

# Formulas for the Heroes in *Beowulf* Reconsidered

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The characters in *Beowulf* receive various titles, appellations and modifiers. William Whallon deals with them in his "Diction of *Beowulf*," (*PMLA* 76, 1961), "The Idea of God in *Beowulf*," (*PMLA* 80, 1965), "Formulas for Heroes in the *Iliad* and in *Beowulf*," (*Modern Philology* 63, 1965; abb. 1965-b), and *Formula, Character and Context* (Harvard University Press, 1969) and makes some interesting observations on what he calls the "formula" for the heroes in *Beowulf*. My intention here is to make a modest review on some of his remarks and see how the heroes are characterized in this poem. Unlike Robert P. Creed who showed the possible substitutions of the words consisting of formulas within the passage without changing the meaning and the alliterative nature of this poem<sup>1</sup> and D. K. Fry who provided us with an elaborate grammatical definition derived from his idea of "system" of oral formulas,<sup>2</sup> Whallon simply thinks "formula" to be a sort of kenning or epithet<sup>3</sup> as he says:

Each of the Old English formulas is a half-line kenning, or name that occurs at least twice and refers at least once to a heroic figure such as Hrothgar or Wiglaf.<sup>4</sup>

In another place he talks about a formula as follows:

It is for the present sufficient to mark the large nominal and adjectival supply of semantic near-equivalents, and to designate the members of any system of equivalents as basic formulas of the poetic language.<sup>5</sup>

Also, he gives a list of his "formulas" in *Beowulf* on pp. 98-101

of his book of 1969. Only nouns are presented in this list, but I extend the notion of "formulas" by including adjectives such as "snotor" (190b, 1313a, 1384b) for Hrothgar and adjectival phrases such as "heard under helme" (342a) for Beowulf, as Whallon's second statement above suggests.<sup>6</sup> In addition to them, a kenning which occurs only once is given a great deal of consideration in this essay if it is used for one of the heroes (Beowulf, Hrothgar, Hygelac, Wiglaf, Grendel and the dragon).

Whallon first dealt with the words for the shields, the ship, the sea and the hero (Beowulf) in his article on the diction of *Beowulf* (1961), but he narrowed down his attention to the diction of "the heroes" in *Beowulf* in comparison with those of the *Iliad* in his later article (1965-b). A passage in this article is so inspiring that I begin my discussion by quoting it.

Comparing the dictions for the heroes in the *Iliad* and in *Beowulf*, he says:

while the formulaic epithets for the heroes of the *Iliad* are true to individual character but indifferently appropriate to context, the formulaic kennings for the heroes of *Beowulf* are true to generic character but significantly appropriate to context.<sup>7</sup>

And he succeeded in demonstrating the indiscriminatory nature of the epithets for the heroes in *Beowulf*, for instance, Beowulf is a "Higelaces thegn" like Eofor; a "rices hyrde" like Ingeld; a "secg on searwum" like Wiglaf; a "wigendra hleo" like Hrothgar and Sigemund; a "forces hyrde" like Hrothgar, Hygelac, and Ongentheow, or for instance; the "synces brytta" is now Hrothgar and now Hygelac.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to refute such a well exemplified hypothesis, but

I would like, if possible, to find out the individuality of the heroes by looking at the frequency of the epithets and the relationship between those epithets and the speakers who use them.

