Beowulf - Hæleð under Heofonum

by

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Abstract

This study of the design of Beowulf examines the possible function of the 'digressions', the poet's concept of time, the nature of the hero and the generic status of the poem. Finally, a suggestion as to the possible intention of the poem is proposed.

Acknowledgement

A number of major works of Beowulf-criticism have become the standard fare of students in this field, digested and absorbed to become part of their own critical frame of reference. Inevitably, ideas, theories, and even words and phrases from such works are liable to appear in subsequent critical attempts. It seems appropriate, therefore, to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to them at the outset so that such inadvertent references should not be seen as lapses in scholarly ethics but rather as a silent tribute to greater scholarly endeavours.

Beowulf - Hæleð under Heofonum

Although the main narrative in Beowulf is simple, it has to be disentangled from an enormous web of memory, prophecy and incidental reference, contained in the so-called 'digressions'. This has long posed the question whether the poet's main concern was simply the telling of the story of three episodes in the life of an obscure Geatish king.

W.P. Ker, quoted by Tolkien[1], had the following to say:

> The fault of Beowulf is that there is nothing much in the story. The hero is occupied in killing monsters, like Hercules or Theseus .... Beowulf has nothing else to do. When he has killed Grendel and Grendel's mother in Denmark, he goes home to his own Gautland until at last the rolling years bring the Fire-drake and his last adventure. It is too simple.

Ker continues that while the main story is so simple, all the allusions contain a 'whole world of tragedy' and that the poem disproportionately places the 'irrelevances at the centre and the serious things on the outer edges'.

Chambers believed that folktale had 'been allowed in Beowulf to usurp the place of honour, and to drive into episodes and digressions the things which should be the main stuff of a well-conducted epic'.[2] (I shall be returning to the question of whether Beowulf is indeed tragic and an epic.)

The source material of the 'digressions' includes stories of fights with monsters suggested by folklore, legend, and the

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1. Tolkien, J.R. 'Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics' Reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, Lewis E. Nicholson (ed.) (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1963) p.57.
2. Foreword to Strong's translation: Beowulf translated into modern English rhyming verse. (Constable, 1925) p.xxvi.

beliefs of Germanic paganism, as well as historic material derived from existing poetry and other oral traditions.[3] Michael Swanton[4] has pointed out the relationship of Beowulf with an indigenous European folktale, known to folklorists as 'The Story of Jean l'Ours', or 'The Bear's Son Tale'. Elements from both halves of the Beowulf story are also found in Old Norse narratives like Harðar Saga, Gull-þóris Saga, Hrólfs Saga Kraka and Grettis Saga.

Most modern critics would seem to agree that the Beowulf poet gives the earthy, unembroidered folktale an altogether wider, more significant context, creating, in Swanton's words, 'a highly wrought dramatic structure, the thematic content of which has formed the subject of lengthy and continuing scholastic dispute'.[5]

Indeed, the woven fabric of the poem, weaving continually from 'story' to 'background'[6] inhibits the natural rush of proper narrative suspense where the main concern would be with what happens next. The fact that the poem 'lacks steady advance' in itself is an indication that the poet did not intend it to advance, but rather that he was using the inherited traditions of his own people, not for the purpose of epic narration but of examining a central theme. Viewed in this way, the 'digressions', far from merely indicating an antiquarian interest in the poet, can be seen as an

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3. Wrenn, C.L. (ed.), Beowulf (revised C.F. Bolton) (London: George A. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1973.) p.28.
4. Swanton, Michael (ed.) Beowulf (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1978.) p.9.
5. Ibid., p.13.
6. John Leyerle, ('The Interlace Structure of Beowulf', University of Toronto Quarterly 37, 1967.) p.1-17, sees the art of juxtaposition in Beowulf as comparable to the intricate interlacing of zoomorphic ornaments in Anglo-Saxon art. He takes the phrase 'wordum wrixlan' as referring to the interlayering of narrative episodes. Since the task of 'weaving words' belongs primarily to the 'scop', this view would seem to indicate the importance of the 'scop' in creating the complex structure of the poem. I shall return to this point in the course of my discussion of the relationship of the 'digressions' and the main narrative of the poem.

integral part of the poem and an attempt to add new perspectives.

Commenting on existing critical analyses and opinion regarding Widsith, a strange poem made up entirely of lists of kings, heroes, and the names of kingdoms and tribes, Bauschatz[7] points out that these have succeeded in nothing more notable than giving us a likely date for the composition of the poem as we have it today. He asks:

> What, however, does all of this have to do with the poem Widsith and with the intentions and impulses that led to its composition; what does it tell us about how the poem as we have it is to be experienced? (my underlining). If it is an attempt to write chronicle or history, it is a terrible, spectacular failure. Yet, someone thought enough of it to see that it was preserved in the Exeter Book.

This seems a valid comment on Beowulf, as well.[8]

Andersson[9] poses the question which has occupied many modern critics: 'How did the poet form his narrative and what is the broader purpose subtending the form he chose?' He adds that Beowulf is strangely built. 'It is full of temporal dilations, but it has a gaping hiatus between Beowulf's return to Geatland and his final adventure. ... And yet the

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7. Bauschatz, Paul C., The Well and the Tree (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press. 1982.) p.89.
8. Swanton, op.cit., p.13, makes precisely this point in his edition of the poem:
   The poet's style is by no means turgid in itself, but continual comment, allusion and digression detract from what 'plot' there is. In any case, if the poet's primary concern had been heroic narrative, there are curious omissions to account for.
9. Andersson, Theodore M., 'Tradition and Design in Beowulf' in Old English Literature in Context. Ten Essays. Edited by John Niles. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. 1980.) p.93.

poem is so extraodinarily satisfying that we have the nagging feeling that we are asking the wrong questions. The principle of goodness in the poem is clearly not narrative simplicity. It lies elsewhere'.

These comments all seem to indicate that our modern critical tools are not suited to the task of coping with the analysis of these Old English poems. It would be well to remember, perhaps, that aspects of a foreign culture which appear strange to us (and here the structure of Old English poetry seems to be a case in point) 'point directly to elements in their conceptual structure that differ radically from ours'.[10] I want to suggest that in Beowulf we become aware that we are dealing with an unfamiliar concept of poetic genre arising from a specific view of Germanic heroic life which seems to ask two contradictory attitudes of the reader: sincerely to admire and yet just as sincerely to reject the ideals of the heroic code. This is the view of a poet looking back at a pagan heroic era with a cyclical concept of time in transition towards an era conceiving of time as linear and eschatological.

In an attempt to pinpoint the 'principle of goodness' in the poem, Andersson continues to mention elevated sentiment, rich language, elaborate courtesy and the dramatic unfolding of achievement and failure as sources for the poetic value of Beowulf. What needs to be investigated, however, is his reference to 'a persistent cultivation of mood and emotional resonance' by the Beowulf poet. He says:[11] 'The mood is always at the center of the poet's preoccupation. Indeed, the mood becomes the substance of the work and when we explore the structure of the narrative, we should focus not on the sequence of events, but on the construction of atmosphere'. This seems to indicate that the deliberate

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10. Bauschatz, op.cit., p.x. In the course of my discussion I shall deal with the possible genre of the poem.
11. Op.cit., p.94.

evocation of tonality in the poem should supply a key to the poet's narrative and thematic concerns.

Andersson mentions Buchloh's review of techniques of amplification (e.g. sight and sound, emphasis on emotions, retrospection, anticipation, authorial commentary) and makes the point that 'the ethic elaborations and the arrangement of episodes serve to underline the message of futility ... to isolate a pattern of frustration in this life'. He argues that the organizing principle in operation throughout the poem is mutability, and proceeds to show that the pattern of the poem follows the ups and downs, the flux and the mutability of human life.

Several other critics have commented on the pattern in Beowulf and it is useful to look at a few of these:

Brodeur[12] mentions 'dramatic reversals' where hope gives way to disappointment, joy to grief, and vice versa. Herbert A. Wright[13] also writes about alternating good and evil, light and darkness, joy and sorrow in Beowulf. He comments that these contrasting opposites are 'the stuff of everyday life', and are thus by no means peculiar to Beowulf, but proceeds to show that even though these groups in themselves may appear trite, the three, taken together, could help in the interpretation of the whole work.

Bolton[14] has pointed out from the works of Alcuin that the alternation of light and dark in the solar day of nature provides the symbol for a number of other kinds of alternation. Not only do they point to the alternation of

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12. Brodeur, Arthur G., The Art of Beowulf (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1959.) p.51.
13. Wright, Herbert G., 'Good and Evil; Light and Darkness; Joy and Sorrow in Beowulf' (Review of English Studies, VIII, 1957, pp.1-11. Reprinted in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, op.cit. p.257ff.
14. Bolton, W.F., Alcuin and Beowulf: An Eighth-Century View. (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd. 1979.) p.92ff.

prosperity and adversity, but day and night are also the markers of that time that underlies all change and evanescence, 'the aptly termed "temporality"'.

Andersson also mentions the alternation of hope and fear, success and failure, joy and grief as the 'rhythm of a mutable world'.

When one considers the larger pattern of the poem, one is reminded of Tolkien's 'rising and setting'.[15] He comments that the structure of the poem 'is essentially a balance, an opposition of ends and beginnings. In its simplest terms, it is a contrasted description of two moments in a great life, rising and setting; an elaboration of the ancient and intensely moving contrast between youth and age, first achievement and final death'. Although this view of the binary structure of the poem permeates Beowulf-criticism, Tolkien's view that it is a 'simple and static structure, solid and strong', is open to question. Rather than seeing the poem as a static structure divided rigidly into two parts, the 'rising' and the 'setting' of Beowulf's life and fame, I would suggest there seems to be a fluidity in the overall structure and that the 'rising' becomes the 'setting'. This movement is echoed continually by the total changes and reversals in fortune and mood which are the essence of the poem.

