Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards Judith
—Aldhelm, the *Judith*-poet and Ælfric

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古英語訳にみる Judith 像

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1　Introduction

The Book of Judith in the Apocrypha has inspired numbers of talents in the fields of Western arts and literature. In this story, a faithful widow with marvellous wisdom and beauty, accompanied only by her maid, enters the camp of Holofernes, a heathen general, where she beheads him with her own hands, to save Bethulia, her hometown, which is in crisis. Since this biblical story was brought to England in the Old English period, there have been at least three literary works by Englishmen: Aldhelm (c. 640–709), an anonymous author called the "*Judith*-poet" and Ælfric (c. 950–c. 1010).

In the 7th century Aldhelm, who was the Abbot of Malmesbury Abbey in the middle of Midland, referred to Judith in *De Virginitate*, one of his most important works written in Latin. He wrote the book at the request of the abbess of Barking Abbey, Hildelith, and the Sisters, in order to show them the importance of virginity.[1] *De Virginitate,* which includes the Book of Judith, emphasizes this virtue. Aldhelm selected about 60 classic stories about men and women, in order to develop this theme.

In his book, Aldhelm classifies virgins into three categories on the basis of his moral order: 'virginitas' (virginity), 'castitas' (chastity) and 'iugalitas' (conjugality or marriage). The highest category is 'virginitas,' while 'iugalitas' is also included in the list. He places 'iugalitas' in the lowest category and explains the true meaning of virginity, claiming that all people who are faithful to God can be virgins, regardless of their marital status. 'Castitas,' which follows virginitas, refers to people who were married once but chose to be unmarried for the rest of their lives, living in a state of 'celibacy'[2] —not a small number of the abbesses in Barking Abbey belonged to this category, about whom Aldhelm should concern much as his audience.

Similar to the abbesses at Barking Abbey, Judith in the Old Testament has been a faithful widow since her husband's death, always worn plain clothes, and led a simple life with her maid. It is natural that Judith and her story of triumph over the heathen came to Aldhelm's mind in his process of composing *De Virginitate*. As noted above, in the biblical story, Judith,

entices the enemy Holofernes with her beauty and gorgeous garments, in order to save Bethulia. Aldhelm must have felt confused about praising Judith's conduct because he simultaneously forbade vanity in his audience. It is likely that he was motivated to paraphrase or change the original biblical texts to be more agreeable to his audience, based on his interpretation.

In the Book of Judith, the character of Judith is described as a woman who is beautifully dressed before she leaves for the camp of Holofernes. Aldhelm adds his own passage to the original text, in which he demonstrates that everything that Judith does, including luring in her enemy with her beauty, is simply for the patriotic purpose of saving Bethulia and her people. It was inevitable that she should do this, and her behaviour does not deviate from the virtue of virginity. Moreover, at the beginning of the description of Judith, Aldhelm declares as follows:

> "De qua in · LXX · translatoribus scriptum est"
>
> "En, non nostris assertionibus sed scripturae astipulationibus..."[3]   (*De Virginitate*)

> "Of her, it is written in the Septuagint"
>
> "You see, it is not by my assertion but by the statement of Scripture..."[4]   (*Aldhelm*)

As is clear from his statements, Aldhelm seems to be embarrassed by the contradiction between his obedience to the biblical texts and his own moral standards. The additional passage he added reflects his effort to make his composition logically consistent and shows his great concern about his audience.

There are extant two Old English translations of the story of Judith by Anglo-Saxon authors in the 10th century: *Judith*, a poem composed by an anonymous author (hereafter the "*Judith*-poet") at the beginning of the 10th century, and a prose work titled *Judith* (hereafter "prose *Judith*") by Ælfric, the abbot of the monastery of Eynsham in Midland, which was produced at the end of the 10th century. Both works are translations into Old English from the Latin biblical texts with some changes—partial emphases, deletions and additions of some new information by the authors. These changes or paraphrases, some of which are quite dramatic, were intended to make the original story acceptable to English audiences who were not familiar with the cultural background of the Bible.[5]

