Passages Rendered "on ure wisan" in Ælfric's Homily on Judith*

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0. Introduction

The apocryphal book of Judith is preserved in the Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint (LXX hereafter);[1] no Hebrew or Aramaic manuscript has been discovered,[2] though St Jerome remarks in the Prologus Iudith of the Latin Vulgate that he translated it from Chaldean.[3] The Anglo-Saxons were also inspired by the story of Judith, and they wrote the story in their language; there exist two Old English (OE hereafter) versions—an anonymous OE poem and Ælfric's homily on Judith known as Assmann IX.[4]

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1) The Greek quotations are made from *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979; first published in 1935).

2) *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, edited by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1991; first published in 1968), p. 572.

3) *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985; erste Auflage 1969), p. 691, ll. 7-8. 'Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi; sola ea quae intellegentia integra in verbis chaldeis invenire potui, latinis expressi.'

4) *Beowulf and Judith*, ed. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), pp. 99-109; *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsichen Prosa 3 (Kassel: Georg H. Wigand, 1889), pp. 102-16. The OE instances in the present paper are cited from those two editions.

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The OE poem, dated to the late tenth century,[5] contains 349 lines, and is a fragment of a much longer work.[6] Its source is considered to be the apocryphal book of Judith in the Latin Vulgate,[7] but the poem is far from the fragment of the mere translation, even on the basis of free translation; the poet has made the fullest possible use of freedom to alter and expand lines or verses, omit minor incidents and characters, thus reducing the number of characters to only two (Holofernes and Judith), and insert depictions not found in the Bible, such as the one-way transparency of the flynet surrounding Holofernes' bed,[8] and conventional formulae with carnage-greedy animals of the battle scenes.[9]

5)   Dobbie 1953, p. lxiv; Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), p. 219.

6)   Dobbie 1953 (p. lxi) estimates the original length of the poem to be 1,200 or 1,300 lines.

7)   Dobbie 1953, p. lix; Greenfield & Calder 1986, p. 219; Benno J. Timmer, pp. 14-16 in *Judith* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1978; first published in Methuen's Old English Library in 1952), lists the relevant passages from the Vulgate Judith.

8) *Judith* 46b-54a: 'þær wæs eallgylden/ fleohnet fæger ymbe þæs folctogan/ bed ahongen, þæt se bealofulla/ mihte wlitan þurh, wigena baldor,/ on æghwylcne þe ðær inne com/ hæleða bearna, ond on hyne nænig/ monna cynnes, nymðe se modiga hwæne/ niðe rofra him þe near hete/ rinca to rune gegangan.' (There was an elegant all-golden fly-net there, hung about the commandant's bed so that the debauched hero of his soldiers could spy through on every one of the sons of men who came in there, but no one of humankind on him, unless, brave man, he summoned one of his evilly-renowned soldiers to go nearer to him for a confidential talk) — translation by S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Dent, 1982), p. 497. The relevant passage in the Vulgate is 'videns itaque Holofernem Iudith sedentem in conopeo/ quod erat ex purpura et auro et zmaragdo/ et lapidibus pretiosis intextum' (Iudith x, 19).

9) *Judith* 205b-212a: 'þæs se hlanca gefeah/ wulf in walde, ond se wanna hrefn,/ wælgifre fugel. Wistan begen/ þæt him ða þeodguman þohton tilian/ fylle on fægum; ac him fleah on last/ earn ætes georn, urigfeðera,/ salowigpada sang hildeleoð,/ hyrnednebba.' (At that, the lean wolf in the wood rejoiced, and that bird greedy for carrion, the black raven. Both knew that the men of that nation meant to procure them their fill among those doomed to die; but in their wake flew the eagle, eager for food, speckled-winged; the dark-feathered, hook-beaked bird sang a battle-chant) — translation by Bradley, p. 501. *Judith* 295-296a: 'wulfum to willan ond eac

