of these cases is consistent, there is no need to duplicate them within the table. Discussion will proceed with reference to the numbered table entries.

4.3 Neutral cases

In several cases it would be hard to make any claim for dependence of the English on one Luther text as distinct from the other: "Dwelt" (**Table A2**, entry 1) is perhaps closer to *woneten* than *blieben*, but the matter is inconclusive. The elision of *nach* and *gangen* (entry 13) might have encouraged a one-word translation (compare MtB "followedest") but a translation based on the two parts is equally comprehensible.⁶⁶

According to the Grimms, *ansprechen* (8) places emphasis on the style of speaking—Boaz "addresses" Ruth, but this text is their primary example so it is not clear how a contemporary might have understood it—especially one whose first language was not Douche.⁶⁷ *Zusprechen*

⁶³ On this shift, see William Burley Lockwood, *Historical German Syntax* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968); and David Fertig, "The Ge- Participle Prefix in Early New High German and the Modern Dialects," *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 10, no. 02 (1998): 237–78. In all instances, the form of the auxiliary verb remains unchanged.

⁶⁴ For the use of "gang" as an alternative imperatival form see Grimm DWB s.v. "gehen" (5:2377). For its use in Zurich's bibles, see Werner Besch, "Die Regionen und die deutsche Schriftsprache: Konvergenzfördernde und konvergenzhindernde Faktoren, Versuch einer forschungsgeschichtlichen Zwischenbilanz," in *Die deutsche Schriftsprache und die Regionen: Entstehungsgeschichtliche Fragen in neuer Sicht*, ed. Raphael Berthele et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 16.

⁶⁵ The compound "zuhoeren" was used in the sixteenth century in the sense of "zugehoeren", i.e. belonging; so DWB s.v. "zuhoeren" §9 (32:458). See also DWB s.v. "hoeren" §6 (10:1811). The change in L34 restricts—Boaz does not *hear* Naomi and Ruth as per the alternative sense of "zuhoeren"—but does not otherwise affect the meaning.

⁶⁶ The Hebrew text combines verb and postposition: לבלתי־לכת אחריי

⁶⁷ DWB s.v. "ansprechen" (1:467–470); see esp. §1—the connotation is positive, friendly speech.

is a plainer form, now rare, equating roughly with “speak to”.⁶⁸ The difference is marginal and so nothing can be concluded from the comparison.

The instruction to “abide” (14) does not match either of the Luther texts, both of which combine a verb with the adverb-*come*-adjective *still*. “Hold still” was a readymade collocation to match *halt still*, in the sense of abstaining from action (as Naomi is advising).⁶⁹ Yet, as in the German, such Englishing could connote an instruction to be silent, as could the injunction to “be still”.⁷⁰ In this respect, “abide” is a more restrictive translation. It will be necessary to consider Coverdale’s choice alongside other potential sources, but in the present instance, neither Luther version can be said to have influenced it.

Neither text is an obvious candidate for Coverdale’s interpretation at R4.11 (19). In Coverdale’s case, this is a very clear case of influence from the Vulgate (“ut sit exemplum virtutis in Ephratha”), though Pagninus also had a role (see discussion of Latin versions below, §5.2.5). Wycliffite bibles had also used the phrase “example of virtue”, the phrase’s implications being explored in **Chapter 5**, above.

Gepurt, or rather *geburt* (22),⁷¹ was a traditional rendering; it is found in the Kölner and Halberstadt Low German bibles.⁷² *Geschlecht* was also traditional and is found in the pre-Lutheran High German bibles.⁷³ In this case, Coverdale’s term is an Englishing of the Latin term used in the Vulgate and had been used throughout Tyndale’s Pentateuch (Gen 5.1; 10.1, 32; 11.10 &c) and earlier in the Wycliffite bibles too. It is thus a fair example of lexical priming.

4.4 Possible dependence

4.4.1 Suggestions of a later Luther influence?

Though German descriptions of Boaz in R2.1 (6, Heb. *אִישׁ גִּבּוֹר חַיִּל*, *ish gibbor chayil*) might appear to favour L34 as source text, *streyttbar bellt* bearing little or no resemblance to Coverdale’s “honest man”, it has already been demonstrated that the first reissue of *Der Ander Teyl* (Wittenberg, 1525) substituted *redlicher man*.⁷⁴ The change is productive for the source question, because it strongly suggests the first Zurich translations had the reissue as their basis and not the first printing of *Der Ander Teyl*. As indicated in **Table A2**, Luther’s translation changed again in 1534. The three following points are therefore salient to the

⁶⁸ DWB s.v. “zusprechen” (32:836–838).

⁶⁹ See OED online, s.v. “still, *adj* and *n.*” §A.1.b, accessed Apr 20, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/190286/>. The earliest example of this collocation is from the *Cursor Mundi* (ca. 1300) with a further six examples stretching through to Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors*.

⁷⁰ OED online, s.v. “still, *adj.*” §A.2.a, accessed Apr 20, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/190286/>

⁷¹ The letters “p” and “b” were interchangeable.

⁷² Lubeck has *telinghe*, MNL *tel(l)inge*, one meaning of which is the cognate *Geboorte*. Cf. *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, s.v. “telinge”, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=57526/>. Mentelin, Pflanzmann: *geschlecht*.

⁷³ Checked in the Mentelin, Pflanzmann, Zainer, and Koberger editions.

⁷⁴ Bindseil & Niemeyer, 2:105.

current discussion: Coverdale would have found *redlicher* in ‘Lutheran’ texts of *Ruth* immediately after L24; he translates this Douche term as “honest” in 1 Sam 16.18;⁷⁵ the term *ehrllicher* (which replaced *redlicher* in L34) might prompt the same Englishing, as discussed in **Chapter 5**.

Coverdale sticks to Luther’s main spelling of *Naemi* (9), first used (inconsistently) in L24. The case is worth mentioning because the 1530 Zurich text (**Z30**) reproduced the *Naemi*—*Noemi* combination of L24 exactly, while Z31 amended R4.3 to *Naemi* but retained the other *Noemis*. So it should not be assumed that an editor would create consistency. Nonetheless, such consistency does occur before and separately from L34, *Naemi* appearing throughout both Z34 and Bug. Of course, Coverdale could have introduced such consistency entirely independently, conclusions about dependency on a particular text are as yet impossible. There will be cause to return to the question of orthography vis-à-vis proper nouns.

In all the cases so far discussed (1, 6, 8, 9, 13, 14 and 22) it cannot be said that Coverdale depends specifically on either the **phase-2** 1534 Luther Bible of Wittenberg or a text from the **phase-1** Luther versions.

One outlier is the use of “abode styl by” (2) in R1.14 which has a strong parallel in L34’s *bleib bey ir*. The Englishing of this phrase forms a major topic of discussion in the as yet incomplete supplement to this study.⁷⁶ The possible origins of Coverdale’s rendering will receive further attention in due course.

Sprachen (3) and sprach differ in number, the causes of which are examined below in the context of the Zurich bibles; the English form, “said”, is the same for singular and plural speakers.⁷⁷ Yet in Coverdale’s reading, the verb is implicitly singular, taking the city (the only available antecedent) as subject. This may be regarded as a further point in favour of L34; Coverdale’s reading could, however, be explained as an independent amendment required to create agreement (and thus syntactic cohesion) within the verse—the city does not literally speak but rather the people within it. Nonetheless, these two cases taken together would allow for slight influence from Luther’s 1534 bible. There is also evidence in the opposite direction.

4.4.2 Agreement between Coverdale and L24

There are two unquestionable instances of agreement between Coverdale and the phase-1 text against the later L34 version: “Enheritaunce” (7) reflects the L24 insertion *erbteyl*.⁷⁸ L34 removes the term, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew text.⁷⁹ Neither Coverdale nor

⁷⁵ The Hebrew phrase *gibbor chayil* is the same in both texts, and *redlicher* appears as its translation at 1 Sam 16.18 in Luther’s first draft and subsequent Douche editions pre-Coverdale (including those of Zurich). The use of a single TL adjective for the two SL terms is a distinctive trait; Coverdale’s Latin sources attend to the separate components (yielding Vg: *fortissimum robore* and Pg: *potentem robore*).

⁷⁶ See **Ch. 1, n.83**, and **Ch. 2, Table 2.2**.

⁷⁷ In L24 the Hebrew plural form is translated directly despite a lack of antecedent; in L34, the city is implicitly the subject of the singular verb form. The irregular orthography, “sayde”, makes no difference to the English meaning or application.

⁷⁸ NHG Lexical form: *Erbteil*. Modern English: inheritance.

⁷⁹ The noun has no parallel in the ancient versions (Vulgate, LXX, Targum, Peshitta). There is some Vulgate-oriented circumlocution in pre-Lutheran Douche bibles, to the effect that the field had a

L24 make any attempt to explain Naomi's pun in R1.20 (4, 5). L34 has a marginal note, glossing the two names.

A more complex example, but nonetheless clear, concerns the shift from *eyner* to *er* (17). This is logically an interpretive move on Luther's part, designed to resolve a lack of clarity in the Hebrew text: who is the man who removes his (own) sandal? In L34, this is explicitly the person who does not wish to inherit or purchase property. Coverdale replicates the Hebrew ambiguity (as L24), though "*the one*" (definitive) is not precisely "eyner".

A more tentative case can be made for the "nye" or "nexte" kinsman (10, cf. 12).⁸⁰ The interpretation of Hebrew *ge'ullab* in terms of "kin" had already been put forth in English and was undoubtedly influenced by the Latin tradition.⁸¹ That a familiar term had been used removed the need for an explanatory footnote (12) so the omission does not constitute a meaningful agreement with L34.⁸² Nonetheless, "nye" (10) or "nexte" (cf 12) seems to represent the *nach*- of Luther's original term and has no relationship to the new term, *Erbe* (heir).⁸³ Similarly, "redeme" (15) though not necessarily generated by the German *losen* (loose, release) is much closer to its connotation than that of *beerben* (inherit). The more extended substitution in R4.7 (16) has its roots in the move from *loser, losung* to *beerben* but takes a paraphrastic approach. The earlier form, "uber der losung und uber den wechsel" holds close to the Hebrew syntax (עַל-הַגְּאוּלָּה וְעַל-הַתְּמוּרָה) including the repeated preposition (*uber*, עַל); although Coverdale does not repeat the preposition, his text otherwise approximates L24.

Luther also changed a string of words in R2.21 (11), rephrasing the completion of the harvest. It is possible that the L24 verb, *ausrichten*, had associations with harvest—perhaps in terms of cutting—but there is no evidence of collocation within the DWB entry; the Latin gloss, *exsequi*, means simply "execute".⁸⁴ In any case, the composition of the L24 phrase (verb + noun) is comparable to the Hebrew. In the rewording of L34, harvest is embodied wholly in the verb,⁸⁵ removing the noun + generic verb combination. This does not account for Coverdale whose phrase is closer to the Hebrew in pattern and meaning.

Samen (seed, semen; 18) could be a printing error; the Hebrew שֵׁם is plain enough and was correctly interpreted in L24 (*namen*, name). Nonetheless, it does fit the context and could be

master (compare Lubeck: *de acker hadde enen beren. ghenomet booz*; Pflanzmann: *der acker het ein berren*; VUS: *ager ille haberet dominiu- nomine Booz*) but nothing that equates with Luther's formula.

⁸⁰ Modern English: nigh, next.

⁸¹ Tyndale uses "kyn" and "kynred" in his Pentateuch, and repeatedly in prominent passages such as Lev 18 ("what degrees of kynred may marye") and Deut 25. Wycliffite bibles used "kinsman" in *Ruth*, reflecting the Vulgate *propinquus*.

⁸² A cross-reference to Deut 25.a does appear in Coverdale at R4.10. This is not necessarily derived from (nor original to) Luther.

⁸³ In NHG, the preposition *nach* has a wide sphere of reference and one would normally use the distinct term *nabe* with regard to proximity. The two terms share common origins, and the sense of *nach* as "after" derives from a primary meaning of proximity. The Gothic antecedent, *nehv(a)* was glossed by Greek ἐγγύς, ἐγγίζω. So DWB, s.v. "nach" (13:9). I suspect that Luther's choice of term, "Nachmann", deliberately connoted both proximity and succession.

⁸⁴ The related noun *Ausrichter* is the term for an executioner, but the 'cutting' is perhaps overinterpretation on my part. See DWB, s.v. "ausrichten", "Ausrichter" (1:935).

⁸⁵ NHG *einerten*, glossed by DWB as *messem facere*, to harvest. Cf. s.v. "einerten" (3:167).

regarded as a deliberate clarification (perhaps even inspired by the sound of the Hebrew, *shem*). Coverdale once again agrees with L24 against L34.

Coverdale provides a partial parallel to L24 in his choice of noun as the women encourage Naomi: the new kinsman will “restore thy *life again*” (20; compare L24 *leben*). “Restore” is more elaborate than *bringen* but is a long way from the quickening soule of Ps 23.3.⁸⁶

Finally, the puzzle of the grandson worth more than seven sons: L24’s pronoun (*der*) is masculine and L34 (*welche*) feminine. Had Coverdale followed L34 (21), he would have restored Ruth to her due position of glory (see **Chapter 5, coda**).

4.5 Summary

To summarise, one unambiguous agreement has been found between Coverdale and L34, against L24, the description of Ruth’s action in R1.14: to “abide stylly by” Naomi (2). One minor agreement has also come to light, the placement of the city as subject to the verb “sayde” at R1.19 (3). Even taken together, these agreements are not sufficient evidence to determine that Coverdale used L34 here, for there are other possibilities to consider: a different source, or an independent act of translation. Nonetheless, the instances merit further attention because they differ from the overall pattern. The former case has implications for the reception of the text, and—perhaps surprisingly for those accustomed to a Ruth who cleaves or clings—lasted throughout the sixteenth century.⁸⁷

Contrasting with these two agreements, up to eleven instances of agreement between Coverdale and the phase-1 Luther text have been accumulated, against the revised 1534 version.⁸⁸ These include the retention of material not in the Hebrew (7) and therefore unlikely to be found in non-Lutheran sources, and the reproduction of a prominent disagreement with the Hebrew text which demands further enquiry (21). Again, this does not demonstrate that Coverdale used L24. The introduction of Boaz as an “honest man” (6) suggests that he had access to a Lutheran text of 1525 or later—but then, as becomes clear in considering the Zurich bibles, this could have come from Christoph Froschauer’s Swiss printing press.

5 THE CASE FOR ZURICH

5.1 Froschouer’s bibles and Coverdale’s early-Lutherisms

The text of the bibles printed at Zurich by Christoph Froschauer was based initially on Luther’s. In the case of *Ruth*, the use of *redlicher* in R2.1 indicates that the base text was the 1525 printing of *Der Ander Teyl* (see **Table A3** and discussion in **Ch. 5**).⁸⁹ It is thus

⁸⁶ Luther’s Psalter, from 1524 onward, has *Er erquicket meine seele*, a text ultimately influencing Coverdale: “He quickeneth my soule”. See Bluhm, “‘Douche’ Sources of Coverdale’s Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm,” 57.

⁸⁷ (This is considered in the incomplete supplement to this study; cf. Ch. 1, §4, n.83.)

⁸⁸ Cases 4, 5, 7, 16, 17, 18, 20 (in part) and 21. Possibly also 10, 11, 15.

⁸⁹ The first portion of the so-called Zurich Bible, Genesis to Song of Songs (the portions of the OT that had then been translated and published by Luther) appeared in 1525 (VD16 B2918, USTC

instructive to compare the agreements observed between Coverdale and phase-1 Luther with the Zurich bibles. The data is presented in **Table A3**, and will be discussed with reference to the numbered table entries (given in brackets within the discussion). Observations are focused on the 1534 text of Zurich, for reasons that will become clear.

Overall, the level of agreement between L24 and Z34 clearly shows that Luther's translation had provided the base for the Zurich texts. In all but one case, Coverdale's agreements with L24 could have been transmitted by Z34. The exception falls at R4.15 (**Table A3**, entry 21) where Z34 (in agreement with Z30 and Z31 and with L34) supports the standard Hebrew text: Ruth (*die*) is better than seven sons.

Turning to the two coincidences of Coverdale and L34 (e.2, 3), one may observe that once again Z34 (with Z30 and Z31) matches the early Luther. Consequently the Zurich Bible does not explain the presence of either reading in Coverdale. Yet the text of Z34 is distinguished from L24 at R1.19 (e.3) because it provides a subject placed in heavy parentheses: [*die weyber*] *sprachennd*. A similar tactic of explicitation was taken within Stephanus' Vulgate (*dicebantque mulieres*) and in the Matthew Bible (the women said), but without parentheses.⁹⁰ The ST conveys the information that the speakers are female through the Hebrew verb form; the incapacity of Douche, Latin, and English to do this is compensated for by the addition of a noun. Yet even in the Hebrew ST there is a cohesive issue: *who are these women?* A female chorus has appeared without introduction. The noun solution, though doing justice to the ST and confirming that the speakers are plural in number, does not wholly fill the gap for the TT reader.

The parenthetical presentation of *die weyber* has further repercussions: On the one hand it provides a subject to support the plural verb. On the other, the parentheses imply for the TT reader that this subject is either not present in, or a questionable part of, the underlying source text. How would a TT translator, without access to the ST and with limited or no knowledge about the communicative potentiality of the Hebrew verb form, react? Omitting a directly antecedent subject—as Coverdale does—could be a logical response. In effect, the bracketed phrase of Z34 draws attention to a problem of cohesion (the shift to plural subject despite a missing antecedent) within the translated text(s) that might otherwise have passed unattended. Coverdale's reading could have been provoked by Z34.

One other difference is noticeable in the table, the substitution of the verb *aussuchen* for *ausrichten* in 2.21 (11). This change first appears in Z34. The difference in meaning is negligible;⁹¹ but it does serve to show that while dependent, the Zurich bibles do not

626785). I have not inspected this text directly and its titlepage avoids any suggestion of dependence on Luther emphasising instead the Hebrew source (*der vrsprünglichen Ebreischen . . . trüwlichet verlütschet*). However, the 1530–1534 bibles, considered here, show definite dependence on Luther.

⁹⁰ The surviving manuscript that records Luther's first draft translation shows his awareness of this issue, with a note "*ad mulieres*" in the margin suggesting that he considered compensating for the lack of information in the German verb by making women an explicit audience to Naomi's reply.

⁹¹ *Aussuchen* belongs to a class of verbs associated with searching, but it seems that there was an additional sense of selection associated with the verb in the 15th–16th century; it is thus possible that the choice of verb was appropriate to the act of harvesting, the instruction being to stay with Boaz's servants until all the harvest was "picked". It is likely a stretch too far to argue that Coverdale's verb

simply regurgitate Luther's text with Swiss orthography. Coverdale does not obviously favour either text.

From the instances so far considered, it is far from clear that Coverdale used Z34—one might as well argue that he had consulted a second edition of Luther's phase-1 text or another early Lutheran version.

5.2 Luther's *Ruth*, Coverdale's *Ruth* and Zurich 1534

Table A4 shows instances where the Luther bibles (1524, 1534) agree while Zurich parts company with them.⁹² Where the text of the earlier Zurich bibles (1530, 1531) differs—except in basic orthography—this has been indicated in the footnotes. Also included are the equivalent words or phrases from Stephanus' 1528 edition of the Vulgate. For it must be acknowledged that a majority of the agreements between the Zurich bible of 1534 and Coverdale (against the common testimony of Luther 1524, 1534) reflect the influence of the Vulgate. However, there is sufficient evidence to show that the pattern of Douche-English agreement is not merely correlation—in which Coverdale accidentally agrees with Zurich because his text follows the Vulgate—but rather the result of a direct textual reliance of Coverdale upon the Douche of Zurich 1534.

To begin quantitatively: Of the thirty-one disagreements laid out in **Table A3**, there are up to eighteen instances in which Coverdale and Zurich 1534 are in agreement against the Lutheran tradition.⁹³ In ten of these cases (entries 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16, 24–25, 27, 29), Zurich 1534 differs from its Zurich predecessors, such that Coverdale's agreement is expressly with Zurich 1534.⁹⁴

Coverdale has text that accords with Luther and not Zurich 1534, unambiguously, in just two cases (12—Z34's *die weyber*, discussed above; 14). The Lutheran tradition is not a lone witness in either case, for Pagninus, following the Hebrew text, also supports Coverdale's reading. Both instances concern the omission by Coverdale of interpolations from the Vulgate that were placed in square parentheses within Zurich's text; by this manner of presentation, Zurich 1534 itself intimated that these words might be omitted.

5.2.1 Overview

In this set of (dis)agreements, there are repeated indications that Coverdale's *Ruth* is directly dependent upon Zurich 1534. The major indicators include at least three different kinds of evidence: parenthetical interpolations, mismatches that betray Douche interference, and

choice was subconsciously influenced by the Swiss orthography, “-end”.

See DWB s.v. “aussuchen” (1:994); EWD, s.v. “suchen”, in DWDS s.v. “aussuchen”, accessed Apr 24, 2013, /http://www.dwds.de/?qu=aussuchen/.

⁹² Differences in orthography between L24 and L34 are recorded here. All cases of semantic difference were reported in the previous tables.

⁹³ 1, 3–5, 7–8, 10, 13, 15–16, 18, 19 (against early Luther only), 22, 24–5, 27, 29. One might count also entry 28, where by including the noun *name*, Coverdale comes closer to Zurich; however, Coverdale's text shows primary dependence upon the Latin versions, especially the Vulgate's construction.

⁹⁴ Differences at 18 and 19 are slighter and so ought not to be counted within the category of ‘express’ agreement with Zurich 1534 alone.

cohesion that incorporates a Zurich viewpoint. There are also some more complex suggestions of dependence (e.g. where elements of Z34 can be found in other Douche texts though not Luther, or where Latin sources support Zurich's reading and could be equally determinative), some points of minor influence (e.g. where a Latin source seems to have proved decisive but Zurich has elements that support the decision) and, as is to be expected, some of the disagreements between Z34 and Luther are of negligible significance for the English text. The evidence is now presented according to these levels of significance (major, complex, minor and negligible) before stepping back to examine 'the big picture': Z34's divergence from Luther and its impact for Coverdale.

5.2.2 Major indicators

5.2.2.1 Parenthetical interpolations

Several instances of agreement against Luther concern Vulgate interpolations; this means that Z34 cannot be classified as a lone influence and the cases are necessarily complex, and ought to be considered under that heading. However, non-verbal features associated with three of these cases deserve to be recognised as major indicators, particularly when linked to an additional non-verbal case. As has been touched on above, the Zurich text of 1534 incorporated traditional interpolations, found in the Latin Vulgate and in pre-Lutheran Douche bibles themselves based on the Vulgate.⁹⁵ Coverdale did likewise; thus in R1.2 (1) stands not simply "Mahalon and Chilion" (MtB) but "the one . . . the other" (compare Vulgate: *alter . . . alter*). Z34 *Ruth* includes at least five such interpolations (1, 5, 8, 12, 14), four of which (5, 8, 12, 14) are enclosed in heavy square parentheses, i.e. []. Coverdale includes three of these interpolations (1, 5, 8) in his text, enclosing the latter two in round parentheses, i.e. (). Thus where he includes interpolations, he employs parentheses in the same places as Z34—(1) no parentheses; (5, 8) parentheses. While other Douche texts may include the same or equivalent words to Z34, the pattern of parentheses seems to be distinctive. To this one may add a further set of parentheses in R1.6 (3), where explanation for Naomi's departure, semantically subordinate, is presented in rounded parentheses by both Z34 and Coverdale.⁹⁶ Neither the other Zurich editions, nor other Douche versions I have seen, employ parentheses in this instance. Their presence may thus be deemed significant and taken cumulatively forms a major indicator of direct singular influence.

⁹⁵ So for the case under consideration (R1.2) I have consulted a representative sample including the earliest High (Mentelin: *einer maalon vnd der ander chelion*) and Low (Delft 1477: *den enen hete maalon ende die ander chelion*) Douche, as well as the bibles of Pflanzmann (as Mentelin), Lubeck (*de ene hete maalon. und de ander chelion*) and Halberstadt (*beyt eyn Maalon / de ander Chelion*).

⁹⁶ Coverdale's text reads: "Then gat she her up *with* both hir sonnes wyves, & wente agayne out of the londe of *the* Moabites (for she had herde in the londe of the Moabites, *that* the LORDE had visited his people & geven them bred)". Compare Z34: *Do macht sy sich auff mit iren beyden suns frauen/ unnd zoch wider auss der Moabiter land (dann sy hatt erfahren im Moabiter land/ das der HERR seyn volck hatt beimgesücht und inen brot geben).*

5.2.2.2 Interfering speech

Also in the category of major indicators is an apparent instance of lexical interference in R1.16, where Coverdale's Ruth says "Speake not to me therof . . ." (10). The Swiss Douche, *Rede mir nit darein*, differs from Luther in the preposition (*ein, darein*), but in both Douche texts it belongs properly to a compound verb: *einreden, d[a]reinreden*, as can be seen from the use of the former in R2.22.⁹⁷ Whether taken as speech- or physical act, these verbs denote opposition in a way that "Speake" does not. As may be seen in the **Table**, the other sources do not account for Coverdale's reading. It seems that he has misconstrued *darein*, and represented it in English with the aurally similar adverb "thereof". This has an effect on the internal cohesion of his version, as 'speaking thereof' is precisely what Naomi ceases to do in R1.18.⁹⁸ Though this is categorised as a major indicator of direct singular influence, of lexical interference, it is as part of a cumulative case that such instances become persuasive.

5.2.2.3 Conjunction and Cohesion at R3.15-16

The *shibboleth* of King James Bible editions comes at R3.15 (24), where the movement of either Boaz (he) or Ruth (she) toward Bethlehem is narrated—whence the "He" and "She" Bibles.⁹⁹ At this point, the now standard Hebrew manuscript uses the masculine form such that Boaz arrives in Bethlehem,¹⁰⁰ whereas the Vulgate narrates the entrance of Ruth using the feminine pronoun, *quae*. Z34, unlike its Zurich predecessors, goes against the Hebrew text and Luther (*er kam*), following instead the Vulgate's example: *sy gieng*. The opening of the following verse is necessarily affected. In the Hebrew text, the feminine verb form indicates that Ruth is now the subject though she is not named.¹⁰¹ For the Vulgate, this is continuous action: having entered Bethlehem (*ingressa*), Ruth then reaches Naomi (*et venit ad socrum suam*). Z34 and Coverdale similarly employ the simple conjunction, *und*, "and". The paths of influence here are evidently complex. Pagninus surprises by using (like the Vulgate) the feminine participle, *ingressa* in R3.15, suggesting that another Hebrew text was in circulation.¹⁰² What facilitates the claim of dependence specifically on Zurich is the viewpoint attached to Ruth's first action: she is not *entering* the city (as *ingressa* suggests), but rather "went" (Z34: *gieng*) into it, as if perceived by Boaz from without.

⁹⁷ The text differs only in orthography and is given here from L34: *auff das nicht iemand dir einrede auff eim andern acker* (R2.22). In L41, stands the related form *dreinreden* used in R1.16 and R2.22.

⁹⁸ C-R1.18: "she spake no more to her therof"; compare Z34, *liess sy ab mit ir davon zereden*. Luther has the same text but does not compound the final preposition + verb: *lies sie ab mit yhr davon zu reden* (L24).

⁹⁹ For a critical discussion of this point with regard to the KJV and earlier English versions, see Naseeb Shaheen, "Ruth 3:15—The 'He' and 'She' Bibles," *Notes and Queries* 56, no. 4 (2009): 621–24. Shaheen omits to consider the possibility of variant texts; see below **n.102**.

¹⁰⁰ So Bomberg Tanakhs of 1517, 1521, 1525, and 1533; also Complutensian Polyglot

¹⁰¹ As Greek has only a common verb form and a change of subject can only be effected by making this explicit, the LXX compensates by naming her (*καὶ Ρουθ εἰσῆλθεν*). On the LXX's introduction of names in *Ruth*, see Raymond Thornhill, "The Greek Text of the Book of Ruth: A Grouping of Manuscripts according to Origen's Hexapla," *VT* 3, no. 3 (1953): 241–4.

¹⁰² There are variant Hebrew *ms*s, and the Syriac agrees with the Vulgate at this point; so Bush, *Ruth—Esther*, 179.

From just six of the thirty-one instances (1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 24), significant indications that Zurich directly influenced Coverdale have begun to be assembled, with some sense of how this influence operated; of these six instances, only one occurs in the pre-1534 Zurich bibles.¹⁰³ Where *Ruth* is concerned, the case for direct dependence on Z34 is already stronger than any case built for an individual Lutheran version.

5.2.3 Complex cases and minor indicators

5.2.3.1 Complicating interpolations

It is necessary to complicate the picture so far presented, and this is to be expected because some “major indicators” have origins in the Vulgate (5, 8, 24-25), and many Douche bibles bear witness to the same Latin influence. Returning to the introduction of Mahlon and Chilion (1), one may see that the Latin, *alter Mahalon, & alter Chelion* (Stephanus), is translated inexactly, coming under the influence—or so I interpret—of Ruth and Orpah’s introduction in R1.4 (Latin *una . . . altera*; Z34: *eine beiss . . . die ander*) as well as of the requirements of domestic idiom.¹⁰⁴ Zurich 1534 is not the only bible of the *ad fontes* era to incorporate this interpolation without acknowledgment: Willem Vorsterman’s 1534 bible, published at Antwerp (in the local variety of Douche), makes significant use of the Vulgate but indicates select departures from the Hebrew in its margins. Thus a marginal note appears against the opening words of *Ruth* (*tijt eens rechters*): *th. tis gheschiet inden daghe*, i.e. the Hebrew has ‘in the days’. There is no such note for the sons: *der ein Mabelon/ und der ander Chilion*. Observe that Vorsterman’s text at this point exactly matches Z34, including the spelling of the proper names;¹⁰⁵ such details demand that one proceed with caution when discussing Coverdale’s sources. Recall that it was the presentation in parentheses that formed the major indicator in discussion of other interpolations (5 and 8), and that minor differentiation from the Vulgate was decisive in other instances (24; see also 27 below). In two of these cases, V34 has a different interpretation and could not itself have inspired Coverdale’s text.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *Dreireden* (10) is found in both Z30 and Z31.

¹⁰⁴ The Hebrew turn of phrase, combining ordinal with pronoun though another ordinal might be expected, is reflected better by the Douche than the Latin; its effect is perhaps less strange in both the Douche and in English, given the use of *ander* to signify the second (as *Der Ander Teyl*) and the commonplace English idiom, “the one . . . the other”. Though see also Holmstedt’s suggestion that the Hebrew phrase is not abnormal (*Ruth*, 63).

Coverdale goes a step further, adding the definite article to Orpah’s introduction “*the one . . .*” (Z34: *eine*) in a manner that strengthens the parallel with R1.2 and comes closer to the Hebrew expression: שם האחת ערפה.

¹⁰⁵ Pre-Luther texts follow a Vulgate spelling for both names, i.e. *Maalon* and *Chelion*. (I resist speaking of “the” Vulgate spelling since there is great diversity in its manuscript tradition; nonetheless, I am not aware of Vulgate manuscripts using a different spelling for these names.)

¹⁰⁶ Coverdale’s clarification of Naomi’s prayer at R1.9, husbands “(whom ye shal get)” (4), and the explicitation of Orpah’s departure “(and turned backe againe)” (7) could have been taken direct from the Vulgate, or indeed from Vorsterman. At R1.9, V34 provides its own version of parentheses, opening with an asterisk and closing with a round parenthesis—**dat ghi krijgen sult*—accompanied by the statement that this interpolation is not part of the Hebrew text (**ten is nyet int hebr*). There is no such parenthesis or comment at R1.15, *ende keerde wederomme*, but that does not rule out partial

At R4.10 there is evidence in Coverdale of a very minor interpolation. Boaz invites his Bethlehemite audience to acknowledge their role as witnesses, in a formulaic manner, opening and closing the invitation (R4.9-10) with three words: עֵדִים אַתֶּם הַיּוֹם—‘witnesses-you-today’ (27). The position of the Hebrew word *‘edim*, witnesses, is marked and Luther replicates this by placing *zeugen* at the head of his clause. He also inserts the word *des*, i.e. ‘of this’. Coverdale has the same clarificatory interpolation, but “Of this” opens his sentence and he lacks a counterpart for Luther’s *heute* (today, this day). In this absence, in word order, and in the presence of the interpolation (“of this”), Coverdale’s text accords with that of Z34. This would qualify as a major case were it not for the fact that the Vulgate shares the same word order, also interpolating (*huius rei*) and omitting the temporal reference (cf. Pg *hodie*). In effect, Z34 is here following the Vulgate. Yet Z34 has no lexical counterpart to *rei* (Gen of *res*, ‘thing’). It is this latter feature that suggests Z34 is still Coverdale’s primary influence—if following the Vulgate directly, he would more likely have supplied an explicit object, i.e. “Of this *thing* . . .”.¹⁰⁷ Instead, his demonstrative “this” reflects the *es* in Zurich’s *des*.

5.2.3.2 Further Vulgate influence

The Vulgate is a less obvious, but perhaps present, source of influence in a puzzling element of Coverdale’s Englishing. The Latin word *nuru* appears four times in the Vulgate’s *Ruth*, but six times in Pagninus; the discrepancy occurs because at R2.20-22 (20, 21), the Vulgate twice substitutes a pronoun (*cui*) apparently responding to the fact that the dialogue context has already been established and so neither Ruth’s relationship to Naomi nor the fact that she is the interlocutor constitute essential information for the TT recipient. In Coverdale, one finds principally the genitive construction “sonnes wife/wives” (2, 4, 13, 29) which seems to reflect the Swiss (and Low) Douche expression, *sunsfrauw(en)*.¹⁰⁸ The non-Lutheran Douche texts are consistent in this rendering,¹⁰⁹ but at precisely the point where the Vulgate has *cui*, Coverdale introduces the alternative English term, “doughter in lawe” (21, 22). It is important to recognise that both Englishings were current in the period; Thomas Elyot glosses *nurus* as “a daughter in law, the sonnes wyfe”, the order showing—I think—that daughter-in-law was the more common English but that son’s wife provided a precise explication. Such precision could arise from interaction with other languages that had more ambiguous terminology: the French *belle fille* serves for any daughter acquired through marriage, whether hers to one’s son (son-in-law) or having oneself wed a parent of hers

influence from V34 or a text like it. At R3.15 (24) Vorsterman has *quam* (came), reflecting Bethlehem’s perspective (and arguably the Hebrew text).

¹⁰⁷ The text of Vorsterman at R4.10 (27) is quite different, culminating in a question: *zijt ghi buyden getuyghen vraech ick?*

¹⁰⁸ See Vorsterman (*sonen huysrouwen, soons wijf*) and Bugenhagen (*soens frouwen, soens frouwe*). The consistent substitution is a strong indicator that Luther’s chosen term was not standard from the perspective of Douche-speakers in other areas, and was becoming obsolete in this period. Thus “schnur” is glossed for early readers of Luther’s OT (see above §3.1 n.23).

¹⁰⁹ With one minor exception: Vorsterman follows the Vulgate in omitting any equivalent in R2.20, but has Naomi address *haers soons wijf* in R2.22.

(step-daughter).¹¹⁰ The Dutch-Douche term, *schoondochter*, arose under French influence in the fifteenth century,¹¹¹ though the term *stiefdochter* (stepdaughter) far antedates this, and *schoondochter* is thus used for daughter-in-law without the same French ambiguity.¹¹² This interaction raises the rather curious possibility that Coverdale had an as yet unidentified Douche source, to which he was peculiarly faithful at this point. Alternatively, he may have found in the Vulgate's 'gap' a license to improvise, or better anglicise, his own choice of vocabulary. Setting aside this curiosity for the moment, the more frequent rendering of *nurus*-KLH as "sonnes wyues/wife" (2, 4, 13, 29) can still be regarded as a sign of the dominance of a non-Wittenberg Douche over Luther's own wording.

