

CYNEWULF'S *JULIANA*:
AN ANNOTATED MODERN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

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Ic wille secgan ealles þonc,
eow þe me geholpen hæfdon geara gongum,
þæt ic æfre stande æghwæs onsund:

To my parents: Mom and Dad, for always being there and supporting me every step of
the way;

To my siblings: Sara and Lewis, for love, laughs, and lifelong friendship;

To my *heorðgeneatas*:

Nina Forrest, for every day of making the world a better place together;
Namiko Hitotsubashi, for many late nights and every paper written together;

To all of my friends and family who have given me love and support along the
way—you have all of my love and gratitude;

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Wesað ge ealle hale.

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Introduction

Although there has been and continues to be much scholarship on the relationship between Old English and Middle English literature, there has been very little discussion about the relationship between the Old English and Middle English versions of the saint's life of Juliana. I was originally inspired to pursue this project by a seemingly off-hand comment by J. R. R. Tolkien, a footnote in version 'B' of his lecture *Beowulf and the Critics*, in which he writes that "there is nothing but older language and the metre to distinguish Cynewulf's *Juliana* from the thirteenth century homily *Juliene* of MS. Bodley 34 (which is probably lineally connected with Cynewulf)" (129). This matter-of-fact statement seemed very isolated, and no scholarship that I could find had pursued the question of the textual relationship between these texts in any great detail. Thus armed with curiosity and determination, I set out with the ambitious goal of proving Tolkien right (as I assumed he was due to his reputation). I planned to use a combination of several methods, both traditionally philological and contemporary linguistic, to analyze the language of the texts and the relationship between them.

I soon realized that it was impossible to conduct such a comprehensive analysis at the level I intended without a deep and comprehensive understanding of the source texts themselves. A general knowledge of Old English and Middle English was not enough; I needed to understand the specific language of both Cynewulf and the Bodley manuscript. After consulting with my thesis advisor, Professor Michael Drout, I decided that the best way to achieve a thorough understanding of these texts was to produce my own translations. The act of translation forces the translator to become intimately familiar with the language of the source text, as she must make choices where there is, or could be, ambiguity in the original language. Thus, as a logical starting point I chose to produce an annotated translation of Cynewulf's *Juliana*, the older of the two texts. Although it is only an initial step towards the completion of a study much larger in scope, the translation is

here presented as a product in and of itself.

In the following introductory material, I first present a summary of the legend of Juliana's specific instantiation in Cynewulf's poem before giving an overview of the legend of Juliana and its history. I then go on to discuss the manuscript and the editing history of the text before briefly examining Cynewulf's language and dialect. In the last section of the introduction, I address the question of translation and my own strategies in translating this Old English poem into Modern English.

The Legend of Juliana

The legend of St. Juliana has been treated in many different languages and literary forms throughout its history. The earliest mention of Juliana is in *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (c. late 6th century), while the earliest description of her life, although short, is found in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (c. 731). A more detailed hagiography, found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, was synthesized by Bolland in 1665. He drew on eleven MSS. for this edition, but specified nothing about their dates except that they were "old" (d'Ardenne xix). The *Acta Sanctorum* is "commonly considered to be the closest surviving analogue to Cynewulf's poem" (Calder 75). Other medieval versions of this story exist in Latin, Greek, Old English, Middle English, Anglo-Norman, Middle High German, Italian, Old Swedish, and Middle Irish, written in both poetry and prose (d'Ardenne xix-xxii). The sole extant Old English (OE) version survives in the form of Cynewulf's poem *Juliana*. A summary of the saint's life as it appears in this poem is given below.

Plot Summary

Juliana of Commedia is a young woman of pagan Rome who worships the Christian Gode. When her father Affricanus betroths her to Heliseus, the wealthy reeve of the city, Juliana refuses to marry him in order to preserve her maidenhood. Heliseus informs her father of

the rejection and Affricanus confronts Juliana, insisting that she conform to his wishes. When Juliana confirms that she will not marry because of her faith, nor pay tribute to the pagan gods, he becomes enraged and orders her to be flogged. Juliana is not swayed, but her father nonetheless gives her over to Heliseus, who has her brought before him publicly and threatens her with torture unless she agrees to make sacrifice to his gods. Juliana insists that she will not obey him unless he gives up his pagan ways and worships the true God. Then Heliseus, too, is greatly angered and has Juliana stripped naked and flogged. After she endures this torture, he asks her again to perform pagan rituals and she again refuses, whereupon Heliseus has her strung up by her hair and flogged once more before being thrown in a dungeon.

Even while imprisoned, Juliana does not give up her faith and constantly praises and prays to God until an angelic figure appears to her in her cell. This self-proclaimed messenger of God is actually the demon Belial,¹ who commends her for her steadfast faith but encourages her to give it up so that she will not suffer any longer. Juliana becomes afraid and asks God whether or not he truly sent this messenger. A voice from the heavens responds and tells her to grab the demon and hold him fast until he reveals to her his true intent. Juliana does so, binding him in chains, and at this point a folio is missing in the manuscript and the narrative is lost until somewhere in the middle of Belial's list of people he has led astray.

According to the Middle English version, after Juliana captures him, she forces the demon to reveal his true name, who sent him to her, and what his purpose is. Belial tells her that he was sent by "the king of hell-dwellers" ("hellwarena cyning," 324) to try to lead faithful people into sin. He gives a long list of people he has deceived, including Adam and Eve, Cain, Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh, Herod, Judas, Simon, Nero, and Pilate, among others. Juliana forces him to confess his sinful deeds in full before she is summoned

¹Since the part of the poem in which the demon would reveal his name is missing, we only have a name from the Middle English sources.

by Heliseus and drags the demon along with her. Belial begs her to release him, and when they arrive before Heliseus she finally does, allowing him to “seek out shadows in the dark ground.”² At this point another folio is missing from the manuscript, and the following details of the narrative again come from the Middle English (ME) version. The OE resumes at the end of what is presumably a prayer by Juliana, just before the angel appears to save her from being burned at the stake.

Thus Juliana is brought before Heliseus, but she continues to defy him and he resolves to put her through ever-worse tortures. He has a terrible wheel constructed and has Juliana tied to it and spun around so that her body is cut into pieces. However, as she is subjected to this torture, Juliana continues to pray to God and is rewarded for her piety when an angel comes to save her, breaking the wheel and leaving her unharmed. Juliana then praises God at length, and her impassioned speech inspires her executioners to convert to Christianity. Enraged, Heliseus resolves to have her burned at the stake, but an angel appears and protects Juliana from the fire. Undeterred, Heliseus then orders a vat of boiling lead to be prepared and for Juliana to be thrown into it. However, the fire beneath the vat disappears and the lead itself spills, killing 175 soldiers and leaving Juliana completely unharmed. Heliseus becomes increasingly agitated as Juliana, through the grace of God, continues to withstand his death sentences, and he ultimately declares that she is to be beheaded. Juliana is gladdened when she hears this decision because her suffering will come to an end. Then the demon Belial returns and encourages Heliseus, imploring him to cause Juliana pain and avenge the insult she had previously inflicted upon him. However, when Juliana looks at him, he flees and returns to hell, fearing further humiliation at her hands. When Juliana is led outside the city to her execution site, she continues to preach her own religion and attempts to convert others right up until her death. Cynewulf also recounts the subsequent death of Heliseus and his men at sea and Juliana’s grandiose burial in the city.

²“þystra neosan / in sweartne grund” (554b-55a)

The final thirty-five lines of the poem (696b-731) depart from the narrative of Juliana's life. Written in the first person and representing a personal plea and prayer by Cynewulf, they ask that Juliana intercede on his behalf when he dies so that he might be allowed to go to heaven despite his past sins, and that people will remember his name after he dies.

Textual History

The legend of St. Juliana has a rich textual history across many European cultures. Figure 1 is a *stammbaum* (family tree) illustrating this textual history, starting with an original Latin source "O" and branching out into various recensions based on the language in which the text is written, plot details, and other textual evidence.³ The branches of the *stammbaum* and versions of the saint's life that are relevant to the current study are discussed below.⁴

Most of the relevant versions of the legend are part of recension Y, which d'Ardenne proposes to be "a Latin version and its sequels, containing the third scourging" (xxiv). This "third scourging," in which Juliana is strung up "by the hair" ("bi þe feaxe," 227) and flogged for six hours, is unique to the vernacular English versions of the legend; d'Ardenne argues that this detail originates from a lost Latin source, rather than being an English innovation. She also concludes, contra Tolkien, that the Middle English *Juliene* is not lineally descended from Cynewulf. There are two extant Middle English prose versions of the saint's life, for which d'Ardenne proposes at least one lost common ME source (xxiv). The texts of d'Ardenne's E recension are discussed below, under her sigla:

³d'Ardenne's sigla refer to either an individual extant version of the legend (terminal sigla) or an unverified source that may or may not have actually existed (e.g. O, X, Y, Z, N, α, E, U, B¹).

⁴For a complete discussion of the legend's textual history, see d'Ardenne xviii-xxv.

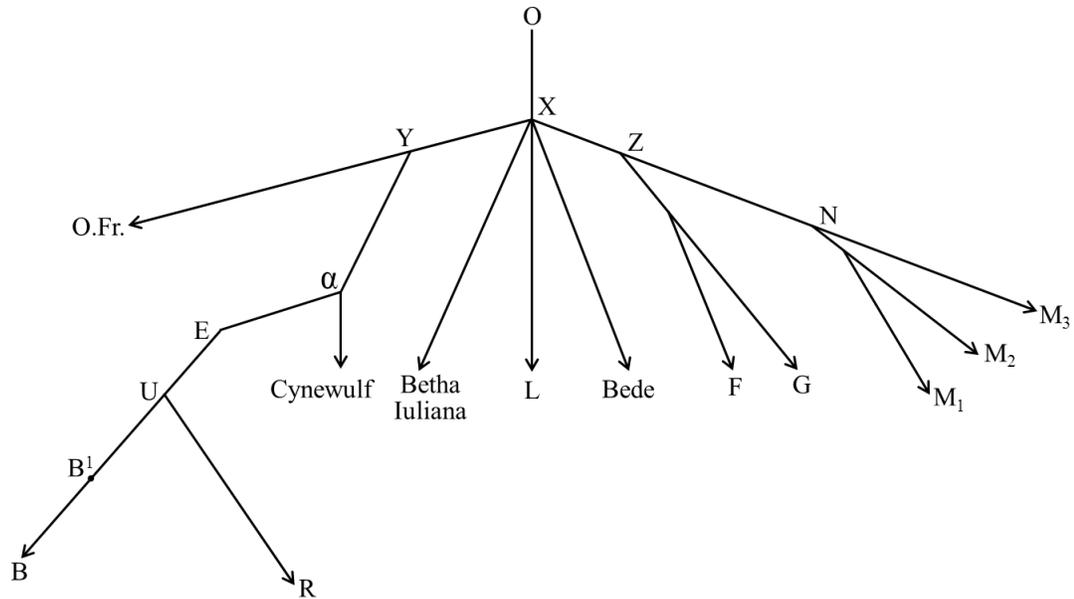


Figure 1. A *stamma* illustrating the textual history of the legend of St. Juliana (after d’Ardenne xxiv).

- E. “A line of descent in English.” d’Ardenne suggests that an older ME version of the legend was written in AB language⁵ “but possibly in archaic form,” and that this version followed the Latin more closely than B and R do. She also argues that “it probably showed acquaintance with older vernacular material”; however, she does not specify what this “older vernacular material” is, suggesting that Cynewulf’s may not have been the only OE version of the legend.
- U. “The version of this [older ME version] from which both B and R ultimately derive. It had already come under the influence of the vernacular legend of Katherine, and contained errors, some of which remain in both B and R, but it was still relatively short and unexpanded.”
- B¹. “An expansion (chiefly by the elaboration of alliteration) of the preceding.” d’Ardenne proposes an intermediate version of B seemingly in order to account for the quantity and quality of scribal errors in the MS (xxxix-xl).

⁵‘A’ is an abbreviation commonly used to refer to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 402 (famous for its text known as *Ancrene Wisse*, hence ‘A’). ‘B’ refers to MS. Bodley 34 (see below). The language of A and B are quite similar and share remarkable uniformity; as such, they have come to be collectively referred to as “AB language,” on which see Tolkien (“*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*”).

- B. MS. Bodley 34, the version which Tolkien argues is lineally descended from Cynewulf. Within the context of d'Ardenne's recension, she suggests that "from a copy of [version B¹,] B was reproduced somewhat carelessly and with additional errors due to the actual scribe." The language of B is extremely consistent and "practically identical with that seen in A" (xxix).
- R. MS. Royal 17 A xxvii. d'Ardenne asserts that "R has further abbreviated U, partly through error or misunderstanding, but this process can seldom be certainly attributed to the actual scribe." She notes that R's language is "far less consistent" than that of B, but that its linguistic relation to B is "fairly consistent throughout" (as opposed to variation in textual relations) (xxx).⁶

The essential argument that d'Ardenne makes is that all Englishmy versions of the life of St. Juliana (including Cynewulf) are descended from a lost vernacular source (α , my siglum). Ultimately, in a subsequent study beyond this translation, I aim to identify evidence to either support or contradict d'Ardenne's reconstruction.

Manuscript and Text

The sole remaining text of the OE *Juliana* is found in Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library, MS. 3501, the codex known the Exeter Book. Based on handwriting, this manuscript can be dated to the second half of the tenth century (Krapp and Dobbie xiii). It is a large codex, comprised of folios numbered 1 to 130 (not including the first, blank leaf which is unnumbered). *Juliana* is one of 127 poems (including 95 riddles) in the manuscript; it begins towards the end of the page on folio 65v and ends at the bottom of folio 76r (xxxvi). However, two folios are missing: one between folios 69 and 70 and one between folios 73 and 74 (xii). The lineation in the Exeter Book varies between 21 and 23 lines per folio, but between folios 53 to 82 (encompassing the whole of *Juliana*), the ruling is consistently 22 lines. Thus, although "one or more of the lines were usually left vacant between poems or sections of poems, thus reducing the number of lines actually written

⁶For a more complete discussion of the linguistic and textual relationships between B and R, see d'Ardenne xxix-xl.

on the page” and sometimes the last word or part of a word was written “at the lower right-hand corner below the last ruled line, thus increasing by one the number of lines written on the page,” it can be estimated that a total of approximately 44 lines are missing from the extant version of *Juliana*. The lacunae are between lines 288 and 289 and between lines 588 and 589.

