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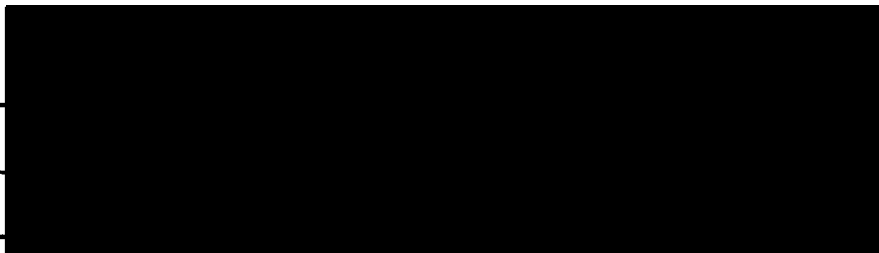
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THE BEOWULF AND THE BRIMWYLF

by

Carol Jean Halstead

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1952

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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ABSTRACT

The combination of feminist and textual criticism with reader response techniques produces new insights into an ancient epic. Becoming a "resisting reader", the feminist critic avoids the alienation and confusion of identifying with Beowulf, and instead searches the text for a female character who displays assertiveness and competence, and who is engaged in interesting and significant endeavour within the narrative. Seeking a redefinition of the female hero, she identifies with the Brimwylf, the warrior woman who is Grendel's mother.

The resulting search for just treatment leads to a close study of the work of the scholars through whose efforts the modern reader contacts the poem, and of the Beowulf poet himself. Tables of forty terms used by the poet to refer to Grendel's mother, with the translations given for these by each of twenty-three intermediate agents, show that at times the male editors, translators, and even lexicographers have been operating with a demonstrable misogynist bias.

The poet's own treatment of the female hero is less sexist, but shows a number of startling inconsistencies. She is a grim destiny, a formidable avenger, but on the other hand a timid creature who flees from men's sight. He describes her at first as a lady, using the same term he uses for the queens, then refers to her as "he" four times. The terror of her appearance in Heorot is minimal, he assures us, since she is, after all, only a woman, but the warriors are plunged into consternation.

Though Beowulf is not at all afraid for his life, he goes heavily armed, when preparing to exterminate her, whereas to fight the terrifying Grendel he chivalrously refuses to use anything but his hands. She is defined both as existential Other, since she is a woman, and perhaps even more since she is a mother, and as Self, since she is a warrior and an avenger in a blood feud, roles the Anglo-Saxons reserved for males. It is the poet's ambivalence to this ambiguous character that leads to the interesting irregularities in the work.

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A. THEORETICAL, PERSONAL, AND METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

Exploring an ancient world such as that of the Beowulf, bringing the people we find there to life so that they can speak directly to us, is a quest that, for modern women, needs new ways of thinking, new dimensions of understanding. We must re-invent the experiencing of Beowulf's world as we go along. Searching for our roots, we must be prepared to be radical; seeking the sources of our literature, we must push our way skilfully but firmly through the inaccessibility of the text as terrain, the possibly antiquated directions of earlier travellers, and the alienation by which the centuries obscure for us, initially, the utterances of the germinal cultures from which ours sprang. We must first get back to the mind of the poet, and, once there, make of the contact an experience true both to him and to ourselves. This thesis is the record of an experiment in combining feminist, reader-response, and textual criticism, in order to accomplish that task.

The body of the paper deals with the experience of a female reader of the 1980's in approaching, immersing herself in, and eventually struggling with various types of analysis of, a masterwork which, while essential to the understanding of the roots of English literature, is relentlessly male-oriented. That experience can hardly be new. What is new is the permission given by this moment in history for such a reader to examine and

even to delineate her experience from her own point of view, rather than trying to imagine herself male and attempting to assess the work from that mildly alien standpoint, as women have been expected to do, and have allowed themselves the slight dishonesty of doing, up to the present time. Only by making a sustained effort to achieve authenticity of response can we gain fresh perspectives and breathe new life into the archaic beauty of the work.

The reading of Beowulf presented here is a paradigm of the problems encountered by women in reading such androcentric literature. But it is also an exercise in a type of criticism which deals with fundamental questions of interest to astute readers of both sexes. Feminist criticism, as Jonathan Culler points out, is "one of the most significant and broadly-based critical movements of recent years"¹. As such criticism, this paper will perform the functions he outlines in his article:

...by providing a different point of departure it brings into focus the identification of male critics with one character and permits the analysis of male misreadings. But what it does above all is to reverse the usual situation in which the perspective of a male critic is assumed to be sexually neutral, while a feminist reading is seen as a case of special pleading and an attempt to force the text into a predetermined mold. By confronting male readings with the elements of the text they neglect... feminist criticism puts itself in the position that phallic criticism usually attempts to occupy. The more convincing its critique of phallic criticism, the more feminist criticism comes to provide the broad and comprehensive vision, analyzing and situating the limited and interested interpretations of

¹Jonathan Culler, On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism After Structuralism (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 42.

male critics. Indeed, at this level one can say that feminist criticism is the name that should be applied to all criticism alert to the critical ramifications of sexual oppression.

The task is clear.

The areas we will have to examine in order to gain the desired new perspectives are various. One is the problem of the alienation of the reader, and especially the female reader, caused by the fact that in reading male-oriented literature, women are expected or forced to identify with a male experience which is presented as the universal human one, and one of whose monotonously recurring characteristics is denigration of women. Another troublesome phenomenon in androcentric literature is the definition of the female always as existential Other, never as Self. This leads modern women to a search for an acceptable identity within literature. The problem is that literature has traditionally defined the female protagonist or "heroine" as passive, as merely the object of action, rather than the initiator of it. A woman's experience of life, both her own life and the lives of courageous women in the world around her, denies the veracity of this view, and we need to search for a more satisfactory definition of the female hero. The solution to most of these problems offered by the growing feminist critical literature involves becoming a "resisting reader". As such, one learns to re-read carefully, to undertake the task of "re-vision", or "the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh

eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction"² in order to achieve both authenticity of response and a more rational, reflective view of literature than one based on readings with distortions and omissions. Finally, we will examine the appropriateness and necessity of applying these skills to the reclamation of the ancient literature which is our heritage.

What we must bring to the reading of an epic such as Beowulf is the ability to cut through alienation and use the complexity of our own genuine experience³ of the text as an instrument both to understand it ourselves and to share with other readers the insights thus achieved. Essential to all literary critics, this ability is especially important for women, whose spontaneous response in both reading and writing has been suppressed throughout most of history. Most of us, male and female, have been trained to read obediently, to seek not so much true experience as acculturation: to learn to like the right things, for the right reasons. Real reading of literature

²Adrienne Rich, "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision (1971)" in On Lies, Secrets, and Silence.

³Our experience cannot, of course, ever be totally independent of our acculturation. However, by the process of studying, comparing, and contrasting our own and other cultures and subcultures (both objectively, through intellectual study in the disciplines of psychology, sociology, and anthropology, and subjectively, through immersion in, and/or the cultivation of close friendships and therapeutic relationships with members of, other cultures and subcultures) we can make our own attitudes sufficiently cosmopolitan, our ability to identify with others sufficiently sophisticated, that we are able to approach transcultural understanding.

begins with resisting the inward-binding pressure to conform, to think only in preconceived patterns, to read things only as they "are allowed to be" read, and reach only the conclusions that "are allowed to be" reached. Breaking through that confining amniotic membrane-- or rather, bursting fully armed at last_out of the head of Zeus-- we are born into a new world in which we are free to move, to create, and to trust ourselves and our perception of each other, of life, and even of literature. This is true not only for women, but for all readers suddenly allowed to respond authentically to a text. The result is a fascinating process of rereading that can revivify all literature.

The alienation of female readers from most literature has occurred because, in their education as "readers and teachers and scholars, women are taught to think as men, to identify with a male point of view, and to accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values, one of whose central principles is misogyny."* This concept, known as "immascultation", was first elaborated by Showalter, who asked, "What are the effects of this long apprenticeship in negative capability on the self-image and the self-confidence of women students?" and answered, "Women are estranged from their own experience and unable to perceive its shape and authenticity...they are expected to identify as readers with a masculine experience and perspective, which is presented as the human one...they have no

*Judith Fetterley, The Resisting Reader, A Feminist Approach to American Literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. xx.

faith in the validity of their own perceptions and experiences, rarely seeing them confirmed in literature, or accepted as criticism."⁵ Such "immasculated" women scholars, through failing to struggle against definition by others, become what, in a male, would be considered the intellectual and emotional equivalent of being emasculated.⁶ Our identity as sexually alive humans, then, depends on achieving a more rational criticism.

But androcentric criticism is merely a natural outgrowth of the patriarchal society which, as Millett has explained, is

the institution by which that half of the populace which is female is controlled by that half which is male....The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, and finance-- in short, every avenue of power within the society, including the coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands. As the essence of politics is power, such realization

⁵Elaine Showalter, "Women and the Literary Curriculum," in College English 32 (1971), 855.

⁶It is interesting, and illustrative of this whole process of thought, that in the English language both "emasculate" and "effeminate", which by their combination of word roots ought to mean opposite conditions, in fact connote the same thing: a condition of being "not male enough"! There is no equivalent term to describe the state of a woman who has been rendered sexually neuter, i.e. "not female enough". (It is as if being female at all is bad enough, and being more female could not possibly be conceived of as anything but worse.) To express such a concept as a woman not female enough, we must coin new phrases, such as that used in Germaine Greer's The Female Eunuch. In the same way, our androcentric society labels pejoratively as "castrating female" any woman who in a situation which includes interaction with a member of the opposite sex, whether in life or in literature, abrogates to herself a large portion of the power available. The logically necessary counter-description, "hysterectomizing male", to be used of a man who does the same thing in the same situation, has to be invented to meet the needs of reason and social justice.

cannot fail to carry impact. ⁷

That woman is alienated from herself in literature is merely corroborative of the ways in which in a patriarchal society she is alienated from herself in everyday life. She is told that to be a "real" woman, she must embody the values of the "eternal feminine": must be passive, submissive, self-abnegating, and non-creative except biologically. Her actual experience of herself as a human being is persistently denied and replaced with the "authorized version" promulgated by society, in instructions disseminated by authorities as superficially unlike each other as the fathers of the church and the father of psychoanalysis.

Another aspect of the same problem, the definition of the female as existential Other, was explored first by Simone de Beauvoir in her monumental work, The Second Sex,⁸ and later by Millett and Ochsorn. The male, whether in the interests of political control or merely out of unthinking egotism, has set himself up as the human norm, the subject and referent to which whatever is female is Other or alien. Whatever is feminine has been relegated to the outsider group, which is presumably not quite so fully human. Women, within what is usually thought of as the history of ideas in the west, have generally been described by reference to the "essentially human"-- i.e., what turns out to be, in fact, the male experience of life. Seldom

⁷Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (New York: Doubleday, 1969).

⁸New York: Bantam Books, 1961.

has the reverse process been applied. Ochshorn, however, goes on to point out that, to anyone who is aware of recent archaeological evidence of the literatures of the cultures from which European thought had its origins, it is obvious that

something is askew...If all people knew...that masculine activities determined human culture, why did ancient, advanced civilizations attribute such far-ranging powers to goddesses as well as gods, and why were both worshipped in their sacred rituals? Why did women as well as men occupy such prominent positions in ancient Near Eastern polytheistic cults?

She goes on to prove that in the earliest advanced civilizations, such as Sumer and Egypt, there was no assumption that power was a correlative of gender.¹⁰

⁹Judith Ochshorn, The Female Experience and the Nature of the Divine (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), p. 4.

¹⁰The powers of the great goddesses of Sumer, Egypt, Canaan, Anatolia, and pre-Hellenic Greece were of the same kind and order as those later associated with male gods, not merely powers of fertility. Ochshorn describes these powers at length, with references to and quotations from the original cuneiform or hieroglyphic texts which have been, in some cases, discovered only recently. Personal religion, so far as western literature is concerned, begins in the third millennium B.C.E. with the prayers to Ishtar, the goddess who is both judge of transgression and source of mercy (Ochshorn, pp. 37-39). According to the Sumerians, the goddess Nammu was "the mother who gave birth to heaven and earth" and "the mother of all the gods". The Babylonian goddess Aruru created the first man from clay. The Pelasgian creation myth presents Eurynome, the Goddess of All Things, as rising from Chaos and creating from the wind the serpent Ophion, with whom she coupled before giving birth to the egg from which the universe hatched (Pliny and Homer). According to the Orphic Fragments, the goddess Night laid the silver egg from which emerged the double-sexed Eros, who then set the universe in motion. The "fertility" goddesses Hathor, the terrible Anunna, Inanna, and Anath had extensive martial aspects (Ochshorn, p. 46-51), as did Ishtar as goddess of war. (p. 88) Anath battles and kills the sterility-and-death god, Mot, who has killed her consort-brother, Baal (Ochshorn, p. 52). She plants Mot's body, ensuring another seven years of fertility for the land. The god El capitulates to her threat of violence. Neith, the Egyptian goddess who created the world (Ochshorn, p.

The definition of woman as "other" took place only with the later rise of patriarchal monotheism. Certainly it has been with us ever since. The concept, as I will demonstrate, is of particular interest to the student of Beowulf, which incidentally portrays a world in the throes of changing from Germanic polytheism to Christian patriarchal monotheism,¹¹ and in which one of the chief female characters, Grendel's mother, is seen by the poet simultaneously as "other" (since she is a woman, and perhaps particularly since she is a mother as well)¹²

¹⁰(cont'd) 95), was worshipped in the latter predynastic era and the first four dynasties, served only by priestesses until the later years. Metis, mother of Athena, according to Hesiod (Theogony l. 887) "knows more than all the gods/ or mortal people" (Ochshorn, p. 73-4). Ereshkigal, the neo-Assyrian goddess of the Underworld, incidentally, decided to share her throne with a male god, Nergal, because she enjoyed his company as a sexual partner (Ochshorn, p. 76-8). Goddesses thus shared all the typical characteristics of patriarchal gods: creation of the known universe, destruction of those who opposed them, judgement and forgiveness of human sins, omniscience, deciding the outcome of battles, and playing sexual politics.

¹¹It contains for instance a patriarchal song of creation (ll. 90-99) and frequent references to a male god who is thanked and praised, especially by the pious Hrothgar, king of the Danes. Though there are no direct references to Christ or events in the New Testament, the references to the stories of Cain and the Flood identify the monotheistic tradition as the Judaeo-Christian one. The struggle with regression to the older polytheistic beliefs under stress is alluded to in ll. 175-188: Hwilom hie geheton/ aet haerg-trafum// wig-weorthunga,/ wordum baedon, // thaet him gast-bona/ geoce gefremede// with theod-threaum./ [At times they (the Danes) prepared/ sacrifice in temples, // war-idol offerings, / said old words aloud, // that the great soul-slayer [considered to refer to either Woden or Tiw, by Chickering (p. 290)] might bring some comfort // in their country's disaster. /]"

¹²Whether her "otherness" as a female comes before or after the "otherness" she shares with Grendel as a member of the race of Cain, in the Anglo-Saxon mind, seems to me immaterial. The heritage she shares with Grendel evidently does not lead to the same ambivalence in the poet's mind as does the warrior=male/

and as "self" (since she acts out the role of avenger in a situation of blood feud, a role defined by the Anglo-Saxon culture as male). The results of this confusion on the part of the poet, as I will demonstrate, are quite remarkable.

But literature does contain heroic women.¹³ The logical next step is a search for a definition of the role. For me the problem has been a central one, both as a human being and as a student of the heroic literature of the past. It forms the basis of my whole analysis of Beowulf. As a resisting reader, I struggled to avoid the alienation of identifying with a woman shown only as a hostess, or one steeped in melancholy passivity, and instead searched the text for a female character who demonstrates assertiveness and competence. It seemed natural to me, in reading an ancient narrative of martial prowess, to identify with a female warrior,¹⁴ the more so, perhaps, for

¹²(cont'd) mother=female phenomenon. If it did, presumably his presentation of both characters would show similar irregularities.

¹³Old Norse literature, culturally related to Old English, is particularly rich in them, for instance Guthrun, Signy, the daughter of Angrboda, Brynhilde, and the various goddesses and swanmaidens.

¹⁴It has been objected that I ought not to have identified with her, since she is presented as a "villain". Perhaps my choice is explicable by the fact that such life experiences as growing up female, marrying an atheist, and having close friendships with persons who are homosexuals, devout Mohammedans, or former Nazis (as well as psychotherapeutic relationships with patients who have been murderers) tends to inure one to identifying with characters often presented in literature as "villains". It seems to me more important to report what I actually experienced as a reader, than to try to identify with a character others feel I ought to find more suitable.

having grown up with such literary figures as Bradamante, Britomart, and the Amazons, all warrior women presented more romantically than is the "she-wolf of the sea".

The warrior woman is an immensely powerful archetype in the background of human consciousness, and as such has been monstrously repressed and neglected. This situation must be remedied. We need to know that we are not fragile, that we can express the normal human instinct for self-preservation, and can on occasion allow our anger to express itself, both actively and successfully, in defending our rights and the rights of those who depend on us, and that the ability to do so is neither unfeminine nor perverse, but has been one of the acceptable possibilities for expressing one's womanhood throughout the centuries. To help us know these things as deeply as we know the myths of female sinfulness and un-humanness that have been ground into us all through our lives, by our literature and our culture, we need more knowledge of the warrior women of history and legend. We, ourselves, and even more importantly the generation of women now being born, need a mythology consisting of more than the antiquated madonna-whore-witch syndrome, on which to base our poetics, and our lives.

This search for identity to which women are committed, once they have rejected their putative status as eternal "other", leads to the third problem whose outlines we will examine in this paper. In traditional literature, a woman is often represented as a cardboard character, either "villainess" or

"heroine", in other words not as a person in her own right but only as a passive object perceived by the male, or as a minor character who functions chiefly as a helper, a hinderer, or a reward for the real protagonist. Even in works which have a female protagonist, the "heroine" has tended to represent one of a group of "recurrent female stereotypes, most often those employed by male writers who consciously or unconsciously revealed the male vision of woman as Other; whether a female character was Goddess, Mother, or Temptress, she reflected male desires or fears rather than autonomous selfhood."¹⁵ The problem is now recognized as a standard one. In comparative studies of literary works, according to Showalter, by 1975 "the heroine/hero distinction which contrasts the passivity, hollowness, and predictability of central female characters with the activity, capacity for growth, and autonomy of the central male characters"¹⁶ had become widely accepted terminology. Most of our literature, it is clear, does not present women with a plethora of fully rounded, fully individuated, fully human characters as either role models or even mirrors of reality. However, whether or not Norman Holland¹⁷ can imagine a reader

¹⁵Sharon O'Brien, "Mothers, Daughters, and the 'Art Necessity'", in Fritz Fleischmann, ed. American Novelists Revisited: Essays in Feminist Criticism (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982). A Publication in Women's Studies. Barbara Haber, Series Editor.

¹⁶Elaine Showalter, "Review: Literary Criticism," in SIGNS, Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Winter 1975, 453.

¹⁷Norman N. Holland, The Dynamics of Literary Response (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). A reader response critic.

who is female, most of the rest of us realize that about half the persons currently involved in reading English literature are women. And women are beginning to raise a few delicate eyebrows, in not entirely premature questions. Why should literature offer us less than a pale shadow of what we know ourselves to be? ¹⁸ Offering men the options of a "hero with a thousand faces", why should it try to pass off on women a few paltry paper dolls?

Important theoretical work on this subject has already been done, in The Female Hero in American and British Literature by Pearson and Pope. Concerned not specifically with warrior women, but with female heroism, as dealt with in literature, they explain in their preface that "This work begins with the assumption that women are and have been heroic, but that the culture has often been unable to recognize female heroism. For this reason, this book uses the term 'hero' rather than the diminutive 'heroine' to refer to fictional subjects..."¹⁹ The book goes on to describe in detail the archetypal journey to self-discovery of the female hero.

The female hero is a woman who, at some point in the life of her self or her community, responds to the challenge of breaking through the chains imposed by conventional society, and

¹⁸"Creatures of violence, like men?" Yes, occasionally, when life makes it necessary. There is still much oppression and violence in the world, and much of it is directed against women. It will not, unfortunately, curl up and die if we ignore it. But the female hero has many other fields of endeavour as well.

¹⁹Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope, The Female Hero in American and British Literature (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1981).

courageously pays the price for committing whatever act is necessary for her, and our, evolution as human beings. Her heroic journey parallels, in many respects, the journey of the classical male hero as described by Joseph Campbell, but also differs significantly. If she succeeds, it is more likely to be by freeing and understanding than by mastering or killing²⁰ and if she falls, it is more likely to be through submitting to the role of victim than through hubris.

The female hero's journey typically begins with the departure from the walled garden or cavern in which she is being physically or psychologically held captive. The call to the quest may be seen initially as a negative situation, compounded by the emptiness experienced in trying to live only within the roles assigned to women by the patriarchal society, and the hero, unawakened, may ignore it until some particular event cuts through the paralysis of conformity urging her to realize that she is worthwhile, that she has a right to fulfillment and the ability to seek it out, to take risks, and to live with energy and individuality.

The conventional patriarchal "myths" about women, which imprison and degrade her, are the obstacles the female hero must overcome in order to achieve self-integration. The first is the

²⁰or, as in the case of Grendles modor (Grendel's mother), through killing, if necessary, but more restrainedly than her male counterpart. So far as we know the execution of Aeschere is her only act of violence (and a legal/ ritualistic act, at that), except in self-defence, whereas Beowulf goes on to the commission of dozens of acts of homicide, of which he boasts complacently in later life. (ll. 2425-27, 2490-2507)

"myth" that perpetual static "purity", i.e. the rejection of experience and engagement with the real world, is an eternal value. The second is the "myth" that conformity, physical beauty, helpless dependence, and passive suffering will lead to lifelong happiness and success. A related Anglo-Saxon "myth", one on which Beowulf himself casts doubts (ll. 2024-2031, 2063-2066), is that of the woman as "peaceweaver". According to this tradition it is expected that, merely by being beautiful and diplomatic, a woman sent off to endure permanent economic and sexual bondage as submissive wife to a leader among the hereditary enemies of her people will be able to produce peace between warring tribes. The third is the "myth" that a woman, once having given birth, must devote the rest of her life to serving her progeny, a "myth" which can lead to a manipulative martyrdom destructive to the lives of both mother and children. By overcoming these obstacles the female hero, if she is fortunate, wins freedom and self-direction.

Once the archetypal female hero starts on her journey and slays these dragons of the status quo, she is free to realize that the qualities of courage, resourcefulness, sexuality, and independence, which she had been taught to search for outside of her self in a male, are qualities she herself can develop. In so doing, she achieves psychological integration and autonomy, is freed from the "myths" of female inferiority, and realizes that she is a hero and a member of a community of female heroes whose tradition has long been hidden.

With Grendel's mother, as with all tragic heroes, we go only part of the way on the heroic journey. Like all such heroes, she breaks out of the role which the patriarchal society has assigned to women. She leaves the cavern in the waters which she has ruled for so many years, journeys to the outer world, and takes up the heroic task, so monumentally important in her culture, of carrying out the duty imposed by honour and avenging the death of a slaughtered kinsman. She succeeds in the task, and performs more nobly, later, in fact, than her terrifying son in battle against the strongest man in the world. But, like other tragic female heroes such as Antigone, Penthesilea, and Joan of Arc, she must pay for this departure from traditional expectations with her life.²¹ It is we who must perform for her the third stage of the journey, by placing her firmly in the community of female heroes of the past, present, and future.

There is considerable support for this idea of rescuing from obscurity such female heroes of ancient literature and

²¹To the objection that her "departure" is connected with Grendel's, and that he also pays with his life, I can only answer that his wanton slaughtering of hundreds of Danes over a twelve year period makes him a figure of monstrous evil whose removal is necessary to the continuation of Danish civilization, whereas her restrained act of killing one Dane to settle a blood feud is in accord with Anglo-Saxon custom, and is implicitly accepted by both Hrothgar and Beowulf. (Hrothgar says, "She avenged that feud in which, last night, you killed Grendel..." ll. 1333b--1340. Beowulf says, "Better it is for every man to avenge his friend than mourn overmuch..." ll. 1384b-1385a.) The suggestion that it is not her activities as avenger for which she pays with her life is untenable. Had she remained in her "empty nest", mourning her dead son overmuch and leaving him unavenged, she would probably not have been sought out and killed by Beowulf, and certainly not by anyone else.

history. As Newton wrote recently in her Women, Power, and Subversion, "If the history of women's lives was in fact the chronicle of a timeless and unchanging oppression, then we too were doomed. As individuals, as a movement, we needed a stronger heritage than that."²² Thus, as she notes, more recently female historians have deliberately replaced the former emphasis on the complete victimization of women with an emphasis on women's power and agency. A humorous note is added by Robinson, who agrees "that feminist writings and the 'literature of women' as a whole must be reexamined. But to limit ourselves to that area is to imply that feminists have nothing to add to analyses of the male literature that makes up the great body of 'our' literary tradition. I think we have a significant contribution to make to the radical criticism of that tradition-- a contribution that is not encompassed by merely saying 'ugh!' and turning away."²³ And Stewart, in A New Mythos, points out that in searching for new visions of ancient literature, we fulfill a responsibility not only to readers, but also to the coming generation of writers of literature. As she notes, "the female writer is hampered by the heritage of patriarchal myths in a society which arbitrarily excludes her from various experiences, sets her on a pedestal or in a pigsty, and otherwise causes ambivalence about her self-image whether she follows its

²²Judith Lowder Newton, Women, Power, and Subversion (Atlanta: The University of Georgia Press, 1981), p.xvi.