Most of the poem *Judith* is lost, so that there still remains much room for debate in various respects. The extant 349 lines treat Chapters XII. x to XVI. i of the Book of Judith, in which the *Judith*-poet describes Judith's acceptance of the heathen general Holofernes' invitation to the feast, and her subsequent beheading of him, followed by her triumph over the mighty Assyrian army. The *Judith*-poet decreases the number of characters who appear in the story as

compared with the Old Testament. Moreover, Judith and Holofernes are described in greater contrast, representing virtue and vice respectively. In the poem, the poet changes Judith's character into that of a typical traditional Anglo-Saxon hero. She is frequently described with adjectives that are used to describe Beowulf, the brave hero of the Old English poem, such as: 'æðele' (noble), 'ellenrof' (courageous), 'modig' (courageous) and 'snoter' (wise). These words deprive Judith of her femininity. The *Judith*-poet omits the whole description of Judith's seduction of Holofernes with her beauty and gorgeous garments. Moreover, the *Judith*-poet rewrote the plot of biblical story by making some dramatic changes. In the poem, Judith does not attend the heathen banquet, while Holofernes, heavily drunk with his company, becomes unconscious as soon as he reaches his chamber where Judith is awaiting, and he is beheaded there. In contrast, in the Bible, Judith has a seat at the banquet, attracting Holofernes with her beauty, and Holofernes, before he is beheaded, keeps drinking more heavily than ever in his life, enjoying her company very much. As Magennis (1995) points out, his death results from his own weakness in that he is totally fascinated by Judith, but not from his excessive drinking. The *Judith*-poet emphasizes that Holofernes' death is not caused by Judith's infidelity or deceitful conduct.[6] Here, Judith is described as a brave and courageous woman, with strong faith and wisdom, rather than just a faithful, beautiful widow.

The prose *Judith* is thought to be written as a guide for the nuns at the abbey, because two examples in which the nuns are addressed are found in it: "Sume nunnan" (l. 429) and "min sustor" (l. 443).[7] Ælfric emphasizes Judith's absolute faith in God and her chastity, in contrast to the heathen Holofernes' vices. According to Godden (1991), Ælfric describes Judith and Holofernes, using contrasting pairs of concepts, such as light and darkness, and innocence and evil. Consequently, these two characters function as a metaphor of Bethulia, a strongly fortified city, and an Assyrian invader who besieges the city but never conquers it.[8] Clayton (1994) clarifies Ælfric's aim of translating the biblical Book of Judith into Old English, on the basis of a remark in a letter he wrote to Sigeweard.

> The widow Judith, who overcame the Assyrian general Holofernes, has her own book among these books about her own victory; it is also set down in English in our manner, as an example to you people that you should defend your land against the invading army with weapons.[9]

Ælfric's insistence that people should defend their own land against the invaders with weapons reflects real life in the 10th century England, which had been experiencing frequent attacks from the Vikings. It is thought that Judith played a political role as a propaganda figure of Christianity and a symbol of patriotism from time to time.[10]

Taking into account the background that has been discussed above, this article will examine the acceptance and transformation of the biblical woman Judith by the Anglo-Saxons: how Judith was treated by the Anglo-Saxon authors, being transformed into a woman with a heroic Anglo-Saxon character. Special attention will be paid to the plot, in which Judith prepares herself before visiting Holofernes' camp. Aldhelm, the *Judith*-poet and Ælfric describe Judith in a different way. Their attitudes towards this figure will be analysed through a comparison between them, with additional references to Greek and Latin (Vulgate) translations of the Book of Judith.

2 Analysis of Anglo-Saxon Imagery of Judith

In the Apocrypha, the Book of Judith, Chapter X, iii-iv, Judith goes to the Assyrian camp with only her maid in order to save her hometown, Bethulia; after removing her mourning clothes, which she had continued wearing since the death of her husband, Manasee. Then she bathes and readies herself, gorgeously attiring all over with precious accessories, which is part of her strategy to defeat the enemy. Let us examine how the Anglo-Saxon authors translate this scene into their own narratives.

Aldhelm takes up Judith in *De Virginitate* in the 7th century. He begins his description of her as follows:

> "De qua in · LXX · translatoribus scriptum est"[11]　　　　　　(*De Virginitate*)
> "Of her, it is written in the Septuagint"[12]　　　　　　　　　　(*Aldhelm*)

Judith's dressing up in order to attract the heathen soldiers, although she had good reason for doing so, must have annoyed Aldhelm when he translated this passage especially for the nuns. Consequently, at the beginning of the story, he declares that what he is going to tell now is not his own creation, but rather a passage from the Bible. However, he dares to add his own statement of reproach against vanity, excusing it as being words from the Bible, which is not true:

> "ornatus feminarum rapina virorum vocatur!"[13]　　　　　　(*De Virginitate*)
>
> "the adornment of women is called the depredation of men!"[14]　　　(*Aldhelm*)

Below is Aldhelm's description of Judith, in which she prepares herself for visiting the Assyrian camp.