5.2.3.3 Conjunction and cohesion in R2.7, 9

There is considerable agreement between Z34 and Coverdale with regard to cohesive particles, the words that determine the connection between clauses. As demonstrated, in R3.15-16, the Vulgate reading (24) led to the use of a simple conjunction to connect the two verses (25), the same non-Hebraic reading being present in Zurich 1534 and Coverdale. There are two comparable instances (15, 16), both of which have a Vulgate influence but where one may again trace a stronger path between Zurich and Coverdale.

In the overseer's speech (15), Luther suggests a logical connection between who Ruth is and what she is doing in Boaz's field (the question behind the question). Z34 breaks the sentence here, beginning anew but with the connective *Und* corresponding to the Hebrew ו (*vav*); Coverdale, "And", follows suit (15). The same occurs in Vorsterman (*Ende*) and it is also the manner of connection preferred by Latin translations including both Pagninus and Stephanus' Vulgate. This case alone does not constitute proof of dependence. One may observe, however, that the speech verb in Coverdale accords with the Douche texts (and Pagninus) rather than the Vulgate, so that the nature of Ruth's speech (as request) is conveyed in the words spoken "Let me . . . (I praie the)" rather than the verb.¹¹³ Despite the

¹¹⁰ The French usage becomes fixed around the beginning of the fifteenth century. So Shirley Gale Patterson, "Concerning the Type Beau-Père, Belle-Mère," *Modern Language Notes* 28, no. 3 (1913): 73–77. There was also confusion about terms in early modern English, such that mothers-in-law were sometimes referred to as step-mothers. See Patricia Crawford, "The Construction and Experience of Maternity," in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England: Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed. Valerie Fildes, reprint (orig: London: Routledge, 1990); Routledge Library Editions: Women's History (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2013), 26.

¹¹¹ Patterson, "Concerning the Type Beau-Père, Belle Mère," 77.

¹¹² *Stiefdochter* is recorded in 1285; cf. *Vroegmiddelnederlands Woordenboek*, s.v. "stiefdochter", accessed Jun 05, 2014,

<http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=VMNW&id=ID14307&betekenis=stiefdochter/>.

The cognate English term, stepdaughter, can be traced back to the ninth century. OED online, s.v. "stepdaughter, *n.*" accessed May 15, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/189844/>.

The *Statemertaling*, that is the official Dutch bible translation published in 1637, presents Ruth and Orpah as *schoondochters*. The NHG 'daughter' compound, *Schwiegertochter*, is first reported by DWB in Kaspar von Stieler's 1691 dictionary (DWB s.v. "schwiegertochter" (15:2615)). Pfeifer also regards this as a seventeenth century neologism; cf. EWD in DWDS, s.v. "schwiegertochter", accessed May 15, 2013, <http://dwds.de/?qu=schwiegertochter/>.

¹¹³ Word order and expression might favour Pagninus as a determinative influence, in that *obsecro* corresponds more closely to "I pray thee" than the Douche *Lieber*. "I pray thee" was the standard

additional contributions of Pagninus and the Vulgate, this instance also supports the general case that places Z34 ahead of a pure Lutheran text. Two verses later, it is Z34 that introduces causality: *dann ich meynem kenaben geboten* (15). Again this has a basis in the Vulgate (*enim*). Coverdale adopts the same interpretation, this time in conflict with Pagninus (and Vorsterman) as well as Luther.¹¹⁴ Once again the Vulgate exerts a sustained though not controlling influence upon Z34, one which Coverdale also exhibits.

Though lexical rather than cohesive, one may make a further addition to the category of “Vulgatisms” conveyed in Z34 and found in Coverdale: the “heape of sheves” behind which Boaz lies (22).¹¹⁵ A similar text occurs in other Douche versions so it is a minor feature of the Zurich 1534 case.¹¹⁶

5.2.3.4 *Disagreements not linked to the Vulgate*

The influence of the Vulgate on Zurich 1534 is very evident and can be seen repeatedly in Coverdale’s text. What of the instances where Zurich differs from Luther and is not perceptibly following the Vulgate? Where do Coverdale’s loyalties lie? The general pattern, though less pronounced—such departures are slighter in number and in extent—is in Zurich’s favour. See for example Zurich’s omission of Luther’s *zu* (6), with a resulting *wee* that accords better with the plain “sory” (not e.g. “very sorry”) of Coverdale’s text.¹¹⁷ *Sengelkorn* (18) provides another minor case, in that Coverdale’s “corn” may have fallen under Zurich’s influence. Corn was the generic

accompaniment to a polite request. “Prithee”, a natural spoken contraction of the full form, is not recorded in written English until 1560; nonetheless its use in speech may be assumed and could have better approximated *Lieber* in form were Coverdale so minded. Cf. OED online, s.v. “prithee, *int.*”, accessed May 16, 2013, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/15159/>.

¹¹⁴ Pagninus takes this part of Boaz’s speech as a question, *An non praecepi pueris, ut non tangant te?* This interpretation, which acknowledges the interrogative particle (וְ) and thus suggests greater skill in Hebrew, entered English through the Great Bible and became part of the KJV. (The Matthew Bible has a statement akin to Coverdale’s: “for I have charged the young men”.) In following the consensus that Pagninus was a source, one must recognise that Coverdale encountered his very different reading and that such encounter would have required a conscious decision about which text to follow at this point. R2.7 would also have been a verse where deliberation was required (see **Ch. 3, §3.2**).

¹¹⁵ Luther has *mandel*, a term first recorded by DWB in relation to Luther’s use here in *Ruth*, but traced by Pfeifer (EWD) to the NL definition “10 bis 12 Garben” (10–12 sheaves) suggesting that it was known in Middle Douche and in Low Douche until the seventeenth century. The Lutheran term would have been unsuitable for a High Douche (or indeed Swiss Douche) audience, which could alone explain Zurich’s amendment, especially as it was present in the earlier Zurich bibles (Z30, Z31). The Matthew Bible, like Pagninus (*acervi*) and the Hebrew (הַעֲרֹמָה), has simply one word: *heap*. DWB s.v. “Mandel” §1 (10:582). EWD in DWDS, s.v. “Mandel”, accessed May 16, 2013, <http://www.dwds.de/?qu=mandel/>.

¹¹⁶ V34 also follows the Vulgate’s example, with *hoop schooven* (NHL schoof). Bugenhagen has a term, *dymen*, that I have been unable to locate elsewhere, though an informal source suggests it was known also in Old Prussian where *dimens* could refer to a heap of sheaves.

Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek, s.v. “schoof” §1, accessed May 07, 2013, <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=50023&betekenis=schoof/>.

For *dymen*: Anon. “dimens”, *Wiktionary*, accessed May 08, 2013, <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/d%C4%ABmens/>.

¹¹⁷ The Zurich text may have been affected by the LXX at this point. See discussion in **Chapter 7**, above.

term for all grain,¹¹⁸ but Elyot is quite specific in explaining the Latin *polenta* as a preparation involving barley (a non-generic term, current from at least the twelfth century—and the very harvest at which Ruth and Naomi have arrived, cf. R1.22), while Luther’s *sangen* leaves the matter implicit.¹¹⁹ Note also that while Pagninus is an obvious candidate to explain Coverdale’s “touch” (17) insofar as it is a near automatic gloss for Latin *tangere*,¹²⁰ *tangere* is also the primary gloss given to Z34’s *anruere* by the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.¹²¹ Exceedingly minor is the transit of the other *go’el* in R4.1 (26) where one may observe only that Coverdale translates with a two-word phrase (as Zurich) and is not visibly emulating the additional preposition in Luther’s construction.¹²²

5.2.4 Negligible

Where Luther and Zurich 1534 differ, they do not necessarily disagree to a sufficient extent that one can describe Coverdale’s English as further from or closer to either. Sometimes one may speak of a generic Douche influence: Thus Coverdale’s “sister-in-law” (9) is closer to the Douche versions; the Latin, *cognata*, is the feminine form of a more general kinship term, implying that these are related not only by marriage (a fact already established for the reader) but by blood.¹²³ Yet neither Douche term can be granted precedence since they are dialectal and Coverdale’s term was the natural English (once guided away from suggestions of blood-relation).¹²⁴

Sometimes other texts cooperate with the Douche. It is very difficult to unpick how a text receiver would have comprehended the *uber sy* and *ueber yhm* of R1.19 (11), but any argument for dependence is considerably weakened by the presence of Pagninus’ *super eis* which could also contribute to Coverdale’s “over them”.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ OED online, s.v. “corn, *n.*”, accessed Aug 24, 2012, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/41586/>

¹¹⁹ *Sangen*, cognate with *singed*, is represented by parched—grain is only implied. This is in keeping with the Hebrew. What is indicated is the cooking process (roast, fried). One might calque *sengelkorn* as “singed-corn”. The Low Douche versions refer to *vorsengende* (Bugenhagen), *brij voor* (V34, see also the margin: *bry vore*), both involving contractions of *voeder* (fodder).—This was low grade food; Elyot further explains *polenta* as food given (in the past) to slaves and animals.

¹²⁰ Elyot has “*Tango, retigi, tangere*, to tou[c]he, to meue, to understande, or perceyve, to come to.”

¹²¹ DWB, s.v. “anrühren” (1:431). Where the Latins are concerned, *tangant* is a more natural counterpart to touch than *molestare* which expresses displeasure or pain (so Elyot, repeatedly); it is only the context that might lend to Latin *tangere*, and English “touch”, a sense of threat or danger.

Translations of this verb are also considered in the study of קָבַד; see **Ch. 1, n.83**.

¹²² By 1545, Luther had a full compound: *vorüberging* (comparable to “passing by”). The Latins might have provoked Coverdale to use a one-word translation, e.g. “crossing”, “passing”, but English lends itself more naturally to verb + directional adverb constructions. Cf. Ross, “Advances in Linguistic Theory and Their Relevance to Translation,” 113–52, esp. 126–30.

¹²³ So Elyot glosses *cognati*, “kynnesmen”; etymologically it is built from *cum* (with) and *natus* (born).

¹²⁴ OED traces sister-in-law back to the first half of the fifteenth century. The use of “law” with regard to relations by marriage is further traced to the thirteenth century. See OED online, s.v. “sister-in-law, *n.*”, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/180440/>. Also OED online, s.v. “law, *n.*” §I.3.c, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/106405/>. The suggestion that Ruth and Orpah were daughters of King Eglon and so sisters by blood as well as through marriage features in Targum Ruth, Ruth Rabbah and subsequent Jewish interpretation. See above, **Chapter 4, §2.2**.

¹²⁵ “Regen” is a verb of movement, and the preposition *über* is normally found with accusative where movement is implied, potentially accounting for the move from Luther’s dative (*über ihnen*, L45, and seemingly the earlier versions too despite orthographic variance) to Zurich’s accusative (NHG *über sie*).

Other negligible cases provide insufficient information to make any judgment about the Douche and Latin texts, whether because Coverdale could have arrived semi-independently at the solution (cf. 19, the consistent “Naemi”), because an English lexical choice was already strongly primed as with “begat” (31),¹²⁶ or because the expressions are simply too basic and generic, as with “eny more” (6).

5.2.5 Cases not following Zurich

Although a clear trend can be discerned in which Coverdale follows Zurich against Luther, there are cases where alternative influences are equally transparent. Coverdale’s Latinisms are not restricted to the mediated (or ‘augmented’) Vulgate influence that occurs when Z34 has adopted its reading.

5.2.5.1 Independent Latin influence

Direct Latin influence has been seen already in the *generacion* of Perez (R4.18, **Table A2**. e22). Another such is the “honorable name” desired for Ruth (28).¹²⁷ Luther interprets the injunction וקרא־שם and so does not include a formal correspondent for the noun שם, for

While Luther’s dative might have been dialectal, it may also signify figurative interpretation of the phrase.

“Over” is cognate with the Douche preposition, so this case may be viewed as an instance of partial interference, insofar as other terms (concerning, about) were available. Of particular interest in this light is Coverdale’s treatment of Lev 11.46: Where Tyndale’s Pentateuch had “law of beest and foule”, Coverdale has the “law *over*” (Z34, L24-40: *ueber*—Luther amends to *von* from 1541). This Coverdale text is listed by OED as an example of “over” (OED online s.v. “over, *prep.* and *conj.*” §A.I.3.b, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/134248/>). But see also the use of “over” both by Coverdale and in the Matthew Bible at 1 Chron 20.2 (Luther and Zurich *ueber*), demonstrating that such usage was by no means peculiar to Coverdale.

With regard to alternatives, Coverdale uses “concerning” where the Douche texts have *ueber* at R4.7. He also introduced it to the New Testament, where Tyndale’s reads “of” for *περι* + genitive at 1 Cor 16.1 (so OED online s.v. “concerning, *prep.*” §2, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/3816/>). In this case all Luther versions and Z34 read *von* and the Vulgate (with Erasmus 1519) *de*. Wycliffe uses “about” in this sense, (cf. Wisd 14.22—translating *περι* + accusative, so OED, but in fact translating Vulgate *circa*. OED online s.v. “about, *adv.*, *prep.*¹, *adj.*, and *int.*” §B.IV.10, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/527/>).

The Vulgate had taken the R1.19 phrase differently, with *apud cunctos* (masc. pl.) referring to the inhabitants of Bethlehem (“news spread *among them*”). The absence of the atypical affix found elsewhere in *Ruth* with reference to two women, and the lack of appropriate antecedent for the subsequent verb, may have provoked this.

¹²⁶ One could make a slight argument for *gebar* as sharing ‘formal’ characteristics with *begat*—using formal in Koller’s sense, i.e. regarding aesthetics, in this case rhythm and poetics. Tyndale’s “begat” (Gen 4.18—he has “bore” for Cain’s wife’s action in 4.17; Gen 10.1ff)—together perhaps with earlier English renderings—is nonetheless to be regarded as determinative priming; it is worth noting that an alternative past form, *begot*, also appears in Tyndale’s work, cf. e.g. Gen 10.8; so the Douche *gebar* might have exerted a faint influence on Coverdale’s orthography. Wycliffite bibles were inconsistent, some using the term “gendred” (engendered; cf. Scheide M12 at R4.18–22 and elsewhere, e.g. Gen 4.18; 10.8ff) but also the passive “wren born to” (G10.1), and for a woman’s role “childed” (Scheide M12, Gen 4.17). Others report use of “gat” or “gate” in some of these instances; see Gen 4.18; 10.8; R4.18–22, in the early version as given by Forshall & Madden.

¹²⁷ The latter part of the blessing package is intended for Boaz in the Hebrew, but this is unclear in the Douche translations; see above, **Chapter 5**.

which Zurich gives *nammen*.¹²⁸ Pagninus uses the adjective *celebre*, a term which Elyot glossed as “famous” but also “swift, honourable”;¹²⁹ but Pagninus does not provide a verb and verbless clauses are most commonly filled with the relevant part of *esse*, i.e. ‘*may* (X) name *be* celebrated’; compare the Vulgate’s *et habeat celebre nomen*. Coverdale’s “have an honourable name” can thus be seen as very partially influenced by Zurich, and partially by Pagninus, but the determinative influence here is the Vulgate.

Pagninus plays the determinative role in Ruth’s designation as “vertuous” (23; considered in **Chapter 5**, above). Though lexically primed by the Vulgate’s “virtutis”, Coverdale’s phraseology is modelled quite distinctly on Pagninus. It is perhaps significant that here and in R3.11 (**Table A4** e23) while one Latin text can be distinguished as determinative for phraseology, the two operate together in providing the lexic.

5.2.5.2 *Lutheran Douche?*

Having focused discussion on Zurich, what evidence remains for a Lutheran source?

To record again the counter-points to Z34’s dominance: Coverdale does not have two of the interpolations found in Zurich 1534—the women, introduced at R1.19 (**Table A4** e12) in order to resolve the coherence issue (i.e. who is speaking), following the Vulgate’s example and thus conveying the gender and number information contained in the Hebrew verb form; and the ears that provide an object for Ruth’s action in R2.3 (14). In the former instance, Vorsterman (V34) has the plural verb without antecedent,¹³⁰ a step comparable to Coverdale’s (but which correlates only with L24). In the latter case, however, V34 makes the same judgment as Z34, including an object (*die arenen*). In this instance, then, Coverdale holds with the Lutheran policy—but then so does Pagninus; and as discussed above, the parentheses themselves signal the possibility of choosing to omit the words—words which Coverdale renders unnecessary. (In R1.19, the city acts; in R2.3, the object of Ruth’s actions has already been stated, cf. R2.2.)

To these absent interpolations, one should add the curious indefinite Douche reading at R4.17, *ein vater* (Zurich), which is not followed by Coverdale, who supplies the definite article: “*the* father” (30, emphasis added).¹³¹ This need not indicate dependence on Luther—

¹²⁸ A change that does not seem to have the Vulgate behind it, being present in the earlier Zurich bibles (Z30, Z31).

¹²⁹ Note also the connection of honour and worship attested in Elyot’s gloss on the verb *celebro, aui, are*: “to celebrate or brynge in renoume, to make good reporte. Also to haunte, to honour, or worship.”

¹³⁰ *So roerde haer die fame in dye gebeele stadt ouer ende seyden . . .* (R1.19).

¹³¹ This could be recorded as an agreement of Coverdale with Luther against Zurich, and would support the case for an alternative Lutheran source (that of Wittenberg being weak). However, it is not difficult to see Coverdale arrive at this reading independently, given a basic awareness that Latin does not use the article (nor Hebrew in a genitive-possessive construction). The absence of the article in the LXX could be significant for Zurich—this is a feature of all Zurich editions, and Zwingli’s preference for the LXX is well documented. See below, §5.4.1.

The tendency of pre-Lutheran Douche bibles to translate as Zurich does, *ein vater*, is curious, but attests to a strong vernacular tradition, and could perhaps imply some kind of typological reading—a play on Jesse/Jesus. (I have sampled Pflanzman, Koberger, Lubeck, and Halberstadt, all of which follow the indefinite reading shown in the Zurich bibles.)

the Wycliffite translators took the logical step of adding ‘the’ when translating the Vulgate’s article-free Latin—but it is a point that might be considered when examining any other Douche sources.

5.2.6 Summary

There are some major indicators that Coverdale relied directly on the Zurich Bible, and specifically that of 1534 (summarised here with reference to **Table A4**). The clearest of these are non-verbal elements, such as the parentheses in R1.6 (3).

The picture is complicated by the presence of elements typical of the Vulgate within the Zurich text—the majority of which are peculiar to the 1534 edition¹³² and (naturally) constitute significant divergences from Luther thus constituting a major part of the material that has been considered in this section. This presence of one ST within another ST creates an issue of co-testimony: Which ST ought to be regarded as the determinative influence? With this complexity in mind, evidence of (in)dependence has been sought, and a repeated pattern of minor details found that support the major thesis: that Coverdale’s *Ruth* shows a particular reliance on Zurich 1534. Of these, the use of “speake therof” (10), the departure of Ruth (24), and the formulation, “of this are ye witnesses” (27), are especially decisive.

Minor instances have been advanced to reinforce the major case, including Naomi’s sorriness (7), and the parched corn (17). The case must be understood as cumulative. Yet once assembled—and there is further material to be added—it poses a question for the general hypothesis concerning Coverdale’s Douche sources: If the phase-1 Luther texts are transmitted by Zurich, and where Zurich differs from Luther, Coverdale follows the Z34 reading, what case remains to support the claim that Luther was among Coverdale’s “Douche interpreters”? At the very least, the answer is not “obvious”, and it is one better understood in the context of other scholars’ findings.

To complete this summary of the present investigation before turning to other scholarship: The Douche texts establish Orpah as a relative by marriage alone (and not by blood), a direction followed by Coverdale; the Vulgate exerted a strange influence on the presence of Coverdale’s daughters-in-law in *Ruth* 2, one not explained by any of the current STs; and both the Vulgate and Pagninus are demonstrably determinative for the choice of vocabulary (together) and phraseology (separately)—specifically in praise of Ruth (23, 28).

5.3 Swiss by design: the purposeful use of Zurich

The case for Zurich 1534 as a source of Coverdale’s *Ruth* is cumulative. Coverdale’s *Ruth* is not isolated but stands as part of a larger TT. An independent survey having been conducted, its broader significance is best discussed in conjunction with observations from other scholars who have tackled the question of Coverdale’s sources through independent

Some Latin mss include reference to the “spiritual lineage of the race” at R4.17, attached to Obed by Smith (*Medieval Exegesis in Translation*, 29) but to Jesse’s role as father in Hugh of St Cher’s *Postillae* (Smith, 54). That such interpretation was intended in Douche bibles is far from evident and may be to pursue a detail too far.

¹³² The major exception is the indefinite *ein vater* (30) discussed above.

investigation. The most pertinent observations were made some time ago by Ernst Nagel and J. F. Mozley;¹³³ their work deserves more attention than it has previously received.¹³⁴ Bringing together their findings with those of the preceding survey leads to the firm conclusion that Coverdale's preference for the Swiss-Douche version was not accidental: Coverdale followed Zurich *by design*.

5.3.1 Summary headings

In the 1534 Zurich bible, a précis comprising a summary of the contents or 'argument' was provided for every chapter; this was a development of the 1531 edition, which had no headings in *Revelation*. As printer-publisher, Christoffel Froschouer advised his purchasers that these summaries had been thoroughly revised, partly to assist them in finding cross-referenced passages (if the marginal reference erred, e.g. by indicating an adjacent chapter). Although Nagel's study was based on the 1531 edition (and he therefore saw the *Revelation* headings as Coverdale's own creation, whereas Mozley—who was not familiar with Nagel's study—took these as part of the case for Z34), he presented a powerful case for Coverdale's dependence on Zurich for this paratextual material. Agreement occurs in varying degrees, but the typical overlap extends from the introductory formulae to sentence structure, and references to other parts of the bible within a summary.

Such a relationship can be seen in *Ruth* (the opening words of the heading to *Ruth* 2 form one of Nagel's examples) though it is important to observe that Coverdale is not afraid to alter his source. Furthermore, where Nagel found that Coverdale and Z31 often agreed in grouping together a set of summaries, in the case of *Ruth*, Coverdale sets all four summaries together at the head of the book, while Zurich (Z31 and Z34) presents them discretely at the head of the chapter concerned. This shift has significant effects, as discussed in **Chapter 2, §4.1**.

What does this relationship say about the significance of Zurich for Coverdale? Mozley is surely correct in seeing the headings as confirmation of the relationship with Z34.¹³⁵ Luther—and thus Wittenberg-oriented versions—had no headings;¹³⁶ Pagninus collated his

¹³³ I.e. Nagel, "Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel"; Mozley, *Coverdale*.

¹³⁴ To illustrate this point, in the introduction to the 1975 facsimile edition of the Coverdale Bible, Greenslade refers to minor changes in 1534 (14), but later (28) refers the reader to CHB 3 where 1531 is referred to as "thenceforward the standard text" (106) giving no indication of Coverdale's reliance on the later version. In his own contribution to CHB 3, Greenslade suggests both 1531 and 1534 editions were used (148) but this chapter is not indicated in his 1975 note (rather the preceding chapters on continental bibles) and he gives no detail. The standard works by Mozley, Westcott, and Butterworth form the basis of his remarks on sources in the 1975 introduction (cf. 13–15).

Apart from two references in later issues of *Zwingliana* (see the 1938 and 1992 volumes), I have found reference to Nagel's work only in Pipkin's bibliography of Zwingli (publ. 1972), in a French history of Swiss publications (Charles Gilliard and Henri Meylan, "Histoire de la Suisse Publications des années 1936 à 1940," *Revue Historique* 196, no. 1 (1946): 77); and as a footnote in Locher's *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 366 n. 127.

¹³⁵ "A further proof is found in the chapter headings to the book of Revelation. . . . Coverdale uses, though with much freedom, the chapter headings of Zurich 1534 . . ."; Mozley, *Coverdale*, 86.

¹³⁶ The Worms High-Douche bible of 1529 held to Lutheran practice with minimal annotation. Bugenhagen's Low-Douche Luther edition provides an extended marginal note at the beginning of *Ruth*, but this sets up a context (that the book concerns David's tribe, and that events occur between the rule of Jephthah and Samson's birth) and is different in character from the Zurich headings (see

summaries (which Nagel characterises as “weitschweifig”, verbose) at the beginning of the volume.¹³⁷ In this instance, one can see in Coverdale a preference for including headings (communicating something about the purpose and nature of the biblical text) and for locating these adjacent to the biblical text. However, there are no grounds to say that Coverdale preferred Zurich over Luther, since this may be purely a preference for presence over absence.

5.3.2 Cross-references

Again, Nagel found commonalities in the pattern of marginal cross-references. He saw not only that many of the references were shared by Coverdale and Z31, but that identical groups of cross-references appeared together against a single text, and the two versions shared long gaps—passages of text without any cross-reference. The ‘concordance’, i.e. these cross-references, had—like the summaries—been comprehensively revised for the 1534 edition.¹³⁸ Thus Mozley found the same with regard to Z34, with a yet more pronounced pattern of agreement in presence and absence, though (like Nagel) he also observed that some of Coverdale’s cross-references were independent (perhaps attesting to his personal biblical literacy and interests).¹³⁹ In the case of *Ruth*, both agreement and divergence can be observed—in the first three chapters, Coverdale has only two references and both are independent of Zurich. Only in R4, where a dense web of intertexts is created through the introduction of other biblical characters, does agreement manifest.¹⁴⁰ The detail of these paratextual elements forms part of the discussion in **Chapter 5**.

5.3.3 The main text

In considering the text of *Ruth*, significant correlations accumulated between Zurich and Coverdale, in opposition to other hypothesised sources. A majority of these cases concern readings particular to the 1534 edition, indicating that Z34 was a repeated and determinative influence for Coverdale’s *Ruth*. Mozley’s observations corroborate this, though he had first to reject the view of the dominant Swiss scholar, J.J. Mezger, whose monograph features as a

discussion in **Chapters 3 and 4**). Zurich-style headings are found in Vorsterman’s bibles. Perhaps readers’ attitudes evolved to favour such headings, for they are found in the 1542 edition of Liesvelt but not the original 1526 (which accords with Luther’s practice).

¹³⁷ “Was Pagninus betrifft, liebt er es, in den Summarien weitschweifig zu sein” (Nagel, “Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel,” 449).

The placement suggests a very different purpose. Pagninus’ approach was also selective: while the summary of Leviticus 2 is ca. 100 words, there are no summaries at all for chapters 3–22 of Leviticus.

¹³⁸ Froschouer takes some pains to explain the procedure and its benefits within his preface to the 1534 edition; the use of markers within the text was intended to ensure cross-references be positioned accurately in future editions. Good cross-referencing was marketable and tells us something about how readers were expected to interact with the text, a point explored in the body of this study (see esp. **Ch. 4 §5.1**). Arblaster describes a similar preface in an earlier Douche New Testament (published at Delft in 1524): “The prologue shows an early attempt at split level marketing: besides explaining basic punctuation marks, the editor also gave guidance concerning the intricate apparatus of differing typefaces and brackets which indicated textual variants, words inserted to make the meaning plain and so forth.” Arblaster, “Totius Mundi Emporium,” 13.

¹³⁹ “I do not think that anyone who compares the selection and grouping of the references will doubt that Coverdale had Zurich 1534 in front of him.” Mozley, *Coverdale*, 85–6.

¹⁴⁰ The significant parallels are as follows: R4.3 / Levi. 25 d and Jere. 32.b; R4.10/ Deut 25.a (this reference also appears by R4.5 in Z34); R4.11 / Gen 29, 30; R4.12 / Gen 38; R4.18 / I. Par. [Chron.] 2.a; Matth. 1.a.

standard reference point for those studying Swiss bibles.¹⁴¹ Mezger had pronounced the differences between the 1531 and 1534 editions to be restricted to paratext—the changes all brought to the readers’ attention within Christoffer Froschouer’s opening preface.¹⁴² Thus Mozley writes:

[The 1534 edition of the Zurich Bible] has never yet been brought into the question, partly from its rarity . . . partly because the experts (following Mezger) pronounce it to be a mere reprint of 1531, and partly because it was believed to have appeared too late to have been used by Coverdale.¹⁴³ But it is not a mere reprint of 1531. Certainly it nearly always agrees with it, but *it makes a few changes, particularly in the earlier part, and of these places I have discovered about a dozen*,¹⁴⁴ where Coverdale follows 1534 against 1531, as well as against all his other interpreters.¹⁴⁵

Based on the examples supplied, and Mozley’s later comments regarding the use of—or rather absence of any influence from—Luther’s 1534 edition in the “first two parts of the bible”, “the earlier part” here indicates the books of the Pentateuch and Joshua–Esther,

¹⁴¹ Johann Jakob Mezger, *Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzungen in der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche: von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der reformierten Kirche* (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1876). Mezger’s monograph was reprinted in 1967 and has thus had an extended influence on Swiss bible scholarship. Mozley remarks, “It is surprising how little interest the Swiss divines have taken in the history of their own bible” (Mozley, *Coverdale*, 84, n.).

¹⁴² “Der text des ersten Band des umfasst wie 1531 die sammtlichen historischen Buecher und die Apocryphen . . . Der Unterschied dieser [i.e. 1534] und der vorigen Ausgabe [1531] bezieht sich rein nur auf die Zuthaten, *nicht auf den Text*.” (Mezger, *Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzungen*, 110–11. (Emphasis added.) I suspect Mezger’s error arises from trust in the printer’s foreword which suggests the text stands unchanged (although there is some ambiguity about whether words placed in parentheses had all been present in the previous edition, or whether Froschouer was only outlining the change of technique). Mezger did note omission(s) in the translators’ foreword—which I observed independently, and will be discussed below—but in believing the editions to be otherwise the same, did not stop to interrogate this change (110).

Mezger was definitely responsible for leading Smothers astray, and implicitly Bluhm who does not comment directly but consults only the Zurich 1525, 1530 and 1531 texts of Psalm 23, in what is otherwise a thorough survey (cf. “Douche’ Sources of Coverdale’s Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm,” 194). This reliance does not seem to be a fatal flaw for the studies—the text of 1531 and 1534 *is* the same for the psalms concerned; Smothers had to rely on a 1538 edition (257), and does not lay out his text as thoroughly as Bluhm, so the misinformation may have had some minor adverse effect. Cf. Smothers, “The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV,” 257, also 254 n.22.

¹⁴³ Mozley does not provide any examples, but Nagel is a case in point: “Die benützte Zürcher Ausgabe kann . . . nur diejenige des Jahres 1531 sein” (“Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel,” 442). Similarly Hollenweger, “Er müßte mehr als ein Genie gewesen sein, wenn er im Laufe eines Jahres die Bibel übersetzt und im Druck herausgebracht hätte” (“Zwingli’s Einfluss in England,” 176). Both scholars are focused particularly on disputing the possibility that Coverdale had used Luther’s 1534 bible.

¹⁴⁴ Mozley furnishes the following examples: Gen 33.18 (peaceably); Judg 9.21 (when he had spoken this out), 12.4 (and dwell), 13.19 (which doeth the wonders himself); 1 Sam 16.11 (not sit down at the table); 2 Sam 5.8 (Jebusites [*twice*]); 2 Kgs 25.3 (on the ninth day of the fourth month); 2 Chron 25.18 (hawthorn); Ezra 8.2f (Hattus [*om.* of the children of Schechaniah]); 2 Esdr (multiplieth [*om.* more]), 2 Macc 12.43 (well and right) and Heb 12.13 (halting). Mozley, *Coverdale*, 84–5.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 84, emphasis added.

the section of which *Ruth* is part. This is further evidence for the dominance of Zurich. Mozley also found no evidence of L34 influence in this part of Coverdale's bible.¹⁴⁶

5.3.4 Static or growing? Zurich's role as "chief guide"

Taking all of these points (agreements in text, headings, cross-references) together, Mozley was confident that Z34 was a continuous and dominant source for Coverdale—the findings for *Ruth* thus correspond to his general observations. However, there is an important nuance missing from Mozley's account of the Old Testament, for he implies that Zurich's influence increases.

In Mozley's terms, while Zurich is near consistently Coverdale's "chief guide" (92), the more Luther and Zurich diverged, the greater Zurich's influence grew, reaching "its height" in the prophets (94)—though being rivalled in part by the Vulgate in the Apocrypha (96), and exceptionally overtaken by Luther in the Psalter (a point that will be discussed below). The metaphor of growth, however, is not a completely adequate description, for one should better state that where Luther and Zurich disagree prominently, it is more strongly evident who Coverdale has followed (and that, outside the Psalter—and parts of the NT, this is Zurich). Where, as in *Ruth*, these two Douche texts are for the most part in agreement, Coverdale's preference is less visible; that does not mean that it is less present or dominant but that there were fewer cases where—presuming for a moment that Luther's text was directly consulted—a choice was required. The effect of Mozley's discussion is to understate Zurich and overstate Luther, except where he finally concedes that "Luther exerts most of his influence in those parts of the bible where his work is incorporated into the Zurich version. If those were to be left out of the reckoning, he [Luther] must, I think, be rated below the Vulgate." (100) Given this Swiss Douche dominance, one must ask again whether Luther is "obviously" a source at all. Before returning to that question, there is further important evidence regarding the influence of Zurich upon Coverdale.

5.3.5 Presentation

Nagel identified correspondences between the bibles of Coverdale and Zurich, not only in paratext but in design, suggesting that the Zurich Bible provided a physical model for Coverdale's—portrait orientation, a large clear typeface, a careful division of books, running heads, page and chapter numbers, decorative illustrations, as well as the summaries and cross-references.¹⁴⁷ To Nagel, the similarity 'jumps out' before the reader's eyes, and his

¹⁴⁶ See below, §5.4.2.1.

¹⁴⁷ "Sie weisen ein mittleres Groß- bzw. Hochformat auf und überraschen durch großzügige, klare Lettern, eine überaus sorgfältige Einteilung der Bücher und Anlage der Kapitel mit den zugehörigen Einteilungen, Überschriften, Kapitels- und Seitenzahlen und einem reichen und schönen Bilderschmuck. Nehmen wir dazu die nicht weniger sorgfältige Behandlung der Summarien und der Parallelstellen . . ." (Nagel, "Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel," 442–3). To these points one may add that Luther's texts—and likewise Bugenhagen's—were presented in a single column, where Zurich and Coverdale both favour a dual-column format (as did Pagninus, Stephanus' Vulgate, and the Dutch-Douche bibles of Vorsterman and Liesvelt).

compatriot, Walter Hollenweger is inclined to agree.¹⁴⁸ Though Nagel's work never extended to comparison of the biblical text, he did capture similarities not only in the wording of summaries but also in more front matter: The contents list contains the same information—abbreviated title, number of chapters, initial page number—and provides the book names in Latin and the vernacular, the latter step not seen in Luther (and irrelevant to the Latins).¹⁴⁹ The description that introduces the contents page provides yet another instance of Coverdale englishing Zurich.¹⁵⁰ Nagel viewed the shift from an alphabetised list (Z31) to a canonically ordered list as a Coverdalian innovation. It should be no surprise to find that this step had already been taken in Z34. Points that show general dependence on Zurich once again indicate specific dependence on Zurich 1534.

Coverdale's choice of title contains all the elements of Zurich's—an opening 'Bible', specificity regarding the sources, and an emphatic combination of truth and fidelity.¹⁵¹ If on this point Nagel's comparison does not seem immediately overwhelming, it nonetheless provides a fresh angle on the publicity first given to the Douche and Latyn sources but swiftly withdrawn.¹⁵² Being based on the Hebrew and Greek could be an advantageous quality, worth advertising; a basis in secondary translations, though real—and therefore detailed in the preface—had not the same attraction and might also make the work less saleable, whether the potential reader objected to the Vulgate or the Douche reformers.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 442: "Die Ähnlichkeit der äußeren Form der beiden Bibeln ist in die Augen springend." Hollenweger, "Zwingli's Einfluss in England", 176: "Die Abhängigkeit wenigstens der äußeren Gestaltung scheint gesichert zu sein."

