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SECTION I

ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM ITS BEGINNING TO THE YEAR 1100

GENERAL EDITOR

EDWARD MILES BROWN, Ph.D.

PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Preface

My earlier editing of this poem provided considerable material which I have been able to use with little modification in the present work. On the other hand, as the plan of this book is different, and as new opinions on certain points had in the mean time been broached, and needed to be dealt with, the new edition is not a mere condensation of the earlier. In one respect, however, and that perhaps the most essential, I have been true to my first conception: I have endeavored to present the poem, fragmentary as it is, as a work of art, being persuaded that unless philological scholarship tends to exalt life, and the nobler aspects which life has assumed, or under which it has been conceived, the less we have of it the better.

Yale University,
Dec. 21, 1903.
Introduction

MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is the well-known Cotton Vitellius A. XV of the British Museum, probably of the tenth century, which likewise contains (fol. 129b–198b) the poem of Beowulf. The whole manuscript was first described by Wanley, Catalogus, pp. 218–219; then in Planta’s Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library (London, 1802), and elsewhere. Besides the Beowulf and the Judith, it contains eight other pieces, these two forming the final ones.

A fire in 1731 destroyed some of the Cottonian manuscripts, and injured others, among the latter being this one. The injury consisted in the scorching of its edges and the shriveling of certain leaves. In some places the edges have been chipped away, and words, or portions of words, lost. It does not appear, however, as Dr. Tinker remarks (The Translations of Beowulf, p. 8), that these losses are of so great importance as the remarks of some prominent Old English scholars might lead one to suspect; and it is certain that some awkward readings of the Judith are due to the blunderings of one or more scribes, though if Foster’s conjecture is right, and the poem was composed about 915, there can hardly have

But the injury to the manuscript is of less importance in this case, since the poem had been printed by Thwaites in 1698, before the injury occurred (see Bibliography).
been many transcriptions, on the theory that the manuscript is of the tenth century. The mixture of dialectic forms, however, seems to indicate that a Northern original passed through one or more hands, and that the last scribe, at all events, belonged to the Late West Saxon period. Forms like *hēhsta* (4, 94) and *nēhsta* (73), for example, point to the North, while such as *hīhsta* (309) are clearly West Saxon; so *sēceS* (96), *hafas* (197), *medowērige* (229) seem distinctively Northern (Foster, *Judith*, pp. 50-51).

The *Judith* begins in the manuscript immediately after the *Beowulf*, and covers fol. 199*a*-206*b*. A photographic facsimile of the *Beowulf* pages was published by the Early English Text Society in 1882, with a transliteration and notes provided by Professor Zupitza; and a page (200*b*) of the *Judith* is similarly reproduced in my earlier edition, containing lines 55*a* to 69*b*. An autotype facsimile of all the pages of the *Judith* is in my possession, and I shall be happy to facilitate its consultation by scholars.

**DATE**

Very few of the Old English poems are dated. Those of which we are most certain are the ones on the battles of Maldon and Brunanburh, and these must have been written soon after the respective dates of those battles, A. D. 937 and 991; and the Cynewulfian poems, *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Christ*, which must have been written not far from the year 800. The latter poems have the name of the poet spelled in runes, the two former as Cynewulf, the latter as Cynwulf. Now the form *Cyne*- begins to appear about 750, and *Cyn*- about 800; hence the *Christ* may be conjecturally dated about 800, or even

1 See Sievers’ proofs in *Anglia* 13. 11-15.
later; the *Elene* only enough earlier to permit of the poet's alluding to himself as an old man; and the *Juliana* within the limits of Cynewulf's activity as a religious poet. All that can be said with relative certainty is that the *Christ* no doubt belongs to the early ninth century, that the *Elene* can hardly be more than ten or a dozen years earlier, at most; and that the *Juliana* can be only a few years earlier than the *Elene*, if indeed it be not later (for on this point we have no evidence). Of the remaining poems, the verse translation of the *Metres* of Boethius must, at earliest, fall at the very end of the ninth century, since it was executed either by Alfred or by some later writer. The interpolated portion of *Genesis*, known as *Genesis B*, can hardly be earlier than the middle of the ninth century, since it is based upon an Old Saxon poem which is ascribed to about 830 or 840. *Cædmon's Hymn* would date from about 670, and *Bede's Death-Song* from 735. It is generally agreed that in its present form the *Beowulf* can not be later than about 750. These are almost the only poems which can be dated somewhat independently of others. The *Andreas*, *Guthlac B*, and the *Phoenix* have been assigned by some critics to Cynewulf, the evidence being perhaps clearest in the case of the *Andreas*. The rest of the poems must be dated on the basis of internal evidence, by a comparison of diction and metre with those of the foregoing, or perhaps rarely with Continental poems of date approximately ascertained.

The *Judith* exhibits some striking correspondences in phraseology with the *Juliana*, the *Elene*, and the *Andreas*; with *Genesis A*, the *Battle of Maldon* (*Byrhtnoth*), and the *Beowulf*; and, at a greater remove, with *Gifts of Men*, the *Dream of the Rood*, the *Psalms*, etc. For example, the phrase *ic &e . . . biddan wylle* (83–84) is found also in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*; *cêne under cumblum
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(333) in Andreas; fiāna scūras, līthvōn becwōm, pystrum for̄ylmēd, in Elenē; besides remoter parallels like hlynde and dynde (Jud. 23): ṣonne rand dynede, campwudo clynde (El. 50–51); Jud. 61–63: El. 150–152; Jud. 220–227: El. 117–121; on fleam sceacan, ongan his... teran, in Juliana, together with miltse ẓinre mē ñearfendre (Jud 85): pæt pū miltsige mē ñearfendre (Jul. 449); blāchleōr ides, lēoda rās-wan, swegles aldor, ñære ñide... is nēah geprungen, in Genesis A; bord and brād swyrd, earn Ætes (Æses) georn, gūdē gegremede, in Byrhtnoth; būnan and orcas, eﬄor ġweærf, him wih ne spēow, in Beowulf; helmas (helm) and ð(øs) hupseax, hāre byrnan (øs) heæsubyrnan), in Gifts of Men; sārra sorga, sorgum gedrēfēd, in the Dream of the Rood.

These are but specimens of a larger number; others may be found in the Verbal Correspondences of my earlier edition, or in my article, 'Notes on the Judith,' in the Jour. Eng. and Germ. Phil. 5.153–158. An instance of a more general resemblance is the appearance of the birds of prey (Jud. 205–212: El. 27–30, 110–112; Brun. 60–65; Exod. 161–164; Gen. 1983–1985, the passages being too long to quote), and other features of battle in the context of the same passages.

Briefly stated, the argument from phraseology results in the conclusion that, owing to the comparatively large number of Cynewulfian reminiscences in the Judith, it can not well be earlier than, say, 825;1 and that owing to the correspondences between the Judith and the Brunanburh, one of them must have been a kind of model for the other. That the Judith is the earlier is shown by the fact that the Brunanburh has a tendency to borrow largely from earlier poems, no fewer than 35 hemistichs

1 For details see my earlier edition, p. xx, and especially Foster, Judith, p. 86.
out of a total of 146 being thus appropriated bodily, besides 13 hemistichs which are close resemblances; \(^1\) and that the correspondences with the Judith are among the most striking. Since, as between the two poems, it is the Brunanburh which more freely utilizes the phraseology of earlier poems, we may assume that the Judith is among the earlier poems thus utilized. Now, since the Brunanburh dates from 937, it results that the Judith must fall between, say, 810–825 and 937, the possibility not being excluded that it is by Cynewulf’s own hand.

More exact dating than this is difficult. In my earlier edition I suggested the hypothesis that the theme of the poem was prompted by the arrival in England of that Judith whom Æthelwulf, the father of King Alfred, had married on the Continent, an event which occurred in the year 856. On this hypothesis, the Assyrians of the poem might have symbolized the invading Danes. Foster, though agreeing with me in respect to the limits of date, was inclined to place the poem later than 856, and indeed to connect it with Queen Æthelflæd of Mercia, the daughter of King Alfred. Foster says (pp. 90–91): ‘Æthelflæd, then, is Mercia’s Judith, for she by no ordinary strategy, we are told, raised her kingdom and people to their old position. She, like the Hebrew Judith, abandoned the older strategy of raid and battle, not indeed to murder the Danish chief, but to build fortresses and beleaguer her enemies. Æthelflæd is, then, a suitable and worthy heroine to have stirred a contemporary poet to his theme. In this estimation [estimate ?] of her we are confirmed by William of Malmesbury. . . . This suggestion would place our poem between the years 915 and 918 or soon after, during which period

\(^1\) Foster, Judith, pp. 87, 102.
she obtained her greatest victories, dying in the last-mentioned year. Our other results agree admirably with this date. It leaves sufficient time for the West Saxon author of Brunanburh to have become acquainted with the Judith, time too for it to be transcribed into West Saxon form, and transcribed again at the end of the century in the MS. which we now possess. ¹ Though the dates thus suggested, ca. 856 and ca. 915, are nearly two generations apart, yet it is gratifying that the Judith can be with some confidence assigned to a period so restricted, on the strength of nothing but internal testimony.