²³Lillian S. Robinson, Dwelling in Decencies: Radical Criticism and the Feminist Perspective. p. 29

traditions or rejects the 'heroinizing' of its myths. Within the last decade, female psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, and literary critics have tried to relocate or to identify traditions they can label their own."²⁴ The first place for literary critics to begin this process within English literature is obviously Beowulf.

With something as basic to the literature as this epic, one has usually had many glimpses, from time to time, of varying depths and complexities-- or perplexities. My experience, for instance, began with a couple of youthful readings of translations, which set up my impression of Beowulf as a great work, full of heroic aspiration and exotic imagery, but somehow vaguely frustrating. This was followed by a reading of Chickering's dual-language edition in the course of teaching it to second-year students, and finally, after studying the language of the Anglo-Saxons through translating The Battle of Maldon and The Wanderer, the experience of translating it myself. In this section I will deal only with the initial close reading of Chickering's translation, leaving the study of the Old English and the comparisons with other translations to be dealt with in the following section.

It is as if readers, and certainly interpreters, of the poem have always been assumed to be male. The reading experience of such readers is, as we have seen, different in nature from

²⁴ Grace Stewart, A New Mythos (St. Albans: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1979), p. 40.

that of the other half of the reading population. The primitive, half-conscious search, for them, for the figure to identify with, the other to oppose, has always been simple: Beowulf and Grendel, then Grendel's mother. For women it is not so simple. As critics remind us, the female reader, in facing the temptation to do likewise, is asked to participate in an experience from which she is explicitly excluded. If she succumbs, "What is essentially a simple act of identification when the reader of the story is male becomes a tangle of contradictions when the reader is female."²⁵ As female readers, we must avoid the temptation to pretend that we are Beowulf.

Our consciousness of such matters once raised, we begin to resist the current, to seek out characters more like ourselves with whom to identify. The first female we meet is a sister of Hrothgar, not even named in the manuscript, named Yrse by a later emender²⁶, and described only as bed-companion to a foreign king (ll. 62-3). She is never again mentioned. Then comes the totally nameless only daughter of Hrethel (ll. 374-375a)----in fact, Beowulf's mother!-- who, in a poem which presents a culture intensely concerned with genealogy, is never mentioned again²⁷ and is defined only by her relationship to males, having, as Hrothgar states, been given to Ecgtheow as a

²⁵Petterley, The Resisting Reader, p. 21.

²⁶Grundtvig, in 1861.

²⁷except indirectly by Hrothgar in ll. 942b-946a: cf. Chickering, Beowulf, p. 102-3.

wife.

Then comes Wealhtheow, yes, a queen, gold-adorned, and our hopes rise,²⁸ only to be dashed in a way life and literature have led us to expect, when we learn that she is only, after all, in fact, a hostess. And perhaps, for most women, that has always had to be enough. She is a queenly hostess, gracious, encouraging the heroes in their heroics, and sought by the king as bed-fellow, just before the hostilities, the "ale-dispensing" in which she does not take part, are about to disfigure the decor of the chamber in which she offers her hospitality. But she hasn't put in an appearance or even been mentioned until l. 612b, by which time any unresisting reader must be fully engaged in the dramatic conflict between the monster Grendel, heroically God's adversary, and the helpless though well-meaning old Hrothgar, sadly neglected by his all-powerful Lord until the arrival of the superman from over the sea.

²⁸Knowing a little about the culture which produced the poem, it may at first be assumed that we should never have such hopes in the first place, but it must be remembered that the Anglo-Saxons had a literary tradition of waelcyrge (valkyries), who choose the slain on the battlefield; of the "mighty women" who send their whizzing spears as they ride over the mound in the metrical charm, With Faerstiche; had two long poems about holy warrior women, Judith and Elene, and the Waldere fragment, in which Hildegyth eagerly urges her betrothed to use his sword against two warriors who are trying to prevent their escape from Attila; (For a discussion of why she is not shown as fighting, herself, see Bernice W. Kliman, "Women in Early English Literature: Beowulf to the Ancren Wisse," Nottingham Medieval Studies, 21 (1977), 32-49.) and gave rise to several historical examples of women who exercised political or military power: Aethelflad, Cynethryth, Emma, AElgifu, and Bebba.

Grendel devours Hondscio, then is dragged down and deconstructed by Beowulf. Wealhtheow does come out of the bedroom again in the morning to view the mutilated memento of the monster, but we are not even told the nature of her response, and we pass on. In the midst of the subsequent rejoicings we do get a glimpse of a legendary female somewhat more able to engage our feelings, the sad, passive Hildeburh, entombed both in a foreign land and in a digression, helpless in the face of male aggression, stoically enduring the loss of both her brother and her son in a battle against each other, finally carried back ignominiously to her own people, her political usefulness as a peaceweaver finished. But that story too is circumscribed, being completely contained in a lay sung by Hrothgar's scop at the feast to celebrate the killing of Grendel, and consisting only of ninety lines (1069-1159) of the poem's 3182; and the further excursions of the beer-bearing Wealhtheow to reward the heroes seem merely decorative trimming compared to the violent action of combat in which the poem obviously takes its chief delight.²⁹

Things change radically, however, with the announcement that, for the miserably dead spirit from elsewhere, an avenger

²⁹They seem merely, in fact, to indicate the closing off of further interesting conflict of any sort, unless we anticipate a political one between Beowulf and the current heirs to the kingdom, an anticipation doomed to disappointment. Wealhtheow may have a poignant role in the potentially reconstructable Scylding feud, but that role is scarcely accessible to the reader of the poem as it stands, when one is reading it as a narrative poem (which is the type of reading I am discussing in this section), rather than as a series of puzzles to be solved.

yet lives. (l. 1255) The announcement itself is sudden and sinister, and rivets our attention to the appearance on the narrative scene of a figure of power and pathos, that double anti-hero, Grendel's mother, seo brimwylf, the she-wolf of the sea. But it was not only the fact that in the course of the plot she is the first female character who seems about to do something interesting and active which led to aroused interest on the part of this particular female reader.³⁰ It was also certain highly unusual elements in the poet's treatment of her. For instance, she is initially foreshadowed as a "geosceaft grimme [grim destiny] (l. 1234) and immediately upon definition is given the genealogy of an adversary of the patriarchal god. She is then is described as an "ides"-- the term, used also of Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, and, indirectly, of Modthrytho, which according to Klaeber's glossary means "woman, lady", and which according to Grimm originally referred to "superhuman beings...considered lower than goddesses and higher than earthly women"³¹; and she is then immediately referred to as "he"! Something unusual is going on here.

The resisting reader rises eagerly to this lure of a possible female hero, and thus becomes involved in a number of

³⁰Modthrytho, certainly, would have been an attractive character with whom to identify, in some ways; but she doesn't even put in an appearance until l. 1931, and then is allowed less than twenty-six lines: not much to work with.

³¹Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the Fourth Edition with Notes and Appendix by J.S. Stallybrass (London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), Vol. I., p. 401.

complicated situations. The first is the fact that this makes the opponent/Other at times Beowulf himself, thus involving the reader in several problems: one is bound to be killed, as an avenger with the genealogy of an adversary of the God who claims vengeance as His own,³² for instance, and one is necessarily destined to spend that whole section of the poem struggling upstream against the massive current of the disapproval of the poet, the editors and commentators, and almost all the translators.³³ Even that seemingly most liberal of interpreters, John Gardner, who so generously (though misogynistically)³⁴ humanizes her monstrous son, treacherously portrays the warrior woman as not only intellectually subhuman, but even physically bloated and flabby-- only one of the instances of his failure to make his story credible in terms of the original. To an unresisting reader, this might prove unduly discouraging. The

³²Though he does not mention specifically this aspect of the Old Testament God, the poet would probably have had it in mind, since the entire poem can be seen as an illustration of the failure of the heroic ethic in which humans take vengeance into their own hands, rather than leaving it to the Christian God. Certainly God is given credit for taking vengeance on Grendles modor (Grendel's mother), once Beowulf has recovered his feet after being thrown to the ground by her (ll. 1550-1556).

³³ *And in justice to all of these, let me point out that, alas, it is not only male interpreters who have shown negative attitudes. Jacqueline Vaught most commonly refers to Grendel's mother merely as "the dam," more as if she were holding back the terrible waters than ruling them, and describes this section of Beowulf as the story of "Beowulf's facing the female monster, the antithesis of all his constructive, heroic qualities." Jacqueline Vaught, "Beowulf: The Fight at the Centre," Allegorica (1980: Winter) 5(2), p. 134.

³⁴John Gardner, Grendel (New York: Ballantyne Books, 1971, rpt. 1972), p. 94.

identification with seo brimwylf, the she-wolf of the sea, might never take place. To a true member of the résistance, however, the greater the challenge, the greater the incentive to go on.

There are compensations. For one thing, one gets to examine the work from an interestingly oblique point of view, which, being one's own, adds an enormous energy to the task of searching for the open and hidden motivations, and the open and hidden attitudes behind the assumptions being made by all these scholarly men. For another, this sort of choice enables one to respond more naturally to the text. There were a few things, for instance, that I had never been able to admire in Beowulf.³⁵ Had

³⁵ *Others have also found Beowulf less than a perfect hero. Finnegan points out that he fails morally in killing Daegrefn (whom he praises as "Aetheling on elne" in l. 2506a), probably to avenge the death of Hygelac, and in supporting Eadgils to kill Onela (ll. 2391-6), probably to avenge the death of Heardred. Robert Emmett Finnegan, "Beowulf at the Mere (and Elsewhere)," Mosaic 11 no. 4 (1978), 45-54. *Robinson and Greenfield find negative aspects in his character to which I have not even troubled to object. Refuting Robinson's claim (in "Elements of the Marvellous in the Characterization of Beowulf: A Reconsideration of the Textual Evidence," Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto, 1974), pp. 119-37) that Beowulf has no supernatural powers (a claim he feels is necessary to avoid seeing the poem as "a conflict between good monsters and bad monsters"), Greenfield points out that "a touch of the monstrous is not only possible but likely in the characterization of our Old English hero." Stanley Greenfield, "A Touch of the Monstrous in the Hero, or Beowulf Re-Marvellized," English Studies, 63:4 (1982) August, p. 297. *Other critics discuss even further negative aspects of Beowulf. Moorman explains his dejection about violations of the galde riht as being occasioned by his feelings of guilt after having fled (carrying thirty suits of armour) from the scene of his lord's death, his having ruled past the time of his strength, to the detriment of his people, and his having arranged the death of "his benefactor, Onela." Charles Moorman, "The Essential Paganism of Beowulf," Modern Language Quarterly, 28 (1967), 3-18.

I been forced by conventionality to identify with him, I would have had to suppress my consciousness of negative aspects of his character. Identified with a woman he was determined to hunt down and kill,³⁶ I was able to view the hero himself more dispassionately.³⁷ Not even aware, at the time, of his misspent youth, which might have made me interested in his struggle for glory, I was presented, instead, with what to a person of my culture seemed his supercilious manner in 277b-278: "Ic thaes Hrothgar maeg// thurh rumne sefan/ raed gelaeran". [I will be able, because of my expansive spirit, to teach Hrothgar what is advisable concerning this.]³⁸ I was all on the side of the cool-mouthed coast guard, who replied drily that any

³⁶ *And whose son's corpse he was to mutilate. Puhvel supports my disapproval of this act of the Old English hero, stating that in his opinion the reason for the "post-mortem decapitation of the dead Grendel" given in the poem, "the desire to repay Grendel for his evil deeds--does not seem convincing...this type of supererogatory revenge hardly seems worthy of a hero of Beowulf's stature." Martin Puhvel, Beowulf and the Celtic Tradition, (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979), p. 133.

³⁷This makes obvious, one might add, the additional duty thus imposed to make a rigorous effort, during the analytical phase of the reading, to see Grendles modor (Grendel's mother), also, objectively as well as subjectively. There are aspects of her character as well which, as presented, must seem negative even to a modern reader, and which will be dealt with ~~as they arise~~. It was in fact my paying a just amount of attention to these aspects of her character as presented by the poet that led to the perception that he was treating her with (compared to his heroic treatment of her son) strong ambivalence.

³⁸ *Nor am I alone in questioning this. "Beowulf himself was mistaken in advising Hrothgar that a single fight with Grendel would be sufficient to cleanse Heorot. And indeed...while he believed he had something to teach, very obviously [he] had something...to learn." James Smith, "Beowulf-II," English, 26 (1977), p. 3.

sharp-witted shield warrior knows quite well the distinction between words and deeds.³⁹ And many little details, even in the mere translations I had been dealing with up to that point, for instance his boastfulness, exhibited in almost every utterance he makes, including a speech in which he gloats over an act of successful genocide⁴⁰ and extending even to what might be seen as confabulation (ll. 1666, 1669), and his smooth flattery of an authority figure⁴¹, had led me to view him with something less than ardent idealization.⁴² Identifying with "Brimwylf,"⁴³ I found a need to be acknowledged as a human being, since so portrayed by the poet, and to be treated justly as an adversary. Knowing I

³⁹"AEghwaethres sceal// scearp scyldwiga/ gescad witan// worda ond worca/ se the wel thenceth." (ll. 287b-289) The fact that he then states that he hears Beowulf's statement that he is well-disposed towards the lord of the Scyldings, and tells him to go forth to where he will be able to prove his words, does not alter this reading.

⁴⁰"...I destroyed a whole race of giants" (or family of giants) ythde eotena cyn (l. 421). Whether this is Beowulf's ethnocentrism or the poet's is difficult to say.

⁴¹in addressing the ineffectual Hrothgar: "protector of Scyldings// king of the bright-Danes...guardian of warriors...friend of the nations (ll. 427-30) and "Famed son of Healfdene, wisest of princes...gold-friend of warriors...ring-giving lord of all manly virtues" (ll. 1474-1484), etc. (Chickering's translations)

⁴² *As Dragland points out, Beowulf has many "monstrous" characteristics (his huge size, superhuman handgrip, battle rage, and preference for hand-to-hand combat), so that "One of the fairly significant redirections of Beowulf criticism may be the growing admission (always with qualifications) that it could be possible to feel for Grendel and his mother." S.L. Dragland, "Monster-Man in Beowulf," Neophilologus, 61 (1977), p. 611.

⁴³ *See p. 51 re: the reasons for naming her "Brimwylf" in this paper.

would have to die for my convictions, I found that I would like to be remembered, at least, for whatever strengths I did possess.

And so began the more detailed study, in the original Old English, which led to the insights into the poet's idiosyncrasies presented in the following pages. The ambivalence of this particular feminist reader towards the text, and the usual interpretations of the text by editors and translators (her admiration for the poetry being balanced by her sharp regret for the sexist elements) provided the emotional impetus for the intellectual process of reinterpreting the poem, and hence the discovery of the ambivalence displayed by the poet himself towards the warrior woman known only as "Grendel's mother", as a suitable heroic opponent for Beowulf.

To conclude the introduction, let us make a brief examination of the technical steps necessary in coming to grips with such a problem. The poet's text being represented solely by a single charred, partly illegible manuscript, written in a language not accessible to the contemporary reader except through intermediate agents, it is only through a seething mass of scholarly interpretation and even distortion by the scribes, editors, lexicographers, and other translators of ten or twelve centuries that one can at first grope towards a grasp even of what that text is. The nature of the supposedly objective work of these scholarly gentlemen will be closely examined. The problem of having to use knowledge gained from Klaeber in order

to be able to refute Klaeber, and similarly knowledge gained from Bosworth and Toller and other scholars in order to criticize or even understand the text one is studying, is mind-rending at times, but it is a problem through which one must persevere. The only hope of achieving new insights within this system appears to be the process of studying the work of a sufficiently large selection of these intermediate agents closely enough to be able to catch them out in internal inconsistencies and/or points on which they disagree with one another, not only on literary interpretations, but also on basic linguistic judgments. That is the method this paper will necessarily pursue.

With these reservations in mind, I will then analyze the Old English text of the poem to show evidence of the poet's attitude towards one of his characters, seo brimwylf, or Grendles modor, the opponent against whom the young hero fights his second and more difficult battle. I will show that, while his treatment of other female characters is relatively straightforward, as is his treatment of the hero's other opponents, Grendel and the dragon, his presentation of Grendles modor (Grendel's mother) presents several internal inconsistencies.

In order to demonstrate clearly the differences between the poet himself and his subsequent translators in their treatment of Grendles modor, I have appended to the body of the thesis two sets of tables of epithets and other significant terms, and a

commentary on the relationships they display. The Appendix consists of tables of forty terms applied to Grendles modor by the poet, and the interpretation given each of these terms by a lexicographer, five editors, and seventeen translators. In the first section they are arranged by author, and in the second section, by term. The third section of the Appendix is a commentary on these two sets of tables. Included in the conclusions arrived at in the commentary are the results of the study of a further table (not published as part of this thesis, but available under separate cover) which shows seventy-one terms used by the poet to refer to Grendel, and the interpretation given each of them by the lexicographer, three of the editors, and eight of the translators.

The methods used in this study, in general, are a close reading of the text, both in the Old English and in translation; comparison of different parts of the poem, the search for inconsistencies within the poet's own work and that of the intermediate agents, and the interpretation of absences and silences. Reader-response techniques and attitudes were applied chiefly during the initial readings of the text, in order to focus on the parts of the poem to be studied more intensively. The specifically feminist aspects of the work have necessitated a study of the extensive relevant critical literature and the application of its principles to the textual material.

The chief insight to be gained by the study is the fact that even in this apparently most monolithic of male worlds,

there is uncertainty, ambiguity, and ambivalence, and therefore some small hope of understanding between the two halves of the human race.

B. THE AMBIVALENCE OF THE POET AND THE INTERMEDIATE AGENTS
TOWARDS SEO BRIMWYLF AS A WARRIOR WOMAN

I. AN EXAMINATION OF THE INTERMEDIATE AGENTS

The experience of seeking out, encountering, and then responding to a character in Beowulf is much more complex than that of responding to a character, for example, in a modern novel. There are many more intermediary persons whose attitudes need to be taken into account and dealt with. I will give a brief account of the situation. There is, primarily, the unknown poet, the one in whose attitudes, as revealed by his acts/words, the reader's interest is chiefly centered. He, it turns out, is exceedingly uneasy with Grendel's mother, demonstrating a fascinating ambivalence towards her as a warrior woman which is partly echoed in his treatment of the violent young Modthrytho, and totally absent when he is dealing with the women who behaved as his society expected women to behave. This ambivalence of his will be a chief focus of the following chapter.

But there are many other persons involved in the process by which the story reaches the modern reader. There is Scribe A, who is our only source of the poet's own words with regard to her. How ambivalent was he? Only one word gives us a hint. Then there are all the transcriber-editor-annotators who have mediated between the Cotton Vitellius A XV manuscript in the British Museum and our printed copies of the Old English text.

the ellengaest/ellorgaest change in line 1617, discussed at length later

How have their prejudices and editorial decisions affected our experience? And finally, in our search for the whole meaning of the poem, there are the many translators into Modern English poetry or prose. How have they seen Grendel's mother and the other women in the poem, and what light do their attitudes throw on those of the poet and ourselves?

1. The Process of Encountering Klaeber

Here must be taken into account the fact that one's approach to the problem of Grendel's mother as the poet presented it in his own language (unless one is to conceive of a beginning student translator with access to the original MS, and with full grammatical and lexical knowledge) has taken place within a specific transcription of the manuscript, in this case (and probably for most readers) Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, edited, with an introduction, bibliography, notes, glossary, and appendices, by Fr. Klaeber.²

Klaeber seems, to the beginning translator of Beowulf, to be just such a monolithic triumph of the Word made flesh as the received scripture. It has stood the test of the ages with monumental solidity and solemnity. It is. Aside from the

² Fr. Klaeber, Beowulf..., Third edition with the first and second supplements (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1950). All references to the Old English text section of this work will be made within the body of the paper. Except where otherwise indicated, all translations into modern English are my own.

costliness of its paperback brown and gold, and the density of its Old English text and copious notes, the first thing one notices is the fact that for every word (give or take a few thaets and thises) there is an entry in the glossary giving the precise tense, mood, aspect, or case in which it occurs in that particular half-line of the poem's three thousand one hundred eighty-two lines. If there are any problems with the meaning of the glossary entries, one has only to look in another part of the book and there one may decipher the coding of the absolute truth, spelled out in absolutely scientific abbreviations, even to explaining the arcane symbolism of double daggers. In the rare cases where a question mark in parentheses has been allowed to insert itself in this soothing mass of dogma, the encyclopaedic notes will explain it all, and there is no need for further inquiry.

At first, in the angst of struggling with the syntax, this seems miraculously provident. It is easier than Whitelock³, by far, it seems. There is no need for conjecture or even for thought. One has only to look up every single word and transcribe its case, gender, tense, or other syntactical particulars into the tiny spaces between the close-knit lines, and one can be absolutely certain of being correct. All possibility of error is gone.

³Dorothy Whitelock's edition of Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Reader", an elementary text for beginning students of the language.

My first serious doubts about Klaeber arose when I met the word, aglaeça. It appears in l. 159, as a description of Grendel, and is translated as "monster" by Chickering,⁴ a translation seemingly quite appropriate, surrounded as the term is by descriptions of his cannibalistic orgies ("cannibalistic", of course, only if we assume he is a human being and not an un-human monster.) But meeting it again in Klaeber, now as a more serious student, I looked at it more scientifically. Aglaeça, according to Klaeber, means "Wretch, monster, demon", or "fiend". This meaning, however, is only in effect when it is being used "chiefly of Grendel and the dragon". When the same word is used of anyone else, he says, it means "warrior," or "hero"! What sort of prejudice was this? A word is a word, to the unwary. What sense could be behind the dichotomy? A person who is a heroic warrior when on the team of the speaker, but a monstrous demon when on the other team is--well, a formidable person, in general, perhaps.⁵ As for "wretch", it seemed not to fit with the sense of the text at all. So I decided to experiment: to translate aglaeça always as "formidable one" and see what came of it. It tended to give a much more ethically

⁴whose dual-language translation I had read before having any knowledge of Old English.

⁵Dobbie, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, comes to the conclusion that "in the historical period of Anglo-Saxon it [aglaeça] did not need to have any more specific meaning than 'formidable (one)'." Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (ed.), Beowulf and Judith, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, Collective Edition, Vol. IV (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953), p. 160.

modern⁶ aura to the entire interpretation of the original narrative. This I felt was much to be desired.

While I could hardly find Grendel's lifestyle aesthetically pleasing, I could at least refuse to allow my translation to deny him simple justice at the hands of the press. Beowulf's skills to the contrary, this was not professional wrestling we were concerned with, at least not in the modern video sense of the term, and the grotesquely skewed P.R. techniques of that "sport" ought surely not to be applied. End of round one. I had made my first break with the godhead of Klaeber. He is an excellent helper in the search for truth: the most scholarly and the best organized, but no more to be absolutely, blindly trusted than anyone else. To find new aspects of reality, one must rely on one's own judgments, become one's own translator of the poem at least in the study of those parts of it which one's interest makes essential.

There are more sins specific to Klaeber, which gradually impinged on my startled consciousness. The minor misdemeanours I let pass, but a brief glance at his glossing of mod is illuminating. Check the glossary. Mod, aside from being in general "mind, spirit, heart", means in speaking of males, more specifically "high spirit", or "courage": ll. 1057(of Beowulf), 1167(of Unferth). In the only case in which it is used in speaking of a woman, however, (l.1931, of Offa's wife), the same word is adjudged by Klaeber to be descriptive of a quite

⁶By which I mean logical, fair, transculturally just.

different human quality: "pride", or worse: "arrogance". Women are meant to be humble, even as queens. Courage, in a woman, is arrogance.⁷ Would that it were only Klaeber who is uneasy about such matters. Alas, no. There is even ambivalence in the scribe! Line 1617 deals with either the blood of the long-dead Grendel (presumably by now subject to rigor mortis and all its accompanying physiological effects, only too familiar, one would have thought, to an Anglo-Saxon writer) or the blood of Brimwylf, killed a few moments before. Whichever poor aglaeca is meant, and it is quite possibly the Brimwylf, is described originally, in the manuscript, as an ellenqaest (spirit of courage or daring), and the word then primly but firmly "corrected" to read ellorqaest: (spirit from elsewhere); altered, according to Chickering, "in the same hand"!⁸ The basic English spirit of fair play was struggling to gain utterance there, but was squashed by the miscreant's meaner motive--the necessity of ensuring that nothing good be said about the other team.⁹

⁷The Notes, in omission and commission, reveal similar atrocities, which will be explored in due time. For a fuller treatment of the glossing of aglaeca, aglaecwif, and mod, read on.

⁸Yes, ellorqaest is used of Grendel as well, in l. 807, and of whichever one of them is being referred to in ll. 1617 and 1621, and of both of them in l. 1349, but ellenqaest is used, without any emendation, of Grendel in line 86. He is allowed that epithet, "powerful or bold demon", as Klaeber glosses it --but not she.

⁹To the question as to whether I am suggesting here a team of women, rather than a team of "monsters", I can only seriously reply that, to the Anglo-Saxon male mind, there seems to have been a category of monsters (i.e. all creatures

2. Control: An Examination of Other Editors

In the interests of justice for Klaeber, however, let us examine briskly the treatment given these two double-edged terms by the other major glossarists, to see whether Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert (1863/1938), Wyatt/Chambers (1914), Wrenn/Bolton (1973), and for interest Harrison/Sharp (1893) were all equally biased in their assignment of different meanings depending on whether the adjectives modified males or females, members of the races of Danes and Geats, members of the race of Cain, or non-humans--and whether they were better, in this respect, or were worse, than Klaeber.

Ag-laeca

The findings are mixed. Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert is ambivalent where it refers to Grendel, the sea monsters, or the dragon. ¹⁰ "Malicious foe", one of the definitions offered, might be heroic; "repulsively ugly person" is hardly so.

⁹(cont'd) "more-or-less-human" but "not-quite-made-in-the-true-image-of-God-as-we-are") which had a subgroup, women. This will be further discussed.