¹⁴⁹ Nagel, "Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel," 444.

¹⁵⁰ Z31: *Erklärung der verkürzten allegationen vnd anzeigung aller bücher des alten vnd neuen Testaments / mit anzeigung an welches teyls blat ein yetlich anfach*. Coverdale: "the bokes of the whole Byble, how they are named in English and Latyn, how longe they are wrytten in the allegaions, how many chapters euery boke hath, and in what leafe euery one begynneth." (Transcription via Nagel, 443–4.)

¹⁵¹ To aid comparison, the titles are as follows:

BIBLIA. The Bible / that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faith-fully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe. M.D. XXXV.

Z31: *Die Gantze Bibel der ursprünglichen Ebraischen und Griechischen waarbeyt nach auff's aller trewmlichst verteutschet*.

Z34: *Bibel Teütsch der ursprünglichen Hebreischen und Griechischen warheit nach, auff's treünlichst verdomschet*.

Was über die nächst außgegangnen edition weyers hinzu kommen sye, wirt in nachvolgender Vorred gnugsam begriffenn. Getruckt zu Zürich bey Christoffel Froschouer / im Jar als man zalt M.D.XXXVIII.

(Counter to Nagel's case, though the Coverdale Bible advertises its status as a full bible [Olde and New Testament], the adjective *ganze*, i.e. "whole", has gone from the 1534 edition.)

L34: *Biblia, das ist, Die gantze Heilige Schrift deusch. Mart. Luth. Wittenberg. Begnadet mit Kuerfürstlicher zu Sachsen freiheit. Bedrucket durch Hans Lufft. M.D. XXXVIII.*

Bug: *De Biblie uth der uthlegginge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth duedesche ulitich uthgesettet, mit sundergen underrichtingen, also men seen mach. Inn der Keyserliken Stadt Luebeck by Ludowich Dietz gedruecket. M.D.XXXVIII.*

Pagninus: *Biblia: habes in hoc libro prudens lector vtriusque instrumenti novam translatione aeditam a reuerendo sacre, theologiae doctore Sancte pagnino . . .* [There follows a long description, naming those involved in correcting the work and including the papal endorsement.] 1528.

¹⁵² The English distributor, James Nicolson, issued fresh preliminaries, omitting the words "and truly" and "out of Douche and Latyn" from the titlepage. See above §2 n.5.

¹⁵³ One may also object that the original title had set aside Tyndale's contribution, which was 'from the original Hebrew and Greek', though in Coverdale's case via the English.

Willoughby is, I think, incorrect in presuming that the later titlepage would lead the unsuspecting reader to presume that the translation was based on (the original) Hebrew and Greek (cf. "Current Errors Concerning the Coverdale Bible"). It is quite possible that some prospective readers would imagine its basis to be the Vulgate, according to their own desire and preference.

Those selling books were wise to the benefits of good promotion,¹⁵⁴ and evidence shows that regulators such as the Louvain theologians could be more interested in what the titlepage promoted than what the book actually featured, when making decisions about which books should be placed on the index (and so determined heretical by representatives of the Roman Church).¹⁵⁵

The titlepage is a minor detail. Yet the preliminary matter of the Zurich Bible proves determinative for the argument that Coverdale's use of Z34 was ideologically motivated, most particularly in the form of its preface—itsself drawn from the 1531 Zurich Bible and understood to be the work of Ulrich Zwingli.

5.3.6 Coverdale and the Zurich preface(s)

Evidence in favour of Coverdale's deliberate and pronounced preference for Zurich (rather than an accidental one, predicated on late acquisition of Luther's work) comes within Coverdale's preface. His statements about preference for Douche sources are well known and have been quoted above (§3). But another factor has, it seems, hitherto escaped observation: parts of Coverdale's preface are wholesale translations from that of Zurich! A selection of these passages are here reproduced as they stand in the Zurich edition of 1534 and then in Coverdale.¹⁵⁶ The considerable length of these excerpts is justified because it will allow others to check the observations and to ascertain the true and willing dependence of Coverdale upon Zurich. Key correspondences are underlined:

Discussion of this question can be found also in Mozley, *Coverdale*, 65–7; Greenslade, introduction to *The Coverdale Bible, 1535*, 12; and Nagel, “Die Abhängigkeit Der Coverdalebibel von Der Zürcherbibel,” 443–5.

David Daniell confuses the two titlepages in his attempt to account for the differences, one of several errors observed in his work and a reminder of the perils of hypothesising without due care; cf. *The Bible in English*, 176.

¹⁵⁴ See Arblaster, “Totius Mundi Emporium.”

¹⁵⁵ Studying the Index of prohibited books, A. A. den Hollander found that the Louvain theologians (whose domain included Antwerp) were especially disapproving of glosses and prologues announced on the titlepage; thus, for example, Vorsterman's 1534 bible was included on the list despite being Vulgatised. Even the particularities of scripture quotations could affect bans, with Mark 16.15–16 (spreading the gospel in all the world) typically leading to prohibition. See Wim François, “Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in [the] Early Sixteenth Century: The Position of the Leuven Theologians,” in *Lay Bibles in Europe, 1450–1800*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts and A. A. Den Hollander (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 90.

In François' analysis, it was not vernacular bibles that were considered the “main enemy”, but rather the “theological content” of reformers writings (91). The Louvain theologians were sufficiently humanist to provide approved vernacular bibles, but dissenters spread rumours that the church did not want people to read it—so successfully that some modern scholars have furthered their argument (96).

¹⁵⁶ For Zurich, the transcription is my own. For Coverdale I have preferred to use a transcription of the prefatory material based on the Chadwyck-Healey CD-Rom, *The Bible in English* (Cambridge, 1996) with spelling modernised by Michael Marlowe, made available online at <http://bible-researcher.com> (accessed May 22, 2013). Paragraph numbers are given according to Bray's *Translating the Bible*; Marlowe's text has the advantage of conserving the orthography of proper nouns.

For a similar comparison of Zurich originals and Coverdale's translation, see discussion in Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558*, *Zürcher Beiträge Zur Reformationsgeschichte* 25 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2006), 136–155. Euler, like other commentators, nonetheless quotes words from Coverdale's preface as if they had originated with him (cf. 136: “the translator advised the reader not to be offended by ‘sondrie translacyons’”).

Das aber etlich vermeynend
mancherley translationen machind
zweytracht im glauben und im
volck Gottes / ist falsch. Dann nye
 ist es bass umb die kirchen Gottes
 gestanden / dann do schier ein
 yede kirchen ein besondere
translation hatt. Bey den Griechen
 / hatt nit Origenes ein besondere /
 ein besondere Vulgarius /
Christostomus? Sind nit ueber die
sibentzig tolmaetschen / die
translation Aquile / Theodotionis /
Symachi / und die man nennet die
 Fuenffte und die Gemeyne? Nimm
 da[ss] nach die Latiner / findst du
 das sich gar nach ein ieder einer
 sunderen translation gebraucht hat.
 Dann als Hieronimus bezeueget /
 sind schier als vil tolmaetschungen
 gewesen als kirchen / nach dem ein
yetlicher Bischoff Griechisch kondt
 / nach dem machet er im ein
 tolmaetschung / und hatt also ein
 yeder ein eygne Bibel. Anders liszt
Hireneus / anders Hilarius / anders
Ambrosius.

Whereas some men think now that
many translations make division in
the faith and in the people of God,
 that is not so: for it was never
 better with the congregation of
 God, than when every church
 almost had the Bible of a sundry
translation.

Among the Greeks had not Origen
 a special translation? Had not
Vulgarius one peculiar, and
 likewise Chrysostom? Beside the
seventy interpreters, is there not
 the translation of Aquila, of
Theodotion, of Symachus, and of
 sundry other? Again among the
Latin men, thou findest that every
 one almost used a special and
 sundry translation: for in so much
 as every bishop had the knowledge
 of the tongues, he gave his
 diligence to have the Bible of his
 own translation. The doctors, as
Hireneus, Cyprianus, Tertullian, S.
Jerome, S. Augustine, Hilarius and
S. Ambrose upon diverse places of
 the scripture, read not the text all
 alike. ¶11–12)

Coverdale breaks the paragraph at this point, but it is quite plain that while Zurich's discussion begins in the context of the competing editions of Luther and Emser (who had adapted Luther's text for a Counter-reform bible) and Coverdale's following his grief that the English should have no translation while "other nations" are "plenteously provided for" (§11), Coverdale is here dependent on the Swiss for his list of previous translators and interpreters. Even his reference to "sundry translation" has its origins in Zurich's *sunderen translation*.

The two prefaces continue:

Desshalb mag kein verstandiger schadten
das sich diser zeit die geleerten allenthalben
uabend in den spraachen und iren vil auss
dem Hebreischeⁿ transferierend. Ja vil mer
sol man so^dichs loben / und Gott darumb
hohen danck sagenn / der die gemuete
erweckt / das sy die heylige gschrift so
fleyssig tractierend unnd erduend. Wo^dte
Gott es waere nach der zeyt Augustini nye
underlassen worden / so waerend wir in
so^diche blindheit und unwu^ssenheit / in
so^diche irrsal und verfu^ernu^ss (so im
Bapstthuamb regiert hat) nie kommen:

Therefore ought it not to be taken as evil,
that such men as have understanding now
in our time, exercise themselves in the
tongues, and give their diligence to
translate out of one language into another.
Yea we ought rather to give God high
thanks therefore, which through his spirit
stirreth up men's minds, so to exercise
themselves therein. would God it had
never been left off after the time of S.
Augustine, then should we never have
come into such blindness and ignorance,
into such errors and delusions. (§12)

Here one can see Coverdale omitting reference to the Hebrew (having already acknowledged the basis of his own work in Douche and Latin) while also excising the parenthetical use of the papacy (NHG: *Papsttum*) to illustrate error and delusion. Again, the phrase *blindheit und unwu^ssenheit* stands out as the source for Coverdale's "blindness and ignorance".

The passage continues:

Dann so bald man die Bible liess ligen / unnd
sich darinnen nit mer u^eber / do was es
gethon / do man das liecht der geschriff^t nit
mer braucht / sonder ein yeder fieng an auss
seinem eygnen kopff schreybez was im eyⁿfiel

For as soon as the Bible was cast aside,
and no more put in exercise, then began
every one of his own head to write
whatsoever came into his brain and that
seemed to be good in his own eyes: and so

und was in guet ducht / muessst von noten die
finsternuss menschlicher tradition
eynwachsen / dahar komme~~nd~~ uns so vil
Scribenten / die der Biblischen geschriff
salten gedencke~~nd~~ / und ob sys gleich zue
zeyten anziehend / geschicht doch das so
ungschicke und kalt / das man wol sicht dass
sy den ursprung und brunnen nye besaehen
habend.

Observe the debt of phrases such as “every one of his own head to write whatsoever came into his brain”, though his “darkness” is not quite so vivid as Zurich’s eclipse (NHG *Finsternis*). The point here is not that Coverdale lifts Zurich’s preface wholesale; he does not. Rather, he adopts and adapts Zurich, mainly abbreviating as he goes. He does marginally less to address the concerns of the scholarly reader (omitting for example the section discussing the make-up of the twenty-two-book Hebrew canon—wherein it is argued that *Ruth* belongs better with Samuel, as an introduction or preface, rather than with Judges) probably an indication of his own status as a translator from secondary sources. (One can certainly question to what extent the identity of the twenty-two books, albeit referring to Jerome, would seem relevant to a reader of the vernacular text.)

Both apologetic and hermeneutic owe something to Zurich:

Und ob wir gleych etwo gefalt (dann
niemants laebt der nit fald) hette~~nd~~ / sind
wir in hoffnung / liebe werde soelichs /
one allen hochmuet und falsch urteyl /
dulden unnd verbessern. Es laebt
niemants der alle ding saeh / es hat auch
Gott niemants geben das er alle ding konne
/ oder wuesse / einer sicht vil klaarer unnd
haeller dann der ander / einer hat mer
verstands weder der ander / einer kan ein
ding bass zuo worten und an tag bringen
dann der ander / da sol aber kein verbunst

grew the darkness of men’s traditions. And
this same is the cause that we have had so
many writers, which seldom made mention
of the scripture of the Bible; and though
they sometime alleged it, yet was it done so
far out of season and so wide from the
purpose, that a man may well perceive,
how that they never saw the original. (§12)

And though I have failed anywhere (as
there is no man but he misseth in some
thing) love shall construe all to the best
without any perverse judgment. There is
no man living that can see all things,
niether hath God given any man to know
everything. One seeth more clearly than
another, one hath more understanding
than another, one can utter a thing better
than another, but no man ought to envy,
or despise another. He that can do better
than another, should not set him at naught

noch verachtung sein. Der mer verstadt
 unnd bass kan / sol den minder
 verstendigen nit verachten / sonder
 gedencken / das soelichs nit sein ist /
sonder Gottes / im aber geben dass er die
unwuessenden leere und underweyse.

Advice to the reader comes from Zurich:

Findst du etwas in der gschriffit das du nit
 verstaast / oder das dich bedunckt es sye
 widerwaertig / so solt du es nit fraefenlich
 woellen beschætzten oder schelten / sonder
deinem unuerstand soelichs zueschreyben /
nit der gschriffit / gedenck / du verstaast
es nit / oder es hat einen anderen verstand
/ oder es ist villeicht vom trucker
uebersaehen und unrecht getruckt.

*[Zurich provides examples of potentially 'problematic'
 aspects of the text, explaining that the hands and feet of
 God (for example) are to be understood figuratively.
 Coverdale omits this material, picking up Zurich's text
 again at the opening of the next paragraph:]*

Grosse klarheit und haelles liecht den sinz
der gschriffit zeuerston kumpt auss dem so
 man nit allein war nimpt was man sagt
 oder schreybt / sonder von waemz unnd
waemm es geschriben oder gesagt werde /
mit was Worten / zue was zeyten / was
meynung / mit was umstenden und
gelaegeneit / was vor / was nachin gange.
 Etlich is geschæhen und geschriben

that understandeth less: Yea he that hath
 the more understanding, ought to
 remember that the same gift is not his but
God's, and that God hath given it him to
teach and inform the ignorant. (§13)

Now will I exhort thee (whosoever thou
 be that readest scripture) if thou find ought
 therein that thou understandest not, or
 that appeareth to be repugnant, give no
 temeritous nor hasty judgment thereof: but
ascribe it to thine own ignorance, not to
the scripture, think that thou
understandest it not, or that it hath some
other meaning, or that it is haply
overseen of the interpreters, or wrongly
printed.

Again, it shall greatly help thee to
understand scripture, if thou mark not only
 what is spoken or written, but of whom,
and unto whom, with what words, at what
time, where, to what intent, with what
 circumstance, considering what goeth
before, and what followeth after. For there
 be some things which are done and

das wir auch also thuegind / als do
Abraham Gott glaubt unnd gehorsam ist:
sein vetter Lot von fraeflem gewalt
entschrittet. Erlichs aber das wir uns
 daruor goumind / als do Daud dem
frommen Uria sein weyb schwecht / und
 in umbbringt.

written, to the intent that we should do
 likewise: as when Abraham believeth God,
 is obedient unto his word, and defendeth
Lot his kinsman from violent wrong.
 There be some things also which are
 written, to the intent that we should
 eschew such like. As when David lieth
 with Urias' wife, and causeth him to be
 slain. ¶14)

The account of the Bible's contents is similarly a condensed version of Zurich's, as the following excerpts demonstrate. In the first, observe how the Swiss text primes Coverdale's lexical choice (*gemustert*, mustered); in the second how he switches between the Swiss and his own paraphrase of the biblical text; and in the third, how he omits the established divine attributes and subsequently begets his own conceit of bastardy (in this last case, it is the key differences rather than the correspondences that are underlined):

Im vierdten wie das volck gezelt und
gemusteret wirt, wie die hauptleuet nach
den stæmmen und geschlaechten erwolt /
 mit was ordnung sy in streyt ziehen / wie
 sy ire laeger und zaelten aufschlahen und
 wider abraechen sollind.

In the fourth book (called Numbers) is
 declared how the people are numbered and
mustered, how the captains are chosen
after the tribes and kindreds, how they
 went forth to the battle, how they pitched
 their tents, and how they brake up. ¶17)

[Of Deuteronomy:]

...das sy den Gott lieben / im anhangen /
 auff in vertrauwen / nienen faelschlich
unnd untruewlich an im faren woellind.

to love the Lord their God, to cleave unto
him, to put their trust in him and to
hearken unto his voice. ¶17)

Job ist der buecheren eins auss denen man
 trost und gedult lernet / angesaehen die
goettliche fuersichtigkeit und seinen
erwigen willen / nach dem er nit allein die
 unfrommen umm ir missthat straaft /
 sonder auch die frommen und gerechten

In the book of Job we learn comfort and
 patience, in that God not only punisheth
 the wicked, but proveth and trieth the just
 and righteous (howbeit there is no man
 innocent in his sight) by diverse troubles in
 this life, declaring thereby, that they are

(wiewol vor im niemants unschuldig ist) in not his bastards, but his dear sons, and that
 disem zeyt durch mancherley truëbsal he loveth them. ¶19)
 bewaert und leueterer / und gegen inen
 damit sein vaetterliche liebe unnd truew
 erzeigt.

Having provided so many examples of Coverdale's dependence, it is appropriate to note that the dedication to the King is his own work, and to record at least one of the passages in the reader's preface that illustrate his (seeming) independence.¹⁵⁷

Again, in Josaphat, in Hezekiah and in Josia thou seest the nature of a virtuous king (see 2 Chron. 17). He putteth down the houses of idolatry, seeth that his priests teach nothing but the law of God, commandeth his lords to go with them, and to see that they teach the people. In these kings (I say) thou seest the condition of a true defender of the faith, for he spareth neither cost nor labor, to maintain the laws of God, to seek the wealth and prosperity of his people, and to root out the wicked. And where such a prince is, thou seest again, how God defendeth him and his people, though he have never so many enemies. Thus went it with them in the old time, and even after the same manner goeth it now with us: God be praised therefore, and grant us of his fatherly mercy, that we be not unthankful, lest where he now giveth us a Josaphat, an Hezekiah, yea a very Josia, he send us a Pharaoh, a Jeroboam, or an Ahab. ¶18)

Such an addition, which follows on from Zurich's reference to Jeroboam (attributing Israel and Judah's ills to his fall from faith), to furnish specific examples of good monarchy, placing Henry VIII into that role in a manner that is of a piece with the prior dedication (Henry having already been compared with "that noble . . . that most virtuous king Josias", ¶8), shows Coverdale's political sensitivities and his own rhetorical capacities. Though I take the words to be Coverdale's, the ideas reflect the articulation of a shared ideological motif. Comparable addresses—with Josiah and Hezekiah in prime position—recur in subsequent prefatory discourse, including the Matthew Bible.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ I am loathe to assert their complete independence given Coverdale's repeated role as a translator of reform literature, but so far as I can ascertain they have not been lifted from his 'established' sources (ie the bibles of Luther, Pagninus, Tyndale, Bugenhagen, or the Vulgate).

¹⁵⁸ It seems likely that Coverdale absorbed this culture from another writer, perhaps even Tyndale. Westbrook asserts that "During the early days of the Reformation, the Kings Josiah and Hezekiah were frequently alluded to in prefaces to those Tudor monarchs who were sympathetic to the reformation cause", but gives no specific references, cf. Westbrook, *Long Travail and Great Paynes*, 78, cf. also 84.

Searching EEBO for the two biblical kings produces a dedication to Prince Edward, accompanying a translation of Erasmus' *Epicureus* (*A very pleasaunt & fruitful diologe called the Epicure*, trans. P. Gerrard;

5.4 Summary and consequences

Taken together, these elements—in text and pre-text—testify to a very strong reliance upon Zurich and on the 1534 edition. The reliance, taking in even passages from the translators’ preface, is sufficient to indicate an ideological bias—whether purely on Coverdale’s part or among his commissioners also. It is because of this that when examining Coverdale’s TT of *Ruth* in more depth, I have positioned it as primarily in dialogue with Zurich and Zurich as the prime theological backdrop for Coverdale’s task.

5.4.1 Zurich 1534 and the Vulgate

One important dimension of the Zurich 1534 edition is the introduction of Vulgate material—did this encourage Coverdale to rely upon it (given that he turns to the Vulgate in the Apocrypha)? What does it indicate about those who prepared the 1534 ST/TT? The use of the Ancient Versions was one of the topics addressed by both Luther and Zwingli in their bible prefaces. Luther made the case for consulting the Vulgate, and Zwingli for trusting the Septuagint (because it pre-dated Christ). Both in the process included the factual observation that the pointing of the MT was relatively late—a statement that seems to have been based on Elias Levitas’ scholarship;¹⁵⁹ Zwingli went further in dismissing the relevance of Jewish commentaries because they were also of relatively recent origin. There are hints of anti-Judaism in their phraseology, which is not unnatural because Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament challenged the traditional Christian view that its promises had been fulfilled in Christ and that Jews—in not converting—had become blind interpreters (see **Chapter 4**). The rift between those translators who were willing to consult Jewish scholars—in person and in print, and those who preferred to learn their Hebrew from grammars, had significant impact on their discourse with one another, on their OT interpretation and their translations, an aspect of ideology the outworking of which is especially visible in the debate between Isaac and Forster (see **Chapter 7**).¹⁶⁰

In a detailed study of Zurich’s early bibles, Traudel Himmighöfer has argued on the basis of orthography (*um diphthongierende Sedezausgaben*) that Zwingli was personally responsible for emendations to the first volume of the Old Testament (Genesis-Song of Songs) published in 1530.¹⁶¹ The 1530 *Ruth* was reproduced more or less exactly in the Zurich bible of 1531, the year

London 1545; ESTC S113434) and a dedication to Elizabeth I in a 1561 Geneva Bible (STC 2095). (Cranmer’s Great Bible preface makes no such references.)

¹⁵⁹ See discussion in **Chapter 7, §2, n.5**.

¹⁶⁰ There is a considerable body of scholarship on this subject. See Opitz, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of John Oecolampadius, Huldrych Zwingli, and John Calvin”; Kessler-Mesguich, “Early Christian Hebraists”; Siegfried Raeder, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Martin Luther”; Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*; idem. “Reassessing the ‘Basel-Wittenberg Conflict’”; McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*.

Zwingli’s commitment to the Septuagint is explored by Hobbs, “Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation,” esp. 432–4.

¹⁶¹ I rely upon Stefan Sonderegger’s review of Himmighöfer’s work, published in *Zwingliana*: “Auch bei den in Kapitel 10 behandelten Austaben des Zürcher Alten Testaments (13, Genesis-Hoheslied) von 1527 bis 1530 handelt es sich um diphthongierende Sedezausgaben, wobei sich in den beiden Editionen des 1. Teils AT von 1530 wiederum Hinweise auf Zwingli als Autor von Neuübersetzungen ergeben, auch wenn sie in der Prophezei vorbereitet worden sind.” (Stefan Sonderegger, “Review: Traudel Himmighöfer: Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis (1531) Darstellung und Bibliographie, Mainz 1995. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abt. Religionsgeschichte 154,” *Zwingliana* 25 (2010): 195–6; emphasis added.) Sonderegger further comments: “Der Hauptteil von Himmighöfers Werk bildet indessen die detaillierte, auf Quellen, vergleichende Bibelzitataufstellungen und Abbildungen reich Bezug nehmende ausführliche

of Zwingli's death. *Ruth's* movement toward the Vulgate occurs in the first edition to appear after Zwingli's death.¹⁶²

What is particularly significant is that the two paragraphs in which Zwingli expresses his complaint about the Hebrew and explains why he has given preference to the Greek are missing from the 1534 bible, a point observed in passing by Mezger but otherwise no more than a footnote in history of interpretation. Mezger's disinterest is no doubt founded on his judgment that the biblical text was also unchanged,¹⁶³ whereas in fact the 1534 bible witnesses to a shift away from the Greek and toward the Latin—one about which the prefaces are scrupulously silent, and the titlepage similarly. This combination of omission (of the pro-Greek portion of the preface) and addition (of Latin to the main text) strikes as deliberate, and could indicate the role of another Zurichian—perhaps Konrad Pellikan?—in the preparation of the later edition.¹⁶⁴ Whatever the answer, and this topic would bear further investigation, the use of the Vulgate in Z34 had a demonstrable impact on the *editio princeps* of the English bible. It led to a more conservative Englishing and is indicative of ongoing positive attachment to the Vulgate in the English-speaking world.

As to Coverdale's preference, it could be that this conservatism, the familiarity of the old interpretations, attracted him or his commissioners; the presence of the Vulgate among Coverdale's Latin sources is itself testimony to his attachment to the 'old' text. It could also be that the association of Zurich with Zwingli, even after the reformer's death, was thought to have potential benefits: Zwingli was one of the few continental theologians willing to countenance the annulment of Henry VIII's first marriage.¹⁶⁵ Though Zurich has sometimes been pushed to the margins of reformation studies, it is clear from the libraries of England's nobility, the lists of banned books (labelled Lutheran but including a diversity of Swiss scholars) and the reception of Swiss theologians at the English universities, that Zwingli and his cohort were known and esteemed by many English readers.¹⁶⁶

5.4.2 Coverdale and Luther revisited

It must be acknowledged that, whatever Douche editions Coverdale consulted, they mediated in some respect the translation work of Martin Luther. Yet there is insufficient evidence that Coverdale used a Wittenberg edition of Luther. Before drawing this appendix to a close, I explore briefly how two alternatives would fit with the findings of Mozley as they pertain to the broader Coverdale Bible.

Entstehungsgeschichte der Zürcher Bibel von ihren Anfängen bis 1531, womit eine echte Forschungslücke geschlossen wird und das bisher entweder ungenaue—sei es zu sehr auf Luthers Einfluss hin ausgerichtete oder nur punktuelle, allenfalls popularisierende—diesbezügliche Bild entscheidend vertieft, korrigiert oder überhaupt auf eine neue Grundlage gestellt wird. Für die dabei herangezogenen Bibelausgaben kann stets auf den oben besprochenen Bibliographieteil im Literaturverzeichnis verwiesen werden." (193)

¹⁶² Alister McGrath notes Zwingli's scathingly low view of the Vulgate; see *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation*, 48 n.71.

¹⁶³ Mozley recognised that this was not the case, but made no particular study of the differences (beyond beginning to assemble a case for Coverdale's dependence on the 1534 edition).

¹⁶⁴ Gerald Hobbs has observed that "respect for the 'old interpreter'" (i.e. Jerome) was "found in Zurich in particular", illustrating this with the case of Pellikan. Pellikan's preference for the Vulgate led to hybrid texts affecting Zwingli's 1529 Isaiah and his own "twice-issued" Psalter; cf. Hobbs, "Pluriformity of Early Reformation Scriptural Interpretation", 485. Perhaps Pellikan exerted his influence over the new edition, and maybe Bibliander—who is generally regarded as Zwingli's successor—shared such sympathies. The work on this edition is elsewhere attributed to Jud (see e.g. Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 243).

¹⁶⁵ As Hollenweger observes; see **Chapter 1, §2.1**.

¹⁶⁶ See Hollenweger, "Zwingli's Einfluss in England."

5.4.2.1 Bugenhagen as an alternative or predecessor to L34

In his account of Coverdale's sources, J. F. Mozley makes the following observation:

It may be . . . that he [Coverdale] did not provide himself with Luther's 1534 bible until he had completed nearly half his translation. But this conclusion may easily be overthrown by further investigation.¹⁶⁷

For Coverdale to have moved between Luther versions part-way through the translation process, as Mozley suggests, is feasible, but it is not the only solution. It bears repeating that Coverdale spoke in terms of "interpreters" and not "sources"; therefore he could well have consulted more than five editions of the Bible. In addition, it is not certain whether Coverdale intended to count Tyndale among his numbered interpreters, or whether that Englishing remained a silent other.

With regard to *Ruth*, two Luther versions have been considered: that published as part of *Der Ander Teyl* in 1524 (reissued in 1525 with very slight revision and again in 1526; phase 1), and that published as part of a complete Luther Bible in the autumn of 1534 (phase 2)—both printed at Wittenberg. As remarked previously (§4.1.1), similar patterns of revision can be observed in other parts of the Old Testament. A complication occurs for the Apocrypha and some Poetic texts which were first published in the early 1530s, appearing again (with perhaps little change) in the 1534 Bible, a matter to be returned to shortly.

Mozley's observation is that for the first two parts Coverdale's text shows no signs of phase 2 interference. As has been shown in the case of *Ruth*, even what is present from phase 2 could have been mediated by Zurich. The pattern continues through the third part, with two exceptions: (1) In the Psalter, phase 2 Luther dominates. This was Mozley's observation, and it is also supported by Heinz Bluhm and Edgar Smothers who conducted detailed case studies of Psalms 23 and 84, respectively.¹⁶⁸ (2) In Proverbs, Mozley states that he found "two or three borrowings" from phase 2 Luther; he provides a reference for just one of these, which I have therefore been able to check and confirm.¹⁶⁹ With regard to the other three parts of the Bible, Mozley judges Coverdale to be drawing on phase-2 Luther in "the later epistles" of the New Testament, and for the prologue to Sirach—the latter passage being absent from the Zurich Bibles. At the same time, he notes a conflict between Coverdale's statement (in a preface to the Apocrypha) that the "prayer of Azarius" (found in Greek texts of Daniel 3) was to be found only in "the old Latin"—it is in fact present in Luther's 1534 bible.¹⁷⁰ This latter fact would suggest that Coverdale wrote his preface either *before*

¹⁶⁷ Mozley, *Coverdale*, 83.

¹⁶⁸ Bluhm, "Douche' Sources of Coverdale's Translation of the Twenty-Third Psalm"; Smothers, "The Coverdale Translation of Psalm LXXXIV."

¹⁶⁹ Mozley, *Coverdale*, 93 n. In the first (phase 1) Luther texts, the verse (Prov 13.25.) reads: *Der Gerechte isset das seine Seele sat wird, der Gottlosen bauch aber mangelt ymer*. L34 (seemingly the first phase 2) takes the last clause of the verse differently: *der Gottlosen bauch aber hat nimmer gnug*; or as Coverdale Englished it: "the bely of the ungodly hath never ynough". Compare Z34 (matching the noun—stomach—with a verb from the same semantic sphere): *Der fromm isst und wirt ganz̄ satt, so der bauch der gottlosen hunger leyder*; and Bugenhagen (who shifts discourse away from plenty/empty toward a more generic affliction): *De rechtuerdige ett, dath syne seele satt wert, Auerst der Godtlosen buck, lydt stedes kummer*.

Of the Latins, Pagninus is closest to the Hebrew (*Iustus comedit ad saturitatem animae suae, uenter autem impiorum deficit*; צדיק אכל לשבע נפשו ובטן רשעים תחסר). The Vulgate bears close resemblance though domesticating the syntax: *Iustus comedit et replet animam suam; uenter autem impiorum insaturabilis*. The case is interesting and it is a pity that Mozley did not specify the other borrowing(s); presumably this was the more compelling.

¹⁷⁰ Prefacing the Apocrypha, Coverdale writes that "The prayer of Azarias and the sweet song that he and his two fellows sung . . . have I not found among any of the interpreters, *but only in the old Latin text*". (Quotation [349])

gaining access to L34 or that he *never acquired* L34 and therefore encountered phase 2 Luther in some other form. With either option, one is left to wonder how and why phase 2 Luther appears in Proverbs—a version of the text not published prior to the 1534 bible—and a book that one might imagine would be translated *before* the Apocrypha and thus fits oddly with the mid-way hypothesis.¹⁷¹ It is this evidence that led Mozley to presume Coverdale had acquired Luther’s 1534 bible at a late stage in the work.

Coverdale would have found a majority of his phase-2 Luther text in another bible: that overseen by Johannes Bugenhagen, and printed at Lubeck, c. April 1534.¹⁷² This Low-Douche bible was so closely based on Luther’s that Bugenhagen—with Luther’s permission—published it with the High-Douche translator’s name on the titlepage. It was also the first bible to use Luther’s approved text throughout, featuring phase-1 text for Genesis-Song of Songs (which had yet to be revised by Luther), with the exception of the Psalter.¹⁷³ The remainder of the OT comprised the Prophets, for which the complete Luther volume had first appeared in 1532, and the Apocrypha—for which the Wittenberg translation was only just complete.¹⁷⁴ The phase-2 New Testament was first published in 1530, and—according to Mozley—stood “almost unchanged” in the 1534 bible, and therefore was Bugenhagen’s source also.¹⁷⁵ With the exception of the “two or three borrowings” of Proverbs, Bugenhagen’s bible could thus account for the pattern of influence that Mozley describes. More than this, scrutiny of the Sirach prologue suggests that Coverdale is closer to Bugenhagen than to Luther 1534—when compared with Luther’s Wittenberg editions, minor

via Mozley, *Coverdale*, 96—see also his footnote; emphasis mine.) The “old Latin” is the Vulgate. It is an odd omission for the Zurich bibles, given Zwingli’s positive attitude to the LXX, but could result from the different arrangement of the canon (Apocryphal books falling in the first volume, and Daniel in the second, such that appending the song to the end of the OT would leave it wholly separated from other Greek materials).

¹⁷¹ Bindseil & Niemeyer record the publication of Proverbs in four places prior to 1534 but these were all phase-1 texts and did not include the change to Prov 13.25 which Mozley thought to be drawn from L34. It would have been included in a collection of ‘Solomon’s books’ that was published at Wittenberg in 1535 (not recorded in the KA edition, but available for consultation in microfilm at the National Library of Scotland among others) but this seems an improbable source and would not account for the Psalter.

¹⁷² April was, at this point, the first month of the calendar year. This bible bears the date MDXXXIII on its titlepage, but MDXIII in the colophon at its close.

¹⁷³ The Psalter was published in 1524, revised in 1528 and 1531, when it “took its final form” (Raeder, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Martin Luther,” 399).

¹⁷⁴ According to Raeder (*ibid.*, 398–99), versions of Jonah, Isaiah and Habbakuk had been published separately in the 1520s, with Daniel and a part of Ezekiel published in 1530. Luther had also published versions of the Wisdom of Solomon (1529) and Sirach (1530). Mozley (*Coverdale*, 83) mentions advance editions of 1 Maccabees, Susanna and Bel also appearing in 1533 and that the 1534 bible included a revised (type-2) text of Wisdom.

Raeder states that the translation of Apocrypha was finished by Philip Melancthon and Justus Jonas (working on Luther’s behalf) “in spring 1534” (399), a judgment I take to be linked with the publication of Bugenhagen’s bible. I have not had occasion to explore its Apocrypha beyond Sirach’s prologue, which I compared with the text of editions from 1533–1535 using the critical edition of Bindseil & Niemeyer—no reference is made to the 1530 edition in that volume, and Mozley was aware only of the 1533 version.

Raeder does not provide any references to support what are therefore assertions concerning the completion of (a) the translation of the Apocrypha (which was perhaps sooner, given its use by Bugenhagen) and (b) the revision of “the older parts of translation, especially Genesis” (400) which he places in January–March 1534. In this view, the whole work was complete six months before publication. It seems to be more logical, given that Bugenhagen has phase 1 text for Genesis–Esther and has the whole of the Apocrypha, that the latter was completed by March but the revision still ongoing through 1534. Of course, this may be disproven if there are sources to support Raeder.