Induit se <u>vestem iocunditatis</u> suae et imposuit <u>periscelides</u> et <u>dextralia</u> et <u>anulos</u> it <u>omnia ornamenta</u> sua et composuit se nimis in rapinam virotum.[15]

(*De Virginitate*. Emphasis added.)

And she clothed herself with <u>the garments of her gladness</u>, and put her <u>anklets</u>, <u>bracelets</u> and <u>rings</u>, and adorned herself with <u>all her ornaments</u> and tricked herself out to prey on men.[16]

(*Aldhelm*. Emphasis added.)

Aldhelm describes Judith's outfit first, and then continues depicting the sandals, bracelets, rings and all the other ornaments that are used as the bait for the heathen soldiers. In *De Virginitate*, he explains that he is making a reference to the Greek Bible (the Septuagint) on this point, of which the relevant passage is stated below:

10 3 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς αὐτῆς, καὶ περιείλατο τὸν <u>σάκκον</u> ὃν ἐνεδεδύκει, καὶ ἐξεδύσατο τὰ <u>ἱμάτια τῆς χηρεύσεως</u> αὐτῆς, καὶ <u>περιεκλύσατο τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι</u>, καὶ ἐχρίσατο <u>μύρῳ</u> παχεῖ, καὶ <u>διέταξε τὰς τρίχας</u> τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπέθετο <u>μίτραν</u> ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐνεδύσατο τὰ <u>ἱμάτια τῆς εὐφροσύνης</u> αὐτῆς, ἐν οἷς ἐστολίζετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μανασσῆ· 4 καὶ ἔλαβε <u>σανδάλια</u> εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς, καὶ περιέθετο τοὺς χλιδῶνας, καὶ τὰ <u>ψέλλια</u>, καὶ τοὺς <u>δακτυλίους</u>, καὶ τὰ <u>ἐνώτια</u>, καὶ <u>πάντα τὸν κόσμον</u> αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσατο σφόδρα εἰς ἀπάτησιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅσοι ἂν ἴδωσιν αὐτήν. 17

(The Septuagint. Emphasis added.)

10-3 and pulled off the <u>sackcloth</u> which she had on, and put off the <u>garments of her widowhood</u>, and <u>washed her body</u> all over with water, and anointed herself with <u>precious ointment</u>, and <u>braided the hair</u> of her head, and put on a <u>tire</u> upon it, and put on her <u>garments of gladness</u>, where with she was clad during the life of Manasses her husband. 10-4 And she took <u>sandals</u> upon her feet, and put about her <u>bracelets</u>, and her <u>chains</u>, and her <u>rings</u>, and her <u>earrings</u>, and <u>all her ornaments</u>, and decked herself bravely, to allure the eyes of all men that should see her.[18]

(The Septuagint. Emphasis added.)

In the Greek Bible, Judith removes her sackcloth and mourning clothes, bathes, anoints herself with precious oil and plaits her hair. She then puts on her sandals and decks herself with bracelets, chains, rings, earrings and all her ornaments. Although Aldhelm's Judith gets herself

ready in almost the same way as in the Greek Bible, his Judith conveys a different impression to us from that of the Greek Bible. He deletes all the expressions that directly suggest a woman's body, such as "taking off the clothes," "bathing," "anointing herself with ointment" and "braiding her hair." However, Aldhelm adds "anklets," a word that does not appear in the Greek Bible. Aldhelm's addition of his own words to the original texts is worthy of special attention because he wrote *De Virginitate* as a guide for the nuns, who were forbidden to enjoy vanity, including gorgeous ornaments.

Let us examine the Latin translation of the Bible (the Vulgate), which might have been a reference for him other than the Septuagint.