From the myth critic's perspective, Joseph Fontenrose[16] sees in Beowulf 'a tripartite exposition of the wide-spread Indo-European and Near-Eastern combat myth' in which there is the eternal struggle between chaos and order, figured as a clash between death, cold, and darkness on the one hand, and life and light on the other. Various authors (e.g. McNamee[17])

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15. Op.cit., p.81.
16. Fontenrose, Joseph, Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959.) p.526. (Quoted in Old English Literature in Context.)
17. M.B. McNamee, S.J., 'Beowulf - An Allegory of Salvation?' in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, op.cit., p.331ff.

have mentioned the remarkable parallel between the outline of the Beowulf story and the Christian story of salvation and some see a parallel between the ceremony of Baptism and Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother. This would then embody a displacement of the older combat myth, representing the same underlying conflict between opposing forces.

What emerges from all these views is that the poem seems to be built upon the juxtaposition of opposites. In this study of Beowulf I wish to consider this pattern more closely and to test Andersson's assertion that 'what is peculiar to Beowulf is the cultivation of the pattern (of mutability) in every segment of the poem, the smallest as well as the largest', with regard to some of the 'digressions', in order to establish whether and how they, within themselves and in context, contribute to this cultivation of pattern and mood in relation to theme, thus enhancing the artistic unity of the poem. In the course of my discussion, I shall be referring particularly to the following 'digressions':

ll.	1 - 52 :	The story of Scyld Scefing
ll.	82 - 85 :	The fate of Heorot
ll.	90 - 98 :	The scop sings about Creation
ll.	105 - 114 :	The monsters, kinsmen of Cain, outlawed by God
ll.	898 - 915 :	The story of Heremod
ll.	1258 - 1276 :	Grendel's mother
ll.	2024 - 2069 :	Freawaru and Ingeld
ll.	2247 - 2266 :	The elegy of the last survivor
ll.	2435 - 2471 :	The father's lament
ll.	2910 - 3006 :	Ravenswood

It is necessary, at the outset, to define what is meant by the term 'digression'. I take it to encompass both Bonjour's terms, 'digression' and 'episode'.[18] He says:

> Strictly speaking, an episode may be considered as a moment which forms a real whole and yet is

18. Bonjour, Adrien, The Digressions in Beowulf. Medium Ævum Monographs V. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1950.) p.xi.

> merged in the main narrative, whereas a digression is more of an adjunction and generally entails a sudden break in the narrative.

Thus, in the course of this discussion I shall use the term 'digression' for both these types of episodic material.

Some central ideas and themes as well as the atmosphere and pattern of the poem appear in the very first 'digression', the prologue of the poem dealing with the story of Scyld Scefing. This account of the origin of the Scylding line and the burial of Scyld can scarcely be called a 'digression' since the story has not yet begun. It justifies its position as a prelude, however, as it is a short cameo, as it were, anticipating not only the life of Beowulf himself, but at the same time introducing key themes and motifs which are central to an understanding of the structural and thematic concerns of the poem.

The episode follows the cycle of the life of a great King from his helpless, humble beginnings, through his development to a position of honour as a 'god cyning', to his final departure 'on Frean wære'.

There are obvious parallels with the Beowulf story in this episode. Bonjour[19] points out a certain parallelism between Scyld himself and Beowulf, however different their respective missions. 'The coming of Scyld, indeed, saves the Danes from one of the worst calamities which could possibly befall a people in the so-called Dark Ages: the lack of a ruler. The coming of Beowulf, on the other hand, saved them from a fiendish monster who threatened the very existence of the Danes.' Both Scyld and Beowulf come altogether unexpectedly 'one might even say miraculously "ofer swanrade" to fulfil their mission'. Another aspect of the parallelism between Scyld and Beowulf is that in both cases their youth contrasts sharply with their glorious careers. Bonjour

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19. Ibid., p.4.

again:[20] 'neither showed the slightest promise of a brilliant future: Scyld was found a wretched and abandoned child ('Feasceaft'), and Beowulf is conspicuous for his inglorious youth'.

The poet stresses clearly the reversal in Scyld's fortunes. Even though he was found a waif, helpless, the poet adds[21]

> he þæs frofre gebad,
> weox under wolcnum, weorðmyndum þah,
> oðþæt him æghwylc þara ymbsittendra
> ofer hronrade hyran scolde,
> gomban gyldan.
>
> (lines 7b-11a)

Beowulf, the poet says, was despised by the Geats,

> swyðe [wen]don þæt he sleac wære,
> æðeling unfrom.
>
> (lines 2187-2188a)

And yet, as in the case of Scyld

> Edwenden cwom
> tireadigum menn torna gehwylces.
>
> (lines 2188b-2189)

Scyld's history, in this prologue prefiguring that of Beowulf, thus strikes a key-note thematically. It shows that reversal and transience are integral components of heroic life. Furthermore, this parallel between the two heroes seems to show them to be types of a mythological hero who undertakes a quest to attain a golden age of power and harmony in the universe he inhabits.

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20. Ibid., p.5.
21. All text references to Dobbie, Elliott van Kirk, (ed.), Beowulf and Judith The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records IV (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953.).

Apart from these dramatic parallels, the episode also establishes the pattern of a 'rising and setting' (Tolkien) which is evident in many of the incidents as well as in the overall theme of the inevitability of death after great glory and heroism. This larger pattern, says Andersson, is 'a rising and falling of hope and fear, success and failure, joy and grief, in short the rhythm of a mutable world'.[22] It might be argued, of course, as Andersson admits, that such a pattern would exist in any narrative where defeat and victory are interwoven. It is remarkable, however, that this pattern exists in every segment of the poem, both large and small. One is constantly reminded that good yields to bad, or the reverse.

In the Scyld episode of about 51 lines, the pattern establishes itself. Scyld, found destitute, becomes a great king. His son, the older Beowulf, or Beow

> þone god sende
> folce to frofre; fyrenðearfe ongeat
> þe hie ær drugon aldor[le]ase
> lange hwile.
>
> (lines 13b-16a)

He reverses their suffering. We are reminded, however, that life ends in grief, no matter how glorious the career. Scyld dies and the people mourn him:

> him wæs geomor sefa,
> murnende mod.
>
> (lines 49b-50a)

The poet states explicitly that it is God who effects reversals of fortune and brings comfort to the afflicted. It is the Lord of Life (Lif-frea) who dispensed earthly glory to Scyld. I concur with Margaret Goldsmith[23] that the poet

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22. Andersson, op.cit., p.97. Cf. note 3.
23. Goldsmith, Margaret E., The Mode and Meaning of 'Beowulf' (London: The Athlone Press. 1970.) p.81.

affirms the hand of God in birth and in life and that 'By this simple means he opens the perspective of eternity, and (that) the brilliant foreground picture of Scyld's costly foreign spoils shades from a symbol of magnificent power into a symbol of transience'. When Scyld departs, at the appointed time, he passes 'into the keeping of the Lord',[24] on Frean wære, 'a deliberate emphasis by the poet on God's continuous governance of mankind, even in death.' Beowulf, too, is sent by God. Hrothgar says,

> Hine halig God
> for arstafum us onsende,
> to Westdenum, pæs ic wen hæbbe,
> wið Grendles gryre.
>
> (lines 381b-384a)

Here, right at the outset, the poet seems to be establishing a tension between the eternal, unchanging power and governance of God, and the transitoriness of the life of man. The pattern of mutability, established in the reversals of fortune in the life of man, is contrasted by the poet's constant awareness that God is unchanging and eternal.

This pattern of rising and falling manifests itself in the larger design in a particularly effective manner by means of the contrasting funeral scenes. As Bonjour[25] has pointed out, the whole beautiful description of Scyld's funeral, far from being steeped in a dark atmosphere of woe and sadness, 'leaves an impression of brilliance and splendour which sets the traditional reference to the mourning of the retainers far in the background. ... it suggests a beginning and is the symbol of a glorious future'. Beowulf's funeral, on the other hand, symbolizes the end of a glorious past while the future is fraught with black and uncanny forebodings.

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24. Chickering, Howell D. (ed.), Beowulf, a Dual-Language Edition. Translated, with an introduction and commentary. (New York: Anchor Books. 1977.) p.51.
25. Bonjour, op.cit., p.9-10.

Irving[26] also sees the Scyld poem as a parallel, on a small scale, of the larger progressions from 'deeds of power (Beowulf in Denmark) to sonship (Beowulf first adopted by Hrothgar and then returning to Hygelac) to generosity (the themes that cluster around Beowulf, Wiglaf and the cowardly retainers) to a funeral where an entire nation sacrifices its treasure as a gesture of affection'.

What emerges from the juxtaposition of these two scenes, framing the poem, as it were, is a definite elegiac atmosphere which permeates the entire poem, and an almost cyclical pattern in the depiction of heroic life. Both kings rise to fame, reach their zenith of power, and then make their exit, their glory departed. A similar fate befalls Hnæf of the Scyldings who is laid on the funeral pyre:

Herescyldinga
betst beadorinca wæs on bæl gearu.
(lines 1108b-1109)

So too, Hroðgar ages and declines:

þæt wæs an cyning,
æghwæs orleahtre, oþþæt hine yldo benam
mægenes wynnum, se þe oft manegum scod.
(lines 1885b-1887)

Another key-note in Beowulf, the heroic code of treasure-giving as an insurance for the future, which reappears repeatedly throughout the poem, is sounded in the prologue:

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26. Irving, Edward B., Jr, A Reading of Beowulf (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1968.) p.45.

