The Mythological, Historical and Geographical References in the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Widsith, preceded by a Discussion of the Structure and Origin of the Poem

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The Mythological, Historical and Geographical References in the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Widsith, preceded by a Discussion of the Structure and Origin of the Poem.

A thesis written by Ida Wood, Fellow in English 1888-89, while studying for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Eryn Mawr College, and presented to the English Department at the close of the year of her Fellowship.

This thesis was presented also for the degree of Master of Arts at Vassar College, June, 1889.
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The Mythological, Historical and Geographical References in Widsith, Preceded by a Discussion of the Structure and Origin of the Poem.
Widsith is preserved in a manuscript volume called the Codex Exoniensis, given to the library of his Cathedral by Leofric, Bishop of Exeter from 1046 to 1073.

The hand-writing of the manuscript is of the Tenth Century.

The text of the poem is so accessible it does not seem necessary to quote it. Wildiker in his edition of Grein's Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie (1853), has given a reading based upon a careful collation of all previous texts, this will be the basis of the accompanying English rendering and will be regarded as authoritative in the following remarks.

No entirely satisfactory translation into English exists. Thorpe and Guest had not the light of later criticism in the interpretation of various obscure passages; Worley's smooth and graceful rendering is based largely on the text of Thorpe in the Codex Exoniensis (1842), and has failed to take account of several of the valuable Amendments of German scholars, occasionally, too, it sacrifices strict accuracy to the exigencies of rhythm.

The accompanying translation aims at a close reproduction rather than a literary rendition.
Widsith spoke, unlocked the word hoard, he who of men had fared through most of nations, of peoples upon earth; oft in the hall he received desirable treasures. Noble ancestry among the Myrginges, gave birth to him. With Halshead, the faithful peace-weaver, he on his first journey, sought the home of the Hreth (Goth's) King, East of Anglia, of Æormanric the wrathful treaty-breaker.

1. Mss. reading is: -se the maest maertha ofer eordan.
Thorpe (1842) translates: -who a vast many (had met with) wonders on earth, traveled through many nations. Guest: -He who most Greatness over earth, and nations visited. Kittel enlarges: -se the maest gemunde maertha ofer eordan. He who remembered most of wonderful deeds upon earth. Rieger follows this. Lecoq: -se the maest randode maertha ofer eordan, he who had experienced most wonderful deeds &c. Kemble emends: -se the maest randode maertha ofer eordan, he who had sought most of nations &c. Grein: -se the monna maest maegtha ofer eordan, foloa geondierde. This reading has been adopted by Kükler, Müller, Müller, Morley.

Then he began to speak many things: I have learned of many men ruling the nations; each of the princes must live in accordance with custom, one earl after another rule the ancestral land, who will that his throne prosper! Of these was Hwala for a while, the best and Alexander mightiest of all the race of men, and he prospered most of those whom I have heard of, upon the earth.

Aetta ruled the Huns, Eormanric the Goths, Becca, the Banings, the Burgundians, Gifica.

Caesar ruled the Greeks and Caelc the Finns, Hagena, the Holarygs and Heoden the Glomms.

Witta ruled the Swaers, Wada, the Haelings, Meaca, the Myrginges, Mearechalf the Kundings.

Theodric ruled the Franks, Thyle the Rondings,

Breoca the Brondings, Billing the Werns.

Oswine ruled the Bowes, and the Ytes, Gefwulf, Fin Folcwalding, the race of the Frisians.

(among) the Myrginges nobles sprung, he refers to the parallel passage Beow. 56. oth that him eft onwoc hean Haelfdenes. Grein, Rieger, Wülcker, Müllenhoff, Möller emend "hine" to "him", but with the translation, — Noble ancestry gave birth to him.

1. Mss.: theoda, Thorpe (Codex) has theoda, but translates every prince. Geste: each people. Kemble, Thorpe (Beow), Rieger, Leo, Grein, Wülcker, Müllenhoff, Möller: theodna. Morley translates each prince.
Sigehere longest ruled the Sea Danes, Hnaef the Hocings, Helm, the Wulfings, 
Wald the Woings, Wod the Thyring, Saeferth the Syogs, the Swedes, Ongendtheow, 
Sceafthere, the Ymbers, Sceafa, the Langobards, Hun, the Haetwers and Holen the Wrosnes. 
Bringweald was called the King of the Herefaires.

Offa ruled the Angles, Alewin the Danes: he was of all these men the boldest; nevertheless he did not gain supremacy beyond Offa, but Offa first among men. 
while a boy won by fighting the greatest of Kingdoms; no one of like age with him had attained (through struggle) greater rule; \(^1\) by his single sword he enlarged his marches toward the Myr ginges at Firfeldor; they held thenceforth Angles and Swaefts since Offa gained it in fighting. Hrothwulf and Hrothgar held peace together, the uncle and nephew, for a long time, after they had driven out the race of the Vikings and lowered the spear of Ingeld, cut down at Heorot the might of the Heatho-beards.

So I wandered over many strange lands throughout the broad earth; there I experienced good and evil separately. 

\(^1\) Thorpe, Morley, Kieger, Grein place the colon after sword (sweorde). Guest, Wücker, Möller as indicated in the translation.
\(^2\) Müll. places a comma after earth & connects "so I wandered" with what follows.
ted from my family, far from my dear Kindred did service widely. Therefore I can sing and tell a tale, recount before the throng in the mead-hall, how the noble of race were liberal in bounty toward me.