The text of *Juliana* has for the most part, although not exclusively, been treated in larger editions and translations of the Exeter Book or of Cynewulf’s poetry. Editions have been undertaken by Thorpe (1842), Ettmüller (1850), Grein (1858), Gollancz (1895), Grein and Wülcker (1858), Strunk (1904), Krapp and Dobbie (1936), and Woolf (1955). English translations include Thorpe (1842), Gollancz (1895), Murch (1905), Kennedy (1910), Gordon (1926), Bradley (1982), and Bjork (2013). For further primary and secondary sources, see Muir (1992).

Dialect

It is difficult to determine the original OE dialect in which any individual poet wrote because most extant OE poetry was copied by scribes writing in the south of England in West Saxon (mixed with a few Anglian features), which was the generally accepted literary dialect by the tenth century. Although these scribes may have been copying from exemplars in the poems’ original dialects, there is “abundant evidence” that “the last West-Saxon scribes in the course of copying systematically altered the language of their poetic exemplars to bring them into conformity with their own linguistic standards” (Fulk 15), and thus very little evidence of the original language of composition remains. However, Fulk argues that all poems with syncope (that is, the loss of the vowel in verb endings, e.g. *drincst*, *drincþ* for *drincest*, *drinceþ*), including Cynewulf’s, are Anglian in origin (for further discussion, see Fulk 10-11). He cites several phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features that indicate an Anglian origin for Cynewulf specifically (11-13). A summary of such forms that appear in *Juliana* is given below:

1. Anglian smoothing, a phenomenon whereby a diphthong (two vowel sounds) becomes a monophthong (one vowel sound), usually preceding a velar or a liquid + velar; e.g., WS *eaht* > Anglian *æht*
2. Back mutation, or the diphthongization of front vowels when followed by a back vowel in the following syllable
3. Confusion of *eo* and *ea*
4. Anglian forms of the verb *seon*: preterite plural *segon* and past participle *gesegen* for WS *sawon* and *gesewen*, respectively
 - “weorud to segon” (291b)
5. Where WS only has unstressed *for*, Anglian also uses the form *fore* in unstressed positions
 - “fore Cristes lufan” (31a)
 - “deaðfore duguðe” (256a)
 - “fore leahtra lufan” (375a)
 - “fore oferhygdum” (424a)
 - “Iuliana, fore godes sibbum” (540)
6. Where WS only allows the preposition *mid* ‘with’ to take a dative object, *mid* can take an accusative object in Anglian
 - “Sibb sy mid eowic” (668b)
 - “ond hine sylfne mid” (676b)
 - “heane mid hlaford” (681a)
7. The accusative forms of personal pronouns *mec*, *þec*, *incit*, *uncit*, and *usic* are an exclusively Anglian feature
 - mec*, 18 occurrences, e.g. “ne meaht þu habban mec” (53b)
 - þec*, 10 occurrences, e.g. “þæt þu þec sylfne ne þearft” (46b)
 - usic*, 2 occurrences, e.g. “þonne he usic sendeð” (325a)
8. Anglian form *gēn(a)* ‘still’ for WS *gīet(a)*
 - “þonne he gen dide” (110b)
 - “gen gecwemest” (169b)
 - “Gen ic feores þe” (ln.191b)
 - “ða gen ic gecræfte” (290a)
 - “ða gen ic Heorode” (ln.293b)
 - “þu scealt furþor gen” (317a)
 - “þa gen seo halge ongon” (345a)
 - “þa gen sio halge stod” (589b)

9. Anglian usage of *nympe* and *nymne/nefne* alongside *butan* (which appears in both Anglian and WS) for the conjunction ‘unless’; Fulk writes, “note especially *nemne he maegna god* ‘unless he [honor] the god of hosts’ (*Juliana* 109b)” (13).
10. Unstressed *in* for unstressed *on* is absent in WS, but common in Anglian
 - “þætte in dagum gelamp” (2b)
 - “in þære ceastre” (21a)
 - “mara in gemyndum” (36a)
11. Although not an absolute distinction, Anglian prefers *oferhygd* ‘pride’ for WS *ofermod*. Fulk draws attention to *Juliana* line 424a, “fore oferhygdum.”

All of these features indicate an Anglian origin. However, beyond the region of “Anglia” (which covers a very broad area indeed),⁷ it is impossible to more narrowly identify Cynewulf’s provenance. Due to the dialectal leveling that occurred in Southern tenth-century literary productions, precise localization of poets or poems is unfortunately unattainable. Fulk argues that rhymes in other Cynewulfian poems indicate a Mercian origin, although he himself refers to this evidence as “slender but consistent” (14). It is true that no evidence contradicts an Anglian origin, but neither is there any evidence that mandates an Anglian origin, and so this classification, while plausible, is not definitive.

Notes on Translation

As mentioned above, I set out to translate Cynewulf’s *Juliana* as part of a larger undertaking, with the specific intention of gaining an intimate understanding of the text and its language. I was therefore extremely conscious of the difficulties inherent in any transla-

⁷Anglia is a linguistic region that covered a large area of northeastern Britain and encompassed the kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. Northumbria stretched from the Humber River in northern England to as far as the city of Edinburgh; Mercia covered the English Midlands; and East Anglia was comprised primarily of the present-day counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.

tion, the specific challenges posed by a tenth-century Old English MS., and the need to justify some of the choices I made in the translation.

One of the most subjective aspects of a text that needs to be considered in translation is the register of the poem. The register of a hagiography such as *Juliana* is very different from that of an elegy or a heroic poem, but these differences are not easy to qualify. Because this aspect of translation is so subjective, it is very difficult to translate; and it is even more challenging to explicate such translation choices. The title bestowed upon the ME homily is *Pe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne*, and as the text's plot differs little between the OE and ME versions, Cynewulf's *Juliana* is also both a *vita* and a *passio*.⁸ Thus, I not only wanted to convey a straightforward, factual account of events, but also to capture the more impassioned nature of the poem. *Juliana*, moreover, has somewhat of a heroic register, at least in parts of the poem, particularly in her interactions with Belial and her overcoming Heliseus' torments through the grace of God (see e.g. fn. 25, p. 36). Ultimately, the best way to capture the register of the poem is to be as faithful to the original as possible at lower levels of language⁹ while still making it accessible to the modern reader of English.

One of the ways in which I attempted to remain faithful to the original poem is in the syntax. Old English is a synthetic language, which means that it indicates the function of a word within a sentence by means of suffixes. Modern English, on the other hand, is analytic, indicating the function of a word by its position relative to other words in the sentence. We can thus classify these languages according to their morphological typology (synthetic vs. analytic), and also by their word order typology. For example, Modern English is an SVO language: the Subject of the sentence must precede the Verb, which must

⁸A *vita* describes the saint's biography and his or her miracles, while a *passio* focuses specifically on the saint's martyrdom.

⁹By "lower levels of language," I mean levels that deal with smaller units of language, such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax.

in turn precede the Object. Old English, being a synthetic rather than analytic language, has a less strict word order typology: although it is generally classified as a verb-second language, there is some debate (cf. Bean).

These typological differences can make it very difficult to leave the original OE syntax unaltered when translating into Modern English (ModE). In some cases the syntax in OE is the same as in ModE, but often a literal syntactic translation would produce a sentence that doesn't make sense in ModE; or, worse, a sentence that would grammatically parse but whose meaning would be wrong. For example, in lines 270-71a, “ongan þa fæstlice ferðstapelian / geong grondorleas,” a translation with unaltered syntax would produce “began then firmly [the] soul to establish [the] young guileless [one].” In the OE, the inflectional ending on *geong grondorleas* ‘young guileless one’ indicates that it is in the nominative case, and therefore the subject of the sentence; if it were accusative (and therefore the object), the form would be *geonge grondorlease*. However, because this information does not carry over into the ModE, the position of “young guileless one” after the infinitive verb suggests that it is the object of the sentence, with “soul,” preceding the infinitive, appearing to be the subject of the sentence. Thus, in order to render the translation intelligible (and correct), it is sometimes necessary to deviate from the original OE syntax. However, in all other cases I attempted to preserve the original OE syntax. I paid particular attention to faithfulness with regards to appositives and adverbial phrases, as these grammatical structures have greater flexibility within ModE’s syntactic framework than other types of phrases. Ultimately, however, little is lost in translation when syntax is altered to accommodate a different morphological typology.

There is much greater risk of losing meaning in translation at the level of the individual word. One of the biggest challenges in translation lies in navigating the semantic nuances of words in both the source language and the language of translation. The semantic domains of any given pair of words (source word and translated word) are in essence a Venn diagram (see Figure 2). Although simplified, this diagram is representative of the

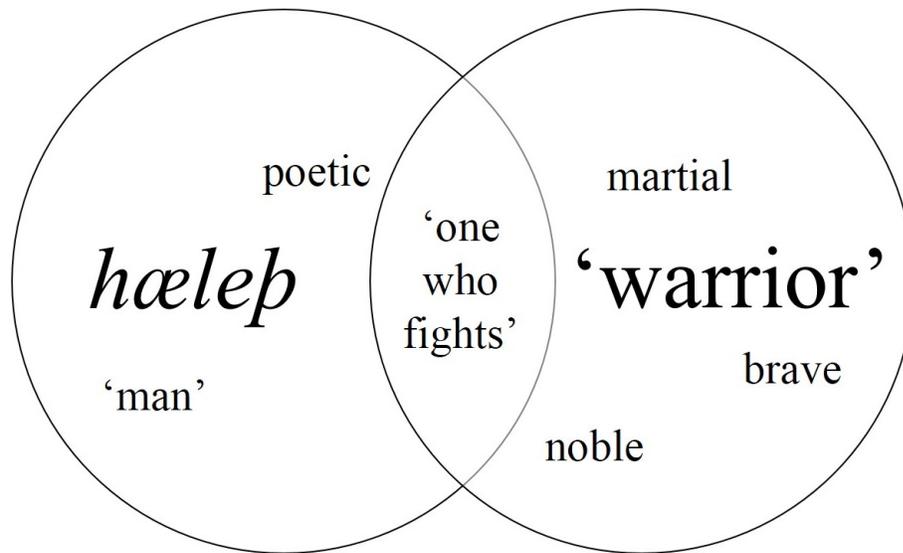


Figure 2. A Venn diagram illustrating the relationship between the semantic domains of the OE word *hǣleþ* and the ModE word ‘warrior’.

phenomenon at hand; a complete diagram would be impossible to create, as language and semantics are a continuum. Although *hǣleþ* and ‘warrior’ both mean “one who fights,” they also both have certain semantic associations that the other does not carry. For example, *hǣleþ* is a poetic word; it only appears in OE poetry, never in prose. Although ‘warrior’ is perhaps a somewhat archaic word in ModE (having been largely superseded by the term ‘soldier’), it does not have such strict literary restrictions. Moreover, *hǣleþ* can also have the simple meaning ‘man’, unrelated to whether or not the referent fights, whereas ‘warrior’ is exclusively associated with warfare, specifically those who act bravely or nobly in battle. While *hǣleþ* sometimes *can* carry these semantic associations, they are not necessarily inherent in the semantic domain, but merely optional. Thus, the translator must be careful not to convey too much or too little meaning in any one word.

Because the semantic domains of a source word and its translation very rarely (if ever) completely overlap, translating “faithfully” at the level of the individual word requires inductive analysis on the part the translator. Matters are even further complicated when cultural associations are taken into consideration alongside semantics. There are

some aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture that are no longer relevant in contemporary culture, and the translator must therefore be careful to avoid using ModE words that fail to capture the Anglo-Saxon cultural essence of a word. In some cases it is as simple as translating *aglæca* as ‘demon’ instead of ‘monster’ (see fn. 18, p. 29), but in many cases it is impossible to convey the full cultural (and consequently literary) significance of the word. For example, *middangeard* ‘middle-earth’ (3) is a pagan concept, one of the Nine Worlds in Norse mythology (Old Norse *midgard*), and its presence in a Christian saint’s life, especially so early on in the poem, requires special consideration that is impossible to convey simply through translation (see fn. 3, p. 18).

Moreover, cultural understanding of certain concepts may affect the way in which other words are translated. For example, in an OE Christian text such as *Juliana*, the word *hæþen* ‘heathen’ has inherently negative connotations to an extent unparalleled in any vaguely negative connotations the term may hold today; in medieval Christian culture, “heathen” in essence equaled “bad.” This association, untranslated in my conversion of the word *hæþen* itself, had a significant impact on the translation choices I made concerning the word *fyrwet* (27) (on which see fn. 6, p. 19).

Having taken all of these challenges and potential difficulties into account, I aimed to produce not only a faithful translation, but specifically an etymologizing translation. That is, I wanted to preserve the OE *word forms* as accurately and thoroughly as possible, an end which I attempted to achieve through two main strategies. The first is that I endeavored to translate OE words with ModE cognates wherever possible; where it would not obscure the meaning or render the text incomprehensible to a modern audience. For example, OE *gæst* ‘spirit’ is cognate with ModE ‘ghost’, but this word has taken on connotations incongruous with the OE form: “she bore a holy covenant in her ghost”¹⁰ simply does not work in Modern English. However, in instances where the ModE cognate of an OE word has not undergone such semantic drift, I used it because I wanted to preserve the

¹⁰“hio in gæste bær / halge treowe” (28b-29a)

“Anglo-Saxon-ness” of the poem’s language.

I translated OE compounds as literally as possible as a second strategy for producing an etymologizing translation. Germanic compounding is a widely recognized phenomenon whereby two individual lexemes are joined to create a new lexeme, usually denoting a poetic-metaphoric idea unable to be captured by individual lexemes. For example, *banloca* ‘bone-locker’ produces a much more poetic image than e.g. *(hrycg)ribbas* ‘ribs’. Thus, when translating such compounds into ModE, my strategy was to redivide the compound into two lexemes and translate them individually, usually hyphenating them to emphasize their relationship (as in, for example, ‘bone-locker’).

Finally, although the focus on translation strategies thus far has been on the level of the word or higher, there are important considerations to be had at lower levels as well, specifically that of the individual sound. OE poetry has a very structured scheme of alliteration: each line is composed of an “A-verse” and a “B-verse” (separated by a caesura in modern convention), and each verse or half-line must contain an alliterating syllable (the A verse can have two alliterative syllables, while the B verse may only have one). Although my translation is in prose and thus less structured than the conventions of OE poetry, I still attempted to work alliteration into my translation wherever I saw the opportunity in order to preserve this feature of the poetry. Especially because OE poetry was meant to be read aloud, I felt that this aural aspect was important to retain. Thus, my selection of individual words was sometimes influenced by the sounds of surrounding words; for example, “wæpnes spor” (623) literally means “the trace of a weapon,” and as an etymologizing translator I would generally be inclined to translate it as such. However, I chose instead to translate it as “weapon’s wound” in order to preserve the alliterative effect and capture a very important essence of OE poetry.