Swa sceal [geong g]uma gode gewyrcean,
fromum feohgiftum on fæder [bea]rme,
pæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen
wilgesiþas, þonne wig cume,
leode gelæsten; lofdædum sceal
in mægþa gehwære man geþeon.

(lines 20-25)

Scyld's burial ship, laden with treasures, is an indication of the symbolic function accorded to material wealth by the Beowulf poet.[27] Scyld clearly leaves the world much wealthier than he entered it:

Nalæs hi hine læssan lacum teodan,
þeodgestreonum, þon þa dydon
þe hine æt frumsceafte forð onsendon
ænne ofer yðe umborwesende.

(lines 43-46)

Likewise, Beowulf's funeral pyre (lines 3137-3142) and his burial mound (lines 3163-3168) are laden with the treasures he has won during his lifetime. 'These treasures function as symbols of the honor [sic] and veneration which the warriors have achieved in life.'[28] The poet eventually, through deliberate dramatic irony, shows this great heroic value to be useless. The great collar Beowulf receives, just like the necklace of the Brosings in the case of Hygelac, accompanies Beowulf in his final fatal battle, and the great treasure is buried with him:

þær hit nu gen lifað
eldum swa unnyt swa h[it ær]or wæs.

(lines 3167b-8)

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27. Cherniss, Michael D., Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry (The Hague and Paris. Mouton. 1972.) p.85.
28. Ibid., p.85.

There is a definite relationship between treasure and good government[29] in Old English heroic poetry generally, and in Beowulf in particular. In Beowulf the good kings, (and one of the themes in the poet's mind certainly seems to be the qualities of Kingship) Hroðgar, Hygelac and Beowulf, maintain this social bond, whereas Heremod, a bad ruler, fails to give treasure and thus subverts the social structure of his comitatus. Thus the poet presents treasure in positive terms as 'indicative of moral qualities to be desired and sought after by worthy warriors'.[30] It is possible that, as Cherniss has it, the poet might view this veneration of riches as directly contrary to the Christian tradition where, according to the Gospels, poverty is the most desirable condition for the faithful. However, there are no direct references to Christian doctrine and especially not to that found in the New Testament. The fact that Beowulf's treasure is finally shown to be 'unnyt' rather highlights, ironically, the ephemerality of the splendour of heroic achievement and reinforces the pattern of mutability and tragic futility which emerges.

From the funeral of Scyld and the mourning men who give him to the sea with grieving hearts, the poetic line is once again an upward one, following the development of the Scylding line towards the triumphant construction of Heorot, the 'heal-arna mæst':

> Sele hlifade,
> heah ond horngeap,
>
> (lines 81b-82a)

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29. Ibid., p.98. He points out:
> The well-ordered heroic society is one in which the bond between lord and thanes is maintained by a continuous flow from lord to thanes and from thanes to lord.... Without the tokens of acknowledged respect the communal structure (of the comitatus) would probably break down.

30. Ibid., p.100.

The hall towers high, representing the pinnacle of Hroðgar's reign; socially symbolical of his greatness as a good king and a giver of rings. Poetically too, this section (lines 64-82b) represents the crest of a wave in the pattern of mutability. The plunge comes in the next half-line. The magnificent hall, we are told,

> heaðowylma bad,
> laðan liges; ne wæs hit lenge þa gen
> pæt se ecghete aþumsweorum
> æfter wælniðe wæcnan scolde.
>
> (lines 82b-85)

This foreshadowing 'digression', representing not only a falling-off but also a contrast to the proud confidence of the master of Heorot, stresses at once the glory and futility of Hroðgar's Court and the destructive potential of mutability, mortality and ubiquitous evil. Furthermore, this anticipatory comment reinforces the sad and melancholy tone which permeates the poem. The reversal worked by time is carried forcefully by the alliterative pattern of the poetry. The victorious ring of 'hlifade', 'heah' and 'horn-geap' modulates into 'heaðo-wylma' and becomes something new, 'laðan liges', carried by a new alliterative sound.

It is significant that the scop sings his 'Song of Creation' soon after the description of the hall, the happy laughter and the thrum of the harp. The song recalls both the old Germanic Songs of Creation and the Creation described in Genesis, and is reminiscent of Cædmon's Hymn, although, as Bonjour correctly points out, it has no other connection with it than the subject-matter. The central image of the hall as metaphor for Creation in Cædmon's Hymn is, however, significant.

> He ærist scop ælda barnum
> heben til hrofe, halig Scepen
>
> (lines 5-6)

The two acts of creation, Heorot and Earth, are metaphorically connected so that the hall becomes an image of wider significance, representing the world or 'middangeard'. Thus the poet has subtly broadened the scope of his 'simple story' and provided it with universal significance. What happens in Heorot becomes symbolic of what happens in man's life on earth.

Mircea Eliade[31] points out that the establishment of any particular place, and the organizing and inhabiting of it by man, are acts that 'presuppose an existential choice - the choice of the universe that one is prepared to assume by "creating" it'. This universe is always 'the replica of the paradigmatic universe created by the gods; hence it shares in the sanctity of the gods' work'.

The kind of universe which Hroðgar assumes, and which Heorot comes to exemplify, is that of the heroic code of values: a place of glory, magnanimity, fidelity and fellowship.

No sooner is the mood of conviviality in the great hall estabished than it is superseded by an opposite one of pain and anguish suffered in the outer darkness:

> Ða se ellengæst earfoðlice
> þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad,
> þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
> hludne in healle;
>
> (lines 86-89a)

Grendel, 'won-sæli', an inhabitant of the outer darkness, 'feond on helle', begins his reign of terror in Heorot and destroys the joys of the hall. It is significant that, whereas the building of Heorot is identified as an act of

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31. Eliade, Mircea, The Sacred and the Profane - The Nature of Religion. Translated from the French by Willard R. Trask. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc. 1959.) p.34.

Creation, reminiscent of the Creation of the world by God, Grendel is identified with 'Caines cynne' 'þa wið Gode wunnon'. Eliade's thesis can be taken a step further here. Grendel does not 'assume' the universe which he inhabits - he is a descendant of Cain, who was driven out, outlawed, by God:

> siþðan him scyppend forscrifen hæfde
> in Caines cynne. Þone cwealm gewræc
> ece drihten, þæs þe he Abel slog;
> ne gefeah he þære fæhðe, ac he hine feor forwræc,
> metod for þy mane, mancynne fram.
>
> (lines 106-110)

The poet has by now established a polarization between Hroðgar, the 'good king' who

> eall gedælan
> geongum ond ealdum, swylc him god sealde,
>
> (lines 71b-72)

and Grendel, the kinsman of Cain, the enemy of God

> Þanon untydras ealle onwocon,
>
> (line 111)

> and
> þa wið gode wunnon
>
> (line 113b)

On a mythological level, Eliade[32] points out that the

> enemies who attack (the created cosmos) are assimilated to the enemies of the gods, the demons, and especially to the archdemon, the primordial dragon conquered by the gods at the beginning of time.

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32. Eliade, Mircea, Myth and Reality (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc. 1975.) p.47.

Any attack on this ordered world which was founded 'by imitating the paradigmatic work of the gods' is

> equivalent to an act of revenge by the mythical dragon, who rebels against the work of the gods, the cosmos, and struggles to annihilate it.[33]

The enemies of this world of order 'belong to the powers of chaos. Any destruction of a city is equivalent to a retrogression to chaos. Any victory over the attackers reiterates the paradigmatic victory of the gods over the dragon (that is, over chaos)'. The Christian poet of Beowulf sees this polarization as one between the forces of good and the forces of evil, light (wlite-beorhtne wang) and darkness (se þe in þystrum bad). The alien natural foe of man is also the enemy of God, and Beowulf's fights become paradigmatic of the fight of man against evil and chaos.

Grendel's destruction of the hall-joys in Heorot is described soon after the depiction of the liberality and joy of life in Heorot. The poetry moves from the zenith of glory into the depths of grief and misery and the alliterative bond between wiste and wop emphasizes the antithesis:

> þa wæs æfter wiste wop up ahafen,
> micel morgensweg.
>
> (lines 128-129a)

---

33. Ibid., p.48. Tolkien, of course, also pointed out this cosmic significance:

> It is just because the main foes in Beowulf are inhuman that the story is larger than this imaginary poem of a great king's fall. It glimpses the cosmic and moves with the thought of all men concerning the fate of human life and efforts....
> (Op.cit., p.87.)