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The OE prose version, Ælfric's homily, dated 1002-5,[10] consists of 452 metrical lines. The story of Judith itself starts at line 22 and ends at line 403, thus containing 382 lines; it is preceded by a short introductory passage about the Babylonian captivity, and is followed by Ælfric's own figurative commentary on the story of Judith.[11] Ælfric begins his commentary on this story by stating that the source of the story was written in Latin:

> Nis þis nan leas spel: hit stent on leden,
> nis on ðære bibliothecan. Þæt witon boceras,
> þe þæt leden cunnon, þæt we na ne leoȝað. (404-406)

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waelgifrum/ fuglum to frofre.' (as a treat for the wolves and a joy to the carrion-greedy birds) — translation by Bradley, p. 503.

10) Peter Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. Peter A. M. Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), pp. 244-45.

11) The passages in the two OE versions are related to those in the LXX and the Vulgate as follows (S stands for the LXX, V for the Vulgate, Æ for Ælfric's homily, P for the OE poem; followed by the chapter and verse numbers in S and V, the line numbers in Æ and P): S i, 1-12, V i, 1-12, Æ 22-40; S ii, 1-6, V ii, 1-6, Æ 41-49; S ii, 14-28, V ii, 7-18, Æ 50-56a; S iii, 1-10, V iii, 1-15, Æ 56b-65; S iv, 1-8, V iv, 1-7, Æ 66-70; S iv, 9-15, V iv, 8-17, Æ 71-72; S v, 1-4, V v, 1-4, Æ 73-82; S v, 5-19, V v, 5-23, Æ 83-136; S v, 20-24, V v, 24-29, Æ 137-144; S vi, 1-9, V vi, 1-6, Æ 145-152; S vi, 10-21, V vi, 7-21, Æ 153-170; S vii, 1-18, V vii, 1-10, Æ 171-175; S vii, 19-32, V vii, 11-25, Æ 176-190; S viii, 1-8, V viii, 1-8, Æ 191-208; S viii, 9-27, V viii, 9-27, Æ 209-226; S viii, 28-36, V viii, 28-34, Æ 232-234; S ix, 1-14, V ix, 1-19, P 1-7a (?); S x, 1-10, V x, 1-10, Æ 227-235; S x, 11-23, V x, 11-20, Æ 236-47, P 37b-55a; S xi, 1-23, V xi, 1-21, Æ 248-265a; S xii, 1-9, V xii, 1-9, Æ 265b-281; S xii, 10-20, V xii, 10-20, Æ 282-295, P 7b-37a & 55b-59a; S xiii, 1-10, V xiii, 1-12, Æ 296-310, P 59b-141a; S xiii, 11-20, V xiii, 13-26, Æ 311-337, P 141b-186a; V xiii, 27-31, Æ 338-347; S xiv, 1-5, V xiv, 1-5, Æ 348-354, P 186b-198; S xiv, 6-10, V xiv, 6; S xiv, 11-19, V xiv, 7-18, Æ 355-370, P 199-289a; S xv, 1-7, V xv, 1-8, Æ 371-381, P 289b-323a; S xv, 8-14, V xv, 9-15, Æ 382-394, P 323b-341a; S xvi, 1-20, V xvi, 1-24, Æ 395-398, P 341b-349; S xvi, 21-25, V xvi, 25-31, Æ 399-403.

七一

In his treatise *On the Old and New Testament*, Ælfric remarks that
he translated the book of Judith in their manner into English:[12]

> Iudith seo wuduwe, þe oferwann Holofernem þone Siriscan
> ealdormann, hæfð hire agene boc betwux þisum bocum be hire
> agenum sige; seo ys eac on Englisc on ure wisan gesett . . .
>
> (772-77)

The chief aim of the present paper is to discuss, by examining the
relevant passages in the Latin Vulgate and Ælfric's homily, how
Ælfric renders the story of Judith in their manner into English, and
what effect is produced on the whole by that. Relevant passages in
the LXX and the OE poem will also be treated for the sake of
comparison.