I was with the Huns and with the Hrethgoths,
With the Swedes and with the Geats and with the South-Danes.
With the Wenles 1 I was and with the Wearnes and with the Vikings.

With the Gerths 1 I was and with the Wineds and with the Geffleges.
With Angles 1 I was and with the Swaefs and with the Aenehes.
With the Saxons 1 I was and with the Syogs and with the Swoord wera.
With Hrons 1 I was and with Danes and with Heatho-Reames.
With Thytings I was and with Throwends

65 And with the Burgundians, there I received a collar; there Guthhere gave me a splendid jewel as reward for song; that was no sluggish King!

With the Franks 1 I was and with the Frisians and with the Frantings.
With the Hurs 1 I was and with the Glomms and with the 2 Rum wales.

1. Müllerhoff omits I was (ic wæss)
2. Müller emends Rum wares, inhabitants of Rome, cf. burg-
Likewise I was in Italy with Albuin, he had of all mankind as I have heard say, the readiest hand for winning praise, the least niggardly heart in sharing rings, bright bracelets, the child of Auduin.

With the 1 Serkings I was and with Serings, with the Greeks I was and with the Finns and with Caesar, who held possession of the 2 cities of the wine feasts, or riches and of desirable things and of the Kingdom of the 4 Wales.

With Scots I was and with Picts and with Sorid-Finns, with Lidvikings I was and with Leons and with (Lombards) 5 Armoricans Longobards.

2 Winburg: city in which wine is drunk, Wülcker; town in which drinking feasts are held, Grein, Wortschatz; Vini urbs, urbs in qua Errica largitur, Ettmuller. cf. Caedmon 219, 21; 255, 11.

5 Miss. reading: -se the winburga geweald ante 
Wiolane and Wilna and Wala rices.

Thorpe translates: -Who o'er the joyous cities dominion held, Wiolane and Wilna and o'er the Walish realm. Guest says, "Mr. Kemble makes wiolane and wilna proper names, the section is a puzzling one 4n any hypothesis." Leo, Grein, regard them as proper names; Morley translates them as such; W. Sahine, Ettmuller emend to welenia and wilna; Rieger, Wülcker, Müllenhoff & Möller, to wiolenia and wilna.
With Haethnes and with Haerethes and with Hundingis.
With Israelites I was and with Assyrians,
With Hebrews and with 2 men of India and with the Egyptians.
With Medes I was and with Persians and with the Myroes
(Ethiopians)
And with Moabites and on the other side of the Myroes
(Ethiopians)
And with Ammonites. With East-Thyrings (Assyrians?) I was
And with Elam (or Elath) and with Istians and Idumeans.
And I was with Eormanric continually, there the King of
the Goths treated me kindly, he, prince of the city-dwellers,
gave me a collar, for it, were cut off six hundred
seats of pure gold counted by shillings, this I gave into
the possession of hisgils, my prince and protector, when I
came home, to my guardian lord, in requital because he gave
me land, the ancestral home of my father, he, lord of the
Myrgings, and Hálhild then gave me another, liege queen

*The rendering of the proper names lines 75-87 is that
suggested by Müllenhoff, Bibliothek der Angelsäch, Poesie
Gr. Wulcker p. 401.
1. Mss. has: - mid Haethnum and mid Haelethum; Thorpe, Leo, Ettemüller: - mid haethnum and mid haelethum. Grein emends: - mid Haethnum and mid Haerethum. Rieger, Wulcker, Müllenhoff & Möller follow this.
2. Mss. has Indeum; Grein, Iudeum.
of the nobles, daughter of Auduin. Her praise was spread throughout many lands, when I in song would tell, where under heaven I knew best, that a gold-adorned queen dispensed gifts. When we two, Scilling and I with clear voice lifted the song for our victorious lord, loud to the harp the lay resounded: then many men proud of soul, said in words, those who well knew, that they had never heard a better song. Thence through all the country of the Goths I wandered; * I sought ever the noblest companions: they were the household of Hormanric.  

Hetheu I sought and Beadeca and the Herelings, Emerca, I sought, and Fridla and East-Gota (Austragotta). The wise and good father of Unwen.  

Secca, I sought, and Becca, Seafole and Theodric, Heathoric and Sifeca, Hlithe and Inogenteow.  

Eadwine (Auduin) I sought and Elsa, Aegelmund and Hungar And the proud bands of the With-Myrginges.  

Wulfhere I sought and Wyrmhere: there oft war ceased not, when the army of the Hraeds (=Goths) with hard swords, must defend, about the forests of the Vistula, their ancestral home against the people of Astla.

*Müllenhoft places a comma here (i.e. after ethel Gotena)
Readhere, I sought, and Rondhere, Rumstan and Giselher, Kithergield and Freotheric, Wulga and Hama:

125 They were not the most sluggish of comrades though I should name them last. Full oft from that throng, whistling flew the yelling arrow against the fierce people: there the exiles Wulga and Hama, ruled with wound gold, men and women. So this I ever found in that wandering, he is dearest to the dwellers in the land, to whom God gives empire over men to hold so long as he here lives. So roving according to fate, the gleemen wander through many men's lands, their need they tell, thanks they utter, ever south or north meet some one skilled in song, not niggardly in gifts, who will that his praise be lifted up before the nobles, his bravery shown, until all departs, light and life together, he who gains praise, has under heaven high and steadfast renown.
Analysis of the Poem.

As will be seen the poem falls readily into various divisions. We have first a brief introduction (1-9) giving the name of the wandering bard, his origin, and an account of one of his journeys, probably the first, to the home of Hormanric.