¹⁰giving the following definitions for ag-laeca: "Angreifer (Weir: aggressor, assailant), Verfolger (pursuer, persecutor):
1) Unhold (I.adj. ungracious, unfriendly, unkind, ill-disposed; hostile; II. m. repulsively ugly person; monster, malicious foe; demon; sorceror), Daemon, (demon), Ungeheuer (I. adj. monstrous; huge, colossal; enormous, atrocious, frightful...II. n. monster.): Grendel, Meerungetume, und der Drache... 2) trefflicher (adj. & adv. excellent, choice, first-rate, admirable) Kämpfer (warrior), Held (hero): Sigemund...893; Beowulf und der Drache...2592. Vgl. C.M. Lotspeich, JEGPh. 40:1."

Definitely, however, it is an all-glorious term when used in reference to Sigemund and Beowulf: they, as aglaeça's, are considered to be "excellent, admirable warriors, heroes." ¹¹ Harrison/Sharp, interestingly, gives a derivation for the word, "(cf. Goth. aglo, trouble, O.N. agli, terror, + lac, gift, sport = misery, vexation)" which begins by sounding very fair: "= bringer of trouble;" but ends, alas, in assigning the double meanings, as usual: "hence): 1) evil spirit, demon...of Grendel... 2) great hero, mighty warrior...of Beowulf..." Wyatt/Chambers also begins well, stating that the basic meaning is "adversary", but then spoils it by subdividing: "hence: 1) monster...2) champion..." Wrenn/Bolton has what is, to me, the most acceptable: "terrible being" as the general definition¹², followed, without pointing fingers at either group (probably merely an oversight, however),

¹¹Like all the glossarists, Von Schaubert has trouble with line 2592, where ag-laeçan in the plural refers to both Beowulf and the dragon, so that it may be best to get that line out of the way at the outset. Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert simply includes this under heroes, ignoring the fact that she has included the dragon under monsters just above. Harrison/Sharp, following her (or rather her progenitor, Heyne-Schücking), also includes "2593" of "Beowulf and the drake" under "great hero", and ignores the foregoing entry. The dragon is glamourized by the company he keeps, but probably only due to the syntax. Or are dragons nobler creatures than the other two? The dragon does defeat Beowulf, after all, whereas the others merely die. Wyatt/Chambers has done 2592 neatly as "both meanings combined". Wrenn/Bolton has invented a liberal term which covers both: "terrible beings".

¹²I would accept it as quite as desirable as my Dobbie-derived "formidable ones", except for the unfortunate modern colloquial connotations of "terrible", which would tend to undermine the effect in many of the other uses of aglaeça.

with "monster; fiend; terrifying warrior or hero" and the note "The word stresses the supernatural qualities of the creature or person it denotes..."

Aglaec-wif

With this term, however, there is no hope. A female can take on only negative characteristics.¹³

Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert: "dämonhaftes Weib (demoniacal woman), Unholdin (von Grendels Mutter) (fiend, witch, vixen. See Unhold".)

Harrison/Sharp: "demon, devil in the form of a woman".

Wyatt/Chambers: "monster-WIFE".

Wrenn/Bolton: "monster of a woman".

Her warrior qualities are totally ignored --apparently no such recognition as "adversary" or "terrible being" is even considered: she is only a monster or demon, with the dubious indignity and irrelevance of "vixen" and "witch" thrown in by Von Schaubert. So Klaeber is certainly not alone in this.

Mod

What of the problem of mod? All four give it its normal set of meanings as Sinn, Denkart, Herz/ heart, soul, spirit, mood, with four of the five not even troubling to differentiate mind, heart, temper, and pride. Von Schaubert, however, comes down very strongly and illuminatingly on the side of
courage-if-found-in-males, insolence-if-found-in-females.

¹³Admittedly, they are here acting as glossators rather than as lexicographers, i.e. they are allowing their subjective attitudes towards Brimwylf to colour their lexical definitions.

Thrytho's "mod" is specifically allocated to the third group of meanings: "stolzer, hochfahrender Sinn, Anmassung, Übermut, Hochmut," which Elizabeth Weir's Cassell's German Dictionary¹⁴ defines as: "proud, haughty, high-flown mind; presumption, arrogance, usurpation; wild spirits, excessive joy, insolence, bravado, presumption; arrogance." Valour in women is certainly given the most pejorative possible connotations. In men, on the other hand, one gathers, it would have the second general meaning: "Kühner Sinn, Mut"--Weir's "bold, daring, intrepid disposition, courage." This is even more sexist than Klaeber. Harrison/Sharp (being early American?) has a quite different approach. It gives "boldness" and "courage" for 1058 and 1168 (the heroes and Unferth), and allows "passion" and "fierceness" to the "seafish" in 549, but has no entry at all for its "Mod (Thrytho) (1932)" in the glossary, merely explaining it rather evasively in the notes instead:

1. 1927 seq. 'The women of Beowulf are of the fine northern type; trusted and loved by their husbands and by the nobles and people; generous, gentle, and holding their place with dignity.' --Brooke, S.A., History of Early English Literature, p. 67. Thrytho is the exception. l. 1932 seq.

It goes on to record Cosijn's subversive suggestion that 'fremu' [excellent] in l. 1933 must be a mistake for 'frecnu', = 'dangerous, bold', "for Thrytho could not be called 'excellent'."¹⁵ The Wyatt-Chambers edition has simply "courage",

¹⁴(London: Cassell, 1888)

¹⁵Harrison/Sharp, p. 142.

which is good to see. Wrenn gives us a total change: the common noun (feminine), mod-thrytho, is here announced to mean arrogance, violence of character, and there are long notes. Bolton has simply discontinued all discussion of the subject. 16

In general, then, the other glossarists have the same prejudices as Klaeber. "Aglaeca" can mean a formidable opponent, a terrible being, an assailant, an admirable warrior, all of them non-gender-specific terms, but in practice most glossarists have sharply divided its meanings into "hero" words when it refers to males, and "monster" words when it refers to a female. "Mod" can mean courage, passion, intrepid disposition, or valour, none of them gender-specific terms, but when this word is used of a woman it is translated only with pejorative terms by most of the glossarists who have dealt with Beowulf. The major editors of the text are seldom even ambivalent; they use their position as respected scholars to promulgate their misogynist views, some of which seem at times to be more

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"1931-32. mod-thrytho waeg...ondrysne. Transl.: "The froward queen of the people [the lady corresponding to the Drida of the Vitae duorum Offarum of circa 1200] showed pride (mod-thrytho), terrible wickedness." There seems to be an omission by the scribe of a passage between the two halves of 1931... On mod-thrytho and the textual difficulty, see glossary... Unfortunately, the well-merited prestige of Klaeber, who hesitantly takes Mod-thrytho as a proper name, following Hoops, has led to the adoption among some scholars and students of "Modthrytho" as if it were established as the name of Offa's queen." Wrenn/Bolton, 1953/1973, p. 215.

vehemently expressed than those of the original poet. In fact, as we shall see from the ambiguous nature of the entries even in Bosworth/Toller, it seems impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether the Beowulf-poet himself intended these distinctions, and the others are merely continuing his bias.

Yet surely, if the root words used by the poet in forming each hapax legomenon with which he refers to Brimwylf be taken to mean what they normally mean, then his meaning is less sexist than that of most of his interpreters.

3. The Skewed Vision of the Translators

Most readers, throughout the years, have made first acquaintance with Brimwylf through a translation into modern English. It occurs to me that it may be interesting to assess the image she has been given in our time, by finding what epithets, pronouns, and phrases have been used of her by a random sample of translators.¹⁷ Like the poet, most of the original audience, and all but one of the editor-annotators, all the translators were male. What attitudes were they conveying to their audiences regarding the woman who interested me more than the gold-adorned queen? I say "woman" emphatically and advisedly: the first word the poet himself uses to describe her

¹⁷The "random sample" I decided to use was: my own four copies, plus all the books that happened to be on the shelf of the university library on one particular evening (February 28, 1983).

(after "geosceaft grimme [grim destiny]" and "wrecend [avenger]") is modor, "mother", not "dam", followed by ides [lady, woman] the same word he uses for Wealhtheow (l. 620) and Hildeburh (l. 1075). He uses other words^{1*} later, to be sure, but essentially he presents her as a woman, or a spirit in the form of a woman. Briefly, what have the translators called her? I offer at this point an easily-assimilable sampling only. A more complete word-for-word tabulation of both the Old English and the Modern English versions of the forty most significant terms used to refer to Brimwylf by the poet, the glossarists, and a larger selection of translators appears in the Appendix, to which readers are directed. Most examples in the present selection are from the line range 1255 to 1622, in which the narrator first presents the battle between them, but there are a few chosen from the later sections of the poem, ll. 1652-1686, in which Beowulf tells Hrothgar of the battle, and ll. 2115-2143, in which he tells the story to Hygelac. In case there may be any sort of historic progression of attitudes, I will present them in chronological order.

First the poet's original description of her: ides, which means "a woman (poetry)", or "a being between a goddess and a woman"; followed by aglaec-wif, which means "a fierce combatant" + "a woman", according to the more liberal glosses. Translators give the following versions of, or replacements for, the two

^{1*}for instance aglaec-wif follows immediately, which Chadwick suggests implies that it is a synonym.

adjacent terms: "the woman, wretched crone"; "the beldam", "troll-wife", "monstrous among woman-kind", "a fiend of a woman", "a monstrous hag", "monster in woman-sex", "a woman-monster", "that female horror", "monster-woman", "woman-shape monstrous", "woman", "monster-wife", "monster of a woman", "a mighty woman among monsters", "a monstrous ogress", "a monster-woman", "a woman, she-monster", and "a monstrous woman". Most have made no attempt to distinguish between the two terms, and have tended to combine them into a conglomerate phrase. Most of these phrases are rather monotonously twisted to the negative side. Grendel, as we will see later, gets somewhat similar treatment, but then he was a monster in several senses, as described by the poet, whereas she was not.

The poet's Grendles modor produces: "Grendel's mother" by twelve of the translators, and "Grendel's dam" or "Grendel his dam" by three of them, with occasional use of one or other of these by some of the twelve.

The poet's tribute to her warrior woman status receives varied treatment by the translators. Feorh-genithlan ["life-enemy"] produces: the mortal foe, "deadly adversary", "deadly foe", "his life's foe", "the hag", "the desperate enemy", "his antagonist", "his mortal foe", "fell foe", "deadly foe", "his mortal foe", "his deadly opponent", "his mortal foe", "opponent", and "his life's foe". These are all, except for the inexplicable "the hag", rather appropriate equivalents. Mihtig man-scatha ["mighty sin-harmer"], on the other hand, produces a

mixture: "mighty fell destroyer", "a mighty ravager", "mighty miscreant", "mighty foe", "fierce ravager", "this demon", "ravager for its offspring", "hungry fiend", "a monster", "fell destroyer", "strong and deadly foe", "awful creature", "mighty worker of wrong", "mighty evil ravager", "mighty...wicked ravager", "most powerful ravager", "mighty in her evil", and "mighty, wicked ravager, strong and vile".

There are two other separate matters of interest which arise with regard to other aspects of her characterization by the translators. One is the terms in which they portray Beowulf himself referring to her in his speeches, whether as "kinswoman", "kinsman", or "mother" for the poet's magan¹⁹ as "he" or "she" for the poet's he. The second is the number of translators who insist that she has claws or talons of some sort, a further dehumanizing of her image which has almost no support at all in the words of the poet. See the Appendix for detailed study of the words, clom(m)um, fingrum, and grapum. Grap, translated by Bosworth and Toller as "grasp, clutch...[Icel. greip, f. the space between thumb and forefingers, a grasp]", and used to describe Beowulf's method of killing Grendel in 1335 and 963, is suddenly discovered by three translators to mean "claws" when used of Brimwylf's grip on Beowulf in l. 1542. Similarly clom(m)um, (l. 1502) is the dative plural of clom(m), (clam(m)) which in Bosworth and Toller is

¹⁹ moder, as used by the narrator, is translated usually as "mother", but eight times as "dam" and three as "hag".

(clom) "band, bond, clasp, bandage, chain, prison" or (clam) "bandage, chain, net, fold, prison", whereas ten translators turn it into "claws", "talons", or "hooks" in rendering that line in which she initially seizes the intruding Beowulf. The only excuse available for this error is their remotely possible confusion of clomnum with clam, the dative plural of cla, "a claw". Even fingerum, the dative plural of finger, is translated by two of them as "claws", though the other fourteen make it the (one would have thought) obvious "with fingers".

Aside from staggering beneath the weight of so many negative attitudes to our bereaved²⁰ but courageous female hero, some of which go much farther than the poet's²¹ Old English, what conclusions can we draw? Certainly there seems to be a general desire to have her as un-human as possible, and as wicked and supernaturally strange and powerful as possible, presumably to enhance the reader's shivers of fear of her as the Opponent and Other and rushes of admiration when the hero overcomes this "monster". Or it may be simply to rationalize her

²⁰ *In support of this attitude note the argument of Puhvel, who states that "to seek out and slay a female creature, even an ogress, who has suffered a grievous personal loss, in her own home without... provocation would clearly have violated the ideas of justice reflected in the poem." Martin Puhvel, Beowulf and the Celtic Tradition. (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979), p. 133.

²¹ *As Dragland notes, "...the Beowulf poet provides at least some basis of understanding and sympathy for the bereaved mother of Grendel, a response which is perhaps encouraged by the fact that, as the Grendel kin have something human about them, Beowulf is in many places associated with the monsters." S.L. Dragland, "Monster-Man in Beowulf," Neophilologus, 61 (1977), p. 613.

as the mother of such a creature as Grendel. Only a few of the translators will call her, as the poet does, a woman or lady²² and many of them invent terms for her: "warlock", "ghoul", "sea-monster", "sea-troll", for instance, which are nowhere in the original text. Some, more generous than the glossarists, will go so far as to grant her warrior status. Most of the terms which go further than the text without twisting it out of shape are merely devices for rendering her more picturesquely dreadful.

4. The Lexicographers: Reverence Misplaced

Finally, a glance at the translations given by the most monumental of the lexicographers, Bosworth and Toller, for the key epithets and other significant words used of Brimwylf.

As a further control, it seemed advisable to go to an even more irreproachable source for general definitions of the words applied to Brimwylf and Modthrytho. The results follow.²³

AG-LAC, AGLAEC, -laeca, etc. Supplement has: 1. ag-lac, etc. [Cf. Mid.E. egleche: O.H.Ger. aigi-laihi phalanx.] First volume has:...m. [ah-laeca...ag-lac, -laec misery...] A miserable being, wretch, miscreant, monster, fierce combatant; miser, perditus, monstrum, bellator immanis...

²²He does indeed call her much else besides, including "a much-sinning man", but here I am dealing with the translators' versions of his most positive and heroic terms for her. See the Appendix for a fuller exposition.

²³ Joseph Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, ed. and enl. by T. Northcote Toller (London: Oxford University Press, 1898, rpt. 1964, and Supplement, 1921, rpt. 1955).

AGLAEC-WIF A wretch of a woman, vile crone[!];
...monstrum mulieris, mulier pernicioso:--Grendles
modor, ides, aglaec-wif Grendel's mother, the woman,
vile crone. Beo. Th. 2522, B. 1259.

MOD II. a special quality of soul
(a) in a good sense, Courage, high spirit. [[all
examples male]] (b) in a bad sense, Pride, arrogance.
e.g. Thas engles mod, Hyre mod astah [her (Hagar's)
pride mounted up] He waes on swa micle ofermetto astigan
[efferatus superbia] Naes me for mode [it was not for
pride in me] Thurh thin (Lucifer's) micle mod, etc.
III. applied to inanimate things, Greatness,
magnificence, pride.

MOD-THRYTHO, MOD-THRYTHU(O). indeclinable feminine,
Violence of mind:--Modthrytho waeg folces cwen a violent
heart bore the queen of the people. Beo.Th. 3867, B.
1931. 2*

THRYTH, E:THRYTHU (?indecl. v mod-thrythu); f.
Force, power, strength...seems to occur only in the
plural... used in the formation of many proper names.
HYGE-THRYTH-e; f. Pride of heart or mind,
insolence:--Higethrythe waeg was insolent, Cd. 102: Th.
135, 6; Gen. 2238.

IDES, e; f. A woman [it is a word little used
except in poetry, and is supposed by Grimm to have been
applied, in the earliest times, to superhuman beings,
occupying a position between goddesses and mere women,
v. D.M. 372]:-

ides virgo, Dent. Gl. 1196,...Eve, Cain's wife, Sarah,
women of Sodom and Gomorrah, Hagar, Judith, Wealththeow,
Grendel's mother, Lamech's wives, etc. O.H.Ger. itis
matrona...Grimm D.M. 373 takes the Icelandic dis to be
the same word, and compares the phrase from the Edda dis
skjoeldunga with ...Ides Helminga...B.620.

WIF, es;n. I. a woman, a female person
II. a being in the form of a woman (Grendel's mother)
III. a married woman, a wife.
IV. a female. V:--AElcne mon, ge wif ge
waepned,...Or.3,6, etc. Tha forman twa, faeder and
moder, wif and waepned. Cd.Th. 12,33, Gen. 195. Va. [O.
Sax., O. Frs. wif; O.H.Ger.wip; Icel. vif(poet.)]

MODOR f. A mother (of human beings or animals).
SECG Sedge/ a man (used only in poetry)/ the sea/ a
sword.

WAEELGAEST. deadly quest (spirit?), a murderous
quest.

2*Compare this with their "mod-thracu(fem.): impetuosity of
mind, impetuous or daring courage (composed of mod as in II.
above + thracu I. not in a bad sense, power, force, II. in a bad
sense, violence)" and used in B. 385 to denote a quality for
which, if one were male, he was to be rewarded with treasures.

GRAP. grasp, clutch. on grapum in the clutches, B. 1534, 765, 3088, 1542, etc.

MANSCATHA. I. a wicked or harmful person (Grendel's mother) II. a sinner, one who wickedly does wrong. N.B. "[O.Sax. men-skatho applied to the devil and to the Jews.]"

BRIMWYLF. a sea wolf; marina lupa, an epithet applied to Grendel's mother. brim, wylf--a she-wolf.

GRUNDWYRGENNE. a wolf of the deep (Grendel's mother) The Supplement has no entry for this word, though it is composed of the elements grund ground, bottom, foundation; II. ground, earth, land...III. a depth, sea abyss, hell. + the past participle of: wyrgan to curse.

MEREWIF. a water-witch, woman living in a lake (Grendel's mother) [O.H.Ger. meri-wib sirena.]

Bosworth and Toller are illuminating in many ways, but their use of "vile crone" to translate "aglaec-wif" is such a blatant example of a totally misogynist value judgment disguised as a lexicographical entry that it must be taken as an indication that we cannot look even to this formerly revered work for objective scholarship. Robinson warns of the need for vigilance against such practices: "...sometimes when a lexicographer is assessing the meaning of a word in a given occurrence, he slips unawares into the mood of literary interpreter, recording a meaning for a word not on the basis of lexicographical evidence but purely because his particular critical interpretation requires such a meaning. ...In some instances, these unsubstantiated ad hoc meanings can fix the critical interpretation of a passage in a permanent course of error; for, so long as they remain unchallenged, the dictionary definitions of words are necessarily the starting point for any critical

explication of the literature."²⁵ Here, as elsewhere, we must scrutinize what we read carefully for logical inconsistencies, and see where they lead us.

²⁵Fred C. Robinson, "Lexicography and Literary Criticism: A Caveat." in James L. Rosier, ed., Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Merritt. (The Hague: Mouton, 1970). (emphasis mine)

II. AN EXAMINATION OF THE POET IN HIS OWN WORDS

But the thrust of this paper is aimed mainly at the vitals not of the maleficently modern translators, nor of constant Klaeber, nor even of a momentarily confused scribe A, but of the Beowulf poet himself, and most specifically at his ambivalence¹ towards Grendel's mother as a fittingly heroic opponent for an epic hero.

Young Beowulf is certainly a hero, and not only God but also the poet himself is absolutely and unwaveringly on his side. He is "male, white, upperclass...answering a call to adventure, and often demonstrates his heroic power by killing or dominating others."² One of the chief universal functions of heroes is, surely, to combat and if possible defeat various antagonists.

Of Grendel and his mother, which is, to the modern observer, the more worthy opponent for Beowulf? Grendel is a giant (l. 1353), has steel-like talons (ll. 983-987), has successfully occupied the throne room (l. 166) of the humiliated Danish king (ll. 170-171) and "protector of heroes" for many

¹ *For interesting speculations as to the psychological and ideological sources of this "curious ambivalence" on the part of the poet, see Robert L. Chapman, "Alas, Poor Grendel," College English, 17 (1956) 334-37.

² Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope, The Female Hero in American and British Literature (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1981), p. 4.

years (ll. 144-146), has conquered and eaten dozens of doughty warriors (ll. 120b-125, 164-165, 442-445a, 476b-478a), and has acquired sufficient necromantic power to enable him to set a charm on his own body that ensures that no weapon can pierce it (ll. 801b-805a). Yet when he comes face to face with Beowulf, and experiences hand to hand the hero's grip, he becomes immediately "forht on ferhthe [afraid in spirit]" (ll. 750-754), seeking only to ~~escape~~ to his fen-home with his life (l. 755), shamelessly screams with pain (ll. 786-788a), and without any supernatural intervention being required, is mortally mutilated and flees away to die (ll. 815b-823a). His mother, on the other hand, is never mentioned as having been enormous³ in size, or having had claws of any kind, is specifically described as being not particularly terrifying (ll. 1282-1284) and as being timid about being caught in the hall (ll. 1292-1293), and, although one sword, Hrunting, cannot harm her (ll. 1522b-1524a) she is nowhere stated to have magic protection against all weapons, as Grendel has (ll. 802-805a), and she is as vulnerable as anyone else would be, to the next sword used against her⁵ (ll. 1563-1567).

³except as that concept might be approached in swylce twegen micle mearcstapan, micle being "great, large" according to Klaeber.

*even as her knife is unable to harm Beowulf (ll. 1545-1549)

⁵ An interesting possibility is that, if she were to be considered as perhaps a member of a Neanderthal or other proto-homo-sapiens population (one is reminded of Mary Renault's description of kentaur's), the thicker bone of her skull would have deflected swords used then, without any need of either magic charm or armour. A blow to a more vulnerable area, as in the poet's description, would kill her.

She, however, endures her wounds and her death in stoical silence, and of her encounter with Beowulf, we are told that the son of Ecgtheow would then have perished, were it not for his ring mail and the decisive intervention of God! An interesting pair of situations. *

1. Seo Brimwylf Introduced: Whose Irony?

Enough of this dalliance. Let us examine the text itself. It will show us, quite clearly, that the poet was extremely ambivalent about "that brimwylf". Significantly, "the she-wolf of the deep" is never given a name of her own, but is merely referred to in terms of her relationship to her son. This method of undermining her visibility and integrity as a character and denying her the validation of her personhood which a name would have conferred is the choice of the poet himself. Feeling that a character as important in English literature as this woman is, ought to have a name, I have chosen to refer to her throughout this paper as "Brimwylf",⁷ a signifier which, lacking the

*Another commentator on the problem of which kinds of opponents are adequate for heroes, Haber, in A Comparative Study of the "Beowulf" and the "Aeneid" (New York: Phaeton, 1951, rpt. 1968), notes his opinion that, since one of the requirements of a successful epic is that "the combatants [be] so evenly matched that the reader be assured of a good fight," (p. 50-51) it is the combats in which Beowulf is pitted against the dragon, "Grendel's dam", and Breca which are the most satisfactory of those described in the poem. This generic imposition, however, may not be valid for the Old English.

⁷a contraction of "seo Brimwylf [the she-wolf of the sea]", used of her by the poet in ll. 1506 and 1599.

flatness, anonymity, and connotations of feminine domesticity of the straight Modern English "Grendel's mother", may without doing too much violence to the text still allow the reader to experiment slightly with the difference in attitude that giving her an actual name would have made.

First, he introduces her, as I have mentioned, as follows:

aefter guthceare/ Grendles modor
ides aglaecwif/, yrmthe gemunde. [on account of
war-grief, Grendel's mother, lady, formidable woman,
kept misery in mind]. (ll. 1258-9)

Immediately, in the following line, he unmistakably refers to her as "se [he]". He then gives her family origin: she comes of the race of Cain, a human being outlawed for murder and thus forced "mandream fleon [to flee human joys]." Having given her genealogy, the poet then slithers uneasily out of gear and, to reassure himself or his audience that he knows male-versus-male conflicts are the real subject of literature, gives us a nine and two-half-lines repetition of the narration of the fight between Grendel and Beowulf, ending with Grendel's departure "death-wic seon [to see his deathplace]." Thus strengthened, he returns to the narrative present. "Ond his modor tha gyt// gifre ond galgmod/ gegan wolde// sorhfulne sith/ sunu theod (or suna death) wrecan. [And his mother, still hungry and gallows-minded, decided to undertake a sorrowful journey, to avenge her son's death.]" We begin the journey within her mind, from her point of view, for a moment, then again are met with a sudden switch to that of the earls sleeping in the hall, and the reversal it brought them.

Now we come to one of the richly ironic elements, an irony I think not intended by the poet, but present in several instances, which I shall here place together. As Brimwylf reaches into the hall, the poet absolutely hastens to assure us that "Waes se gryre laessa//⁸ efne swa micle/ swa biþ maegtha craeft, // wiggryre wifes/ be waepnedmen...[the terror was less, by just so much, as the strength of maidens, the war-terror of a woman, compared to a weaponed man...]"⁹ and plunges on into a glorification of masculine bloodstained swords shearing through golden boar helmets. Even though the fear was so very much the less, however, we are told that, as all the warriors hastily reached for their weapons, helm ne gemunde: they didn't even "remember" their helmets and corselets in the confusion, "þa hine se broga angeat [when the terror got hold of them]."