If we divide Old English poetry, for convenience, into four successive groups, assigning the first to the period before 750, the second to that between 750 and 850, the third to that between 850 and 925, and the fourth to everything after 925, we shall find that Cædmon, Bede’s Death-Song, and the core of the Beowulf fall within the first of these periods; Cynewulf and much of the so-called Cynewulfian poetry within the second; Genesis B and the Metres of Boethius within the third; and Brunanburh and Byrhtnoth (The Battle of Maldon) within the fourth— not to mention others. The Judith, then, by general agreement, belongs to the third of these periods, 850–925, intermediate between the poetry of Cynewulf and the patriotic songs of the Chronicle.

**SOURCES**

The sources of our poem are contained in the Apocryphal book of Judith. The order of events is not that of the original narrative. Many transpositions have been made in the interest of condensation and for the purpose

¹ With this date agree the conclusions of Trautmann, *Cynewulf*, pp. 120-122.
of enhancing the dramatic liveliness of the story. Besides, the poet has not scrupled to add embellishments of his own invention, as will be more fully pointed out under the next head. The passages which seem to have been directly interwoven into the substance of the narrative are here subjoined in the Douay version, following the Vulgate, upon which the poet depended:

9. 14. Give me constancy in my mind, that I may despise him; and fortitude, that I may overthrow him.

9. 17. O God of the heavens, Creator of the waters, and Lord of the whole creation, hear me, a poor wretch, making supplication to thee and presuming of thy mercy.

10. 16. And be assured of this, that when thou shalt stand before him, he will treat thee well, and thou wilt be most acceptable to his heart. And they brought her to the tent of Holofernes, telling him of her.

10. 19, 20. And Judith, seeing Holofernes sitting under a canopy which was woven of purple and gold, with emeralds and precious stones, after she had looked on his face, bowed down to him, prostrating herself to the ground. And the servants of Holofernes lifted her up, by the command of their master.

12. 10. And it came to pass on the fourth day that Holofernes made a supper for his servants, and said to Vagao his eunuch: Go, and persuade that Hebrew woman to consent of her own accord to dwell with me.

12. 16. And the heart of Holofernes was smitten, for he was burning with the desire of her.

12. 20. And Holofernes was made merry on her occasion, and drank exceeding much wine, so much as he had never drunk in his life.

3 1–19. And when it was grown late, his servants made haste to their lodgings, and Vagao shut the cham-

1 Cf. pp. 29 ff.
ber-doors, and went his way; and they were all over-charged with wine. And Judith was alone in the chamber; but Holofernes lay on his bed fast asleep, being exceedingly drunk. . . . And Judith stood before the bed, praying with tears and the motion of her lips in silence, saying: Strengthen me, O Lord God of Israel, and in this hour look on the works of my hands . . . , that I may bring to pass that which I have purposed. . . . She loosed his sword that hung tied upon it [the pillar]. And when she had drawn it out, she took him by the hair of his head, and said: Strengthen me, O Lord God, at this hour. And she struck twice upon his neck, and cut off his head, and took off his canopy from the pillars, and rolled away his headless body. And after a while she went out, and delivered the head of Holofernes to her maid, and bade her put it into her wallet. And they two went out, . . . and they passed the camp, and, having compassed the valley, they came to the gate of the city. And Judith from afar off cried to the watchmen upon the walls: Open the gates, for God is with us, who hath shown his power in Israel. And it came to pass, when the men had heard her voice, that they called the ancients of the city. And all ran to meet her, from the least to the greatest. . . . Judith said: Praise ye the Lord our God, who hath not forsaken them that hope in him; . . . and he hath killed the enemy of his people by my hand this night. Then she brought forth the head of Holofernes out of the wallet, and showed it them, saying: Behold the head of Holofernes, the general of the army of the Assyrians, . . . where the Lord our God slew him by the hand of a woman.

14. 1, 2. And Judith said to all the people: Hear me, my brethren. . . . As soon as the sun shall rise,
let every man take his arms, and rush ye out, not as going down beneath, but as making an assault.

14. 4, 5. And when the captains of them shall run to the tent of Holofernes, and shall find him without his head, wallowing in his blood, fear shall fall upon them. And when you shall know that they are fleeing, go after them securely, for the Lord will destroy them under your feet.

14. 7-15. 8. And immediately at break of day, . . . every man took his arms, and they went out with a great noise and shouting. And the watchmen, seeing this, ran to the tent of Holofernes. And they that were in the tent came and made a noise before the door of the chamber to awake him, endeavoring by art to break his rest, that Holofernes might awake, not by their calling him, but by their noise. For no man durst knock, or open and go into the chamber of the general of the Assyrians. But when his captains and tribunes were come, and all the chiefs of the army of the king of the Assyrians, they said to the chamberlains: Go in and awake him, for the mice coming out of their holes have presumed to challenge us to fight. Then Vagao, going into his chamber, stood before the curtain and made a clapping with his hands, for he thought that he was sleeping with Judith. But when with hearkening he perceived no motion of one lying, he came near to the curtain, and, lifting it up, and seeing the body of Holofernes lying upon the ground without the head, wailing in his blood, he cried out with a loud voice with weeping, and rent his garments. And he went into the tent of Judith; and, not finding her, he ran out to the people, and said: One Hebrew woman hath made confusion in the house of king Nabuchodonosor, for behold Holofernes lieth upon the ground, and his head is not
upon him. Now when the chiefs of the army of the Assyrians had heard this, they all rent their garments, and an intolerable fear and dread fell upon them, and their minds were troubled exceedingly. And there was a very great cry in the midst of their camp. And when all the army heard that Holofernes was beheaded, courage and counsel fled from them, and, being seized with trembling and fear, they thought only to save themselves by flight; so that no one spoke to his neighbor, but, hanging down the head, leaving all things behind, they made haste to escape from the Hebrews, who, as they heard were coming armed upon them, and fled by the ways of the fields and the paths of the hills. So the children of Israel, seeing them fleeing, followed after them. And they went down sounding with trumpets, and shouting after them. And because the Assyrians were not united together, they went without order in their flight; but the children of Israel, pursuing in one body, defeated all that they could find. And Ozias sent messengers through all the cities and countries of Israel. And every country and every city sent their chosen young men armed after them, and they pursued them with the edge of the sword until they came to the extremities of their confines. And the rest, that were in Bethulia, went into the camp of the Assyrians, and took away the spoils which the Assyrians in their flight had left behind them; and they were loaden exceedingly. But they that returned conquerors to Bethulia brought with them all things that were theirs, so that there was no numbering their cattle, and beasts, and all their moveables, insomuch that from the least to the greatest all were made rich by their spoils.

15. 13, 14. And thirty days were scarce sufficient for the people of Israel to gather up the spoils of the Assyr-
ians. But all those things that were proved to be the peculiar goods of Holofernes they gave to Judith, in gold, and silver, and garments, and precious stones, and all household stuff; and they were all delivered to her by the people.

16. i. Then Judith sung this canticle to the Lord, saying: . . .

ART

The modes in which the poet's art is displayed may be considered under the four heads of Selection, Arrangement, Amplification, and Invention. To these might be added his mastery of language, and his skill in the handling of metre.

Selection. — The characters are limited to three — Judith, Holofernes, and Judith's attendant. Hardly worthy to be ranked with these is the warrior who enters Holofernes' tent and announces his violent death. He is merely one of the group of officers, though a little bolder than the rest, and drops out of the action immediately. There is no mention of Achior, none of Ozias, none of Bagoas (Vagao), none of Nebuchadnezzar. The latter seems to be merged in Holofernes, who is accordingly both general and king. Judith's handmaid serves to enhance the importance of the protagonist, as in the original narrative, though perhaps in a greater degree. Thus not only does she carry the bag, but it is she whom Judith commands (ll. 171–173) to exhibit the head of the slain captain, instead of drawing it forth herself (13, 19). Judith is continually before us: she inspires, directs, or executes everything. The result is a foregone conclusion, and everything tends irresistibly towards it. At the very beginning of the poem we are assured that she was defended from the peril that menaced her, though
the fulness of the triumph is not foretold. The note of
the beginning — ‘ā tō ʾamāl Ṣēlmīhtgan’ — recurs also
at the end.

Yet we are not permitted to overlook the formidable
nature of Judith’s antagonist, his wickedness and his
power. His servants, even the principal warriors and
councillors, remain at a distance until he summons them
(ll. 51–54), and fear to awaken him, even amid circum-
stances of the greatest danger (ll. 257–258). The epithets
applied to him, beginning with those descriptive of his
station, soon alternate with such as characterize his evil
disposition and purposes; the latter grow relatively more
and more numerous, until they culminate in the ‘heathen
hound’ of l. 110, a variant of this being repeated in
l. 179, where Judith is telling the story of his discom-
fiture. But his character is not left to be inferred from
epithets alone; in ll. 181–183 his hostility and malice are
plainly set forth. When the action opens, it is Holo-
fernes who occupies the scene, and he remains in posses-
sion of it, glorying in his authority and rejoicing over
the banquet, long enough to challenge the attention of
the reader, and make him apprehensive lest Judith may
succumb in the unequal contest. The peripetia is then
introduced with considerable art, being heightened by
the prayer of Judith while holding the weapon, by her
manipulation of the stupefied chieftain before raising her
hand to strike, and by the appreciable interval between
the two blows.