Then Widsith himself speaks. A few opening lines (10-14) give us one of the general reflections so constantly met with in Anglo-Saxon poetry; there is, then, mention of Hwala and of Alexander, in lines (14-17) whose genuineness, as will be seen later, is most suspicious; upon this follows a compact list of princes and the people over whom they rule (18-35) ending with an enlarged notice of Orfa (35-42), of his contest with Aelwin, and of his single combat at Fireldor; immediately after, but entirely disconnected by any association of ideas, we have the account of the issue of the struggle at Heorot between Hrothgar and Hrothwulf, and on the other side Ingeld.

Lines 50-56 tell us again of the wanderings of the bard and are introductory to a terse recital of the names of famous peoples (86-70), broken only by two lines of incident; this catalogue concludes with praise of the generosity of Alcuin (70-74).

The list of names which succeeds (75-88) is marked by its want of coherence and order, its genuineness is highly questionable.
The following division (88-109) contains a series of incidents, the bard’s reception of a ring from Hormanric, his home-coming, his laudation of his queen Eadgils.

Lines 109-111 introduce our last list, that of the heroes of Hormanric (112-124), broken by the mention of the struggle between the Goths and the Huns in the woods of the Vistula, and closing with the celebration of the heroes, Wudga and Hama.

Finally we have a conclusion to the poem in the first person (131-134) summarizing the poet’s experience of life; and one in the third person (135-143) more extended but embodying almost the same ideas.

Theories in regard to the Structure and Origin of Widsith.

The theories in regard to the structure of Widsith, its homogeneousness or composite character, are almost as numerous as the scholars that have investigated it. Is it essentially a unit? And if it emanated from one author, have we here the record of his own experiences, or a story of some imaginary minstrel whose reputed wanderings have served to exhibit the learning and saga lore of the author. On the other hand, if we can ascribe it to no one bard, has it gradually taken shape, gradually gathered around some kernel, new names, new lists, new inci-
dents, as one bard caught it from another; or have we here a poem composed of poems, originally separate and distinct, bound into one by some late revisor.

A summary of the criticism which regards the poem as a unit will first be given.

The earliest comments in point of time are those given in connection with the text published in Conybeare's Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry (1828). While in general, he considers the poem as a unit, a veritable account of personal experience, its present form he holds, is rather a translation of an earlier work which in the course of time may have undergone some modifications.

Since the Myrginges, the Angles and the Suevi are spoken of as neighbouring tribes (42-44) and these relations could not have existed in England, he ascribes the authorship to a Continental writer and places it about the middle of the Fifth Century. He bases his argument for this date on the mention of the poet's presence at the struggle between the Huns under Attila and the Goths (119-120), his visit to Eormanric (Hermanric, King of the Goths (88), and to Guthere, King of Burgundy (65, 66). Attila, he justly regards as the historic King of the Huns, whose death occurred in 453. The Eormanric of the poem, however, he holds to be Eormanric (Hermanric) son of Samson, who reigned over the Visigoths in Italy about 460; this reference can not be regarded as valid, Eormanric could have
but one association to the Teutonic mind - the famous monarch of that name, King of the Goths in the Fourth Century, whose power and renown made him later, the hero of a great cycle of legend. Guthere, he suggests, may be a corrupted form of Gunther, a King of the Burgundians contemporaneous with Attila, but this, too, would be unwarranted, Guthere could only be referred to Gunther.

From the detailed mention of the smaller tribes, he infers that the poem must have been composed before the various subdivisions of the Gothic race had coalesced into the empire. He notices the contradiction in the terms applied to Æormanric in the introduction - wrathes waerlogan(9) - and the later praise - thaer me Gotena cyning gode dohte(169) - but offers no theory of explanation.

Conybeare evidently regarded Widsith as a genuine personality at once traveller & poet, and Guest, in his History of English Rhythms, also considers this theory as to the origin of the poem, the most simple and defensible.

He fixes the date of its composition between 433 and 440, and in the extreme old age of the poet. The death of Æormanric, the great King of the Goths, occurred in 375, and Attila did not begin to reign until 435; the wanderings, then, must have covered a period of at least sixty years. In 370, five years before the death of Æormanric, the struggle between the Goths and Huns began which ended in the subjection of the Goths in 439. Guest here makes two
points in support of his date: first, from the poem, the Goths though defeated were not a subject people they were still the enemies of the Huns, while after their overthrow, they were powerful allies of Attila, their King Theodomer, living at his court; second, the slight mention of Attila makes it impossible that the mythical distortion of the historic facts, which almost created a distinct personality as the legendary Attila, had not yet taken place; in like manner, the mention of Hormanrie has none of the marks of the mythical conception of that King. As confirmatory evidence of his date, Guest regards Wala (Hwala) as the Visigoth Wallia, Gifica (19) and Guthere (66) respectively, the Burgundians Gibica and Gundicarius, these monarchs all fell between 375 and 435.

While in general, Guest agrees with Conybeare in regarding the poem as a unit, he differs from him in the distinction he makes between the preface and the main body of the verse, and thus marks an advance in criticism: the former, he holds, was written by a Continental writer about the close of the Fifth or beginning of the Sixth Century, probably after the Visigoths had left the Vistula, between the years 480 and 547.

As to the changes in language, and the possible interpolations, he waives judgment, though recalling the far wanderings of the German tribes — to Africa, to Spain, to Gaul, he sees no difficulty in the far rovings of a Ger-
man bard, and therefore recognizes no necessity for assuming interpolations.