⁸ See Adrien Bonjour's remarks as to the poet's "flagrant inconsistency" in making this comment, then presenting her as the more formidable opponent Adrien Bonjour, "Grendel's Dam and the Composition of Beowulf," English Studies, 30 (1949), p. 19. Puhvel also comments on this discrepancy, and explains it in terms of the Irish saga traditions of supernatural hags avenging their sons--material which he thinks the poet may have known. Martin Puhvel, Beowulf and the Celtic Tradition (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1979).

⁹Klaeber has a curious little note after this one in the Glossary: "[WEAPONED, i.e. male.]" Is he being Freudian, or what, one wonders, at first glance, only to find on further investigation that in Old English the word for "male" is, in fact, "waepned", and that that means just what it does now. "Waepen, as a noun, means an implement for fighting or warfare. It also means "the membrum virile", according to the entry on p. 1155 of Bosworth and Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Here is further evidence that, to an Anglo-Saxon, the idea of a weaponed woman might be rather unsettling. Memories of the waelcyrge would only reinforce this.

Again we are hurriedly reassured. Brimwylf, now referred to very properly (since condescendingly?) as "she", four times within four lines, "waes on ofste, / wolde ut thanon, // feore beorgan, tha heo onfunden waes // [was in haste, wanted out of there, to protect her life, when she was discovered.]" If she was so terrified of them, and wanted only to escape, why were they so terrified of her? The discrepancy is too obvious, surely, for the poet to have overlooked, if he were in full conscious control of his material. She seizes the noble warrior Aeschere, rescues her son's well-known arm from where the enemy has hung it, and leaves. And yet, in combat with the ultimate hero, she is the more effective wrestler, and performs that ultimate duty of the Germanic heroic warrior, "the desperate, stubborn defense of the hall until the bitter end."¹⁰

The poet is revealing here a serious ambivalence towards her. She is presented as a far more dangerous antagonist for Beowulf to contend with than Grendel was, and yet she is not even dignified with a name, her strength as a warrior is specifically derogated, and she is shown as being terrified of the slightest contact with any of the warriors awakening in the hall, to say nothing of Beowulf, and as fleeing at once to the fens. Throughout the poem he betrays this inability to look clearly at her, and to maintain a steady vision of her. He never describes her appearance, and even when he does occasionally begin to say something about her, as with the genealogy, he

¹⁰Klaeber, p. 236.

immediately switches back to saying something about Grendel instead. An "idese onlicnes [being in the form of a woman]", who is strong enough to come close to killing the mighty Beowulf, is obviously somehow uncanny, a woman who is almost felt to be "taboo" in the original sense of the word: something not even safe to think about. Women, in a patriarchal culture, had to be definitely inferior beings, definitely "the second sex", not formidable ~~warriors~~.

2. Preparations for a Brace of Battles

A separate but equally ironic issue is the different preparation the poet has Beowulf make for the two combats. In making ready to fight the immense Grendel, mass-murderer of hundreds of armed warriors, Beowulf shows a delicacy of extremely sportsmanlike, even chivalrous, concern for the comfort and equal opportunity of the opponent: fighting alone, he insists on wearing no armour and using no weapon whatever, since, as he announces, Grendel "knows not of those good things."¹¹ It would never do, not to give the other chap a sporting chance.¹¹ When the hero¹² is preparing to fight the

¹¹ The later developed concept that Grendel was impervious to weapons was not apparently something Beowulf is considered to have known, and consequently his choice is not to be thought of as having been merely strategic.

¹² of whom the coast guard states that he has never seen a larger nobleman over all the earth (ll. 247-8) and who claims to have swum in the North Sea for more than five nights, killing nine sea monsters while so engaged (ll. 545, 575)

mourning mother who has fled in terror, however, it is quite another matter. The poet begins by insisting that we be quite clear about one thing: nalles for ealdre mearn [he was not at all concerned for his life.] (l. 1442b.) He then proceeds (ll. 1441-1464) to put on his hand-linked chain-mail iron battle-shirt, his magic golden boar helmet with a magic headband which guarantees that no sword can ever bite into him, and his borrowed sword, Hrunting, hardened in battleblood, which has never failed any man who used it--and then instructs Hrothgar at length as to what to do in case of his death. What is happening here? Why does he need all this hardware, besides his handgrip with the strength of thirty men, to fight a mere paltry female, one, besides, who, having ruled the deep for fifty years¹³, might surely be expected to be a little past her prime as an Eiherjar¹⁴. There is something, surely, a little strange about all this, a disparity: a refusal to prepare at all for what must surely have been expected to be an immensely dangerous task, followed, after that task has proved to be after all a fairly simple one, by extremely careful preparation and self-protection for what, the poet has made clear to us, should have been no trouble at all. Why is he not able to make up his mind as to whether or not she is an adequate opponent?

¹³ Beowulf ruled the same number of years, later, and was then killed in combat (perhaps not a realistic detail)

¹⁴ Germanic term for those experts in single combat (always male) with whom Odin filled Valhalla. Northern Mythology, p. 52.

What of the actual combat? Is she, in fact, a worthy opponent? Beowulf can, of course, be excused as being tired from the battle of the day before, but he has enjoyed a good night's sleep free of exertion since then. Brimwylf, who has killed a warrior within the last few hours, has presumably recently experienced the emotional shock of the death of her only son, and we can perhaps take that into account, although the poet gives us no description of this potentially dramatic scene, when we try to assess their relative battle-readiness. Morally, also, they are even. Beowulf is obliged by honour to avenge his host's friend, Aeschere, just as Brimwylf had no choice but to avenge the death of her only child. The ethical force of taboos against territorial infringements may give her a slight extra edge in righteousness, in this particular fight. She is, after all, defending her home from an invader (ll. 1499, 1500, 1506 ff.). The poet may be showing his awareness of this aspect in having the Geats sound their horns repeatedly as they approach the mere.¹⁵ While this may be seen merely as a military call to arms, it may also be interpreted as an attempt to reduce culpability on the part of the feorran cumen man for the breach

¹⁵The law here alluded to is one of Wihtréd's, which reads as follows: "28. Gif feorran cumen man oththe fraemde buton wege gange, ond he thonne nawther he hryme ne he horn ne blawe, for theof he bih to profianne: oththe to sleanne othe to alysenne. [If a man come from afar or a stranger goes anywhere except on the road, and he then neither shouts nor blows a horn, he shall be assumed to be a thief: either to be slain or to be held for ransom.]" F.L. Attenborough, ed., The Laws of the Earliest English Kings, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1922, rpt. 1963), p. 30.

of territorial sovereignty which is about to be committed.¹⁶
The moment of contact draws closer.

As the combat nears its inception, the she-wolf of the sea is immediately aware of the intruder's presence in her realm. Having avoided using Brimwylf's point of view earlier, the poet gives us a glimpse of it now. And here she, in a reversal of the state of affairs as they were shown in the first combat, is the one who behaves either stupidly or chivalrously. Beowulf, we are told, has been swimming underwater for the main part of a day in order to reach the depths, and must, one would think, be at a disadvantage if forced to remain under water much longer. Grippled so tightly that he is unable to wield his sword, he is being harrassed by wild sea beasts who, by using their battletusks, are actually breaking through his warshirt, though Brimwylf herself was not able to accomplish this. Having lived among these creatures for fifty years, she knows the territory, and has only begun to swim, needs only to continue to hold him fast in her underwater realm until either he drowns or the tusked creatures finish him off. She chooses not to do this. In a gesture which might even, if she were not one of the Others, be construed as evidence of generosity, and which eventually costs her her life, she carries him to a place more hospitable

¹⁶Or perhaps, on the other hand, since admittedly she had invaded enemy territory to avenge her son, who was also a confirmed trespasser on the property of others, she has forfeited that moral right, by now? Difficult to say. Perhaps, rather, the horn-blowing referred to below is meant to confirm the fact that the righteous are in fact more righteous than the unrighteous, even in matters of protocol. A praiseworthy task.

to air-breathing creatures, her own home. Suddenly he perceives that he has been brought to a hall where there is a fire brightly shining, and a vaulted roof to prevent "faergripe flodes [the sudden grip of the flood]" from reaching him, where instead "naenig waeter/ wihte ne scethede// [no water at all harmed him]" (ll. 1514, 1516).

Of course, to another reader, her supposed "generosity" in allowing her opponent a fair fight might be considered to be merely a lack of intelligence. Or an excess of pride. Would Beowulf's decision not to use weapons or armour against Grendel have been considered lack of intelligence or excess of pride, if Grendel had won, or would it have been mourned as a tragic reverence for the warriors' code of honour?¹⁷

In the next line, in sudden redefinitions, "Se goda" [the good (masculine) one] is set in stark correct-party-line opposition to that Other, the "grundwyrgegne" [the floor-of-the-sea (feminine) one-being-punished-in-hell]. Then the battle is joined. Immediately Beowulf strikes hard at her head with Hrunting, only to find that that sword will not bite into her skull, any more than her knife, later, can penetrate Beowulf's armoured breast.¹⁸ Next comes a five-line elegy for the lost glory of Hrunting, who has never before failed his lord

¹⁷We are not given her rationalization of her decision, as we are with his, so it remains for us merely to infer and to speculate.

¹⁸One might suspect Unferth's intentions, were it not for the poet's protestations to the contrary, and one may suspect some kind of imperviousness to ordinary weapons on her part.

at need. A sword, after all, is a weapon, and being "waepned [weaponed]" is what makes a male a male, and so the sword, unlike the brimwylf, rates both a name and an elegy, even though it is not destroyed, but merely fails.

Beowulf decides to depend on the strength of his handgrip, and we are told that that is what one must do, to achieve long-lasting fame in battle. He seizes Brimwylf by the shoulder, "Gefeng tha be eaxle, (l. 1537a), (not by the hair, as some overly imaginative translators, e.g. Donaldson, claim)¹⁹ and, enraged, throws her to the floor. She recovers quickly and throws him to the floor (thus performing what one must do, to achieve long-lasting fame in battle), where he remains long enough for her to sit on him and draw her knife, intending to avenge her only child. Here we have the poet's definitive statement as to her prowess:

Haefde tha forsithod/ sunu Ecgtheowes
under gynne grund/ geata cempa
nemne him heathobyrne/ helpe gefremede
herenet hearde.--/ and halig God
geweold wigsigor:/. witiq Drihten
rodera Raedend/ hit on ryht gesced
ythelice... (ll. 1550-56) [Then the son of Ecgtheow would have gone fatally astray (a euphemism for dying) under the spacious ground, the champion of the Geats, except that (his) battle-mail-shirt gave him help, the hard war-net, and holy God controlled the war-victory; the wise Lord, Counselling One of the heavens, decided it in the right way, easily...]

Brimwylf would have won, had it not been for the deus ex machina. After intervention by the patriarchal god, however,

¹⁹However, for an interesting discussion of other possibilities, see Stanley's article, "Did Beowulf Commit 'Feaxfeng' against Grendel's Mother?" in Notes and Queries, n.s. 23 (1976), 339-40.

Beowulf sees a marvellous sword made by giants, seizes it, and cuts off her head with no trouble at all. We do not get an elegy of even one line for seo brimwylf, merely the statement that "sweord waes swatig, / secg weorce gefeh [the sword was bloody; the man rejoiced at his work]." She is a Last Survivor to whom the poet grants no Lament for the Dead. Grendel and the dragon fare better. One might almost think the poet was relieved to be rid of her.

3. The Problem of the Sexually Confused Pronouns

So much for the battle. Right has conquered. But certain interesting problems remain to be investigated. Let us examine the poet's treatment of the female warrior, and his ambivalence towards her, in more technical detail, beginning with the pronouns he uses to refer to her and to the other women in the poem. The first line to be considered was 1260, se the waster egesan wunian scolde, where we have noted that Brimwylf is referred to as "he". The problem returns at 1497, when Beowulf reaches the bottom of the mere. Brimwylf immediately perceives the intruder. Here again, suddenly, she is referred to as "he". The pronoun comes in a subordinate clause, "SE the floda begong / heorogifre beheold / hund missera [he who, sword-ravenous, had guarded the expanse of the floods for a hundred half-years...]" There are several other unusual uses of pronouns to refer to her, which I shall discuss in detail later in this section.

What is the meaning of this gender confusion in the pronouns?²⁰ In the work of a poet with such exquisite word control, most of the time, as this one, the question is important. Why is Brimwylf called "he" five times, and "she" only twenty (or nineteen)? Grendel is never called "she", nor are Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Freawaru, or any of the other women, even Modthrytho, ever referred to as "he". What sort of "Freudian slip" is the poet making? Is it a sexist tribute to her prowess as a warrior, an occasional honorary promotion to the warring sex? Then why does it not occur in more appropriate places?

In considering all the uses of pronouns referring to the warrior woman, and concentrating first on those having to do with combat, we find ourselves first examining the poet's uses of heo or hio [she] and hyre [her]. He gives us, very plainly, the following:

1. heo aethelinga anne haefde// faeste befangen
[she had firmly encircled the nobleman]...l.1294.
2. thone the heo on raeste abreat
[the one she had cut down at rest]...l.1298.
3. hio thaet lic aetbaer [she bore away that corpse]...l.2127.
4. heo him eft hrathe andlean forgeald// [she paid him [Beowulf] back quickly] ...l.1541.
5. hyre seax geteah [drew her knife]...l.1545.

Any of these would have been more appropriate places to use

²⁰ *As Nitzsche points out, "Such a change in pronoun occurs elsewhere only in reference to abstract feminine nouns used as personifications and to concrete feminine nouns used as synecdoches." Jane Nitzsche, "The Structural Unity in Beowulf: The Problem of Grendel's Mother," Texas Studies in Literature and Language 22:3 (1980), p. 288.

masculine pronouns if tribute to martial success were the conscious intention of the writer.

Or, to consider another possibility, is it because Brimwylf is the only one of the women who is actively involved in the resolution of a legal feud, rather than merely accomplishing her tribe's peaceweaving by verbal (and sexual and social) means?²¹ Until recently, in Canada, women were not considered to be "persons" according to the laws of the land. Could a woman, in Anglo-Saxon times, have been seen suddenly as a "person" (i.e. one of those to whom the laws refer when they say "he" or "a man" or "anyone"), by taking on what was usually considered to be a masculine role in a legal matter such as a feud, by becoming the wrecend [avenger]? While none of the laws deals specifically with this matter (an outcome not unexpected), there are several ²² which are sufficiently relevant in a general sense that an examination of them might give us clues as to the extent to which the poet might have been made distinctly uneasy towards a woman who, rather than being merely a victim, is a person to whom laws regarding feud might or might not apply.

Certainly there is nothing in the vendetta or vengeance sections about women. The laws mentioning females are almost

²¹ According to Liggins, "Beowulf...accords her a certain human dignity by implying that she is to be considered as the offending party in a feud." Elizabeth M. Liggins, "Revenge and Reward as Recurrent Motives in Beowulf," Neuephilologische Mitteilungen, 74 (1973), p. 202.

²² For instance, see Ine's 28, 34, and 35 in F.L. Attenborough, ed. and trans., The Laws of the Earliest English Kings (New York: Russell and Russell, 1922, rpt. 1963), pp. 46-47.

entirely concerned with the legal aspects of injuring them, violating them, taking them, buying them, forcibly carrying them off, separating them from their children, having illicit relations with them, stealing a beast or making offerings to devils without the knowledge of one of them to whom one is married, slaying them when they are with child, seizing their breasts, throwing them down, lustfully seizing them, or raping them. Women were definitely seen as having things done to them, rather than by them. Only much later, and in conjunction with the Danes, is mention made of the possible necessity of exiling or destroying them, if they are wiccan [witches] or hor-cwenan [prostitutes]. In the laws, at least, of the earlier kingdoms, they are not considered to be in any way threatening. That laws often do not keep very closely in touch with contemporary unconscious consensual assessments of situations needs little proof.

The laws being of insufficient help, we must return to the text to determine whether Brimwylf's "maleness" is related to her avenging. What guidance does the text give us? There are four references to it:

6. heo tha faehthe wraec [she avenged the feud]...l. 1333.
7. hyre maeg wrecan [her kinsman to avenge]...l. 1339.
8. hire bearn wrecan [to avenge her child]...l. 1546.
9. hyre bearn gewraec [avenged her child]...l. 2121.

In all four cases, the pronoun or possessive adjective is feminine.

What else has the poet done with his "he's" and "she's"? Is there any pattern? The remaining "she's" and "her's" do include Brimwylf's moments of weakness as a warrior, her (sentimental?) reclaiming of her dead son's arm, and her doubts, retreats, disabilities, wounds, and death. These are all elements that one would expect to come under the heading of the feminine role as briskly outlined in the Old English maxims.²³

10. heo waes on ofste, wolde ut thanon [she was in haste, wanted out of there]...l. 1292.
11. feore beorgan, tha heo on funden waes [to protect her life, when she was discovered]...l. 1293.
12. tha heo to fenne gang [then she went to the fen]...l. 1295.
13. heo under heolfre genam// cuthe folme; [she in its gore took/the familiar hand]...l. 1302.
14. [thaer heo] gegnum for// ofer myrcan mor,/ [[where she] ²⁺ went straight over the murky moor]...l. 1404.
15. thaet heo thone fyrdhom/ thurhfon ne mihte// [so that she could not penetrate the battle dress]...l. 1504
16. tha heo to botme com [then she came to the bottom]...l. 1506.
17. thaet hire on hafelan/ bringmael agol// graedig guthleoth,/ [so that on her head the ring-marked one sang a greedy war-song]...l. 1521.
18. thaet heo on flet gebeah,// [so that she fell on the floor]...l. 1540.
19. thaet hir with halse/ heard grapode,/ [strongly it (the sword) gripped against her neck]...l. 1566.
20. heo on flet gecrong,// [she fell dead upon the floor] ...l. 1568.

²³"Faemne aet hyre bord geriseth; // widgongel wif word gespringeth, / oft hy mon womnum belihth, // haeleth hy hospe maenath, / oft hyre hleor abreotheth." [A woman belongs at her table (or embroidery board); a wandering woman gives rise to words; often she defames a man by vices; the hero speaks of her with contempt; often her cheek grows pale.]
 "Maxims I", ll. 63b-65, in The Exeter Book, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936, rpt. 1961), p. 159.

²⁺Sievers' interpolation which, according to Chambers/Wyatt has been generally adopted in order to supply the metrical deficiency

That finishes the "she's" and "her's". What are the odds, among them? The final score:

- A. She is an effective warrior.....5 uses
- B. She is an avenger engaged in legal feud.....4 uses
- C. She is an ineffective warrior.....11 uses²⁵

Eleven to nine. If we were to subtract Sievers' prejudiced-by-realism guess from the "ineffective" list, and subtract also the indeterminate retrieving of Grendel's arm from the "ineffectives" without presuming to add it to the "effectives", we are left with precisely nine in each list: a very nicely balanced ambivalence indeed for the poet to be demonstrating towards this traditionally-masculine and traditionally-feminine woman.

Now to get on with the few remaining but most essentially interesting pronouns: the "he's" used of Brimwylf. Where do they occur? Two are in the form, he. These, along with some very strange uses of nouns, both occur in the conversations between hero and king, in the first of which Beowulf reassures Hrothgar that he will look at the track of Grendel's kingwoman (his magan, feminine genitive singular), and promises him that:

...No HE on helm losath
ne on foldan faethm, / ne on fyrghenholt
ne on gyfenes grund, ga thaer HE wille.

²⁵or is retreating strategically, or is being distracted from her warcraft by maternal feelings: though it is necessary to consider the possibility that, on the other hand, retrieving a part of the corpse of one's kinsman or lord may have been part of a warrior's obligation.

21. [He will not lose himself in the protection
neither of the mountain forest, nor in the sea's floor,
22. go where he will.] ll. 1392-4.

This could conceivably be a formulaic statement. There are "Biblical and Vergilian parallels" and "the polysyndeton has suggested Latin influence."²⁶ But before assuming too much from the availability of these foreign sources, let us glance at a noun in Hrothgar's speech immediately preceding this one of Beowulf's. He has just finished relating that the remaining great border walker is idese onlicnes [in the likeness of a lady]. Then he describes the way to the dreaded lake, and tells Beowulf: "Thaer thu findan miht sinnigne secg. [There you may find the sinful man.]" (l. 1379) The reference is definitely to the lady of the lake.

Two other odd uses of nouns to refer to Brimwylf occur in Beowulf's conversation as well, when he reports the fight against her to Hrothgar and Wealhtheow, with, I must point out, little regard for the truth. He tells them he "ofsloh...huses hyrdas [cut down...the guardians of the house] (l. 1666)", and has brought the hilt away from "feondum [the enemies]."²⁷

²⁶Klaeber, Notes, p. 184.

²⁷ *It may be considered that Grendeles maegum in l. 2353, being a dative plural by the narrator, signifies official corroboration of Beowulf's statement to Hrothgar, but this does not refer to the battle in the mere, specifically, and is taken by Dobbie to mean "The kin of Grendel, apparently including both Grendel and his mother." (p. 239 n.). Klaeber also limits it to the two of them in a note on p. 211: "i.e. the 'Grendel family,' meaning, of course, Grendel and his mother." The related phrase, lathan cynnes, according to Dobbie, means "belonging to a hateful race." Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, Beowulf and Judith. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, A Collective Edition, Vol. IV. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

avenging, as he says, criminal deeds, the death of Danes. Brimwylf was the only one he fought on that expedition. That her killing of Aeschere would have been considered "criminal" is dubious. Hrothgar himself considered her to be the avenger of her kinsman in a feud.²⁸ But then Beowulf has always been a great boaster. Interestingly, however, he does not keep up his embroidery of the truth or even his relative egocentricity once he gets home. In talking to Higelac, he is quite honest²⁹ about having fought only Brimwylf in the underwater dwelling, stating openly that "unc hwile waes hand gemaene [we two shared a hand in common for a while]", and even describes her killing of Aeschere as "ellenlice [courageous, bold, valiant]! (l. 2122)³⁰

Another two "he's" mentioned earlier are in the se form, and both of these refer to her dwelling in the waters.

²⁸as Harvey De Roo points out in his "Two Old English Fatal Feast Metaphors: Ealuscerwen and Meoduscerwen", in English Studies in Canada, V, 3, Autumn 1979.

²⁹ *And sympathetic. As Liggins points out, "Later he can afford to be generous to his adversaries, and even to spare a thought for the sorrow of the monstrous woman as she goes about her duty of revenge: 2117b-23. The emphasis is laid upon her grief and even upon her courage and the reference to Aeschere is almost cursory." Elizabeth M. Liggins, "Revenge and Reward as Recurrent Motives in Beowulf," Neuephilologische Mitteilungen, 74 (1973), p. 202.

³⁰ *Taylor Culbert, in an extensive comparison of the three tellings (by the poet, by Beowulf to Hrothgar, and by Beowulf to Higelac) of each of the "monster fights" in Beowulf, unaccountably misses these differences and dismisses the account by Beowulf to Higelac as being (aside from the fact that they confirm that Beowulf did behead Grendel's mother) "little more than a summary of the information given in the other two versions." Taylor Culbert, "Narrative Technique in Beowulf," Neophilologus, 47 (1963), 50-61.

23. ides aglaecwif/ yrmthe gemunde, // se the waeteregesan wunian scolde // [The lady, the formidable woman, kept misery in mind, HE who had had to inhabit the dreadful waters]...l. 1260.

24. Sona thaet onfunde/ se the floda begong // heorogifre beheold/ hund missera // grim ond graedig, / thaet thaer gumena sum // aelwihhta eard/ ufan cunnode. // [At once that one discovered, HE who the region of the floods sword-ravenous had held/ for a hundred half-years, grim and fierce,/ that there a certain one of the humans, of the alien creatures,/ was exploring the dwelling from above].(l. 1497).

The following lines also are ambiguous, having no subject for the new verbs, so that the previous subject, he=Brimwylf, is assumed to be in effect:

24.5?(Se?) grap tha togeanes, / guthrinc gefeng // atolan clomnum: / no thy aer in gescod // halan lice: / [(He?) grasped then opposite/ seized the warrior] with dire clasps,/ none the sooner by that injured the healthy body...

The fifth se [he] is on very strange ground. It comes after Brimwylf's death, within a few minutes of it, probably, and probably somewhere near a day and a half after Grendel's. Beowulf has just killed her (l. 1568) and cut off her head (ll. 1566-1568, and confirmed in l. 2138: ic heafde becearf // in tham [guth]sele/ Grendeles modor //), so that "sweord waes swatig [the sword was bloody]" (l. 1569). Then he has looked through the dwelling (l. 1572), and turned along the wall with his weapon raised up hard by the hilt. Wanting to pay Grendel back quickly, he sees his body lying lifeless:

Hra wide sprong, // syththan he aefter deathe/ drepe throwade, // heorosweng heardne, ond hine tha heafde becearf. [The corpse ["neuter (masculine)", according to Klaeber] sprang wide, when it (he) suffered a blow after death, a hard swordswing,/ and deprived it (him) of its (his) head by cutting].(l. 1588b.)

After a scene (which parallels the analogues) in which we glance at the discouraged men waiting at the clifftop, who see the water welling blood again, we shoot back down to the cavern (l. 1605b) to the news that "Tha thaet sweord ongan// aefter heathoswate/ hildegicelum// wigbil wanian/ [Then that sword began to melt in battle icicles]" (ll. 1605-1606), but the hilt of the sword, whose ring-marked blade had melted, burned up, because

(25.?) "waes thaet blod to thaes hat// aettren ellorgaest,/ se thaer inne swealt/. [that blood was too hot for it (or that) the poisonous alien spirit (nominative masculine singular) which [se] had died there inside." (ll. 1615-1617).