1. *se ælmihtiʒa ʒod*

Ælfric refers to God as 'se ælmihtiʒa ʒod' in the introductory
passage of his homily on Judith:

> swa swa se ælmihtiʒa ʒod　　on his mod asænde,
> þæt he his folce mildsode　　æfter swa micelre yrmþe.
>
> (20-21)

There is no equivalent passage in the LXX and the Vulgate, since
the above passage is original with Ælfric. However, in the story of
Judith itself, which has related passages in the Vulgate, the
adjective 'ælmihtiʒ', the term used to render the Latin *omnipotens*

七　12)　*The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and*
　　　New Testament and his Preface to Genesis, ed. Samuel J. Crawford, EETS OS
　　　160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922, reprinted 1990), p. 48.
　　　'Judith the widow, who overcame Holofernes the Syrian general, has her
　　　own book amongst the others, concerning her own victory; it is also set
　　　down in our manner in English, . . .', translated by Professor Godden,
　　　'Biblical literature: the Old Testament', *The Cambridge Companion to Old*
　　　English Literature, ed. Malcolm R. Godden & Michael Lapidge (Cambridge:
　　　Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 219.

(the Greek παντοκράτωρ), is inserted by Ælfric before the word ʒod when the Latin passage does not contain the word equivalent to it.

> Þis cynn com iu   of Chaldeiscre mæʒðe
> and hi æfre wurþiað   ænne ælmihtiʒne ʒod,
> se þe on heofonum eardað,   on hine truwiʒende.   (86-88)

> populus iste ex progenie Chaldeorum est
> hic primum in Mesopotamiam habitavit
> quoniam noluerunt sequi deos patrum suorum
> qui erant in terra Chaldeorum
> deserentes itaque caerimonias patrum suorum
> quae in multitudine deorum erant
> unum Deum caeli coluerunt
> . . .[13]   (Iudith v, 6-9)

The relevant Latin phrase here is *unum Deum caeli coluerunt* (the LXX v, 8: τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, θεῷ ᾧ ἐπέγνωσαν "the God of heauen, the God whom they knew").[14] Neither in the Vulgate nor in the LXX is found a word equivalent to *ælmihtiʒ*; Ælfric inserted it.

The following OE passage in the homily is an expansion of the *clamaverunt ad Deum suum* of the Vulgate:

> Ac hi clypodon endemes   to þam ælmihtiʒan ʒode,
> þe hi on ʒelyfdon,   þæt he hi ahredde.   (97-98)

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13) 'This people is of the progenie of the Chaldees. The same dwelt first in Mesopotamia, because they would not folow the goddes of their fathers, which were in the land of Chaldees. Forsaking therfore the ceremonies of their fathers, which were in multitude of goddes, they worshipped one God of heauen, . . .' Translation is quoted from *The Holie Bible, Doway 1609*, facsimile reproduction (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co. Ltd, 1990).

14) Translation is quoted from *The Holy Bible*, an exact reprint in roman type, page for page of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611, with an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1985).

cumque gravaret eos rex Aegypti
atque in aedificationibus urbium suarum in luto et latere
subiugasset eos
clamaverunt ad Deum suum et percussit totam terram Aegypti
plagis variis[15]   (Iudith v, 10)

Here also is no Latin word nor Greek word equivalent to *ælmihtiȝ*
(καὶ ἀνεβόησαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν "Then they cried vnto their
God" in the LXX, v, 12).

Ælfric made alteration, by condensing, in the following
passage:[16]

                    hi wæron ȝetrywe
þam ælmihtiȝan ȝode,   (223b-24a)

sic Isaac sic Iacob
sic Moses et omnes qui placuerunt Deo
per multas tribulationes transierunt fideles[17]   (Iudith viii, 23)

Ælfric inserted the adjective *ælmihtiȝ* here, too.

