

Between the Lines of the Old Testament: The Secrets of the Old English Translation

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(WORK IN PROGRESS)

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FACULTY OF ARTS
Charles University



Národní knihovna
České republiky

Series of studies

- Female references within Genesis and Exodus
- The translation of the book of Leviticus and its translation strategies
- Latin glosses in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509

MANUSCRIPTS

adopted from: Aelfric, xxxvi

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◦ ADOPTED FROM AELFRIC
XXXXVII

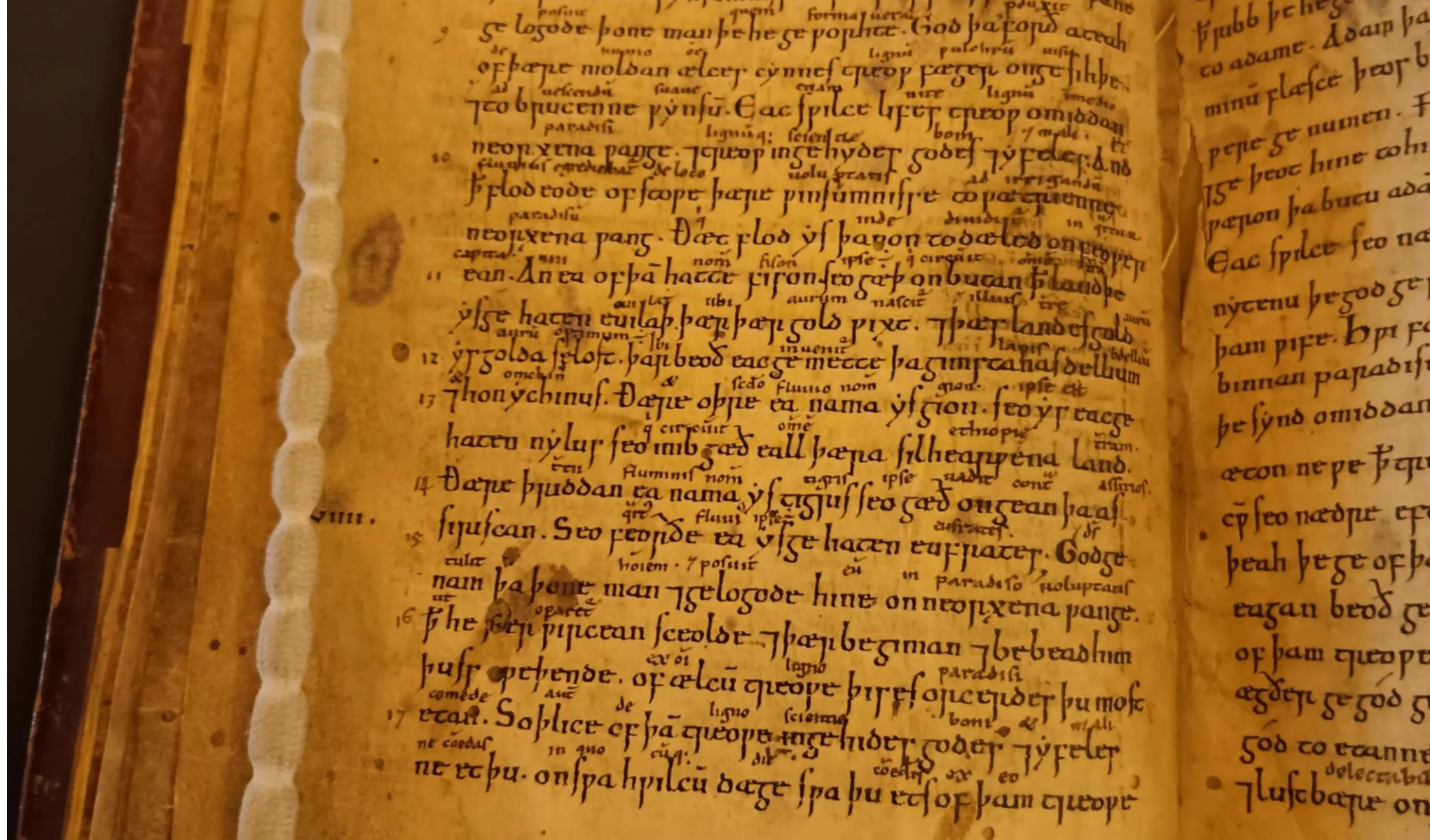
MSS	GENESIS	EXODUS	LEVITICUS	NUMERI	DEUTER.	JOSHUA	JUDGES
L	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete
B	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete	complete	
C	1:1-24:26						
Co	37:2-41:2, 42:19-47:19						
O	Fragments of 42:18-47:24						
N		Readings from 9:20-10:9, 13:19- 14:23					
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Ln			10:28-16:3, lacunae, owing to damage				
H							complete with interpolations.