¹⁷⁵ *Coverdale*, 82. Mozley does not refer to Bugenhagen, and Raeder does not provide any specific information about the Low Douche sources, so this is an assumption on my part—it would have been illogical for Bugenhagen to use a phase-1 text when phase 2 was already established.

correspondences in syntax, wording and spelling accumulate.¹⁷⁶ And with regard to the “absence” of Azarias’ prayer, while the text is presented alongside the Greek portion(s) of Esther at the end of Maccabees in both L34 and Bugenhagen, it is not listed on Bugenhagen’s OT contents page—Coverdale could well have consulted the contents page of this edition and concluded that this interpreter had not translated it.¹⁷⁷ If it is to be sustained, this hypothesis needs further work and that is beyond the scope of the present study, but the possibility is real enough to justify consideration of Bugenhagen’s text and to make evident that whether or not Coverdale used Luther’s High Douche, his direct dependence on Luther should certainly not be taken for granted or deemed “obvious”. It remains within the realms of possibility that Coverdale began with Bugenhagen’s Luther and did later acquire a copy of L34, conceiving of Luther as his interpreter in both cases. Such points notwithstanding, it should now be clear that Zurich not Luther formed Coverdale’s foundation for *Ruth*—indeed, Zurich provided Coverdale’s model in a much grander way.

5.4.2.2 Coverdale’s approach to Luther

This hypothesis accounts for Coverdale’s access to material of mixed type but it does not explain why some passages should betray a significant level of Luther content, when it is otherwise neglected in favour of Zurich. The Psalter seems least problematic: Its liturgical use (and Coverdale’s sensitivity to that) together with its theological significance (Luther regarded the Psalter

¹⁷⁶ Coverdale’s spelling of the proper name Ptolomy (sic) follows the vocalisation of Luther’s stand-alone editions of Sirach (*Ptolomei*, 1533, 1534—and the irrelevant 1537) but not of his bibles (*Ptolemei*). This should not surprise because it is also the spelling that Coverdale uses elsewhere (throughout 1–2 Maccabees), and it had an established place in English (used by William Caxton and Alexander Barclay in pre-1535 translations, and by Thomas Elyot in his 1538 dictionary; see also *The Compost of Ptholomeus, Prynce of Astronomie*, 1530; USTC 502308; anonymous translation from French). However, this is the first occurrence of the name in Coverdale’s bible and he inclines to reproduce his Douche sources’ spelling of proper nouns elsewhere (though anglicising endings). If Coverdale followed Luther at this point, it could only have been by acquiring a copy of a relatively minor publication in order to supply the Douche-interpreted prologue or using Bugenhagen’s bible, which has *Ptolomei* (as per the standalone Luther edition of 1533, upon which Bugenhagen was presumably dependent).

With regard to the rest of the Sirach prologue, in the opening line, Bugenhagen rearranges the syntax from the impersonal construction, *Es haben uns viel und grosse Leute die Weisheit . . . dargethan*, to an active third-person: *Veel und grote lude heben uns de wyzheit . . . kundt gedan*. Compare Coverdale: “Many and great men have declared wysdome unto us”. (There is probably a Vulgate influence to be detected here too, though the Latin text leaves the people [Coverdale’s men] implicit: *Multorum nobis et magnorum . . . sapientia demonstrata est*.) In Coverdale’s final paragraph, he writes “I gat libertie to reade and wryte many good thinges”. The final noun accords with Bugenhagen (*veel gudes dynges*) but not Luther (*viel guts*); and in the sentence that follows, Bugenhagen inserts a conjunction: *Unde de nyle dath ick de tydt hadde*; Luther: *Und dieneil ich zeit hatte*. Coverdale supplies the same conjunction, “And considering that I had time”, though he does follow Bugenhagen in inserting a definite article (*de tydt*, the time).

These are minor points but they do lend themselves to the alternative hypothesis: that Coverdale used Luther in and through his Low-Douche (and Zurichian) derivations and not directly as Mozley supposes. As ever, the evidence is cumulative, the factors could be coincidental.

Use of the Vulgate is also evident within the prologue: in some lexical choices (doctrine/ *doctrinae*, exhort/ *hortor*, diligence/ *diligentiam*, translated / *translata*, interpret/ *interpretandi*), for word order on occasion (e.g. the pairing “doctrine and wisdom” in the opening paragraph) and also for certain turns of phrase (*causa*—by the reason of; L: *umb; bonum et necessarium putavi*, I thought it good and necessary; L: *sabe icks fur gut und not an*).

¹⁷⁷ The presence of passages from Daniel (and Esther) in the Apocrypha is indicated in the list of Old Testament books at the front of L34. The text of the song appears in the same place in Bugenhagen’s bible, but the OT contents list ends with “Machabeus”.

as a ‘bible-in-miniature’)¹⁷⁸ logically made it the target of greater attention, and Mozley suggests that the “prosiness” of the Zurich version may have been offensive to Coverdale, who wanted to produce Psalms suited for regular use in worship.¹⁷⁹ With regard to the NT epistles, it may be that Coverdale regarded them with greater theological significance than other parts of the Bible and therefore took more care to consult his sources fully; for Paul’s letters were the focus of the new evangelical exegesis. In both cases, the phase 2 text was available in Bugenhagen. The borrowings of Proverbs alone—and the troublesome *bleib* of R1.14—remain unaccounted for.¹⁸⁰

What is especially interesting about the Bugenhagen hypothesis is that it suggests a particular working pattern: Rather than having his books together open, Coverdale shifts from source to source, beginning (one may imagine) with Zurich, then moving through the different versions (consulting Bugenhagen’s contents), and arriving finally at “the old Latin”. Certainly, he is not following Luther from cover to cover, or he would have arrived at Azarias’ prayer.

5.4.3 Summary

Discussion of *Ruth* in this first part of the appendix has focused on those occasions where Luther and Zurich are in disagreement, with a view to establishing the pattern of textual relationships. As a result of such scrutiny, and combined with findings from the full canon, Coverdale’s overwhelming and multifaceted preference not just for the Douche but for the Swiss Douche of Zurich 1534 has become clear. Mimicking physical attributes, adopting portions of the preface, and assimilating details of punctuation, Coverdale made the Zurich Bible his model.¹⁸¹ This use extends far beyond the cosmetic aspects Nagel was able to identify, into the detail of the text and its English interpretation.

At the same time, there remain elements that cannot be explained by Zurich. Coverdale avowed five interpreters. Latin influence from Pagninus and from Stephanus’ Vulgate helped shape Coverdale’s lexicon and affected his turn of phrase. While either indirect or deemed less desirable, Luther’s ultimate influence over the Englishing remains powerful and the translation of one detail, *Ruth*’s reaction in R1.14, lingers as a possible suggestion that Coverdale did indeed consult the second version of Luther (see **Tables A2 e14 and A3 e2**).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ To quote from the foreword to the L34 Psalter (based I presume on the 1531 edition—the same text appears in translation in Bugenhagen): “es wol moecht ein kleine Biblia heissen / darinn alles auff schoenest und kuertzeit / so inn der gantzen Biblia stehet”.

¹⁷⁹ “Coverdale knew and loved his Psalter, and was *doubtless offended by the prosiness* of some of the Zurich renderings. He wished to make his translation of the Psalms *a worthy vehicle of worship*, and he succeeded.” Mozley, *Coverdale*, 93, emphasis added.

¹⁸⁰ The Psalter is regarded as a special case because of its liturgical use. Given that there were nine stand-alone English editions of Proverbs in print by 1550, perhaps the same may be said of it.

¹⁸¹ The extent of bible translators’ physical control over the finished product could be considerable (at least so far as the first edition was concerned); in the introduction to the critical edition of Luther’s 1524 manuscript, the editor comments that many of the marginalia in Genesis involve Luther’s instructions for the woodcut illustrations. Cf. WA DB 1:xxi-xxii.

¹⁸² This point is attended to in my study of the verb $\text{p}27$ ’s translation (see **Ch. 1, §4, n.83**).

Part II: Many sources, one text

The first part of this appendix dealt with the question of Coverdale's sources at a predominantly textual level. This part serves as a supplement to that analysis, drawing out particular elements of his translated text to show the effect of his sources upon the finished product, how European bible translation affected *Ruth*'s first early modern Englishing.

What effect does Coverdale's source selection have on his TT? To what extent is his lack of direct contact with the 'original' ST manifested? In Antoine Berman's account of "textual deformation", the textuality of the source is disrupted by more-or-less inevitable losses affecting its rhythms, idioms and the underlying networks of signification (cf. **Chapter 2**); but Berman allows for both positive and negative outcomes. Coverdale's *Ruth* provides an example: preserving some networks inherited from his chosen STs, losing others, and also creating new ones. Assessment of Coverdale's translation generates reflections on how some of his decisions relate to subsequent Englishings of *Ruth*. The independent translation of *Ruth* published in the Matthew Bible is of particular interest, as is the Great Bible, the product of Coverdale's revisions—with considerable aid from Sebastian Münster's work. Münster's Latin translation of the Hebrew is itself brought into the discussion at points, as are the French bibles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, printed by Merten de Keyser (Martin l'Empereur) at Antwerp in 1530, and Pierre Olivétan, published at Neuchâtel in 1535 with a Latin preface from John Calvin, and subsequently the basis of the French Geneva Bible.¹ As with the extratextual profiling, the account is structured by Nord's procedures for translation analysis.

1 COVERDALE'S *RUTH*: AN INTRATEXTUAL PROFILE

1.1 Subject matter

The running header throughout the Coverdale Bible consists only of the book name and chapter number. However, the paratext includes a summary of contents by chapter; placed between book title and opening words, the summary is differentiated by a smaller typeface (as in Zurich), implying secondary status, and introduced by the heading, "What this boke conteyneth".

As discussed above, Coverdale used the chapter summaries of the 1534 Zurich edition as his basis, but their collation to stand at the head of the text in *Ruth* is an independent step and they thus come to perform an index-like function. The repositioning seems to have provoked a number of

¹ For publication details, see **Chapter 2** above. Bernard Roussel argues, partly on the basis of a succession of borrowings in Isaiah 53, that Olivétan took a cursive approach to translation, following a first draft (based itself on Hebrew but with reference to the Vulgate) with swift redaction. Translating into a romance language, it was not difficult for him to borrow Latin terms from those who inspired his confidence on both linguistic and theological grounds, specifically the prominent Swiss reformers Johann Oecolampadius (preacher and professor at Basel throughout the 1520s) and Zwingli. See Bernard Roussel, "Un Chant du Serviteur dans la Bible d'Olivétan," in *Olivétan, celui qui fit passer la Bible d'hébreu en français: études*, by Dominique Barthélemy and Henri Meylan (Biel/Bienne: Swiss Bible Society, 1986), 30–34 (33). Olivétan himself acknowledged that he had consulted not only Hebrew and Greek but also many Latin, three *allemandes* (Douche) and two Italian versions; Dominique Barthélemy suggests Stephanus' 1532 Vulgate, as well as Pagninus, the Swiss-German pre-Lutheran Zainer bible, and the work of Luther and the Zurich *Prophezei* (no edition specified). Cf. Dominique Barthélemy, "Celui qui fit passer la Bible d'hébreu en français: Études," in *Olivétan, celui qui fit passer la Bible d'hébreu en français: études*, 18–29 (23).

changes, with the summaries reconstituted to form a highly condensed narrative. As observed in **Chapter 3**, this has ramifications for the poetics of the full narrative; revealing the outcome, while controlling the reader's focus.

The Coverdale and Zurich texts are set out below.² In the C-*Ruth* text, words that match the Zurich text verbatim are here underlined (—); words partially underlined (..) are a looser translation; passages in *italic* have no counterpart in Z34. A similar process has been applied to the first of the Zurich texts, while in the other Zurich texts, passages not reflected in C-*Ruth* are also italicised.

C Chap. I. Elimelech³ departeth from Bethleem with his wife and two sonnes in to the londe of the Moabites,⁴ where the father dyeth and both the sonnes. Ruth the wife of the one sonne goeth home with hir mother in lawe.

Chap. II. Ruth gathereth up eares of corne in the felde of Boos hir housbandes kynsman.

Chap. III. Ruth lyeth her downe in the barne at Boos fete, and he geveth to her good wordes, and ladeth her with sixe measures of barlye.

Chap. IIII. Boos marieth Ruth, which beareth him Obed Davids graundfather.

Z34 Das Erst Cap.

Elimech [sic] von Bethlehem zeücht *wandlen in der thüre* [sic] mit Naemi seinem weyb / und zweyen sünen in der Moabiter land. Ruth dess einen suns *verlassne wítwen* / zeücht mit der schwiger heym.

II. Ruth samlet aehern auff dem acker Boas ires manns vetters.

III. Ruth legt sich zun [sic] füssenn *an das bett* Boas / wirt *morgens* mit sechs Mässle gersten abgefertiget.

IIII. Boos wirt *mit recht als d' näher* Ruth *ē Eeman* [sic] / die gebirt im Obed Davids ani.

It is not necessary to analyse every feature to observe that the preparer of the Zurich notes has taken less care. The spelling of Boaz (Boas, Boos) is inconsistent, and an orthographic error produces the wrong noun (*thüre*, door, appears where we would expect *theüre*, famine – cf. *theürung* in 1.1). Z's concision comes at the expense of coherence.⁵ This suggests a different intention behind the headings, given that C-*Ruth* presents them together while Z34 attaches them to the relevant chapter. Coherence facilitates a narrative in miniature.

As a narrative summary, Z34's coherence is flawed in ways that go beyond orthography: The text refers to Ruth as *verlassne wítwen* without mentioning the death of the sons. Then in the summary of chapter three, Z34 implies that Ruth has invaded Boaz's bedchamber (*an das bett*), perhaps inspired by some artistic impression of the scene⁶—and suggesting that, in this case, the TT translator was

² The chapter summaries of Z31 and Z34 are the same for *Ruth*.

³ Because of the significance of orthography in proper nouns, cf. **I §3.2** above, only those names which are reproduced with the same spelling qualify as 'verbatim'.

⁴ Compare "the Moabite land".

⁵ There may be a further error in the fourth summary: For *ē Eeman*, one might hypothesise *nehmen*, i.e. that Ruth was 'taken', a standard verb in a marriage context (cf. **R1.4**). Such an error suggests that the paratext may have been dictated. ("Eeman" was a variant spelling of "Ehemann", husband; it is the grammatical break-down that suggests "nehmen" had been intended.)

⁶ The illustration produced by a thirteenth-century English artist, W. de Brailes, shows Boaz in bed and Ruth at the foot of the bed. Walters Art Museum Ms. W106, leaf 16. [Available online: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/medmss/sets/72157626005939978/with/5428425083/>] There are also medieval manuscripts that depict Ruth and Boaz at the opposite ends of a bed—in each case their postures

not the summary author. Coverdale addresses these points, making the three deaths explicit (and so explaining why Naomi has only Ruth for company), and placing Ruth and Boaz “down in the barn”, a setting consistent with the translation of R3.2ff. This latter step is aided by a further ‘interpolation’ as Coverdale summarises Boaz’s response—one of speech as well as action. Z34 advises the reader only of what Boaz did *in the morning!* One may also note that, in the summary of *Ruth* 2, Coverdale makes explicit that Ruth is gathering grain (“of corn”)—a move that may compensate for his omission of Z34’s parenthetical phrase in R2.3.

In terms of subject matter, the headings consistently foreground Ruth, a step in keeping with the book’s title. In Coverdale’s revision, Naomi is never named; although R2.1 introduces Boaz in terms of Naomi, both summaries connect Ruth and Boaz through *her* husband and not through Elimelech. At *Ruth* 4, both Z34 and C-*Ruth* ignore the land and the alternative *go’el*. Coverdale further cuts down and domesticates the summary (as illustrated in **Chapter 3**). C-*Ruth* is not acquired or redeemed but ‘marries’ Boaz, producing a ‘familiar’ biblical figure—David. From bereavement, to barn, to marriage, Coverdale goes beyond his Zurich source, presenting an optimistic tale.

1.2 Content: cohesion, coherence

Part I showed Coverdale following the example of Zurich (and the Vulgate) in filling some gaps—clarifying that Naomi’s wishes are for new, as yet unfound, husbands (R1.9: whom ye shall get; Vg: *quos sortiturae estis*) and making Orpah’s departure explicit (R1.14: and turned back again). Bluhm-Kulka’s theory of explicitation is limited specifically to cohesive ties, but these phrase-long interpolations similarly aid narrative coherence.

Chapter 3 noted how potential coherence issues in the Hebrew text present challenges for a translator. As Coverdale was not working from the Hebrew, the same problem does not automatically apply. He was protected from syntactic incoherences or irregularities by his intermediaries. However, because he relied upon the work of more than one translator, he would encounter a different problem—their solutions could be irreconcilable. Unable to be ‘faithful’ or adopt a particular strategy with regard to the OrT, Coverdale was effectively working with an ‘ideal’ *Vorlage*, a function often—but not always—fulfilled by the Zurich text. It is tricky to imagine how he negotiated; but he was driven by an overriding ideal: English-speakers deserved a bible; and comforted by the thought that others would be swift to revise it.

Although the challenge Coverdale faced—reconciling, or choosing between, his sources—was different, *Ruth*’s major incoherence, the words of the overseer in R2.7, provides an interesting case study of his grappling. As is to be expected, his major influence here is Douche. The texts are as follows:

C: and thus is she come, and hath stonde here ever sence the morning, and within a litle whyle she wolde have bene gone home agayne.

communicating decorum. Images in printed bibles focus on the less risqué scene at the threshing field (also common in medieval manuscripts)—see, for example, the woodcut design appearing in both Lefevre (1530) and Vorsterman (1534) bibles and a comparable image in the first edition of the Great Bible (1539; STC2068).

Z34: und ist also kommen/ und da gestanden von morgen an biss här/ und wäre auch nit ein wenig wider heim gangen.⁷

The first portion of the verse is evenly matched, with Coverdale mimicking the German verb forms—is come (*ist kommen*) rather than came, hath stand here (*da gestanden*).⁸ In the latter part, they appear similar but differ substantially in meaning because the collocation *auch nicht* is idiomatic, such that *wäre auch ni[ch]t* constitutes the rejection of a hypothesis; one might substitute “nor . . . even” or “not even”. The overseer’s remark reflects what Ruth has done (not gone anywhere near home). C-Ruth’s overseer speculates on what she was about to do—go home. Have the other STs contributed to this interpretation?

VUS: & de mane usque nunc stat in agro, & nec ad momentum quidem domum reversa est.
[and from morning until now she is standing in [the] field, and she has not, even for a moment, turned back home.]

PG: Et venit, & stetit à mane usque nunc. Haec mansio eius in domo fuit paululum.
[And she has come, and stood from morning until now. This stay of hers in (the) house has been very brief.]

Quidem is emphatic, and it seems the Vulgate provided the basis for the Douche interpretation; although *domum*, like Hebrew *beth*, can signify house or home, the verb *reversa* shows that home is the appropriate Englishing in this context.⁹ Pagninus’ interpretation conflicts entirely—Ruth is currently *in domo*, in a house, though she has been there only briefly. This is much closer to the Hebrew, but it poses a different kind of problem: what house? The arrival of a building is a non sequitur, especially as the reader does not see with Boaz’s eyes. It is possible that Coverdale had here sought to harmonise the differences, but it seems more likely that he misconstrued the Douche idiom, regarding *nit ein wenig* as a collocation modifying the verb, and giving a subjunctive force to the pluperfect construction. Thus Ruth ‘would have gone’ in ‘not a little’ time, had Boaz not turned up. His text does have the advantage of explaining why Ruth has come to Boaz’s attention, without imposing a hitherto unmentioned house.¹⁰ It also suggests the possibility that Ruth was not stood working (as suggested by MtB ‘continued’) but awaiting an answer—and had been about to give up. This runs counter to the homiletical desire of later commentators, to whom Ruth’s industry was paradigmatic (see discussion in **Chapter 6**).

⁷ Apart from punctuation and orthography, the text matches that of L24 (L34 has *gegangen*, see **Chapter 4**). Bugenhagen translates the latter half of the verse thus: *unde ys ock nicht ein wenich wedder tho buss geghan*.—The use of *ge-* prefixed forms is one point where he is in agreement with the practice of L34. Similarly V34: *ende en is ooc niet een weynich tijts weder thuys gegaen*.

⁸ The use of “stand” for the past participle was standard. Cf. OED online, s.v. “stand, *v.*” etymology, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/188960/>: “In English the regular form of the past participle, *standen* (with the variants *stande*, etc.) continued until the 16th cent., when its place was taken by *stood* from the past tense.”

⁹ The LXX also comprehends *דומעמוד* as ‘standing’ (ἔστη) but then departs from the Hebrew, suggesting that this is not Ruth’s first day in the field—she has worked from morning until evening (ἀπὸ πρωῒθεν καὶ ἕως ἑσπέρας) without rest (οὐ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μικρόν). This is a rare departure; and may reflect the depth of textual uncertainty.

¹⁰ Interestingly, the 1522 Halberstadt Bible offers a similar perspective: “und hefft von morgen wente nu yn dem acker gestan, und kam dalink tho huß”, that is Ruth, having stood from morning until now (*nu*) in the field, comes now (*dalink*) to the house. The precise nuance of *dalink* (DWB *daling*) is difficult to ascertain—it can mean simply *heute*, today. The pre-Lutheran Zainer (Swiss-Douche) and 1494 Lubeck (Low-Douche) both use the idiom ‘a blink of an eye’ (*auff einem augen blick; een oghenblik lang*) to emphasise that Ruth has not stopped for the slightest moment.

Coverdale was protected from incoherences and irregularities by his sources, but had to exercise his own faculties with regard to narrative conundrums. At the same time, he remained vulnerable to mistakes in the interpretation of his sources.

1.2.1 Cohesion

Cohesion is enacted in different ways: in syntax, the connections between and within sentences structure the cohesion; within a text or section of text, the repetition of terms, or use of terms from within the same semantic field also contributes to cohesion. Texts in the Hebrew bible have two relevant characteristics that are not easily replicated in other languages: the dominance of one conjunction (ו), and the ease with which nouns, adjectives and adverbs can be formed from any verbal-root. In addition, the wide semantic sphere of many Hebrew terms facilitates cohesion through (partial) repetition.

Where a single cohesive tie has so many uses and applications in the SL, one may predict that it will be replaced in translation by a range of terms each with narrower application. In the following extract from Z34, words standing in place of the Hebrew ו have been underlined:

(1) Do macht sy sich auff (2) mit iren beyden sunsfrauwen/ (3) unnd zoch wider auss der Moabiter land (dann sy hatt erfahren im Moabiter land/ das der HERR seyn volck hatt heimgesücht und inen brot geben) (R1.6, Z34)

The Zurich text here follows Luther's example (da . . . mit . . . und). The opening *do* has a wider semantic application than Coverdale's "then"¹¹ but performs the same function in ordering events. The substitution of *mit* (with) for a more literal *und* (and) regularises the expression, following the example of the Vulgate (*cum utraque nuru sua*), effectively domesticating the Hebrew syntax.¹²

Coverdale follows the example of Z34 carefully; thus, of the sixty appearances of the particle [ו] in *C-Ruth* 1, less than half are translated by a direct "and" or "&". Alternative renderings include "but" (vv.11, 14, 21), "so" (v.19, cf. also R1.7) and occasionally a more indulgent "nevertheless" (R1.15, 20—compare Douche *aber*). Often, a pair of narrative phrases are conjoined with both conjunctions brought together to form a subordinate construction:

1.2 And whan they came into the londe of y^e Moabites, they dwelt there. [Z34 *Unnd do*; ויבאו . . . ויהיו]

1.18 Now whan she sawe, that she was stedfastly mynded to go with her, she spake no more to her therof. [Z34 *Als sy nun . . . ; ותרא . . . ותחדל*]

This usage can also be loosely causal:

1.11 How can I have children eny more in my body, to be youre hussbands? [Z34: *die . . . moechtind*]

1.19 So they wente on both together . . . [Z34: *Also*]

¹¹ "Do" can also bear the function of "when" within a statement. Cf. e.g. R1.2 (discussed below).

¹² In translation, it is only word order that indicates any difference between R1.6 ובלתייה "with both her sonnes wyves", and R1.7 ושתי בלתייה עמה "and both her sonnes wives with her" (*C-Ruth*).

1.21 Why call ye me then Naemi? whan the LORD hath broughte me lowe . . . [Z34 *so*]

In each case, the resulting translation seeks to connect together and interpret the sequence of events in ways the Hebrew leaves unresolved; the result is an increased explicitation of cohesive ties, fulfilling Bluhm-Kulka's hypothesis. This is also an act of interpretation—the ST did not specify the causality introduced by such cohesives; and in terms of Berman's negative analytic, the impact is not only clarification of what was originally ambiguous but also the destruction of the original linguistic patternings.

To see that such changes are not inevitable, compare the LXX where the plain Hebrew style is replicated by repeated use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$, replaced by the alternative conjunction, $\delta\epsilon$, on just five occasions.¹³ Yet emphasising the openness of the Hebrew text, and giving the LXX as a witness to this, is a slight misrepresentation; translation is not lexicography, and (as Holmstedt has suggested) other features may modify the relationship between Hebrew phrases.¹⁴

1.3 Presuppositions

Bugenhagen contextualises *Ruth* with reference to the broader biblical narrative—it is, he advises, a book about David's kin; “Boas ys Davids Older vader” and thus a forebear of Christ (a point supported by reference to Matt 1). Bugenhagen's reader is also advised that the events took place after Jephthah's time and before Samson's birth. Aside from the Davidic reference in his summary, Coverdale provides no such contextual introduction. His selections from the Zurich preface did not include the discussion of *Ruth*'s relationship with the books of Judges and Samuel. Yet marginal references are used to identify the extraneous figures introduced in *Ruth* 4, and—as has been seen—Coverdale takes a particular but quiet opportunity to fit the genealogy to the New Testament, a measure that colonises the text.¹⁵ (See **Chapter 4**.)

The reader is assumed to be familiar with places (Bethlehem, Judah, Moab) and no particular significance is given to Ruth's identity as a Moabite. Certain customs and practices—the land sale and the ‘taking to wife’—are explicated through cross-referencing, following the example of Zurich.

1.3.1 The problematic *go'el*

A particular issue for all translators of *Ruth* was the root *g'l*—the notion of *ge'ullah* and the role of a *go'el*. Coverdale's solutions pertain to his Douche sources and to existing English tradition: In R3.9, Ruth tells Boaz to cover (Cov: “spread his wings” over) her because he is a *go'el*. At R3.12, Boaz explains his proposed course of action. There is, to quote Coverdale, a “kynsman . . . nyer then” him, a more closely related *go'el* (R3.12). Kinsman was the term used in Wycliffite versions, and Tyndale uses a combination of “next kin” and “kinsman” where *go'el* occurs. So this Englishing was not innovative, and did not require glossing as Luther's “Nachman” had (see above, **I §4.4.2**).

¹³ At 1.14 C-*Ruth*: but; 1.16 C-*Ruth*: but; 1.18 C-*Ruth*: Now when; 1.19 C-*Ruth*: So; 1.21—this sentence has been revised in C-*Ruth* (following Z34) so that there is no exact parallel.

¹⁴ See esp. Holmstedt, “Word Order and Information Structure in Ruth and Jonah”; and idem, “The Typological Classification of the Hebrew of Genesis.” Gerald Hammond criticises Dahlia Karpman's treatment of Tyndale because her premises are lexicographical and not sensitive to a translator's remit; see “William Tyndale's Pentateuch,” 353, n.11.

¹⁵ The harmonisation of the genealogical orthography is an independent step on Coverdale's part and therefore demonstrates his own ideological acquisition of the text for Christian purposes.

For the cognate verb, the solution was Douche: At R3.13, Boaz continues: ‘If that man wants to *g’l*, fine, he will *g’l*. If he doesn’t want to *g’l*, I swear I will *g’l*.’ The four *g’l*-ings of R3.13 are reduced to three acts of taking in Douche: “Morn so er dich *nimpt*, wol: gelustets in aber nit dich zü *nemmen*, so wil ich dich *nemmen*.” The Latin versions engage with notions of propinquity, but Coverdale follows the Douche ‘taking’.

It was not only cultural specificity that challenged the translators, but also the ‘failure’ of *Ruth* to match with the expectations provided by other material in the biblical canon, concerning the role of the *go’el*, whose pentateuchal involvement is with property and vengeance. In the Hebrew text, knowing that he is a *go’el* shapes the audience’s expectations that he will intervene, the course of events is not clear. Elsewhere, the Hebrew term is rendered as “redeemer”, but not in *Ruth* (though the word does appear in the margins of the King James Bible). Consequently *Ruth*’s words remain obscure: “spread thy winges over thy handmaiden: for thou art the next kinsman” (KJ). This obscurity is compensated for by the use of words like “take”—or in Tyndale’s translation “marrie”. The English translators’ repeated evasion of the *ge’ullah* challenge meant that English audiences heard a story that climaxed in marriage rather than the transfer of property. It is one of the odder aspects of *Ruth*’s translation history, though it is not unique to English. The Vulgate’s *propinquier* had primed interpretations that focused on nearness rather than redemption and these are seen in many European texts.¹⁶

1.4 Composition and non-verbal elements

Taking two of Nord’s categories together, one may recall that Coverdale followed Zurich in presenting the text in double-column format. A recognisable convention for bibles and for reference texts, columns have the advantage of facilitating localised marginalia.¹⁷ Coverdale’s Latin sources also used columns, and—unlike Coverdale, the Matthew and Great Bibles—Pagninus included verse numbering in the margin, using the *paraph* symbol (a crossed C, comparable to the modern ¶) to demarcate these divisions in the text. The early English bibles, like their continental vernacular counterparts, follow the practice of allocating reference-letters to chapter sections, facilitating cross-reference.¹⁸ These elements of presentation differ from Luther’s.¹⁹ The latter’s preference for a single-column and omission of paragraph markers would have suggested a different genre to his readers; something closer to the ordinary vernacular narrative text, to be read through from start to finish, rather than dipped in and out of selectively. (See related discussion in **Chapter 3, §4.2.**)

Like the columns, the intrusion of marginal section markers shifts the character of the text into a technical, “biblical” style rather than plain narrative, while retaining flow through the use of non-versed paragraphing. The combination of curved parenthesis and asterisk, i.e. (*, to indicate to

¹⁶ Rashkow criticises decisions here without fully acknowledging the challenges presented by the contradiction between legislation and practice. See Rashkow, *Upon the Dark Places*, 129–32.

¹⁷ That editions without such commentary also employ this layout is unsurprising; when new editions of the same size were being prepared, considerable care was taken to ensure that the contents were the same page-for-page so that sheets might be interchangeable (cf. Pollard’s account of the compilation of early editions of the KJV; *Records*, 66–73, esp. 67). That mimicry of layout would carry over to other editions in some instances is therefore a logical corollary of such copying practices. For a more general study of the physical attributes of editions, see King and Pratt, “The Materiality of English Printed Bibles.”

¹⁸ The practice is replaced by versification in the 1560 Geneva Bible (also the 1557 New Testament) and subsequent versions. See above **Ch 2. §4.1.3 n.112.**

¹⁹ Bugenhagen’s edition includes the markers, but Luther’s Wittenberg editions are consistently marker-free.

which part of the text a cross-reference applied operates in tandem with such markings.—Although the type of symbol differs, the practice of including such marks was a major development in Z34, their function being explained by Froschouer in his preface. As anticipated from the foregoing discussion, these details in Coverdale correspond with Z34, with the exception of the arrangement of chapter summaries.

The Douche bibles consistently offset the first line of paragraphs, with the exception of those opening a chapter, which are accompanied by an enlarged capital—or, at the head of the book, an illustrated capital; strong stylistic correspondence between Zurich and Coverdale is evident at this point. Although C-*Ruth* is an embedded text, set within the larger “historical” narrative of Genesis–II Chronicles, it is laid out in six columns across three pages without intrusion from *Judges* or *I Samuel*—a distinctive feature.²⁰ This is achieved partly by compression—there are no gaps between chapters, just the chapter heading, e.g. “The IIII. Chapter” in the same typeface as the main text, and the heading of the second chapter is placed on the same line as the end of the preceding verse. In addition, the traditional practice of shaping the closing words of a book into a tapering “V” shape (seen at the close of *Judges*) is absent from *Ruth*, the full space being required. The *Ruth* narrative is thus available to the reader as a discrete, bounded, text.²¹

As well as the narrative summary (discussed above) there is another significant compositional divergence when compared to the Hebrew text of *Ruth*: the inclusion of R2.1 as a part of C-*Ruth* 1. This shift, which affects the narrative’s thematic progression, reflects Douche influence.²² The primary focus of the new chapter favours Ruth (against the connections between Naomi, Boaz and Elimelech), facilitating the R2 summary seen above. It has the advantage of drawing attention away from Naomi’s failure to supply information about Boaz in R2.2, and prepares the text-receiver for the next stage in the plot.

Those scenes that relate events, speech and thoughts out of sequence (e.g. the account of Ruth’s request in R2.7) remain, as is to be expected in a structurally close translation.

1.5 Lexis: Figures of speech

Figures of speech, whether set idioms or an author’s creations, are part of the flavour of a text but commonly homogenised in translation. The Matthew Bible supplies plentiful examples of this: In Hebrew, Boaz speaks of “uncovering the ears” of the other *go’el* (R4.4: אגלה אוזן; Pg: *revelabo aurem tuam*). In the Matthew Bible, Boaz’s stated intention is “to do the[e] to wete [i.e. wit]”. Tyndale has substituted one idiom for another. Again in R3.7, Boaz’s eating and drinking ‘goodens his heart’ (וייטב לבו); Tyndale’s Boaz “made him merry”. Such translations are interpretive. Repeatedly Tyndale prioritises comprehensibility over form. Underlying this is an epistemological assumption

²⁰ In contrast, in the Matthew Bible *Ruth* occupies just over five columns across four pages; beginning at the head of the second column in the left-hand page (f.Cii verso), and ending fifteen lines into the first column on the right-hand page (f.Ciiii recto). This compactness is achieved in part by a higher number of lines per column (60 to C-*Ruth*’s 57). Although a final sentence demarcates the ending (“Thus endeth the boke of Ruth”), M-*Ruth* remains more obviously part of a larger whole, fitting between the narratives of M-*Judges* and M-1 *Samuel/Kings*.

Bugenhagen’s *Ruth* is, like Coverdale, laid out independently across three pages, though in single columns. ²¹ This is also true of Taverner’s Bible (where each book commences on a fresh page, with significant waste of paper); and editions of the Bishops Bible (1568, 1602).

²² In contrast, Tyndale (Matthew Bible) reinstated the Hebrew division, as did others, e.g. Vorsterman 1528, 1534—probably guided by the Complutensian Polyglot. Luther amended the chapter break in his 1541 edition and thereafter.

about where the meaning of scripture is located: The approach assumes that meaning-content can be extracted from the words and transmitted in another form, and that the TT receiver will still (perhaps *better*) comprehend the message. The message is thus separable from the words and separating it may be desirable, a position comparable with Nida's model of functional equivalence.²³

In *Ruth*, the Douche texts tend to match the Hebrew more closely, suggesting a preference for formal equivalence—to transmit scripture in structure and words that match the original, wherever possible. This does not mean that some wilful changes are not introduced. One can find adaptation in the Douche texts, and similar adaptation in Coverdale. Both domesticating and conserving tendencies are evident in *C-Ruth*.

1.5.1 Idiom conserved

Mediated principally by Zurich, the Douche interpretations repeatedly exercise authority over Coverdale's treatment of idioms. In R4.5 and again in R4.10, the obligation to “raise up a name [un]to the deed” results from an errant reading of the genitive-construct. What is properly “*the* name of the dead [man]” (שם-המת) appears in the Douche as “*dem* verstorbenen einen nammen”, i.e. *a name to or for* the dead. There is no definite article in Latin, so Coverdale had no further testimony on that point, but he would have been better with Pagninus' genitive form.²⁴ The only step taken by Coverdale to clarify what is meant by this obligation is the marginal reference to Deut 25.

Two of the idioms conserved in *Ruth* concern how God acts, and both involve wordplay. *Yhwh* ‘visits’ his people in R1.6 and gives them *lechem*, bread. The pun made on *lechem* in *Beth-lechem* has been discussed in **Chapter 3**. Although the Douche versions, with Pagninus and Coverdale, preserve the Hebrew specificity, there is no greater loss in Tyndale's translation or the Vulgate's, given the historical treatment of *Beth-lechem*. The desire to avoid anthropomorphising God as ‘visitor’ was touched on in **Chapter 4, §3.4**; for those translating from Hebrew, the Englishing of פקד was indubitably primed, being the favoured word for learning verbal morphology in Reuchlin's *de Rudimentis*, where Latin *visō* was supplied as its gloss.

