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Revised by WILLIAM T. ARNOLD, M.A.

DRYDEN

AN ESSAY OF DRAMATIC POESY

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

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PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

My father was actually engaged upon the revision of this book at the time of his death (November, 1900), and his working-copy contains a number of 'n's' in the margin, over against the passages on which he intended to write new notes. Some, at all events, of those notes were actually written, but they have unfortunately not been found. In these circumstances I have done my best to carry out his intentions so far as I could divine them. My task has been a good deal facilitated by the appearance of Prof. W. P. Ker's scholarly edition of the *Essays of John Dryden* (2 vols., Clarendon Press, 1900), and I have also to acknowledge obligations to Dr. A. W. Ward, whose *History of English Dramatic Literature* has been constantly at my elbow, and who has moreover rendered to his late friend and kinsman the service of piety involved in his allowing me to consult him upon special points. Perhaps the most prominent feature of my revision is the copiousness of quotation from Corneille. In no other way did it seem possible to bring home to the reader the greatness of Dryden's debt—extending not only to ideas and arguments, but even phrases—to his French contemporary. It should be added that the *New English Dictionary*, which is now far advanced and which, it is already evident, will considerably lighten the labours of future annotators on English classics, has been fairly drawn upon. The longer of my own notes are printed in square brackets.

WILLIAM T. ARNOLD.

BEOWULF

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BEOWULF

A HEROIC POEM OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

WITH

A TRANSLATION, NOTES, AND APPENDIX

BY

THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A.

EDITOR OF WYCLIF'S ENGLISH WORKS: OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

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1876

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The Beowulf MS.

The only known MS. of the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Beowulf* is a parchment codex in the British Museum.[1] This codex has on the average twenty lines to the page, the width of the page being about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The poem is written down with no attention to metre; each line of the MS. containing rather more than a line of the poem (according to the system adopted by Grimm and Grein, and also in the present edition); thus ninety-eight lines, or five pages of the MS., exactly equal one hundred and thirteen lines of the poem. It is greatly to be wished that some learned body would go to the expense of obtaining a fac-simile of the codex by means of the photo-zincographic process, as has been done so successfully by the Ordnance Department in the case of Domesday Book. Till then, conjectures tending to the restoration of the text in the damaged places can only rest on a safe foundation for those few who have examined, and in so far as they have examined, the MS. itself. Where a word is effaced, it is idle to supply it conjecturally, unless with strict reference to the space left illegible. Dr. Grein,—whose eminent and most valuable services to the cause of Anglo-Saxon learning all English scholars are bound gratefully to acknowledge,—not having had the MS. of *Beowulf* in his hands, has in several places suggested readings, where the MS. is now illegible, which a careful measurement of the

[1] Vitellius A. 15 (Cottonian MSS.)

space left vacant proves to be inadmissible, such readings having either too many or too few letters for the required purpose. By taking numerous measurements, I ascertained on a recent partial collation of the MS. that each letter of each word, and also each interval between two words, occupies on an average rather more than one eighth of an inch of space. Thus the words 'seoc,' 'wæge,' and 'ofer,' measure $\frac{4}{8}$ths of an inch respectively; the words 'golde,' 'beado,' 'burh,' and 'stede' measure $\frac{5}{8}$ths apiece; the words 'swefaŏ,' 'feorh,' and 'nihtes' measure $\frac{6}{8}$ths; the words 'brego stol', connected together, measure exactly $\frac{10}{8}$ths. By the use of this criterion, which shows what the MS. *cannot* have had, together with an attentive study of Thorkelin's transcript, which was made at a period when the MS. was far less injured than at present, and therefore contains many words, more or less correctly transcribed, (for Thorkelin's knowledge of Anglo-Saxon was sadly imperfect), which are now utterly illegible,—the nearest approach can be made to the restoration of the text as it originally stood in the MS. But when all this has been done, the labours of an editor towards the establishment of a good text are by no means over. The scribes (for there were two) from whose hands we have received the MS., besides the usual clerical errors, or errors of infirmity, fell into not a few errors of ignorance, arising apparently from their imperfectly understanding what they were writing. To correct errors of either kind we have unhappily no other resource than the judgment and acuteness of individual editors, since that unfailing means of checking them which comparison with other MSS. supplies is in this case unattainable.

In order that what I have said as to the right procedure with a view to the restoration of the text may be fully understood, I subjoin an exact transcript of one of the most defaced and illegible pages of the MS. (leaf 184 a). The passage begins at line 2207 of the poem. Each dot after a word represents one eighth of an inch of space, where nothing can now be deciphered with certainty. But it must not be assumed that the whole space marked as illegible at the *end* of a line was ever covered with writing, for though all the lines

on a page *begin* uniformly, they do not end so; some run on beyond others; this variation, however, is never in excess of $\frac{4}{8}$ths of an inch.

Beowulfe brǽde rice on hand ge . . . . . .
he geheold tela fiftig wintru wa . . . . . .
frod cyning eald eþel weard oððæ . . . .
on ongan deorcum nihtum draca . . . . . .
se ðe on hea . . . . heape[1] hord beweot . . . . .
stan beorh steapne stig under l . . . . .
eldum uncuð þær on innan giong nið . . . .
nath . . l . . . . . g . f . . g hæðnum h . . . . .
hond . . . . . since fac^{h} . ne . . . . .
syððan . . . . . þ . . . ð . . . . slæpende . . . .
syre . . . . . þeowes cræfte þæt s . . . .
ðeod . . . . . folc biorn þæt he ge . . .
bolge wæs
Nealles . . . . . geweoldum wyrm-horda . . . .
cræft sylfes willum se ðe him . . . re . .
sceod ac for þreanedlan b . . . . . .
. . . . . hæleða bearna hete sweng . .
fleoh . . . . . þea . . . . . and ðærinne wea . . .
secg syn . . . sig sona inwlitode[2] þæt . . . . .
ðam gyste . . . . . br . g . stod hwæ . . . .
. . . . . sc . . pen . . . . . .

Of the history of the MS. nothing appears to be known. It is one of those collected by Sir Robert Cotton, the founder of the Cottonian Library, who having been born only thirty-four years after the dissolution of the Monasteries, had opportunities of obtaining rare MSS. which were denied to later antiquaries. That the volume containing *Beowulf* originally belonged to some monastery may reasonably be assumed. In it are bound up together a number of pieces differing in date and character;—as Wanley says, 'ex diversis simul compactis constat.' These pieces are as follow:—

[1] The word is dim, but I think it can be nothing else.

[2] It is either *inwlitode* or *inwatode*; there is not room for *inwlatode*, which is Grein's reading.

1. King Alfred's version of the *Flores ex Lib. Soliloquiorum* of St. Augustine of Hippo.

2. The Pseudo-Evangelium of Nicodemus (imperfect at the beginning).

3. A Dialogue between Saturnus and Saloman.

4. A Fragment on the Christian Martyrs.

5. The Legend of St. Christopher.

6. A fabulous description of the East. (This tract has a number of curious illustrations.)

7. The Epistle of Alexander the Great to Aristotle.

8. BEOWULF.

9. The poem of *Judith* (imperfect at the beginning).

§ 2. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For many years after the MS. had come into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton it remained unnoticed. It is not mentioned in an imperfect Catalogue of the Cottonian Library prepared for Dr. Hickes in 1689. About the beginning of the last century, Hickes employed the antiquary Humphrey Wanley to make a catalogue of all the Anglo-Saxon MSS. to be found in the libraries of the kingdom, whether public or private. The result was the well-known 'Catalogus Historico-criticus,' which was published as the second volume of Hickes' *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*, in 1705. Here we find such a notice of our poem as could not fail to attract the attention of students. Wanley designates it 'Tractatus nobilissimus, poetice scriptus'; prints (in the form of prose) the first nineteen lines, and also the passage ll. 53-73; and adds, by way of giving an account of the contents,—'In hoc libro qui poeseos Anglo-Saxonicæ egregium est exemplum, descripta videntur bella quæ Beowulfus quidam Danus, ex regio Scyldingorum stirpe ortus, gessit contra Sueciæ regulos.'

Thomas Hearne, the busiest antiquary of his time, would have done better had he followed up the indication thus given, and edited *Beowulf*, than by printing the Chronicles

of Robert of Gloucester and Peter Langtoft. He died in 1735, and with him the race of students of Early English became almost extinct; Bishop Gibson, who died in 1748, was the very last. Junius, Wilkins, Hickes, Lye, Wanley, Wheloc, and Gibson;—each had done good work, and helped to extend the knowledge of the ancient language and literature of this country; but the most important of her ancient poems they left unexplored. About the time when Pope and Swift died, a period of great literary inertness set in, which extended to all branches of learned inquiry. England produced no more celebrated Anglo-Saxon students for nearly sixty years. The honour of giving *Beowulf* to the world was reserved for a Dane—Grim J. Thorkelin. Having read the notice of the poem in Wanley's Catalogue, he caused a transcript to be made in 1786, and executed another himself about the same time. For twenty years he was engaged in preparations for the edition which he had in view. Unfortunately, during the bombardment of Copenhagen by Lord Cathcart in 1807, Thorkelin's house took fire, and most of his papers perished in the flames. The two transcripts escaped; with these he set to work again, and published the poem in 1815, under the title 'De Danorum rebus gestis secul. III. et IV. poema Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica.' This strange title is elucidated in a still more singular preface, in which he congratulates himself on having brought back to Denmark, after an interval of a thousand years, an epic poem, 'quod suum olim fuerat;' and endeavours to account for the trifling circumstance that the 'vates Danicus' wrote it in Anglo-Saxon and not in Danish, by saying that before the Norman Conquest the three peoples of the North, the Angles, the Danes, and the Icelanders, '*vocati uno nomine Dani*,' spoke a common language, with differences of dialects merely. The text, as printed by Thorkelin, is full of errors; and owing to his imperfect acquaintance with the 'dialectos Anglo-Saxonica,' his Latin version so frequently misses the sense of the original as to be of little or no use. Still the condition of the MS. at the time when Thorkelin's transcripts were made was considerably better than what it is now;

hence there are many passages in which words, now lost from the MS., are preserved in Thorkelin's edition; and this fact invests it with a permanent value.

The cause of the progressive deterioration of the MS. is the injury which it received in the fire which destroyed a considerable portion of the Cottonian Library in 1731. The heat to which the volume was then subjected caused the leaves to shrivel up and made them extremely brittle. Since then the volume has been re-bound, and every leaf carefully glued to a kind of parchment *cadre*, resembling the leaf of a photograph album. But in this process, owing to the chipping away of the edges and tops of the brittle leaves, a number of words were unavoidably lost. Even now this chipping away continues, though not to any great extent.

Ten years before Thorkelin's edition appeared, Sharon Turner, in his 'History of the Anglo-Saxons,' had 'particularly recommended' *Beowulf* 'to the notice of the public;' and in the later editions of that work he gave extracts from it of considerable length. But his versions are extremely defective; for though he was quite at home in Anglo-Saxon prose, the language of their poetry was comparatively new to him.

In 1826 appeared 'Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry,' by Mr. Conybeare, formerly the Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, in which were inserted metrical versions of considerable portions of the poem, with an analysis of its contents. The first scholar-like edition was that of the late John Mitchell Kemble, which appeared in 1833, preceded by a Preface on the historical relations of the peoples mentioned in the poem. But his erroneous identification of the Geatas with the Angles detracts in some degree from the value of his criticism. In 1837 a Translation by Mr. Kemble appeared, together with a full and able Introduction.

German scholars now took up the subject, and their unceasing labours have thrown a flood of light on the meaning and on the various relations of a work which, in the pages of Thorkelin and Turner, is dimly seen through a haze of errors and misapprehensions. H. Leo published in 1839 a treatise

on *Beowulf*, as 'a contribution to the history of old Teutonic intellectual conditions.' L. Ettmüller, in 1840, published the first German translation of the poem, with the title 'Beowulf, a Heroic Poem of the eighth century;' to this work an excellent Introduction is prefixed. Dr. C. W. M. Grein, of Cassel, of whose incomparable services to Anglo-Saxon literature I shall have other opportunities to speak, brought out an edition of the text of *Beowulf*, together with the Fragments of *Finnesburg* and *Waldere*, with Notes and a Glossary, in 1867. A German translation, with explanatory notes, by Dr. Karl Simrock, appeared in 1869. The Danish scholar, Grundtvig, into whose hands have come Thorkelin's transcripts, published the text with notes, as an 'Old-Angelske Heltedigt,' in 1861. M. Heyne, who has since edited the *Heliand*, published a new edition of *Beowulf* in 1863. Besides all this, a number of interesting and valuable papers, scattered through several learned periodicals, such as Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, Höpfner and Zacher's *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, and the *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, attest the high sense entertained in Germany of the historical and philological importance of our poem.

Meantime scholars in the land of its origin had not been idle. A Translation into English verse from the pen of the Rev. A. D. Wackerbarth appeared in 1849; and six years later Mr. Thorpe's long-expected edition came out, containing *Beowulf*, the *Scôp's Tale*, and the *Fight at Finnesburg*, with a literal Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Glossaries. The edition of Kemble having become extremely scarce, Mr. Thorpe's has been for the last twenty years in ordinary use among English scholars. Its merits are great; the text is the result of a laborious personal examination of the MS., the readings of which, whenever Mr. Thorpe sees cause to deviate from it, are given at the foot of the page; the translation may be depended upon as the work of a man of scrupulous accuracy, thoroughly acquainted both with the structure and the vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon; and the Glossary of Names supplies many valuable illustrations. The translation, however, errs on the side of literalness,

being sometimes from this cause unintelligible. Moreover, since Mr. Thorpe's edition appeared, a great deal has been done by German scholars for the elucidation of the poem, so as to place some points in a clear light which in 1855 were still obscure. It cannot, therefore, be maintained, especially as Mr. Thorpe's *Beowulf* is now becoming a rare book, that there is no room for a fresh English edition of the poem.

In Professor Morley's *English Writers* (1867), there is an excellent account[1] of the bibliography of the subject, together with a condensed version of the poem. This version, full and satisfactory for the first half of the work, is meagre and disappointing for the second half. In a work entitled the *Anglo-Saxon Sagas* (1861), by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, the names of persons and places mentioned in *Beowulf* are subjected to a minute examination, with the view of finding grounds for the singular theory of the writer, that all the incidents described took place on English ground.

§ 3. Date of the Poem.

Of this poem, so unique in every aspect, we must now endeavour to ascertain approximately the date: which done a conjecture will be hazarded—not exactly as to its authorship—but as to the motives which may have impelled, and the circumstances which may have favoured, its composition.

The date of *Beowulf* can only be determined by considerations falling under two heads: (1) the language of the poem; (2) the notices of historical events which are scattered through it. The MS. itself, the handwriting of which is probably of the tenth century, affords, apart from that fact, no presumption as to the date of the poem. It is a bad transcript of a work, the language of which the scribe seems to have imperfectly understood, and hence to have in many places hopelessly misrepresented: and the interval between the transcript

[1] Vol. I., p. 251.

and the original composition may have been indefinitely great.

(1.) The language of *Beowulf* is pure literary Anglo-Saxon. It is not the speech of Northumbria or of East Anglia, but of Wessex—that is, of the South and West of England. If it be compared with the Northumbrian form of speech, as shown in the lines (presumably by Cædmon) written at the end of the Moore MS.[1] of Bede in the Cambr. Univ. Library, or with the 'Durham Gospels,' it will be seen at once that it is destitute of all the more important Northern peculiarities. It does not, with the former, write *æ* for *e* (*tiadæ, astelidæ*, for *teode, ástealde*) and *a* for *ea* (*ward, barnum*, for *weard, bearnum*), nor, with the latter, does it make the infinitive end in *a* and the third pers. plur. pres. in *as* (*undoa, hátas*, for *undon, hataþ*). It exhibits, however, certain minor Northern peculiarities, especially in the portion of the MS. from l. 1939 to the end, which is in a different handwriting from that of the first part. Thus we have *io* for *eo* (*Iofor, þioden*, for *Eofor, þeoden*); *hit* (Icel. *hita*) occurs in l. 2649 for *hát*, heat; and in l. 2002 we meet with a construction which is, according to Mr. Thorpe, distinctively Old Norse, and therefore more likely to be found in a work of Northumbrian, than in one of Southern origin. But, with these slight exceptions, the language of the poem is throughout good literary West-Saxon.

Either then the composition of *Beowulf* must be brought down to a period not earlier than the middle of the tenth century, by which time the literary language that had been perfected in Wessex seems to have become the common vehicle of expression for writers in the vernacular throughout England; or, if we find ourselves driven to assign the poem to an earlier date, the writer must have been a native of the South of England, that is, of Wessex taken in a large sense. Now, confining ourselves at present to linguistic considerations, we find some reason for throwing back *Beowulf* much beyond the middle of the tenth century. If we compare its

[1] This MS. was unquestionably written before the middle of the eighth century.

language with that of the 'Canterbury Chronicle' for the first quarter of the tenth century (where the record, as shown by Mr. Earle in his Introduction,[1] is contemporary with the events described), we shall find in *Beowulf*, *þyssum, heht, gewyrcean, geceas, cyning*, but in the 'Chronicle,' *þysum, het, gewyrcan, geces, cyng*. These last are certainly later forms. *Feng to rice* in the 'Chronicle' would be *rice onfeng* in *Beowulf*, *rice* being the dative. Again, there are many proper names in *Beowulf* that have the strongly aspirated initial letters *Hr*. We have Hroðgar, Hroðwulf, Hreðel, Hronesnasse, Hreðric, Hrefna-wudu, etc. Now, as early as the year 887, we find the second of these words spelt Roþulf in the 'Canterbury Chronicle.' Later on, it passed into Rodulf, Rudolph, Rolf, and other forms. The name Hroðgar unluckily does not appear in the 'Chronicle' before the eleventh century; when it does, in 1075, it has become softened and pared down to Roger!—a change which it must have taken many generations to effect. The Rædwald named in the Canterbury MS. under 827, would unquestionably have been Hreðweald in *Beowulf*. The Rodbeard, Rodbert, Hrodberd of the Chronicles under 1050, would certainly have been Hroðberht in *Beowulf*.

Another line of comparison, which I hope one day to pursue more minutely, tends to approximate the language of *Beowulf* to that of some Saxon poems, and to dissociate it from that of others. It stands in a close agreement in respect of poetical diction with *Elene, Crist, Juliana, Andreas*, and *Guðlac*. The curious expression, *oft nalles æne* (often, by no means once) occurs in *Beowulf*, l. 3019, and elsewhere only in *Elene*, l. 1253. Similarly the dat. *ælfylcum*, strange people, (*Beowulf*, l. 2371) occurs nowhere else but in *Elene*, l. 36. The singular compound *bán-loca* (lit. 'bone-locker,' *i. e.*, enclosure of the bones = flesh), which occurs several times in *Beowulf*, is found also in *Crist, Juliana*, and *Guðlac*, and nowhere else. The rare word *leod-gebyrgea*, people's guardian (*Beowulf*, l. 269), occurs twice in *Elene*, and in no other author. The phrase,

[1] *Two Saxon Chronicles*: Clarendon Press, 1865.

be sæm tweonum, 'by the two seas' (*Beowulf*, l. 1685), is not met with again, except in *Guðlac*.

If the evidence of similarity of diction which we have adduced have any value, it tends to show that *Beowulf* belongs to the same age with *Guðlac*, *Elene*, and *Crist*. Therefore, whatever independent evidence we have, tending to fix the age of these poems, tends also to fix the date of *Beowulf*. As to the two last named, the indications are slight; but on the date of *Guðlac* we cannot go far wrong. St. Guðlac died in 714. His life was written by a contemporary, the monk Felix, who in his Prologue, addressed to Athelwald king of East Anglia, says that he learnt the main facts of the saint's story by personal inquiry from his intimate friends, the abbot Wilfrid and the priest Cissa. The Anglo-Saxon poem of *Guðlac*, preserved in the well-known Exeter MS., is founded on the Life by Felix, and was apparently written very soon afterwards. The second section of the poem opens thus—

Magun we nu nemnan, þæt us neah geweard
Þurh haligne hâd gecyðed,
Hu Guðlac his in Godes willan
Mod gerehte:

'We may now declare, that which was made intimately known to us through our holy profession, how Guðlac ordered his mind according to the will of God.'

A few lines further on we read—

Hwæt! we hyrdon oft, þat se halga wer
In þá ærestan ældu gelufade
Frecnessa fela:

'What! *we have often heard* that the holy man in his earliest years took pleasure in many wild freaks.'

These expressions are surely unmistakeable; they shew that the writer was a contemporary of St. Guðlac, and the poem must therefore have been written in the first half of the eighth century.

Therefore, whatever force there may be in the argument which infers contemporaneousness from a similarity of dic-

tion in *Beowulf* and *Guðlac* tends to fix the date of *Beowulf* also to the same period.

The date of *Elene*, the diction of which we have shown to present striking resemblances to that of *Beowulf*, cannot be fixed with certainty. Its author, as we know from runes inserted in the body of the poem, was Cynewulf, the poet to whom we owe also *Crist* and *Juliana*. When Cynewulf lived we do not know. Grimm, in the Preface to his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene* (Cassel, 1840) propounded a theory which suits so well my own view as to the date of *Beowulf*, that I only wish there were more external evidence to support it. *Andreas*, which is the legend of St. Andrew, and agrees to a great extent with the legend of the same Apostle given in the second book of Ordericus Vitalis, has been found to follow some Greek Apocryphal Acts (of which a MS. exists at Paris, entitled Πράξεις τοῦ ἁγίου Ανδρέου καὶ Ματθαίου), so closely, as to leave no room for doubt that it was translated from or based upon it. But how should an Anglo-Saxon poet have obtained the Greek original? The answer is ready: through Archbishop Theodore, a learned Greek and native of Tarsus, who was inducted into the see of Canterbury in 670, and held it more than twenty years. Now one of the most eminent scholars trained under Archbishop Theodore in the school of Canterbury was St. Aldhelm of Malmesbury. Aldhelm is known to have written poems in the vernacular, but they were supposed to be lost. This *Andreas*, the fruit of his initiation into Greek learning by Archbishop Theodore, Grimm believes to be one of the lost Saxon poems of Aldhelm, and to be addressed to Ina (king of Wessex from 688 to 725) and his queen Ethelburga; who, he thinks, are intended by the 'git' (you two) mentioned in line 1489 of the poem. Cynewulf, the author of *Elene*, which resemblance of style, diction, and poetic feeling, induces him to rank unhesitatingly with *Andreas* as a work of the same age, may have been, he suggests, a disciple of Aldhelm. Whether this special theory be accepted or not, Grimm's researches and reflections induce him to assign the composition of *Andreas*

and *Elene* to the first quarter of the eighth century. Now the linguistic points of connection between *Beowulf* and *Andreas* and *Elene*, especially *Elene*, are, as we have seen, of a marked and undeniable character. So that, on this line of inquiry, we arrive again at the same conclusion as before, namely, that *Beowulf* is a work of the first half of the eighth century.

I do not forget that so eminent an Anglo-Saxon scholar as John Mitchell Kemble saw no sufficient grounds for accepting the above-mentioned theory of Grimm. In the Preface to his (imperfect) edition of the poetry of the Vercelli Codex (printed for the Ælfric Society, 1843) he dissents from the view which would assign so early a date to *Andreas* and *Elene*, though without meeting Grimm's reasoning with that fulness of consideration and appreciation which so great a name deserved. He would identify Cynewulf, the author of *Elene*, with a certain Abbot of Peterborough, who bore the same name, and died in 1014. The agreement of names proves absolutely nothing. There was a Cynewulf, king of Wessex, another a Northumbrian thane, and a third bishop of Lindisfarne, all of whom lived in the eighth century. But the date assigned seems to me centuries too late. I entirely agree with Grimm, that there is an archaic type about the language and tone of thought of these poems, and also an *unpreoccupied* tone pervading their execution, which really take us far back into antiquity, to times when Paganism was still recent, and are wholly unsuited to the troubled and shameful days of Ethelred the Second.

Before quitting the subject of the evidence borne by language, I desire to draw attention to the resemblance in several points of the Beowulfic to the Homeric diction. One such point is the paucity of articles, *e.g.*—

> Þa com of môre under mist-hleoðum
> Grendel gongan.
> Then came from the moor, under the misty slopes,
> Grendel prowling.
>
> or, on fægne flor feond treddode.
> The enemy trod on the many-coloured floor:

(compare Homer's *βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων—νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακὴν—κ. τ. λ.*). In a poem of known late date, such as *Byrhtnoth*, written about the end of the tenth century, the definite article is employed much more frequently. Again, the *boasting* of the Homeric heroes is curiously paralleled in *Beowulf*, especially in the passage where he sets Hunferð right as to the swimming match which he had with Breca: 'Sooth I tell thee, that I possessed greater strength in the sea, power amid the waves, than any other man.' There is also a Homeric colour about the descriptions of arms, houses, clothes, etc., in *Beowulf*, proceeding not, of course, from direct imitation, but from parity of social circumstances and ruling ideas. That naïve and fresh delight with which in the Homeric Poems mention is made of everything belonging to man or used by man, as if the sense of the human initiative were a recent and delicious perception, and the mind were only beginning to become conscious, and proud in the consciousness, of the inventive skill of the race, is largely found also in *Beowulf*, and that to a degree not equalled by any other Saxon poem. Beowulf makes answer to the Danish king 'ellen-rôf,' confident in his might; compare the Briareus of Homer, *κύδεϊ γαίων*. A coat of mail is called *searo-net seowed smiðes orþancum*, 'a cunning net-work sewed together by the skill of the smith.' A king or earl is a *beaga-brytta*, a *sinc-gyfa*, a *rand-wiga*, the *eorla hleo* ('ring-dispenser,' 'treasure-giver,' 'shield-warrior,' 'shelter of earls'). A ship is *famig-heals*, *bunden-stefna*, *hringed-stefna*, *sæ-genga*, *yð-lida* ('foamy-necked,' 'band-stemmed,' 'ring-stemmed,' 'sea-goer,' 'wave-traverser'); a sword is, *wigena weorðmynd*, *sige-eadig bil*, etc. ('glory of warriors,' 'blade victory-blest,' etc.). It is true that these abundant epithets, these fanciful and sometimes farfetched synonyms, appear also in the works of Icelandic skalds and Anglo-Saxon scôpas of a far later date than that to which I would assign *Beowulf*; just as Apollonius Rhodius employs the stock epic language which had descended from a time many centuries earlier. Yet a difference is, I think, perceptible; and though the descriptions of things and acts

which naïve wonder suggests are not always easily distinguishable from those which are the fruit of conscious invention, I should still maintain, that the careful student of *Beowulf* will, the closer becomes his acquaintance with the poem, become more firmly convinced that it represents a very early stage of Anglo-Saxon culture,—a stage at which, though Christianity had been embraced, and that with fervour, the subjects which habitually occupied the minds of Saxons and Angles before their conversion, battle, feasting, gifts, song, and sea-faring, with all that belongs thereto, still engrossed a large portion of their waking thoughts.

(2.) Turning now to the historical notices scattered through the poem, I must premise that some of these, with the ethnological problems involved in them, are dealt with in the Glossary of Names attached to this volume. The mythological notices contained in *Beowulf* are considered under 'SIGEMUND' and other articles, and in the First Excursus. In this place I propose to examine only those passages, the historic bearing of which enables us to determine more or less nearly the date of composition.

One fixed point there is, the discovery of which is due to the German scholars, Outzen and Leo. This is the identification of Hygelac, king of the Geatas in our poem and uncle of Beowulf, with the Danish king Chochilaicus or Chochilagus mentioned by Gregory of Tours (III. 3), and in the *Gesta Regum Francorum* (cap. XIX). In four places of *Beowulf* mention is made, with more or less of detail, of an expedition of Hygelac to the shores of the Frisians and Het-ware, in which, after collecting much booty, he was attacked by the natives and slain. Thus, at l. 2534, we read: 'That was not the least of hand-to-hand fights, where Hygelac was slain, after the king of the Geatas, the beloved lord of his people, the heir of Hreðel, fell in the deadly conflict, in the Frisian lands, by the gashing of the sword, beaten down by the battle-axe.' Again, at line 2913: 'Fiercely raged the wrath against the Hugas, when Hygelac came cruising, with a harrying squadron, to the land of the Frisians; there the Het-ware vanquished him in war, over-

came him mightily with superior force, so that the mail-clad warrior was forced to bow, fell at the head of his band; not this time could he dispense costly gifts, the prince to his nobles.' The Franks are mentioned at an earlier passage, line 1210: 'Then passed the life of the king (Hygelac) into the power of the Franks, his body-armour and the collar at the same time; inferior combatants plundered the slain according to the lot of war; the Geatas passed to the house of death.' The event recorded in the following passage from Gregory of Tours, is evidently the same as that which resounds so loudly in *Beowulf*: it happened in 511. 'His gestis Dani cum rege suo, nomine *Chochilaico*, evectu navali per mare Gallias appetunt. Egressi ad terras, pagum unum de regno Theuderici devastant atque captivant; oneratisque navibus tam de captivis quam de reliquis spoliis reverti ad patriam cupiunt. Sed rex eorum in littus residebat, donec naves altum mare comprehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus. Quod cum Theuderico nuntiatum fuisset, quod scilicet regio ejus fuerit ab extraneis devastata, Theudebertum, filium suum, in illas partes cum magno exercitu ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui, interfecto rege, hostes navali prælio superatos opprimit, omnemque rapinam terræ restituit.'[1] The passage in the *Gesta Regum Francorum* is much to the same effect but, in addition names the *Attoarii* (Het-ware);[2] 'pagum Attoarios et alios devastantes.' Theudebert was the son of Theoderic, the son of Clovis, whose death in 511, considering the awe entertained of him by the surrounding peoples, may well have been the immediate cause of the expedition of Hygelac, in the natural

[1] I have thought it advisable to reprint the passage because the History of Gregory of Tours is not a common book, and Mr. Thorpe's *Beowulf*, in the Introduction to which it is printed, has also become rather scarce.

[2] In these *Het-ware* we recognise the powerful nation of the Chatti described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 30). For *-ware* or *-waras* simply means 'inhabitants,' 'dwellers,' as in *Meon-ware*, *Cant-ware*, names of tribes in England; and the rough northern *h* required *ch* to represent it adequately for Southern organs. Similarly, in the *Hugas* we cannot doubt that we have the Chauci of Tacitus, whom he describes (*Germ.* 35) as next neighbours to the Frisians, and settled on the shores of the North Sea.

presumption that the borders of the Frankish kingdom would be weakly defended during the months immediately following the great king's death. Chochilaic, or Chochilag, would probably be the nearest equivalent to the Geatic 'Hygelac' that a Franco-Latin narrator could produce. Thus there can be no reasonable doubt that the Hygelac of *Beowulf* was a historical personage, and that his death occurred in 511. The fact of his being called a Dane instead of a Geat is of no importance whatever; Danus or Dacus was an appellation commonly given at the time in civilized countries to all the barbarous inhabitants of the North. The composition of *Beowulf*, therefore, cannot be thrown back beyond the early part of the sixth century.

But in fact the poem itself supplies us with evidence that it was composed much later. For after the reign of Heardred, son of Hygelac, the length of which is not mentioned, though the context seems to imply that it was short, Beowulf mounted the throne (l. 2209), and reigned for 'fifty winters' before the ravages of the fire-drake began. Again, after the poison of the fire-drake has entered his frame, and he is lying awaiting death, he directs his followers, after burning his body, to erect a high mound over his ashes at the point of the headland, 'which shall, to keep my people in mind, tower aloft on Hrones-ness, so that hereafter sea-faring men may call it *Beowulf's Barrow*.' The form of expression seems to imply that the name of the mound on the point was well known to sailors, and that a long period had intervened between the time of the writer and the death of Beowulf.

But how long may this period be assumed to have been? In other words, are there any means for fixing a date *below* which the composition of *Beowulf* cannot be placed? It is obvious that certainty is not to be looked for here as in the case of the higher date. The mention of a known event which happened, say, in the ninth century, would indeed prove, assuming the passage not to be interpolated, that the poem was not composed *before* that date, but if the event was not described as *contemporary*, it would leave the question how long it was composed *after* it as undecided as before. In

the latter case, the only evidence is derived from *silence*, from omission on the part of the poet to notice certain persons or events, which, had they been of his own age or prior thereto, we feel persuaded he could not have failed to mention. Yet it must be allowed that he *might* have omitted to mention them: the presumption therefore arising from such omissions can seldom rise above a strong probability. The silence of the writer of *Beowulf* does, I think, raise to the level of a strong probability the assumption that he lived while the Merovingians were reigning in France, that is, before 752, and before the death of Ragnar Lodbrog, the date of whose death was 790. There is not the slightest mention in *Beowulf* of Charlemagne, or of the great family to which he belonged; but to the earlier family, the Merovingians, the last representative of whom was deposed in 752, we find a distinct and curious allusion. The messenger who reports to the attendant Geatas the death of Beowulf and the seizure of the Hoard, predicts a time of trouble and warfare for the nation. When, he says, the Franks and Frisians hear of the fall of our prince, we may expect to be attacked; they have never loved us since the unlucky raid into Friesland, in which Hygelac fell. 'To us ever since then the mercy of the Merovingians was never granted:'

Us wæs á syððan
Merewioinga milts ungyfeðe.

Doubtless it is possible that the writer of *Beowulf*, assuming him to have had many traditions and sagas before him out of which he compiled his epic, has merely incorporated here a passage of date much earlier than his own, just as Sir Walter Scott may make Deloraine, in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, speak of the Tudor kings as his own contemporaries. But, on the whole, this seems very improbable. There is not one of the longer narrative poems of Scott in which, from internal evidence, the date of composition might not be fixed pretty nearly to the poet's own time, although the events recorded may belong to the history of two, three, or four centuries back. But this is not so in *Beowulf*, if its composition is to be brought down into the ninth or tenth

century. It contains not a word which any human ingenuity could torture into a reference to any event subsequent to the fall of the Merovingians. We are therefore warranted in concluding with some confidence that the composition falls within the Merovingian period, that is, before 752.

I would also suggest that the absence of all mention of Ragnar Lodbrog, the famous Danish king of the end of the eighth century, goes far to make it unlikely that the poem was composed *after* that date. Ragnar makes a great figure in the Prose *Edda* of Snorro Sturleson; and the death-song ascribed to him, though probably in its extant form the work of some poet of the ninth century, is reckoned among the most famous productions of the Skalds. Though not named, he was probably in the thoughts of the writer of the Saxon Chronicle (*Laud MS.*), when, after describing a descent of heathens (Danes) at the mouth of the Wear in 794, he adds, 'and there one of their army-leaders (Heretogena) was slain, and some of their ships were wrecked by stress of weather, and many of them were drowned.' According to the saga, Ragnar was made prisoner by a Northumbrian prince named Ella, thrown into a dungeon, and condemned to die by the bite of vipers. In his dying torments he is said to have composed this song. In the first strophe he speaks of his great adventure in 'Gaut-land' (Geata-land in Anglo-Saxon), when he released the maiden Thora from the emprisoning coils of a monstrous serpent. We see then that Ragnar Lodbrog is represented by the saga as having lived and striven in the very land whence the great hero of our poem issues. Can we doubt that if the writer of *Beowulf* had not been of earlier date, the poem would have contained some allusion at least to a hero, whose frenzied courage, though we may admit his story to have been much coloured by the legend, left so deep an impression on the imagination of the North?

Having thus, by a combined application of linguistic and historical considerations, seen reason to fix the date of *Beowulf* at an early period of the eighth century, I find with satisfaction that Dr. Grein, whose services to Anglo-Saxon studies

have been of such inestimable value, and whose critical judgment is so sound and calm, assigns the poem, though without explaining his reasons, to precisely the same period.[1]

(3.) It now remains to hazard a conjecture as to the special circumstances and inducements which may have favoured the composition of *Beowulf*. Singular theories have been started on this head, some of which presuppose that human nature and national feeling were strangely different a thousand years ago from what they are now. Mr. Thorpe is of opinion that *Beowulf* 'is not an original production of the Anglo-Saxon muse, but a metrical paraphrase of an heroic saga, composed in the south-west of Sweden, in the old common language of the North, and probably brought to this country during the sway of the Danish dynasty.' But even if we assume, without a particle of evidence, that such a saga as is here imagined, written in the Old Norse, was brought into England in the days of Canute or one of his sons, that is between 1017 and 1042, the next step—the translation of the said saga into Anglo-Saxon—is beset with insurmountable difficulties. *Cui bono?*—what purpose could it serve?—whom could it please? Not the English certainly; for alike in Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, the Danish name was everywhere detested, except by the comparatively few who were of Danish parentage. A poem, therefore, which opened with an assertion on the part of the author, 'that he had learnt by inquiry the renown of the spear-bearing Danes in days of old,' and which in its course dwelt long, and with sympathy, on the fortunes and mighty deeds of their kings, could not, in England above all countries—

> While yet her cicatrice looked raw and red
> Under the Danish sword—

have called forth any feelings but those of aversion and disgust. Could it then have been designed for the entertainment of the few Danes who kept up Danish rule in the country? for the house-carls of Canute, for instance, and other Danish

[1] See his article in the Jahrbuch f. Engl. u. Roman. Literatur, vol. IV.

soldiers and settlers occupying the Northern and Eastern counties? But to these it would have been acceptable and intelligible in its original shape; translated into Anglo-Saxon they would not have understood it. Unless, therefore, we make the gratuitous assumption, that out of a pure literary feeling,—for the gratification of no one but himself,—some Englishman, in the eleventh century, took the trouble to translate into his own language a long epic poem, celebrating the deeds of the oppressors of his country, and of other heroes and races, the names of which must at that time have conveyed no meaning to his mind, we must dismiss Mr. Thorpe's theory as one which will by no means square with the facts.

Mr. Kemble propounded two theories, an earlier and a later. In the Preface to his edition of the *Text* of *Beowulf*, he assumed many of the leading characters of the poem to be historical, and assigned the events in which they figure to the commencement of the fifth century. Beowulf himself he conceived to be purely historical. But in the interval previous to the publication of his *Translation*, he had become better acquainted with the facts collected and the views put forth by German writers upon the Northern mythology, and, in the Preface to the later work, Beowulf appears in a more dim and dubious character. He is at once exalted to the skies, and degraded from the category of realities. Originally a god presiding over agriculture, (*Beo* means the harvest month in Old Saxon, and is connected with the German, *Bau*, *bauen*), Beowulf, as the positive and realising spirit gained ground among the Teutons, was transformed first into a demi-god, and finally into a mere mortal hero, the son of Ecgtheow. In short, Mr. Kemble's first theory hardly allows that there is in *Beowulf* anything but what is historical, his second, anything but what is mythological. The accurate investigations of the last few years have shown that the truth lies neither in one extreme nor the other. With regard to the name Beowulf, Mr. Kemble's view that it is derived from *Beow*, *Beaw*, *Beowa*, a Teutonic god or demi-god—*wulf* being merely a termination of honour—seems to me exceedingly probable. This point, however, will be fully discussed in the

article on 'BEOWULF' in the Glossary of Names. But Mr. Kemble's determination to identify the Geatas with the Angles, and his ignorance of the discovery which fixes the date of the death of Hygelac, prevented him from forming a just conception of the origination and historic position of the poem.

Dr. Simrock,[1] in the 'Explanations' appended to his translation of the poem, speaks of 'lays out of which the poem was composed among the Anglo-Saxons' (p. 184), but seems not to have realised the difficulty of conceiving how this could happen. Müllenhoff, in an able paper in Haupt's *Zeitschrift* (XIV. 193, 1869) inclines to make the poet a contemporary of Cædmon (died 680), and earlier rather than later. The mention of Offa and Garmund (Wermund) disposes him to trace it to Mercia; at any rate, he thinks it must have arisen in some Anglo-Saxon court. Nevertheless, alive to the difficulties environing this hypothesis, he comes to the conclusion that, before greater progress can be made in the solution of the problem, an exacter philological study of the Anglo-Saxon poetry and speech is required. With this view I should in great measure agree. Ettmüller[2] entitles *Beowulf* 'a heroic poem of the eighth century,' agreeing so far with the view taken by Grein, and by the present editor. But when, at the end of his learned and highly suggestive Introduction, he examines the questions which the rise and composition of the poem present, a certain unsteadiness of treatment betrays itself, which diminishes the value of his opinion. *Beowulf*, he thinks, can scarcely have arisen before the year 600 of our era, even if we admit that the mythus on which it was originally based must have belonged to a far earlier time. Scarcely, indeed! when we have not a trace of evidence that before the introduction of Christianity—that is, before 600 A.D.—an Angle or Saxon could or did employ the art of writing at all, except to scratch inscriptions in runic letters on stones, sword-hilts,

[1] 'Beowulf,' das älteste Deutsche Epos: Stuttgart 1859.

[2] 'Beowulf,' Heldengedicht des achten Jahrhundertes: Zürich 1840.

and the like. Between 600 and the writing down of the poem in its present form, Ettmüller considers that more than two hundred years must have elapsed, in which time the work probably received many amplifications and remodellings. He believes himself safe in maintaining that the lay of *Beowulf* consisted originally of separate poems, which with time were united into one whole. It is evident, he thinks, that 'our lay of *Beowulf* is not the planned and regular work of a single poet.' This theory will be considered in the section treating of the composition and plan of *Beowulf*; at present I confine myself to dissenting from it in the extreme form in which it is here stated, as from a view so arbitrary, so destitute of evidence, so calculated to give free play to all kinds of subjective estimates, that its adoption can only have the effect of making the origin of *Beowulf* for ever an unsolved and misty problem.

Dr. Grein, whose opinion on this subject would in my judgment be more valuable than that of any other living scholar, has not, so far as I am aware, attempted to elucidate it. His magazine article above referred to, while of great value for the light which it throws on some of the historical allusions scattered through *Beowulf*, does not enter upon the question of its origin. But his sound sense brushes away like cobwebs the figments of a piecing together of many poems, of 'Bearbeitungen' and 'Ueberarbeitungen,' in which Ettmüller, Simrock, and Müllenhoff delight. 'The poem generally,' he says, 'as it lies before us, I can only hold for the connected work of a single poet.' With this view I entirely concur.

The suggestion which I am about to make is no more than a suggestion; I put it forward, not as certainly, or even probably, true: all that I can claim for it is, that it makes the composition of *Beowulf* (I mean of the poem which we have, not of that which may be imagined to have once existed), historically and psychologically conceivable.

First, then, I assume that, apart from two or three passages, the later interpolation of which seems to be

more probable than that they should have belonged to the original poem, the entire *Beowulf* as we have it proceeded from one hand.

2. The author was a Christian and an ecclesiastic. Many persons not possessing an intimate acquaintance with the poem have imagined, and still imagine, that the portions contributed by the Christian editor or elaborator can be easily separated from the old and non-Christian portions. All such imaginations are nugatory. In the first 500 lines of *Beowulf* twelve passages occur (mentioned in a foot-note [1]) which bear a distinctly Christian impress; two of these extend to several lines. Throughout the poem the infusion of Christian phrases and a Christian spirit prevails in about the same proportion. It is true that long descriptions, and reproductions of Metrical Sagas sung by scôpas at high festivals, sometimes occur, in which the Christian element is not positively present; but who can prove to us that this does not arise from the nature of the subjects treated rather than from any difference of authorship? Again, that the author was an ecclesiastic is of course, considering the general ignorance of the laity in the eighth century, much more probable than the contrary supposition.

3. Reason having been shewn for assigning the composition of *Beowulf* to the early part of the eighth century, we are led to inquire whether any connection existed at that time between the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the Teutonic peoples occupying the lands between Sweden and Holland, which should render the composition of such a poem by an Anglo-Saxon priest a thing possible to comprehend. We are thus reminded of the missionary activity of several of our countrymen, chiefly West Saxons, among the Frisians and Germans, and even to a certain extent among the Danes, at this very time. The leading names are those of St. Wilfrid, St. Willibrord, and St. Boniface or Winfrid. The first, about the year 680, being exiled from Northumbria, passed over to Friesland, was hospitably received by the

[1] Lines 16, 27, 86, 92, 106–110, 169, 178–188, 227, 316, 381, 441, 478.

king Algisus or Aldgisus, and converted great numbers of the natives. St. Boniface, leaving England in 716, laboured at first in Friesland, but with little success; afterwards he preached in Thuringia, Bavaria, and Nassau with extraordinary results. He suffered martyrdom at the hands of heathen Frieslanders in 751. His letters show that the stream of intellectual life ran full and strong among the West Saxons, all through the first half of the eighth century. Nor was there a change for the worse until the thick-skulled and savage Northmen came and rooted up the fair plants of culture and humanity, only to succumb themselves to the refining influences of the South after incredible efforts and sacrifices, prolonged through many centuries.

At the time of which we are now speaking lived Daniel, the learned bishop of Winchester, mentioned by Beda in the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical History*, and Winbert the abbot of Nutcell; the monasteries of Exeter, Crediton, and Glastonbury were centres of religious and intellectual fervour; whence men like SS. Burchard, Lullus, and Willibald, and women like SS. Lioba and Waltrude, passed over to Germany to help their great countryman.

I have touched upon the labours of Boniface, in order to show how great was the mental energy which characterised the West Saxons at the period to which I refer the composition of *Beowulf*. But the story of St. Willibrord is more to our immediate purpose. He landed in Friesland in 690, fixed his abode at Utrecht, and after some years spent in labouring to convert the Frisians, visited Denmark in 695.[1] The king of the Danes at that time was Ongend, a fierce and tyrannical ruler; he, however, received Willibrord kindly enough, and though no impression was made at the time on the nation 'idolatriæ dedita,' Ongend allowed Willibrord to take thirty young Danes back with him into Friesland that he might bring them up as Christians, with a view to future operations among their countrymen. Many other such incidents doubtless occurred during the missionary labours of our countrymen in North Germany, of which no

[1] 'Vita S. Willibrordi,' by Alcuin, (in Jaffé's Bibliotheca, Berlin 1873).

record has been preserved. Now what difficulty is there in supposing that these young Danes, or some of them, were steeped in the mythology and hero worship which at that time reigned in the North? Must they not have been nurtured upon sagas about Sigemund and Gudrun, and Guðhere (Gunther, Gunnar),—about the 'Worm' killed by Sigefrid, and the necklace of Freya, and the other grand or wild phantoms which the elder Edda and the Völsunga-Saga still exhibit to us? What difficulty in supposing, that the half-mythical, half-historical traditions of their own and the neighbouring countries were known to them? That the story of Hygelac's fall nearly two centuries before had been often told in their hearing? That tales and songs about their earlier kings, Healfdene and Hroðgar, (Roe in Saxo), Ingeld and Hroðulf, (the Rolf Kraka of Snorro), and also about a famous hero and prince in Got-land, Beowulf, were impressed on their youthful memories and hearts? The materials out of which the poem of *Beowulf* is composed (a portion of them being probably the old Folks-lieder and Sagas themselves retained in the memory) might in this way have all been naturally conveyed to some Anglo-Saxon priest, a companion or friend of Willibrord, who loved the poetry and language of his own race, and saw how, by selection among these materials, a great and harmonious poem might be constructed. His interest in what he heard would be the greater, because, as we may gather from genealogies carefully preserved by all the Chroniclers, and particularly from the tantalizing scrap of mythology preserved in Ethelwerd,[1] whatever aided an Anglo-Saxon's dim recollections of the period before the migration to Britain was always extremely welcome. In some such way as this I account for the origin of *Beowulf*.

Some confirmation for the view here taken seems to be afforded by peculiar expressions found here and there in the poem. The author does not *narrate* simply, like Homer or some of the Romance-writers; as though the atmosphere in which he lived were permeated by the knowledge of what he

[1] The story of Sceaf.

is relating, and he had known it all his life, and could not help knowing it. Nor does he refer to books or writings, like other Romance-writers, and like the author of the *Chanson de Roland.*[1] But he is fond of saying that he *learned by inquiry*, or that he *heard*, what he is relating; it is the Herodotean ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω. At the opening he says 'We have learned by inquiry (gefrunon) the glory of the Danes in days of old.' Passages of like import are found at lines 62, 74, 2172, 2752. The phrase *mine gefrœge*, 'as I was informed,' occurs frequently. Language like this seems to agree well with the theory, that the materials of the poem were derived by the writer, himself a foreigner, from inquiry and oral information.

As has been said before, it is more probable that the author was a churchman than a layman; but if so, he was a churchman *in a lay mood.* He delights in the concrete; loves persons, places, things, passions, adventures. And since the materials which the Danish neophytes would supply, from the wealth of their heathen folk-lore and tradition, were just calculated to meet and gratify this taste, it is intelligible enough that *in a time of great intellectual activity*, (for this was true of Wessex at the time, and is, I am convinced, a point most germane to the matter) a mind of the same order as those which worked up the prose acts of St. Andrew and the Empress Helena into lively and stirring poems, should have performed a similar office by the yet more fascinating stories which reached it from the mysterious North.

§ 4. Composition of the Poem.

With regard to the composition of *Beowulf*, several questions suggest themselves. Is it a single poem, preserved to us as it was originally written?—or is it a single poem, more or less interpolated?—or an amalgam of two or more distinct poems, which criticism is competent to distinguish and recover?—or, lastly, is it such an amalgam, padded and stuffed out by later interpolations? These are

[1] 'Qo dit la Geste' is a phrase constantly recurring in the 'Chanson.'

interesting questions, and German criticism has taken up the task of solving them with great zest. In vol. xiv. of Haupt's *Zeitschrift* there is an article of more than fifty pages by Müllenhoff on 'The Inner History of the Beowulf Lay,' in which he supports with great ingenuity, and apparent conviction, the last of the theses above mentioned, viz., that *Beowulf* is an amalgam of several distinct poems, swelled out by numerous interpolations. Now with regard to all such speculations, one is obliged to recall attention to the melancholy fact that only one manuscript of *Beowulf* is known to exist. That manuscript exhibits two different handwritings, and only two. The second hand begins at a place where there is no natural break or pause whatever. The first hand writes to the middle of l. 1939, and breaks off in the middle of a sentence; the second hand completes the line and the sentence, and writes on to the end of the manuscript. Therefore, so far as the manuscript supplies any evidence, we should infer that the poem before us was single and original, written out by two transcribers from an earlier copy.

This being all the external evidence that we possess as to the circumstances of the composition, it is manifest that the questions stated at the head of this section cannot be solved with any approach to certainty. The speculations of Ettmüller and Müllenhoff, especially the latter, though often plausible, may be said to be *in the air*. Müllenhoff regards *Beowulf* as the synthesis of four distinct lays or Heldensage, the first on Beowulf's fight with Grendel, the second on Grendel's Mother, the third on Beowulf's return to Gotland, and the fourth on his fight with the dragon. At least four, and perhaps six writers were engaged, he thinks, in the composition of its different parts. The Introduction he regards as the production of a writer later than any of the authors of the four lays. Each lay he believes to have been enlarged, and more or less spoiled, by later interpolations, which he specifies. The 'Bearbeiter,' that *bête noire* of German criticism, has, it seems, been at work on *Beowulf* as actively as the imagination of Ewald conceives him at

work on the Book of Genesis. By a series of 'rejections,'—atheteses he calls them,—he condemns as spurious 1395 lines of the existing poem, leaving 1788 which he pronounces genuine.

When we examine the reasoning on which so bold a theory is based, what do we find? I will give a specimen or two. He wishes to show that the first 193 lines could not have been written by the same hand that wrote the passage which follows; and this is the way in which he proves it: 'Whoever gave a detailed account of the ancestors and cousins of Hroðgar, and of his building and ill-fortune, could not wholly without preparation have brought in the Geatas at l. 194; and whoever named Hroðgar's grandfather Beowulf [the Danish king], could not have dispensed with a connection or a reference later on, when Beowulf the Geat appears at Hroðgar's court, and the earlier relations of the two families, 459 ff. (cf. 372) are talked off.' How far this is conclusive, the reader himself may judge. To me nothing seems more simple than that the same poet who had described the Danes and their king as at their wits' end to know how to resist Grendel, should at that point introduce the race and the hero by whom the desired deliverance is to be effected. The other point,—that when the second Beowulf is introduced, no reference is made to the first,—would indeed be strange if the poem belonged to a more cultured age, but, considering the rude and inartistic character of the work before us, one can feel little surprised at the omission.

Here is another specimen. Müllenhoff rejects ll. 131–137 as spurious. Why? Because the words in ll. 133-4 (*wæs þæt gewin . . . . . longsum*) reappear with a very slight difference at l. 191, and because *fæhðe and fyrene* are again mentioned, the words being transposed, in l. 153. As if no poet ever repeated himself! As if, urged by the difficulties of alliteration or rhyme, poets of far more workmanlike capacity than the author of *Beowulf* had not been obliged to have recourse to *padding*, and to the use of expressions which either they had used before, or else which were super-

fluous or little appropriate! Scores of such feeble passages might be pointed out in our poem,—l. 1286 is a remarkable instance; but so far from indicating interpolation, we should rather take them as what might naturally be expected, considering the paucity of good models and the general barbarism of the times in which the author lived.

Having explained the nature of the reasoning on which Müllenhoff relies, I do not think that it would answer any good purpose to examine his 'atheteses' one by one. Several of them are ingenious and plausible, and I am far from saying that they cannot be true; but, in the utter absence of external evidence, the investigation is rather amusing than profitable.

With regard to interpolations, my own feeling about the matter is, that the sermon put in Hroðgar's mouth between ll. 1723 and 1781 is probably of later date than its context. Also the passage 1680–1684 has much the air of an interpolation; though, if it be, the interpolator has taken care to alter and adapt the context into which he foisted in the new matter, so that the precise joinings are no longer discernible. Again, the passage 107–114, in which Cain and Abel are mentioned, is perhaps an interpolation; at any rate, it might be omitted without detriment to the context. Lastly, the long speech put in the mouth of Wiglaf's messenger (ll. 2900–3027) is, so far as the greater portion of it is concerned, so curiously out of place, that it is difficult to conceive that it came from the same hand which wrote the vigorous and compact narrative from l. 194 to l. 498. However, the means do not exist for arriving at a definite conclusion on the matter.

Before the existing manuscript was written, the poem must have been divided into forty-three chapters. There is a difficulty here, as explained in the note on p. 138. The numbers xxix and xxx are wanting; but l. 2039 (*ðǽðæt hie*, etc.) commences with a capital letter, such as is generally used at the beginning of a chapter. But no number is given, and l. 2039 is in the middle of a long sentence. I carefully examined the transitions from one leaf to another on either

side of the missing numbers, but could discover no sign of the loss of a leaf. The transitions are: from *beah* to *gesyhð*, l. 2041; from *costode* to *grapode*, l. 2084; and from *mannan* to *hio*, l. 2127. This seems all right; the lost passage probably, as Mr. Thorpe suggests, followed the words *bryd duge* in l. 2031, where there occurs a harsh transition in the sense. The transcriber, however, has written on as if he had a perfect copy before him. The leaf lost—I do not think it can have been more—probably related to the marriage of Freaware to Ingeld, and the early events of her residence at the Heathobardic court. The chaptering I should conjecturally restore thus: XXVIII ends at *bryd duge*; XXIX, of which the first forty lines are wanting through the loss of a leaf, ends at *colran weorðað*, l. 2066; XXX begins on l. 2067, and ends with l. 2143.

Another possible explanation is this, that the lost passage ought to come between ll. 2038 and 2039, and that the transcriber began with a capital letter the first line of the leaf following the missing leaf, in order to mark in some way his consciousness that the sense did not run on continuously from l. 2038 to l. 2039. In fact, the transition from l. 2038 to l. 2039 seems to me to be much more harsh than that from l. 2031 to l. 2032.

§ 5. Text, Orthography, and Metre.

As a general rule, I have adhered to the text of Grein, as given in his *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*. Where I have diverged from him, I have usually retained the readings of the manuscript. But I have not followed Grein in printing w as v, a practice to which he was probably induced by Scandinavian analogies; but in which he is at variance with the unbroken English tradition, both spoken and written, and differs from all our own and from very many German scholars. With regard to the use of þ and ð, since they appear to be almost used indifferently in the manuscript (*hæleþum* and *hæleðum*, *þá* and *ðá*, *guþ* and *guð*, etc.), I have preferred the uniform and rational system

of Grein, according to which a word cannot *begin* with ð, to the retention of the unmeaning variations of the manuscript.

The verses in this edition are printed in long lines, each having its system of accentuation and alliteration complete in itself, according to the practice commenced by Grimm and followed by Grein. In the editions of Kemble and Thorpe the lines are short, two of them going to each alliteration. Their motive must have been a desire to bring Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse into a conformity, as to the mode of writing, with the poems of the *Edda*. It takes two lines to complete the alliteration in the *Edda*; why not, then, in *Beowulf*? The cases, however, are not parallel. The verses of the *Edda* are arranged in strophes; but Anglo-Saxon poetry knows nothing of strophes. Each strophe, according to the rule of the metre, must be divisible into two half-strophes.[1] Now, as the strophe frequently contains only six short lines, it is evident that, if these were writen as *three* long lines, the strophe would cease to be divisible. Moreover, the symmetry of these short strophes would be destroyed, both for the eye and for the ear, if each pair of lines were read as one long line.

But in Anglo-Saxon poetry, the strophe not being employed, no reason exists why the complete alliterative line should not be written as one. There is no more reason for breaking up the line into its two half-lines, than there is for breaking up Virgil's hexameters, and printing them separately as penthemimers and hephthemimers. It would not be agreeable to read the Æneid arranged thus—

Arma virumque cano
Trojæ qui primus ab oris,
Italiam fato
profugus, Lavinaque venit etc.

Why then should we read

Hwæt! we Gár-Dena in geár-dagum

in the form

Hwæt! we Gár-Dena
in geár-dagum?

[1] Lüning's *Edda*, p. 13.

The ancient mode of writing does not help us to decide the question, for alike in the MS. of Cædmon in the Bodleian, in the MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle, so far as I have examined them, in the Cottonian MS. containing *Beowulf* and *Judith*, in the Codex Exoniensis, and the Codex Vercellensis, the poetry is written as prose.[1] But some support for the long-line system is found in the MSS. of Laȝamon, edited by Sir F. Madden. These (Cott. Calig. A. IX., and Cott. Otho C. XIII.), are, like the older MSS., written as prose, but pointed in the manner shown in the following extract:—

> An preost wes on leoden : Laȝamon wes ihoten.
> he wes Leouenaðes sone : liðe him beo drihten.
> he wonede at Ernleȝe : at æðelen are chirechen.

And so throughout the poem. This mode of pointing, it seems to me, indicates that the writer believed himself to be ending each half-verse with a colon, and each complete verse with a full point. A colon has in the same way divided, from time immemorial, in MSS. of the Vulgate, the two halves of each verse in the Psalms, and still divides them in the version given in the English Prayer-book. The metrical system of Laȝamon, though less regular,[2] is substantially that of the Anglo-Saxon poets. If, therefore, Laȝamon and his transcribers arranged his alliterative verse in long lines, a fair presumption arises that the Anglo-Saxon poets did the same.

Against this conclusion, Rask, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, argues with great warmth. He adduces (p. 150) 'the practice of the Scandinavian nations,' but forgets to mention that Scandinavian verse is arranged in strophes, a fact which radically distinguishes it from Anglo-Saxon verse. He then appeals to the 'yet older practice of the Anglo-Saxons themselves,' in proof of which he cites the extracts given in Hickes' *Thesaurus*. But Hickes is no authority; the MSS. from

[1] The reason for this is evidently to be sought in the dearness and scarcity of parchment, which did not permit of the waste of space consequent on writing poetry as *verse*.

[2] Rime is of frequent use in the *Brut*, but, as Sir F. Madden says, 'the alliterative portion predominates, on the whole, greatly over the lines riming together.'

which he takes the extracts are the authority; and these, as we have seen, have the poetry written as prose, and therefore do not decide the question. Rask goes on to assert that the verse is arranged in short lines 'throughout the whole of Cædmon's Paraphrase.' He can only mean that it is so arranged in the extracts given by Hickes. In the unique MS. of Cædmon's *Paraphrase*, which is among the Junius MSS. in the Bodleian Library, the verse is written throughout as prose. Several other considerations brought forward by Rask are of little force, except to one resolved to look at Anglo-Saxon verse from a Scandinavian standpoint. The *Heliand*, he maintains, is in short lines. But in my edition of the *Heliand* (Heyne, 1867) the verse is printed in long lines, each, it is true, consisting of two distinct divisions. I infer, therefore, that the MSS. of the *Heliand* no more warrant a definite assertion as to the length of the lines than the MS. of Cædmon does. The only argument employed by Rask that appears to have real force, is derived from the occasional use of a sort of expanded verse (in which, however, the rules of alliteration still hold good) by certain poets, which, if written in the manner recommended by Grimm, would result in lines of intolerable length. This lengthened or expanded verse occurs in Cædmon's *Genesis*, and also once in *Beowulf* (see lines 1705–1707). In both places Grein prints the entire alliterative verse as one line. We thus have such lines as—

Gesett hæfde he hie swa gesæliglice; ænne hæfde he swa swiðne geworhtne.

One may concede to Rask that such a line is intolerably long; and I should, for my own part, feel no difficulty in printing each half-verse of poetry written in this expanded style as a separate line. That is, I should regard it as a printer's, rather than a poet's, question. Rask himself would admit that, in a certain sense, each pair of short lines, on the system that he prefers, is one line; and so the adherents of the opposite system admit that in a certain sense each long line is two lines. However, in the case of ordinary verse, the

practice of writing the half-lines as lines deprives the poetry, to my ear, of much of that weight and dignity which the writers must have intended it to possess.

A few explanations of grammatical forms, added for the benefit of persons learning the language, will be found among the Notes. The Appendix contains two short *Excursus*—one on the Episode of King Finn, the other on the Brosinga Men, together with a general Glossary of Names.

After full consideration, I have decided not to conform to the practice which writers entitled to great respect have lately introduced—that of substituting the term 'Old English' for 'Anglo-Saxon.' The men who in the seventeenth century revived the study of our ancient speech knew as well as we do to how great an extent the language spoken in England, allowing for changes of form, was still the same as it was before the Conquest; they knew also that this language, of which they were searching through the records, was called by those who spoke it 'Englisc.' Nevertheless, they decided not to call it English, but Anglo-Saxon; and they seem to me to have acted wisely, for these reasons. Had the question been solely one of *language as spoken*, they might, without impropriety, have used the term 'Old English'; for the language of the country population in England at the present day is, for three-fourths of it, purely Teutonic, and substantially identical with the 'Englisc' spoken by their forefathers in the time of Alfred. But the language presented itself to them *as embodied in a literature*, and that is a very different thing. The literature of a dominant race, which the English were before the Conquest, abounds in terms and epithets invented by and circulating among the cultivated and governing classes; religious terms, military terms, terms expressive of political relations, even scientific terms, if the race has much intellectual force and favourable opportunities, are sure to be largely of native growth. This was the case with the vigorous literature of our fathers, as decisively as in

any literature that we know of. They had Teutonic words for 'baptism,' 'the Eucharist,' 'extreme unction,' 'orders,' and 'matrimony.' Their pride in war took delight in the invention of hundreds of compound words, expressive of the warlike consciousness which filled their breasts. In Grein's Dictionary there are 61 compounds of *guð*, 51 of *hilde*, 23 of *beadu*, and 5 of *camp*; these four words signify 'war,' or 'battle.' Of *here*, 'army,' there are 50 compounds; of *wæl*, 'slaughter,' 56; of *sige*, 'victory,' 36; and of *heoru*, 'sword,' 22. All these words, and many others like them, occur in Anglo-Saxon poetry, some of them with great frequency; in modern English they are entirely lost. I might enumerate a long series of words expressive of ideas of power and government, many names of sciences, and many words qualifying mental operations, which our forefathers derived from their own stores, but which, after they had passed under the domination of a French-speaking race, were replaced, if replaced at all, by words of Latin origin. These things, though they need not imply very great change in the language of the commonalty, do imply an enormous change in the language of literature; and this change was considered by Hickes, Lye, Junius, &c., to be so considerable, as not only to warrant, but to require, the designation of the ancient literature by a distinct name.

If the language of *Beowulf* is 'Old English,' the great majority of the words occurring in it ought, though in altered shape, to be still in use. But if the reader will turn to the first page, and examine the first eleven lines, he will find that a considerable proportion of the words, two out of five, are either absolutely lost, or now used in a different sense. *Gár*, *þeod*, *þrym*, *gefrunon*, *æðeling*, *ellen*, *þreát*, *mægð*, *ofteáh*, *egsode*, *wearð*, *feásceaft*, *wolcnum*, *frofor*, *weorðmynd*, *þáh*, *óð*, *æghwylc*, *ymb*, *hron*, *gomba*, *gyldan*, have no counterparts in modern English.[1] Let him compare with this result what

[1] *Þreat*, a band, is the same word as 'threat,' but the meaning is different; a trace of *wearð* survives in the expression, 'Woe *worth* the day'; in *feásceaft*, solitary, we have our 'few'; *wolcnum*, 'clouds,' is represented by 'welkin,' which has a different meaning; in *weorðmynd*, dignity, we trace our 'worthy'; in *æghwylc* our 'which,' and in *gyldan* our 'yield,' with different meaning The remaining fifteen words are entirely lost.

he will find on examining the first twelve lines of the *Krist* of Otfrid, a poem written in Alsace early in the ninth century. At the utmost, one fourteenth of the words composing these lines is without representatives in Modern High German. Again, let him examine the first strophe of the *Chanson de Roland*, that noble monument of the ancient speech of France. Out of 63 words, excluding proper names, there are but three, *magnes*, *remaigne*, and *remés*, which are not represented in modern French.[1] The conclusion to which these facts lead is, that while the *Krist* is properly said to be in *Old* High German, and the *Chanson de Roland* to be in *old* French, the language of *Beowulf* is so far removed from modern English that it is not worth while to disturb the received nomenclature, in order to impose a name on the ancient literary language which untruly represents its relation to that now in use.

[1] In fact, there are only two, for *remés* is the past part. of the same verb *remaneir*, of which *remaigne* is the pres. subj.

BEOWULF.

HWÆT ! we Gár-Dena in geardagum
þeód-cyninga þrym gefrunon,[1]
hu ðа æþelingas ellen fremedon.
Oft Scyld Scéfing sceaðena þreátum
monegum mægðum meodosetla ofteáh,
egsode eorl, syððan ærest wearð
feásceaft funden ; he þæs frófre gebád,
weox under wolcnum, weorðmyndum þáh,
oð þæt him æghwylc þara ymbsittendra

WHAT ! we have asked and heard concerning the renown of the true kings of the Spear-Danes in days of yore, how those noble princes put forth their might. Often did Scyld the son of Scef drive from their mead-benches bands of robbers, many kinships ; [he] the earl discomfited them, in the time following that when he was first found, a desolate outcast. From [or For] this he looked for comfort,—waxed great beneath the sky,—throve with dignities,—

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[1] *Hwæt.* Many Anglo-Saxon poems begin in this abrupt way, *e.g.* Cædmon's 'Exodus,' the 'Andreas,' the 'Juliana' of Cynewulf, 'Salomon and Saturnus,' and the poem called 'Môd' in the Exeter Codex. The idiom may be paralleled from Shakespeare : 'What ! has this thing appear'd again tonight ?' (*Ham.* I. i.) ; 'What ! Lucius, ho !' (*Julius Cæsar*, II. i.)

[2] *þeod-cyninga*, lit. 'people-kings.' *gefrunon*, pf. of *gefrignan*, to learn by inquiry, *πυνθάνεσθαι.*

[4] *Scyld Scefing* : see the Glossary of Names. Ib. *sceaðena—ofteah*, lit. 'took away [some of their] mead-benches from bands,' &c. ; *sceaða* (Eng. 'scather') corresponds exactly to the Greek λήστης—a term which, as Thucydides remarks, conveyed no reproach in the primitive times of Greece ; nor did *sceaða* in the eyes of the primitive Saxons.