Hroðgar,

> se þe his wordes geweald wide hæfde.
>
> (line 79)

now 'unbliðe sæt':

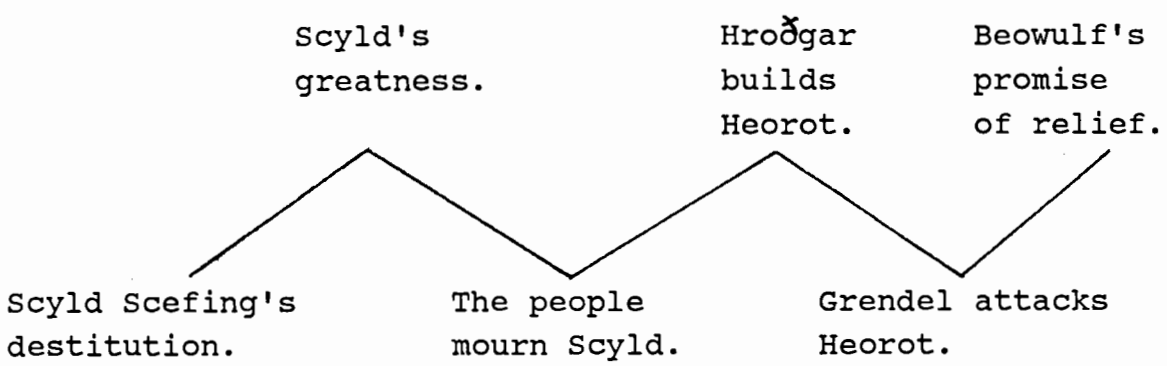
> þolode ðryðswyð, þegnsorge dreah,
>
> (line 131)

The depredations continue for twelve long winters. Significantly, Grendel is again portrayed as striving against 'right':

> Swa rixode ond wið rihte wan,
> ana wið eallum, oðþæt idel stod
> husa selest.
>
> (lines 144-146a)

It is in this grievous time that Beowulf arrives, 'Heorot fælsian'. His arrival brings the hope of the reversal of fortune.

As Andersson[34] has pointed out, the poem up to this point can be represented by the following outline:



Grief, hopelessness, fear, joylessness, alternate with their opposites, good cheer, hope, release, confidence. The poet's

34. Andersson, op.cit., p.115.

evocation of mood and atmosphere seems to create the structure of his poem.

At nightfall there is another change in tonality. Grendel, 'dreamum bedæled', in sharp contrast with Beowulf,

> Wod under wolcnum to þæs þe he winreced,
> goldsele gumena, gearwost wisse,
> fættum fahne.
>
> (lines 714-716a)

He seizes a warrior and gulps him up:

> sona hæfde
> unlyfigendes eal gefeormod,
> fet ond folma.
>
> (lines 743b-745a)

After the ensuing violent fight between Grendel and Beowulf, glory is given to Beowulf, who seems to have cleansed Heorot once and for all, delivering the Danes from their evil enemy:

> Hæfde þa gefælsod se þe ær feorran com,
> snotor ond swyðferhð, sele Hroðgares,
> genered wið niðe;
>
> (lines 825-827a)

Amidst the rejoicing which follows, Beowulf's deed is praised aloud and the poet engenders great admiration of heroic endeavour in his audience as well:

> Monig oft gecwæð
> þætte suð ne norð be sæm tweonum
> ofer eormengrund oþer nænig
> under swegles begong selra nære
> rondhæbbendra, rices wyrðra.
>
> (lines 857b-861)

The scop sings Beowulf's praises in a skilful variation of style which seems to echo the dualism in the universe the poem is portraying and which shows a constant awareness of the polarity between good and evil.

The digression into the story of Sigemund serves as a parallel with Beowulf, whereas that of Heremod is antithetical to Beowulf, 'an image of what Beowulf might become, a specious "relief from affliction" who ends badly.'[35] This is an important point, of course, because it highlights a possibility which becomes evident later in Hroðgar's sermon as well, namely that within the personality of the hero, the capacities for good and for evil exist side by side. Heremod, in three separate digressions, is represented as a joyless prince, known for stinginess and the killing of close companions and whose destructive actions are opposed to the ideals of the 'dryht'. He is associated with the kin of Cain on two counts. Firstly, he is guilty of fratricide:

> Ne wearð Heremod swa
> eaforum Ecgwelan, Arscyldingum;
> ne geweox he him to willan, ac to wælfealle
> ond to deaðcwalum Deniga leodum;
> breat bolgenmod beodgeneatas,
> eaxlgesteallan,
>
> (lines 1709b-1714a)

Secondly, he seems to have a connection with, or share the fate of, the giants which are mentioned with every misbegotten thing descended from Cain:

> He mid Eotenum wearð
> on feonda geweald forð forlacen,
> snude forsended.
>
> (lines 902b-904a)

Another significant aspect of the depiction of Heremod is that, like Grendel, he is shown to be 'dream-leas' (line

35. Ibid., p.99.

1720). He seems to be firmly slotted into the anti-hall of joylessness and chaotic, disruptive powers.

Sigemund, on the other hand, is mentioned because he is, like Beowulf, a dragonslayer and can thus be associated with the forces of light and order.[36] Another significant aspect about him, of course, which aligns him with the forces of light and order, is that he is a giant-slayer. He and Fitela, we are told,

> hæfdon ealfela eotena cynnes
> sweordum gesæged.
>
> (lines 883-884a)

The feasting and proud gift-giving in Heorot is tellingly undercut by an understated mention of Hrothulf's future treachery. A short few lines strike a sombre note of foreboding which would pass very quickly in the oral narration of the poem:

> Heorot innan wæs
> freondum afylled; nalles facenstafas
> Þeodscyldingas Þenden fremedon.
>
> (lines 1017b-1019)

On an emotional level, joy and success are inevitably followed by sorrow and failure. As Andersson says: 'It is as if joy can have only one natural consequence, the renewal of sorrow'.[37] This is perhaps the key to the pervading elegiac mood in the poem. The digressions seem to function like a kind of Inchcape Bell, always reminding the listener of mortality and ever-present evil in life 'under the heavens'.

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36. Eliade, (The Sacred and the Profane p.48) has shown that in Judaic tradition pagan kings were represented in the likeness or the dragon and that in mythology the dragon
    > is the paradigmatic figure of the marine monster or the primordial snake, symbol of the cosmic waters, of darkness, night and death.
37. Ibid., p.100.

In the elation of the moment of victory Beowulf is rewarded for the 'battle-rush', each of his followers receives his due reward, and provision is even made for the man

> þone ðe Grendel ær
> mane acwealde,
>
> (lines 1054b-1055a)

Predictably, and in tune with the mood of the poem, another famous incident of benevolent festivity is recalled as

> Hroþgares scop
> æfter medobence mænan scolde
> be Finnes eaferum,
>
> (lines 1066b-1068a)

First the poet makes what could be seen as a statement of theme, highlighting the interplay of opposite emotions in life on earth:

> Fela sceal gebidan
> leofes ond laþes se þe longe her
> on ðyssum windagum worolde bruceð.
>
> (lines 1060b-1063)

Then, amidst the tumult and song the scop continues his role as the main creator of modality in the poem when he recalls the Finn episode. Hildeburh's grief at the loss of her brother and son who, as the poet laconically states, were born to fall,

> hie on gebyrd hruron,
> gare wunde.
>
> (lines 1074b-1075a)

and the precariousness of the truce between Finn and Hengest which is finally broken and ends in 'a tapestry of blood'[38] recall the past to predict the future of Heorot. Success and glorious achievement continue to be counterpoised by defeat and sorrow:

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38. Chickering, op.cit., p.115.

ne meahte wæfre mod
forhabban in hreþre.

(lines 1150b-1151a)

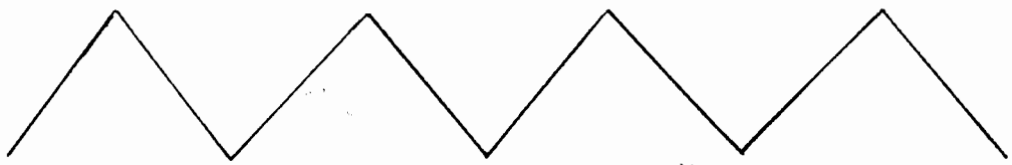
That the glory of the hall is transient, men treacherous, and strife inevitable, is summarized once more in the foreboding intrusive authorial comment:

Þær wæs symbla cyst;
druncon win weras. Wyrd ne cuþon
geosceaft grimme,

(lines 1232b-1234a)

In outline, Andersson[39] shows the following pattern up to now:

Hall-joy and flyting with Unferð.	Beowulf's triumph and celebration. Story of Sigemund.	Hroðgar's thanks.	Renewed hall-joy.



Hroðgar's rehearsal of woe.	Grendel's attack.	Story of Heremod.	Hroðulf's treachery. Finnsburg story.	Wealtheaw's appeal and reference to impending fate.

It has become apparent that the alternation between opposites is achieved mainly through the poet's deliberate arrangement of his episodic material. The pattern of mutability which emerges appears to be a simple wave pattern of victory and despair, a pattern which seems to be unalterable and predetermined. Concomitant with this pattern

39. Andersson, p.100.

of glory and victory counterpointed by loss and defeat, there is a deliberate polarization between the 'friends of God' and those who strive against Him, the kin of Cain.

The next reversal of fortune which occurs with the appearance of Grendel's mother, is preceded by reference to her forced abode in icy waters on account of Cain's fratricide. Like Grendel and Heremod, she is firmly slotted into the ranks of the foes of mankind who perpetuate the code of the blood-feud. The antithesis between order and chaos is recapitulated in the contrast between the joys of the truimphant hall and the reference to the abode of Grendel's mother in lines 1258-1276. As Kathryn Hume[40] says:

> All the ceremony and ritual, all the elaborate beauty of hall-treasures and decorations, the music and the stories of past heroes impose pattern and order on hall-life, making it strikingly different from the chaos outside.

In such a world view where the hall is representative of order, that which is outside will naturally be an opposite. The abodes of Grendel, Grendel's mother and the Dragon, juxtaposed as they are each time with scenes of hall-joy and gift-giving, constitute this opposite, seen as a kind of 'anti-hall' by Hume. In contrast to the brightness and warmth in Heorot, Grendel's mother is called

> se þe wæteregesan wunian scolde,
>
> (line 1260)

When she attacks,

> cearu wæs geniwod,
> geworden in wicun.
>
> (lines 1303b-1304a)

Beowulf is summoned and upon his enquiry into the incident, Hroðgar replies:

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40. Hume, Kathryn, 'The Concept of Hall in Old English Poetry'. Anglo-Saxon England, 3, (1974) p.66.