He swims up to the surface and finds that the wave currents have been "eal gefealsod// tha se ellorgast// oflet lifdagas/ ond thas laenan gesceaft [all cleansed, when the alien spirit relinquished the days of life, and the transitory created world]" (ll. 1620-1622). Even though Brimwylf is the "alien spirit" who has most recently given up this world, it cannot necessarily be assumed that it was her blood that melted the sword.³¹ Traditionally, critics and editors and some translators³² have assumed that, for the death to have had such far-reaching effects (and also because, regardless of the

³¹ *For a detailed and coherent explanation of the version that it was her blood that melted the giant sword, Grendel having been beheaded with Hrunting, see Norman E. Eliason, "The Thyle and the Scop in Beowulf," Speculum, 38 (1963), 267-84.

³²The translators, as a group, are as baffled as anyone else by this one (whose lifedays). Five say "his", six say "her", and six prudently choose neutral phrases which enable them to evade the issue, as the poet himself has, in effect, done.

effects of rigor mortis, he was the last to be struck by the sword, and because thone hafelan [his head, or the head] has just been mentioned), it must have been that of Grendel. Whether one finds this an acceptable solution or not depends mainly on whether one is inclined to a "realist" view of the Beowulf world, or, on the other hand, to the view that Grendel, though physically dead, was intended by the poet to be thought of as a creature similar to the draugr, or living dead, of Old Norse literature,³³ who still, on occasion, rose from the grave and committed murders. Such an assumption puts Brimwylf back in her place as unimportant, merely female, merely somebody's dutiful but self-effacing mother. On the other hand, it validates her skills as a warrior woman, since it makes her simply human, not some strange creature whose blood had thaumaturgical powers. There is no way of knowing what was the poet's actual intention.

The problem, then, of "whose blood" dissolved the sword, seems insoluble. The result is merely ambiguity.

And so we find no pattern consistent with a conscious literary purpose. The only element in common between the four inescapable uses of the masculine pronouns to refer to Brimwylf occurring at lines 1260, 1392, 1394, and 1497-8, is that in all

³³ *McConchie, after showing many similarities in plot between Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother and Grettir's fight with Karr, notes that "Karr is a draugr of a kind perfectly familiar in the sagas, one who does not lie quietly in his grave..." but ends by agreeing with Whitelock against Chambers, that in interpreting Beowulf, one should downplay the influence of the analogues and concentrate on the poem itself. R. McConchie, "Grettir Asmundarson's Fight with Karr the Old: a Neglected Beowulf Analogue," English Studies, 63:6, 481-86.

four cases she is being described as dwelling in or ruling in or trying to lose herself in rather distant places--the dreadful waters, the region of the floods, the mountain forest, or the sea's floor. Is her "masculinity" merely a function of distance? The other alternative is that it is an association of those pronouns with place, from his revising a source in which a female is the disturber of the hall and a male the guardian of the deep, as in Grettissaga and Orms thattr Storolfssonar. An interesting possessive adjective which also shows gender-reversal, sinum [his], used in the sentence, "Baer tha seo brimwyl[f], tha heo to botne, com, // hringa thengel/ to hofe sinum, // [The she-wolf of the sea bore then, when she came to the bottom, the prince of rings to his chambers,] (l. 1507) is of little help. Certainly it is to her own chambers that she carries Beowulf, and the use of the masculine possessive adjective merely adds to the evidence of gender confusion on the part of the poet without clarifying the motivation. If anything, it obfuscates it: to hofe sinum is precisely the phrase used of Hrothgar when he retires to his chambers! (l. 1236) There is little indication as to which direction might be, in fact, the appropriate one in which to search. ³⁴ The poet has left us with

³⁴ *A still further possibility is raised by Damico: that the masculine pronouns (and nouns) show that she is "ambisexual, as are the skaldmayjar, whom Saxo describes as possessing the 'bodies of women...but the souls of men.'" (The Nine Books of Saxo Grammaticus, trans. Oliver Elton [Norroena Society; rpt. Wendeln/ Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967], Bk. VIII, p. 310). Helen Damico, "The Valkyrie Reflex in Old English Literature," Allegorica 5, No. 2, (1980 Winter), 149-167.

an unanswerable question, as totally unresolvable as his own deep ambivalence towards the figure of the physically aggressive woman, the actual "femme fatale".

So much for all those hypotheses. If her being a warrior woman or the avenger in a legal feud was the poet's reason for being dubious about her gender, then it was certainly not a conscious and controlled use of the device. But it may be at the bottom of his malaise in a different way. The very irrationality of his use of the inappropriate pronouns may be a clue.

We may in fact possibly be approaching here the notion of a writer, or at least a persona, who, in this and in other elements of his tale, is betraying unconscious attitudes, which for some reason it is not safe for him to be aware of --or conscious attitudes that he does not wish his audience to be aware of.³⁵

4. How the Poet Deals with Other Women

To begin with, let me give a brief overview of the territory we are about to explore. Aside from his dealings with Brimwylf, the poet makes some mention of (i.e. spends from 1.5 lines to ten pages on each of) eleven individual women, if one

³⁵ It is interesting that in a book of essays entitled The "Beowulf" Poet, appearing as late as 1968, there is not a single paper devoted to his characteristics as an unreliable narrator! How can this intriguing possibility have been neglected in such a work, considering the obsession with such narrators in the fiction of the last twenty years? Is the lack of inter-generic communication as serious as all that?

excludes the rather vague and negative but significant phrase, "ne mægth [no maiden]", in line 3016b, the "wera ond wifa [men and women]" who help prepare Heorot (l. 993) and the mægtha hose [Wealhtheow's group of female attendants] (l. 924b). A brief survey of the lines dealing with individual women follows:

WOMEN IN BEOWULF, in order of appearance.

1. Yrse. ll. 62-3. sister of Hrothgar (Dane), wife of Onela (Swede), daughter of Healfdene (Dane).
2. Nameless Queen: l. ll. 374-375a. mother of Beowulf (Geat); wife of Ecgtheow (Geat), daughter of Hrethel (Geat).
3. Wealhtheow. ll. 612b-641, 662-5, 920b-924, 1162b-1232, 1649, 2016b-2019. wife of Hrothgar (Dane), mother of Freawaru and sons (Danes), daughter of Helmingas family (not Danes).
4. Hildeburh. ll. 1071-80, 1114-18, 1157b-1159a. wife of Finn (Frisian), daughter of Hoc (Dane), sister of Hnaef (Dane), mother of son slain in battle (Frisian).
5. Brimwylf, or Grendles modor. ll. 1234, 1255b-1622, 1652-83, 2117b-43, 2353-4. mother of Grendel. (racial affiliation unknown. Cain is not mentioned in the MS.)
6. Hygd. ll. 1926-1931a, 2172-5, 2369-72. wife of Higelac (Geat), daughter of Haereth (racial or tribal affiliation unknown), mother of Eofor's wife.
7. Mod thrytho. ll. 1931b-56. eventually wife of Offa (Angle?).
8. Freawaru. ll. 2020-2066. daughter of Hrothgar (Dane) and

Wealhtheow. eventually wife of Ingeld (Heathobard).

9. Nameless Queen: 2. ll. 2930-32. wife of Ongentheow (Swede), mother of Onela and Ohthere (Swedes).

10. Nameless Queen: 3. ll. 2997-98. only daughter of Higelac and Hygd (Geat), eventually wife of Eofor (Geat) for killing Ongentheow.

11. Unknown woman: ll. 3150-52. [Ge]at[isc]_meowle_[Woman of the Geats], sings a dirge for Beowulf.

Of the eleven, seven are definitely queens, one (Freawaru) is a princess later to be married to a ruler, one, Hygelac's daughter, is a princess given to a retainer in return for a service, and one is an unknown woman of the Geats, by some fancifully assumed to be Beowulf's widow, but with no textual basis for such an assumption. Of the nine queens or princesses, only one (Beowulf's mother) seems to have been married to a member of her own tribe, the others all presumably or definitively having been used by their tribes for the political purpose of being a "freothu-webbe [peace-weaver]". Of the eleven women, only six have names of their own: ³⁶ Yrse, Wealhtheow, Freawaru, Hygd, Hildeburh, and Modthrytho. Five of these are provided by the poet in the poem; the first, Yrse, is not mentioned by him but is dubbed in from "historical" evidence by editors of the text. The rest are nameless, defined only by

³⁶The poem, in comparison, contains 67 named male characters, and at least 14 unnamed male characters, some of importance to the plot, none of whom is defined by his relationship to a member of the opposite sex.

their relationship to males:

"X.1", queen, wife of Ecgtheow, mother of Beowulf, and daughter of Hrethel;

"X.2", queen, wife of Ongentheow, mother of Onela;

"X.3", princess, later queen, daughter of Hygelac; and

"X.4", woman of the Geats.

Yrse, named by the editors, is described by the poet only as ("X.5?"): daughter of Healfdene, sister of Hrothgar, and bed-companion of Onela.

The activities in which the poet shows these women involved are as follows: carrying cups of strong drink to heroes at feasts (Wealhtheow, Freawaru, and Hygd), giving out golden rings to men, (Wealhtheow, Freawaru, and Hygd) making speeches to one's lord or other men at feasts in which one praises them, encourages them, or tries to influence them in the direction of securing succession to the throne of one's sons (Wealhtheow,³⁷ Hygd), displaying the gold ornaments given one by men (Wealhtheow, Freawaru, Hygd); being promised or given by men to other men (in marriage) to settle intertribal feuds (Freawaru), to reward retainers for services (Hygelac's daughter), to keep one from causing further trouble (Modthrytho), or for no stated reason (Beowulf's mother, Ongentheow's wife); being

³⁷ *Kliman describes in detail the manipulative elements in the speech of Wealhtheow to Hrothgar in ll. 1169-1231, then points out that "Nothing could so poignantly illustrate the diplomacy which is born of impotence as these disjointed statements unconnected to any request or demand of her own." Bernice W. Kliman, "Women in Early English Literature: Beowulf to the *Andren Wisse*," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 21 (1977), p. 34.

bed-companion for a king (Yrse, Wealhtheow, Hygd); succeeding temporarily at peace-weaving (Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Freawaru), but ultimately failing (Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Freawaru), holding high love for a king (Modthrytho), dining while an enemy's head is brought in on a spear (Wealhtheow), being given a beautiful necklace and four horses by a hero (Hygd), offering the same hero the kingdom, to protect one's son (Hygd); innocently losing a son and a brother who are fighting on opposite sides in a battle (Hildeburh), being captured by the enemy in battle in old age, stripped of one's ornaments, then rescued (Ongentheow's wife), having men stare at one and ordering them to be executed (Modthrytho), ordering one's son's corpse to be placed on the pyre at the shoulder of one's brother's corpse (Hildeburh), being carried back to one's own people by the remnants of a war-band who have just killed one's husband and son (Hildeburh); and singing a lament over the body of a dead king or relative (Hildeburh, woman of the Geats). These are all, except one, considered to be acceptable activities for a woman.³⁸ But let us leave aside Modthrytho for a moment.

Aside from Hygd's offer of the kingdom to Beowulf, a gesture indicating great political power, one would think, though negated by Beowulf's refusal, as a perfect Christian hero, to do anything but support the boy-king until his manhood

³⁸ *For an interesting discussion of other activities of women in Beowulf and other Old English literature, see Kliman, op. cit.

and subsequent death, the activities are all well within the range defined by Pearson in The Female Hero as merely supporting roles for the real hero. Here one could even include Brimwylf, of course. They function merely as obstacles, assistants, or rewards for what the male hero struggles through and achieves, ornamental vignettes to set off gracefully the Real Life activities of men.

The main thing to note here, rather than going in detail into the circumstances of each woman's part in the poem, is the fact that the poet has no difficulty with these women. There are no strange incongruities, no uncertainties as to whether they are better referred to as "he" or "she". They are just women (ladies, queens, maidens, brides) performing their appropriate roles as set forth by the gnomic sayings and the laws, and no doubt by consensual validation of the entire community. They are all (except possibly the final mourner) noblewomen, and with the one exception mentioned earlier they very properly do as society expects them to do. There is no problem.³⁹

Modthrytho (or Thryth) presents a special case, and for the present writer a more interesting one than any of the others.

³⁹ *Nitszche, in fact, argues that the poet intends Grendel's mother as "a specific inversion of the Anglo-Saxon ideal of the woman." As a warlike and "masculine" woman Grendel's mother is seen as "unnatural" and as structurally contrasted with the appropriately behaving peaceweavers. One example given is Hildeburh, who does not do any avenging of the death of her son, presented just before the appearance of Grendel's mother, but merely mourns and allows herself to be taken back to her father's people. Jane Nitszche, "The Structural Unity in Beowulf: The Problem of Grendel's Mother," Texas Studies in Literature and Language 22:3 (1980), p. 287.

The commentators have had problems, and amusing solutions, regarding Modthrytho, as well.

But pay attention to the poet's actual words,*^o to the possibility of imagining why a young woman referred to as "excellent queen of the folk" might have behaved so violently among her own people. According to the poet, it was not those who dared to look her in the face (aside from her own lord) who were objectionable, but "those who stared into her eyes during the day". Given the prevalent attitude towards women as chiefly things to be used, either politically or sexually, for the convenience of males, the situation of a maiden princess in a mead-hall full of men who had not yet encountered any such tradition as courtly love might well have been distinctly unpleasant and threatening at times. It might well, in a spirited girl, have led to an occasion or two (given the approval of such actions which she must have had, from powerful males, in order to do anything at all about it) of getting rid of the would-be sexual intimidator by executing him, using whatever was the standard method of the court of the time for dealing with offenders. That even one occurrence of such a case would have given rise to a legend is quite believable.

*^oMod thrytho waeg, //
frenu folces cwen, / firen ondrysne; // naenig thaet dorste / deor
genethan // swaesra gesitha, / nefne sin-frea // thaet hire an
daeges / eagu starede; // ac him waelbende / weotode tealde //
handgewrithene; / hrathe seoththan waes // aefter mundgripe / mece
gethinged // thaet hit sceadenmael / scyran moste, // cwealm-bealu
cythan. ll. 1931b, ff.

But it was all right, eventually. "Saved" by "the love of a good man", she spent the rest of her days in good works, according to the poet. What is more interesting is the suggestion, suddenly thrown into the poem and never again repeated in all of Anglo-Saxon literature, that heahlufu^{*1} [high love]^{*2} was here an operative factor. Sent overseas to meet a mate suited to her, she changed completely and "as long as she lived/ Held high love with the lord of heroes" (l. 1954). Is it possible that, farther south on the continent, ideas of genuine love between male and female had begun to be considered, and that Thryth was "tamed", in fact, by the experience of sharing love on a mutual basis with, and as, another human being?

*1The poem has the accusative singular, l. 1954a.

*2It is tempting to compare this term with that for another type of love treated as specialized by the Old English language, this time a love felt by a man, the wiflufu ["love for a woman, or WIFE"] of line 2065--a type of love Ingeld finds less interesting when he learns it is not politically effective.

CONCLUSIONS

I have presented for the reader of this paper, as promised, a description of the experience of a feminist reader in 1982-4 encountering Beowulf.

This experience of reading and then translating the Old English poem has been one of a strange exploration into the world of a formidable woman considered by most translators to be a monster, and of a working back through that image to the text itself, in order to discover what the poet who conceived her had, so far as one could make out, intended by that concept. The reader's response to the various versions of the text ranged from interest to amusement to outrage to determined rising to meet a challenge, and back to interest again as the amusement and outrage demanded some sort of resolution through an analysis of the intellectual problems involved. The final "reader response" seems to be one of exhaustion.

The findings have, in the main, been elaborated within the paper, but they will bear repetition here. First, that there can be no trusting dependence on translators or glossarists or even lexicographers to render objectively what the poet was saying. Second, that when one does finally arrive at a more reliable view of the meaning of the poet's text, one finds that he displays an interesting ambivalence towards a woman who is aggressive, while handling women who conform to the society's role expectations of relatively submissive domesticity without problems. This ambivalence of his betrays itself chiefly in his

use of masculine pronouns to refer to a warrior woman, and by some rather fascinating inconsistencies in the flow of the narrative. His chief dilemma seems to be centred around the problem of whether a warrior woman can, or cannot, be a worthy opponent for a hero, within the traditions of Anglo-Saxon heroic and epic poetry. This leads him to some strange antics. He portrays Brimwylf as timid but terrifying; without significant strength but with immense strength; an opponent to be scorned but one who must be prepared for with great care, including long instructions as to what to do in case the hero does not survive. She is an adversary who inspires no fear but who requires divine intervention to prevent her from causing the hero's death: death in the course of hand-to-hand combat, which happens to be his particular speciality.

What can one appropriately conclude? Most simply, perhaps, that there is a considerable amount of careful work to be done before traditional Beowulf criticism will be ready to approach any such ideal as "fairness to all concerned." Secondly, that the 7th-11th century poet, though full of interesting ambivalences whose manifestations may become more clear as a result of this study, was at least more just than those who have tried to interpret his work to readers of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thirdly and finally, that, contrary to what a casual reader might naively expect, this ancient English poem still has much in it that awaits exploration and discovery.

C. APPENDIX: TERMS REFERRING TO SEO BRINWYLF

I. TABLES OF THE FORTY TERMS, ARRANGED BY AUTHOR

FORTY TERMS USED BY THE POET TO REFER TO GRENDLES MODOR

AND THE INTERPRETATION GIVEN EACH OF THESE TERMS

BY A LEXICOGRAPHER,

FIVE EDITORS,

AND SEVENTEEN TRANSLATORS

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED IN THIS APPENDIX

"--" = word or phrase which this editor indicates is to interpret this particular line of the text.

++ = hapax legomenon, i.e. the sole occurrence of this word in the language.

++2, ++3, etc. = word found only in Beowulf, but in it used twice, three times, etc.

Direct Quotations:

BHr" = Beowulf speaking to Hrothgar

HrB" = Hrothgar speaking to Beowulf

BHi" = Beowulf speaking to Higelac.

ROOT MEANINGS: derived from BOSWORTH & TOLLER: 1898/1964

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH: BASIC MEANING OF ROOT-WORDS: BOSWORTH & TOLLER (SELECTIONS)
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimme++</u>	formerly + what is created + grim, sharp, bitter
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's + a mother of human beings or animals
1259	<u>ides</u>	a woman (poetry), a being between a goddess and a woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a fierce combatant + a woman, a female person
1260	<u>se</u>	he, that one (masculine)
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	he, that one (masculine)
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's + mother of human beings or animals
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	(became) a hand + killer
1331	<u>rael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	slaughter + spirit + restless, wandering
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty, powerful + sin, crime + harmer
1348	<u>nicle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	nickle, great + boundary (of place) + one who steps

1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> (HrB")	elsewhere + spirit, soul, mind
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> (HrB")	(was) of a woman + likeness, image, form
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> (HrB")	much + sinning + man
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> (BHR")	Grendel's + kinswoman
1392	<u>he</u> (BHR")	he
1394	<u>he</u> (BHR")	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he, that one (masculine)
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	of foreign + beings, creatures
1502	<u>atolan cloomum</u>	with dire, terrible + bands, bonds, clasps
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	with hostile, loathsome + fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the, that + surf, sea, ocean + she-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	bottom, depth, abyss + cursed
1519	<u>mere-wif++ nihtig</u>	sea, mere, lake + woman + mighty, powerful
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's + mother of human beings or animals
1540	<u>grimman grasum</u>	with bitter, fierce, grim + grasps, clutches
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	life, soul + enemy, foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the, that + surf, sea, ocean + she-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	elsewhere + spirit, soul, mind
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the, that (m.) + elsewhere + breath, spirit, ghost

1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	gave up + (his or her?) life + days
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	of the house + guardians, guards, keepers
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	of devils
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	woman + not + gentle, mild, pleasant
2139	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	grim, fierce, bitter + terrible, horrible + bottom, depth, abyss + guardian, guard, keeper.

EDITION: FR. KLAEBER: 1922

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim + "fate, that which has been determined of old"
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman, lady
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	"wretch, or monster, of a woman"
1260	<u>se</u>	he, that one (m.)
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	he, that one
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	became his slayer with the hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	murderous sprite + restless, wandering
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty, wicked + evildoer
1348	<u>wicle</u> <u>wearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	"great wanderers in the waste borderland"
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	"alien spirits"
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	"likeness of a woman or lady"
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sinful man
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	"Grendel's kinswoman (mother)"

1392	<u>he (BHR")</u>	he
1394	<u>he (BHR")</u>	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	"the alien creatures, monsters"
1502	<u>atolan eponnum</u>	horrid, dire + grasps, grips, clasps
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	hateful, hostile + fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"she-WOLF of the sea"
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	"accursed (female) monster of the deep"
1519	<u>mere-wif++ nihtig</u>	mighty "mere-woman, water-witch"
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	grim, fierce + grasps, claws
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	"life-enemy, deadly foe"
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"she-WOLF of the sea"
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	"alien spirit" who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the "alien spirit"
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	gave up lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	"guardians, herds, keepers of the place"
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	of "DEVILS, demons "
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother

2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	woman, lady + awful, frightful
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	grim, fierce + terrible, horrible + "guardian of the deep"

EDITION: HEYNE-SCHUCKING/VON SCHAUBERT: 1863-1932

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN GERMAN
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grimm + "Bestimmung von altersher"
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	Rächer
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendels Mutter
1259	<u>ides</u>	Frau, hohe Frau
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	"dämonhaftes Weib"
1260	<u>se</u>	er
1276	<u>his modor</u>	sein Mutter
1279	<u>(se or seo) understood</u>	er
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendels Mutter
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	Töter mit der blossen Hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre (HrB")</u>	"todbringender Geist"
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha (HrB")</u>	"frevlerischer Schädiger"
1348	<u>wicle nearc-stapan++2 (HrB")</u>	"gewaltige Markbeschreiter"
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4 (HrB")</u>	"anderswo lebender"
1351	<u>idese on-licnes (HrB")</u>	"Bild, Gestalt, der Frau"
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg (HrB")</u>	vielsündig + Mann, Gesell
1391	<u>Grendles magan (BHr")</u>	"Grendels weibliche Verwandte"
1392	<u>he (BHr")</u>	er

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	er
1497	<u>se</u>	der?
1500	<u>ael-wiht</u> ++	"Ungeheuer, Wesen anderer Art"
1502	<u>atolan clomun</u>	...Klammer, Unklammerung, Griff
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	...Finger
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf</u> ++2	"Meerwölfin, Wölfin der Flut"
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne</u> ++	"verflüchte Unhöldin der Tiefe"
1519	<u>mere-wif</u> ++ <u>mihtig</u>	..."Meerweib, Wasser-Unhöldin"
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendels Mutter
1540	<u>grinnan grapun</u>	"mit grimmen Griffen"
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan</u> ++3	"Lebensfeind, Todfeind"
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf</u> ++2	"Meerwölfin, Wölfin der Flut"
1617	<u>ellor-gaest</u> ++4... <u>se</u>	"anderswo lebender"
1621	<u>se ellor-gast</u> ++4	"anderswo lebender"
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	verlassen Lebenstage
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	Haus + Hirt, Hüter
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	"von dem Feind, Teufel"
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	sein Mutter
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendels Mutter
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Weib, Frau + nicht geheuer
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendels Mutter

2136

grimne gryre-licne
grund-hyrdett (BHi)

"Hüter des Grundes"

TRANSLATION OF THE GERMAN (OF HEYNE-SCHÜCKING/VON SCHAUBERT)
INTO MODERN ENGLISH, by ELIZABETH WEIR, CASSELL'S GERMAN
DICTIONARY, 1888

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim destiny of old
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman, lady, high lady
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	demoniacal woman
1260	<u>se</u>	he
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	he
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	killer with the bare hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	death-bringing spirit
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wicked, wantonly offensive + wronger
1348	<u>nicle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	powerful + walkers on border country
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	elsewhere-living ones
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	image, form, of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	much-sinful + man, companion
1391	<u>Grendles maqan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's female relative

1392	<u>he</u> (BHR")	he
1394	<u>he</u> (BHR")	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	monstrous, huge + being of another kind
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	...clasp, holdfast, grip
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	...fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	sea-she-wolf, she-wolf of the flood
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennett+</u>	accursed, malicious foe + of the deep
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtiq</u>	...sea-woman, water-monster, foe
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grasum</u>	with fierce grips
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	life-enemy, deadly enemy
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	sea-she-wolf, she-wolf of the flood
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	elsewhere-living one
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	elsewhere-living one
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	abandoned + days of life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (BHR")	house + keepers, guardians
1680	<u>deofla</u> (BHR")	devils
1683	<u>his modor</u> (BHR")	his mother

2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	woman, lady + uncanny, not + secure against anything * ghostly
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	...guardian of the depths

EDITION: HARRISON/SHARP: 1882-1883

N.B. The Glossary in this edition of the text is arranged with the following each under a separate heading: A, A, A, AE, E, E, EA, EA, EO, EO, I, I, IO/IU, O, O, U, U, Y, Y. I have not transposed the diacritical marks into the body of this table, as they are not necessary to an understanding of the Old English.

The line numbers given by Harrison and Sharp are one number higher than the corresponding numbers given by all other editors for each line.