Ultimately, my goal in translating this text was to capture the Anglo-Saxon essence of the poem. I have specifically attempted to preserve specific formal features representative of Anglo-Saxon culture and poetry. This consideration is important because I do

not want my translation to come across as a modern piece of literature; rather, I want to make an Anglo-Saxon work accessible to a modern audience. Thus, I did not want merely to convey a sense of how an Anglo-Saxon audience would have experienced the poem (with familiar word forms, formulas, etc.), but I wanted to convey how an Anglo-Saxon audience would have *conceived* of the poem and the story within it. I recognize that it is impossible for a translator to avoid bringing in her own perspectives, as any human creation is necessarily shaped by time, place, and cultural context. However, I still wanted to create as authentic a representation of the Anglo-Saxon nature of the poem as possible, so that the contemporary reader may experience the story and the poem in much the same way that Anglo-Saxons constructed, shared, and understood their own literature.

Chapter 1

Cynewulf's *Juliana*: A Modern English Translation

The following translation of Cynewulf's *Juliana* is presented as a bilingual edition with my own Modern English translation followed by the original Old English. The OE text was taken from Murray McGillivray's "Old English Poetry Project," which is a digitization of Krapp and Dobbie's 1936 edition of the poem in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. Italics indicate emendations (editorial changes from the MS.). Annotations are given in some places for historical reference, but primarily they serve to clarify, expand upon, or justify potentially contentious translations.

Listen!¹ We have heard that warriors esteem, bold men judge, that which happened in the days of Maximian,² the honorless king, who around middle-earth³ raised persecution, killed Christian men, felled churches; the heathen battle chief shed on the grassy plain holy blood of those who praise God and do righteous deeds. His kingdom

¹“hwæt” (1): An interjection whose function is to draw the reader’s (or, in most cases, listener’s) attention to what is being said. Although there is much debate about how *hwæt* should be translated, I have chosen to translate it wherever it appears as either “listen” or, if attention is being drawn specifically to something visual (as in lines 167b-68), “behold.” These translations are commands that appeal to the senses, which captures the essence of an interjection meant to draw attention to something.

²Maximian was a Roman emperor from 286 to 305 A.D. He gained power through his military prowess and was appointed to govern the West, although he was eventually relegated to Italy, Spain, and Africa. The view that Maximian was a persecutor of Christians seems to be widespread, but he “seems to have done no more than obediently execute in his part of the empire the first edict of Diocletian, which ordered the burning of the Scriptures and the closing of the churches” (“Maximian”).

³ “middangeard” (3): Literally ‘middle-earth’, as translated above, a pagan concept from Norse mythology, which counts Earth as the middle of nine worlds. Although this word is commonly used in OE to denote the world in which humans live, it is interesting that the narrator uses a pagan term to refer to a non-pagan concept in a Christian saint’s life, particularly so early on when the tone for the poem is being set. It is possible that, because the term was so common, its pagan origins were no longer associated with it by the time *Juliana* was written. However, the entire opening of *Juliana* is very formulaic and reminiscent of Germanic poetry about pagan heroes. Cf. the opening lines of *Beowulf*:

*Hwæt! We Gar-Dena in geardagum
þeodcyninga þrym gefrunon
hu þa æþelingas ellen fremedon.*

5 was broad, wide and worthy over the nation, almost over the whole earth. Powerful thanes traveled through cities, as he had ordered; often they raised up discord, those perverse in deeds who hated the Lord's law through wickedness, raised fiendship, exulted in heathen worship, killed holy ones, destroyed those learned in book-craft, burned the chosen ones. They persecuted champions of God with spear and fire.

10 One of noble descent, the reeve of the kingdom, was wealthy. He ruled over the fortified city, always guarded the homestead in the fortress of Commedia;⁴ he held the hoard-wealth. Often he earnestly and eagerly sought heathen worship and idols against the word of God. His name was Heliseus.⁵ He had great and famous power. Then his heart began to love a maiden, Juliana; sinful curiosity⁶ pressed him. She bore a holy covenant

‘Listen! We have learned of the glory of the kings of the Spear-Danes in days gone by, how those noble ones accomplished valor.’

The parallels between the initial lines of “Beowulf” and those of *Juliana* are many: (1) opening with “Hwæt!” and (2) following it with a reference to knowledge passed down about (3) a king or kings and (4) the specific deeds they accomplished. Moreover, in both of these openings, the kings referenced are not relevant to the main story of the poem itself, but are simply used to set the scene. Thus, despite the fact that the opening lines of *Juliana* explicitly condemn a pagan king and his actions, the tone set through formula and word choice is reminiscent of pre-Christian epics.

⁴The OE form of Nicomedia, a city in present-day Turkey that often served as a residence of emperors (“İzmit”).

⁵Heliseus (Latin and ME Eleusius) does not appear anywhere outside of the legend of St. Juliana.

⁶“fyrwet” (27): This word literally means ‘curiosity’ and an examination of instances in the Dictionary of Old English corpus suggests that it does not seem to carry any negative connotations in and of itself. However, given the fact that Heliseus is a pagan and has just

15 in her soul, eagerly thought to keep her maidenhood clean from every man on account of her love of Christ.

When this maiden was betrothed to this wealthy man according to her father's wishes, fate⁷ did not fully know how she, young in soul, was set against that friendship. To her, the fear of God was greater in her mind than all of the treasure that dwelled in the prince's possession. Then the wealthy one, that gold-prosperous man, was so eager in his heart for that marriage that he immediately had the maiden adorned for him, the bride brought to his home. She was firmly set against that man's love, although he had riches in his treasure chest and countless jewels over the earth. She forsook all of that, and said these words to the group of men: "I will tell you that you need not cause yourself more

a few lines ago been described as "honestly and earnestly [seeking] heathen worship and idols against the word of God," I believe that the medieval reader would have known that this "curiosity" is in some way bad. However, the modern reader has no way to pick up on this understanding, as we do not live in a world with an all-encompassing Christian culture where "heathen" is automatically and necessarily evil. I thus chose to translate "fyrwet" as "sinful curiosity" in order to convey this implication to a modern audience.

⁷"wyrð" (33): This OE word has complex semantic associations and connotations—there have been entire books written on the subject (see e.g. Weber). It is etymologically related to the word *weorðan* 'to be(come)' and seems to mean literally "that which is." However, the concept is much more complicated, as exemplified by the following lines from *Beowulf* (572b-573): "Wyrð oft nereð / unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deah" ("Fate often saves an unfated man, when his valor is good"). This phrase seems paradoxical: the man is not fated to die, but fate will only save him "if his valor is good." Thus, the semantics of *wyrð* are very complex and contentious; but, the same could be said about ModE "fate," which I chose as the best translation because it is a concept closely related to *wyrð*, commonly accepted as a translation of this word, and readily understood by a modern audience.

25 trouble. If you love and trust in the true God and sing his praises, recognize the Protector of souls, I will readily be at your will, without faltering. So I say to you that if you trust in an inferior god through idolatry, promise heathen sacrifice, you may not have me, nor force me to be your wife. You will never prepare such terrible suffering through violent hostility of hard torments that you will turn me from these words.”

30 Then the prince, stained by sinful deeds, became swollen⁸ with anger when he heard that maiden’s words. Savage and blind in his thoughts, he commanded a fast messenger to fetch the holy one’s father for counsel straightaway. Voices rose up when they inclined their spears together, those warriors. The heathens were both sick with sins, father-in-law and son-in-law. Then the guardian of the kingdom spoke with that maiden’s
35 father, the spear-wielder wicked in his heart: “Your daughter has shown me dishonor. She continually says to me that she does not care for my love and friendship. These insults are most painful to me in my heart, that she so grievously reproved me with evil words before these people, commanded me to worship with riches a foreign god, different from the others that we already know, to worship him with words and praise him in my thoughts,
40 or I will not have her.”

The father-in-law then darkened after these words, violent in his mind. The maiden’s father opened his mind: “I swear it by the true gods, as I always find mercy in them, or prince, your kindness in you in the wine halls, if these words that you say to me are true, most beloved of men, that I will not spare her, but give her into destruction, great prince,
45 and into your power. Condemn her to death, if it seems fitting to you, or allow her to live,

⁸“gebolgen” (90): Many dictionaries and glossaries, including Bosworth-Toller, translate *gebolgen* as “offended, angry” or “enraged.” However, this word is related to the ModE word “bulge” and often seems to suggest some kind of physical or metaphorical enlargement of the “enraged” person. “Enraged with anger” also seems like a needlessly redundant phrase when a more poetic and resonant meaning can be accurately conveyed by the evocative phrase “swollen with anger.”

as it seems better to you.”

He went then quickly to speak to the maiden, resolute and perverted with rage, swollen with anger, to where he knew the glad-minded young one kept her home. He said these words: “You are my daughter, the dearest and the sweetest in my heart, the
50 only one on earth, light of my eyes, Juliana! You in your foolishness have taken a useless course against the judgment of wise men because of your hostility. You speak against this bridegroom too strongly with your own counsel, against he who is better than you, more noble on earth and wealthier in treasure. He is a good companion. Therefore it is worthy that you not give up this man’s affection and the eternal happiness of love.”

55 The blessed one, Juliana (she had firmly established friendship⁹ with God), then gave him this answer: “I will never consent to kinship with this prince, unless he worships the God of hosts more readily than he previously did, loves with offerings the one who created light, heaven and earth and the passage of the sea, the circle of the sky. He may

⁹“freondrædenne” (107): This word is the same used to refer to the relationship Juliana’s father wishes her to have with Heliseus: “wyrd ne ful cyþe, / freondrædenne hu heo from hogde” (33b-34), “fate did not fully know how she was set against that friendship.” The *-rædenne* suffix indicates a permanent state, such as marriage (in a Christian context), and it is here used to emphasize the permanence of Juliana’s relationship with God. However, the same exact word is used in these two instances, particularly because this passage is not the only instance in which Juliana’s relationship with God or Christ is likened to an intimate relationship (such as marriage) with a man. For example, in lines 29a-31 Cynewulf writes that she “hogde georne / þæt hire mægðhad mana gehwylces / fore Cristes lufan clæne geheolde” (“eagerly thought to keep her maidenhood clean from every man on account of her love of Christ”). These lines suggest that her relationship with Christ takes the place of an intimate relationship with a man on earth, a reading which is reinforced by the parallel use of “freondrædenne” to refer to both her sought-after relationship with Heliseus and her own relationship with Christ.

not otherwise bring me into his home. He must with his possessions seek a bride's love
60 from another woman; he does not have any here."

Her fiendish father then gave her an answer out of anger, not at all promising
treasure: "I will accomplish this, if my soul lives—if you still will not turn from your
poor counsel, and you continue to worship a foreign god and then give up those who are
more beloved to us, those who stand as a benefit to our people—that you, sinful in respect
65 to your elders, will soon die a death by the grip of wild beasts, if you will not agree to this
settlement, marriage to this noble one. Great is that undertaking and calamitous for your
like that you reject our lord."

The blessed one then gave him an answer, Juliana wise and beloved to God: "I
wish to speak to you in truth; while living is to me, I will not tell a lie.¹⁰ I will never
70 fear your judgment, nor are horrible torments or sounds of terror painful to me, those with
which you, working wickedness, threaten me; nor will you ever through your delusion¹¹

¹⁰"bi me lifgendre nelle ic lyge fremman" (133): Despite the slight awkwardness of this translation, I wanted to capture the grammatical sense of this sentence because it has important implications for the larger meaning of Juliana's words. The first clause is a passive construction, "[while] living is to me," while the second clause is active, "I will not tell a lie." This juxtaposition sets up a contrast between a state of being (living) and an action (not telling a lie). She thus attributes the fact of her living to someone or something else (God), while simultaneously taking agency of her own actions—she recognizes that she owes her life to God, who granted it to her, but *she* is the one who will refuse to tell a lie.

¹¹"gedwolan" (138): The root *dwol-* here is often associated with hallucination or confusion—it comes into Middle and Early Modern English as *dwale*, "a stupefying or soporific drink (prob. in many instances, the juice or infusion of Belladonna)" ("dwale, n.2")—hence "delusion." I had originally translated it as "heresy," a common translation for this word, until I came across it again in line 202, when Heliseus says to Juliana: "gif

make me turn¹² from the praise of Christ.”

Then the father was furious with his daughter, angry and savage, wicked and fierce in spirit. He commanded her to be flogged, tortured with torment, afflicted with painful
75 punishment, and said these words: “Turn yourself to your right mind and turn from these words that you spoke before in folly, when you rejected the worship of our gods.”

The fearless one, Juliana, gave him an answer through the thought of her mind: “You will never persuade me to promise tribute to false things, mute and deaf devil-idols, the enemies of souls, those worst thanes of torment, but I worship the Lord of glory, of
80 middle-earth and of majesty, and trust everything to him alone, so that he will be my protector, a helper and a savior from hell-harmers.”

Then through his anger Affricanus, the father of the maiden, gave her into the power of the fiend Heliseus. In the early dawn he commanded her to be led to his judgment seat after the coming of light. The crowd looked upon the maiden’s beauty with wonder,
85 the people all together. Then the noble one, her bridegroom, greeted her first with happy words: “My sweetest light of the sun, Juliana! Behold, you have radiance, a long-lasting gift, a spirit of youth! If you will yet please our gods and seek protection for yourself from such merciful beings, favor from these holy ones, countless cruelly wrought torments and fierce afflictions, which will be prepared for you if you will not offer sacrifice to the true

þu leng ofer þis / þurh þin dolwillen *gedwolan* fylgest . . . ” (“if through your foolishness you follow your *delusions* in this matter for a long time . . . ”). Obviously, Juliana is not heretical in her refusal to worship the pagan gods, and thus “heresy” would not work as a translation of “gedwolan” here. Particularly because this word is used by both Juliana and Heliseus to connote “religious error” in some way, I wanted to be consistent in my translation of “gedwolan” throughout the poem.

¹² “acyrre” (139): This form is the first occurrence of a “turn” verb in *Juliana*. The verbs *cyrran* and *hwearfan*, both related to the meaning ‘to turn’, have multiple metaphoric meanings, on which see fn. 19, p. 30, and fn. 20, p. 31.

90 idols, will be averted from you.”

The noble woman gave him an answer: “You will never compel me with your threats nor prepare many crueller torments so that I will love your people unless you forsake these false things, this worship of idols, and wisely recognize the God of glory, the Shaper of souls, the Measurer of mankind, in whose might all of creation always exists without
95 end.”