There is thus a regular gradation of personages, the
handmaid being but a shadow of Judith, and her foil,
Holofernes a redoubtable foe, and Judith the triumphant
heroine. To invest the latter with all the womanly at-
tributes most reverenced by his countrymen, the poet
endows her with virginal purity, and converts her from
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a Jewess of profound religious conviction to an orthodox Christian and believer in the Trinity (ll. 83–84).

So far as we can judge, all is frankness and fair dealing on Judith’s part. We hear nothing of her requesting permission to go beyond the lines for prayer, and there is no hint of her practising deception or otherwise compromising herself, in the whole course of the poem. She is a heroine sans peur et sans reproche, unless we account her deed in itself as the exploit of a vulgar assassin. Admitting the purity of her intentions, and the essentially righteous character of the blow she inflicted, she remains the unsullied champion and deliverer of her people, as stainless and single-minded as the Maid of Orleans.

The chief actors are thrown into relief upon a background formed by the two armies respectively. Moreover, the remarks of each are addressed to a kind of dumb chorus, in which all distinct individualities are suppressed. Such are the retainers whom Holofernes feasts, and the citizens who surround Judith on her return to Bethulia.

It will be apparent from what has been said that the characters have been selected and shaded with reference to maintaining the dramatic unity of impression through a whole series of events, and that it is in the person of the heroine that this dramatic unity centres, as it is about her that all the incidents revolve.

In the selection of these incidents, again, equal soundness of judgment is displayed. The order of events in the latter part of the Biblical narrative is, on the whole, preserved, those of lesser dramatic importance being eliminated. The poet’s object is manifestly to depict only the cardinal situations and occurrences, and to impress these upon the mind by the free play of his inven-
tion in elaborating scenes and incidents, introducing transitional passages to render the sequence obvious, and otherwise preparing or heightening the effect.

**Arrangement. —** The topics of the poem are these:

- **a)** Divine assistance granted to Judith (1–7*).
- **b)** Feast (7–34*).
- **c)** Judith brought to Holofernes’ tent (34–57*).
- **d)** Evil purposes and slaying of Holofernes (57–121).
- **e)** Return to Bethulia (122–170).
- **f)** Account of Holofernes’ death and advice to the warriors (171–198).
- **g)** Departure of the Hebrew army (199–216*).
- **h)** Surprise of the Assyrians and discovery of Holofernes’ dead body (216–290*).
- **i)** Flight and defeat of the Assyrians (290–312*).
- **j)** Return of the Israelites and taking of spoil (312–335*).
- **k)** Recompense of Judith (335–342*).
- **l)** Judith’s thanksgiving (342–347*).
- **m)** Poet’s ascription of praise (347–350).

In the main, as has been said, the order is that of the Apocryphal book, but two remarkable transpositions must be observed.

In the poem, Judith is brought in after the conclusion of the banquet; in the original, while the feast is still in progress. The poet is thus left free to emphasize the license and clamor of the feasters, since Judith is not present, and therefore has no part in their eating and drinking (cf. 12. 18, 19). By this means, too, a direct motive is provided for Judith’s conduct in the slaying, Holofernes’ evil desires and intentions (12. 16) being referred to the moment of his entry into the pavilion (ll. 57–59*), which immediately precedes his drunken stupor and his death.
The other transposition has the air of an invention, but it may be, as indicated in the Sources, only a skilful employment of the hint furnished by the original in the twofold division of the attacking forces (15. 4, 7). I refer to the actual engagement with the Assyrian army, or its vanguard, described so powerfully in ll. 216b–235. This would be the natural sequel, to the Teutonic mind, of the array and hostile sally of the Hebrew troops (199–216a), though we are expressly told (14. 2, 7) that no actual conflict then took place, but merely a hostile demonstration. The rage and terror of the Assyrian leaders are accentuated by means of this change; a moment of suspense, charged with ever increasing agony of apprehension, is introduced; and the despair which precedes the rout and final overthrow is rendered complete and overwhelming. Nearer and nearer approaches the noise of battle (261 ff.), until the leaders can no longer endure the responsibility and the dread, and one of their number, breaking through the ceremonial restrictions which surround with inviolability the person of an Oriental despot, is brought face to face with the reality which eclipses all previous disaster. Besides, the poet's audience would demand a conflict, and not merely a pursuit. To gratify such a demand, the battle proper must be introduced before the climax of consternation is reached, and the actual panic has begun. On these grounds the new arrangement is amply justified. Flight and combat are aptly interwoven in the description of the Assyrians' panic (290b–312a): they flee (290b–292a), they are cut down (292b–297a), still flee (297b–298a), and are still cut down (298b–312a); finally, after a list of the spoils is given, the fulness of the patriots' triumph is again rehearsed (319b–324a).

Amplification.—It is somewhat difficult to effect a
clear severance of invention from amplification, nor indeed is such analytic painfulness necessary beyond certain obvious limits.

The poet dwells with especial fondness on feasting and war. This is a national trait, and should be considered without prejudice to the controlling art visible in every part of his production. Amplification rises to the dignity of invention in the lines which describe the wolf, the raven, and the eagle, haunters of the battle-field (205\textsuperscript{b}–212\textsuperscript{a})\textsuperscript{1}. But the continuation (212\textsuperscript{b}–235\textsuperscript{b}) also abounds in powerful strokes, which reveal a master of this species of poetry. The spoils are enumerated with a profusion of descriptive epithets (314\textsuperscript{b}–319\textsuperscript{a}, 335\textsuperscript{b}–342\textsuperscript{a}). The impression of a vast concourse of joyful and expectant people is admirably communicated (159\textsuperscript{a}–170\textsuperscript{b}). Something like a lyric element is introduced into Judith's prayer (80\textsuperscript{b}–93\textsuperscript{a}), and into her speech before the people (177\textsuperscript{a}–198\textsuperscript{b}), with its dramatic accompaniments (171\textsuperscript{a}–175\textsuperscript{b}). The feast is a drunken orgy (7\textsuperscript{b}–34\textsuperscript{a}), with the shadow of death hanging over it (19\textsuperscript{b}–21\textsuperscript{a}). Of minor interest, but still worthy of mention, are the escorting of Judith to the tent (37\textsuperscript{b}–46\textsuperscript{a}), the description of the canopy and its use (46\textsuperscript{b}–54\textsuperscript{a}), and the account of the journey from the Assyrian camp to Bethulia (125\textsuperscript{a}–141\textsuperscript{a})

Invention. — Here, as elsewhere in Old English poetry, the bard occasionally marks his satisfaction or prevision by passages of reflective comment. Thus he anticipates the doom of Holofernes and affirms its justice (59\textsuperscript{b}–67\textsuperscript{a}), dwells upon the Divine assistance vouchsafed to Judith, as to every believing mortal (93\textsuperscript{b}–98\textsuperscript{a}), and ends the poem with a doxology of his own (347–350\textsuperscript{a}). Akin to these are resumptive paragraphs, like 122\textsuperscript{a}–124\textsuperscript{b} or

\textsuperscript{1} But cf. p. x, supra.
236\textsuperscript{a}–241\textsuperscript{a}, which are introduced at the beginning of a fit or canto, to effect a transition. Sometimes such a comment is merely retrospective, and not transitional (332\textsuperscript{a}–335\textsuperscript{a}), and is intended to bind the work more firmly together, as well as to exalt the heroine. A prediction may be put into the mouth of a subordinate personage, as in 285\textsuperscript{a}–289\textsuperscript{a}. From a result a previous action may be inferred, and expanded into a brief episode; thus Holofernes is depicted in the act of falling (67\textsuperscript{b}–69\textsuperscript{a}), and the watchmen in that of holding guard (141\textsuperscript{b}–146\textsuperscript{a}). Similarly, it is a consequence of the transfer of Judith from the banquet-hall to the bed-chamber, that the warriors who had accompanied Holofernes (62\textsuperscript{b}) immediately depart (69\textsuperscript{b}–73\textsuperscript{a}); this retinue may be compared with that of Hrothgar (Beowulf 662–665\textsuperscript{a}, 920–924). The preparations for the slaying of Holofernes are multiplied, partly to increase the suspense, and partly for the purpose of rendering the narrative more graphic and lively. Thus Judith devises her plan while Holofernes sleeps (73\textsuperscript{b}–77\textsuperscript{a}), unsheathes his sword with her right hand (79\textsuperscript{b}–80\textsuperscript{a}), and places him in such wise as is most convenient for her (99\textsuperscript{b}–103\textsuperscript{a}). Not only does the officer who discovers Holofernes dead rend his garments and cry, but he falls to the earth and tears his hair (280\textsuperscript{b}–282\textsuperscript{a}). Finally, the poet consigns Holofernes to the abode of darkness, the hall of torturing serpents, with evident satisfaction at the retribution which is there meted out to him (112\textsuperscript{b}–121\textsuperscript{b}).