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geol-sceaft grimne++</u>	"(fixed in past times), fate" + grim, angry, wild, hostile
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	"(an avenger)"
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	mother + of Grendel
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman, lady, queen. "Also of Grendel's mother."
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	" <u>demon, devil in the form of a woman</u> "
1260	<u>se</u>	...who
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	relative: she who... (for <u>seo the...</u> "cf. 1261, 1498; (Grendel's mother, as a wild, demonic creature, is conceived now as a man, now as a woman; woman, as having borne a son; man, as the incarnation of savage cunning and power);" (also l. 2422, referring to Wyrð).
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother

1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	murderer with the hand, or in hand to hand combat
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre (HrB")</u>	"deadly sprite" + wavering (like flame), ghostlike, without distinct bodily form"
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha (HrB")</u>	"physically strong, powerful" + mischievous, hurtful foe, <u>hostis n. fastus</u>
1348	<u>micle mearc-stapan++2 (HrB")</u>	great, huge + "march-strider, frontier-haunter"
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4 (HrB")</u>	"Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere (standing outside the community of mankind)"
1351	<u>idese on-licnes (HrB")</u>	"likeness, form, figure" + woman, lady, queen "Also of Grendel's mother."
1379	<u>fela-synnig secg</u>	"very criminal, very guilty...(+ man, warrior, hero, spokesman "(Grendel's mother, cf. <u>se</u> in MS., on account of the alliteration, changed to simple <u>sinnigne</u>
1391	<u>Grendles magan (BHr")</u>	Grendel's + female relative "(mother)"
1392	<u>he (BHr")</u>	he (see Notes)
1394	<u>he (BHr")</u>	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	"being of another species, monster" gen. pl.
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	hostile, frightful, cruel + fetter, figuratively of a strong gripe,...964, 1336,..."horrible claws of Grendel's mother"!

1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathly, evil, hateful, hostile + fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"she-wolf (designation of Grendel's mother)"
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	"she-wolf of the bottom (of the sea)"
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	"sea-woman, mer-woman" [sic] + physically strong, powerful
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	grim, angry, wild, hostile + the hand ready to grasp, hand, claw "with grim claws"
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	he who seeks life, life's enemy, NHG <u>Todfeind</u> , mortal enemy.
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"sea-wolf (designation of Grendel's mother)"
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	"(Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere (standing outside the community of mankind)"
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	"(Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere (standing outside the community of mankind)"
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	_____ (gave up) + "lifetime"
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	house + (herd) keeper, guardian, possessor "acc. pl."
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	"devil...of Grendel and his troop (757, 1681)"
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother

2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	woman, lady, wife + "monstrous, horrible" of Grendel's claws, his mother, the dragon.
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	grim, angry, wild, hostile + terrible, horrible + "warder of the bottom (of the sea)"

EDITION: WYATT/CHAMBERS: 1914

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim fate
1256	<u>wreccend</u>	avenger; wreaker
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman, lady
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	"monster-wife"
1260	<u>se</u>	he
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	he
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	hand-slayer
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	"wavering, wandering slaughter-ghost"
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	"wicked scather, deadly foe"
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	-----
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sprite living elsewhere
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	likeness of a woman or lady
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	very sinful man
1391	<u>Grendles nagan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	"Grendel's kinswoman"
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	he

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he who
1500	<u>ael-wihta++</u>	"alien wight, strange monster"
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	dire, horrible + clasps, grips
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathsome, hostile + fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"she mere-wolf"
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	"ground-hag. cf/ w: accursed"
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty "mere-woman"
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	grim + grips, clutches
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	"life foe, deadly foe"
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	"she mere-wolf"
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	"sprite living elsewhere...who"
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	"sprite living elsewhere"
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	left + lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	keepers, guardians of the house
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	devils'
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	uncanny, monstrous + wife, woman

2139 Grendeles modor
(BHi")

2136 grimne gryre-licne
grund-hyrde++ (BHi")

Grendel's mother

grim + _____ + "ground-herd,
guardian of the bottom of the
mere"

EDITION: WRENN/BOLTON: 1973

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	what has been decreed of old, fate + wrathful, fierce
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	lady, woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	"monster of a woman"
1260	<u>se</u>	he
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	(he or she)
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	slayer with the hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	murderous sprite + restless, hovering, wandering
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty, strong + evil foe, wicked ravager
1348	<u>nicle-mearc-stapan</u>	great, big large + walker in the borderland, haunter of the border country
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	of a woman + likeness
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	much + sin... + man, warrior

1391	<u>Grendles</u> <u>magan</u> (<u>BHr"</u>)	Grendel's kinswoman, hence mother
1392	<u>he</u> (<u>BHr"</u>)	he
1394	<u>he</u> (<u>BHr"</u>)	he
1497	<u>se</u>	he
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	"creature from elsewhere, alien being"
1502	<u>atolan</u> <u>clomnum</u>	with horrible, terrible + grips, clasps
1505	<u>lathan</u> <u>fingrum</u>	with hateful, hostile, grievous + fingers
1506	<u>seo</u> <u>brim-wylf++2</u>	that "she-wolf of the sea or water"
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennet+</u>	"accursed she-monster of the deep"
1519	<u>mere-wif++</u> <u>mihtig</u>	"water-woman, woman of the mere"
1538	<u>Grendles</u> <u>modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman</u> <u>grapum</u>	with wrathful, fierce + grasp; claw
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	mortal foe
1599	<u>seo</u> <u>brim-wylf++2</u>	that "she-wolf of the sea or water"
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite
1621	<u>se</u> <u>ellor-gast++4</u>	that spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite
1622	<u>of-let</u> <u>lif-dagas</u>	relinquished, left + time of life, days of life

1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	of the house + keeper, guardian, shepherd
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	devil
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	woman, lady + horrible, awful
2139	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	wrathful, fierce + terrible, horrible + guardian of the deep (Klaeber)

TRANSLATION: BENJAMIN THORPE: 1855

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim calamity
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	an avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	the woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	wretched crone
1260	<u>se</u>	she (changed to <u>seo</u>)
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	for murderer
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	deadly wandering guest
1339	<u>mihtiq man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty fell destroyer
1348	<u>nicle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge march-stalkers
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	stranger-guests
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a woman's likeness
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	this much sinful man
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	of Grendel's parent
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she (changed to seo the)
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of strange creatures
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	in her horrid clutches
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	with hostile fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	the ground-wolf
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty mere-wolf
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grasum</u>	with her fierce grasps
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	the mortal foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the seawolf (sic)
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the stranger guest...who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the stranger guest
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	left her lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the house's keepers
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	those devils'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the monster woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim, horrific groundkeeper

TRANSLATION: JOHN EARLE: 1892

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	cruel destiny
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger, & the old water-hag
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	the beldam
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	troll-wife
1260	<u>se</u>	it,...creature that...
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	it
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the blood-sprent hag
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	a raging destroyer
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	gruesome...thing
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a mighty ravager
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge mark-stalkers
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	creatures of strange fashion
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a beldam's likeness
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	guilty felon
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(BHR")</u>	Grendel's kin
1392	<u>he (BHR")</u>	he
1394	<u>he (BHR")</u>	he

1497	<u>se</u>	creature which
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of goblins
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	grisly talons, and the hag
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathsome fingers, and Grendel's dam
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	she-wolf of the lake
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennett</u>	she-wolf of the abyss
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty carline of the Mere
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the hag, and the hag
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with fell grapplings
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	deadly adversary
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	she-wolf of the mere
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	strange goblin...which
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the goblin
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	had quitted life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the keepers of the house
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	demons
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	awful mere-wife
2139	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim and grisly guardian of the whirl-pool's abyss

TRANSLATION: JOHN R. CLARK HALL: 1911

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim destiny
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	monstrous among womankind
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	monstrous among womankind
1260	<u>se</u>	she who
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	--
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	---(has slain him)
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering demon
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty miscreant
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge wanderers of the marches
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien spirits
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the semblance of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sin-stained being
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kinswoman
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	monsters
1502	<u>atolan clonnum</u>	her horrid <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	hateful fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	she-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennett+</u>	accursed monster of the deep
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty mere-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grasum</u>	fearful graspings
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	deadly foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	sea wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the fiend...who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the alien spirit
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	days of <u>his</u> life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	guardians of the dwelling
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	the demons
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	monstrous hag
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim and terrible guardian of the welling waters' depths.

TRANSLATION: JOHN R. CLARK HALL: 1914

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	fate, the destiny grim
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	(after the ghoul) an avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1259	<u>ides</u>	a fiend of a woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a fiend of a woman
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	his murderer by the hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering carnage-sprite, <u>the</u> <u>ghoul</u>
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty foe
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge haunters of the marks
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sprites from some other world
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	like a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the wight of many crimes
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's dam
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	she
1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	strange creatures
1502	<u>atolan clonnum</u>	with her hideous claws (and 2127: in her devilish grasp)
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	with her fingers obscene
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the water-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	the underground wolf
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	the mighty mere-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel his dam
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with terrible grips-- <u>clasping</u> <u>him to herself</u>
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his life's foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the water-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the <u>ghoul</u> , who...
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the alien sprite
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	yield up <u>his</u> lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	the guards of the house...from my foes
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	the fiends
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	the <u>hideous</u> <u>hag</u>

2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (BHi")	Grendel his dam
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the ground-guard, the fearful and grim, of the billowy deep.

TRANSLATION: CHARLES W. KENNEDY: 1940

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	fearful doom
1256	<u>wrencend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1259	<u>ides</u>	a monstrous hag
1259	<u>aqlaecwif</u>	a monstrous hag
1260	<u>se</u>	---(doomed to dwell)
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	She
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	---(slain by)
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering demon
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	fierce ravager
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty marauders
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	outcast wretch of another world
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	seemed woman's likeness
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sinful wight
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(BHr")</u>	Grendel's dam
1392	<u>he (BHr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	she
1497	<u>se</u>	she (and: a ravening hag)
1500	<u>ael-wiht</u> ++	sea-trolls'
1502	<u>atolan</u> <u>clomun</u>	with horrid grip
1505	<u>lathan</u> <u>fingerun</u>	savage fingers
1506	<u>seo</u> <u>brim-wylf</u> ++2	she-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne</u> ++	--
1519	<u>mere-wif</u> ++ <u>mihtig</u>	huge sea-troll
1538	<u>Grendles</u> <u>modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1540	<u>grimman</u> <u>grapun</u>	clutching <u>claw</u>
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan</u> ++3	the hag
1599	<u>seo</u> <u>brim-wylf</u> ++2	savage sea-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest</u> ++4... <u>se</u>	fallen fiend...--
1621	<u>se</u> <u>ellor-gast</u> ++4	evil monster
1622	<u>of-let</u> <u>lif-dagas</u>	looked <u>her</u> last
1666	<u>huses</u> <u>hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	the cavern-warders
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	demons'
1683	<u>his</u> <u>modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> ")	his fearful dam
2118	<u>Grendeles</u> <u>modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	the mother of Grendel
2120	<u>wif</u> <u>un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	the hideous hag
2139	<u>Grendeles</u> <u>modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> ")	the mother of Grendel
2136	<u>grimne</u> <u>gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde</u> ++ (B <u>Hi</u> ")	the horrid guard of the gulf

TRANSLATION: EDWIN MORGAN: 1952

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	destiny to be dreaded
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1259	<u>ides</u>	monster in woman-sex
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	monster in woman-sex
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	killed him with her hands
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering spirit bloodthirsty
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	this demon has come
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge...wasteland-stalkers
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	unearthly creatures
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	had the form of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	its vicious denizen
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(BHr")</u>	Grendel's kinswoman
1392	<u>he (BHr")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (BHr")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of demon-kind
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	in frightful fisthold
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	fierce fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	wolfish water-fiend
1518	<u>grund-wyrqennat+</u>	the abyss's curse
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	great sea-demon-woman
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	cruel <u>clawholds</u>
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	the desperate enemy
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	wolfish sea-demon-woman
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	hell-fiend...who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	alien soul
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	left living days
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the hall's guard
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	demons'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	fiendish woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grinne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the fierce and terrifying guardian of the abyss.

TRANSLATION: DAVID WRIGHT: 1957

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmet+</u>	fate which was in store
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	a woman-monster
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a woman-monster
1260	<u>se</u>	she was one of the creatures
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	She
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	---(has killed him)(it)
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering, murderous fiend
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	ravager (for its offspring)
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	enormous monsters haunting the fenland
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	--
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	looked like a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the criminal
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(BHR")</u>	Grendel's mother
1392	<u>he (BHR")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (BHR")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she...the ravening sea-beast
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	monsters'
1502	<u>atolan clommu</u>	loathsome <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	her horrible <u>talons</u>
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the she-wolf of the water
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennett+</u>	the monster of the lake
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	an enormous water-hag
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with a ferocious grapple
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his antagonist
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the she-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the fiend...which
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the monster
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	had left this world
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the defenders of the place
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	of the demons
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the hag
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grisly guardian of the abyss

TRANSLATION: BURTON RAFFEL: 1963

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> (<u>MS./KLAEBER</u>)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	the savage fate
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	a monster still lived, meant revenge
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	that female horror
1259	<u>aqlaecwif</u>	that female horror
1260	<u>se</u>	---living in...she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	She
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	---
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	has murdered him
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering fiend, the beast, it
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	hungry fiend, a monster
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	giant monsters wandering in the moors
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	fiends
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	was a female creature
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	Grendel's mother(!)
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	this lady monster(!)
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he (BHR")</u>	her
1497	<u>se</u>	the greedy she-wolf
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	---(her wet world)
1502	<u>atolan clomum</u>	her <u>claws</u> (also 1295 "her dripping <u>claws</u> ")
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	her fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	she
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	---
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	the mighty water-witch
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's fierce mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with her clutching <u>claws</u>
1540	<u>feorh-genithlant++3</u>	---(her)
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the she-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	(blade had dissolved in Grendel's blood)
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the demons
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	were dead
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	<u>the monstrous hag</u> and 1657: the she-devil
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	---(without fear of either monster)
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his evil mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the monstrous hag

2139 Grendeles modor --- (her)
(BHi")
2136 grimne gryre-licne the horrible hag, fierce and
grund-hyrdett (BHi") wild.

TRANSLATION: LUCIEN DEAN PEARSON: 1965

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	Wyrd, long-fixed and grim
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	monster-woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	monster-woman
1260	<u>se</u>	---doomed to...she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she?
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	slew him with her hand
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	prowling slaughter-spirit
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	fell destroyer
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	great march-prowlers
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien spirits
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	was like a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	sinning soul
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kin
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	of aliens
1502	<u>atolan clomum</u>	in her perilous <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	hateful fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	mere-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennat</u>	cursed monster of the depths
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty mere-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	--
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his mortal foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	mere-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the alien soul...which
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	alien soul
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	let go <u>his</u> lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	house-herds
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	demons'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the savage hag
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim and horrid ground-herd of the deep.

TRANSLATION: D.H. CRAWFORD: 1966

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	a destiny grim
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	a wrecker of vengeance
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman-shape monstrous
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	woman-shape monstrous
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	slew him
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a slaughterous wanderer
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	strong and deadly foe
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	great stalkers of marches
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien spirits
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	was the semblance of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the sinful Being
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kinsman
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	he
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	he

1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtā++</u>	monstrous
1502	<u>atolan cloomum</u>	with dreadful <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathly fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	water wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	the Accurst of the Deep
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty mere-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with fearful grips
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	fell foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the Wolf of the Mere
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	strange spirit...that
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	alien spirit
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	abandoned <u>his</u> lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	warders of the house
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	devils'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	monstrous woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim and grisly guardian of the depths of the surging waters.

TRANSLATION: E. TALBOT DONALDSON: 1966

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim decree made long before
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	monster-wife
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	has slain him with its hands
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering murderous spirit
1339	<u>mihtiq man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	awful creature, mighty worker of wrong
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge walkers in the wasteland
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien spirits
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the likeness of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the seldom seen creature
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kin
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	she
1497	<u>se</u>	that which had held
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of monsters
1502	<u>atolan clomun</u>	awful grip
1505	<u>lathan fingrun</u>	hateful fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	the accursed dweller of the deep
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty mere-woman
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapun</u>	--
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	deadly foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the spirit...that
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	dire spirit
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	left <u>her</u> lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	House-guardians
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	of devils
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	direful woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother

2136

grimne gryre-licne
grund-hyrde++ (BHi")

the guardian of the deep pool.

TRANSLATION: KEVIN CROSSLEY-HOLLAND: 1968

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	bitter destiny
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	some avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	a monster of a woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a monster of a woman
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother?
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	slew him
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	wandering, murderous monster
1339	<u>nihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty evil ravager
1348	<u>nicle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	monstrous rangers of the fell country
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	rulers of the moors?
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	bears the likeness of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	this most evil monster
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kinswoman
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	monsters
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	her ghastly <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathsome fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	sea monster, fearsome, infernal
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	the monster's head?
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	in clinches
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his mortal foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the monster...who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the evil monster
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	ended <u>his</u> days on earth
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the <u>warden</u> of the hall
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	the demons'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the horrible harridan
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the grim guardian of the lake-bottom.

TRANSLATION: G.N. GARMONSWAY: 1968

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmet+</u>	grim destiny laid down of old
1256	<u>wrencend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1259	<u>ides</u>	a mighty woman among monsters
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a mighty woman among monsters
1260	<u>se</u>	she who
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	has slain him with her bare hands (that thing of horror?)
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a being shaken with fury for slaughter
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty...wicked ravager
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge prowlers of the borderlands
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	creatures from the otherworld
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the likeness of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	creature guilty of so many crimes
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(BHR")</u>	Grendel's kin

1392	<u>he</u> (BHR")	she...her
1394	<u>he</u> (BHR")	she
1497	<u>se</u>	she who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	of alien creatures
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	in a terrible lock
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	her hateful fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	she-wolf of the waters
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	that outcast creature of the depths
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	mighty water-hag
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1540	<u>grimman grasum</u>	by her fierce grasp
1540	<u>feorn-genithlan++3</u>	his deadly opponent
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the she-wolf of the waters
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	being of the other-world
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	that being of the other-world
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	given up <u>his</u> days of life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	guardians of that dwelling
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	the fiends'
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor (BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	this hideous woman

2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	a grim and dreadful creature guarding the bottom of the surging flood

TRANSLATION: MICHAEL ALEXANDER: 1973

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	the weird destined from of old, doom
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	<u>Grendel's Mother</u> herself (italics his)
1259	<u>ides</u>	a monstrous ogress
1259	<u>aqlaecwif</u>	a monstrous ogress
1260	<u>se</u>	she
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	the mother of Grendel
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	a bloodthirsty monster has murdered
1331	<u>rael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a wandering demon
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	most powerful ravager
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge wayfarers haunting the moors
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	otherworldly ones
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	in woman's shape
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	that creature of sin
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	this kinswoman of Grendel's

1392	<u>he (BHR")</u>	she
1394	<u>he (BHR")</u>	she
1497	<u>se</u>	the grim and greedy guardian of the flood
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of the monsters
1502	<u>atolan clomum</u>	her terrible <u>hooks</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	her dire fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the mere-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennet+</u>	darned thing of the deep
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtiq</u>	(the size of this) water-hag
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	her ruthless hands
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his mortal foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the she-wolf of the deep
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the fiend...who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the creature from the other world
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	drew breath no longer
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	the keepers of the hall
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	the demons
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his mother
2118	<u>Grendles modor (BHi")</u>	the mother of Grendel
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	that gruesome she

2139 Grendeles modor the mother
(BHi")
2136 grimne gryre-licne the grim and terrible guardian
grund-hyrde++ (BHi") of the deep.

TRANSLATION: HOWELL D. CHICKERING: 1977

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	their long-prepared fate
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	a monster-woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a monster-woman
1260	<u>se</u>	---(in her mind)
1276	<u>his modor</u> .	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	she
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	became his killer
1331	<u>rael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a restless corpse-spirit
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty in her evil
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge, vague borderers
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	spirits from elsewhere
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	in the likeness of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the sin-filled creature
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's <u>kinsman</u>
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	he
1394	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	he

1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	water-devils'
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	in her horrible <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	her <u>claws</u>
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the angry sea-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgenne++</u>	the witch of the sea-floor
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	towering mere-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with a terrible crush
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	opponent
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the wolfish woman
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the poisonous spirit who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the alien spirit
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	had finished <u>her</u> lifedays
1666	<u>huses hyrdas (BHR")</u>	monsters, those hall-guards
1680	<u>deofla (BHR")</u>	of devils
1683	<u>his modor (BHR")</u>	his murderous mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre (BHi")</u>	the monstrous woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> <u>(BHi")</u>	Grendel's mother
2136	<u>grimne gryre-licne</u> <u>grund-hyrde++ (BHi")</u>	the keeper of the terrible deep.

TRANSLATION: MICHAEL SWANTON: 1978

LINE	OLD ENGLISH (MS./KLAEBER)	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	grim destiny ordered of old
1256	<u>wrencend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1259	<u>ides</u>	a woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	she-monster
1260	<u>se</u>	she who
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	She
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother (the dreadful creature)?
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	has slain him with her hands
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a restless, murderous demon
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	mighty, wicked ravager
1348	<u>micle</u> <u>nearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge prowlers of the border region
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien visitants
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	took the likeness of a woman
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the deeply sinful creature
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's relative
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	she
1497	<u>se</u>	she
1500	<u>ael-wihtat+</u>	of monsters
1502	<u>atolan clomnum</u>	in a dreadful grip
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	hateful fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the water-wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrqenne++</u>	the accursed creature of the depths
1519	<u>mere-wif++ mihtig</u>	powerful lake-wife
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	with fierce grips
1540	<u>feorh-genithlan++3</u>	his mortal enemy
1599	<u>seo brim-wylf++2</u>	the sea-wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest++4...se</u>	the alien demon that
1621	<u>se ellor-gast++4</u>	the alien demon
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	gave up the days of <u>her</u> life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	the guardians of that house
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	the devils
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	the hideous woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother

2136

grimne gryre-licne
grund-hyrdett (BHi")

a terrible grim guardian of
the deep.

TRANSLATION: STANLEY B. GREENFIELD: 1982

LINE	<u>OLD ENGLISH</u> <u>(MS./KLAEBER)</u>	MODERN ENGLISH
1234	<u>geo-sceaft grimmett</u>	the grim fate
1256	<u>wrecend</u>	avenger
1258	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1259	<u>ides</u>	a monstrous woman
1259	<u>aglaecwif</u>	a monstrous woman
1260	<u>se</u>	she who
1276	<u>his modor</u>	his fierce and gloomy mother
1279	<u>(se or seo)</u> <u>understood</u>	She
1282	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's mother
1330	<u>hand-banan++3(HrB")</u>	became his bane
1331	<u>wael-gaest++2 waefre</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	a baleful demon
1339	<u>mihtig man-scatha</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	strong and vile
1348	<u>nicle</u> <u>mearc-stapan++2</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	huge monsters haunting waste borderlands
1349	<u>ellor-gaestas++4</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	alien spirits
1351	<u>idese on-licnes</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	appeared in a woman's shape
1379	<u>fela sinnigne secg</u> <u>(HrB")</u>	the sinning creature
1391	<u>Grendles magan</u> <u>(Bhr")</u>	Grendel's kin
1392	<u>he (Bhr")</u>	she

1394	<u>he</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	she (Note: the sex of Grendel's mother is confused on several occasions.)
1497	<u>se</u>	she who
1500	<u>ael-wihtat</u>	(her alien lair)
1502	<u>atolan clomum</u>	with horrible <u>claws</u>
1505	<u>lathan fingrum</u>	loathsome fingers
1506	<u>seo brim-wylft</u> +2	the sea wolf
1518	<u>grund-wyrgennet</u>	the barbarous mere-hag
1519	<u>mere-wif</u> + <u>nihtig</u>	the barbarous mere-hag
1538	<u>Grendles modor</u>	Grendel's dam
1540	<u>grimman grapum</u>	--
1540	<u>feorh-genithlant</u> +3	his life's foe
1599	<u>seo brim-wylft</u> +2	the sea wolf
1617	<u>ellor-gaest</u> +4... <u>se</u>	the demon who
1621	<u>se ellor-gast</u> +4	the alien spirit
1622	<u>of-let lif-dagas</u>	had forfeited life
1666	<u>huses hyrdas</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	the guardians of that place
1680	<u>deofla</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	of fiends
1683	<u>his modor</u> (B <u>Hr</u> "")	his mother
2118	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother
2120	<u>wif un-hyre</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	the monstrous woman
2139	<u>Grendeles modor</u> (B <u>Hi</u> "")	Grendel's mother

2136

grimne gryre-licne
grund-hyrde++ (BHi")

the fierce and dreadful
guardian of the depths.

II. TABLES OF THE FORTY TERMS, ARRANGED BY TERM

**TABLES OF THE FORTY TERMS REFERRING TO GREDEL'S MOTHER
REARRANGED TO SHOW HOW THE LEXICOGRAPHERS, THE FIVE EDITORS, AND
THE SEVENTEEN TRANSLATORS INTERPRETED EACH TERM**

EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLS USED IN THIS SECTION OF THE APPENDIX

- BOSW... Bosworth and Toller: 1898/94. Dictionary.
- KLAE... Klaeber: 1922/1950. Edition of the text.
- HEYN... Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert: 1863-1932. Edition of the text.
- WEIR... Translation of the German of Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert into modern English, by Elizabeth Weir, in Cassell's German Dictionary, 1888.
- HARR... Harrison/Sharp: 1882-83. Edition of the text.
- WYAT... Wyatt/Chambers: 1914. Edition of the text.
- WREN... Wren/Bolton: 1973. Edition of the text.
- THOR... Benjamin Thorpe: 1855. Edition of the text.
- EARL... John Earle: 1892. Translation.
- HAL1... John R. Clark Hall: 1911. Translation.
- HAL2... John R. Clark Hall: 1914. Verse Translation.
- KENN... Charles W. Kennedy: 1940. Translation.
- MORG... Edwin Morgan: 1952. Translation.
- WRIG... David Wright: 1957. Translation.
- RAFF... Burton Raffel: 1963. Translation.
- PEAR... Lucien Dean Pearson: 1965. Translation.
- CRAW... D.H. Crawford: 1966. Translation.
- DONA... E. Talbot Donaldson: 1966. Translation.
- CROS... Kevin Crossley-Holland: 1968. Translation.
- GARM... G.N. Garmonsway: 1968. Translation.
- ALEX... Michael Alexander: 1973. Translation.

CHIC... Howell D. Chickering: 1977. Translation.