[6] Thorpe reads *eorlas*, acc. pl., which perhaps gives a better sense.

[8] *weox—þah*, pfs. of *weaxan* and *þeon.* From this *þeon*, to thrive, came the Early Eng. 'the,' as in the common Chaucerian phrase, 'so mote I the.'

[9] *ymb*, around ; the same root as *ἀμφ-*, *amb-*.

ofer hron-ráde hýran scolde,
gomban gyldan: þæt wæs gód cyning.
Đæm eafera wæs æfter cenned,
geong in geardum, þone God sende
folce tó frófre: fyrenþearfe ongeat,
þæt hi ær drugon ealdorlease
lange hwile. Him þæs líf-freá
wuldres wealdend worold-áre forgeaf:
Beowulf wæs breme, blæd wíde sprang
Scyldes eaferan Scede-landum in.
Swá sceal . . . . . ma góde gewircean
fromum feohgiftum on fæder . . . . ne

until that every one of the neighbouring peoples, across the whale-road, was bound to obey him, and pay him tribute: that was a good king! To him afterwards an heir was born, young in the hall, whom God sent for a comfort to the people: He perceived their troublesome straits, [how] that they had before had to suffer for a long while, lord-less. To him therefore the Lord of life, the Ruler of glory, gave honour in the world; he was the famous Beowulf; the prosperity of [this] heir of Scyld was wide-spread through the Scanzian lands. So must a prudent man work beneficently with bountiful gifts and largesse in his father's hall, that in his age,

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[10] *hron* or *hran*, the whale. The phrase is three times used in the 'Andreas,' and once in Cædmon's 'Genesis.' See l. 540, note. *Hwæl* (Eng. 'whale') seems to have come in later; it occurs in one of the Edgar poems ('Sax. Chron.' sub 975).

[11] *gomban* or *gamban*: in O. S. *gambra* means 'tribute.' Derivation uncertain; Grein conjectures that it is a nasally sounded offshoot from the root *gifan*, to give.

[12] *cenned*, past part. of *cennan*, to engender.

[13] *sende*, pf. of *sendan*.

[14] *ongeat*, pf. of *on-gitan*.

[15] *drugon*, from *drȳg*, pf. of *dreogan*; E. E. 'dree.'

[16] *þæs*, gen. of cause; cf. the Germ. *deswegen*.

[17] *forgeaf*, pf. of *forgifan*.

[18] *Beowulf*: see Glossary of Names.

[19] *Scede-landum*. Grein thinks the 'Danish countries' are meant; but primarily, Sceden-igge, *i.e.*, Scanza (whence 'Scandinavia'), the modern Schonen, the southernmost province of Sweden, is intended. See l. 1686.

[20] Of the two words following *sceal* all but *-ma* is now effaced; Grein reads *gleaw guma*, which is probably right. Thorpe, *guð-fruma*, which has not letters enough to fill the space.

[21] Nothing but... *ne* is now legible; Grein suggests *ærne*, which gives an excellent sense, but is too short; *healle* would suit in both point of length and sense, but nothing like the upper part of an l is discernible in the MS.

þæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen
wil-gesiþas, þonne wig cume,
leode gelæsten; lof-dædum sceal
in mægðа gehwære man geþeón.
Him ðá Scyld gewát to gescæp-hwíle
fela-hror feran on Frean wære:
hi hyne þá ætbæron to brimes faroðe,
swæse gesiþas, swa he selfa bæd,
þenden wordum wéold wine Scyldinga,
leóf land-fruma, longe ahte.

afterwards, his willing followers may remain true to him, when war comes, [and] may exert themselves for the people; in every tribe or kinship it is by noble deeds that one must prosper. Then, at his fated time, Scyld the strenuous departed from amongst them to go into the protection of the Lord. They then, his beloved followers, carried him away to the sea shore, as he himself bade, he the Scyldings' lord, while his words had power, the dear chief of the land, during a long possession. There at the harbour stood the

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[22] *gewunigen*, pres. subj. of *gewunian*; the sense seems something between the German allied verbs *wohnen* and *gewohnen*.

[23] The *gesiþas*, or liege followers, of an Anglo-Saxon king, were to serve him to the death; for a curious illustration of this, see 'Sax. Chron.' an. 755. In return, he entertained them at his board, and attached them to his person by a constant and bountiful distribution of presents. Among these, after land and money, 'rings,' including in the term metal collars and bracelets, seem to have held the chief place; hence a common name for a prince or chieftain is *beaga brytta*, a dispenser of rings. After rings came arms, jewels, and other ornaments.

[24] *leode* might be nom. pl.; but it seems better on the whole to take it as the dat. sg. Ib. *gelæsten* is the same word as the German verb *leisten*. Ib. *lof-dædum*; lit. 'deeds of praise.'

[25] *mægðа*. An Anglo-Saxon *mægð* corresponded to a Roman gens; it was a group of families descended from a common ancestor, and bearing a common name. The Rædingas were a *mægð*; so were the Rodingas, the Bercingas, and many others; these gentes, or kinships, settling down after the migration and land-assignment on the lands still inhabited by their descendants, founded Reading, Roding, Barking, &c.

[26] *gewat*, pf. of *gewitan*. Ib. *gescæp*, MS.; read, with Thorpe, *gesceap*, destiny.

[28] *ætbæron*, pf. of *æt-beran*.

[30] *wine*, lit. 'friend.' This word enters into the composition of many names, Winbert, Winfrid, Ethelwine, &c. Ib. *Scyldinga*. The Danes themselves are called Scyldings in a wider sense; more strictly the name belonged to their royal house.

[31] *ahte* can only be the pf. of *agan*, to own; it seems better to read *æhte*, dat. sg. of *æht*, possession.

Þær át hýðe stód hringed-stefna
ísig and út-fús, æþelinges fær.
Alédon þá leófne þeóden
beaga bryttan, on bearm scipes,
mærne be mæste. Þær wæs maðma fela,
of feor-wegum frætwa geláéded.
Ne hýrde ic cymlicor ceól gegyrwan
hilde-wæpnum and heaðo-wædum,
billum and byrnum. Him on bearme læg
maðma mænigo, þa him mid sceoldon
on flódes æht feor gewítan.
Nalæs hi hine læssan lácum teódan,

ring-stemmed vessel, glittering like ice and ready for the voyage, a prince's bark. Then they laid down their beloved prince, the ring-dispenser, in the bosom of the ship; by the mast [they laid] the famous one. Thereon was stowed great store of treasures, of ornaments from afar. Never heard I of a cruiser being decked in comelier wise with weapons of war and fighting attire, with bills and coats of mail. On his bosom lay a pile of treasures, which were to go far away with him into the possession of the flood. Nor did they provide him less [liberally] with precious things, with presents publicly supplied, than those did who sent him forth alone over the billows at the first, [then] being a little child. Yet more, they there set up, high over his head, a golden ensign, [and] let the sea

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[32] *hýðe.* Several English seaport towns still bear the name of 'Hythe.'

[33] *ísig*, lit. 'icy'; I have adopted Ettmüller's explanation. Ib. *fær.* This word occurs several times in Cædmon's 'Genesis,' as here, in the sense of 'vessel,' but nowhere else. It is connected with *faran*; compare the modern word 'transport.'

[34] *Aledon*, pf. of *alecgan.*

[36] *mærne*, acc. sg. masc. of *mære.* Ib. *maðma*, gen. pl. of *maðm, maððum.* There were three Saxon words to denote treasures or precious things: viz. *maððum, sinc*, and *frætu*; all of which are now lost.

[38] *ceol.* The reader will remember the three 'keels' (*on þrym ceolum*) in which the Angles are said to have originally crossed to Britain ('Sax. Chron.' an. 449, Laud MS). The vessels employed in the coal trade in the north of England are still called 'keels.'

[40] *byrnum.* I see no use in translating *byrne*, byrnie, as Thorpe does, seeing that we have no such word in modern English. Ib. *læg*, pf. of *licgan.*

[41] *mænigo* is a subst. and the original of the E. E. word *meynie.*

[43] *hine læssan.* By a curious construction *læssan* is acc. sg. masc., and agrees with *hine.* Ib. *teodan*, pf. of *teon*, to appoint or provide.

þeód-gestreónum, þon þá dydon,
þe hine æt frumsceafte forð onsendon,
ænne ofer ýðe, umbor wesende.
Þágyt hie him asetton segen [gyl]denne,
heáh ofer heáfod, leton holm beran,
geafon on garsecg: him wæs geomor sefa,
murnende mód. Men ne cunnon
secgan tó sóðe séle-rædenne,
hæleð under heofenum, hwá þæm læste onfeng.

I.

GRENDEL.

Đá wæs on burgum Beowulf Scyldinga
leóf leód-cyning longe þrage,
folcum gefræge (fæder ellor hwearf

bear him away,—abandoned him to the ocean: sorrowful was their temper, mournful their mood. Men cannot say for sooth, [though] counsellors in the hall, heroes under heaven, into whose hands that freight fell.

I.

Then for a long time was Beowulf in the burgh, the dear native-prince of the Scyldings, famous among nations (the prince his father

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[45] *frum-sceafte.* One might invent an English word, 'former-ship,' which in its parts would correspond to *frum-sceaft. Fruma,* beginning, is the same word as the Latin *primus,* the change of consonant being according to Grimm's law.

[46] *ænne,* acc. sg. from *án.*

[47] *[gyl]denne.* The first syllable cannot now be deciphered; but Thorkelin saw a g, which makes it pretty certain that the word was *gyldenne,* though he himself sets down the ridiculous and impossible form *geþenne.*

[48] *leton,* pf. of *lætan.*

[49] *geafon,* pf. of *gifan.*

[50] *cunnon,* prés. pl. of *cunnan*; an irregular form.

[51] *sele-rædenne,* MS. It seems best to correct to *sele-rædende,* as in l. 1346. Compare, however, a form found in 'Waldhere,' l. 22, *wig-rædenne,* and also the nouns *freond-ræden, meodu-ræden,* &c. If *sele-rædenne* is retained, it means 'in hall-converse.'

[52] *hwa þæm læste,* lit. 'who seized on (*onfeng,* pf. of *on-fon*) that cargo.'

[55] *hwearf,* pf. of *hweorfan.*

aldor of earde), ôð þæt him eft onwóc
heáh Healfdene. Heóld þenden lifde,
gamol and gúðreouw, glæde Scyldingas.
Đæm feower bearn forð gerímed
in worold wócun, weoroda ræswa,
Heorogár and Hróðgár and Halga til.
Hyrde ic þæt Elan cwén . . . . . ,
Heaðo-Scylfinges heals-gebedda.
Þá wæs Hróðgare here-spéd gyfen,
wíges weorðmynd, þæt him wine-magas
georne hyrdon; ôð þæt seó geógoþ geweox,
mago-driht micel. Him on mód be-arn,
þæt [he] heal-reced hátan wolde
medo-ærn micel men gewyrcean,

had passed away elsewhere from his abode), until, later, his [heir] woke into life, the lofty Healfdene. He ruled while he lived, old and fierce in battle, the glad Scyldings. To him four children, numbered in succession, were born into the world, chieftains of hosts,—Heorogar and Hroðgar and the good Halga. I heard that Ela's queen . . . . . , the consort of the warlike Scylfing. Then was military success given to Hroðgar, glory in war, so that his loyal kinsmen willingly obeyed him, until the youth grew up, a great band of clansmen. It came into his mind, that he would order

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[56] *earde*. *eard* remains in our 'yard.' Scand. *garðr*. Ib. *onwoc*, pf. of *onwacan*.

[58] *Healfdene*: see Glossary of Names.

[59] *guðreouw*. Bugge (in a valuable paper in Höpfner u. Zacher's *Zeitschrift* for 1873) proposes to read *guðrof*, referring to l. 608; but no change is necessary.

[60] *wocun*, so in MS.; read *wocon*. Ib. *ræswa* in MS.; it should be the nom. pl. *ræswan*.

[62 65] A difficult and much-debated passage. Grein thinks Elan the name of Healfdene's fourth child, a daughter, and would fill up the missing half-line by the words *Ongenþeowes wæs*; Ongenþeow being a Scylfing, a king of Sweden (see Glossary). But I doubt whether such a female name as 'Elan' is admissible. I prefer to take Elan as the gen. of Ela, the name of Healfdene's fourth son. For that all four were *sons*, seems to be shown by the words *weoroda ræswan*. The missing half-line would then contain the name of Ela's wife, who had once been wedded to a Swedish prince. But this and every explanation is beset with difficulties.

[66] *georne*; comp. the Germ. *gern*. Ib. *geogoþ*, Lat. *juventus*.

[67] *be-arn*, perf. of *be-irnan*, to run.

70 þonne yldo bearn æfre gefrunon;
and þær on innan eall gedælan
geongum and ealdum, swyle him God sealde,
buton folc-sceare and feorum gumena.
Đa ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan
75 manigre mægþe geond þisne middangeard,
folc-stede frætwan. Him on fyrste gelomp
ædre mid yldum, þæt hit wearð eal gearo,
heal-ærna mæst: scôp him Heort naman,
se þe his wordes geweald wíde hæfde.
80 He beót ne aleh, beágas dælde,
sinc æt symle. Sele hlifade
heah and horn-geap; heaðo-wylma bád

a princely hall, a great mead-house, to be built, beyond what the sons of men had ever heard of, and there within to deal out [gifts] freely to young and old, as God provided him, except as to the freeman's share [of land] and the lives of men. Thereupon I was told that the work was widely proclaimed to many a tribe over this earth, to make beautiful the king's town (the folk-stead). It befel him in course of time, speedily among men, that it was all finished, this greatest of high halls; and he, whose word was law over wide domains, gave it the name of Heorot. He belied not his vaunt; he

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70 *þonne*, than. Grein and Bugge remark, that, although *micel* is positive in form, a comparison is implied in it.

72 *sealde*, pf. of *sellan*, to deliver or hand over. To *sell* a thing is, in simple times, to hand it over to the buyer.

73 *buton fol-sceare*. The *alod*, or freehold, of each warrior, and his life, were not to be at the king's arbitrary disposal. So, when an Act was passed under Henry VIII. to give to royal proclamations the force of law, a proviso was inserted that such proclamation should not be prejudicial to any man's *inheritance*, offices, &c., nor should any man 'by virtue of the said Act suffer any pains of death' (Hallam's *Const. Hist.* ch. i.).

75 *middangeard*. O.N. *mið-garðr*. This beautiful word, a relic of heathen times, is of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The 'mid-dwelling' was the earth, as lying between Asgard, the habitation of the gods, and Utgard or Niflheim, the abode of the giants of frost and fire.

76 *gelomp*, pf. of *gelimpan*.

77 *ædre mid yldum*; these words are mere surplusage.

78 *mæst*, greatest, sup. of *micel*; *micel, mâra, mæst*. Ib. *scôp*, pf. of *sceppan*, or *scyppan*.

80 *aleh*, pf. of *aleogan*.

81 *hlifade*, eminuit, pf. of *hlifian*.

82 *heaðo-wylma bad*. Ettmüller thinks there is an allusion here to the attack on Heorot by the Heaðo-

láðan liges. Ne wæs hit lenge þá gen,
þæt se secghete aþum swerian
æfter wæl-niðe wæcnan scolde,
þá se ellen-gæst earfoðlice

dealt out rings, treasure at the banquet. The hall towered aloft, high and battlemented; it awaited the destroying blaze of hostile fire. Nor was it long after that, that fierce hatred inevitably woke up according to their deadly malice, among the wicked spirits, since

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bards, mentioned in the 'Traveller's Song,' l. 49.

[84] *se secghete aþum swerian.* Of this, the reading of the MS., nothing can be made; the scribe evidently was himself at fault. Grein suggested *ecghete*, fierce hatred, which is doubtless right. *Aþum swerian*, to swear with oaths, is nonsense: Grein would read *aðul-werum*, referring to the Gnomic poems of the Exeter MS. (l. 200), where he reads *aðol-warum*, and proposes to translate it 'citizens'; but such a meaning will not suit the passage, which runs thus:—

cuð wæs wide siððan,
þæt ece nið sceldum sood, swa aþolwarum.

'It was widely known afterwards [after the murder of Abel] that perpetual strife has [ever] been harmful to men, as to . . . ,' some word which would express 'fallen angels' or 'wicked spirits' is required. Now by changing a single letter we get *atol-warum*, dat. of *atol-waras*, which would mean 'impious dwellers,' 'wicked beings,' and give precisely the sense that is wanted. *Atol* is an epithet continually applied in Saxon poetry to Satan and his angels; it is the O. N. *atall*, wild, terrible. I think, therefore, that we should read in the present passage 'þæt se ecg-hete atol-warum . . . . . wæcnan scolde'; since we thus get here also the meaning that we want.

Since the above note was written I have seen Bugge's ingenious emendation, *ððumswerian*, which he translates *generi socerique*. 'It was not long before the fierce hatred of son-in-law and father-in-law (Ingeld and Hroðgar) was destined to wake up.' Ingeld, son of the Heathobeardic king Froda, married Freaware, the daughter of Hroðgar (see below, ll. 2024-2069). The manner in which, after the marriage, his wrath was stirred up against the countrymen of his wife is described in the passage just quoted. In the 'Traveller's Song,' l. 48, we read that Hroðwulf and Hroðgar 'humbled the point of Ingeld's sword,' and 'hewed down at Heorot the glory of the Heatho-beards.' If we assume that Ingeld with an army of Heathobeards made war on Hroðgar, and destroyed Heorot by fire, but was ultimately defeated with great slaughter, all passages bearing on this dim transaction will be reconciled.

But Bugge's rendering of *ððumswerian* appears inadmissible. *ððum* (Germ. *eidam*) is a son-in-law; *sweor*, (Germ. *schweger*), a father-in-law. No combination of these words could result in such a form as *aðumswerian*. Perhaps the original reading was *aðum sweore, generum socero*: 'fierce hatred was destined to stir up the son-in-law against the father-in-law.' A copyist of a later age, unable to make anything of *sweore*, may have changed it to *swerian*, and *ððum* to *aþum*, deluding himself with the idea that he was thus making sense of the passage.

[86] *earfoðlice*, ægrè.

þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bád,
þæt he dogora gehwám dream gehýrde
hludne in healle, þær wæs hearpan swég,
swutol song scópes. Sægde, se þe cúðe
frumsceaft fira feorran reccan,
(cwæð) þæt se Ælmihtiga eorþan worhte
wlite-beorhtne wang, swá wæter bebúgeð;
gesette sigehréðig sunnan and monan
leóman to leóhte land búendum,
and gefrætwade foldan sceátas
leomum and leáfum; lif eac gesceop
cynna gehwylcum, þára þe cwice hwyrfað.
Swá þa driht-guman dreámum lifdon
eádiglice, ôð þæt ân ongan
fyrene frem[m]an, feond on helle.

that potent demon who abode in darkness bore impatiently for a season to hear each day joyous revelry loud sounding in the hall, where was the music of the harp, the clear and piercing song of the gleeman. He said, who knew how to recount from far off ages the origin of men, that the Almighty wrought the bright and fair plain of earth, as water encompasseth it round ;—set, exulting and victorious, the sun and moon, as lamps to give light to the inhabitants of the land, and bedecked all the corners of the earth with boughs and leaves ; life also he created in each kind, of all those that move and live. So did the king's men live in pleasures, right blessedly, until that one, a fiend in hell, began to work mischief. This cruel spirit was called Grendel, a great bestrider of the mark,

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[87] *geþolode*, pf. of *geþolian*, O.E. to 'thole.'

[87] *þystrum*, dat. of *þeostor*, darkness; Germ. *düster*.

[88] *dogora*, gen. pl. of *dogor*, which seems to bear the same relation to *dæg*, as *journée* does to *jour*.

[90] *scopes*. The Anglo-Saxon Scop corresponds to the Icelandic Skâld.

[91] *fira*, gen. pl. of *fir*, a man.

[92] *cwæð* seems to be an interpolation; it is required neither by the metre nor the sense. Ib. *worhte*, pf. of *wyrcan*, to work.

[95] *leoman*, acc. pl. from *leoma*, a light. Ib. *buend* is pres. part. of *buan*, to till, inhabit; cf. the Germ. *bauen*, *bauer*.

[96] *foldan*, gen. of *folde*, the earth; O.N. *fold*.

[97] *leomum*, from *lim*, a limb, either of a man, or a tree; Ib. *gesceop*, pf. of *ge-sceppan*.

[101] *freman* is evidently a mere slip on the part of the scribe; it should be *fremman*, to accomplish.

Wæs se grimma gæst Grendel háten
mære mearcstapa, se þe móras heold,
fen and fæsten. Fifel-cynnes eard
wonsælig wer weardode hwile,
siððan him scyppend forscrifen hæfde.
In Caines cynne þone cwealm gewræc
éce drihten, þæs þe he Abel slôg.
Ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor forwræc,
metod for þy mâne man-cynne fram.
Þanon untydras ealle onwôcon,
eotenas and ylfe and orcneas,
swylce gigantas, þa wið Gode wunnon
lange þrage; he him þæs leán forgeald.

who beset the moors, the fen and the wilderness. The man accursed inhabited for a while the abode of the sea-serpent brood, after that the Creator had condemned him. On the kindred of Cain the eternal Lord avenged that murder by which he slew Abel. Nor did he have joy of that feud, but he, the Creator, banished him for that offence far off from mankind. Thence monstrous births all woke into being, Jotuns, and elves, and ghosts, as well as giants, which strove against God for a long time: he for that paid them their reward.

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[102] *Grendel*: see the Glossary of Names.

[103] *mearcstapa*. The mark was the unit of political and regional organisation among the North German tribes, to which the Angles and Saxons belonged. To this day there are English parishes the boundaries of which correspond to those of ancient marks. Several marks made up a *gau* or *gá* (Glas-gow, Linlith-gow), and two or three *gaus* constituted a *scir* or shire. See Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*.

[104] *fifel-cynnes*. Cf. *fifel-dor* in the 'Traveller's Song,' l. 43, a name for the river Eider, which itself means, (as shown by its earlier form, Egi-dora), 'gate of terror,' from *ege* and *dor*. Huge seals and sea-serpents, like those described by old Pontoppidan, were perhaps often seen about the river's mouth.

[105] *wonsæli*, MS.

[108] *slôg*, pf. of *sleán*.

[109] *gefeah*, pf. of *gefeahon* or *gefeon*.

[111] *untydras*. Grimm explains the word, 'evil offspring,' from *tydran*, to beget.

[112] *eotenas*; *orcneas*. The A.S. *eoten* is the O.N. *Jötun*, and the O.E. *etene*. 'No man is an *etene*,' says Wycliff in his Sermons, 'to eat thus bodily.' *Orcneas* is of doubtful derivation; Grein suggests the Lat. *orcus*.

[113] *gigantas*. See Gen. vi. 4. This and the following line are probably a later interpolation. Ib. *wunnon*, pf. of *winnan*.

II.

Gewât þa neósian, syððan niht becom,
heán hûses, hú hit Hring-Dene,
æfter beór-þege, gebûn hæfdon.
Fand þá þærinne æþelinga gedriht
swefan æfter symble: sorge ne cuðon.
Wonsceaft wera, wiht unhælo,
grim and grædig gearo sona wæs,
reóc and reðe, and on ræste genam
þritig þegna; þanon eft gewât,
húðe hrémig, tó hám faran,
mid þære wæl-fylle wíca neósan.
Đá wæs on uhtan, mid ær-dæge,
Grendles gúðcræft gumum undyrne:
þá wæs æfter wiste wôp up-ahafen,
micel morgen-swég. Mære þeóden,

II.

Then, after night came, went he [Grendel] to visit the grand house, [to see] how the Ring-Danes, after the beer-drinking, had settled themselves in it. Then found he therein a crowd of nobles asleep after the feast; they knew no care. That dark pest of men, that mischief-working being, grim and greedy, was soon ready; savage and fierce; and seized thirty thanes while asleep; thence, exulting in his booty, he set off on his homeward journey, to repair to his dwelling with that rich prize of slaughter. Then in the twilight, with break of day, Grendel's exploit was manifest to [all] men. Then, after the banquet, a voice of weeping was upraised, a loud morning cry. The renowned chieftain, the right

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[117] *beor-þege.* *þege* is dat. of *þegu*, which is probably connected with the rare verb *þegan*, to take, a form of *þicgan*. *Beer*, the national drink of Teutons, is mentioned by Tacitus, (*Germ.* xxiii. 'Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus.' Ib.

gebún, past part. of *gebuan*, to inhabit.

[119] *cuðon*, pf. of *cunnan*.

[120] *Wonsceaft*, lit. *wanship*; the quality of wanness, darkness, gloom.

[121] *gearo.* O.E. *yare.*

[123] *þritig þegna.* See l. 1582, and note.

æþeling ær-god, unblíðe sæt,
þolode þryð-swyð, þegn sorge dreáh,
syððan híe þæs láðan last sceáwedon
wergan gastes: wæs þæt gewin tó strang,
lâð and longsum. Næs hit lengra fyrst,
ac ymb âne niht eft gefremede
morð-beala mâre, and nó mearn fore
fæhðe and fyrene: wæs tó fæst on þám.
Þá wæs eáð-fynde, þe him elleshwær
gerúmlicor ræste . . . . .
bed æfter bûrum, þá him gebeácnod wæs
gesægd sóðlíce sweotolan tâcne
heal-þegnes hete; heold hyne syððan
fyr and fæstor, se þæm feónde ætwand.
Swá ríxode and wið rihte wan,
âna wið eallum, ôðþæt idel stód
hûsa sêlest. Wæs seó hwíl micel;
twelf wintra tíd torn geþolode

good prince, sat in sorrow, suffering heavy distress; the thane was sorely afflicted: after they had observed the track of that loathly accursed spirit. That trial was too heavy, loathly and lingering. No long time passed ere yet again, one night, he wrought a yet worse deed of murder, scrupling not at [any] onslaught and mischief; he was too firmly set upon them. Then might you easily find those who sought out for themselves elsewhere less frequented quarters, beds along bowers, when the hatred of the hall-thane, [Grendel] was made manifest, declared for a truth by evident tokens. He that escaped from that enemy kept himself ever afterwards far off and in greater watchfulness. So battled he [Grendel], and wrongfully strove, alone against them all, until that noble

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130 *unbliðe*, lit. 'unblithe,' the reverse of blithe. Ib. *sæt*, pf. of *sittan*.

134 *longsum* = the Germ. *langsam*.

136 *morð-beala*, gen. pl. used in a partitive sense, depending on *mâre*. Ib. *mearn*, pf. of *meornan*.

138 *eaðe*, easy, still lingered in the language till the time of Milton, who uses *unnethe*, i.e. *un-eaðe*, with difficulty.

139 The line is left unfinished in the MS.; Grein supplies *sôhte*; but the alliteration is better maintained if we read *rincas sôhton*.

141 *gesægd*, past part. of *gesecgan*.

144 *rixode*, pf. of *ricsian*. Ib. *wan*, pf. of *winnan*.

wine Scyldinga, weána gehwylcne,
sídra sorga; for þam [syððan] wearð
ylda bearnum undyrne cuð,
gyddum geómore, þætte Grendel wan
hwíle wið Hróðgár, hete-níðas wæg,
fyrene and fæhðe, fela missera,
singale sæce. Sibbe ne wolde
wið manna hwone mægenes Deniga,
feorh-bealo feorran, feó þingian;
ne þær nænig witena wénan þorfte
beorhtre bóte tó banan folmum.
[Atol] æglæca ehtende wæs,

house stood empty. A long time passed; for the space of twelve winters the Scyldings' kind lord endured affliction and every sort of woe and over-flowing sorrow. Hence it afterwards became publicly known to the sons of men, sorrowfully told in tale and story, that Grendel strove for a [long] while with Hroðgar, waged the quarrel of hate, of assault and feud, during many years, in perpetual conflict. He would have no peace with any man of the Danish power, [nor] stop the waste of life, nor arrange matters by an indemnity, nor

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[148] *wine*, lit. 'friend'; *weana*, gen. pl. of *wea*, woe.

[149] Thorpe writes *forþam*, and translates 'for'; but it makes a better sense to read 'for þam,' for, or, on account of that. Ib. There is no alliteration, the careless scribe having dropt a word; Thorpe and Grein supply *syððan*.

[150] *ylda bearnum*. The corresponding phrase occurs in the *Edda*, (Völuspâ, 20), 'alda börnum.' Ib. *undyrne*; *not* secretly, i.e. plainly.

[152] *wið*. This use of a preposition which properly means 'against' (Germ. *wider*), but which we can here translate 'with,' illustrates the gradual change of meaning by the help of which 'with,' losing, except in such expressions as this, its old meaning of 'against,' came to supersede the Anglo-Saxon *mid* (Germ. *mit*). Ib. *wæg*, pf. of *wegan*, to bear; here it seems to have the meaning of 'wage.'

[153] *missera*, gen. pl.; 'half-years.'

[154] *sæce*, dat. of *sacu*.

[155] *hwone*, acc. sg. of *hwa*.

[156] *feorran*, lit. 'to put far off.' Ib. *feo* must be taken as the ablative or instrumental case.

[157] *witena*. 'The Witan,' or, wise men of the king's council, is a phrase so well known that I thought it best to retain it.

[158] *bote*; gen. case, governed by *wenan*.

[158] *folmum*. Is not this folm the παλαμή, *palma*, of Greek and Latin?

[159] The line is incomplete; so Thorpe and Grein supply *atol* (O.N. *atall*), which perhaps is connected with the German *toll*, distraught, devil-possessed; Greek δαιμόνιος. Ib. *ehtende*. *ehtan* is the Germ. *hetzen*, to hunt or chase.

deorc déaþ-scua, duguðe and geogoðe,
seómode and syrede; sinnihte heold
mistige móras. Men ne cunnon
hwyder hel-rúnan hwyrftum scríðaþ.
Swá fela fyrena feónd man-cynnes,
átol ángengea, oft gefremede,
heardra hynða. Heorot eardode,
sinc-fáge sel sweartum nihtum:
nó he þone gif-stól grétan móste,
maððum for metode, ne his myne wisse
þæt wæs wræc micel wine Scyldinga,
módes brecða. Monig oft gesæt
ríce tó rúne, ræd eahtedon,
hwæt swíð-ferhðum sélest wære,
wiþ fær-grýrum, tó gefremmanne.

there durst any one of the Witan expect a brighter lot at the destroyer's hands. The [fiendish] monster went on persecuting, like a dark deadly shadow, the tried warriors and the youths; he ambushed and plotted; the live-long night he roamed over the misty moors; men know not whither sorcerers at set times wander. So many mischiefs, so many grievous outrages, did this foe of mankind, this fiendish lone-wanderer, often perpetrate. He occupied Heorot, that seat variously decorated, on the dark nights; [yet] might he not approach the gift-throne, that precious thing, because the Creator forbade it; he [Grendel] knew not His design. That was great grief for the Scyldings' kind lord, a breaking of the heart. Many a noble often sat in secret council; they deliberated what it were best for strong-souled men to do against these fearful terrors.

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[160] *duguðe and geogoðe. dugu*ð, like the Germ. *tugend*, is connected with the verb to 'do'; the *καλοικἀγαθοί*, men of tried prowess.

[161] *sin-nihte. sin* is a prefix, signifying entirety or perpetuity.

[163] *hel-runa* is a wizard or sorcerer, *hel-rune*, a witch; *hela*, hell, *rún*, a secret.

[166] *hynða*, gen. pl. of *hynðu*, humiliation, disgrace.

[167] *sel.* I have adopted in the translation Thorpe's correction, *seld*.

[168] *gif-stol.* This obscure allusion to a throne in Heorot which Grendel was not allowed to approach, is nowhere explained in the poem. Ettmüller understands it of the throne from which Hroðgar used to dispense his gifts. Ib. *moste*, pf. of *môtan*.

[169] *wisse* (or *wiste*), pf. of *witan*, to know.

[174] *gefremmanne*, gerund of *gefremman*.

Hwílum híe gehéton, æt hearg-trafum,
wíg-weorðunga; wordum bædon,
þæt him gást-bona geóce gefremede
wið þeód-þreáum. Swylc wæs þeáw hyra,
hæþenra hyht; helle gemundon
in mód-sefan, metod híe ne cuðon
dæda démend, ne wiston híe drihten God,
ne híe huru heofena helm herian ne cuðon
wuldres waldend. Wá bið þæm þe sceal,
þurh slíðne níð, sawle bescúfan
in fýres fæþm; frófre ne wenan
wihte gewendan; wel bið þæm þe mót,
æfter deáð-dæge, drihten sécean,
and tó fæder fæðmum freoðo wilnian.

Sometimes they vowed sacrificial honours at the shrines of idols; they prayed with [many] words that the destroying spirit would bring them aid against the calamities of the people. Such was their custom, the hope of heathens; their thoughts ran [only] on hell; they knew not the Creator, the judge of deeds; nor knew they the Lord God, nor truly understood they how to praise the heavens' protector, the ruler of glory. Woe is to that man who shall, through wicked malice, thrust his soul into the fiery abyss, have no comfort to expect, nor change in anything; [but] good shall be to him who may, after his death-day, seek the Lord, and desire a peaceful refuge in the Father's bosom.

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175 *Hwilum.* This is the O.E. 'whilome' used by Spenser. Ib. *gehéton,* pf. of *gehâtan.*

176 *wig-w.* The meaning seems to be as above, 'sacrificial honours'; *wig* is lit. 'an image'; *wig-bed,* an altar. Ib. *bædon,* pf. of *biddan.*

178 *þeod-þreaum,* lit. 'the *throes* of the people.'

179 *gemundon,* pf. of *gemunan.*

182 *herian.* Chaucer uses *herie,* or *heryen*; it is a pity that so beautiful a word should have been lost.

183 *bið,* pres. of *beon,* to be.

185 *wenan.* Thorpe's correction, *wene,* is no improvement; the passage is obscure.

III.

Swá þá mæl-cearc maga Healfdenes
singala seáð; ne mihte snotor hæleð
weán onwendan: wæs þæt gewin tó swyð,
láð and longsum, þe on þa leóde becom,
nýd-wracu níþ-grim, niht-bealwa mæst.
Þæt fram hám gefrægn Higeláces þegn,
gód mid Geátum, Grendles dæda:
se wæs mon-cynnes mægenes strengest
on þæm dæge þysses lífes,
æþele and eácen. Hét him ýð-lidan
gódne gegyrwan; cwæð he gúð-cyning
ofer swan-ráde sécean wolde,
mærne þeóden, þá him wæs manna þearf.
Þone siðfæt him snotere ceorlas
lythwon logon, þeáh he him leóf wære:

III.

So then the son of Healfdene perpetually nursed his sorrow; nor might the wise hero turn aside his woes; that trouble was too strong, loathly and lingering, which on that people came,—misery perforce, [caused by] cruel malice, the worst of all nightly calamities. A thane of Higelac heard that from home, a man of valour among the Geatas, concerning Grendel's deeds, who was strongest of might amongst mankind, in the day of this life, noble and powerful. He bade make ready for him a good sea-boat; he said that he would seek across the wild swan's path the warrior king, the noble prince, since he had need of men. The wise townsfolk but faintly blamed in him that expedition, though he was dear to them; [rather] they

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189 *mæl-ceare. mod-ceare,* trouble of mind, would give a better sense; see l. 1993.

190 *seað,* pf. of *seoðan,* to seethe.

191 *wæs þæt gewin.* See l. 133.

192 *þa,* acc. fem. of the article *se, seo, þæt*; used demonstratively.

195 *Geatum*: See the Glossary of Names.

198 *eacen,* lit. *eked* out, increased; it is connected with *eac* also, and *ycan.* Ib. *ýð-lidan,* lit. a 'wave-traverser.'

203 *logon,* pf. of *lean.*

hwetton hige-rófne, hæl sceáwedon.
Hæfde se góda Geáta leóda
cempan gecorene, þára þe he cénoste
findan mihte; fiftena sum
sund-wudu sôhte: secg wísade
lagu-cræftig mon land-gemyrcu.
Fyrst forð-gewât; flóta wæs on ýðum,
bát under beorge. Beornas gearwe
on stefn stigon; streámas wundon,
sund wið sande. Secgas bæron,
on bearm nacan, beorhte frætwe,
gúð-searo geatolíc: guman út scufon,
weras on wil-sið, wudu bundenne.
Gewât þá ofer wæg-holm, winde gefýsed,
flóta fámig-heals, fugle gelicost,
ôðþæt ymb ân-tid oðres dogores

whetted his confident ardour, and beheld [i.e. prognosticated] a happy issue. The good [chief] had chosen fighting men from among the tribes of the Geatas, of those that he could find keenest [for war]; with fourteen comrades he sought the vessel; a man, a skilled mariner, pointed out the landmarks. The time flew on; the ship floated on the waves; the bark [lay] under the hill. The seamen with alacrity climbed on to her stem; the streams rolled, the water [dashed] against the sand. The mariners bore a bright freight into the vessel's hold, a well-appointed war-array; the crew,—men on a volunteer cruise,—shoved off the banded bark. Then the foamy-necked cruiser, hurried on by the wind, flew over the sea, most like

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[204] *hwetton*, pf. of *hwettan*.

[206] *cempan*. *cempa*, warrior, is the same word as the Germ. *Kämpfer*.

[207] *mihte*, pf. of *mugan* or *magan*. *fiftena sum* is 'one of fifteen'; not, as Thorpe translates,' with some fifteen.'

[208] *sôhte*, pf. of *secean*.

[211] *Beornas*, nom. pl. of *beorn*; from this word came the low Latin *baro*, baron.

[213] *bæron*, pf. of *beran*.

[214] *frætwe*, acc. pl. of *frætu*, ornament; is *freight* derived from it?

[215] *guma*, a man, survives in our 'bridegroom,' and 'groom.' Ib. *scufon*, pf. of *scufan*, to shove.

[218] *fami* in MS.

[219] *ân-tid*. 'The *one* or first hour of the day' (Grein); he doubts however whether it may not mean 'the fixed time,' comparing the Icel. *eindaga*, to appoint a day; but such a meaning will not suit the passage.

wunden-stefna gewaden hæfde,
þæt þa liðende land gesawon,
brim-clifu blican, beorgas steápe,
síde sæ-næssas. Þá wæs sund-liden
eoletes æt ende. Þanon up hraðe
Wedera leóde on wang stigon;
sæ-wudu sældon, syrcan hrysedon,
gúð gewædo. Gode þancedon,
þæs þe him ýð-láde eáðe wurdon.
Þá of wealle geseah weard Scyldinga,
se þe holm-clifu healdan scolde,
beran ofer bolcan beorhte randas,

to a bird, until, about the first hour of the next day, the vessel with twisted stem had run [so far], that the mariners saw land, the sea-cliffs glittering,—steep mountains, large headlands. Then was the ocean voyage at an end. Thence quickly the Weders climbed up to the plain; they made the ship fast; they shook out their war-shirts, their fighting garb. They thanked God, because the watery way had been easy to them. Then from the wall the Scylding warder, who had the charge of the cliff, beheld them carrying over the gunwale their bright shields, their material of war ready for use;

Perhaps *an* is for *and*, the Saxon prefix corresponding to the Greek *ἀντί*, and we should understand by the phrase 'the corresponding time,' 'the same time on the next day.'

220 *wunden-stefna*, 'with twisted stem.' The stem and figure-head of a Saxon or Danish ship were often long and curving, in the form of a dragon or serpent or other creature.

222 *beorgas*. There are no 'mountains' either on the mainland or in the islands of Denmark. In Gotland, however, there are; a range of mountains terminates at the sea just north of the mouth of the Gota-Elf. The English poet confounded perhaps the descriptions of Danish and Geatic scenery that he received.

223 *sæ-næssas*. 'Ness' (nose) for a headland, is still in use at several points of our coast; Dunge-ness, Sheer-ness, &c. Thorpe reads *sundlida*, the 'sea-farer,' meaning the vessel.

224 *eoletes*. A strange word; on which see the article in Grein's Dictionary.

225 *stigon*, pf. of *stigan*; Germ. *steigen*.

226 *syrcan*; 'sarks' *Scoticè*.

229 *weard*. This warder may be compared to the Comes Saxonici litoris in Roman Britain; like him, he had to keep watch against the descents of corsairs or filibusters on the Danish coast.

231 *bolcan*. The same word, I suppose, as our English 'balk'; probably the gunwale of a Geatic ship was composed of posts connected by ropes.

fyrd-searo fúslícu: hine fyrwyt bræc
mód-gehygdum, hwæt þá men wǽron.
Gewât him þá tó waroðe, wicge rídan,
þegn Hróðgáres; þrymmum cwehte
mægen-wudu mundum; meðel-wordum frægn:
Hwæt syndon ge searo-hæbbendra,
byrnum werede, þe þus brontne ceól
ofer lagu-stréte lædan cwomon,
hider ofer holmas? . . . .
Ic þæs ende-sæta æg-wearde heold,
þæt on land Dena láðra nénig
mid scip-herge sceððan ne meahte.
No her cuðlícor cuman ongunnon
lind-hæbbende, ne ge leáfnes-word
gúð-fremmendra gearwe ne wisson,
maga gemeðu. Næfre ic máran geseah

curiosity urged him in his inmost soul, [to know] what these men were. Then went Hroðgar's thane, riding on a horse, to [meet] them at the shore; his staff of office quivered strongly in his hands; he questioned them in set terms. 'What kind of armour-bearing men are ye, protected by your breast-plates, who have thus come hither, navigating a tall ship over the ocean ways, [to seek a harbour] across the waters? I for this cause have held a general guard of the settlers of the district, that no corsair with a naval force might do mischief in the land of the Danes. Never have shielded men attempted to land here more openly; nor did ye know promptly the pass-word of warriors, [nor had ye] the consent of kinsmen. Never saw I on earth a greater earl than is one of you, a chief in armour; that is not a stay-at-home, [but one] glorious with feats of arms, unless his looks belie him, his distinguished

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232 *bræc*, pf. of *brecan*, to break.

235 *þrymmum*, dat. pl., used adverbially, of *þrym*, force. Ib. *cwehte*, pf. of *cweccan*, to quake.

236 *meðel-wordum*, words suitable for the *meðel* or assembly; the Gothic *mapl*, and the *mallum* of the Franks under Charlemagne.

240 The line is defective; Grein suggests, to complete it, *hyðe secean*.

241 I endorse Thorpe's correction, *þæs*, on this account, for nothing can be made of *wæs*, the reading of the MS. þ (*w*) might easily be written by mistake for þ (th). *ende-sæta* I take as gen. pl.; compare Dor-sætas, Sumor-sætas. Ib. *æg-wearde*. The prefix *æg* generalises the meaning of the word to which it is attached; as in *æghwyle*, *æghwær*.

247 *geseah*, pf. of *geseon*.

eorl ofer eorðan, þonne is eower sum,
secg on searwum: nis þæt seld-guma,
wæpnum geweorðad, næfne him his wlíte leóge,
énlíc ansýn. Nú ic eower sceal
frum-cyn witan, ær ge fyr heonan,
leáse sceáweras, on land Dena
furþur féran. Nú ge feor-búend,
mere-líðende, mínne gehýrað
ânfealdne geþoht. Ofost is sélest
tó gecyðanne hwanon eowre cyme sýndon.

IV.

Him se yldesta andswarode,
werodes wísa word-hord onleác:
We synt gum-cynnes Geáta leóde,
and Higeláces heorð-geneátas.
Wæs mín fæder fólcum gecyðed,

mien. Now must I know who and whence ye are, ere ye move on far from hence, as free rangers, over the Danish land. Now, ye dwellers in a far land, ye sea-farers, listen to my simple thought. Haste is best in making known whence ye are come.'

IV.

To him the eldest [of the strangers], the leader of the band, answered, and unlocked the treasure of his words:—'We are people of the nation of the Geatas, and liege followers of Higelac. My father was well known among the nations, a noble chieftain; his

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249 *seld-guma*, a man sticking to his house, *seld*. So Grein; others take *seld* as the adverb, seldom.

252 *frum-cyn*, origin; cf. *frum-sceaft*, l. 45.

256 *ânfealdne*, lit. of one fold.' A literal translation, probably, of the Latin *simplex*.

257 *gecyðanne*, gerund of *gecyðan*.

258 *yldesta*, eldest; or it may merely mean, the chiefest.

259 *on-leac*, pf. of *on-lucan*; 'unlocked his word-hoard': a beautiful and forcible expression.

261 *heorð-geneatas*; lit. 'hearth-companions'; Germ. *genosse*. *Cyninges-geneattas* are mentioned in the 'Laws of Ina'; it must, therefore, have been a well-understood West-Saxon term.

æðele ord-fruma, Ecgþeów háten.
Gebád wintra worn, ær he on weg hwurfe,
gamol of geardum: hine gearwe geman
witena wel-hwylc, wíde geond eorðan.
We þurh holdne hige hláford þínne,
sunu Healfdenes, sécean cwomon,
leód-gebyrgean. Wes þú us lárena gód.
Habbað we tó þém méran micel ærende,
Deniga freán; ne sceal þær dyrne sum
wesan þæs ic wéne: þú wást gif hit is,
swá we soþlíce secgan hýrdon;
þæt mid Scyldingum sceaðða ic nát hwylc,
deogol dæd-hata, deorcum nihtum
eáweð þurh egsan uncuðne níð,
hynðu and hrá-fyl. Ic þæs Hróðgár mæg,
þurh rúmne sefan, ræd geláeran,

name was Ecgtheow. He survived many winters, before, full o years, he passed away from his dwelling-place; him well nigh every one of the Witan remembers, far and wide over the earth. We in loyalty of soul have come to seek thy lord, the son of Healfdene, the defender of his people. Be thou to us a friendly informant. We have an important errand to that great prince, the master of the Danes; nor must there be any secresy about the thing which I am thinking of. Thou knowest whether the thing is so, as we have heard given out for a truth, that among the Scyldings some scather, I wot not who, a secret worker of hateful deeds, causeth on the dark nights by the terror [of his coming] distress unknown before, humiliation and havoc. Hereon may I, through my large mind, give good counsel to Hroðgar, how he, the wise and good

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264 *gebad*, pf. of *gebidan*. Ib. *hwurfe*, pf. subj. of *hwearfan*.

265 *geman*, pres. of *gemunan*, to call to mind. [556.

269 *leod-gebyrgean*. See the 'Elene,'

269 *larena*, gen. pl. of *lar*, teaching, lore; it is lit. 'be thou good in teachings.'

272 *wast*, 2 sing. pres. from *witan*.

274 *nat*, a contraction for *ne wat*.

275 *dæd-hata*, either 'a worker of hateful deeds,' or 'a promiser of deeds.' Neither sense is very good. Might not the true reading be, *dæd-hwæt*, vigorous in deed?

276 *eaweð*, causeth, produceth. *níð* (which means malice, hatred, envy, enmity) is hardly admissible; I should prefer to read *nyd*, need or distress.

hú he fród and gód feónd oferswyðeþ,
gyf him edwendan æfre scolde
bealuwa bisigu, bót eft cuman,
and þa cear-wylmas cólran wurðaþ;
oððe á syððan earfoð-þrage
þreá-nýd þóla ð, þenden þær wuna ð,
on heáh-stede húsa sélest.
Weard ma ðelode, þær on wicge sæt,
ombeht unforht: Æghwæðres sceal
scearp scyld-wíga gescád wítan,
worda and worca, se ðe wel þenceþ.
Ic þæt gehýre, þæt þis is hold weorod
freán Scyldinga. Gewíta ð forð beran
wæpen and gewædu; ic eow wísige:
swylce ic magu-þegnas míne háte,
wið feónda gehwone flótan eowerne,
niw-tyrwydne, nacan on sande,
árum healdan, ôððæt eft byre ð,
ofer lagu-streámas, leófne mannan

prince, may overcome the foe, if this ruinous trouble should ever be reversed for him, and if so prosperity should come back, and those throbbings of the anguished heart become calmer; or if for ever hereafter he is to endure a time of difficulty, distressful sorrow, so long as he there dwelleth in that noblest of houses, holding high court.' The Warder spoke, there where he sat on his horse, a liegeman fearless:—'Of all things whatsoever must a keen shield-warrior know the distinction, in words and in works, whoever is of sound mind. I hear you say, that this is a loyal band for [the service of] the master of the Scyldings. Pass on, taking with you your weapons and your array; I will show you the way; likewise I will order the thanes my kinsmen honourably to guard 'gainst every foe your newly-tarred ship, the bark [there] on the strand, until she, the vessel with the curving stem, shall bear back the good chief over the waves to Weder-mark. To each well-doer may

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281 *bysigu* is the noun formed from *bysig*, Eng. 'busy.'

282 *colran*, lit. cooler.

286 *maðelode*. *maðelian* is connected with the Goth. *maþl*, and means properly, to speak in the *maþl*, or public assembly.

294 *gehwone*, acc. of *ge-hwa*.

wudu wunden-heals tó Weder-mearce.
Gód-fremmendra swylcum gifeðe bið
þæt þone hilde-ræs hál gedígeð.
Gewiton him þá féran; flóta stille bád;
seomode on sole sid-fæðmed scip,
on ancre fæst Eofor-lic scionon
ofer hleor beran, gehroden golde,
fáh and fýr-heard; ferh wearde heold.
Gúð-móde grummon; guman onetton,
sigon ætsomne, ôðþæt hý æl-timbred,
geatolíc and gold-fáh, ongytan mihton.
Þæt wæs fore-mærost, fold-búendum,
receda under roderum, on þém se ríca bád:

it be granted that he may escape unharmed from the stress of battle.' Then they moved forward; the ship remained where she was; the wide and roomy vessel rocked on the rolling wave, fast at her anchor. They appeared to carry over their cheeks the likeness of a boar, cunningly adorned with gold, many-hued and hardened in the fire; it held their life in guard. Eager for the fray, they tore along; the men speeded forward; they moved on together, until they might perceive a hall built of timber, well wrought and variously adorned with gold. This was by far the noblest of palaces under the sky, among the inhabitants of earth, in which the Ruler dwelt; the light thereof shone over many lands. Then the

[298] *Weder-mearce*, the land of the Weders, a name for the Geatas; the later meaning of *mark*, by which it signified one of the *border* provinces of a great state, does not apply to it here.

[302] *seomode*; compare l. 161.

[303] *Eofor-lic scionon*; a difficult passage. Thorpe reads, *scion on ofer hleor bæron*, 'a boar's likeness sheen over their cheeks they bore.' Grein punctuates after *scionon*, and makes *eofor lic* plural; 'the likenesses of boars shone,' *i.e.*, on their helmets. Bugge makes *lic-scionon* one word, and the dative case sing. referring to Beowulf, translating 'beautiful in body'; *eofor* he considers to mean simply 'helmet,' a meaning which it certainly has in lines 1112, 1328, and 2152. In the next line, for *beran* Grein reads *wera*, 'of the men'; *ferh* he takes in the sense of *porcellus*, 'a young swine' held guard over the men's cheeks.' But this is harsh; it seems preferable to take *ferh* for *feorh*, life. If anything had to be altered, I would read *eofor lic scion ofer hleor beran*, 'the boar seemed to rear his body over their cheeks.'

[306] *grummon*, lit. 'raged,' pf. of *grimman*. Ib. *onetton*, pf. of *onettan*, hasten.

[307] *sigon*, pf. of *sigan*, lit. 'to sink.' Ib. *æl-timbred*; so in the MS.; Grein well corrects *sæl timbred*.

[310] *roderum*, from *rôdor*; O.N. *rödull*, the sun; Grimm connects it

lixte se leóma ofer landa fela.
Him þá hilde-deór hof módigra
torht getæhte, þæt híe him tó mihton
gegnum gangan gúð-beorna sum.
Wicg gewende, word æfter cwæð:
Mæl is me tó féran; fæder alwalda
mid ár-stafum eowic gehealde,
siða gesunde: ic tó sæ wille,
wið wráð werod wearde healdan.

V.

Stræt wæs stán-fáh, stíg wísode
gumum ætgædere. Gúð-byrne scân,
heard hond-locen; hring-íren scír

bold chief, a warrior valiant, pointed out to them plainly the court of the high-souled rulers, so that they might pass into their presence. Turning his horse round, he then spoke these words:—'It is time for me to go; may the Father Almighty preserve you with honour, safe in your enterprise; I will down to the sea, to keep watch and ward against [any] hostile band.'

V.

The road was paved with stones of many colours, the path guided the men [moving] in a body. The coat of mail, hard, hand-locked, glittered; rattled the bright iron rings in their armour, as they, in their formidable array, marched forward to the hall.

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with the Greek *póðos*. It is used for 'the firmament' in Caedmon's 'Genesis,' i.; *rodera weard*.

313 *getæhte*, pf. of *getæcan*, to point out, make clear.

315 *cwæð*, pf. of *cweðan*. Engl. 'quoth.'

316 *Fæder alwalda*. This pious wish sounds oddly in the mouth of the pagan Dane; the writer seems to have forgotten that he had spoken of Hroðgar and his people a few lines before as heathens and idolaters. See l. 175. But this incongruity occurs again repeatedly; such language was so natural in the lips of the religious author, that, without thinking of dramatic propriety, he makes all his principal characters express themselves in a similar way.

317 *eowic*, a poetic form of *eow*, as *usic* for '*us*;' see Rask's Grammar.

321 *scân*, pf. of *scinan*, to shine, *hand-locen*, firmly riveted by the hand; *i.e.*, the plates of which the breastplate was made.

song in searwum, þá híe tó sele furðum,
in hyra grýre-geatwum gangan cwomon.
Setton sæ-méðe síde scyldas,
rondas regn-hearde, wið þæs recedes weal.
Bugon þá tó bence, byrnan hringdon,
gúð-searo gumena. Gáras stódon,
sæ-manna searo, samod ætgædere,
æsc-holt ufan græg: wæs se íren þreát
wæpnum gewurðad. Þá þær wlonc hæleð
oret-mecgas æfter hæleþum frægn:
Hwanon ferigeað ge fætte scyldas,
græge syrcan and grim-helmas,
here-sceafta heáp? Ic eom Hróðgáres
ár and ombiht. Ne seah ic elþeódige
þus manige men módiglícran.
Wen ic þæt ge for wlenco, nalles for wræc-siðum
ac for hige-þrymmum, Hróðgár sóhton.

Weary of the sea, they set down their large shields, their bucklers hard as flint, against the walls of that mansion. Then they sat down on the benches; their breast-plates rang,—the war-dress of the warriors. Their spears, the equipment of [these] sailors, were placed upright in a sheaf together; [they were of] ashen wood, grey on the outside; these iron-sides were furnished with glorious weapons. Then and there did a proud warrior question the sons of battle concerning their birth and origin: 'Whence bring ye your plated shields, your grey war-shirts and frowning helmets,—this sheaf of spears? I am Hroðgar's messenger and liegeman. Never saw I such a group of foreign men of more valiant aspect. I expect that ye for pride, and by no means as outcast exiles, but in the energy of your spirits, have sought Hroðgar.' To them then

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326 *regn-*, an intensive prefix, 'very hard.'

327 *Bugon*, pf. of *bugan*, to bow or bend.

330 *græg*. The meaning seems to be that the ashen staves of the spears were left with the grey bark upon them. Ib. *íren þreat*, lit. 'an iron band.'

332 *oret-mecgas*, from *oret*, strife, labour. Ib. *hæleþum* (heroes) in MS.; but Grein well corrects *æðelum*, dat. of *æðelu*: see l. 392.

333 *fætte*, plated: compare *fættan goldes*, l. 1093.

338 *wræc-siðum*, lit. 'the journeys of exiles.'

Him þá ellen-róf andswarode,
wlanc Wedera leód; word æfter spræc,
heard under helme: We synt Higeláces
beód-geneátas: Beowulf is mín nama:
wille ic asecgan suna Healfdenes,
mærum þeódne, mín ærende,
aldre þínum; gif he us geunnan wile
þæt we hine swá gódne grétan móton.
Wulfgár maðelode, (þæt wæs Wendla leód;
wæs his mód-sefa manegum gecyðed,
wíg and wísdóm:) Ic þæs wine Deniga,
freán Scyldinga, frínan wille,
beága bryttan, swa þu bêna eart,
þeóden mærne ymb þínne sið,
and þe þa andsware ædre gecyðan,
þe me se góda agifan þenceð.
Hwearf þá hrædlíce þær Hróðgár sæt,
eald and unhár, mid his eorla gedriht.

replied the proud chief of the Weders, confident in his might; he spoke a word in reply, firm with towering helm: 'We are Hygelac's boon-companions; Beowulf is my name. I desire to declare my errand to the great prince, thy lord, the son of Healfdene, if he will kindly grant to us leave to approach him.' Wulfgar spoke (he was chief of the Wendlas; his character was known to many,—his valour and wisdom): 'I therefore will ask the kind ruler of the Danes, the lord of the Scyldings, the ring-dispenser, the great prince, as thou dost petition, concerning thy journey [hither], and quickly make known to thee the answer, which the good [prince] shall think fit to give me.' Than he turned him speedily to where Hroðgar sat, old and very white-haired, with the assembly of his

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341 *spræc*, pf. of *sprecan*, to speak.

343 *beod-geneatas*, lit. 'board-associates.' *Beowulf*: see the Glossary of Names.

345 *þeodne—aldre*, datives of *þeoden* and *aldor*. Anglo-Saxon had a great variety of words to express persons of rank and authority, most of which are lost to modern English. The following are among them: *eodur*, *æðeling*, *leod*, *þeoden*, *aldor*, *fruma*, *rica*, *þegn*, *drihten*, *wine*, *frea*.

348 *Wendla*: see the Glossary of Names.

352 *bêna*, a suppliant; *bén*, a prayer. An old English ballad begins, 'What is good for a bootless *bene*?'

Eóde ellen-róf, þæt he for eaxlum gestód
Deniga freán: cuðe he duguðe þeáw.
Wulfgár maðelode to his wine-drihtne:
Her syndon geferede, feorran cumene
ofer geofenes begang, Geáta leóde;
þone yldestan oret-mecgas,
Beowulf nemnað. Hý bênan synt
þæt híe, þeóden mín, wið þe móton
wordum wrixlan. Nó þú him wearne geteóh,
þinra gegn-cwida glædman Hróðgár
Hý on wig-getawum wyrðe þinceað
eorla geæhtlan: huru se aldor deáh,
se þém heaðo-rincum hider wísade.

earls. Confident in his might he went on until he stood in the presence of the lord of the Danes; he knew the manners of nobility. Wulfgar spoke to his kindly lord: 'Here are come, travellers from a far country over the courses of the sea, some people of the Geatas; the chiefest among them these sons of battle name Beowulf. They petition that they may exchange words with thee, my prince. Do not thou, Hroðgar, send them a refusal to gladden [them] with thy converse. They, as regards their warlike outfit, seem to vie in dignity with earls; certainly their leader is a doughty chief, he who led the warriors hither.'

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357 *unhar*. Thorpe translates 'hairless'! Bugge well points out that in several Low German dialects *un* is used as an intensive prefix; *unweit*, *ungroes*: here the meaning is, 'very hoary.'

358 *Eode*, pf. of *gan*, *gangan*; in O.E. 'yode.' Ib. *for eaxlum*, lit. 'before the shoulders.'

366 *geteoh*, imper. of *geteon*, to appoint, deliver.

367 *glædman*. The reading of the MS. gives a weak and frigid sense. I should correct it without hesitation to *gladian*; see Grein's Dict. *in voce*. Thorkelin has *glædnian*, which does not seem to occur elsewhere.

369 *geæhtlan*. I think this must be the local English word, to 'ettle,' *i.e.* to rival, vie with.

369 *deah*, pres. of *dugan*, valere.

VI.

Hróðgár maðelode, helm Scyldinga:
Ic hine cuðe cniht wesende.
Wæs his eald fæder Ecgþeó háten,
þæm tó hám forgeaf Hreðel Geáta
ángan dohtor. Is his eafora nú
heard her cumen, sóhte holdne wine.
Þonne sægdon þæt sæ-líðende,
þa þe gif-sceattas Geátum feredon
þyder to þance, þæt he xxx tiges
manna mægen-cræft, on his mund-grípe
heaðo-róf hæbbe. Hine hálig God,
for ár-stafum, us onsende,
tó West-Denum, þæs ic wén hæbbe,
wið Grendles grýre: ic þæm gódan sceal,

VI.

Hroðgar spake, the protector of the Scyldings: 'I knew him when he was a boy. His old father was named Ecgtheow, to whom Hrethel the Geata gave his own daughter to take home [to wife]. His valiant heir is now come hither, he has sought his loyal friend. Formerly it was said by seafaring men, those who bore thither the gift-monies to the Geatas in requital of services, that he, the fearless warrior, had in the grip of his fist the strength of thirty men. Him has the holy God sent to us, the West Danes, for our profit (of this I have an expectation) against the terror of Grendel; I shall offer presents to the good [warrior] for his valiancy. Hasten thou, bid

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374 *Hreðel.* This king of the Geatas was the father of Hygelac as well as of Beowulf's mother; Hygelac therefore was Beowulf's uncle.

378 *gif-sceattas.* This seems to refer to presents which Hroðgar had sent to the Geatas, probably in return for services rendered to him in war.

379 *þritiges. þritig* must here be taken as a substantive; 'une trentaine d'hommes.'

381 *hæbbe,* pres. of *habban.*

for his mód-þræce, maðmas beódan.
Beó þú on ófeste, hât in-gán,
seón sibbe-gedrĭht samod ætgædere.
Gesaga him eác wordum, þæt híe synt wil-cuman
Deniga leódum . . . .
. . . . word inne abeád:
Eow hét secgan sige-drihten mín,
aldor Eást-Dena, þæt he eower æðelu can,
and ge him syndon, ofer sæ-wylmas
heard-hicgende, hider wil-cuman.
Nú ge móton gangan in eowrum gúð-geatawum,
under here-griman, Hróðgár geseón.
Lætað hilde-bord her onbídan,
wudu wæl-sceaftas worda geþinges.
Arás þá se ríca, ymb hine rinc manig,
þryðlíc þegna heáp. Sume þær bidon,
heaðo-reáf heoldon, swá him se hearda bebeád.

them come in, and see the band of kinsmen gathered together. Tell them too in [express] words, that they are welcome to the Danish people.' . . . . . [Wulfgar] reported the word within. 'My victorious lord, prince of the East Danes, has commanded me to say to you that he knows your noble origin, and that your arrival hither, stout hearted as ye are, over the billows of the sea, is welcome to him. Now may ye proceed in your martial array, under your helmets, to see Hroðgar. Let your stout shields here remain, those deadly implements of the weirds of destiny.' Then the chieftain arose, with many a knight around him; a gallant group of thanes. Some remained there and guarded the arms and equipments, as the chief commanded them. They moved on quickly together,

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386 *hât*, imper. of *hâtan*, to order.

389 This and the next line are both incomplete, though the MS. exhibits no sign of a *lacuna*. Grein supplies *Þa wið duru healle Wulfgar eode*, 'then Wulfgar went towards the door of the hall.'

390 *abeád*, pf. of *abeodan*, to announce.

391 *het*, pf. of *hâtan*.

395 *geatawum*. So in MS., but it is an incorrect form; we must read either, *getawum*, from *getawe*, or *geatwum*, from *geatwe*.

398 *wæl-sceaftas*, deadly shafts: *wæl* is carnage, slaughter; a battle-field is called in the Saxon Chronicle, *wæl-stowe*, the place of carnage. Ib. *worda*, the reading of the MS. is difficult to explain; Grein substitutes *wyrda*, from *wyrd*, fate, destiny.

399 *Arás*, pf. of *arisan*, to arise.

Snyredon ætsomne, þ[ær] secg wísode,
under Heorotes hróf . . . .
heard under helme, þæt he on heoðe gestód.
Beowulf maðelode, on him byrne scán,
searo-net seówed smiðes orþancum:
Wes þú, Hróðgár, hál. Ic eom Higeláces
mæg and mago-þegn: hæbbe ic mærða fela
ongunnen on geogoðe. Me wearð Grendles þing,
on mínre éðel-tyrf, undyrne cuð:
secgað sæ-líðend þæt þes sele stande,
receda sélest, rinca gehwylcum
ídel and unnýt, siððan æfen-leóht

as the man guided them, (firm with towering helm), under the roof of Heorot; [the courageous one went on], so that he stood on the daïs. Beowulf spoke, (on him his breast-plate glittered, a defensive net-work sewed together by the skill of the smith): 'Hail to thee, Hroðgar! I am Higelac's kinsman and household thane; in my youth I have undertaken many feats of arms. The affair of Grendel became clearly known to me on my native soil: seamen say that this hall, this most noble mansion, stands empty and of no service to any of the knights, after that the evening light is hidden under

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[408] *Snyredon*, pf. of *snyrian* or *snyrgan*, to hasten. A rare word, found also in *Elene* and *Guthlac*.

[403] *Heorotes hrof*. Referring to l. 326, I conceive that the sequence of events was as follows: Beowulf and his band came up to Heorot, leaned their shields against the wall, and sat down on a bench outside; presently Wulfgar came out and spake to them; on learning who they were, he went in again, and, after obtaining the king's permission, brought them into Heorot. A half line is wanting, either here or in the next line: Grein supplies '*hygerof eode*.'

[404] *heoðe*, dat. of *heoðo*. Kemble translates 'daïs'; but in *Satan*, 700, the only other place where the word occurs, it seems to have the general meaning of 'hall,' 'mansion.' Perhaps it is the O.N. *hodd*; in the Edda (Grimn. 27) we meet with *hodd goða*, dwelling of the gods.

[407] *Wæs* (so in MS.; corrected by the Edd.) .... *hal*. Here we have the original of 'wassail,' as in the story of Hengist and Rowena, told by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[410] *eðel-tyrf*, a beautiful expression; lit. 'the 'turf of the *eðel*, or native land of the free-born Teutonic free-holder.'

[412] *reced selesta*, MS.; I have adopted Thorpe's correction, *receda selest*, 'best of mansions.' Ib. *rinca*, 'knights.' The reader will find *rinc*, *haleð*, and one or two other words occasionally thus translated. It may be said that 'knight' suggests a very different order of ideas and a later age, and this is of course true; on the other hand, the word is Teutonic; and had not the relation of these *gesiðas* or body-thanes to their

under heofenes hádor beholen weorðeð.
Þá me þæt gelærdon leóde míne,
þa sélestan, snotere ceorlas,
þeóden Hróðgár, þæt ic þe sóhte;
forþan híe mægenes cræft míne cuðon.
Selfe ofersawon, þá ic of searwum cwom,
fáh from feóndum, þær ic fífe geband;
yðde eótena cyn, and on ýðum slóg
niceras nihtes; nearo-þearfe dreáh:
wræc Wedera níð; weán ahsodon;

the vault of heaven. Then my people, the best of them, far-seeing townsmen, counselled me, king Hroðgar, to seek thee out; forasmuch as they were acquainted with my strength and prowess. They themselves had looked on, when I came out of the fighting, blood-stained from the foe, the time that I laid five [or "the sea-monsters"] in bonds, destroyed the Jotun tribe, and on the waves slew the Nixes of the night; endured distress,—avenged the Weders' quarrel,—(they had experienced griefs), and crushed [the foe] terribly. And

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lord strongly resembled that of knights to their superiors, we may be sure that the word (knight = *cniht*, Germ. *knecht*, servant) would not have been adopted as the correlative for Englishmen of 'chevalier.'

414 *hador*, an obscure word. Grein, on the strength of a passage in the Cod. Exon., reads *haðor*. Ib. *beholen*, past part. of *behelan*, to hide.

416 *ceorlas*. See l. 202. The *ceorlas* (Eng. 'churls') were the non-noble freemen among the Geatas, the general population, in short, without whose approval an important expedition would not be undertaken, though the *eorlas* or nobles would have the main share in carrying it out.

419 *of searwum*, lit. 'from accoutrements.' Perhaps it means 'when I undid my arms.' Grein proposes to read, *on searwum*. Thorpe translates 'from the snares.'