Style. — As to the style, the qualities of clearness, boldness, and vigor are strongly marked. The narrative is rapid, yet there is a surprising amount of picturesque detail and wealth of characteristic epithet, considering the brevity of the poem. In certain other poems, parallelism has become almost a vice, but here it is kept within due limits, and is not allowed to retard the movement.
Metre. — The chief beauty of the metre lies in the artistic alternation of longer with shorter lines. It is certainly going too far to say, with Foster (see note on 2–12): ‘In these expanded lines, then, lies the whole story, dramatically told, and doubtless intended to be delivered in recitative. The rest is epic in its description of details, and has much the same functions as the chorus in a Greek tragedy’; yet that the expanded lines are introduced with art and measure is beyond question. But the sequences of long lines are not the only forms of grouping which occur. Thus lines with only two alliterative syllables occur in a series of nine (170–178); of six (48–53, 231–236); of five, four, and three in several places. Similarly, two successive lines alliterate with the same letter (B 17–18, 57–58, 137–138, 174–175; F 194–195, 220–221, 301–302; and a number of others). For twenty-one lines in succession the second hemistichs are all constructed on the same model (1–21; compare the first hemistichs of 182–185 and 190–193).\footnote{For details see my previous edition, pp. lxx–lxxi.} Notwithstanding these tendencies toward unification, there is no such monotony as might be expected, for side by side with them there is an impulse toward variety, exemplified in the varying length of sentence and phrase, bringing the pause now at the middle and now at the end of the line, and giving at once speed and sonority, amplitude and vigor. High as the praise is, one can hardly refrain from acquiescing in the judgment of Sweet, who affirms that the poem combines ‘the highest dramatic and constructive power with the utmost brilliance of language and metre.’
Judith
I. The Feast

I. The Feast

. . . . . . . . . . . [tw]ēode gifena
in ðŷs ginnan gr[un]d[e]; hēo ēar ēa gearwe funde
mundbyrd æt ōam mǣran ðēodne, þa hēo āhte mǣste
 þearfe
hyldo þæs hēhstan Dēmæn, þæt hē hīe wið þæs hēhstan
brōgan
5 gefriðode, frymða Waldend; hyre þæs Fǣder on roderum
torhtmōd tīde gefremede, þe hēo āhte trumne gelēafan
ā tō ōam Ælmihtgan. Gefrægen ic ōa Holofernum
winhātan wyrcean georne, and eallum wundrum þrymlīc
girwan ūp swēasendo: tō ōam hēt se gumena baldor
10 ealle ōa yldestan ōegnas: hīe ōæt ofstum miclum
ræfndon rondwiggend[e], cōmon tō ōam rīcan þēodne
fērān folces rēswan. þæt wæs þī fēorðan dōgor
þæs ðe Ïūðith hyne glēaw on geðonce,
ides ælfscīnu, ærest gesōhte.

1 Gr. No tirmetodes; K. Torhtes tirfruman no. — 1b Ms. |: eode.
tide. — 7a Ms. ælmihtigan; so Edd., except Kl. 3ælmihtgan. — 8a Ms.,
Thw., Th., L., Ett. win hatan; Gr., R., Sw., K., Kl. 3,W. winhatan. —
9a Ms. wiggend. — 12b Ms. dogore; so Edd., except C. 1, Kl. 3 dogor. —
14 After this line the Ms. has X, indicating a division.
15 Hie ðâ to ðâm symle sittan ðodon, 
wlance to wingedrince, ealle his wëagesiðas, 
bealde byrnwiggend[e]. Þær wæron bollan stœape 
boren æfter bencum gelôme, swylce ðac bûnan and 
fulle fletsittendum: hie ðæt fæge þegon 
20 rõfe rondwiggende, þéah ðæs se rica ne wënde, 
egesful eorla dryhten. Đå wearð Holofernus, 
goldwine gumena, on gytesalum; 
hlöh and hlýdде, hlyndede and dynede, 
þæt mihten ðira bearn feorran gehýran, 
25 hû se striðmôda styrmde and gylede, 
môdig and medugäl manode geneahhe 
bencsittende ðæt hi gebærðon wel. 
Swá se inwidda ofer ealne dæg 
dryhtguman ðìne drencte mid wine, 
30 swìðmôd sinces brytta, oððæt hie on swìman lágon, 
oferdrencte his duguðe ealle, swylce hie wæron deðæ 
geslegene, 
ãgotene gôda gehwylces.

2. The Slaying of Holofernes

Swá hêt se gumena [b] aldor 
fyl[1]an fletsittendum, oððæt ðira bearnum

17a Ms. byrnwiggend: — 18b Ms. : rcas. — 22b Th. gyste-salum. — 32a 
Ms., Edd. agotene; K. agrotene? — 32b Ms. : aldor (b expunged); Th., 
Ett., Gr., R., Kl.b, W. aldor; Thw., Sw., K. baldor. — 33a Ms., Edd. 
fylgan; K. fyllan ?.
nēa [1] Æhte niht sēo þystre. Hēt sā nīða geblonden
35 þā ēadgan mægð ofstum fetigan
tō his bedreste bēagum gehlǣste,
hringum gehrodene. Hīe hraðe fremedon,
anbyhtscealcas, swā him heora ealdor bebēad,
bynwigena brego: bearhtme stōpon
40 tō ðām gysterne, þær hīe Iūdithe
fundon ferhōglēawe, and sā fromlice
lindwiggende lǣdan ongunnon
þā torhtan mægð tō trāfe þām hēan,
þær se rīca hyne reste on symb[el],
45 nihtes inne, Nergende lāð
Holofernus. þær wāes eallgylden
flēohnet fāger ymbe þæs folctogan
bed āhongen, þæt se bealofulla
mihte wītan þurh, wīgena baldor,
50 on ðēghwylcne þe ðærinne cōm
hǣleða bearna, and on hyne nānig
monna cynnes, nymðe se mōdga hwǣne
nīðe rōfra him þē nēar hēte
rinca tō rūne gegangan. Hīe sā on reste gebrōhton
55 [sn]ūde sā snoteran idese; ęodon sā ste[rcedf]erhōe

34a Ms. nea: æhte. — 35a Ms., Edd. eadigan. — 40b Ms. iudithāe. —
44b Ms. symb::: — 46b Ett. þa. — 47b Ms., Thw., Th., Leo, Gr., R., W.
and ymbe; Ett. and fāger; Sw., K., Kl.3 om. and. — 52b Ms., Edd. mo-
diga. — 53b Th., Ett. het; Ms., other Edd. hele. — 55a Ms. :::ude;
Thw. snude. — 55b Ms. ste:::|ferhōe; Thw., Th., Gr., K., Kl.3, W.
stercedferhōe; Ett. snelferhōe because of alliteration; Gr. swercedferhōe ?;
R. swercendferhōe; Sw. sweorcendferhōe.
Judith

hæleð heora hearran cýðan þæt wæs sæo hálge mǣowle
gebrōht on his bûrgetelde. þā wearð se brêma on móde
blīðe, burga ealdor, þōhte ǣa beorhtan idese
mid wīdle and mid wōmme besmītān; ne wolde þæt
wuldres Dēma
6geðasian, þrymmes Hyrde, ac hē him þæs ǣinges
gestýrde,
Dryhten, dugeða Waldend. Gewāt ǣa se dēofulcunda,
gālfērhus [gangan] gumena ðrēate
bealofull his beddes nēosan, þær hē sceolde his blǣd
forlēosa [n]
ǣdre binnan ānre nihte; hæfde ǣa his ende gebiddenne
65 on eorðan unswæslicne, swyldne hē ðēr æfter worhte,
þærmōd ðēoden gumena, þenden hē on ðyssē
worulde
wunode under wolcna hrōfe. Gefēol ǣa wīne swā
druncen
se rīca on his reste middan, swā he nyste rǣda nānne
on gewitlocan; wiggend stōpon
70ūt of ðām inne ofstum miclum,
wer [as] wīnsade, þē ðeone wǣrlogan,
lāðne lēodhathan, lǣddon tō bedde