As for frequency, I found that those shared epithets are used only once or twice each for Beowulf (Higelaces thegn.....194b, 1574b; rices hyrde.....3080a; secg on searwum.....249a, wigendra hleo.....1972a, 2337b, forces hyrde.....2644b), whereas Beowulf is predominantly called "bearn Ecgtheowes" (529b, 631b, 957b, 1383b, 1473b, 1651b, 1817b, 1999b, 2177b, 2425b; "sunu Ecgtheowes" .....1550b, 2367b, 2398b, "maga Ecgtheowes".....2587b), "maeg Higelaces" (408a, 737a, 758b, 813b, 914a, 1530b), "Geata leod" (ð25a, 669a, 829a, 1492b, 1538a, 1612b, 2551a), "aetheling" (1225a, 1244a, 1596a, 1815a, 2188a, 2424a, 2667a, 2715b, 3135b), with compounds with "drihten" (mandrihten.....2604b, 2647a, 2865a, 3149a; frea-drihten.....796a; gumdrihten.....1642b, etc.), compounds with "king" (guthcyning .....2563a, 2677b, 3036b, ; theod-cyning.....2579a, 2694b, 3008a; beorcyning.....2792a; folccyning.....2873a, etc.) and with many other nouns denoting his fame as a warrior (hildedeor.....834a, 2183a; hilderinc..... 1495a, 1576a, 3136a; ellenrof.....340a, 358a, 3063a; heard.....401b, 1807a, 1963a, etc.) or as a guardian (seleweard.....667a; renweardas.....770a, etc.).<sup>9</sup> Only a few of them, for instance, "aetheling" (Hrothgar.....130a), "god" (Hro. ....347a, 355a, 1486b) and "mondrihten" (Hro. ....1229b, 1249b) are shared by Hrothgar, and "mondrihten" (Hygelac.....436a, 1978b) and "beorcyning" (Hy. ....2148a) are shared by Hygelac.

Although Hrothgar and Hygelac are called either "—drihten" or "—cyning," because they are indeed authentic kings or rulers,

the persons who call them thus are often characters, not the narrator, in the poem. For instance, Hrothgar is called "freodrihten" only by his wife, Wealftheow, and Hygelac is called "beorncyning" only by Beowulf.

The characters in the poem are capable to use an epithet which seems quite appropriate to the individual as well as to the occasion. Nobody else but Hrothgar calls Beowulf "secg betsta" (947a, 1759a), "maere cempa" (1761a) when he commends the latter, while only Beowulf says that Hrothgar is "rumheort cyning" (2110b), "snotor fengel" (2156a) when he is rewarded abundantly by the king. Wealftheow's "hyse" for Beowulf is very natural because he must be a younger man in comparison with Wealftheow who is the wife of "blondenfeax (1791a, 1873a) and "anhar" (357a) Hrothgar. Toward the end of the poem, Beowulf also grows old, and he is called "gomol on Gehtho" (3095a) with sympathy by Wiglaf. Wiglaf is so attached to Beowulf that he insists that his dying lord is still "wis ond gewittig" (3094a) when he shows the treasure which is the last booty of Beowulf. He regards Beowulf's merit to lie, among many of his qualities as "godra guthrinca" (2648a), in his role as a "wilgeofa" (2900a). All the main characters of the poem including Hygelac and Wealftheow call the hero "Beowulf leofa" when occasion demands, but Wiglaf is the one who uses this expression of endearment most often—twice when Beowulf is still alive (2651a, 2663a) and twice after his death (3079b, 3108a). Particularly in the latter case, Wiglaf's speech has a touch of vehemence with repeated references to Beowulf in a very short space of time, e.g. "freaun unserne" (3002b), "wigend" (3099a), "rices hyrde" (3080a), "theod-

cyning" (3086a), "godum" (3114a), and "wigena strengel" (3115b). This hyperbole for the person who has just died is also found in Hrothgar's speech about Aeschere who was eaten by Grendel. This beloved thane of Hrothgar is called "min runwita" (1325a), "min raedborā" (1325b), "ealgestealla" (1326a) and "aetheling aergod" (1329a).<sup>10</sup>

The monsters, Grendel and the dragon, also often receive individualistic description from the characters of the poem. Only Beowulf describes Grendel as a "thyrs" (426a), and he hates him as "deogol daed-hata" (275a) and "maga mane fah" (978a), which are the expressions never used by the narrator. Hrothgar's statement that Grendel is an "ingenga" (1776b) and "ealdgewinna" (1776a) for him is understandable because he has been harrassed by the monster for long. As for the dragon, only Wiglaf calls it "ferthgenithla" (2881a) and only Beowulf, "mansceatha" (2514b), though the narrator also calls it by similar terms e.g. guthsceatha.....2318a; lath lyft-floga.....2315a; egeslic earthdraca.....2825a, etc.