Kemble in his preface to Beowulf (1833) says of the "Traveller's Song," that it must have been composed by a contemporary of Hermanric and Gunther; the praise of Offa and the terms used to indicate the position of the Kingdom of Eormanric - eastan of Ongel - lead one to infer that the author was Anglian.

Klipstein (Analecta Saxonica, 1849) also accepts the personality of Widsith as genuine, and with Guest distinguishes between Widsith's own narrative, and an introduction by another bard. Widsith, the Myrging scop, he makes the contemporary of Offa, Ongentheow, Eormanric and Hrothgar and like Guest places him in the first half of the Fifth Century. The author of the opening lines, he considers an Angle living in the succeeding age but still on the Continent and suggests the possibility of identifying him with the poet of Beowulf and of the Battle of Finnes-geats.

Conybeare, Guest and Klipstein, as we have seen, regard the poem as embodying the actual experiences of a bard, an account of veritable journeys; but side by side with their views as to the personality of Widsith, and the authorship of the poem, a different and contrary theory was growing up.
W. Grimm, *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829) regards this as a repository of all that was known at that time of the lands, peoples, and ruling races; the minstrel Widsith, and his wanderings, he holds to be alike fictitious. Taking an extreme view, he believes the allusions to have had their origin almost solely in the sagas, and most of them to be too dark and obscure to be traced.

The date he places in the Seventh or Eighth Century.

Chr. Grein (Angelsächsische Grammatik, 1874, re-edited by Wülcker, 1880) supports this view, saying that Widsith can almost be called a versified catalogue of German heroic sagas. He bases, indeed, chiefly on this poem his assertion that the Anglo-Saxons possessed their share of the sagas common to all Teutonic nations, brought over by them from the main land and preserved in song.

In H. Leo we find the further development of this theory. He recognizes allusions to two East Teutonic and two North Teutonic Saga cycles; first that of Hormaric, the Ostrogothic King and the heroes of the Goths (19, 88, 99, 110-180) second, that of Aelfwyne (Alboin), the son of Æadwine (Auduin, 70, 74); these are united by Ælhhild, daughter of Æadwine, who by her marriage with Æadgils is princess of the Myrgings. The first of the North Sea cycles is that of Kutrun, since Hågna (21) corresponds to Hagen, Wada (62) to Wate and Heoden (21) = Henden to Hethin. The second, is that of Beowulf to which Fin Folowalding, Hrothwulf and Hrothgar belong.
We have undoubted reference to the great saga cycles in Widsith, and Leo has justly defined the allusions to the Eormanric and Alboin legends; but the detection of a knowledge of the Kutrun saga is not well grounded; Hagen & Heoden refer rather to the Norse Högni and Hethin, than to the German heroes, and Wada can scarcely mean the Wate of Kutrun. One of the marked characteristics of this poem, too, is the absence of allusions which would be drawn directly from the epic of Beowulf; where the two poems touch common ground, they have probably been drawn from a common source. Leo's second North Sea cycle is rather that of the Finn Sagas to which we have a number of allusions. In addition to the cycles mentioned, we have references to many other legends in the poem.

Leo places the date of the final form of the poem late, since it is necessary to assume a perspective of time to allow for the fusing of sagas whose historical basis was so widely separated. The earliest period for its final taking form, would be a hundred years later than Alboin, that is in the last part of the Eighth Century. In spite of this late date, he fully recognizes a Kernel of Saga which has come down unchanged from songs and legends of the Fourth Century.

Thorpe (Codex Exoniensis 1842) regards the poem as wholly fictitious; he finds his reason for this in the necessity for assuming it to be a translation if it is gen-
uine, and he is unwilling to concede to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers so much of knowledge as this would imply. This reason would scarcely hold, since much of the Anglo-Saxon poetry we have, is in all probability translation from the Northumbrian.

The abrupt commencement of the poem suggests to Thorpe, the possibility that we have in Widsith an episode only, of some lost epic, but appreciating the difficulties that surround the question as to its origin and structure and the few data for judging — fewer when he wrote than now — he gives the opinion as tentative, by no means assured.

Henry Sweet, in an essay on Anglo-Saxon poetry (1871), also regards the poem as a fragment, but his view is strikingly different from that of any other scholar, in that he sees in the minstrel a purely mythological person Hazlitt. He age and, on the basis of a comparison of the name Widsith, (Far-Traveler), with many similar Norse names of Odin, he suggests the possibility that by Widsith, Odin himself is meant, in his character of "Wanderer."

The poem must have been composed, he holds, before the Conquest of Britain, since there is no knowledge of England manifest, but on the other hand, a close acquaintance with Continental tribes is shown.

Wright (Biographia Britannica Literaria 1842) calls the poem a nomenclature of geography, assumes the exis-
tence of interpolations as certain, and regards it without question as the fragment of some old romance. Klipstein quotes this latter view and assents to it.

The theory that Widsith is a fragment of a longer poem is untenable. Our chief ground for the assumption is the abrupt commencement, but in other Anglo-Saxon poems we find this same sharp, sudden opening; this is too slight a foundation on which to build so radical an hypothesis.

Haigh's theory (1861) in regard to this poem stands alone in his claim of an English origin, an English theatre of action, if one may so call it, and hence an English interpretation for most of the names and references. He regards it as the fragment of a longer poem, and divides it into two parts, the introduction by one poet and a bard's account of his own wanderings.

The date of composition is fixed by the mention of the Frankish Theodoric, son of Chlodovech, who reigned 511-534.