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EXODUS

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[illegible]



Female references

Gn 4:25

- *cognovit quoque adhuc Adam uxorem suam et peperit filium vocavitque nomen eius Seth dicens posuit mihi Deus semen aliud pro Abel quem occidit Cain (Vulgate, Gn 4:25)*
- [B] Eft **Adam gestrynde sunu**, ðone **he nemde** Sep, and ðus cwæð: „Drihten me sealde ðisne sunu for Abel, ðe Cain ofsloh.“
- [C] Adam soðlice briac his wiues and **heo acende sunu and gecigde hine Sech**, þus cwepende: „God forgeaf ne oþerne ofspring for Abel, þone Cain ofsloh.“ (OEnHept, Gn 4:25)

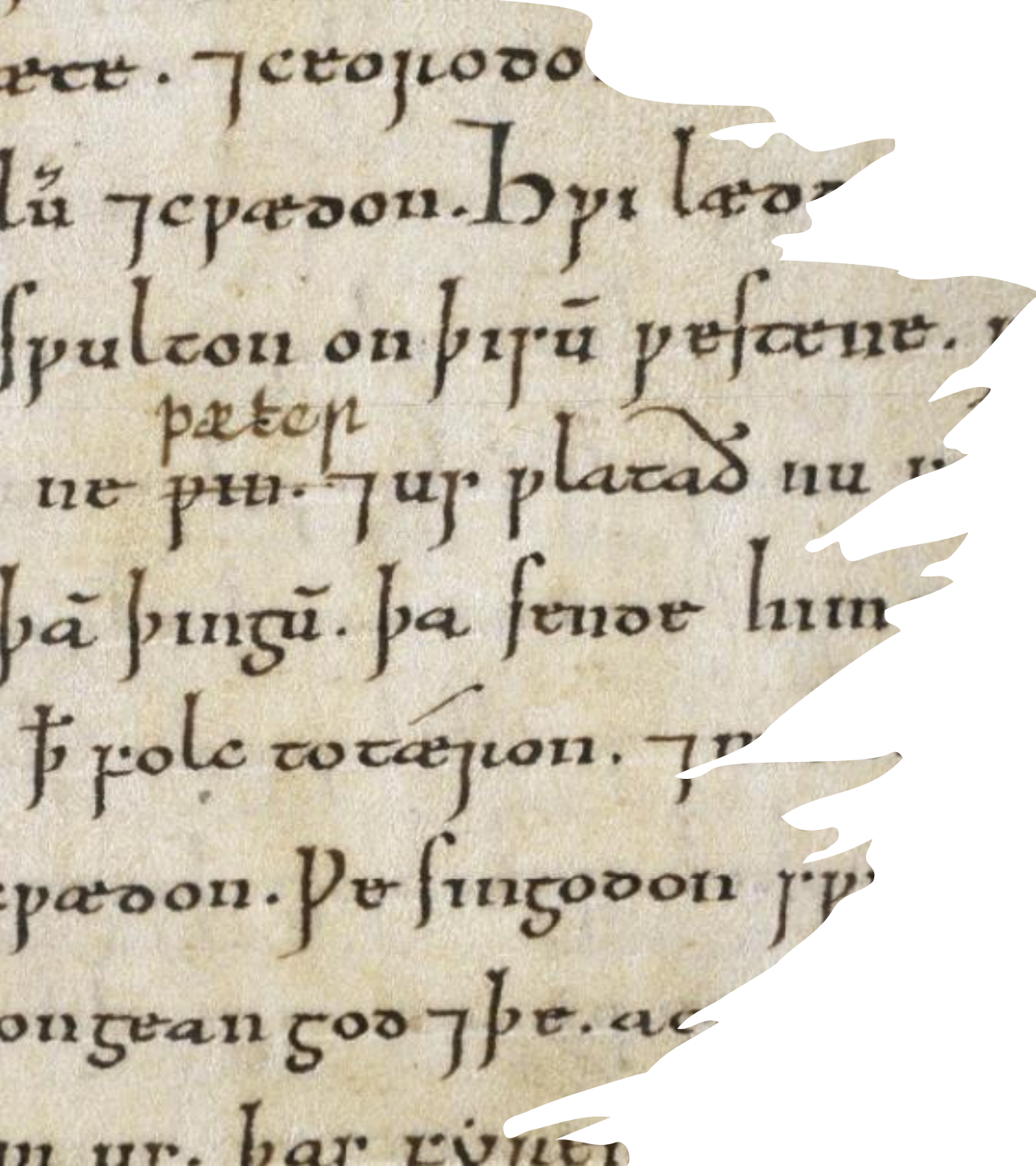
Gn 5:3

- *vixit autem Adam centum triginta annis et genuit ad similitudinem et imaginem suam vocavitque nomen eius Seth (Vulgate, Gn 5:3)*
- *[C] soðlice leofode hunteonti geare and þritti geare and gestrinde sunu to his gelicnesse and anlycnysse and het hine Sep. (OEnHept, Gn 5:3)*

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Am I the first to notice?

- “Nevertheless, Marsden is the only author dealing with OEnGnHept, and this does not escape his attention. In the introduction to his most recent critical edition, which has been consulted for this paper, he indicates that the OEnHept lists more similar instances. Surprisingly, however, he understands it as mere synonymic variation, by putting it on the same level as the change in the following verse, stating that “[w]here C, with the Vulgate, has Eve ‘bearing’ sons, B has Adam ‘begetting’ them, and where C has Cain ‘offering’ a sacrifice, in B he ‘brings’ it. Synonymous (or near-synonymous) alternative vocabulary is frequently used in B”.