Unlike the characters, the narrator seems to give individuality to the heroes by way of emphasis i.e. by the accumulation of appellations or kennings. For instance, he calls Beowulf who has won the head of Grendel from the mother monster "gumdryhten" (1642b), "ealdor thegna" (1644b); "daedcene mon" (1645a), and "haele hilde-deor" (1646a) within only five lines and gives Hrothgar seven different deferential epithets—eorla hleo (1035a), heahcyniges (1039b), sunu Healfdenes (1040b), widcuthes (1042a), eodor Ingwina (1044a), maere theoden (1046b) and hordweard haeletha (1047a) —within thirteen lines when he gives Beowulf horses and the armor in return

for the service of the latter. More of this kind will be found in the places in the list below :

*The Place of Occurrence of the Accumulated Personal Kennings*

The narrator :

| Recipient | Times | Places       |
|-----------|-------|--------------|
| Beowulf   | 3     | 11. 194— 196 |
|           | 5     | 204— 209     |
|           | 3     | 340— 342     |
|           | 4     | 399— 403     |
|           | 4     | 825— 834     |
|           | 3     | 1311—1312    |
|           | 4     | 1642—1646    |
|           | 6     | 1792—1800    |
|           | 6     | 2335—2345    |
|           | 3     | 2721—2723    |
| Hrothgar  | 3     | 129— 131     |
|           | 4     | 426— 430     |
|           | 4     | 607— 610     |
| Hygelac   | 3     | 2355—2358    |
| Aeschere  | 3     | 1296— 1299   |
| Wiglaf    | 5     | 2602—2604    |
| Grendel   | 4     | 102— 105     |
|           | 4     | 984— 989     |
|           | 6     | 1267—1276    |
| Dragon    | 3     | 2825— 2830   |
|           | 3     | 3040—3041    |

The characters :

| Person   | Recipient | Times | Places       |
|----------|-----------|-------|--------------|
| Beowulf  | Hrothgar  | 4     | 11. 267— 271 |
|          |           | 4     | 427— 430     |
|          | Grendel   | 5     | 968— 978     |
|          | Dragon    | 5     | 2519—2528    |
| Hrothgar | Beowulf   | 3     | 1758—1761    |

|            |          |        |                        |
|------------|----------|--------|------------------------|
| Wiglaf     | Beowulf  | 6<br>3 | 2644—2652<br>2900—2901 |
| Wulfgar    | Hrothgar | 4      | 350..... 355           |
| Wealftheow | Hrothgar | 3      | 1169.....1171          |

It is clear from the table above that the narrator utters crowded epithets twice as often as the persons of the poem as a whole do. No wonder he sometimes makes a slip of the tongue and calls Beowulf, for instance, "heatholithend" (1798a) even when Beowulf's skill in the water is not in question, or Aeschere, "sincgyfan" (1342a), so as to blur the image of the heroes.<sup>12</sup> To call Beowulf "goldwine Geata" (2584a) when he is busy fighting with the dragon or to use the epithet of praise, "maere theoden" (1715a), for notorious Heremod also seems a little out of place. They are only a few of the examples of the narrator's indifference to the individual character of the poem, as it is easily surmised from the verbosity of his tongue. No matter how enthusiastic the narrator is in his effort to make the heroes conspicuous figures, his way of description has this sort of flaw, and his praise for them tends to be reduced to only general epithets at its best.

So far, Whallon's assertion that "the formulaic kennings for the heroes of *Beowulf* are true to generic character" has been reconsidered on the assumption that the narrator and the characters in the poem might have some difference in the use of the epithets for the heroes. And it has been revealed that the characters of the poem have sufficient proof of their concern for the individuals, whereas the narrator seems to have only a generic opinion, as Whallon says, about the heroes, which is presented by way of emphasis, through accumulation.

Next, Whallon's hypothesis that men in *Beowulf* are described differently when of dissimilar rank is reconsidered, since he regards this as another evidence of lack of individuality on the part of the heroes in *Beowulf*. He states the situation as follows:

When a warrior becomes a king he does not need to be described as a warrior any longer. If once he was a "guma guthum cuth" (2178a), he now becomes a "god guthcyning" (2563a): if once a "rethe cempa" (1585a) or "Geata cempa" (1551b), he becomes a "rices hyrde" (3080a) or "Geata dryhten" (2576a). When Hrothgar is "har hilderinc" (1307a) and "folces hyrde" (610a), the "haele hildedeor" (1646a) and "fethecempa" (1544a) is Beowulf, who later becomes a "har hilderinc" (3136a) and "folces hyrde" (2644b), the "hele hildedeor" (3111a) and "fethecempa" (2853a) then being Wiglaf. 13