While admitting that the Far Traveller had visited the Continent, Haigh considers that by far the greater number of princes and places he mentions, were in England. As confirmatory evidence he gives a long list of references in Widsith, forty seven in all, and a corresponding one of districts, towns &c in England, in which traces of these names can be found.

As his interpretations can be viewed only in conjunction with his theory, it seems necessary to anticipate the
order of treatment, and give some examples of his explanations of the allusions.

Theodoric, as has been said, he holds to be the Frankish King of that name, agreeing in this with most of the other critics. Eormanric, he explains, as the father of Aethelberht King of Kent, 511, he is called King of the Goths because the royal houses of the Angles, Jutes and Saxons were of the same race as that of the Goths.

Theodric (line 115) mentioned as among the heroes of Eormanric, is the renowned Dietrich of Bern of the Sagas, but Bern is not Verona, in Italy, but Verdun and this corresponds to Farringdun, the ancient name of which was probably Ferandun.

The seat of Eormanric’s Kingdom was probably at Oxford.

Aetla was the Traveller’s contemporary and may have been like the great Attila a King of the Huns, but in this case the Huns would be a tribe in England, who have left traces of their presence in the names Atteborough in Warwickshire, Attlebridge and Attleborough in Norfolk, Hunworth in Norfolk, Hundon in Suffolk, and Huncote in Leicestershire. Aetla’s first seat was in Warwickshire but after the battle around the Wistla (121), he probably settled in Norfolk.

A Gifica gave his name to Gifican cumb, near Tisbury in Wiltshire, Haigh believes that a detachment of Burgun-
dians emigrated to England and thinks that Gifica may have been the leader.

Traces of the Finns remain in the names Findern, Derbyshire; Finney, Yorkshire; Finborough, Suffolk. The Heatho-
Beardas and Long-Beardas gave their names to Bardfields, Essex; Bardwell, Suffolk; Bardsea, Lancashire.

The Geatas are suggested by Gatton, Shropshire; Gatton, Surrey; Gatcombe, Wight.

Eatule, where Widsith was with Aelfwine, is probably Yately in Hampshire.

The Wycingas reveal themselves in Wycingas-measc, Canterbury; Wyke and Wycliffe, Yorkshire.

Creacas we find in Cracof, Crake, and Crakehall, Yorkshire; Creake, Norfolk, and Crakemarsh, Staffordshire.

Finally Haigh identifies the Far Traveller with Hama, he sees no reason for mentioning that hero last - theañ the ic by aninhst nemnan sceolde - unless he were himself Hama; that he received a collar from Eormanric is confirm-
ed by Beowulf (1199).

syththan Hama aetwaeg
to thaere byrhtan byrig Bro singa mene

sigle and sinofæst, searonithas fealh

Eormanrices. - - - -

The loss of Eormanric's favor of which we hear from other sagas, would probably account for the different terms in which that ruler is spoken of in the beginning and end of the poem.
He traces the course of the minstrel’s wanderings from the territories of his lord, Eadgils in Cheshire through the Midland Countries, after spending much time in Oxfordshire and Berkshire the bard passed through Essex and Suffolk to the Kingdom of Aetla in Norfolk.

Haigh’s criticism must be regarded as a piece of special pleading, a deduction from a preconceived theory, ingenious, but based on wrong premises. As its position is unique, so it must be considered entirely by itself; it contributes nothing to the elucidation of the poem and its interpretations will not be taken into account in the later collation of the various explanations given to the allusions.

Henry Morley in the Second volume of his English Writers now appearing has given us the latest English comments upon this poem. His criticism is chiefly negative and based upon a review of Hermann Möller’s theory in regard to its origin, which will be touched upon later.

It is to be regretted that in a work so greatly needed as a new History of English Literature, Morley has been betrayed by the temptations of a popular style, into a criticism as superficial as it is fluent; especially is this true as to his estimate of the weighty and discriminating contributions which German and Danish scholars have made to the study of Early English. Nothing approaching their careful and conscientious work has been
done in that field either in England or America; their criticism is as brilliant as it is thorough and incisive. No just account of this period of our language and literature can be written without due appreciation and a fair and adequate presentation of the results of their work.

Ten Brinck in his Early English Literature gives a valuable principle in regard to the criticism of Anglo-Saxon poems: "Herein lies the essential difference between that age and our own: the result of poetical activity was not the property and not the production of a single person but of the community. The work of the individual singer endured only as long as its delivery lasted... who can say how much the individual contributed to it, or where in his poetical recitation memory ceased and creative impulse began! In any case the work of the individual lived on only as the ideal possession of the aggregate body of the people, and it soon lost the stamp of originality."

Morley has failed to apply this principle, he regards this poem too much as the conscious literary effort of a poet who gave an ineradicable impress to its form. He bids the student of literature bring the critical and even ethical principles one would use in judging a subjective poet of the Nineteenth Century to the consideration of this old song of the people.

Aside from his arraignment of Möller, Morley's opin-
ions are characterized by a discreet reserve, he implies rather than directly expresses them. He apparently regards the poem as an early Anglo-Saxon reproduction of a song which had its rise in the old home on the main-land. The reproduction gives the sense of the original and includes some additions: if the poet describes his own visit to Eormanric - whose death occurred in 376 - that portion of the poem must have been composed in the Fourth Century, and the list of chiefs (10-35) which includes Theoderic who ruled 511, may have been an addition made eighty years later; he gives no suggestion as to the possibility of other interpolations.