- This change went unnoticed even by the collective teams of Horner 2011, who worked on the representation of women in OEn literature, and of Fox, Manish 2017, who dealt with the Old Testament translations into Old English.
- Marsden 2008, p. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.



Female references – Editorial interventions:

1. Untranslated verse
2. Omission due to repetition
3. Alteration
 - a) “Masculanisation”
 - b) “Partial Masculanisation”
 - c) “Pluralisation”
 - d) “Miscellaneous Pluralisation”

X (in contrast)

1. Unaltered

Two types of reference:

1. General (*woman*)
2. Specific (*Sarai, his wif*)

3.a – “Masculanisation”

- Gn 4:

1. Adam vero **cognovit Havam uxorem suam** quae **concepit et peperit** Cain dicens possedi hominem per Dominum
 - Now Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, “I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord.”
 - [B] Soðlice Adam **gestrynde Cain be Euan** his gemæccan and ðus cwæð: „Ðisne man me sealde Drihten.“
 - [C] Adam soðlice æfter **ðisum breac his wiues and heo eacnode and acende Cain** and cwæð: „Ic æfde mannan þurh God.“
 -
2. rursusque **peperit fratrem** eius Abel fuit autem Abel pastor ovium et Cain agricola
 - And again, she bore his brother Abel. Now Abel was a keeper of sheep, and Cain a tiller of the ground.
 - [B] Eft **he gestrynde Abel**. Abel wæs sceaphyrde and Cain eorðtilia.
 - [C] Eft **heo acende his broðor Abæl**. Abel wæs þa sciephirde and Cain hirðling.