Those epithets do not change so neatly with the shift of the rank, if one takes the frequency of their use into account. It is true that the title, for instance, "hildedeor" or "(fethe-)cempa" for Beowulf does not appear after the line 2200 when Beowulf becomes a king and that "cyning" (2209b, 2390b, 2417b, 2702b, 2912b, 3093a, 3121b, 3171b), "hlaforð" (2283a, 2634b, 2642b, 3142b, 3179a), "bealdor" (2567a) and "hringa fengel" (1507a) appear only after that line. But among the words denoting the lordship, "theoden" appears three times (797a, 1525a, 1627b), "agendfrea" once (1883a) and "thengel" once (1507a) before the line 2200 for Beowulf. At the same time, Beowulf's position as a warrior does not change even if he is promoted to a king. He is called "hilderinc" (1495a, 1576a, 3136a), "sigor-eadig secg" (1311a, 2352a), "wigena strengel" (1543b, 3115b), "rof" (1793a, 2690a), "ellenrof" (340a, 358a, 3063a) and "modig" (1508b, 1812b, 3011a) throughout the poem. Moreover, Beowulf remains to be called the son of Ecgtheow four times (sunu Ecgtheowes.....



2367b, 2398b; bearn E. ....2425b, maga E. ....2587b) toward the end of the poem, and this number is not so small in comparison with the number of the same phrase (10 times) <sup>14</sup> which appears before the line 2200 if one takes the length of the poem into account. Thus, the formulaic epithet for the hero does not change drastically according to the rank.

Reconsideration and discovery of the evidences contrary to Whal-lon's statement on p. 8 lead us to refute at least a part of his first hypothesis that "formulaic kennings for the hero of *Beowulf*.....are significantly appropriate to the context." <sup>15</sup> We can accept another part of his hypothesis with some reservation as seen on the same page. But whether each of the heroes in *Beowulf* has any particular feature of his own or not cannot be decided without looking at wider context than the formulas or kennings. The characters in the poem may at times have presented their own views on the heroes as I have shown, but more of them will be obtained when we include, for instance, a relative clause such as "se the worna fela gumcystum god gutha gedigde" (2542b—2543b) for Beowulf or "se the soth ond riht fremme on folce" (1700b—1701a) for Hrothgar. And when it is proved that the formulaic epithet accords well enough with those descriptions of the individual, it may be said that formula is a useful tool in composing the Old English poetry, which has such an abundance of traditional wordhoard.

Notes:

1. Robert P. Creed, "The Making of an Anglo-Saxon Poem," *ELH* 26, 1959.

2. Fry's definition of the formula is: a group of words, one half-line in length, which shows evidence of being the direct product of a formulaic system. And that of the system is: a group of half-lines, usually related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements, one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements. These definitions appear in D.K. Fry, "Some Aesthetic Implications of a New Definition of the Formula" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* LXIX, 1968, p.519 and p.517 respectively.
3. The fact that Whallon regards "kennings" and the "epithet" almost equivalent is proved in the following statement of his :
 

.....Other synonyms could of course serve the same function, and for the sake of ease I shall speak of *kennings* and the *epithets* in the widest and loosest possible sense, and name for example, "Gar-Dene" a kenning for the Danes. (Underline by Kobayashi)
4. Whallon, 1965-b, p. 96.
5. Whallon, 1961, p. 310.
6. Klaeber regards this substantival use of adjectives in their strong inflexion to be one of the characteristics of the syntax of *Beowulf*. FR. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, D.C. Heath and Co., Massachusetts, 1950, p. xci.
7. Whallon, 1965-b, p. 96.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 100.
9. The text I use in this essay is Klaeber's edition (cf. note 6 above). The "thorn" and "eth" there, however, are substituted by the letters "th," and "ash" by "ae" in this paper.

Also, the bar above the vowels are omitted. Occasional references are made to C.L. Wrenn ed. *Beowulf*, Harrap, 1969, when necessary.