56b Ms. halige; so Edd., except C.1, Kl.8 halge. — 59a Thw. somme. —
62a Ms. gālfērhus; Gr., K. gālfērhus [cyning]; Köppel gālfērhus [gangan];
F. gālfērhus [and grædīg]. — 62b Ett. þrēate garberendra. — 63b Ms. for-
leosa:. — 64b Ett. he (for ða). — 71a Ms. wer ::. — 72a Gr. leod-hātan ?.
nēhstan sīde. Ṣā waēs Nergendes
pēowen prymful pearle gemyndig
75 hū hēo ṣone atolan ēaðost mihte
ealdre benēman ēr se unsēfra,
womfull, onwōce. Genam ṣā wundenlocc
Scyppendes mægð scearpne mēce,
sçūrum heardne, and of scēaðe ēbrēd
80 swīðran folme; ongan ṣā swegles Weard
be naman nemnan, Nergend ealra
woruldbūendra, and ṣæt word ācwǣð:
‘Ic ṣē fymeōa God, and frōfre Gǣst,
Bearn Alwaldan, biddan wylle
85 miltse þīnre mē peorfendre,
ǫrynesse ǫrym. Pearte ys mē nū ṣā
heorte onhǣted and hige gēomor,
swīðe mid sorgum gedrēfed; forgif mē, swegles Ealdor,
sigor and söðne gelēafan, ṣæt ic mid þīs sweorde mōte
gēhēawan þysne morōres bryttan; geunne mē mīnra
90 ge[sy]nta,
þearlmōd þēoden gumena: näht [e] ic þīnre nǣfre
miltse þon māran þearf[e]: gewrec nū, mihtig Dryht-
ten,
torhtmōd tīres Brytta, ṣæt mē ys þus torne on mōde,
hāte on hreōre mīnum.’ Hī ṣā se hēhsta Đēma
95 ēdre mid elne onbryrde, swā hē dēð ānra gehwylcne

85b Ms. þearffendre.—86b Kl.³ þearle me nuða.—87a Ms., Thw., Gr.,
W., Kl.³ heorte ys; Th., Ett., R., Sw. heorte (heorte ys note); K. heorte.—
90b Ms. ge::nta.—91² Ms. naht::.—92a Ms. þearf::.
hěrbūendra  þe hyne him tō helpe sēceð
mid rāde and mid rihte gelēafan.  Pā wearð hyre rūme
on möde,
hāligre hyht genīwod;  genam ǣ þone hǣðnan man-
nan
fæste be feaxe sīnum,  tēah hyne folmum wið hyre
weard

100 bysmerlice,  and þone bealofullan
listum ālēde,  lāðne mannan,
swā hēo ǣs unlǣdan  āðost mihte,
wel gewealdan.  Slōh ǣ wundenlocc
þone fēondsceaðan  fāgum mēce

105 hētþoncolne,  þæt hēo healsne forcearf
þone swēoran him,  þæt hē on swīman lēg,
druncen and dolhwund.  Nās ǣ dēad þā gūt,
ealles orsāwle:  slōh ǣ eornoste
ides ellenrōf  [ōp]re sīde

110 þone hǣðnan hund,  þæt him þæt hēafod wand
forð on ǣ flōre;  lēg se fūla lēap
gēsne beāftan,  gēst ellor hwearf
under neowelne nās,  and ǣr genyðerad wæs,
sūsle gesēled  syðdan ðēfre,

115 wyrmum bewunden,  wītum gebunden,
hearde gehāfsted  in hellebryne

98<sup>b</sup> Ms. hǣðenan; so Edd., except C.¹, Kl.³ hǣðnan.—105<sup>a</sup> Thw., Th.,
Ett. hētþoncolne.—108<sup>b</sup> Thw. eornost. —109<sup>bd</sup> Ms. :re. —110<sup>a</sup> Ms.,
Edd. hǣðenan; C.¹ hǣðnan.—113<sup>a</sup> Ms., Thw., Gr., Sw., K., Kl.³, W.,
neowelne nās; Leo neowelnis; Ett. neowelnes; Th.¹ newelnæs; Th.², R.
zeowelnæs.
After this line the Ms. has XI, indicating a division. — 121 After this line the Ms. has XI, indicating a division. — 127 Leo, Gr., R. fore genge. — 130 Ms. :: (for Sa). — 130b Ms. agea. — 131* Ms. ::::: oncolre. — 132* Ms. gingr::|. — 134* Ms., Thw. hie hie. — 135* Ms., Edd. eadhreðige.
8  

Judith

féódeláste forð önettan,
140 oð hie glædmóde gegán hæfdon
to ðâm wealgate.  Wiggend sæton,
weras wæccende werear hælodon
in ðâm fæstenne, swá ðâm folce æðr
géomormódum Judith bebēad,
145 searoðoncol mægð, þa hēo on síð gewāt,
ides ellenrōf.  Wæs ða eft cumen
lēof to lēodum,  and ða lungre hēt
glēawhydīg wif gumena sumne
hyre tōgēanes gān of ðære ginnan byrig,
150 and hī ofostlice in forlǣt[a]n
Þurh ðæs wealles geat, and þæt word ācwæð
to ðám sigefolce:  ‘Ic eow secgan mæg
þoncwyrðe þing, þæt gē ne þyrfen leng
[mu]rnan on móde:  eow ys Metod bl[iðe],
155 cyninga Wuldor;  þæt gecyðed wearð
geond woruld wide, þæt eow ys wuldorbæð
tor[ht]lic tōweard  and tír gifeðe
þāra læðda þe gē lange drugon.’
Þa wurdon blīðe burhsittende,
160 syðdan hī gehýrdon  hū sēo hālge spræc

141b Ms. weal above line. — 142b Ms. 1 of heoldon corr. from r. —
144b Ms., Thw., Th., Rie. Iudithe. — 149 Thus in R., Swv. ; Ms., other
Edd. of ðære ginnan byrig hyre togeanes gan; Z. to geanes faran? —
150a Gr. om. hi. — 150b Ms. forlēton; Thw. forlæten; K., W. forlæton;
Kl.8 forlētan; other Edd. forlætan. — 154a Ms. ::rnan. — 154b Ms. bl::: —
157a Ms. tor::lic. — 158a Gr. [on last] þara læðða ? ; R. þara læðða [to
bote]? ; Z. þara læðða [to leane]. — 160a Ms., Edd. halige ; C.1 halge.
ofor hēanne weall. Here wæs on lustum, 
wid þæs fæstengeates folc ònette, 
weras wif somod, wornum and hēap[um], 
ðrēatum and ðryllum þrungon and urnal 
ongēan þæ þeo̗d[nes mæg]ði þusendmæ̣lum, 
ealde ge geonge: æghwylcum wearð 
men on ðēre medobyrig mōd ārēted, 
syðan hīe ongēaton þæt wæs Iūdith cumen 
eft tō ðēle, and ða ofostlice 
165 hīe mid ðēdum in forlēton. 
þa sēo glēawe hēt golde gefrætwod 
hyre ðinenne þancolmōde 
þæs herewēðan hēafod onwriðan, 
and hyt tō bēhēðe blōdig ætýwan 
170 þam burhleodum, hū hyre āt beaduwe gæspēow. 
Spræc þā sēo æðele [tō e[a]]llum þa[m] folce: 
‘Hēr gē magon sweotor[e], [si]gerōfe hæleð, 
leoda ræswan, on ðæs láðestan 
hēðnes heāðorinces hēafod staria[n], 
175 Holofernus unlyfīgendes, 
þe ús monna mæst morðra gefrēmēde, 
sārra sorga, and þæt swýðor gýt 
ýcan wolde; ac him ne ūðe God 
leŋran lifes, þæt hē mid læððum ús 

163b Ms. heap:: — 165a Ms. þeōðnes. — 176b Ms. :: ūlu þa (abbr. for m lost). — 177a Ms. sweotol:: — 177b Ms. ::gerōfe. — 179a Ms., 
Edd. hæðenes; C.1 hæðnes. — 179b Ms. stariað. — 182b Ms., Sw., K., Kl.3, W. and þæt swyðor; Thw. and syðor; Th., Gr., R. and swyðor; Ett. and swiðor.
Judith

185 eglan mōste: ic him ealdor oðrung
purh Godes fultum. Nū ic gumena gehwæne
þyssa burglēoda biddan wylle,
randwiggendra, þæt gē recene ðow
fysan tō gefeohthe; syðdan frymða God,

190 ārfæst Cyning, ēastan sende
lēohnte lēoman, berað linde forð,
bord for brēostum and byrhnomas,
scīre helmas in sceadena gemong,
fyllan folctogan fāgum sweordum,

195 fæge frumgāras. Fynd syndon ðowre
gedēmed tō dēaðe. and gē dōm āgon,
tīr æt tohtan, swā ðow getācnod haftað
mihtig Dryhten þurh mīne [h]and.