3. b – “Partial Masculanization?” / Name omission

- Gn 11:

29. **duxerunt autem Abram et Nahor uxores nomen autem uxoris Abram Sarai et nomen uxoris Nahor Melcha filia Aran patris Melchae et patris Ischae**

- And Abram and Nahor took wives; the name of Abram’s wife was Sar’ai, and the name of Nahor’s wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran the father of Milcah and Iscah.
- [L, B] *Soplice Abram and Nachor wifudun. Abrames wif hatte Sarai and Nachores wif Melcha.*
- [C] *Abram þa, and Nachor, wifedon. Abrames wif hatte Sarai and Nachores wif hattte Melcha, Aranes dohter, and hire swister hatte lesah.*
-

30. **erat autem Sarai sterilis nec habebat liberos**

- Now Sar’ai was barren; she had no child.
- [L, B] *Sarai wæs untymende, næfde heo nan bearn.*
- [C] *Abrame’s wif Sarai was untumende.*

- Gn 16:

1. **igitur Sarai uxor Abram non genuerat liberos sed habens ancillam aegyptiam nomine Agar**

- Now Sar’ai, Abram’s wife, bore him no children. She had an Egyptian maid whose name was Hagar;
- *Abrames wif wæs þa git wuniende butan cildum. And heo hæfde ane þinene, þa Egiptiscan Agar,*

3.c – “Pluralisation”

- Gn 12:
- 5. **tulitque Sarai uxorem suam et Loth filium** fratris sui universamque substantiam quam possederant et animas quas fecerant in Haran et egressi sunt ut irent in terram Chanaan cumque venissent in eam
 - And Abram took Sar'ai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their possessions which they had gathered, and the persons that they had gotten in Haran; and they set forth to go to the land of Canaan. When they had come to the land of Canaan,
 - [L, B, C] **mid ealre fare and mid eallum æhtum**, *op þæt hi comon to þam lande Chanaan.*

3.d – “Miscellanea Pluralisation”

- Gn 12:

11. cumque **prope esset ut ingrederetur Aegyptum** **dixit Sarai uxori suae** novi quod pulchra sis mulier

- When he was about to enter Egypt, he said to Sar'ai his wife, “I know that you are a woman beautiful to behold;
- [L, B, C] Mid **bam þe hig** **wæron gehende Egipta lande**, þa **cwæð Abram to his wife**: „Ic wat þæt þu eart wlitig on hiwe,

- Gn 7:

3. sed et de volatilibus caeli septena septena **masculum et feminam** ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae

- and seven pairs of the birds of the air also, male and female, to keep their kind alive upon the face of all the earth.
- and of fugelcinne seofen and seofen **ægþres gecindes**, þat sæd sige healden ofer ealre eorðan bradnisse.

4. Unaltered

- Gn 2: (object)

22. et aedificavit Dominus Deus costam quam tulerat de Adam in mulierem et adduxit eam ad Adam

- and the rib which the Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man.
- *and geowrhte þæ ribb þe he genam of adame to anum wifmen and gelædde hig to Adame.*

23. dixitque Adam hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea haec vocabitur virago quoniam de viro sumpta est

- Then the man said, “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man.”
- *Adam þa cwæð: „ Ðis ys nu ban of minum banum and flæsc of minum flæsce. þeos bið geciged fæmne, for þam þe heo ys of were genumen.*

12. dixitque Adam mulier quam dedisti sociam mihi dedit mihi de ligno et comedi

- The man said, “The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate.”
- *Adam cwæp: „þæt wif þat þu me forgeafe to geferan sealde me of þam treowe and ic æt.”*

“Green cases”:

- Gn 10:

24. at vero **Arfaxad genuit Sala de quo** ortus est Eber

- Arpach’shad became the father of Shelah; and Shelah became the father of Eber.
- [C] **Arfaxað gestrynde Salem**; of þam asprang Heber.