Ælfric rendered 'Dominum Deum Israhel' by þone *ælmihtiȝan ȝod*,
as follows:

And heo swa dyde   symle on nihtum,
bæd þone ælmihtiȝan ȝod,   þæt he hire ȝewissode
his folce to ahreddinȝe   on þære frecednysse.   (279-81)

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15) 'And when the king of Ægypt oppressed them, and in the buildinges of
     his cities had subdewed them in brick and claye, they cried to their Lord,
     and he stroke the whole Land of Ægypt with diuers plagues.'
16) The relevant passage in the LXX is μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐποίησεν μετὰ
     Ἀβρααμ καὶ ὅσα ἐπείρασεν τὸν Ἰσαακ καὶ ὅσα ἐγένετο τῷ Ἰακωβ ἐν
     Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῆς Συρίας ποιμαίνοντι τὰ πρόβατα Λαβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
     τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ 'Remember what things he did to Abraham, and how he
     tried Isaac, and what happened to Iacob in Mesopotamia of Syria, when he
     kept the sheep of Laban his mother's brother' (viii, 26).
17) 'So Isaac, so Iacob, so Moyses, & al that haue pleased God, through manie
     tribulations haue passed faithful.'

et ut ascendebat orabat Dominum Deum Israhel
ut dirigeret viam eius ad liberationem populi sui[18]

(Iudith xii, 8)

The word 'Israhel' is altered to *ælmihtiʒan* in the above instance.[19]

The Greek παντοκράτωρ, the equivalent to the Latin *omnipotens*, occurs five times with κύριος "Lord" in the Greek LXX text of the book of Judith — iv, 13 (κυρίου παντοκράτορος), viii, 13 (κύριον παντοκράτορα), xv, 10 (τῷ παντοκράτορι κυρίῳ), xvi, 5 (κύριος παντοκράτωρ), xvi, 17 (κύριος παντοκράτωρ) ; it does not occur with θεός "God". Only two of them, those occurring in xvi, 5 and 17 of the LXX, corresponding to xvi, 7 and 20 in the Vulgate, are rendered by *dominus omnipotens*, and they are the only instances of *omnipotens* in the Vulgate Judith. There can be found no example of *omnipotens* used with *Deus* in the Latin Vulgate text of Judith. Ælfric, however, uses the phrase *se* (or *æn*) *ælmihtiʒa ʒod* as many as five times in his homily on Judith, as exemplified above, and all of them occur in the passages irrelevant to those in the LXX and the Vulgate where the LXX or the Vulgate has instances of παντοκράτωρ or *omnipotens*. The *ælmihtiʒ* occurs in the OE poem also, and is used there twice substantively with the article *se*—7 (a to ðam ælmihtigan), 345 (to ðam ælmihtigan) ; it is used once attributively with *frea* "Lord" in line 300 (frea ælmihtig).[20]

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18) 'And as she came vp, she prayed our Lord the God of Israel, that he would direct her way to the deliuerie of his people.'

19) There are several examples of the genitive pronoun *heora* "their" used with *ʒod* "God" or *drihten* "Lord", and they are all uttered by Achior: 102 (Heora ʒod), 111 (heora drihten), 114 (heora drihtnes), 119 (heora ʒod), 121 (heora ʒod), 126 (heora ʒode), 139 (heora ʒod), 142 (heora ʒode), 143 (heora drihten). The genitives of the first and the third person singular, referring to Judith, are also found used with *ʒod* or *drihten*: 254 (minne ʒod), 276 (hire drihten).

20) In the poem the *alwalda* "the Almighty" also occurs; 84 (bearn alwaldan 'Son of the Almighty').

2. Holofernes entertained *his heahþeʒnas*

Holofernes made a feast on the fourth day of Judith's stay in the camp of her enemy. In the Greek text of the LXX Holofernes made the feast "to his own servants only" (τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ μόνοις), and he invited to the feast "none of the officers" (οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις).

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τετάρτῃ ἐποίησεν Ολοφέρνης πότον τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ μόνοις καὶ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις.