4. The Battle

pā wearð snelra werod snūde g[e]gearewod,

200 cēnra tō campe; stōpon cyn[e]rōfe
secgas and gesiðas, bāron [sige]þūfas,
foron tō gefeohthe forð on gerihte,
hæleð under helmum of sære hālgen byrig
on sæt dægred sylf; dynedan scildas,

205 hlūde hlummon. Pæs se hlanca gefeah
wulf in walde, and se wanna hrefn,
wælgifre fugel: w[i]stan bēgen
pæt him ðā þēodguman þōhton tilian
fylle on fægum; ac him fleah on læst
earn ætes georn, ūrigfedēra;
salowigpāda sang hildelēoð,
hyrnednebbā. Stōpon heaðorincas,
beornas tō beadowe bordum beðeahte,
hwealfum lindum, ðā ðe hwīle ēr
elðēodigrā edwit þoledon,
hǣdenra hosp; him pæt hearde wearð
æt ðām æscplegan eallum forgolden
Assyrium, syddān Ebrēas
under guðfanum gegān hæfdon
tō ðām fyrdwicum. Hīe ðā fromlice
lēton forð flēogan flāna scūras,
[hilde]näedran of hornbogan,
strēlas st[edehea]rde; styrmdon hlūde
grame guðfrecan[n], [g]āras sendon
in heardra gemang. Hǣleð wæro[n] [y]rre,
landbūendē lāðum cynne;
stōpon styrmōde, stercedferhōe
wrehton unsōfte ealdgeniðlan

207b Ms., Thw., Th., Gr., R., K., Kl.8, W. westan; Ett. weston;
Sw. wiston. — 209b Gr. eac?; R. eac. — 211a Kl.8 note haswigpāda?.
222a Ms. :::: nāedran; Thw., Th., Gr. hilde nāedran; Ett., R., Sw., K.,
Kl.8, W. hildenaedran. — 223a Ms. :::::: rde. — 223b Th.1 styrmdon;
Leo stroimdon. — 224a Ms. guðfrecan. — 224b Ms. :aras. — 225b Ms.
wæro: :rre. — 228a Leo weahton; Gr. ehton?
medowērige; mundum brugdon
scealcas of scēāsum scīrmǣled swyrd
ecgum gecoste, slōgon eornostē
Assiria ōretmǣcgas,
nīdhycgende, nānne ne sparedon
hæs herefolces hēanne ne rīc[ŋ]e
235 cwicera manna þe hīe ofercuman mihton.

Swā þā magoþegnas on þā morgentīd
ēhton elþēoda ealle þræge,
onþæt ongēaton þā de grame wǣron,
hæs herefolces hēafodweardas,
þæt him swyrdgeswing swīðlic ēowdon
weras Ebrisce. Hīe wordum þæt
þām yldestan ealdorþegnum
cyðan ēodon, wrehton cumbolwigan
and him forhtlīce fārspl bodedon,
245 medowērigum morgencollan,
atolne ecgplegan. þā ic ēdre gefrægn
slegefǣge hæleð slǣpe tōbrēd[a]n
and wið þæs bealofullan būrgeteldes
weras [wērig]ferhǣ e hwearfum þringan
250 Ho[lo]fernus; hogedon āninga

234b Ms., Thw., Th., Ett., W. rice; Gr. + rīcne. — 235 After this line the Ms. has XII, indicating a division. — 238b R. gramra. — 243b Leo wehton; Gr. wehton; Sprachschatz wrehton; Ett. wēhton? wrehton? rehton? — 247b Ms., Thw., Th., K., Kl.8, W. tobredon; Ett., Gr., R., Sw. tobredan. — 249a Ms., Thw., Th., Kl.8 ferhǣ; Ett. wideferhǣ; Gr. werig- for weras; R. hreowig-?; Sw. [hreowig-]; K. [werig-]; W. . . . ferhǣ. — 249b Ett. wonum; Thw. bringan. — 250a Ms. ho::|fernus.
hyra hlāforde h[ī]ld[e] bodian,
ærdaðe him se egesa on ufan sæte,
mægen Ebrēa. Mynton ealle
þæt se beorna brego and sēo beorhte mægð
in såm whitegan træfe wæron ætsomne, Iūdith sēo æðele and se gālmōda,
egesfull and ǣfor; næs ðēah eorla nān,
þē ðone wiggend ðaweccan dorste,
oðe gecunnian hū ðone cumbolwigan
wīð ũā hālgan mægð hæfde geworden,
Metodes méowlan. Mægen nēalæhte,
folc Ebrēa, fuhton þearle
heardum heoruwǣpnum, hē[š]te guldon
hyra fyrgneslītu fāgum swyrdum
ealde æðdoncan; Assyria weard
on såm dægweorc dōm geswiðrod,
bælc forbīged. Beornas stōdon
ymbe hyra þēodnes træf þearle gebylde,
sweorcendserhēde. Hī ũā somod ealle
ongungkin cohhet[þ]an, cirman hlūde,
and grīstbītian Gode orfeorme,
mid tōðon torn þoligende; þā wæs hyra ūres æt ende,
eades and ellendēda. Hogedon þā eorlas
äwecc [an] [hi] ra win [e] dryhten: him wiht ne spēow.
275 þā wear [ð] [s]īð and late sum tō ðām arod
þāra beadorinca, [þæt] hē in þæt būrgeteld
nīðheard nēðde, swā hyne nŷd fordrāf:
funde þā on bedde blācne lic [gan]
his goldgifan gæstes gēsne,
280 lifes belidenn [e]. Hē þā lungre gefēoll
frēorig tō foldan, ongan his feax teran,
hrēoh on mōde, and his hrægl somod,
and þæt word ãcwǣð tō ðām wiggendendum,
þē þær unrōte ūte wāron:
285 'Hēr ys geswutelod ūre sylfra forwyrd,
tōweard getācnod þæt þære tīde ys
[nū] mid nīðum nēah geōrungen,
þē [wē life] sculon losian somod,
æt sæcce forweorðan: hēr līð sweorde gehēawen,
290 behēafodod healden [d] ūre.' Þī þā hrēowigmōde
wurpon hyra wæpe[n] ofdūne, gewitan him wērig-ferhēde
on flēam sceacan.

6. The Pursuit

Him mon feaht on lāst,
mægenēacen f[olc], oð se mǣsta dǣl
þæs heriges læg hilde gesæged

on ōm sigewonge, sweordum gehēawen,
wulfum tō willan, and ēac wælgīfrum
fuglum tō frōfre. Flugon ñā ñe lyfdo[n]
lāðra lind[wiggendra]. Him on lāste fōr
swēot Ebrēa sigore geweorðod,
dō[me] gedyrsod; him fēng Dryhten God
fægre on ful[tum], Frēa ælmihtig.
Hi ñā fromlice fāgum swyrdu
hæleð higerōfe herpað worhton
þurh lāðra gemong, linde hēowon,
scildburh scær[on]; scēotend wēron
gūðe gegremede, guman Ebris[ce];
Þegnas on ñā tīd þearle gelyste
gārgewinnes. Þær on grēot gefeoll
se hūhsta dǣl hēafodgerēmes

Assiria ealdorduguðe,

291a Ms. wæpe:. — 293a Ms. — ecen ; Ms. f:::. — 297b Ms. lyfdo:];
Ett. lifdon. — 298a Ms. linde:; Ett., Gr. lindwig(g)endra ; Thw., Th., Leo,
Sw., K. lind ; R. lind *; W., Kl.8 linde. — 300a Ms. do:::. — 301a Ms.
ful:::. — 305a Ms. scær:::|. — 306b Ms. Ebreis:::
láðan cynnes: lýthwōn becōm
cwicera tō cýðē. Cirdon cynerōfe,
wiggend on wiðertrod, wælscel oninnan,
rēocende hrǣw; rūm wæs tō nimanne
londbūendum on čām láðestan,
hyra ealdfēondum unlyfīgendum
heolfrig hererēaf, hyrsta scŷne,
bord and brād swyrd, brũne helmas,
dyre mādmas. Hæfdon dōmlīce
on čām folcstede fýnd oferwunnen
cēelweardas, ealdhettende
swyrdum āswefede; hīe on swaðe reston
hā śe him tō life láðost wāron
[cwicera] cynna.

7. The Spoil

[D]ā sēo cnēoris eall,
mēg[a] [m]ērost, ānes mōnēs fyrst,
wlanc wundenlocc [wǣ]gon and lǣddon
tō sēre beorhtan byrig Bethuliam
helmas and hupseax, hāre byrnan,
gūþ sceorp gumena golde gefrætewod,
māerra mādra þonne mon Ænig

312b Ett. tirdon (= tirigdon)? — 313b Cos. wælstel, wælsteal(l). —
314a Ett. rāwe ?; Gr. recende (Sprachschatz reocende). — 320b Thw. syrd.
— 324a Ms. ::::: — 324b Ms. :a. — 325a Ms. mæg :: ærost. — 326a
Ett., Gr. wランス; Thw., Th., L., Ett., Gr. wundenloce; Ms., R., Sw.,
K. wundenlocc; R. wlanc wigena heap ?. — 326b Ms. ::gon. — 328b Th.
herebyrnan. — 330a R. madma fela ? madma worn ?.
8. The Praise

Ealles ðæs Iūdīth sægde
wuldor weroda Dryhtne, þe hyre weorðmynde geaf,
mærðe on moldan ríce, swylce ðæc mēde on heofonum,
sigorlēan [in swegles] wuldre þæs ðe hēo āhte sóðne
gelēafan
[ā] tō ðā[m] Ælmihtgan; hūru æt þām ende ne
twēode

331b Ms. sear: þoncelra. — 333b Ms., Thw. ʃ; Th., Kl. 8 and; Gr. and (preposition); Ett. æt; R., Sw., K. on. — 336b Thw. sylfne. — 338b Ms. ::rnan. — 343a Th., Kl. 8 wuldor-weroda. — 345a sigorlēan is the last word in fol. 206b; the rest is added on the lower margin, apparently in a hand of the 17th or 18th century, and is now for the most part illegible (Siev.); wuldre next word legible after sigorlēan (Cook). — 346a Gr. [up]; R. up; Sw., K. [a]; Ms. om. a; Ms. ʃa; Ms., Edd. ælmihtigan.
haes lea[nes pe hēo] l[a]nge gyrnde. haes sy ūm leōfan Dryhtne
wu[ldor] tō wīdan aldre, ye gescēop wind and lyfte,
roderas and [rūm]e grundas, swylce ēac rēðe strēam-
as
350 and swe[gles] drēamas [burh his sylfes miltse].