"Ne frun þu æfter Sælum! Sorh is geniwod
Denigea leodum..."

(lines 1322-1323a)

Beowulf confronts the challenge by counter-manding the word 'sorrow'

"Ne sorga, snotor guma;..."

(line 1384a)

and by gaining the victory against Grendel's mother in her 'anti-hall'. Once again Beowulf is explicitly said to have the aid of God

ond halig god
geweold wigsigor; witig drihten,
rodera rædend, hit on ryht gesced
yðelice,

(lines 1553b-1556a)

and at the moment of victory there is a heavenly brightness in the monster's hall, as if to indicate that the bright circle of order has once again triumphed against dark disorder:

Lixte se leoma, leoht inne stod,
efne swa of hefene hadre scineð
rodores candel.

(lines 1570-1572a)

Significantly, and predictably, the poet does not immediately show the Scyldings in tumultuous celebration. Rather, the climactic sequal to Beowulf's victory, the chopping off of Grendel's head, is followed by another, darker modality. Hroðgar and the wise men watch the blood drifting up from the mere and say:

þæt hig þæs æðelinges eft ne wendon
þæt he sigehreðig secean come
mærne þeoden;

(lines 1596-1597a)

In this world where the spirit of blood-feud and revenge seems to reign supreme, victory always seems to occur against a sombre backdrop of dolefulness and gloominess. There is a very real awareness of the transience of all human achievement, for instance, in Hroðgar's sermon to Beowulf in which he warns him about the dangers of pride and points out the desirability of choosing 'ece rædas':

Nu is þines mægnes blæd
ane hwile. Eft sona bið
þæt þec adl oððe ecg eafoþes getwæfeð,
oððe fyres feng, oððe flodes wylm,
oððe gripe meces, oððe gares fliht,
oððe atol yldo; oððe eagena bearhtm
forsiteð ond forsworceð; semninga bið
pæt ðec, dryhtguma, deað oferswyðeð.

(lines 1761b-1768)

He continues to recall the considerable achievement of his fifty year reign over the Danes but even in doing so, recapitulates what has by now become the poet's predominant theme:

Hwæt, me þæs on eþle edwenden cwom,
gyrn æfter gomene,

(lines 1774-1775a)

These words are not only a check on the triumphant rejoicing of the moment, but also a foreshadowing of Beowulf's own career. The pattern of reversal is sustained throughout the section dealing with Beowulf's return to Geatland. Significantly, and characteristically, his report-back to Hygelac is delayed by the digression into the transformation of Modþryðo from a terrible, violent beginning to Offa's

generous queen. It is not easy to see the exact relevance of this digression, unless, coming as it does after the mention of Hygelac's young and generous queen Hygd, it is intended to illustrate the strength of the beneficial influence of a good king. In the context of this discussion, however, I agree with Andersson[41] that it shows that the most startling changes are possible. As such it reinforces the poet's theme of mutability in the life of mortal man.

Having thus established an optimistic tone, the poet allows Beowulf to relate his victory at the Danish Court. He recalls that once the Danes had learnt that the purpose of his journey was to avenge the life of misery Grendel was causing them, the gathering had rejoiced greatly:

> Weorod wæs on wynne ne seah ic widan feorh
> under heofones hwealf healsittendra
> medudream maran.
>
> (lines 2014-2016a)

The recollection of the feast turns his mind to Hroðgar's queen, Wealhðeo, distributing gold bracelets, and his daughter Freawaru, passing about the gem-studded cup. The jubilant mood of Beowulf's narrative is once again muted by a digression, this time recalling that Freawaru has been betrothed to Ingeld, Froda's son, to put an end to the feud between the Danes and the Heathobards. However, this settlement is bound to be transient:

> Oft seldan hwær
> æfter leodhryre lytle hwile
> bongar bugeð, þeah seo bryd duge!
>
> (line 2029b-2031)

Beowulf shows a remarkable gift of foresight here, predicting in exact terms the renewal of the strife between these two factions. It seems that the poet is putting in the mouth of his hero an authorial comment which should rather

41. Andersson, op.cit., p.102.

be spoken in his own voice. The frailty of human endeavour to secure a golden age of peace in the realm 'under the heavens', is shown poignantly in the poet's diction. The 'aðsweord' is 'abrocene', 'wælniðas weallað',

ond him wiflufan
æfter cearwælmum colran weorðað.

(lines 2063-2067)

Here again, blood-feud, established in the Grendel section as the legacy of the kindred of Cain, lies at the heart of the reversals in the poem. The attempt at weaving peace seems futile. The same wave-pattern, oscillating between elation and despair, triumph and defeat, emerges in the next section of the poem where Beowulf recalls his contests. The poet's summary of this narrative is significant, (lines 2177-2189). It recalls how 'bearn Ecgðeowes' had shown great courage and was renowned for good deeds. Against this magnificent achievement the poet juxtaposes the hero's inglorious beginnings:

Hean wæs lange
swa hyne Geata bearn godne ne tealdon,
ne hyne on medobence micles wyrðne
[drih]ten Wedera gedon wolde;
swyðe [wen]don þæt he sleac wære,
æðeling unfrom.

(lines 2183b-2188a)

However, reversal lies at the heart of Beowulf's career thus far:

Edwenden cwom
tireadigum menn torna gehwylces.

(lines 2188b-2189)

The relevance of the Modþryðo digression as a prologue to this section now becomes apparent - in Beowulf's life too, a bad beginning leads to a glorious recovery. Thus, two-thirds

through the poem, the peak of the over-all pattern of 'a rising and a setting' (Tolkien) has been reached.

The dragon segment represents Tolkien's 'setting', embodying a reversal from 'weal to woe'.[42]

The digression into the 'elegy of the last survivor' here is a moving anticipation of Beowulf's fate and almost an emblematic set-piece, evoking very forcibly the elegiac mood of the entire poem. The last survivor could also be seen as foreshadowing Wiglaf. A melancholy vision is presented of vanished kingdom and comrades. One by one the symbols of the well-ordered, joy-filled hall are enumerated and shown to be transient. No-one of his companions has escaped death in battle to carry the sword or polish the bright cup. The tools of war, the helmet, the battle-mask and the war-coat, decay like their masters, 'brosnað æfter beorne'. Human splendour and achievement are made to recede into the past even as they are clung to in the memory:

> Swa giomormod giohðo mænde
> an æfter eallum, unbliðe hwe[arf]
> dæges ond nihtes, oððæt deaðes wylm
> hran æt heortan.
>
> (lines 2267-2270a)

The dragon, disturbed by the thief who removes a precious cup from the hoard it has guarded for three hundred years, erupts into a terrible, destructive force, leaving nothing alive in its wake. However, it is also subject to reversal:

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42. Ibid., p.103.

Hæfde landwara lige befangen,
bæle ond bronde, beorges getruwode,
wiges ond wealles; him seo wen geleah.
(lines 2321-2323)

There is an ominous ring to these words, anticipating the downfall of the fire-dragon. Beowulf, too, does not escape this foreboding of doom:

Sceolde lændaga
æþeling ærgod ende gebidan,
worulde lifes, ond se wyrm somod,
þeah ðe hordwelan heolde lange.
(lines 2341b-2344)

It is interesting to note that the ever-recurring, almost cyclical pattern of striving and inevitable defeat encompasses both the forces of light and order, as well as those of darkness and chaos.

The elegiac mood is reinforced by Beowulf's recollection of all the trials he has endured. The poet comments:

Swa he niða gehwane genesen hæfde,
sliðra geslyhta, sunu Ecgðiowes,
ellenweorca, oð ðone anne dæg
þe he wið þam wyrme gewegan sceolde.
(lines 2397-2400)

The memory of his foster-father, Hreðel, is a particularly pitiful reinforcement of the pervading woeful mood. The legacy of feuding, the eternal quest for settlement through violence, does not, it seems, leave its perpetrators unscathed. Here, the accidental killing of Herebeald by his own brother, Hæðcyn, illustrates one horrifying aspect of the heroic code of revenge. Deprived of both his son Herebeald and the possibility of avenging his death, because that would mean killing his own son, Hreðel, the old man, is haunted by sad memories. His loss of joy and his all-

encompassing misery is poignantly expressed in terms of a ruined hall, indicating once again the disrupting effect of Cain's legacy on stability and order:

> Gesyhð sorhcearig on his suna bure
> winsele westne, windge reste
> reote berofene. Ridend swefað
> hæleð in hoðman; nis þær hearpan sweg,
> gomen in geardum, swylce ðær iu wæron.
> (lines 2455-2459)

Finally, he seems to die of sorrow, leaving, 'Swa deð eadig mon', his sons his lands and strongholds.

The inclusion of this passage here, reinforcing the elegiac mood as it does and pointing to the devastating consequences of the ethical code of Beowulf's time, also seems perhaps a particularly painful reminder that Beowulf himself has no heir to which to leave his own land and strongholds.

The death of Hreðel, of course, unleashes the conflict between the Swedes and Geats and sets the turning wheel of violence and death, attack and reprisal, spinning once again. Beowulf's recollection of these incidents, here, as a prelude to the fatal fight between him and the dragon, is a deliberate foreshadowing of the fate of his own people and a grim reminder of the ultimate futility of all heroic endeavour.