10. The person who tells us that Aeschere is the most favoured thane of Hrothgar is not Hrothgar but the narrator in this case. The narrator says that he is "haeletha leofost" (1296b), "thone deorestan"(1309a), "thone selestan"(1406a), "blaed faestne beorn" (1299a) and "rice randwiga" (1298a).
11. The criterion of the "accumulated epithets" here is temporarily set so as to include only those epithets which occur more than four times per person within less than ten lines or more than three within less than five lines.
12. As for the absurdity of calling Aeschere "singgyfan," Klaeber explains that "Aeschere, who occupied an exalted position, receives a title fit for a king" (Klaeber, p. 182), but it is not necessarily true that anyone who is a renowned warrior assumes this title in eulogy even if he is victimized.
13. Whallon, 1965-b, p. 102.
14. Cf. sunu Ecgtheowes.....1550b; bearn Ecgtheowes.....529b, 631b, 957b, 1383b, 1473b, 1651b, 1817b, 1999b, 2177b.
15. Whallon, 1965-b, p. 96.

The List of Formulaic Epithets in *Beowulf*: with the Indication of the Speaker who Uses the Epithet

|                    |                  |               |
|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| A.....the narrator | F.....Unferth    | a.....a-verse |
| B.....Beowulf      | G.....the guard  | b.....b-verse |
| C.....Hrothgar     | H.....Wiglaf     |               |
| D.....Hygelac      | I.....Wealftheow |               |
| E.....Wulfgar      |                  |               |

The first meaning in Klaeber's glossary is taken as the primary,

meaning of the word e.g. "eorl" = 'nobleman,' 'man,' 'warrior.'

Beowulf:

1. as a man

secg.....208bA, 249aA(on searwum), 402bA, 947aC (betsta), 1311aA (sigoreadig), 1569bA, 1759aC (betsta), 1812bA (modig), 2352aA (sigoreadig); rinc.....747aA; beorn.....1024aA; guma.....1499bA. 2178aA (guthum cuth); drihtguma.....1768aC; wer.....1268aA; mon (man).....209aA (lagucraeftig), 297bG, 1057aA, 1316bA (fyrd-wyrthe), 1645aA (daedcene), 1876bA, 1994aD (leofes), 2189aA (tiredigum), 2555aA, 2897aA (leofes), 3108aH (leofne); heale.....1646aA (hildedeor), 1816aA (hildedeor); leod.....341aA (Wedera), 625aA (Geata), 669aA (Geata), 829aA (Geatmecga), 1492bA (Weder-Geata), 1538aA (Guth-Geata), 1612bA (Weder-Geata), 2551aA (Weder-Geata).

2. as a warrior

herrerinc.....1176aI: heathorinc.....403bA, hilderinc.....1495aA, 1576aA, 3136aA (har); guthrinc.....1501bA, 1881aA (goldwlan), 2648aH (godra); hleo.....791aA (eorla), 1972bA (wigendra), 2337bA (wigendra); hildfruma.....2649aH, 2835aA; frumgar.....2856aA; cempa.....1312bA (aethele), 1551bA (Geata), 1585aA (rethe), 1761aC (maere); fethceempa.....1544aA; wisa.....259aA; herewisa.....3020aH; helm.....1623bA (lidman), 2705aA (Wedra); wiga.....629aA (waelreow), 1793aA (rofne), 1543bA (strengest), 3115bH (strengel); oretta.....1532aA (yrre), 2538bA (rof).

3. as a king

drihten.....2338bA(eorla), 2402aA(Geata), 2560bA, 2576aA, 2753bA, 2789aA, 2901aH (Geata); freadrihten.....796aA; freodrihten.....2627aA; winedrihten.....1604bA, 2722aA, 3175aA; mondryhten.....2604bA, 2647aH, 2865aH, 3149bA; gumdrihten.....1642bA; theoden.....797aA (maeres), 1525aA, 1627bA, 2336aA (Wedera), 2572aA, 2656aH(Wedra), 2709bA, 2721aA(maerne). 2786bA(Wedera), 2788bA(maerne), 2810aA, 2869aH, 2883aH, 3037aA(Wedera), 3079bH (leofne), 3141bA(maerne); frea.....2537bB, 2662aA, 2853bA, 3002bH, 3107bH; agendfrea.....1883aA; cyning.....2209bA, 2390bA, 2417bA, 2702bA, 2912bA, 3093aH, 3121bA, 3171bA; guthcyning.....2563aA,

2677bA, 3036bA; theodcyning.....2579aA, 2694bA, 3008aA; folccyning  
.....2873aH; hlaforð.....2283aA (sinne), 2634bH (ussum), 2642bH,  
2778bA (eald), 3142bA (leofne), 3179aA; ealdor.....369bE, 1644bA.