1.5.2 Partial domestication

The Douche versions do not always attempt a literal reading. While Tyndale shifted idiom entirely at R4.4, bidding the other *go'el* to wit, the Douche versions rework the Hebrew, including the ears but changing the verb: *für deine oren zu bringen* (Z34).²⁵ Thus Coverdale arrives at his version: “therefore thoughte I to *shewe* it before thine eares”.

In R3.11, both Luther and Pagninus chose to rationalise the metonymic expression “all the gate” (Heb: כל-שער) substituting *stad* and *civitas* respectively. It is not a complete naturalisation, for the genitive “of my people” (עמי) is retained intact, leaving Coverdale with the semi-idiomatic “all the

²³ Of course, all translators begin with a certain degree of epistemological positivism: the words of one language are not the same as another's.

²⁴ Pg: *nomen defuncti*; Vg (paraphrasing): *nomen propinqui*.

²⁵ In L45 we have *vor* rather than L24-41 *fur*, Z34 *für*; the change is orthographic, the spellings being used interchangeably at this period, comparable to English “for” and “fore”. See DWB s.v. “für” (4:617), “vor” (26.775–76).

city of my people".²⁶ The result in Douche is a shift of the intratextual connection, from a foreshadowing of the gate-scene in *Ruth* 4—where the people are called upon to acknowledge Ruth's acquisition—to a recursion to the women's arrival in Bethlehem in R1.19, a transaction in which Ruth's presence was wholly overlooked. In Coverdale's English, this shift is muted by his choice of a different collocation (R1.19 *the whole city*; R3.11 *all the city*) but still present.

1.5.3 Thorough domestication

At times, Coverdale uses English idioms. Thus the hypothetical *gross* sons of Naomi will not be big or great but "grown up" (R1.13). At the same time, this choice of idiom remains close to the source; compare the Matthew Bible, "would ye tarry after them, till they were *of age*?"—an interpretation that brings marriageability to the fore.

Another domestication is the transformation of the 'sitter-dwellers' at the gate (R4.4; Heb: **הישבים**) into "citizens" (Z34 *burgeren*). The noun, a participle from the root **ישב**—meaning sit or dwell—is domesticated by Luther so that it connotes elite men, rather than all who might be present. King James' "inhabitants" is a more open rendering. (For Geneva's treatment of this word, see **Chapter 2, §2**.)

Both the Matthew and Coverdale texts agree on the correct form for Ruth's petition in R2.7; what began as **אני** in the Hebrew ST, was reflected as *lieber* in the Douche, is here "I prairie thee". Ruth is shown to be addressing the overseer directly (thee). In the Great Bible, the phrase is substituted for by the smaller particle "*Oh* let me . . ." but the party addressed has shifted to the plural—Ruth had spoken to all the reapers. Although "I pray" is restored in subsequent Englishings, the object is now "you", with plural addressees "unto us" standing explicit in Great, Geneva and Bishops Bibles (though not in the Hebrew text or ancient versions).²⁷ At this point, the King James Bible too concedes a plural object "I pray you"—though perhaps this is implying a yet more heightened formal discourse, a Ruth who addresses the overseer as her superior.²⁸ The nuance is lost on a modern audience but would have been recognisable to the early modern ear.

1.5.4 Douche vocabulary

Even if Coverdale had worked from Latin alone, one could expect some overlap of vocabulary between his version and the Douche texts because English is a Germanic language. Verbs like 'give' and 'can', nouns like 'way' and 'year', are and were basic to English, corresponding also to German cognates: *kann, gebe, Weg, Jahr*. Thus it would be easy to exaggerate the extent of the Douche influence on Coverdale's lexis.

Coverdale's use of "grope" in R3.8 suggests lexical dependence. Waking at midnight, Boaz is captured off guard. His reaction is described in two verbs: **ויחרד . . . וילפת**. The Hebrew verb **לפת**

²⁶ The Vulgate, also rejecting a direct translation, resorted instead to a clarificatory expansion: *omnis populus, qui habitat intra portas urbis meae*. The city is determined by Boaz, and the people as those who live within its gates—a plural form we find also in the Matthew Bible, perhaps because the audience would more easily recognise *gates* as a metonym (early modern cities typically having more than one point of ingress; cf. Daniel Jütte, "Entering a City: On a Lost Early Modern Practice," *Urban History* 41, no. 1 (2014): 1–24).

²⁷ The interpolated "unto us" rests upon a parenthetical addition to Münster's Latin, "(ad nos)"; the Geneva Bible's restoration of a singular form seems to depend upon the French Geneva text.

²⁸ Against this, see that the KJ *Ruth* addresses Boaz as "thou" throughout their dialogue (R2.10 and thereafter) in keeping with the early modern distinction between singular and plural forms in the second person.

is rare, and the use in *Ruth* receives direct comment from Reuchlin who, basing his own comments on David Kimhi, recommends *inclinatus*, turned—this being a *Niphal* rather than standard *Qal* form (which would have conveyed the more basic reaching out).²⁹ Pagninus (after Reuchlin) has *inclinavit se* (turned himself) and the Vulgate *conturbatus est* (was disturbed; Douai: troubled). Strikingly, Coverdale and Tyndale agree in their Englishing: “the man was afraid and groped”—Coverdale adds “about him”. The Zurich text immediately shows the source of Coverdale’s addition: *greyff umb sich*. The Douche “greyff” primed the groping vocabulary of both Coverdale and Tyndale.³⁰ Although the wording changed, the suggestion that Boaz had reached out (and thus discovered Ruth by touch) was retained in English bibles throughout the 1500s. If the path of attribution is correct, the Douche had England’s Boaz groping in the dark for a quarter-of-a-century before (in a highly unusual reading) the Geneva Bible had him catch hold.³¹ King James’ Englishers were the first to “turn” Boaz.

At R3.3, Coverdale was faced with a quandary: Among the list of instructions that Naomi gives to Ruth is וסכת (*wasakt*) from the Hebrew root סך (*swk*). When one letter in a Hebrew root is weak (as *ṣ*, *w* in the present case), it may disappear during conjugation so that the process of identifying the root and knowing the word’s meaning becomes challenging, especially for the novice. Luther’s phase-1 solution (*verhulle*, to veil or cover; Z34 *verhuelle*)³² differed considerably from the Vulgate and Pagninus (*unge*, grease with oil, anoint). Reordering the root letters, Luther had misidentified the verb as סה (*ksb*). Coverdale could not have judged between the accuracy of translations. He would have recognised that if Ruth is to follow Naomi’s instructions in order, veiling oneself before dressing would be difficult. His loyalty to Douche sources produces “moffell” (muffle) in the main text.³³ In the margin, however, he sets a rare note: “or, anoint thee”. Subsequent English versions (including the Matthew Bible) gave the latter instruction. Luther’s readers had to wait until 1541 (phase 3) until their Ruth was told to anoint herself (*salbe*).

²⁹ Acknowledging Kimchi as his source, Reuchlin gives three different Latin glosses, *inclinavit*, *deflexit* and *evertit*, before commenting specifically on *Ruth* 3. He cites first the Vulgate before offering his own translation of the Hebrew: *pro quo legunt hebrei: expavit et inclinatus est*.

³⁰ Etymology is a blunt tool, but *greifen* and “grope” are traced to the same root in the OED (s.v. “grope, *v.*” etym., accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/81745/>); *grope* appears for *Expalpo* (“to grope out”) in Elyot’s dictionary. Luther’s 1524 manuscript suggests he was not satisfied with the translation: he recorded the Hebrew root in the margin, implying an intention to return and perhaps reconsider.

³¹ Münster has *contrahereturque* (*prae pavore*), implying that Boaz curled up with fear. Olivétan 1535 had *sinclina*, in line with Pagninus (and Reuchlin), while his precursor Lefèvre followed the Vulgate (*fit trouble*; compare Wycliffite, Douai: tr[o]ubled). The Great Bible retains “groped”; the Bishops Bible followed the Geneva though neither specifies what Boaz “caught holde” of.

³² Bugenhagen understood *verhulle* in terms of a head-covering, using the term *bewumpelt*, which is formed from the noun *wumpel* (also *wimpel*) and means principally a headscarf. Luther’s manuscript shows that he considered but rejected the addition of two specific garment-terms: *decke* (used at Deut 22.30 [23.1], though DWB regard this as figurative—“doch mehr als bild”, DWB s.v. “decke, *f.*” §3 (288:3)), and *schle[ü]er*. The narrative confirms that Ruth is wearing an outer garment (R3.15), and she is to avoid making herself known (R3.3) so Luther’s interpretation drew on the broader context. See also *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, s.v. “wimpel”, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=73691>.

³³ See *jemoufle* (Fr.) in Palsgrave’s grammar (published 1530): “I muffyl ones visage or his heed, I cover hym with clothes that he shulde nat be knowen, or from colde”. Via OED online, s.v. “muffle, *v.*” §1a, accessed Jun 05, 2014, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/12331/>.

1.6 Structure, syntax and rhetoric

That the opening of *Ruth* in Coverdale has its basis in the Douche sources, shored up by the Vulgate, has been demonstrated in **Chapter 3**. The Douche text rationalised the Hebrew days, and omitted the opening expression. Coverdale's introduction was guided by that rationalisation.

1.6.1 Turning again and again

In Coverdale, all three of Naomi's injunctions to שׁוּב (*shuv*, turn; R1.11, 12, 15) are translated with the compound expression, "turn again". The Wycliffite manuscripts use the same compound, showing that it was a long-standing manner of speech, and perhaps more natural than the multiple "returns" of later bibles. The Douche texts also use compounds (*kebret umb*) so that Coverdale replicates their syntax. The shortcoming in this translation strategy is that it breaks down the Hebrew leitmotif, *shuv* occurring 12 times in R1.6-22. But Coverdale has inherited his turn of phrase from the Douche, and "turn back" translates four further uses, so that 'turn' itself serves as a leitmotif.

On one occasion, Luther was demonstrably cognisant of his decision to alter the text: The broad meaning of שׁוּב is "turn", and Orpah and Ruth state that they will *turn* with Naomi (R1.10).³⁴ To translate with "return" contradicts the reader's knowledge: the daughters-in-law are from Moab and cannot *return* to Bethlehem. Adopting the perspective of the pedantic TT-receiver, the Vulgate uses a generic going verb, *pergo*, rather than use the root *vector*; in Luther's manuscript one witnesses him override his first translation (*keren*, turn) replacing it with a similarly generic *geben*.³⁵ The coherence-oriented decision is reflected in the Englishings of Coverdale, Matthew and Great Bibles.³⁶ The Geneva, Bishops and King James Bibles give the more literal "return" indicating a different priority—showing fidelity to the ST despite the potential for TT incoherence.

1.6.2 Rhetorical questions

In terms of frequency and rhetorical effect, perhaps the most significant impact of the Douche interpreters on Coverdale's *Ruth* is their use of statements in place of questions. This happens first in R1.13, where the Hebrew Naomi asks if Ruth and Orpah would wait till fresh-born sons had grown into husbands, and if they would refuse other men on that account. In both cases, the question opens with an interrogative הֲ, prefixed to a word of uncertain meaning: לָהֶן. According to consonants and Masoretic vowel pointing this is an Aramaic word meaning "therefore" (לָהֶן).

However, the ancient versions agree in reading לָהֶם —*for them*, a change that involves the final vowel-consonant combination.³⁷ Complicating matters, in the Septuagint, the questions are joined into one and their status as questions is ambiguous: the opening μη can initiate a negative commandment or a question expecting a negative response. In the Vulgate, Naomi is in declarative mode, not questioning but telling. Given the widespread distrust of Masoretic pointing among

³⁴ For the hypothesis that this is presenting *Ruth* in terms of conversion, see Shoulson, *Fictions of Conversion*, 65–6.

³⁵ The amendment was made in red ink during the final redaction phase—potentially in discussion with others. *Geben* sticks in Luther, and although both Pagninus and Münster gave the more Hebraic *revertemur*. Compare the LXX ἐπιστρέφωμεν.

³⁶ Unsurprisingly, the Vulgate-oriented Wycliffite and Douai versions also have 'go'.

³⁷ "... the unanimous reading of the LXX, the Syriac, the Targum, and both the O[ld] L[atin] and the Vulgate, is 'for them.'" Campbell, *Ruth (AB)*, 68.

Christian Hebraists, it is not surprising that the Douche interpreters took the testimony of these versions into account and turned Naomi’s questions into answers.³⁸ It is therefore interesting that, counter to the weight of tradition, Pagninus and (perhaps following him) Tyndale, both reinstate Naomi’s rhetorical questions, setting the example for subsequent English versions.³⁹

In R2.8-9, it is Boaz whose questions are reduced to statements. Syntactically, in both Douche and English, only the punctuation differentiates command and question at R2.8, and in L24, Bugenhagen and others, a question-mark appears at the end: *Horst du es mein tochter?* Intriguingly, on this occasion Coverdale has the question-mark (following the joint testimony of Pagninus and Bugenhagen perhaps) though Zurich does not, and nor does the Matthew Bible.⁴⁰ In these texts, Boaz is a more commanding presence. This commanding role continues into verse 9 where the Douche sources are in agreement, depriving Boaz of his rhetorical question. Thus in Coverdale, Ruth is to stick with Boaz’s damsels because his workers will keep her safe: *for I have commanded my servants that no man touch thee.* Though a credit to the Douche versions, this interpretation parts company with the Hebrew in several ways: the implication is that people in Boaz’s pay (*my servants*) will protect Ruth from any threat. Tyndale also turns question into statement, but the Matthew Bible is much closer to the sense; Ruth should stay with his maidens, “for I have charged the young men, that they touch thee not.” These “young men” are expected to obey Boaz, but they are not *his* and it is these young men themselves who pose a potential threat. Coverdale presents Boaz as a powerful landowner in command of numerous servants. Tyndale presents Boaz as a commanding presence who others are expected to respect. But in neither case is Ruth (or, in effect, the text-receiver) engaged in what he is saying, participating or giving consent to the accuracy of what he is saying.⁴¹

Similarly at R2.19, Naomi’s words are turned upside down. In Hebrew, she begins with questions (אִיפֹּה, אָנָּה) and closes with a blessing. In Douche, and in Coverdale, blessing takes over question. Compare the respective translations:

Z34	Coverdale	Matthew Bible	Pagninus
Gesaegnet sey der dich erkent hat, da du heüt gesamlet und gearbeytet hast.	Blessinge haue the man that hath knowne the, where thou hast gathered and laboured this daye	where gatheredst thou to daye? and where wroughtest thou? blessed be he y ^t knewe ye.	Ubi collegisti hodie, & ubi fecisti? Sit q ^d cognouit te benedictus.

³⁸ See **Chapter 7, §2 n.5**. Such praxis is not itself unquestioning. At R1.19 the Douche texts reject the assertion *Haec est illa Noemi* although it is supported by the LXX. Again the question opens with the interrogative הָ but on this occasion it is prefixed to a familiar word: אִיפֹּה—*is this?* Of the English interpreters, only the Douai follows the Vulgate’s plain statement.

³⁹ Douche questions appear in Luther’s version of 1541 (phase 3) and thereafter.

⁴⁰ In Z1530, 1531 and 1534, this is consistently an order, punctuated with a full stop; thus Z34: *Horst du es mein tochter.* The Matthew Bible punctuates with a (rare) colon, showing that Boaz is soliciting Ruth’s attention for what is to follow; the Great Bible follows suit (though Münster punctuates with a question mark). Further Englishings (except the Douai) make Boaz’s words a question.

⁴¹ It is possible that translators were troubled by the suggestion that Ruth had witnessed an interaction between Boaz and the “young men” not shown in the text. (Due for consideration in my forthcoming study of רַחֵם’s translation in *Ruth*, on which see **Ch. 1, §4, n.83**.)

The result is a trusting Naomi quick to invoke a blessing but deprived of curiosity; a figure of prudent speech and less inclined to gossip.⁴² The Douche approach, initiated by Luther, is radical and apparently unprecedented; yet it stood just so in his first draft, and he did not alter it until 1541. Two more under-translated questions follow, at the start of *Ruth* 3:

	Vulgate	Z34	Coverdale	Matthew	Pagninus
R3.1	Filia mi, quaeram tibi requiem, et providebo ut bene sit tibi.	Mein tochter, ich wil dir rüm schaffen dz es dir wol gange.	My doughter, I wyll prouyde rest for the, that thou maiest prospere	my daughter I wyll seke reast for the, that thou mayst be in better ease	Filia mea, nonne quaeram tibi requiem, ut bene sit tibi?
R3.2	Booz iste, cuius puellis in agro iuncta es, propinquus noster est . . .	Nun der Boas unser freünd, bey des dirnen du gewesen bist . . .	Boos oure kynsman, by whose damsels thou hast bene . . .	For now thys Booz oure kynsman wyth whose maydens thou wast . . .	Et nunc nonne Bóhaz de consanguinitate nostra est cui? fuisti cum puellis?

The Douche and English versions agree with the Vulgate: Naomi is going to find “rest” for Ruth; and her plan involves their established kinsman (Boaz). But Pagninus’ literal account of the Hebrew text exposes the gap: Ruth (and the text-receiver’s) participation are invoked by questions, questions to which she (and they) must supply the answer. The translated texts leave no space for that participation, shifting the textual poetics, and putting Naomi (like Boaz previously) into a position of unimpeachable authority. In translation, Naomi commands and Ruth performs the role of obedient daughter-in-law, a relationship greatly idealised by commentators (see **Ch. 7**).

What drove these readings? One cannot know what balance of factors led the Douche translators to frame statements rather than questions at these points. The Vulgate set an example. In addition, the manner in which rhetorical questions are articulated in Greek (by the use of negative particles) means that the status of these sentences is sometimes ambiguous in the Septuagint. The questions of R2.8-9 and R3.1-2 have in common an initial question word, אִי־לֵךְ. It may be no more than coincidence, but Reuchlin’s grammar has a misprint, printing simply לֵךְ with the superscript “numquid” (“surely not?”) in a set of “interrogandi”.⁴³ On the basis of *Ruth*, one might imagine that recognising rhetorical questions was a weak point among the Douche interpreters, and that the weakness extended to Tyndale as well.⁴⁴ Yet one may also observe how the resulting text was ideologically suited to the early modern desire to subordinate Ruth as woman and daughter-in-law.

1.6.3 Word order

The witnesses in the court scene (R4.9-10; see **I §5.2.3.1**) provide a good case of marked word order and repetition not carried over into the translated text. Though Tyndale’s translation is different, neither he nor later translators take measures to replicate this—but then modern English

⁴² On the importance of women’s prudent speech, see **Chapter 5**.

⁴³ The list appears on f. 619, in the rear section of Reuchlin’s work. The entry is accompanied by the plain *he* interrogative (ךָ, *num*) and the compound םִלְךָ.

According to Peter Opitz, “Reuchlin’s *De rudimentis hebraicis* served Zwingli both as textbook and source of his Hebrew vocabulary” (Opitz, “The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Oecolampadius, Zwingli, and Calvin”, 414).

⁴⁴ By way of comparison, all the instances referred to are questions in the French version of Olivétan (1535), just as in Pagninus, with one exception—Boaz’s opening words to Ruth are phrased as a question but punctuated with a pause: “Nas tu poit ente~~n~~du ma fille, ne va pas. . .”

lacks the case structure that enabled Luther's emphatic opening *ZeuGen*. In preferring *Zurich* (where *zeugen* was demoted to an ordinary position), Coverdale also preferred a text that did not attend to such literary features.

1.6.4 Suprasegmental features

At R1.9, parenthetical words Naomi did not utter resolve Coverdale's text: "ye may find rest either of you in her husband's house (whom ye shall get)". Such clarificatory measures do not appear in subsequent English bibles and represent the difference between what the translator might desire in an 'ideal' text (complete coherence) and the realities of the ST entity. If Coverdale preferred a text that fills the gap, it is in keeping with the tendencies to clarify and expand in translation. Yet this detail also exposes the counter-trend. The evidence from *Ruth* suggests that later translators did not feel (as) free to fill such gaps through interpolation, even on the basis of the Vulgate's traditions. Naomi's naming (which begs to be conveyed to the reader) is the closest to an exception, as its incorporation into the Great Bible's main text—while remaining typographically distinct—shows.

2 OTHER INFLUENCES

It should be clear that the Douche interpreters, mediated most particularly by *Zurich*, shaped Coverdale's text extensively. In some instances, the Douche influence—most often when mediated also by *Tyndale*—persisted to affect later versions of the English bible, including the *King James*.

However, as Coverdale himself acknowledged, he consulted Latin versions too. In addition, where *Tyndale* claimed to have no models to follow for his *Englishing* project, Coverdale's language and approach had been "primed" by the work of his contemporary. Furthermore, certain aspects of Coverdale's translation may conserve an earlier tradition of *Ruth*'s interpretation and draw on liturgical English. What were the effects of this mix of additional, non-Douche, influences?

2.1 The Latin interpreters

From the preceding discussion, it will be clear that *Pagninus* sometimes features as support for the Douche readings. In addition, it was observed in **Part I** of this appendix that Coverdale's choice of vocabulary and syntax (e.g. describing *Ruth* as a *virtuous woman*, R3.11) is sometimes influenced by his Latin sources. As with the Douche versions, not every overlap is significant. The consistent choice of "people" over "folk" need not relate to the Latin cognate, *populum*, but rather to Coverdale's judgment about the English term best suited to the narrative context and his intended audience. Though introduced through the Latin *indices*, the determinative influence in the selection of "[j]udges" for R1.1 was more likely the preceding book and existing English discourse.⁴⁵ However, sometimes connections are directly determinative: a line can be drawn between the "native country" of R2.11 and *Pagninus*' *terram nativitatis*.⁴⁶ Other paths of direct influence can be

⁴⁵ See discussion in **Ch. 3. §4**. The Wycliffite bibles use *ingis* in this context; supporting its use in broader discourse, the fifteenth century political theorist, John Fortescue wrote that "The childeryn of Israell . . . were ruled bi [*sc.* God] undir Juges *regaliter et politice*" (OED online, s.v. "judge, *n.*" §II.2a, e.4, <http://oed.com/view/Entry/101887/>, emphasis as original). For *indices*, Elyot gives simply "iudge".

⁴⁶ The Douche versions use a deeply connotative cultural term, *vatterland* (NHG *Vaterland*) and it is not surprising that Coverdale chose not to borrow or adapt it. Subsequent *Englishings* followed *Tyndale*'s lead—itself suggested by the Vulgate: *terram in qua nata es*, "the lande where thou wast borne". However, *King*

drawn from *perfecta* to “perfect” (R2.12; Pg), *providebo* to “provide” (R3.1; Vg), and from *testimonium* to testimony (R4.7, Pg & Vg).

At times, the Latin versions can be seen to affect the interpretation of whole phrases. A good example is provided by the Vulgate in R4.13: “et dedit illi dominus ut conciperet”. The Douche Ruth becomes *schwanger*, pregnant. Pagninus’ Ruth is given a substantive, *conceptum*, i.e. conception. The latter part of Coverdale’s sentence, “the LORDE graunted her y^e *she conceaued*” picks up the Vulgate’s purpose clause. The expectation that Ruth be an “ensample of vertue”, considered in **Chapter 5**, is another such case.

2.2 Tyndale’s example

If one conceives of Coverdale approaching his task from canonical beginning (Genesis) to canonical close (Revelation), he would have worked his way through Tyndale’s Pentateuch, determining any revisions, translated the books of Joshua and Judges, and then arrived at *Ruth*. This means that, on the one hand, his translation strategy was informed by some experience, and secondly, that he had a head full of pentateuchal Englishings. Three brief examples will suffice to show how Tyndale had set the scene for what became the English mode of translation: First, the use of “dearth” rather than “hunger” (Wycliffite) or “famine” (KJ, Douai) in R1.1. Secondly, the use of “behold” and not “see” (the cognate of Douche *sibe*; R2.4; 3.8; 4.1). And thirdly, the use and retention of “sight” as an adaptation or partial rationalisation of the Hebrew idiom **בעיני**—in the eyes: Mostly used to convey the psychological or emotional perspective of the person concerned, the idiom occurs very often in the Hebrew bible, including three times in *Ruth*, all when Ruth is speaking: 2.2, 10, 13. Going to glean, Ruth will go “after him, *in whose sight* I shal finde favo^r”. The Douche and the Vulgate omit the key phrase, and Pagninus has a more literal *in cuius oculis*. Later, acknowledging Boaz’s assistance, Ruth tells him she has found “favoure in [his] sighte”—though Coverdale’s sources all have explicit eyes. Tyndale’s Genesis is full of similar examples: Gen 6.8 “Noe found grace in the syghte of the LORde”; 16.6: “hyr mastresse was despised in hyr syghte”; 18.3: “yf I have founde favoure in thy sight”.⁴⁷ In R2.13, there is a more literal rendering: Ruth asks to find further “favoure (syr) before thyne eyes”. Only on this last occasion, the rendering arrives as a direct translation of Coverdale’s immediate sources, and so parts company with the Matthew Bible where one finds, once again, “sight”.

2.3 Liturgical priming

Tyndale suggested that Englishing the Bible was virgin territory, but he was exaggerating. He may have been the first to work from the Hebrew, but sermons were preached in the vernacular, and ecclesiastical terminology often had established English forms (like the priests and churches Tyndale rejected). Tyndale’s readiness to pretend that such terms did not exist or were utterly unsuitable for the task was grounded in ideology, an act typical of reformer-translators.⁴⁸ Words like grace and mercy were part of ecclesiastical discourse, the established vernacular equivalents for

James’ translators sought to replicate the Hebrew genitive-construct, choosing the similarly Latinate “land of thy nativity”.

⁴⁷ Tyndale is freer in places; thus Gen 16.6, Abraham’s instruction that Sarah do whatever is good in her eyes becomes “do with hyr as it pleaseth thee”—a rendering that arrives almost intact in the King James version.

⁴⁸ Cf. Arblaster’s “Totius Mundi Emporium” on the deliberate use of alien terms for theological concepts as contrasted with the choice of ordinary vernacular vocabulary elsewhere in the biblical TTs; also Long, *Translating the Bible*. See also examples in **Chapter 4**.

the Latin Church's *gratias* and *miseri cordias*, and Coverdale was content to make use of them (see **Ch. 4, §4**). It may be that other phrases, like the 'death-departing' of R1.17 suggested themselves because they already belonged to a certain religious parlance.⁴⁹

2.4 Filling gaps

Ruth's words at R1.17 are ambiguous. Pledging herself to Naomi, she invokes *Yhwh*, desiring him to some unspecified act if she breaks her word. In literary terms, her words are a case of *aposiopesis*—she leaves the threat unspoken. Such ambiguity may be resolved by use of an appropriate idiom in the target language—consider Luther's "dis und das", and Tyndale's "so and so". Coverdale's "this and that" is very clearly Douche-driven, though the reader is still left to imagine the sense of Ruth's words.

The ellipsis could also be resolved by marginal annotation. Editing the Matthew Bible, John Rogers adapted a note from Lefevre's bible, explaining that Ruth's words were "a manner of swear yng":

Ceste parolle estoit la maniere de iurer aux Hebreux, comme nous disons, ainsy me vueille dieu ayder. 3. Roi. 2.⁵⁰ &c. & est ce proprement appelle protestation

The Lorde do so and so. &c. is a manner of swear yng amongst the Hebrues, As we now say so God be my healp. iii. Reg. xx. d.⁵¹ soche saynges are properly called protestacyons.

The cross-references are different, but explanation is closely paralleled, including the use of a technical term, 'protestation'. It is not impossible that this annotation partially serves as an apologetic—published at a time when Anabaptists contested oath-taking and various reformers disagreed over how to tackle this religious challenge to the civic order.⁵²

⁴⁹ The collocation of "death . . . depart", reflected in modern wedding liturgies in the words "till death do us part", certainly predates the early modern period. It is even possible that Ruth's words affected the English.

⁵⁰ 1 Kgs 2.23.

⁵¹ The corresponding text is at 1 Kgs 20.10, where the king of Syria swears by *elohim* using the same words, but with plural verb forms (i.e. the *elohim* are plural, "Gods" in the Matthew Bible): כה־יעשון לי אלהים וכה יוספו.

⁵² Evidence of ongoing Lollard sensitivity to swearing may be found in Nisbet's annotated New Testament; see Martin Holt Dotterweich, "A Book for Lollards and Protestants: Murdoch Nisbet's New Testament," in *Literature and the Scottish Reformation*, ed. Crawford Gribben and David George Mullan, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 233–45; and more generally, Henry G. Russell, "Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures," *American Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (1946): 668–84. Lefèvre had been in Strasbourg (as Wolfgang Capito's guest) shortly before the first Anabaptist refugee was prosecuted there and could not have remained unaware of the upset. See Guy Bedouelle, "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1460–1536)," in *The Reformation Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 21–2; and Robert Kreider, "The Anabaptists and the Civil Authorities of Strasbourg, 1525–1555," *Church History* 24, no. 2 (1955): 99–118. See also Emil G. Kraeling, *The Old Testament since the Reformation*, Lutterworth Library 47 (London: Lutterworth, 1955), 104–5. For a minimalist view of the Lollards' significance, see Rex, *The Lollards*.

2.5 From many to one

As a last example of Coverdale’s interpreters working alongside one another, consider this clause from R4.14, where the women tell Naomi: “the LORDE hath not suffred a kynsman to ceasse from the at this tyme”. One can trace “suffred” to the Vulgate’s *passus*, “ceasse” to Pagninus’ *cessare*, and “at this tyme” to the Douche, *zji diser zeyt*.⁵³ If Douche was his foundation, bricks were commonly sourced from other suppliers.

3 CONCLUSION

Scrutinising Coverdale’s work has shown his interaction with translators both ancient and contemporaneous. His task was not strictly representative of later translation projects because, lacking access to the ‘original’ text, he chose to consult a variety of versions. Because of his choices, and the relationships of dependence, Coverdale’s *Ruth* has provided a useful introduction to European translators’ negotiations with the process of vernacularisation—a window onto others’ encounter with the Hebrew text. Errors have been exposed (e.g. the veiling of Ruth at R3.3) together with other elements that raised questions about Hebrew competence and suggested tensions between traditional interpretation and the return *ad fontes*.

This Appendix has examined aspects of the translation of the whole book of *Ruth* through a single edition. The body of the associated thesis focuses at length on smaller elements of text, expanding the sphere of comparison and engaging with a wider range of sources.

⁵³ See also *cessabit* –cease (R3.18 Vg); and on R1.1, “In the time” above (Ch. 3, §4).

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Table 2.1: Textual relationships in EME *Ruth*: R1.2–4

	Wycliffite ^{LV}	Coverdale	Matthew	Great	Taverner	Geneva	Bishops 02	Douai	King James
R1.2	He was clepid Elymelech, and his wife Noemy , and the twey sons, the one was clepid Maalon, and the other Chelion, Efrateis of Bethleem of Juda; and thei entriden in to the country of Moab, and dwellden there.	which man was called EliMelech , and his wife Naemi , & — his two sonnes, the one Mahelon, and the other Chilion: these were Ephrates of Bethleem Iuda. And whan they came into the londe of the Moabites , they dwelt there.	The name of the man was Elimelec, and hys wyfe Noemi , and the names of his two sonnes were, Mahalon and Chilion & they were Ephraites, out of <i>Bethlehem</i> Juda. And when they came into <i>the</i> lande of Moab, they contynued there.	The name of the man was Elimelec, and the name of hys wyfe, Naomi : and the names of his two sonnes were, Mahlon and Chilion, and they were Ephraites, out of <i>Bethlehem</i> Juda. And when they came into the lande of Moab, they contynued there.	The name of the man was Elimelec, and his wyfe, Noemi : and the names of his two sonnes were, Mahalon and Chilion, and — were Ephraites — of <i>Bethlehem</i> Juda. And when they came in to the lande of Moab, they abode there.	² And the name of the man was Elimélech, and the name of his wife, Naomi : and the names of his two sonnes, — Mahlón , and Chión , — Ephrathites of Beth-léhem Iudáh: and when they came into the land of Moab, they continued there.	² The name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife Naomi , and the names of his two sonnes were Mahlon , and Chilion, — Ephraites, out of <i>Bethlehem</i> Juda: and when they came into the land of Moab, they continued there.	² himself was called Elimelech, and his wife, Noemi : and his two sonnes, the one Mahalon, and the other Chelion, Ephraites of Bethleem Iuda. And entring into the country of Moab, they abode there.	² And the name of the man was Elimelech, and the name of his wife, Naomi , and the name of his two sonnes, — Mahlon , and Chilion , — Ephrathites of <i>Bethlehem</i> [sic] Iudah: and — they came into the country of Moab, and — continued there.

Table 2.1 (cont.)

R1.3	And Elymelech, the husband of Noemy, died, and she left with the sons;	And EliMelech Naemis hussbande dyed, & she was left behinde with hir two sonnes,	And Elemilec [sɪ] Noemies husband dyed, and she remayned with her two sonnes	And Elimilec [sɪ] Naomies husband dyed, and she remayned with her two sonnes,	And Elimelec Noemies husbande dyed, and she remayned with her two sonnes,	³ Then Elimélech the husband of Naomí died, and she remayned with her two sonnes,	³ And Elimelech Naomies husband died, and she remained with her two sonnes:	³ And Elimelech the husband of Noemi died: and she remained with her sonnes	³ And Elimelech Naomies husband died, and shee was left, and her two sonnes;
R1.4	and they took wives of Moab, of which wives one was clepid Orpha , the other Ruth. And the sons dwelliden there — ten year,	which toke Moabitish wyves — : the one was called Arpa , — the other Ruth. And when they had dwelt there — ten yeare,	which toke <i>them</i> wyves of the nacions of the Moabites: the ones name Orphah and the others Ruth. And when they had dwelled there aboute a ten yere . . .	which toke <i>them</i> wyves of the nacions of the Moabites: the ones name was Orpha , & the others Ruth. And — they — dwelled there aboute a ten yere.	whiche toke <i>them</i> wyves of the nacions of the Moabites: the ones name Orpha , & thothers Ruth. And when they had dwelled there aboute the space of ten yeres, . . .	⁴ Which tooke <i>them</i> wives of the — Moabites: the ones name was Orpáh , and the name of the other Ruth: and — they — dwelled there about — ten yeeres.	⁴ Which tooke <i>them</i> wives of the — Moabites: the ones name was Orpha , and the others Ruth: and they dwelled there about — ten yeeres.	⁴ Who tooke <i>wives of the</i> Moabites of the which one was called Orpha , and the other Ruth. And they abode there — ten yeares,	⁴ And they tooke <i>them</i> wives of the — women of Moab: the name of the one was Orpah , and the name of the other Ruth: and — they — dwelled there about — ten yeeres.

Tables and figures

Table 2.2: *dbq* | דבֿק in Ruth

Date	Version	R1.14	R2.8	R2.21	R2.23
	MT	דבקה בה	תדבֿקין עם	עם־הנער־ים... תדבֿקין	ותדבֿק בנערות
	LXX	ἠκολούθησεν	κολλήθητι μετὰ	προσκολλήθητι	προσεκολλήθη
	Vulgate	adhaesit	Iungere	iungerer	Iuncta est
1380	Wycliffite ^{EV}	clevede to	be ioyned to	be ioyned to	ioyned to
1390	Wycliffite ^{LV}	clevyde to ¹	be ioyned to	be ioyned to	ioyned to
1535	Coverdale	abode styl by	tary with	resorte unto	kept herself with
1537	Matthew	aboade still by	abyde by	continew <i>witb</i>	kept her by
1539	Great	aboade styl by	abyde here by	be <i>witb</i>	kept her by
1560	Geneva	abode stil with	abide here by	be <i>witb</i>	kept her by
1568	Bishops	abode still by	abyde here by	be with	kept her by
1602	Bishops <i>ms</i>	--	add. fast	subst. keep fast by	--
1609	Douai	cleaved to	ioyne thy selfe to	ioyne to	ioyned her self to
1611	KJB	clave unto	abide here fast by	keepe fast by	kept fast by

¹ Forshall & Madden record one exception in their collation of more than thirty manuscripts, “I” or MS Bodley 277. See F&M 1:679.