[And in the fourth day Olofernes made a feast to his owne seruants only, and called none of the officers to the banquet.]

(Ιουδιθ, xii, 10)

The δοῦλος properly means "a born bondman" or "a slave", and also generally "a bondman" or "a slave", opposed to δεσπότης "master" or "lord"; it is frequently used of Persians and other nations to denote a person who is subject to a despot.[21] Those δοῦλοι were invited, but none of the πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις. The χρείαις is the dative plural form of the feminine noun χρεία, which means 'need', 'want', 'a request of necessity', thence 'business', especially 'military service';[22] οἱ πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις, therefore, literally means 'the ones in military services'.

In the Vulgate there is no clause corresponding to the Greek καὶ οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὴν κλῆσιν οὐδένα τῶν πρὸς ταῖς χρείαις. The Vulgate simply says that Holofernes made a feast to his' servants, *servis suis:*

21) *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, ninth edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940, repr. 1985), s. v. δοῦλος. A passage from Herodotus' *History* exemplifies the use of δοῦλος and δεσπότης: "νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας" (but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes) — cited from The Loeb Classical Library 117 (Book I, 129).
22) Liddell & Scott, s.v. χρεία.

> et factum est quarto die Holofernis fecit cenam servis
> suis . . . [23]   (Iudith xii, 10)

It seems that it is difficult to learn from the Latin context what kind of servants the *servi sui* indicates.

They are *ða yldestan ðegnas* "the most senior officers", who are described also as *rondwiggende* "shield-warriors" in the OE poem:[24]

> To ðam het se gumena baldor
> ealle ða yldestan ðegnas; hie ðæt ofstum miclum
> ræfndon, rondwiggende, comon to ðam rican þeodne
> feran, folces ræswan.   (9b–12a)

The word *ðegn* is used to translate the Latin *minister* in the OE version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People.*[25] The English *officer* may be the word nearly equivalent to the OE *ðegn*, as Heywood remarks;[26] Pollock and Maitland point out that "the

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23) 'And it came to passe in the fourth day, Holofernes made a supper to his seruantes . . .'

24) 'to it this lord over men summoned all the most senior functionaries. With great alacrity those shield-wielders complied and came wending to the puissant prince, the nation's chief person' (trans. Bradley). Concerning the word *ræswan,* Dobbie (p. 282) remarks that it is "probably nom. plur., parallel to *hie* and *rondwiggende,* and it is so construed by Cook and by Grein-Köhler, p. 545", and also that the word "may, however, be dat. sing., parallel to *þeodne*".

25) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. Bertram Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969; repr. 1992), IV, 22 (p. 402): 'Quod dum ille faceret, ministrum se regis fuisse manifestans' (The prisoner did so, revealing that he had been one of the king's thegns). *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. Thomas Miller, EETS Original Series No. 96 (Millwood: Kraus Reprint Co., 1978; repr. 1990; first published 1891), p. 328: 'þa dyde he swa: ondette him 7 sægde, þæt he wære cyninges þegn' (Then he did so: confessed and said, that he was a follower of the king).

26) Samuel Heywood, *A Dissertation upon the Distinctions in Society and Ranks of the People, under the Anglo-Saxon Governments* (London: printed for W. Clarke and Sons, 1818), p. 118: 'This word may be derived from the Saxon verb "thegen," to serve; it was rendered into Latin by the word *minister,* and, in the English language, "officer" is nearly equivalent to it.'

六六

modern form *thane* has acquired misleading literary associations".[27]

In Ælfric's version, the persons invited to the feast are *his heahþeʒnas*;

> Ða on þam feorðan dæʒe   feormode se ealdorman
> his heahþeʒnas   on his ʒetelde
> on micelre blisse   (282-84a)

Bosworth & Toller defines *heah-þegen* as 'a great, high or chief minister or servant', and Hall as 'chief officer, captain'.[28] Here Ælfric avoided ambiguity, and thus clarified the kind of persons invited to the feast, by employing the prefix *heah-*, as the OE poet used the adjective *yldestan*.