26. qui **lectan genuit Helmodad** et Saleph et Asarmoth iare

- Joktan became the father of Almo’dad, Sheleph, Hazarma’veth, Jerah,
- [C] – 29. þe lectan gestrynde .xiii. sune

“Purple cases”:

- Gn 17:
- 16. **et benedicam ei** et ex illa **dabo tibi filium cui benedicturus sum eritque** in nationes et reges **populorum orientur ex eo**
 - I will bless her, and moreover I will give you a son by her; I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall come from her.”
 - Ic hig geblitsige and* of hire ic þe forgifre sunu, *þone ic wille bletsian*. He byþ on þeodum and folca cyningas cumað of him-,,

◀ Genesis 17:16 ▶

Genesis 17 - Click for Chapter

1288 [e]	1121 [e]		4480 [e]	5414 [e]	1571 [e]	853 [e]	1288 [e]
ū·bê·rak·tî·hā	bên;	lə·kā	mim·men·nāh	nā·tat·tî	wə·ḡam	'ō·tāh,	ū·bê·rak·tî
וּבְרַכְתִּיהָ	—	בֶּן	לָהּ	מִמֶּנָּה	נָתַתִּי	וְגַם	אֹתָהּ
then I will bless her	a son	you	by her	give	and also	her	And I will bless
Conj-w V-Piel-ConjPerf-1cs 3fs	N-ms	Prep 2ms	Prep 3fs	V-Qal-Perf-1cs	Conj-w Conj	DirObjM 3fs	Conj-w V-Piel-ConjPerf-1cs

1961 [e]	4480 [e]	5971 [e]	4428 [e]		1471 [e]	1961 [e]
yih·yū.	mim·men·nāh	'am·mîm	mal·kê		lə·ḡō·w·yim,	wə·hā·ye·tāh
יְהִיּוּ:	מִמֶּנָּה	עַמִּים	מַלְכֵי	—	לְגוֹיִם	וְהָיְתָה
shall come	from her	of peoples	kings		[a mother] of nations	and she shall be
V-Qal-Imperf-3mp	Prep 3fs	N-mp	N-mpc		Prep-l N-mp	Conj-w V-Qal-ConjPerf-3fs

Results of the Pilot Study (Gn 1-20):

	MSS C	MSS B (L)
1. Untranslated verse	5	13
2. Omission due to repetition	1	1
3. Alternation	10	17
3.a – “Masculanisation”	1	9
3.b – “Partial Masculanisation”	2	1
3.c – “Pluralisation”	4	4
3.d – “Miscellaneous Pluralisation”	3	3
X (in contrast)		
Unaltered	137	122
Total number of references:	153	153

Results of the 2nd stage study(Exodus 1 -20):

	MSS L/B
1. Untranslated verse	5
2. Omission due to repetition	2
3. Alternation	0
3.a – “Masculanisation”	0
3.b – “Partial Masculanisation”	0
3.c – “Pluralisation”	0
3.d – “Miscellaneous Pluralisation”	0
X (in contrast)	
Unaltered	32
Total number of references:	39

Even bearing sons:

- Ex 2:

20. at ille ubi est inquit quare dimisistis hominem vocate eum ut comedat panem

- He said to his daughters, “And where is he? Why have you left the man? Call him, that he may eat bread.”
- Þa cwæð he: „Hwar ys he? Hwi forleton ge þone man? Clipiað hyne þæt he mid us ete.”

21. iuravit ergo Moses quod habitaret cum eo accepitque Sefforam filiam eius

- And Moses was content to dwell with the man, and he gave Moses his daughter Zippo'rah.
- Soplíce Moises swor þæt he wolde mid him eardian and nam Sephoram his dohtor to wife.

22. quae peperit filium quem vocavit Gersam dicens advena fui in terra aliena

- She bore a son, and he called his name Gershom; for he said, “I have been a sojourner in a foreign land.”
- Seo cende sunu, þone he genemde Gerson and þus cwæð: „Ic wæs utacimen on ælþoedig land.”