4. as a nobleman

eorl.....573aB, 627bA, 689aA, 761bA, 982bA, 1512bA, 1702bC, 2908  
aH, 3063aA; aetheling.....1225aI, 1244aA, 1596aA, 1815aA, 2188aA  
2424aA, 2342aA (aergod), 2667aH(anhydig), 2715bA, 3135bA; then-  
gel.....1507aA (hringa); fengel.....2345bA (hringa), bealdor.....  
2567aA (winia).

5. as a guardian

weard.....2513aB(frod folces); seleweard.....667aA, ethelweard.....  
2210aA; hyrde.....2644bH (folces), 3080aH.

6. as a distributor of treasure

goldgyfan.....2652aH; sincgifan.....2311aA.

7. as a friend

wine.....457bC, 1704bC, 3096bH; goldwine.....2419aA (Geata), 2584  
aA.

8. as a son and a kinsman

bearn (Ecgtheowes).....529bA, 631bA, 957bA, 1383bA, 1473bA, 1651  
bA, 1817bA, 1999bA, 2177bA, 2425bA; sunu (Ecgtheowes).....1550  
bA, 2367bA, 2398bA; maga (Ecgtheowes).....2587bA; maeg (Hige-  
laces).....737aA, 758bA, 813bA, 914aA, 1530bA; maeg.....408aB,  
2675bA, 2698bA, 2879bH; nefa.....2170bA.

9. in adjectival terms

thrythswyth.....736bA, god.....195aB, 205aA, 675aA, 1518aA, 1595aA,  
2327bA, 2390bA, 2563aA, 3036aA, 3114aA; betst.....947aC (secg),  
1759aC (secg), 1871bA; snotor.....826aA; wergum.....1794bA  
(sithes); gamol.....2421aA, 2793aA, 2817aA, 2851bA, 3095aH;  
leofe.....203bA, 297bA (mannan), 1216bI, 1758bC (Beowulf), 1854bC  
(Beowulf), 1987bC, 1994aD, 2651aH, 2663aH (Biowulf), 2823aA,  
2897aA (monnes), 2910aA, 3079aH (theoden), 3108aH (mannan),  
3142bA (hlaforðes); rumheort.....2110bB; hilde saedne.....2723aA;  
heatho-sioc.....2754aA; winigia leasum.....1664aB; frod.....1844bC,

2209bA (cynjng), 2513aB (folces weard); heatholithend.....1798aA; rof.....204aA (hige), 1793aA (randwigan), 2690aA; heathorof.....381aC; ellenrof.....340aA, 358aA, 3063aA (eori); beadurof.....3160aA; rice.....399aA; heathodeor.....688aA; swythferh.....826aA; higethihtig.....746bA; strang.....196bA (maegenes), 789bA (maegene), 1543bA (wigena), 1844aC (maegenes); hroran.....1629bA; collenferh.....1806aA; heard.....401bA, 1807aA, 1963aA; modig.....502aA (merefaren), 1508bA, 1812bA (secg), 3011aH; nithheard.....2417bA (cynjng); stearc-heort.....2552aA.

## 10. others

godfremmendra.....299aH; hvse.....1217aI; gist.....1522bA, 1800bA; selegist.....1545aA; fethegist.....1976aA; wilgeofa.....2900aH; gram.....765aA; dream healdende.....1227bI; Geat.....640aA, 1785aA, 1792bA.

## Hrothgar:

### 1. as a man

guma.....1384aB; leod.....1653aB (Scyldinga), 2159B; mon.....1879aA.

### 2. as a warrior

hilderinc.....1307aA; wisa.....1064bA (Healfdenes), 1400bA (fengel); wigfruma.....664aA; hildewisa.....1064bA (Healfdenes); hildfruma 1678aA; guthwiga.....2112aB (gomel); hleo.....429bA (wigendra), 1035aA (eorla), 1866aA (eorla), 2142aB (eorla); helm.....371bA (Scyldinga), 1321bA (Scyldinga); leodgebyrgean.....269aB.