347a Ms. lea :::: :::: l·nge. — 348a Ms. wu:::.. — 348b Ett. he. —
349a Ms. ::::e. — 350a Ms. swe:::.. — 350b Ms. illegible.
Notes

1b. The suggested emendations are not convincing, but *or no* should almost certainly be supplied. Though the numbers in the Ms. before lines 15 (X), 122 (XI), and 236 (XII) would seem to indicate that we here have only the end of a much longer poem, yet the poem seems virtually complete as it now is, and the lines which here stand first are echoed so significantly at the end that it is difficult to believe that more than a very few lines are missing. Note how *tēode* is repeated in 346b, and 6b–7a in 345b–346a.

2–12. This is the first group of long or expanded lines, which together constitute nearly one fifth of the poem, or 66½ lines. The others are 16–21, 30–34, 54–61, 63–68, 88–99 (excluding 96a), 132, 272–274a, 289b–291, 298a, 338–350 (excluding 350a). In general, the long lines of Old English poetry are employed in passages of peculiar elevation and solemnity, or in those expressive of un wonted agitation. Foster’s theory (*Judith*, p. 39) is that in these expanded lines ‘lies the whole story, dramatically told, and doubtless intended to be delivered in recitative. The rest is epic in its description of details, and has much the same functions as the chorus in a Greek tragedy.’ See p. xxvi.

2b. *ōār*. This form, according to Sievers, is Late West Saxon (*Gr.* 321, note 2).

7a. *Ælmīhtgan*. The reason for eliding the second *i* is thus given in *Gr.* 144 a: ‘Every middle vowel of a trisyllabic word [*Ælmīhtgan* is here treated like *mīhtgan*], when originally short, and not rendered long by position, is syncopated after a long radical syllable.’ Besides, according to metrical principles, we should here read $\underline{XX} | \underline{XX} | \underline{XX}$, not $\underline{XX} | \underline{XX}$.

12a. *þē fēorōan dōgōr*. *Jud.* 12. 10: ‘And in the fourth day Holofernes made a feast.’ — *dōgōr*. The regular instrumental form would be *dōgre*, but such forms as this are also found (*Gr.* 289). The reason for preferring it or *dōgre* here, against manuscript authority, is metrical. The hemistich now scans: $\underline{XXX} | \underline{XX} | \underline{XX}$. 
14* ides elfsciu. Both Abraham and Abimelech call Sarah mag elfsciéno, Gen. 18:27, 27:30. Otherwise neither Old nor Modern English seems to afford us much help in determining just what is meant (see NED. s. v. elf). The Old Norse is more suggestive. Thus the Edda has its ljósálfar, 'elves of light,' whose king is the god Frey (the god of light), and the sun is sometimes poetically called álfróðull, 'elfin beam or light' (Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icel.-Eng. Dict.).

23 ff. This is the most graphic picture of hilarious inebriety in the whole range of Old English poetry.

24* firæ bearn. A Hebraism.

25* stiðmōda. Such weak adjectives used as nouns are rather frequent in the poem.

31* duguðe. The word corresponds to German Tugend, and is related to Mod. Eng. doughty.

32* baldor. Both gumena aldor and gumena baldor occur, so that it is difficult to know which the poet intended here; perhaps the expunction of b was done merely by the latest scribe.

33* fyllan. This seems preferable to fylgan, the manuscript reading, since that could only mean, 'serves,' a sense otherwise unexampled in the poetry. Here 'fill' means, of course, 'fill with wine,' 'pour out.'

46. eallgylden. Jud. 10:20, 21 assures us that Holofernes' canopy was woven with 'purple, and gold, and emeralds, and precious stones.'

47* ymbe. The manuscript and before this word is evidently superfluous.

51* næníg. I. e. [mihte wítan].

55* stercedferhöe. Thwaites so reads, and the Ms. ste... forbids the emendations of Ettrmüller, Grein, Rieger, and Sweet. The word occurs again in 227.

59* wuldrēs Dēma. Not a very felicitous epithet. It is formed by the substitution of Dēma, as in 4, 94, for Cyning, in wuldrēs Cyning (cf. Chr. 565, etc.), which reposes on Ps. 24:7, 10, and is not found elsewhere; pryrmes Hyrdé is equivalent.

62* gangan. gewát gangan (gongan) is also found in Æs. 180, Gen. 10:49; there is no point in introducing the word cyning; and there is no reason for here depicting Holofernes as 'greedy.'

77* wundenloc. Here, and in 103, Judith is curly-haired,
as are the Hebrews generally in 326. Elsewhere in OE. poetry, it is only an unnamed woman in Rid. 2611 who is so characterized.

87a. heorte. The ys of the Ms. seems to be repeated from the preceding line.

94b–95a. Observe the peculiar syntax of the adverb, and compare 97.

96b. him. Reflexive.

99b. wið hyre weard. Cf. to us-ward, Ps. 40. 7; Eph. 1. 19; 2 Pet. 3. 9 (all A. V.).

110b. hund. See 1 Sam. 17. 43; 2 Kings 8. 13 for similar contemptuous uses of ‘dog.’

111b. leap. The sense is only to be ascertained from the context. Usually leap = ‘basket.’

112a. gesne. The word occurs as late as the seventeenth century, and later dialectically; cf. NED. and Eng. Dial. Dict. s. v. geason.

113a. under neowelne næs. Cf. Beow. 1411. The conception of a Cliff of the Dead is an old one. In the London Academy (34. 257) Professor F. York Powell says: ‘Gill and others have recorded the Polynesian belief respecting the Spirit’s Rock — a precipice, generally overlooking the sea, down which the spirits of the dead are supposed to leap after death on their way to the spirit-world, and down which living persons have occasionally hurled themselves out of life. This belief obtained also among the Greeks; and Odyssey 24. 11 presents a very clear allusion to Leucas, White-Cliff, as a way to the spirit-world.’ He also refers to Gautrec’s Saga, p. 7, though this is less pertinent. In a later issue (34. 355) I compared El. 832, where, as here, the sense of ‘headland,’ ‘cliff,’ is hardly evident, and endeavored thus to show how that sense might have passed into that of ‘chasm,’ ‘abyss.’ ‘Any one who has visited the Yosemite Valley, and stood at the base of El Capitan, can perfectly understand the transfer of meaning in the case of næs. Imagine that the opposite walls of the valley have been rent apart by a convulsion of nature. We have a level floor, and a sheer ascent on each side. That which is just under this level floor is at the same time under the precipitous headland and under the deep chasm, and, looking from above, it does not much matter which we call it, only that if we chanced to be speaking of gnomes disporting below the surface of the valley, as in Undine, we should be
quite as likely, I conceive, to think of the abysmal as of the pro-
montorial aspect. And so I apprehend that we must interpret the
nēolum næsse of the Elene, at least, without much reference to the
primary conception "headland." Neoowl may have been asso-
ciated with darkness through the idea of the under-world, Hades.'

117b. hopian. Foster says (Judith, p. 88): 'In the whole
Beowulf, in the Cædmonian poems as in the Cynewulfian, this word
is unknown, the conception "hope" being expressed by hycgan or
wēnan. . . . In the whole range of Old English poetry, it is only
found in Judith and in the Metra 744.' He therefore concludes
that this word "would further justify us in placing Judith at the
end of the ninth or at the beginning of the following century,'
referring to Dietrich’s article in the Zs. für Deutsches Alterthum 9.
216.

122a. gefohten. Notice the force of the prefix — attain by
the active of the simple verb.

126b. swā. Thus used in 130a.
134a. The second hīe of the Ms. is evidently superfluous.
130–137. Thus the seafarers in Beowulf behold from afar the
gleaming cliffs (Beow. 221–222).

149. Metrical law requires that, of three alliterative syllables,
two shall be in the first hemistich; hence the transposition.

150b. forlētan. The infinitive is required by the sense.

158a. pāra lǣða. The efforts of the commentators have
been directed to finding a noun on which lǣða might depend.
Zupitza’s conjecture is as ingenious as any, but no one of them can
be called convincing. Meanwhile, pāra lǣða is metrically sound,
and perhaps, by a little forcing, we can read some such sense as
būt or lēan out of sīr, as implicit in it.