27) Frederick Pollock & Frederick William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898; repr. 1911; first ed. 1895), Vol I, p. 33, footnote. Pollock & Maitland remark about *ðegn* as follows at the same page: "The official term of rank which we find in use in and after Alfred's time is 'thegn' (þegen, in Latin usually *minister*). Originally a thegn is a household officer of some great man, eminently and especially of the king. From the tenth century to the Conquest thegnship is not an office unless described by some specific addition (horsþegen, discþegen, and the like) showing what the office was. It is a social condition above that of the churl, carrying with it both privileges and customary duties. The 'king's thegns,' those who are in fact attached to the king's person and service, are specially distinguished. We may perhaps roughly compare the thegns of the later Anglo-Saxon monarchy to the country gentlemen of modern times who are in the commission of the peace and serve on the grand jury. But we must remember that the thegn had a definite legal rank. His wergild, for example, the fixed sum with which his death must be atoned for to his kindred, or which he might in some cases have to pay for his own misdoing, was six times as great as a common man's; and his oath weighed as much more in the curious contest of asseverations, quite different from anything we now understand by evidence, by which early Germanic lawsuits were decided."

28) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Bosworth & T. Northcote Toller (London: Oxford University Press, 1898; repr. 1973), s.v. 'heah-þegen'; *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. John R. Clark Hall, fourth edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960, repr. 1991; originally published 1894), s.v. 'heahðegen'.

六五

3. Judith *bewand þæt bodiȝ mid ðam beddclaðum;* the body was found *on bedde*

In the LXX and the Vulgate Judith tumbles Holofernes' headless body from the bed and Bagao (*Βαγώας* in the LXX), Holofernes' eunuch (*eunuchus* in the Vulgate, *εὐνοῦχος* in the LXX, *sum þara beadorinca* "one of the warriors" in the OE poem, *burðegn* "chamberlain" in Ælfric), finds the body cast upon the floor.

καὶ ἀπεκύλιδε τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς στρωμνῆς καὶ ἀφεῖλε
τὸ κωνώπιον ἀπὸ τῶν στύλων· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξῆλθεν καὶ
παρέδωκεν τῇ ἄβρᾳ αὐτῆς τὴν κεφαλὴν Ολοφέρνου,
[And tumbled his body downe from the bed, and pulled downe the canopy from the pillars, and anon after she went forth, and gaue Olofernes his head to her maide.]   (*Ιουδιθ* xiii, 9)

et percussit bis in cervicem eius et abscidit caput eius
et abstulit conopeum eius a columnis
et evolvit corpus eius truncum[29]   (Iudith xiii, 10)

ὡς δ' οὐθεὶς ἐπήκουσεν, διαστείλας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν
κοιτῶνα καὶ εὗρεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς χελωνίδος ἐρριμμένον
νεκρόν, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἀφῄρητο ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
[But because none answered, he opened it, and went into the bedchamber, and found him cast vpon the floore dead, & his head was taken from him.]   (*Ιουδιθ* xiv, 15)

sed cum nullum motum iacentis sensu aurium caperet
accessit proximans ad cortinam
et elevans eam videns iacens cadaver absque capite Holofernis
in suo sanguine tabefactum iacere super terram
et clamavit voce magna cum fletu et scidit vestimenta sua[30]   (Iudith xiv, 14)

六四

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29) 'And she stroke twise vpon his necke, and cut of his head, and tooke his canopie from the pillers, and rolled aside his bodie a truncke.'

30) 'But when with the sense of his eares he percieued no motion of person lying, he came neere to the cortine, and lifting it vp, and seing the bodie without the head of Holofernes weltred in his bloud lye vpon the ground, cried out in a lowd voyce with weeping, and rent his garmentes.'

Here in the above contexts the body lying on the floor does not seem to be wrapped with a cloth of any kind.