420 *fífe*. Grein thinks that the true reading is *fifel*, 'sea-monster,' see l. 104. But *fífe*, five, referring to the Jotuns named in the next line, does not seem to be inadmissible.

421 *yðde*, pf. of *yðan*, to lay waste.

422 *niceras*. The Anglo-Saxon *nicor* or *nicer* has equivalents in all the Teutonic languages: Icel. *nykr*, O. H. G. *nichus*, Dan. *nök*, Sw. *näk*, Germ. *nix*. Originally it was a water goblin, which, according to the usual description, was human above and like a fish or serpent below. M. Vigfusson, in his valuable Icelandic Dictionary, suggests a possible connection of the word with the name of the Italic god *Nep*-tunus, whose attributes, before those of the Greek Poseidon were transferred to him, were probably those of a lake or river deity. In later Anglo-Saxon times *nicor* was employed as the translation of *hippopotamus* (see Bugge's article before quoted); in O. H. G. *nichus* was used for 'crocodile.' Grimm, *Deut. Myth.* 456.

forgrand grámum; and nú wiþ Grendel sceal,
wiþ þám aglæcan, âna gehegan
þing wiþ þyrse. Ic þe nú þá,
brego beorht-Dena, biddan wille,
eodor Scyldinga, ânre bêne:
þæt þú me ne forwyrne, wígendra hleó,
freá-wine folca, nú ic þus feorran com,
þæt ic móte âna minra eorla gedryht,
and þes hearda heáp, Heorot fælsian.
Hæbbe ic eác geáhsod þæt se ægléca,
for his wonhydum wæpna ne recceþ.
Ic þæt þonne forhicge, (swá me Higelác sie
mín mon-drihten módes bliþe),
þæt ic sweord bere oþþe sídne scyld,
geolo-rand tó gúþe; ac ic mid grápe sceal
fón wiþ feónde, and ymb feorh sacan,
láþ wiþ láþum: þær gelýfan sceal
dryhtnes dóme, se þe hine deáþ nimeþ.

now, against Grendel, against that pest, shall I alone accomplish the exploit, [battling] with the giant. I will now therefore ask of thee, prince of the Bright Danes, ruler of the Scyldings, [this] one boon,—that thou, O shelter of warriors, kind master of nations, refuse me not leave, now that I am come from so far, myself alone with the band of my earls, this hardy company, to cleanse out Heorot. I have understood also that the monster, from [the thickness of] his tawny hide, recks not for weapons. I therefore disdain, (so may Higelac my true lord be gracious in mood towards me) to carry sword, or large yellow shield, into the combat; but with hand-grips will I lay hold on the foe, and fight for life, man to man; then whichever of us death shall take, he must trust to the

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424 *forgrand*, pf. of *forgrindan*, to crush. Ib. *gramum*, dat. pl. of *gram*, terrible, used adverbally.

426 *þyrse*, giant; O. N. *þurs*; the word occurs several times in the Edda; the Nornas, or Fates, are called in the *Völuspá*, *þursa meyjar*, giant maidens.

429 *forwyrne*, pres. subj. of *forwyrnan*, to refuse.

432 *and þes*. The *and* has got misplaced; Grein rightly places it before *minra eorla*.

439 *fon*, to take hold, is the Germ. *fangen*.

440 *laþ wiþ laþum*, lit. 'foe against foe.'

441 *se þe hine* seems to be equivalent to *se hwone*, 'that [man] whom.'

Wén ic þæt he wille, gif he wealdan mót,
in þǽm gúð-sele, Geótena leóde
etan unforhte, swá he oft dyde
mægen Hreðmanna. Nó þú mínne þearft
hafelan hýdan, ac he me habban wile
dreóre fáhne, gif mec deáð nimeð;
byreð blódig wæl, byrgean þenceð;
eteð ângenga unmurnlíce;
mearcað mór-hópu; nó þú ymb mínes ne þearft
líces feorme leng sorgian.
Onsend Higeláce, gif mec hild nime,
beadu-scrúda betst, þæt míne breóst wereð,
hrægla sélest; þæt is Hrædlan láf,
Welandes geweorc. Gæð á wyrd swá hió sceal.

judgment of the Lord. I ween that he [Grendel] wishes, if he may prevail, to devour without fear the people of the Geatas in that hall of war, as he has often done to the forces of the Hreðmen. Thou wilt not need to hide my head [i.e. bury me], but he will have me, all besprent with gore, if death shall take me; he will bear away my bleeding corse, he will think to taste [my flesh]; the lonely prowler will devour it ruthlessly; he will mark out my [burial] mound on the moor; thou wilt not need to trouble thyself longer about the consuming of my body. Send to Higelac, if I fall in the fight, that most beautiful coat-armour which guards my breast, that best of tunics;—it is Hrædla's bequest, the work of Weland. Destiny ever happeneth as she must [happen].'

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445 'Hrethmen' is a name for the Danes. In the Saxon Chronicle, an. 787 (Laud MS.), mention is made of the three ships of the Northmen which first in that year came from 'Hæreða-land' to the English coast; these same ships are called in the Parker MS. '*scipu Deniscra monna*,' ships of Danish men. In the old name for Jutland,—Hreð-gotaland,—the same element appears.

451 *feorme*. Rieger, I think, explains this word rightly. Its usual meaning is 'feast,' 'meal'; Ettmüller and others interpret it here 'nourishment'; but Rieger suggests that it means the eating or consuming. If Grendel, after killing Beowulf, left his body untouched, Hroðgar as his host would have to see that it was burnt and all burial rites duly performed; but as, if victorious, Grendel would devour him, Hroðgar need not in that case trouble himself with such considerations.

453 *beadu-scruda*: lit. 'battle-shrouds.' The Scotch speak of a 'screed' of clothing.

454 5 *Hrædla, Weland*: see Glossary of Names.

VII.

Hróðgár maðelode, helm Scyldinga:
Fore fyhtum þú, freónd mín Beowulf,
and for ár-stafum, usic sóhtest.
Geslôh þín fæder fæhðe mæste:
wearð he Heaðoláfe tó hand-bonan
mid Wylfingum, þá hine gára cyn,
for here-brógan, habban ne mihte.
Þanon he gesóhte Súð-Dena folc
ofer ýða gewealc, Ar-Scyldinga,
þá ic furþum weold folce Deniga,
and on geogoðe heold ginne rícu,
hord-burh hæleða. Þá wæs Heregár deád,
mín yldra mæg unlífigende,
bearn Healfdenes; se wæs betera þonne ic.

VII.

Hroðgar spake, the protector of the Scyldings: 'For fighting's sake, my friend Beowulf, and in honour's cause, hast thou sought us out. Thy father fought a memorable fight; he, with the Wylfings, slew Heatholaf with his own hand, when the race of the Waras would not have him for their army-leader. Thence, across the rolling waves, he sought the people of the South Danes, of the noble Scyldings, at the time when I first bore rule over the Danish nation, and in my youth governed the spacious realm, the treasure city of heroes. At that time Heregar, my elder brother, the son of Healfdene, was dead; he was a better man than I. Afterwards I

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457 *fore fyhtum*, MS. Grein corrects *wyhtum*.

459 *Gesloh*, pf. of *geslean*.

461 *gara cyn* is the reading of the MS.; but there can be little doubt that we should read *Wara*, gen. of *Waras*: see the Glossary of Names.

462 *here-brogan*. It is hard to extract any good meaning from this compound, which means 'army-terror.' I would read *here-brego*, army-chief.

Siððan þa fæhðe feó þingode;
sende ic Wylfingum, ofer wæteres hrycg
ealde maðmas; he me áðas swôr.
Sorh is me tó secganne, on sefan mínum,
gumena ǽngum, hwæt me Grendel hafað
hynðo on Heorote, mid his hete-þancum,
fær-níða gefremed. Is mín flet-werod,
wíg-heáp, gewanod; híe wyrd for-sweóp
on Grendles grýre. God eáðe mæg
þone dol-sceaðan dæda getwæfan.
Ful oft gebeótedon, beóre druncne,
ofer ealo-wæge oret-mecgas,
þæt híe in beór-sele bídan woldon
Grendles gúðe mid grýrum ecga.
Þonne wæs þeós medo-heal on morgen-tíd,
driht-sele dreór-fáh, þonne dæg lixte,
eal benc-þelu blóde bestýmed,

settled that quarrel by presents; I sent old treasures to the Wylfings, across the ridges of the sea-waves; he swore oaths to me. It is sorrowful for me, in the feelings of my heart, to have to say to any man what humiliation and terrible damage Grendel has wrought against me in Heorot, out of his malignant thoughts. My court-followers, that gallant band, are diminished in number; fate has swept them away through the terrible doings of Grendel. [Yet] God may easily turn that proud pest from his doings. Often have boasted the sons of battle, drunken with beer, over their cups of ale, that they would await in the beer-hall with their deadly sharp-edged swords the onset of Grendel. Then, in the morning, when the daylight came, this mead-hall, this lordly chamber, was stained with gore, all the bench-floor drenched in blood, the hall in carnage: I

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470 *feo þingode.* See l. 156.

472 *ealde,* lit. 'old,' seems here, as is sometimes the case with the Lat. *antiquus,* to have the imported meaning of 'precious.' Ib. *swôr,* pf. of *swerian.*

477 *for-sweop,* pf. of *for-swápan,* to sweep away.

479 *dol-sceaðan*; lit. 'dull or doltish scather.' Ib. *dæda,* gen. of separation, governed by *getwæfan.*

480 *gebeotedon,* pf. of *gebeotan,* to boast.

484 *þeos,* nom. sg. f. of *þes, þeos, þis,* 'this.'

486 *bestymed,* part. of *bestyman* or *bestêman,* to drench, bedew; in which we have the root *steam,* which is pure Anglo-Saxon.

heall heoru-dreóre: áhte ic holdra þý læs,
deorre duguðe, þe þá deáð fornam.
Site nú tó symle and onsæl meodo
sige-hreð secgum, swá þín sefa hwette:
Þá wæs Geát-mæcgum geador ætsomne
on beór-sele benc gerýmed;
þær swíð-ferhþe sittan eódon
þryðum dealle. Þegn nýtte beheold,
se þe on handa bær hroden ealo-wége,
scencte scír-wered. Scôp hwílum sang
hádor on Heorote: þær wæs hæleða dreám,
duguð unlytel, Dena and Wedera.

possessed so much the fewer vassals, of my beloved nobility, whom death had reft away. Sit now at the meal, and unbind with mead thy victorious soul among my men, as thy heart may incite.' Then was a bench cleared for the sons of the Geatas, [to sit] close together in the beer-hall; there the stout-hearted ones went and sat, exulting clamorously. A thane attended to their wants, who carried in his hands a chased ale-flagon, and poured the pure bright liquor. A Scôp between-whiles sang with clear voice in Heorot; there was the joy of warriors, a great gathering of noble knights, both Danes and Weders.

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[487] *heoru-dreore*, lit. 'sword-gore.' Can there be any connection between *heoru* and the Greek ἄορ? *áhte*, pf. of *âgan*, to own. *þy*, abl. sg. of *se*, the def. article; = *eo*, by so much, or, on that account.

[489] *meodo*, abl. of *medu*, *meodu*, mead.

[492] *gerymed*, part. of *geryman*, to make roomy.

[494] *nytte beheold*, lit. 'took charge of the need'; see l. 3118.

[495] *hroden*, part. of *hreodan*, to adorn; (Engl. 'wreath'?). The particular ornament meant is probably the raised beading, which winds gracefully round so many Anglo-Saxon drinking vessels, whether of glass or earthenware.

[496] *scencte*, pf. of *scencean*, to pour; Germ. *schenken*. *scir*; O. E. sheer; the drink was pure and undiluted; πολλὸν δ' ἐκ κεράμων μέθυ πίνετο, (Il. ix. 465).

[496] *hador*, clear-voiced; like Homer's λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής.

VIII.

Hunferð maðelode, Ecglafes bearn,
þe æt fótum sæt freán Scyldinga;
onband beadu-rúne. Wæs him Beowulfes sið,
módges mere-faran, micel æfþunca;
forþon þe he ne uðe þæt ænig oðer man
æfre mærða þón má middangeardes
gehedde under heofenum þonne he sylfa:
Eart þú se Beowulf se þe wið Brecan wunne
on sídne sæ, ymb sund-flíte,
þær git for wlence wada cunnedon,
and for dol-gilpe on deóp wæter
aldrum néðdon? Ne inc ænig mon,
ne leóf ne láð, beleán mihte
sorhfulne sið. Þá git on sund reón,
þær git eagor-streám earmum þéhton,

VIII.

Hunferth spake, the son of Ecglaf, who sat at the feet of the master of the Scyldings; he unbound the secret counsel of his malice. The expedition of Beowulf, the valiant mariner, was to him a great cause of offence; for that he allowed not that any other man on the earth should ever appropriate more deeds of fame under heaven than he himself. 'Art thou that Beowulf who strove against Breca in a swimming-match on the broad sea? where ye two for emulation explored the waves, and for foolish boasting ventured your lives in the deep water. Nor could any man, either friend or foe, warn you off from your perilous adventure. Then ye two rowed on the sea, where with your arms [outspread] ye covered the ocean-

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501 *beadu-rune*; lit. 'war-secrets'; the meaning seems to be what I have endeavoured to convey above.

506 *wunne*, pf. of *winnan*, to strive, labour.

507 *sund-flite*, lit. a 'channel contest.'

508 *wlence*, dat. of *wlenco*, pride.

510 *neðdon*, pf. of *neðan*, *niti*.

512 *sorhfulne*, lit. 'sorrowful.' *reon*, pf. of *rowan*; *brachiis remigabatis*.

513 *eagor* or *êgor*, or *êg*, means water, the sea. *þehton*, pf. of *þeccan*, to 'thatch,' to cover.

mæton mere-stræta, mundum brugdon,
glidon ofer gársecg; geofon ýðum weol,
wintrys wylm. Git on wæteres æht
secfon niht swuncon: he þe æt sunde oferflát
hæfde máre mægen. Þá hine on morgen-tíd
on Heaðo-ræmas holm up ætbær;
þonon he gesóhte swæsne ᛟ
leóf his leódum, lond Brondinga,
freoðo-burh fægere, þær he folc áhte,
burh and beágas. Beót eal wið þe
sunu Beanstánes sóðe gelæste.
Ðonne wéne ic tó þe wyrsan þingea,
þeáh þú heaðo-ræsa gehwær dohte,
grimre gúðe, gif þú Grendles dearst
niht-longne fyrst neán bídan.

stream, measured the sea-ways, churned up [the water] with your hands, glided over the deep; the sea was tossing with waves, the icy wintry sea. Ye two toiled for seven nights in the watery realm; he overcame thee in the match, he had more strength. Then, at dawn of morn, the sea cast him up on [the coast of] the Heatho-reamas; thence he, dear in the sight of his people, sought his loved native soil, the land of the Brondings, the fair safe burgh, where he was the owner of folk, burgh, and precious jewels. The son of Beanstan truly performed all his boast, as against thee. Therefore I expect worse things to [befall] thee, (though thou hast everywhere been valiant in the shocks of battle, in terrible war), if thou darest to remain near Grendel for the space of an entire night.'

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514 *mæton, brugdon*, pfs. of *metan*, to measure, *bregdan*, to shake or brandish.

515 *weol*, pf. of *weallan*.

516 *wintrys wylm*; so in MS.; Grein reads *wintres is-wylm*, Thorpe, *wintres wylme*.

517 *swuncon*, pf. of *swincan*, to 'swink,' or toil. Ib. *æt sunde oferflat*; compare the expression *ymb sundflite*, l. 507; *ofer-flat*, pf. of *ofer-flitan*, to out-do.

519 *Heaðo-ræmis*, MS.

519 *æt-bær*, pf. of *æt-beran*.

520 The name of the Runic letter n this line is 'eðel,' the native land.

522 *freoðo-burh*, lit. 'a peace-burgh.'

523 *beagas*; properly, things that are *bowed*; hence rings, collars, and the like; whence it gets the general meaning of jewels or precious things.

524 *Bean-stanes*. It is difficult to explain *Bean*; Bugge suspects that we should read '*Beah-stanes*.'

525 *þingea*. Grein reads *geþingea*, Thorpe *þinga*, gen. pl. of *þing*; this seems the simplest.

526 *dohte*, pf. of *dugan*.

528 *niht-longne fyrst*; lit. 'a night-long period.' Germ. *frist*.

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes:
Hwæt þú worn fela, wine mín Hunferð,
beóre druncen, ymb Brecan spræce,
sægdest from his siðe! Sóð ic talige,
þæt ic mere-strengo máran áhte,
earfeðo on ýðum, þonne ænig oðer man.
Wit þæt gecwædon, cniht wesende,
and gebeótedon (wæron begen þá git
on geogoð-feore,) þæt wit on gársecg út
aldrum néðdon, and þæt geæfndon swá.
Hæfdon swurd nacod, þá wit on sund reón,
heard on handa: wit unc wið hrón-fixas
wérian þóhton. Nó he wiht fram me
flód-ýðum feor fleótan meahte,
hraðor on holme; nó ic fram him wolde.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'What a number of things, Hunferth my friend, hast thou, drunk with beer, spoken about Breca, [and] said concerning his adventure! The truth I tell, that I possessed more sea-endurance, [more] strength among the waves, than any other man. We two talked of the thing, when we were boys, and uttered vaunts, (we were both then still in the early prime of life), that we, out at sea, would stake our lives, and that we even so performed. We had our naked swords when we swam on the deep, hard in our hands; we thought to guard ourselves [therewith] against the whale-fishes. He was in no wise able to float far away from me on the rolling brine, [swimming] more

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531 *spræce.* By a singular licence, the pf. sub. *spræce* and the pf. ind. *sægdest* are combined in one construction.

534 *earfeðo*, the reading of the MS. means 'difficulty.' But I have no doubt that Bugge is right in suggesting *eafeðo*, power; see l. 1717.

537 *on geogoð-feore*, lit. 'in youth-life.'

538 *aldrum neðdon*; see l. 510.

540 *wit, unc*; dual nom. and acc. of *ic*. Ib. *hron-fixas. hron*, or *hran*, as it occurs in Anglo-Saxon poetry, means a whale or some other huge fish. But it is impossible not to connect it with the Icelandic *Rân*, the name of a sea-goddess, wife of the sea-god Oegir, whose nine daughters were called *Rânar* or *Oegis dœtr*. A drowning man was said *fara til Rânar*, to go to Rân; when drowned, he was said, *sitja at Rânar*, to sit with Rân. See Grimm, *Deut. Myth.*, 288. The meaning of the word is 'rapine.'

541 *þohton*, pf. of *þencan*, to think.

542 *meahte—wolde*; Breca *could* not get away from Beowulf, but Beowulf *would* not part from Breca.

Þá wit ætsomne on sǽ wǽron
fif nihta fyrst, oð ðæt unc flód todráf;
wado weallende, wedera cealdost,
nipende niht, and norðan wind,
heaðo-grim andhwearf. Hreó wǽron ýða;
wæs mere-fixa mód onhréred.
Þær me wið láðum lic-syrce mín,
heard hand-locen, helpe gefremede;
beado-hrægl broden on breóstum læg
golde gegyrwed. Me tó grunde teáh
fáh feónd-scaða, fæste hæfde
grim on grápe; hwæðre me gyfeðe wearð,
þæt ic aglǽcan orde gerǽhte,
hilde-bille. Heaðo-ræs fornam
mihtig mere-deór þurh míne hand.

quickly through the sea; nor would I [part] from him. Then we two were out at sea together for the space of five nights, until the [rising] surge drove us asunder;—the rolling waters, the coldest weather, darksome night, and the north wind, pitilessly beat against us. Rough were the waves; the mood of the sea-monsters was irritated. There, my shirt of mail, hard, hand-riveted, brought me help against my foes; my plaited war-tunic, adorned with gold, lay on my breast. A deadly foe, many-hued, drew me to the bottom; held me fast in its grip; nevertheless it was given to me, that with my point I stabbed the monster, with my good sword. The shock of battle crushed the mighty sea-beast, through my hand.'

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545 *todraf*, pf. of *to-drifan*.
550 *lic-syrce*, lit. 'body-shirt.'
552 *hrægl*. The word 'rail,' for dress, lingered down to the time of Addison; it occurs in the 'Spectator.' Ib. *broden*, part. of *bredan*, to plait or braid.
553 *gegyrwed*, part. of *gyrwian*, to deck; whence our English 'gear.' Ib. *teah*, pf. of *teon*, to draw, Germ. *ziehen*.
556 *gerǽhte*, pf. of *ge-rǽcan*, to reach.
557 *hilde-bille*, lit. 'with war-bill.'

IX.

Swá mec gelóme láð-geteónan
þreátedon þearle: ic him þénode
deóran sweorde, swá hit gedéfe wæs.
Næs híe þære fylle gefeán hæfdon,
mân-fordædlan, þæt híe me þêgon,
symbel ymbsæton sæ-grunde neáh:
ac on mergenne, mecum wunde,
be ýð-láfe uppe lægon,
sweotum áswefede; þæt syððan ná
ymb brontne ford brim-líðende
láde ne letton. Leoht eástan com,
beorht beácen Godes; brimu swaþredon,
þæt ic sæ-næssas geseón mihte,
windige weallas. Wyrd oft nereð

IX.

'Thus perpetually did these authors of mischief press roughly upon me; I laid upon them with my good sword, as meet it was. By no means had they,—these wicked destroyers,—joy of their feast, (in that they took me, and set out a dinner near the sea-bottom); but in the morning, wounded by the sword, they lay along the shingle, out of water, dead in crowds; so that never afterwards, in deep channel, did they stop the course of seafaring men. Light dawned from the east, God's bright beacon; the waves became calm, so that I could descry the sea-headlands, [those] wind-lashed walls. Fate often saveth an intrepid earl, when his courage is of

560 *þreatedon*, pf. of *þreatian*, instare, from *þreat*, a band. Ib. *þenode*, pf. of *þegnian* or *þenian*, to serve; as we might say, 'I served them out.'

562 *Næs*, by no means.

563 *þêgon*, pf. of *þicgan*, sumere.

565 *mecum*; the *mece* was properly a short sword or dagger.

566 *yð-lafe*; lit. 'the leavings of the waves.'

567 *aswefede*, lit. 'laid to sleep,' i.e. dead; κοιμηθέντες.

568 *brontne*, acc. of *bront*, *brant*; like the Lat. *altus*, it may mean either 'deep,' or 'tall'; see l. 238.

570 *swaþredon*. See l. 2702.

572 *windige weallas*. Surely there is true poetic beauty in this vivid picture of Beowulf's unhoped-for escape from the dangers of the deep.

unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deáh.
Hwæðere me gesælde þæt ic mid sweorde ofslôh
niceras nigene. Nó ic on niht gefrægn,
under heófenes hwealf, heardran feohtan,
ne on ég-streámum earmran mannan;
hwæðere ic fára feng feore gedígde,
siðes wérig. Þá mec sæ ôðbær,
flód æfter faroðe, on Finna land,
wadu weallende. Nó ic wiht fram þe
swylcra searu-níða secgan hýrde,
billa brógan; Breca næfre git,
æt heaðo-láce, ne gehwæðer incer
swá deórlíce dæd gefremede
fágum sweordum, (nó ic þæs gylpe),
þeáh þú þínum broðrum tó banan wurde,
heafod-mægum. Þæs þú in helle scealt
werhðo dreógan, þeáh þín wit duge.

true metal. Yet it happened to me, that I should slay with my sword nine Nixes. Never have I heard of a more desperate nightly struggle under the arch of heaven, nor of a man more sore beset among the sea-streams; nevertheless I escaped with my life from the clutch of my enemies, [though] wearied out with my adventure. Then the sea cast me up, the flood-tide along the shore, the tossing waters, on the land of the Finns. I have never heard tell concerning thee of such close conflicts, [or] of the terror of thy sword; Breca never yet, no, nor either of you, performed any exploit so valiantly at the game of war with many-hued swords, (I boast not on this account), though thou wast the destroyer of thy own brothers, the chief men of thy kin. Of that must thou dree the penalty in

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574 *Hwæðere*, 'yet'; as much as to say, though Fate had the chief share in my preservation, yet my own hand also contributed to it.

577 *earmran mannan*, lit. 'a poorer man'; Germ. *arm*.

578 *fara feng*. A phrase closely resembling this is found in 'Guðlac,' l. 407, *hæfde feonda feng feore gedýged*.

580 *Finna land*. See the Glossary of Names.

581 *wudu*, MS; *wadu*, Grundtv., Th.

583 *brogan*, gen. of *broga*, terror.

584 *incer*, of you two; gen. dual of *þu*.

586 Grein inserts *fela* before *gylpe*, to preserve the alliteration.

589 *duge*, pres. subj. of *dugan*.

Secge ic þe tó sóðe, sunu Ecglafes,
Þæt næfre Grendel swá fela gryra gefremede,
atol æglæca, ealdre þínum,
hynðo on Heorote, gif þín hige wære,
sefa swá searo-grim, swá þú self talast.
Ac he hafaþ onfunden, þæt he þa fæhðe ne þearf,
atole ecg-þræce eower leóde,
swiðe onsittan, Sige-Scyldinga;
nymeð nýd-báde, nænegum áraþ
leóde Deniga, ac he lust wigeð,
swefeð ond scendeð, sæcce ne wéneð
tó Gár-Denum. Ac him Geáta sceal
eafoð and ellen, ungeara nú
gúðe gebeódan. Gæð eft se þe mót
to medo módig, siððan morgen-leóht,
ofer ylda bearn, oðres dógores,
sunne swegl-wered súðan scíneð.

hell, although thy wit be keen! I tell thee for a truth, son of Ecglaf, that never had Grendel, that fell pest, wrought such terrible scathe to thy lord, [such] discomfiture in Heorot, if thy mind and heart were so grimly eager for battle, as thou thyself reckonest. But he hath found that he need not set great store by the fighting-power, the fell sturdiness in battle, of your people, the victorious Scyldings; he taketh a forced pledge, he spareth no one of the people of the Danes, but he warreth at his pleasure, he sleepeth and [then] ravageth; he looketh not for resistance from the Spear-Danes. But I, a Geat, shall shortly now exhibit to him power and strength in war. Let him who may go afterwards cheerfully to the mead-drinking, as soon as the morning light of the coming day, the sun, heaven's guardian, shall shine from the south over the children of men.'

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594 *talast*, pres. of *talian*, to count; Germ. *Zahlen*.

597 The prefix *sige*, victorious, must surely be used ironically.

600 *scendeð*, from *scendan*, to hurt or damage; Germ. *schänden*; O. E. 'shent.' Ib. *sæcce ne weneþ*, lit. 'expecteth not contention.'

602 *ungeara*, '*not* of yore,' is used as an equivalent to 'shortly.'

605 *oðres dogores*. I agree with Grein that here and in l. 219 this should be understood of '*the next day*'; Thorpe translates 'the second day.'

606 It is difficult to make anything of *swegl-wered*, the reading of the MS. Thorpe well suggests *swegl-weard*, which occurs in 'Judith.'

Þá wæs on salum sinces brytta,
gamol-feax and gúð-róf. Geóce gelýfde
brego beorht-Dena: gehýrde on Beowulfe
folces hyrde fæstrædne geþóht.
Þær wæs hæleða hleahtor, hlyn swynsode,
word wæron wynsume. Eóde Wealhþeów forð,
cwén Hróðgáres; cynna gemyndig,
grétte gold-hroden guman on healle,
and þá freólic wíf ful gesealde
ærest East-Dena éðel-wearde;
bæd hine blíðne æt þære beór-þege,
leódum leófne. He on lust[e] geþeáh
symbel and sele-ful, sige-róf kyning.
Ymb-eóde þá ides Helminga
duguðe and geogoðe; dæl æghwylcne,

Then was the dispenser of treasure, hoary-haired and confident in his powers, happy and joyous. The prince of the Bright-Danes trusted in the [offered] help; the shepherd of his people relied with stedfast faith on Beowulf. Then rose the laughter of knights; music resounded; the talk was joyous. Waltheow, Hrothgar's queen, came forth, mindful of the ties of kindred, the golden-wreath'd lady greeted the men in the hall; and then, a joyful woman, she handed a cup first to the land-warden of the East Danes; pledged him, blithe of heart and dear to his people, at that beer-drinking. He partook cheerily of the feast and the hall-cup, that exultant king. Then the lady of the Helmings passed round among knights and esquires; [to each] she gave his several share,

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607 *salum*. We should read *sælum*, from *sæl*, prosperity.

608 *gamol-feax*; lit. 'old-haired'; *gamol*, old, Dan. *gamle*, *feax*, hair, as in 'Fairfax.'

612 *Wealhtheow*. In later times we find this name softened to *Waltheof*, and applied to men, which, as it means 'ruler of slaves,' it might do with as much propriety as to women. Hrothgar's queen belonged to the family of the Helmings, the royal house mentioned in the 'Traveller's Song,' l. 29, as reigning among the Wulfings: *Helm* [*weold*] *Wulfingum*. The seat of the Wulfings, (who, as we have seen, were the allies of Ecgtheow, prince of the Wæg-Mundings, Beowulf's father,) appears from l. 471 to have been in Sweden, probably near Gotland.

613 *cynna gemyndig*, lit. 'mindful of kindreds,' *i.e.*, both of her own and Hrothgar's relations.

617 Thorpe supplies *beon* after *blíðne*, but it is not necessary.

sinc-fato sealde, oððæt sæl álamp,
þæt hió Beowulfe, beág-hroden cwén,
móde geþungen, medo-ful ætbær.
Grétte Geáta leód, Gode þancode
wísfæst wordum, þæs þe hire se willa gelamp,
þæt heó on ænigne eorl gelýfde,
fyrena frófre. He þæt ful geþeáh
wæl-reow wíga, æt Wealhþeówe,
and þá gyddode, gúðe gefýsed.
Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes:
Ic þæt hogode, þá ic on holm gestáh,
sæ-bát gesæt, mid mínra secga gedriht,
þæt ic ânunga eowra leóda
willan geworhte, oððe on wæl crunge,
feónd-grápum fæst. Ic gefremman sceal
eorlíc ellen, oððe ende-dæg,
on þisse meodu-healle, mínne gebídan.
Þám wífe þa word wel lícodon,

a costly cup; until it happily befel that she, the neck-laced queen, gentle in manners and mind, bare the mead-cup to Beowulf. She greeted the lord of the Geatas, and thanked God, discreet in her words, because that the desire of her heart had happened to her, [the desire] that she might find any earl to trust to for relief from troubles. He, that fierce and fell warrior, took the cup from Waltheow, and then, being ready and eager for battle, he made a speech. Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'This is what I thought on, when I embarked on the deep, and trod my sea-boat's deck with the band of my men, that I would [either] wholly accomplish the desire of your people, or fall a bleeding corse, held fast in the grip of the foe. I shall nobly do a deed of prowess, or await my closing day [of life] in this mead-hall.' These words,

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623 *beag-hroden.* Anything which, as worn, was circular or oval in appearance,—a necklace or bracelet, therefore,—came under the general name of *beag.*

629 *wæl-reow*, lit. 'fierce at carnage.'

632 *hogode*, pf. of *hycgan*, 'to think, meditate.' Ib. *gestah*, pf. of *ge-stigan*, to climb up, mount.

634 *ânunga*, an adverb: 'fully.'

935 *crunge*, pf. subj. of *cringan*, to fall, stoop down; hence our 'cringe.'

639 *lícodon*, pf. of *lícian*, to please; cf. the passage in the Prayer-book version of the Psalms, 'They shall be fat and well-liking.'

gilp-cwide Geátes. Eóde gold-hroden,
freólícu folc-cwén, tó hire freán sittan.
Þá wæs eft swá ær, inne on healle,
þryð-word sprecen, þeód on sælum,
sige-folca swég, oð ðæt semninga
sunu Healfdenes sécean wolde
æfen-reste. Wiste þæm ahlæcan
tó þæm heáh-sele hilde geþinged

. . . . . .

siððan híe sunnan leóht geseón meahton,
oððe nipende niht ofer ealle,
scadu-helm gesceapa, scríðan cwoman,
wan under wolcnum. Werod eall arás;
grétte þá . . . . . guma oðerne,
Hróðgár Beowulf, and him hæl abeád,
wín-ærnes geweald, and þæt word acwæð:

the vaunting sayings of the Geat, were well-pleasing to the lady. She, golden-wreathed, the happy queen of her people, went to her lord to sit [beside him]. Then, after as before, in the hall within great words were spoken, the company [caroused] joyously, the noise of invincible peoples [was heard], until that suddenly the son of Healfdene resolved to seek his evening rest. He knew that conflict was determined for that monster in the high hall . . . . . after that they could see the light of the sun, until dusky night, the shadowing helmet of [all] creatures, lowering beneath the clouds, came gliding over all. All the company arose; then the one man greeted the other,—Hrothgar Beowulf,—and bade him hail; [committed to him] the charge of the wine-hall, and spake this word: 'Never

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647 The MS. has no sign of anything being lost, but it seems clear that a line or more has dropped out after *geþinged*, to this effect (as Grein says), 'They could only inhabit Heorot by day.' Thorpe inserts *ne* before *meahton*; this would make sense with the clause preceding, at the cost of making that which follows unintelligible.

650 *scadu-helm gesceapa*, lit. 'shadow-helm of creatures': a fine expression. Ib. *cwoman*. Thorpe corrects *cwome*, which is apparently right.

652 *grette*. A word is wanting; we may read *grette þa georne*.

653 *abead*, pf. of *abeodan*, to declare.

654 *win-ærnes geweald*; here we have the elements of the name Arnold, which is *ærn-weald*, house-guard.

655 *men*, dat. sg. of *mann*.

Næfre ic ǽnegum men ǽr alýfde,
siððan ic hond and rond hebban mihte,
þryð-ærn Dena, buton þe nú þá.
Hafa nú and geheald húsa sélest;
gemyne mǽrðo, mægen-ellen cyð,
waca wið wráðum. Ne bið þe wilna gád,
gif þú þæt ellen-weorc aldre gedígest.

X.

Þá him Hróðgár gewât mid his hæleða gedryht,
eódur Scyldinga, út of healle:
wolde wíg-fruma Wealhþeów sécan,
cwén tó gebeddan. Hæfde kyninga wuldor
Grendle tó-geanes, swá guman gefrungon,
sele-weard aseted: sunder-nýtte beheold
ymb aldor Dena, eóton-weard abeád.
Huru Geáta leód georne trúwode

before have I entrusted to any man, since I could raise my hand and shield, the princely house of the Danes, but to thee now as I have done. Have thou and hold this best of houses; bethink thee of thy glorious deeds, show thy vigorous strength, be wakeful against the foes. Nor shall thy desires lack satisfaction, if thou escapest alive from that great adventure.'

X.

Then Hrothgar with the company of his knights, the sovereign of the Scyldings, went forth from the hall; the warrior chief would seek Waltheow the queen as the companion of his couch. This glory of kings had posted a hall-warden (so men have learned by report) to be on the watch against Grendel; he discharged a special service round the prince of the Danes; he undertook the guard against the giants. Surely the chief of the Geatas freely

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659 *gemyne—cyð*, imperatives of *gemunan* and *cyðan*.

660 *Ne bið þe*, lit. 'nor shall there be to thee lack of desires.'

662 *him*, *i.e.*, Beowulf; the ethic dative.

665 *gebedda* exactly answers to the Homeric ἄκοιτις. Ib. *kyning*, MS.: we should clearly read *kyninga*.

666 *gefrungon*, a collateral form of *gefrugnon*, as if from *gefringan*.

668 *abead*, lit. 'announced.'

módgan mægnes, metodes hyldo.
Þá he hím ofdyde ísern-byrnan,
helm of hafelan, sealde his hyrsted sweord,
írena cyst, ombiht-þegne,
and gehealdan hét hilde-geátwe.
Gespræc þá se góda gylp-worda sum,
Beowulf Geáta, ær he on bed stíge:
Nó ic me an here-wæsmum hnágran talige,
gúð-geweorca, þonne Grendel hine;
forþan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle,
aldre beneótan, þeáh ic eal mæge.
Nát he þara goda, þæt he me ongean sleá,
rand geheáwe, þeáh þe he róf síe
nið-geweorca: ac wit on niht sculon,
secge ofersittan, gif he gesécean dear
wíg ofer wæpen; and siððan wítig God,

trusted in his courage and strength, [and] in the Creator's favour. Then doffed he his iron coat of mail, [and took] the helmet off his head; his well appointed sword, forged of the best iron, he gave to an attendant thane, and bade him take charge of his fighting gear. Then the good [knight[, Beowulf the Geat, uttered some vaunting words, ere he climbed up on his bed; 'I do not reckon myself poorer in the martial abundance of my battle-works than yon Grendel; therefore I will not kill him, and deprive him of life, with the sword, though I am fully able to do so. He knows not [the use] of those good [arms], so that he should strike at me [or] hew my shield, though he be confident in his baleful works; but we two will, in our nocturnal fight, dispense with swords, if he dare provoke the contest without weapons, and afterwards the all-knowing God,

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672 *hyrsted* = the Germ. *geriistet.*

673 *irena cyst,* lit. 'the choice of irons.'

677 *here-wæsmum*; so in MS.; an ἅπαξ λεγομένον. Grein makes it the dat. of *here-wæsma,* and translates *vis bellica,* connecting it with the O.H.G. *wahsamo,* increase. The other editors read *here-wæstmum,* from *wæstm,* fruit, increase, growth. *hnagran,* comp. of *hnág,* mean.

679 *nelle* = *ne wille.*

680 *eal mæge,* MS. Thorpe reads *eaðe.* Bugge well shows that *þeah eal* corresponds to the later English 'although,' and quotes from Peter Langtoft, '*þaf alle* Edgar þe gate.'

681 *Nat* = *Ne wat,* knows not. Ib. *þara goda.* Thorpe corrects *þære guðe.*

684 *secge ofersittan. gladio supersedere.* Thorpe unnecessarily corrects *sæcce.*

on swá hwæðere hond hálig dryhten
mærðo déme, swá him gemet þince.
Hylde hine þá heaðo-deór ; hleor bolster onfeng,
eorles andwlítan; and hine ymb monig
snellic sæc-rinc sele-reste gebeáh.
Nænig heora þóhte þæt he þanon scolde
eft eard-lufan æfre gesécean,
folc oððe freó-burh, þær he aféded wæs;
ac híe hæfdon gefrunen þæt híe ær tó fela micles,
in þém wín-sele, wæl-deáð fornam,
Deniga leóde. Ac him dryhten forgeaf
wig-spéda gewiófu, Wedera leódum
frófor and fultum, þæt hie feónd heora,
þurh ânes cræft, ealle ofercomon,
selfes mihtum. Sóð is gecyðed,
þæt mihtig God manna-cynnes
weold wide-ferhð. Com on wanre niht

the holy Lord, will, on whichever side it may be, adjudge glory as to Him may seem meet.' Then the brave man laid himself down; the bolster supported his cheek, the face of the earl; and round him many a bold seaman bowed him to repose. Not one of them thought that he would ever again betake himself thence to the home he loved, the folk or free borough where he was bred; for they had heard that before, in that wine-hall, a bloody death had overtaken by far too many of the people of the Danes. But the Lord granted to them the gifts of success in battle, comfort and help to the people of the Weders, so that they should all overcome their enemy through the strength of one, by his single might. The truth is declared, that the mighty God through all time has ruled mankind. The night-walker came prowling in the gloom of night; the men-

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688 *Hylde*, pf. of *hyldan*, to bend. Ib. *onfeng*, pf. of *onfon*.

689 *andwlitan*, countenance: the Germ. *Antlitz*.

690 *snellic*, quick, lively: Germ. *schnell*. Ib. *gebeah*, pf. of *gebugan*.

693 *afeded*, part. of *afedan*, to nourish; lit. 'feed.'

694 *þæt hie*. The *hie* is superfluous; therefore Grein reads *þætte*, that.

702 *wide-ferhð*, lit. See Cynewulf's *Crist*, 163.

703 *sceotend*, the shooters or archers; that is, the other Geatas who were in attendance on Beowulf.

scriðan sceadu-genga; sceótend swæfon,
þa þæt horn-reced healdan scoldon,
ealle buton ânum. Þæt wæs yldum cuð,
þæt híe ne móste, þa metod nolde,
se syn-scaða under sceadu bregdan;
ac he wæccende, wráðum on andan,
bád bolgen-mód beadwe geþinges.

XI.

Þá com of móre, under mist-hleóðum,
Grendel gongan; Godes yrre bær.
Mynte se mán-scaða manna-cynnes
sumne besyrwan in sele þám heán:
wôd under wolcnum, tó þæs þe he wín-reced,
gold-sele gumena, gearwost wisse,
fættum fâhne. Ne wæs þæt forma sið
þæt he Hróðgáres hám gesóhte.

at-arms slept, whose duty it was to guard the battlemented hall,—all, save one. That was known to men, that the wicked plague might not, since the Creator willed it not so, whelm them beneath the shades; but he watching for the creature, wrathful and rancorous, awaited with boiling courage the issue of battle.

XI.

Then from the moor, under the misty slopes, came Grendel prowling; he bore God's anger. The wicked mischief-worker thought to circumvent some man or other in that high hall: he went on beneath the clouds, till he was easily aware of the wine-house, the gold-hall of men, variously adorned with [gold] plates. Nor was that the first time that he had sought Hroðgar's dwelling.

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707 *bregdan*, lit. 'to shake': see l. 514; here it means 'to send violently.'

708 *ac he*, *i.e.*, Beowulf. Ib. *wraðum on andan*, lit. 'for him wrathful in rancour.'

709 *bád*, pf. of *bidan*.

710 *hleoðum*, from *hleoð* or *hlið*. Gr. κλιτύς.

711 *Godes yrre*. It is not very clear whether the poet means that it was as the object, or the minister, that Grendel 'bore God's anger.'

713 *sumne*, lit. 'some one of mankind.'

714 *wôd*; a collateral form of *eôde*, went.

715 *gearwost wisse*, lit. 'most readily knew.'

Næfre he on aldor-dagum, ǽr ne siððan,
heardran hǽle, heal-þegnas fand.
Com þa to recede rinc siðian,
dreámum bedǽled; duru sóna onarn
fýr-bendum fæst, syððan he hire folmum . .
Onbræd þá bealo-hydig, þá he abolgen wæs,
recedes múðan. Raðe æfter þon
on fágne flór feónd treddode;
eóde yrre-mód; him of eágum stód,
lige gelícost, leóht unfæger.
Geseah he in recede rinca manige
swefan sibbe-gedriht samod-ætgædere,
mago-rinca heáp. Þá his mód ahlóg:

Never in the days of his life, before nor since, did he come upon hall-thanes of harder stuff. So then the man come roaming to the house, of joys bereft; soon the door yielded, though made fast by fire-hardened bands, after that he had laid hold of it with his hands. Then, with baleful intent, [Grendel], for he was furious, burst open the portal of the house. Quickly after that did the enemy tread the parti-coloured floor; raging, he strode forward; from his eyes there issued a hideous light, most like to fire. In the hall he saw many warriors, a kindred band, sleeping all together,—a group of clansmen. Then he laughed in his heart; the demon plague was

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719 *heardran hæle*, lit. 'harder men, hall-thanes.'

720 *rinc*. It seems strange that this word, usually a term of honour, should be applied to Grendel. But this is less difficult to conceive if we connect the term with *Regin*, the name given in the Edda to the counselling and organising deities who guide the world (Grimm, *Deut. Myth.*) In O.H.G. we find the word degraded to the level of a mere intensive prefix, as in *regin-hardt*, whence *reinhart*, *reynard*. At some stage of its history between these points, it must have meant a hero or demi-god, and afterwards, a man; in this stage the Anglo-Saxon *rinc* represents it.

721 *on-arn*, pf. of *on-irnan*, to run back.

722 A word is lost after *folmum*; *hrân*, 'touched,' which Thorpe suggests, will not fill the space: *æt-hrân*, suggested by Rask, would do this, but is not found elsewhere; I think the simplest course would be to supply *on-feng*: see l. 852.

723 *onbræd*, pf. of *onbredan*.

727 *ligge*, MS. Ib. *leoht unfæger*, lit. 'a light un-fair.'

729 *sibbe-gedriht*. Grein separates *sibbe* from *gedriht*, and translates it 'in peace': but in this instance Thorpe's rendering, 'a kindred band,' seems preferable.

730 *his mod*, lit. 'his mood laughed.' Ib. *ahlog*, pf. of *a-hlehhan*, to laugh.

mynte þæt he gedǽlde, ǽr þon dæg cwome,
atol aglǽca, ânra gehwylces
lif wiþ lice; þá him alumpen wæs
wist-fylle wén. Ne wæs wyrd þá gen,
þæt he má móste manna-cynnes
þicgean ofer þa niht. Þryð-swyð beheold
mǽg Higeláces, hú se mán-scaða
under fǽr-gripum gefaran wolde.
Ne þæt se aglǽca yldan þóhte;
ac he gefeng hraðe, forman siðe,
slǽpendne rinc, slát unwearnum,
bát bán-locan, blód edrum dranc,
syn-snǽdum swealh; sóna hæfde
unlifigendes eal gefeormod,
fét and folma. Forð neár ætstóp,
nam þá mid handa hige-þihtigne

minded, ere the day broke, to quench the life in the body of each one of them, since the expectation of a ravenous gorge had fallen upon him. But Fate was not still so, that he should taste any more human flesh beyond that night. Anxiety possessed the kinsman of Higelac, how the raiding villain would fare under his terrible grip. The monster thought to make no delay, but he quickly seized, for his first enterprise, a sleeping warrior,—tore him irresistibly, bit his flesh, drank the blood from his veins, swallowed him by large morsels; soon had he devoured all the corpse, [but] the feet and hands. He stepped up nearer, took hold then with his hand of the stout-hearted warrior [as he lay] at rest. The fiend reached out at

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731 *gedælde*, lit. 'that he should separate the life from the body, &c.'

734 *wist-fylle*, gen. of *wist-fyllo*, abundance of food.

738 *under fær-gripum*. I have translated this as if said of Beowulf; but there is much to be said for the other way of taking it,—'how the ravager would proceed amid [*i.e.*, in dealing] his terrible grips.'

741 *slat*, pf. of *slitan*. Eng., 'slit.'

742 *ban-loca*, the case or box containing the bones = 'the flesh;' an image rather forcible than poetical. *bat*, pf. of *bitan*, to bite.

743 *syn-snædum*, MS.; for *syn* read *sin*, the prefix implying perpetuity, and sometimes, largeness, as here. Ib. *swealh*, pf. of *swelgan*, to swallow.

745 If we suppose *buton* to have dropped out before *fet* and *folma*, we get a simple and natural sense. Ib. *ætstop*, pf. of *æt-stapan*.

746 *nam*, pf. of *niman*, to take. Ib. *handa*, instrum. case sg. of *hand*.

rinc on reste. Ræhte ongean
feónd mid folme; he onfeng hraðe
inwit-þancum, and wið earm gesæt.
Sóna þæt onfunde fyrena hyrde,
þæt he ne métte middangeardes,
eorðan sceatta, on elran men,
mund-grípe máran: he on móde wearð
forht on ferhðe; no þý ær fram meahte.
Hyge wæs him hinfús, wolde on heolster fleón,
sécan deofla gedræg; ne wæs his drohtoð þær
swylce he on ealder-dagum ær geméttе.
Gemunde þá se góda mæg Higeláces
æfen-spræce; uplang astód,
and him fæste wið-feng; fingras burston.
Eóten wæs útweard; eorl furþur stóp;

him with his hand; he [Beowulf] quickly seized it, with deadly purpose, and leaned upon his arm. Soon did that patron of mischiefs discover that he had never in all the world, through the regions of the earth, found in any other man a stronger hand-grip: he became afraid in heart and mind; [yet] not for that could he the sooner get away. His mind was bent on flight, he desired to flee into the darkness, seek the noisy assembly of the devils; nor was his state of life then such as he had [ever] before met with in the days of his life. Then the good kinsman of Higelac bethought him of his speech at even; he stood upright, and firmly grappled with him; his fingers burst. The giant was on the outside; the earl [Beowulf] stepped forward; the hero considered whether he

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749 *inwit-þancum*, dat. pl. of *inwit-þanc*, malicious thought, used adverbially. Grein takes it to be an adj. referring to Grendel, but no instance of such use in any of the compounds of *þanc* can be produced. Ib. *gesæt*, pf. of *gesittan*.

751 *mette*, pf. of *métan*, to meet.

752 *elran, elra* (*eldra*), is a rare word, meaning 'another.'

759 *æfen-spræce*. See l. 675 *seq.*

761 *stop*, pf. of *stapan*, to step.

762-6 An obscure passage. The *hwær* of the MS. is changed by Thorpe into *hwæðer*: in the translation I have adopted his correction. For *swa widre*, of which I can make nothing, I would propose to read *swa hwider*, any-whither (like *swa hwylc, swylc*). In l. 765 an excellent correction of Grein, while striking out *he*, connects *sið* (which preceding editors had attached to the word following it) with *geocor*. The second *þæt* makes a slight difficulty; *sið* being masc., we should expect

mynte se mǽra hwær he meahte swá
wídre gewindan, and on-wég þanon
fleón on fen-hópu; wiste his fingra geweald,
on grámes grápum. Þæt [he] wæs geócor sið,
þæt se hearm-scaða tó Heorute ateáh.
Dryht-sele dynede, Denum eallum wearð,
ceaster-búendum, cênra gehwylcum,
eorlum ealu scerwen. Yrre wǽron begen,
reðe rênweardas; reced hlynsode.
Þá wæs wundor micel, þæt se wín-sele [feol,
wið-hæfde heaðo-deórum, þæt he on hrúsan ne
fæger fold-bold; ac he þæs fæste wæs,
innan and útan, íren-bendum,
searo-þoncum besmiðod. Þær fram sylle abeág,
medu-benc monig, míne gefrǽge,
golde geregnad, þær þá gráman wunnon.
Þæs ne wéndon ǽr wítan Scyldinga,
þæt hit á mid geméte manna ǽnig,

[Grendel] might turn himself any whither, and flee away thence to the fen-pool; he knew his fingers' power in gripping the cruel wretch. That was a disastrous journey, that the harmful ravager undertook to Heorot! The lordly hall re-echoed; all the Danes dwelling in the town, each keen fighter, [and] the earls, had their ale spilt. Both were furious, these fierce doughty champions; the mansion resounded. Then it was a great wonder that the wine-hall withstood these battling foemen, that the fair citadel fell not to the ground; but it on that account was made fast within and without with iron bands, cunningly compacted by the smiths. Then many a mead-bench, as I heard tell, with gold o'erlaid, was bent away from its sill, where the raging foemen strove. The Witan of the Scyldings never looked forward to this, that any man should

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þone. Perhaps *þæt* should be taken as a conjunction, *âteah* (pf. of *âteon*), rendered 'took his way,' 'journeyed.'

769 *scerwen*, part. of *scerwan*.

770 *rên-weardas*, i.e., *regn-weardas*, 'strong guardians.'

772 *feol*, pf. of *feallan*. *fold-bold*, lit. 'earth-castle.' This *bold* survives in the names of many English villages, Newbold, Cobbold.

773 *þæs*, on this account, namely, that it might resist all such shocks.

775 *sylle*, the sill, or bed, in which the bench was fixed.

777 *wunnon*, pf. of *winnan*, to strive.

779 *hit*, being neuter, must refer to *reced*.

hetlíc and bân-fâg, tobrecan meahte,
listum tolúcan, nymðe lyges fæðm
swulge on swaðule. Swég up-astág,
niwe geneáhhe; Norð-Denum stód
atelíc egesa, ânra gehwylcum,
þára þe of wealle wôp gehýrdon,
grýre-leoð galan Gódes andsacan,
sigeleasne sang, sár wanigean
helle-hæftan. Heold hine [tó] fæste,
se þe manna wæs mægene strengest,
on þæm dæge þysses lífes.

XII.

Nolde eorla hleó ænige þinga
þone cwealm-cuman cwicne forlætan,
ne his líf-dagas leóda ænigum
nytte tealde. Þær genehost brægd

ever be able, with a hostile meeting, to break it (the mansion) in pieces, or craftily destroy it, goodly and decked with bones [as it was], unless the bosom of fire swallowed it up in a wreath of smoke. A cry up-rose, new enough; on the North Danes there fell a ghastly terror, on every one of those who from the wall heard the shriek, [heard] God's adversary yelling out his horrid song, his chant, not for victory, [and] hell's captive whining grievously. He held him too fast, who, in the day of this life, excelled all men in the greatness of his strength.

XII.

The shelter of earls [Beowulf] would not for anything have let that murderous assailant go away alive, nor counted he his life-days

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780 For *hetlic* Grein proposes *betlic*, excellent: but what can we understand by *bân-fâg*, unless that the walls of Heorot were adorned with the bones of slain enemies, arranged in patterns?

781 *liges fæðm*. Here we have again a mysterious allusion to the final destruction of Heorot by fire, as at l. 83. 782 *swaðule*; see l. 3145, note.

792 *cwealm-cuma*, lit. 'death-comer.' From *cwealm* comes the O.E. 'quell' ('our great quell,' *Macbeth*) and 'qualm,' with a meaning modified and softened.

794 *genehost*, lit. 'most sufficiently,' superl. of *geneah*, enough: Germ. *genug*. Ib. *brægd*, pf. of *bregdan*.

eorl Beowulfes ealde láfe;
wolde freá-drihtnes feorh ealgian,
mæres þeódnes, þær híe meahton swá.
Híe þæt ne wiston, þá híe gewin drugon,
heard-hicgende hilde-mecgas,
and on healfa gehwone heáwan þóhton,
sawle sécan, [þæt] þone syn-scaðan
énig ofer eorðan írenna cyst,
gúð-billa nân grétan nolde.
Ac he sige-wæpnum forsworen hæfde,
ecga gehwylcre. Scolde his aldor-gedál,
on þém dæge þysses lífes,
earmlíc wurðan, and se ellor-gast
on feónda geweald feor siðian.
Þá þæt onfunde, se þe fela æror,
módes myrðe, manna-cynne
fyrene gefremede, (he [wæs] fâg wið God,)
þæt him se líchoma læstan nolde;

serviceable to any of the people. Then many an earl of Beowulf's drew his old sword; he would save the life of his lord and master, that great prince, so far as they might do so. They knew not, these stout sons of battle, when they encountered the strife, and thought to hew down on every side, to seek [Grendel's] life, [that] no iron on earth, though of the best, no war battle-axe, would make a dint on that foul ravager. But he [Beowulf] had forsworn the weapons of war, every edged blade. His [Grendel's] passing away from existence, on the day of this life, was doomed to be miserable, and the mighty spirit was to journey far away into the power of the fiends. [For] then did he, who many a time ere now, in mirth of mood, had wrought crimes against human kind (he was at variance with God), find that his bodily frame would do him no service; but

801 Grein supplies *þæt* before *þone syn-scaðan*; some such word is necessary to the sense.

802 *irenna cyst*; see l. 673.

803 *gretan*, lit. 'come near, approach.'

808 *feonda*, 'enemies;' but doubtless the devils are meant, as the enemies of mankind.

811 *he fâg wið God*. The alliteration and Thorkelin's reading show that this is what stood originally in the MS.; now only the *g* and part of the *a* of *fâg* are legible. The omission of *wæs* must be due to an error of the scribe.

812 *lic-homa*, lit. the 'body-home' of the soul its tenant.

ac hine se módega mæg Higeláces
hæfde be honda. Wæs gehwæðer oðrum
815 lífigende láð. Líc-sár gebád
atol æglæca; him on eaxle wearð
syn-dolh sweotol, seonowa onsprungon,
burston bán-locan. Beowulfe wearð
gúð-hréð gyfeðe; scolde Grendel þonan
820 feorh-seóc fleón under fen-hleóðu,
sécean wynleás wíc: wiste þe geornor
þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongen,
dógora dæg-rím. Denum eallum wearð,
æfter þám wæl-ræse, willa gelumpen.
825 Hæfde þá gefælsod, se þe ær feorran com,
snotor and swyðferhð, sele Hroðgares,
genered wið niðe; niht-weorce gefeh
ellen-mærðum. Hæfde East-Denum
Geát-mecga leód gilp gelæsted,
830 swylce oncýððe ealle gebétte,
inwid-sorge, þe híe ær drugon,

the valiant kinsman of Higelac held him by the hand. Each was to the other hateful while living. The fiendish monster endured sore pain of body; on his shoulder a gaping wound was apparent, the sinews started, the flesh burst. To Beowulf the glory of the fight was given; Grendel was doomed to flee thence, sick to death, under the fen-banks, to seek his joyless abode: he knew all the better that his life's end was come, the appointed number of his days. For all the Danes, after that bloody conflict, their desire was accomplished. He therefore who came from far, the prudent and stout-hearted, had cleansed out the hall of Hroðgar, saved it from hostile attack; he rejoiced in his night's work, in his deeds of valour. The prince of the kindred of the Geatas had for the East Danes fulfilled his vaunt, inasmuch as he had assuaged all their

815 *lifigende lað.* Each wished to be the death of the other.

827 *genered,* part. of *nerian,* to save; Goth. *nasjan.* Ib. *gefeh,* MS.: Grein corrects *gefeah.*

830 *oncyððe.* Previous editors had read *on cyððe,* and explained the words variously; but Grein rightly restores *oncyððe,* griefs, anxieties, referring to l. 1420, and other places.

830 *gebette,* pf. of *gebétan,* to better.

831 *inwid-sorge. Inwid,* O.S. *inwið,* appears as *inwit,* or conscience, in 'Piers the Plowman.'

and for þreá-nýdum þolian scoldon,
torn unlytel. Þæt wæs tácen sweotol,
syððan hilde-deór hond alegde,
earm and eaxle: þær wæs eal geador,
Grendles grâpe under geápne hróf.

XIII.

Þá wæs on morgen, míne gefrége,
ymb þa gif-healle gúð-rinc monig:
ferdon folc-togan, feorran and neán,
geond wíd-wegas, wunder sceáwian,
láðes lastas. Nó his líf-gedál
sárlíc þúhte secga ænigum,
þára þe tirleáses tróde sceáwode;
hú he wérig-mód on-weg þanon,
níða ofercumen, on nicera mere,
fæge and geflýmed, feorh-lastas bær.
Þær wæs on blóde brim weallende,

griefs, their carking sorrows which erst they dreed, and for sad necessity had to endure—no little affliction. This was a manifest token, when the warrior laid down the hand, the arm, and the shoulder; there it was altogether, the torn-off limb of Grendel, under the capacious roof.

XIII.

Then on the morrow, as I heard tell, many a warrior came about that gift-hall; the folk-leaders journeyed from far and near, over wide ways, to behold the wonder, the tracks of the enemy. His [Grendel's] severance from life seemed not grievous to any man, of those that beheld the footprints of the defeated one, how he, with a weary heart, overcome in the strife, doomed and banished, bore his life-tracks away from thence to the Nixes' mere. There the

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833 *þrea-nydum*, lit. 'throe-needs.'

836 *Grendles grâpe* seems to mean, that part of Grendel which was *gripped* and torn off.

843 *tirleases*, lit. 'of him bereft of glory.'

846 *feorh-lastas* is explained by Grein to mean, 'steps taken in order to preserve life.' Perhaps, as *feorh-dolg* means 'a deadly wound,' so *feorh-lastas* may mean 'his dying steps.'

atol ýða geswing eal gemenged;
hât on heolfre heoro-dreóre weol,
deáð-fæge deog, siððan dreáma-leás,
in fen-freóðo feorh alegde,
hæðene sawle: þær him hel onfeng.
Þanon eft gewiton eald-gesiðas,
swylce geong manig, of gomen-waðe,
fram mere módge, mearum rídan,
beornas on blancum. Þær wæs Beowulfes
mærðo méned; monig oft gecwæð,
þætte súð ne norð, be sæm tweonum,
ofer eormen-grund, oðer nænig,
under swegles begong, sélra nære
rond-hæbbendra, ríces wyrðra.
Ne hie huru wine-drihten wiht ne lógon

water was troubled and bloody, the haunted rolling waves were all disturbed; made hot with gore it bubbled with streaming blood; discoloured with death it weltered,—after that the joyless one laid down his life in his fenny refuge, his heathen soul; there hell took possession of him. Thence back returned the old retainers, as well as many a young man, from that joyful expedition, cheerfully from the mere, riding on horses,—the elder men on white steeds. Then was Beowulf's glorious deed talked of; many an one said again and again, that neither south nor north, over the vast world, [or] beside the two seas, was there any better man under the arch of heaven among shield-bearing warriors, [or] more worthy of a kingdom. Nor truly did they find any fault with their kind lord, the

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849 Grein's correction of *hât on*, the reading of the MS., to *hâtan*, appears to me unnecessary.

850 *deog*, pf. of *deagan*, from *deaw*, dew.

854 *gomen-waðe*, lit. 'joyful way'; *gomen* or *gamen*, Engl. game.

859 *eormen-grund*. *eormen* is in O.H.G. *irmina*, *irmin*; in O.N. *Iörmun*. See Grimm's *Deut. Myth.* p. 325. Grimm is disposed to regard *Irmino* as having had once a personal meaning, and to identify this Teutonic divinity with one of the sons of Mannus, mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ. II.*). However this may be, the word, wherever met with in sources that are now accessible to us, has only the sense of vastness or hugeness. Thus *Ermanaricus* (*Eormen-ric*, *Iörmunrekr*, *Hermanric*) means 'great ruler:' *Irmin-sul* (the famous Saxon sanctuary destroyed by Charlemagne), 'the huge pillar:' *eormen-* or *iörmun-grund*, the vast wide earth.

860 *nære* = *ne wære*.

862 *logon*, pf. of *lean*, to blame.

glædne Hróðgár, ac wæs þæt gód cyning.
Hwílum heaðo-rófe hleápan leton,
on geflit faran, fealwe mearas,
þær him fold-wegas fægere þúhton,
cystum cuðe. Hwílum cyninges þegn,
guma gilp-hlæden, gidda gemyndig,
se þe eal-fela eald-gesegena
worn gemunde, word oðer fand
sóðe gebunden. Secg eft ongan
sið Beowulfes snyttrum styrian,
and on spéd wrecan spel geráde,
wordum wrixlan, wel-hwylc gecwæð,
þæt he fram Sigemunde secgan hýrde,
ellen-dædum, uncuðes fela,
Wælsinges gewin, wíde siðas,
þára þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston,
fæhðe and fyrena, buton Fitela mid hine,
þone he swylces hwæt secgan wolde,

glad Hroðgar, for that was a good king. Sometimes the brave men made their chestnut horses, famed for their excellence, leap and run races, where the earth-ways seemed to them suitable. Sometimes a king's thane, a man filled full of vaunting speeches, given to recitation, who remembered a vast number of old saws, invented a fresh story, closely bound up with truth. The man afterwards began discreetly to celebrate the enterprise of Beowulf, and powerfully to recite a tale with skill, to handle them alternately in his discourse, every kind of report, that he had heard tell concerning Sigemund and his mighty deeds, much of what was extraordinary,—the struggle of the Wælsing, his long journeys, of those which the sons of men absolutely knew not (feuds and crimes), except Fitela with him, whom he wished to repeat anything of this sort, as an uncle

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866 *þuhton*, pf. of *þyncan*, to seem: Germ. *dünken*.

871 It is not clear whether the *secg* mentioned here is the same as the king's thane of l. 867, or a different person.

874 *wrixlan*, to change. The word seems to imply that the Scôp celebrated alternately the praises of Beowulf, and the older glories of Sigemund the Wælsing.

875 *Sigemunde*. See Glossary of Names.

880 *þone . . . secgan*. A difficult

eám his nefan, swá híe á wæron,
æt níðða gehwám, nýd-gesteallan.
Hæfdon eal fela Eótena cynnes
sweordum gesæged. Sigemunde gesprong,
æfter deáð-dæge, dóm unlytel,
syððan wíges heard wyrm acwealde,
hordes hyrde. He under hárne stán,
æðelinges bearn, âna geneðde
frecne dæde; ne wæs him Fitela mid;
hwæðre him gesælde, þæt þæt swurd þurh-wód
wrætlícne wyrm, þæt hit on wealle ætstód
drihtlíc íren: draca morðre swealt.
Hæfde aglæca elne gegongen,
þæt he beáh-hordes brúcan móste
selfes dóme. Sæ-bát gehlôd,
bær on bearm scipes beorhte frætwa
Wælses eafera; wyrm hát gemealt.

his nephew, inasmuch as they were evermore comrades in need in every quarrel. They had beaten down with their swords very many of the race of the Jotuns. For Sigemund there sprang up, after his death-day, no little glory, since the stout fighter had slain the Serpent, the guardian of the hoard. He, a prince's son, under a hoar rock, alone attempted the daring deed; nor was Fitela with him; nevertheless, it happily fell out for him, that his sword pierced the wondrous Serpent, so that it struck against the rock-wall, the noble weapon; the dragon was killed outright. This prodigy (Sigemund) had won by his prowess that he might enjoy by his own adjudication the ring-hoard. He loaded a sea-boat; the heir of Wæls bore the glittering treasures into the ship's hold; heat con-

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passage. Thorpe corrects *þone* to *þonne*, and reads *be eame and his nefan*. Probably there is something wrong in *secgan*. Ib. *swylces*; *swulces* in MS.

881 *eam*, uncle: Germ. *Oheim*.

888 *geneðde*, pf. of *geneðan*, to essay.

890 *gesælde*, pf. of *gesælan*, to happen.

892 *swealt*, pf. of *sweltan*, to perish.

893 *aglæca*. This word, which seems to convey the notion of incessant harassing and troubling, though usually applied *in malam partem*, is not invariably so; here it is applied to Sigemund, and in l. 2592 to Beowulf himself.

895 *gehlôd*, pf. of *gehladen*, to load.

897 *gemealt*, pf. of *gemeltan*, to melt.

Se wæs wreccena wíde mærost
ofer wer-þeóde, wígendra hleó,
900 ellen-dædum: he þæs ær onþáh.
Siððan Heremódes hild sweðrode,
earfoð and ellen. He mid Eótenum wearð,
on feónda geweald forð forlácen,
snúde forsended; hine sorh-wylmas
905 lemedon to lange. He his leódum wearð,
eallum æðelingum, to aldor-ceare.
Swylce oft bemearn, ærran mælum,
swið-ferhðes sið snotor ceorl monig,
se þe him bealwa tó bóte gelýfde;
910 þæt þæt þeódnes bearn geþeón scolde,
fæder æðelum onfón, folc gehealdan,
hord and hleó-burh, hæleða ríce,
eðel Scyldinga. He þær eallum wearð,
mæg Higeláces manna cynne,

sumed the Serpent. This was notably the greatest of wanderers among the nations of men, this shelter of warriors, by his deeds of valour; he on this account first throve. After that Heremod's warfare dwindled, his power and might. He, among the Jutes, was delivered by treason into the power of his enemies, and suddenly banished; overwhelming sorrows disabled him too long. He became to his peoples, to all his nobles, a life-long care. Accordingly many a shrewd freeman often in the earlier times bewailed the expedition of his stout-hearted [prince], who trusted to him for boot against bale (protection from injury), that that king's son should prosper, take to his father's nobleness, guard the nation, the treasure and sheltering burgh, the realm of knights, the father-land of the Scyldings. He, on the other hand—the kinsman of Higelac

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901 *Heremodes.* On the story of this Danish king I have attempted to throw some little light in the article devoted to him in the Glossary.

902 *earfoð.* Grein rightly corrects *eafoð*, power; see l. 534.

905 *lemede*, MS.; all the editors correct *lemedon.*

908 *snotor ceorl.* The free landholders among the Danes deplored the expedition of Heremod, as the same class among the Geatas (l. 202) approved that of Beowulf.

911 *æðelum*, from *æðelu*, dat. after *onfon*; see l. 852.