Then before those people the man savage in mind spoke with threatening words; the owner of the people was very angry, and commanded through severe punishments that maiden to be stretched out naked and the sinless one to be flogged with scourges. Then the battle-warrior laughed, spoke with words of contempt: “This is the authority of our¹³

¹³“uncres” (190): The genitive form of first person dual (a pronoun used to refer to exactly two people, in OE poetry usually implying some sort of significant relationship between the two referents). This pronoun is the only dual in the entire poem, and its use does not conform to any of the conventional uses of the dual in OE poetry as defined by Bragg, who suggests that it is only used to refer to “two males who are either kinsman, comrades, or adversaries,” or “a woman and her husband” (Bragg 340). In the latter case, the dual is almost always used by the woman to refer to herself and her husband (the only possible exception being in “The Husband’s Message,” where the only evidence comes from an indirect quotation). I argue that the use of “uncres” here serves two functions: firstly, Heliseus uses it in an attempt to establish a connection between himself and Juliana comparable to that in the latter relationship (a married couple). However, this use deviates from that convention in not one, but two ways: 1) they are not actually married, and 2) a *man* is using it to refer to himself and a woman. Because of the perverted context in which Heliseus uses the dual, his intended meaning is lost. Rather, he inadvertently conveys a relationship between himself and Juliana that falls in line with OE poetic conventions and actually applies to them: they are adversaries. Although Bragg notes that this adversarial use elsewhere only applies to “two males,” she herself also qualifies that “these restric-

100 dispute undertaken at the beginning!¹⁴ I will still allow you your life, though you before spoke many heedless words, strove against us too strongly so that you would not love

tions coincide with the restrictions in the subject matter of OE poetry” (ibid)—usually, women are at most marginal characters in OE poetry. Moreover, in this poem, Juliana is often characterized by language and imagery reminiscent of Germanic heroes, who are exclusively male (see for example fn. 25, p. 36).

¹⁴“þis is ealdordom unces gewynnes / on fruman gefongen” (190-91a): Trautmann argues that this sentence is “incomprehensible” (“unverständlich”; translations from the German are my own) (94). The Latin version in the *Acta Sanctorum* reads: “Ecce principium quæstionis; accede et sacrificia magnæ Dianæ, et liberaberis de tormentis” (“Behold the beginning of the investigation; approach and sacrifice to the great Diana, and you will be freed from your torment”; I would like to thank Namiko Hitotsubashi for her assistance with my Latin translations). Trautmann claims that

Naturally *principium* here means ‘beginning’; Cynewulf, however, has taken it for *principatus*, hence his *ealdor-dom*. And *quæstio* here means ‘legal proceedings’; Cynewulf, however—and nobody would want to scold him for it—did not know this meaning, but rather understood *quæstio* as ‘dispute’; hence *unces gewynnes*.

(Natürlich *principium* bedeutet hier ‘anfang’; Cynewulf aber hat es für *principatus* genommen, daher sein *ealdor-dom*. Und *quæstio* bedeutet hier ‘gerichtliches verfahren’; Cynewulf aber—und niemand wird ihn darum scelten wollen—hat diese bedeuchtung nicht bekannt, sondern hat *quæstio* als ‘streitfrage’ gefasst; daher *unces gewynnes*.) (94)

Since Trautmann proposed it, this interpretation has been accepted by scholars and remains seemingly unchallenged; Woolf considers the use of *ealderdom* “rather awkward”

the true gods. The reward of horrible torment shall later come to you, who has hostile thoughts, unless you first reconcile with them and offer tributes to those thank-worthy ones after your insulting speech, restore peace. Let this dispute, this loathsome strife, rest.
105 If through your rashness you follow your delusions in this matter for a long time, then I shall by necessity be compelled by enmity to avenge in the most severe way this sin of hatred against the gods, your grievously insulting speech, with which you began to strive with slander against the best and most merciful ones known to men, those whom these people have long worshipped among themselves.”

110 That noble-minded one said to him fearlessly: “I do not fear your judgment, the

and translates the sentence as “the supremacy in our struggle has been seized at the outset” (29, see also Bjork 90-91, 247). However, this analysis requires a number of assumptions to be taken on faith and involves several logical leaps that seem unwarranted. With the phrase “on fruman” already in the text, there is no reason to suggest that Cynewulf misread *principium*. Trautmann does so because he wishes to account for *ealdordom*, and then argues that “the words *on fruman genfongen* correspond to the Lat. *accede*” (“die worte *on fruman gefongen* entsprechen dem lat. *accede*”) because he emends to *on foran gegong* ‘went forward’. Woolf dismisses this emendation as “based on a mistaken analogy with the Latin” (29), but fails to then account for the origin of “on fruman,” since she too accepts “ealdordom” as a translation of *principium* mistaken for *principatus*. However, there is no need to suggest that Cynewulf misunderstood the Latin; “ealdordom unces gewynnes” is a perfectly functional translation of *questionis*. *Ealdordom* can mean “supremacy,” as Woolf and others translate it, but it can also mean “authority.” With “unces gewynnes” as a genitive of respect, then, “ealdordom unces gewynnes,” “the authority of our dispute,” simply refers to the law. If “gefongen” is then translated as “undertaken,” rather than simply “taken,” then the result is a comprehensible sentence that does not require corruption in Cynewulf’s translation: “this is the authority of our dispute [the process of the law] undertaken at the beginning.”

cursed evil-doer,¹⁵ or the evil of your torments. I have as a hope for myself the Guardian of the kingdom of heaven, the merciful Protector, the Ruler of power, he who shields me from your sorcery, from the grip of fierce ones, from those whom you regard as gods. They are deprived of every goodness: idle, destitute, and useless, no man will meet profit
115 or true peace there, although he seeks friendship for himself. He will not find happiness there with devils. I make my mind steadfast to my Lord, who rules forever over each host, the Possessor of glory and of each victory. That is the true King.”

Then it seemed shameful to that folk-leader that he could not change her mind, the forethought of the maiden. He commanded her to be raised and lifted up by her hair onto
120 a high beam, where the one splendid as the sun¹⁶ suffered a scourging, unceasingly fierce distress for six hours of the day, and he commanded her to be promptly taken afterwards, that hateful enemy, and ordered her to be led to prison. The praise of Christ, an unbroken force, was firmly entwined in her soul, her gentle heart. Then was the door of the prison, the work of hammers, closed with a lock. The holy one dwelled therein, faithful. She
125 always praised in her heart the glory-king, God of the kingdom of heaven, Savior of men, shrouded in darkness in that prison. The holy spirit was a constant companion to her.

Then came suddenly into that grated hall an enemy of warriors, skillful in evil. The enemy of souls, knowledgeable about tortures, had an angel's hue; the captive of hell spoke to the holy one: “Why do you suffer, the dearest and most worthy to the King of
130 glory, for our Lord? This judge¹⁷ has prepared the worst torment for you, endless pain, if you, thinking wisely, will not offer sacrifice and satisfy his gods. Be you in haste, as he

¹⁵“awyrgeð womsceaða” (211): An appositive for the devil.

¹⁶ “sunsciene” (229): Cognate with ModE “sunshine”; a purely etymological translation might read something like “sunshiny.” However, in OE, *-sciene* had connotations of beauty or radiance; thus, I translated “splendid as the sun” in order to both capture the OE connotations and create an alliterative effect.

¹⁷“þes dema” (249): i.e., Heliseus

will command you to be led out of here so that you may quickly offer tokens of victory-sacrifice before destruction takes you, death before the people. Thus you shall escape the anger of this judge, blessed woman.”

135 She who was not afraid, the one pleasing to Christ, then boldly asked whence he came. The wretch replied to her: “I am an angel of God, journeying from above, a perfect thane, and sent to you holy from on high. Hard, wondrously cruel torment has been appointed to you as a deadly punishment. God commanded me to order you, child of the Ruler, to save yourself.”

140 Then the maiden was terrified with fear by this sudden story that the demon,¹⁸ adversary of glory, said to her with words. The young guileless one began to firmly brace her soul, called out to God: “Now I wish to ask of you, Protector of men, eternally almighty, through that noble creation which you, Father of angels, set in place at the beginning, that you do not let me turn from the praise of your gift of happiness, as this messenger who
145 stands before me tells me a horrible story. So I wish to ask of you, merciful one, that you make known to me, King of glory, Guardian of hosts, what this thane is, floating in the air, who instructs me to go away from you onto a rough path.”

A voice replied to her, beautiful from the heavens, thundered these words: “Take that arrogant one and hold him fast until he says what his journey is in truth, everything
150 from the beginning, what his origin is.” Then the soul of that maiden, blessed with power, was filled with bliss. She took that devil . . .

“ . . . to give the King of all kings into slaughter. Then I further contrived that the warrior began to wound the Ruler, the troop saw that there blood and water both sought the

¹⁸ “aglæca” (268): Bosworth-Toller defines this word as “a miserable being, wretch, miscreant, monster, fierce combatant.” However, I chose to translate it as “demon” in order to emphasize that the “monster” being referred to is specifically a supernatural Christian monster, as opposed to the dragon in *Beowulf*, which is referred to as an “aglæca” but is not associated with Christianity and thus relates better to the Bosworth-Toller definition.

earth together. Then I further deceived Herod in his mind so that he commanded John's
155 head to be cut off when that holy man steered him with words from his love for a woman,
that unrighteous marriage. I also persuaded Simon with cunning thoughts so that he began
to speak against the chosen thanes of Christ and attacked those holy men with contempt
through deep delusion, said that they were sorcerers. I dared with deceits to make things
difficult for others, where I deceived Nero so that he ordered Christ's thanes, Peter and
160 Paul, to be killed. Pilate had already hung the Ruler of the heavens, the mighty Measurer,
on the cross according to my teachings. So I also persuaded Ægeas so that he unwisely
commanded Andrew to be hung on a high beam, so that he sent his soul from the gallows
into the beauty of glory. Thus I accomplished many cruelties and evils with my brothers,
dark sins which I may not speak of, fully relate, nor may I tell the countless pains I have
165 inflicted, hard hate-thoughts."

The holy one, Juliana, replied to him through the grace of her spirit: "You shall
further yet, foe of mankind, tell me of your journey, who sent you to me."

The demon, gripped with fear, despairing of peace, gave her an answer: "Listen,
my father, the king of hell-dwellers, sent me hither on this journey to you from that narrow
170 home, he who is in that hall of sorrow more desirous of every evil than I. When he sends
us so that we might turn¹⁹ the minds of the righteous through evil deceit, turn them away
from salvation, we are sorrowful in our minds, afraid in our souls. Our lord, the fearsome
prince, is not merciful to us if we have done nothing evil; afterwards, we dare not travel

¹⁹ "oncyrrren" (326), also "ahwryfen" (327): As mentioned in fn. 12, p. 24, forms of the "turn" verbs *cyrran* and *hwearfan* also tend to have other, metaphorical connotations associated with them. One such connotation is that of "conversion," as to Christianity. The fact that the demon here uses "oncyrrren" and "ahwryfen" signifies that he and his brethren do not aim to simply trick people into committing a sin or something similarly superficial, but rather they intend to completely separate them from their faith; to convert them *from* Christianity.

anywhere into his sight. Then he sends thanes of darkness throughout the broad land,
175 commands them to raise up violence if we meet them on the earth-way or are found far
or near, so that they bind us and scourge us with torments in deadly flames. If we do not
turn the minds of the righteous, the thoughts of the holy, through hindrances, we suffer the
hardest and the worst torments through painful blows. Now you yourself may know the
truth in your soul, that I was forced by necessity, at times compelled to this presumption,
180 that I sought you out.”

Then still the holy one began to question with words the enemy of warriors, the
worker of strife, author of ancient sins: “You shall further tell me, foe of souls, how you
injure the righteous so strongly through the fall of sin, encircle them with deceit.”

The fiend, the faithless wretch, replied to her, spoke with words: “I will make
185 known to you, blessed woman, from the beginning until the end, that which I have ac-
complished with wounds of sin, on more than a few journeys, so that you yourself may
clearly know that this is the truth, nothing less. I believed this and boldly considered this
thought certain, that I might turn you away from salvation without difficulty with my own
craft alone, so that you would reject the King of heaven, the Lord of victory, and bow
190 down to worse ones, make sacrifice to authors of sin. Thus I turn the minds of the righ-
teous through various ways. Wherever I find him establishing his soul in God’s will, I
am immediately ready so that I bear against him the lust of the mind, thoughts of cruelty,
secret delusions, in many ways through a number of wrongs. I sweeten for him the lusts
of sin, wicked love in his mind, so that he, attached to sin, quickly hears my teachings. I
195 so thoroughly with sins inflame him that he, burning, turns and steps strongly away from
prayer; the steadfast one will not dwell in the place of prayer for long because of his love
of sins. So I bring terror as a harm to he whom I wish to deprive of life, of the light of
faith, and he wishes through his mind’s desire to hear my teachings, commit sin; he shall
afterwards depart,²⁰ deprived of good virtues. If I meet any powerful and noble-minded

²⁰ “hweorfan” (381): As discussed in fn. 12, p. 24, and fn. 19, p. 30, above, this verb

200 champion of the Measurer with the force of arrows who will not flee thence far from the battle, but he, wise in his thoughts, raises up his board, a holy shield, his spiritual battle-robres against me; if he will not wander from God, but he, bold in prayer, makes a stand firmly in his soul, I shall turn far away from there, humiliated, deprived of solace, in the grip of fire mourning a lament, that I could not withstand the power of strength; but I shall
205 mournfully seek another powerless one, a spiritless warrior in the rank, whom I might incite with my influence, hinder in battle. Though he spiritually attempts something of good, I am immediately ready so that I look through all of his inner thoughts, how his soul is fastened within, how his defense is built. I open the gate of that wall through iniquity; the tower is breached, an entrance opened, when I first send him bitter thoughts into his heart
210 through arrow-fire, through various wills of the mind, so that he thinks himself better for committing sins, lusts of the body, more than praising God. I am a ready teacher, so that he lives according to my customs, entirely turned from Christ's law, his mind obstructed by my power in a pit of sins. I care more eagerly about the soul, in regards to the spirit's destruction, than the body, which shall in the grave, committed to the ground, become a
215 solace to worms in the earth."