### 3. as a king

theoden.....129bA (maere), 201aB (maerne), 354aB (maerum), 353aE (maerne), 365aE, 417aB (Hrothgar), 1046bA (maere), 1598aA (maerne), 1675aB (Scyldinga), 1871aA (Scyldinga), 1992aD (maerum), 2131aB; drihten.....1824aB; freodrihten.....1169bI; mondrihten.....1229bI (hold), 1249bA; sigedrihten.....391bE, winedrihten.....360bA, 862aA; cynjng.....619aA (sigorof), 863bA (god), 867bA, 920bA, 1010aA, 1306bA (frod), 1870bA (aethelm), 1885bA, 2110bB (rumheort); worold cynjng.....1684bA, guthcynjng.....199bB; heahcynjng.....1039bA; frea.....271aB (Deniga), 291aB (Scyldinga),

315aE (Scildinga), 359aA (Deniga), 500aA (Syldinga), 1166aA (Scyldinga), 1319aA (Ingwina), 1680bA (Deniga); hlaforð……267bB (thinne); brego……427aA, 609aA (Beorht-Dena).

4. as a nobleman

aetheling …… 130aA (aergod); fengel …… 1400bA (Wisa), 1475aB (snottra), 2156aB (snotra); eoldor……346aB, 392aE, 592bB, 668aA (Dena).

5. as a guardian

weard……921bA (beahhorde), 1390aB (rices); hyrde……610aA (folces), 2027aB.

6. as a distributor of treasure

singcigan……1012aA; beaga brytta……352aE, 1487aB; since brytta ……607bA, 1170aI.

7. as a friend

wine……148aA (Scyldinga), 170bA (Scyldinga), 350bE (Deniga), 376bC (holdne), 1183aI (Scildinga), 2026bB, 2101bB (Scildunga); goldwine……1602aA (gumena), 1171aI (gumena), 1476aB (gumena).

8. as a son and a kinsman

bearn (Healfdenes)……1020bA; sunu (Healfdenes)……268aB, 344bB 645aA, 1009bA, 1040bA, 1652bB, 1699aA, 2147aB; maga (Healfdenes)……189bA, 1474bB.

9. in adjectival terms

lofe……1483B (Hrothgar); god…… 347aB, 355aE, 863bA, 1486bB; glaedman……367bE (Hrothgar); snotor …… 190bA, 1313bA, 1384aB (guma), 1475aB (fengel), 1786bA; deorum……1879aA; frod……279aB, 1306bA, 2114aB; rumheort……2110bC (cyning); eald……357aA, 1702aC (ethelweard), 1874aA (infrodum); anhar……357aA; gamol……1397aA, 1677bA (rince), 1792aA (Scylding), 2105bB, 2112aB (guthwiga); gamolfeax (ond guthrof)……608aA; blondenfeax……1791aA, 1873aA; tirfaest……922aA; orleahre……1886aA; widcuth……1042aA; wiges weorthmynd……65aA; rice……310bA, 1237aI; guthrof……608aA (gamolfeax); sigerof……619bA (kyning).

10. others

heresped gyfen.....64aA.

Hygelac:

1. as a warrior

hleo.....1967bA(eorla), 2190aA; heard.....2170aA(nitha); byrnwiga  
.....2918aH.

2. as a king

drihten.....1484bB (Geata), 1831aB (Geata), 2000bB (Higelac), 2186  
aA(Wedera), 2991bA; cyning.....1925bA(bregorof), 2191aA (heathor-  
rof), 2356aA (Geata), beorncyning.....2148aB; theodkyning.....2144  
aB; theoden.....1209aA (rice), 2095aB.

3. as a nobleman

aetheling.....2374aA.

4. as a guardian

hyrde.....1832aB (folces).

5. as a distributor of treasure

since brytta.....1922bA, 2071aB.

6. as a son and a kinsman

sunu (Hredles) .....1485aB; eafora (Hrethles).....1847bA, 2358aA,  
2992aA; nefa (Swertinges) .....1203aA.

7. in adjectival terms

bregorof.....1925bA (cyning); heathorof.....2191aA (cyning); rice  
.....1209aA (theoden), 1975bA.

8. others

Geata.....1202bA (Higelac).