Table 2.3: *ne'arim, ne'arot* | נערים, נערות and implicit subjects in English and Latin versions

Heavy type indicates deviation from basic Hebrew denotation.

Date	Version	R2.8 (KJ): <i>abide fast by...</i>	R2.9a <i>commanded...</i>	R2.9b <i>...shall touch</i>	R2.15 <i>commanded...</i>	R2.21 <i>keep fast by...</i>	R2.22a <i>go out with...</i>	R2.22b <i>...meet thee</i>	R2.23 <i>kept fast by...</i>
	MT	נערתי my young-women	את־הנערים the youths	לבלתי נגעך not [he/she/one]	את־נערי (the) youths-of-him	עם־הנערים with the youths	עם־נערותיו with his young-women	[יפגעו] [he/she]	בנערות בעז on the young-women of
	Vulgate	puellis meis	pueris meis	nemo	pueris suis	messoribus	puellis eius	quispiam	puellis Booz
1380	Wycliffite ^{EV}	my childre[n] wymmen	my children	noon	his children	the repers of hym	the childre wymmen of	eny man	the childre wymmen of
1390	Wycliffite ^{LV}	my dameselis	my children	no man	hise children	hise reperis	hise damysels	ony man	the damesels of
1535	Coverdale	my damsels	my servants	no man	his servants	my servants	his damsels	any man	Boos' damsels
1537	Matthew	my maydens	the young men	they	<i>the young men</i>	his young men	his maydens	no man	the maidens of
1539	Great	my maydens	the young men	they	his young men	my young men	his maidens	they	the maydens of
1560	Geneva	my maydens	the servants	they	his servants	my servants	his maides	they	the maides of
1568	Bishops	my maydens	the yong men	they	his yong men	my yong men	his maydens	they	the maidens of
1609	Douai	my maides	my servautes	no man	his servantes	the reapers	his maides	some	the maides of
1611	KJB	my maidens	the young men	they	his young men	my young men	his maidens	they	the maidens of
1528	Pagninus	puellis meis	Pueris	non	pueris suis	pueris . . . mihi	puellis eius	non	puellis Bóhaz
1535	Münster	puellis meis	Pueris	non	pueris suis	pueris meis	ancillis eius	non	puellis Boaz
1543	Jud	puellis meis	Pueris	[<i>pueris</i>] ne	pueris suis	pueris meis	puellis eius	ne quis	puellis Boas
1551	Castellius	meas operaria	Operarijs	[<i>operarijs</i>] ne	operis suis	suos operarios	eius operarias	ne	Boozi famulas
1558	Isaac	puellis meis	Pueris	[<i>pueris</i>] ne	pueris suis	pueris . . . mihi	puellis eius	non	puellis Boaz
1572	Montanus	puellis meis	pueris	non	pueris suis	pueris . . . mihi	puellis eius	non	puellis Bohaz
1578	Lavater	puellis meis	Famulis	[<i>famulis</i>] ne	famulis suis	Pueris ipsis . . . mei	puellis eius	ne	puellis Boaz
1580	Trem-Jun.	puellis meis	Pueris	[<i>pueris</i>] ne	pueris suis	istis pueris . . . mei	puellis ejus	non	puellis Bohazi
1586	Drusius	puellis meis	pueris istis	[<i>pueris</i>] ne	pueris suis	pueris meis	puellis ejus	non	puellis Boozi

Table 3.1: Ruth 1.1 in EME bibles

Heavy type indicates black letter/gothic font in original. Regular type indicates roman font. *Italic* text indicates expansions.

MT	WYCLIFFITE (LV, c. 1390) ¹	COVERDALE (1535)	MATTHEW (<i>TYNDALE</i>)	GREAT (1539)	GENEVA (1560)	BISHOPS (1568) ²	DOUAI (1609)	KING JAMES (1611)
ויהי בימי שפט השפטים ויהי רעב בארץ וילך איש מבית לחם יהודה לגור בשדי מואב הוא ואשתו ושני בניו	In the daies of o iuge, whanne iugis weren sovereynes, hungur was maad in the lond; and a man of Bethleem of Juda Gede to be a pylgrym in the cuntrei of Moab, with his wifj and twey fre sones.	IN <i>the</i> time whan the Judges ruled, there was a derth in the londe. And there wente a <i>man</i> from Bethleem Juda to take his iourney in to the londe of the Moabites <i>with</i> his wife and two sonnes,	IN the tyme when the Judges iudged / there felle a dardh in the lande. Wherfore a certen man of Bethlehem Juda went for to soiourne in the countreie of Moab with his wyfe and two sonnes.	IT fortunod, that* (in the dayes of a certayne iudge when the Judges iudged, there fell a dardh in the lande, and a certen man of Bethlehem Juda went for to soiourne in <i>the</i> contreie of Moab. he and hys wyfe, and his two sonnes	1 IN the time that the iudges ” ruled, there was a dearth in the ^a land, and a <i>man</i> of Beth-léhem ^b Iudáh went for to soiourne in the countrei of Moáb, he, and his wife, and his two sonnes.	1 IT came to passe, that when the iudges “ ruled, there fel a dearth in the ^(a) land, & a certein man of Bethlehem ^(b) Juda, went for to soiourne in the countrey of Moab, he and his wyfe, and his two sonnes.	1 IN the dayes of one Iudge, when the Iudges ruled, there came a famine in the Land. And there went a man of Bethleem Iuda, to seiourne in the land of Moab with his wife, and two children.	1 NOW it came to passe in the dayes when <i>the</i> Judges † ruled, that there was a famine in the lande: and a certeine man of Bethlehem Judah went to soiourne in the countrey of Moab, he, and his wife, and his two sonnes.
					” Ebr. iudged. a In the land of Canáan. b in <i>the</i> tribe of Iudáh, which was also called Beth- léhem Ephráthah, because there was another citie so called in the tribe of Zebulún.	“ Heb. iudged. (a) That is, the lande of Chanaan. (b) In the tribe of Juda: for there was another Bethlehem in the tribe of Zabulon.		† Hebr. iudged.

¹ **F&M.** Wycliffite EV: In the days of oon iuge, whanne the iugis weren before in power, there is maad greet hungre in the erthe; and o man of Bethlem Juda wente for to pilgrymage in the regioun of Moabitide, with his wifj and his two free children.

² Setting aside orthography, the 1602 edition differs in three respects: the initial letter of “iudges” is capitalised (“Judges”); the comment on the Hebrew text is marked by a double-dagger (‡) rather than the Genevan-style quotation mark; and “certein” (1602: “certaine”) is presented in a smaller typeface, indicating that it is an expansion.

Table 3.2: Ruth chapter summaries in EME bibles

Colours highlight overlap between versions: red indicates original to Coverdale; green Matthew; purple Geneva; and blue Douai.

Underlining marks differences between the Bishops 1568 and Geneva versions.³

	Coverdale ⁴	Matthew ⁵	Great	Geneva	Bishops ³	Douai	King James
R1	Elimelech departeth from Bethleem with his wife and two sonnes in to the londe of the Moabites, where the father dyeth and both the sonnes. Ruth the wife of the one sonne goeth home with hir mother in lawe.	Elimelec gothe wyth his wyfe and chyldren in to the lande of Moab. After his death hys wyfe Noemi returneth a gayne in to her contrey/ & with her Ruth her daughter in lawe.	Elimelec goeth with his wyfe and chyldren into the lande of Moab.	1 Elimélech goeth with his wife and childre into the land of Moab. 3 <u>He and</u> his sonnes dye. 19 Naomi and Ruth come to Beth-léhem.	1 Elimelech goeth with his wyfe and children into the lande of Moab. 3 <u>And</u> his sonnes dye. 19 Naomi and Ruth come to Bethlehem.	1 By occasion of famine Elimelech going with his wife Noemi, and two sonnes, into the Land of Moab, there dieth. 4. His sonnes marrie wives of that countrie, and die without issue. 6. Noemi returning homewardes hardly perswadeth one of her daughters in law, to part from her. 15. The other, called Ruth, wil needes goe with her, professing the same God and Religion. 19. So these two arrive in Bethleem.	1 Elimelech driven by famine into Moab, dieth there. 4 Mahlon and Chilion, having married wives of Moab, die also. 6 Naomi returning homeward, 8 disswadeth her two daughters in law from going with her. 14 Orpah leaveth her, but Ruth with great constancie accompanieth her. 19 They two come to Bethlehem, where they are gladly received.
R2	Ruth gathereth up eaes of corne in the felde of Boos hir houssbandes kynsman.	Ruth leaseth corne in the feldes of Booz & fyndeth favour in hys syght.	Ruth gathereth corne in the feldes of Booz.	1 Ruth gathereth corne in the fields of Bóaz 15 The gentlenes of Bóaz toward her.	1 Ruth gathered corne in the feldes of Booz. 15 The gentilnes of Booz toward her.	1 Ruth gathering eares of corne in Booz field, 8. he kindly biddeth her tarie with his servants. 17. At night she returneth carrying good quantitie of corne, and part of the meate, which they gave her, to her mother in law.	1 Ruth gleaneth in the fields of Boaz. 4 Boaz taking knowledge of her, 8 sheweth her great favour. 18 That which she got, shee carieth to Naomi.

³ The 1568 Bps follows Gva so closely that differences are underlined, and similarities highlighted only where these are shared with other version(s). 1602 Bps matches Gva exactly.

⁴ These summaries were based on Zurich 1534; see analysis in **Appendix Pt I.**

⁵ The same text appears in Taverner and Becke's revisions.

Table 3.2 (cont.)

<p>R3</p>	<p>Ruth lyeth her downe in the barne at Boos fete, and he geveith to her good wordes, and ladeth her with sixe measures of barlye.</p>	<p>Ruth sleapeth at Booz fete / & is knowen his kinswoman. –</p>	<p>Ruth sle[e]peth at Booz fete and is knowen his kinswoman.</p>	<p>1 Naomí giveth Ruth counsel. 8 She slepeth at Bóaz fete. 12 He acknowledgeth him selfe to be her kinseman</p>	<p>1 Naomi geveith Ruth counsel. 8 She slepeth at Booz feete. 12 He acknowledgeth him selfe to be her kinseman</p>	<p>1 Ruth instructed by her mother in law sleepeth at Booz feete, 8. and signifying that she perteyneth to him by the law of affinitie, receiveth a good answer, 14. and six measures of barley.</p>	<p>1 By Naomi her instruction, 5 Ruth lieth at Boaz his feete. 8 Boaz acknowledgeth the right of a kinseman. 14 Hee sendeth her away with sixe measures of barley.</p>
<p>R4</p>	<p>Boos marieth Ruth, which beareth him Obed Davids graundfather.</p>	<p>Booz taketh Ruth to wyfe / of whom he begetteth Obed.</p>	<p>Booz taketh Ruth to wyfe, of whom he begetteth Obed.</p>	<p>1 Bóaz speaketh to Ruths next kinseman touching her mariage. 7 The ancient custome in Israél. 10 Bóaz maryeth Ruth, of whome he begetteth Obéd. 18 The generation of Phárez.</p>	<p>1 Booz speaketh to Ruths next kinseman touching her mariage. 7 The ancient custome in Israel. 10 Booz marieth Ruth, of whom he begetteth Obed. 18 The generation of Pharez.</p>	<p>1 Booz before the ancientes of the citie (the nearer kinsman refusing) possesseth the inheritance of Elimelech, 10. and marieth Ruth. 13. Hath by her a sonne, the grandfather of David. 18. Whose genealogie by this occasion is recited, from Phares the sonne of Iudas the patriarch.</p>	<p>1 Boaz calleth into iudgment the next kinseman. 6 He refuseith the redemption according to the maner in Israel. 9 Boaz buyeth the inheritance. 11 He marieth Ruth. 13 She beareth Obed the grandfather of David. 18 The generation of Pharez.</p>

Table 4.1: Translations of *elohim* and *yhwh* in R1.13-15Plural forms are shown in **heavy type**; **blue** indicates translations of *yhwh* not meaning 'lord'.

Date	Version	R1.15	R1.16	R1.17
	MT	אלהיה	ואלהיך אלהי	יהוה
	LXX	τους θεους	ὁ θεός	κύριος
(1528)	Vulgate ^(VUS)	deos	deus	<i>deus</i>
1380	Wycliffite ^{EV}	goddis	God	God
1395	Wycliffite ^{LV}	goddis	God	God
1466	Mentelin	goettern	got	Got
1477	Delft	goden	god	god
1478	Koln	ghaeden	g[h]od	god
1494	Lubeck	goeden	god	ghod
1522	Complutensian Polygl.	deos	deus	DOMINI
1522	Halberstadt	goedden	god	god
1524	Luther <i>ms</i>	Gott	Gott	Der herr
1524	Luther 24	Got	Gott	der HERR
1525	<i>Boeschenstein</i>	goettern	Got	Got
1526	Liesvelt	God	God	die HERE
1528	Pagninus	deos	deus	dominus
1528	Vorsterman	goden <i>m. the. God</i>	God	die HEERE
1530	Lefèvre	dieux	Dieu	Dieu
1531	Zurich	Gott	Gott	der HERR
1532	Brucioli	Iddii	I'iddio	il Signore
1533	Bugenhausen	Gade	Godt	de HERE
1534	Luther	Gott	Gott	der HERR
1534	Vorsterman	goeden <i>m. theb. God</i>	God	die HEERE
1534	Zurich	Gott	Gott	der HERR
1535	Coverdale	god	God	The LORDE
1535	Münster	deos	deus	dominus
1535	Olivétan	dieux	Dieu	le Seigne ^m
1536	<i>Brenz</i>	[--]	Deus	[--]
1537	Eck	goetern	GOTT	GOTT
1537	Matthew	God	God	Lorde
1539	Brucioli	Iddii	I'iddio	il Signore
1539	Great	goddz	God	The Lorde
1540	Marc.-Mor	dieux	Dieu	le Seigne ^m
1541	Luther	Gott	Gott	der HERR
1542	Liesvelt	God	God	de HERE
1543	Jud	deos	deus	DOMINVS
1545	Luther	Gott	Gott	der HERR
1548	Leuven	goden	Godt	God
1551	Castellius	penates	Deus	Iova

Table 4.1 (cont.)

Date	Version	R1.15	R1.16	R1.17
1551	Genève	dieux	Dieu	le Seigneur
1553	Ferrara	dioses	Dio	A[donai].
1555	Châteillon	dieux	Dieu	le Seigneur
1558	<i>Isaac</i>	Deum	Deus	Deus
1560	Biestkens	Godt	Godt	de HEEre
1560	Geneva	gods	God	the Lord
1562	Barbier-Courteau	dieux	Dieu	le Seigneur
1562	Deux Aes	Gode	God	de Heere
1562	Rustici	dii	Dio	il Signore
1568	Bishops	gods	God	the Lord
1569	Reina	dioses	Dios	Iehova
1572	Montanus	deos	deus	DOMINVS
1578	<i>Lavater</i>	Deos	Deus	Iehova
1580	Tremellius-Junius	Deos	Deus	Jehova
1586	<i>Drusius</i>	deos	Deus	Dominus
1586	<i>Pagitt</i>	Gods	God	the Lord
1588	Beza	dieux	Dieu	l'Éternel
1592	Clem. Vulgate ^[BW]	deos	Deus	Deus
1602	Reina-Valera	dioses	Dios	Iehova
1607	Diodati	dij	Dios	il Signore
1609	Douai	goddess	God	God
1611	KJB	gods	God	the LORD
1637	Statenvertaling	Goden	Godt	de HEERE

Table 4.2: Translations of *chesed* in early modern bibles

		R1.8 “the LORD deal <i>chesed</i> with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me” ¹	R2.20 “Blessed be he of the LORD, who hath not left off his <i>chesed</i> to the living and to the dead”	R3.10 “Blessed be thou of the LORD, my daughter: for thou hast shewed more <i>chesed</i> ...”
MT		חסד	חסד	חסד
LXX		ἔλεος	ἔλεος	ἔλεος
Vulgate		misericordiam	gratiam	misericordiam
Wycliffite ^{LV}	1395	mercy	grace	mercy
Luther ²	1524	barmherzigkeit	barmherzigkeit	barmherzigkeit
<i>Boechenstein</i>	1525	gnade	gnade	gnade
Pagninus ³	1528	misericordiam	misericordiam	misericordiam
Lefèvre	1530	misericorde	grace	misericorde
Brucioli	1532	misericordia	misericordia	misericordia
Vorsterman	1534	ontfermherticheit	ontfermherticheit	ontfermherticheit
VUS margin	1534	--	misericordiam	--
Zurich	1534	barmherzigkeit	barmherzigkeit	barmherzigkeit
Coverdale	1535	mercy	merciful	mercy
Münster	1535	pietatem	pietatem	pietate
Olivétan	1535	grace	misericorde	grace
Matthew	1537	kindly	goodness	goodness
Eck	1537	barmherzigkeit	gnade	barmherzigkeit
Great	1539	kindly	good	goodness
Jud	1543	pietatem	pietate	pietatem
Leuven	1548	barmherticheyt	gratie	barmherticheyt
Castellius	1551	pietatem	beneficientem	pietatem
Genève	1553	grace	bonté	grace
Châteillon	1555	le bien	bien	vertu
<i>Isaac</i>	1558	beneficientiam	beneficientiam	beneficientiam
Geneva	1560	favour	good	goodness
Barb-Court.	1562	grace	bonte	grace
Rustici	1562	misericordia	pieta	pieta
Reina	1569	misericordia	misericordia	gracia
<i>Lawater</i>	1578	misericordiam	misericordiam	pietatem
Tremellius	1580	benignitatem	benignitatem	benignitatem
<i>Drusius</i>	1586	misericordiam	misericordiam	benignitatem (pietate(m))
Beza	1588	gratuité	gratuité	gratuité
Bishops	1602	kindly	good	goodness
Reina-Valera	1602	misericordia	misericordia	gracia
Diodati	1607	benignita	benignita	gracia
Douai	1609	mercy	grace	mercy
KJ	1611	kindly	kindness	kindness

¹ Text based on the 1611 KJV.

² There is no change in later versions; orthography has been regularised (so also for Zurich).

³ So also Montanus (1572).

Table 5.1: Translations of *eshet chayil*, R3.11

Douche versions (1524-1545)			Ancient versions		
1466	Mentelin	weip der tugent		Hebrew	אשת חיל
1475	Pflanzman	weib der tugent		LXX	γυνή δυνάμεως
1477	Delft	wijf van duechden		Vulgate	mulierem [te esse] virtutis
1483	Koberg	weyb der tugent		Targum	אינתתא צדיקת[א]א[נ]ת ואית ביך חילא לסוברא ניר פיקודיא דיי
1494	Lubeck	wif der doeghet			
1522	Halberstadt	wyff der doget	16 th -century Latin versions (incl. <i>commentaries</i>)		
1524	Luther (1a)	tugentsam weyb	1528	Pagninus	mulier virtuosa
1525	Luther (1b)	tugentsam weyb	1535	Münster	mulier sis virtutis
1525	Böschenstein	<i>biderweib</i>	1543	Jud	mulier ...virtutis <i>praedita</i>
1526	Liesvelt	duechdelick wijf	1551	Castellius	mulier ...virtutis <i>praeditam</i>
1530	Zurich	<i>dapffer fromm</i> weib	1558	<i>Isaac</i>	mulier <i>praedita</i> virtute
1531	Zurich	<i>tapffer fromm</i> weyb	1572	Montanus	mulier virtutis
1533	Bugenhagen	doegtsame frouwe	1578	<i>Lavater</i>	mulier <i>proba</i> sis
1534	Zurich	<i>tapffer fromm</i> weyb	1580	Trem-Jun	<i>foeminam ...^c strenuam</i>
1534	Vorsterman	duechdelijck wijf	1586	<i>Drusius</i>	mulierem virtutis
1537	Eck	tugent <i>reich</i> weib	English versions (-1611)		
1534	Luther (2)	tugentsam weib	C14 th	Wycliffite	womman of vertu
1541	Luther (3)	tugentsam Weib	1535	Coverdale	vertuous woman
1545	Luther (4)	tugentsam Weib	1537	Matthew	woman of vertue
1548	Leuven	duechdelijcke vrouwe	1539	Great	woman of vertue
1560	Biestkens	duechdelijck wijf	1560	Geneva	vertuous woman
1562	Deux-Aesbijbel	deuchdelick wijf	1568	Bishops	woman of vertue
1637	Statenvertaling	deugdelijke vrouw	1609	Douai	woman of vertue
Tuscan, Italian			1611	King James	virtuous woman
1532	Brucioli	donna virtuosa	French		
1539	Brucioli	donna virtuosa	1530	Lefèvre	femme de vertu
1562	Rustici	donna da <i>bene</i>	1535	Olivétan	femme vertueuse
1607	Diodati	donna di <i>valore</i> ¹	1540	Marc.-Mor	femme vertueuse
Ladino, Spanish			1551	Genève	femme vertueuse
1553	Ferrara	muger de virtud	1555	Châteillon	<i>vaillante</i> femme
1569	Reina	muger virtuosa	1562	Barb-Crt.	femme vertueuse
1602	Reina-Valera	muger virtuosa	1588	Beza	femme vertueuse

¹ The text of Diodati's 1641 edition is identical in this and the other *chayil* samples (with the possible exception of **Table 5.4** where the 1641 edition has not been sampled).

Table 5.2: Translations of *chayil* women (chronologically)

Virtue and cognates shown in **blue**. Agreements highlighted in **heavy type**; non-virtue agreements in **red**.

Language groups are indicated in the far-left column. Agreements are coded according to patterns of agreement (see far-right column).

v = Vulgate-influence. **a**: R3.11/P12.4. **b**: R3.11/P31.10. **c**: R3.11/P31.29. **d**: P12.4/P31.10. **e**: P12.4/P31.29. **f**: P31.10/P31.29. **i**: *chayil* translated by 2 TL words.

Date	Version	R3.11	Prov 12.4	Prov 31.10	Prov 31.29	Code
H	Hebrew MT	אשת חיל	אשת־חיל	אשת־חיל	[רבות בנות] עשו חיל	abcdef
G	C3 _{BCE} LXX	γυνή δυνάμεως	γυνή <i>ἀνδρεία</i>	γυναῖκα <i>ἀνδρείαν</i>	ἐκτέησαντο πλοῦτον πολλὰ ἐποίησαν δυνατά	d
L	c400 Vulgate (Steph.)	mulierem te esse <i>virtutis</i>	Mulier diligens	Mulierem fortem	congregaverunt divitias	v
A	C3-8 _{CE} Targum (Solger <i>m</i>) ¹	אינתתא צדיקת אנת ואית בך חילא לסוברא ניר פיקודיא דיי:י ²	איתתא כשירתא	איתתא כשירתא	סגיען בנתא דקניי עותרא ואת 1 עבדת 2 עברת על כולהן:	
E	1382 Wycliffite (F&M)	woman of <i>virtue</i>	a bisi / diligent womman	A strong womman...? ³	gadereden riches	v
D	1466 Mentelin	ein weip der <i>tugent</i>	Das weip dz do lieb hat	das starck weip?	samenten die reichum	v
D	1524 Luther (Phase 1) ⁴	<i>tugentsam</i> weyb	redlich	eyn redlich weyb...?	bringen reichum zusamen	d
D	1528 Vorsterman	<i>duechdelijck</i> wijf	Een redelijc wijf	een starcke vrouwe	verghaderden rijcdom tsamen	v
L	1528 Pagninus	mulier <i>virtuosa</i>	Mulier fortis	Muliere <i>fortem</i> ...?	fecerunt divitias	d
F	1530 Lefèvre	fem m e de <i>vertu</i>	La femme diligente	la forte femme?	ont assemble riches	v
D	1530 Zurich	dapffer fromm weyb	Ein redlich weib	ein redlich weib...?	bringend reyhtag zusamen	d
D	1531 Zurich	tapffer fromm weyb	Ein redlich weyb	ein fromm biderb weyb	sind die reyhtag uberkummend	b ⁱ
T	1532 Brucioli	donna <i>virtuosa</i>	La donna <i>virtuosa</i>	donna di <i>virtu</i> ?	feciono riccheza	abd

¹ On the influence of the Solger manuscript (Nurnberg) on the sixteenth-century Bomberg editions see Beattie, “The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth.”

² Brady translates “you are a righteous woman and there is in you strength to bear the yoke of the commandments of the LORD.” The BW text indicates a variant (את for אנת) and a proposed amendment (final *aleph* on אנת, correcting the adjectival gender).

³ Some manuscripts record the Hebrew acrostic (“Aleph”) and begin with these words; others begin “Who will find...?” See F&M.

⁴ Proverbs appeared in two printings of Luther’s *Dritte Theyl* (volume 3 of the OT; catalogued as c.1.2), and two printings of the Solomonic oeuvre (Ausl. a.1.2). Cf. Bindseil & Niemeyer, Vol. 3 *ad loc.* Date given is for publication of Ruth.

Table 5.2 (continued)

	Date	Version	R3.11	Prov 12.4	Prov 31.10	Prov 31.29	Code
D	1533	Bugenhagen	dogentsame frouwe	Eyne redelyke frouwe	eine redelike frouwen ..?	bringen ryckdoem thosamende	d
D	1534	Vorsterman	een duechdelijck wijf	Een redelijck wijf	een stercke vrouwe...?	verghaderden rijckdom tsamen	V
D	1534	Zurich	tapffer fromm weyb	Ein redlich weib	ein fromm biderb weyb	sind die reyhtag ueberkommend	b ⁱ
D	1534	Luther (Phase 2)	tugentsam weib	Ein vleissig weib	Wem ein tugentsam weib	bringen reichtum	b
E	1535	Coverdale	virtuous woman	A stedfast woman	an honest faithful woma ⁿ	there be yt gather riches together	0 ⁱ
L	1535	Münster	mulier sis virtutis	* Mulier sedula ...mulierem fortem & strenuam in actionibus suis, & muliebri mollicie non dissoluitur...	Mulierem * fortem...? ...mulierem rectam & integram seu virtute praeditam. Describit autem hic officia mulieris matrisfamilias...	paraverunt opes	0
F	1535	Olivétan	femme vertueuse	La femme vertueuse	Qui trouvera la femme vertueuse ?*	preparez les biens	abd
E	1537	Matthew	woman of virtue	A steadfast woman	an honest faythfull woman	there be that gather riches together	0 ⁱ
D	1537	Eck	tugentreich weib	Ain liebhabende fraw-	Ain fraw-en starck...?	reichthum gesamlet	V(c)
E	1539	Great	woman of virtue	A huswifly woma ⁿ	an honest faythfull woman	there be that gather riches together	0 ⁱ
T	1539	Brucioli	donna virtuosa	La donna virtuosa	donna di virtu ...?	feciono riccheza	abd
F	1540	Marcourt-Morand	femme vertueuse	femme vertueuse ou, diligente	femme vertueuse	preparent les biens	abd
D	1541	Luther	tugentsam Weib	Ein vleissig Weib heuslich	Wem ein Thugentsam Weib	bringen Reichtum	b
D	1542	Liesvelt	duechdelijck wijf	Een redelijc wijf	een redelick wijf	bringhen rijckdom te samen	d
L	1543	Jud	mulier ... virtutis praedita	Mulier virtutibus * praedita Alii sedula	* Foeminam virtute praeditam Alii legunt per interrogationem, Quis inveniet?	pararunt opes	abd ⁱ
D	1545	Luther ^[BW]	tugendsam Weib	Ein fleißig Weib	ein tugendsam Weib	bringen Reichtum	b
D	1548	Leuven	duechdelijcke vrouwe	Een naerstighe vrouwe	een stercke vrouwe	hebben rijckdommen vergadert	V
F	1551	Genève	femme vertueuse	La femme vertueuse	une femme vertueuse ?	preparent les biens	abd
L	1551	Castellius	mulierem virtute praedita ^m	Strenua mulier	Strenuam mulierem	rem fecerunt	d
S	1553	Ferrara	muger de virtud	muger sollicita	Muger de fonsado	fizieron aver	0
F	1555	Châteillon	villante femme	Une femme vertueuse	une villante femme?	acquierent des biens	b
D	1560	Biestkens	duechdelijck wijf	Een * neerstich wijf Huyselijck.	een duechtsaem wijf	bringhen rijckdom te samen	b
E	1560	Geneva	virtuous woman	A virtuous woman	a virtuous woman?	have done virtuously	abcdef

Table 5.2 (continued)

	Date	Version	R3.11	Prov 12.4	Prov 31.10	Prov 31.29	Code
F	1562	Barbier-Courteau	femme vertueuse	La femme vertueuse	une vaillante femme?	ont préparé des biens	a
I	1562	Rustici	donna da bene	La donna virtuosa	una donna forte	hanno acquistate ricchezze	0
D	1562	Deux-Aes	deuch delick wijf	Een * vlijtighe vrouwe And. huyslicke vrouwe	een deuch saem wijf	brenghen rijckdom te samen	b
E	1568	Bishops	woman of vertue	A * huswifely woman or, virtuous	an honest faythfull woman	[there be that] gather riches together	0 ⁱ
S	1569	Reina	muger virtuosa	La muger * virtuosa Diligente. Heb. fuerte.	Muger * valiente..? [Valerosa]	hizieron riquezas	a
L	1572	Montanus	mulier virtutis	mulier virtutis	mulierem virtutis	multae filiae fecerunt virtutem	abcdef
L	1580	Tremellius-Junius	foeminam ... * strenuam [Heb. strenuitatis]	* Uxor ** strenua *qualis describitur ios. cap. xl. timo. **Heb. roboris	* Foeminam ** strenuam ..? *encomium mulieris... ..assiduis precibus piam uxorem exoraret... .. strenuae mulieri... **Heb. roboru.	* multae, ** foeminae fecerunt strenue	abcdef
F	1588	Beza	femme vertueuse	* La femme vaillante c'(est) la femme mesnagere, à laquelle est opposee celle qui ayant honte de se mefier de son mesnage fait honte auz siens.	*... ** une vaillante femme? * Ceste louange & declaration des vertues de la femme mesnagere... **voyez sus 12.4	se sont portees vaillamment	def
S	1602	Reina-Valera	muger virtuosa	La muger * virtuosa Diligente. Heb. fuerte.	* Muger ** valiente..? *Ar. 12.4. ** Valerosa	hizieron riquezas	a
I	1607	Diodati	donna di valore	La donna valorosa	una donna di valore ?	hanno operato valorosamente	abcdef
E	1609	Douai	woman of vertue	A diligent woman diligent industrie	A valiant woman * ..? A woman of such perfection as is here described, is in dede rare, yet possible to be found.	have gathered together riches	v
E	1611	KJ	virtuous woman	A virtuous woman	[can] a virtuous woman?	have done virtuously	abcdef
D	1637	Statenvertaling ^[BW]	een deugdelijke vrouw	Een kloeke huisvrouw	een deugdelijke huisvrouw	hebben deugdelijke gehandeld	bcf

Table 5.3: Translations of *ish gibbor chayil*, R2.1

Virtue and cognates shown in blue.

Douche versions (1466, 1524-1637)			English and other versions (-1611)		
1466	Mentelin	gewaltiger mensch und michler reychtumb		Hebrew	איש גבור חיל
				LXX	ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἰσχύι
1524	Luther <i>ms</i> (0)	<i>mechtig am gutt</i>		Vulgate	homo potens, et magnarum opum
1524	Luther (1a)	streytbar hellt		Targum	גבר גיבר תקיפ
1525	Luther (1b)	redlicher man			
1525	Böschenstein	ein man ein starcker und reycher	C14 th	Wycliffite Scheide M12	a myצti man, & a man of greet richessis
1526	Liesvelt	redelick man	1528	Pagninus	vir potens divitiis
1533	Bugenhagen	redelick man	1535	Coverdale	an honest man
1534	Zurich	redlicher mann	1535	Münster	virum fortem & strenuum
1534	Vorsterman	machtich man ende rijck van geode	1537	Matthew	man of might
1534	Luther (2)	ehrlicher man	1539	Great	[kinsman] of strength, and might
1537	Eck	mechtig mensch, und grosser reichthum	1543	Jud	quendam fortem opulentumque
1540	Luther <i>ms</i> (0)	<i>mechtiger [man]</i>	1551	Castellius	hominem militarem
1541	Luther (3)	weidlicher man	1558	Isaac	vir strenuus in <i>virtute</i>
1545	Luther (3)	weidlicher Mann	1560	Geneva	one of great power That is, both for <i>virtue</i> , authoritie and riches.
1548	Leuven	machtich man was, ende van grooten rijcdommen	1568	Bishops	man of power and wealth
			1572	Montanus	potens <i>virtute</i>
			1578	Lavater	virum str[e]nuum
1560	Biestkens	redelijck man	1580	Tremellius	vir valens facultatibus
1562	Deux Aes	redelick ende vermoghen man	1586	Drusius	vir opum potens
			1609	Douai	mightie man, and of great riches
1637	Statenvertaling	man, geweldich van vermogen	1611	King James	mighty man of wealth
French versions			Tuscan, Italian		
1530	Lefèvre	homme puissant & de grandes richesses	1532	Brucioli	huomo potente di <i>virtu</i>
			1539	Brucioli	huomo potente di faculta
1535	Olivétan	h. puissant en biens	1562	Rustici	huomo potente
1540	Marc.-Mor	h. puissant en biens	1607	Diodati	huomo possente di facultà
1551	Genève	h. puissant en biens	Spanish		
1555	Châteillon	h. de guerre	1553	Ferrara	varon barragan de fonsado
1562	Barbier-Court.	h. puissant en biens	1569	Reina	varon poderoso y de hecho
1588	Beza	h. fort et vaillant	1602	Reina-Val.	varon poderoso y de hecho

Table 5.4: Select translations of *gibbor chayil* (chronological)

Blue indicates terms used in Boaz's description; green the most common term *not* used in Boaz's description (also red for Luther's 1524 version); underlining marks TL conceptualisation.¹

	Judg 6.12 Gideon	Judg 11.1 Jephthah	R2.1 Boaz	1 Sam 9.1 Kish	1 Sam 16.18 David	1 Kgs 11.28 Jeroboam	2 Kgs 5.1 Naaman	2 Kgs 15.20 <i>Menachem</i>	1 Chr 5.24 <i>Epher et al</i>	1 Chr 11.26 <i>Asabel et al</i>	1 Chr 12.28 Zadok	2 Chr 17.17 Eliada	
	גבור החיל	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	גבורי החיל	גבורי חיל	גבורי החילים	גבור חיל	גבור חיל	
	<i>gibbor hachayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor hachayil</i>	<i>gibborey chayil</i>	<i>gibborey hachayilim</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	<i>gibbor chayil</i>	
LXXa	δυνατὸς τῆ <u>ἰσχύι</u>	δυνατὸς ἐν <u>ἰσχύι</u>	δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	ἀνήρ δυνατὸς	ὁ ἀνήρ συνετὸς	ἰσχυρὸς δυναμει	δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	δυνατὸν <u>ἰσχύι</u>	ἰσχυροὶ δυναμει	δυνατοὶ τῶν δυναμειων	δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	δυνατὸς δυναμειως	
LXXb	ἰσχυρὸς τῶν δυναμειων	ἐπιηρμένος δυναμει		ἀνήρ δυνατὸς	ὁ ἀνήρ συνετὸς	ἰσχυρὸς δυναμει	δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	δυνατὸν <u>ἰσχύι</u>	ἰσχυροὶ δυναμει	δυνατοὶ τῶν δυναμειων	δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	δυνατὸς δυναμειως	
Targ	גבר חילא	גבר חילא	גיבר תקיפ . . .	גבר חילא	וגבר חילא	גבר חילא	גבר חילא	גברי חילא	גברי חילא	גברי עבדי קרבא	גבר חילא	גברי חילא	
1592	VUC	virorum fortissime	vir fortissimus	homo potens, et magnarum opum	fortis robore	fortissimum robore	vir fortis et potens	fortis et dives	potentibus et divitibus	virii fortissimi et potentes	fortissimi virii in exercitu	egregiae indolis	robustus ad praelia
1524	L-1a	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	<u>streitbar Held</u>	streitbar mann	redlicher Mann	streitbarer Mann	gewaltiger Mann	Reichsten	gewaltige, redliche Männer	<u>streitbaren Helden</u>	redlicher Held	gewaltiger Mann
1525	L-1b	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	redlicher Mann	streitbar mann	redlicher Mann	streitbarer Mann	gewaltiger Mann	Reichsten	gewaltige, redliche Männer	<u>streitbaren Helden</u>	redlicher Held	gewaltiger Mann
1528	Pg	vir fortis	potens viribus	vir potens divitiis	fortis robore	& <u>potentem robore</u>	<u>potens robore</u>	Vir . . . <u>potens robore</u>	potentes substantia ²	virii fortes robore	Potentes . . . exercituum	fortis viribus	potens viribus
1530	Lefv	O tresfort entre les hommes	homme de guerre, & tres fort	homme puissant & de grandes richesses	<u>fort puissant</u>	<u>fort de puissance</u>	homme fort & <u>puissant</u>	fort & riche	les puissans et riches	hom[m]es tres fors & puissans	puissans hom[m]es de larmes	de noble extraction	hom[m]e robuste a la guerre
1534	Z34	<u>streytbarer held</u>	<u>strytbarer held</u>	redlicher mann	streytbarer mann	redlicher mann	streytbarer man	gewaltiger mann	reychesten	gewaltig redlich menner	<u>streytbare helden</u>	reedlicher held	gewaltiger mann
1534	L-2	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	<u>streitbarer Held</u>	<u>ehrlicher Mann</u>	<u>ehrlicher mann</u>	<u>ehrlicher Mann</u>	streitbarer Mann	gewaltiger Mann	Reichsten	gewaltige, redliche Männer	<u>streitbaren Helden</u>	redlicher Held	gewaltiger Mann

¹ A TL collocation used three or more times for *gibbor chayil* is treated as a 'concept' in order to facilitate comparison of distribution.