Then still the maiden spoke: "Say, wretch, unclean spirit, how you associate yourself, ruler of darkness, in the company of clean ones, you who, faithless, has of old worked against Christ and brought about strife, set yourself against holy ones; you who will become delved beneath the pit of hell, where you, harassed by misery, will seek a home
220 because of your pride. I expect that you shall become wary of hostile meetings with righteous ones and be not bold against them, those who often withstood your will through the King of glory."

does not only denote a literal meaning of "to turn." In this instance, it also connotes a sense of "to turn away from the world," to die. I chose to translate it as "depart" partly because of the alliterative effect created with "deprived," and partly because in ModE "depart" is more likely to be interpreted as a euphemism for death than "turn away."

Then the evil spirit, that wretched demon, pleaded with her: “First you must tell me how you, courageous through deep thought, became so much more bold in battle than all womankind, so that you bound me so fast with fetters, defenseless against everything. You have trusted in your eternal God, the one who dwells in glory, the Measurer of mankind, as I establish hope in my father, the king of hell-dwellers. When I am sent against the righteous, so that I turn their minds to evil works, their thoughts from salvation, it is at times denied to me through the holy ones’ resistance to my will, my hopes, as sorrow befell me here on my journey. I myself learned that much too late and shall now suffer over this, my working of sins, with shame for a long time. Because of this I beseech you through that highest power, the grace of the King of the heavens, he who suffered on the rood tree, the Lord of the host, that you have mercy on me, who needs it, so that I, unhappy, do not become nothing at all, though I, bold and so rash, sought you on this journey, where I truly did not previously expect such a distressing time.”

Then the beautifully bright candle of glory²¹ spoke to that faithless one with words:

²¹ “wuldres condel” (454): This phrase is one manifestation of a poetic formula which is used elsewhere in OE poetry exclusively to refer to the sun. This formula usually takes the form of either a compound word with *candel* as the second element (*friðcandel* ‘peace-candle’, *heofoncandel* ‘heaven-candle’, *wedercandel* ‘weather-candle’, *dægcondelle* ‘day-candle’, *woruldacandel* ‘world-candle’, *wyncondel* ‘joy-candle’, *sweglcondelle* ‘sky-candle’, *merecondel* ‘sea-candle’) or, as here, genitive singular + *candel* (*rodores candel* ‘candle of the heavens’, *godes condelle* ‘God’s candle’). This line is not the only instance in which Juliana is explicitly associated with the sun: in line 166, Heliseus addresses her as “min se swetesta sunnan scima” (“my sweetest light of the sun”), and in line 229 she is referred to as “seo sunsciene” (see fn. 16, p. 28). The most probable explanation for this association is that Juliana is being portrayed as someone who brings light (Christianity) to others and is herself a beacon of light for others to follow; however, I plan to further examine this association in future research.

“You shall confess more of your evil deeds, wretched hell-spirit, before you may go from here, what terrible sinful works you have carried out as a harm to the offspring of man with dark delusions.”

240 That devil said to her: “Now I hear this through your speech, that I shall by necessity be compelled by enmity to declare my mind, as you bid me, and suffer affliction from punishment. This distressing time, immense oppression, is very severe. I shall suffer and submit to each thing in your judgment, disclose the evil deeds that I plotted darkly. Often I took their sight, blinded countless warriors of mankind with wicked thoughts, covered the
245 light of their eyes with a covering of mist, with dark storms, through the sting of poison; and I broke the feet of some with wicked crafts. Some I sent into fire, the confinement of flames, so that the last trace of them was seen. I also did to some so that their bone-locker²² spewed blood, so that they suddenly gave up their life through the whelming of veins. Some on the wave-course became on the way submerged in the waters, on the sea-
250 flood, under the roaring stream because of my cunning works. Some I delivered to the rood, so that they gave up their life with their blood on the high gallows. Some I took with teachings, urged to strife, so that they, drunken with beer, suddenly renewed old offenses. I poured out accusations from the cup for them so that they in the wine-hall gave up their souls from the flesh-home through the sword’s grip, hastened their fate, sought wounds.²³

²² “banlocan” (476): Literally “bone-locker,” referring specifically to the rib cage but probably as metonymy for the torso. It is interesting that a poetic compound, a Germanic convention, appears alongside several others (including “misthelme” 470, “yðfare” 478, “mereflode” 480) in a passage with such close parallels to the Latin text: the order of the manners of death that the demon lists (468b-94a) is exactly the same (cf. ME *Juliene*, where there is slight variation). The only exception to these parallels is in lines 483b-90, where Cynewulf deviates from the Latin by bringing in *cultural* Germanic elements as well, on which see fn. 23 below.

²³ 483b-90a: As mentioned in fn. 22 above, Cynewulf follows the content of the Latin

255 Some, who I found without the grace of God, careless, unblessed, those I through various
deadly torments boldly slew with my own hands, with cunning thoughts. I cannot tell,
even if I sit for a summer-long day, all the sufferings that I before and after have caused
as an act of enmity since the heavens and the course of stars were first raised, the earth
made fast and the first humans, Adam and Eve, those who I forced away from their lives,
260 and instructed them so that they forsook the love of the Lord, the eternal gift of happiness,
the bright dwelling-place, so that misery came to them both forever, and also to their off-
spring the darkest of sinful works. What more shall I recount about my endless evil? I
brought all that about, cruel quarrels among the people, those which far and wide from
the beginning of the world befell the kin of man, earls on the earth. There was not any of
265 those ones who dared to touch me as boldly as you now do with your hands, holy one; nor
was any man over the earth as noble-minded through holy might, neither patriarchs nor
wise men. Though the God of hosts, the King of glory, the Spirit of wisdom, revealed the
immense gift to them, nevertheless I might have a path to them. There was not any of those
who thus boldly laid upon me with wounds, oppressed me with punishment, before you
270 have now overcome my great power, seized me fast, you to whom my father, the foe of

text here very closely except for this passage, where the Latin reads simply “omnia mala, quæ in isto mundo sunt, meo consilio peraguntur, et ego ipse perficio” (“all bad things which are in this world, I counsel that they are completed by myself, and I myself perform them”). Cynewulf’s elaboration here is highly Germanic in nature, depicting a scene from a “wine-hall” (“winsele”), which was the center of Germanic warrior culture. The wine-hall was where the warriors would eat and drink together and where the king would distribute treasure. For the demon to have raised up strife and murder in the wine-hall would have been to the Anglo-Saxons an especially egregious crime, as the wine-hall was meant to be a place of comradery, generosity, good will, and above all protection (Rollason). Thus, by expanding on the Latin in this passage, Cynewulf adds a specifically Anglo-Saxon horror to the demon’s evilness.

mankind, gave me when he, the king of darkness, commanded me to travel so that I should sweeten sin for you. There sorrow came to me, heavy hand-struggle. I have no need to laugh about this journey with my kinsmen after my sore suffering when I, sorrowful, shall give my account in that gloomy home.”

275 Then that reeve, the angry-minded man, commanded Juliana to be led, holy in mind, out from that solitary hall to speak among the heathens before his judgment seat. She took that devil firmly held with bonds, inspired in her breast, the holy one seized the heathen. Then the sorrowful one began to lament his journey, bewail his pain, mourn his fate; he spoke with words: “I implore you, my lady Juliana, on account of the peace of
280 God, that you do not work further insults upon me, disgrace before the earls, more than you did before, when you overcame the wisest one under the darkness of prison, the king of hell-dwellers in the city of fiends. That is our father, the evil lord of death. Behold, you have reprovéd me through painful blows! I know in truth that I never before this journey met any woman like you in the kingdom of this world, neither more bold in thought nor
285 more resolutely made²⁴ among womankind.²⁵ It is clear to me that you have become able

²⁴“*þweorhtimbran*” (550): Literally “cross-built,” this compound does not appear elsewhere in the OE corpus and Woolf declares it a “nonce word” (47). She compares the individual elements of the compound to *þweorhlice*, which carries a sense of “obstinate,” and *magutimber* ‘child’, “where *-timber* seems to have the force of an abstract suffix” (ibid).

²⁵ “*mægþa cynnes*” (551): This construction, following a laudatory comparative statement, is highly reminiscent of Germanic heroic poetry. For example, in *Beowulf* similar structures are used several times to refer to the eponymous hero: “*se wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest*” (196, “he was *of mankind* the strongest of power”); “*forðam he manna mæst mærdða gefremede / dæda dollicra*” (2645-46b, “because he accomplished the greatest mighty works *of men*, more daring deeds”); “*swa he manna wæs / wigend weorðfullost wide geond eorðan*” (3098b-99, “as he was the most worthy warrior *of men* widely around

to see through all deceptions through the wisdom of your soul.”

Then the maiden allowed him, the enemy of souls, to seek out shadow in the dark ground, destruction in torment after his time of suffering. He knew then more readily, the messenger of sin, to say to his kinsmen, to the thanes of torment, what had happened to
290 him on his journey . . .

“ . . . eagerly before they praised on high and his holy word, said truthfully that he alone ruled over each victory in all of creation, the eternal gifts of grace.” Then an angel of God, shining with adornments, came and thrust aside that fire, freed and protected the one clean of wickedness, sinless, and scattered those flames which were eager to destroy
295 there where the holy one stood, the hero²⁶ of women, sound in the midst of it. That was a

the earth”). The “of (wo)mankind” element of this formula serves to emphasize the superiority of the hero’s strength; in Beowulf’s case, his physical strength, but in Juliana’s case the strength of her soul. See fn. 26 below for further discussion.

²⁶ “bealdor” (568): This word, meaning “prince” or “hero,” elsewhere in the OE corpus applies exclusively to men. The use of this word is the most conspicuous example of the way in which Cynewulf’s Juliana is treated similarly to a Germanic hero, simply because the application of “bealdor” to a woman is so singular. Moreover, it is interesting to note that while Cynewulf does not object to using (culturally) masculine words to refer to Juliana, he does not here compare her to “manna” or “mancynnes” as in other heroic poetry (see fn. 25 above), but rather specifically uses the word “mægþa,” thus emphasizing her gender without detracting from the heroic vocabulary used to describe her. However, it is also clear from lines 513-15b that Cynewulf does not mean to suggest that she is *merely* the strongest among women, but among all humans: “næs ænig þæs modig mon ofer eorþan / þurh halge meaht, heahfædra nan / ne witgena” (“nor was any man over the earth as noble-minded through holy might, neither patriarchs nor wise men”). “Mægþa bealdor” is thus an extremely important line in considering the characterization of Juliana, as it emphasizes her dual role as a woman and as a hero, illustrating that the two are not

torment to endure for that wealthy one; so that he might change it before the world, the one stained with sins sought how he might most sorely find a violent death through the worst torment. That fiend was not too slow, he who instructed him so that he commanded an earthen vat to be created with wondrous skill, with the warlike sounds²⁷ and with wooden
300 beams, surrounded with wood. Then the harsh one ordered that someone fill that earth-
vat with lead and then commanded that the greatest of funeral fires be kindled, the pyre ignited, that which was everywhere surrounded with flames. The bath boiled with heat.

Then the one swollen with anger hastily ordered the sinless one to be shoved into the whelm of that lead without protection. Then the fire was separated and released. Lead
305 sprang forth widely, hot and eager to destroy. Warriors became frightened, overtaken by that violent rush. There 175 in number of that heathen army were completely burned through that fire's breath. Then still that holy one stood in uninjured beauty. Neither her hem nor her garment, her hair nor her flesh was marked by the fire, nor her body nor her limbs. She stood in the flames sound in every way, said every thanks to the Lord of hosts.
310 Then the judge became savage and fierce in thoughts, began to tear his tunic as he grinned in anger and gnashed his teeth, was as furious in mind as a wild beast, roared angry in mind and cursed his gods, those who could not withstand through their might the will of the woman. That woman of glory was resolute and unafraid, mindful of the strength and the will of the Lord. Then the judge, sorrowful, commanded the one holy in her thoughts
315 to be put to sleep through the bite of the sword, the chosen one of Christ to be deprived of her head. That murder would not benefit him when he would later learn the consequences.

mutually exclusive.

²⁷“wiges womum” (576): Literally “the sounds of war”; however, I chose to translate it as “warlike sounds” for the sake of clarity, in case the reader takes the meaning literally. This description may seem strange for the construction of an earthen vat; however, it is a vat meant to kill someone for being Christian, and the idea being conveyed here is that Heliseus is waging war against Juliana and, by extension, against Christianity as a whole.

Then hope was renewed for that holy one, and the mind of the maiden was much rejoiced when she heard that warrior deliberate with evil counsel, that the end of her days of strife should come to her, her life released. The sinful one commanded the clean and
320 chosen one to be led to her death, sinless. Then came suddenly the wretched spirit of hell, sang a lamentation, miserable and unhappy, the cursed one whom she had previously bound and beaten with torments. He cried out then before the troop, full of horrible enchantments:

“Repay her now with injury because she held the might of our gods in contempt
325 and lessened me so greatly that I became an informer. Let her partake of hateful rewards through the weapon’s wound, avenge ancient enmity, enveloped in sin. I remember that sorrow, how I, held fast with bonds, suffered countless afflictions and sufferings, excessive evil, in one night.” Then the blessed one, Juliana, looked at the fiends; she heard the devil of hell singing his grief. The foe of mankind began then to shake into flight, seek out
330 torments, and said these words: “Woe to me, ruined! Now is the expectation great that she will destroy me, miserable, with evil calamities, as she did to me before.”

Then she was led near the border of the land and to the place where they thought to kill the one strong of spirit through hateful violence. She began then to teach the people of mankind and make them firm in praise and promised them comfort, a way to glory, and
335 said these words: “Remember the joy of warriors and the majesty of glory, the hope of holy ones, the God of heaven’s angels. He is worthy of this, that the people and all kin of angels praise him, his divine might, up in the heavens, whence help comes eternally and forever to he who will have it. For this reason I wish to teach you, beloved people, fulfilling the law, so that you fasten your house, lest the winds destroy it with sudden
340 blasts. The strong wall should more firmly withstand the showers of storms, thoughts of sins. Resolutely fasten a foundation on the living stone with the love of peace, the light of faith. Hold the true faith and peace, the holy secret, with you in your heart through the desire of your mind. Then the almighty Father will give you mercy where you have most

need of solace from the God of power after times of sorrow, for you yourself do not know
345 the departure from here, the end of life. It seems wise to me that you, being vigilant, hold
your guard against the battle-sounds of enemies, lest your adversaries hinder your way to
the city of glory. Ask the Son of God that the King of angels, the Measurer of mankind,
the Giver of victories be merciful to me. Peace and true love be with you always.” Then
her soul was led away from her body to that long joy through the stroke of the sword.