SWAN... Michael Swanton: 1978. Translation.

GREE... Stanley B. Greenfield: 1982. Translation.

LINE 1234: GEO-SCEAFT GRIMME++

BOSW 1234. formerly + what is created, + grim, sharp, bitter

KLAE 1234. grim + "fate, that which has been determined of old"

HEYN 1234. grim + "Bestimmung von altersher"

WEIR 1234. grim destiny of old

HARR 1234. "(fixed in past times), fate" + grim, angry, wild, hostile

WYAT 1234. grim fate

WREN 1234. what has been decreed of old, fate + wrathful, fierce

THOR 1234. grim calamity

EARL 1234. cruel destiny

HAL1 1234. grim destiny

HAL2 1234. fate, the destiny grim

KENN 1234. fearful doom

MORG 1234. destiny to be dreaded

WRIG 1234. fate which was in store

RAFF 1234. the savage fate

PEAR 1234. Wyrđ, long-fixed and grim

CRAW 1234. a destiny grim

DONA 1234. grim decree made long before

CROS 1234. bitter destiny

GARM 1234. grim destiny laid down of old

ALEX 1234. the weird destined from of old

CHIC 1234. their long-prepared fate

SWAN 1234. grim destiny ordered of old

GREE 1234. the grim fate

LINE 1256: WRECEND

BOSW 1256 avenger
KLAE 1256 avenger
HEYN 1256 Racher
WEIR 1256 avenger
HARR 1256 (an avenger)
WYAT 1256 avenger; wreaker
WREN 1256 avenger
THOR 1256 an avenger
EARL 1256 avenger, & the old water-hag
HAL1 1256 avenger
HAL2 1256 (after the ghoul) an avenger
KENN 1256 avenger
MORG 1256 avenger
WRIG 1256 avenger

RAPP 1256	a monster still lived, meant revenge
PEAR 1256	avenger
CRAW 1256	a wrecker of vengeance
DONA 1256	avenger
CROS 1256	some avenger
GARM 1256	avenger
ALEX 1256	avenger
CHIC 1256	avenger
SWAN 1256	avenger
GREE 1256	avenger

LINE 1258: GRENDLES MODOR

BOSW 1258	Grendel's + a mother of human beings or animals
KLAE 1258	Grendel's mother
HEYN 1258	Grendels Mutter
WEIR 1258	Grendel's mother
HARR 1258	mother + of Grendel
WYAT 1258	Grendel's mother
WREN 1258	Grenedl's mother
THOR 1258	Grendel's mother
EARL 1258	Grendel's mother
HAL1 1258	Grendel's mother
HAL2 1258	Grendel's dam
KENN 1258	the mother of Grendel
MORG 1258	the mother of Grendel
WRIG 1258	Grendel's mother

RAFF 1258	Grendel's mother
PEAR 1258	Grendel's mother
CRAW 1258	Grendel's mother
DONA 1258	Grendel's mother
CROS 1258	Grendel's mother
GARM 1258	the mother of Grendel
ALEX 1258	<u>Grendel's Mother</u> herself (italics his)
CHIC 1258	Grendel's mother
SWAN 1258	Grendel's mother
GREE 1258	Grendel's dam

LINE 1259A: IDES

BOSW 1259	a woman (poetry), a being between a goddess and a woman
KLAE 1259	woman, lady
HEYN 1259	Frau, hohe Frau
WEIR 1259	woman, lady, high lady
HARR 1259	woman, lady, queen. "Also of Grendel's mother."
WYAT 1259	woman, lady
WREN 1259	lady, woman
THOR 1259	the woman
EARL 1259	the beldam
HAL1 1259	monstrous among womankind
HAL2 1259	a fiend of a woman
KENN 1259	a monstrous hag
MORG 1259	monster in woman-sex
WRIG 1259	a woman-monster

RAFF 1259 that female horror
PEAR 1259 monster-woman
CRAW 1259 woman-shape monstrous
DONA 1259 woman
CROS 1259 a monster of a woman
GARM 1259 a mighty woman among monsters
ALEX 1259 a monstrous ogress
CHIC 1259 a monster-woman
SWAN 1259 a woman
GREE 1259 a monstrous woman

LINE 1259B: AGLAEC-WIF

BOSW 1259 a fierce combatant + a woman, a female person

KLAE 1259 "wretch, or monster, of a woman"

HEYN 1259 "demonhaftes Weib"

WEIR 1259 demoniacal woman

HARR 1259 "demon, devil in the form of a woman "

WYAT 1259 "monster-wife"

WREN 1259 "monster of a woman"

THOR 1259 wretched crone

EARL 1259 troll-wife

HAL1 1259 monstrous among womankind

HAL2 1259 a fiend of a woman

KENN 1259 a monstrous hag

MORG 1259 monster in woman-sex

WRIG 1259 a woman-monster

RAFF 1259 that female horror
PEAR 1259 monster-woman
CRAW 1259 woman-shape monstrous
DONA 1259 monster-wife
CROS 1259 a monster of a woman
GARM 1259 a mighty woman among monsters
ALEX 1259 a monstrous ogress
CHIC 1259 a monster-woman
SWAN 1259 she-monster
-GREE 1259 a monstrous woman

LINE 1260: SE

BOSW 1260 he, that one (masculine)

KLAE 1260 he, that one (m.)

HEYN 1260 er

WEIR 1260 he

HARR 1260 ...who

WYAT 1260 he

WREN 1260 he

THOR 1260 she (changed to seo)

EARL 1260 it,...creature that...

HAL1 1260 she who

HAL2 1260 she

KENN 1260 --- (doomed to dwell)

MORG 1260 she

WRIG 1260 she was one of the creatures

RAFF 1260 ---living in...she
PEAR 1260 ---doomed to...she
CRAW 1260 she
DONA 1260 she
CROS 1260 she
GARM 1260 she who
ALEX 1260 she
CHIC 1260 --- (in her^d mind)
SWAN 1260 she who
GREE 1260 she who

LINE 1276: HIS MODOR

BOSW 1276	his mother
KLAE 1276	his mother
HEYN 1276	sein Mutter
WEIR 1276	his mother
HARR 1276	his mother
WYAT 1276	his mother
WREN 1276	his mother
THOR 1276	his mother
EARL 1276	his mother
HAL1 1276	his mother
HAL2 1276	his mother
KENN 1276	his mother
MORG 1276	his mother
WRIG 1276	his mother

RAFF 1276	his mother
PEAR 1276	his mother
CRAW 1276	his mother
DONA 1276	his mother
CROS 1276	his mother
GARM 1276	his mother
ALEX 1276	his mother
CHIC 1276	his mother
SWAN 1276	his mother
GREE 1276	his fierce and gloomy mother

LINE 1279: SE or SEO

BOSW 1279 he, that one (masculine)

KLAE 1279 he, that one

HEYN 1279 er

WEIR 1279 he

HARR 1279 relative: she who .. (for seo the..."cf. 1261,1498"

WYAT 1279 he

WREN 1279 (he or she)

THOR 1279 she

EARL 1279 it

HAL1 1279 ---

HAL2 1279 she

KENN 1279 She

MORG 1279 she

WRIG 1279 She

RAFF 1279 She

PEAR 1279 she

CRAW 1279 she

DONA 1279 she

CROS 1279 she

GARM 1279 she

ALEX 1279 she

CHIC 1279 she

SWAN 1279 She

GREE 1279 She

LINE 1282: GRENDLES MODOR

BOSW 1282 Grendel's + mother of human beings or animals
KLAE 1282 Grendel's mother
HEYN 1282 Grendels Mutter
WEIR 1282 Grendel's mother
HARR 1282 Grendel's mother
WYAT 1282 Grendel's mother
WREN 1282 Grendel's mother
THOR 1282 Grendel's mother
EARL 1282 the blood-sprent hag
HAL1 1282 Grendel's mother
HAL2 1282 Grendel's dam
KENN 1282 Grendel's dam
MORG 1282 the mother of Grendel
WRIG 1282 Grendel's mother

RAFF 1282	---
PEAR 1282	Grendel's mother
CRAW 1282	Grendel's mother
DONA 1282	Grendel's mother
CROS 1282	Grendel's mother
GARM 1282	the mother of Grendel
ALEX 1282	the mother of Grendel
CHIC 1282	Grendel's mother
SWAN 1282	Grendel's mother (the dreadful creature)
GREE 1282	Grendel's mother

LINE 1330: ...HAND-BANAN++(Hrothgar to Beowulf)

BOSW 1330 (became) a hand + killer

KLAE 1330 became his slayer with the hand

HEYN 1330 Töter mit der blossen Hand

WEIR 1330 killer with the bare hand

HARR 1330 murderer with the hand, or in hand to hand combat

WYAT 1330 hand-slayer

WREN 1330 slayer with the hand

THOR 1330 for murderer

EARL 1330 a raging destroyer

HAL1 1330 --- (has slain him)

HAL2 1330 his murderer by the hand

KENN 1330 --- (slain by)

MORG 1330 killed him with her hands

WRIG 1330 --- (has killed him) (it)

RAFF 1330 has murdered him

PEAR 1330 slew him with her hand

CRAW 1330 slew him

DONA 1330 has slain him with its hands

CROS 1330 slew him

GARM 1330 has slain him with her bare hands (that thing of horror?)

ALEX 1330 a bloodthirsty monster has murdered

CHIC 1330 became his killer

SWAN 1330 has slain him with her hands

GREE 1330 became his bane

LINE 1331: WAEL-GAEST++2 WAEPRE (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

BOSW 1331. slaughter + spirit + restless, wandering

KLAE 1331. murderous sprite + restless, wandering

HEYN 1331. "todbringender Geist"

WEIR 1331. death-bringing spirit

HARR 1331. "deadly sprite" + wavering (like flame),
ghostlike, without distinct bodily form"

WYAT 1331. "wavering, wandering slaughter-ghost"

WREN 1331. murderous sprite + restless, hovering, wandering

THOR 1331. deadly wandering guest

~~EARL~~ 1331. gruesome...thing

HAL1 1331. wandering demon

HAL2 1331. wandering carnage-sprite the ghoul

KENN 1331. wandering demon

MORG 1331. wandering spirit bloodthirsty

WRIG 1331. wandering, murderous fiend

RAFF 1331. wandering fiend, the beast, it
PEAR 1331. prowling slaughter-spirit
CRAW 1331. a slaughterous wanderer
DONA 1331. wandering murderous spirit
CROS 1331. wandering, murderous monster
GARM 1331. a being shaken with fury for slaughter
ALEX 1331. a wandering demon
CHIC 1331. a restless corpse-spirit
SWAN 1331. a restless, murderous demon
GREE 1331. a baleful demon

LINE 1339: MIHTIG MAN-SCATHA (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

BOSW 1339. mighty, powerful + human being + harmer

KLAE' 1339. mighty, wicked + evildoer

HEYN 1339. "frevlerischer Schädiger "

WEIR 1339. wicked, wantonly offensive + wronger

HARR 1339. "physically strong, powerful" + mischievous,
hurtful foe, hostis n. fastus

WYAT 1339. "wicked scather, deadly foe"

WREN 1339. mighty, strong + evil foe or wicked ravager

THOR 1339. mighty fell destroyer

EARL 1339. a mighty ravager

HAL1 1339. mighty miscreant

HAL2 1339. mighty foe

KENN 1339. fierce ravager

MORG 1339. this demon has come

WRIG 1339. ravager (for its offspring)

RAFF 1339. hungry fiend, a monster
PEAR 1339. fell destroyer
CRAW 1339. strong and deadly foe
DONA 1339. awful creature, mighty worker of wrong
CROS 1339. mighty evil ravager
GARM 1339. mighty...wicked ravager
ALEX 1339. most powerful ravager
CHIC 1339. mighty in her evil
SWAN 1339. mighty, wicked ravager
GREE 1339. strong and vile

LINE 1348: MICLE MEARC-STAPAN++2 (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

- BOSW 1348. mickle, great + boundary (of place) + one who steps
- KLAE 1348. "great wanderers in the waste borderland"
- HEYN 1348. "gewaltige Markbeschreiter"
- WEIR 1348. powerful + walkers on border country
- HARR 1348. great, huge + "march -strider, frontier-haunter"
- WYAT 1348. great + "mark-steppers, march-stalkers" -----
- WREN 1348. great, big large + walker in the borderland, haunter of the border country
- THOR 1348. huge march-stalkers
- EARL 1348. huge mark-stalkers
- HAL1 1348. huge wanderers of the marches
- HAL2 1348. huge haunters of the marks
- KENN 1348. mighty marauders
- MORG 1348. huge...wasteland-stalkers

WRIG 1348. enormous monsters haunting the fenland
RAFF 1348. giant monsters wandering in the moors
PEAR 1348. great march-prowlers
CRAW 1348. great stalkers of marches
DONA 1348. huge walkers in the wasteland
CROS 1348. monstrous rangers of the fell country
GARM 1348. huge prowlers of the borderlands
ALEX 1348. huge wayfarers haunting the moors
CHIC 1348. huge, vague borderers
SWAN 1348. huge prowlers of the border region
GREE 1348. huge monsters haunting waste borderlands

LINE 1349: ELLOR-GAESTAS++4 (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

BOSW 1349. elsewhere + spirit, soul, mind

KLAE 1349. "alien spirits"

HEYN 1349. "anderswo lebender"

WEIR 1349. elsewhere-living ones

HARR 1349. "(Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere
(standing outside the community of mankind)"

WYAT 1349. sprite living elsewhere

WREN 1349. spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite

THOR 1349. stranger-guests

EARL 1349. creatures of strange fashion

HAL1 1349. alien spirits

HAL2 1349. sprites from some other world

KENN 1349. outcast wretch of another world

MORG 1349. unearthly creatures

WRIG 1349. ---

RAFF 1349. fiends
PEAR 1349. alien spirits
CRAW 1349. alien spirits
DONA 1349. alien spirits
CROS 1349. rulers of the moors?
GARM 1349. creatures from the otherworld
ALEX 1349. otherworldly ones
CHIC 1349. spirits from elsewhere
SWAN 1349. alien visitants
GREE 1349. alien spirits

LINE 1351: IDESE ON-LICNES (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

- BOSW 1351. (was) of a woman, lady + likeness image, form
- KLAE 1351. "likeness of a woman or lady"
- HEYN 1351. "Bild, Gestalt, der Frau"
- WEIR 1351. image, form, of a woman
- HARR 1351. "likeness, form, figure" + woman, lady, queen
"Also of Grendel's mother."
- WYAT 1351. likeness of a woman or lady
- WREN 1351. of a woman + likeness
- THOR 1351. a woman's likeness
- EARL 1351. a beldam's likeness
- HAL1 1351. the semblance of a woman
- HAL2 1351. like a woman
- KENN 1351. seemed woman's likeness
- MORG 1351. had the form of a woman
- WRIG 1351. looked like a woman

RAFF 1351. was a female creature
PEAR 1351. was like a woman
CRAW 1351. was the semblance of a woman
DONA 1351. the likeness of a woman
CROS 1351. bears the likeness of a woman
GARM 1351. the likeness of a woman
ALEX 1351. in woman's shape
CHIC 1351. in the likeness of a woman
SWAN 1351. took the likeness of a woman
GREE 1351. appeared in a woman's shape

LINE 1379: FELA SINNIGNE SECG (Hrothgar to Beowulf)

- BOSW 1379. much + sinning + man
- KLAE 1379. sinful man
- HEYN 1379. vielsundig + Mann, Gesell
- WEIR 1379. much-sinful + man, companion
- HARR 1379 "very criminal, very guilty... (+ man, warrior, hero, spokesman "(Grendel's mother, cf. se in MS .. on account of the alliteration, changed to simple sinnigne
- WYAT 1379. very sinful man
- WREN 1379. much + sin... + man, warrior
- THOR 1379. this much sinful man
- EARL 1379. guilty felon
- HAL1 1379. sin-stained being
- HAL2 1379. the wight of many crimes
- KENN 1379. sinful wight
- MORG 1379. its vicious denizen

WRIG 1379. the criminal

RAFF 1379. Grendel's mother (!)

PEAR 1379. sinning soul

CRAW 1379. the sinful Being

DONA 1379. the seldom seen creature

CROS 1379. this most evil monster

GARM 1379. creature guilty of so many crimes

ALEX 1379. that creature of sin

CHIC 1379. the sin-filled creature

SWAN 1379. the deeply sinful creature

GREE 1379. the sinning creature

LINE 1391: GRENDEL'S MOTHER (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1391. Grendel's + kinswoman

KLAE 1391. "Grendel's kinswoman (mother)"

HEYN 1391. "Grendels weibliche Verwandte"

WEIR 1391. Grendel's female relative e

HARR 1391. Grendel's + female relative "(mother)"

WYAT 1391. "Grendel's kinswoman"

WREN 1391. Grendel's kinswoman, hence mother

THOR 1391. of Grendel's parent

EARL 1391. Grendel's kin

HAL1 1391. Grendel's kinswoman

HAL2 1391. Grendel's dam

KENN 1391. Grendel's dam

MORG 1391. Grendel's kinswoman

WRIG 1391. Grendel's mother

RAFF 1391. this lady monster

PEAR 1391. Grendel's kin

CRAW 1391. Grendel's kinsman

DONA 1391. Grendel's kin

CROS 1391. Grendel's kinswoman

GARM 1391. Grendel's kin

ALEX 1391. this kinswoman of Grendel's

CHIC 1391. Grendel's kinsman

SWAN 1391. Grendel's relative

GREE 1391. Grendel's kin

LINE 1392: HE (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1392. he

KLAE 1392. he

HEYN 1392. er

WEIR 1392. he

HARR 1392. he (see Notes)

WYAT 1392. he

WREN 1392. he

THOR 1392. she

EARL 1392. he

HAL1 1392. she

HAL2 1392. she

KENN 1392. she

MORG 1392. she

WRIG 1392. she

RAFF 1392. she

PEAR 1392. she

CRAW 1392. he

DONA 1392. she

CROS 1392. she

GARM 1392. she...her

ALEX 1392. she

CHIC 1392. he

SWAN 1392. she

GREE 1392. she

LINE 1394: HE (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1394. he

KLAE 1394. he

HEYN 1394. er

WEIR 1394. he

HARR 1394. he

WYAT 1394. he

WREN 1394. he

THOR 1394. she

EARL 1394. he

HAL1 1394. she

HAL2 1394. she

KENN 1394. she

MORG 1394. she

WRIG 1394. she

RAFF 1394. her

PEAR 1394. she

CRAW 1394. he

DONA 1394. she

CROS 1394. she

GARM 1394. she

ALEX 1394. she

CHIC 1394. he

SWAN 1394. she

GREE 1394. she (Note: the sex of Grendel's mother is confused on several occasions.)

LINE 1497: SE

BOSW 1497 he, that one (masculine)

KLAE 1497 he who

HEYN 1497 der

WEIR 1497 he who

HARR 1497 he who

WYAT 1497 he who

WREN 1497 he

THOR 1497 she (changed to seo the)

EARL 1497 creature which

HAL1 1497 she

HAL2 1497 she

KENN 1497 she (and: a ravening hag)

MORG 1497 she

WRIG 1497 she...the ravening sea-beast

RAFF 1497 the greedy she-wolf

PEAR 1497 she who

CRAW 1497 she

DONA 1497 that which had held.

CROS 1497 she

GARM 1497 she who

ALEX 1497 the grim and greedy guardian of the flood (+
her...watch)

CHIC 1497 she

SWAN 1497 she

GREE 1497 she who

LINE 1500: AEL-WIHTA++

BOSW 1500. of foreign + beings, creatures

KLAE 1500. "the alien creatures, monsters"

HEYN 1500. "Ungeheuer, Wen anderer Art"

WEIR 1500. monstrous, huge, atrocious + being of another kind

HARR 1500. "being of another species, monster" gen. pl.

WYAT 1500. "alien wight, strange monster"

WREN 1500. "creature from elsewhere, alien being "

THOR 1500. of strange creatures

EARL 1500. of goblins

HAL1 1500. monsters

HAL2 1500. strange creatures

KENN 1500. sea-trolls

MORG 1500. of demon-kind

WRIG 1500. monsters'

RAFF 1500. --- (her wet world)
PEAR 1500. of aliens
CRAW 1500. monstrous
DONA 1500. of monsters
CROS 1500. monsters
GARM 1500. of alien creatures
ALEX 1500. of the monsters
CHIC 1500. water-devils'
SWAN 1500. of monsters
GREE 1500. (her alien lair)

LINE 1502: ATOLAN CLOMMUM

- BOSW 1502. with dire, terrible + bands, bonds , clasps
- KLAE 1502. horrid, dire + grasps, grips, clasps
- HEYN 1502. ...Klammer, Umklammerung, Griff
- WEIR 1502. ...clasp, holdfast, grip
- HARR 1502. hostile, frightful, cruel + fetter
- WYAT 1502. dire, horrible + clasps, grips
- WREN 1502. with horrible, terrible + grips, clasps
- THOR 1502. in her horrid clutches
- EARL 1502. grisly talons, and the hag
- HAL1 1502. her horrid claws
- HAL2 1502. with her hideous claws (and 2127: in her devilish grasp)
- KENN 1502. with horrid grip
- MORG 1502. in frightful fisthold
- WRIG 1502. loathsome claws

RAFF 1502. her claws (also 1295 "her dripping claws")

PEAR 1502. in her perilous claws

CRAW 1502. with dreadful claws

DONA 1502. awful grip

CROS 1502. her ghastly claws

GARM 1502. in a terrible lock

ALEX 1502. her terrible hooks

CHIC 1502. in her horrible claws

SWAN 1502. in a dreadful grip

GREE 1502. with horrible claws

LINE 1505: LATHAN FINGRUM

BOSW 1505. with hostile, loathsome + fingers

KLAE 1505. hateful, hostile + fingers

HEYN 1505. ...Finger

WEIR 1505. ...fingers

HARR 1505. loathly, evil, hateful, hostile + fingers

WYAT 1505. loathsome, hostile + fingers

WREN 1505. with hateful, hostile, grievous + fingers

THOR 1505. with hostile fingers

EARL 1505. loathsome fingers, and Grendel's dam

HAL1 1505. hateful fingers

HAL2 1505. with her fingers obscene

KENN 1505. savage fingers

MORG 1505. fierce fingers

WRIG 1505. her horrible talons

RAFF 1505. her fingers
PEAR 1505. hateful fingers
CRAW 1505. loathly fingers
DONA 1505. hateful fingers
CROS 1505. loathsome fingers
GARM 1505. her hateful fingers
ALEX 1505. her dire fingers
CHIC 1505. her claws
SWAN 1505. hateful fingers
GREE 1505. loathsome fingers

LINE 1506: SEO BRIMWYLF++2

BOSW 1506 the, that + surf, sea, ocean + she-wolf

KLAE 1506 "she-WOLF of the sea"

HEYN 1506 "Meerwölfen, Wölfen der Flut"

WEIR 1506 sea-she-wolf, she-wolf of the flood

HARR 1506 "she-wolf (designation of Grendel's mother)"

WYAT 1506 "she mere-wolf"

WREN 1506 that "she-wolf of the sea or water"

THOR 1506 the sea-wolf

EARL 1506 she-wolf of the lake

HAL1 1506 she-wolf

HAL2 1506 the water-wolf

KENN 1506 she-wolf

MORG 1506 wolfish water-fiend

WRIG 1506 the she-wolf of the water

RAFF 1506	she
PEAR 1506	mere-wolf
CRAW 1506	water wolf
DONA 1506	the sea-wolf
CROS 1506	the sea-wolf
GARM 1506	she-wolf of the waters
ALEX 1506	the mere-wolf
CHIC 1506	the angry sea-wolf
SWAN 1506	the water-wolf
GREE 1506	the sea wolf

LINE 1518: GRUND-WYRGENNE

- BOSW 1518. bottom, depth, abyss + cursed
- KLAE 1518. "accursed (female) monster of the deep"
- HEYN 1518. "verflüchte Unhöldin der Tiefe"
- WEIR 1518. accursed, malicious foe + of the deep
- HARR 1518. "she-wolf of the bottom (of the sea)"
- WYAT 1518. "ground-hag, cf. wyrgenne, accursed"
- WREN 1518. "accursed she-monster of the deep "
- THOR 1518. the ground-wolf
- EARL 1518. she-wolf of the abyss
- HAL1 1518. accursed monster of the deep
- HAL2 1518. the underground wolf
- KENN 1518. ---
- MORG 1518. the abyss's curse
- WRIG 1518. the monster of the lake

S RAFF 1518. ---

PEAR 1518. cursed monster of the depths

CRAW 1518. the Accurst of the Deep

DONA 1518. the accursed dweller of the deep

CROS 1518. sea monster, fearsome, infernal

GARM 1518. that outcast creature of the depths

ALEX 1518. damned thing of the deep

CHIC 1518. the witch of the sea-floor

SWAN 1518. the accursed creature of the deep

GREE 1518. the barbarous mere-hag

LINE 1519: MERE-WIF MIHTIG

- BOSW 1519. sea, mere, lake + woman + mighty , powerful
- KLAE 1519. mighty "mere-woman, water-witch"
- HEYN 1519. "Meerweib, Wasser-Unholdin"
- WEIR 1519. sea-woman, water-monster, foe
- HARR 1519. "sea-woman, mer-woman" [sic] + physically strong, powerful
- WYAT 1519. mighty "mere-woman"
- WREN 1519. "water-woman, woman of the mere "
- THOR 1519. mighty mere-wolf
- EARL 1519. mighty carline of the Mere
- HAL1 1519. mighty mere-wife
- HAL2 1519. the mighty mere-wife
- KENN 1519. huge sea-troll
- MORG 1519. great sea-demon-woman
- WRIG 1519. an enormous water-hag

RAFF 1519. the mighty water-witch
PEAR 1519. mighty mere-wife
CRAW 1519. mighty mere-wife
DONA 1519. mighty mere-woman
CROS 1519. the monster's head?
GARM 1519. mighty water-hag
ALEX 1519. (the size of this) water-hag
CHIC 1519. towering mere-wife
SWAN 1519. powerful lake-wife
GREE 1519. the barbarous mere-hag

LINE 1538: GRENDLES MODOR

BOSW 1538 Grendel's + mother of human beings or animals

KLAE 1538 Grendel's mother

HEYN 1538 Grendels Mutter

WEIR 1538 Grendel's mother

HARR 1538 Grendel's mother

WYAT 1538 Grendel's mother

WREN 1538 Grendel's mother

THOR 1538 Grendel's mother

EARL 1538 the hag, and the hag

HAL1 1538 Grendel's mother

HAL2 1538 Grendel his dam

KENN 1538 Grendel's dam

MORG 1538 Grendel's mother

WRIG 1538 Grendel's mother

RAFF 1538	Grendel's fierce mother
PEAR 1538	Grendel's mother
CRAW 1538	Grendel's mother
DONA 1538	Grendel's mother
CROS 1538	Grendel's mother
GARM 1538	the mother of Grendel
ALEX 1538	Grendel's mother
CHIC 1538	Grendel's mother
SWAN 1538	Grendel's mother
GREE 1538	Grendel's dam

LINE 1540A: GRIMMAN GRAPUM

BOSW 1540. with bitter, fierce, grim + grasps, clutches

KLAE 1540. grim, fierce + grasps, claws

HEYN 1540. "mit grimmen Griffen"

WEIR 1540. with fierce grips

HARR 1540. grim, angry, wild, hostile + the hand ready to grasp, hand, claw "with grim claws"

WYAT 1540. grim + grips, clutches

WREN 1540. with wrathful, fierce + grasp; claw

THOR 1540. with her fierce grasps

EARL 1540. with fell grapplings

HAL1 1540. fearful graspings

HAL2 1540. with terrible grips--clasping him to herself

KENN 1540. clutching claw

MORG 1540. cruel clawholds

WRIG 1540. with a ferocious grapple

RAFF 1540. with her clutching claws
PEAR 1540. ---
CRAW 1540. with fearful grips
DONA 1540. ---
CROS 1540. in clinches
GARM 1540. by her fierce grasp
ALEX 1540. her ruthless hands
CHIC 1540. with a terrible crush
SWAN 1540. with fierce grips
GREE 1540. ---

LINE 1540B: FEORH-GENITHLAN++3

BOSW 1540. life, soul + enemy, foe

KLAE 1540. "life-enemy, deadly foe"

HEYN 1540. "Lebensfeind, Todfeind"

WEIR 1540. life-enemy, deadly enemy

HARR 1540. he who seeks life, life's enemy , Todfeind, mortal enemy.