The aim of the poet was "to broaden the sense of life" by arousing the imagination and filling it with conceptions of distant and far-reaching travel.

In the preceding summary of the course of criticism, we find that the theories as to the origin and date of the poem consider it largely as a whole, either seeking to prove that it is a genuine account of a bard's own wanderings or that it is in the main the effort of a single poet, who aims to bring together geographical and historical knowledge under the guise of the story of the journeys of a fictitious minstrel. The great difficulty in reconciling contradictory mention of the same personage and the diverse attitude of different parts of the poem...
in relation to the geography and history of the early Teutonic tribes, forbid the acceptance of this view.

As we have seen, the theory of a later origin for the introduction had early suggested itself, and soon the necessity for assuming the possibility of interpolations in the body of the poem was forced upon critics. Preceding authors had suggested this vaguely, but Mullenhoff is the first investigator who, acting on these lines, has attempted to discriminate between original matter and additions.

In Nordalbingische Studien (1845), and later (1852) in Haupt's Zeitschrift X. p 275, in *Die Kritik des Anglesächsischen Volksepos, part 2*, he has given the results of a searching, comprehensive examination. Rieger in his *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* p 57, shows the text of the poem according to Mullenhoff's conclusions.

Widsith falls into three divisions not counting the opening lines, which introduce and name the singer. The first extends from line 10 to 49 and contains the list of famous princes and peoples; but there is an interpolation in this Section, lines 14 - 17 are:-

Thara waes Hwala hwile selast
and Alexandreas eaira ricost
monna cynnes and he maest gethah,
thare the ic ofer roldan ge freegen haebbe.

These Mullenhoff regards as spurious; in the first
place, we should expect following the mention of Hormanric in the introduction (3), that this catalogue would begin with Hormanric or at any rate in the East, as in line 18 it does; again, in these lines Alexandreas is spoken of as "most mighty of all the race of men," but in 35ff we have the same thought of another ruler: more important than this is, these two names Alexandreas, certainly Alexander the great, and Hwala, known through Anglo-Saxon genealogies as one of the nominal ancestors of Woden, show an intermingling of monkish learning and national tradition not at all in accord with the following recital.

In the catalogue 18 - 35 some slight order is discernible traced by the leading names though not so strict as in good Middle High German epos. The aim of this division appears to be, as is shown by the opening lines (11-13) "to bring together a series of ideal representatives of royalty among various peoples and races and to reveal the experience and saga lore of the far-travelled bard."

The second division is introduced by lines 50 - 56, swa ic geond' erde řela fremdra londa, &c. This "swa," Mullenhoff refers to what follows, explaining the meaning to be, "I have - as follows - travelled through many lands." The section continues to 106, including the list of great peoples and the account of the poet's reception on his return home; but thrust into the middle is the great in-
terpolation 75-87. In the rest of the poem, mention is
made only of princes and races known from early times to
Teutonic story or with whom the German tribes would have
come in contact in the "wandering of the nations," the
cycle is comparatively circumscribed; in the interpola-
tion, there is a confused intermingling of the names of
Oriental peoples with those of Teutonic and other Euro-
pean nations: the same atmosphere of clerical learning
pervades it that "Alexandreas" suggested, with its termi-
nation probably brought over from the Greek, "Andreas."
We have Saracens (75 Sercingas; O.H.G. Sarizi, Arabes; O.N.
Serki) and Seres (Seringes), then Greeks and Finns (76), and
the emperor who ruled "the foreign Kingdom" (Wala rices),
in conjunction with Scots, Picts and Armoricans, and Lom-
bards.

This mention of Scots, Picts and Armoricans shows that
the author of these lines lived in England, while the
point of view of the rest of the poem is that of the Con-
tinent. The striking out of these lines (75-87) does not
cause any hiatus, "And ic waes mid Eormanric ealle thrage"
(88) corresponds to, "Swylce ic waes on Eatule mid Aelfwine
(70); the account of the return home (84ff) with its depict-
ing of the bard's relationship to Eadgils and its lauda-
tion of Ælkhild, his queen, daughter of Æadwine, has espe-
cial fitness after the praise of Aelfwine, the son of that
monarch (70ff).
Müllenhoff's last division is 109-150, the list of the heroes of Eormanric.

In the two endings of the poem, "Swa ic thaet symle onfond on thaere feringe" &c. 131-134; and "Swa scrithende gesceatham hweorfath &c. 135-143, there are several like expressions; both begin with Swa; symle onfond (130) corresponds to simle gemetath, 133; then den he her leofath, 134; to oth thät eal scaeceth, leocht and lif somod, 141; 135ff, gives in poetic form the results of the journey as 131 does prosaically. In general, Müllenhoff characterizes the first conclusion, 131-134, as stereotyped, and the second, 135-143, as full of force and elevation, pronouncing decidedly for the genuineness of the latter.

To sum up, Müllenhoff considers lines 14-17; 75-87; 131-134, to be interpolations and probably by one hand; but even after the excision of these we can not hope to have revealed the poem in its original integrity. Its basis is very old, the oldest in all Anglo-Saxon Literature. As to the date of its composition or the discrimination of original matter whether in the course of its delivery or after transcription, he waives all judgment.

The positive results which Müllenhoff has reached in the criticism of Widsith are beyond measure valuable; his reasoning is sound and conservative and his discrimination of genuine matter and interpolations can not but be accepted by every student of the poem. Ten Brinck, as we
shall see later, assumes agreement with his conclusions as a matter of course. Wülcker in his Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur, adopts his excision of 75-87 and 131-134, but passes over 14-17, without mention; so strong are the marks of spuriousness in these lines, however, that we shall look with much interest to the second edition of his valuable book, shortly to be published, to see whether this omission has been intentional, or a rare oversight of this careful and brilliant scholar.