350 Then the wicked enemy went to his ship, fearful-minded;²⁸ Heliseus sought the
water-stream with his troop of enemies, floated over the sea-flood for a long while on

²⁸“sceohmod” (673): This compound is the first of several in this passage (including “ehstream,” “laguflod,” “swonrade,” etc.), similar to the passage above where the demon describes the ways in which he has killed people (see fn. 22, p. 34). However, while in the latter case Cynewulf was closely following the Latin source and merely adding Anglo-Saxon elaborations, here it is likely that he has begun to deviate from the Latin (Drout et al. 333), and so he is more likely to use Germanic compounds when composing in Anglo-Saxon, rather than in translation from a non-Germanic language.

the swan's riding.²⁹ Death took all the treasure of the men and themselves with it before they had sailed to land, through severe suffering. There thirty and four of mankind were deprived of life because of the whelm of waves; wretched with their lord, deprived of
355 comforts, the hopeless ones sought hell. In that dark home, in that deep hollow in the earth, those thanes, that band of companions, certainly had no need to expect that they in the wine-hall would accept rings, appled gold, before the beer-seat. In contrasting manner, the body of this holy one was led to the earth-grave with songs of praise³⁰ and great pomp so that they, a great multitude, brought it into the city. Afterwards, in the passage of years,
360 praise of God was had there among the people with much glory until this day.

To me the need is great that the holy one give me help when the most beloved of

²⁹“swonrade” (675): The formula “animal” + *-rad* is a compound used to refer to the sea in OE poetry. The second element of this compound, *rad*, is often translated as “road” (see Bosworth-Toller, Bjork 123). However, Tolkien objects strongly to this translation:

The word [hronrade] as ‘kenning’ therefore means *dolphin's riding*, i.e. in full, the watery fields where you can see dolphins and lesser members of the whale-tribe playing, or seeming to gallop like a line of riders on the plains. That is the picture and comparison the kenning was meant to evoke. It is not evoked by ‘whale road’—which suggests a sort of semi-submarine steam-engine running along submerged metal rails over the Atlantic. (*Beowulf* 142-43)

Thus, following Tolkien I have translated “swonrade” as “the swan's riding” in order to evoke imagery similar to what an Anglo-Saxon audience would have imagined.

³⁰“lofsongum” (689): Drout calls attention to the fact that the word *lofsong* or *lofsang* is restricted to religious contexts (248). The use of this word here suggests that Juliana was treated as a saint, or perhaps simply a beacon of (religious) light (see fn. 21, p. 33), from the time immediately after her death.

all divides me, tears the bond of body and soul³¹ in two, that great affection. My soul will depart from my body on its journey; I, ignorant of the earth, do not myself know whither. From this [world] I shall seek another with works of old, go with ancient deeds. Mankind³²

³¹“sinhiwan” (698): A form of (*ge*)*samhiwan*, which is composed of the prefix *sam-* and the plural noun *hiwan*. *Sam-* connotes a sense of “combination,” and *hiwan* means “members of a household”; as a compound, *sam-/sinhiwan* is usually translated as “married couple” (MSS. often glossed with forms of the Latin root *conjug-*). However, *Juliana* is not the only example of *sinhiwan* being used to refer to “body and soul.” In *Guthlac B*, another Exeter Book poem which was probably written by Cynewulf (Drout et al. 323-26), the word appears twice. In the first instance, it is used to refer to Adam and Eve: “ond hyre were sealde / þurh deofles searo deaðberende gyfl / þæt ða sinhiwan to swylte geteah” (849b-51, “and she gave to her husband through the devil’s craft a death-bearing gift, so that then the married couple (*sinhiwan*) was lead to death”). When it appears again, however, it is used to refer to the body and the soul: “þeah his lic ond gæst / hyra somwiste, sinhiwan tu, / deore gedælden” (967b-69a, “though his body and spirit, their connected subsistence, the body and soul (*sinhiwan*) two, should be cruelly divided”). The fact that these two meanings of the word are used in the same poem emphasizes that while the Anglo-Saxons conceived of the body and soul as separate entities, they also perceived an intimately close relationship between the two, specifically a bond that should or could only be broken by death.

³²“𐌹.𐌺.𐌽.” (704): C Y & N, the first three runes of Cynewulf’s runic signature. Cynewulf is one of only a few named Anglo-Saxon poets, and we only know his name because of the runic signature he included in each of his poems. However, this signature is not merely a straightforward signing of his name; rather, Cynewulf would weave the runes into the text itself. In his poems *Elene* and *Fates of the Apostles*, he uses the names of the runes to work them into the text; for example, “𐌿 [wyn] is geswiðrad,” “joy is destroyed” (*Elene* 1263b). In *Juliana*, however, he separates the runes into groups that

365 will mournfully depart. The King is just, the Giver of victories, when the sheep,³³ stained with sins and frightened, await what will be deemed as a reward for their life after their deeds. The water-wealth³⁴ trembles, rests sorrowful. I remember all pain, every wound

spell out smaller words, as in $\cdot\text{H}\cdot\text{N}\cdot\text{7}\cdot\text{T}\cdot$ ‘cyn’ (“mankind”). For further discussion of Cynewulf’s runic signature and its implications for the relative chronology of Cynewulf’s poems, see Elliott.

³³“ $\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\text{7}\cdot\text{N}\cdot$ ” (706): E W & U, presumably combining to create the word “ewu” (“sheep”), although this interpretation is somewhat debated. For example, MS. “fa” in line 705 must be emended to plural “fah” (Elliott 300); however, if $\cdot\text{M}\cdot\text{P}\cdot\text{7}\cdot\text{N}\cdot$ stood for a singular noun (for example, Cynewulf’s whole name, an argument made by Sisam and convincingly rejected by Elliott 301), then MS. “bidað” (706) would likewise have to be emended to singular “bideð.” Sisam argues that “*ewu* does not really mean ‘sheep’: it means ‘female sheep’: and that Cynewulf should picture himself on the Day of Judgment as a ewe is plainly ridiculous” (318). Elliott, however, decisively dismisses this argument, as “the Old English word *e(o)we* is not used exclusively of female sheep; it just so happened that ewes were the more important of their species in the Anglo-Saxon economy” (300-01).

³⁴“ $\cdot\text{L}\cdot\text{F}\cdot$ ” (708): L F, the most contentious grouping of Cynewulf’s runic signature in *Juliana*. While C Y N and E W U both spell words, L F does not. Elliott argues that “the only remaining alternative consistent with our principles of interpretation is to give the runes their names to form the compound *lagu-feoh* [‘water-wealth’]” (301-02). However, what *lagu-feoh* means is left up to interpretation, as this compound does not appear elsewhere in the OE corpus. Elliott suggests that “*lagu-feoh beomað seomað sorgcearig* seems to us reasonably explained as a picture, almost laconic in its terseness, of the earth’s wealth and all men’s worldly treasures engulfed by floods of Doomsday as they are described in the opening lines of *The Judgment Day I*” (302). This analysis seems appropriate, given the context in which this compound appears: each word represented by elements

of sin which I after and before worked in the world. I, mournful, shall lament that with tears. I was previously too late at the time to be ashamed of my evil deeds, while spirit and
370 body journeyed together, sound on earth. Then I will need mercy so that the holy one will intercede with that highest King on my behalf. My need, the great sorrow of my mind, reminds me of this. I ask each man, every one of mankind who lifts up this poem, that he, earnest, remember me by my name and ask the Measurer that the Helm of heaven, the Ruler of might, Father, the Spirit of solace, the Deemer of deeds, and the beloved Son,
375 gives me help on that great day, in that dangerous time, when the Trinity of those who dwell in glory decree in unity to mankind a reward for each man through that glorious creation. Forgive us, God of power, so that we may mercifully meet your face, the joy of princes, at that glorious time. Amen.

of the runic signature refers to something that will be affected by Judgment Day. Mankind (•Ĥ•ŀ•7•†• ‘cyn’) will depart (“hweorfeð,” 703), the sheep (•M•ƿ•7•ŀ• ‘ewu’) will be judged (“deman wille,” 707), and the water-wealth (•ŀ•ƿ• ‘lagu-feoh’) will tremble (“beofað,” 708). The only complication with this interpretation is that while “hweorfeð” and “deman wille” are in the subjunctive, suggesting a future tense, “beofað” is in the indicative present tense. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these runes stand for anything but *lagu-feoh*, and so it must be concluded that either *lagu-feoh* carries some meaning we no longer understand, or that Cynewulf here uses the indicative present with the understanding that the action will take place in the future.

Hwæt! We ðæt hyrdon hæleð eahtian,
 deman dædhwate, þætte in dagum gelamp
 Maximianes, se geond middangeard,
 arleas cyning, eahtnysse ahof,
 5 cwealde cristne men, circan fylde,
 geat on græswong *godhergendra*,
 hæþen hildfruma, haligra blod,
 ryhtfremmendra. Wæs his rice brad,
 wid ond weorðlic ofer werþeode,
 10 lytesna ofer ealne yrmenne grund.
 Foron æfter burgum, swa he biboden hæfde,
 þegnas þryðfulle. *Oft* hi þræce rærdon,
 dædum gedwolene, þa þe dryhtnes æ
 feodon þurh firencræft. Feondscype rærdon,
 15 hofon hæþengield, halge cwelmdon,
 breotun boccræftge, *bærndon* gecorene,
 gæston godes cempan gare ond lige.
 Sum wæs æhtwelig æþeles cynnes
 rice gerefa. Rondburgum weold,
 20 eard weardade oftast symle
 in þære ceastre *Commedia*,
 heold hordgestreon. *Oft* he hæþengield
 ofer word godes, weoh gesohte
 neode geneahhe. Wæs him noma cenned
 25 Heliseus, hæfde ealdordom
 micelne ond mærne. ða his mod ongon
 fæmnan lufian, (hine fyrwet bræc),

Iulianan. Hio in gæste bær
 halge treowe, hogde georne
 30 þæt hire mægðhad mana gehwylces
 fore Cristes lufan clæne geheolde.
 ða wæs sio fæmne mid hyre fæder willan
 welegum biweddad; wyrd ne ful cuþe,
 freondrædenne hu heo from hogde,
 35 geong on gæste. Hire wæs godes egsa
 mara in gemyndum, þonne eall þæt maþþungesteald
 þe in þæs æþelinges æhtum wunade.
 þa wæs se weliga þæra wifgifta,
 goldspedig guma, georn on mode,
 40 þæt him mon fromlicast fæmnan gegyrede,
 bryd to bolde. Heo þæs beornes lufan
 fæste wiðhogde, þeah þe feohgestreon
 under hordlocan, hyrsta unrim
 æhte ofer eorþan. Heo þæt eal forseah,
 45 ond þæt word acwæð on wera mengu:
 “Ic þe mæg gesecean þæt þu þec sylfne ne þearft
 swiþor swencan. Gif þu soðne god
 lufast ond gelyfest, ond his lof rærest,
 ongietest gæsta hleo, ic beo gearo sona
 50 unwaclice willan þines.
 Swylce ic þe secge, gif þu to sæmran gode
 þurh deofolgielð dæde biþencest,
 hætsð hæþenweoh, ne meaht þu habban mec,
 ne geþreatian þe to gesingan.

55 Næfre þu þæs swiðlic sar gegearwast
þurh hæstne nið heardra wita,
þæt þu mec onwende worda þissa.”
ða se æþeling wearð yrrre gebolgen,
firendædum fah, gehyrde þære fæmnan word,
60 het ða gefetigan ferend snelle,
hreoh ond hygeblind, haligre fæder,
recene to rune. Reord up astag,
siþþan hy togædre garas hlændon,
hildeþremman. Hæðne wæron begen
65 synnum seoce, sweor ond aþum.
ða reordode rices hyrde
wið þære fæmnan fæder frecne mode,
daraðhæbbende: “Me þin dohtor hafað
geywed orwyrðu. Heo me on an sagað
70 þæt heo mæglufan minre ne gyme,
freondrædenne. Me þa fraceðu sind
on modsefan mæste weorce,
þæt heo mec swa torne tæle gerahte
fore þissum folce, het me fremdne god,
75 ofer þa oþre þe we ær cuþon,
welum weorþian, wordum lofian,
on hyge hergan, oþþe hi nabban.”
Geswearc þa swiðferð *sweor* æfter worde,
þære fæmnan fæder, ferðlocan onspeon:
80 “Ic þæt geswerge þurh soð godu,
swa ic are æt him æfre finde,

oþþe, þeoden, æt þe þine hyldu
 winburgum in, gif þas word sind soþ,
 monna leofast, þe þu me sagast,
 85 þæt ic hy ne sparige, ac on spild giefe,
 þeoden mæra, þe to *gewealde*.
 Dem þu hi to deaþe, gif þe gedafen þince,
 swa to life læt, swa þe leofre sy.”
 Eode þa fromlice fæmnan to spræce,
 90 anræd ond yreþweorg, yrre gebolgen,
 þær he *glædmode* geonge wiste
 wic weardian. He þa worde cwæð:
 “ðu eart dohtor min seo dyreste
 ond seo sweteste in sefan minum,
 95 ange for eorþan, minra eagna leoht,
 Iuliana! þu on geaþe hafast
 þurh þin orlegu unbipyrfe
 ofer witena dom wisan gefongen.
 Wiðsæcest þu to swiþe sylfre rædes
 100 þinum brydguman, se is betra þonne þu,
 æþelra for eorþan, æhtspedigra
 feohgestreona. He is to freonde god.
 Forþon is þæs wyrþe, þæt þu þæs weres frige,
 ece eadlufan, an ne forlæte.”
 105 Him þa seo eadge ageaf ondsware,
 Iuliana (hio to gode hæfde
 freondrædenne fæste gestaþelad):
 “Næfre ic þæs þeodnes þafian wille

mægrædenne, nemne he mæгна god
 110 geornor bigonge þonne he gen dyde,
 lufige mid lacum þone þe leoht gescop,
 heofon ond eorðan ond holma bigong,
 eodera ymbhwyrft. Ne mæg he elles mec
 bringan to bolde. He þa brydlufan
 115 sceal to oþerre æhtgestealdum
 idese secan; nafað he *ænige* her.”
 Hyre þa þurh yrre ageaf ondsware
 fæder feondlice, nales frætwe onheht:
 “Ic þæt gefremme, gif min feorh leofað
 120 gif þu unrædes ær ne geswicest,
 ond þu fremdu godu forð bigongest
 ond þa forlættest þe us leofran sind,
 þe þissum folce to freme stondað,
 þæt þu ungeara ealdre scyldig
 125 þurh deora gripe deaþe sweltest,
 gif þu geþafian nelt þingrædenne,
 modges gemanan. Micel is þæt ongin
 ond *þreaniedlic* þinre gelican,
 þæt þu forhycge hlaford urne.”
 130 Him þa seo eadge ageaf ondsware,
 gleaw ond gode leof, Iuliana:
 “Ic þe to soðe secgan wille,
 bi me lifgendre nelle ic lyge fremman.
 Næfre ic me ondræde domas þine,
 135 ne me weorce sind witebrogan,