> 10-2 abstulit a se <u>cilicium</u> et exuit se <u>vestimentis viduitatis</u> suae 10-3 et <u>lavitcorussuum</u> et unxit se <u>myrro optimo</u> et <u>discriminavit crinem capitis</u> sui et inposuit <u>mitram</u> super caput suum et induit se <u>vestimentis iucunditatis</u> suae induitque <u>sandalia</u> pedibus suis adsumpsitque dixtraliola et <u>lilia</u> et <u>inaures</u> et <u>anulos</u> et <u>omnibus ornamentis</u> suis ornavit se 10-4 cui etiam Dominuscontulit splendorem quoniam omnis ista conpositio non ex libidine sed ex virtute pendebat et ideo Dominus hanc in illam pulchritudinem ampliavit ut inconparabili decore omnium oculis appareret[19]
>
> (Biblia Sacra Vulgata. Emphasis added.)

> 10-2 And she took off her <u>haircloth</u>, and put away the <u>garments of her widowhood</u>. 10-3 and she <u>washed her body</u>, and anointed herself with the <u>best ointment</u>, and <u>plaited the hair</u> of her head, and put a <u>bonnet</u> upon her head, and clothed herself with the <u>garments of her gladness</u>, and put <u>sandals</u> on her feet, and took her <u>bracelets</u> and <u>lilies</u>, and <u>earlets</u>, and <u>rings</u>, and adorned herself with <u>all her ornaments</u>. 10-4 and the Lord also gave her more beauty; because all this dressing up did not proceed from sensuality, but from virtue: and therefore the Lord increased this her beauty, so that she appeared to all men's eye incomparably lovely.[20]
>
> （Douay Old Testament. Emphasis added.）

Judith in the Vulgate also prepares herself almost in the same order as in the Septuagint. The Vulgate, however, explains to the audience that Judith dressed up in order to entice the Assyrian soldiers, not out of her own lust but out of her love for Bethulia and its people. The Vulgate also insists that God gives her even more beauty with which she can attract all the men in the world in order to accomplish her virtuous purpose. The ornaments described here are the same as in *De Virginitate* and the way in which the Vulgate justifies Judith's conduct with additional comments reminds us of Aldhelm's style of composition. In *De Virginitate*,

Aldhelm's description of Judith's dressing up to go to the Assyrian camp seems to draw on the Vulgate much more than the Septuagint, although he quotes some passages from the Septuagint in order to support his opinion.

We have two extant versions of the Old English *Judith* written in the 10th century. Magennis (1995) claims that both of these versions paraphrase the Old Testament original rather freely.

> Both the poem *Judith* and Ælfric's *Homily on Judith* are free reworkings (though to different degrees) of the Old Testament original. Each has its own distinctive narrative emphases. Ælfric's paraphrase is less of a radical re-creation than the poem, but it is not a straightforward translation ...[21]

Here, it is reasonable to examine how the *Judith*-poet changes the description of Judith's dressing up in her own way.

> Het ða niða geblonen
> þa eadigan mægð   ofstum fetigan
> to his bedreste,　　　beagum gehlæste,
> hringum gehrodene.[22]　　　　　　　　（*Judith* ll. 34-37. Emphasis added.）

> Then, steeped in sin,
> He ordered that the blessed maid be fetched,
> Laden with ornaments and decked with rings,
> To grace his bed.[23]　　　　　　　　　　　（Emphasis added.）

In the poem, she wears only two ornaments: a 'beag (>bee)' and a 'hring (>ring).' According to Bosworth-Toller (1970), a 'beag' is "[m]etal made into circular ornaments, as A [sic] ring, bracelet, collar, garland, crown; anulus, armilla, diadema, corona. Bracelets were worn about the arms and wrists; rings on the fingers, round the ankles, the neck, and about the head."[24] The word 'beag' is often used as a synonym for 'treasure,' especially in the Old English heroic poems. 'Hring' also represents "a ring as ornament encircling a finger, an arm, a neck."[25] These two words may well be used in the poem *Judith* as symbols of the other various accessories. However, the fact that the *Judith*-poet deletes both the whole description of Judith's dressing up and her appearance to allure the heathen soldiers seems to reflect the poet's intentional paraphrase. In contrast, the *Judith*-poet describes the "details taken over faithfully from the source"[26] in the following scene in which Judith hands over Holofernes's head to her maid. Shifting his points of emphasis intentionally, the *Judith*-poet succeeds in creating an

abstract divine character, from which all the descriptions that suggest her femininity are skilfully removed.