WYAT 1540. "life foe, deadly foe"

WREN 1540. mortal foe

THOR 1540. the mortal foe

EARL 1540. deadly adversary

HAL1 1540. deadly foe

HAL2 1540. his life's foe

KENN 1540. the hag

MORG 1540. the desperate enemy

WRIG 1540. his antagonist

RAFF 1540. --- (her)
PEAR 1540. his mortal foe
CRAW 1540. fell foe
DONA 1540. deadly foe
CROS 1540. his mortal foe
GARM 1540. his deadly opponent
ALEX 1540. his mortal foe
CHIC 1540. opponent
SWAN 1540. his mortal enemy
GREE 1540. his life's foe

LINE 1599: SEO BRIM-WYLF++2

BOSW 1599 the, that + surf, sea, ocean + she-wolf

KLAE 1599 "she-WOLF of the sea"

HEYN 1599 "Meerwolfin, Wolfin der Flut"

WEIR 1599 sea-she-wolf, she-wolf of the flood

HARR 1599 "sea-wolf (designation of Grendel's mother)"

WYAT 1599 "she mere-wolf"

WREN 1599 that "she-wolf of the sea or water "

THOR 1599 the seawolf, (sic)

EARL 1599 she-wolf of the mere

HAL1 1599 sea wolf

HAL2 1599 the water-wolf

KENN 1599 savage sea-wolf

MORG 1599 wolfish sea-demon-woman

WRIG 1599 the she-wolf

RAFF 1599 the she-wolf
PEAR 1599 mere-wolf
CRAW 1599 the Wolf of the Mere
DONA 1599 the sea-wolf
CROS 1599 the sea-wolf
GARM 1599 the she-wolf of the waters
ALEX 1599 the she-wolf of the deep
CHIC 1599 the wolfish woman
SWAN 1599 the sea-wolf
GREE 1599 the sea wolf

LINE 1617: ELLOB-GAEST++4..

BOSW 1617 elsewhere + spirit, soul, mind

KLAE 1617 "alien spirit" who

HEYN 1617 "anderswo lebender"

WEIR 1617 elsewhere-living one

HARR 1617 "(Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere
(standing outside the community of mankind)"

WYAT 1617 "sprite living elsewhere... who"

WREN 1617 spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite

THOR 1617 the stranger guest...who

EARL 1617 strange goblin...which

HAL1 1617 the fiend...who

HAL2 1617 the ghoul, who...

KENN 1617 fallen fiend

MORG 1617 hell-fiend...who

WRIG 1617 the fiend...which

RAFF 1617 (blade had dissolved in Grendel's blood)

PEAR 1617 the alien soul...which

CRAW 1617 strange spirit...that

DONA 1617 the spirit...that

CROS 1617 the monster...who

GARM 1617 being of the other-world

ALEX 1617 the fiend...who

CHIC 1617 the poisonous spirit who

SWAN 1617 the alien demon that

GREE 1617 the demon who

LINE 1621: ELLOR-GAST++4

BOSW 1621... the, that (n.) + elsewhere + breath, spirit, ghost
KLAE 1621... the "alien spirit"
HEYN 1621... "anderswo lebender"
WEIR 1621... elsewhere-living one
HARR 1621... "(Grendel's mother) spirit living elsewhere
(standing outside the community of mankind)"
WYAT 1621... "sprite living elsewhere"
WREN 1621... that spirit from elsewhere, alien sprite
THOR 1621... the stranger guest
EARL 1621... the goblin
HAL1 1621... the alien spirit
HAL2 1621... the alien sprite
KENN 1621... evil monster
MORG 1621... alien soul
WRIG 1621... the monster

RAFF 1621... the demons

PEAR 1621... alien soul

CRAW 1621... alien spirit

DONA 1621... dire spirit

CROS 1621... the evil monster

GARM 1621... that being of the other-world

ALEX 1621... the creature from the other world

CHIC 1621... the alien spirit

SWAN 1621... the alien demon

GREE 1621... the alien spirit

LINE 1622: ~~OF-LET~~ ~~LIF-DAGAS~~

BOSW 1622. gave up + (his or her?) life + days

KLAE 1622. gave up lifedays

HEYN 1622. verlassen Lebenstage

WEIR 1622. abandoned + days of life

HARR 1622. ----(gave up) + "lifetime"

WYAT 1622. left + lifedays

WREN 1622. relinquished, left + time of life , days of life

THOR 1622. left her lifedays

EARL 1622. had quitted life

HAL1 1622. days of his life

HAL2 1622. yield up his lifedays

KENN 1622. looked her last

MORG 1622. left living days

WRIG 1622. had left this world

RAFF 1622. were dead

PEAR 1622. let go his lifedays

CRAW 1622. abandoned his lifedays

DONA 1622. left her lifedays

CROS 1622. ended his days on earth

GARM 1622. given up his days of life

ALEX 1622. drew breath no longer

CHIC 1622. had finished her lifedays

SWAN 1622. gave up the days of her life

GREE 1622. had forfeited life

LINE 1666: HUSES HYRDAS (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1666 of the house+ guardians, guards , keepers

KLAE 1666 "guardians, herds, keepers of the place"

HEYN 1666 Haus + Hirt, Hüter

WEIR 1666 house+ keepers, guardians

HARR 1666 house+ (herd) keeper, guardians , possessor "acc. pl."

WYAT 1666 keepers, guardians of the house

WREN 1666 of the house+ keeper, guardian , shepherd

THOR 1666 the house's keepers

EARL 1666 the keepers of the house

HAL1 1666 guardians of the dwelling

HAL2 1666 the guards of the house...from my foes

KENN 1666 the cavern-warders

MORG 1666 the hall's guard

WRIG 1666 the defenders of the place

RAFF 1666 the monstrous hag and 1657: the she-devil

PEAR 1666 house-herds

CRAW 1666 warders of the house

DONA 1666 House-guardians

CROS 1666 the warden of the hall

GARM 1666 guardians of that dwelling

ALEX 1666 the keepers of the hall

CHIC 1666 monsters, those hall-guards

SWAN 1666 the guardians of that house

GREE 1666 the guardians of that place

LINE 1680: DEOFLA (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1680. of devils

KLAE 1680. of "DEVILS, demons "

HEYN 1680. "von dem Feind, Teufel"

WEIR 1680. devils

HARR 1680. "devil...of Grendel and his troop (757, 1681)"

WYAT 1680. devils'

WREN 1680. devil

THOR 1680. those devils'

EARL 1680. demons

HAL1 1680. the demons

HAL2 1680. the fiends

KENN 1680. demons'

MORG 1680. demons'

WRIG 1680. of the demons

RAFF 1680. ---(without fear of either monster)
PEAR 1680. demons'
CRAW 1680. devils'
DONA 1680. of devils
CROS 1680. the demons'
GARM 1680. the fiends'
ALEX 1680. the demons
CHIC 1680. of devils
SWAN 1680. the devils
GREE 1680. of fiends

LINE 1683: HIS MODOR (Beowulf to Hrothgar)

BOSW 1683 (BHR")	his mother
KLAE 1683 (BHR")	his mother
HEYN 1683 (BHR")	sein Mutter
WEIR 1683 (BHR")	his mother
HARR 1683 (BHR")	his mother
WYAT 1683 (BHR")	his mother
WREN 1683 (BHR")	his mother
THOR 1683 (BHR")	his mother
EARL 1683 (BHR")	his mother
HAL1 1683 (BHR")	his mother
HAL2 1683 (BHR")	his mother
KENN 1683 (BHR")	his fearful dam..
MORG 1683 (BHR")	his mother
WRIG 1683 (BHR")	his mother

RAFF 1683 (BHR")	his evil mother
PEAR 1683 (BHR")	his mother
CRAW 1683 (BHR")	his mother
DONA 1683 (BHR")	his mother
CROS 1683 (BHR")	his mother
GARM 1683 (BHR")	his mother
ALEX 1683 (BHR")	his mother
CHIC 1683 (BHR")	his murderous mother
SWAN 1683 (BHR")	his mother
GREE 1683 (BHR")	his mother

LINE 2118: GRENDELES MODOR (Beowulf to Higelac)

BOSW 2118. Grendel's mother

KLAE 2118. Grendel's mother

HEYN 2118. Grendels Mutter

WEIR 2118. Grendel's mother

HARR 2118. Grendel's mother

WYAT 2118. Grendel's mother

WREN 2118. Grendel's mother

THOR 2118.

EARL 2118. Grendel's mother

HAL1 2118.

HAL2 2118. Grendel's mother

KENN 2118. the mother of Grendel

MORG 2118.

WRIG 2118. Grendel's mother

RAFF 2118. Grendel's mother
PEAR 2118. Grendel's mother
CRAW 2118. Grendel's mother
DONA 2118. Grendel's mother
CROS 2118. Grendel's mother
GARM 2118. Grendel's mother
ALEX 2118. the mother of Grendel
CHIC 2118. Grendel's mother
SWAN 2118. Grendel's mother
GREE 2118. Grendel's mother

LINE 2120: WIF UN-HYRE (Beowulf to Higelac)

- BOSW 2120. woman + not + gentle, mild, pleasant
- KLAE 2120. woman, lady + awful, frightful
- HEYN 2120. Weib, Frau + nicht geheuer
- WEIR 2120. woman, lady + uncanny, not + secure against anything ghostly
- HARR 2120. woman, lady, wife + "monstrous, horrible" of Grendel's claws, his mother, the dragon.
- WYAT 2120. uncanny, monstrous + wife, woman
- WREN 2120. woman, lady + horrible, awful
- THOR 2120. the monster woman
- EARL 2120. awful mere-wife
- HAL1 2120. monstrous hag
- HAL2 2120. the hideous hag
- KENN 2120. the hideous hag
- MORG 2120. fiendish woman

WRIG 2120. the hag
RAFF 2120. the monstrous hag
PEAR 2120. the savage hag
CRAW 2120. monstrous woman
DONA 2120. direful woman
CROS 2120. the horrible harridan
GARM 2120. this hideous woman
ALEX 2120. that gruesome she
CHIC 2120. the monstrous woman
SWAN 2120. the hideous woman
GREE 2120. the monstrous woman

LINE 2139: GRENDELES MODOR (Beowulf to Higelac)

BOSW 2139. Grendel's mother
KLAE 2139. Grendel's mother
HEYN 2139. Grendels Mutter
WEIR 2139. Grendel's mother
HARR 2139. Grendel's mother
WYAT 2139. Grendel's mother
WREN 2139. Grendel's mother
THOR 2139. Grendel's mother
EARL 2139. Grendel's mother
HAL1 2139. Grendel's mother
HAL2 2139. Grendel his dam
KENN 2139. the mother of Grendel
MORG 2139. Grendel's mother
WRIG 2139. Grendel's mother

RAFF 2139. --- (her)

PEAR 2139. Grendel's mother

CRAW 2139. Grendel's mother

DONA 2139. Grendel's mother

CROS 2139. Grendel's mother

GARM 2139. Grendel's mother

ALEX 2139. the mother

CHIC 2139. Grendel's mother

SWAN 2139. Grendel's mother

GREE 2139. Grendel's mother

LINE 2136: GRIMNE GRYRE-LICNE GRUND-HYRDE++ (Beowulf to Higelać)

- BOSW 2136. grim, fierce, bitter + terrible, horrible +
bottom, depth, abyss + guardian, guard, keeper.
- KLAE 2136. grim, fierce + terrible, horrible + "guardian of
the deep"
- HEYN 2136. "Hüter des Grundes"
- WEIR 2136. ...guardian of the depths
- HARR 2136. grim, angry, wild, hostile + terrible, horrible +
"warder of the bottom (of the sea)"
- WYAT 2136. grim + grisly, terrible ----- + "ground-herd,
guardian of the bottom of the mere"
- WREN 2136. wrathful, fierce + terrible, horrible + guardian
of the deep (Klaeber)
- THOR 2136. the grim, horrific groundkeeper
- EARL 2136. the grim and grisly guardian of the whirl-pool's
abyss
- HAL1 2136. the grim and terrible guardian of the welling
waters' depths.
- HAL2 2136. the ground-guard, the fearful and grim, of the
billowy deep.

- KENN 2136. the horrid guard of the gulf
- MORG 2136. the fierce and terrifying guardian of the abyss.
- WRIG 2136. the grisly guardian of the abyss
- RAFF 2136. the horrible hag, fierce and wild.
- PEAR 2136. the grim and horrid ground-herd of the deep.
- CRAW 2136. the grim and grisly guardian of the depths of the surging waters.
- DONA 2136. the guardian of the deep pool.
- CROS 2136. the grim guardian of the lake-bottom.
- GARM 2136. a grim and dreadful creature guarding the bottom of the surging flood
- ALEX 2136. the grim and terrible guardian of the deep.
- CHIC 2136. the keeper of the terrible deep.
- SWAN 2136. a terrible grim guardian of the deep.
- GREE 2136. the fierce and dreadful guardian of the depths.
 Note: I have deliberately reversed the order of the final two tables, simply because grimne gfyre-licne grund-hyrde ++ is such a magnificent note on which to close them.

III. COMMENTARY ON THE TABLES OF TERMS

Study of the tables in the appendix reveals the extent to which many translators have treated both Brimwylf and her son more antipathetically than did the poet in his original creation of them. However, it is Brimwylf who receives the more negative treatment. The most generalized distortion is that both of them are frequently referred to as "monsters", a concept not used by the poet. ¹ But then, Grendel, according to the poet's description of his body and his actions, is a monster, both physically and ethically. Brimwylf is not. The poet does not give her the characteristics of a monster which he gives her son: she has in the original no claws, nor eyes that gleam in the dark with a strange light, nor cannibalistic habits. The translators, however, do, as the tables show. Interestingly, there is no historical progression of attitudes. Of the two nineteenth century translators examined, one (Earle, 1892) is more negative towards her than the norm, and one (Thorpe, 1855) is more friendly. Hall is more antagonistic towards her in 1914

¹ *An excellent treatment of this matter is given by Carlson, who points out that the word "monster" is not used in the poem. Signe M. Carlson, "The Monsters of Beowulf: Creations of Literary Scholars," Journal of American Folklore, 80 (1967), 357-64.

than he was in 1911. Kennedy, the only example from the 1940's, is frequently misogynistic, but Morgan and Wright in the 1950's are only occasionally so, and the one who is outstanding in his consistently antagonistic distortions is Raffel in 1963, to be followed by the usually reasonable and reliable Pearson, Crawford, and Donaldson, also in the 1960's. Crossley-Holland and Garmonsway, both in 1968, are divided, the former being one of the distorters, while in the 1970's, Chickering is reliable but Alexander and Swanton tend to vacillate between positive and negative attitudes. The most recent, Greenfield in 1982, seems at times to have little care at all for the poet's intention or even for preserving any relationship with the text.

To summarize the findings with regard to individual words and classes of meanings, let us look at a few of the conclusions we can draw from a study of Section II of the Appendix.

First, the words in which the poet shows his confusion over the gender of the warrior woman. Since the tables cover a larger population of editors and translators than the section on this subject in the body of the thesis, the numbers involved are different, but the impression is the same. Except where especially noted, the interpretation of the words given by the five editors is the same as that given by the lexicographers, but those of the translators show many variations.

With regard to the pronouns, for the two occurrences of "se" [he] the translators give "she" in fifteen cases, "it" in one, and one omission. For the second pair, fourteen are

feminine and three masculine. For "se the" [he who], there are again no masculine translations, but several occurrences of another feature of the translations, when one examines them word by word: the writers insert, occasionally, little phrases which have no corollary in the original at all. In the case of l. 1497, thirteen have used "she", and two, neuter phrases ("creature which", "that which had held"), but some have added a phrase to their "she"--"a ravening hag" is invented by Kennedy, "the greedy she-wolf" by Raffel, and "the ravening sea-beast" by Wright.

Next are the nouns in which there is confusion as to Brimwylf's gender. Secg is given as "man", with "companion", or "warrior" by five of the editors, but Harrison is deviously indecisive, adding "hero, spokesman" to the general description but then in Brimwylf's case alone deciding the word must be deleted completely from the text, because of "the alliteration". The translators give it neutral phrases in 15 cases, two of them negative ("guilty felon", "monster"), one has "man", and Raffel, uncharacteristically, changes it to "Grendel's mother". Beowulf's term, magan, is rendered as female by all editors and eight of the translators, the rest giving two male and seven neuter. Of the feminine renderings, two give the animal-related "dam" and Raffel, outstandingly, presents the atrocious "this lady monster". For the ellor-gaest in 1617 and the ellor-gast in 1622, four editors make it neutral, but Harrison specifies in both cases "Grendel's Mother". Translators make both of them

neutral except Raffel, who also specifies "Grendel's mother". The Old English phrase, oflet lifdagas produces 5 feminine, 6 masculine, and 6 neuter phrases (including one which is plural).

In the case of the more straightforward epithets referring to Brimwylf, there is considerable variation in the degree of misogyny and other forms of distortion of the poet's words. Modor is "mother" to all the editors, and to most of the translators, but two add adjectives, "evil" and "murderous", and in six cases it appears as "dam"², in one "fearful dam"; Swanton adds "the dreadful creature", and Earle comes out with the astonishing alternative, "bloodsprent hag". Wrecend produces "monster" from Raffel, and Earle adds "the old water hag" to the natural meaning of "avenger". For ides all editors have "woman, lady" except Harrison, who again draws attention to himself by adding to this "queen", and then saying "Also of Grendel's mother". Of the translators, Earle renders it as "beldam", Alexander, "ogress", and others combine it with the following word. Aglaec-wif lives up to our expectations from the earlier study, yielding instead of the root meanings "formidable" plus "woman, wife" the following: "demoniacal woman", "wretched crone", "troll-wife", "monstrous among womankind", "monstrous hag", "monster in woman-sex", "that female horror", "woman-shape monstrous", "she-monster", and a "monstrous ogress", among others. Waelgaest waefre is handled well, except for Earle's

²"A female parent: said of animals." according to Funk and Wagnalls Standard Desk Dictionary

irrelevant rendering "gruesome thing", as is idese onlicnes except for "beldam" and "female creature". Both instances of seo brimwylf also are fairly straightforward. Mihtig man-scatha, however, gives rise to many aberrations. Since some editors add "wicked", "evil", and even "wantonly offensive" to the basic meaning of "mighty" for the adjective, mihtig, it is difficult to judge the intentions of the translators so clearly when they stick mainly to "mighty" and "strong" for it, but make "sin-harmer" into "miscreant", "demon", "fiend", "monster", and "vile". Merewif mihtig has similar problems. The editors all give it "sea-woman" or equivalents except for Heyne-Schücking/Von Schaubert's "Wasser-Unhöldin" or "water-monster", as do most of the translators, but some of the latter throw in rather bizarre variations, none particularly complimentary, such as "sea-troll", "sea-demon-woman", "enormous water-hag", "water-witch", "monster", two "water-hag"'s, and a "mere-hag". The picturesque grund-wyrgegne is handled imaginatively without being unfaithful to the text, except for several occurrences of "monster", a simple and imprecise "hag" by Wyatt, and a "barbarous mere-hag" offered by Greenfield. Feorh-genithlan gets accurate "deadly foe" or equivalents by all except Kennedy's reductive "the hag". Wif unhyre is misogynist in almost all cases: instead of the editors' "woman, lady, wife" we are given six translations of "hag", two of them "hideous", two translations of "hideous woman", Crossley-Holland's "the horrible harridan", and Alexander's "that gruesome she".

Uncanniness, or lack of gentleness or pleasantness, in a woman, is translated into mere physical ugliness. The last and most rolling of these terms is the lovely grimne gryre-licne grund-hyrde, which is given splendid interpretations by most of the translators, among them "the fierce and terrifying guardian of the abyss" and "the grim and grisly guardian of the depths of the surging waters". It is only Raffel who trivializes the entire concept with his reductive "the horrible hag".

Lines 1502, 1505, 1540(A), and 1330, in which the distinction the poet makes between physically "normal" Brimwylf and her physically "monstrous" son are either upheld or obscured by the intermediate agents, are interestingly elaborated by the tables. Grendel, according to the poet, has a handsporu [hand + spur], with hard nails most like to steel, standing out in front, and is specifically described as being larger than any other man. He is thus appropriately given "claws" by all the translators and can be considered a "monster" in the O.E.D. sense of the term: "2. an animal or plant deviating in one or more of its parts from the normal type; specifically an animal afflicted with some congenital malformation." Note that "congenital" means "existing prior to or at the same time as birth", and hence does not imply that the malformation was genetically inherited from the parent, but rather that it was caused by a mutation or later injury to the foetus. The poet gives Brimwylf clomnum (bands, bonds, or clasps), and fingrum (fingers) and grapum (grasps, clutches), and has Hrothgar

describe her as having become the handbanan (slayer by means of the hands) of Aeschere.

What do the intermediate agents do with these lines? All editors but one give "grasps, clasps, grips, or fetter" for the first. Harrison gives "claws", then adds "(figuratively, of a strong gripe" [sic]. Of the translators, nine give her "claws", one "talons", and one "hooks". Three give "grip", one "clutches", one "fisthold", and one "lock". All the editors and fifteen of the translators leave fingers as "fingers", but one of those makes them "fingers obscene", one makes them "claws", and one "talons". For the third term, three of the editors deviate from the path of scholarly reporting and in Brimwylf's case only make this mean "claws", but interestingly only three of the seventeen translators follow suit. the rest sticking to grasps, clinches, a crush, and even hands. When it comes to killing with the hands, all the editors leave the hands in, but only six of the translators, the rest using unspecific terms for slaying or changing the concept to e.g. "a raging destroyer" or "a bloodthirsty monster".

Last to be considered are the terms which by their plurality or by contextual clues are seen to apply to both of them. The nearcstapan get some version of "great" or "powerful" + border + walkers or wanderers from all the editors, with only one "haunters", but four "monsters", a "haunters", and a "marauders" from the translators. Ellor-gaestas in the plural separates the responses: it gets only the neutral "spirits",

"sprites" and "ones" from the editors, and eleven such terms from translators, but splits the rest into such negative views as "fiends" and "outcast wretch" on the one hand, and such positive ones as "guests", "visitants", and "rulers" from Thorpe, Swanton, and Crossley-Holland, respectively. Ael-wihta is an interesting one, producing a mixture of the "alien being" type and the "monster" type from editors. The translators are inspired to sally forth with a plethora of flamboyant "monsters" and such inventions as "sea-trolls", "goblins", and "demon-kind", mixed with such mild views as "strange creatures" and "aliens", and there are two who ignore the plurality of the compound and make it "her wet world" and "her alien lair". The deofla are all devils, demons, or fiends, except Raffel's "monster", and the huses hyrdes are all appropriately "keepers", "shepherds", or "guardians", except for Chickering's "monsters" and, as we have by now come to expect, Raffel's translation: "the monstrous hag".

In general, then, both fen-dwellers are treated negatively, but the way in which it is done varies according to their gender. He is a mighty warrior, according to the translators, though his deeds do little to bear this out, and the distortions of meanings in his case tend towards the emphasis on Gothic horror. In her case, the words of deprecation tend to be more often gender-related. The tables, taken as a whole, bear out the original impressions.

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