913 *eðel.* The word is expressed in the MS. by the Runic letter bearing the same name: See *ante*, page 38.

freóndum gefægra; hine fyren onwód.
Hwílum flítende, fealwe stræte
mearum mæton. Þá wæs morgen-leóht
scofen and scynded; eóde scealc monig
swiðhicgende tó sele þám heán,
searo-wundor seón; swylce self cyning
of brýd-búre, beáh-horda weard,
treddode tirfæst, getrume micle,
cystum gecyðed, and his cwén mid him,
medo-stíg gemæt mágða hôse.

XIV.

Hróðgár maðelode: (he tó healle gong,
stód on stapole, geseah steápne hróf

—was to all men, to mankind, to his friends, more gracious; into the other(Heremod) crime entered.

There were times when, racing, they traversed on their horses the yellow roads. Then was the morning light come forth and shining; many a stout-hearted fellow went to that high hall, to see the curious wonder; even as the king himself, from the bride-bower, the guardian of treasured jewels, illustrious walked amidst a great company, distinguished by his merits; and his queen with him, amid a bevy of maidens, traversed the mead-path.

XIV.

Hroðgar spake; (he had gone to the hall, stood on the platform, looked at the high-pitched roof adorned with gold, and

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915 *hyne fyren onwod.* These words have been variously understood, *hyne* having been referred by different editors to Sigemund, Heremod, and Beowulf. It seems to me that the Scôp means to contrast the noble public spirit of Beowulf with the wilful self-seeking of Heremod—'into *him* crime entered.'

916 *Hwílum.* This line and a half seem strangely out of place.

918 For *scynded,* 'hastened,' which makes no sense, we should surely read *scynend,* 'shining.'

922 *getrume micle,* 'magnâ comitante catervâ;' this is a thoroughly epic passage.

924 *hôse,* from *hôs,* a band; the same word as the O.H.G. *hansa.*

926 *stapole.* The meaning 'pillar, given by Grein, will not suit in this place. Bosworth in his *Dict.* gives the meaning, 'elevated place,' and refers to the *Rushworth Gospels.* The 'staples' established at different towns under the Statute of the Staple in the fourteenth century, seem to have been raised wooden platforms, erected in the market-place.

golde fáhne, and Grendles hond:)
Þisse ansýne alwealdan þanc
lungre gelimpe. Fela ic láðes gebád,
grynna æt Grendle: á mæg God wyrcan
wundor æfter wundre, wuldres hyrde.
Þæt wæs ungeara, þæt ic ænigre me
weána ne wénde, tó wídan feore,
bóte gebídan, þonne blóde fáh
hûsa sélest heoro-dreórig stód.
Weá wíd scófon wítena gehwylcne
þára þe ne wéndon þæt híe wíde-ferhð
leóda land-geweorc láðum beweredon,
scuccum and scinnum. Nú scealc hafað,
þurh drihtnes miht, dæde gefremede,
þe we ealle ær ne meahton
snyttrum besyrwan. Hwæt! þæt secgan mæg,
efne swá hwylc mægða swá þone magan cende
æfter gum-cynnum, gyf héo gyt lyfað,
þæt hyre eald metod este wære

Grendel's hand.) 'For this sight be thanks forthwith rendered to the Almighty! Much hardship, many griefs have I endured at the hands of Grendel; [but] God the Lord of glory can evermore work wonder after wonder. 'Twas but a little while ago that I counted not upon receiving relief, to an extended age, from any of my woes, when that best of houses stained with blood and all gory stood. Woes greatly exercised each one of my Witan, who thought that they might not, through a long period, defend from foes the land-work of the people, from devils and goblins. Now a man hath accomplished, through the Lord's might, deeds which all of us hitherto have not been able with all our wisdom to compass. What! that may she say,—even whatever maiden gave birth to such a son among mankind, if she yet liveth,—that the old Creator was

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929 *gelimpe*, pres. subj. of *gelimpan*.
932 *ænigre* in MS. (perhaps a late, weak form, as Bugge remarks, rather than an error of the scribe), instead of the proper gen. pl. *ænigra*.
933 *to widan feore*, lit. 'to wide life,' *i.e.*, to a distant period of life.
936 *wid scofen* in MS.: the exact meaning of the line is doubtful.
937 *wide-ferhð*. See l. 702.
939 *scealc*. We see this word in the low Latin *marescalcus*, 'horse-groom,' whence *marêchal*, marshal.
943 *cende*, pf. of *cennan*, to bring forth.

bearn-gebyrdo. Nú ic, Beowulf, þec,
secg betsta, me for sunu wylle
freógan on ferhðe: heald forð tela
niwe sibbe. Ne bið þe ænigre gád
worolde wilna, þe ic geweald hæbbe.
Ful oft ic for læssan leán teóhhode,
hord-weorðunge, hnáhran rínce,
sæmran æt sæcce. Þú þe self hafast
dædum gefremed, þæt þín [dóm] lyfað
áwa tó aldre. Alwalda þec
góde forgylde, swá he nú gyt dyde.
Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeowes:
We þæt ellen-weorc, estum miclum,
feohtan fremedon, frecne geneðdon
eafoð uncuðes. Uðe ic swiðor,
þæt þú hine selfne geseón móste,
feónd on frætewum, fyl-wérigne.
Ic hine hrædlice heardan clammum,

gracious to her in her child-bearing. Now will I, Beowulf, best of men, love thee in my heart like a son: maintain rightly our new tie of kindred. Nor shall there be to thee the lack of any pleasures in the world, over which I have power. Full oft have I for less decreed a reward, places of honour at the hearth, to a meaner soldier, one worse in fight. Thou by thy deeds hast obtained for thyself, that thy [glory] liveth evermore. May the Almighty requite thee with good, as He even now hath done!'

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow:—'We, with hearty goodwill, accomplished by [hard] fighting that great work, and boldly encountered the power of the monster. I would far rather that thou couldst see himself, the foe fully equipped, vanquished and

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946 *bearn-gebyrdo*, abl. sg. of *bearn-gebyrdu*.

949 *ænigre*: see l. 932, note.

951 *teohhode*, pf. of *teohhian*, to appoint.

952 In the translation I have adopted Grein's correction *heorð-weorðunge*.

954 *dom*, glory, is not in the MS., but is supplied by Kemble, followed by other editors, to complete the sense.

959 *feohtan*, abl. of *feohte*.

960 *Uðe*, &c., lit. 'I would rather grant.'

962 *fyl-werigne*, 'by fall distressed.'

on wæl-bedde, wríðan þóhte,
þæt he for hand-gripe mínum scolde
licgean líf-bysig, butan his líc swíce.
Ic hine ne mihte, þá metod nolde,
ganges getwæman; nó ic him þæs georne æt-fealh
feorh-geniðlan; wæs tó fore-mihtig
fcónd on feðe. Hwæðere he his folme forlet,
tó líf-wraðe, last weardian,
earm and eaxle: nó þær ænige swá þeáh
feásceaft guma frófre gebóhte.
Nó þý leng leofað láð-geteóna,
synnum geswenced; ac hyne sár hafað
in níð-grípe nearwe befongen,
balw on bendum: þær abídan sceal
maga mâne fáh miclan dómes,
hú him scír metod scrífan wille.
Þá wæs swigra secg, sunu Ecgláfes,

fallen. I thought quickly to fetter him with hard chains on a bed of death, so that he, for the grip of my hand, should lie struggling for life, without his body escaping. I was not able (since the Creator willed it not) to hinder him from going; therefore I did not effectually cling to him, my deadly assailant; the foe was too strong on his feet. Yet he left his hand to remain behind him, for a life-defence, his arm and shoulder; the forlorn man has not therein after all purchased any comfort. The wrong-doer will not for that live longer, weighed down by his sins; but pain will take hold of him closely fettered in its deadly grasp, bale [will keep him] in bonds; there must the wretch, crime-stained, await his great doom, how the pure Creator shall be pleased to assign it to him.'

Then was the man, the son of Ecglaf, more silent in regard to

965 All the editors correct *hand-gripe* to *mund-gripe*, to preserve the alliteration.

968 The meaning seems to be as given in the translation: *þæs* refers to the purpose of the Creator, which was adverse to that of Beowulf. *æt-fealh*, pf. of *æt-felgan*, to stick to.

969 *fore-mihtig*. The Saxon poet seems to have coined this word, and also *forð-gesceaft* (l. 1750), as literal translations of *præpotens* and *progenies*.

970 *feðe*, gait, footing.

971 *to líf-wraðe*: see l. 2877. The meaning is doubtful. Ib. *last weardian*, lit. 'to guard his track.'

976 *mid gripe*, MS.

977 *balw*, for *balu*, *bealu*.

980 *sunu Ecglafes*, Hunferth.

on gylp-spræce gúð-geweorca,
siððan æðelingas, eorles cræfte,
ofer heánne hróf hand sceáwedon,
feóndes fingras : foran æghwylc.
Wæs steda nægla gehwylc stýle gelícost,
héðenes hand-sporu hilde-rinces,
egl unheoru. Æghwylc gecwæð þæt him
heardra nân hrínan wolde,
íren ér-gód, þæt þæs ahlæcan
blódge beadu-folme onberan wolde.

XV.

Þá wæs háten hráðe, Heort innanweard
folmum gefrætwod. Fela þéra wæs,
wera and wífa, þe þæt wín-reced,
gest-sele gyredon. Gold-fág scinon
web æfter wagum, wundor-sióna fela

his vaunting speech about his deeds in war, after that the nobles, through that earl's prowess, beheld the hand,—the fingers of the foe—high up on the lofty roof; each one in advance. Each of his tough nails was most like to steel, the hand-spurs of the heathen fighter, pointed horrors. Every one said that no first-rate iron ever so hard would touch them, so as to weaken the bloody war-hand of the monster.

XV.

Then was the order quickly given,—Heorot adorned within by human hands. Much people there were, men and women, who garnished that wine-house, that guest-hall. Cloths embroidered with gold shone along the walls; many wonderful sights for every

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983 *ofer heanne hrof.* This cannot mean 'above the roof,' for the poet had before spoken of Grendel's arm being taken '*under* geapne hrof' (l. 837); the sense, therefore, must be as I have rendered it.

984 *foran æghwylc.* Does this mean 'each man [saw it—the arm] in front of him'?

985 The passage to the end of the canto is difficult. Grein takes *steda* as an adj., from *stede* or *stæde*; O.H.G. *stâti*, 'firm,' 'strong.'

987 *egl unheoru*; so in MS. Thorpe reads *eglan heoru*, 'the terrific one's sword.' Kemble translates 'the rude terror.' I have adopted Grein's explanation of *egl*. 991 *hrepe*, MS.

secga gehwylcum, þára þe on swylc stáraþ.
Wæs þæt beorhte bold tóbrocen swiðe,
eal inneweard íren-bendum fæst;
heorras tóhlidene; hróf âna genæs,
ealles ansund, þá se aglæca,
fyrren-dædum fág, on fleám gewand,
aldres orwéna. Nó þæt ýðe byð
tó befleónne, fremme se þe wille;
ac gesacan sceal sawl-berendra,
nýde genyded, niðða bearna,
grund-búendra, gearwe stówe,
þær his líchoma, leger-bedde fæst,
swefeð æfter symle. Þá wæs sæl and mæl,
þæt to healle gang Healfdenes sunu;
wolde self cyning symbel þicgan.
Ne gefrægn ic þa mægðe máran werode
ymb hyra sinc-gyfan sél gebæran.
Bugon þá tó bence blæd-ágende,

person, of those that gaze on such. That bright castle, though all fastened with bands of iron within, was greatly shattered; the hinges burst open; the roof alone survived, wholly uninjured, when the monster, stained by his wicked deeds, turned to flight, hopeless of life. That [death] it is not an easy thing to flee from (perform it whoso will); but each man that owns a soul, of the inhabitants of the ground, the children of quarrels, compelled by necessity, must seek the place prepared, where his body, imprisoned in its narrow bed, shall sleep after [life's] feast. Then was chance and time that Healfdene's son should go to the hall; the king himself would taste of the feast. Nor did I ever hear of a tribe, in a greater body, conducting itself better around their treasure-giver.

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999 *tohlidene*, part. of *tohlidan*, to split open. Ib. *genæs*, pf. of *genesan*, servari.

1002 *or-wena*, lit. 'without expectation.'

1004 *gesacan*, MS. I have followed Thorpe in correcting *gesecan*, to seek.

1005 *genydde*, MS.; Thorpe corrects *genyded*.

1007 *leger-bed* is 'the grave.'

1008 *sæl and mæl*. See l. 1611. *Sæl and mæl* seems to have been used as a current phrase; 'hap and time.'

1013 *blæd-agende*, lit. 'prosperity owning.'

fylle gefǽgon. Fægene geþægon
medo-ful manig magas þára
swiðhicgende on sele þám heán,
Hróðgár and Hróðulf. Heorot innan wæs
freóndum afylled; nalles fácn-stafas
Þeód-Scyldingas þenden fremedon.
Forgeaf þá Beowulfe bearn Healfdenes
segen gyldenne, sigores tó leáne,
hroden hilde-cumbor, helm and byrnan,
mǽre maððum-sweord; manige gesawon
beforan beorn beran. Beowulf geþáh
ful on flette; nó he þǽre feoh-gyfte
fore scótenum scámigan þorfte.
Ne gefrægn ic freóndlícor feówer madmas
golde gegyrede gum-manna fela
in ealo-bence oðrum gesellan.

Then these prosperous men set themselves down on the benches, delighted in the plenty [of the feast]. Their kinsmen in that high hall, the strong-souled Hroðgar and Hroðnuff, joyfully quaffed many a brimmer of mead. Heorot within was filled with friends; the Scyldings' tribe by no means did bad acts the while.

Then the son of Healfdene gave to Beowulf a golden ensign, in reward of victory, a wreathed war-banner, a helmet and a breast-plate, a great and valuable sword; many saw [the attendants] carrying them before the hero. Beowulf in the hall quaffed the cup; he had no need to be ashamed of that present before the soldiers. Nor have I heard tell of many persons giving to others on the ale-bench four precious objects enriched with gold in more friendly

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1014 *Fægere*, MS.

1015 *magas þara*. There is probably some error in the MS. here, for it is difficult to make sense of these words.

1017 Hrothwulf, Hrothgar's cousin, is identified by some with Rolf Kraka. See the Glossary of Names.

1018 Deeds of treachery and violence so often broke up the feasts of the Northmen that it is not without meaning that the poet assures us that no such acts marred the harmony of this particular feast. See the *Heimskringla* and Saxo *passim*.

1022 I follow Grein in correcting the *hilte* of the MS. to *hilde*; *hilde-cumbor* is in apposition to *segen*.

1026 *scotenum*, MS. Kemble and Thorpe correct *sceotendum*, 'shooters,' see l. 1154.

Ymb þæs helmes hróf, heafod-beorge,
wírum bewunden, walan útan heold,
þæt him fela láf frecne ne meahtoN,
scúr-heard sceððan, þonne scyld-freca
ongean grámum gangan scolde.
Héht þá eorla hleó eahta mearas,
fæted-hleore, on flet teón,
in under eoderas. Þára ânum stód
sadol searwum fáh, since gewurðad:
þæt wæs hilde-setl heáh-cyninges,
þonne sweorda gelác sunu Healfdenes
efnan wolde. Næfre on ore læg
wíd-cuðes wíg, þonne walu feollon.
And þá Beowulfe béga gehwæðres
eodor Ingwina onweald geteáh,
wicga and wæpna: hét hine wel brúcan.

guise. Round the top of that helmet, for a protection of the head, twisted with wires, a Wala (?) was an outer defence, so that swords, polished and hard, might not dangerously harm it, when the shielded warrior had to go against the foe. Then the shelter of earls [Hroðgar] gave orders to bring into the court eight horses with plated head-stalls, in under the horse-doors. On one of them there was a saddle curiously adorned, enriched and precious; that was the war-seat of the high king, when the son of Healfdene was minded to practise the sword-game. Never flagged the battle of the far-famed one at the head [of his army], when the carcases of the slain fell to earth. And then the prince of the Ingwinas gave over to Beowulf the possession of both one and the other,—the

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1030 This sentence is probably corrupt; the scribe himself does not appear to have understood it. The readings above are those of the MS. *Walan* is taken by some as the acc., and translated 'wales,' 'bruises:' 'head-covering warded off bruises.' Grein conceives *wala* to mean a pig, just as he understood *ferh*, in l. 305, 'the boar device outside protected, &c.' A thorough study of ancient Teutonic helmets might, perhaps, throw light on the passage. Of *laf* nothing can be made: I follow Grein in correcting *lafe*, bequests, heirlooms, *i.e.*, swords. See l. 795.

1036 *fæted-hleore*, lit. 'plated on cheek.'

1037 *eoderas*. *Eoder* is the O.N. *iaðarr*, which occurs in the Edda (*Hrafn.* 25), and is there explained by Lüning 'horse-door' (*iôr*, horse, *dyr*, door).

1041 *ôre*, dat. of *ôr*, beginning.

Swá manlíce mære þeóden,
hord-weard hæleða, heaðo-ræsas geald,
mearrum and madmum; swá hý næfre man lyhð,
se þe secgan wile sóð æfter rihte.

XVI.

Þá gyt æghwylcum eorla drihten,
þara þe mid Beowulfe brimlade teáh,
on þære medubence maððum gesealde,
yrfe-láfe; and þone ánne héht
golde forgyldan, þone þe Grendel ær
mâne acwealde, swá he hyra má wolde,
nefne him witig God wyrd forstóde,
and þæs mannes mód. Metod eallum weold
gumena cynnes, swá he nú git déð;
forþan bið andgit æghwær sélest,

horses and the arms,—he bad him enjoy them well. Thus like a true man did the great ruler, the treasure-warden of heroes, requite the [perilous] shocks of war with horses and precious things; in such wise that never will any man undervalue them, who wishes to speak the truth according to right.

XVI.

Then, moreover, did the lord of earls bestow treasure on the mead-bench on each one of those who undertook with Beowulf the voyage over the deep,—heirlooms to leave behind them; and he gave orders to pay the price in gold of that one man whom Grendel had wickedly slain, as he would have [slain] more of them, had not all-knowing God, and that man's courage, prevented this destiny for them. The Creator ruled over all the children of men, as He now yet doth; therefore is reflection everywhere best, [and]

1048 *lyhð*, 3 pres. sg. of *léan*.

1054 The companion of Beowulf, who had lost his life while aiding his lord against Grendel (l. 741), is *paid for* at his just value, his *were-gyld*, by Hrothgar. This practical illustration of the old Teutonic theory, that every man has his price, —is of a certain value, greater or less, to the society to which he belongs,— is highly interesting. See Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, passim*.

ferhðes foreþanc. Fela sceal gebídan
leófes and láðes, se þe longe her
on þyssum win-dagum worulde brúceð.
Þær wæs sang and swég samod ætgædere
fore Healfdenes hilde-wísan,
gomen-wudu gréted, gid oft wrecen,
þonne heal-gamen Hroðgáres scôp,
æfter medo-bence, mænan scolde.
'Finnes eaferum, þá híe se fær begeat,
hæleð Healfdena, Hnæf Scyldinga,
in Fres-wæle feallan scolde.
Ne huru Hildeburh herian þorfte
Eótena treówe: unsynnum wearð
beloren leófum æt þám lind-plegan,
bearnum and bróðrum; híe on gebyrd hruron,

fore-thought of the mind. Much must he expect of good and evil, who here for a long time, in these days of toil, enjoys the world. There were song and the din of voices, mingled together, before the war-leader [the son] of Healfdene; the wood of mirth was touched, the tale oft recounted, when Hroðgar's poet, along the mead-bench, was to recite [what was] the delight of the hall:—

'By Fin's heirs, when the peril overtook them, Hnæf the Scylding, Healfdene's warrior, was in Friesland doomed to fall. Nor surely had Hildeburh need to praise the good faith of the Jutes; without her fault she was bereft of her beloved sons and brothers,

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1061 *leofes and laðes*, lit. 'of what is lief and what is loathly.'

1065 *gomen-wudu*, 'the play-wood,' *i.e.*, the harp.

1068 *Finnes eaferum*. There is much difficulty about this opening of the Scôp's tale. Thorpe inserts *be*, 'concerning,' before *Finnes*, and connects the words with what has gone before. I am far from certain that this does not give the best sense; however, I have followed Grein in his arrangement of the sentence. Fin's heirs, 'when the peril overtook them,' *i.e.*, when Fin's town was attacked (see the *Excursus* on this passage), defended themselves so well that they caused the death of Hnæf, the leader of the attack.

1069 *Healfdena*, MS. *Healfdenes*, Edda.

1072 *Eotena*, though it would naturally represent the gen. pl. of *eoten* (*Jötunn*), giant, can only be understood here as another form of *Jutna*, gen. of *Jotan*, the Jutes. Ib. *unsynnum*. Grein takes the word to be an adj., and joins it to *bearnum*, &c. This seems harsh; I should prefer to regard it as used adverbially, or else to correct *unsynnig*, with Thorpe.

1074 *hruron*, pf. of *hreosan*, to fall.

gáre wunde; þæt wæs geomuru ides.
Nalles hólinga Hoces dóhtor
metodsceaft bemearn, syððan morgen com,
þá heó under swegle geseón meahte
morðor-bealo maga, þær heó ær mæste heold
worolde wynne. Wíg ealle fornam
Finnes þegnas, nemne feáum ânum,
þæt he ne mehte on þæm meðel-stede
wig Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,
né þa weá-láfe wíge forþringan
þeódnes þegne. Ac híg him geþingo budon,
þæt híe him oðer flet eal gerýmdon,
healle and heáh-setl, þæt híe healfre geweald
wið Eótena bearn ágan móston,
and æt feoh-gyftum Folcwaldan sunu,
dógra gehwylce, Dene weorðode,
Hengestes heáp hringum wénede

in the shield play: they fell according to their destiny, wounded by the spear; that was a sorrowful lady. Not without cause did Hoc's daughter mourn fate's decree, when the morning came; when she might behold under the sky her kinsmen slaughtered and gone, where erst she had the most joy in the world. War swept away all the thanes of Finn, except a very few, so that he might not, on the place of assembly, contend at all against Hengest, nor protect by war that miserable remnant from the prince's thane (Hengest). But they [Finn's thanes] offered to him conditions, that they would wholly vacate for him [Hengest] another court, a hall and a high seat, so that they might halve the power with the children of the Jutes, and that the son of Folcwalda [Finn], at the distribution of presents, should on each day do honour to the Danes, should liberally present Hengest's band with rings even in the like

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1076 *Hoces dohtor.* Hildeburh; see the *Excursus* on this episode in the Appendix.

1082 *meðel-stede,* 'the place of assembly:' see note on l. 236. Grein and Thorpe understand it here, 'field of battle,' but no similar use of the term elsewhere, so far as I can discover, justifies the interpretation.

1083 *wig,* MS.; Thorpe corrects *wið.*

1091 *wenede,* pf. of *wenian*; lit. 'should habituate to.'

efne swá swiðe, sinc-gestreónum
fættan goldes, swá he Fresena cyn
on beór-sele byldan wolde.
Þá híe getrúwedon on twá healfa
fæste friodu-wære; Fin Hengeste,
elne unflitme, áðum benemde,
þæt he þa weá-láfe weotena dóme
árum heolde, þæt þær ænig mon,
wordum ne worcum, wære ne bræce,
ne þurh inwit-searo æfre gemænden,
þéah híe hira béag-gyfan banan folgedon,
þeódenleáse, þá him swá geþearfod wæs.
Gyf þonne Frysna hwylc frecnan spræce
þæs morðor-hetes myndgiend wære,
þonne hit sweordes ecg syððan scolde.
Áð wæs geæfned, and icge gold

degree (with presents of precious things [made] of plated gold), as he would encourage the kindred of the Frisians in the beer-hall. Then on both sides they ratified a firm treaty of peace; Finn engaged to Hengest on oath, strongly and without strife, that he would honourably maintain that sad remnant, by the judgment of the Witan, so that no man there should by word or work break the treaty, or with crafty malice ever make mention of [the past], although they, ruler-less, followed the slayer of their own ring-giver, as they had been compelled to do. If, then, anyone of the Frisians should with rash speech make mention of that murderous feud, then the edge of the sword was to avenge it.

The oath was taken, and gold brought forth from the hoard.

1098 *wea-lafe.* The remnant of the Danish followers of Hnæf, who, after their master's fall (described in the fragment commonly called the *Battle of Finsburg*), took service with Finn, the Frisian king.

1101 *gemænden* (read *gemændon*) is supposed by Grein to come from a verb otherwise unknown, *gemænan*, to corrupt; but it seems better to suppose a *gemænan* connected with *mænan*, to declare, and *gemunan*, to call to mind.

1105 *myndgiend*, pres. part. of *myndgian*, to remind.

1106 *syððan*, MS.; Thorpe reads *sweðrian*, to compose; but Grein cites *seðe*, from *seðan* (*Genesis*, l. 1525), which he believes to be there used in the sense of 'avenge.' With this verb he identifies the *syððan* of the text. These assumptions are both doubtful and the passage remains obscure.

ahæfen of horde. Here-Scyldinga
betst beado-rinca wæs on bǽl gearu.
Æt þǽm áde wæs eð-gesýne
swát-fáh syrce, swýn eal gylden,
eofer íren-heard, æðeling manig
wundum awyrded: sume on wæl crungon.
Hét þá Hildeburh, æt Hnæfes áde,
hire selfre sunu sweoloðe befæstan,
bán-fatu bærnan, and on bǽl dón
earme on eaxle. Ides gnornode,
geomrode giddum. Gúð-rinc astáh;
wand to wolcnum wæl-fyra mæst,
hlynode for hlǽwe; hafelan multon,
ben-geato burston; þonne blód ætspranc,
láð-bíte líces. Lig ealle forswealg,
gǽsta gifrost, þára þe þær gúð fornam:
béga folces wæs hira blǽd scacen.

The noble warrior of the soldier-Scyldings [Hnæf] was made ready for the funeral pile. At the pyre might easily be seen the war-shirt stained with blood, the swine all of gold, the boar-helm of hardest iron, many a noble disfigured by wounds: some had fallen in the carnage. Then, at Hnæf's burning, Hildeburh bade them commit her own sons to the burning heat, to burn their bodies, and on the pile reduce the hapless ones to ashes. The lady groaned, uttered sorrowful cries. The warrior mounted upwards; that greatest of funereal fires rose to the clouds, roared before the mound; the heads melted, the gates of the wounds burst; then blood gushed forth, from the gash made in the body. Fire, that greediest of spirits, swallowed up all those whom war had there swept away; for both nations their welfare was departed.

1107 *icge.* No commentator, so far as I know, has been able to explain this word satisfactorily.

1111 *swyn.* The crest surmounting the iron helmet was a boar made of gold. In the next line *eofer* simply means 'helmet.'

1115 *sunu,* MS.; read *suna.*

1117 *eaxle.* Thorpe corrects *axe,* ashes, which I have followed in the translation.

1121 *ben-geato.* A strange compound, not elsewhere met with.

1122 *láð-bite,* lit. 'hostile bite.'

XVII.

Gewiton him þá wígend wíca neósian,
freóndum befeallen, Frysland geseón,
hámas and heáh-burh. Hengest þá gyt
wæl-fágne winter wunode mid Finne
. . . . unhlitme; eard gemunde,
þeáh þe he meahte on mere drífan
hringed-stefnan. Holm storme weol,
won wið winde; winter ýðe beleác
is-gebinde, oððæt oðer com
gear in geardas; swá nú gyt deð,
þá þe syngales sele bewitiað
wuldor-torhtan weder. Þá wæs winter scacen;

XVII.

Then the warriors, deprived of their friends, departed to visit the settlements, to see Friesland, the hamlets and high burgh. Hengest, during the winter, the enemy of moving waters, still dwelt there with Finn . . . . . (?); he bethought him of his native place, though he could not urge his ringed-stemmed ship over the sea. The water boiled under the tempest, struggled against the wind; winter locked the waves in icy bonds, till a new year came to the farm-steads, even as it now still doth, for those that continually watch for the gloriously bright weather. Then was winter fled; fair was the bosom of the earth; the wanderer-

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1125 *Gewiton.* Hnaf's remaining warriors disperse to the homes assigned to them in different parts of Friesland.

1128 *wæl-fàgne*; *wæl,* rolling or rushing water, *fag,* infensus; said of the winter, because it fetters the running waters with ice. Ib. *mid finnel,* MS.

1129 A word is wanting in the MS., of which only *l* remains; Grein supplies *eðles.* Ib. *unhlitme* has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Thorpe corrects *unflitme,* 'without dissension.'

1130 *he,* MS.; *ne,* Grein.

1135 *sele,* MS.; Thorpe reads *sæle,* and translates 'a happy moment.' Perhaps we should take it as the gen. agreeing with *syngales,* 'at a time perpetually recurring.' For *þá* Grein reads *þæm.*

fæger foldan bearm; fundode wrecca
gist of geardum; he tó gyrn-wræce
swiðor þóhte þonne tó sæ-láde,
gif he torn-gemót þurhteon mihte,
þæt he Eotena bearn inn-gemunde.
Swá he ne forwyrnde worold-rædenne,
þonne him Hunláfing, hilde-leóman,
billa sélest, on bearm dyde:
þæs wæron mid Eótenum ecge cuðe.
Swylce ferhð-frecan Finn eft begeat
sweord-bealo sliðen, æt his selfes hám;
siððan grimne grípe Guðláf and Osláf,
æfter sæ-siðe, sorge mændon,

guest [Hengest] longed [to set out] from the farm-steads; he thought rather on a woeful vengeance than on a sea voyage, if he might carry to the end the deadly conflict, on which he, the child of the Jutes, inly meditated. So he repudiated not the custom of the world, when [Finn] laid on his lap Hunlafing, that war-flashing sword, that best of blades: its edges were well known among the Jutes. Thus the courageous Finn afterwards was overtaken by foul slaughter at his own home, when Guthlaf and Oslaf, after their sea-voyage, made mournful mention of the cruel death-struggle,

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1137 *wrecca* (Eng. 'wretch'), exile, wanderer. Hengest was the commander of one of those bands of rovers, with no home but their ships, who at that time infested the Northern seas.

1142 *he ne forwyrnde.* I follow Rieger's explanation of this difficult line. Hengest, though secretly plotting vengeance, did not rebel against the established customs; and when Finn, anxious to heal the breach, 'laid on his lap,' *i.e.*, presented to him, the good sword Hunlafing, Hengest accepted it.

1144 *on bearm dyde.* Ettmüller and Grein take these words to mean 'plunged into his bosom,' and to describe the murder of Finn by Hengest. But cf. l. 2194, where a nearly similar expression occurs, which can only be understood of making a present. See also l. 2404.

1145 *ecge.* The double edge of Hunlafing had often been used by Finn against the Jutes with terrible effect.

1146 *Swylce* is difficult of explanation: perhaps it refers to what has been said before of the secret designs of Hengest. Ib. *begeat*, pf. of *begitan*, to reach, overtake.

1148 *grimne gripe*, rightly referred by Rieger to the struggle in which Hnæf had fallen.

1149 *mændon.* Against the compact which had been made, that no mention of enmities past should be allowed. Guðlaf and Oslaf, on arriving in Friesland from Denmark, freely bewailed their slain countrymen—hostilities then recommenced.

ætwiton weána dæl; ne meahte wæfre mód
forhabban in hreðre. Þá wæs heal hroden
feónda feorum, swilce Fin slægen,
cyning on corðre, and seó cwén numen.
Sceótend Scyldinga tó scypum feredon
eal in-gestealdeorð-cyninges,
swylce híe æt Finnes hám findan meahton,
sigla searo-gimma. Híe on sæ-láde
drihtlíce wíf tó Denum feredon,
læddon tó leódum. Leóð wæs asungen,
gleómannes gyd; gamen eft astáh,
beorhtode benc-swég; byrelas sealdon
wín of wunder-fatum. Þá cwom Wealhþeów forð,
gán under gyldnum beáge, þær þa gódan twégen,
sæton suhter-gefæderan. Þa gyt wæs hiera sib ætgædere,

reproached him [as the author of] their portion of griefs; nor could Hengest's wavering mind restrain itself in his breast. Then was the hall adorned with the lives of foemen, inasmuch as Finn was slain, the king in his court, and the queen taken away. The archers of the Scyldings carried to the ships all the household stuff of the land-king, whatever they were able to find at Finn's homestead, jewels curious and precious. They carried the noble lady in their voyage to Denmark, led her to [her] people.'

The sung was sung, the gleeman's tale [told]; after that pastime arose, the noise on the benches was loud and shrill; cup-bearers handed wine from wondrously wrought jars. Then came Wealtheow forth, with a golden coronet on her head, to go to where those two good friends, uncle and nephew, sat. Still was there

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1152 *Fin slægen.* I have attempted to give an intelligible view of this singular episode in the *Excursus* relating to it.

1153 *seo cwen,* Hildeburh.

1155 *eorð-cyninges,* 'land-king,' having a fixed residence and defined territory, as opposed to the 'sea-kings,' who had neither.

1161 *byrelas,* cup-bearers. The word occurs often in the *Laws of Ethelbert,* and is there always feminine.

1164 *suhter-gefæderan,* 'of kin on the father's side.' *Suhter* is connected with the Germ. *geschwister.* Nearly the same word is used in the *Traveller's Song,* l. 46, to express the relationship between Hrothgar and Hrothwulf; they are there called *suhter-fadran.*

ǽghwylc ðǒrum trywe. Swylce þær Hunferð þyle
æt fótum sæt freán Scyldinga; gehwylc hiora
his ferhðe treówde, [nære
þæt he hæfde mód micel, þeáh þe he his magum
árfæst æt ecga gelácum. Spræc þá ides Scyl-
dinga:
Onfóh þissum fulle, freó-drihten mín,
sinces brytta; þú on sælum wes,
gold-wine gumena: and to Geátum spræc
mildum wordum, swá sceal man dón.
Beó wiðǒ Geátas glæd, geofena gemyndig,
neán and feorran: þú nú . . . . hafast.
Me man sægde, þæt þú for sunu wolde
here-rínc habban. Heorot is gefælsod,
beáh-sele beorhta: brúc þenden þú móte
manigra medo, and þínum magum læf
folc and ríce, þonnc þú forðǒ scyle
metodsceaft seón. Ic mínne can
glædne Hróðǒulf, þæt he þa geogoðǒe wile

peace between them; each was true to the other. So also Hunferð the orator sat there at the feet of the Scyldings' lord; each of them trusted to his sagacity, that he had great wit,—although he was not staunch and true to his own kinsmen in the game of swords. Then the Lady of the Scyldings spake: 'Take this cup, my lord and master, dispenser of treasure; happy and glorious be thou, generous friend of men; speak to the Geatas with mild words, as one ought to do. Be thou gracious towards the Geatas, and mindful of gifts, from near and from far; thou now hast [peace]. It has been told to me, that thou wouldst gladly have the brave knight for a son. Heorot, that bright ring-hall, is cleansed; enjoy while thou mayst the mead of the many, and leave to thy sons people and kingdom, when thou must depart to see the Godhead. I know my pleasant Hroðwulf, that he will honourably uphold the youth, if

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1167 *nære = ne wære.* Hunferth had killed or caused the death of his own brothers. See l. 587.

1173 *geofena.* A lengthened form of *giofa,* from *gifu.*

1174 A word beginning with *f* has dropped out of the MS. Ettmüller suggests *friðu,* peace.

1175 *for sunu*; see l. 947.

árum healdan ; gyf þú ær þonne he,
wine Scyldinga, worold oflætest.
Wéne ic þæt he mid góde gyldan wille
uncran eaferan ; gif he þæt eal gemon,
hwæt wit tó willan and tó worðmyndum,
umbor wesendum ær árna gefremedon.
Hwearf þá bi bence, þær hyre byre wæron,
Hréðríc and Hróðmund, and hæleða bearn,
giogoð ætgædere: þær se góda sæt,
Beowulf Geáta, be þém gebróðrum twæm.

XVIII.

Him wæs ful boren, and freónd-laðu
wordum bewægned, and wunden gold
estum geeáwed ; earm-reáde twá,
hrægl and hringas, heals-beága mæst
þára þe ic on foldan gefrægen hæbbe.
Nænigne ic under swegle sélran hýrde

thou, the Scyldings' kindly lord, shouldst leave the world before him. I ween that he will roquite our heirs with good, if he bethinketh him of all that, which we, in regard to honours, erst performed for his pleasure and dignity while he was yet an infant.' Then she turned by the bench, where her sons were, Hreðric and Hroðmund, and [other] sons of warriors, the youth sitting together; there the good knight, Beowulf the Geat, sat beside the two brethren.

XVIII.

To him a cup was borne, and a friendly invitation offered, and twisted gold graciously bestowed ; two armlets, raiment and rings, [and] the largest collar that I have ever heard of in the world. No finer piece of jewellery under the sky did I ever hear of as being

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1185 *gemon*, pres. of *gemunan*, to call to mind.

1194 *earm-reade*, MS. ; Thorpe corrects *earm-reaf*; Grein (whom I follow) *earm-hreade*, lit. 'arm-wreaths.'

hord-madmum hæleþa, syþþan Hama ætwæg
to here-byrhtan byrig Brósinga mene,
sigle and sinc-fæt: searo-níþas fealh
Eormenríces; geceás écne ræd.
Þone hring hæfde Higelác Geáta,
nefa Swertinges, nyhstan siþe,
siþþan he under segne sinc ealgode,
wæl-reáf werede. Hine wyrd fornam,
siþþan he for wlenco weán ahsode,
fæhþe tó Frysum. He þa frætwe wæg,
eorcnan-stánas, ofer ýþa ful
ríce þeóden. He under rande gecranc:
gehwearf þá in Francna fæþm feorh cyninges,
breóst-gewædu, and se beáh somod:
wyrsan wig-frecan wæl reafedon,
æfter gúþ-sceare; Geáta leóde
hreá-wíc heoldon. Heal swége onfeng:

in the possession of heroes, since Hama carried away the Brosinga-men, gems and precious vessels, at the bright burgh; he incurred the malignant hate of Eormenric; he obtained lasting advantage. That collar had Higelac the Geata, nephew of Swerting, on his last raid, when under his banner he defended the treasure, guarded the spoils of the slain. Fate swept him away, when owing to his pride he experienced disasters, in the feud with the Frisians. He bore that jewel, [the collar of] precious stones, across the brimming waters, that powerful king. He sank low beneath his shield; then passed into the power of the Franks the life of the king, his breast-weeds and the collar together; inferior combatants rifled the dead body, according to the lot of war; the people of the Geatas dwelt in the abode of slaughter.

1198 *madmum*, MS.; read *maþþum*. Ib. *ætwæg*, pf. of *ætwegan*.

1199 *here-byrhtan*, MS.; Grein corrects *þære byrhtan*. Ib. *Brosinga mene*, mentioned in the *Edda* as the necklace of Freyja. See the *Excursus* in the Appendix.

1201 *geceas*, pf. of *geceosan*, to choose.

1207 *fæhþe*. For an account of Higelac's disastrous expedition see *Introduction*, § 2.

1208 *eorcnan-stanas*, precious stones; Icel. *iarknastein*, Goth. *airknis*. Ib. *yþa ful*, lit. 'the cup of the waves.'

1214 *hrea-wic heoldon*. The natural interpretation would be 'had possession of the place of carnage'; *i.e.*, stood their ground, and repelled the enemy; but, as Higelac and the

Wealhþeów maðelode, heó fore þæm werede
Brúc þisses beáges, Beowulf leófa [spræc :
hyse, mid hæle, and þisses hrægles neót,
þeód-gestreóna, and geþeóh tela:
cén þec mid cræfte, and þyssum cnyhtum wes
lára líðe; ic þe þæs leán geman.
Hafast þú gefered þæt þe feor and neáh,
ealne wide-ferhð, weras ehtigað
efne swa side swa sæ bebugeð
windge eard-weallas. Wes, þenden þú lifige,
æðeling eádig! ic þe an tela
sinc-gestreóna. Beó þú sunum mínum
dædum gedéfe, dreám healdende.
Her is æghwylc eorl oðrum getrýwe,
módes milde, man-drihtne hold;
þegnas syndon geþwære, þeód eal gearo;
druncne dryht-guman; dóð swá ic bidde.
Eóde þá tó setle. Þær wæs symbla cyst,

The hall became uproarious: Wealtheow spake; she delivered herself [thus] before the company: 'Receive and wear this collar, O youth, dear Beowulf, in all prosperity, and make good use of this raiment, [for they are] public gifts; and thrive well; enkindle thy spirit strongly, and be to these young men a mild teacher; I will bethink me to requite thee there-for. Thou hast dealt so, that men will honour thee far and near all thy life long, even as widely as the sea embraceth the windy bulwarks of the land. Be, while thou livest, a prosperous noble! I will bestow on thee lavishly presents of treasure. Be thou in act staunch to my sons, upholding [their] joy. Here all the earls are true to one another, mild of mood, loyal to their chief lord; the thanes are in accord, the people all ready; the vassals have well drunk: do ye as I bid.'

Then went she to her seat. There was the choicest of feasts,

Geatas were utterly routed, this interpretation does not seem to be here admissible. Ib. *swege onfeng*, lit. 'took to noise.'

1217 *neot*, imper. of *neotan*.

1222 *ealne wide-ferhð*; see l. 702.

1224 *wind geard weallas*, MS. Thorpe's correction, which is at once very simple, and removes all difficulty of construction, I have adopted. Grein reads *wind geond weallas*.

1225 *an*, pres. of *unnan*, to grant.

1229 *hold*. The MS. has *heol*, with the *e* struck out.

druncon wín weras, wyrd ne cuðon,
geósceaft grimne, swá hit agangen wearð
eorla manegum. Syððan æfen cwom,
and him Hróðgár gewát tó hófe sínum,
ríce to reste. Receed weardode
unrím eorla, swá híe oft ǽr dydon;
benc-þelu béredon: hit geond-bræded wearð
beddum and bolstrum. Beór-scealca sum,
fús and fǽge, flet-reste gebeág.
Setton him tó heáfdum hilde-randas,
bord-wudu beorhtan. Þær on bence wæs,
ofer æðelinge, ýð-gesene
heaðo-steápa helm, hringed byrne,
þræc-wudu þrymlíc. Wæs þeáw hyra,
þæt híe oft wǽron an wíg gearwe,
ge æt hám ge on herge, ge gehwæðer þára,
efne swylce mǽla swylce hira man-dryhtne
þearf gesǽlde; wæs seó þeód tilu.

the men drank wine, they knew not fate, the cruel past, as it had befallen many an earl. After that the evening came, and Hroðgar departed from them to his lodging, the ruler [went] to rest. An innumerable multitude of earls guarded the mansion, as they often did aforetime; they bared the bench-floor; it was spread over with beds and bolsters. Some of the beer-drinkers [tapsters?], alert and joyful, lay down to rest. They placed at their heads their battle shields, their bright wooden bucklers. There on the bench, above the noble, might easily be seen his towering helmet, his coat of chain-mail, his glorious war-shield. It was their custom, that they should often be ready for battle, whether at home or abroad, and any one of them indifferently, just on such occasions as their liege lord had need of them;—that was a serviceable people!

1236 *him*, the ethical dative.

1239 *benc-þelu*. *þelu* is the Engl. 'deal.' On the earthen floor of a Teutonic drinking-hall a flooring of timber was placed which covered part of it, and on which the tables and benches were set: they were removed at bed-time. See lines 486 and 775.

1240 *Beor-scealca sum*. The precise import of this sentence is not clear.

1241 For *fæge* (doomed, or else, cowardly) we should read *fægen*, joyful.

1249 *swylce*, lit. 'as the need of them happened to the lord.'

II.

GRENDLES MODOR.

XIX.

Sigon þá tó slæpe. Sum sáre ongeald
æfen-reste, swá him ful oft gelamp,
siððan gold-sele Grendel warode,
unriht æfnde, oððæt ende becwom,
swylt æfter synnum. Þæt gesýne wearð,
wíd-cuð werum, þætte wrecend þá gyt
lifde æfter láðum, lange þrage
æfter guð-ceare, Grendles módor.
Ides, aglæc wíf, yrmðe gemunde,
seó þe wæter-egesan wunian scolde,

II.

XIX.

Then sank they to sleep. One paid dearly for his evening rest, as had happened to them full oft, since Grendel had occupied the gold-hall, and accomplished wrong, until his end came, death after sin. That was [clearly] seen, widely known among men, that an avenger yet survived the foe, a long while after the perilous battle, —Grendel's mother. The woman, the monstrous witch, brooded over her misery,—she who was doomed to dwell among the terrors of waters, the cold streams, after that Cain became the murderer of

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Book II. Although the MS. has no break at this place beyond one of the usual sectional divisions, the arrangement which makes a new book commence here is not an arbitrary one. The poet seems to take a fresh departure from this point; he recapitulates shortly the events described in the foregoing Book as if he were addressing himself to a fresh audience, or as if he wished to give a certain independence to the present book, so that it might stand alone and tell its own story, even if those to whom it came were unacquainted with the First Book. Even the affiliation of Grendel to Cain is here insisted upon afresh, just as in Book I., l. 107.

1253 *warode*, pf. of *warian*, to guard, occupy.

cealde streámas, siððan Cain gewearð
to ecg-banan ángan bréðer,
fæderen-mæge. He þá fág gewât
morðre gemearcod, man-dreám fleón,
westen warode. Þanon wóc fela
geósceaft-gásta; wæa þæra Grendel sum,
heoro-wearh hetelic. Se æt Heorote fand
wæccendne wer wíges bídan;
þær hím aglæca æt grǽpe wearð;
hwæðre he gemunde mægenes strenge,
ginfæste gife, þe him God sealde,
and him to ânwaldan áre gelýfde,
frófre and fultum. Þý he þone feónd ofercwom,
gehnægde helle gást; þá he heán gewât,
dreáme bedǽled, deáð-wíc seón,
man-cynnes feónd. And his módor þá gyt,
gifre and galg-mód, gegán wolde

his own brother, his father's son. He then, stained with guilt, branded with murder, departed, fleeing from human joys, [and] dwelt in the wilderness. Thence woke to life a troop of the spirits of old time; of these Grendel was one, a raging were-wolf. He had found at Heorot a man, awake and vigilant, awaiting the conflict; there the monster was at grips with him; nevertheless he [Beowulf] bethought him of his strength and vigour, those ample gifts which God delivered to him, and in him as the Sole Ruler sincerely trusted for comfort and succour. By this he overcame the fiend, laid low the hell-born spirit; then he [Grendel], the foe of mankind, abject and deprived of joy, departed to visit the abode of death. And his

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1266 *geó-sceaft-gasta.* See l. 1234. *Gio* or *geo* meaning of 'old,' 'anciently,' *geosceaft* (which only occurs in these passages) seems to mean much the same as *frumsceaft.* l. 45.

1267 *heoro-wearh. Wearh*, or *wearg*, O.H.G. *warg*, Icel. *vargr*, 'wolf,' but with a notion of wickedness and cursedness attached to it. Grimm points out the same word in several Slavonic languages as used for the devil: Pol. *wrog*, Bohem. *wrah*, Serv. *wrag*. Hence came 'were-wolf,' the French *loup-garou*, the superstitions connected with which in the Middle Ages and far earlier were countless. In the *Laws of Canute* the devil is spoken of as *wod-freca were-wulf.*—(Grimm's *Deut. Myth.* 948.) Heoro has an intensive force.

1271 *gim-*, MS.; Kemble, Thorpe, and Grein correct *gin-*.

1277 *galg-mod*, lit. 'gallows-minded.'

sorhfulne siδ, sunu þeód wrecan.
Com þá tó Heorote, þær Hring-Dene
geond þæt sæld swæfun; þá þær sóna wearδ
edhwyrft eorlum, siδδan inne fealh
Grendles módor. Wæs se grýre læssa,
efne swá micle swá biδ mægδa cræft,
wíg-grýre wifes be wæpned-men,
þonne heoru bunden, hamere geþuren,
sweord swáte fáh (swín ofer helme),
ecgum þyhtig, andweard scíreδ.
Þá wæs on healle heard-ecg togen,
sweord ofer setlum, síd-rand manig
hafen handa-fæst; helm ne gemunde,
byrnan síde, þá hine se bróga angeát.
Heó wæs on ófste, wolde út þanon
feore beorgan, þá heó onfunden wæs.

mother yet, ravenous and wrathful, desired to set forth on a dread enterprise, signally to avenge her son. Then came she to Heorot, where the Ring-Danes lay asleep about that palace; then there was soon a panic among the earls, when Grendel's mother burst in. The terror was less [than in the time of Grendel], even in proportion as is the strength of maids, the fear inspired in warfare by a woman, beside an armed man, when the banded sword, hammer-beaten, the faulchion stained with gore (the boar above the helmet) with trenchant edge, sheareth downright. Then in the hall was the hard edge drawn, the sword above the seats, many a broad shield, firmly clutched, was upreared; [no one] thought of helmet, nor broad corselet, when the terror seized him. She was in haste,

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1278 *sunu þeod wrecan*, MS.; but there seems to be no way of making sense of the passage, but by supposing a compound verb, *þeod-wrecan*.

1281 *edhwyrft*, lit. 'a turning back.'

1285 *bunden* perhaps refers to the sword being stained different colours, so as to have a banded appearance. Ib. *geþuren* is a *vox ignota*.

1286 *swin ofer helme*. These words are completely out of place, and I can only suppose that the poet introduced them because he could not otherwise obtain the alliteration.

1287 *ecgum þyhtig*, doughty with edges; *and-weard*, right opposite, *ex adverso*. *þyhtig* is restored by Thorpe; the word is now effaced from the MS.; Thorkelin has *dyhttig*.

1288 *togen*, part. of *teon*, to draw.

1290 *hafen*, part. of *hebban*, to heave.

1293 *feore*, dat. of *feorh*, governed by *beorgan*.

Hraðe heó æðelinga ânne hæfde
fæste befangen, þá heó to fenne gang;
se wæs Hróðgáre hæleða leófost,
on gesiðes hád, be sæm tweónum,
rice rand-wíga, þone þe heó ræste abreát,
blæd-fæstne beorn. Næs Beowulf þær,
ác wæs oðer in ær geteohhod,
æfter maððum-gife, mærum Geáte. [genam
Hreám wearð on Heorote; heó under heolfre
cuðe folme. Cearu wæs geniwod
geworden in wícum; ne wæs þæt gewrixle til,
þæt híe on bá healfa bicgan scoldon
freónda feorum. Þá wæs fród cyning,
hár hilde-rinc, on hreón móde,
syððan he aldor-þegn unlyfigendne,
þone deórestan, deádne wisse.
Hraðe wæs tó búre Beowulf fetod,

she wished to get safely with life out from thence, as she was discovered. Suddenly she had taken fast hold of one of the nobles, as she went to the fen; that was to Hroðgar the most beloved among his warriors, in the rank of a retainer, by the two seas, a powerful shield-warrior, whom, in the midst of prosperity, she carried off while asleep. Beowulf was not there, for another lodging had been before assigned to him, the great Geat, after the bestowal of the treasures. There was uproar in Heorot: she took, covered as it was with blood, the well-known hand. Distress was renewed, prevailing in the dwellings; nor was that a good exchange, that they on both sides had to buy with the lives of friends. Then the sage king, the hoary warrior, was in a fierce mood when he knew that his leading thane was bereft of life, his dearest friend dead. Quickly was Beowulf fetched to the bower, that soldier blessed with

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1298 *abreat*, pf. of *abreatan*, or *abreotan*, the meaning of which seems to vary. In several places the meaning of killing, crushing, destroying is certainly the right one. Here and in l. 2930 it is doubtful whether the notion is not that of 'carrying off.'

1300 *in* = 'inn,' lodging.

1302 *genam*. Grendel's mother takes down the gory hand and arm of her son from the roof.

1305 *on ba healfa*. Ettmüller explains, on the part both of Hrothgar and of Grendel's mother.

1310 *fetod*, part. of *fetian*, to fetch.

sigor-eádig secg. Samod ær dæge
eóde eorla sum, æðele cempa,
self mid gesiðum, þær se snotera bád,
hwæðre him alwalda æfre wille,
æfter weá-spelle wyrpe gefremman.
Gang þá æfter flóre fyrd-wyrðe man
mid his hand-scale, (heal-wudu dynede),
þæt he þone wisan wordum hnægde,
freán Ingwina; frægn gif him wære,
æfter neód-láðu, niht getæse.

XX.

Hróðgàr maðelode, helm Scyldinga:
Ne frin þú æfter sælum; sorh is geniwod
Denigea leódum; deád is Æschere,
Yrmenláfes yldra bróðor,

victory. Together ere day went, attended by his earls, the noble warrior, himself with his retainers, where the sagacious [king] awaited, [to see] whether the All-Ruler would ever, after these sorrowful tidings, work out a change. Then walked along the floor the illustrious man, with his attendant troop, (the hall-timbers made a din) that he might accost that chieftain, the lord of the Ingwinas; he asked if he had had, after [that] pressing summons, an agreeable night.

XX.

Hrothgar spake, the Scyldings' safe-guard: 'Ask not after [my] welfare; sorrow is renewed for the people of the Danes; Æschere is dead, Yrmenlaf's elder brother, who knew my secrets, and was

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1312 *eorla sum.* Beowulf was one —and the chief—among a number of earls; see *fiftena sum*, l. 207.

1315 The opposite to *wea-spell*, woeful tidings, is *god-spell*, gospel, good tidings.

1317 *hand-scale. scalu*, or *scolu*, is shoal, or 'school,' as when sailors speak of a school of porpoises. Ib. *dynede.* The flooring of the hall creaked and groaned under the hero's tread; compare the 'Gemuit sub pondere cymba sutilis' of Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 413).

1319 *Ingwina.* The *Ingwinas* are the Ingævones of Tacitus.

mín rún-wita, and mín ræd-bora;
eaxl-gestealla, þonne we on orlege
hafelan wéredon, þonne hniton feðan,
eoferas cnysedan: swylc scolde eorl wesan
. . . ér-gód, swylc Æschere wæs.
Wearð him on Heorote tó hand-banan
wæl-gæst wæfre. Ic ne wát hwæðer
atol æse wlanc eft-siðas teáh,
fylle gefrægnod. Heó þa fæhðe wræc,
þe þú gystran niht Grendel cwealdest,
þurh hæstne hád, heardum clammum;
forþan he tó lange leóde míne
wanode and wyrde. He æt wige gecrang,
ealdres scyldig, and nú oðer cwom
mihtig man-scaða, wolde hyre mæg wrecan,
ge feor hafað fæhðe gestæled;
þæs þe þincean mæg þegne monegum,
se þe æfter sinc-gyfan on sefan greóteþ,
hreðer-bealo hearde. Nú seó hand ligeð,

my counsellor, who stood by me shoulder to shoulder when we in battle had to guard our heads, when battalions hurtled together, and boar-helms crashed; even so should [every] earl be very good, as Æschere was. A restless demon was his destroyer in Heorot; I wot not whether the pest exulting in its prey has returned again, rejoiced by its banquet. She has avenged the quarrel, in which thou killedst Grendel yester-night, in violent fashion, with hard grips, because he too long had thinned and destroyed my people. He fell in battle, forfeiting his life; and now another has come, a mighty and guilty destroyer, [and] would avenge her son, and has far off established the feud; on account of which many a thane may be ill at ease, who grieveth in spirit after his treasure-giver, in hard

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1326 *eaxl-gestealla,* 'shoulder-comrade.'

1329 A word is wanting; Grein supplies *æghwylc.*

1333 *gefrægnod,* MS. Thorpe reads *gefrefrod,* comforted; Kemble and Grein *gefægnod,* which I have followed in the translation.

1337 *wyrde,* pf. of *wyrdan,* to injure.

1340-4 These lines are very obscure. Compare *þincean mæg* with *mæg ofþyncan* in l. 2032. *þegne monegum* must refer to Æschere's thanes.

se þe eow wel hwylcra wilna dohte.
Ic þæt lond-búend, leóde míne,
sele-rædende, secgan hýrde,
þæt híe gesawon swylce twégen
micle mearc-stapan móras healdan,
ellor-gæstas; þæra oðer wæs,
(þæs þe híe gewíslícost gewítan meahton),
idese onlícnes; oðer, earm-sceapen,
on weres wæstmum wræc-lastas træd,
næfne he wæs mára þon ænig man oðer,
þone on gear-dagum Grendel nemdon
fold-búende. Nó híe fæder cunnon,
hwæðer him ænig wæs ær ácenned
dyrnra gásta. Híe dygel lond
warigeað, wulf-hleóðu, windige næssas,
frecne fen-gelád, þær fyrgen-streám,
under næssa genipu, niðer gewíteð,
flód under foldan. Nis þæt feor heonon,
mil gemearces, þæt se mere standeð;

trouble of the breast. Now the hand is disabled, which was worth many and various pleasures to you. I have heard country people of my nation, hall-talkers, say this,—that they had seen two such great mark-steppers traversing the moors, strange creatures; of these, one was (according to what they were able to know most accurately), the likeness of a woman; the other, miserable, in the guise of a man trod the path of an outcast (except that he was greater than any other man), whom in days of yore the people named Grendel. They know not a father, whether, before them, any spirit of darkness has been brought forth. They inhabit the dark land, wolf-haunted slopes, windy headlands, the rough fen-way, where the mountain stream, under the dark shade of the headlands, runneth down, water under land. It is not far from

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1344 *dohte*, pf. of *dugan*.

1351 *onlicnæs*, MS.

1354 *on gear-dagum*. Here again a certain incongruity makes itself felt between this way of speaking of Grendel, as if he and his story were an affair of the past, and only imperfectly known to the speaker,—and the prominence assigned to them in the First Book.

1359 *fyrgen*, *firgen*, a mountain; Goth. *fairguni*.

ofer þǽm hongiað hrinde bearwas,
wudu wyrtum fæst, wæter oferhelmað:
þær mæg nihta gehwǽm níð-wundur seón,
fýr on flóde. Nó þæs fród leofað
gumena bearna þæt þone grund wite,
þeáh þe hǽð-stápa hundum geswenced,
heorot hornum trum, holt-wudu séce,
feorran geflymed, ǽr he feorh seleð,
aldor on ófre, ǽr he in wille
hafelan [hýdan]. Nis þæt heoru stów.
Þonon ýð-geblond up-astígeð
won to wolcnum, þonne wind styreð
láð gewidru, oððæt lyft drysmað,
roderas reótað. Nú is se ræd gelang
eft æt þe ânum; eard git ne const,
frecne stówe, þær þú findan miht
fela-sinnigne secg. Séc gif þú dyrre;

hence, a mile by measure, that the mere lies; over it hang groves of dead (?) trees, a wood fast-rooted, [and] bend sheltering ly over the water; there every night may [one] see a dire portent, fire on the flood. No one of the sons of men is so experienced as to know those lake-depths; though the heath-ranging hart, with strong horns, pressed hard by the hounds, seek that wooded holt, hunted from far, he will sooner give up his life, his last breath on the bank, before he will [hide] his head therein. It is not a holy place. Thence the turbid wave riseth up dark hued to the clouds, when the wind stirreth up foul weather, until the air grows glomy, the heavens weep. Now is the speech come back to thee alone; thou knowest not yet the haunt, the dangerous place, where thou mayst find this most sinful being. Seek [him] if thou durst;

1363 *hrinde*, an unknown word. Thorpe translates 'barky,' Thorkelin 'pensilia'; Grein thinks it may mean 'dead,' as connected with an old English word *rind*, frozen to death.

1366 *fyr*. Grein translates 'a man,' as nom. case to *mæg*; but surely it is better to understand it of the *fire*, which, as we read afterwards, raged beneath the surface of the mysterious lake.

1366 *frod leofað*, peritus vivit; *i.e.*, is cunning enough. This phrase occurs in a poem on the Wonders of Creation in the Exeter MS.

1372 A word is missing. Grein accepts Thorpe's insertion of *hydan*.

1375 *dyrre*, pr. sub. of *durran*, to dare.

ic þe þa fæhðe feó leánige,
eald-gestreónum, swá ic ær dyde,
wundum golde, gyf þú onweg cymest.

XXI.

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes;
Ne sorga, snotor guma! sélre bið æghwæm
þæt he his freónd wrece, þonne he fela murne.
Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebídan
worolde lífes: wyrce se þe móte
dómes ær deáðe; þæt bið driht-guman
unlífgendum æfter sélest.
Arís, ríces weard? uton hraðe féran
Grendles magan gang sceáwigan.
Ic hit þe geháte, nó heó on holm losað,
ne on foldan fæðm, ne on fyrgen-holt,
ne on gyfenes grund, gâ þær heó wille.

I will reward thee duly for that fight with old treasures, as I formerly did, with twisted gold, if thou comest away [alive].

XXI.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'Grieve not, thou wise man! better it is for everyone that he should avenge his friend, than that he should mourn exceedingly. Each one of us must abide the end of worldly life; let him who may work out [his portion] of glory before his death; that shall hereafter be best for the chieftain when no more in life. Arise, guardian of the kingdom! let us go, and quickly fare, to spy out the goings of Grendel's mother. I promise it thee; she shall not escape by water, nor into the bosom of the earth, nor into the mountain-forest, nor the bottom

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1382 *wundum*, MS. Grein's correction, *wundnum*, is entirely satisfactory.

1390 *uton*, or *wuton*, corresponds in meaning to the French *allons*.

1391 *magan*, lit. 'relative.'

1392 *no he an helm*, MS., which is without meaning Thorpe corrects *heo on holm*, which I have followed in the translation. Grein retains *helm*.

Þys dógor þú geþyld hafa
weána gehwylces, swá ic þe wéne tó.
Ahleóp þá se gomela, Gode þancode,
mihtigan drihtne, þæs se man gespræc.
Þá wæs Hróðgáre hors gebǽted,
wicg wunden-feax. Wisa fengel
geatolic gende; gum-feða stóp
lind-hæbbendra. Lastas wæron
æfter wald-swaðum wíde gesýne;
gang ofer grundas gegnum fór,
ofer myrcan mór: mago-þegna bær
þone sélestan sawolleásne, ...
þáre þe mid Hróðgáre hám eahtode.
Ofer-eóde þá æþelinga bearn
steáp stán-hliðo, stíge nearwe,
enge ânpaðas, uncuð gelád,
neowle næssas, nicor-húsa fela.
He feara sum beforan gengde,

of the sea, let her go where she will. This day have thou patience concerning every trouble, as I expect in thee.'

Then the old man sprang up, he thanked God, the mighty Lord, for what the man spoke. Then was Hroðgar's horse bitted, a steed with curling mane. The wise chieftain, fully equipped, went forth; a battalion of shield-bearing men marched [with him]. The footsteps were widely seen along the forest glades; the track over the ground led straight on, across the gloomy moor; she bore the lifeless corpse of the best of the thanes, his kinsmen, who with Hroðgar protected the homestead. Then the descendant of princes passed over a steep stony rise, narrow roads, strait lonely paths, an unknown way, precipitous headlands, [by] many haunts of Nixes. He, attended by a few prudent men, went before to survey the

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1401 *gende*, MS. Thorpe corrects *gengde*, went. Grein refers to the Icelandic *gana*, *gandi*, ruere temere et præcipiti cursu.

1404 *gegnum fór*, went straight on.

1407 *ham eahtode*, the reading of the MS., would mean 'consulted for the household.' I am inclined to follow Kemble in correcting *ealgode*, 'protected.'

1412 *feara sum*, one of a few; see l. 1312 and note.

wísra monna, wong sceáwian,
oððæt he færinga fyrgen-beámas
ofer hárne stán hleónian funde,
wynleásne wudu; wæter under stód
dreórig and gedréfed. Denum eallum wæs,
winum Scyldinga, weorce on móde
tó geþolianne, þegne monegum,
oncyð eorla gehwæm, syððan Æscheres,
on þám holm-clife, hafelan métton.
Flód blóde weol (folc tósægon),
hátan heolfre; horn stundum song
fúslíc . . . . leóð. Feða eal gesæt.
Gesawon þá æfter wætere wyrm-cynnes fela,
séllíce sæ-dracan, sund cunnian;
swylce on næs-hleoðum nicras licgean,

region, until he suddenly came upon some mountain trees bending over a hoar rock, a cheerless wood; the water lay below, dreary and troubled. To all the Danes, the friends of the Scyldings, it was [a thing] grievous in mind to endure for many a thane, a distress for each earl [among them], when, on the cliff beside the sea, they came upon the head of Æschere. The flood bubbled with blood, (the people looked on), with hot gore; the horn sounded at intervals a funereal strain. The troop all sat down. Then saw they along the water many creatures of the serpent kind, strange sea-dragons exploring the deeps, as also Nixes lying on the headland-

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1413 *wong* usually means 'meadow.'

1415 *ofer harne stan.* The picture of the weird tarn, with great grey rocks overhanging it, and 'mountain-trees' (such as mountain-ashes, pines, birches, I suppose) bending over the rocks, is finely and vigorously drawn.

1418 The few Danish nobles whom Hrothgar had taken on with him in advance of the column (*feða*) appear to be called *wine Scyldinga*, in a sense somewhat resembling that in which we have found the king himself often called the *wine* of his people. For the earls or nobles in a Teutonic tribe might be called no less than the king, though in a lower sense, the friendly patrons and protectors of the general body of the freemen.

1420 *oncyð*; see l. 830.

1422 *tó-sægon.* A less common form of the pf. of *to-seon*, for *to-sawon.* It occurs also in *Elene*, 1105.

1424 A word or part of a word, of four or five letters, between *fuslic* and *leoð*, is now lost; nor was it legible even in Thorkelin's time, as Grein proves. *fus-leoð* means, a death-lay; probably therefore *fuslic* . . . . *leoð* has a somewhat similar signification. Grein reads *fyrð-leoð*.

Þa on undernmæl oft bewitigaþ
sorhfulne siþ on segl-rade,
wyrmas and wildeór. Híe onweg hruron,
bitere and gebolgne, bearhtm ongeáton,
gúþ-horn galan. Sumne Geáta leód,
of flán-bogan, feores getwæfde,
ýþ-gewinnes, þæt him on aldre stód
here-stræl hearda. He on holme wæs
sundes þe sænra, þá hyne swylt fornam.
Hraþe wearþ on ýþum, mid eofer-spreótum,
heoro-hócihtum, hearde genearwod,
níþa genæged, and on næs togen,
wundorlic wæg-bora: weras sceáwedon
gryrelicne gist. Gyrede hine Beowulf
eorl-gewædum: nalles for ealdre mearn;
scolde here-byrne, hondum gebroden,

slopes, which in the mid-day time often take notice of . . . . . a voyage full of hardship on the sail-traversed sea, serpents and wild creatures. They rushed away bitter and fierce, [when] they heard the clang, the war-horn pealing. One of them, the lord of the Geatas, with an arrow from a bow, deprived of life, of his watery toil, so that the hard bolt pierced to the vitals. He in the water of the lake was the more sluggish, when death took him. Quickly was he, the wondrous water-beast, closely pressed, fiercely plied, with boar-poles, sharp hatchets, and drawn on to a headland; the men gazed on the grisly creature.

Beowulf arrayed himself in the weeds of an earl; he was not solicitous about his life; his coat of mail, linked together by hands,

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1429 I think a line has dropped out after *bewitigaþ*, to this effect—'seafaring men while they are plying.' Thus the whole sentence would run: 'they saw . . . Nixes lying . . . . which in the midday time often notice [sailors, while they are plying] a weary voyage,' &c.

1430 *hruron*, pf. of *hreosan*.

1432 *galan*, lit. 'yell.'

1433 *of flan-bogan*, 'from an arrow-bow.' *Flan* is Chaucer's *flo*, pl. *flone*.

1434 *yþ-gewin*, 'wave-toil,' refers to the restless activity of the creature, always darting to and fro about the mere.

1435 *He on holme wæs*. This seems to be intended for a joke; if so, it is a truly ponderous one.

1436 *þe*, MS.; *þá*, Th.