In the OE poem, however, Holofernes' head rolls forth on to the floor and his trunk lies *beæftan*, 'behind':[31]

          sloh ða eornoste
ides ellenrof   oðre siðe
þone hæðenan hund,   þæt him þæt heafod wand
forð on ða flore.   Læg se fula leap
gesne beæftan,   gæst ellor hwearf   (108b-112)

Later, in lines 278-80a, one of the warriors finds the trunk lying on the bed. Judith did not tumble the body from the bed down on to the floor; she left it behind on the bed:[32]

þa wearð sið ond late   sum to ðam arod
þara beadorinca,   þæt he in þæt burgeteld
niðheard neðde,   swa hyne nyd fordraf.
Funde ða on bedde   blacne licgan
his goldgifan   gæstes gesne,
lifes belidenne.   (275-280a)

In Ælfric's homily, as in the OE poem, the body is described as found on the bed. The chamberlain, who finds his lord's body, says to the people:

                Her lið se ealdormann
heafodleas on bedde,   mid his blode besyled.   (368b-69)

Further discrepancy from the Biblical passage is found in Ælfric's

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31) 'In earnest then the courageous woman struck the heathen dog a second time so that his head flew off on to the floor. His foul carcass lay behind, dead; his spirit departed elsewhere' (trans. Bradley).

32) 'Then one of the soldiers belatedly and tardily grew so bold that he ventured pluckily into the pavilion as necessity compelled him. Then he found his lord lying pallid on the bed, deprived of his spirit, dispossessed of life.' (Trans. Bradley)

description of Holofernes' body as wrapped with a bedcloth:

> and mid twam slezum   forsloh him þone swuran
> and bewand þæt bodiz   mid ðam beddclaðum.   (305-6)

Judith wrapped the headless body with the cloth.

4. Judith lived *wiflice on clænnysse*

Near the end of the story Ioachim, the high Priest, and all his ancients celebrate God's accomplishment and praise Judith:

> ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθον πρὸς αὐτήν, εὐλόγησαν αὐτὴν πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτήν Σὺ ὕψωμα Ιερουσαλημ, σὺ γαυρίαμα μέγα τοῦ Ισραηλ, σὺ καύχημα μέγα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν·
> ἐποίησας ταῦτα πάντα ἐν χειρί σου, ἐποίησας τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ Ισραηλ, καὶ εὐδόκησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός· εὐλογημένη γίνου παρὰ τῷ παντοκράτορι κυρίῳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον. καὶ εἶπεν πᾶς ὁ λαός Γένοιτο.
> [And when they came vnto her, they blessed her with one accord, and said vnto her, Thou art the exaltation of Ierusalem: thou art the great glory of Israel: thou art the great reioycing of our nation.
> Thou hast done all these things by thine hand: thou hast done much good to Israel, and God is pleased therewith: blessed bee thou of the Almightie Lord for euermore: and all the people said, So be it.]   (*Ιουδιθ* xv, 9-10)

In the latter part of the praise, the Vulgate reads differently in xv, 11, which corresponds to xv, 10 of the LXX:[33]

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33) 'Who when she was come out to him, they al blessed her with one voyce, saying: Thou art the glorie of Ierusalem, thou the ioy of Israel, thou the honour of our people: because thou hast done manfully, and thy hart was strengthened, for that thou hast loued chastitie, and after thy husband not knowne any other: therfore also the land of our Lord hath strengthened thee, and therfore shalt thou be blessed for euer.'

quae cum exisset ad illum
benedixerunt illam omnes una voce dicentes
tu gloria Hierusalem
tu laetitia Israhel
tu honorificentia populi nostri
quia fecisti viriliter et confortatum est cor tuum
eo quod castitatem amaveris
et post virum tuum alterum non scieris
ideo et manus Domini confortavit te
et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum   (Iudith xv, 10-11)

Judith is praised in the Vulgate because she did 'manfully
(*viriliter*)'. Her heart was strengthened because she loved 'chastity
(*castitatem*)', not knowing any other man after her husband's death.
In the corresponding passage the LXX does not mention anything
about her chastity.

