

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
List of Abbreviations	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE LOYALTY HERITAGE	17
I. Documentary Sources	17
A. Roman Accounts	17
B. Continental Germanic Sources	18
C. Literary Survivals of Non-Anglo-Saxon Germanic Tribes	20
1. Scandinavian or Old Norse Literature	20
2. German Literature	23
D. Non-Germanic Sources	26
1. Celtic Documents	26
2. French Documents	28
II. The Germanic Code of Conduct from these Sources	29
A. The Classical Writings	29
B. Ancient Continental Germanic Customary Laws	39
C. Non-Anglo-Saxon Germanic Literary Survivals and Other Sources	41
CHAPTER TWO: THE ANGLO-SAXON LOYALTY HERITAGE	47
I. Old English Sources Consulted	48
A. Historical Sources	48
B. Legal Sources	49
C. Literary Sources	50
II. The Germanic Code of Conduct from these Sources	54
A. Historical Sources	54
B. Legal Sources	72
C. Anglo-Saxon Literary Documents	79
CHAPTER THREE: MANIFESTATIONS OF LOYALTY IN 'WIDSITH' AND 'DEOR'	83
I. 'Widsith'	84
A. Fits and Thulas	84
B. Prologue	93
C. Epilogue	95
D. Conclusion	97
II. 'Deor'	97
A. First Two Stanzas	100
B. Third Stanza	101
C. Fourth and Fifth Stanzas	102
D. Sixth Stanza	104
E. Conclusion	106
III. Conclusive Remarks about 'Widsith' and 'Deor'	106
CHAPTER FOUR: MANIFESTATIONS OF LOYALTY IN 'THE FINNSBURH FRAGMENT,' 'WALDERE' AND 'BEOWULF'	107
I. 'The Finnsburh Fragment'	109
A. Attack on the Danes	110

B.	The Enemy's Attack	111
C.	The Danes in Combat	113
D.	The Enemy in Combat	114
E.	Conclusion	114
II.	'Waldere'	115
A.	Fragment I	117
B.	Fragment II	120
C.	Conclusion	122
III.	'Beowulf'	122
A.	Part One	126
1.	The Fight with Grendel	126
a.	The Rise of the Danish Dynasty	126
b.	Arrival of Beowulf	134
c.	Welcome at Heorot	136
d.	Beowulf's Answer to the Welcome	138
e.	Description of Heorot's Atmosphere	138
f.	Arrival of Grendel	140
g.	Feasting Preparations and Celebrations	141
2.	The Fight with Grendel's Mother	148
a.	Grendel's Mother's Attack	148
b.	Reactions at Grendel's Mother's Attack	149
c.	Attack on Grendel's Mother	151
d.	Celebrations	152
3.	Beowulf's Home-Coming	156
a.	King Hygelac	156
b.	Beowulf, Hygelac's Retainer	158
4.	Conclusion Part I	160
B.	Part Two	161
1.	The Dragon's Wrath	161
2.	Beowulf's Last Venture	164
a.	Beowulf Seen by the Poet	164
b.	Beowulf's Last Words	168
c.	Wiglaf and Beowulf's 'Comitatus'	170
3.	After Beowulf's Death	173
a.	The Messenger's Speech	173
b.	The Poet's Last Words	174
4.	Conclusion Part Two	177
IV.	Conclusive Remarks about 'The Finnsburh Fragment,' 'Waldere' and 'Beowulf'	178
CHAPTER FIVE: MANIFESTATIONS OF LOYALTY IN 'THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH' AND 'THE BATTLE OF MALDON'		
		181
I.	'The Battle of Brunanburh'	184
A.	King Athelstan and His Brother Edmund	184
B.	The Anglo-Saxons' Enemies	186
C.	The English in Pursuit of the Enemy	189
D.	The Enemy in Flight	190
E.	Closing Lines: The English in Victory	192
F.	Conclusion	193
II.	'The Battle of Maldon'	194
A.	The Leader's Conception of Loyalty	195
1.	Exhortation	195
2.	Byrhtnoth's Harangue	198
3.	The Warriors' Impatience for Battle	200

4. Byrhtnoth's 'Ofermod'	201
5. The Confrontation	203
B. The Negation of the Leader's Conception of Loyalty	206
C. Triumphant Assertion of the Leader's Conception of Loyalty	208
1. General Depiction of Loyal Response	208
2. Individual Examples of Loyalty	210
D. Conclusion	214
III. Conclusive Remarks about 'The Battle of Brunanburh' and 'The Battle of Maldon'	215
CONCLUSION	217
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION	221
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE	233
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO	249
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE	267
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR	275
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE	291
APPENDICES	303
BIBLIOGRAPHY	311
Primary Sources	312
Secondary Sources	323
INDEX	365