1437 *eofer-spreotum*, lit. 'boar-sprits.'

síd and searo-fáh, sund cunnian,
seó þe bán-cofan beorgan cuðe,
þæt him hilde-gráp hreðre ne mihte,
eorres inwit-feng, aldre gesceððan.
Ac se hwíta helm hafelan wérede,
se þe mere-grundas mengan scolde,
sécan sund-gebland, since geweorðad,
befongen freá-wrasnum, swá hine fyrn-dagum
worhte wæpna smið, wundrum teóde,
besette swín-lícum, þæt hine syððan nó
brond né beado-mecas bítan né meahton.
Næs þæt þonne mætost mægen-fultuma,
þæt him on þearfe lâh þyle Hróðgáres.
Wæs þém hæft-mece Hrunting nama;
þæt wæs ân foran eald-gestreóna;
ecg wæs íren ater-tánum fáh
ahyrded heaðo-swate; næfre hit æt hilde ne swác

broad and cunningly stained of many colours,—which could protect his body, so that an enemy's grip might not harm his vitals, [nor] the malignant clutch of an angry foe his life,—was to explore the depths. But the white helmet guarded his head, which [the helmet] was to venture into the mere-abysses, to penetrate the turbid waters, richly ornamented, laced with splendid chains, as an armourer wrought it in far-off days, furnished it with wonders, fixed upon it the likeness of a swine, so that never aftewards brand or dagger should be able to bite into it. Nor at that time was that the least of mighty aids, which Hroðgar's orator lent him in his need. Hrunting was the name of this short-hilted sword; it was one of [Hunferth's] old treasures long before; the edge was iron, stained with poisoned rods, hardened by blood spilt in battle; never had it failed any man in battle, of those whose hands had

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1449 *mengan*, properly, to mix; hence, to mix oneself with, intrude upon, venture into.

1450 *sund-gebland*, lit. 'sound-blending,' or mixture.

1451 *frea-wrasnum*, 'chains suitable for a prince,' from *frea-wrasen*. Another compound, *inwit-wrasnum*, occurs in *Andreas*, 948.

1452 Perhaps *wundrum* should be taken as an adverb, 'wonderfully framed.'

1456 *lâh*, pf. of *lihan*, to lend.

1459 *áter-tanum*. *Áter*, venom, is usually spelt *átor*, or *áttor*. *Tan*, virga.

1460 *swác*, pf. of *swican*.

manna æ̀ngum, þára þe hit mit mundum bewand,
se þe grýre-siðas gegán dorste,
folc-stede fára. Næs þæt forma sið,
þæt hit ellen-weorc æfnan scolde.
Huru ne gemunde mago Ecgláfes,
eafoðes cræftig, þæt he ær gespræc,
wíne druncen, þá he þæs wæpnes onláh
sélran sweord-frecan ; selfa ne dorste
under ýða gewin aldre genéðan,
drihtscype dreógan ; þær he dóme forleás
ellen-mærðum. Ne wæs þæ̀m oðrum swá,
syððan he hine to gúðe gegyred hæfde.

XXII.

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes :
Geþenc nú, se mæra maga Healdenes,

wielded it, — those who durst enter upon perilous enteprises, [attack] the homestead of foes. This was not the first time that it [the sword] was to perform a mighty work. Surely the son of Ecglaf, [though] powerful and strong, bethought him not of what before, when drunk with wine, he had spoken, when he lent that weapon to a better swordsman; he himself durst not risk his life under the turbulent waves, [nor] bear the brunt of heroic deeds; there he lost the glory of feats of arms. It was not so with the other, after he had arrayed himself for battle.

XXII.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'Remember now, great son of Healfdene, wise chieftain, rich and kind lord of men,—now

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1461 *bewand*, pf. of *bewindan*. In the phrase 'of those that,' or 'of those who,' in English, 'that' and 'who' are plural; but the Anglo-Saxon idiom requires þe in the corresponding phrase, *þara þe*, to be singular, and to take a singular verb. See l. 1686.

1467 *onlihan* is to 'make a loan of,' and therefore governs a gen. of the object.

1470 *dome*, MS.; Thorpe corrects *dom*.

1471 *ellen-mærðum*. Thorkelin has *ellen-mærða in*. It is not easy to see what sense can be made of *ellen-mærðum*.

snottra fengel, nú ic eom siðes fús,
gold-wine gumena, hwæt wit geó spræcon:
Gif ic æt þearfe þínre scolde
aldre linnan, þæt þú me á wære
forð-gewítenum on fæder stæle.
Wes þú mundbora mínum mago-þegnum,
hond-gesellum, gif mec hild nime.
Swylce þú þa madmas, þe þú me sealdest,
Hróðgár leófa, Hígeláce onsend:
mæg þonne on þæm golde ongitan Geáta dryhten,
geseón sunu Hreðles, þonne he on þæt sinc stárað,
þæt ic gum-cystum gôdne funde,
beága bryttan, breác þonne móste.
And þú Hunferð læt ealde láfe,
wrætlic wæg-sweord, wíd-cuðne man,
heard-ecg habban: ic me mid Hruntinge
dóm gewyrce, oððe mec deáð nimeð.
Æfter þæm wordum Weder-Geáta leód
éfste mid elne; nalas andsware

that I am ready for the adventure, what we two spoke of some time since,—that if I [helping thee] in thy need, should lose my life, thou wouldst ever be to me, when departed, in a father's stead. Be thou a guardian to the thanes, my kinsmen, my trusty comrades, if the fight go against me. Moreover, dear Hroðgar, send thou to Higelac those treasures which thou gavest me; the lord of the Geatas may perceive by that gold, and the son of Hrethel [may] see, when he gazeth on those costly things,—that I found a munificently good dispenser of rings, [and] enjoyed [his bounty] while I might. And do thou let Hunferth, that man of wide renown, have the old heir-loom, the cunningly-forged heavy sword, hard-edged; —I will earn for myself glory with Hrunting, or death shall take me.'

After these words the lord of the Weder-Geatas hastened away

1486 *gum-cystum gôdne.* So Abraham is called by Cædmon *gum-cystum gôd* (*Gen.* 1769).

1489 *wæg-sweord*, 'weighty-sword'; *wæg* is a balance. This sword, which Hrothgar had a little while before given to Beowulf (l. 1023), the latter now desires may, in the event of his death, be transferred to Hunferth.

bídan wolde. Brim-wylm onfeng
hilde-rince. Þá wæs hwíl dæges
ær he þone grund-wong ongytan mehte.
Sona þæt onfunde se þe flóda begong
heoro-gifre beheold hund missera,
grim and grædig, þæt þær gumena sum
ælwihta eard ufan cunnode.
Gráp þá tó-geanes, gúð-rinc gefeng
atolan clommum: no þý ær in-gescód
hálan líce, hring útan ymb-beárh,
þæt heó þone fyrd-hom þurh-fón ne mihte,
locene leódo-syrcan, láðan fingrum.
Bær þá seó brim-wylf, þá heó to botme com,
hringa þengel to hófe sínum,

resolutely; on no account would he abide an answer. The whelming waters received the warrior. Then it was some while ere he could discern [objects at] the bottom. Soon did she [Grendel's mother], who, greedy for blood, had for fifty years had her haunt in the water's flow, grim and ravenous, discover that some man was there exploring from above the abode of strange creatures. Then she grappled with him, she seized the warrior in her devilish grasp; [yet] not thereby did she the sooner harm the sound body; the chain-mail without protected him, so that she might not penetrate that breast-plate, the locked body-shirt, with her loathly fingers. Then the water-wolf, when she came to the bottom,

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1495 *hilde-rince* is dat., as in lines 852 and 1213. *hwil dæges*; Mr. Thorpe renders 'a day's space.' Surely, if this were meant, it would be *dogores*, not *dæges*. A period in the day, or a space of time, seems to me all that is intended.

1497 *se þe*, MS.; Grein and Thorpe correct *seo*; but cf. l. 1344.

1498 *missera*, half-years, from *missere*; Icel. *misseri*.

1501 *Grap—gefeng*, pfs. of *gripan* and *ge-fón*.

1502 *atolan*. On this form of the dat. (or abl.) pl. of the adj., which we have met with twice before (lines 907, 965), see Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, § 75. Ib. *in-gescod*, pf. of *in-gesceaðan*.

1503 *ymb-bearh*, pf. of *ymb-beorgan*.

1504 *fyrd-hom*, a military garment; acc. of *fyrd-ham*.

1505 *leodo-*, MS.; Grein and Thorpe correct *leoðo-*. Ib. *Laðan*; see note to l. 1502.

1507 *þengel*, princeps; Icel. *þengill*. Perhaps *fengel*, a word of the same meaning, occurring in several passages of *Beowulf*, but in no other author, should be corrected to *þengel* in those passages as an error of the scribe.

swá he ne mihte nó (he þeah módig wæs),
wæpna gewealdan; ac hine wundra þæs fela
swencte on sunde, sæ-deór monig
hilde-tuxum here-syrcan bræc;
ehton aglæcan. Þá se eorl ongeat
þæt he [in] níð-sele nát-hwylcum wæs,
þær him nænig wæter wihte ne sceðede,
ne him for hróf-sele hrínan ne mihte
fær-grípe flódes. Fýr-leóht geseah,
blácne leóman, beorhte scínan:
ongeat þá se góda grund-wyrgenne,
mere-wíf mihtig. Mægen-ræs forgeaf
hilde-bille; hond swenge ne ofteáh,
þæt hire on hafelan hring-mæl agól
grædig gúð-leoð. Þá se gist onfand
þæt se beado-leóma bítan nolde,

dragged the prince of rings to her den, so that he might not (courageous though he was) master his weapons; for many wondrous creatures there in the depths pressed him hard, many a sea-beast with terrible tusks rent his war-shirt; the monsters persecuted him. Then the earl perceived that he was in some kind of dreadful hall, where no water harmed him in aught, nor could the dangerous embrace of the flood touch him for the roofed hall. He saw the light of fire, a glittering ray, brightly shine; then the good [knight] perceived the were-wolf of the abyss, the mighty mere-wife. He gave a powerful thrust with his war-sword, his hand did not refuse the stroke, so that the ringed sword rang out a terrible war-song on her head. Then the guest found that the sword would

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1508 *þæm*, MS. Grein corrects *þeah*, though.

1509 *þæs*: *þær* would give a better sense.

1513 *níð-sele*, lit. 'a hall of quarrel or enmity.'

1517 *beorhte*, an adverb formed from *beorht*, bright. 'The termination *e*, like the Icel. *a*, is adopted, when the adj. in the pos. degree is used adverbially; as *yfele*, evilly, from *yfel*.' —Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, p. 49.

1520 *hord swenge*, MS. Grein's correction *hond swenge* is undoubtedly right, being confirmed by the parallel passage, l. 2489.

1521 *hring-mæl*. *Mæl* is used for a mark or sign; *Cristes mæl* = the Cross; then, specially, for the marks on a sword-hilt, then for the sword itself. Ib. *agól*, pf. of *a-galan*.

1522 *grædig*. Thorpe corrects *gryrelic*.

1523 *beado-leoma*, battle-flasher, *i.e.* the sword.

aldre sceððan, ac seó ecg geswác
þeódne æt þearfe. Þolode ær fela
hond-gemóta, helm oft gescær,
fæges fyrd-hrægl; þá wæs forma síð
deórum madme, þæt his dóm alæg.
Eft wæs ánræd, nalas elnes læt,
mærða gemyndig, mæg Hygeláces;
wearp þá wunden-mál, wrættum gebunden,
yrre oretta, þæt hit on eorðan læg
stið and stýl-ecg; strenge getrúwode,
mund-grípe mægenes. Swá sceal man dón,
þonne he æt gúðe gegán þenceð
longsumne lóf, ná ymb his líf cearað.
Gefeng þá be eaxle (nalas for fæhðe mearn),
gúð-Geáta leód Grendles módor:
brægd þá beadwe-heard, þá he gebolgen wæs,

not bite, nor injure her life, but the edge failed the prince in his need. It had before endured many hand-to-hand fights, often had it shorn a helmet, [or] the military vest of a doomed [foe]; then was the first time to that precious treasure, that its glory was laid low. After that the kinsman of Higelac was firm, by no means abated his valour, mindful of his great deeds of arms; then the angry warrior threw away the chased brand, encircled with curious devices, so that it lay on the ground, stiff and steel-edged; he trusted in his strength, in the powerful grip of his hand. So must a man do, when he thinketh in battle to win lasting praise, nor careth about his life. Then the prince of warlike Geatas (he shrank not at all from the fray) seized Grendel's mother by the shoulder; then the doughty fighter, for he was enraged, shook his deadly adversary, so

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1528 *alæg*, pf. of *alicgan*, to lie, to be prostrate.

1531 *wrættum*, devices chased on the hilt.

1533 *styl-ecg*. 'This is to be understood literally; the weapon, whether sword or axe, being .... of bronze or copper, and having an edge of iron or steel fastened on it by means of rivets. Specimens of this kind are preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen' (Thorpe).

1537 *mearn*, pf. of *meornan*; cf. l. 1442.

1539 *brægd*, pf. of *bregdan*, to shake, move violently. Ib. *beadwe-heard*, hard in battle.

feorh-geniðlan, þæt heó on flet gebeáh.
Heó him eft hraðe hand-leán forgeald
grimman grápum, and him tó-geanes feng.
Ofer-wearp þá wérigmód wígena strengest,
feðe-cempa, þæt he on fylle wearð.
Ofsæt þá þone sele-gyst, and hyre seaxe geteáh,
brád, brún-ecg; wolde hire bearn wrecan,
ángan eaferan. Him on eaxle læg
breóst-net broden; þæt gebeárh feore,
wið ord and wið ecge ingang forstód.
Hæfde þá forsiðod sunu Ecgþeówes
under ginne grund, Geáta cempa,
nemne him heaðo-byrne helpe gefremede,
here-net hearde, and hálig God
geweold wíg-sigor, wítig drihten,
rodera rædend; hit on ryht gesced
yðelice, syððan he eft astód.

that she sank down on the place. She on her part quickly paid him back in his own coin with a terrible clutch of the hand, and grappled with him. Then that foot-soldier, strongest of warriors, weary of spirit, over-reached himself, so that he fell. Then she sat upon that hall-guest, and took her dagger, broad, brown-edged; she would avenge her bairn, her own heir. His linked coat of mail lay on his shoulder; that protected his life; against point and against edge it withstood entrance. Then would the son of Ecgtheow have gone the way of death under the vast ground, the champion of the Geatas, unless his war-corselet, that hard coat of chain-mail, had afforded him help, and holy God, the all-knowing Lord, the Ruler of the heavens, awarded victory; he settled it aright, easily when he [Beowulf] again stood up.

1540 *gebeah*, pf. of *gebugan*, to bow, stoop.

1541 *hand-lean*, lit. 'paid him a hand-reward.'

1544 *on fylle*. Compare Chaucer's 'on loft' = aloft; so 'abreast,' 'aweigh.' The meaning therefore is, that Beowulf fell, not, as Thorpe renders, that he was 'about to perish.'

1554 *geweold wig-sigor*, awarded victory in fight.

1555 *gesced*, pf. of *gescadan*, to separate, part asunder, hence 'decide': Germ. *scheiden*; *gescod*, Thorpe.

XXIII.

Geseah þá on searwum sige-eádig bil,
eald sweord eótenisc ecgum þyhtig
wigena weorðmynd; þæt [wæs] wæpna cyst,
buton hit wæs máre þonne ænig mon oðer
tó beadu-láce ætberan meahte,
gód and geatolíc, giganta geweorc.
He gefeng þá fetel-hilt, freca Scyldinga,
hreóh and heoro-grim; hring-mæl gebrægd,
aldres orwéna, yrringa slóh,
þæt hire wiðhalse heard grápode,
bán-hringas bræc; bil eal þurh-wód
fægne flæsc-homan: heó on flet gecrong.
Sweord wæs swátig, secg weorce geféh.
Lixte se leóma, leóht inne stód;

XXIII.

Then he saw among the stuff a blade blessed with victory, an old sword of Jotun times, with finest edge, the glory of warriors; that was the very pick of weapons, save that it was larger than any other man could carry forth to the game of war,—good and properly fitted, the work of giants. He, the champion of the Scyldings, fierce and savage, seized that belted hilt; hopeless of life, he drew the ringed blade, fiercely he struck, so that it smote heavily upon her neck, burst the vertebræ; the blade drove right through her doomed carcase; she sank down on the place. The sword was gory, the man rejoiced in his work. The flame flashed

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1562 *giganta geweorc.* Compare *eald sweord eotenisc* in l. 1558. The converted Anglo-Saxons identified—as this passage alone would suffice to prove—the 'giants' of Græco-Roman mythology and of the *Septuagint* version of the Bible (*Gen.* vi. 4) with the Eotenas (*Jötnar*) of their old heathen belief.

1563 *freca Scyldinga.* Beowulf is so called, not as being himself a Scylding, but as fighting their battle.

1567 *ban-hringas*, rightly understood by Ettmüller of the cervical vertebræ.

1570 *se leoma*, the light mentioned above at l. 1516. What was its nature, or how it came there, does not clearly appear.

efne swá of heofne hádre scíneð
rodores candel. He æfter recede wlât.
Hwearf þá be wealle, wæpen hafenade,
heard be hiltum, Higeláces þegn,
yrre and ánræd; (næs seó ecg fracod
hilde-rince); ac he hraðe wolde
Grendle forgyldan gúð-ræsa fela,
þára þe he geworhte tó West-Denum,
ofter micle þonne on ænne sið,
þonne he Hróðgáres heorð-geneátas
slóh on sweofote, sláepende fræt
folces Denigea fýftyne men,
and oðer swylc út of-ferede
láðlícu lác. He him þæs leán forgeald,
reðe cempa tó þæs þe he on reste geseah,
gúð-wérigne, Grendel licgan
aldorleásne, swá him ær gescód
hild æt Heorote. Hrá wíde sprong,
syððan he æfter deáðe drepe þrowade,

up, a light burnt within, even as from heaven the candle of the firmament serenely shineth. He looked along the dwelling. Then Higelac's thane turned by the wall, angry and resolute; he held his weapon fast, hard by the hilt (that edge did not play the warrior false), for he desired forthwith to requite Grendel for those many hostile raids which he had carried out among the West Danes, far oftener than once, when he slew in their slumber Hroðgar's hearth-companions, devoured fifteen men of the people of the Danes while asleep, and carried off as many more, a horrid prey. He for that had requited him his due meed, the fierce warrior, to that degree that he [now] saw Grendel, war-weary, lying lifeless on a couch, so much had the fight at Heorot, some time before, injured him. The corpse burst asunder, when he after death suffered a

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1571 *hefone*, MS.
1572 *wlât*, pf. of *wlitan*, aspicere.
1575 *unræd*, MS.
1581 *fræt*, pf. of *frettan*, to eat, gnaw away, 'fret'; Germ. *fressen*.
1582 *fiftyne men*. This line throws light on the passage, l. 123, where Grendel, at his first inroad, is said to have seized 'thirty thanes.' We are to understand that he devoured fifteen at once, and carried off fifteen others to his haunt in the fen.

heoro-sweng heardne, and hine þá heáfde becearf.
Sona þæt gesawon snottre ceorlas,
þa þe mid Hróðgáre on holm wliton,
þæt wæs ýð-geblond eal gemenged,
brim blóde fáh. Blonden-feaxe
gomele ymb gódne on-geador spræcon,
þæt hig þæs æðelinges eft ne wéndon
þæt he sige-hreðig sécean come
mærne þeóden; þá þæs monige gewearð,
þæt hine seó brim-wylf abróten hæfde.
Þá com nón dæges; næs ofgeafon
hwáte Scyldingas; gewât him hám þonon
gold-wine gumena, gistas sécan,

slashing stroke, a hard swinging sword-cut, and [Beowulf] then cut off his head.

Soon the prudent men, who were gazing at the flood with Hroðgar, saw that the thick liquid was all turbid, the water stained with blood. The white-haired old men talked together about the good [chief], that they never expected any more, of that prince, that he would come, exultant and victorious, to seek the great king, since there was a warning of this, that the water-wolf had destroyed him.

Then came the noon of day; the vigilant Scyldings deserted the headland; the gold-friend of men departed thence to his home, to seek his guests, ... sick at heart, and stared on the

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1590 *heafde becearf*, capite truncavit.

1591 *snottre ceorlas*. The soldiers of the Danish battalion (*feða*), which had accompanied Hrothgar to the mere.

1592 *wliton*. Strong verbs, classified by Mr. Morris as 'Division II., Class V.' (*Hist. Outlines of Engl. Acc.*), which formed the 1st and 3rd pres. sing. of the pf. in *âr*, as *wlâr*, *wrâr*, formed the pl. in *iton*, as *wliton*, *writon*.

1598 *monige*, mention, monition, warning.

1599 *abreoten*, MS. See l. 1298.

1602 *gistas secan*, MS. Grundtvig, followed by Grein, makes the sentence close at *gumena*, and for *secan* reads *sæton*; 'the guests (*i.e.* the Geatas in attendance on Beowulf) sat,' connecting the words with what follows. I prefer to suppose that a line has dropped out to this purport, 'but the sons of the Geatas remained on the spot,' and that to this lost nom. the words *modes seoce* refer. Ettmüller proposes an elaborate scheme of re-arrangement of the lines 1569-1612; but this seems to me unnecessary, whether Grundtvig's correction be preferred, or the hypothesis of a dropped line be adopted.

módes seóce, and on mere stáredon, [drihten
wiscton and ne wéndon þæt híe heora wine-
selfne gesawon. Þá þæt sweord ongan,
æfter heaðo-swáte, hilde-gicelum,
wíg-bil wanian, þæt wæs wundra sum,
þæt hit eal gemealt íse gelícost,
þonne forstes bend fæder onlæteð,
onwindeð wæg-rápas, se geweald hafað
sæla and mæla; þæt is sóð metod.
Ne nom he in þém wícum Weder-Geáta leód,
maðm-æhta má, þéh he þær monige geseah,
buton þone hafelan, and þa hilt somod,
since fáge; sweord ær gemealt,
forbarn broden mæl; wæs þæt blód tó þæs hát,
ættren ellor-gæst, se þær-inne swealt.
Sona wæs on sunde se þe ær æt sæcce gebád
wíg-hrýre wráðra; wæter up þurh-deáf.
Wæron ýð-gebland eal gefælsod,
eácne eardas, þá se ellor-gast
oflet lif-dagas, and þas lænan gesceaft.

mere; they wished, yet expected not, to see their kind lord himself again.

Then that sword began, that stout blade, on account of the gore of the fight, the drops of blood, to waste away, so that it was a wonder [to see], that it all melted, just like ice, when the Father looseneth the bonds of frost, unwindeth the ropes [that bind] the waves,—He who hath power over issues and times; that is the true Creator. Nor in that dwelling did he, the lord of the Weder-Geatas, take any more treasured possessions, though he saw many there, except the head [of Grendel], and the hilt along with it, enriched and many-coloured; the sword had melted away before, the drawn blade had been burnt; to that degree was the blood hot, [and] venomous the strange guest, who therein had perished. Soon was he at the surface, who before had awaited in battle the fierce shock of foes; he dived up through the water. The turbid waves, the

1604 *wiscton.* This is Kemble's correction; the MS. has *wiston.*
1610 *wæl,* MS.; *wæg,* Kemble.
1611 *sæla and mæla*: see l. 1008, and note.

Com þá tó lande lidmanna helm,
swiðmód swymman, sæ-láce gefeah,
mægen-byrðenne þára þe he him mid hæfde.
Eódon him þá tó-geánes, Gode þancodon,
þryðlic þegna heáp, þeódnes gefegon,
þæs þe hí hyne gesundne geseón móston.
Þá wæs of þæm hróran helm and byrne
lungre alýsed. Lagu drúsade,
wæter under wolcnum, wæl-dreóre fág.
Ferdon forð þonon, feðe-lastum,
ferhðum fægne, fold-wég mæton,
cuðe stræte. Cyning-balde men
from þæm holm-clife hafelan bæron,
earfoðlice heora æghwæðrum,
fela-módigra. Feower scoldon,
on þæm wæl-stenge, weorcum geferian
to þæm gold-sele Grendles heáfod;
oððæt semninga tó sele comon
frome fyrd-hwáte feowertyne

vast tracts, were all cleansed, when the strange being forsook life-days, and this poor state of existence.

Then came to land the sailors' friend and guardian, stoutly swimming; he rejoiced in the spoil won from the lake, in the mighty burden of those [things] that he had with him. Then the doughty group of thanes went to meet him,—thanked God—in their prince rejoiced,—because they might behold him safe and sound. Then from the high-spirited chief helmet and coat of mail were quickly undone. The lake grew thick and slab, the water under the clouds, stained with the blood of the slain. Thence they set forth; glad in heart they measured with their steps the land-track, the well-known roads. The bold-natured men bore the heads from the sea-cliff, a hard task for each one of them, courageous though they were. Four [of them] had laboriously to carry Grendel's head, on the bloody stake, to the gold hall, until that at once the fourteen

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1629 *hrôran*, dative of *hrôr*, strenuus.

1630 *drusade*, pf. of *drusan* (Engl. 'drowse'); O.S. *drusnôn*. The water grew thick and clammy from being mixed with so much blood.

1631 *cyning-balde*. Grein reads *cyne-balde*, lit. 'kin-bold.'

Geáta gongan : gum-dryhten mid,
módig on gemonge, meodo-wongas træd.
Þá com in-gán ealdor þegna,
dæd-céne mon, dóme gewurðad,
hæle hilde-deór, Hróðgár grétan.
Þá wæs be feaxe on flet boren
Grendles heáfod, þær guman druncon,
egeslic for eorlum, and þære idese mid ;
wlite seón wrætlic weras onsawon.

XXIV.

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes :
Hwæt ! we þe þas sæ-lác, sunu Healfdenes,
leód Scyldinga, lustum brohton,
tires tó tácne, þe þú her tó-locast.
Ic þæt unsofte ealdre gedígde,

Geatas, strenuous and enterprising, came striding to the hall ; their lord along with them, valorous amidst the throng, trod the mead-plains.

Then came and passed in the prince of thanes, a man daring of deed, honoured with glory, a soldier fierce in fight, to greet Hroðgar. Then was Grendel's head borne in by the hair into the court where men were drinking, frightful,—before the earls,—and that of the woman too : men looked on that wonderful sight.

XXIV.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow : 'What! we this water-spoil to thee, O son of Healfdene ; prince of the Scyldings, have joyfully brought, for a token of glory,—which here thou lookest upon. Hardly did I 'scape from it with life ; painfully, fighting

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1643 *meodo-wongas.* Thorpe renders 'the meadow-plains,' as if from *mædu-wong.* Grein is probably right in understanding, by 'mead-plains,' the fields among which the burgh and hall where warriors drank mead were situated.

1650 *wlite seon wrætlic.* Grein follows Heyne in reading *wlite-seon*: compare *wundorsiona fela,* l. 995.

1655 *ealdre gedigde,* lit. 'with life endured.' *ealdre,* the instr. or abl. case ; cf. l. 661.

wígge under wætere weorc genéðde
earfoðlíce; æt rihte wæs
gúð getwæfed, nymðe mec God scylde.
Ne meahte ic æt hilde mid Hruntinge
wiht gewyrcan, þeáh þæt wæpen duge;
ac me geuðe ylda waldend,
þæt ic on wage geseah wlítig hangian
eald sweord eácen (oftost wísode
winigea leásum), þæt ic þý wæpne gebræd.
Ofslóh þá æt þære sæcce, þá me sæl ageald,
hûses hyrdas. Þá þæt hilde-bil
forbarn, brogden mæl, swá þæt blód gesprang,
hátost heaðo-swáta Ic þæt hilt þanon
feóndum ætferede, fyren-dæda wræc,
deáð-cwealm Denigea, swá hit gedéfe wæs.

under water, I ventured on the work; by rights the contest was broken off, unless God had shielded me. Nor might I in the strife accomplish anything with Hrunting, though that be a good weapon; but the Ruler of men granted to me, that I might see on the wall, hanging fair to view, on old huge sword, (many a time has He opened out a way to the friendless), that I might draw that weapon. Then smote I in the conflict, since the chance was offered to me, the inmates of the dwelling. Then that war-sword, the drawn falchion, was burnt up, as the blood gushed out, hottest gore of carnage. Thence carried I away the hilt from the enemy, avenged [on them] their wicked deeds, the death-agony of the

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1658 *scylde*, pf. of *scyldan*, or *scildan*. Verbs of the first conjugation (weak verbs) ending in *dan* or *tan*, with a consonant preceding, have the 1st per. sg. of the pf. the same as that of the pres.; thus *sendan*, pf., *ic sende*; *settan*, pf., *ic sette*, and the like.—(Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, § 208).

1661 *geuðe*, pf. of *ge-unnan*, to grant.

1664 *wingea-leasum*, Thork.; all that is now to be read is *nigea*, Th.; *winigea*, Grein, = *winia*, amicorum; cf. l. 2567. Ib. *þy wæpne gebræd*, lit. 'brandished with that weapon.'

1665 *sæl ageald*, a difficult expression; cf. *rum ageald*, infra l. 2690, and *sæl ageald in* Cædmon's *Genesis*, l. 2008. 'The chance paid me' is the literal rendering. I have adopted Grein's view of the meaning.

1667 *brogden mæl*; see l. 1616. It would seem that either *broden*, or *brogden*, should be read in both places.

Ic hit þe þonne geháte, þæt þú on Heorote móst
sorhleás swefan mid þínra secga gedryht,
and þegna gehwylc þínra leóda, [þearft,
dugoðe and iogoðe; þæt þú him ondrædan ne
þeóden Scyldinga, on þá healfe,
aldor-bealu eorlum, swá þú ær dydest.
Þá wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince,
hârum hild-fruman, on hand gyfen,
enta ær-geweorc. Hit on æht gehwearf,
æfter deófla hrýre, Denigea freán, [ofgeaf
wundor-smiðða geweorc; and þá þas worold
grom-heort guma, Godes andsaca,
morðres scyldig, and his módor eác,
on geweald gehwearf worold-cyninga

Danes, as fitting it was. I then promise thee, that thou mayst sleep secure in Heorot with the troop of thy followers, and every thane from among thy [subject] peoples, the tried warriors and the youths;—that thou, O prince of the Scyldings, needst fear nothing for them on that side, [no] loss of life for thine earls, as thou erewhile didst.'

Then was the golden hilt, work of primeval giants, given into the hand of the old warrior, the hoary martial chief. After the fall of the demons it—the work of smiths of fame,—came into the possession of the lord of the Danes; and when the fierce-hearted man, God's adversary, doomed to death, and his mother also, gave up this world, it passed into the power of the best of kings in this

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1678 *on þa healfe.* *On*, like *an* in Germ., governs both dat. and acc. Here it takes the acc., as in l. 800.

1683 *morðres scyldig*, not 'guilty of death,' as Thorpe renders it, but 'liable to death; ἔνοχος θανάτου (Matt. xxvi. 66). In fact, it has nearly the same meaning as *ealdres scyldig* in l. 1338.

1684 *on geweald gehwearf.* This passage ll. 1679-1686, as it now stands, is expressed with clumsy tautology; 'after the fall of the devils' (*i.e.* Grendel and his mother), the sword becomes the property of the Danish king (Hrothgar), and when 'the fierce-hearted man' (Grendel again) 'gave up the world,' the sword came into the possession of the best of Scanian kings (who can this be but Hrothgar again?). I agree with Ettmüller in regarding the lines 1680-1684 as a later interpolation. The original poet wrote *Hit on æht gehwearf þam selestan be sæm tweonum*, or something like this; for the interpolator in this as in other places where his handiwork may be inferred or suspected, has taken care to twist the broken context into apparent

þǽm sélestan be sǽm tweónum,
þára þe on Sceden-igge sceattas dǽlde.
Hróðgár maðelode, hylt sceáwode,
ealde láfe; on þǽm wæs ór writen
fyrn-gewinnes, syððan flód ofslóh,
gifen geótende, giganta cyn;
frecne geferdon. Þæt wæs fremde þeód
écean dryhtne; him þæs ende-lean
þurh wæteres wylm waldend sealde.
Swá wæs on þǽm scennum scíran goldes,
þurh rún-stafas, rihte gemearcod,

world beside the two seas, among those that dealt out money in Scania.

Hroðgar spake;—he examined the hilt, the old relic; on it was inscribed the origin of the ancient strife; afterwards the flood, the pouring ocean, destroyed the giant brood; audaciously they bore themselves; that was a people estranged from the eternal Lord; their final reward for this the Almighty dealt to them through the whelming flood of waters. So also it was thereon rightly marked, set, and said, by Runic staves on thin plates of

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conformity with the added matter; we cannot, therefore, restore with certainty the text as it originally stood. What is meant is, that later on, after Hrothgar's death, the sword-hilt became the property of the best of all the kings that ever reigned in Scania. Ettmüller thinks that Beowulf is intended; but Beowulf reigned in Gotland, not in Scania. I believe that the celebrated king Iver Widfadme is meant, of whom we are told in the *Heimskringla*, that being originally a petty king in Scania, he dethroned Ingiald, the last of the Yngling dynasty in Sweden, and became king of that country, reducing under his power Denmark also, 'a great deal of Saxon-land, all the East country, and a fifth part of England.' Ivar's date appears to have been about 600.—(Laing's 'Sea-kings,' i. 2; Geijer's 'Hist. of Sweden,' ch. i.)

1688 *on þæm wæs or writen.* The 'ancient contest' engraved on the hilt was the battle between the gods and the Frost Giants (*Hrim-þursar*), described in the *Völuspá*, the first song of the 'Edda' (Ettmüller). The same acute critic regards the passage ll. 1689²-1693 as another interpolation by a later Christianising hand.

1694 *scennum.* From *scen*, a word not found elsewhere; but it is evidently the same as the Icel. *skinna* (Eng. 'skin'), and means, a thin plate, *lamina*.

1695 *þurh rún-stafas.* In the Rolfe collection, preserved in the Brown Museum at Liverpool, there is a Saxon sword-hilt, on the silver pommel of which is an inscription rudely incised in Runic letters, which no one has yet succeeded in deciphering.

geseted and gesæd, hwám þæt sweord geworht,
írena cyst, érest wére,
wreoðen-hilt and wyrm-fáh. Þa se wísa spræc
sunu Healfdenes: swigedon ealle:
Þæt lá mæg secgan, se þe sóð and riht
freme ð on folce, feor eal gemon,
eald eðel-weard, þæt þes eorl wére
geboren betera. Blæd is aræred
geond wíd-wégas, wine mín Beowulf,
þín ofer þeóda gehwylce; eal þú hit geþyldum healdest; [gelæstan
mægen mid módes snyttrum. Ic þe sceal míne
freode swá wit furðum spræcon: þú scealt tó frófre weorðan
eal lang-tídig leódum þínum,
hæleðum to helpe. Ne wearð Heremód swá
eaforum Ecgwelan, Ar-Scyldingum;

pure gold, for whom that sword, the masterpiece of blades, with wreathed hilt and chased with a serpent pattern of many colours, had first been forged. Then the chieftain spake, the son of Healfdene (all kept silence): 'Lo! this may a man say, who performeth sooth and right among the people, taketh thought for every thing far [beforehand],—an old guardian of the father-land,—that this earl should have been better born! Thy prosperous fortune, my friend Beowulf, is reared aloft far and wide, over each of the tribes; thou enjoyest it all through patience; power joined with prudence. I shall prove my love to thee, as we two spoke formerly; long time thou shalt be for a comfort to thy people, a help to warriors. Heremod behaved not so to the heirs of Ecgwela, the noble Scyldings; nor did he grow up to give them pleasure, but for

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1698 *wyrm-fah*, 'that is, adorned with figures of snakes interlaced, a favourite and universal ornament among the Scandinavian nations, innumerable specimens of which still exist in works of metal, wood, and stone, as capitals of pillars, &c.' (Thorpe.)

1702 *eðel*. In the MS. the Runic character is given: see page 38.

1704 *geond wid-wegas*, lit. 'across wide ways.'

1709 *Heremod*. See l. 901, and the Glossary of Names.

1710 *Ar - Scyldingum*: so Grein. Thorpe separates the words, and renders, 'a blessing to the Scyldings.'

ne geweox he him tó willan, ac to wæl-fylle,
and to deáð-cwalum Deniga leódum;
breát bolgen-mód beód-geneátas,
eaxl-gesteallan, oððæt he âna hwearf,
mære þeóden, mon-dreámum from.
Þeáh þe hine mihtig God mægenes wynnum,
eafeðum stépte, ofer ealle men
forð gefremede, hwæðere him on ferhðe greow
breóst-hord blód-reów; nallas beágas geaf
Denum æfter dóme: dreámleas gebád,
þæt he þæs gewinnes weorc þrówade,
leód-bealo longsum. Þú þe lær be þon,
gum-cyste ongit. Ic þis gid be þe
awræc wintrum fród. Wundor is tó secganne
hú mihtig God manna cynne,
þurh sídne sefan, snyttru bryttað,
eard and eorlscipe: he áh ealra geweald.

their destruction, and to be the deadly bane of the Danish people; in his raging mood he crushed the companions who sat at his board, his shoulder-comrades, until he, the great prince, departed alone, far from the joys of men. Though the mighty God exalted him with the delights of power, [and] with pre-eminences, and brought him forward above all men, yet in his heart there grew a secret hoard of blood-thirsty desires; he was far from giving rings to the Danes according to justice and right; joyless he abode, till he suffered the results of that struggle, a lingering, general ruin. Teach thou thyself by him, understand munificence. I, with the wisdom of many winters, have recited this tale for thy behoof. It is a wonder to say how the mighty God, through His large mind, dispenses prudence to mankind, property and nobility: to Him belongs

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1711 *fealle*, MS.; *fylle*, Thorpe.

1714 *hwearf*, pf. of *hweorfan*; O.S. *hwerban*, Engl. 'warp.'

1719 *nallas beagas geaf*. To 'make presents,' according to the ideas of the Teutonic peoples, was an essential part of the kingly office, just as it is in the conception of the natives of India at this day.

1722 *lær*, imper. of *læran*, to teach; Germ. *lehren*.

1724 *Wundor is*. All from this point to l. 1768 is manifestly a later interpolation; a sermon which some devout but dull transcriber thought it would be for edification to put in the mouth of Hrothgar.

Hwilum he on lufan læteð hworfan
monnes mód-geþonc, mæran cynnes,
seleð hím on éðle eorðan wynne
tó healdanne, hleó-burh wera;
gedéð him swá gewealdene worolde dælas,
síde ríce, þæt he his selfa ne mæg,
for his unsnyttrum ende geþencean:
wunað he on wiste, ne hine wiht dweleð
ádl ne yldo, ne him inwit-sorh
on sefan sweorceð, ne gesacu ohwær
ecg-hete eóweð; ac him eal worold
wendeð on willan. He þæt wyrse ne con,

XXV.

oððæt him on-innan ofer-hygda dæl
weaxeð and wridað, þonne se weard swefeð,
sawele hyrde; bið se slæp tó fæst
bisgum gebunden, bona swiðe neáh,

supremacy over all! Sometimes He letteth the thought of a man, of a great race, wander at will; delivereth to him, on his native soil, the joys of earth to hold, the protecting burgh of men; so maketh subject to him portions of the world, broad kingdoms, that he himself, through his own unwisdom, may not think of his end. He continueth in feasting; not a whit doth sickness or age hamper him, nor doth an uneasy conscience darken in his mind, nor doth strife anywhere produce deadly hatred; but all the world turneth according to his desire. He knoweth not the worse,

XXV.

until that within him the mass of his overweening pride waxeth and sprouteth, when the warder sleepeth, the soul's shepherd; the sleep, bound with busy cares, is too fast, the slayer very near, who shooteth

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1732 *gedeð*, 3rd pers. pres., from *ge-dôn*.

1733 *rice*. The correct form is *ricu*. See 'Rask's Grammar,' § 88.

1740 On what principle the writer of the MS. made the division of the poem into sections, which sometimes, as here and at l. 2039, begin in the middle of a sentence, it is now perhaps impossible to discover. See the remarks on this subject in the *Introduction*, § 5.

se þe of flán-bogan fyrenum sceóteð.
Þonne bið on hreðre under helm drepen,
biteran stræle; him bebeorgan ne con
wom wundor-bebodum wergan gástes;
þinceð him tó lytel þæt he tó lange heold;
gytsað grom-hydig, nallas on gylp seleð
fætte beágas, and he þa forð-gesceaft
forgyteð and forgýmeð, þæs þe him ár God sealde,
wuldres waldend, weorðmynda dæl.
Hit on ende-stæf eft gelimpeð,
þæt se lic-homa láne gedreóseð,
fæge gefealleð; fehð oðer tó,
se þe unmurnlíce madmas dæleð,
eorles-ár-gestreón, egesan ne gýmeð.
Bebeorh þe þone bealoníð, Beowulf leófa,
secg betsta, and þe þæt sélre geceós,
éce rædas; ofer-hyda ne gým,
mære cempa. Nú is þínes mægnes bláed
âne hwíle; eft-sona bið þæt þec
ádl oððe ecg eafoðes getwæfeð,
oððe fýres feng, oððe flódes wylm,

mischievously from his bow. Then is he smitten in the breast, under the helmet, by a bitter bolt; he cannot ward off from himself stain, through the wonderful commands of the cursed spirit; that which he hath held for long seemeth to him too little; fiercely he coveteth; he doth not exultingly give away rich rings; and he forgetteth and neglecteth the life to come, because God, the Ruler of Glory, hath before dealt out to him a [large] share of dignities. Afterwards at the close it happeneth, that the body collapseth wretchedly, [and being] doomed falleth; another taketh to [the kingdom], who lavishly dealeth out treasures, an earl's ancient store, careth not for terror. Guard thyself, dear Beowulf, best of men, from that fatal quarrel, and choose for thyself the better—eternal counsels; hold not arrogance in esteem, great warrior. Now for a while is the prosperous state of thy power; eftsoons it shall be that disease or the edge [of steel] shall sever thee from authority, or the grasp of

1747 *wam*, fleck or stain; O.E. 'wem.' 1750 *fædde*, MS.

oððe grípe meces, oððe gáres fliht,
oððe atol yldo, oððe eágena bearhtm,
forsiteð and forsworceð: semninga bið,
þæt þec, dryht-guma, deáð oferswyðeð.
Swá ic Hring-Dena hund missera
weold under wolcnum, and híg wígge beleác
manegum mægða geond þysne middangeard,
æscum and ecgum; þæt ic me ænigne
under swegles begong gesacan ne tealde.
Hwæt! me þæs on éðle edwendan cwom,
gyrn æfter gomene, seoððan Grendel wearð,
eald gewinna, in-genga mín:
ic þære sócne singales wæg
mód-ceare micle. Þæs sig metode-þanc,
écean drihtne, þæs þe ic on aldre gebád,

fire, or the whelm of flood, or stab of dagger, or flight of spear, or dire old age, or the flash of eyes, will set thee aside and darken thee; suddenly shall it be, that thee, high lord, death shall overpower. So did I for fifty years rule the Ring-Danes under the sky, and fenced them in war from many a tribe all over this earth, with ashen spears and swords; so that I reckoned not any adversary under the span of heaven. 'What! there came a change over all this in my land, wailing after merriment, after that Grendel, that old troubler, was my assailant; on account of that visitation I have borne continually great searchings of heart. Thanks be to the Creator, the eternal

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1766 *eagena bearhtm*, 'the flash of eyes.' The allusion is to the doctrine of the 'evil eye' of witches. On this ancient superstition, noticed both by Virgil and Horace (*Ecl.* iii. 103; *Epist.* i. 14, 36), see Grimm's *Deut. Myth.* p. 1053.

1770 *beleac*, pf. of *be-lúcan*, to put under lock—hence, to guard.

1771 *manegum mægða*. *mægða* is the gen. pl. depending upon *manegum*; cf. Cædmon, *Gen.*, 1230, *frea moniges breac wintra.*

1774 *edwendan*. The inf. *edwendan* appears to be used as a verbal noun; 'of this a changing came.'

1777 *sócne*, gen. of *sócen*. This word is used to denote an 'inquisition,' or, as here, a 'visitation'; but its most important sense is, 'liberty of refuge,' or asylum. Hence it came to mean generally, 'a liberty, privilege, or franchise, granted by the king to a subject; also the area within which that franchise is exercised.' Stubbs' 'Documents Illustrative of English History, p. 528. In this latter sense it was one of the four principal privileges belonging to Anglo-Saxon manors and boroughs, —sac, *soc*, toll, and team.

Þæt ic on þone hafelan, heoro-dreórigne,
ofer eald gewin, eágum stárige.
Gá nú to setle, symbel-wynne dreóh,
wigge weorðad; unc sceal worn fela
maðma gemænra, siððan morgen bið.
Geát wæs glæd-mód, geong sona tó
setles neósan, swá se snottra héht.
Þá wæs eft swá ær, ellen-rófum,
flet-sittendum, fægere gereorded
niówan stefne. Niht-helm geswearc,
deorc ofer dryht-gumum. Dugnð eal arás:
wolde blonden-feax beddes neósan,
gamela Scylding. Geát ungemetes wel
rófne rand-wígan restan lyste.
Sona him sele-þegn siðes wergum,
feorran-cundum, forð wísade,

Lord, for this, in that I remained in life,—that I gaze with mine eyes, old troubles past, on that gory head. Go now to thy seat; partake the pleasure of the feast, thou that art by war glorified; for us two there shall [be] a great many precious things in common, after morning shall be.'

The Geat was glad at heart; soon went he and repaired to his seat, as the wise [king] bade. Then was, after as before, a fair feast prepared afresh for the bold [earls], sitting round at court. Night's helmet lowered dark over the vassals. The nobility all rose up; the faired-haired aged Scylding desired to go to bed. The Geat, the bold shield-warrior, had an immeasurably strong desire of rest. Soon the hall-thane, who with due observance attended

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1789 *niowan stefne.* Thorpe translates 'with new spirit'; but the passages collected by Grein clearly show that *niowan stefne* is a phrase, with the meaning, 'afresh,' 'a second time.' See l. 2594.

1793 *lyste*, pf. of *lystan*, 'to list,' here used impersonally. A similar use occurs in the old English poem, 'Joseph of Arimathie,' edited by Mr. Skeat for the E.E. Text Society: 'whon the lust speke with me' (p. 2). The impersonal construction seems to have disappeared after the middle of the fourteenth century: Lydgate in his 'Lick-peny' has 'I lyst,' Udall has 'I lust,' Spenser 'thou lust': see Mr. Skeat's 'Specimens of English Literature'; cf. John iii. 8, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth.'

1795 *feorran-cundum.* As *deofulcund, engel-cund*, mean little more than 'diabolic' and 'angelic,' so *feorran-cund*, applied to a person, means 'come from afar.' Thorpe corrects *cunenum*, but without necessity.

se for andrysnum ealle beweotede
þegnes þearfe, swylce þý dógore
heaðo-liðende habban scoldon.
Reste hine þá rúm-heort; reced hlifade,
geáp and gold-fáh: gæst inne swæf,
oððæt hrefn blaca heofones wynne
blíð-heort bódode coman beorhte [sunnan],
scacan scaðan. [Scealcas] onetton,
wæron æðelingas eft to leódum
fúse tó farenne; wolde feor þanon
cuma collen-ferhð ceóles neósan.
Héht þé se hearda Hrunting beran,
sunu Ecgláfes héht his sweord niman,
leóflíc íren: sægde him þæs leánes þanc,
cwæð he þone gúð-wine gódne tealde,
wíg-cræftigne; nales wordum lóg
meces ecge: þæt wæs módig secg.

to all the wants of the chief, such as on that day sea-faring braves must have, showed the way out to him, of his adventure weary, the traveller from a far land. Then he of the large heart took his rest; the house towered up, vast and ornamented with gold; the guest slept within, until the black raven, blithe-hearted, gave warning of the coming of the heaven's-joy, the bright [sun,] and of robbers fleeing away. [The men] hastened; the nobles were ready to journey back again to their people; the firm-souled stranger desired to embark in his vessel [and sail] far thence. Then the stout [earl] ordered Hrunting to be brought, bad the son of Ecglaf take his sword, that lovely blade; thanked him for lending it,—said that he esteemed it a good battle-friend, excellent in war; by no means did he utter a word of blame concerning that sharp-edged blade; that

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1799 *hliuade*, MS.

1802 *coman beorhte*—locus vexatus.

All that is now legible in the MS. after *bodode* is . . . . *beorht scacan scaþan onetton* . . . . *æþelingas eft* &c. But Thorkelin could fortunately decipher *coman* before *beorht*, and *wæron* after *onetton*. The metre requires another word beginning with *s*, to complete the alliteration of l. 1803, and this is conveniently supplied if we adopt Thorpe's suggestion *scealcas*, and put a full stop after *scaðan*. A word is still wanting in l. 1802, for which Grein suggests *leoman*, and Thorpe *sunnan*. *Beorht* must be corrected to *beorhte*.

1805 *farene ne*, MS.

1811 *log*, pf. of *lean*, to blame.

And þá siðfrome searwum gearwe
wigend wæron, eóde weorð Denum
æðeling tó yppan, þær se oðer wæs,
hæle hilde-deór: Hróðgár grette.

XXVI.

Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes:
Nú þe sæ-líðend secgan wyllað,
feorran cumene, þæt we fundiað
Higelác sécan. Wæron her tela
willum bewenede, þú us wel dohtest.
Gif ic þonne on eorðan owihte mæg
þínre mód-lufan máran tilian,
gumena dryhten, þonne ic gyt dyde,
gúð geweorca, ic beó gearo sona.
Gif ic þæt gefricge, ofer flóda begang,

was a high-minded man. And when, eager to depart, the warriors were ready-equipped, the chief, precious to the Danes, went to the high-seat, where the other was, the valiant veteran; he greeted Hrothgar.

XXVI.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'Now we voyagers, come from a far country, desire to say that we are bent on seeking Higelac. We have been here right well and heartily entertained; thou hast been very good to us. If I then on earth in aught may study thy greater gratification, lord of men, than I have as yet done, I shall promptly be ready in arms [as a war-worker]. If I shall hear of this over the course of the waters,—that thy neighbours are terri-

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1814 I follow Grein, though not confidently, in his rendering of this passage. *Yppan*, manifestare, is well known as a verb, and, accordingly, Thorkelin has here 'monstratum,' Thorpe corrects *yrnan*, and changes *weorð* into *West*. Mr. Wright's collection of Glosses gives token of the existence of the word *yppe*, in the sense of 'stage' or 'platform.' Grein takes *yppan* to be the dat. of this word, and understands it here 'tribunal.' The word used in the 'Heliand' for Pilate's judgment-seat is *bank*.

1816 *helle*, MS.

1826 The *spirit* of this speech of Beowulf curiously resembles that of the farewell lines which Virgil puts in the mouth of Æneas on parting with Helenus and Andromache (Æn. iii. 500-505).

þæt þec ymb-sittend egesan þywaþ,
swá þec hettende hwílum dydon,
ic þe þusenda þegna bringe,
hæleþa to helpe. Ic on Higeláce wát,
Geáta dryhten, þeáh þe he geong sý
folces hyrde, þæt he mec fremman wile
wordum and weorcum, þæt ic þe wel herige,
and þe tó geóce gár-holt bere,
mægenes fultum, þær þe bíð manna þearf.
Gif him þonne Hreðric tó hófum Geáta
geþingaþ, þeódnes bearn, he mæg þær fela
freónda findan: feor-cýððe beóð
sélran gesóhte, þæm þe him selfa deáh.
Hróðgár maðelode him on andsware:
Þe þá word-cwydas wittig drihten
on sefan sende: ne hýrde ic snotorlicor,
on swá geongum feore, guman þingian.
Þu eart mægenes strang, and on móde fród,
wís word-cwida. Wén ic tálige,
gif þæt gegangeð, þæt se gár nimeð,

fying and oppressing thee, as thy persecutors have at times [already] done, I will bring a thousand thanes, men-at-arms, to thy help. I know as to Higelac, the lord of the Geatas, though he be but a youthful shepherd of his people, that he will urge me on, by words and works, that I should honour thee well, and bring the spear-shaft to thine aid, a support of power, if thou shalt have need of men. If then Hrethric, the king's son, shall appeal to him at the court of the Geatas, he may there find many friends; far-off homes and kindred are better when sought, for him that is strong in himself.'

Hroðgar spake in answer to him: 'These phrases the All-knowing Lord has sent into thy mind; nor heard I ever a man, at so young a time of life, discourse more wisely. Thou art strong of might and sagacious in mind, a wise speaker. I reckon an expectation,—if this shall come to pass, that the spear, battle with its cruel sword,

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1827 *egesan*, abl. or instr. case of *egesa*, terror.
1829 *þusenda*, MS. Grein corrects *þusendo*.
1833 *weordum and worcum*, MS.
1837 *geþinged*, MS. 1838 *cyþðe*, MS.
1841 *wigtig*, MS.
1846 *þe*, MS.; *se*, Thorpe.

hild heoru-grimme, Hreðles eaferan,
ádl oððe íren, ealdor þinne,
folces hyrde, and þú þín feorh hafast,
þæt þe Sé-Geátas sélran næbben
tó geceósenne cyning énigne,
hord-weard hæleða, gif þú healdan wylt
maga ríce. Me þín mód-sefa
lícað leng swá wel, leófa Beowulf.
Hafast þú gefered, þæt þám folcum sceal,
Geáta leódum and Gár-Denum,
sib gemænum and sacu restan;
inwit-níðas, þe híe ær drugon,

. . . . . .

wesan, þenden ic wealde wídan rices,
maðmas gemæne; manig oðerne
gódum gegrétan; ofer ganotes bæð
sceal hring-naca ofer heáðu bringan
lác and luf-tácen. Ic þa leóde wát
ge wið feónd ge wið freond fæste geworhte,

poison or steel, shall take the heir of Hreðel, thy lord, the shepherd of his people, and thou [still] hast thy life,—that the Sea-Geatas will have no better king to choose, as the treasure-warden of heroes, if thou art willing to govern the kingdom of thy kinsfolk. Thy temper of mind pleaseth me more and more, dear Beowulf. Thou hast so borne thyself that to these peoples, the tribes of the Geatas and the Spear-Danes, peace and strife shall belong in common;—the malignant enmities which they formerly bore . . . .; their treasures be common property, while I rule over the wide realm; many a one greet his fellow with good [words]; across the gannet's bath shall the vessel with curving stem bring over the main booty and love-tokens. I know those peoples to be firmly wrought together,

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1854 *leng swa wel*, lit. 'longer, by so much well.'

1858 I think a line must have dropt out after *drugon*, for, as the text stands, there is no verb which can be suitably taken with *inwit-níðas*.

1861 *gegrettan* MS. Ib. *ganotes bæð*. This fine image occurs twice in the elegy on Edgar in the 'Saxon Chronicle,' *an.* 975.

ǽghwæs untæle, ealde wísan.
Þá git him eorla hleó inne gesealde,
mago Healfdenes, maðmas xii;
hét hine mid þǽm lácum leóde swǽse
sécean on gesyntum, snúde eft cuman.
Gecyste þá cyning æðelum gód,
þeóden Scyldinga, þegn betstan,
and be healse genam; hrúron him teáras,
blonden-feaxum; him wæs béga wén,
ealdum infródum, oðres swiðor,
þæt hí seoððan geseón móston,
módige on meðle. Wæs him se man to þon leóf,
þæt he þone breóst-wylm forberan ne mehte;
ac him on hreðre, hyge-bendum fæst,
æfter deórum men dyrne langað
beorn wið blóde. Him Beowulf þanon,
gúð-rinc gold-wlanc, græs-moldan træd,

whether towards foe or friend, blameless in every point after the old fashion.'

Then moreover the shelter of earls, the son of Healfdene, delivered to him for his own twelve treasures,—bade him, with those costly gifts, seek in health and vigour his beloved people, [and] quickly come again. Then the king, good through his nobleness, the prince of the Scyldings, kissed that best of thanes, and took him round the neck; tears fell from him, the white-haired warrior; old and inly wise, he had an expectation of both [events], but stronger of one of the two, that they should thereafter see one another, cheerful, in the public assembly. The man was to that degree dear to him, that he could not forbear that tumult of the breast; but in his inmost heart a longing after the dear man, fast held in the bonds of thought, burned secretly towards his blood.

After that Beowulf, the stout knight exulting in gold, trod the grassy mould, delighting in the treasure. The cruiser, riding at

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1868 *inne*, MS.

1872 *hruron*, perf. of *hreosan*, to fall.

1873 *bega*. Hrothgar hoped both for a safe voyage home for Beowulf, and for his return at a later period to Denmark.

1876 *to þon leof*. In popular speech, 'the man was *that* dear to him,' would be good English.

1877 *forberan* = repress.

1880 *beorn*, MS.; Grein's correction *bearn*, pf. of *beornan*, is doubtless right. It is hard to say what is the exact meaning of the words *wið blode*.

Ib. *þanan*, MS.

since hrémig. Sæ-genga bád
ágend-freán, se þe on ancre rád.
Þá wæs on gange gifu Hróðgáres
oft geæhted. Þæt wæs ân cyning
æghwæs órleahtre, ôððæt hine yldo benam
mægenes wynnum, se þe oft manegum scód.

XXVII.

Cwom þá tó flôde fela módigra
hægstealdra; hring-net bæron,
locene leóðo-syrcan. Land-weard onfand
eft-siðˇ eorla, swá he ær dyde.
Nó he mid hearme of hliðes nosan
gæst ne grétte, ac him tó-geanes rád;
cwæð þæt wilcuman Wedera leódum
scawan scír háme tó scipe fôron.
Þá wæs on sande sæ-geáp naca
hladen here-wædum, hringed-stefna,

anchor, awaited her rightful lord. Then on the way the gift of Hroðgar was often times highly prized. That was the one king unblameable at all points, until that old age, which has often hurt many a man, deprived him of the joys of power.

XXVII.

Then many a one of the valiant retainers came to the sea side; they wore their chain-armour, their closed mail-shirts. The Land-warden perceived the return of the earls, as he did at the first. Not with hostility did he, from the cliff's headland, greet the guest, but rode to meet him; he said that the people of the Weders, heroes clad in clittering mail, were welcome to go to their ship. Then on the strand the roomy vessel, the ring-stemmed, was laden with war-

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1883 *aged*, MS.

1890 *leoðo-syrcan*, lit. 'limb-sarks.' Ib. *Land-weard*; see l. 229.

1894 *cwæð . . . . fôron.* In the text I have preserved the readings of the MS. Grein corrects *leode, scaðan, scir-hame*: these alterations I have, though with hesitation, adopted in the translation.

mearum and maðmum; mæst hlifade
ofer Hróðgáres hord-gestreónum.
He þæm bát-wearde bunden golde
swurd gesealde, þæt he syððan wæs,
on meodo-bence madme þý weorðra,
yrfe-láfe. Gewât he on nacan
drefan deóp wæter, Dena land ofgeaf.
Þá wæs be mæste mere-hrægla sum,
segl sale fæst. Sund-wudu þunede;
no þær wæg-flotan wind ofer ýðum
síðes getwæfde: sæ-genga fór,
fleát fámig-heals forð ofer ýðe,
bunden-stefna ofer brim-streámas,
þæt híe Geáta clifu ongitan meahton,
cuðe næssas. Ceól up-geþrang,
lyft-geswenced on lande stód.
Hráðe wæs æt holme hýð-weard geara,
se þe ær lange tíd leófra manna,

weeds, with horses and treasures; the mast towered over the costly gifts from Hroðgar's hoard. He [Beowulf] gave to the guardian of the vessel a sword wound round with gold, so that he was afterwards, on the mead-bench, the more honourable for that treasure, an heir-loom to leave behind him. He went on board the bark to plough the deep water; he left the land of the Danes. Then a sea-cloth was [stretched] along the mast, a sail made fast by a cord. The cut-water roared; the wind over the waves deprived not the light craft of her course; the cruiser sped, with foaming neck she glided forward over the wave, with her banded stem [she flew] over the sea-streams, until they might descry the cliffs of the Geatas, the well-known nesses. The vessel pressed up; weather-beaten she took the ground. Quickly was the hythe-warden ready at the sea-side, who for a long time before, ready at the beach, had looked out

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1902 *madma-weorþre*, MS.

1907 *wæg-flotan*, lit. 'the wave-floater.' *weg*, MS.

1913 The alliteration is wanting in this line; to supply it, Grein reads *yð-nacan*.

1916 *fûs æt faroðe*. *fûs on faroðe* occurs in 'Andreas,' l. 225. *Faroð* seems to correspond in meaning to the ῥηγμὶν of Homer. Ib. *feor*; so in MS. But there can be little doubt that Thorpe's correction *fôr* should be adopted.

fús æt faroðe, feor wlátode:
sælde to sande síd-fæðmed scip
oncer-bendum fæst, þý læs hit ýða þrym,
wudu wynsuman, forwrecan meahte.
Hét þá úp beran æðelinga gestreón,
frætwe and fæt gold: næs hím feor þanon
tó gesécanne sinces bryttan.
Higelác Hreðling þær æt hám wunode
selfa mid gesiðum, sæ-wealle neáh.
Bold wæs bétlic, brego rófcyning,
heá healle; Hygd swiðe geong,
wis, wel-þungen; þeáh þe wintra lyt
under burh-locan gebiden hæbbe
Hæreðes dohtor, næs hió hnáh swá þeáh,
né tó gneað gifa Geáta leódum,
maðm-gestreóna. Mód Þryðo wæg,

for the arrival of the dear men; he drew up on the sand the wide-bosomed ship, made fast by anchor bonds, that the violence of the waves might the less shatter the lovely craft. Then he bade carry up the treasure of nobles, the ornaments and the rich gold; thence he had not far to seek for the dispenser of treasure [the king].

HIGELAC, the son of Hreðel, dwelt there at home, himself among his vassal-followers, near the sea-wall. The house was splendid; the king a chief renowned; high [was] the hall; Hygd very young, wise, well-nurtured;—though the daughter of Hæreð had dwelt but few winters within the burgh-enclosure, nevertheless she was not mean, nor too niggardly in gifts, in costly presents, to the people of the Geatas. Thryðo, that stranger people's queen, had a spirit

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1923 *Hreðling.* The story of Hrethel, the father of Higelac, is related at some length farther on. See l. 2430. Ib. *wunað*, MS.

1931 *Mod Þryðo.* Grein believes this to be a proper name. Thryðo we meet with in the names Cynedritha and Drida, which occur in the Saxon Chronicle and elsewhere; *mod* would be merely a prefix, signifying passionate or headstrong. The poet, while speaking of the gentleness of Hygd, Higelac's queen, is reminded of the quite opposite character of another Geatic (?) princess, Mod-thrydo, who, having murdered her first husband (the *leofne mannan* of l. 1943), fled by sea to the court of Offa. See 'Thrydo' in the Glossary of Names. I agree with Müllenhoff and others that the name is Thrydo, not Mod-thrydo.

In the translation I have followed Rieger, who corrects *firen* to *firenum*, valde, and makes *mod* agree with *ondrysne*.

fremu folces cwén, firen ondrysne.
Nænig þæt dorste deór geneðan,
swæsra gesiða, nefne sin-fréa,
þe hire án dæges eágum stárede,
ac him wæl-bende weotode, tealde,
hand-gewriðene; hraðe seoððan wæs
æfter mund-grípe mece geþinged;
þæt hit sceaðen mæl scyran móste, [þeáw
cwealm-bealu cyðan. Ne bið swylc cwénlic
idese to efnanne, þeáh þe hió ænlícu sý,
þætte freoðu-webbe feores onsæce,
æfter lige-torne, leófne mannan.
Huru þæt onhohsnode Heminges mæg.
Ealo-drincende oðre sædon,

truly terrible. No one of the gentle vassals, but only her own lord, durst approach that wild creature, so as to gaze on her with his eyes by day, but to him she decreed, she awarded, fatal bonds, hand-twisted; but after a touch of the hand straightway the matter was decided with the sword; so that the deadly brand might settle it, make known a baleful murder. Not such is a womanly practice for a lady to undertake, though she be surpassing in beauty, that a peace-weaver, on account of fiery wrath, should make a deadly assault on her dear husband. Surely Heming's kinsman reproached her with that. Others, while drinking ale,

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1932 *fremu*, from *freme*. I am inclined to agree with Rieger, that *freme* should here be taken as = *fremðe*.

1939 *sceaðen mæl*. A very obscure phrase; Grein thinks it may mean *tempus noxæ*; but I prefer Thorpe's 'pernicious brand;' *sceaden*, MS.

1939 'From this line [beginning with the word *moste*] the MS. is written in another and worse hand.' Thorpe.

1941 *ænlicu*, lit. 'unique.'

1942 *freoðu-webbe*, a peace-weaver; *i.e.*, a woman whose function it is to connect clans and tribes by the ties of peace and affection, not to sow discord between them. Ib. *onsæce*, pres. conj. of *onsacan*, to strive against.

1943 *lige-torne*. Thorpe corrects *lig-torne*, and I have followed him in the translation. If we retain *lige*, it must be for *lyge*, and the meaning must be, as Bugge suggests, 'a fictitious offence.'

1944 *on hoh snod*, MS. Ib. *Heminges mæg*. This Heming is nowhere else mentioned, except a few lines below, l. 1961. Ettmüller regards him as the father of Offa, but Wermund (*i.e.* Garmund) appears in Matthew Paris and other Chroniclers as the father of Offa.

1945 *sædan*, MS.

þæt hió leód-bealewa læs gefremede,
inwit-níða, syððan ærest wearð
gyfen gold-hroden geongum cempan,
æðelum dióre, syððan hió Offan flet,
ofer fealone flód, be fæder láre,
siðe gesóhte, þær hió syððan wel
in gum-stóle, góde mære,
líf-gesceafta lífigende breác,
heold heáh-lufan wið hæleða brego,
ealles mon-cynnes, míne gefræge,
þæs sélestan bi sæm tweónum,
eormen-cynnes; forþam Offa wæs
geofum and gúðum, gár-céne man,
wíde geweorðod; wísdóme heold
éðel sínne. Þonon Eomer wóc
hæleðum to helpe, Heminges mæg,
nefa Gármundes, níða cræftig.

said that she wrought less bale,—less malignant mischief,—after first [i.e. as soon as ever] she, wreathed with gold, was given over to the young warrior, the noble chief, after that, by her father's counsel, she sought in a journey Offa's court across the fallow flood, where she afterwards, at the seat of men, good and famous, enjoyed while living the things of life, maintained high love towards the prince of heroes, who of all mankind that I have heard of was the best of mortal race by the two seas; inasmuch as Offa, that bold spearman, was, in gifts and combats, widely renowned; with wisdom he ruled his native land. Thence arose, for the help of heroes, Eomer, the kinsman of Heming, the grandson of Garmund, powerful for mischief.

1957 *eormen-cynnes.* Bugge cites the poem, 'Be Manna Wyrdum,' 96, where this word evidently signifies nothing more than 'mankind.'

1960 *þonon Eomer woc*; see lines 56, 60. The meaning seems to be, that from this marriage of Offa and Thrydo sprang Eomer, the kinsman of Heming, and grandson of Garmund (Warmund). *geomor*, MS.

XXVIII.

Gewât him þá se hearda mid his hond-scóle,
sylf æfter sande, sæ-wong tredan,
wíde waroðas. Woruld-candel scán,
sigel súðan fús: hí sið drúgon,
elne geeódon, tó þæs þe eorla hleó,
bonan Ongenþeówes, burgum on innan,
geongne gúð-cyning gódne gefrunon
hringas dælan. Higeláce wæs
sið Beowulfes snúde gecyðed,
þæt þær on worðig wígendra hleó,
lind-gestealla, lífigende cwom,
heaðo-láces hál, tó hófe gongan.
Hraðe wæs gerýmed, swá se ríca bebeád,
feðe-gestum flet innanweard.
Gesæt þa wið sylfne se þa sæcce genæs,
mæg wið mæge. Syððan man-dryhten,

XXVIII.