Omissions in Exodus:

- Less critical to the narrative:
 - Ex 6: 23:
 - accepit autem Aaron uxorem Elisabe filiam Aminadab sororem Naasson quae peperit ei Nadab et Abiu et Eleazar et Ithamar
 - Aaron took to wife Eli'sheba, the daughter of Ammin'adab and the sister of Nahshon; and she bore him Nadab, Abi'hu, Elea'zar, and Ith'amar.
 - with the exception of Ex 4:25:
 - tulit ilico Seffora acutissimam petram et circumcidit praeputium filii sui tetigitque pedes eius et ait sponsus sanguinum tu mihi es
 - "Then Zippo'rah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin, and touched Moses' feet with it, and said, "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me!"

Leviticus

1 de ealne þære cōstian biððanysse. God ge sceop eorðan
 2 licet man of ðære cōstian lame. 7 on ðleop on hys anme lare
 3 of þunge. 7 se mann wæs ge worht on libbende. 7 se. God
 4 ha aplanode pynsumnisse of eorðan fpa. 7 funde on þa he
 5 ge logode þone man þe he ge worht. God þa forð aetah
 6 of þære moldan ælcet. cymnes tveop fæge. on ge silbe.
 7 7 eo bruceanne pynsū. Eac spilet lifet tveop omiddan
 8 neorxena pang. 7 tveop inge hydet gode. 7 yfeler. And
 9 þe fload eode of scope. þære pynsumnisse to pæcenne
 10 neorxena pang. Ðæt fload ys þanon to ælc on pæcne
 11 ean. An ea of þa hætt fison. seo ge on bucan þe lande
 12 ys ge hætt eulaf. þær þær gold pæc. 7 þæt landes gold
 13 ys ge golda fload. þær beod eac ge metce þa gimeca has de luum
 14 7 hon ychinus. Ðære of þe ea nama ys gion. seo ys eac ge
 15 hætt nylus. seo inib geð eall þæra silheapena land.
 16 Ðære þuðdan ea nama ys sigus. seo geð on gean þa as
 17 siuscan. Seo feorðe ea ys ge hætt eufriater. God ge
 18 nam þa þone man 7 ge logode hine on neorxena pang.
 19 þe he se þær pæcetan sceolde. 7 þær be giman 7 be beað him
 20 þu s. pæhende. of ælcū tveope þis fæge tveot þu most
 21 etan. Soþlice ef þa tveope inge hydet gode. 7 yfeler
 22 ne et þu. on sra hpilcū ðæge sra þu et of þam tveope