In *Beowulf*, the king gives both a 'beag' and a 'hring' as a reward to the hero in order to praise his honourable deeds in battle. The *Judith*-poet uses these two words in describing Judith so that they give a traditional heroic touch to her character. They suggest her future victory and prosperity as well. In contrast with Aldhelm, who cannot deviate far from the original Judith character of the Bible, the *Judith*-poet creates a woman with a completely different character from the one in the Bible as well as in the prose *Judith* by Ælfric.

Last, let us examine Ælfric's description of Judith in his prose work written in the late 10th century.

> heo awearp hire hæran   and hire wudewan reaf,
> and hi sylfe geglængede   mid golde and mid purpuran
> and mid ænlicum gyrlum.[27]

> She cast off her haircloth,   and her widowdress,
> and adorned herself   with gold and with purple (garment)
> and with splendid dress.   （Translation by the present author; emphasis added.）

While Ælfric's Judith is described as not wearing ornaments such as bracelets, earrings and rings to attend the heathen banquet, she changes from her widow's clothes into a gorgeous dress of gold and purple, which does not appear in any other versions. Ælfric's deletion of the various ornaments from the original source reminds us that this passage is part of the guidance for nuns, who are forbidden vanity. However, it is noteworthy that Ælfric mentions the colours of Judith's clothes. Judith has been praised for her beauty and wisdom with various modifiers thus far. However, no authors before Ælfric ever referred to the colours of her clothes.

The word 'purpure' occurs often with 'cyning' in Old English literature. According to *The Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (1980)[28], 'purpure' is always used to modify the king's clothes, whenever it occurs with 'cyning' (all of eight examples). Concerning these eight examples, 60% (5 examples) are found in Ælfric's works (*ÆCHom* I, 31, *ÆCHom* I, 37, *ÆCHom* II, 33, *ÆLS (Exalt of Cross), ÆCHom* II, 27). *OED*[2] defines the word 'purpure' with a statement by King Alfred from *Orosius* (c. 893) as follows.:

> Purple cloth or clothing; in earliest use, a purple robe or garment; spec. as the dress of an emperor or king; = purple (from purpur Obs., purpure n. and a. arch. I. n. 1.)[29]

Ælfric decreases the variation and the number of Judith's ornaments quite extensively, while he utilizes the colours the most effectively among the Old English writers who usually describe the world in black and white. Judith wears the 'purpure' dress, which usually indicates the clothes of an emperor or a king. It suggests her future victory and prosperity as well. If Ælfric used the word 'purpure' with such an intention and people in those days recognized that 'purpure' had such connotations, this would present another interesting theme on the Romanization of the Anglo-Saxon world in the 10th century.

3　Reception and Transformation of Judith

As examined in the previous section, the description of Judith's preparations before leaving for the Assyrian camp varies among the translators. Table 1 shows the differences among the descriptions by the various authors.

Table 1　Description of Judith's Preparations and Her Ornaments

	Septuagint	Vulgate	Aldhelm	*Judith*-poet	Ælfric
sack/hair-cloth	○	○	×	×	○
garments of widowhood	○	○	×	×	○
Bathing	○	○	×	×	×
Ointment	○	○	×	×	×
braiding hair	○	○	×	×	×
tyre/bonnet	○	○	×	×	×
garments of gladness	○	○	○	×	○
sandals	○	○	○	×	×
bracelets	○	○	○	○	×
chains	○	×	×	×	×
lilies	×	○	○	×	×
rings	○	○	○	○	×
earrings	○	○	○	×	×
all other ornaments	○	○	○	×	×
enticing men	○	○	○	×	×

According to Table 1, the description of Judith was simplified from Aldhelm to Ælfric as time passed and her image as a woman became abstract. Instead, of writing less about Judith's appearance and her ornaments, Anglo-Saxon authors emphasized more her chastity and her strong faith in God. Consequently, Judith's dressing up was mentioned less to none. Aldhelm makes an excuse for his describing her dressing up because it was necessary for her to save her