Then the stout chief, himself with his band, went forward along the sand, treading the sea-side region, the wide shores. The sun, the world's candle, shone, hastening from the south; they sped on their way, strongly they marched, until they heard that the good young war-king, the shelter of earls, the destroyer of Ongentheow, within the burgh, was dealing out rings. To Higelac Beowulf's arrival was quickly made known, that then into the settlement the shelter of warriors, his shield-comrade, was come alive, safe and sound from the battle-play, on his way to the court. Quickly, as the ruler bade, was the court-yard within cleared for the company of guests. Then sat he who had reaped the fruit of strife opposite [the king] himself, kinsman facing kinsman. After that, the

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1968 *in innan*, MS.

1972 *worðig*, or *weorðig*, seems to have originally meant a farming settlement. The old name for Derby was 'North-weordig.'

1977 *wið sylfne*. Thorpe translates 'facing himself,' to which I can attach no meaning.

þurh hleóðor-cwyde, holdne gegrétte,
meaglum wordum. Meodu-scencum hwearf
geond þæt reced Hæreðes dohtor:
lufode þa leóde; lið-wæge bær
heánum tó handa. Higelác ongan
sínne geseldan in sele þám heán
fægre fricgean (hyne fyrwet bræc),
hwylce Sé-Geáta siðas wǽron.
Hú lomp eow on láde, leófa Beowulf,
þá þú féringa feorr gehógodest
sæcce sécean ofer sealt wæter,
hilde tó Heorote? Ac þú Hróðgáre
wíd-cuðne weán wihte gebéttest,
mærum þeodne? Ic þæs mod-ceare
sorh-wylmum seað; sið ne trúwode
leófes mannes; ic þe lange bæd,
þæt þú þone wæl-gæst wihte ne grétte,

sovereign lord, with the speech of an orator, greeted his loyal follower in vigorous words. With pourings of mead the daughter of Hæreð passed through the hall; she loved the people; she bore drinking-cups to the hand of the proud ones. Higelac began to question fair his companion in the lofty hall, (curiosity overcame him) what had been the adventures of the Sea-Geatas.

'How fared ye on the voyage, dear Beowulf, when thou suddenly didst resolve to seek conflict far off over the salt water, battle at Heorot? Didst thou better in aught for Hroðgar, that famous prince, his widely known distress? I on this account have harboured heart-trouble, with pangs of sorrow; I put no faith in the enterprise of my friend; long did I entreat thee that thou wouldst not go near

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1981 *geond þæt reced.* As the line stands there is no alliteration, nor is the matter mended if we read *side* (inserted above the line in a later hand) before *reced.* Thorpe corrects *heal-reced.* Grein gets rid of the difficulty by transferring *hwearf* from l. 1980 to 1981.

1982 *lið-wæge*, lit. 'drink-ways'; *i.e.*, ale-cups.

1983 *hænum*, MS.

1985 *fricgcean*, MS.

1991 *wið*, MS.

1988 *gehógodest*, pf. of *gehycgan*, to take in mind, resolve.

1990 *Ac*, MS. Thorpe reads *þæt*, and changes *gebettest* to *gebette*, subj. mood. Grein conjectures that *ac* is here used as an interrogative particle.

lete Súð-Dene sylfe geweorðan
gúðe wið Grendel. Gode ic þance secge,
þæs þe ic þe gesundne geseón móste.
Beowulf maðelode, bearn Ecgþeówes:
Þæt is undyrne, dryhten Higelác,
[uncer] gemeting monegum fira,
hwylce [orleg]-hwil uncer Grendles
wearð on þám wange, þær he worna fela
Sige-Scyldingum sorge gefremede,
yrmðe tó aldre. Ic þæt eall gewræc,
swá ne gylpan þearf Grendeles maga
[ænig] ofer eorðan uht-hlem þone,
se þe lengest leofað láðan cynnes.
Fær-bifongen, ic | ær furðum cwom,
tó þám hring-sele, Hróðgár grétan;

that deadly spirit, [but] let the South-Danes themselves enter into battle against Grendel. I give thanks to God, in that I have been able to see thee safe and sound.'

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'That is manifest, my lord Higelac, to many a man,—the encounter of us two,—what a time of strife it was for us, Grendel [and me] on the plain, where he had wrought abundance of woe to the Sige-Scyldings, misery touching the life. I avenged all that, so that no kinsman of Grendel upon earth need boast about that twilight-fray, whoever of the loathed race shall live the longest. Beset by perils, I had just come there to the ring-hall, Hroðgar to greet. Soon the great son of Healfdene,

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1996 *geweorðan*. From the passages collected by Grein it would appear that the meaning is 'let the South-Danes please themselves—determine for themselves—respecting war (*guðe*, gen.) against Grendel.'

2001 [*uncer*]. The word is now frayed away and lost, and such seems to have been the case even in Thorkelin's time. Thorpe supplies *uncer*; Grein prefers to read *mære*.

2002 [*orleg*]-*hwil*. Something is lost between *hwylce* and *hwil*, but it could hardly have been a word of five letters. Perhaps *guð-hwil* was the original reading. If a word so long as *orleg* were admissible, I should prefer to read *gryre-hwil*, 'time of terror.' The phrase is found in 'Andreas,' l. 468. Ib. *uncer Grendles*—the construction is Old Norse. 'The rule is, that where in other tongues a personal pronoun is joined with a proper name by the conjunction *and* (*ok*), the *ok* is in O.N. omitted, and the pronoun put in the dual or plural number, and the same case as the proper name.'—Thorpe.

2007 [*ænig*]. Supplied conjecturally by Thorpe, the word is lost in the MS. Ib. *uht-hlem*. *uhte* is the dusk before the dawn.

sona me se mæra mago Healfdenes,
syððan he mód-sefan minne cuðe,
wið his sylfes sunu setl getæhte.
Weorod wæs on wynne; ne seah ic wídan-feorh
under heofones hwealf heal-sittendra
medu-dreám máran. Hwílum méru cwén,
friðu-sibb folca, flet eall geond-hwearf,
bædde byre geonge; oft hió beáh-wriðan
secge [sealde], ær hío to setle geong.
Hwílum for duguðe dóhtor Hróðgáres
eorlum on ende ealu-wæge bær,
þa ic Freáware flet-sittende
nemnan hýrde, þær hió gled sinc
hæleðum sealde. Sió geháten [wæs],
geong gold-hroden, gladum suna Fródan.
[Ha] fað þæs geworden wine Scyldinga,
ríces hyrde; and þæt ræd talað,
þæt he mid þý wífe wæl-fæhða dæl,

as soon as he knew my purpose, appointed a seat for me opposite his own son. It was a joyous company; nor saw I ever, during a long time under heaven's vault, hall-guests taking more joy of the mead-cup. Sometimes the great queen, the peace and bond of peoples, passed along the entire hall, accosted her young sons; often she gave a man an armlet, ere she went [back] to her seat. Sometimes before the nobles the daughter of Hroðgar bare ale-cups to the earls in order, whom I heard the courtiers name Freaware; there she gave to the heroes nail-studded treasure. She, young and decked with gold, was betrothed to the glad son of Froda. The shepherd of his kingdom, the Scyldings' friendly lord, has decided on this, and

2014 *widan-feorh*, over a long time; comp. *wide-feorh* in 'Crist,' l. 784.

2015 *heal-sittendra . . . . . máran*, lit. 'a greater mead-joy of hall-sitters.'

2019 *sealde* is supplied conjecturally by Thorpe, and accepted by Grein; the word is lost from the MS. Ib. *hie*, MS.

2023 In Thorkelin's time *gled* could be discerned; now *ed* is all that remains. Grein's restoration of *nægled sinc* is very happy.

2025 *Frodan.* It is impossible not to identify this Ingeld, son of Froda, with the Ingellus, son of Frotho, of whom we read a somewhat similar story in Saxo Grammaticus. See the articles Ingeld and Freaware in the Glossary of Names.

2026 *þæs geworden.* Compare *geweorðan guðe*, l. 1996.

sæcca gesette. Oft seldan hwær,
æfter leód-hrýre, lytle hwíle
bón-gár búgeð, þeáh seó brýd duge.
Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan þeódne Heaðo-beardna
and þegna gehwám þára leóda,
þonne he mid fæmnan on flet gæð,
dryht-bearn Dena, duguðe beþénede,
on him gladiað gomelra láfe,
heard and hring-mæl, Heaðo-beardna gestreón,
þenden híe þám wæpnum wealdan móston,
oððæt híe forlæddan tó þám lind-plegan
swæse gesiðas ond hyra sylfra feorh.
Þonne cwið æt beore se þe beáh gesyhð,
eald æsc-wíga, se þe eall geman
gár-cwealm gumena (him bið grim [se]fa,)
onginneð geómor-mód geong[um] cempan,
þurh hreðra gehygd, hige scunnian,

reckoneth this benefit,—that he by means of the woman will settle a number of deadly feuds, of quarrels. Seldom anywhere doth the destroying spear rest again for a little while after a people's ruin, though the bride be good! From this afterwards may displeasure arise to the prince of the Heaðo-beards, and to every thane of those peoples, when he, the lordly son of the Danes, walketh about the court with the woman, waited on by the nobility,—delighteth in the heir-loom from men of old which he weareth, hard and armed in chain-mail, the treasure of the Heaðo-beards, while they might be masters of those weapons, until they seduced to the shield-play the beloved vassal-followers, and their own lives. Then saith one at the beer, an old stout warrior, who seeth the jewel,—one who remembereth all about it, the slaughter of men by the spear, (his heart is grim and stern); in gloomy mood he beginneth, through the feelings

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2029 *Oft*, MS., but Grein's correction *eft* is preferable. 2032 *ðeoden*, MS.

2034 *he mid fæmnan.* The Danish nobleman who has been sent in attendance on Freaware on the Heathobeardic court, walks about with her, wearing a sword which had once belonged to Froda the Heatho-beardic king, Ingeld's father. Provoked at this, an old Heathobeard, who had fought in the battle in which Froda fell, stirs up the young prince to thoughts of vengeance.

2035 *beþenede.* This is Thorpe's correction: the MS. has *duguða biwenede.* Grein reads *bi werede.*

2039 *ðððæt.* See p. xxx. of the Introduction.

2045 *hige scunnian*; so Grein, explaining *scunnian*, 'to exasperate.' Thorpe reads *higes cunnian*, 'to prove the mind.'

wíg-bealu weccean, and þæt word acwyð:
Meaht þú, mín wine, méce gecnáwan,
þone þín fæder tó gefeohte bær
under here-gríman, hindeman siðe,
dýre íren, þær hine Dene slôgon,
weoldon wæl-stówe, syððan Wiðergyld læg,
æfter hæleða hrýre, hwáte Scyldingas?
Nú her þára banena byre náthwylces
frætwum hrémig on flet gæð,
morðres gylpeð, and þone maððum byred,
þone þe þú, mid rihte rædan sceoldest.
Manað swá and myndgað, mæla gehwylce,
sárum wordum, ôððæt sæl cymeð,
þæt se fæmnan þegn, fore fæder dædum,
æfter billes bíte blód-fág swefeð,
ealdres scyldig. Him se oðer þonan
losað wígende, con him land geare.

of the heart, to exasperate the soul of the young warrior, to awaken in him the baleful lust of war, and this word he speaketh: 'Canst thou, my prince, recognise the sword, which thy father in the battle wore, under his helmet, for the last time, that precious blade, when the Danes, the keen Scyldings, slew him, and remained masters of the place of carnage, after that Wiðergyld was laid low, after the fall of heroes? Now here the son of one or other of those destroyers, exulting in his decorations passeth along the hall, boasteth of the slaughter, and beareth the treasure which thou shouldst of right possess.' Thus, on every occasion, he will incite and remind him with stinging words, until a time shall come, that the thane of the princess, for his father's deeds, will sleep gore-stained, from the stroke of a battle-axe, having forfeited his life. After that the other

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2049 *hindeman*, from *hindema*, postremus. Grein compares the Gothic *hindumists*.

2051 *weoldon wæl-stowe*. Similar expressions are of common occurrence in the Saxon Chronicles. See the years 833, 837, 860. Ib. *Wiðergyld*, apparently, was a Heathobeardic chief, the next in rank after King Froda.

2061 *se oðer*. Who this 'other' was it is impossible to say with certainty. Perhaps another Dane, a friend of the slaughtered man, is meant: perhaps it is the slayer himself, who makes his escape for political reasons, though his act had pleased his countrymen.

Þonne bióð brocene on bá healfe
áð-sweord eorla. [Syð]ðan Ingelde
weallað wæl-nídas, and him wíf-lufan,
æfter cear-wælmum, cólran weorðað.
Þý ic Heaðo-beardna hyldo ne talige,
dryht-sibbe dæl Denum unfæcne,
freóndscipe fæstne. Ic sceal forð-sprecan
gen ymbe Grendel, þæt þú geare cunne,
sinces brytta, tó hwán syððan wearð
hond-ræs hæleða. Syððan heofenes gim
glád ofer grundas, gæst yrre cwom,
eatol æfen-grom, úser neósan,
þær we gesunde sele weardodon.
Þær wæs hond-sció, hilde onsæge,
feorh-bealu fægum, se þe fyrmest læg,
gyrded cempa; him Grendel wearð,
mærum magu-þegne, tó múð-bonan;
leófes mannes lic eall forswealg.

warrior will escape; he knoweth the land right well. Then shall be broken on both sides the sworn compacts of the earls. Afterwards for Ingeld deadly quarrels will rage, and woman's love, on account of overwhelming troubles, shall become cooler in him. Therefore I count not the homage of the Heaðo-beards, nor their proffer of a princely connection as sincere towards the Danes, [nor] their friendship as [fast]. I shall in continuation speak concerning Grendel, that thou, dispenser of treasure, mayst well know how afterwards happened the hand-conflict of heroes. After that heaven's jewel, [passing] over the earth, had glided by, the wrathful guest, the terrible evening visitant, came to find us out where we in safety were guarding the hall. There was his glove, deadly in battle, the bale of the doomed one's life, who lay the foremost, a girded warrior; to him, a renowned thane of our kin, Grendel became a devouring destroyer; he swallowed up the whole body of the man we loved.

2067 *telge*, MS. 2075 *sæl*, MS.

2076 *hond-sció*. Rieger, followed by Bugge, takes *Hond-sció* as a proper name—'there was the conflict fatal to Hond-scio,'—and compares l. 2482. If it were not for the passage about the 'glove,' a few lines further on, I should be disposed to agree with them. Thorpe also rejects this interpretation, which was originally suggested by Grundtvig.

2077 *se þe*, Kemble; all that remains in the MS. is *-e*.

2079 *magu-þegne*. See l. 741, *ff*.

Nó þý ær út þá gen idel-hende
bona blódig-tóð, bealewa gemyndig,
of þám gold-sele gongan wolde;
ac he mægnes róf mín costode,
grápode gearo-folm. Glóf [hangode]
síd and syllíc, searo-bendum fæst;
sió wæs orþoncum eall gegyrwed
diofles cræftum and dracan fellum.
He mec þær on-innan unsynnigne
diór dæd-fruma, gedón wolde
manigra sumne; hyt ne mihte swá,
syððan ic on yrre upp-riht astód.
Tó lang ys tó reccenne hú [ic] þám leód-scaðan,
yfla gehwylces hond-leán forgeald;
þær ic, þeóden mín, þíne leóde
weorðode weorcum. He onwég losade;
lytle hwíle lif-wynna breác;
hwæðre him sió swiðre swaðe weardade
hand on Hiorte, and he heán þonan,
módes geomor, mere-grund gefeóll.

None the sooner for that would the bloody-toothed destroyer, bent on bale and ravage, go out again from that gold hall empty-handed, but he, confident in his might, made trial of me, ready-handed he grappled with me. His glove hung down, broad and wonderful, strengthened by cunningly wrought bands; it was all skilfully bedecked with devil's powers and dragon skins. He, there within, the bold adventurer, would have made me, though I had done no wrong, one of many; he might not so do, as soon as I in wrath rose and stood upright. Too long is it to recount how I paid back a hand-requital to that ravager of the people for each of his misdeeds; there did I, my prince, bring glory to thy people by my exploits. He [Grendel] escaped and fled away; for a little while he enjoyed the pleasures of life; nevertheless his right hand remained behind in Heorot; and he, humbled, sad of mood, passed down from thence to the bottom

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2087 *orþoncum* is used adverbially; cf. *inwitþancum*, l. 749.

2098 *swaðe weardade*, lit. 'kept tracks,' *i.e.*, remained behind. Grein well compares *last weardian*, in 'Guðlac,' l. 1312. A *swathe* in a hayfield must originally have meant the 'track' made by the mower.

Me þone wæl-ræs wine Scyldinga
fættan golde fela leánode,
manegum maðmum, syððan mergen com,
and we tó symble geseten hæfdon.
Þær wæs gidd and gleó; gomela Scylding,
fela fricgende, feorran rehte.
Hwílum hilde-deór hearpan wynne
gomen-wudu grétte; hwílum gyd awræc
sóð and sárlíc; hwílum syllíc spell
rehté æfter rihte rúm-heort cyning;
hwílum eft ongan, eldo-gebunden,
gomel gúð-wíga geoguðe cwiðan
hilde-strengo; hreðer inne weoll,
þonne he wintrum fród worn gemunde.
Swá we þær-inne andlangne dæg
nióde namon, oððæt niht becwom
oðer to yldum. Þá wæs eft hraðe
gearo gyrn-wræce Grendeles módor;
siðode sorhfull; sunu deáð fornám,
wíg-hete Wedera: wíf unhýre

of the lake. Me for that deadly close the kindly lord of the Scyldings with rich gold largely rewarded, with many treasures, after morning came and we had sat down to the feast. Then lays were repeated and glees were sung; the aged Scylding, while asking many things, recounted matters of a far-off time. Sometimes, in the joy of the harp, the warrior touched the stringed instrument of mirth; sometimes he struck up a lay, true and sad; sometimes the large-hearted king related fitly some wondrous story; sometimes again the old warrior, bound with age, began to relate to the youth feats of war; his heart was stirred within, when he, wise with [many] winters, made mention of various things . . . So we therein all the day long took our pleasure, till the next night came to men. Then quickly again was Grendel's mother ready with vengeance for her griefs; full of sorrow she journeyed; death had carried off her son, the warlike hate of the Weders; the monstrous woman avenged her son,

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2114 *worn* or *wearn* is a noun of multitude: 'a quantity,' 'a heap,' 'a crowd.'

hyre bearn gewræc, beorn acwealde
ellenlíce. Þær wæs Æschere,
fródan fyrn-witan, feorh úðgenge;
nó þær hý hine ne móston, syððan mergen cwom,
deáð-wérigne Denia leóde
bronde forbærnan, ne on bǽl hladan
leófne mannan: hió þæt líc ætbær,
feóndes fædrunga, þær under firgen-streám.
Þæt wæs Hróðgáre hreówa tornost,
þára þe leód-fruman lange begeáte.
Þá se þeóden mec þine life
healsode hreóh-mód, þæt ic on holma geþring
eorlscipe efnde, ealdre genéðde,
mærðo fremede: he me méde gehét.
Ic þá þæs wælmes, þe is wíde cúð,
grimne grýrelícne grund-hyrde fond;
þær unc hwíle wæs hand gemæne;
holm heolfre weoll; and ic heafde becearf,
in þám [grund]-sele, Grendeles módor

mightily did she kill a warrior. There was the life departed from Æschere, the wise far-witted man; [yet] not for that might they, the people of the Danes, after morning came, burn the corpse with fire, nor bring the dear man to the funeral pile; she bore away the body, the foe's .... there under the mountain stream. That was to Hroðgar the most grievous loss, of all that for a long time had visited the ruler of the people. Then the sorrowing prince entreated me by thy life, that I would perform a deed of prowess in the thronging waters, would venture my life,—would do an act of fame; he promised me my meed. I then, as is widely known, found the grim terrible ground-guardian of the abyss of waters; there between us two for a while was a hand-to-hand fight; the water bubbled with gore; and I in that battle-hall cut off the head of

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2120 *unhyre*, 'monstrous.' Germ. *ungeheuer*.

2126 *bæl*; cf. l. 1109. 'Bale' is still used in Scotland for a bonfire. In Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' we have:—

On Penchryst glows a *bale* of fire.

2128 *fædrunga* does not occur elsewhere. The editors explain it to mean 'cognata,' and refer it to Grendel's mother.

2136 *grimme*, MS.

2137 *hand gemæne*, lit. 'the hand was common to us two'; that is, we were both engaged in fight.

eácnum ecgum. Unsofte þonan
feorh oðferede: nǽs ic fǽge þá gyt;
ac me eorla hleó eft gesealde
maðma menigeo, maga Healfdenes.

XXXI.

Swá se þeód-cyning þeáwum lyfde.
Nealles ic ðám leánum forloren hæfde,
mægnes méde; ac he me [maðmas] geaf,
sunu Healfdenes, on sylfes dóm,
þá ic þe, beorn-cyning, bringan wylle,
éstum gegyrwan. Gen is eall æt þe
lissa gelong: ic lyt hafo
heáfod-maga, nefne, Hygelác, þec.

Grendel's mother with my strong blade. With difficulty did I bring my life away thence; I was not yet death-doomed; but the shelter of earls, the son of Healfdene, afterwards delivered to me a quantity of treasures.

XXXI.

'So the people's king lived with [good] customs. Far was I from having lost those rewards, the meed of valour; but he, the son of Healfdene, gave me treasures at mine own discretion, which I to thee, warrior-king, desire to bring, to grace thee munificently. All my favours still spring from thee; I have but few near kinsmen, save thee, Higelac.'

2143 *menigeo*: see l. 41.

Canto XXXI. Either a leaf has been lost between this point and the beginning of Canto XXVIII. (a view to which an examination of the MS. lends no countenance), or a leaf was lost in the copy of which the existing MS. is a transcript, or the scribe has blundered in the numbering. Canto XXVIII. begins at l. 1963. There is no canto numbered XXIX., but l. 2039 commences with a large initial letter, although it occurs in the middle of a sentence, similar to those which are usually prefixed to cantos. The number XXX. does not occur. See Introduction, p. xxxi.

2146 [*maðmas*]. Supplied conjectually by Thorpe and Kemble; the original word has perished from the MS.

2147 Thorpe and Grein supply *minne* before *sylfes*; but as without it the sentence is intelligible, and the MS. has nothing to warrant the insertion, I have not followed them.

Hèt þá in-beran eofor-heáfod-segn,
heaðo-steapne helm, [here]-byrnan,
gúð-sweord geatolic; gyd æfter wræc:
Me þis hilde-sceorp Hróðgár sealde;
snotra fengel sume worde hét,
þæt ic his ærest þe eft gesægde.
Cwæð þæt hyt hæfde Hiorogár cyning,
leód Scyldinga, lange hwíle:
nó þý ær suna sínum syllan wolde
hwatum Heorowearde, þeáh he him hold wære,
breóst-gewædu. Brúc ealles well.
Hýrde ic þæt þám frætwum feówer mearas,
lungre gelíce, last weardode.
æppel-fealuwe. He him ést geteáh
meara and maðma. Swá sceal mæg dón,
nealles inwit-net oðrum bregdan
dyrnum cræfte, deáð re . . . .

Then commanded he to bear in the boar's head device, the towering war-helmet, the martial coat of mail, the war-sword well appointed; a speech thereupon he uttered: 'To me this battle-gear Hroðgar delivered; the prudent prince commanded me with a particular charge, that I should afterwards tell its history to thee. He said that king Hiorogar, the Scyldings' chief, had it a long while; yet none the sooner for that would he hand them over, these breast defences, to his son, the brave Heoroweard, though he was loyal to him. Enjoy all well.' I heard that four steeds, equally quickly, came at the heels of those trappings, [in colour] apple-fallow. Of horses and treasures he made him a present. So must a kinsman do; by no means weave, with secret craft, a net of guile for another, plot the death of his comrade. To Higelac, hardened

2152 *eafor*, MS.

2156 *sume worde* are in the instr. case sing.

2157 *ærest*. Thorpe corrects *ærend*; but Grein is undoubtedly right in retaining the reading of the MS. *Ærest* or *ærist*, derived from *æ* and *risan*, usually signifies 'resurrection;' but this is a secondary meaning; 'origin' would come nearer to its primary sense.

2164 *weardode*, MS. Kemble corrects *weardodon*; but the corruption of the text is probably deeper than to be set right by a single correction. The words *lungre gelice* are suspicious, and difficult of explanation.

2165 *fealuwe*, the Latin *flavus*: so in *fallow*-deer.

2167 *bregdon*, MS.

2168 *rénian* = *regnian*, to plot, is Kemble's restoration, adopted by Grein.

hond-gesteallan. Hygeláce wæs
níðða heardum nefa swyðe hold,
and gehwæðer oðrum hroðra gemyndig. [sealde,
Hýrde ic þæt he þone healsbeáh Hygde gewrætlícne wundor-maððum, þone þe him Wealhþeów geaf,
þeódnes dohtor, þrio wicg somod,
swancor and sadol-beorht: hyre syððan wæs,
æfter beáh-þege, breost geweorðod.
Swá bealdode bearn Ecgðeówes,
guma gúðum cuð, gódum dædum;
dreáh æfter dóme; nealles druncne slóg
heorð-geneátas; næs him hreó sefa,
ac he man-cynnes mæste cræfte,
ginfæstan gife þe him God sealde,
heold hilde-deór. Heán wæs lange,
swá hine Geáta bearn gódne ne tealdon,
ne hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne
drihten wereda gedón wolde.
Swyðe [sæg] don þæt he sleác wære,
æðeling unfrom. Edwenden cwom

in strife, was his nephew right loyal, and each toward the other mindful of consoling things. I heard that he gave that neck-collar to Hygd, (a wondrous treasure of skilful workmanship), which Wealtheow, a king's daughter, had given him; and three horses along with it, slim and gaily saddled; for her thereafter, upon the acceptance of the collar, was the breast decorated.

So nobly bore himself the son of Ecgtheow, (a man for battles known,) with generous deeds; he acted according to reason; far was it from him to beat his hearth-companions in their cups; his temper was not savage; but he, the brave warrior, among all mankind possessed the greatest power, the ample gift which God gave him. Long was he despised, as the sons of the Geatas reckoned him not good, nor willed the Lord of Hosts to make him of much account on the mead-bench. Very often they said that he was

2173 *Wealhþeow geaf*; see lines 1195 and 1216.
2176 *brost*, MS.
2187 [*sæg*]*don*. Only *-don* is now decipherable. *sægdon*, Thorpe; *wendon*, Grein.

tir-eádigum men torna gehwylces.
Hét þá eorla hleó in gefetian,
heaðo-róf cyning, Hreðles láfe,
golde gegyrede; næs mid Geátum þá
sinc-maððum sélra on sweordes hád.
Þæt he on Beowulfes bearm álegde,
and him gesealde seofon þusendo,
bold and brego-stól. Him wæs bám samod
on þám leódscipe lond gecynde,
eard-éðel-riht; oðrum swiðor
side ríce, þám þær sélra wæs.
Eft þæt geeóde ufaran dógrum,
hilde-hlemmum, syððan Hygelác læg,
and Heardrede hilde-meceas,
under bord-hreóðan, tó bonan wurdon,
þá hyne gesóhtan, on sige-þeóde,
hearde hilde-frecan heaðo-Scylfingas,
níða genægdon nefan Hereríces.

slack, a sluggish noble. Now a reversal came of each one of his afflictions to the gloriously blessed man.

Then the shelter of earls, the bold warrior-king, commanded to fetch in Hreðel's bequest, with gold bedecked; among the Geatas was there then no better treasure of the sword kind. That he laid on Beowulf's lap, and gave to him seven thousand [pieces], a manor house and a princely seat. To them both alike in that country the land was native, the homely civic right; to one of the two the broad kingdom by preference fell, [namely] to him who was the better man. That was changed in later days, in the crash of war, when Higelac lay dead, and war-swords became the bane of Heardred, [stabbing] under the shield-bulwark, when the stout Scylfings, hard warlike adventurers, sought him with a victorious people, attacked with mischiefs the nephew of Hereric.

2195 *seofon þusendo.* The word understood is probably *sceatta*: see the 'Traveller's Song,' l. 92. This is also Rieger's view. Ettmüller thinks that a grant of seventy hundreds (of land) is meant!

2197 *lond gecynde.* Since Beowulf's mother was a princess of the Geatas, the land was native and kindly to him no less than to Higelac; but the latter had the prior claim to the kingdom, not only as the son of king Hreðel, but because he was 'the better man'; the allusion being probably to Beowulf's supposed 'slackness,' l. 2187.

2200 *Eft þæt geeode,* lit. 'that went back.' *Æft. geiode,* MS.

2201-2206 *Heardrede, Hererices*: see Glossary of Names. lb. *gehnægdan,* MS.

III.

Se Fyr-Draca.

Syððan Beowulfe bráde ríce
on hand gehwearf: he geheold tela
fiftig wintru; wæs þæt fród cyning,
2210 eald éðel-weard; ðóðæt ân ongan,
deorcum nihtum, draca rícsian,
se þe on hea . . . . heáþe hord beweotede.

III.

THE FIRE-DRAKE.

After that the broad kingdom passed into the hand of Beowulf; he ruled it well fifty winters; that was a wise king, an aged guardian of the father-land,—till one began,—a Dragon,—to work his

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2207 At this point it seems most convenient to make the division between the later portion of the poem, describing Beowulf's fight with the Dragon and death, and the central portion, in which the adventure with Grendel's Mother is related. The first page of this part of the MS. is now in a wretched condition: an exact copy of it is given in the Introduction, page iii.

2211 *ricsian*, or *ricsan*, though now lost, could be read by Thorkelin.

2212 Much of the twenty-five lines, from 2206 to 2231, is now illegible, and was so in Thorkelin's time. The general drift seems to be this:—A bondsman, fleeing from the harsh treatment of his Geatic master, found the Mound containing the Hoard, while the Dragon that owned and guarded it was fast asleep. He looked into the cave under the Mound, and saw the treasures. A digression then ensues, the object of which is to account for the treasures being there. They had been accumulated by a band of sea-rovers, all of whom had gradually perished;—at last, one only is left, who, when sick and about to die, apostrophises the earth, and bids it guard the treasures which their human owners can no longer enjoy. The bondsman steals a portion of the treasure, and carries it to his lord. This is described in lines 2281–2285. The Dragon (who had found the Mound untenanted, soon after the death of the last of the sea-rovers, and established himself there) awakes and discovers the theft; whereat enraged, he proceeds to devastate the country of the Geatas.

Stán-beorh steápne stíg under læg,
eldum uncuð. Þær on-innan giong
niða nát hwylc . . . . . .
hæðnum horde hond [álegde]
. . . . . since fáh.
ne he þæt syððan . . . . . .
slæpende be fire . . . . . .
þeowes cræfte, þæt sie . . . . . .
. . . . . folc-biorn þæt he gebolge wæs.

XXXII.

Nealles [mid] geweoldum, wyrm-horda cræft,
sylfes willum, se þe him [sá]re gesceód,
ac for þreá-nedlan [þeow] nát hwylces,
hæleða bearna, hete-swenge fleoh
. . . . . þea . . . . and þær-inne weall
secg syn[lea]sig sona in-wlitode,
þæt . . . þám gyste . . . broga stod
Hwæ [ðre] sceapen . . . . .
. . . . . sceapen se fæs begeát

will in the dark nights, who in a high mound kept watch over a hoard. A path lay under the steep rocky mound, unknown to men. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

XXXII.

By no means spontaneously, or by his own will, did he seek the craft of serpent-hoards, which injured him sore; but for pressing need [the bondman] of some one—I wot not who—of the sons of heroes fled from angry blows . . the sinless man . . . . . soon looked in . . . . . .
. . . . . .

2213 *stearne*, MS.

2215 After *niða nat hwylc* we should, I suspect, read *bearn*, 'some son of quarrels': see l. 1005.

2227 *syn[lea]sig* The middle syllable of this word is illegible. Thorpe and Grein supply *lea*, with the sense 'sinless.' But this sense, Rieger thinks (Höpfner u. Zacher, *Zeitschrift*, vol. iii.), it could not easily have, and suggests *synbysig*.

. . . . . Þær wæs swylcra fela,
in þám eorð-[scræfe], ær-gestreóna,
swá he on gear-dagum, gumena nát hwylc,
ecrmen-lafe æðelan cynnes,
þanc-hycgende, þær gehydde,
deóre maðmas. Ealle híe deáð fornam,
ærran mælum, and se ân þá gen
leóda duguðe se þær lengest hwearf,
wearð wine geomor; wiscte þæs yldan,
þæt he lytel fæc leng gestreóna
brúcan móste. Beorh eal gearo
wunode on wonge, wæter-ýðum neáh,
niwe bé næsse, nearo-cræftum fæst:
þær on-innan bær eorl-gestreóna
hringa hyrde hárdfyrdne dæl
fættan goldes; feá worda cwæð:
Hold þú nú, hrúse, nú hæleð ne móston,
eorla æhte; hwæt! hit ær on þe
góde begeaton; gúð-deáð fornam,

. . . There was a quantity of such things, in that earth cavern,—of old treasures; as he in days of yore,—a man, I wot not who,—deeply meditating, had there hidden the great bequest of a noble kindred, precious jewels. Them all death had swept away at former periods, and the one there yet, of the nobility of his people, who there longest tarried, was a sorrowful man; he wished to make delay on this account, that he for a little space longer might enjoy the treasures. The mound all ready rose on the plain, close to the watery waves, down by the ness, secured by subtle skill; in thither the master of the jewels bore the store of princely treasures, hard to be carried,—of plated gold; [he] spake a few words:

'Hold thou now, earth,—now men must not—the possession of earls; what! it erst in thee good men amassed; death in war

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2237 *si*, MS.
2238 *ðer*, MS.
2239 *weard*, MS. Ib. *rihde*, MS.; *wiscte*, Th.
2240 *long*, MS.
2243 *niwe*, MS. Grein corrects *niðe*, down.
2246 *fec*, MS.
2247 *mæstan*, MS.
2249 *gode begeaton*. 'Good men' (*i.e.*, brave vikings, sea-rovers, free-booters) 'acquired it:' see l. 3165.

feorh-bealo frecne, fyra gehwylcne
leóda mínra; þára þe þis [lif] ofgeaf:
gesawon sele-dreám . . . hwá sweord wege,
oððe fe . . . . fæted wǽge,
drync-fæt deóre; du[guð] ellor scóc:
sceal se hearda helm, [hyr]sted golde,
fætum befeallen; feormynd swefað
þa þe beado-grímman bywan sceoldon;
geswylce seó here-pád, seó æt hilde gebád,
ofer borda gebræc, bíte írena,
brosnað æfter beorne; ne mæg byrnan hring
æfter wíg-fruman wíde feran
hæleðum be healfe; næs hearpan wyn,
gomen gleó-beámes, ne gód hafoc
geond sæl swingeð, ne se swifta mearh
burh-stede beateð. Bealo-cwealm hafað
fela feorh-cynna forð onsended.

swept away, sudden life-bale, every man of my people, of those that gave up this life; they witnessed the joy of the hall; [there is none] who may wield a sword, or . . . . . the plated vessel, the precious drinking cup; the nobility has departed elsewhere; the hard helmet, adorned with gold, must be deprived . . . . . : the polishers sleep, who should have made the helmet bright; likewise the suit of armour, which sustained the stress of battle, above the clash of shields, the bite of swords, perisheth after the hero; nor may the ring of the coat of mail, following the chieftain, be heard far and wide in support of heroes; there is no joy of the harp, no play of the glee-wood, nor doth the good hawk swoop through the hall, nor doth the swift horse tramp the burghstead. Baleful death hath caused to vanish many forms of life.' Thus in sorrowful mood he

2250 *fyrena*, MS.

2254 *seoc*, MS. Grein well corrects *scóc*, pf. of *scacan*, to depart.

2256 *fætum befeallen*. Grein supplies *wesan*, and renders 'be deprived of its plates'—the helmet rusting away, and the plating of gold which adorned it crumbling to pieces. Ib. *feormynd*, MS. Grein adopts Kemble's correction *feormiend*, conjecturing it to mean, both here and in the *feormend-lease* of l. 2761, 'polishers,' 'cleaners.'

2260 *byrnan hring*. Cf. 327, *byrnan hringdon*. [*nis*.

2262 *næs*; so in MS. Thorpe corrects

2266 *feorh-cynna*, lit. 'life-kinds.' Ib. *for*ð has perished from the MS.; but Thorkelin's incorrect *feor*ð shows that it was once there.

Swá giomor-mód giohðo mænde
ân æfter eallum unblíðe hwe . . . .
dæges and nihtes, ôððæt deáðes wylm
hrán æt heortan. Hord-wynne fond
eald uht-sceaða opene standan,
se þe byrnende biorgas séceð;
nacod nið-draca nihtes fleógeð
fýre befangen; hyne fold-buend
. . . . he ge [secean] sceal
[hlæw under] hrúsan, þær he hæðen gold
warað wintrum fród; ne byð him wihte [sel].
Swá se þeód-sceaða þreó hund wintra
heold on hrúsan hord-ærna sum
eácen-cræftig, oððæt hyne ân abealh
mon on móde: man-dryhtne bær
fæted wæge, friodo-wære bæd
hláford sínne. Þá wæs hord rasod,
onboren beága hord, bêne getiðad

moaned in his grief, alone when all were gone, sadly wept by day and night, till the death agony touched him at the heart. The joy-moving hoard was found by an old twilight scather, who, burning, seeketh hill-caves, standing open; the naked venomous Dragon flyeth by night, by fire encompassed; him the land-tillers . . . . .; he must seek the cave under ground, where he, with the wisdom of many winters, guardeth the heathen gold; nor shall it be any the better for him.

So the scather, the people's scourge, for three hundred years kept a hoard-house in the earth, with huge strength, until a certain man enraged him in mood; to his liege lord he bore a plated cup, offered it to his superior as a peace-were (peace-offering). Then was the hoard ransacked, the hoard of jewels carried away, fruition

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2267 *giohðo*, instr. case of *gehðu*. Ib. *mænde*, pf. of *mænan*. to moan.

2268 *hwe* only is discernible. Grein reads *hweop*, from *hwopan*.

2276 *bearn . . . . hrusan*, Thork. Nothing is now legible between *sceal* and *hrusan*.

2277 *sel* is Kemble's conjecture. After this line Thorkelin places a *lacuna* to the extent of fifteen lines; Thorpe reduces it to a line and a half; but in the MS. there is no trace of anything of the kind.

2280 *abealh*, pf. of *abelgan*, to exasperate.

2281 *mon*. This seems to be the man who has been already mentioned in the lines 2215 and 2227.

feásceaftum men. Freá sceáwode
fyra fyrn-geweorc forman siðe.
Þá se wyrm onwóc, wroht wæs geniwad;
stonc þá æfter stáne, stearc-heort onfand
feóndes fót-last; he tó forð gestóp,
dyrnan cræfte, dracan heáfde neáh.
Swá mæg unfæge eáðe gedígan
weán and wræc-sið, se þe waldendes
hyldo gehealdeð. Hord-weard sóhte
georne æfter grunde, wolde guman findan,
þone þe him on sweofote sáre geteóde:
hát and hreóh-mod hláew oft ymbe-hwearf,
ealne útanweardne; ne þær ænig mon
on . . . westene hwæðere hilde geféh
bea [do]weorces. Hwílum on beorh æthwearf,
sinc-fæt sóhte; he þæt sona onfand,
þæt hæfde gumena sum goldes gefandod,
heáh-gestreóna. Hord-weard onbád
earfoðlice ôððæt æfen cwom;
wæs þá gebolgen beorges hyrde,

given of his prayer to the poor man. The master beheld the ancient work of men for the first time. When the Serpent awoke, his wrath was renewed; then smelt he along the shore; the strong-hearted one discovered his enemy's foot-print; he, with secret craft, had stepped forth close to the Dragon's head. Thus may a courageous man escape from woes and exile, whom the Almighty's grace preserveth. The Warden of the Hoard sought eagerly along the ground, desired to find the man who in his sleep had worked him woe. Wrathful and in savage mood he often went round the mound, all on the outside; there however no man on the waste delighted in the strife of warfare. Sometimes he turned in to the mount, sought the treasure; he soon found that some man had discovered part of the gold, of the splendid jewels. With difficulty the Warden of the Hoard waited till evening came; the master of

2293 *hyldo*; Germ. *huld*, grace, favour.
2295 *on sweofote*. Compare *slæpende be firc*, l. 2219.
2296 *hlæwū*, MS.
2298 *þære westene*, Thork.; *þam*, Th. . . . *westenne*, MS.
2300 *sinc-fæt*. Though the natural meaning would be 'treasure-cup,' I think the word must here apply to the whole of the hoard.

wolde fela þá lige forgyldan
drync-fæt dýre. Þá wæs dæg sceacen
wyrme on willan; nó on wealle leng
bídan wolde; ac mid bæle fór,
fýre gefýsed. Wæs se fruma egeslíc
leódum on lande, swá hit lungre wearð,
on hyra sinc-gífan, sáre geendod.

XXXIII.

Þá se gæst ongan glédum spíwan,
beorht-hofu bærnan; bryne-leóma stód
eldum on andan; nó þær áht cwices
laðˇ lyft-floga læfan wolde.
Wæs þæs wyrmes wíg wíde gesýne,
nearo-fáges níð, neán and feorran,
hú se gúd-sceaðˇa Geáta leóde
hatode and hýnde; hord eft gesceát,
dryht-sele dyrnne, ær dæges hwíle.
Hæfde landwara lige befangen,

the hill was furious, he desired that many should, by means of fire, pay dearly for his drinking-cup. Then the day was departed, as the Serpent desired; he would no longer abide at the wall; but he went with blaze, hastening to spread fire. The beginning was terrible to the people in the land, even as it quickly was, for their treasure-giver [and lord], mournfully ended.

XXXIII.

Then the creature began to vomit forth flashes of fire, to burn bright dwellings; the fiery beam issued forth in hatred to men; the loathed air-flyer would leave nothing there alive. The Serpent's warfare was widely seen, the malice of him intensely hostile, from near and from far, how the war-scather hated and humiliated the people of the Geatas; afterwards he betook himself to the Hoard, the hidden princely hall, ere break of day. He had encompassed

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2305 *lige*, MS. For the sake of the alliteration Thorpe changes *lige* into *fyre*; for the same reason Grein, retaining *lige*, inserts *leoda* before *fela*.

2307 *læg*, MS.

2319 *gesceát*, pf. of *ge-sceótan*, to rush violently.

bæle and bronde; beorges getrúwode,
wiges and wealles: him seó wén geleáh.
Þá wæs Beowulfe bróga gecyðed
snúde tó sóðe, þæt his sylfes hám,
bolda sélest, bryne-wylmum mealt,
gif-stól Geáta. Þæt þám gódan wæs
hreów on hreðre, hyge-sorga mæst:
wénde se wísa þæt he wealdende,
ofer ealde riht, écean dryhtne,
bitre gebulge: breóst innan weoll
þeostrum geþoncum, swá him geþywe ne wæs.
Hæfde lig-draca leóda fæsten
ealond útan, eorð-weard þone,
glédum forgrunden. Him þæs gúð-cyning,
Wedera þeóden, wræce leornode.
Héht him þá gewyrcean wígendra hleó,
eall írenne, eorla dryhten,
wíg-bord wrætlíc: wisse he gearwe

the land-dwellers with fire, with bale and brand; he trusted in his mount, his war, and his wall: for him that hope proved false.

Then quickly was the terror made known as a certain truth to Beowulf, that his own home, the best of manor-houses, the gift-throne of the Geatas, was consumed by whelming flames. That was shocking to the heart of the good prince, the greatest of his anxieties; the wise chief weened that he, in violation of ancient right, had bitterly provoked to anger the Almighty, the eternal Lord; his breast boiled within him with dark thoughts, as was not his wont. The Fire-drake had destroyed with brands the stronghold of peoples, the island off shore, that [whole] region. For this the war-king, the prince of the Weders, bethought him of vengeance. He commanded then, the shelter of warriors, the lord of earls, to fashion for him a curious battle shield, all of iron; he knew full well

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2325 *him*, MS. Grein; *hám*, Edd.

2327 *gif-stol Geata.* The place where he was in the habit, according to the custom of kings, to distribute gifts among the Geatas.

2332 *geþywe*, MS. Thorpe reads *geþwære*, 'befitting.'

2334 *eorð-weard þone.* Grein renders *eorð-weard*, 'funditus,' and corrects *þone* to *þonne*.

2340 þæt him holt-wudu helpan ne meahte,
lind wiþ lige. Sceolde lán-daga
æþeling ær-gód ende gebídan,
worulde lífes, and se wyrm somod;
þeáh þe hord-welan heolde lange.
2345 Oferhogode þá hringa fengel
þæt he þone wíd-flogan weorode gesóhte,
sídan herge; nó he him þa sæcce ondred,
ne him þæs wyrmes wíg for wiht dyde,
eafoþ and ellen; forþon he ær fela,
2350 nearo-néþende, níþa gedígde,
hilde-hlemma, syþþan he Hróþgáres,
sigor-eádig secg, sele fælsode,
and æt gúþe forgráp Grendeles mægum,
láþan cynnes. Nó þæt læsest wæs
2355 hond-gemóta, þær mon Hygelác slóh,
syþþan Geáta cyning gúþe-ræsum,
freá-wine folca, Freslondum on,
Hreþles eafora, hioro-dryncum swealt,

that timber from the forest might not help him, linden matched with fire. The good prince was fated to abide the end of wretched days,—the life of [this] world, and the Serpent along with him; though he had long been master of the wealth of the hoard. Then did the prince of rings think scorn that he should seek that wide flyer with a host, with a numerous army; he dreaded not that combat, nor aught regarded that Serpent's battle, his power and force; for that he erewhile, dangerously risking, had survived many strifes, assaults of war, since he, a victorious soldier, cleansed out Hroðgar's hall, and grappled in fight with Grendel's kindred, of loathly race. That was not the least of hand-to-hand fights, where they slew Higelac, when the king of the Geatas, in the clashing of battle, the kindly lord of peoples, the heir of Hreðel, perished in Friesland, by

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2341 *þend*, MS.; *læn*, Kemble, Thorpe.

2347 *þam sæcce*, MS.

2355 *Hygelac slóh.* This is the second mention of the fatal expedition of Hygelac into Friesland; see line 1207, and below, ll. 2502 and 2914.

2358 *hioro-dryncum*, MS. Thorpe corrects *heoro-druncen*, 'sword-drunken.' Rieger observes that *hioro*, a much-used intensive prefix, has not here the meaning of 'sword'; *hioro-drync* merely means *potus letalis*. He objects therefore to Grein's render-

billé gebeáten. Þonan Beowulf com
sylfes cræfte, sund-nýde dreáh;
hæfde him on earme . . . . xxx.
hilde-geátwa, þá he to holme [st]ág.
Nealles Hetware hremge þorfton,
feðe-wíges, þe him foran ongean
linde bæron: lyt eft becwom
fram þám hild-frecan, hámes niósan.
Ofer-swam þá sioleða bigong sunu Ecgðeówes,
earm ânhaga, eft to leódum,
þær him Hygd gebeád hord and ríce,
beágas and brego-stól: bearne ne trúwode,
þæt he wið ælfylcum éðelstôlas
healdan cúðe, þá wæs Hygelác deád.
Nó þý ær feásceafte findan meahton
æt þam æðelinge, ænige þinga,

the fatal drinking [of his blood], beaten down by the battle axe. Thence Beowulf came off by his own strength, dree'd the hardships of the deep; he had . . . . thirty war-coats on his arm, when he took to the sea. By no means did the Hetware need [to be] exultant about the foot-combat, who bore their shields forward against him; few of them came back, from that valiant warrior, to visit their home. Then the son of Ecgtheow swam over the seals' domain, a poor solitary [fugitive], back to his people, where Hygd offered him treasure and kingdom, jewels and kingly throne; she trusted not in her child, that he could hold their native seats against foreign folk when Higelac was dead. None the sooner for that could those desolate ones prevail with the prince on any account,

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ing *gladio sanguinem hauriente*. The meaning of the phrase, however, is little different from that which Grein attaches to it.

2360 *sund-nytte*, MS. This passage might be rendered 'discharged the watery function,' with reference to swimming; but I prefer to read with Thorpe, *sund-nyde*.

2361 The word before xxx. is lost.

2367 *sioleða*, MS. Thorpe suspects that *bigong* is the gloss of a copyist, and that the true reading is *siol-eðel*, the native land of the seals. Grein takes *sioleða* as *siol-yða*, 'of the seal-waves.' Dietrich (in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xi. 415) takes *sioleða* to be the gen. pl. of *seoloð*, a derivative form from *sol*, 'water' (ante l. 302, *seomode on sole*), with the meaning 'bay' or 'creek': he compares such forms as *faroð*, *waroð*, *sweoloð*. This is an ingenious, perhaps a satisfactory, explanation.

2375 þæt he Heardrede hláford wǽre,
oððe þone cynedóm ciósan wolde;
hwæðre he hine on folce freónd-lárum heold,
éstum mid áre; ôððæt he yldra wearð,
Weder-Geátum weold. Hyne wræc-mægas
2380 ofer sǽ sóhtan, suna Ohtheres;
hæfdon hý forhealden helm Scylfinga,
þone sélestan sǽ-cyninga,
þára þe in Swio-ríce sinc brytnade,
mærne þeóden; him þæt to mearce wearð.
2385 he þær on feorme feorh-wunde hleát,
sweordes swengum, sunu Hygeláces;
and him eft gewât Ongenþiowes bearn,
hámes niósan, syððan Heardred læg;

that he would be lord to Heardred, or choose [i.e. appropriate] the kingdom; yet he upheld him among the people with friendly counsels, generously and honourably, till that he became older, [and] ruled over the Weder-Geatas. Him exiles sought over the sea, the sons of Ohthere; they had rebelled against the protector of the Scylfings, the best of all the sea-kings that in Sweden distributed treasure, a famous prince; that became his end (?). He there at a banquet, the son of Higelac, met with mortal wounds, by the swing of the sword; and afterwards the son of Ongentheow went to visit

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2377 *him*, MS.; *hine*, Th.

2379-2386 Ettmüller's explanation of this episode, though beset with difficulties, is the best that I have seen. According to this, Weohstan, an older son of Ongentheow, was reigning in Sweden at the time referred to in l. 2379. (Of Wiglaf, the son of this Weohstan, we shall hear a great deal farther on). Eanmund and Eadgils, sons of Ohthere, a younger son of Ongentheow, rebelled against their uncle, whose power and prosperity are mentioned in ll. 2381–4, and found refuge with Heardred in Gotland. Weohstan invaded Gotland; Heardred was killed; and Weohstan returned to Sweden, leaving Beowulf to rule as a kind of viceroy in Gotland. In later times, mindful of the support which his cousin Heardred had received from Ohthere's sons, Beowulf aided Eadgils in a war which he carried on against Weohstan, and deprived the Swedish king of life.

2381 *helm Scylfinga*; Weohstan; see preceding note and lines 2611–2618.

2384 *mearce*, MS. Thorpe corrects *mearge*, 'that went to his marrow,' *i.e.*, was fatal to him—Heardred.

let þone brego-stol Beowulf healdan,
Geátum wealdan: þæt wæs gód cyning.

XXXIV.

Se þæs leód-hrýres leán gemunde
uferan dógrum; Eadgilse wearð
feásceaftum freónd; folce gestépte
ofer sæ síde sunu Ohtheres,
wígum and wæpnum: he gewræc syððan . . .
cealdum cear-siðum; cyning ealdre bineat.
Swá he níða gehwane genesen hæfde,
slíðra geslyhta, sunu Ecgþiówes,
ellen-weorca, ôð þone ânne dæg,
þe he wið þám wyrme gewegan sceolde.
Gewât þá xiia sum, torne gebolgen,
dryhten Geáta, dracan sceáwian;
hæfde þá gefrunen hwanan sio fæhð áras,
bealo-níð beorna; him tó bearme cwom

his home, after Heardred lay dead; let Beowulf hold that royal seat, rule over the Geatas: that was a good king.

XXXIV.

He [Beowulf] bethought him of retribution for that mighty fall in later days; to the desolate Eadgils he was a friend; with his people, [sailing] over the broad sea, he supported the son of Ohthere, with war and weapons; he avenged afterwards . . . . . in chilling perilous adventures: the king he deprived of life. So had he, the son of Ecgtheow, outlived every quarrel, each perilous conflict, each mighty work, till that one day when he was fated to do battle with the Serpent.

Then went he with eleven others, the lord of the Geatas, in his rage and fury, to look for the dragon; he had then learnt by inquiry whence the feud arose, the baleful quarrel of warriors; to his lap

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2395 A line or more appears to be missing after *syððan*.

2396 *cyning*: Weohstan. (But see note to l. 2611.)

2403 *hæft*, MS.

maððum-fæt mære, þurh þæs meldan hond.
Se wæs on þám þreáte þreotteoða secg,
se þæs orleges ór onstealde;
hæfde hyge giómor; sceolde heán þanon
wong wísian: he ofer willan giong,
tó þæs þe he eorð-sele âna wisse.
Hlæw under hrúsan, holm-wylme néh,
ýð-gewinne; se wæs innan full
wrætta and wíra. Weard unhióre,
gearo gúð-freca, gold-maðmas heold,
eald under eorðan: næs þæt yðe ceáp
tó gegangenne gumena ænigum.
Gesæt þá on næsse níð-heard cyning,
þenden hælo abeád heorð-geneátum,
gold-wine Geáta. Him wæs geómor sefa,
wæfre and wæl-fús, wyrd ungemete neáh,
se þone gomelan grétan sceolde,
sécean sáwle hord, sundur gedælan

had come the great treasure-vessel, by the informer's hand. He was the thirteenth man in that band, who originated the beginning of the struggle; he had a downcast spirit; he was thenceforth compelled humbly to point out the place; he went against his will, because he alone knew the earth-hall. [It was] a cave under the earth, near the billowy sea, the labouring waves; within it was full of curious things and wires. The monstrous guardian, a ready daring fighter, old as he was, kept his treasures of gold beneath the earth; that was no slight or easy matter for any man to win access [thither]. Then the king, tough in warfare, sat on the ness, while he bade farewell to the companions of his hearth, the gold-friend of the Geatas. Sad was his spirit, wavering and ready for death, the Weird exceeding near, which was to assail the old man, seek his soul's treasure, part

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2405 *maððum-fæt.* The cup mentioned in lines 2282 and 2300. Ib. *mældan,* MS.

2410 *anne,* MS.

2113 *wira,* 'wires'; for the brooches, chains, jewels, &c., in the manufacture of which wires made of various metals were used. Comp. 'Elene,' l. 1135, *tearas feollon ofer wira gespon,* tears fell on the fibulæ, necklaces, and other ornaments, with which Helena's dress was decorated.

2415 *næs þæt yðe ceap,* lit. 'that was not easily cheap.'

2417 *on næsse.* This is the *Earna næs,* Eagles' ness, of l. 3031.

líf wiþ líce: nó þon lange wæs
feorh æþelinges flæsce bewunden.
Beowulf maþelode, bearn Ecgþeówes:
Fela ic on giogoþe gúþ-ræsa genæs,
orleg-hwíla; ic þæt eall gemon.
Ic wæs syfan wintre, þá mec since baldor,
freá-wine folca, æt mínum fæder genam,
heold mec and hæfde Hreþel cyning;
geaf me sinc and symbel, sibbe gemunde;
næs ic him tó lífe láþra owihte,
beorn in burgum, þonne his bearna hwylc,
Herebeald and Hæþcyn, oþþe Hygelác mín.
Wæs þám yldestan, ungedéfelíce,
mæges dædum, morþor-bed stred,
syþþan hyne Hæþcyn of horn-bogan,
his freá-wine, fláne geswencte;
miste mercelses, and his mæg ofscét,
bróþor oþerne, blódigan gáre.
Þæt wæs feohleás gefeoht, fyrenum gesyngad,

asunder life from the body; not long thenceforth was the life of the prince wrapt round with flesh.

Beowulf spake, the son of Ecgtheow: 'Many shocks of battle, [many] times of strife, did I survive in my youth; I remember all that. I was seven winters old, when the lord of treasures, the kindly ruler of peoples, Hreðel the king, took me from my father, held me and had me; gave me treasure and battels, remembered the tie of kindred; I was not for him in ought less favoured in life, as a baron in the burgh, than any one of his children, Herebeald and Hæðcyn, or my Higelac. For the eldest, unbefittingly, through a kinsman's deed, the bed of death was strewn, when Hæðcyn smote him, his lord and friend, with an arrow from a horn bow; missed the mark, and shot his kinsman, one brother another, with the bloody shaft.

2425 *maþelade*, MS.

2431 *symbel*, lit. 'feast.' It seems to mean free board at Hreðel's table.

2436 *stred* is the past part. of *strégan*, sternere.

2439 *of-scét*, pf. of *ofsceótan*.

2441 *feohleas gefeoht*. It was a death for which there could be no 'fee' or recompense. Hæðcyn could not pay the usual *were* to the father for taking his brother's life.

hreðre hyge-méðe : sceolde hwæðre swá-þeáh
æðeling unwrecen ealdres linnan.
Swá bið geómorlic gomelum ceorle
tó gebídanne, þæt his byre ríde
giong on galgan : þonne he gyd wrece,
sárigne sang, þonne his sunu hangað
hrefne to hroðre, and he him helpe ne mæg,
eald and infród, ænige gefremman.
Symble bið gemyndgad, morna gehwylce,
eaforan ellor-sið; óðres ne gýmeð
tó gebídanne burgum on-innan
yrfe-weardes, þonne se ân hafað,
þurh deáðes nýd, dæda gefondad.
Gesyhð sorh-cearig on his suna búre
wín-sele westne, windge ræste,
reóte berófene : rîdend swefað
hæleð in hoðman ; nis þær hearpan swég,
gomen in geardum, swylce þær iú wæron.

That was a fee-less fight, sinfully done, grievous to the heart; yet for all that the prince must unavenged be deprived of his life. So is it sorrowful for an old carl to abide that his young son should ride on the gallows, and he then utter a lament, a sorrowful chant, when his son hangeth, to [give] solace to the raven, and he, though old and inly wise, can afford him no help. Continually is he reminded, every morning, that his heir is gone elsewhither; he careth not for another keeper of the inheritance, to wait for [him] within the burgh, when the one, through the constraint of his deeds, hath found death. Sad and distressed, he seeketh the deserted wine-hall in his son's bower, the wind-lashed remains, deprived of the lute; as he rideth the hero sleepeth in his hood; there is no melody of the harp there, play in the courts, as there used of yore to be.

2444 *Swa bið geomorlic.* This homely simile is a vivid picture, evidently taken from the life.
2448 *helpan,* MS.
2452 *in innan,* MS.
2453 *das,* MS.; *des,* Th.
2454 *dæda gefondad.* Müllenhoff and Bugge suggest that by a blunder of the scribe *deaðes* and *dæda* have been transposed. We should read—*þurh dæda nyd* (*nið,* Bugge) *deaðes gefondad.*

XXXV.

Gewíteð þonne on sealman, sorh-leóð gæleð,
ân æfter ânum: þuhte him eall tó rúm,
wongas and wíc-stede. Swá Wedera helm,
æfter Herebealde, heortan-sorge
weallende wæg; wihte ne meahte,
on þám feorh-bonan fæhðe gebétan;
nó þý ær he þone heaðo-rinc hatian ne meahte
láðum dædum, þeáh him leóf ne wæs.
He þá mid þære sorge, þá him sió sár belamp,
gum-dreám ofgeaf, Godes leóht geceás,
eaferum læfde, swá déð eádig mon,
lond and leód-byrig, þá he of life gewât.
Þá wæs synn and sacu Sweóna and Geáta,

XXXV.

Then he hath recourse to psalms, he yelleth out dirges, one after another; all seemed to him too spacious, both plains and township. So the protector of the Weders, longing for Herebeald, experienced agonising heart-sorrow; on him who destroyed his life, he could not in any respect better the feud; not any the more on that account could he hate the warrior on account of his loathed deed, though he was not dear to him. He then with that sorrow, when it beset him sorely, gave up human joy, chose the light of God, left to his heirs, as a prosperous man doth, land and free burgh, when he from life departed.

Then was guilt and strife between the Sweonas and Geatas; dis-

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2465 *fægðe*, MS.

2472 These wars between the Swedes and Geatas are described at greater length farther on, in the messenger's speech, lines 2922–3005. In consequence of this some lines appear to have got out of their place. Lines 2930–2932, which are unintelligible where they stand, should, I think, be transferred to this place, and l. 2475 (which is totally unconnected with its present context) annexed to them. The passage would then run thus:—

2477 —ymb Hreosna-beorh
2478 eatolne inwit-scear oft gefremedon.
2930 Abreat brim-wisa bryda heorde
2931 gomela iomeowlan, golde berofene,

ofer wíd wæter wroht gemǽne
here-níð hearda, syððan Hreðel swealt,
[oððe him Ongenðeówes eaferan wǽran.]
Frome fyrd-hwate, freóde ne woldon
ofer heafo healdan, ac ymb Hreosna-beorh
eatolne inwit-scear oft gefremedon.
Þæt mæg-wine mine gewrǽcan,
fǽhðe and fyrene, swá hit gefrǽge wæs,
þeáh þe oðer [hit] his ealdre gebóhte,
heardan ceápe: Hæðcynne wearð,
Geáta dryhtne, gúð onsæge.
Þá ic on morgne gefrægn, mǽg oðerne
billes ecgum on bonan stælan:
þær Ongenþeów Eofores niosað,
gúð-helm tóglád; gomela Scylfing
hreás blác: hond gemunde
fǽhðe genoge, feorh-sweng ne ofteáh.
Ic him þá máðmas, þe he me sealde,

cord in common over the wide water; armed quarrel between stout warriors, after that Hreðel died [or Ongentheow's heirs were to him]. Firm, strenuous in war, they would not keep peace over the main, but round Hreosna-beorh often wrought terrible and malignant slaughter. That the chiefs of my kindred avenged, with feud and damage, as it was ascertained; though one of them purchased it with his life, a hard bargain; to Hæðcyn, the lord of the Geatas, the fight was fatal. Then I learnt that in the morning the other brother [Higelac] stole on the slayer with the edge of the battle-axe; there Ongentheow encounters Eofor: his war-helmet fell in shivers; the aged Scylding, pale, fell [to the ground]; his hand remembered conflict well enough; withheld not the deadly swing.

2932 Onelan modor and Ohtheres,
2475 þa þe Ongenþeowes eaferan wæron.
2479 Þæt mægwine mine gewræcan, &c.

Brim-wisa will then refer to Ongentheow, and *þæt* to the injury which this act of the Swedish king; in carrying off a Geatic maiden, inflicted on the Geatas.

2473 *wid wæter.* Lake Mälar, according to Thorpe; but I believe the words to refer to the sea.
2477 *Hreosna-beorh.* Is it possible that in this *Hreosna* we have the Icel. *hrís*, 'bush,' 'wood'?
2481 [*hyra*] *his*, Th.
2483 *gúð onsæge.* Cf. 8 l. 2076.
2488 [*heoro*] *blác*, Grein.
2489 *fǽhðo*, MS.

geald æt gúðe, swá me gifeðe wæs,
leóhtan sweorde; he me lond forgeaf,
eard éðel-wyn. Næs him ænig þearf,
þæt he tó Gifðum, oððe tó Gár-Denum,
oððe in Swio-ríce, sécean þurfe
wyrsan wíg-frecan weorðe gecýpan.
Swylc ic him on feðan beforan wolde,
âna on orde, and swá tó aldre sceal
sæcce fremman, þenden þis sweord þolað,
þæt mec ær and sið oft geléste.
Syððan ic for dugeðum Dæghrefne wearð
tó hand-bonan, Huga cempan;
nalles he þa frætwe Fres-cyninge,
breost-weorðunge, bringan móste,
ac in campe gecrong cumbles hyrde,
æðeling on elne. Ne wæs [ic] ecg-bona,
ac him hilde gráp heortan wylmas,
ban-hús gebræc. Nú sceal billes ecg,
hond and heard sweord, ymb hord wígan.

For those treasures which he [Higelac] gave me I repaid him in war, as it was given to me, with flashing sword; he gave me land, a farm, the joy of a manor. There was no need for him, that he need seek to purchase with honours and rewards an inferior champion among the Gifthas, or among the Spear-Danes, or in Sweden. In such wise would I [go] before him in the battalion, alone in front; and so during life must I bear myself in conflict, while this sword lasteth, that often me, before and since, hath served. Afterwards I, for [proof of] valour, became the slayer of Dæghrefn, the champion of the Hugas; by no means might he bring those ornaments, the insignia [that decked] his breast, to the Frisian king; but in battle the guardian of the standard, the noble, fell without flinching. I killed him not with blade, but strongly grasped his throbbing heart, bursting the flesh. [But] now the edge of the battle-axe, the [strong] hand and the hard sword, must do battle for the Hoard.'

2494 *Gifðum.* The Gifthas, or Gepidæ; see Glossary of Names, and also, for the Hugas or Chauci, l. 2502.

2503 *cyning*, MS.

Beowulf maðelode, beót-wordum spræc
nieħstan siðe: Ic geneðde fela
gúða on geogoðe; gyt ic wylle,
fród folces weard, fæhðe sécan,
mærðum fremman, gif mec se mán-sceaða
of eorð-sele út geséceð.
Gegrétte þá gumena gehwylcne,
hwate helm-berend, hindeman siðe,
sv.ése gesiðas: Nolde ic sweord beran,
wæpen tó wyrme, gif ic wiste hú
wið þám aglæcan elles meahte
gylpe wið-grípan, swá ic gió wið Grendle dyde.
Ac ic þær heaðu-fýres hátes wéne,
reðes and hattres; forðon ic me on hafu
bord and byrnan. Nelle ic beorges weard
ofer-fleón fótes trem; [geteóð,
ac unc sceal weorðan æt wealle swá unc wyrd

Beowulf spake; vaunting words he uttered, for the last time: 'I have essayed many fights in my youth; yet again will I, my people's prudent guardian, seek the strife, do deeds of fame, if the abhorred scather shall seek me from out of his earth-hall.' Then greeted he, the bold helmeted knight, each one of his men for the last time, his beloved liegemen: 'I would not bear sword or any weapon against the Serpent, if I knew how else I might gloriously grapple with the monster, as I of yore with Grendel did. But I in this case look for hot raging fire, venomous breath; therefore have I about me shield and coat of mail. I wish not to escape by flight from the guardian of the mound one foot's breadth: but it shall be with us two at the wall as the Weird shall appoint for us, the destiny

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2523 *reðes and hattres*, MS., which Thorpe translates 'fierce and venomous.' Grein corrects *oreðes* (for *oruðes*) *and ættres*, 'poison and breath,' and refers to l. 2557. Adopting this ingenious correction, I understand the phrase as a sort of hendiadys, and have so rendered it.