7 lufte bæte on

Chapter	Latin Vulgate	King James Version (KJV)	New International Version (NIV)	New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)	Czech Ecumenical Version
1	De holocaustis	The Burnt Offering	The Burnt Offering	The Burnt Offering	Zákon o zápalné oběti
2	De sacrificiis	The Meat Offering	The Grain Offering	The Grain Offering	Zákon o oběti přídavné
3	De pacificis	The Peace Offering	The Fellowship Offering	The Fellowship Offering	Zákon o pokojných obětech
4	De sacrificio pro peccato	The Sin Offering	The Sin Offering	The Sin Offering	Zákon o hříšné oběti
5	De sacrificio pro delicto	The Trespass Offering	The Guilt Offering	The Guilt Offering	Zákon o viníku
6	De holocaustis	Law of the Offerings	Additional Offerings	Instructions for the Priests	Další pokyny pro oběti
7	De sacrificio pro delicto	Law of the Trespass Offering	Additional Offerings	Additional Offerings	Zákon o viníku
8	De consecratione Aaronis et filiorum ejus	Consecration of Aaron and His Sons	The Ordination of Aaron and His Sons	The Ordination of Aaron and His Sons	Posvěcení Árona a jeho synů
9	De sacrificio primi Aaronis	The First Offerings of Aaron	The Priests Begin Their Ministry	Aaron's First Offerings	První oběti Árona a jeho synů
10	De morte Nadab et Abiu	Nadab and Abihu	The Death of Nadab and Abihu	The Death of Nadab and Abihu	Smrt Nadaba a Abíhua
11	De animalibus mundis et immundis	Clean and Unclean Animals	Clean and Unclean Food	Clean and Unclean Foods	Čistá a nečistá zvířata
12	De purificatione mulieris post partum	Purification after Childbirth	Purification after Childbirth	Purification of Women after Childbirth	Očista po porodu
13	De lepra	Regulations about Defiling Skin Diseases	Regulations about Defiling Skin Diseases	Leprosy, Varieties and Symptoms	Zákony o malomocenství
14	De purificatione leprosi	Cleansing from Skin Diseases	Cleansing from Defiling Skin Diseases	Leprosy, Cleansing and Recovery	Očista malomocenství
15	De immundis corporis fluxibus	Discharges Causing Uncleanness	Discharges Causing Uncleanness	Bodily Discharges	Zákon o výtocích z těla
16	De sacrificio expiationis	The Day of Atonement	The Day of Atonement	The Day of Atonement	Den smíření
17	De sacrificio extra castra	Eating Blood Forbidden	Eating Blood Forbidden	The Slaughtering of Animals	Zákaz požívání krve
18	De cultu turpitudinum prohibito	Unlawful Sexual Relations	Unlawful Sexual Relations	Sexual Relations	Zákon o nepřístojných svazcích
19	De diversis praeceptis	Various Laws	Various Laws	Ritual and Moral Holiness	Různé zákony
20	De poenis ad scelera pertinenti	Punishments for Sin	Punishments for Sin	Penalties for Violations of Holiness	Tresty za hříchy
21	De sanctitate sacerdotum	Rules for Priests	Rules for Priests	The Holiness of Priests	Zákony pro kněze
22	De sacerdotum oblationibus	Acceptable Sacrifices	Acceptable Sacrifices	Acceptable Offerings	Přípustné oběti
23	De festivitibus	The Appointed Festivals	The Appointed Festivals	The Festivals	Svátky Páně
24	De lampadibus et panibus propositionis	Oil and Bread Set Before the Lord	Oil and Bread Set Before the Lord	The Lampstand and the Bread of the Presence	Olej a chléb před Pánem
25	De septimo anno et anno jubileo	The Sabbath Year and the Year of Jubilee	The Sabbath Year and the Year of Jubilee	The Sabbatical Year and the Year of Jubilee	Sobotní rok a rok milosti
26	De benedictionibus et maledictionibus	Rewards for Obedience	Rewards for Obedience	Rewards for Obedience	Odměny za poslušnost
27	De votis et decimis	Redeeming What Is the Lord's	Redeeming What Is the Lord's	Vows and Tithes	Výkupné za zasvěčené

- Sexual Impurity of Men and Women (15)
- Order for the Day of Atonement (16)
- Law of Holiness
 - Order of Purity
 - Order at the Slaughter of Sacrificial Animals (17)
 - Order of Sexual Life (18)
 - Order of Daily Life (19)
 - Penalties for Serious Offenses (20)
 - Order of Priestly Holiness (21)
 - Holiness of Gifts and Donors (22)
 - Calendar of Festivals and Celebrations (23)
 - Supplementary Provisions
 - Service at the Lamp and Table (24)
 - Year of Rest and Jubilee Year (25)
 - Consequences of the People's Actions
 - Blessings (26:1-14)
 - Curses (26:14–39)
 - Conversion of the People (26:40–46)
- Final Regulations on Vows and Gifts (27)

(according to Dillard et al. 2011)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
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			27		27	27	27			27		27	27	27	27		27	27	27		27	27		27	27	27
			28		28	28	28			28		28	28	28	28		28	28			28	28		28	28	28
			29		29	29	29			29		29	29	29	29		29	29			29	29		29	29	29
			30		30	30	30			30		30	30	30	30		30	30			30	30		30	30	30

Leviticus 18: Sexual Relations

- **Latin Version:**

Lv 18:16 Turpitudinem uxoris fratris tui non revelabis quia turpitude fratris tui est.

"You shall not uncover the nakedness of your brother's wife; it is your brother's nakedness.

- **Old English Version:**

Lv 18:16 Ne hæme nan man wið his magan, Ne wiþ his mæges wif.