In this same direction, another German critic has gone further; Hermann Möller applying his strophic theory to the analysis of Widsith, has endeavored to distinguish accurately between early and late portions of the poem. There is no doubt that Möller has carried this theory too far when he attempts by transposition and ingenious emendation to reproduce the independent songs in Widsith, but his broad divisions and conclusions are highly suggestive. The strophic theory, too, while it undoubtedly has not been established, on the other hand has not been effectually disproved. As in Beowulf so in Widsith, certain parts fall naturally into divisions of four lines, the brevity of the latter poem makes it less noticeable. Ten Brinck as well as Möller, recognizes and accepts this occasional strophic formation, but Möller claims that the sus-
ceptibility of division into the four-lined strophe is a test for discrimination in regard to age; while Ten Brinck though admitting the existence of the strophe, sees here a tendency, an after working of an older phase of poetry, a mark of transition, a condition which preceded the develop-

ment of a great and pure epic style. Möller regards the presence of the strophe as never accidental but as marking out the portion in which it is found as of a different origin from the rest. Ten Brinck holds the occasional appearance of this formation to be, perhaps, a lapse of the poet into a form with whose sound he was familiar and whose echoes were in his mind. Which theory is best held out by the facts is still an open question.

Möller's researches make constant reference to those of Müellenhoff and in many respects agree with them, but he carries his examination much further. Widsith is not a unit but a cycle of songs welded together by a later bard and given a common introduction and end: this is the conclusion to which Möller comes, and the aim of his essay is to separate and reconstruct these various songs on the basis of the four-lined strophe. Müllenhoff had noticed already that 10-13 fell into this form; this is evident, the sense is complete, the strophe definite and rounded. He also suggested that 18-33 could be marked out into four more strophes, of which the first, second and third
would contain eight Kings, the third, six. The first three of these are likewise emphasized by the recurrence of the "meold" in the beginning of the half-strophe. Other critics had remarked the natural strophic form in this part of Widsith but none of them pressed the division further. Möller, on the other hand, claims that almost the whole poem can be made to conform to this arrangement, and on this principle he analyzes it.

The first and genuine Widsith song falls between 50 and 108 beginning, "Swa ic geondferde fela fremdra londa." In the midst we have the interpolation 75-87, already cut out by Müllenhoff, Möller extends this to include 83 & 89.

"And ic waes mid Eormanriczealle thrage,
Thaer me Gotena cyning gode dohte."

These, he holds, introduce a foreign element into this song, they belong more properly with 109-130. Already in line 57 the poet has said he was among the Goths (mid Hreth-Gotum); in addition to this, the omission of these lines makes the, "se," 90- the prince who presented the ring to the bard - Aelfwine (Alboin) and not Eormanric, a more probable event according to Möller; the generosity of Aelfwine has been highly extolled (71-74) and this instance of it would fittingly succeed; there would, too, be especial pertinence in the bestowal by the minstrel upon his lord of a ring received from Aelfwine who was the brother of the queen Ealhhild. The genuine Widsith song, then, com-
orises 50-74 & 90-108: it is a bard's account of his own
wanderings ending with the announcement of his return
home and his reception there. This Möller believes to
have been written in four-lined strophes but the arrange-
ment has been disturbed and vitiating; in his effort at re-
construction, though, the critic often shows an ingenuity
that approaches violence.

It will be impossible to give in detail the changes
suggested in the text of the whole poem, but that there
may be a general understanding of these emendations, the
reconstructed form of the first song will be given.

50(Swa) Ic geondferde felæ
53 freomægum feor
54 forthon ic maegsingan
56 hu me cynegodæ
57 ȳ wæs mid Hûnum
59 Mid Rugum J mid Glömmum
60 Mid Geþnum J mid Winedum
62 Mid Swœom J mid Geþatum
64 Mid Wenlûm J mid Waernum
66 Mid Englûm J mid Swœfum
68 Mid Seaxum J mid Sycgum
70 Mid Froncum J mid Frysum

fremdra londa
folgade wîde,
*]sægan spell
*] = ond
cystum dohten.

J mid Breth Gotum,
J mid Rum-warum,
J mid Gefflegum,
J mid Suth Denum
J mid Wiringum,
J mid Aenenum,
J mid Sweord werum,
J mid Frungingum
Mid Thyringum ic waes 
Mid Burgenduim,
me thaer Guthhere forgeaf
Songes to leane,

Swyle ic waes Eotule
se haeide moncyannes
leohsthete hond
hoertan unhneaweste

He me ðeag forgeaf
(thone beorhtestan,)
onthan siexhund waes
gescyred sceatta

Thone ic Êadgilse
minum hleodryhtne,
leofo to leane
nûnes ðaeder ethel,

Jae tha Fælnhild
...........
...........
dryhtowen duguthe

Byre lor lengde
thonne ic be songe

.......