² Presume "substantiā" is intended.

Table 5.4 (cont.)

		Judg 6.12 Gideon	Judg 11.1 Jephthah	R2.1 Boaz	1 Sam 9.1 Kish	1 Sam 16.18 David	1 Kgs 11.28 Jeroboam	2 Kgs 5.1 Naaman	2 Kgs 15.20 <i>Menachem</i>	1 Chr 5.24	1 Chr 11.26	1 Chr 12.28 Zadok	2 Chr 17.17 Eliada
1535	Cov	mightie giaunte	valeau# man of armes	honest man	valeaunt man	honest . . . man	man of armes	mightie man	richest	mightie valeaunt men	valeaunt Worthies	<i>yonge</i> valeaunt <i>man</i> of armes	mightie man
1534	Mnst	fortissime bellator	vir <u>bellicosus</u>	virum fortem & strenuum	fortis & robustus	fortem & robustum	vir <u>bellicosus</u>	vir . . . fortis & bellicosus	potentes in facultatibus	virii fortes & <u>bellicosi</u>	Viri vero <u>bellicosi</u>	fortis & <u>bellicosus</u>	fortissimus athlete
1535	Oliv	homme vaillant	homme preux	homme puissant en biens	fort & <u>vaillant</u>	fort vaillant	fort & <u>puissant</u> homme	homme fort & puissant	les puissans en richesses	hommes tresfortz et <u>puissans</u>	puissans homes de la[r]mes	fort vaillant	homme preux
1537	MtB	<u>man of myght</u>	stronge man	<u>man of myght</u>	<u>man of myght</u>	actyve fellow	active man	active man	men of substaunce	men of great power	best men of warre of the Hoste	of great power	<u>man of myght</u>
1539	Bruc	huomo forte	potente di forze	un huomo pote#te di faculta	possente, <u>valente</u>	forte, valente	huomo vale#te	huomo potente	potenti di faculta	huomini <u>potenti</u> <u>valenti</u>	possenti de lo esercito	vale#te	huomini <u>possenti</u> <u>valenti</u>
1540	GrB	mightie man of warre	strong man	of strength, and myght	man of strength and might	active felowe	man of warre	myghtie man, and experte in warre	men of substaunce	stronge men and valeaunt	men of armes	strong and valeaunt	man of myght
1543	Jud	vir fortissime	heros . . . <u>fortis</u>	fortem opulentum- que	<u>heros fortis</u>	vir fortis, virtute praeditus	robustus . . . & strenuus	vir strenuus	opulentis	virii heroes & bellicosi	<u>heroes</u> <u>fortissimi</u>	<u>heros fortis</u>	fortissimus <u>heros</u>
1545	L4	<u>streitbarer</u> Held	<u>streitbarer</u> Held	weidlicher Mann	weidlicher Mann	rüstiger Mann	<u>streitbarer</u> Mann	gewaltiger Mann	Reichsten	gewaltige, redliche Männer	<u>streitbaren</u> Helden	redlicher Held	gewaltiger Mann
1551	Gve	homme vaillant	homme preux	homme puissant en biens	puissant en biens	fort vaillant	fort & <u>puissant</u> homme	homme fort & puissant	les puissans en richesses	hommes tresfortz & <u>puissans</u>	puissans hommes d'armes	fort vaillant	homme preux
1551	Cast	miles fortissime	vir fortissimus	hominem militarem	miles	virum fortem	vir robustus	fortissimus ille	quidem argentum potentissi- mis	homines bellicosi	Fortes . . . milites	miles fortissimus	vir militaris
1553	Ferr	<u>barragan</u> <u>del</u> <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> del <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de fuerça	<u>barraganes</u> <u>delfonsado</u>	<u>barraganes</u> de fonsado	<u>barraganes</u> delos <u>fonsados</u>	<u>barragan</u> de <u>fonsado</u>	<u>barragan</u> de fonsado

Table 5.4 (cont.)

		Judg 6.12 Gideon	Judg 11.1 Jephthah	R2.1 Boaz	1 Sam 9.1 Kish	1 Sam 16.18 David	1 Kgs 11.28 Jeroboam	2 Kgs 5.1 Naaman	2 Kgs 15.20 <i>Menachem</i>	1 Chr 5.24 <i>Epher et al</i>	1 Chr 11.26 <i>Asabel et al</i>	1 Chr 12.28 Zadok	2 Chr 17.17 Eliada
1560	Gva	<u>valiant man</u>	<u>valiant man</u>	one of great power [<i>m: That is, both for virtue, authoritie and riches.</i>]	mightie in power [<i>m: That is, both valiant and rich</i>]	strong, valiant	man of strength and courage	mightie man and valiant	men of substance	strong men, valiant	valiant men of warre	<u>very valiant</u>	<u>valiant man</u>
1568	Bps	mightie man	<u>strong man</u>	man of power and wealth	mightie in power [<i>m: That is, both valiant and rich</i>]	<u>strong</u> , <u>valiaunt</u>	man of <u>strength</u> and courage	mightie man, & expert in warre	men of substance	<u>strong men</u> , and <u>valiaunt</u>	men of armes	<u>strong and</u> <u>valiaunt</u>	man of might
1572	Mont	<u>potens</u> <u>virtute</u> ³	<u>potens</u> <u>virtute</u>	<u>potens virtute</u>	fortis <u>robore</u>	<u>potentem</u> <u>virtute</u>	<u>potens robore</u>	Vir . . . <u>potens</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>possentes</u> <u>potentia</u>	virii fortes <u>robore</u>	<u>potentes</u> <u>virtutum</u>	fortis <u>robore</u>	<u>potens</u> <u>virtute</u>
1580	Trem	<u>valentissime</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>valens</u> <u>robore</u>	vir <u>valens</u> facultatibus	<u>valens robore</u>	<u>valens</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>valentissimus</u> <u>erat robore</u>	vir.. <u>valens</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>valebant</u> facultatibus	virii <u>valentes</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>robustissimis</u> copiarum	<u>valens</u> <u>robore</u>	<u>valens</u> <u>robore</u>
1588	Beza	<u>Tresfort &</u> <u>vaillant</u> homme	<u>fort &</u> <u>vaillant</u> homme	homme <u>fort et</u> <u>vaillant</u>	<u>fort &</u> <u>vaillant</u>	homme <u>fort &</u> <u>vaillant</u>	homme <u>fort</u> <u>& vaillant</u>	homme <u>fort</u> <u>& vaillant</u>	puissans en biens	hommes <u>forts &</u> <u>vaillans</u>	plus <u>vaillans</u> d'entre les gens de guerre	<u>fort &</u> <u>vaillant</u>	homme <u>fort &</u> <u>vaillant</u>
1602	Rna-V	varon fortissimo	hombre <u>valiente</u>	varon <u>poderoso y de</u> <u>hecho</u>	hombre valeroso	<u>valiente de</u> <u>fuerça</u>	varon . . . <u>valiente y</u> <u>esforçado</u>	hombre valeroso de virtud	<u>poderosos</u> de virtud	hombres <u>valientes y</u> <u>de esfuerço</u>	<u>valientes</u> de los exercitos	mancebo <u>valiente de</u> <u>fuerças</u>	hombre <u>poderoso</u> de fuerças
1607	Diod	valent' huomo	[huomo] <u>prode e</u> <u>valoroso</u>	huomo * <u>possente di</u> <u>facultà</u>	<u>prode e</u> <u>valoroso</u>	<u>prode e</u> <u>valente</u>	huomo <u>valente e</u> <u>prode</u>	huomo possente, e <u>prode</u>	<u>possenti in</u> <u>facultà</u>	huomini di valore	i più valenti dell' exercito	<u>prode e</u> <u>valoroso</u>	<i>huomo</i> <u>prode e</u> <u>valente</u>
1609	Douai	most <u>valiant</u> of men	most <u>valiant</u> man and a warrier	mightie man, and of great <u>riches</u>	<u>valiant</u> in strength	<u>valiant</u> in strength	strong man and <u>mighty</u>	<u>valiant</u> man and <u>rich</u>	mightie and <u>riche</u>	most <u>valiant</u> men and <u>mighty</u>	most <u>valiant</u> men in the armie	of goodlie towardenes	<u>valiant</u> to battels
1611	KJ	<u>mighty man</u> of <u>valour</u>	<u>mighty man</u> of <u>valour</u>	mighty man of wealth	mighty man of power [<i>m: or substance</i>]	<u>mighty</u> <u>valiant</u> <u>man</u>	<u>mighty man</u> of <u>valour</u>	<u>mighty man</u> in <u>valour</u>	<u>mighty</u> men of <u>wealth</u>	<u>mighty men</u> of <u>valour</u>	valiant men of the armies	<u>mighty of</u> <u>valour</u>	<u>mighty</u> <u>man of</u> <u>valour</u>
1637	SV	<u>strijdbare</u> <u>held</u>	<u>strijdbaar</u> <u>held</u>	<u>geweldig van</u> <u>vermogen</u>	<u>dapper held</u>	<u>dapper</u> <u>held</u>	<u>dapper held</u>	<u>strijdbaar</u> <u>held</u>	<u>geweldig</u> <u>van</u> <u>vermogen</u>	mannen sterk van kracht	De <u>helden</u> nu der heiren	kloek <u>held</u>	kloek <u>held</u>

³ Changes from Pagninus' 1528 edn are italicised in Montanus' printed edition; the 1528 text stands in Montanus' margins.

Table 5.5: Translations of *ve‘aseh chayil*, R4.11

Virtue and cognates shown in blue.

Douche versions (1524-1545)			English and other versions (-1611)		
1466	Mentelin	[R] beysebaffte der tugent		Hebrew	[לְעֹשֵׂה חַיִּיל] וְעָשָׂה חַיִּיל
				LXX	ἐποίησαν δύναμιν
1524	Luther <i>ms</i> (0)	[R/B] thatten thu		Complut.	ποιήσαι δύναμιν ¹
1524	Luther (1a)	[R/B] thu redlich		Vulgate	[R] sit exemplum <i>virtutis</i>
1525	Luther (1b)	[R/B] thu redlich	C14 th	Wycliffite	[R] [be] en sample of <i>vertu</i>
1525	Böschenstein	[er] ² sol thon reichtuomb	1528	Pagninus	[R] faciat <i>virtutem</i>
			1535	Münster	[B] age strenue [<i>sic</i>]
1526	Liesvelt	[R/B] doe redelic	1535	Coverdale	[R] [be] an ensample of <i>virtue</i>
1533	Bugenhagen	[R/B] do redeliken			[R] [may] do <i>vertuously</i> That is, that she may lyve well and honestye.
1534	Zurich	[B] thü ³ redlich	1537	Matthew margin:	
1534	Vorsterman	[R] spiegel der <i>duechden</i>	1539	Great	[B] do [thou] valeantly
1534	Luther (2)	[B/R] werde ehrlich gehalten	1543	Jud	[B] strenue age
			1551	Castellius	[B] <i>præclara facias</i>
1537	Eck	[R] beispil der <i>tugend</i>	1558	Isaac	[B] <i>facias virtutem</i>
1540	Luther <i>ms</i> (0)	[B/R] wachse seer ⁴	1560	Geneva	[B] [mayest] do worthily
1541	Luther (3)	[B/R] wachse ^a seer	1568	Bishops	[B] [mayest] do worthily
1545	Luther (3)	[B/R] wachse sehr	1572	Montanus	[B] in <i>virtutem</i> fac
1548	Leuven	[R] spiegel der <i>duecht</i>	1578	Lavater	[B] <i>facias virtutem</i> (age strenue)
1560	Biestkens	[B/R] wasse seer	1580	Tremellius	[B] compara opes
1562	Deux Aes	[B/R] wasse seer	1586	Drusius	[B] fac opes
1637	Statenvertaling	[a] handelt kloecklick ⁵	1609	Douai	[R] be an example of <i>virtue</i>
			1611	King James	[B] do thou worthily <i>m</i> : Or, get thee riches or power
Tuscan, Italian			French		
1532	Brucioli	[R/B] <i>faccia⁶ virtu</i>	1530	Lefèvre	[R] exemple de <i>vertu</i>
1539	Brucioli	[R/B] <i>faccia virtu</i>	1535	Olivétan	[R] face <i>vertu</i>
1562	Rustici	[B] <i>fa virtu</i> <i>m</i> : <i>portati⁷ virtuosamente</i>	1540	Marc.-Mor	[B] [tu] face ⁸ <i>vertu</i>
1607	Diodati	[B] fatti [pur] possente	1551	Genève	[B] faces <i>vertu</i>
Ladino, Spanish			1555	Châteillon	[B] portes <i>vertueusement</i>
1553	Ferrara	[R/B] <i>faze fonsado⁹</i>	1562	Barb-Crt.	[B] faces <i>vertu</i>
1569	Reina	[B] seas yllustre	1588	Beza	[B] portes <i>vertueusement</i> <i>m</i> : fai <i>vertu</i>
1602	Reina-Valera	[B] seas yllustre			

¹ Following Theodosius. See *Vetus Testamentum: Secundum LXX Latine redditum et ex auctoritate Sixti V Pontificis Maximi editum. Additus Est Index Dictionum et Loquutionum Hebraicarum, Graecarum, Latinarum quarum observatio visa est non inutilis futura* (Rome: G. Ferrarium, 1588) 344.

² It is unclear whether the intended antecedent is God (Got sol geben . . . und er sol . . .) or that the reader is expected to supply ‘a son’ (Got sol geben diser frawen [ein Sohn] . . . und er sol thon reichthumb . . .). Both God and Obed could be the subject.

³ See discussion in **Ch. 5 §5.1** incl. **n.132**.

⁴ See **Ch. 5, §5.1, n.133** for discussion of annotations in this manuscript and the marginal note included in the printed edition of 1541.

⁵ The form may be 2s or 3s present indicative, or plural imperative; contextually, the last is most plausible.

⁶ ‘May you/he do virtue’. 2s and 3s forms of the present subjunctive are not differentiated.

⁷ ‘Fa’ is both 3s present indicative and 2s imperative; the latter reading is confirmed by the marginal note which gives the imperative form of the reflexive ‘portarsi’, ‘behave (yourself) virtuously’, possibly influenced by the Châteillon text.

⁸ The form is 3s, but the 2s pronoun ‘tu’ precedes the phrase.

⁹ Assuming ‘fazer’ conjugates regularly, ‘faze’ may be either 3s pres. subjunctive or 2s imperative.

Table 5.6: Translations of *chayil* throughout *Ruth* (chronologically)

Agreement shown in **heavy type**, cross-gender agreement in **red**, and virtue-terms underlined.

Date	Version	R2.11	R3.11	R4.11
H	Hebrew MT	איש גבור חיל	אשת חיל	ועשה- חיל
G	LXX	ὁ δὲ ἀνήρ δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	γυνή δυνάμεως	ἐποίησαν δύναμιν
G	Compluts. Polyglot	ὁ δὲ ἀνήρ δυνατὸς ἰσχύι	γυνή δυνάμεως	ποιήσαι δύναμιν
L	Vulgate (Steph.)	homo potens, et magnarum opum	mulierem te esse <u>virtutis</u>	sit exemplum <u>virtutis</u>
A	Targum (Solger ms)	גבר גיבר תקיפ	אינתתא צדיקת אנת ואית בך חילא לסוברא ניר פיקודיא דיין:	ועיבד חילא
E	1382 Wycliffite (F&M)	a myȝti man, & a man of greet richessis	woman of <u>virtue</u>	[R] [be] en sample of <u>vertu</u>
D	1466 Mentelin	gewaltiger mensch und michler reychtumb	ein weip der <u>tugent</u>	[R] beysebaffte der <u>tugent</u>
D	1524 Luther ms	mechtig am gutt	<u>tugentsam</u> weyb	[R/B] thatten thu
D	1524 Luther (Phase 1a)	streyttbar hellt	<u>tugentsam</u> weyb	[R/B] thu redlich
D	1525 Luther (Phase 1b)	redlicher man	<u>tugentsam</u> weyb	[R/B] thu redlich
D	1525 Böschenstein	ein man ein starcker und reycher	biderweib	[] [er] sol thon reichtuomb
D	1526 Liesvelt	redelick man	<u>duechdelick</u> wijf	[R/B] doe redelic
D	1528 Vorsterman	machtich man ende rijck van goede	<u>duechdelijck</u> wijf	[R] spiegel der duechden
L	1528 Pagninus	vir potens divitiis	mulier <u>virtuosa</u>	[R] faciat <u>virtutem</u>
F	1530 Lefèvre	homme puissant & de grandes richesses	femme de <u>vertu</u>	[R] exemple de <u>vertu</u>
D	1530 Zurich	redlicher mann	dapffer fromm weyb	[B] thû redlich
D	1531 Zurich	redlicher mann	tapffer fromm weyb	[B] thû redlich
T	1532 Brucioli	huomo potente di <u>virtu</u>	donna <u>virtuosa</u>	[R/B] faccia <u>virtu</u>
D	1533 Bugenhagen	redelick man	<u>doegentsame</u> frouwe	[R/B] do redeliken
D	1534 Vorsterman	machtich man ende rijck van goede	een <u>duechdelijck</u> wijf	[R] spiegel der duechden
D	1534 Zurich	redlicher mann	tapffer fromm weyb	[B] thû redlich
D	1534 Luther (Phase 2)	ehrlicher man	<u>tugentsam</u> weib	[B/R] werde ehrlich gehalten
E	1535 Coverdale	an honest man	<u>virtuous</u> woman	[R] [be] an ensample of <u>virtue</u>
L	1535 Münster	virum fortem & strenuum	mulier sis <u>virtutis</u>	[B] age strennue [sic]
F	1535 Olivétan	h. puissant en biens	femme <u>vertueuse</u>	[R] face <u>vertu</u>

Table 5.6 (continued)

Date	Version	R2.11	R3.11	R4.11	
E	1537	Matthew	man of might	woman of <u>virtue</u>	[R] [may] do <u>vertuously</u>
D	1537	Eck	mechtig mensch, und grosser reichtum	<u>tugentreich</u> weib	[R] beispil der <u>tugend</u>
E	1539	Great	[kinsman] of strength, and might	woman of <u>virtue</u>	[B] do [thou] valeauntly
T	1539	Brucioli	huomo potente di faculta	donna <u>virtuosa</u>	[R/B] faccia <u>virtu</u>
F	1540	Marc.-Mor	h. puissant en biens	femme <u>vertueuse</u>	[B] [tu] face <u>virtu</u>
D	1540	Luther <i>ms</i>	mechtiger	<u>tugentsam</u> Weib	[B/R] wachse seer
D	1541	Luther (Phase 3)	weidlicher Mann	<u>tugentsam</u> Weib	[B/R] wachse seer
D	1542	Liesvelt	redelic man	<u>duechdelijc</u> wijf	[R/B] doe redelijc
L	1543	Jud	quendam fortem opulentumque	mulier ... <u>virtutis</u> praedita	[B] strenue age
D	1545	Luther ^[BW]	weidlicher Mann	<u>tugendsam</u> Weib	[B/R] wachse sehr
D	1548	Leuven	machtich man . . . van grooten rijcdommen	duechdelijcke vrouwe	[R] spiegel der duecht
F	1551	Genève	h. puissant en biens	femme <u>vertueuse</u>	[B] faces <u>vertu</u>
L	1551	Castellius	hominem militarem	mulierem . . . <u>virtutis</u> praedita	[B] praecleara facias
S	1553	Ferrara	barragan de fonsado	muger de <u>virtud</u>	[B/R] faze fonsado
F	1555	Châteillon	h. de guerre	vaillante femme	[B] portes <u>vertueusement</u>
L	1558	Isaac	vir strenuus in virtute	mulier praedita virtute	[B] facias virtutem
E	1560	Geneva	one of great power	<u>vertuous</u> woman	[B] [mayest] do worthily
D	1560	Biestkens	redelijck man	<u>vertuous</u> woman	[B/R] wasse seer
I	1562	Rustici	huomo potente	donna da bene	[B] fa <u>virtu</u> [<i>ms</i> : portati virtuosamente]
F	1562	Barbier-Courteau	h. puissant en biens	femme <u>vertueuse</u>	[B] faces <u>vertu</u> *
D	1562	Deux-Aes	redelick ende vermoghen man	<u>deuchdelick</u> wijf	[B/R] wasse seer
E	1568	Bishops	man of power and wealth	woman of <u>virtue</u>	[B] [mayest] do worthily
S	1569	Reina	varon poderoso y de hecho	muger <u>virtuosa</u>	[B] seas yllustre
L	1572	Montanus	potens virtute	mulier virtutis	[B] in virtutem fac
L	1578	Lavater	virum str[e]nuum	mulier proba sis	facias <u>virtutem</u> (age strenue)
L	1580	Tremellius-Junius	vir valens facultatibus	foeminam . . . * strenuam	[B] compara opes
L	1586	Drusius	vir opum potens	mulierem <u>virtutis</u>	[B] fac opes

Table 5.6 (continued)

	Date	Version	R2.11	R3.11	R4.11
F	1588	Beza	h. fort et vaillant	femme <u>vertueuse</u>	[B] portes <u>vertueusement</u>
S	1602	Reina-Valera	varon poderoso y de hecho	muger <u>virtuosa</u>	[B] seas yllustre
I	1607	Diodati	huomo possente di facultà	donna di valore	[B] fatti [pur] possente
E	1609	Douai	mightie man, and of great riches	woman of <u>vertue</u>	[R] be an example of <u>vertue</u>
E	1611	KJ	mighty man of wealth	<u>virtuous</u> woman	[B] do thou worthily
D	1637	Statenvertaling ^[BW]	man, geweldich van vermogen	<u>deugdelijke</u> vrouw	[a] handelt kloecklick

Table 6.1: Latin versions (frequency of *peregrin-* in sample)

	Peregrin- <i>ger</i> / 24	<i>nokri-</i> / 10	<i>toshav</i> / 8	<i>zar</i> / 4	TOTAL
Pagninus (1528)	23	0	0	0	23
Münster (1535)	22	0	1	0	23
Jud (1543)	8	0	0	0	8
Castellius (1551)	22	1	0	1	24
Montanus (1572)	23	0	0	0	23
Tremellius (1580)	23	0	0	0	23
Vulgate ^{VUC}	9	3.5	3	0	15.5
Modal average					23

Table 6.2: English versions (frequency of “stranger”, + “strange” in sample)

	Stranger <i>ger</i> / 24	<i>nokri-</i> / 10	<i>toshav</i> / 8	<i>zar</i> / 4	TOTAL
Coverdale (1535)	21 (23)	6 (7)	1	3 (4)	31 (35)
Matthew (1537)	20 (22)	5 (6)	2	4	31 (34)
Great (1539)	(21)	(5.5)	(3)	(4)	(33.5)
Geneva (1560)	20 (22)	8	3	4	35 (37)
Bishops (1568)	(22)	(7)	(3)	(4)	(36)
Douai (1609)	19	2.5 (6.5)	1	2	25 (28.5)
King James (1611)	20 (22)	6 (8)	2	4	32 (36)
Mean					(34.3)
Mean (<i>excl. Douai</i>)					(35.3)

Table 6.3: Other vernaculars (frequency of ‘stranger’ term in sample)

	‘stranger’	<i>ger</i> / 24	<i>nokri-</i> / 10	<i>toshav</i> / 8	<i>zar</i> / 4	TOTAL
L p1	Frembding	21	1	0	3	25
	+ Frembd	1	7	0	1	9 = 34
L p2-4	Frembding	21	1	0	1	23
	+ Frembd	1	7	0	2	10 = 33
V34	Vremdinck	21	1	1	2	25
	+ Vrembd	0	7	0	1	8 = 33
SV	Vreemding	22	1	0	0	23
	+ Vreemd	1	9	0	4	14 = 37
Oliv	Estrangere	23	9	0	4	36
Beza	Estrangere	23	7	0	4	34
Rna	Extranjero	18	8	2	0	28
Bruc	Peregrino	22	0	0	0	22
Diod	Forestiere	20	3	0	0	23

Table 6.4: Frequency of R2.10 term (and related terms) in sample (by language)

Version	Date	R2.10 term	Related term(s)	Quantity
Hebrew (MT)		<i>nokriyyah</i>	<i>nokri</i>	10
LXX		ξένη	ξένος	1
Vulgate (Clem.)		peregrina	[peregrinus]	15
Pagninus	1528	alienigena		9
Münster	1535	aliena	[alieno]	5
Jud	1543	aliena	[alieno]	6
Castellius	1551	peregrina	[peregrinus]	23
Montanus	1572	alienigena		8
Tremellius	1580	alienigena		7
Luther p-1	1523	frembd	frembdling	34
Bugenhagen	1534	froemmet	froemdling	34
Vorsterman	1534	vrembde	vrembdlinck	33
Zurich	1534	froæmbd	froæmbdling	34
Luther p2-4	1545	fremd	fremdling	33
Statenvertaling	1637	vreemde	vreemdinck/g	14
Coverdale	1535	straunger	straunge	35
Matthew	1537	alyaunte		3
Great ¹	1539	alyaunt		3.5
Geneva	1560	straunger	straunge	37
Bishops	1568	aliaunt		2
Douai	1609	straunger	straunge	29.5
King James	1611	straunger	straunge	36
Olivétan	1535	estrangere		36
Beza	1588	estrangere		34
Brucioli	1532	forestiera	[forestiere]	15
Diodati	1607	forestiera	[forestiere]	23
Reina	1569	extranjera	[extranjeros]	28

¹ Great and Douai versions have a double-translation at Deut 25.3 (following the Vulgate) and so use two terms (stranger and alien in GtB, stranger and sojourner in Douai). This is counted as a “.5” occurrence.

Table 7.1: R1.13's *mikkem* in English bible translations, 1380–1611

1380	Wycliffe ^{EV}	wolith not, Y biseche, my douȝtren, for youre angwish grevith me more ¹²⁵⁹
1395	Wycliffe ^{LV}	I biseche, nyle ye, my douȝtris for youre angwische oppressith me more ¹²⁶⁰
1535	Coverdale	No my daughters, therfore am I sory for you
1537	Matthew	Not so my daughters: for it greveth me moche for youre sakes
1539	Great	Not so my daughters: for it greveth me moche for youre sakes
1560	Geneva	nay my daughters: for it grieveth me muche for your sakes
1568	Bishops	Not so my daughters: for it greeveth me muche for your sakes
1602	Bishops <i>ms</i>	<i>subst:</i> nay
1609	Douai	Doe not so, my daughters, I besech you: for your distresse doth the more greve me
1611	King James	nay my daughters: for it grieveth me much for your sakes

Table 7.2: Comparative *min* in select European bibles pre-1611 (in order of publication)

1528	Pagninus	Ne filiae meae, quia amaritudo foret mihi valde plus q[<i>uam</i>] vobis
1580	Tremellius	Nequaquam filiae mee: nam mihi <i>multò</i> amarius est <i>quàm</i> vobis
1588	Beza	Non, mes filles car ie suis en <i>plus</i> grand amertume <i>que</i> vous
1602	Reina-Val	No, hijas mías; que mayor amargura tengo yoque vosotras
1607	Diodati	no, figliuole mie: percioche * io sono in troppo <i>maggiore</i> amaritudine <i>che</i> voi

Table 7.3: Comparative *min* in marginalia (m) and commentaries (c) on R1.13

1525	Boeschstein (m)	<i>oder</i> , ich bin laidiger dann jr
1543	Jud (m)	Alii legunt, plus mihi doleret, quam vobis
1558	Isaac Levita (c)	non, filiae meae, quoniam acerbis est mihi valde, quàm vobis
1560	Geneva (m)	Or, more then you
1568	Bishops (m)	Or, more then you
1578	Lavater (c)	minimè filiae meae, quia amaritudo est mihi valde plus quàm vobis
1586	Drusus (c)	nequaquam filiae meae, quoniam amarè mihi est nimis quàm vobis
1609	Piscator (c)	Nequaquam filiae meae; nam mihi multo amarius est quam vobis

Table 7.4: ‘Causal’ *min* in European bibles (R1.13)

1524	Luther	Nicht meyne toechter, den es thut myr fur euch zu wee ¹²⁶¹
1534	Münster	non sic filiae meae: quoniam est mihi magna amaritudo <i>propter vos</i> eò
1541	Luther	Nicht meine Toechter, Denn mich jamert ewr seer ¹²⁶²
1543	Jud	Minime, filiae meae, nam alioqui plus satis doleo vestri gratia
1551	Castellius	Nolit[e], meae filiae. Equidem valde vestra caussa doleo
1555	Châteillon	Non, mes filles: ie suis bien marrie de vous laisser
1571	Montanus	Ne filiae meae, quia amaritudo mihi valdè <i>prae</i> vobis ¹²⁶³

¹²⁵⁹ F&M.¹²⁶⁰ F&M. MS Bodley 277 (King Henry’s Bible) adds “*the*”, i.e. “oppressith me *the* more”, and has “mourne not” in place of “nyle ye”.¹²⁶¹ Replicated with dialectal or linguistic adjustments in: Phase-2 Luther (1534), Liesvelt (1526, 1542), Bugenhagen (1533), Zurich (1530, 1531, 1534—without *zu*). See also Vorsterman’s compromise: “uwe benautheyt doet mi te wee”.¹²⁶² Replicated with dialectal or linguistic adjustments in: Phase-4 Luther (1545), Biestkens (1560), Deux Aes (1562).

Table 7.5: R1.13, *al banotay, ki mar li me'od mikkem ki* | אל בנתי כי־מר־לי מאד מכם כי־ | in English versions after 1611 (chronologically)

Italics indicate major versions (judged by circulation and endorsement)

Date	<i>mar</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Version	Translation: אל בנתי כי־מר־לי מאד מכם כי־
1750	grief	for	Challoner's revised Douay-Rheims	Do not so, my daughters, I beseech you; for I am grieved the more for your distress and
1769	grief	for	<i>Blayney ed. KJV</i>	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, that
1797	bitter	than	Geddes	No, my daughters! Although more bitter is my lot than yours, since
1808	grief	for	Charles Thomson LXX	No, my daughters. Indeed it grieveth me much for your sakes, that
1833	grief	for	Websters	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, that
1844	grief	for	Brenton LXX	Not so my daughters for I † am grieved for you, that [† Gr. It is made bitter to me]
1851	grief	for	Benisch Jewish School & Family	nay my daughters, for it grieveth me much for your sakes that
1853	bitter	than	Boothroyd	No, my daughters! Although it be more bitter to me than to you, that
1854	bitter	than	Leeser Bible	not so, my daughters; for I feel much more bitter than you; because
1862	bitter	than	Young's Literal	nay, my daughters, for more bitter to me than to you, for
1883	grief	for	Samuel Sharpe	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, that
1884	bitter	than	Conant	Nay, my daughters; for to me it is far more bitter than to you; for
1885	grief	for	<i>Revised Version</i>	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, for
1890	bitter	than	Darby	No, my daughters, for I am in much more bitterness than you; for
1901	grief	for	<i>American Standard Version (ASV)</i>	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, for
1902	bitter	than	Emphasised (Rotherham)	Nay! My daughters, for it is far more bitter for me than for you, that
1902	bitter	than	Ferrar Fenton	No! My girls. Altho' it is more bitter for me than for you; – for
1907	grief	for	Taylor's Ancient Hebrew Literature	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes that
1912	bitter	than	Conant (revised)	Nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, for
1917	grief	for	<i>Jewish Publication Society (JPS)</i>	nay, my daughters; for it grieveth me much for your sakes, for
1949	sad	for	Basic English	No, my daughters; but I am very sad for you that
1952	bitter	for	<i>Revised Standard Version (RSV)</i>	No, my daughters, for it is exceedingly bitter to me for your sake that
1952	bitter	too	<i>New American (NAV)</i>	No, my daughters! My lot is too bitter for you because
1970	bitter	than	<i>New English (NEB)</i>	No, no, my daughters, my lot is more bitter than yours, because
1971	hard	than	<i>New American Standard (NASB)</i>	No, my daughters; for it is harder for me than for you, for

¹²⁶³ As elsewhere in the edition, Pagninus' original translation is supplied in the margin and the amendment italicised.

Table 7.5 (cont.)