The battle between Beowulf and the dragon takes the reader into the depths of despair once more and is a sequence of bitter disappointments. The shield protects Beowulf for a shorter time than it should:

> Scyld wel gebearg
> life ond lice læssan hwile
> mærum þeodne þonne his myne sohte,
> (lines 2570b-2572)

For the first time in his life he does not prevail. The sword blade fails:

guðbill geswac,
nacod æt niðe, swa hyt no sceolde,
iren ærgod.

(lines 2584b-2586a)

Finally, Beowulf

nearo ðrowode,
fyre befongen, se ðe ær folce weold.

(lines 2594b-2595)

In words highly reminiscent of Hroðgar's speech in lines 1769-1775a, Beowulf recalls his own fifty-year reign:

Ic ðas leode heold
fiftig wintra; næs se folccyning,
ymbesittendra ænig ðara,
þe mec guðwinum gretan dorste,
egesan ðeon. Ic on earde bad
mælgesceafta, heold min tela,
ne sohte searoniðas, ne me swor fela
aða on unriht. Ic ðæs ealles mæg,
feorhbennum seoc gefean habban;
for ðam me witan ne ðearf waldend fira
morðorbealo maga, þonne min sceaceð
lif of lice.

(lines 2732b-2743a)

There is a marked difference though, between Hroðgar's words and those of Beowulf. For Hroðgar, the reversal is from joy to sorrow - 'gyrn æfter gomene' - whereas the final reversal is in Beowulf's favour despite his mortal wounds, - 'I can take joy in all these things,' he says. This paradox has been variously interpreted. In the ancient Germanic heroic code, Beowulf has succeeded in procuring for himself the praise of the 'æftercweðendra' which, as the poet makes him

say before the fight with Grendel's dam, is the best memorial a warrior can hope for:

> Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan
> worolde lifes; wyrce se þe mote
> domes ær deaþe; þæt bið drihtguman
> unlifgendum æfter selest.
>
> (lines 1386-1389)

This he has achieved. The twelve nobles, riding round the barrow,

> cwædon þæt he wære wyruldcyninga
> manna mildust ond mon[ðw]ærust,
> leodum liðost ond lofgeornost.
>
> (lines 3180-3182)

If the poet is taken to be a Christian, as most modern critics seem to do, there could be here an inkling of the hope of heaven after the earthly battle against the forces of darkness and disorder. Andersson[43] for instance, comes to the following conclusion:

> The warrior king who has borne himself well through the vagaries of fortune, so insistently illustrated by the poet's narrative rhythm, has earned the traditional hero's good name and the Christian hero's future reward. (My underlining.)

However, other writers disagree. Margaret Goldsmith[44] says

> ... the description of Beowulf's passing is designed both to celebrate the valour and nobility of a great hero of the past and to look with compassion upon the limited horizons and misdirected aims of the regenerate Sons of Adam. As Dante with Ulysses, so our poet with Beowulf admired the unbending spirit of the old king and

43. Ibid., p.106.
44. Goldsmith, op.cit., p.241.

> yet acknowledged that <u>without divine aid the hero could not win eternal life</u>. (My underlining.)

This view is also expressed by W.F. Bolton[45] discussing Beowulf's end in lines 2819b-2820:

> him of hreðre gewat
> sawol secean soðfæstra dom.

He records Bosworth-Toller's meanings of <u>soðfæst</u>, namely 'true, without deception ... true in deed, just, righteous, pious, without wickedness ... true in speech, veracious', and concludes:

> Little here points to judgement after death one way or the other, only to earthly virtues; and nothing the poet says suggests that the <u>soðfæstra dom</u> is the same thing as salvation. He leaves the reader at liberty to take the Alcuinian view that although pagan virtues are real virtues, they are not the same thing as faith, and without faith there is no pleasing God.

As I have pointed out, Beowulf attains the supreme reward of the heroic society which the poet portrays. The poet shows himself repeatedly aware of a life after death which entails either damnation or eventual eternal glory, for instance in the much-disputed section where the Danes are said to sacrifice to pagan gods in their affliction.[46]

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45. Bolton, op.cit., p.167.
46. I do not wish to enter this debate. My view is that the poem which has to be examined and interpreted is the one which has come down to us in MS Cotton Vitellius A xv, and therefore I accept these lines as they stand.

Hwilum hie geheton æt hærgtrafum
wigweorþunga, wordum bædon
þæt him gastbona geoce gefremede
wið þeodþreaum. Swylc wæs þeaw hyra,
hæþenra hyht; helle gemundon
in modsefan, metod hie ne cuþon
dæda demend, ne wiston hie drihten god,
ne hie huru heofena helm herian ne cuþon,
wuldres waldend.

(lines 175-183a)

The poet's comments, after having related this incident, are a significant indication that he is a Christian poet who knows that God is a God of judgement ('dæda demend') and that life after death offers the possibility either of eternal damnation:

Wa bið þæm ðe sceal
purh sliðne nið sawle bescufan
in fyres fæþm, frofre ne wenan,
wihte gewendan;

(lines 183b-186a)

or of eternal protection and peace in the Father's embrace:

wel bið þæm þe mot
æfter deað-dæge drihten secean
ond to fæder fæþmum freoðo wilnian.

(lines 186b-188)

It is this poet who shows Beowulf to have upheld the heroic ideals to the end; a king who has won a great treasure for his people, innocent of 'morðorbealo maga' (line 2742) and thus never part of the fratricidal heritage of Cain. The glorious struggle ends in a glorious death, and the reader is filled with admiration for the great king. However, nowhere are we told that Beowulf has given any thought to life in eternity after death. His uppermost thought and the

entire purpose of his life on earth has been that which we find in his own speech before he sets out to attack Grendel's mother:

> wyrce se þe mote
> domes ær deaþe; þæt bið drihtguman
> unlifgendum æfter selest.
>
> (lines 1387b-1389)

That he achieves this ultimate goal of the heroic code is apparent in the closing lines of the poem:

> Swa begnornodon Geata leode
> hlafordes [hr]yre, heorðgeneatas,
> cwædon þæt he wære wyruldcyninga
> manna mildust ond mon[ðw]ærust,
> leodum liðost ond lofgeornost.
>
> (lines 3178-3182)

And thus Beowulf is said to receive the 'doom of the just' (soð-fæstra dom). The audience is left with an overwhelming admiration for the achievement of the man[47], and yet with an equally overwhelming sense of the futility of that glorious achievement. The wave-pattern of mutability has finally

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47. It is this celebration of human endeavour and achievement that Betty S. Cox acknowledges in Cruces of Beowulf (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1971.) p.163:

> The poem does not merely extol Beowulf in death. It extols man, plain man, from the first line to the last hemistich. It is a supremely humanistic poem.... The emphasis of Beowulf is on man, his birth, behavior [sic], his destiny, and his immortality which is dual - the fame which he receives on earth through heroic deeds, and the heavenly reward which he receives when he joins the righteous.

As I have shown, I do not accept her view that Beowulf receives a heavenly reward.

reached a trough from which it fails to rise again. In the aftermath of the deaths of Beowulf and the dragon, the celebration of victory is indeed dismal. Wiglaf mourns his lord and continues to wash him with water, but 'him wiht ne speo[w]' (line 2854). Then he expresses his moral indignation at the Geats for their cowardly desertion. His prophecy of their deprivation of rights and exile is a poignant admission that Beowulf's deed has been futile. The messenger to the Geatish Court also elaborates on the consequences of Beowulf's death and recalls Ravenswood, on account of which the Swedes will seek out the Geats in a new battle. His reference to Ravenswood is a succinct conclusion of the thematic argument of the poem:

> Þæt ys sio fæhðo ond se feondscipe,
> wælnið wera, ðæs ðe ic wen hafo,
> þe us seceað to Sweona leoda,
> syððan hie gefricgeað frean userne
> ealdorleasne, þone ðe ær geheold
> wið hettendum hord ond rice
> æfter hæleða hryre, hwate Scildingas,
> folcred fremede oððe furður gen
> eorlscipe efnde.
>
> (lines 2999-3007a)

The prophecy of the Geatish woman, likewise, foresees slaughter, terror, shame and captivity. It is all too evident that Beowulf's sacrifice has left his people leaderless and vulnerable. They are indeed where the Scyldings were at the beginning of the poem before the arrival of Scyld Scefing - 'aldor-lease'. The pattern has come full circle.[48] Beowulf, although he has striven nobly against the forces of chaos, has not been able to overcome them permanently. He has been overtaken by time.

It has become clear that the pattern of the poem is a wave-pattern of mutability, showing almost graphically the

48. Donald Fry, The Beowulf Poet: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1968.) p.2, points out that for this reason one could view the structure of the poem as cyclic.

transitoriness of life beneath the heavens. The episodes and digressions are arranged in such a way that they illustrate, largely through repeated modulation in mood, the instability of life and the ultimate futility of all earthly achievement. It is against this ever-recurring pattern that Beowulf acts in true heroic fashion and by which his attempts are shown to be ultimately futile. The poet deliberately creates this pattern as an example of the recurring cycle of unredeemed pagan time against which he hints at the linear progression of redeemed time leading eventually to the suspension of time and to eternal, and not transitory, heroic glory.[49]

I believe that Tolkien (1936) was the first critic to point to the role of time in Beowulf. He says that in Beowulf we see 'man at war with the hostile world, and his inevitable overthrow in time'. The poet cast his poem in the long-ago, a period of which he knew that it was 'heathen, noble, and hopeless'. Tolkien points out that the poet was dealing with a temporal tragedy (my underlining).

Dean Loganbill[50] also discusses this aspect:

> ... the questions of Beowulf's status, of his historical success or failure, and the role of time in the poem are closely related ... they may be resolved to some extent through a discussion of the poet's conception of time.