hildewoman, þe þu hæstlice
 manfremmende to me beotast,
 ne þu næfre gedest þurh gedwolan þinne
 þæt þu mec acyrre from Cristes lofe.”
 140 ða wæs ellenwod, yrre ond reþe,
 frecne ond ferðgrim, fæder wið dehter.
 Het hi þa swingan, susle þreagan,
 witum wægan, ond þæt word acwæð:
 “Onwend þec in gewitte, ond þa word oncyr
 145 þe þu unsnyttrum ær gespræce,
 þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest.”
 Him seo unforhte ageaf ondsware
 þurh gæstgehygd, Iuliana:
 “Næfre þu gelærest þæt ic leasingum,
 150 dumbum ond deafum deofolgieldum,
gæsta geniðlum gaful onhate,
 þam wyrrestum wites þegnum,
 ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor
 middangeardes ond mægenþrymmes,
 155 ond him anum to eal biþence,
 þæt he mundbora min geweorþe,
 helpend ond hælend wið hellsceaþum.”
 Hy þa þurh yrre Affricanus,
 fæder fæmnan ageaf on feonda
 160 geweald Heliseo. He in æringe
 gelædan het æfter leohtes cyme
 to his domsetle. Duguð wafade

on þære fæmnan wlite, folc eal geador.
 Hy þa se æðeling ærest grette,
 165 hire brydguma, bliþum wordum:
 “Min se swetesta sunnan scima,
 Iuliana! Hwæt, þu glæm hafast,
 ginfæste giefe, geoguðhades blæd!
 Gif þu godum ussum gen gecwemest,
 170 ond þe to swa mildum mundbyrd secest,
hyldo to halgum, beoð þe ahylded fram
 wraþe geworhtra wita unrim,
 grimra gyrna, þe þe gegearwad sind,
 gif þu onsecgan nelt soþum gieldum.”
 175 Him seo æþele mæg ageaf ondsware:
 “Næfre þu gepreatast þinum beotum,
 ne wita þæs fela wraðra gegearwast,
 þæt ic þeodscype þinne lufie,
 buton þu forlæte þa leasinga,
 180 weohweorðinga, ond wuldres god
 ongyte gleawlice, gæsta scyppend,
 meotud moncynnes, in þæs meahtum sind
 a butan ende ealle gesceafta.”
 ða for þam folce frecne mode
 185 beotwordum spræc, bealg hine swiþe
 folcagende, ond þa fæmnan het
 þurh niðwræce nacode þennan,
 ond mid sweopum swingan synna lease.
 Ahlog þa se hererinc, hospwordum spræc:

190 “þis is ealdordom unces gewynnes
on fruman gefongen! Gen ic feores þe
unnan wille, þeah þu ær fela
unwærlícra worda gespræce,
onsoce to swiðe þæt þu soð
195 godu lufian wolde. þe þa lean sceolan
wiþerhycgendre, witebrogan,
æfter weorþan, butan þu ær wiþ hi
geþingige, ond him þoncwyrþe
æfter leahtorcwidum lac onsecge,
200 sibbe gesette. Læt þa sace restan,
lað leodgewin. Gif þu leng ofer þis
þurh þin dolwillen gedwolan fylgest,
þonne ic nyde sceal niþa gebæded
on þære grimmostan godscyld wrecan,
205 torne teoncwide, þe þu tælnissum
wiþ þa selestan sacan ongunne,
ond þa mildestan þara þe men witen,
þe þes leodscype mid him longe bieode.”
Him þæt æþele mod unforht oncwæð:
210 “Ne ondræde ic me domas þine,
awyrged womsceaða, ne þinra wita bealo.
Hæbbe ic me to hyhte heofonrices weard,
mildne mundboran, mæгна waldend,
se mec gescyldeð wið þinum scinlace
215 of gromra gripe, þe þu to godum tiohhast.
ða sind geasne goda gehwylces,

idle, orfeorme, unbipyrfe,
 ne þær fremme *meteð* fira ænig
 soðe sibbe, þeah þe sece to him
 220 freondrædenne. He ne findeð þær
 duguþe mid deoflum. Ic to dryhtne min
 mod staþelige, se ofer mæгна gehwylc
 waldeð wideferh, wuldres agend,
 sigora gehwylces. þæt is soð cyning.”
 225 ða þam folctogan fracuðlic þuhte
 þæt he ne meahte mod oncyrran,
 fæmnan foreþonc. He bi feaxe het
 ahon ond ahebban on heanne beam,
 þær seo sunsciene slege þrowade,
 230 sace singrimme, siex tida dægес,
 ond he ædre het eft asettan,
 laðgeniðla, ond gelædan bibead
 to carcerne. Hyre wæs Cristes lof
 in ferðlocan fæste biwunden,
 235 milde modsefan, mægen unbrice.
 ða wæs mid clustre carcernes duru
 behliden, homra geweorc. Halig þær inne
 wærfæst wunade. Symle heo wuldorcýning
 herede æt heortan, heofonrices god,
 240 in þam nydclafan, nergend fira,
 heolstre bihelmad. Hyre wæs halig gæst
 singal gesið.

ða cwom semninga

in þæt hlinræced hæleða gewinna,
 yfeles ondwis. Hæfde engles hiw,
 245 gleaw gyrnstafa gæstgeniðla,
 helle hæftling, to þære halgan spræc:
 “Hwæt dreogest þu, seo dyreste
 ond seo weorþeste wuldorcynige,
 dryhtne ussum? ðe þes dema hafað
 250 þa wyrrestan witu gegearwad,
 sar endeleas, gif þu onsecgan nelt,
 gleawhycgende, ond his godum cweman.
 Wes þu on ofeste, swa he þec ut heonan
 lædan hate, þæt þu lac hraþe
 255 onsecge sigortifre, ær þec swylt nime,
 deað fore duguðe. þy þu þæs deman scealt,
 eadhreðig mæg, yrre gedygan.”
 Frægn þa fromlice, seo þe forht ne wæs,
 Criste gecweme, hwonan his cyme wære.
 260 Hyre se wræcmægca wið þingade:
 “Ic eom engel godes ufan siþende,
 þegn gefungen, ond to þe sended,
 halig of heahþu. þe sind heardlicu,
 wundrum *wælgrim*, witu geteohhad
 265 to gringwræce. Het þe god beodan,
 bearn waldendes, þæt þe burge þa.”
 ða wæs seo fæmne for þam færspelle
 egsan geaclad, þe hyre se aglæca,
 wuldres wiþerbreca, wordum sægde.

270 Ongan þa fæstlice ferð stæþelian,
 geong grondorleas, to *gode cleopian*
 “Nu ic þec, beorna hleo, biddan wille
 ece ælmihtig, þurh þæt æþele gesceap
 þe þu, fæder engla, æt fruman settest,
 275 þæt þu me ne læte of lofe hweorfan
 þinre eadgife, swa me þes ar bodað
 frecne færspel, þe me fore stondeð.
 Swa ic þe, bilwitne, biddan wille
 þæt þu me gecyðe, cýninga wuldor,
 280 þrymmes hyrde, hwæt þes þegn sy,
 lyftlacende, þe mec læreð from þe
 on stearcne weg.” Hyre stefn oncwæð
 wlitig of wolcnum, word hleoþrade:
 “Forfoh þone frætgan ond fæste geheald,
 285 oþþæt he his siðfæt secge mid ryhte,
 ealne from orde, hwæt his æþelu syn.”
 ða wæs þære fæmnan ferð geblissad,
domeadigre. Heo þæt deofol genom

 “ealra cýninga cýning to cwale syllan.
 290 ða gen ic gecræfte þæt se cempa ongon
 waldend wundian, weorud to segon
 þæt þær blod ond wæter bu tu ætgædre
 eorþan sohtun. ða gen ic Herode
 in hyge *bisweop* þæt he Iohannes bibead
 295 heafde biheawan, ða se halga wer

þære wiflufan wordum styrde,
 unryhtre æ. Eac ic gelærde
 Simon searþoncum þæt he sacan ongon
 wiþ þa gecorenan Cristes þegnas,
 300 ond þa halgan weras hospe gerahte
 þurh deopne gedwolan, sægde hy dryas wæron.
 Neþde ic nearobregdum þær ic Neron bisweac,
 þæt he acwellan het Cristes þegnas,
 Petrus ond Paulus. Pilatus ær
 305 on rode aheng rodera waldend,
 meotud meahtigne minum larum.
 Swylce ic Egias eac gelærde
 þæt he unsnytrum Andreas het
 ahon haligne on heanne beam,
 310 þæt he of galgan his gæst onsende
 in wuldres wlite. þus ic wrapra fela
 mid minum broþrum bealwa gefremede,
 sweartra synna, þe ic *asecgan* ne mæg,
 rume areccan, ne gerim witan,
 315 heardra hetepunca.” Him seo halge oncwæð
 þurh gæstes giefe, Iuliana:
 “þu scealt furþor gen, feond moncynnes,
 siþfæt secgan, hwa þec sende to me.”
 Hyre se aglæca ageaf ondsware,
 320 forhtafongen, friþes orwena:
 “Hwæt, mec min fæder on þas fore to þe,
 hellwarena cyning, hider onsende

of þam engan ham, se is yfla gehwæs
in þam grornhofe geornfulra þonne ic.
325 þonne he usic sendeð þæt we soðfæstra
from bottom þurh misgedwield mod oncyrran,
ahwyrfen from halor, we beoð hygegeomre,
forhte on ferðþe. Ne biþ us frea milde,
egesful ealdor, gif we yfles noht
330 gedon habbaþ; ne durran we siþþan
for his onsyne ower geferan.
þonne he onsendeð geond sidne grund
þegnas of þystrum, hateð þræce ræran,
gif we *gemette* sin on moldwege,
335 oþþe feor oþþe neah fundne weorþen,
þæt hi usic binden ond in bælwylme
suslum swingen. Gif soðfæstra
þurh myrrelsan mod ne *oðcyrræð*,
haligra hyge, we þa heardestan
340 ond þa wyrrestan witu geþoliað
þurh sarslege. Nu þu sylfa meaht
on sefan þinum soð gecnawan,
þæt ic þisse noþe wæs nyde gebæded,
þragmælum geþread, þæt ic þe sohte.”
345 þa gen seo halge ongon hæleþa gewinnan,
wrohtes wyrhtan, wordum frignan,
fyrnsynna fruman: “þu me furþor scealt
secgan, sawla feond, hu þu *soðfæstum*
þurh synna slide swiþast sceþþe,

350 facne bifongen.” Hyre se feond oncwæð,
 wræcca wærleas, wordum mælde:
 “Ic þe, ead mæg, yfla gehwylces
 or gecyðe oð ende forð
 þara þe ic gefremede, nalæs feam *sīðum*,
 355 synna wundum, þæt þu þy sweotolicor
 sylf gecnawe þæt þis is soð, nales leas.
 Ic þæt wende ond witod tealde
 þriste geþoncge, þæt ic þe meahte
 butan earfeþum anes cræfte
 360 ahwyrfan from halor, þæt þu heofoncynige
 wiðsoce, sigora frean, ond to sæmran gebuge,
 onsægde synna fruman. þus ic soðfæstum
 þurh mislic bleo mod oncyrrre.
 þær ic hine finde ferð stapelian
 365 to godes willan, ic beo gearo sona
 þæt ic him monigfealde modes gælsan
 ongean bere grimra geþonca,
 dynra gedwilda, þurh gedwolena rim.
 Ic him geswete synna lustas,
 370 mæne modlufan, þæt he minum hraþe,
 leahtrum gelenge, larum *hyreð*.
 Ic hine þæs swiþe synnum onæle
 þæt he byrnende from gebede swiceð,
 stepeð stronglice, stapolfæst ne mæg
 375 fore leahtra lufan lenge gewunian
 in gebedstowe. Swa ic brogan to

laðne gelæde þam þe ic lifes ofonn,
 leohtes geleafan, ond he larum wile
 þurh modes myne minum hyran,
 380 synne fremman, he siþþan sceal
 godra gumcysta geasne hweorfan.
 Gif ic ænigne ellenrofne
 gemete modigne metodes cempan
 wið flanþræce, nele feor þonan
 385 bugan from beaduwe, ac he bord ongean
 hefeð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
 gæstlic guðreaf, nele gode swican,
 ac he beald in gebede bidsteal gifeð
 fæste on feðan, ic sceal feor þonan
 390 heanmod hweorfan, hropra bidæled,
 in gleda gripe, gehðu mænan,
 þæt ic ne meahte mægnes cræfte
 guðe wiðgongan, ac ic geomor sceal
 secan oþerne ellenleasran,
 395 under cumbolhagan, cempan sænran,
 þe ic onbryrdan mæge beorman mine,
 agælan æt guþe. þeah he godes hwæt
 onginne gæstlice, ic beo gearo sona,
 þæt ic ingehygd eal geondwlite,
 400 hu *gefæstnad* sy ferð innanweard,
 wiðsteall geworht. Ic þæs wealles geat
 ontyne þurh teonan; bið se torr þyrel,
 ingong geopenad, þonne ic ærest him

þurh eargfare in onsende
405 in breostsefan bitre geþoncas
þurh mislice modes willan,
þæt him sylfum selle þynceð
leahtras to fremman ofer lof godes,
lices lustas. Ic beo lareow georn
410 þæt he monþeawum minum lifge
acyrred cuðlice from Cristes æ,
mod gemyrred me to gewealde
in synna seað. Ic þære sawle ma
geornor gyme ymb þæs gæstes forwyrd
415 þonne þæs lichoman, se þe on legre sceal
weorðan in worulde wyrme to hroþor,
bifolen in foldan.”