Grendel:

1. as a foe, hated one

feond.....101bA, 143bA, 164aA(mancynnes), 279bB, 439aB, 698bA,  
725bA, 748aA, 962aB, 970aB, 984aA, 1273bA, 1276aA (mancynnes);  
feorh-genithla.....969aB; maera.....762aA; lath.....815aA, 841aA,  
2008bB, 2354aA; lathgesteona.....974bB; wrath.....660aC, 708bA,



2. as a demon, a doer of the evil deeds

1619aA; daed-hata.....275aB; gromheart guma.....1682aA; andsaca  
.....786bA, 1682bA.

scatha.....274bB, dolscatha.....479aC, hearmscatha.....766aA; leod-  
scatha.....2093bB; manscatha.....712aA, 737bA; scynscatha.....801  
bA, synscatha 707aA; aeglaeca.....425aB, 433aB, 646bA, 739aA,  
989bA, 1000bA, 1269aA; atol aeglaeca.....592aB, 732aA, 816aA,  
2074aA; earm-sceapen..... 1351bC, bealo-hydig..... 723aA; wiht  
unhaelo.....120bA; daedfruma.....2090aB; maga mane fah.....978  
aB; waelgaest.....1331aC, 1995aD; sinnigne secg.....1379aC; grimma  
gaest.....102aB, helle gaest.....1274aA.

3. as a murderer

bona.....158bA, 2082aA; gastbona.....177aA; handbona.....1330bC;  
muthbona.....2079bB; morthres scyldig.....1683aA.

4. as an intruder

gaest.....2073bA (yrre); ingenga.....1776aC.

5. as a guard

huses hyrde.....1666aB; grund-hyrde..... 2136aB; hyrde.....750bA  
(fyrena).

6. as a son

eafora.....1547aA; bearn.....1546bA, 2121aA.

7. others

hroran.....1629aA; thyrs.....426aB; giganta cyn.....1690bA; an-  
genga.....165aA, 449aB; sceadugenga.....703aA; helle haefton.....  
788aA; dreamum bedaeled.....721aA, 1275aA; ellor-gast.....807bA,  
1621bA, 1617aA (aettren); tir leas .....843aA; haethenes.....986aA;  
hilderinc.....986bA; ealdgewinna.....1776aC; deathfaege.....850aA;  
feasceaft guma.....973aB; mearc-stapa.....103aA; wonsaeli wer...  
...105aA; guma.....1682aA (gromheart).

The dragon:

1. as a foe, hated one

feond.....2706aA; feorh-genithla ..... 2881aH; lath ..... 2305aA,

2315aA, 2910aH, 3040aA; ealdorgewinna.....2903bH.

2. as a demon, the doer of the evil deeds

guthsceaþa..... 2318aA; mansceaþa.....2514bB; theodsceaþa.....  
2278aA, 2688aA; uhtsceaþa.....2271aA; aeglaeca.....2520aB, 2534aB,  
2557aA, 2592aA, 2905aH; attorsceaþa.....2839aA.

3. as a murderer

bona.....2824bA.

4. as an intruder

gryregist.....2560aA; inwitgaest.....2670aA; nithgaest.....2699aA:  
gaest.....2312aA.

5. as a guard

hyrde.....2245aA (hringa); 2304bA (beorges); 3133bA (fraetwa);  
weard.....2413bA (unhiore), 2524bB (beorges), 2580bA (beorges),  
2841bA, 3060bA, 3066bA (biorges); hord-weard.....2293bA, 2302bA,  
2554bA, 2593aA; goldweard.....3081bH; mund-bora.....2779bA.

6. others

wyrm.....2287aA, 2307aA, 2316aA, 2343bA, 2348aA, 2400aA, 2519aB,  
2567bA, 2629bA, 2669bA, 2705bA, 2745bB, 2759bA, 2771bA, 2827aA,  
2902bH, 3039aA, 3132aA; draca.....892bA, 2211bA, 2290bA, 2549bA,  
2402bA, 3131bA; eorthdraca.....2712aA, 2825aA(egeslic); fyrdraca.....  
2689aA (frecne); ligdraca.....2333aA, 3040bA, nithdraca.....2273aA;  
widfloga.....2346aA, 2830aA; uhtflogan ..... 2760aA (ealdes);  
guthflogan.....2528aB; lyftfloga.....2315aA; gryre-fah.....2576bA;  
giomormod.....2267aA; stearc-heort ..... 2288bA; syllicran wiht.....  
3038bA.