Before discussing the generic status of Beowulf, therefore, it seems appropriate to deal with the poet's concept of time.

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49. It was only after I had arrived at this view independently that I discovered that Dean Loganbill (see note 50) had reached a similar conclusion. Whereas I had approached the poem through its structure, however, Loganbill's approach was mainly an anthropological one.
50. Dean Loganbill, Time and Monsters in Beowulf. (In Geardagum, Edited by Loren C. Gruber and Dean Loganbill. A publication of the Society for New Language Study, December 1979.)

In 627, at a council king Edwin held with his chief men about accepting the faith of Christ as taught by Paulinus, one of the chiefs made the following significant speech:[51]

> When we compare the present life of man on earth with that time of which we have no knowledge, it seems to me like the swift flight of a single sparrow through the banqueting-hall where you are sitting at dinner on a winter's day with your thanes and counsellors. In the midst there is a comforting fire to warm the hall; outside, the storms of winter rain or snow are raging. This sparrow flies swiftly in through one door of the hall, and out through another. While he is inside, he is safe from the winter storms; but after a few moments of comfort, he vanishes from sight into the wintry world from which he came. Even so, man appears on earth for a little while; but of what went before this life or what follows, we know nothing. Therefore, if this new teaching has brought any more certain knowledge, it seems only right that we should follow it.

In its essence, this speech reflects the disparity between the cyclical concept of time which pervaded in the pagan era, and the Christian concept of linear time. Pagan man sees life as a cyclical progression from birth to youth to maturity to death which corresponds to the cyclical progression of the seasons through spring, summer, autumn and winter. This cycle is a recurring one, and pagan man knows of no other existence beyond this one.

Cyclical time seems to be a characterisic of archaic societies. Not only does the life of man follow the cyclical pattern of the seasons, but there is also a conception of a

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51. Bede, A History of the English Church and People Translated by Leo Sherley-Price, revised by R.E. Latham (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd 1982.) p.127.

periodic creation or cyclical regeneration of life.[52] Thus in the Norse tradition of Ragnarok, for instance, when both men and gods are destroyed, the whole world is to be created anew. Each earthly battle becomes a type of this archetypal battle. After the battle a new golden age of peace is expected.[53] Since each act of settlement on earth is a repetition of the paradigmatic act of creation, it is possible for an earthly hero to do what the gods have done and to establish this new golden age. The flight of the sparrow is swift and transient, and it passes through a mead-hall of order and light in contrast to that of chaos and darkness outside.

The battles of Beowulf are given a universal significance by the poet. As I have shown, he creates a definite polarity between the forces of light and of darkness, and Beowulf's fights with the Grendels and the dragon are portrayed as taking place between these two poles. Within the concept of mythological cyclical time, one would be justified to expect Beowulf to be triumphant and thus to establish a new golden age of peace for his people. And initially he does indeed seem to check the chaotic forces and to cleanse Heorot. However, the reader soon realises that the 'Scope of relief from disorder which results from Beowulf's efforts can hardly be said to establish a golden age'.[54] The prophecy of the 'hateful flames' awaiting Heorot also lingers in the mind.

The fact that Beowulf's fights become progressively more difficult also indicates that he is not a mythological hero, but one who is being caught up by time and mortality. As several authors have shown, time seems to be taking on a new shape. The archetype is entering the linear, chronological time of history.

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52. Mircea Eliade, Cosmos and History, Translated by W.R. Trask. (New York: Harper and Row, 1959.) p.54.
53. Loganbill, op.cit., p.28.
54. Ibid., p.28.

The fact that the poet is viewing the events from the Christian perspective, adds another dimension to the concept of time presented in the poem. Not only does Beowulf seem to function at a point of transition between cyclical mythological time and linear historical time, but at the same time the pagan cycle of time is transcended and suspended by the Christian eschatological vision[55] which introduces the possibility of life in eternity after death. This concept signifies a breach in the cycle of time and a movement into a linear eschatological progression of time, seeing life as moving from birth to death to rebirth, not in a new, temporal 'golden age' but to a glorious life with God in Eternity, world without end.

The medieval Christian's ideas about the passage of time can best be grasped through a reference to the Confessions and Book xii of The City of God by Saint Augustine.[56] Earthly, limited, created time is seen as linear and tripartite, divided into a past, present and future. The orientation of individual Christian beings is toward the future. The medieval Christian looked forward toward the moment of his re-joining the eternal 'City of God'. The Beowulf poet is fully aware of this concept of time, although he is portraying a period in the past with a definitely cyclical concept of time. By earning lof and dom through his final courageous act of indomitable will, Beowulf ensures that his name and his act will become part of his people's past. This view of time is essentially binary, consisting only of 'past' and 'non-past',[57] in which the view is directed towards the past and any action achieves significance only

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55. Mircea Eliade, (Myth and Reality, p.65) describes the Judaeo-Christian eschatological vision thus:
> This Earthly Paradise will not be destroyed again, will have no end (my underlining). Time is no longer the circular Time of the Eternal Return, it has become a linear and irreversible time. Nor is this all: the eschatology also represents the triumph of a Sacred History.

56. Bauschatz, op.cit., p.145.
57. Ibid., Chapter IV, 'Action, Space and Time'.

through becoming known and linked to other significant actions in the past:

> The past, as collector of events, is clearly the most dominant, controlling portion of all time. Man's world stands at the juncture of this past and the non-past, that is, at that point, the present, in which events are in the process of becoming 'past'. The past is experienced, known, laid down, accomplished, sure, realized. The present, to the contrary, is in flux and confusion, mixed with irrelevant and significant details. What we nowadays call the 'future' is, within the structure of this Germanic system, just more of the non-past, more flux, more confusion.[58]

Beowulf seems to stand at the junction between these two views of time. At the conversion of the Germanic peoples, their temporal reorientation away from cyclical mythological time towards the future, stressed so strongly by Christianity, involved as Bauschatz rightly points out,[59] a 180-degree wrench from the past. The poet shows a pagan hero who has not yet made this turn.

A consideration of the nature of the hero of Beowulf and his heroic yet tragic act should also bear out my thesis that the poem stands at the junction between pagan, mythological time and linear, historical time.

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Beowulf fits reasonably well into the standard type of the mythological hero.[60] Like Prometheus and Jason, he 'ventures forth from the world of common day, into a region of supernatural wonder', especially when he enters the mere to

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58. Ibid., p.139.
59. Ibid., p.154.
60. Joseph Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces (Princeton: Princeton University Press, Third Printing, 1973.) p.30ff.

fight Grendel's dam. Here he also encounters 'fabulous forces' in the power of the female monster and is aided by the magical sword. The decisive victory he wins seems almost, as I have shown, to establish the 'golden age' in Heorot. That he is a personage of exceptional gifts is evident from the Breca incident and the Ingeld story and these show him to have an extraordinary capacity to survive his crucial ordeal. In spite of his tardy, inglorious youth, which seems to echo, somehow, the mythological pattern of the infant exile and return of the hero, Beowulf is honoured by his society. The world in which he finds himself suffers a symbolic deficiency in the shape of Grendel and his mother, the descendents of Cain, who have ravished Heorot for twelve years. The fact that his heroic action is shown to be both physical (as is often the case in popular tales) and moral (as happens in the higher religions) also perhaps shows him to be a 'transitional' hero. His adult deeds, both the killing of the Grendels and of the dragon, 'pour creative power into the world' in the sense that he manages, albeit temporarily, to stem the forces of darkness and chaos. According to Campbell,[61] the whole sense of the hero's life is epitomized in his death and 'the hero would be no hero if death held for him any terror'. I have pointed out that Beowulf's death secures the dragon's treasure for his people and that in spite of his mortal wounds, he can take joy in the fact that he has upheld his heroic ideals to the last.

Viewed thus, Beowulf could possibly even be seen as a type of Christ. The parallels between especially the first two fights of Beowulf and the Christian story of salvation pointed out by M.B. McNamee[62] are truly remarkable. He says: '... if one were to invent a story whose every detail was designed to allegorize the story of salvation, one could not improve very much on the Beowulf story as it stands.' An allegorical reading along these lines, however, although tempting, is perhaps ill-advised, since the poet himself

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61. Ibid., p.356.
62. McNamee, op.cit., p.335ff.

gives no specific clues to such a reading in the form of New Testament references. I would rather suggest that the similarities between the story of salvation and the Beowulf story can be explained mythologically. The cosmogonic concern of both is derived from the far older Indo-European and Near-Eastern combat myth and represents the eternal struggle between chaos and order, figured as a clash between death, cold, and darkness on the one hand, and life and light on the other.[63] Viewed thus, both Beowulf and Christ could be seen as types in this eternal struggle.

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63. Michael N. Nagler, 'Beowulf in the Context of Myth' in Old English Literature in Context - Ten Essays. Edited by John D. Niles. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer. 1980.) p.143ff. Margaret Goldsmith, (op.cit., p.259ff.), discussing the structure and meaning of Beowulf, sees a resemblance between Guthlac and Beowulf and between both these two poems and the Vita S. Antonii. She says:

> It is my belief that this Life gave the poet the ideas that he needed to retell the Grendel story as a temptation allegory....

I believe that the uncanny resemblances between the Vita and Beowulf need not mean that the poet knew the latter intimately, but once again point to a common underlying mythological basis for both. It was Tolkien who pointed to the significance of myth in Beowulf:

> The significance of a myth is not easily to be pinned on paper by analytical reasoning. It is at its best when it is presented by a poet who feels rather than makes explicit what his theme portends: who presents it incarnate in the world of history and geography as our poet has done.

The fact that so many divergent interpretations of the poem are possible attests to the remarkable creative powers of the Beowulf poet.