ða gien seo fæmne spræc:

“Saga, earmsceapen, unclæne gæst,
hu þu þec geþyde, þystra stihend,
420 on clænra gemong? þu wið Criste geo
wærleas wunne ond gewin tuge,
hogdes wiþ halgum. þe wearð helle seað
niþer gedolfen, þær þu nydbysig
fore oferhygdum eard gesohtes.
425 Wende ic þæt þu þy wærra weorþan sceolde
wið soðfæstum swylces gemotes
ond þy unbealdra, þe þe oft wiðstod
þurh wuldorcyning willan þines.”
Hyre þa se werga wið þingade,

430 earm aglæca: “þu me ærest saga,
 hu þu gedyrstig þurh deop gehygd
 wurde þus wigþrist ofer eall wifa cyn,
 þæt þu mec þus fæste fetrum gebunde,
 æghwæs orwigne. þu in ecne god,
 435 þrymsittendne, þinne getreowdes,
 meotud moncynnes, swa ic in minne fæder,
 hellwarena cyning, hyht stapelie.
 þonne ic beom onsended wið soðfæstum,
 þæt ic in manweorcum mod oncyrrre,
 440 hyge from halor, me hwilum biþ
 forwyrned þurh wiþersteall willan mines,
 hyhtes æt halgum, swa me her gelamp
 sorg on siþe. Ic þæt sylf gecneow
 to late micles, sceal nu lange ofer þis,
 445 scyldwyrccende, scame þrowian.
 Forþon ic þec halsige þurh þæs hyhstan meahht,
 rodorcyniges giefe, se þe on rode treo
 geþrowade, þrymmes ealdor,
 þæt þu miltsige me þearfendum,
 450 þæt unsælig eall ne forweorþe,
 þeah ic þec gedyrstig ond þus dolwillen
 siþe gesohte, þær ic swiþe me
 þyslicre ær þrage ne wende.”
 ða seo wlitescyne wuldres condel
 455 to þam wærlogan wordum mælde:
 “þu scealt *ondettan* yfeldæda ma,

hean helle gæst, ær þu heonan mote,
 hwæt þu to teonan þurhtogen hæbbe
 micelra manweorca manna tudre
 460 deorcum gedwildum.” Hyre þæt deofol oncwæð:
 “Nu ic þæt gehyre þurh þinne hleþorcwide,
 þæt ic nyde sceal niþa gebæded
 mod meldian, swa þu me beodest,
 þreaned þolian. Is þeos þrag ful strong,
 465 þreat ormæte. Ic sceal þinga gehwylc
 þolian ond þafian on þinne dom,
 womdæda onwreon, *þe* ic wideferg
 sweartra gesyrede. *Oft* ic syne ofteah,
 ablende bealþoncum beorna unrim
 470 monna cynnes, misthelme forbrægd
 þurh attres ord eagna leoman
 sweartum scurum, ond ic sumra fet
 forbræc bealosearwum, sume in bryne sende,
 in liges locan, þæt him lasta wearð
 475 siþast gesyne. Eac ic sume gedyde
 þæt him banlocan blode spiowedan,
 þæt hi færinga feorh aleton
 þurh ædra wylm. Sume on yðfare
 wurdon on *wege* wætrum bisencte,
 480 on mereflode, minum cræftum
 under reone stream. Sume ic rode bifealh,
 þæt hi hyra dreorge on hean galgan
 lif aletan. Sume ic larum geteah,

to geflite fremede, þæt hy færinga
 485 *ealde* æfþoncan edniwedan,
 beore *druncne*. Ic him byrlade
 wroht of wege, þæt hi in winsele
 þurh sweordgripe sawle forletan
 of flæschoman fæge scyndan,
 490 sarum gesohte. Sume, þa ic funde
 butan godes tacne, gymelease,
 ungebletsade, *þa* ic bealdlice
 þurh mislic cwealm minum hondum
 searþoncum slog. Ic asecgan ne mæg,
 495 þeah ic gesitte sumerlongne dæg,
 eal þa earfeþu þe ic ær ond siþ
 gefremede to facne, siþþan furþum wæs
 rodor aræred ond ryme tungla,
 folde gefæstnad ond þa forman men,
 500 Adam ond Aeue, þam ic ealdor oðþrong,
 ond hy gelærde þæt hi lufan dryhtnes,
 ece eadgiefte anforleton,
 beorhtne boldwelan, þæt him bæm gewearð
 yrmþu to ealdre, ond hyra eaferum swa,
 505 mircast manweorca. Hwæt sceal ic ma riman
 yfel endeleas? Ic eall gebær,
 wraþe wrohtas geond werþeode,
 þa þe *gewurdun* widan feore
 from fruman worulde fira cynne,
 510 eorlum on eorþan. Ne wæs ænig þara

þæt me þus þriste, swa þu nu þa,
halig mid hondum, hrianan dorste,
næs ænig þæs modig mon ofer eorþan
þurh halge meaht, heahfædra nan
515 ne witgena. þeah þe him weoruda god
onwriges, wuldres cyning, wisdomes gæst,
giefes unmæte, hwæpre ic gong to þam
agan moste. Næs ænig þara
þæt mec þus bealdlice bennum bilegde,
520 þream forþrycte, ær þu nu þa
þa *miclan* meaht *mine* oferswiðdest,
fæste forfenge, þe me fæder sealde,
feond moncynnes, þa he mec feran het,
þeoden of þystrum, þæt ic þe sceolde
525 synne swetan. þær mec sorg bicwom,
hefig hondgewinn. Ic bihlyhhan ne þearf
æfter sarwræce siðfæt þisne
magum in gemonge, þonne ic mine sceal
agiefan gnorncearig gafulrædenne
530 in þam reongan ham.”

ða se gerefa het,
gealgmod guma, Iulianan
of þam engan hofe ut gelædan
on hyge halge hæpnum to spræce
to his domsetle. Heo þæt deofol teah,
535 breostum inbryrded, bendum fæstne,
halig hæþenne. Ongan þa hreowcearig

siðfæt seofian, sar cwanian,
 wyrd wanian, wordum mælde:
 “Ic þec halsige, hlæfdige min,
⁵⁴⁰ Iuliana, fore godes sibbum,
 þæt þu furþur me fraceþu ne wyrce,
 edwit for eorlum, þonne þu ær dydest,
 þa þu oferswiþdest þone snotrestan
 under hlinscuan *helwarena* cyning
⁵⁴⁵ in feonda byrig; þæt *is* fæder user,
 morþres manfrea. Hwæt, þu mec þreades
 þurh sarslege! Ic to soþe wat
 þæt ic ær ne sið ænig ne mette
 in woruldrice *wif* þe gelic,
⁵⁵⁰ þristran gepohtes ne þweorhtimbran
 mægþa cynnes. Is on me sweotul
 þæt þu unscamge æghwæs wurde
 on ferþe frod.” ða hine seo fæmne forlet
 æfter þræchwile þystra neosan
⁵⁵⁵ in sweartne grund, sawla *gewinnan*,
 on wita forwyrd. Wiste he þi gearwor,
 manes melda, magum to secgan,
 susles þegnum, hu him on siðe gelomp.

 georne ær
⁵⁶⁰ heredon on heahþu ond his halig *word*,
 sægdon soðlice þæt he sigora gehwæs
 ofer ealle gesceaft ana *weolde*,

ecre eadgiefa.” ða cwom engel godes
 frætwum blican ond þæt fyr tosceaf,
 565 gefreode ond gefreoðade facnes clæne,
 leahtra lease, ond þone lig towearp,
 heorogiferne, þær seo halie stod,
 mægþa bealdor, on þam midle gesund.
 þæt þam weligan wæs weorc to þolianne,
 570 þær he hit for worulde wendan meahte,
 sohte synnum fah, hu he sarlicast
 þurh þa wyrrestan witu meahte
 feorhcwale findan. Næs se feond to læt,
 se hine gelærde þæt he læmen fæt
 575 biwyrca het wundorcræfte,
 wiges womum, ond wudubeamum,
 holte *bihlænan*. ða se *hearda* bibead
 þæt mon þæt lamfæt leades gefylde,
 ond þa onbærnan het bælfira mæst,
 580 ad onælan, se wæs æghwonan
 ymbboren mid brondum. Bæðhate weol.
 Het þa ofestlice yrre gebolgen
 leahtra lease in þæs leades wylm
 scufan butan scyldum. þa toscaden
 585 wearð lig tolýsed. Lead wide sprong,
 hat, heorogifre. *Hæleð* wurdon acle
 arasad for þy ræse. þær on rime forborn
 þurh þæs fires fnæst fif ond hundseofontig
 hæðnes herges. ða gen sio halge stod

590 ungewemde wlite. Næs hyre wloh ne hrægl,
 ne feax ne fel fyre gemæled,
 ne lic ne leþu. Heo in lige stod
 æghwæs onsund, sægde ealles þonc
 dryhtna dryhtne. þa se dema wearð
 595 hreoh ond hygegrim, ongon his hrægl teran,
 swylce he grennade ond gristbitade,
 wedde on gewitte swa wilde deor,
 grymetade gealgmod ond his godu tælde,
 þæs þe hy ne *meahtun* mægne wiþstandan
 600 wifes willan. Wæs seo wuldres mæg
 anræd ond unforht, eafōða gemyndig,
 dryhtnes willan. þa se dema het
 aswebban sorgcearig þurh sweordbite
 on hyge halge, heafde bineotan
 605 Criste gecorene. Hine se cwealm ne þeah,
 siþþan he þone fintan furþor cuþe.
 ða wearð þære halgan hyht geniwad
 ond þæs mægdnes mod miclum geblissad,
 siþþan heo gehyrde hæleð eahtian
 610 inwitrune, þæt hyre endestæf
 of gewindagum weorþan sceolde,
 lif alysed. Het þa Leahtra ful
 clæne ond gecorene to cwale lædan,
 synna lease. ða cwom semninga
 615 hean helle gæst, hearmleoð agol,
 earm ond unlæd, þone heo ær gebond

awyrgedne ond mid witum swong,
 cleopade þa for corþre, ceargealdra full:
 “Gylðað nu mid gyrne, þæt heo goda ussa
 620 meahht *forhogde*, ond mec swiþpast
 geminsade, þæt ic to meldan wearð.
 Lætað hy laþra leana hleotan
 þurh wæpnes spor, wrecað ealdne nið,
 synne gesohte. Ic þa sorge gemon,
 625 hu ic bendum fæst bisga unrim
 on anre niht earfeða dreag,
 yfel ormætu.” þa seo eadge biseah
 ongear gramum, *Iuliana*,
 gehyrde heo hearm galan helle deofol.
 630 Feond moncynnes ongon þa on *fleam* sceacan,
 wita neosan, ond þæt word acwæð:
 “Wa me forworhtum! Nu is wen micel
 þæt heo mec eft wille earmne gehynan
 yflum yrmþum, swa heo mec ær dyde.”
 635 ða wæs gelæded londmearce neah
 ond to þære stowe þær hi stearcferþe
 þurh cumbolhete cwellan þohtun.
 Ongon heo þa læran ond to lofe trymman
 folc of firenum ond him frofre gehet,
 640 weg to wuldre, ond þæt word acwæð:
 “Gemunað wigena wyn ond wuldres þrym,
 haligra hyht, heofonengla god.
 He is þæs wyrðe, þæt hine werþeode

ond eal engla cynn up on roderum hergen,
 645 heahmægen, þær is help gelong
 ece to ealdre, þam þe agan sceal.
 Forþon ic, leof weorud, læran wille,
 æfremmende, þæt ge eower hus
 gefæstnige, þy læs hit ferblædum
 650 windas toweorpan. Weal sceal þy trumra
 strong wiþstandan storma scurum,
 leahtra gehygdum. Ge mid lufan sibbe,
 leohte geleafan, to þam lifgendan
 stane stiðhydige stapol fæstniað,
 655 soðe treowe ond sibbe mid eow
 healdað æt heortan, halge rune
 þurh modes myne. þonne eow miltse giefed
 fæder ælmihtig, þær ge *frofre* agun
 æt mæгна gode, mæste þearfe
 660 æfter sorgstafum. Forþon ge sylfe neton
 utgong heonan, ende lifes.
 Wærlic me þinceð þæt ge wæccende
 wið hettendra hildewoman
 wearde healden, þy læs eow wiþerfehtend
 665 weges forwyrnen to wuldres byrig.
 Biddað bearn godes þæt me brego engla,
 meotud moncynnes, milde geweorþe,
 sigora sellend. Sibb sy mid eowic,
 symle soþ lufu.” ða hyre sawl wearð
 670 alæded of lice to þam langan gefean

þurh sweordslege.

þa se synscaþa
to scipe sceohmod sceapena þreate
Heliseus ehstream sohte,
leolc ofer laguflod longe hwile
675 on swonrade. Swylt ealle fornom
secga hlope ond hine sylfne mid,
ærþon hy to lande geliden hæfdon,
þurh þearlic þrea. þær XXX wæs
ond feowere eac feores onsohte
680 þurh wæges wylm wigena cynnes,
heane mid hlaford, hroþra bidæled,
hyhta lease helle sohton.
Ne þorftan þa þegnas in þam þystran ham,
seo geneatscolu in þam neolan scræfe,
685 to þam frumgare *feohgestealda*
witedra wenan, þæt hy in winsele
ofer *beorsetle* beagas þegon,
æpplede gold. Ungelice wæs
læded lofsongum lic haligre
690 micle mægne to moldgræfe,
þæt hy hit gebrohton burgum in innan,
sidfolc micel. þær siððan wæs
gearsongum godes lof hafen
þrymme micle oþ þisne dæg
695 mid þeodscipe.

Is me þearf micel

þæt seo halge me helpe gefremme,
 þonne me gedælað deorast ealra,
 sibbe toslitað sinhiwan tu,
 micle modlufan. Min sceal of lice
 700 sawul on siðfæt, nat ic sylfa hwider,
 eardes *uncyðgu*; of sceal ic þissum,
 secan oþerne ærgewyrhtum,
 gongan iudædum. Geomor hweorfeð
 •H•N•7•T• Cyning biþ reþe,
 705 sigora syllend, þonne synnum fah
 •M•P•7•N• acle bidað
 hwæt him æfter dædum deman wille
 lifes to leane. •F•F• beofað,
 seomað sorgcearig. Sar eal gemon,
 710 synna wunde, þe ic siþ oþþe ær
 geworhte in worulde. þæt ic wopig sceal
 tearum mænan. Wæs an tid to læt
 þæt ic yfeldæda ær gescomede,
 þenden gæst ond lic geador siþedan
 715 onsund on earde. þonne arna biþearf,
 þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning
 geþingige. Mec þæs þearf monaþ,
 micel modes sorg. Bidde ic monna gehwone
 gumena cynnes, þe þis gied wræce,
 720 þæt he mec neodful bi noman minum
 gemyne modig, ond meotud bidde
 þæt me heofona helm helpe gefremme,

meahta waldend, on þam *miclan* dæge,
fæder, frofre gæst, in þa frecnan tid,
725 dæda demend, ond se deora sunu,
þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende
in annesse ælda cynne
þurh þa sciran gesceaft scrifeð bi gewyrhtum
meorde monna gehwam. Forgif us, mæгна god,
730 þæt we þine onsyne, æþelinga wyn,
milde gemeten on þa mæran tid. Amen.

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