2525 A word is probably missing, but the corrections of the editors are not satisfactory. Beowulf means to say, that if he began the fight with no defence against the dragon's venomous breath, he might be compelled to give back. He takes his shield because he does not wish to yield one foot of ground. *ofer-fleon* seems to mean 'to surpass by fleeing'; Ib. *trem* is for *trym*, a piece or fragment.

metod manna gehwæs. Ic eom on móde from,
þæt ic wiþ þone gúþ-flogan gylp ofer-sitte.
Gebíde ge on beorge byrnum werede,
secgas on searwum, hwæþer sél mæge,
æfter wæl-ræse, wunde gedýgan
uncer twéga. Nis þæt eower siþ,
ne gemet mannes, nefne mín ânes,
þæt he wiþ aglæcean eafoþo dæle,
eorlscipe efne. Ic mid elne sceal
gold gegangan, oþþe gúþ nimeþ,
féorh-bealu frecne, freán eowerne.
Arás þá bi ronde róf oretta,
heard under helme; hioro-sercean bær
under stán-cleofu, strengo getrúwode
ânes mannes: ne biþ swylc earges siþ.
Geseah þá be wealle, se þe worna fela,
gum-cystum gód, gúþa gedígde,
hilde-hlemma, þonne hnitan feþan,
stondan stán-bogan, stream út þonan

of each several man. I am resolute in mood, that I will lay aside boasting against that war-flyer. Tarry ye on the hill, protected by your breast-plates, men-at-arms, [to see] which of us two, after the deadly close, may have the better hap to survive his wounds. That is no enterprise for you, nor the measure of [any] man save of me alone, that he should put forth his strength, [or] perform deeds of valour, against the monster. I will forcefully win the gold, or the fight, the fierce deadly bale, shall take your lord.'

Then the bold fighter arose with his shield, hard under helm; his garb of war he bore beneath the rocky cliffs; he trusted in the strength of a single man; such is not the enterprise of a faint-hearted man. Then he who, of noble qualities, had survived innumerable risks, battles, war-onsets, when battalions hurtle together,—saw an

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2527 *metod.* Of this word, which Anglo-Saxon writers, when they had become Christian, used for 'the Creator,' the primary notion seems to have been 'the measuring, allotting, regulating Power.' Grimm seems disposed to connect it with the Lat. *metiri* (*Deut. Myth.*, 1199). The word appears in the *Edda* as *miötuðr*: *sá er hann með mönnum miötuðr* (Fiölsvinnsmâl, 23).

2534 *wat*, MS.; *þæt*, Edd. Ib. *eofoðo*, MS.

2545 *stod on*, MS.

brecan of beorge. Wæs þære burnan wælm
heaðo-fýrum hát; ne meahte horde neáh
unbyrnende, énige hwíle
deop gedýfan for dracan lege.
Let þá of breostum, þá he gebolgen wæs,
Weder-Geáta leód word út-faran;
stearc-heort styrmde; steſn in-becom
heaðo-torht hlynnan, under hárne stán.
Hete wæs onhréred, hord-weard oncneów
mannes reorde. Næs þær mára fyrst
freóðe to friclan; from érest cwom
oruð aglæcean út of stáne,
hát hilde-swát. Hrúse dynede,
biorn under beorge bord-rand onswáf
wið þám grýre-gieste, Geáta dryhten.
Þá wæs hring-bogan heorte gefýsed
sæcce tó séceanne. Sweord ér gebræd
gód gúð-cyning, gomele láfe,
ecgum ungleáw: æghwæðrum wæs

arch of stone standing, and a stream bursting out thence from the mound. The gushing of that spring was hot with raging fires, nor might one unscorched dive deep for any time, near to the Hoard, for the Dragon's flame. Then,—for he was wrathful,—the prince of the Weder-Geatas let a word issue forth out of his breast; the stout-hearted one stormed; the shout, shrill and clear, went in and resounded under the hoar rock. Hate was aroused; the Warden of the Hoard recognised the voice of man. Then was there no more leisure to long for peace; first came forth the breath of the monster out of the rock, hot reek of battle. The earth made a din; the hero under the hill, the lord of the Geatas, put up his shield-rim against that terrible antagonist. Then was the heart of the coiled [Serpent] stirred up to seek strife. The good warrior-king had before drawn his sword, that ancient heirloom, unsparing with its

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2549 *deop gedygan*, MS.; Thorpe corrects *gedyfan*. In 'Guðlac' we have *Nu þu in helle scealt deope gedúfan*, l. 555.

2556 *friclan*. Thorpe translates 'demand,' as if the word were another form of *fricgan*; but Grein's citations from 'Cædmon' prove the meaning to be as given above.

2564 *ungleaw*, MS. Thorpe corrects *unsleaw*; but *ungleaw* gives a sufficiently good sense, *gleaw* having the meaning of 'niggardly,' 'stingy.'

bealo-hycgendra broga fram oðrum.
Stið-mód gestód wið steápne rond
winia bealdor; þá se wyrm gebeáh
snúde tósomne; he on searwum bád.
Gewât þá byrnende gebógen scríðan
tó gescipe scyndan. Scyld wel gebearg
líf and líce læssan hwíle
mærum þeódne þonne his myne sóhte,
þær he þý fyrste forman dógore,
wealdan móste; swá him wyrd ne gescráf.
Hreð æt hilde, hond úp-abræd
Geáta dryhten, grýre-fáhne slôh
Incge láfe, þæt sió ecg gewác,
brún on báne bát unswiðor
þonne his þiód-cyning þearfe hæfde,
bysigum gebæded. Þá wæs beorges weard,
æfter heaðu-swenge, on hreðum móde;
wearp wæl-fýre; wíde sprungon

edges; to each of the two fell fighters there was terror caused by the other. In stubborn mood stood the lord of the good followers against his towering shield; then the Serpent quickly coiled itself together; he awaited under arms. Then, blazing, bent together, [the Serpent] advanced with a rush, hastening to his fate. The shield well protected life and limb for the famed prince for a shorter time than his mind sought, in case he might have controlled [events] at that time, on the first day; so the Weird ordained not for him. Fierce in fight, the lord of the Geatas raised his hand aloft, smote the terrible many-hued [Serpent] with the Dane's (?) bequest, so that the edge gave way, the brown [blade] bit less strongly on the bone than its lord had need, by troubles oppressed. Then was the Warden of the mount, after that fierce stroke, in savage mood; he

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2567 *winia* is a form of the gen. pl. of *wine*. Thorpe corrects *Wedera*.

2573 *forman dogore*, 'on the first day,' *i.e.*, on the day when he resolved to undertake the adventure against the Dragon.

2577 *Incge lafe*, MS. No one has suggested an explanation for *incge*. Possibly it may be a corruption of *Ingwines* (see lines 1044, 1319), and may refer to Hrothgar, who had given Beowulf a sword. See p. 69.

hilde-leóman. Hreð sigora ne gealp
gold-wine Geáta; gúð-bill geswác,
ná gód æt nýde, swá hit nó sceolde,
íren ær-gód. Ne wæs þæt eðe sið,
þæt se mæra maga Ecgþeówes
grund-wong þone ofgyfan wolde,
sceolde willan wíc eardian
elles-hwergen. Swá sceal æghwylc mon
álætan lǽn-dagas. Næs þá long to þon,
þæt þá aglæcean hý eft gemetton.
Hyrte hyne hord-weard, hreðer æðme weoll
niwan stefne; nearo þrówade,
fýre befongen, se þe ær folce weold:
nealles him on heápe hand-gesteallan,
æðelinga bearn, ymbe gestódon,
hilde-cystum; ac hý on holt bugon,

cast deadly fire; widely darted forth the blasting rays. The fierce gold-friend of the Geatas had no victories to boast of; his stout blade failed him, no good at need, as it should not have done, that first-rate steel. Nor was that an easy way, that the great son of Ecgtheow should be willing to give up this earth-ground, and consent to inhabit a dwelling elsewhere. So must every man quit these miserable days! It was not long after that, that the fierce adversaries again met. The Warden of the Hoard plucked up courage, his breast heaved anew with [venomous] breath; encompassed by fire, he suffered distress who long had ruled the people. Not then in a band did his chosen comrades, sons of nobles, stand around him, with their soldierly virtues; but they crouched down

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2585 *nacod æt niðe*, MS.

2592 *aglæcean*. The word is usually employed in a bad sense; here it is applied to Beowulf as well as to the Serpent. *Aglæca* is a noun of the *agent*, formed from *aglâc*, or *aglæc*, violent tumult or strife. Grein seems to derive it from *lâc*, certamen, and the prefix *ag-*, which may be connected with *ege*, terror. A simpler derivation, it seems to me, would be *â-gelâc—â*, a prefix signifying perpetuity; *ge-lâc*, tumultus.

2594 *niwan stefne*: see l. 1789, note.

2595 *ær*. Not *antea*, but *diu*, as Bugge remarks; adducing the compounds *ær-god* and *ær-wela*.

2596 *heand-*, MS.

ealdre burgan. Hiora in ânum weoll
sefa wiþ sorgum: sibb æfre ne mæg
wiht onwendan þám þe wel þenceð.

XXXVI.

Wígláf wæs háten, Weoxstánes sunu,
leóflíc lind-wíga, leód Scylfinga,
mæg Ælfheres. Geseah his mon-dryhten
under here-gríman hát þrówian:
gemunde þá þá áre þe he him ær forgeaf,
wíc-stede weligne Wægmundinga,
folc-rihta gehwylc, swá his fæder áhte.
Ne mihte þá forhabban: hond-rond gefeng,
geolwe linde, gomel swyrd geteáh,
þæt wæs mid eldum Eanmundes láf,

in the wood, their lives to save. In one of these, the soul was agitated by sorrows; nothing may ever alter the tie of kindred in him that thinketh aright.

XXXVI.

Wiglaf was the man's name, the son of Weohstan, a gallant shield-warrior, a chief of the Scylfings, the kinsman of Ælfhere. He saw his liege lord suffering the heat under his helmet; then called he to mind the favours which he erst had given him, a wealthy manor among the Wægmundings, and every folk-right, as his father had possessed them. Then could he not forbear; he grasped his shield, of yellow linden wood; he drew his old sword that was among men a relic of Eanmund the son of Ohthere, to whom, when

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2611 *Eanmundes láf.* Eanmund was one of the 'sons of Ohthere,' mentioned in l. 2380. His having been killed by Weohstan, perhaps soon after his return from Gotland, accounts for his brother Eadgils being mentioned alone in l. 2392. Weohstan is not spoken of in this passage as if he were king in Sweden; I am, therefore, disposed to doubt whether Ettmüller's explanation of the passage 2379–2396 be tenable. It would be simpler to regard Onela as the king of Sweden mentioned in that passage, and to refer to him everything that Ettmüller says of Weohstan.

suna Ohteres, þám æt sæcce wearð,
wræce wineleásum, Weohstan bana,
meces ecgum; and his magum æt-bær
brún-fágne helm, hringde byrnan,
eald sweord eótonisc, þæt him Onela forgeat,
his gædelinges gúð-gewædu,
fyrd-searu fúslíc; nó ymbe þa fæhðe spræc,
þeáh þe he his bróðor bearn abredwade.
He frætwe geheold fela missera,
bill and byrnan, oð ðæt his byre mihte
eorlscipe efnan, swá his ær-fæder.
Geaf him þá mid Geátum gúð-gewæda
æghwæs unrím; þá he of ealdre gewât
fród on forð-wég. Þá wæs forma sið
geongan cempan, þæt he gúðe ræs
mid his freá-dryhtne fremman sceolde:
ne gemealt him se mód-sefa, ne his mægenes láf

a friendless outcast, Weohstan in conflict became the destroyer, with the edges of the sword, and from his kinsman bore away the brown-hued helmet, the corselet of chain-mail, the old wondrous sword, which Onela had given him, the war-array, the panoply complete, of his comrade; he [Onela] spoke not about that feud, though he [Weohstan] had slain his own brother's child. He enjoyed those arms many half-years, the sword and coat of mail, till his son was able to perform deeds of valour, like his father. Then gave he him among the Geatas every kind of war-apparel without number, when he, full of wisdom, passed away from life. Then was the first time for the young warrior, that he with his liege lord was to encounter the press of war; nor did his soul melt within him, nor did his kins-

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2613 *Weohstanes*, MS.

2618 *no ymbe þá fæhðe.* Onela said nothing to Weohstan about the homicide of Eanmund, though he was the son of his own brother, Ohthere.

2619 *abredwade*, an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον; Thorpe translates 'sent abroad.'

2625 *mid Geatum.* Ecgtheow, Beowulf's father, was a kinsman (brother or cousin) of Weohstan, both being Wægmundings and Scylfings. Having married the daughter of Hrethel, king of the Geatas, he lived in their country. It was therefore natural in Weohstan to send his son Wiglaf to his relatives in Gotland.

2628 *mægenes*, MS.; Ettmüller corrects *mæges.*

gewác æt wíge ; þæt se wyrm onfand,
syððan híe tógædre gegán hæfdon.

Wígláf maðelode word-rihta fela,
sægde gesiðum (him wæs sefa geómor) :
Ic þæt mæl geman, þá we medu þegon,
þonne we gehéton ússum hláforde
in biór-sele, þe us þás beágas geaf,
þæt we him þa gúð-getawa gyldan woldon,
gif him þyslícu þearf gelumpe, [gecéas
helmas and heardne sweord, þá he usic on herge
tó þyssum siðfæte, sylfes willum,
onmúnde usic mærða, and me þæs maðmas geaf
þe he usic gár-wígend góde tealde,
hwáte helm-berend : þeáh þe hláford user
þis ellen-weorc âna áþohte
tó gefremmanne, folces hyrde ;
forþam he manna mæst mærða gefremede,
dæda dollícra. Nú is se dæg cumen
þæt úre man-dryhten mægenes behófáð,
gódra gúð-rinca : wutun gongan tó

man's bequest fail him in fight : that the Serpent found after that they had come together.

Wiglaf spake many solemn words, said to the liegemen, (his soul was sorrowful) : 'I remember that time that we took mead, when we promised to our lord in the beer-hall, who gave us these precious things, that we would pay him for those war-equipments if such need as this should befall him, the helmets and hard swords, which he chose for us in the army of his own accord for this expedition, reminded us of deeds of fame, and to me treasures gave for this cause, because he accounted us good spearmen, keen helmeted soldiers ; though our lord, the shepherd of his people, thought to accomplish this mighty work alone, because he of all men performed the greatest number of glorious acts, of headstrong deeds. Now is the day come that our liege lord hath need of the strength of good fighting-men : come on ! let us go to help our chief while the heat (?)

2642 *us*, MS. ; *user*, Th. 2648 *wutun* ; see l. 1390, note.

helpan hild-fruman, þenden hit sý
gled-egesa grim. God wát on mec,
þæt me is micle leófre þæt mínne líc-haman,
mid mínne gold-gyfan, gled fæþmie.
Ne þynceð me gerýsne þæt we rondas beron
eft to earde, nemne we æror mægen
fáne gefyllan, feorh ealgian
Wedra þeódnes. Ic wát geare
þæt náron eald-gewyrht, þæt he âna scyle
Geáta duguðe gnorn þrówian,
gesígan æt sæcce: unc sceal sweord and helm,
byrne and beadu-scrúd, bám gemæne;
Wód þá þurh þone wæl-réc; wig-nεafolan bær
frcán on fultum; feá worda cwæð:
Leófa Beowulf, læst eall tela,
swá þú on geoguð-feore geara gecwæde,
þæt þú ne alæte, be þe lífigendum,
dóm gedreósan. Scealt nú dædum róf
æðeling ânhydig, ealle mægene

lasts, the fearful blazing terror. God wot of me, that I had far rather the fire should embrace my body along with that of my gold-giver. Nor seemeth it to me fitting that we should bear our shields back to our homes, unless we may first fell the enemy, save the life of the prince of the Weders. I wot well that his ancient merits were not such that he alone of the nobility of the Geatas should suffer distress, sink in the contest: for us both shall sword and helm, corselet and battle-garb be in common.'

Then rushed he through the noisome smoke; he bare his shield's boss to his lord's help, a few words he spake. 'Dear Beowulf! do all well; as thou in thy youthful time of yore didst say that thou would'st not let thy glory fall in thy lifetime! Now must thou, confident in thy deeds, a determined prince, with all thy might thy

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2649 *hit*, MS., Grein; *hát*, Kemble, Thorpe. Grein compares the O.N. form *hiti*, 'heat.'

2659 *urum*, MS; *unc*, Th.

2660 *byrdu - scrud*, MS.; *beadu*, Kemble. Ib. *gemæne*, understand *wesan*. *bam* is now lost from the MS., but Thorkelin has *ban*.

2661 *wig . . . . folan*, MS.; *wig hea folan*, Thorkelin; *wig-neafolan*, Grein; *Wiglaf ellen*, Thorpe. I have adopted Grein's correction. *neafola* is 'the navel'; *wig-neafola = umbilicus clipei*. Ib. *ræc*, MS.

feorh ealgian; ic þe fullǽstu.
Æfter þám wordum wyrm yrre cwom,
atol inwit-gest, oðre siðe,
fýr-wylmum fáh, fiónda niósan,
láðra manna: lig-ýðum forborn
bord wið rond; byrne ne meahte
geongum gár-wígan geóce gefremman.
Ac se maga geonga under his mæges scyld
elne geeóde, þá his ágen [wæs]
gledum forgrunden. Þá gen gúð-cyning
[mærða] gemunde, mægen strengo slóh
hilde-bille, þæt hit on heafolan stód,
níðe genýded. Nægling forbærst,
geswác æt sæcce, sweord Beowulfes,
gomol and grǽg-mǽl: him þæt gifeðe ne wæs
þæt him írenna ecge mihton
helpan æt hilde: wæs sió hond tó strong,
se þe meca gehwane, míne gefrǽge,
swenge ofer-sóhte; þonne he tó sæcce bær

life defend; I will help thee.' After those words the wrathful Serpent came, an accursed malignant visitant, the second time, with fiery waves many-hued, to attack the foes, those loathed men. [Wiglaf's] shield was burnt up . . . . . by the fiery waves; his corselet might not furnish help to the young warrior. But the young man hastily went under his kinsman's shield, as his own was destroyed by the flames. Then still the warrior-king bethought him of his deeds of fame; with all his might and force he struck with his good sword, so that it descended on [the Dragon's] head, by fury urged. Nægling, Beowulf's sword, old and grey-bladed, was shivered in pieces; it failed in the conflict; it was not granted to him that the edges of steel blades might help him in the fight; the hand was too strong which, from what I could learn, with its swinging stroke over-tasked every blade; when he to the conflict bore

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2673 *bord wið rond*, MS., words to which it is difficult to attach a meaning. Thorpe corrects *brád wig-rond*, 'the broad war-shield.'

2678 *mærða* is here supplied by all the editors; the original word was illegible even in Thorkelin's time.

2686 *ofer-sohte*, MS.; *ofer-swiðde*, Th.

wæpen wund[r]um heard: næs him wihte þe sél.
Þá wæs þeód-sceaða, þriddan siðe,
frecne fýr-draca, fæhðe gemyndig;
ræsde on þone rófan, þá him rúm ageald,
hát and heaðo-grim; heals ealne ymb-feng
biteran bánum: he geblódegod wearð
sáwul-drióre; swát ýðum weoll.

XXXVII.

Þá ic æt þearfe [gefrægn] þeód-cyninges
andlongne eorl ellen cyðan,
cræft and cênðu, swá him gecynde wæs:
ne hédde he þæs heafolan, ac sió hand gebarn
módiges mannes, þær he his mægenes healp;
þæt he þone níð-gæst nioðor hwéne slôh,

a weapon, wondrously hard, it was not a whit the better for him.

Then, for the third time, the great scather, the fierce Fire-drake, was minded to attack; he rushed on the bold [chief], then he amply requited him, hot and exceeding fierce; he clasped him round the neck in his horrid coils; he [Beowulf] was drenched in his life-blood; the blood spurted out in streams.

XXXVII.

Then I learnt that at his true prince's need the earl displayed unceasing valour, strength, and energy, as to him was natural; nor did he keep clear of his [the Dragon's] head, but the hand of the valiant man was burnt, when he helped by his prowess; then (?) he, the armed soldier, beat down a little the malignant enemy, so

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2693 *sawul-driore*, the Dragon's blood, I think, not Beowulf's.

2694 *gefrægn* was supplied conjecturally by Kemble.

2697 *hédde* is from *hêdan*, 'to heed.' Grein renders, *non cavit capiti suo*; but I think that Thorpe is right in understanding *heafolan* of the Dragon's head, not Wiglaf's.

2698 *his mægenes*, the instrum. genitive.

2699 *þæt*, MS.; read *þá*.

secg on searwum, þæt þæt sweord gedeáf
fáh and fæted; þæt þæt fýr ongon
swe᷑rian sy᷑᷑an. Þá gen sylf cyning
geweold his gewitte, wæl-seaxe gebræd,
biter and beadu-scearp, þæt he on byrnan wæg:
forwrát Wedra helm wyrm on middan.
Feónd gefyldan, ferh ellen wræc,
and hí hyne þá bégen abroten hæfdon,
sib-æ᷑elingas: swylc sceolde secg wesan,
þegn æt þearfe. Þæt þám þeódne wæs
si᷑as sige hwíle sylfes dædum,
worlde-geweorces. Þá sió wund ongon,
þe him se eor᷑-draca ær geworhte
swélan and swellan; he þæt sona onfand,
þæt him on breóstum bealo-ní᷑ weoll,
áttor on-innan. Þá se æ᷑eling giong,
þæt he bi wealle, wís-hycgende,
gesæt on sesse; seah on enta geweorc,
hú þa stán-bogan, stapulum fæste,

that the sword drove down, many-hued and with plated hilt, so that the fire began after that to abate. Then again the king himself recovered his senses, his deadly knife he drew, bitter and exceeding sharp, that he bore on his corselet. The protector of the Weders slashed the Serpent in the middle. They felled the foe: valour expelled his life, and they both, the noble kinsmen, had despatched him; such should a soldier, a thane, be at need. That was the last time of victory, [won] by his own deeds, for the prince, in his world's work. Then the wound, which he had received erewhile from the earth-dragon, began to burn and swell; he soon found that the baleful mischief festered within his breast, the venom within. Then the prince went, till he, full of wise meditations, sat on a seat by the wall; he beheld the work of the giants, how the imperishable earth-house had those stone arches within, firm on

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2710 *si᷑as sige-hwile*, MS.; *si᷑es sige-hwil*, Thorpe; *si᷑ast sige-hwila*, Grein, whom I have followed.

2711 *worlde-geweorces*, 'his world-work,' *i.e.*, 'his work in this world.'

2718 *stapulum*: see l. 96. It is doubtful whether *stapol* and *stapul* are the same. In this place *stapulum* certainly means 'pillars.'

éce eorð-reced innan healde.
Hyne þá mid handa heoro-dreórigne
þeóden mærne, þegn ungemete till,
wine-dryhten his, wætere gelafede,
hilde sædne, and his helm onspeón,
Beowulf maðelode, her ofer benne spræc,
wunde wæl-bleáte; wisse he gearwe,
þæt he dæg-hwíla gedrogen hæfde
eorðan-wynne; þá wæs eall sceacen
dógor-gerímes, deáð ungemete neáh:
Ic nú suna mínum syllan wolde
gúð-gewædu, þær me gifeðe swá
ænig yrfe-weard æfter wurde,
líce gelenge. Ic þás leóde heold
fiftig wintra; næs se folc-cyning
ymb-sittendra, ænig þára,
þe mec gúð-winum grétan dorste,
egesan þeón. Ic on earde bád

their pillars. Him then, that noble prince, his liege lord, bathed in blood, the thane unspeakably tender refreshed with water from his hand, sated as he was with fighting, and unfastened his helmet.

Beowulf opened his mouth;—of his wound he spake, the gash of death-like lividness; he knew for certain that he had done with the earthly joy of the days appointed to him; then was all the tale of his days finished; death unspeakably near: 'Now would I deliver to my son my armour, if there had been so given to me any heir to take charge of it after me, belonging to my body. I have governed this people for fifty winters, there was not the king among the surrounding nations, any one of them, who durst approach me with his warlike companions,—press me with terror. At home I

2723 *helo*, MS., which Thorpe corrects to *hælo*; but we may without hesitation adopt Grimm's obvious correction (quoted by Grein) of *helm*. Ib. *onspeón*, pf. of *on-spannan*.

2733 *wintra* is in the gen., because *fiftig*, like *þusend* (cf. *wintra þusend*, *infra* l. 3050), has a quasi-substantival force.

2736 The MS. has *ðeón*, which Grein considers to be equivalent to *þeowan or þywan*, to oppress. Thorpe reads *þénian*.

mæl-gesceafta; heold mín tela,
ne sóhte searo-níðas, ne me swór fela
áða on unriht. Ic þæs ealles mæg,
feorh-bennum seóc, gefeán habban;
forþám me wítan ne þearf waldend fira
morðor-bealo maga, þonne mín sceaceð
líf of líce. Nú þú lungre geong
hord sceáwian under hárne stán,
Wígláf leófa; nú se wyrm ligeð,
swefeð sáre wund, since bereáfod.
Bió nú on ófoste, þæt ic ær-welan,
gold-æht ongite, gearo sceáwige
swegle searo-gimmas, þæt ic þý seft mæge,
æfter maððum-welan, mín alætan
líf and leodscipe, þone ic longe heold.

awaited the births of time; I held mine own well, nor sought for intricate quarrels, nor swore many [false] oaths wrongfully. Of all this I may, [now that I am] sick with mortal wounds, have some joy; because the Ruler of men needeth not to blame me for the baleful slaughter of kinsmen, when my own life shall depart from my body. Now go thou quickly, dear Wiglaf, to spy out the Hoard under the hoar rock; now the Serpent lieth [dead]; sorely wounded he sleepeth, of his treasure bereft. Make haste now, that I may examine the ancient wealth, the golden store,—may closely survey the brilliant cunningly-wrought gems, that so I may the more tranquilly, after [seeing] the treasured wealth, quit my life and my country, which I have governed long.

2743 *geong*, imper. of *geongan*, one of the forms of *gangan*: *gengan* and *gongan* also occur.

2749 *swegle*, bright: O.S. *swigli*. In the 'Heliand' we have *swigli lioht skôni*. Ib. *seft* is the compar. of the adv. *softe*.

XXXVIII.

Þá ic snúde gefrægn sunu Wíhstánes,
æfter word-cwydum, wundum dryhtne
hýran heaðo-siócum, hring-net beran,
brogdne beadu-sercean, under beorges hróf.
Geseah þá sige-hreðig, þá he bi sesse geong,
mago-þegn módig, maððum-sigla fela,
gold glitinian, grunde getenge,
wundur on wealle, and þæs wyrmes denn,
ealdes uht-flogan orcas stondan,
fyrn-manna fatu, feormend-leáse,
hyrstum behrorene. Þær wæs helm monig
eald and ómig, earm-beága fela
searwum gesæled. Sinc eáðe mæg,
gold on grunde, gum-cynnes gehwone
oferhigian, hýde se þe wylle.

XXXVIII.

Then I was told that the son of Wihstan, after [these] words, quickly obeyed his wounded lord, [then] sick to death, and carried his coat of chain-mail, his linked battle-shirt, under the cavern's roof. Then the exultant victor, as he went by the seat, the courageous thane, saw many precious jewels, gold glittering, close to the ground, a wonder by the wall and the Serpent's den, the bowls of the old twilight-flyer standing, the vessels [used by] men of old, with none to polish them, with their ornaments fallen off. There was many a helmet, old and rusty, many armlets fastened with clasps. Easily may the gold in the ground excel any treasure among mankind, hide it whoso will.

2757 *feala*, MS.; *fela*, Edd.

2761 *feormend-lease*: see l. 2256 and note.

2764 I have adopted Grein's explanation of *ofer-higian*, and with him make *gehwone* agree with *sinc*.

Swylce he siómian geseah segn eall gylden
heáh ofer horde, hond-wundra mæst,
gelocen leoðo-cræftum; of þám leóma stód,
þæt he þone grund-wong ongitan meahte,
wræte geond-wlítan. Næs þæs wyrmes þær
onsýn ænig, ac hyne ecg fornam.
Þá ic on hláewe gefrægn hord reáfian,
eald enta geweorc, ânne mannan,
him on bearm hládan bunan and discas,
sylfes dóme; segn eác genom,
beácna beorhtost, bill ær-gescod,
(ecg wæs íren), eald-hláfordes,
þe þára maðma mundbora wæs
longe hwíle. Lig-egesan wæg
hátne for horde, hioro-weallende,
middel-nihtum, ôððæt he morðre swealt,
Ár wæs on ófoste, eft-siðes georn,
frætwum gefyrðred: hyne fyrwet bræc,

Moreover, he saw a standard all gilded flapping, high over the Hoard, the greatest of marvels for the hand, locked by strong spells: from it a ray of light issued so that he could discern the surface of the ground, and survey the curious things. Nothing was to be seen there of the Serpent, for the sword had despatched him. Then I was told that one man (Wiglaf) plundered the Hoard in the hill, the ancient work of giants, piled bowls and dishes in his bosom, at his own discretion; also he took the standard, the brightest of ensigns, a sword shod with brass, (the edge was iron) belonging to the old lord, who was the guardian of those treasures for a long while. He bore the scorching fiery terror, boiling intensely, before the Hoard, at dead of night, until he perished. The envoy was in haste, desirous of return, enriched with spoils; curiosity was strong in

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2769 *leoman*, MS.; *leoma*, Edd.

2771 *wræce*, MS.; *wræte*, Thorpe, Grein.

2775 *hlodon*, MS.; Thorpe corrects *hladan*.

2777 *ær-gescod*. The sheath of an Anglo-Saxon sword was frequently tipped or 'shod' with brass; examples may be seen in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

2778 *eald-hlafordes*: see l. 2237.

2779 *þa*, MS.; *þam*, Thorkelin. Thorpe corrects *þe*.

hwæðer collen-ferð cwicne geméttе
in þám wong-stede, Wedra þeóden,
ellen-siócne, þær he hine ér forlet.
He þá mid þám maðmum mærne þeóden,
dryhten sínne, driórigne fand,
ealdres æt ende. He hine eft ongon
wæteres weorpan, oððæt wordes ord
breóst-hord þurh-bræc. [Beowulf maðelode]
Gomel on giohðe gold sceáwode:
Ic þára frætwa freán ealles þanc,
wuldur-cyninge, wordum secge,
écum dryhtne, þe ic her on-starie;
þæs þe ic móste, mínum leódum,
ér swylt-dæge, swylc gestrýnan.
Nú ic on maðma hord mínne bebóhte
fróde feorh-lege; fremmað ge nú
leóda þearfe! ne mæg ic her leng wesan.
Háta ð heaðo-mære hlæw gewyrcean
beorhtne æfter bæle, æt brimes nosan!
se sceal tó gemyndum mínum leodum

him, [to know] whether he, the stout-hearted one, would find the prince of the Weders, grievously sick [as he was], alive on the plain where he left him erewhile. He then, with those treasures, found the great prince, his lord, in dreary plight at his life's end. Again began he to sprinkle him with water, until the word's point broke through the treasure-house of the breast.

[Beowulf spake]; the old man sorrowfully looked upon the gold: 'I utter thanks for these beautiful things, which here I gaze on, to the Lord of all, the King of Glory, the eternal Lord, for that I have been able, before my death-day, to gain so much for my people. Now have I wisely sold for the Hoard of treasures my own destruction; fulfil ye now the needs of the peoples; here may I no longer be. Command the gallant warriors to rear a mound, conspicuous after the burning, at the headland which juts into the sea! That shall, to keep my people in mind, tower up high on Hrones-

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2792 [*Beowulf maðelode*] supplied by Grein in lieu of the missing half-line.
2793 *giogoðe*, MS.; *giohðe*, Th.
2799 read *míne*.
2800 *na*, MS.
2804 *scel*, MS.

heah hlifian on Hrones-næsse;
Þæt hit sæ-líðend syððan hátan
Biowulfes biorh, þa þe brentingas
ofer flóda genipu feorran drífað.
Dyde him of healse hring gyldenne
þióden þristhydig, þegne gesealde,
geongum gár-wígan, gold-fáhne helm,
beáh and byrnan; hét hine brúcan well:
Þú eart ende-láf usses cynnes,
Wægmundinga; ealle wyrd forsweóp
míne magas tó metodsceafte,
eorlas on elne: ic him æfter sceal.
Þæt wæs þám gomelan gingeste word,
breóst-gehygdum, ær he bæl cure,
háte heaðo-wylmas: him of hreðre gewât
sáwol sécean sóðfæstra dóm.

Ness, that seafaring men may afterwards call it Beowulf's Mound, they who drive from far their roaring vessels over the mists of the floods.' The fearless prince undid the golden collar from his neck: to his thane, the young spearman, he gave his gold-decked helmet, his collar and coat of mail, bade him enjoy them well: 'Thou art the last scion of our kindred the Wægmundings; fate has swept away all my kindred to their doom, the earls in their might: I must after them.' That was the last word of the aged [king] from the thoughts of his heart, ere he chose the pyre, the hot fiercely blazing flames: from his breast departed his soul to seek the doom of the soothfast.

2805 *Hrones-næsse*, the whale's headland: see note on *hran, hron*, l. 540.

2807 *Biowulfes biorh.* Bouterwek (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XI.) regards the frequent occurrence of *i* for *e* in the latter portion of the MS. (*Biowulf, Iofor, Ongenþio, giogoð, giong*, &c.), as indicating the scribe's Northumbrian extraction.

2818 *cure*, pf. subj. of *ceosan*; comp. the Germ. *auserkoren*, from *auserkiesen*, to choose out.

2819 *hwæðre*, MS.

XXXIX.

Þá wæs gegongen gumum unfródum
earfoðlíce, þæt he on eorðan geseah
þone leófestán lifes æt ende
bleáte gebæran. Bona swylce læg,
egeslíc eorð-draca, ealdre bereáfod,
bealwe gebæded; beáh-hordum leng
wyrm wóh-bogen wealdan ne móste;
ac him írenna ecga fornamon,
hearde heaðo-scearpe, homera láfe;
þæt se wíd-floga wundum stille
hreás on hrúsan, hord-ærne neáh;
nalles æfter lyfte lácende hwearf
middel-nihtum; maðm-æhta wlonc
ansýn ýwde; ac he eorðan gefeoll
for þæs hild-fruman hond-geweorce.
Huru þæt on lande lyt manna þáh

XXXIX.

Then a painful lot it was for the inexperienced man (Wiglaf) that he beheld on the ground his dearest prince looking pale and livid at his life's end. The destroyer likewise lay dead, the terrible earth-dragon; deprived of life, by bale constrained; longer might not the coiled Serpent be master of the ring-hoards; but the edges of swords had taken them away from him, hard, exceeding sharp, the bequests of hammers; so that the wide-flyer, quelled by his wounds, fell on the earth near the Hoard-house; by no means playfully he sported along the air at dead of night, displayed the proud show of his treasures: but to the earth he fell from the handiwork of that warlike chief. Surely on land few men have thriven, so far as I have learnt,

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2824 *bleate* is an adverb. Thorpe unnecessarily alters it to *bleatne*.

2828 Grein takes *ecga* as nom. pl., but it seems better to ascribe it to the blunder of the scribe, who should have written *ecge*.

2829 *scearede*, MS.; *sceawede*, Thorkelin; *scearpe*, Thorpe and Grein.

2836 *þah*, pf. of *þeón*, to thrive.

mægen ágendra, míne gefræge,
þeáh þe he dæda gehwæs dyrstig wære,
þæt he wiþ attor-sceaþan oreþe geræsde,
oþþe hring-sele hondum styrede,
gif he wæccende weard onfunde
búan on beorge. Biowulfe wearþ
dryht-maþma dæl deáþe forgolden;
hæfde æghwæþre ende gefered
lænan lífes. Næs þá lang tó þon,
þæt þa hild-latan holt ofgéfan
tydre treów-logan, tyne ætsomne,
þa ne dorston ær dareþum lácan,
on hyra man-dryhtnes miclan þearfe.
Ac hý scamiende scyldas bæran,
gúþ-gewædu, þær se gomela læg,
wlítan on Wí[g]láf. He gewergad sæt,
feþe-cempa, freán eaxlum neáh,

possessed of power, however daring they were in every kind of deed, that would rush to meet the breath of a poisonous scather, or disturb with hands his ring-hall, if he found the Warden awake, dwelling in the Mount. For Beowulf was his share of royal treasures purchased by death: for each of them the end of this miserable life had come.

It was not long after that, that the laggards, ten in a body, those weak faith-breakers, left the wood, who durst not before play the javelin-game in their liege lord's great need. But they, ashamed, bore their shields and armour where the old man lay, to look on Wiglaf. He, the fighter on foot, sat wearied near the shoulders of his lord; he tried to revive him with water; he succeeded not in

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2842 *buon*, MS.

2846 *holt ofgeafon*: see l. 2598 and also lines 2417 and 2529. Beowulf had left his eleven companions on the top of the bluff, whence they had a full view of the combat. Alarmed at the fiery exhalations which issued from the Dragon's jaws, all of them, Wiglaf alone excepted, took refuge in a neighbouring wood. Now they come out, with every mark of shame and confusion.

2852 *wlitan*. Thorpe understands this of Beowulf looking on Wiglaf; but this seems impossible after the full description of the parting of soul and body in lines 2819, 2820.

wehte hine wætre: him wiht ne speow;
ne meahte he on eorðan, þeáh he uðe wel,
on þám frum-gáre feorh gehealdan,
ne þæs wealdendes willan oncirran;
wolde dóm Godes dædum rædan
gumena gehwylcum, swá he nú gen déð.
Þá wæs æt þám geongum grim andswaru
éð-begete þám þe ær his elne forleás.
Wígláf maðelode, Weohstánes sunu,
sec[g] sárig-ferð seah on unleófe:
Þæt, lá! mæg secgan se þe wyle sóð sprecan,
þæt se mon-dryhten, se eow þa maðmas geaf,
eored-geatwe, þe ge þær on-standað;
þonne he on ealu-bence oft gesealde
heal-sittendum helm and byrnan,
þeóden his þegnum, swylce he þrydlicost
ohwær feor oððe neáh findan meahte,
þæt he génunga gúð-gewædu

this at all; nor might he on earth, however much he gave, preserve the chieftain's life, nor change the Almighty's will; the doom of God would finally decide for each man, as He now yet doeth. Then the young man returned quickly a fierce answer to those who had lost their valour.

Wiglaf spake, Weohstan's son; the sad-hearted man looked on the hated ones: 'Lo! this may he say, who desireth to speak truth, that the liege-lord who gave you those arms of price, the cavalry trappings in which ye stand there, (when he on the ale-bench often used to give helmet and coat of mail to those sitting in the hall, the prince to his thanes, such as he could find anywhere of the most splendid sort far or near,) absolutely flung away in vain

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2854 *wehte*, pf. of *weccan*. Ib. *speop*, MS.

2855 *wel*, MS.; Thorpe, *welan*, 'wealth.' Ettmüller translates 'wie sehr auch er ihn liebte'; but no such meaning can be given to *uðe*. The passage is probably corrupt.

2857 *wiht*, MS.; *willan*, Thorpe, Grein.

2861 *his elne forleas*. This is a peculiar Anglo-Saxon construction, the sing. being used where we should expect the plur.; comp. l. 1686, *þara þe on Sceden-igge sceattas dælde*.

2870 *ower*, MS.

2871 *génunga*, a form of *gegnunga*, 'absolutely,' 'utterly.'

wraðe forwurpe. Þá hyne wíg begeat,
nealles folc-cyning fyrd-gesteallum
gylpan þorfte; hwæðre him God uðe,
sigora waldend, þæt he hyne sylfne gewræc
âna mid ecge, þá him wæs elnes þearf.
Ic him líf-wraðe lytle meahte
ætgifan æt gúðe, and ongan swá-þeáh
ofer mín gemet nǽges helpan:
symle wæs þý sǽmra, þonne ic sweorde drep
ferhð-geníðlan; fyran swidor
weoll of gewitte. Wergendra to lyt
þrong ymbe þeóden, þá hyne sió þrag becwom.
Nú sceal sinc-þego and sweord-gifu,
eall éðel-wyn, eowrum cynne
lufen alicgean: lond-rihtes mót
þǽre mǽg-burge monna ǽghwylc

those warlike accoutrements. When battle surprised him, the people's king needed not by any means to boast of his comrades on the march: yet God, the ordainer of victories, granted him that he alone with his blade might avenge himself, when he had need of valour. I was able to give him a little succour in the fight, and at all events began to help my kinsman beyond my measure; ever was he the worse, when with my sword I smote the deadly adversary; the fire less strongly boiled up within him (?). Too few defenders thronged around their prince, when the emergency came upon him. Now shall the taking of treasure and the distribution of swords, all joy of estates, and kindness (?), cease for your kindred: each man of the clan-burgh may go about destitute of land-right, after

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2872 *beget*, MS.

2877 *líf-wraðe*, lit. 'life-protection.'

2881 *fyran swiðor*, MS. I prefer Rieger's correction, *fyr unswiðor*, to that of the other editors—*fyr ran swiðor*: see l. 2701.

2882 *of gewitte*, lit. 'from his intellect.' Thorpe renders 'from his entrails.' *gewitte* can hardly be the original reading, but I cannot suggest any better. Ib. *fergendra*, MS.

2884 *Hu*, MS.; *Nu*, Edd.

2886 *lufena licgean*, MS. Grein corrects *lufen alicgean*, connecting *lufen* with the Goth. *lubains*, and translating it 'hope.' The word occurs again in 'Daniel,' 75, *Nabochodonossor on nyd dide Israela bearn ofer ealle lufen . . . . to weorc þeowum*; where, 'in violation of all clemency,' or 'kindness,' seems to be the meaning. This sense suits the present passage also.

2887 *mæg-burge*. The names of hundreds of towns and villages in England explain what a *mæg-bury*

ídel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas
feórran gefricgean fleám eowerne,
dómleásan dæd. Deáð bið sélla
eorla gehwylcum þonne edwit-líf.

XL.

Heht þá þæt heaðo-weorc tó hagan biódan,
up ofer êg-clif, þær þæt eorl-werod,
morgen-longne dæg, mód-giómor sæt,
bord-hæbbende, béga on wénum,
ende dógores, and eft-cymes
leófes monnes. Lyt swígode
niwra spella se þe næs gerád;
ac he sóðlíce sægde ofer ealle:
Nú is wil-geofa Wedra leóda,
dryhten Geáta, deáð-bedde fæst:

that nobles from afar shall learn of your flight, your inglorious deed. Death is better for every earl than ignominious life!'

XL.

Then commanded he to proclaim that great work at the palisade up over the sea-cliff where that troop of earls all the day long had sat in grieving mood, having their shields, in expectation of both things, the day's end and the return of the man beloved. Little did he who rode on the ness keep silence about the new tidings, but he truly said concerning all [things]: 'Now is the bountiful giver of the Weders' people, the lord of the Geatas, stiff on the bed of

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was. Reading, Barking, Roding, Eatington, &c., mean the settlements occupied after the Conquest by the *mægðas* or clans of the Rædingas, Barcingas, and Rodingas, and the town of the Eatingas.

2893 *ecg-clif*, MS.

2892 *to hagan.* The *haga* must have been the defensive enclosure (palisade, or vallum and fossa, or both) round Beowulf's *wic-sted* or capital. The word occurs in the O.E. *hey-ward*, and the Fr. *haye*. Here a number of Beowulf's chief nobles awaited anxiously the result of the fight. The messenger sent by Wiglaf arrives and makes them a long speech, in which he contrives to incorporate a regular history of the war carried on some sixty or seventy years before between the Swedes and the Geatas.

wunaþ wæl-ræste, wyrmes dædum;
him on efn ligeþ ealdor-gewinna,
seax-bennum seóc: sweorde ne meahte
on þám aglæcean ænige þinga
wunde gewyrcean. Wíglaf siteþ
ofer Biowulfe, byre Wíhstánes,
eorl ofer oðrum unlífigendum;
healdeþ hige-mæðum heáfod-wearde
leófes and láþes. Nú is leódum wén
orleg-hwíle, syþþan under[ne]
Froncum and Frysum fyll cyninges
wíde weorðeð. Wæs sió wroht scepen
heard wiþ Hugas, syþþan Hygelác cwom
faran flót-herge on Fresna land,
þær hyne Hetware hilde gehnægdon,
elne geeódon mid ofer-mægene,
þæt se byrn-wíga búgan sceolde,
feoll on feþan: nalles frætwe geaf
ealdor duguðe. Us wæs á syþþan

death; he dwelleth in the repose of the slain through the Serpent's deed! Beside him lieth his deadly antagonist sick from the gashes of the knife: with the sword he could not by any means inflict a wound on the monster. Wiglaf, the son of Weohstan, sitteth over Beowulf, one earl over another who is lifeless; in distress of soul he holdeth chief guard [both] of friend and foe. Now may the people expect a time of strife, as soon as the king's fall shall become widely known to the Franks and the Frisians. The quarrel was taken up strongly against the Hugas, after that Higelac came, faring with a fleet to the Frisians' land, where the Hetware vanquished him in fight, valiantly went [against him] with superior force, so that the mailed warrior was forced to bow, fell amid his band; not then did the prince give spoils to his nobles. To us

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2904 *siex*, MS.; *seax*, Kemble, Thorpe.

2906 *hige-mædum*: see l. 2442.

2911 *under*, MS. Thorpe supplies *begen*; Grein suggests *underne*, 'not hidden,' 'openly': cf. 'Satan,' l. 1, *þæt wearð underne eorð-buendum*.

2914 *Hygelac cwom*. Again the unfortunate raid of Hygelac in Friesland; cf. l. 2357.

Mere-Wioinga milts ungyfeðe.
Ne ic tó Sweó-þeóde sibbe oððe treówe
wihte ne wéne; ac wæs wíde cuð
þætte Ongenþio ealdre besnýðede
Hæðcyn Hreðling, wið Hrefna-wudu,
þá for onmedlan ærest gesóhton
Geáta leóde gúð-Scylfingas.
Sona him se fróda fæder Ohtheres
eald and egesfull, hond-slyht ageaf;
[abreót brim-wísan brýda heorde,
gomela io-meowlan golde berofene,
Onelan modor, and Ohtheres];
and þá folgode feorh-geníðlan,
ðððæt hí oð-eódon earfoðlíce
in Hrefnes-holt, hláfordleáse.
Besæt þá sin-herge sweorda láfe,
wundum werge: weán oft gehét
earmre teóhhe, ondlonge niht;

never after that was granted the favour of the Merovingians. Nor do I expect at all any peace or faith from the Swedish people, for it was widely known that Ongentheow had deprived of life Hæðcyn, son of Hreðel, near the Ravens' wood, when in their pride the warrior Scyldings first invaded the people of the Geatas. Soon the sage father of Ohthere, old and formidable, gave him a heavy blow: [The old sea-captain carried away from the Brides' hearth a young damsel with gold adorned, the mother of Onela and Ohthere,] and then pursued his deadly enemies until they retreated with difficulty into the Ravens' wood, having lost their lord. Then with a great army he beset the remnant left by the sword, weary with their wounds; often did he, all the night long, threaten woe to the hapless

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2921 *Mere wioingas*, MS. 'The Merovingian kings of the Franks have never shown us any favour since that day:' see Introduction, p. xviii.

2925 *Hæðcen*, MS.

2930 This and the two following lines make no sense in their present context: see l. 2472, note. Ib. *brim-wisan*, MS.; correct *brim-wisa*.

2931 *io* (for *iu*) *meowlan*, 'a once-maiden.' For *gerofene* Thorpe suggests *gehrodene*.

cwæð he on mergenne méces ecgum
grétan wolde, sume on galg-treówu,
[fuglum] to gamene. Frófor eft gelamp
sárig-módum, somod ær-dæge,
syððan híe Hygeláces horn and býman
gealdor ongeaton, þá se góda com,
leóda duguðe, on last faran.

XLI.

Wæs sió swát-swaðu Sweóna and Geáta,
wæl-ræs wera, wíde gesýne;
hú þa folc mid him fæhðe tó-wehton.
Gewât him þá se góda mid his gædelingum,
fród fela-geómor, fæsten sécean;
eorl Ongenþio ufor oncirde;
hæfde Higeláces hilde gefrunen,

troop: he said that in the morning he would assail them with the edge of the sword, and hang some on gallows-trees, to give sport to the birds. Comfort came back to the sad-hearted men with break of day, as soon as they heard Higelac's horn and the blast of his trumpets, when the good prince came marching on the track with the veteran warriors of the people.

XLI.

That gory field of the Swedes and the Geatas, that deadly onslaught of men was widely seen, how the peoples, one with the other, aroused enmity. Then the good chief, [Ongentheow] wise, deeply grieving, went with his comrades to seek the stronghold, earl Ongentheow retired inland; he had heard of Higelac's war, the

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2940 *getan*, MS., Grein; *sum*, MS.
2941 *fuglum* is inserted conjecturally by Thorpe.
2946 *Swona*, MS.
2947 *weora*, MS.
2948 *mid him* seems to = *inter se.*
2951 *ufor*, 'higher up,' 'up the country.'

wlonces wíg-cræft; wiðres ne trúwode,
þæt ne sǽ-mannum onsacan mihte,
heáðo-líðendum hord forstandan,
bearn and brýde. Beáh eft þonan
eald under eorð-weall. Þá wæs æht boden
Sweóna leódum, segn Higeláce.
Freoðo-wong þone ford ofer-eódon;
syððan Hreðlingas tó hagan þrungon.
Þær warð Ongenþio, ecgum sweorda,
blonden-fexa, on bid wrecen,
þæt se þeód-cyning þafian sceolde
Eafores ânne dóm. Hyne yrringa
Wulf Wonreding wæpne geræhte,

generalship of the proud [leader]; he trusted not in resistance, that he should be able to contend with the sea-men [i.e. the Geatas], or defend his treasure, his children and bride, from the bold sea-rovers. Afterwards the old man took refuge from thence under the earth-wall. Then was pursuit proclaimed to the people of the Swedes,—victory to Higelac. They marched on over the peaceful plain; afterwards the Hreðlings pressed up to the fortification. There was the grisly-haired Ongentheow smitten in fight by the edges of swords, so that the king was compelled to resign himself to the sole judgment [place himself at the mercy ?] of Eofor. Him, [Ongentheow], Wulf the son of Wonred fiercely struck at with his

2953 *wlonces*: see l. 331.

2954 *onsacan*: see l. 1942 and note. Thorpe understands this of Higelac.

2957 *æht boden*. Grein translates *æht*, persecutio, hostilitas, connecting it, I suppose, with *êhtan*: see l. 159. For *segn* he proposes to read *sige*. I have followed this suggestion in the translation, though without much confidence that the true reading is thereby restored.

2959 *Freoðo-wong* seems to mean the open country in which the Geatas met with no resistance; it stands in an antithesis to *hagan*, 'the palisade,' *i.e.*, the fortification round the chief city (see l. 2892), which had to be carried before they could penetrate further. As *Scyldingas* is used for the Danes, though properly applicable only to their reigning family, so *Hreðlingas* appears to mean here the Geatas. For *ford* read *forð*.

2961 At this part of the MS. the carelessness or ignorance of the scribe has given us a text full of blunders, which we have no means of correcting with certainty. In line 2962, *on bid wrecen*, of which I can make nothing, is translated by Grein 'compelled to delay,' and altered by Thorpe to *on beado wrecen*. In l. 2964, *eafores* must be a mistake for *Eofores*: see l. 2993. In l. 2981, the MS. has *feorh in and dropen*, which is sheer nonsense. In l. 2988, *bær* has been altered by all the editors to *bæron*. In l. 2990, *gelæsta* is a blunder for *gelæste*.

þæt him for swenge swát ædrum sprong,
forð under fexe. Næs he forht swá þéh,
gomela Scylfing, ac forgeald hraðe
wyrsan wrixle wæl-hlem þone:
syððan þeód-cyning þyder oncirde;
ne meahte se snella sunu Wonredes
ealdum ceorle hond-slyht giofan,
ac he him on heáfde helm ær gescær,
þæt he blóde fáh búgan sceolde,
feoll on foldan. Næs he fége þá gyt;
ac he hyne gewyrpte, þeáh þe him wund hríne.
Lét se hearda Higeláces þegn
brádne mece, þá his bróðor læg,
eald sweord eótonisc, entiscne helm
brecan ofer bord-weal: þá gebeáh [se] cyning,
folces hyrde; wæs him feorh dropen.
Þá wæron monige þe his mæg wriðon,
ricone arærdon, þá him gerýmed wearð,
þæt híe wæl-stowe wealdan móston,
þenden reáfode rinc oðerne.

weapon, so that from the stroke, the blood spurted forth from the veins under his long hair. For all that he was not frightened, the old Scylfing, but repaid quickly that fell blow with a worse exchange, after that he, the great king, turned thitherwards; nor might the nimble son of Wonred [Wulf] give a stab to the old man, but he [Ongentheow] first shore through the helmet on his head, so that, stained with blood, he was forced to bow, fell on the ground. He [Wulf] was not yet doomed, but he recovered himself, though the wound touched him nearly. Higelac's stout thane [Eofor] caused his broad blade, his old wondrous sword, when his brother lay prostrate, to break the magic helmet [of Ongentheow] over the guard of the shield;—then the king stooped low, the shepherd of his people; his life was stricken down. Then there were many who bound up the wounds [each of] his kinsman, raised him up quickly, when the ground was cleared for them, so that they might be masters of the place of carnage, while one warrior stripped another [of his armour]. They took Ongentheow's iron corselet, stout hilted

2973 *gescer*, MS. 2978 *brade*, MS. 2983 *ricone*, a form of *recene*, quickly.

Namon Ongenþio íren byrnan,
heard swyrd hi‹ted, and his helm somod;
háres hyrste Higeláce bæron.
[He þám] frætwum feng, and him fægre gehét
leán [on] leódum, and gelæste swá.
Geald þone gúð-ræs Geáta dryhten,
Hreðles eafora, þá he to hám becom,
Iofore and Wulfe mid ofer-maðmum:
sealde hiora gehwæðrum hund þusenda
landes and locenra beága: ne þorfte him þa leán
oðwítan [geslógon.
mon on middangearde, syððan híe þa mærða
And þá Iofore forgeaf ángan dohtor,
hám-weorðunge, hyldo tó wedde.
Þæt ys sió fæhðo and se feóndscipe,
wæl-níð wera; þæs þe ic [wéne] hafo
þæt us séceað tó Sweóna leóde,
syððan híe gefricgeað freán userne
ealdorleásne, þone þe ær geheold,

sword, and helmet together; to Higelac they bore the arms of the hoary veteran. He received these spoils, and graciously promised them rewards among the people, and performed it so. The lord of the Geatas, the heir of Hreðel, when he came home, paid Eofer and Wulf for that murderous struggle with costly treasures; he gave to each of them a hundred thousand [pieces'] worth in land and closed jewels; nor needed any man on earth to reproach them with those rewards, after they had performed those deeds of fame. And then to Eofor he gave his own daughter, an honour to his house, for a pledge of his favour. That is the feud and the enmity, the deadly quarrel of men, on account of which I have an expectation that the Swedish people will invade us, after they hear that he our lord is

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2989 *he þam* has perished from the MS. (Thorpe).

2990 [*on*]; supplied by Kemble. The word is effaced from the MS.

2993 *maðmam*, MS.

2994 *hund þusenda*, understand *sceatta*: see l. 2195.

2995 By *locenra beaga* we must understand jewels (precious stones or enamel) enclosed in a gold or silver setting. A good instance is the celebrated Alfred Jewel in the Ashmolean Museum.

3000 *wéne* is restored conjecturally by Thorpe.

3001 *þe*, MS., Grein. Ib. *leoda*, MS.

wiþ hettendum, hord and ríce,
æfter hæleþa hrýre hwáte Scyldingas;
folc-ræd fremede, oþþe furþur gen
eorlscipe efnde. Nú is ófost betost,
þæt we þeód-cyning þær sceáwian
and þone gebringan þe us beágas geaf
on ád-fære. Ne sceal ânes hwæt [hord,
meltan mid þám módigan; ac þær is maþma
gold unríme, grimme geceá[po]d;
and nú æt siþestan, sylfes feore,
beágas [beboh]te; þá sceal brond fretan,
æled þeccean, nalles eorl wegan
maþþum tó gemyndum, ne mægð scýne
habban on healse hring-weorþunge;
ac sceal geómor-mód, golde bereáfod,
oft nalles áne, el-land tredan;

dead, who erewhile maintained against assailants hoard and kingdom, [governed] after the fall of heroes the martial Scyldings, executed folk-counsel, or in yet other ways nobly bore himself. Now haste is best, that we may look on our true prince [lying] there, and bring him who gave us rings along to the funeral pile. Nor shall anything belonging to a single man be consumed with the valiant one, for there is a hoard of treasures, gold past counting, purchased at a cruel cost; and now at the last he has purchased these jewels with his own life. Them shall fire consume, flame burn, no earl shall bear a treasure in commemoration, nor fair maiden have on her neck the ornaments of rings; but, sad at heart, deprived of gold, often not once must he tread a strange land; now

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3006 *red*, MS.; *ræd*, Kemble, Grein.

3007 *eorlscipe efnde*, lit. 'accomplished nobleness.' Ib. *Me*, MS.; corrected to *Nu* by Kemble and Thorpe.

3008 *þeod-cyning*, a king belonging to the people; see l. 2: one whose title rested not on conquest, but on descent from the mythical heroic ancestor of the nation. For instance, Oswald, being descended from Ida, was a *þeod-cyning* in Bernicia; but Penda, king of Mercia, who traced his descent from Creoda and Offa, though he conquered Bernicia and reigned over it for a time, could never have been regarded as a *þeod-cyning* there.

3010 *scel*, MS.

3914 All of the word but *-te* has perished, but the amount of vacant space suits *bebohte* (Grein) better than *bohte* (Thorpe).

nú se here-wísa hleahtor alegde,
gamen and gleó-dreám. Forðon sceal gár wesan
monig morgen-ceald mundum bewunden,
hæfen on handa; nalles hearpan swég
wígend weccean; ac se wonna hrefn
fús ofer fægum fela reordian,
earne secgan hú him æt æte speow,
þenden he wið wulfe wæl reáfode.
Swá se secg hwáta secgende wæs
láðra spella; he ne leág fela
wyrda ne worda. Weorod eall arás,
eódon unblíðe under Earna-næs,
wollen-teare wundur sceáwian.
Fundon þá on sande sawulleásne,
hlin-bed healdan, þone þe him hringas geaf
ærran mælum: þá wæs ende-dæg
gódum gegongen, þæt se gúð-cyning,
Wedra þeóden, wundor-deáðe swealt.
Ær hí þær gesegan syllícran wiht,

the army-leader has ceased from laughter, sport and the joy of song. For this cause many a spear, cold at morning, shall be grasped by the palms, upheaved in hands; by no means shall the warrior waken the music of the harp, but the dusky raven eager over the fallen shall utter much, say to the eagle, how at the meal he sped, while with the wolf he made rapine among the slain.'

Thus the keen soldier recounted his hateful tidings; he lied not much, either as to destinies or words. The band all arose, sadly they went under the Eagle's Ness with welling tears to behold the wonder. Then they found on the sand the lifeless [chief] laid on his bier, him who gave them rings in former times: then had his closing day come for the good warrior, so that the brave king, the ruler of the Weders, perished by a marvellous death. First,

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3021 The death of Beowulf, emboldening the neighbouring nations to attack the Geatas, will be the occasion of long and bloody wars, during which warriors will have something else to do than give themselves up to the delights of music.

3031 *Earna-næs*: see l. 2417.

3034 *hlim*, MS.; corrected by Grimm (Thorpe).

wyrm on wonge, wiðerræhtes þær,
láðne licgean. Wæs se leg-draca,
grimlíc grýre, gledum beswǽled.
Se wæs fiftiges fót-gemearces
lang on legere; lyft-wynne heold
nihtes hwílum, nyðer eft gewát
dennes niósian; wæs þá deáðe fæst;
hæfde eorð-scrafa ende genyttod.
Him big-stódan bunan and orcas;
discas lagon, and dýre swyrd,
ómige þurh-etene, swá híe wið eorðan fæðm
þusend wintra þær eardodon:
þonne wæs þæt yrfe eácen-cræftig,
iú-monna gold, galdre bewunden,
þæt þám hring-sele hrínan ne móste
gumena ænig, nefne God sylfa,
sígora sóð kyning sealde þám þe he wolde,
(He is manna gehyld), hord openian,
efne swá-hwylcum manna swá him gemet þúhte.

they had seen there a still stranger thing, the loathly Serpent lying opposite on the plain. The Fire-Drake, a ghastly horror, was scorched by flames. It was fifty feet long by measure on its lair, it used to take its aërial pleasure in the night season, and afterwards went down to visit its den: then it was stiff in death, it had used its earth-cave for the last time. Beside it stood bowls and cups, dishes lay there, and swords of price, rusty, eaten through, as they on the lap of earth a thousand winters had there remained. At that time was that heritage of primeval men mightily bound round by an enchantment, so that no man might approach that ring-hall, unless God Himself the true King of victories should have given to whom He would, (He is man's defence) to open the Hoard, even to whatsoever man it seemed meet to Him.

3049 *etone*, MS.

3050 *þusend wintra.* The poet is liberal of time: the Hoard had been in the possession of the Dragon for 300 years (l. 2278), and we are here required to suppose that successive generations of sea-rovers had owned it for 700 years previously.

XLII.

Þá wæs gesýne þæt se siδ ne þáh
þám þe unrihte inne gehydde
wræte under wealle. Weard ær ofslôh
feara sume, þá sió fæhδ gewearδ
gewrecen wráδlíce. Wundur hwar, þonne
eorl ellen-róf ende gefere
líf-gesceafta, þonne leng ne mæg
mon mid his magum medu-sald búan?
Swá wæs Biowulfe, þá he biorges weard
sóhte searo-níδas; seolfa ne cuδe
þurh hwæt his worulde gedál weorδan sceolde,
swá hit oδ dómes dæg diópe benemndon
þeódnas mære, þa þæt þær dydon,
þæt se secg wære synnum scyldig,
hergum geheaδerod, hell-bendum fæst,
wommum gewitnad, se þone wong stráde.

XLII.

Then was it seen that the adventure did not thrive for him who wrongfully had hidden within costly things under the wall. The Warden erst had slain some few; then was the feud terribly avenged. Where is the wonder, when a proud earl journeys to the end of the events of life, when he may no longer, a man amid his kindred, inhabit the mead-seat? So it was with Beowulf, when he attacked with hostile hate the Warden of the hill; he himself knew not through what [cause] his parting from the world was to be, as great princes solemnly buried it till Doomsday, who put that treasure there, that the man should be guilty of sin, imprisoned in idol-sanctuaries, fast in hell-bonds, defiled with stains, who should tread

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3060 *wræce.* MS., a in l. 2771.
3073 *stráde,* MS.; probably from a verb *strádan* (Engl. 'stride'), which does not elsewhere occur.

Næs he gold-hwæte: gearwor hæfde
ágendes est ær gesceáwod.
Wígláf maðelode, Wíhstánes sunu:
Oft sceal eorl monig, ânes willan,
wræca dreógan, swá us geworden is.
Ne meahton we gelæran leófne þeóden,
ríces hyrde, ræd ænigne,
þæt he ne grétte gold-weard þone;
lete hyne licgean þær he longe wæs,
wícum wunian, oð woruld-ende.
Heoldon heáh gesceap; hord ys gesceáwod,
grimme gegongen; wæs þæt gifeðe tó swiðe,
þe þone [þeoden] þyder ontyhte.
Ic wæs þær-inne, and þæt eall geond-seah,
recedes geatwa, þá me gerýmed wæs,
nealles swæslíce siðe alýfed
inn under eorð-weall. Ic on ófoste gefeng
micle mid mundum mægen-byrðenne

that spot. He was not keen after gold, more readily would he have first seen the bounty of the owner.

Wiglaf spake, the son of Wihstan: 'Many an earl must often, for the sake of one, suffer wretchedness, as hath befallen us. Nor might we teach our dear prince, the kingdom's shepherd, any counsel, that he would not approach that gold-warden, but let him lie where he long was, abide in his dwelling till the world's end. They have fulfilled their high destiny; the Hoard is laid open to view, has been sternly won; that gift was too strong which urged him [Beowulf] thither. I was therein and surveyed all that, the furniture of the house, when the way was cleared for me, a passage permitted, by no means pleasantly, in under the earth-wall. I hastily seized with my hands a great ponderous burden of hoard

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3074 *Næs he gold-hwæte.* I can attach no definite meaning to this sentence as it stands. If with Thorpe we read *geceapod*, the meaning may be: he (Beowulf) was not covetous after gold, and therefore never would have incurred the curse just before described, by rifling the Hoard without permission; much rather would he have purchased the favour of its owner, and so obtained a share of it lawfully.

3078 *dreogeð*, MS.; *dreogan*, Thorpe; *wræc ádreogan*, Grein.

hord-gestreóna, hider út ætbær
cyninge mínum; cwico wæs þá géna,
wís and gewittig; worn eall gespræc
gomol on gehðo, and eowic grétan hét;
bæd þæt ge geworhton æfter wines dædum
in bǽl-stede beorh þone heán,
micelne and mǽrne, swá he manna wæs
wígend weorðfullost wíde geond eorðan,
þenden he burh-welan brúcan móste.
Uton nú efstan ôðre . . . . .
seón and sécean searo-geþræc,
wundur under wealle: ic eow wísige,
þæt ge genoge neon sceáwiað
beágas and brád gold. Síe sió bǽr gearo,
ædre geæfned, þonne we út cymen,
and þonne geferian freán userne.
leófne mannan, þær he longe sceal
on þæs waldendes wǽre geþolian.

treasures, bore them out hither to my king: then he was still alive, sensible and conscious; a great number of things did the old man say in sadness, and commanded me to greet you; prayed that ye would, in return for the deeds of your kind lord, throw up at the place of the bale-fire a lofty barrow, great and glorious, even as he was the worthiest warrior among men all the earth over, while he might enjoy the wealth of the burgh. Come now, let us hasten the second time, to see and seek the pile of curious things, the marvels at the wall! I will shew you the way, that ye may sufficiently examine afresh the jewels and the broad gold. Let the bier be ready, quickly provided, when we come out, and then let us carry our master, the man beloved, where under the Almighty's protection he must long abide.

3097 *þone* seems to be inserted in consequence of a confusion of ideas between the part of the writer, to whom it would be natural to say, '*that* high barrow,' and the part of Wiglaf, who could not so speak before it was built.

3101 *Uton*: see l. 1390, note. For the missing word, *siðe* is supplied by Grundtvig and Grein.

3104 *neon* = *niwan*, is used, as Grein points out, in 'Andreas,' l. 1178. Ib. *ne onsceawiað*, Thorpe.

Hét þá gebeódan byre Wíhstánes,
hæle hilde-deór, hæleðа monegum
bold-ágendra, þæt híe bǽl-wudu
feorran feredon, folc-ágende,
gódum tó-génęs : nú sceal gléd fretan,
(weaxan wonna leg), wígena strengel,
þone þe oft gebád ísern-scúre ;
þonne stréla storm, strengum gebǽded,
scóc ofer scyld-weall, sceaft nytte heold,
feðer-gearwum fús fláne fulleóde.
Huru se snotra sunu Wíhstánes
acígde of corðre cyninges þegnas
syfone [to-som]ne þa sélestan,
eóde eahta sum under inwit-hróf.
Hilde-rinc sum on handa bær
æled-leóman, se þe on orde geong.
Næs þá on hlytme hwá þæt hord strude,
syððan or-wearde énigne dǽl

Then the son of Wihstan, the man daring in war, commanded a host of heroes, owners of manors, that they (owners of vassals) should bring wood for the bale-fire from far to where the good chief lay:—now must the flame consume (the lurid fire wax high) the strongest of warriors, who often stood against the iron shower when a storm of arrows, urged by the string, flew over the shield-wall, the shaft performed its office, [and], equipped with feather gear, ministered to the arrow.

Truly the prudent son of Wihstan summoned together from the court seven kings' thanes, the best, and entered, himself the eighth, under the fatal roof. A certain warrior who went at the head bore in his hand a lighted torch. It was not then a matter of lot who should plunder the Hoard, after the men saw some part remaining

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3115 *weaxan*, MS., which Grein takes in the sense of 'consume'; *wyrdan*, Thorpe. The word is probably corrupt; but taking things as they stand, I prefer, with Heyne, to place the half-line in a parenthesis, and make *strengel* the object of *fretan* only. Ib. *strengel*, MS. Kemble and Thorpe suggest *þengel*; *strengest*, Grein.