country. In contrast, Ælfric omits an entire passage. Both the Septuagint and the Vulgate describe Judith from head to toe in detail, while Anglo-Saxon authors transform every expression that is strongly associated with the female body, such as bathing, putting on ointments, braiding the hair and so on in order to erase any sexual connotations. Ornaments that are used as a symbol of women, such as tyre, chains, bracelets, earrings and so on are ignored. Moreover, the *Judith*-poet often uses adjectives, which are likely to recall traditional Anglo-Saxon heroes in his description of Judith. Ælfric's Judith wears clothes of purple, a colour that is always used for the garments of emperors and kings in the extant Old English works. It is reasonable to infer that these deletions and changes by Anglo-Saxon authors were aimed at preventing nuns from being led astray as they were prohibited from wearing gorgeous garments and ornaments. In addition, it is also plausible that the way in which these Anglo-Saxon authors approach the original sources indicates their way of perceiving women. It is not only gorgeous garments and ornaments but also femininity itself that these Anglo-Saxon authors reject in the descriptions of Judith in the Bible. Monks and clerks at that time considered that women enticed men through their nature. However, what they add to their texts in their own words can be regarded as an affirmation of masculinity, which is the nature of Anglo-Saxon heros seeking honour with bravery.[30]

Notes

1 *De Virginitate* consists of two parts: the first half of the texts is written in prose while the rest, in verse. The present article deals only with the prose part. All the citations from *De Virginitate* are taken from *Aldhelmi Opera in Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Ed. Ehwald, R. Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1919. rpt. München: 1984.

2 *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*. Trans. Lapidge, M. and Herren, M. Rowman & Littlefield: D. S. Brewer, 1978. 55. Modern English translations of *De Virginitate* in this article are taken from this book.

3 *Virginitate*. 317.

4 *Aldhelm*. 127.

5 Magennis, H. "Contrasting Narrative Emphases in the Old English Poem *Judith* and Ælfric's Paraphrase of the Book of Judith." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* XCVI (1995): 61.

6 Ibid. 62.

7 Assmann, B. "Abt Ælfric's Angelsächsische Homilie Über das Buch Judith." *Anglia* 10 (1887): 104. Citations from Prose *Judith* is based on this version.

8 Godden, M. "Biblical literature: the Old Testament." *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*. Ed. Godden, M. and Lapidge, M. Cambridge: CUP, 1991. 222.

9 Trans. by Clayton, M. in *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*. Ed. Crawford, S. J. EETS os 160.

London: OUP, 1922. 48. quoted in Clayton, M. "Ælfric's *Judith*: manipulative or manipulated?" *Anglo-Saxon England* 23. Ed. Lapidge, M. et al. Cambridge: CUP, 1994: 215.

10　Pringle, I. "'Judith': The Homily and the Poem." *Traditio* 31 (1975): 83-97.

11　*Virginitate*. 317.

12　*Aldhelm*. 127.

13　*Virginitate*. 317.

14　*Aldhelm*. 127.

15　*Virginitate*. 317.　Based on versio antique Sabatier I. 772.

16　*Aldhelm*. 127.

17　*The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. Ed. Brenton, C. L. London: Samuel & Sons, 1851. rpt. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1986. 47.

18　Ibid.

19　*Biblia sacra : juxta Vulgatam versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. 1994. 207.

20　Trans. from Douay Old Testament in *The Parallel Apocrypha*. Gen. Ed. Kohlenberger III, J. R. NY & Oxford: OUP, 1997. 126-128.

21　Magennis. 61.

22　*Judith*. Ed. Griffith, M. Exeter: Univ. of Manchester Press, 1997. 98. Citations from Judith are based on this book.

23　*A Choice of Anglo-Saxon Verse*. Trans. Hamer, R. London & Boston: Faber and Faber, 1970. 139.

24　Bosworth, J. and Toller, T. N. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. London: OUP, 1898. rpt. 1929. s.v. *beag*.

25　Ibid. s.v. *hring*.

26　*Judith*. Ed. Timmer, B. J. London: Methuen, 1952. rpt. Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1978. 14.

27　Assmann. 96.

28　*A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*. Comp. Healey, A. P. and Venezky, R. L. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980.　Citations from the concordance are based on this microfiche version.　Abbreviations of the Old English works used in this article are based on *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English: The List of Texts and Index of Editions*. Comp. Healey, A. P. and Venezky, R. L. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980. rpt. with rev. 1985.

29　Murray, J. A. H. et al. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. C.　Oxford: OUP, 1989. s.v. *purpure*.

30　Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards women within the Christian community are discussed in Leeds, Clare A. *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*.　Minneapolis & London: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1999. 133-153.

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