167a. medobyrig. A Germanic, not a Jewish city.

181a. mǣst. To be construed both with monna and morðra.

194a. fyllan. In the sense of the gerund, tō fyllanne.

195a. frumgāras. The word is apparently a translation of
Lat. primipilus.

201b. [sige]tūfas. From the Latin tūfa; the correspondence
is noted by Bede, Eccl. Hist. 2. 16. Some alliterative syllable is re-
quired in the second hemistich, and sige- was suggested on the analogy
of such words as sigebēacen, sigebēam, sigebyme, sigewǣpen, etc.

204b–205a. For the onomatopoetic effect cf. 23 ff.
219a. gūðfanum. Cf. the Modern English gonfalon.
220a. fyrdwicum. For the plural cf. Lat. castra.
228a. wrethon. Grein's ēhton is perhaps an improvement
upon this as regards sense, but the change is rather violent.
229a. medowērige. The middle vowel i has here been re-
tained, because its omission would not improve the metre. So also
in 245. (Cf. Sievers, PBB. 10, 461.)
243b. wrehton. Not merely 'wake,' but 'rouse up'; in
Dan. 577 we have the phrase weces and wreces with 'rain'
(regna scūr) as the subject, and 'Nebuchadnezzar' as the object.
There seems no sufficient ground to question the reading.
249a. wērīgferhōe. The Ms. has only ferhōe. In 291
wērīgferhōe occurs. The alliteration in w:w:w is already estab-
lished for the line, and is paralleled by 314, r:r:r.
251b. hilde. Leo's emendation is self-evident.
263b. hæ[ς]te. There is no adverb hæfte, and the inst. sing.
of the noun hæft is unexampled in the poetry, and would in any
case have no meaning here.
266a. dægworce. dæge- is not a combining form, and there
is no possibility of construing the two words if they are separated.
272b. pā wæs hyra tires æt ende. An apparent confu-
sion of two constructions: (a) pā wæs hyra ūr æt ende; (b)
pā wæs hyra ūres ende; but cf. Doomsday 2b–3a.
Fēores bið æt ende
ānra gehwylcum.
273b. As Foster notes (Judith, p. 14), Rieger's transposition
'gives a half-line of a form seldom, if ever, found.'
274. winedryhten. wina- is impossible; winedryhten is
found in Beowulf, and elsewhere.
275b. tō ēām. To that extent; so.
287a. [nū]. Some word is required for metrical reasons, as
without it the hemistich has only one foot. Kluge also adopts the
nū, but inserts it later. Rieger's mid niða bearnum is weak. Foster
objects (Judith, p. 47) that nū is here made a chief-stressed and
alliterative word, comparing lines 92 and 186. Heath's emendation
satisfies metrical requirements, but nið seems not otherwise to be
used with such an adjective. With nið = 'man' nothing can
be done. The line seems to be desperately corrupt, and our reading
is only a makeshift.
Etumüller’s emendation is extremely plausible. It must be noted that losian is rather ‘escape (from)’ than ‘lose.’

The emendation is supported by 42, in conjunction with lādra, which implies the gen. plur. Lind would be metrically unacceptable, and, if we read linde, there would be no reason for fleeing the shields.

The best notion of this is derived from the accounts of Cæsar’s combat with Ariovistus. Thus Cæsar himself says (Bell. Gall. 1.52): ‘The Germans, according to their custom, rapidly forming a phalanx, sustained the attack of our swords. There were found very many of our soldiers who leaped upon the phalanx, and with their hands tore away the shields, and wounded the enemy from above.’ Florus has (3.10): ‘The ardor of the Roman soldiers in the battle cannot be better shown than by the circumstance that when the barbarians, having raised their shields above their heads, protected themselves with a testudo, the Romans leaped upon their very bucklers, and then came down upon their throats with their swords.’ But the fullest account is that of Dio Cassius (38.49, 50), which is classic for this formation among the Germans (I quote the translation kindly made for me by Dr. Charles G. Osgood): ‘In this manner they [the Germans] got the worst of it; yet they did not flee— not that they were unwilling, but rather that they were unable, both from distraction and from faintness. Thus, gathering together in groups of three hundred, more or less, they thrust forward their shields on every side of them, and standing erect, made themselves both inaccessible by their close formation, and hardly movable by their dense crowding; and thus they neither wrought nor suffered any harm. Accordingly the Romans, since the barbarians began neither to advance upon them nor to flee, but, remaining stationary, stood like towers; and since, too, the Romans having thrown away their spears at the first attack as being useless, they could now neither wage a hand-to-hand fight with their swords nor come at the enemies heads, where alone they were vulnerable, since they fight bareheaded— [under these conditions] they tore off the shields, and, falling upon the enemy, some with a running start, others from near by, they leaped up as best they could and slashed them, and thus in an instant many fell at a single blow, and many even died before they could fall; for, by reason of their close formation, even though dead they were held on their feet.’
312. *wælscel*. Cosijn's emendation, *wælstel*, for *wælstel(l)*, is regarded by him as a synonym for *wælstōw*, "battle-field," a word used in *Beowulf* and elsewhere.

330a. The gen. plur. seems to require a governing noun; but cf. *fāra læða*, 158.
Passages from the Vulgate Judith


12. 10. Et factum est, in quarto die Holofernus fecit coenam servis suis, et dixit ad Vagao eunuchum suum: Vade, et suade Hebraeum illum ut sponte consentiat habitare mecum.

12. 16. Cor autem Holofernis concussum est; erat enim ardens in concupiscencia ejus.

12. 20. Et jucundus factus est Holofernus ad eam, bibitque vinum multum nimis, quantum numquam biberat in vita sua.

exivit, et tradidit caput Holofernis ancillae suae, et jussit ut mitteret illud in peram suam. Et exierunt duae, ... et transierunt castra, et, gyrantes vallem, venerunt ad portam civitatis. Et dixit Judith a longe custodibus murorum: Aperite portas, quoniam nobiscum est Deus, qui fecit virtutem in Israel. Et factum est, cum audissent viri vocem ejus, vocaverunt presbyteros civitatis. Et concurrerunt ad eam omnes, a minimo usque ad maximum. ... Dixit Judith: Laudate Dominum Deum nostrum, qui non deseruit sperantes in se; ... et interfecit in manu mea hostem populi sui hac nocte. Et proferens de pera caput Holofernis, ostendit illis, dicens: Ecce caput Holofernis principis militiae Assyriorum, ... ubi per manum feminae percussit illum Dominus Deus noster.

14. 1, 2. Dixit autem Judith ad omnem populum: Audite me, fratres. ... Et erit, cum exierit sol, accipiat unusquisque arma sua, et exite cum impetu, non ut descendatis deorsum, sed quasi impetum facientes.


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Glossary
Glossary

[The order of words is strictly alphabetical, æ coming between ad and af, but initial ø following t. Roman numerals indicate the class of ablaut verbs; wi., etc., that of the weak verbs; rd., the reduplicating; prp., the preteritive present verbs; anv., the anomalous verbs. The double dagger, †, is used to designate words not elsewhere found in the poetry, according to Grein. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted, 'ind. pres.' is to be understood, unless some other designation has just preceded; when of mood only, supply 'ind.' if no other has preceded, otherwise the latter.]

A.

ä, adv., ever, always, 7, [346]; see äwa.
äbregdan, III., draw, pret. 3d sing. äbræd, 79.
ac, conj., but, 60, 119, 183; and(?), 209.
äcweðan, v., speak, pret. 3d sing. äcwæð, 82, 151, 283.
ædre, adv., forthwith, 64, 95, 246.
æfre, adv., ever, 114.
æfter, prep. w. dat., after, 117; along, 18.
æfter, adv., towards, 65.
æfðonca, m., grudge, ap. æfðoncan, 265.

æghwylc, pron., each, asm. æghwylcne, 50; dsm. æghwylcum, 166.
†ælfscíne, adj., beautiful as an elf, nsf. ælfscínu, 14.
ælmíhtig, adj., almighty, nsm. 301; dsm. wk. ælmíht(i)gan, 7, 346.
ænig, pron., any, nsm. 330.
ær, adv., before, previously, 65, 143, 214.
ær, conj., ere, before, 76.
æððonðe, conj., before, 252.
ærest, adv., first, 14.
†æscplega, m., ash-play, spear-play, ds. æscplegan, 217.
æscröf, adj., brave, npm. æscröfe, 337.
æt, prep. w. dat., in, 123, 175, 197, 217, 289; at, 272, 346; from, 3.

ætsomne, adv., together, 255.
ætywan, w., display, inf. 174.
æðele, adj., noble, nsf. 176, 256.
æfor, adj., fierce, nsm. 257.
ægan, prp., own, have, 2d plur. agon, 196; pret. 3d sing. ähte, 3, 6, 340, 345; with negative prefix: pret. 1st sing. nähte, 91.
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†gystern, n., guest-hall, ds. gysterne, 40.
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**Judith. (ed. A.S. Cook)**  
PR 1730-  
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