Date	<i>mar</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Version	Translation: אל בנתי כי-מר-לי מאד מכם כי-
1976	sorry	for	<i>Good News</i> (alias <i>Today's English</i>)	No, my daughters, you know that's impossible. I feel very sorry for you
1978	bitter	than	<i>New International (NIV)</i>	No, my daughters. It is much more bitter for me than for you, because
1985	bitter	for	New Jerusalem	No, my daughters, I am bitterly sorry for your sakes that
1986	bitter	than	Green's Literal	No, my daughters, for it is much more bitter for me than for you, for
1987	sad	too	New Century	Don't do that, my daughters, My life is much too sad for you to share because
1989	bitter	than	<i>New Revised Standard (NRSV)</i>	No, my daughters, it has been far more bitter for me than for you because
1989	bitter	for	<i>Revised English (REB)</i>	No, my daughters! For your sakes I feel bitter that
1995	hard	than	CEV	No, my daughters! Life is harder for me than it is for you, because
1995	bitter	than	God's Word	No, my daughters. My bitterness is much worse than yours because
1996	bitter	than	New Living (NLT)	No, of course not, my daughters! Things are far more bitter for me than for you, because
1998	bitter	for	Complete Jewish (CJB)	No, my daughters. On your behalf I feel very bitter that
1999	bitter	than	New Jewish Publ. Society (2 nd edn)	Oh no, my daughters! my lot is far more bitter than yours, for
2001	bitter	for	English Standard Version	No, my daughters, for it is exceedingly bitter to me for your sake that
2002	bitter	than	The Message	No, dear daughters; this is a bitter pill for me to swallow—more bitter for me than for you.
2004	bitter	too	Holman Christian Standard	No, my daughters, my life is much too bitter for you to share because

Tables 7.6-8: R1.13, *ki mar li me'od mikkem* | כי־מר־לי מאד מכם
 in non-English European versions post-1611 (chronologically, by language-group)

Table 7.6: Germanic

Date	<i>mar</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Version	Translation: כי־מר־לי מאד מכם
1637	bitter	than	Statenvertaling	Want het is mij veel bitterder dan u
1871	bitter-grief	too-for	Elberfelder	Denn das bittere Leid, das mir geschah, ist zu schwer für euch.
1926	grief	for	Menge-Bibel	Ich bin ja euretwegen tief betrübt
1979	bitter-grief	for	Einheits- übersetzung	Mir täte es bitter leid um euch
2002	bitter	than	New Schlachter	Denn mir ergeht es noch viel bitterer als euch
2007	bitter-grief	for	Neue Zürcher	denn es tut mir bitter leid für euch
2009	bitter	too-for	Neue Luther	Mein Los ist zu bitter für euch

Table 7.7: French

Date	<i>mar</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Version	Translation: כי־מר־לי מאד מכם
1910	affliction	because	Louis Segond	car à cause de vous je suis dans une grande affliction de
1924	unhappy	for	Joüon ¹²⁶⁴	aussi bien je suis beaucoup trop malheureuse pour vous
1961	bitter	for	Jérusalem	Je suis pleine d'amertume à votre sujet
1996	bitter	than	Ostervald, revised	car je suis en plus grande amertume que vous
1999	afflicted	than	du Semeur	Je suis bien plus affligée que vous

Table 7.8: Italian and Spanish

Date	<i>mar</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Version	Translation: כי־מר־לי מאד מכם
1927	bitter	than	Riveduta (i.e. revised)	l'afflizione mia e più amara della vostra poiché
1960	bitter	than	Reina-Val. revised	que mayor amargura tengo yo que vosotras
1986	difficult	than	Biblia de las Américas	porque eso es más difícil para mí que para vosotras

¹²⁶⁴ I.e. in Joüon's *Ruth* commentary.

Table A1: Proper nouns and related terms in Douche, Latin and English bibles

Ruth	Luther ¹⁵²⁴	Zurich ¹⁵³⁴	Coverdale	Matthew	Pagninus	Vulgate (S)	Bug	LXX
1.1+	Bethlehem	Bethlehem	Bethleem	Bethlehem	Bethléchem	Bethleem		Βαθλεεμ
1.1+	Juda	Juda	Juda	Juda	Iehudáh	Iuda		Ιουδα
1.1+	Moabiter (land)	Moabiter (land)	londe of th/ye Moabites	[contreye of] Moab ¹	(regione) Moab	(regione) Moabitidem		ἀγρῶ Μωαβ
1.2+	EliMelech	EliMelech	EliMelech	Elimelec	Elimélech	Helimelech		Αβιμελεχ
1.2+	Naemi (<i>also</i> Noemi)	Naemi	Naemi	Noemi	Nahomí	Noemi (<i>pulchram</i>)		Νομειν
1.2+	Mahelon	Mahelon	Mahelon	Mahalon	Machlón	Maalon		Μααλων
1.2+	Chilion	Chilion	Chilion	Chilion	Chilion	Chellion		Χελαιων
1.2	Ephrater	Ephrater	Ephrates	Ephraites	Ephratei	Ephrathei		Εφραθαιτοι
1.4	Moabitische (weyber)	Moabitische (weyber)	Moabitish (wives)	wives of the... Moabites	(uxores) Moabitides	(uxores) Moabitidas		Μωαβιτιδας
1.4+	Arpa	Arpa	Arpa	Orphah	Horpha	Orpha		Ορφα
1.4+	Ruth, die Moabityn	Ruth, die Moabitin	Ruth, the Moabitysse	Ruth, the Moabitess	Ruth, Moabitis	Ruth, Moabitide		Ρουθ
1.6+	HERR	HERR	LORDE	Lorde	dns [<i>dominus</i>]	Dominus (1.17 Deus)	HE[E]RE	κυριος
1.15, 16+	Got/Gott	Gott/Gott	god/God	God/God	deos/deus	deos/Deus	Gade/Godt	θεους/θεος
1.20	Mara	Mara	Mara	Mara (bytter)	mara	Mara (amaram)		Πικρον

¹ R1.2 “lande of Moab”. Elsewhere (R1.6, 22; 2.6; 4.3) as R1.1.

Table A1 (cont.)

Ruth	Luther ¹⁵²⁴	Zurich ¹⁵³⁴	Coverdale	Matthew	Pagninus	Vulgate (S)	Bug	LXX
1.20,21	almechtige/almechtig	allma ^c htig/ Allma^chtig	Allmightie (2)	all mighty/almighty	omps/ops	omnipotens (2)		ἰκανος
2.1+	Boas	Boas	Boos	Booz	Bóhaz	Booz		Βοος
2.12+	Israel	Israels	Israel	Israel	Israhél	Israel		Ἰσραηλ
4.11	Rahel	Rahel	Rachel	Rahel	Rachél	Rachel		Ραχηλ
4.11	Lea	Lea	Lea	Lea	Leáh	Liam		Λειαν
4.11	Ephratha	Ephrata	Ephrata	Ephrathah	Ephráthah	Ephrata	Ephrata	Εφραθα
4.12+	Perez	Perez	Phares	Pharez	Péres	Phares		Φαρες
4.12	Thamar	Thamar	Thamar	Thamar	Tamár	Thamar		Θαμαρ
4.12	Juda (pn)	Juda	Juda	Juda	Iehudáh	Iudae		Ιουδα
4.17+	Obed	Obed	Obed	Obed	Hobéd	Obed		Ωβηδ
4.17+	Isai	Isai	Isai	Isai	Isai	Isai		Ιεσσαί
4.17+	Dauid	Dauid	Dauid	David	Dauid	David		Δαυιδ
4.18+	Hezron	Hezron	Hesrom	Hezron	Chesrón	Esrom		Εσρων
4.19+	Ram	Ram	Aram	Ram	Ram	Aram		Αρραν
4.19+	AmmiNadab	AmmiNadab	Aminadab	Aminadab	Hamminadáb	Aminadab		Αμιναδαβ
4.20+	Nahesson	Nahesson	Naasson	Nahason	Nachsón	Naason		Ναασων
4.20, 21	Salma, Salmon	Salmon , Salmon	Salmon/Salmon	Salmon/Salmon	Salmáh/Salmón	Salma/Salma		Σαλμων

Table A2: Differences in *Ruth*: Luther 1524, Luther 1534 and the Coverdale Bible

	Ruth	L24	L34	Coverdale
1	1.2	woneten	blieben	dwelt
2	1.14	hieng an	bleib bey ir	abode styll by
3	1.19	sprachen	sprach	sayde [<i>impl. city</i>]
4	1.20 <i>margin</i>	[--]	Meine Luste	[--]
5	1.20 <i>margin</i>	[--]	Bitter oder betruebt	[--]
6	2.1	streyttbar hellt [L25: redlicher mann] ¹	ehrlicher man ²	honest man
7	2.3	erbt Eyl	<i>om.</i>	enheritaunce
8	2.13	zugesprochen	angesprochen	[spoken] unto
9	2.20 (+3)	/Noemi/ ³	Naemi	Naemi
10	2.20 (+7)	/Nachman/ ⁴	/Erbe/	nye kynsman <i>also</i> : kynsman (R4.14); nexte kynsman (R3.9)
11	2.21	sie alle meyn erndten ausrichten	mir alles eingeerndtet haben	made an ende of <i>all my</i> <i>harvest</i>
12	3.9 <i>margin</i>	[Nachman] Nachman heysst / der seyns Bruders odder nechisten freundes nachgelassen weyb muste zu der ehe nemen / dem der storbenen eyn samen zur wecken / wie Deutro. 25. steht.	[Erbe] --	[nexte kynsman]
13	3.10	nach ... gegangen	nachgegangen	gone after
14	3.18	Halt still	sey still	Abyde
15	4.4 (+6)	/losen/ ⁵	/beerben/	redeme
16	4.7	uber der losung und uber den wechsel	Wenn einer ein gut nicht beerben / noch erkeuffen wolt	concernynge the redemynge & chaunginge
17	4.7	eyner	er	[the] one
18	4.10	namen [erwecke]	samen	name
19	4.11	thu redlich	werde ehrlich gehalten	[she maye] be an ensample of vertue
20	4.15	leben widder bringen	dich erquicken	restore thy life agayne
21	4.15	der	welche	him that
22	4.18	gepurt	geschlecht	generacion ⁶

¹ “Streyttbar hellt” was replaced with “redlicher man” in the first ‘reprint’ of *Der Ander Teyl*, Wittenberg 1525 and subsequently. Other changes in the 1525 and 1528 printings are purely orthographic.

² “Ehrlicher” replaced “redlicher” in 1534.

³ Also R4.3, 4.5, and 4.16.

⁴ Also R3.9, 3.12, 4.1, 4.3, 4.4, 4.8, and 4.14.

⁵ The verb occurs 3 times in this verse, 4 times in R4.5. Note also the shift from “losung” to “beerben” in R4.7.

⁶ Note that where the Latins have the plural (*generationes*) Coverdale uses singular.

Table A2 [cont.]

	Ruth	L24	L34	Coverdale
23	2.7	gangen ⁷	gegangen	*have been gone
24	2.8	gang	gehe	go
25	2.11	zogen ⁸	gezogen	[art] come
26	2.20	horet ⁹	gehoeret	belongeth [unto]
27	4.9	kaufft hab	gekaufft habe ¹⁰	have bought

⁷ The form of the auxiliary verb, *were* (compare NHG *waere*), strongly implies that a pluperfect subjunctive was intended in L24: *vnd were auch nicht eyn wenig widder heym gangen*.

⁸ L24: *du . . . bist zu eym volcke zogen*.

⁹ See note 72 above.

¹⁰ The change in the auxiliary verb *haben* is wholly orthographic.

Table A3: Differences in *Ruth*: Zurich 1534 and the Coverdale-Luther 1524 agreements

	Ruth	L24/L34	Z34	Coverdale
1	1.2	woneten	wonetend	dwelt
2	1.14	hieng an/ blieb bei	hieng an	abode styll by
3	1.19	sprachen/sprach	sprachennd	said [<i>impl. city</i>]
4	1.20 <i>margin</i>	[-]/Meine Luste	[-]	[-]
5	1.20 <i>margin</i>	[-]/Bitter oder betruebt	[-]	[-]
6	2.1	streyttbar hellt [L25-8: redlicher man]/ehrlicher man	redlicher mann	honest man
7	2.3	erbteyl/[-]	erbteyl	enheritaunce
8	2.13	zugesprochen/ angesprochen	zugesprochen	[spoken] unto
9	2.20 (+3)	Noemi/Naemi	Naemi	Naemi
10	2.20 (+7)	Nachman/Erbe	Nachmann	nye kynsman <i>also</i> : kynsman (R4.14) nexte kynsman (R3.9)
11	2.21	alle meyn erndten ausrichten /mir alles eingeerndtet haben	alle meyn aernd aussuchtend ¹	made an ende of <i>all my</i> <i>haruest</i>
12	3.9 <i>margin</i>	[Nachman/Erbe] Nachman heyst ...wie Deutro. 25. steht.	[Nachmann] ²	[nexte kynsman]
13	3.10	nach . . . gegangen/ nachgegangen	nach . . . gegangen	gone after
14	3.18	Halt still /sey still	halt still	Abyde [my]
15	4.4 (+6)	losen/beerben	loesen	redeme
16	4.7	uber der losung und uber den wechsel / Wenn einer ein gut nicht beerben, noch erkeuffen wolt	über die loesung und über den waechsel	concernynge the redemynge & chauginge
17	4.7	eyner /er	eyner	the one
18	4.10	namen [erwecke]/samen	nammen	name
19	4.11	thu redlich /werde ehrlich gehalten	thü redlich	[<i>she may</i>] be an ensample of vertue
20	4.15	leben widder bringen /dich erquicken	laeben wider bringen	[she] haue an honorable name
21	4.15	der /welche	die	restore thy life agayne
22	4.18	gepurt/geschlecht	geburt	generacion
23	2.7	gangen/gegangen	gangen	have been gone
24	2.8	gang/gehe	gang	go
25	2.11	zogen/gezogen	zogen	[art] come
26	2.20	horet/gehoret	hoert	belongeth [unto]
27	4.9	kaufft hab/gekaufft habe	kaufft hab	have bought

¹ Z30 and Z31: *ausrichtend*.² References to “Deut. 25.a” appear repeatedly in other parts of Z34 *Ruth* (R1.11; 2.20—against *Nachmann*; 4.5, 10). A cross-reference appears in Z31 at R4.10: “Weyb nemmen. Deut. 25.”

Table A4: Coverdale's *Ruth* and disagreements between the Luther Bibles (1524, 1534) and Zurich 1534

	Ruth	L24 /L34	Z34	Coverdale	Vulgate (S28)	Pagninus	MT	LXX
1	1.2	Mahelon und Chilion	der ein Mahelon/ und der ander Chilion ¹	the one Mahelon, and the other Chilion	alter Mahalon, & alter Chelion	Machlón & Chilion	מחלון וכליון	Μααλων και Χελαιων
2	1.6	schnuren	sunsfrauwen	sonnes wyves	nuru [sic]	nurus	כלתיה	νύμφαι
3	1.6	-	(. . .) ²	(. . .)	-	-	-	-
4	1.7	schnu er / schnur	sunsfrauwen	sonnes wyves	nuru	nurus	כלתיה	νύμφαι
5	1.9	--	[die ir überkommen werdent] ³	(whom ye shal get)	quos sortitur'e estis	--	-	-
6	1.11	farder/ fuerder	fuerhin	eny more	ultra	ultra	העוד	μη ἔτι
7	1.13	zu wee	wee	<i>therefore am I sory for you</i>	<i>vestra angustia magis me premit</i>	amaritudo . . . valde plus	מר-לי מאד מכם	ἐπικράνθη μοι ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς
8	1.14	--	[unnd keret umb:] ⁴	(and turned backe againe)	ac reversa est	--		και ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς
9	1.15	schwegeryn[n] / schwegerin	geschwey (2)	syster in lawe (2)	cognata, ea	cognata (2)	יבמתך (2)	ἡ συννυμφός, τῆς συννύμφου
10	1.16	rede myr nicht eyn /Rede mir nicht ein ⁵	Red mir nit darein	Speake not to me therof	Ne adverseris mihi	Ne roges me	אל-תפגע-יבי	μη ἀπαντήσαι ἐμοὶ
11	1.19	ueber yhn	ueber sy	over them	apud cunctos ⁶	super eis	עליהן	ἐπ' αὐταῖς
12	1.19	sprachen/sprach	[die weyber] sprachend	sayde	dicebantque mulieres	dixerunt	ותאמרנה	εἶπον

¹ Z30 and Z31 as L24, i.e. without these words.

² Phrase not contained by parentheses in Z30 or Z31 (as Luther).

³ Absent from Z30 and Z31 (as Luther).

⁴ Absent from Z30 and Z31 (as Luther).

⁵ But see L41 and thereafter, *Rede mir nicht drein*.

⁶ I.e. among them (m. pl.), by inference the inhabitants of Bethlehem: "Quibus urbem ingressis, velox apud cunctos fama percrebuit", '[Naomi and Ruth] having entered the city, news quickly spread among them.'

Table A4 (cont.)

	Ruth	L24 /L34	Z34	Coverdale	Vulgate (S28)	Pagninus	MT	LXX
13	1.22	schnur	suns-frauw	sonnes wife	nuru	nurus	כלתה	ἡ νύμφη
14	2.3	--	[aehern] ⁷	--	spicas	--	--	--
15	2.7	denn sie sprach, Lieber	Und sie sprach, Lieber ⁸	And she sayde . . . (I praie the)	& rogavit	Et dixit. . . . obsecro	ותאמר אלקטהנא	εἶπεν συλλέξω
16	2.9	<i>om.</i>	dann ⁹	for	enim	An . . . ?	הלוה	ἰδοὺ
17	2.9	antaste	anruere	touch	molestus sit	tangant	נגעד	ἄψασθαι
18	2.14	sangen	sengelkorn ¹⁰	parched corne	polētam	polentam	קלי	ἄλφιτον
19	2.20	Noemi /Naemi	Naemi ¹¹	Naemi	Noemi	Nahomí	נעמי	Νωεμιν (2)
20	2.20	schnur	sunsfrau	doughter in lawe	Cui	nurui	כלתה	τῆ νύμφη
21	2.22	schnur	sunsfrau	doughter in lawe	Cui	nurum	כלתה	τὴν νύμφην
22	3.7	mandel	hauffen garben	a heape of sheves	acervum manipuloru-	<i>in summitate acervi</i>	בקצה הערמה	ἐν μερίδι τῆς στοιβῆς
23	3.11	tugentsam	tapffer fromm	vertuous	<i>mulierem te esse virtutis</i>	<i>mulier</i> virtuosa	אשת חיל	γυνὴ δυνάμεως
24	3.15	er kam	sy gieng ¹²	she wente	Quae... ingressa	& ingressa est*	ויבא	εἰσῆλθεν*

⁷ The word (ears, i.e. of corn) does not appear in Z31 nor, I think, Z30. (The Bayerische Staats Bibliothek's digitised copy of the latter is damaged such that the words between *gang hin* and *auf / den schnittern* are barely legible; however, the text appears to be the same as Z31 and the space would not easily admit the word *aehern*.)

⁸ Z30 and Z31: *dann*.

⁹ Z30 and Z31: no equivalent (likewise Luther).

¹⁰ Z30 and Z31: *sengelkorn*.

¹¹ Z30 has "Noemi" here and R4.3, 4.5, and 4.16 (following the example of L24); Z31 amends to Naemi at R4.3 only; Z34 amends all to "Naemi". Coverdale is orthographically consistent.

¹² Z30, Z31: *er kam*, i.e. as Luther.

Table A4 (cont.)

	Ruth	L24 /L34	Z34	Coverdale	Vulgate (S28)	Pagninus	MT	LXX
25	3.16	sie aber / Sie aber <i>kam</i>	und kam ¹³	& came	& venit	Et venit	ותבוא	και Ρουθ εισήλθεν
26	4.1	fur uber gieng	fürgieng ¹⁴	wente by	praeterire	transibat	עבר	παρεπορεύετο
27	4.10	zeugen seyt yhr des heutte/ Zeugen seid ir des heute	dess sind ir zeügen. ¹⁵	Of this are ye witnesses.	huius rei testes estis	Testes estis hodie.	עדים אתם היום	μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς σήμερον
28	4.11	sey beruffen	berueff den nammen ¹⁶	[that she maye] have an honorable name	ut... habeat celebre nome-	celebre nomen	וקרא־שם	ἔσται ὄνομα
29	4.15	schnur	sunsfrau ¹⁷	sonnes wife	nuru	nurus	כלתך	ἡ νύμφη
30	4.17	Der ist der vater	Der ist ein vater	The same is the father	hic est pater <i>Isai</i>	Ipse est pater	הוא אבי־	οὗτος πατήρ
31	4.18ff	zeuget ¹⁸	gebar ¹⁹	begat	genuit	genuit	הוליד	ἐγέννησεν

¹³ Z30, Z31: *Sy aber*.

¹⁴ As NHG *vorgehen*. Z30 and Z31 agree with Z34.

¹⁵ Z30, Z31: *zeügen sind ir des heüt*, i.e. as Luther.

¹⁶ Z30, Z31 as Z34.

¹⁷ Z30, Z31: *schnurr*. Both concur with Z34 in translating כלה with *suns(-)frau(en)* elsewhere in *Ruth*.

¹⁸ *Zeugen* has the meaning ‘generate, produce’. Though used of reproduction in general, it is more commonly restricted to the male role than the female (see DWB s.v. “zeugen” §I. 3; 31.848). That Luther embraced this distinction may be seen in Gen 4.17-18 where Cain’s wife *gebar* while Lamech (in versions post-1528) *zeugete* (compare Vulgate: *peperit, genuit*). It may be that Luther coined the human generative application of *zeugen*, for he is the first source cited in DWB. Earlier Douche bibles use a combination of *geburt, geschlecht* and *teled/ teling* in such contexts (Koberger, Mentelin, Lubeck and Halberstadt), with *gebar* used consistently for both men and women in Genesis 4.17ff. Hebrew differentiates using aspects of the verb—*Qal* active for females, and the *Hiphil* causative for males.

¹⁹ *Gebar* belongs very clearly to the cognate verb of the noun *Geburt* with which the genealogy is introduced.

FIGURES

Frequency of valour and valiant in the EEBO corpus:

Figure 5.1: Growth in usage, 1473–1620

Figure 5.2: Occurrences of valiant, 1510–1619)

Figure 5.3: Occurrences of valour, 1550–1619

TL terms used in sample of Hebrew ‘others’:

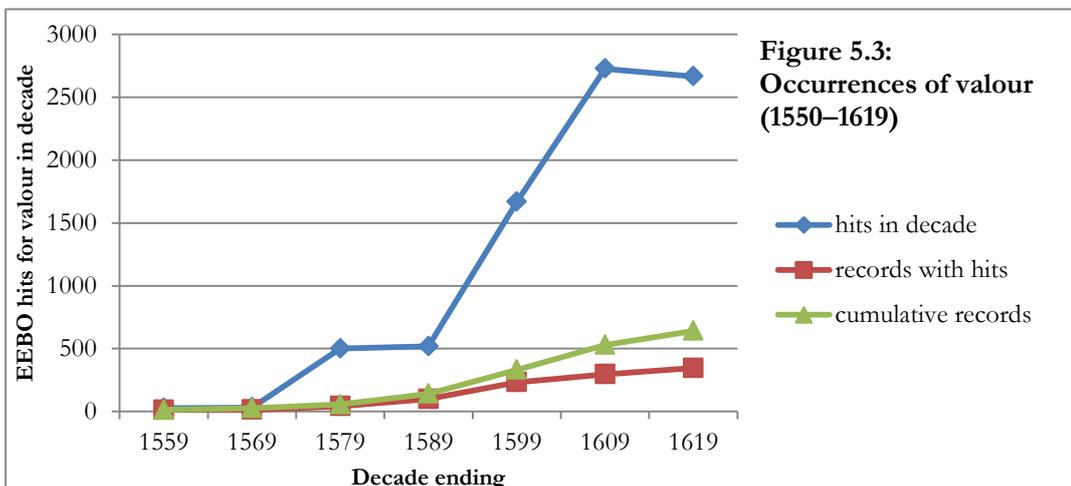
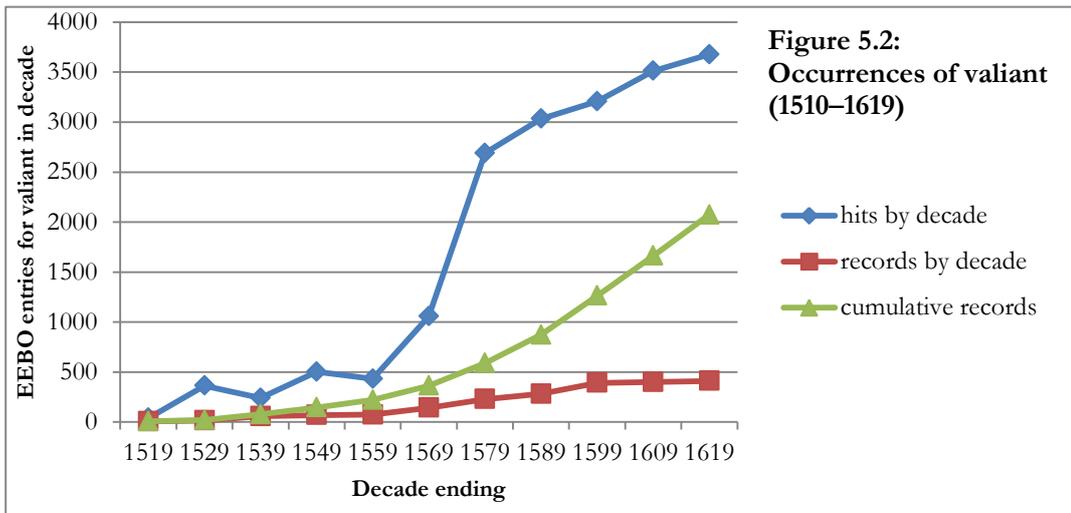
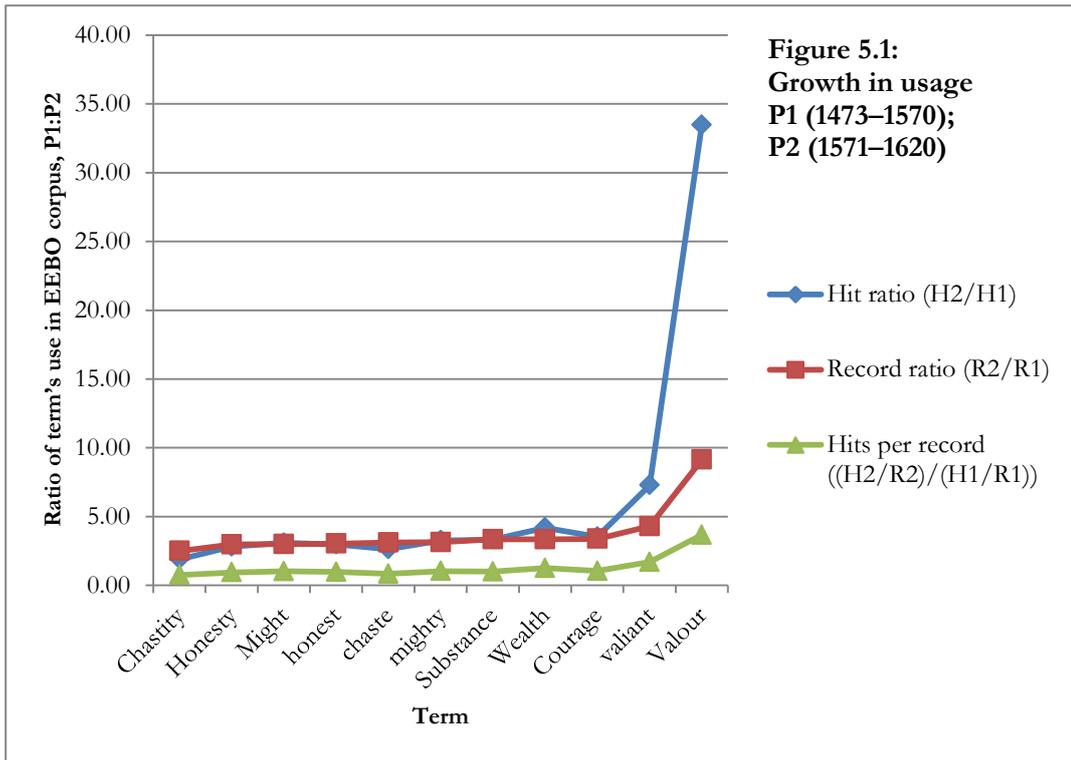
Figure 6.1: Distribution of Latin *peregrinus*

Figure 6.2: Distribution of *fremdling*, *fremd*, and cognate Douche terms

Figure 6.3: Distribution of English *strange(r)*

Figure 6.4: Ruth’s peers: Trends by language group

Figures 5.1–5.3: Frequency of valour and valiant in the EEBO corpus (see Ch. 5, §4.4)



Figures 6.1–6.4: TL terms used in sample of Hebrew ‘others’

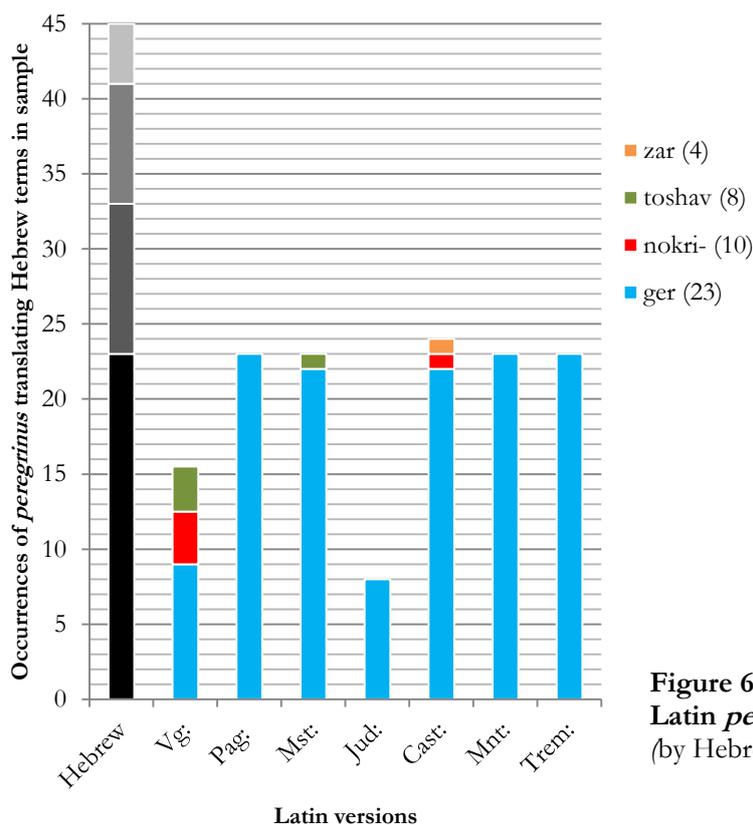


Figure 6.1: Distribution of Latin *peregrinus* (by Hebrew term)

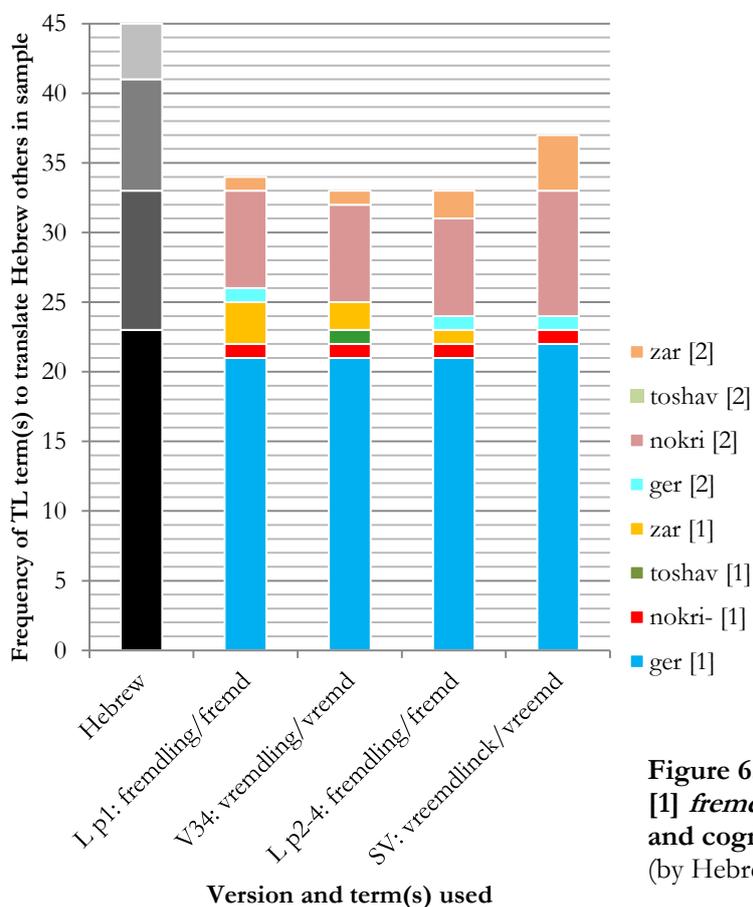


Figure 6.2: Distribution of [1] *fremdling* and [2] *fremd* and cognate Douche terms (by Hebrew term)

Figure 6.3: Distribution of English *strange(r)*
 (by Hebrew term)

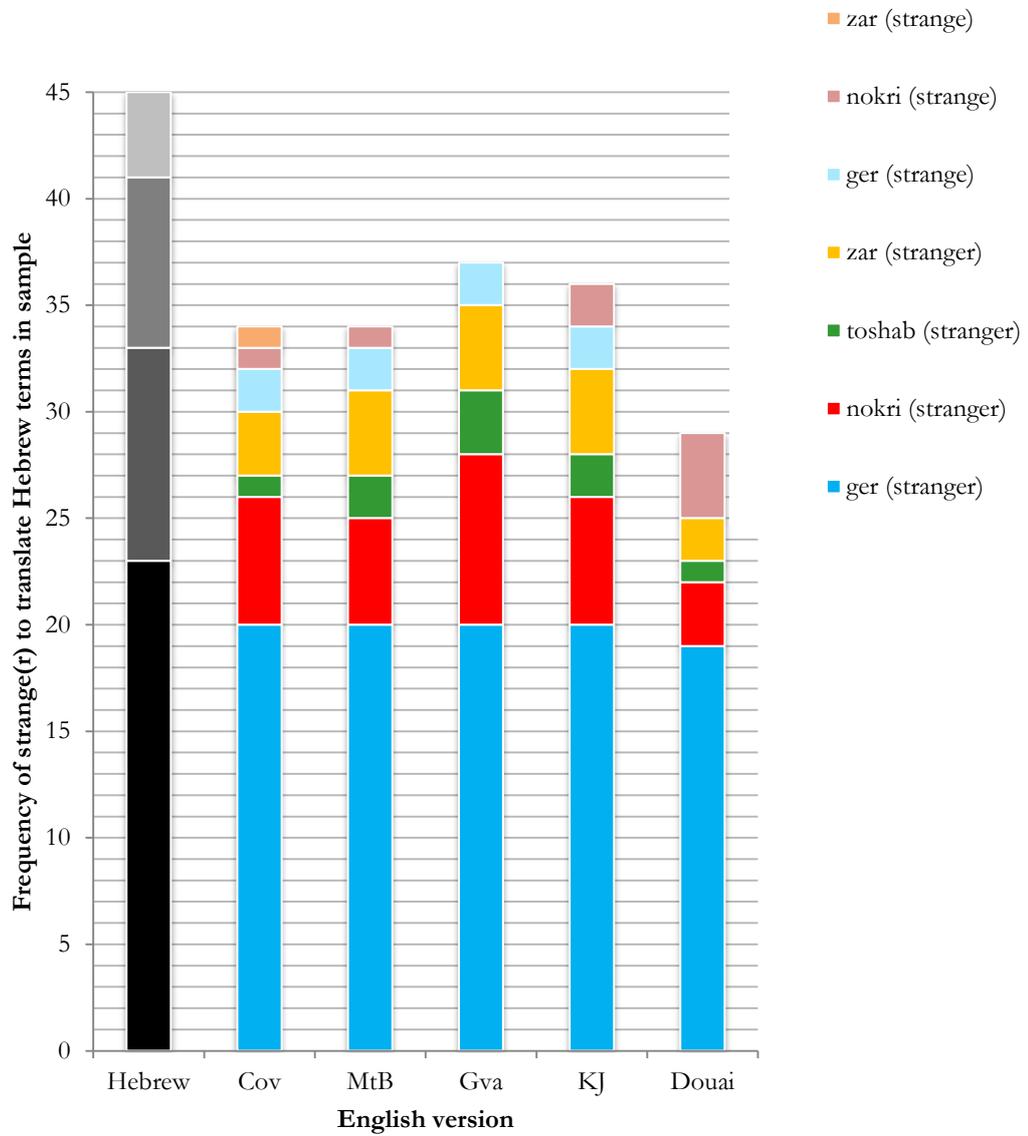


Figure 6.4: Ruth's peers: Hebrew others translated by R2.10 term in versions, with trends by language group