As Nagler says:

> ... of course, Beowulf dies, leaving an uncertain future for his people; but ... Beowulf is only the main actor on a certain portion of the stage. If evil is not quelled with the destruction of Grendel, or his mother, or the dragon, neither is good destroyed with Beowulf. Heroism is temporal, God's power is eternal.

Beowulf stands at that point in the cosmological cycle where heroes become less fabulous until at last 'legend opens into the common daylight of recorded time'.[64]

Beowulf, although an exceptional, heroic man, remains 'hæleð under heofonum' who is eventually conquered, not by the forces of evil and darkness, but by time. As Tolkien[65] says:

> Something more significant than a standard hero, a man faced with a foe more evil than any human enemy of house or realm is before us, and yet incarnate in time, walking in heroic history, and treading the named lands of the North.

Given the established pattern of mutability in the poem against which the hero acts in a celebration of indomitable will but is finally overthrown by time, an attempt can now be made to discuss the possible generic status of the poem.

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Most authors agree that Beowulf is not easily classified according to genre since there is not a demonstrable reliance on formal models. Thus, when Beowulf is classified as epic, the term is often used in a looser, almost nominal sense, more to establish a conveniently familiar context for the discussion of medieval heroic narrative than as a means of formal generic classification. The danger is, of course,

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64. Campbell, op.cit., p.316.
65. Tolkien, op.cit., p.66.

that such a classification will lead to the application of inappropriate critical criteria and unrealistic assumptions regarding structure and meaning. Thus C.L. Wrenn[66] argues against classifying Beowulf as an epic, noting that the classical name at once suggests structural qualities which the poet did not aim at. Perhaps it would be best to read the poem in its own terms - as an example of medieval heroic poetry.

Milgrom[67] asserts that the medieval heroic poem is 'an expression of the inevitable clash between human potentiality and human limitation.... Human potentiality, expressed through the attitudes and values of the heroic life, may be said to represent man's attempt to realize his highest aspirations and demonstrate his worth against those forces which negate him.' In the case of Beowulf, limitation resides in the monsters and in the passage of time. His aspirations, as has been pointed out, are to maintain stability and order, and to achieve 'lof and dom' for himself and for his people.

It is the tension between heroism and necessity which constitutes the mainspring of the heroic poem. The binary structure of Beowulf, juxtaposing the hero's prime with his old age and death, reflects this tension in heroic life. Ironically, in attempting to transcend human limitation, the hero finds himself in a tragic confrontation with that limitation. This would indicate that Beowulf is also representative of the tragic mode, since the idea that man's

66. Wrenn, op.cit., p.41.
67. Milgrom, op.cit., p.6.

spiritual aspirations transcend the limitations of his physical being is central to the tragic ontology.[68]

The ideal Beowulf conceives is order and safety for his people and the achievement of national and personal glory through the acquisition of the dragon's treasure. He resolves to cleanse his kingdom of the scourge of the dragon under the compunction of the code of revenge:

> Hæfde ligdraga leoda fæsten,
> ealond utan, eorðweard ðone
> gledum forgrunden; him ðæs guðkyning,
> Wedera þioden, wræce leornode.
>
> (lines 2333-2336)

That his motive for wanting to win the dragon's treasure is not personal, but national, is evident from his prayer of thanks:

> "Ic ðara frætwa frean ealles ðanc,
> wuldurcyninge, wordum secge,
> ecum dryhtne, þe ic her on starie,
> þæs ðe ic moste minum leodum
> ær swyltdæge swylc gestrynan..."
>
> (lines 2794-2798)

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68. David William Lloyd, The Tragic Sense of Eugene O'Neill (M.A. Dissertation, Unisa, Pretoria, 1982.) p.4. He continues:

> A tragic tension develops between what man conceives as ideal and the nature of things as they really are. This tension necessarily destroys him when he tries to fulfil the aspirations of his spirit by transcending the limitations placed on him through his physical and psychological being and his cosmos. In his refusal to bow down in defeat to the cosmos within and beyond him, man may be destroyed, but his spirit triumps.

I believe that I have shown this to be true also of Beowulf.

The limitations inherent in the situation before his fight with the dragon are three-fold. Firstly, the dragon is a more formidable foe than the Grendels:

> 'Nolde ic sweord beran,
> wæpen to wyrme, gif ic wiste hu
> wiđ đam aglæcean elles meahte
> gylpe wiđgripan, swa ic gio wiđ Grendle dyde.
> Ac ic đær heađufyres hates wene,
> oređes ond attres; forđon ic me on hafu
> bord ond byrnan.
>
> (lines 2518b-2524a)

Secondly, he has already reigned for fifty years and cannot possibly be as strong as when he destroyed the Grendel kindred.

Lastly, and most significantly, the poet has made abundantly clear that death comes to every man, and several times indicates that Beowulf is not fated to survive the combat:

> Him wæs geomor sefa,
> wæfre ond wælfus, wyrd ungemete neah,
> se đone gomelan gretan sceolde,
> secean sawle hord, sundur gedælan
> lif wiđ lice, no þon lange wæs
> feorh æþelinges flæsce bewunden.
>
> (lines 2419b-2424)

It is evident that Beowulf is doomed to failure because of his mortality, because he is 'hæleđ under heofonum'.

Lloyd points out that the tragic hero expresses fundamental human aspirations. 'This is often emphasized by his archetypal nature: he is an expression of psychological structures which seek to recreate and resolve the various pressures caused by typical responses to fundamental human

situations. The hero's achetypal nature imparts a universal significance to his actions.'

Beowulf expresses, within the constrictions of his own society, the need of man, and especially of man-as-leader-of-men, to define his world and to impose some kind of order on that world. Beowulf, the enemy of God's enemies, becomes a type of the powers of light and righteousness and order, opposing, first in the Grendels and then in the Dragon, the powers of evil and disorder. The fact that he fails and that his people are once again subject to the destruction of blood-feud and revenge, does not detract from the lof and dom he achieves in his heroic struggle. Beowulf is truly a tragic hero whose spirit triumphs even in the hour of defeat and death.

In tragedy, of course, nemesis is deeply involved with the movement of time.[69] In Beowulf's case, time is the devourer of life. The poet's portrayal of the theme of mutability points to the inevitability of the passage of time. According to Northrop Frye, the forebodings and ironic anticipations surrounding this inevitable transience, are based on a sense of cyclical return. This supports my view that the tragedy of Beowulf is that of a noble, pagan hæleð under heofonum defeated by unredeemed time. The predominantly sombre, elegiac mood, evoked largely by the poet's arrangement of his material, forms part of the unity of the tragic structure of the poem.

Beowulf's tragedy does not lie in hubris, as the Aristotelian model of tragedy would have it, and as a result of which many critics see Hroðgar's sermon as a Christian homily against pride. It lies, rather, in a tragic neglect of human limitation - specifically time, change, and

69. Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, Four Essays (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1957.) p.213.

death.[70] The stress on mutability and transience in Hroðgar's sermon is unmistakeable. Beowulf's action exemplifies man's refusal to wholly succumb to the forces of time and change. Although he is destroyed, his death is a celebration of the heroic, indomitable will which is the only heroic response to transience.

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Conclusion:

The 'digressions' in Beowulf, far from detracting from the unity of the poem, work on one level to create the unifying pattern of atmosphere. This pattern of modality also carries the theme of the juxtaposition of opposites in the poem. The polarity between the opposites of light and darkness, joy and sorrow, good and evil, which the poet dramatizes in the life of his hero, has universal significance because it arises from a fundamental mythological pattern which ultimately probably resides in the human psyche.

The Christian poet of Beowulf knew that the eternal struggle between the polarities of good and evil was one which, in ancient, heroic times was hopeless even though it was gloriously enacted in the lives of certain exceptional men like Beowulf. It is always risky to speculate about a poet's 'intention', and especially so in the case of the Beowulf poet, separated as we are by many centuries. However, from what we know of Old English poetry in general, I think it is possible to see the poem in its tragic vision and elegiac mood as belonging, perhaps, to the group of poems usually classified as 'elegies'. Deor, The Wanderer and The

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70. This view is supported by David C. Fowler, The Bible in Early English Literature (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1976.) p.121:
> That he dies in killing the dragon should not be interpreted as punishment for pride. Beowulf acquits himself nobly, and is conquered only by death, which, as Hrothgar said, would be victorious at the last.

Seafarer, especially, represent contemplations of life and its transience, and offer an essentially Christian consolation. They can be seen as a kind of Wisdom Literature, designed to teach by example. One of the intentions of the Beowulf poet seems to be the holding up of the heroic life as an exemplum, a celebration of man's struggle against the limitations of his temporal existence. The overriding tone of doom and sadness carries the poet's realization that this heroic struggle is ultimately useless and futile without faith in eternal God. It is interesting to note that this is in keeping with the memorable utterance of Horace in the first century B.C. regarding the functions and aims of poetry:

> Poets aim at giving either profit or delight, or at combining the giving of pleasure with some useful precepts for life.[71]

I believe that the intention of the poet is epitomized in the words of the Cotton Ms Maxims (translated by Charles W. Kennedy). They are, after all, far closer to his own age than we are, and yet they seem to belong equally well in our own time:

> Good against evil; youth against age;
> Life against death; light against darkness;
> Army against army; foe against foe;
> Hostile with hostile shall always fight...
> A wise man must ponder this world's strife.

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71. 'Ars Poetica' quoted in Classical Literary Criticism. Aristotle, Horace, Longinus. Translated with an introduction by T.S. Dorsch. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1965. Reprinted 1979.) p.22.

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