The OE poem does not contain this account. Ælfric renders sense
for sense here also, though he seems to have avoided rendering
fecisti viriliter. He, instead, employs the adverb *wiflice* in the altered
clause meaning "because thou livedst womanly in chastity after [the
death of] thy husband":

And hi hi swiðe bletsodon,
ealle þisum wordum: þu eart wuldor soðlice
ure byriȝ Hierusalem   and Israheles bliss,
ures folces arwurðnyss,   forþan þe þu wunodest
æfter þinum were   wiflice on clænnysse,
and ȝod þe ȝestranȝode   for þære clænnysse,
and forðan þu sylf   bist ȝebletsod on worulde.   (388b-94)

Ælfric seems to have intended to emphasise Judith's chastity by the
employment of the adverb *wiflice* in the above context, and also by
the repeated use of the word *clænnyss*.

5. Conclusion

Unlike the OE poem, Ælfric wove his version from most of the main plots of the story, following the order of the incidents in the Bible, and his version can be regarded as a kind of translation, though he had to omit a great deal, as is evident from the length of his version, and condense the story into a homily.

As examined above, Ælfric made free translation, but brief mention should be made of the fact that there are some passages where he tried close translation. In lines 318b–325a, Judith makes a triumphant speech and praises God, who rescued the devout Israelites by killing Holofernes through the hand of Judith. Here also, as in most of the other passages, Ælfric renders sense for sense, but his rendering here is more like word-for-word translation, especially in lines 324–25a.

. . . cweðende:	dixit Iudith
Heriað, ic bidde, mid blisse urne drihten,	laudate Dominum Deum nostrum qui non deseruit
se þe ne forlæt on hine ȝelyfende	sperantes in se
and þa þe hihtað on his micclum truwan	
and on me ȝefylde his mildheortnysse,	et in me ancillam suam adimplevit misericordiam suam
þa þe he behet Israheles hirede.	quam promisit domui Israhel
And he ofsloh nu to niht on minum handum	et interfecit in manu mea hostem populi sui in hac
his folces feond.	nocte[34]
(Ælfric, ll. 318b–325a)	(Iudith xiii, 17-18)

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34) 'Iudith said: Prayse yee the Lord our God, who hath not forsaken them that hope in him: and in me his handmayde he hath fulfilled his mercie, which he promised to the house of Israel: and he hath killed by my hand the enemie of his people this night.'

However, except for the passages like the one shown above, most of Ælfric's version is free and idiomatic translation. It should be further stated that he was no mere translator; he, as Calder remarks, "expanded, condensed, clarified, and embroidered in the light of his specific purpose to expound to his countrymen the universal truths of Christianity".[35] Particular attention must be paid to Professor Godden's following remark on Ælfric's manner of writing homilies as compared with the Alfredian translations:[36]

> Alfred and his circle were translating solid, lengthy works of ancient and ecclesiastical history, philosophy, theology, and doctrine; Aelfric was composing short homilies and saints' lives. Alfred was trying to restore learning by making the scholarship of the Latin 'tradition available to readers who knew no Latin; Aelfric, to judge from his first preface, thought of himself as offering elementary instruction to the simple and ignorant laity. But one can see how in various ways Aelfric tried to infuse the more scholarly and intellectual traditions of the Alfredian works into the genre of the homily.

The present paper has dealt with the passages of the OE homily on Judith which were rendered by Ælfric in their manner; some features in those passages are common to the two OE versions, i.e. the OE poem and Ælfric's homily, others are peculiar to Ælfric's version only.

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35) Greenfield & Calder 1986, p. 77.
36) Malcolm R Godden, 'Aelfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', *The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach & Bernard F. Huppé (New York: State University of New York Press, 1978), p. 106.