"No man shall commit adultery with his kinsman, nor with his kinsman's wife.

Leviticus 18: Sexual Relations

- **Latin Version:**

ante Lv 18:30 custodite mandata mea nolite facere quae fecerunt hii qui fuerunt vos et ne polluamini in eis ego Dominus Deus vester.

- "Keep my commandments; do not do what those who were before you did, so that you do not become defiled by them. I am the Lord your God."

- **Old English Version:**

Lv 18:30 Healdað mine bebodu; ne do ge nan dingc ðe ða dydon, þe beforan eow wæron, ðe læs ge beon besmitene: ic eom Drihten eower God.

- "Keep my commandments; do not do anything that those who were before you did, lest you become defiled: I am the Lord your God."

Leviticus 19: Various Laws / Everyday life

- Partially untranslated, about sabbath, (but as feastdays);

VULGATE *Lv 19:1 locutus est Dominus ad Moysen dicens*

OEH Lv 19:1 [UNTRANSLATED]

*VULGATE Lv 19:2 loquere ad omnem coetum filiorum Israhel et dices ad eos sancti estote quia ego
sanctus sum Dominus Deus vester*

OEH Lv 19:2 [UNTRANSLATED]

VULGATE *Lv 19:3 unusquisque matrem et patrem suum timeat sabbata mea custodite ego Dominus Deus vester*

"Each one of you shall fear his mother and his father; keep my Sabbaths. I am the Lord your God."

OEH *Lv 19:3 Arwurðiað eowerne fæder & eowre modor, & healdað mine fæstendagas.*

"Honour your father and your mother, and keep my days of fasting."

VULGATE *Lv 19:4 nolite converti ad idola nec deos conflatiles faciatis vobis ego Dominus Deus vester*

OEH Lv 19:4 [UNTRANSLATED]

Lv 23: Calendar of Festivals and Celebrations

- **Latin Version (Leviticus 23:10):**

*loquere filiis Israhel et dices ad eos cum ingressi fueritis terram quam ego dabo
vobis et messueritis segetem feretis manipulos spicarum primitias messis
vestrae ad sacerdotem*

"Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, when you enter the land which I give to you and reap its harvest, you shall bring the sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest to the priest.,,"

- **Old English Version (likely a mix of Leviticus 19:9-10 and 23:22):**

*ðonne ge in cumað on þæt land þe ic eow sylle, ne ripe ge to clæne, ne ge ne
gaderian ða ear þe bæfton eow beoð, ac lætað ðearfan & utancymene hi lesan.*

"When you come into the land that I give you, do not reap your field to the very edges, nor gather the gleanings after your harvest; but leave them for the poor and the foreigner to glean."

Drihten spræc to Moyse

- *Drihten spræc to Moyse* (6)
- x
- *locutus[que] est Dominus ad Mosen (et Aaron)* (31 [15])
- *Ic eom Drihten (eower God)* – 6 (2)
- x
- *ego Dominus (Deus vester)* (40) [15]
- Often translated sentences not only about who God is, but also about who His people are.
 - Vulgate Lv 25:55 mei sunt enim servi filii Israhel quos eduxi de terra Aegypti
 - OEH Lv 25:55 Israhela bearn synd mine ðeowan, ðe ic ut alædde of Egypta lande.

INTERPATATIONS, HYPOTHESES:

- What is translated:
 - Ordinances of priests (enforcing church authority; offerings with respect to communion? > Christological)
 - Texts proclaiming the Holiness of God (*lc eom Drihten* – I am Lord)
 - Relevant passages enforcing Ten Commandements
 - i.e. every day matters relevant to Anglo-Saxon Society (e.g., excluded penalties which were irrelevant)
 - Narrative parts for better textual coherence (e.g. Leviticus between Exodus and Numeri).
 - Israel is chosen to be the people of God by extension, the Church is new Israel?
 - > Cultural relevance? And space preservation?
- **Who was the reader? > e.g., Pointing to glosses in Oxford, Bodleian, Laud Misc. 509 > several reader – but mainly monks or priests?**

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