3119 *fæder*, MS. Ib. *flane full eode*, MS.; *flana fyll eode*, Thorpe, 'the fall of arrows went'; see *ful-code* in Grein's *Dict.*

secgas gesegon on sele wunian,
læne licgan; lyt ænig mearn,
þæt híe ófostlíce út geferedon
dýre maðmas. Dracan ec scufon,
wyrm ofer weall-clif, leton wæg niman,
flód fæðmian, frætwa hyrde.
Þær wæs wunden gold on wæn hladen,
æghwæs unrím; æðeling geboren,
hár hilde [rinc] tó Hrónes-næsse.

XLIII.

Him þá gegiredon Geáta leóde
ád on eorðan unwáclícne,
helm-behongen, hilde-bordum,
beorhtum byrnum, swá he bêna wæs.
Alegdon þá tó-middes mærne þeóden

in the hall unguarded, lying defenceless; little did any one mourn that they speedily carried out the precious jewels. They shoved away the Dragon, the Serpent, over the wall-cliff; they let the waves take, the flood close upon, the keeper of the treasures. Then was the twisted gold of every sort beyond counting loaded upon a wain; the prince, the hoary warrior, was borne to Hrones-Ness.

XLIII.

Then the people of the Geatas made ready for him on the ground a mighty funeral pile, hung with helmets, with war-shields, with bright coats of mail, as he had petitioned. Then the lamenting warriors laid down in the midst of it the famous prince, their lord

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3131 *ec scufon*, MS. Thorpe reads *eác scufon*; Bouterwek proposes *íðscufon*, which is adopted by Grein.

3134 *þæt*, MS.; *-þær*, Kemble, Thorpe.

3135 *æðelinge boren*, MS.; *æðeling boren*, Grein; *geboren*, Thorpe.

3136 *hilde*[*rinc*], Thorpe; *hilde*-[*deor*], Grein.

hæleð hiófende, hláford leófne:
ongunnon þá on beorge bǽl-fýra mæst
wígend weccan: wudu-réc astah
sweart of swío-ðole, swógende leg,
wópe bewunden; wind-blond gelæg,
ôðð̄æt he þæt bán-hús gebrocen hæfde,
hát on hreðre. Higum unróte
mód-ceare mændon mon-dryhtnes cwealm;
swylce geómor-gyd . . . . under
. . . . . heorde . . . .
sorg-cearig sælde . . . . neáh,
þæt hió hyre . . . . gas hearde
. . . . ode wa . . ylla won . . .
. . . . egesan hydo hafda
. . . . heofon réce swealg.

beloved; then began the chiefs to kindle the greatest of bale-fires on the Mound; the wood-smoke rose upwards, black over the blaze; the roaring fire, encompassed by weeping, the wind-tumult was hushed, until it [the fire], hot on the breast, had consumed the flesh. Sad in soul, dejectedly they mourned the death of their liege lord; as with sorrowful chant . . . . . under the hearth . . . . . afflicted gave . . . . . near . . . . that she . . . . . of the terror . . . . . the heavens swallowed up in the smoke. Then the people of the

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3145 *sweart of swicðole*, MS.; as if for *ofer swicðole*. Kemble believed that he saw in this word a compound derived from *swican* and *ðol*, deal, wood; and translated it 'wood-devourer.' Thorpe also sees 'deal' in the last syllable of the word, and translates 'swart, from the Swedish pine.' But Bouterwek (Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, XI.) argues that *swicðole* is a mere clerical error for *swioðole*, from *swioðol* which, again is a Northern form (like *Biowulf*, *Ongenþio* &c.), for *sweoðol* or *swaðul*, heat, fire. With these forms compare the Icel. *svíða*, to burn, and the M.H.G. *swadem*, vapour. But the true forms, Bouterwek considers, are *sweoloð*, *swaluð*; see l. 782: and cf. *swélan* in l. 2713. This view seems to me undoubtedly correct.

3145 *let*, MS.; *leg*, Thorpe, Grein.

3147 *þá*, MS.; *þæt*, Thorpe.

3150-3155 The upper portion of f. 203ᵇ of the MS. is now in a deplorable condition.

3155 *hydo hafda*, inserted by Thorkelin after *egesan*, are omitted by Thorpe; they are, therefore, I suppose, no longer legible.

3156 *sealg*, MS.

Geworhton þá Wedra leóde
hláew on hliðe; se wæs heáh and brád,
wæg-líðendum wíde tó sýne;
and betimbredon on tyn dagum
beadu-rófes beácn; bronda be . . .
wealle beworhton, swá hit weorðlícost
fore-snotre men findan mihton.
Hí on beorg dydon beágas and siglu,
eall swylce hyrsta, swylce on horde ér
níð-hydige men genumen hæfdon:
forleton eorla gestreón eorðan healdan,
gold on greóte, þær hit nú gen lifað
[yldum] swá unnyt swá hit [ér] wæs.
þá ymbe hláew ridan hilde deóre . . .
æðeling . . . . ealra twelfa
woldon . . . . cwiðan, cyning mænan,
word-gyd wrecan, and ymb [wer] sprecan;
eahtodon eorlscipe, and his ellen-weorc
duguðum démdon, swá hit ge[defe] bið,

Weders wrought a mound on the hill, which was high and broad, widely visible to sea-faring men: and during ten days built up the beacon of the glorious chief: they surrounded with a wall the best of funeral piles, as far-seeing men might find it most honourable and becoming. They placed on the barrow rings and jewels, all of such ornaments as in the Hoard erewhile men of violence had taken: they let the earth hold the treasure of earls, the gold in the sand, where it now yet remaineth, as useless to men as it [formerly] was. Then round the mound rode the warriors, the nobles . . . . . of all the twelve, would . . . . . declare, mourn their king, utter chants and speak about the man; they prized his valour and his mighty deeds . . . . . nobly judged; as it is fitting that a man

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3158 *lide*, MS.; for *hliðe* see l. 1892.
3159 *et*, MS.; *wæg*, Kemble, Thorpe.
3161 *bronda betost*, Grein.
3164 *beg*, MS.; *beagas*, Thorpe.
3166 *níð-hydige men*; see l. 2249 and note.
3170 *riodan*, MS.; *ridon*, Thorpe; *ridan*, Grein.
3173 *ymb se*, MS.; *worn*, Thorpe; *ymb wer*, Grein.
3180 *hryre* is supplied by Thorpe; the word is illegible to Thorkelin.

Þæt mon his wine-dryhten wordum herge,
ferhðum freoge, þonne he forð scyle
of líc-haman, ... weorðan.
Swá begnornodon Geáta leóde
hláfordes [hrýre], heorð-geneátas;
cwǽdon þæt he wǽre woruld-cyninga
manna mildust [and mon-]þwǽrost,
leódum líðost and lóf-geornost.

should praise his kind lord with words, love him with the heart, when he must go forth from the body and become . . . . . .

So mourned the people of the Geatas, his hearth-companions, for their lord's fall; said that he was, among world-kings, the mildest and the kindest of men, most gracious to his people and most desirous of praise.

3182 To show the progressive deterioration of the MS. I may observe, that of the word *monþwærost* only *-st* is now legible. Thorpe reads *-þwærost*, while to Thorkelin the whole word was legible, though in his bungling way he has written it *mondhrærust*.

APPENDIX.

BROSINGA MENE.

Lines 1197–1201.

Nǽnígne ic under swegle sélran hýrde
hord-maððum hæleða, syððan Hama ætwæg
to here-byrhtan byrig Brósinga mene,
sigle and sinc-fæt: searo-níðas fealh
Eormenríces; geceás écne rǽd.

This 'Brosinga mene' is the 'Brisinga men' mentioned in the *Edda*. The passage is in the *Hamarsheimt* (Recovery of the Hammer). Thrym, the chief of the Thursar (giants) of Jötunheim, steals Thor's hammer, and tells Loki that he will not restore it unless Freyja is given him to wife. Thor begs Freyja to dress herself in bridal array, and come with him to Jötunheim: she is very wroth, and trembles with rage; 'in shivers flew the famed Brisinga men.' She refuses to go. The Æsir hold counsel, and Heimdall advises that Thor shall dress himself up as a bride, take the Brisinga men, and go to Jötunheim. Thor reluctantly consents. Thrym is overjoyed when he sees the supposed Freyja. A dramatic scene follows: he orders the hammer, Miölnir, to be brought out and laid on the bride's knee; then Thor slays with it Thrym and all the Jötun race.

In this Saga *men* means 'necklace;' but in other passages of the *Edda* it is used for any sort of jewel or costly ornament.

W. Grimm (*Heldensage*, p. 17) translates Brosinga mene 'Brosinge Schatz,' the treasure of the Brosings. This is because he is inclined to see in the passage an allusion to the vast treasure which Saxo relates to have been amassed by Jarmeric (Eormenric), one of

the Danish kings, and stored up in a strong castle on a high rock, with four gates. This castle would be the *here-byrhte burh* of our poem. According to Saxo, the castle was stormed by some 'Hellespontines,' aided by the spells of the witch Gudrun; but we are not told what became of the treasure.

Jacob Grimm, in the *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 283, would connect *brosinga* with the M. H. G. brisen, breis, (nodare, nodis constringere). In the necklace of Freyja he sees the necklace of Aphrodite (*Hymn to Ven.* 88), and also her love-compelling girdle (*Il.* XIV). He understands by *men*, not 'treasure,' but 'necklace.'

Bouterwek (H. *Z.* XI. 90) declares that *eorcnan-stanas*, (Beow. l. 1208), and *brosinga mene*, stand on the same footing. *Eorcnan-stan* (*jarknasteinn* in the *Edda*) is, he says, the topaz or chrysolite, from the Chaldaic word for the gem, *jarkân*. Similarly, Brosinga corresponds accurately to the Eastern name of a 'red-glowing precious stone,' *Berusīn*. With this view may be compared Sir F. Palgrave's derivation of *Cædmon* from the Chaldaic bᵉCadmon, 'in the beginning.'

Dr. Simrock (*Beowulf*, p. 185) thinks that the Skald who wrote the *Hamarsheimt* took the expression *Brisinga men* from this passage in *Beowulf*, using, however, a more correct orthography. He understands by it, 'the jewel of the Brisings;' the Brisings he identifies with the Harlungs, whom Marner, a German poet of the thirteenth century, speaks of as living in the castle of Burlenburg, near Breisach. The 'Ymelunge-hort,' mentioned by Marner, is in Simrock's view the gold of the Harlungs, and = the *Brisinga men*.

With the aid of the particulars collected in Grimm's *Heldensage*, the subject may be pursued farther. From the poem called *Dieterichs Flucht* (written in the fourteenth century, but the substance of which is much earlier) we learn that the grandfather of the famous Dieterich of Berne, of whom we read so much in the Nibelungen Lay, was Amelunc. Amelunc had three sons, Diether, Ermrich (Eormenric), and Dietmar. Diether had for his share of his father's kingdom, Breisach and Bavaria. His sons were called the Harlungs,—a name the origin of which presents many difficulties, with which we have here no concern. Their uncle Ermrich persecuted the Harlungs, and slew them by treachery. Of this event there are many versions. In the *Vilkina* Saga, Ermenrek storms the castle of the Harlungs, makes them prisoners, and has them hanged. In the *Quedlinburg Chronicle*, the date of which is

the end of the tenth century, Ermanaricus is said to have lived in the time of Attila, and reigned over all the Goths; after having caused the death of his son Frideric, we are told, 'patrueles suos Embricam et Fritlam patibulo suspendit.' Now Embrica and Fritla are the Harlungs. Among many sources where we find them mentioned, not the least interesting is the *Traveller's Song*. Among the vassals of Eormanric, the poet visited Hethca and Beadeca—

and Herelingas; (Harlungs)
Emercan sohte ic and Fridlan—

Emerca and Fridla correspond to Embrica and Fritla.

These Harlungs possessed a quantity of gold, which, after their destruction, came into the hands of Ermrich. In *Dieterichs Flucht*, Dieterich, the son of Dietmar, says of his uncle Ermrich, *er hât daz Harlunge golt*, 'he has the gold of the Harlungs;' and also, he adds, the hoard won by his father Dietmar.

It is clear therefore that the Harlungs had a treasure, and that this treasure fell into the hands of Ermrich or Eormenric. The connection of the Harlungs with Breisach and the Brisgau, whence they might easily have been called 'Brisings,' is equally clear. In the part (ending at 1126) of the *Chronicon Urspergense*, which is written by Eckehard, he says,—'Est autem in confinio Alsatiæ castellum vocabulo *Brisach*, de quo omnis adjacens pagus appellatur *Brisachgowe*, quod fertur olim fuisse illorum qui *Harlungi* dicebantur.'

Brosinga may without doubt be corrected to *Brisinga*. 'The collar of the Brisings, the jewel and the precious vessel,' may be considered to be equivalent to 'the gold of the Harlungs.' I now think that *tó* should be rendered 'to,' not 'at,' and that the meaning of ll. 1198-9 is,—that Hama (the Heime of German legend), as Eormenric's follower, took away the collar of the Brisings, i.e., the Harlungs' gold, to the bright city or castle which had been built by Eormenric. The words which follow, according to the usual punctuation, cannot be easily explained. In German legend we are told that Heime, with Wittich, after having been in the service of Dieterich, passed into that of his uncle Eormenrich, but we hear of no quarrel ensuing between Heime and Eormenrich. Perhaps the semicolon should be placed after *fealh*: 'he (Hama) meddled with, interfered in intricate quarrels, or hatred; he chose the lasting advantage of Eormenric.' For the sense of *fealh*, compare lines 1281 and 2226.

The passage in the *Edda* may perhaps be explained by supposing

that, from the fame of the *Brisinga men*, any collar or necklace of remarkable richness and splendour was called by the same name. The necklace of Freyja was a 'Brisings' collar,' i.e., all that was splendid and sumptuous.

If this be the correct view, an interesting field for enquiry is opened out. The Brisgau was on the Rhine; the Rhine-valley, the teeming source of so many beautiful legends, part of which appear in the Nibelungen Lay, must be considered as having already given birth to a variety of lays about the Harlungs of Brisach and their uncle Ermenrich even at the early period from which *Beowulf* dates,—lays which had passed beyond the limits of Germany, and become popular in Scandinavian lands.

FINN AND HNÆF.

Lines 1068–1159.

Finnes eaferum

. . . . . .

læddon tó leódum.

My translation of this curious passage will have made tolerably clear in what sense I understand it; but some further elucidation seems necessary.

The Fragment on the Fight at Finnesburg (Grein's *Bibliothek*, I. 341, Thorpe's *Beowulf*, 227) evidently relates to the same transaction as that which is the subject of this episode. Its incidents, however, all the editors are agreed, must have taken place *before* those recorded in the episode. It breaks off imperfect at the fall of Hnæf; how the fight went after that we can partially gather from the agreement which the combatants came to at its close.

Grein (*Jahrb. für Rom. u. Eng. Lit.* IV. 269) conceives of the series of events in the following manner. Finnesburg, or Finnes ham, was in Jutland; the Jutes (Eotan), as well as the Frisians, were Finn's subjects. Hnæf, a Danish chief, (probably the person named in the *Traveller's Song*, l. 29, as the ruler of the Hocings), with sixty followers in his train, among whom was Hengest, was staying with Finn as a guest. Finn caused his Frisians to set upon his Danish guests treacherously by night; they defended themselves stoutly; the fight lasted for five days; at last Hnæf fell,

covered with wounds (*Finnesb.* 43). Hengest then took the command of the remaining Danes. Finn, having lost nearly all his men, could not go on fighting; so he made a treaty with Hengest, undertaking to build new quarters for the Danes, and to treat them as liberally as his own men, it being understood that neither party was to rip up old sores by alluding to their recent strife. Hildeburh, Hnæf's sister and Finn's wife, follows her brother and her sons to the funeral pile. All the survivors of the fight now go to Friesland (l. 1126), Finn's proper home, and there pass the winter. In the spring Hengest nourishes thoughts of vengeance, but a man called Hunlafing stabs him with a sword and kills him. The Danes Guðlaf and Oslaf cross the sea, avenge his fall by killing Finn, and carry Hildeburh away with them, together with all the plunder of Finn's palace.

To this arrangement there are, I think, several fatal objections. The scene of the battle cannot be laid in Jutland, because in l. 1070 Hnæf is said to have fallen in Frés-wæl, i.e., Friesland. Nor is there any support either in the Fragment or the Episode for the notion that Finn was the aggressor, and treacherously attacked his Danish guests. The speech put in the mouth of Finn, (*Finnesb.* ll. 2–12 : note especially lines 10, 11) is that of a king aroused in the middle of the night by the light of fires kindled by hostile torches, and encouraging his men to defend themselves bravely. Moreover, this view leaves it unexplained who Hunlafing was, and why he slew Hengest.

The sequence of events seems to me to be this. A force of sixty Danes under Hnæf the Scylding, aided by some Jutes under Hengest the sea-rover (l. 1137), have made a night-attack, treacherously or otherwise, on Finn's burg in Friesland. The Frisians muster; Finn cheers them on; the Danes and Jutes are driven into a hall, and defend it stubbornly; at last most of them are killed, Hnæf included. Two or more of the sons of Finn by his queen Hildeburh (the daughter of Hoc, and therefore related to Hnæf the ruler of the Hocings, *T. S.* l. 29) have fallen in the battle. After the fight a treaty is made between Finn and Hengest, as described by Grein. The importance of the stipulation that no allusion shall be made on either side to past feuds is well illustrated, as Rieger remarks, by the story of Ingeld and Freawine (ll. 2024–2066), where a blood-feud is re-opened in consequence of such allusions being made. In lines 1125–7 it is described how the surviving Danes disperse themselves about Friesland, visiting the lands that had been assigned to them.

Hengest remains with Finn, who, desirous to remove all feelings of enmity, 'lays on his lap,' (l. 1144), as a present, the sword Hunlafing. Hengest accepts it, but secretly plots revenge for the death of Hnæf. What follows is obscure; it seems that Guðlaf, one of the Danish defenders of the hall at the battle of Finnesburg, had returned to Denmark after the treaty; he now comes back to Friesland, with Oslaf, and probably other Danes; they begin to talk of the former struggle; hence the feud is re-opened, and hostilities recommence. This time the Danes and Hengest are too strong for the unfortunate Finn; his castle is stormed, and he is slain in his own hall; Hildeburh and all his wealth are carried away to Denmark.

The raids of Hnæf and Guðlaf are evidently enterprises of the same kind as the historical raid of Hygelac to Friesland, described in our poem, and mentioned by Gregory of Tours.

With the name of the sword Hunlafing, compare *Hrunting*, l. 1457, and *Nægling*, l. 2680.

The fame of Hnæf the sea-king must have spread far; in later times, as often happens in the shifting phases of legend, his native place was transferred to the south of Germany, to Swabia. Simrock quotes from an old life of Louis le Debonnaire the following genealogy of the Empress Hildegard: 'Godofredus dux genuit Huochingum [Hocing], Huochingus genuit Nebi [Hnæf], Nebi genuit Immam, Imma vero genuit Hiltegardam, beatissimam reginam.' Hildegard was a Suabian princess, and died in 783.

It is remarkable that the Hengest of *Beowulf* seems to be connected with the Jutes, while the famous Hengest who settled in Kent, A.D. 449, was also a leader of Jutes. Possibly we may identify them, for although the recitation of the episode at Heorot cannot be placed many years before the death of Hygelac, which we know to have happened in 511, yet there is no means of determining how many years before the date of the recitation the events described in the episode may have happened.

A Hangist is mentioned by John of Wallingford (Gale's *XV. Scriptores*, p. 533), as a Goth or Dane (for he looks upon it as much the same thing) who was 'omnium paganorum sceleratissimus,' and cruelly devastated Gaul at some time not stated.

Finn the son of Folcwalda (l. 1089) is clearly the 'Fin Folcwalding,' named as ruler of the Frisian kin in the *Traveller's Song*, l. 27. A Finn, the son of Godulf, is mentioned in the Canterbury Chronicle, under 547, among the ancestors of the Northumbrian Ida.

All the editors agree in understanding by *Eotena*, *Eotenum*, the

Jutes. Yet, as Rieger the Danish critic remarks,[1] the dat. *Eotenum* seems to require a nom. *Eotenas*, giants, not *Eotan*, Jutes. Rieger argues with great ingenuity that by *Eotenas* we should simply understand 'enemies,' and that the poet was not thinking of the Jutes at all. The giants of the old mythology came to be regarded, as Christianity gained the upper hand, as demons and enemies of mankind; he compares the expression 'the foul fiend' for the devil; and maintains that not only throughout the Episode, but also at l. 421 and l. 902, *Eotenas* should be translated 'enemies.' Could any passage in another author be pointed out confirming this use of the word, I should be disposed to adhere to Rieger's view; till then I must suspend my judgment, merely remarking that, as to *Eotenum*, there can be little difficulty in assuming it to be a lengthened and abnormal form of *Eotum*.

[1] Hopfner u. Zacher, *Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 400.

GLOSSARY OF NAMES.

ÆLFHERE.—A kinsman of Wiglaf; therefore of the stock of the Wægmundings, and related to the royal family of Sweden, the Scylfings; line 2604.

ÆSCHERE.—A Danish noble, carried off by Grendel's mother in her nocturnal raid on Heorot; ll. 1323, 1329, 2122.

BEANSTAN:—The father of Breca; see below.

BEOWULF.—A king of Denmark, of the Scylding line, the son of Scyld and father of Healfdene; ll. 18, 53.

Much has been written on the origin of the word: Grimm (*Deut. Myth.* 342) considered it to be a name of the woodpecker, ('bee-wolf' on account of its preying on bees), and connects Beowulf with the Latin Picus, who seemed to him to stand in the same relation to Saturnus as Beowulf to Woden. This etymology is now regarded as fanciful. Müllenhoff (Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, VII.) decisively rejects it, and adheres to the theory of Kemble, who, in the preface to his version of the poem published in 1837, drew attention to the occurrence of the name *Beaw* in the genealogies preserved in Florence of Worcester and the Saxon Chronicles, and connecting Beowulf with it as an enlarged form of the name, propounded the view that by this Beaw or Beowulf, (who appears in the genealogies among the ancestors of Woden) is meant the god of husbandry (A.S. *buan*, Germ. *bauen*, 'to cultivate'), whether we regard him as an independent deity, or take Beowa to be a name indicative of a particular aspect or side of the divinity of Woden. Mr. Kemble quoted a Latin MS. of the fifteenth century (one of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum), in which Beowulfus is named as the father of the *eponymi* and mythical founders of the Northern nations, Cinrincius, Gothus, Juthus, Suethedus, Dacus, Wandalus, Gethus, Fresus, Geatte.

So far as the origin of the name is concerned, this view leaves nothing to be desired. *Beawa* or *Beowa*, meaning 'cultivator,' is the original name; by the addition of 'wulf' as a termination of honour, it becomes Beowulf; just as we find Sax-wulf, Beorn-wulf, Cuth-wulf, Sige-wulf, alongside of Sæxa, Beorna, Cutha, and Siga. But it seems to me that no evidence has yet been adduced sufficient to warrant the assumption of a hitherto unknown Teutonic deity, Beawa. May not the name be more simply regarded as a personified conception, invented in order to give stability and permanence to a thought which would otherwise have soon vanished and been forgotten? The traditions of the North did not end at Woden; to the Teutonic peoples of the fifth century he appeared as a semi-divine hero and conqueror, subduing countries, making laws, and founding religious institutions; but they con-

ceived of the communities over which he obtained an ascendancy as already existing, nay as having long previously occupied the seats where he found them. Nevertheless, they had no definite traditions as to their pre-Wodenic condition; only they felt certain that they tilled the ground and understood the use of arms, and perhaps had some glimmering recollections of early migrations and movements of tribes, whether by land or sea. In the articles on 'Scef' and 'Scyld' we shall again have occasion to investigate the early Teutonic consciousness which is here in question. Beawa, whom the genealogies place eight generations before Woden, seems to me to express the conviction existing among all the Teutonic peoples, and thus put into shape by the genealogists, that long before the time of Woden, the precious art of cultivating the ground and the stationary life of husbandmen had been introduced among their progenitors.

The name Beowulf is of singularly rare occurrence; we, however, meet with a Bowulfus (Bowulf), in Alcuin's Letters (ed. Jaffé), who was abbot of Fulda between 780 and 802.

Beowulf, son of Ecgtheow; l. 343, *et passim*. The father of the hero of the poem was not a Geat but a Swede, being of the Wægmunding stock, and of the race of the Scylfings, the royal family of Sweden: see ll. 2603, 2607, 2814. Hrethel, the king of the Geatas, gave him his daughter in marriage (l. 374); after which Ecgtheow appears to have resided at the court of his father-in-law; for we are told that his young son Beowulf was taken into the grandfather's house at the age of seven years (l. 2428), and from that time brought up with Hrethel's own sons, and treated as one of them. To Hrethel succeeded Hæthcyn his second son, who was killed in battle by the Swedes under Ongentheow. Hæthcyn's younger brother, Hygelac, succeeded him, and during his reign found no more faithful and loyal supporter of his throne than his nephew Beowulf, who is called 'Hygelac's thane,' and 'hearth-comrade,' (ll. 194, 342). The adventures with Grendel and Grendel's mother happen in Hygelac's lifetime. Beowulf accompanied the king on his unfortunate expedition to Friesland, in which Hygelac was killed, and Beowulf with difficulty escaped (ll. 2355, 2367). Returning to Gotland, he refused to take advantage of the youth and helplessness of Heardred, Hygelac's heir, in order to raise himself to supreme power, but defended the kingdom during his minority (l. 2377), and served him faithfully during his brief reign. Heardred was attacked and slain by the Swedish king Onela, for having sheltered his rebellious[1] nephews, Eanmund and Eadgils, the sons of Ohthere. Beowulf then became King of the Geatas, and also, it would seem, (l. 3005), after the death of Hrothgar and Hrothwulf, of the Danes. After a glorious reign of fifty years, (l. 2209) he engaged in that combat with a fire-breathing serpent, which is the subject of the last thousand lines of the poem. Scorched and poisoned by the dragon's breath, Beowulf dies; his obsequies are celebrated with the greatest pomp; and after his body has been consumed by fire, a lofty mound or barrow, (which evidently still, when the poet wrote, bore the name of 'Beowulf's Barrow,' (l. 2807) is raised over his ashes. He was probably, in the conception of the writer, succeeded on the throne by Wiglaf, his only remaining kinsman (l. 2813).

From historical sources we derive absolutely no information about the

[1] This at least is the meaning which I attach, after carefully considering all the passages which bear upon them, to the obscure and difficult lines 2379–2390.

hero Beowulf. He is not named by Saxo Grammaticus, nor by Snorri, either in the *Heimskringla* or in the Prose *Edda*. Still, as his uncle Hygelac, the Chochilaicus of Gregory of Tours, is undoubtedly historical, it would not be safe to affirm positively that Beowulf is unhistorical, however largely the element of the mythical and marvellous enters into the narrative of his actions.

Simrock maintains that it is impossible not to recognise the god Thor under the mask of Beowulf. The dragon-fight corresponds, he says, trait for trait, with Thor's battle with the Midgard snake, which he kills, but is fatally poisoned in the conflict. The parallel, however, is not quite so close. Thor in the first place *fishes* for the Midgard snake; he brings him to the surface, and a furious fight ensues, in which the snake spouts out floods of poison; the giant Hymir, in terror, cuts the line, and the snake sinks to the bottom; Thor goes away, not a bit the worse for the poison. It is only in the second fight, which happens at the general 'twilight of the gods' that Thor, after killing the Midgard snake, 'falls dead upon the spot, suffocated with the floods of venom which the dying serpent vomits forth upon him.'[1] Whichever legend be the older, that given in the Prose *Edda*, or that in *Beowulf*, it may be granted that the later writer probably borrowed some circumstances of his story from the earlier; but it cannot be conceded that such a slight resemblance warrants us in identifying Beowulf with Thor.

In the valuable paper before referred to[2] on 'Sceaf and his Descendants' Müllenhoff reads into the simple descriptions of the poem an ingenious kind of mythical allegory. Grendel symbolizes the wild destructive forces of unbridled nature, the havoc-causing hurricane or inundation. The sea and rivers overflow the land, and destroy and drown; then Beowulf or Beawa appears as an *averruncus*, a protecting deity, and tears off one of the invader's arms; the flood subsides; but in Grendel's mother rises again and destroys life; this time, however, there is but one victim. Beowulf again appears and 'purifies the whole mass of the waters' (l. 1622) so that all danger is at an end. That is—cultivation, industry, and mechanical skill have triumphed over the wildness of nature.

BRECA.—A prince of the Brondings, a people living near the Geatas. He contended with Beowulf in a swimming match; ll. 506, 531, 583. As 'Breoca,' he is named in the *Traveller's Song*, l. 25, as ruling over the Brondings.

CAIN, ll. 107, 1261.

DÆG-HRÆFN.—An earl among the Hugas, in the employ of the king of Friesland; killed by Beowulf; l. 2501.

DENE: (the Danes); Beorht-D——, East-D——, Gar-D——, Hring-D——, Norð-D——, Suð-D——, West-D——; ll. 1, 16, etc.

EADGILS.—A son of Ohthere and grandson of Ongentheow king of Sweden; befriended by Beowulf; l. 2392. Perhaps he is the same as the Eadgils mentioned in the *Traveller's Song*, l. 93, as the lord of the Myrgings: if so, he must have lived in permanent exile from Sweden, for the Myrgings dwelt in Holstein. But it seems more reasonable to connect him with the Adils son of Ottar, mentioned by Snorri in the *Heimskringla* as one of the Yngling kings of Sweden.

EANMUND.—A brother of Eadgils, slain by Weohstan the Wægmunding, father of Wiglaf; l. 2611.

EARNA-NÆS.—A headland on the shore of Gotland, near the treasure-mound of the Fire-Drake; l. 3031.

[1] *Prose Edda* (in Mallet's 'Northern Antiquities,' p. 453).

[2] Page 209.

Ecglaf.—A Dane, the father of Hunferth; ll. 499, 590, 980, 1465, 1808.

Ecgtheow.—A Wægmunding, the father of Beowulf; see art. 'Beowulf.'

Ecg-wela.—A Danish king, antecedent to the date of the poem, whose heirs were persecuted by Heremod; l. 1710.

Ela.—One of the four sons of Healfdene king of Denmark. The second half of the line in which he is named (l. 62) is wanting in the MS.

> Hyrde ic þæt Elan cwen . . . . . .
> Heaðoscylfinges heals-gebedda .

'I heard that Ela's queen . . . . . the consort of the war-like Scylfing.' In the *Heimskringla*, Adils king of Sweden marries a Saxon maiden named Yrsa; war breaks out between the Danes and the Swedes; Helge, son of Halfdan, the Danish king, invades Sweden, carries off Yrsa, and makes her his wife. This seems to be exactly the state of things referred to in the above-cited passage; but it is another son of Healfdene, Ela,—not Halga or Helge,—who has 'the Scylfing's consort' to wife. The missing words might be restored thus:—

Hyrde ic þæt Elan cwen [Yrsa hâtte] 'was called Yrsa.'

Eofor, or Iofor.—A Geat, the son of Wonred and brother of Wulf; he slays Ongentheow in battle, and is amply rewarded by Hygelac; ll. 2486, 2964, 2993, 2997.

Eomær.—The name is conjecturally restored by Thorpe (whom Grein follows) in l. 1960, where the MS. has *geomor*. He seems to be spoken of as the son of Offa, the king whose court Thrydo (or Mod-thrydo) seeks 'across the fallow flood.' In the genealogies of the Saxon Chronicles, Ethelwerd, Nennius, and Florence, Eomær appears as the son of Angeltheow (or Angen-geat), the grandson of Offa, and the great grandson of Wermund. In our poem he is described as the kinsman of Heming, and the 'nefa' (grandson or nephew) of Garmund (Wermund).

Eormenric.—A king of the Goths, the Jörmunrekr of the *Edda*, where it is said of him that he married Swanhild, the daughter of Gudrun and Sigurd, the Siegfried of the *Nibelungen Lay*. The author of the *Traveller's Song* says that he lived a long time with Eormanric, the 'Gotena cyning,' who treated him very generously. The 'Ermanaricus' of Jornandes, an Ostrogothic king, whom Gibbon mentions as 'the great Hermanric,' inasmuch as his life falls within the third and fourth centuries, must be distinguished from the Eormenric of our poem, who must be assigned to the sixth. All that is said of him is, that Hama incurred his enmity, for something done in connection with the Brosinga men; l. 1201; see 'Hama.' For the meaning of the name Eormenric see note on l. 859.

Eotan.—The editors agree in understanding the Jutes of Jutland to be meant, In the Saxon Chronicles the forms Jotum and Jutna occur, which imply a nom. pl. Jotan or Jutan. A body of Eotan, or Jutes, under Hengest, are said, in the remarkable episode respecting Finn, to have joined Hnæf the Danish leader in the expedition against Finn's capital and kingdom, ll. 902, 1072, 1081, 1141, 1145.

Finn.—A king of Friesland, the son of Folcwalda; ll. 1068, 1081, 1096, 1128, 1146, &c. See the Excursus.

Fitela.—The Sinfiötli of the *Edda*. He is the son of Sigemund, and at the same time his nephew, being the offspring of a union between him and his sister Signy. In the *Helgakvida Hundingsbana* he appears associated with Sigemund in the pursuance of a blood-feud against his stepfather Siggeir. But in the account, parallel to that in *Beowulf*, given in the

Völsunga Saga, of Sigurd (Sigemund's son) rifling the Hoard, not Fitela, but Regin appears as his companion. ll. 879, 889.

FOLCWALDA.—The father of Finn; l. 1089.

FREAWARE.—The daughter of Hrothgar, given in marriage to Ingeld prince of the Heathobards; l. 2022.

FINNAS.—The Fins mentioned in *Beowulf*, to whose land Beowulf comes, after accomplishing the swimming match with Breca, are supposed by Petersen (quoted by Thorpe) to be the people of the district of Finved, near Gotland. But it is quite as likely that the poet was thinking of Finland; for, as Grundtvig justly remarks, if Beowulf, in escaping from the rout of Hygelac, could swim from Friesland to Gotland, why should he not, especially when in the prime of youth, swim from Gotland to Finland?

FRANCAN.—The Franks; subjects of the Merovingian kingdom; ll. 1210, 2912.

FRESAN, FRISAN, FRYSAN.—The people of Friesland, dwelling between the Ems and the Rhine; ll. 1093, 1104, 1207, 2503, 2912, 2915.

FRESLOND, FRES-WÆL, FRYSLAND.—Friesland; ll. 1070, 2357, 1126.

FRODA.—A king of the Heathobards; see 'Ingeld'; l. 2025.

GARMUND (Wermund). See 'Offa'; l. 1962.

GEATAS, (Guð-G——, Sæ-G——, Weder-G——); Icel. Gautar. The people of Gothland; Sw. Göta-land, Icel. Gautland. Gothland (better written Gotland) is, speaking roughly, all that part of the Scandinavian peninsula which lies south of Stockholm, and east of the Skager Rack.

The name of the town or settlement where the kings of the Geatas resided is nowhere given in *Beowulf*.

Without entering here into the complicated question as to the relation between the Geatas and the Goths, it may be mentioned that in the first part of the *Heimskringla*, which contains the history of the early Swedish kings, frequent mention is made of the Gautar, a people distinct from and frequently at war with the Swedes. We read of East Gautar and West Gautar, who are sometimes at war with one another. Christianity was first introduced among them in the time of Olaf Tryggwesen, when Rognsvald Jarl was ruler of West Gotland, *i.e.*, some years before 1000, in which year Olaf lost his life at the battle of Swolld.

GIFÐAS.—The Gepidæ. Jornandes makes them one of the three divisions of the Gothic nation. In the *Traveller's Song*, l. 60, they are called Gefðas. Jornandes says that in his time (about 530 A.D.) the Gepidæ were living in the 'ancient Dacia,' *i.e.*, Wallachia and Southern Hungary. Paul Warnefrid, the historian of the Lombards, tell us that in the great battle of 567, in which the Lombards and Avars attacked the Gepidæ, the latter were so ruinously defeated and slaughtered, that in his day (about 700) they were almost obliterated as a people, the miserable remnant of them living in subjection either to the Lombards or the Huns, who occupied their lands. If therefore the Gifðas be really the Gepidæ, the allusion in *Beowulf* must refer to a state of things prior to 567, unless we suppose that a branch or offshoot of the great people, which escaped the general destruction and settled down close upon the Baltic, is here intended; l. 2494.

GRENDEL.—A fiendish being in human shape, of preternatural strength, who troubles Hrothgar and the Danes in Heorot; ll. 102, 127, etc.

With regard to the origin of the name, Grimm (*Deut. Myth.* 222) connects it with *grindel*, a bolt, in the same way as he thinks Loki is connected with *loka*, a bar. Even in modern German, he says, an evil demon or devilish being

is called a 'hell-bolt,' *höll-riegel*, as if it were his business to keep sinners bolted and barred up in hell.

Perhaps a simpler etymology may be found in the O. E. adj. *gryndel*, 'wrathful.' See *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, published by the E.-Eng. Text Society. Among the 'Early English Alliterative Poems' published by the same Society, is one called 'Patience,' in which the Almighty is made to say to Jonah, 'Be nozt so gryndel, god man.' *Gryndel* is probably connected with the A.S. *grennian*, English 'grin.'

Gervase of Tilbury (whose date is about 1200) has a chapter 'De Grant et Incendiis.' Grant is a spirit in the form of a horse, with flaming eyes, who appears in public places to warn people of coming fires. Liebrecht connects *Grant* with *Grendel*, and also with *Granta*, the old name of the river Cam.

GUDLAF.—A Danish chief, who, with Oslaf, avenged on Finn the slaughter of their friends under Hnæf; l. 1148. He is named twice in the Finsburg Fragment.

HÆDCYN.—The second son of Hrethel king of Gotland; he was slain in a battle with the Swedes under Ongentheow. See 'Hreðel,' ll. 2434, 2482, 2925.

HÆRED.—The father of Hygd, Hygelac's queen; ll. 1929, 1981.

HALGA.—A son of Healfdene king of Denmark. In the *Heimskringla* he appears as Helgi son of Halfdan; his kingdom is in Leidre, a district of Zealand. He has a son, Rolf Kraka, (the Hrothulf of our poem) by Yrsa. In Saxo he is Helgo, the son of Haldan I., and brother of Roe. In an ancient royal genealogy called the Langfedgatal (quoted by Müller and Velschow in their edition of Saxo; 1839), Haldan is the father of Helgo and Hroar (Hroðgar). l. 61.

HAMA.—One of the chief thanes of Eormenric king of the Goths, according to the *Traveller's Song*. He is mentioned once in *Beowulf*, l. 1198, in an obscure passage, the meaning of which seems to be, that Hama carried off to the bright city the famed Brosinga men (on which see the Excursus), and by so doing incurred the hatred of Eormenric, who, we may presume, had formerly possessed it. With this view agrees the statement in the *Traveller's Song*, l. 129, that Hama with Wudga, 'as exiles ruled over by means of twisted gold both men and women.'

Grein identifies Hama with the Heimir of the *Edda*, Brynhild's guardian; but the objection to this is, that there is no connection whatever between Heimir and Jörmunrekr (Eormenric). Thorpe identifies him with Hamðir the son of Gudrun, by whom Jörmunrekr is slain; but this too appears to me doubtful.

After examining the notices of Heime in the *Heldensage*, no doubt can remain that the Heime of German legend is the Hama of *Beowulf* and the *Traveller's Song*. In the latter poem Hama and Wudga are named among the vassals of Eormenric the great king of the Goths. In *Beowulf* also Hama, without Wudga, is named in connection with Eormenric. Hama and Wudga appear in *Biterolf* (a poem written late in the thirteenth, but representing in Grimm's view, a work of the twelfth century) as Heime and Witege; in Marner (thirteenth century) as Heime and Witche; in the *Loszbuch* (fifteenth century) they are named among the 'four heroes,'—Gunther, *Haym*, *Wyttig*, and Hogen. In the *Alphart*, the *Rabenschlacht*, and other poems, Heime and Wittich appear as comrades. Everywhere they are spoken of as followers of Ermanrich (Eormenric).

HEADOLAF.—A king of the Waras, slain by Ecgtheow; l. 460.

HEADO-RÆMAS.—The people of Raumariki, a district in the south of Norway

Breca landed on their shores after his swimming match with Beowulf; l. 519.

HEALFDENE.—A king of Denmark, son of Beowulf Scylding; ll. 57, 1069. For pedigree of the Danish kings mentioned in *Beowulf*, see art. 'Scef.'

HEARDRED.—A king of Gotland, son of Hygelac. For the pedigree of the Geat Kings mentioned in *Beowulf*, see art. 'Hreðel.' ll. 2202, 2375, 2388.

HEADO-BEARDAN.—Lombards, Langobardi, in the opinion of Grein. If so, they were a fragment of the nation which had not joined in the gradual southward migration which, between the ages of Trajan and Justinian, had brought the Langobardi from the mouths of the Elbe to the country between the Danube and the Alps. Their kings, at the date of our poem, were first Froda and then Ingeld. They are mentioned, and Ingeld also, in the T.S. l. 49; ll. 2032; 2037, 2067.

HELMINGAS.—The family or tribe to which belonged Wealhtheow, Hrothgar's queen, l. 620. A Helm is named in the T.S., l. 29, as ruling over the Wulfings, who must be the same as the Ylfings (Volsungs) of the *Edda*, and may be placed either in Sweden or in some country further east.

HEMING.—Both Offa and Eomær seem to be described as the kinsmen of Heming; but who Heming was, I see no means for determining. In the *Edda* a Heming is mentioned, the son of Hunding king of Hundland; but there is no possible connection between him and the Heming of *Beowulf*; ll. 1954, 1961.

HENGEST.—A chief of the Eotan or Jutes, who plays an important part in the Finn episode, on which see Excursus l.; ll. 1083, 1096, 1127.

HEOROGAR, HEREGAR.—A son of Healfdene, and Hrothgar's elder brother. He appears to have been king, after Hrethel's death, for a considerable time. Dying, he left his armour, not to his son Heoroweard, but to Hrothgar, who succeeded him; ll. 61, 467, 2158.

HEOROT, HEORT, HIORT.—The palace built by Hrothgar for largesse and good cheer. It corresponds to Roskilde in the isle of Zealand, said by Saxo to have been built by Roe (Hroar), the son of Haldan. The name, according to the suggestion of Grein (*Jahrb. für. Rom. u. Eng. Lit.* IV.) is preserved in Hiortholm a town or village in the north-eastern corner of Zealand, a short distance from the sea. On the other hand, Mr. Haigh[1] finds Heorot (which means a hart) in the village of Hart near Hartlepool in Durham. But this notion, as well as the entire theory in which it finds its place, namely, that all the scenes described in *Beowulf* must be looked for in England, appears to me to be absolutely untenable. ll. 78, 166, 403, 475, 497, etc.

HEOROWEARD.—A son of Heorogar; see that article; l. 2161.

HEREBEALD.—The eldest son of King Hrethel, accidentally killed by his brother Hæthcyn. See 'Hreðel.' ll. 2434, 2463.

HEREMOD.—Apparently a former king of Denmark, who engaged on some expedition, disapproved both by the nobles and the free churls, which ended in his being taken captive by his enemies, and brought many disasters on his people; his conduct is unfavourably contrasted with that of Beowulf. No such name occurs in the list of Danish kings given by Saxo. Heremod being named in the genealogies of the Saxon Chronicles and Florence just before Scyld, Grein thinks that the same Heremod is here intended. But he regards him, not as the father of Scyld, but as the last of a previous dynasty of which the founder was probably Ecgwela, and as having disgusted the Danes by his cruelty and tyranny, so that they welcomed the arrival of Scyld as a liberator. But this seems to be too large a superstructure to build, even conjecturally, on the single fact that in certain

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Sagas.*

genealogies Heremod precedes Scyld. Grein forgets to mention that in the genealogy as given by Saxo, Skiold is preceded, not by Heremod, but by Lotther. Mr. Kemble, in his interesting essay on the West-Saxon genealogies, treats Heremod, Scyld, Beaw, Tætwa, and several more, as mere by-names of Woden. In the Prose *Edda*, Heremod is the son of Odin, who for Frigga's sake goes down to Hela, to see if he can redeem his brother Balder from death; ll. 901, 1709.

HERERIC.—The uncle of Heardred, the son of Hygelac; he must, therefore, have been the brother of Hygd; l. 2206.

HETWARE.—The Chatti of Tacitus and Chatuarii of Strabo. They had moved, or been driven, down to the neighbourhood of the coast since the time of Tacitus, who places them in the Hercynia Silva, and were now settled near the Frisians; ll. 2363, 2916. They and their ruler Hûn are mentioned in the T.S., l. 32.

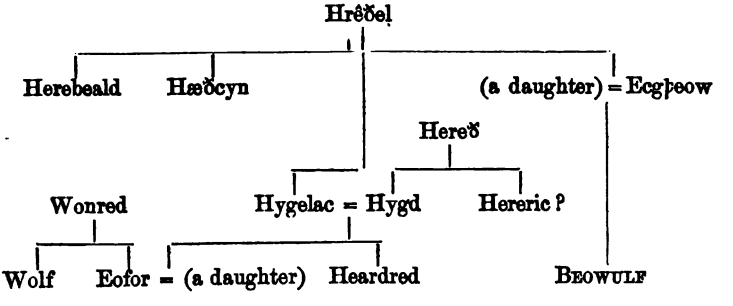
HILDEBURH.—Apparently the sister of Hnæf and the wife of Finn. See the Excursus on the Finn Episode; ll. 1071, 1114.

HNÆF.—A Dane in the service of King Healfdene. After his death in the battle of Finsburg his body is solemnly burned. In the T.S. a Hnæf is said to rule over the Hôcings. He and his sixty staunch followers are mentioned in the *Finsburg Fragment*, where his fall also, after a five days' fight, is on the point of being intimated when the MS. breaks off; ll. 1069, 1114.

Hôc.—The father of Hildeburh, probably a Dane; l. 1076.

HRÆDLAN.—With great acuteness Bugge argues (Hopf. u. Zach. *Zeits.* IV.) for the identity of meaning of Hrædlan and Hreðels, giving various instances both of the interchange of *æd* and *êð*, and of the indifferent use of two forms of the genitive in certain words, one strong and the other weak. l. 454. See 'Hreðel.'

HRÊÐEL.—A king of Gotland, grandfather of Beowulf. The following table exhibits the line of Geat Kings, so far as it is indicated in the poem:—



The eldest son of Hrethel, Herebeald, having been accidentally killed by an arrow shot by his brother Hæthcyn, the old king cannot overcome or cure the melancholy into which he is thrown by this misfortune, and soon after dies; ll. 374, 454, 1847, 2191, 2358, 2442, 2992.

HRÊÐLINGAS.—Hreðel's people, *i.e.*, the Geatas; l. 2960.

HRÊÐMEN.—The Danes; 445 (note).

HRÊÐRIC.—A son of Hrothgar and Wealhtheow. He probably corresponds to Rorick, grandson of Rolff Krage in Saxo's genealogy. l. 1189.

HREFNA-WUDU.—
HREFNES-HOLT.— } Ravens-wood. { In it the Geatas take shelter, after their king Hæthcyn has been killed by the Swedes; ll. 2925, 2935.

HREOSNABEORH.—A headland, off which many sea-fights took place between the Swedes and the Geatas; l. 2477.

HRODGAR.—A king of Denmark, the builder of Heorot: for his lineage see 'Scef.' The poem contains no mention of his death, but there are obscure intimations of the disasters befalling him in his later years—Heorot destroyed by fire (l. 82), and his nephew Hrothulf turning against him (T. S., l. 45). That he corresponds to the Roe or Hroar of Saxo it is impossible to doubt. ll. 64, 152, 277, 2351, etc.

HRODMUND.—A son of Hrothgar and Wealhtheow; l. 1189.

HRODULF.—The son of Halga, Hrothgar's brother. He corresponds to the Rolff Krage of Saxo, the Rolf Kraka of Northern Mythology. An older form of the name, *Hroðwulf*, occurs in the T.S. ll. 45, 1017, 1181.

HRONES-NÆS.—A cape in Gotland, on which Beowulf's body was burnt and his funeral-mound erected; ll. 2805, 3136.

HRUNTING.—The sword lent by Hunferð to Beowulf; ll. 1457, 1490, 1659, 1807.

HUGAS.—The Chauci of Tacitus. 'Chaucorum gens, quanquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur.'—(*Germ.* 35). They were near neighbours of the Frisians. ll. 2502, 2914.

HUNFERÐ.—A Dane, Hrothgar's orator; ll. 499, 630, 1165, 1488. He killed his brother; l. 587.

HUNLAFING.—A sword given by Finn to Hengest in token of amity. Grein takes it to be the name of a Jute warrior by whom Hengest is killed. See the Excursus on Finn; l. 1143.

HYGD.—The daughter of Hereð and sister of Hereric, married to Hygelac. She wished Beowulf to ascend the throne after her husband's death in Friesland, but he refused. On account of her gentleness of character, she is contrasted favourably with Mod-thrydo, or Thrydo; ll. 1926, 2172, 2369.

HYGELAC, HIGELAC.—A king of Gotland; he was reigning at the time of Beowulf's adventure with Grendel. On his identity with the Chochilaicus of the *Gesta Francorum*, see the remarks in the Introduction. See 'Hreðel.' ll. 194, 261, 342, 407, 435, 452, 758, 813, 914: his death in Friesland, ll. 1202–9, 2354–9, 2914–21; 1483, 1530, 1574, 1830: he welcomes Beowulf home, ll. 1923–1998; 2169, 2201, 2372, 2386: his victory over Ongentheow, ll. 2942–2998.

INGELD.—The son of Froda, king of the Heathobards; he married Freaware, Hrothgar's daughter, the hope on each side being, that the long-standing feud between the two nations would thus be appeased. But Froda had fallen in battle with the Danes, and unluckily, the chief who slew him and wore his sword as a trophy was selected to accompany Freaware to her husband's court. An old Heathobard warrior draws the attention of Ingeld to this, and rouses him to fury by bitter taunts and allusions; the war between the two peoples breaks out more fiercely than ever. In this story, as Ettmüller and others have pointed out, we clearly recognise the main features of the story of Ingellus, Starcather, and the sons of Swerting, as sketched by the prolix pen of Saxo. The characters have indeed got mixed: Ingellus and his father Frotho are not Heathobards, as in *Beowulf*, but Danes; the lady given in the interests of peace to Ingellus is not a Danish princess, but the daughter of a Saxon noble; and the instigator to vengeance is not a Heathobard warrior, but the renowned Danish warrior and statesman, Starcather. Still the general course of the incidents is the same in both cases. l. 2064.

INGWINE.—The Ingævones of Tacitus—here = Danes; ll. 1044, 1319; perhaps l. 2577.

MEREWIOINGAS.—The Merovingian kings of the Franks; l. 2921.

MOD-THRYDO; see 'Thrydo.'

NÆGLING.—Beowulf's sword; l. 2680.

NICERAS. See note to l. 422.

OFFA.—A king of the Angles. The association with him of Eomær and Garmund leaves little doubt that the Offa of Beowulf is the elder Offa of the genealogies, and of the author of the *Two Offas* in 'Matthew Paris.' All these authorities agree in making Offa the son of Wermund or Warmund (Nennius calls him Guertmund or Guermund); all, except the author of the *Two Offas*, place Eomær two steps in descent from Offa. This elder Offa appears to have reigned among the Angles before their migration to England. In a well-known passage in the *Traveller's Song* he is described as a powerful king who enlarged his borders near Fifef-dor (the mouth of the Eyder), and fixed as he willed it the boundary between the Swedes and the Angles. ll. 1949, 1957.

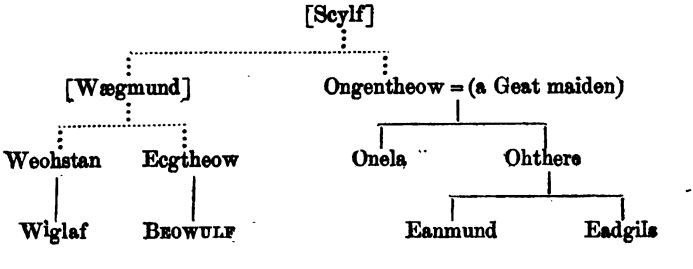
OHTHERE.—A prince of the Scylfings, the Swedish royal family; son of Ongentheow by a Geat maiden. He had two sons, Eanmund and Eadgils; ll. 2380, 2394, 2612, 2928, 2932.

The Swedish form of the name is Ottar. In the *Heimskringla* Ottar son of Egil is named among the Swedish kings: he is the father of Adils (Eadgils?) and loses his life in a raid among the Wendlas of Jutland.

ONELA.—A king of Sweden, son of Ongentheow, and brother of Ohthere. He is probably the king mentioned in l. 2396 as having been deprived of life by Eadgils, aided by Beowulf. Ettmüller takes this king to be Weohstan, the father of Wiglaf. ll. 2616, 2932.

ONGENTHEOW (Icel. *Angantyr*, O.H.G. *Angandeo*).—A king of Sweden, who kills Hæthcyn in battle, but is defeated and slain by Hygelac. The name appears to be the same as that given in the genealogies under various forms (Angeltheow, Angeltheu, Ongen, Angengeat, Agelthеu,) to the successor of the first Offa: ll. 1968, 2387, 2475, 2486, 2924, 2951, 2961, 2986.

The following table gives a view of the Scylfing Kings, so far as our poem gives us information. That the list receives so little illustration from that found in the *Heimskringla* may be due to the fact, that the latter contain the history of the Ynglings, not of the Scylfings. Scylf appears to be nowhere mentioned. Skilfing in Sæmund's *Edda* is said to be a name of Odin, and the line of the Skilfings, descended, like the Skiöldings, from 'Swan the Red,' is mentioned in the *Hyndluliod*. In the Prose *Edda*, according to Lüning, the Skilfings are said to live in far eastern regions, *i.e.*, east of the Baltic—the seat of the Ynglings was Upsal:—



(The dotted lines indicate that there may be several missing links in the chain of kindred connecting the different individuals).

OSLAF.—A Danish chief: see 'Guðlaf;' l. 1148.

SCEDELAND.—According to Grein 'the Danish lands'; see his dissertation already cited in the *Jahr. für Rom. u. Eng. Lit.*, IV. 19.

SCEDEN-IG (Icel. *Skáney*, Germ. *Schonen*; *Sconeg* in Alfred's Orosius, the *Scanzia insula* of Jornandes).—The extreme southern district of Sweden, opposite Zealand. The small island of Skonar still appears on the maps at the extreme point of the land. This island appears to have given its name to the whole Scandinavian peninsula; and it is in this large sense that the word seems to be used in l. 1686.

SCEF (l. 4).—The founder of the Scylding dynasty. In the MS. B of the *Saxon Chronicle*, and in *Ethelwerd*, he appears as Sceaf, and is anterior to Odin. Ethelwerd makes Sceaf the father of Scyld, just as in *Beowulf*. In the *Saxon Chronicle* several names are inserted between Sceaf and Sceldwa.

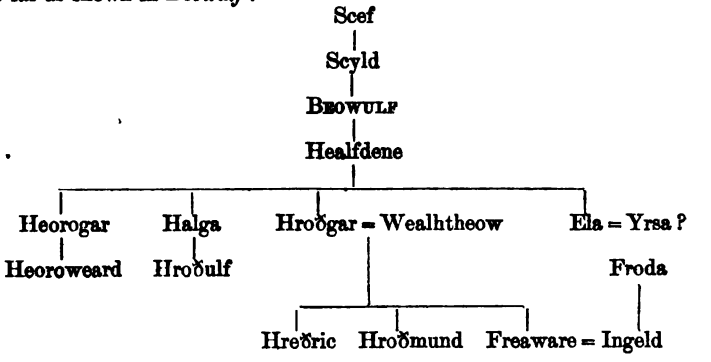
The well-known legend recorded in *Ethelwerd*, how Scef, clad in arms, came as a very young boy on board a ship to the isle of Scani, and was received by the inhabitants for their king, is told also in *Beowulf*; but Scyld, not Scef, is the hero of it.

Scef or *Sceaf* is the *sheaf* of corn, and symbolises agriculture; *Scyld*, shield, means defence and government. Here again we meet with, not gods nor by-names of gods, but personified conceptions. The legend of 'Sheaf' or 'Shield' points to a primitive consciousness in the tribes on the Danish isles and the Cimbric and Scandinavian peninsulas, that a superior civilising race had, in times beyond historical memory, come to them by sea, taught them agriculture, and instituted regular government. If we entertain this notion, we may conjecture that the new comers were a Gothic tribe, sailing across from the mouth of the Vistula,—where we know that Goths were settled in the first century after Christ—and colonising Skaney (*Sceden-ig*) and the neighbouring lands. That Jornandes calls *Scanzia* the 'officina gentium,' and makes it the point of departure for all the Gothic kindreds does not seriously militate against this view. The Greeks of the age of Pericles imagined just in the same way that the Grecian mainland was the original hive whence swarmed the communities of their race that dotted the coasts of Asia Minor; but we know now that the contrary was the fact; the Ionians were in Asia Minor before Greece proper was occupied by Greeks. It will perhaps some day be made clear that Scandinavia was originally colonised from the East, and that she received swarms before she ever sent them out.

It is noticeable that whereas *Ethelwerd* and the *Saxon Chronicle* make Scef (Sceaf), Scyld (Scealdwa), and Beo (Beaw)—corresponding to the Scef, Scyld, and Beowulf of our poem,—far anterior to Woden, between whom and the first historically recognisable personage they insert several other names—our poet does not mention Woden at all, but makes the historical Healfdene immediately succeed the mythical Beowulf or Beo. Yet, as a West Saxon, he must have been familiar with the name of Woden, from whom the kings of his nation traced their descent. I cannot account to myself for this reticence.

In the MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which contains the genealogy now in question, Scef is called the son of Noe, and is said to have been 'born in the Ark.' This seems to be a rationalising interpretation by a Christian of the Teutonic legend about Scef floating in his lonely bark, which *Ethelwerd* has preserved to us.

The following table gives the line of Danish Kings of the Scylding dynasty, so far as shown in *Beowulf*:—



Scyld.—The son of Scef: see preceding article; ll. 4, 19, 26.

The Danish and Icelandic writers all make Skioldr the son of Odin, whereas our writers make him far earlier. This radical difference of view deserves a fuller investigation than it has yet received.

Scylding, Scyldingas.—The name is applied sometimes to the royal race, sometimes to the Danes generally; ll. 30, 53, 1792, 2159, etc.

Scylfing, Scylfingas (*Guð-Sc———*, *Heaðo-Sc———*).—The name of a Swedish royal family; ll. 63, 2381, 2487, 2205, 2603, 2968.

Sigemund.—The hero-king of the Northern Mythology. His exploits fill a large space in the *Edda* and the *Volsunga Saga*. In the *Nibelungen Lay* he appears as Siegfried's father, but plays throughout the poem a secondary and rather feeble part; his greater son eclipses the glory which in earlier times encircled his name and acts. Here in *Beowulf* this is so far from being the case, that while of Siegfried (Sigurd) we have not a word, not only does his father Sigemund figure as a hero, the fame of whose mighty deeds (*ellendædum*, l. 876) filled the North, but one of the most characteristic acts which the Scandinavian and German accounts ascribe to the son—the rifling of the Hoard guarded by the 'Worm,' *i.e.*, the Nibelungen Hoard—is in *Beowulf* attributed to the *father*.

The mention of Sigemund is introduced in the following manner. In the morning, after Beowulf has overcome Grendel, and driven him, mortally wounded, from Heorot, the Danes follow his tracks as far as the 'Nixes' Mere,' where he and his mother dwelt. They see its waters discoloured with blood. Returning joyfully towards Heorot, while some make their horses leap and others race, a king's thane, whose mind is full of the 'old saws' (*eald-gesegena*) of past times, magnifies Beowulf s great enterprise in coming from Gotland to their aid, and compares it with what he had heard tell of the brave deeds of Sigemund the Waelsing, aided by his faithful comrade and nephew, Fitela. Not only during life, but after death, did his fame wax and flourish, on account of his having killed the 'Worm' (serpent), the guardian of the Hoard, this time without the aid of Fitela, and then loaded his 'sea-boat' with gold and jewels, and carried them off; ll. 875–897.

In the *Edda* and *Volsunga Saga* there is a Hoard, and a 'Worm' guarding it; the Worm is Fafnir, who has taken that shape. But it is Sigurd, the son of Sigmund by Hiordis, who kills the Worm, and takes possession of

the Hoard, which he takes away, not on board a ship, but on the back of his horse Grani.

In the *Nibelungen Lay* it is also Sigurd (Siegfried) who wins the Hoard, but he does so by defeating and killing its former possessors, Schilbung and Nibelung.

Some light appears to be thrown by a consideration and comparison of the different legends, on the disputed question, whether the Siegfried Mythus is of Scandinavian or German origin. So far as the testimony of the author of *Beowulf* extends, the original Mythus was Scandinavian. For it is impossible to doubt that the *sources* of *Beowulf*—a poem describing the deeds of Danes, Geats, and Swedes—were exclusively Scandinavian; and we cannot suppose that the Sigemund, whose fame was extolled by the Danish thane, was a dweller on the Rhine or in any other part of Germany. It seems as if we came upon the primitive form of the Mythus in *Beowulf*, a form older than that which it wears in the *Edda* and *Volsunga Saga*, and, of course, far older than that highly elaborated picture which is presented to us in the *Nibelungen Lay*. In the *Edda* and *Volsunga Saga* a Volsung appears, the son of Rerir, and great-grandson of Odin. But the name is a patronymic, and is explained by the line in *Beowulf*, where Sigemund is called 'the heir of Wæls' (*Wælses eafora*). Wæls had been forgotten by the time the heroic legends of the *Edda* were put together, and a purely fanciful ancestry, terminating at three removes in Odin, is given to Wælsing (Volsung). Similarly, as years went by, and the Mythus of Sigemund and the Hoard received ever new developments, a tendency manifested itself to push Sigemund also into the background, to make room for his son Sigurd. That this Sigurd development was of Germanic origin seems to me highly probable, from the mention of the Rhine in those of the heroic poems of the *Edda* where Sigurd is introduced, as well as from other considerations. This development, received in Scandinavia, seems to have been incorporated with the pre-existing Sigemund legend. The Mythus thus enlarged rolled down the stream of time, but the character and adventures of Siegfried tended to absorb the interest and captivate the imagination more and more, until, in the *Nibelungen Lay*, that is about the beginning of the thirteenth century, Sigemund has become the pale shadow that we see him. This supplanting of the father by the son, of the earlier by the later hero, is a feature with which those who are acquainted with the epopees of Arthur, of Charlemagne, and of Amadis, are perfectly familiar.

SWEON.—The Swedes; Lat. Suiones. From the vague description of them given by Tacitus (*Germ.* 44) we gather that they were even then a great seafaring people. ll. 2472, 2946, 2958, 3001.

SWEO-RICE, Sweden; ll. 2383, 2495.

SWEO-ÞEÓD.—The Swedish people; l. 2922.

SWERTING.—An uncle of Hygelac; l. 1202.

THRYDO, or MOD-THRYDO; l. 1931. All the editors before Grein took *mod-þrydo* for a noun, the object or subject of the verb *wæg*. Thus Thorpe translates,—'yet violence of mood moved the folk's bold queen, crime appalling.' By the *folces cwen* Hygd was understood. It was at last seen that this assumption made the succeeding lines, ll. 1933-1954, incomprehensible; and Grein, in the article so often quoted, first suggested that Mod-þrydo was a proper name, and must be connected with the Drida, or Cwendrida, mentioned in the *Two Offas* of Matthew Paris. The suggestion has been generally accepted; but first Grundtvig (*Beowulfes Beorh*, p. 157), and then Müllenhoff (Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, XIV.), proposed to take *þrydo* only as the name, and *mod* in the usual sense of

'mood' or passion. Rieger and Bugge both approve of the emendation.

In the *Two Offas*, the story of Drida, which properly belongs to the elder of the name, is by mistake transferred to the younger. Of Offa the son of Warmund (the Offa of *Beowulf*) we are told that he married a Yorkshire maiden of noble birth whom he found wandering in the bush, and whose life is a string of remarkable adventures. When we come to the reign of the younger Offa, son of Thingferth, the contemporary of Charlemagne, we meet with the following story:—A cousin of Charles the king of France, being condemned to death for some heavy crime, was, in commutation of her punishment, sent to sea in a boat without oar or sail. The boat drifted to the shores of England; she reached the land; and when brought to Offa, and asked her name, she said it was Drida. The king married her; her name was changed to Petronilla; but before long her old nature reappeared, and she committed a series of crimes which remind one of the story of Brunehild.

As the conduct of Heremod was contrasted unfavourably (l. 1709) with that of Beowulf, so here the gentleness and generosity of Hygd are brought into relief by the tale of the violent and cruel Thrydo. She was perhaps a Geat princess, who, after murdering her first husband, was sent by her father's counsel 'across the fallow flood' to Offa's court in Anglen, where she won his love. A dim echo of her story, with places, times, and circumstances greatly altered, appears to survive in the *Two Offas*.

WÆGMUNDINGAS.—The Swedish family to which Beowulf and Wiglaf belonged; see art. 'Ongentheow'; ll. 2607, 2814.

WÆLS.—The father or grandfather of Sigemund; see that article; l. 897.

WÆLSING. (Volsung in the *Edda*).—Sigemund; l. 877.

WARAS.—In 461 the MS. has *gara cyn*, which the editors have corrected to *Wara*. Perhaps a people of Jutland; where there was a place called Varva (Warwa), mentioned in the *Heimskringla*. The meaning of the passage, ll. 459-472, where this tribe is mentioned seems to be this:—Ecgtheow, Beowulf's father, claimed to the *here-toga* or captain of the host of the Waras; they would not have him; he crossed the sea with the Wylfings, defeated them and slew their prince, Heatholaf. Thence he sailed to the South Danes, and found Hrothgar just come to the throne. Hrothgar agreed to take Ecgtheow as his vassal in Waraland; sent gifts to him and the Wylfings as their *sinc-gifa* and lord, and received his oaths.

WEALHÞEOW.—Hrothgar's queen, of the kindred of the Helmings; see that article; ll. 612, 629, 664, 1162, 1215.

WEDERAS.—A name of the Geatas; probably it means those living on the weather, *i.e.*, the western, side of the peninsula; 225, 341, 3157, etc.

WEDER-MEARC.—Wedermark, *i.e.*, Gotland; l. 298.

WELAND. (Icel. *Völundr*).—The Teutonic Vulcan, renowned for his skill as a smith; l. 455.

WENDLAS.—The people of Wendill in Jutland. It is mentioned in the *Heimskringla* that the Swedish king Ottar met his death while raiding in Wendill. l. 348.

WEOHSTAN, WIHSTAN.—A Wægmunding and a Scylfing, the father of Wiglaf; see 'Ongentheow'; ll. 2602, 2631, 2752, etc.

WIGLAF.—The son of Weohstan; the only one of Beowulf's eleven followers who dared to go to his aid in the Dragon-fight; ll. 2602, 2631, 2745, 2862, 2906, 2852, 3076.

WIDERGYLD.—A chief of the Heathobards, slain in battle with the Danes; l. 2051.

WONRED.—A Geat, the father of Eofor and Wulf; ll. 2965, 2971.

WULF.—A Geat warrior, son of Wonred; nearly slain by Ongentheow; ll. 2965, 2993.

WULFGAR.—A chief of the Wendlas in Hrothgar's service; ll. 348, 360.

WYLFINGAS.—A people led by Ecgtheow to the attack of the Waras; see 'Helmingas,' 'Waras'; ll. 461, 471.

YRMENLAF.—A Dane, the brother of Æschere; l. 1324.

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