7mid Throwendum, 
thaer ic beag gethan:
glaedlicne mawthum
naes thaet saene cyning

mid Æelfwine, 
mine geTraege
lofes to wyrcenne, 
hringa gedales.

burgwarena fruma 
beaen Êadwines, 
smaetes goldes 
scylligerime

on æht sealde, 
tha ic to ham bicwom, 
thaes the he me lond
frea Myrginga

otherne forgeaf, 
...........
...........
dohtor Êadwines.

geond londa ðela, 
secgan sceolde,
The principles which guide Möller in this re-arrangement, are the bringing together of geographically related peoples, as in the second strophe — a certain rough consistency is discernible as the poem originally stands; the striking out of unimportant words when the form can be more plainly made out, thus in lines 59-63 he omits, "ic maes" already cancelled by Müllerhoff; and the placing in a clearer form of verses which having a similar sound, he thinks, might have been confused in their delivery, before transcription.

This first song Möller believes to have been written shortly after 880.

The second song consists of lines 88-89+109-130, the first two telling of the bard's stay with Eormanric, cannot be separated from the detailed account of the journey through the land of the Goths; thonan, 109 (from thence) refers to thær, 39.

While it is possible to regard this as an interpolat-
tion, yet weighty external and internal reasons make it more probable that it was a second independent song composed about the same time as the first or a little later, by an Anglian singer, and in imitation of it.

This Möller divides into seven four-lined strophes.

The catalogue of princes 10-54, makes the third song; it is entirely independent of the first one, but belongs with it to a cycle of poems brought over from the Continent to Britain and ascribed to the same wandering bard.

Möller places the date in the beginning or middle of the Sixth Century, but obtains this only by a bold emendation.

Fourth Song:— the verses 35-49 consist of three five-lined strophes, so according to their form as well as their contents do not belong either to what precedes or follows. Möller suggests as the simplest explanation of their origin, that they are the remains of an old five-lined strophe song or perhaps of two such, one relating to Offa, the other to Hrothgar and Hrothwulf and the struggle with the Heathēbards. These were composed probably in the Seventh or Eighth Century in Mercia; they do not belong to the cycle of genuine Widsith songs but they have been suggested to the collator of the whole poem in the Ninth Century possibly by some such line as, "Offa weald Ongle," in the preceding catalogue, and the strophes which were retained in his memory have been added to the list of princes.
The introduction, 1-9, was added by the poet who welded together these songs; viz, 10-34+35-49+50ff. Here alone occurs the name of the bard, rather an appellation than a name but counting as such. The information of his personality which is given could be gleaned from the poems themselves - his birth among the Myrgings (94-98), his favorable reception by the princes, and his visit to Horman-ric; but in the poem as it stands, the bard came to Horman-ric last rather than first. The expression, "easton of Ongle," too, describing the land of the Goths could not have come from the author of the introduction, it is undoubtedly very old. The whole of these lines,

Hreth cyninges
ham geschte
eastan of Ongle
Hormanrices.

Möller assumes has been taken over from the opening of the second Widsith song and made to serve as an introduction to the whole.

Of the two conclusions, 131-134 is a four-lined strophe and is expressed in the first person, on both these grounds, Möller holds it to be the older but it was originally placed after line 108.

In the development of the present form of the poem, Möller assumes two interpolators; - the first one, A, had before him, the catalogue of princes, 10-34 and the genuine Widsith song 50-74+90-108, in the former, he inserted
14-17 and in the latter 75-87, affixing also the conclusion, 131-134; this probably took place in the Eighth Century, and before the Danish inroads. A second interpolator, B, welded into this the journey through the land of the Goths 89, 89+109-130, added the episode in 35-49, removed 131-134 to the end, then affixed to the whole a general introduction and conclusion.

Müllenhorf and Möller have approached the analysis of Widsith from different sides; Müllenhorf discriminating on the basis of matter, Möller, on that of form. It is interesting to note Möller's entire agreement with Müllenhorf in assuming 14-17; 75-87; 131-134 to be interpolations and by the same hand; Müllenhorf stops short here, but Möller pushes the analysis further.

In considering Möller's theory, there are two distinct questions we must not confuse; is the theory itself sound, and are the divisions of the poem he makes on this basis, warranted. As to the latter, his bold transpositions, his hard and fast lines, the positive tone of his conclusions challenge question, but in regard to the former, that the poem contains fragments of several old songs, we must hold the matter as still unsettled.

It is but just to say that the preceding summary has presented only Möller's conclusions, his arrangement in strophes, except in the first song, it has been impossible to show; it is in the application of his theory that his violence to the text is manifest.
We must remember, however, that the alternative is not between the song theory and one authorship for the whole poem. Ten Brinck, in his Early English Literature, suggests in a few thoughtful words a more conservative view, that of gradual almost involuntary change and accretion.

"Widsith who was in Italy with Alboin, 589, must have spoken" when the immigration of the German tribes into England had virtually ceased. If his reminiscences reach back to a period when the English still dwelt in their original home, if, generally speaking, the personages who appear in his narration, even when they are brought into mutual relation, partly belong to very diverse times, this merely proves that Widsith is a typical figure, the wandering glee-man of the German heroic age. But if, in the enumeration of the peoples, the position as to the primitive abode of the English is authoritative, this may perhaps be explained only by the theory that the ground-work of the poem really descends from this early age, and that consequently it was not composed by a single poet, but grew up gradually; no account is here taken of the interpolations added by an English writer in the Christian time and which criticism has eliminated."

Wülder, in his Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Literatur, sums up the various views of Widsith and apparently embodies therein his own theory:

"Widsith must be regarded as the ideal representative of
the guild of singers, to whose name is united a catalogue of kings and heroes who were known through the Sagas. The basis of the poem is very old, belongs indeed to the oldest that we have of Anglo-Saxon poems. The older portion of the poem points decidedly to the time when the Anglo-Saxons were still on the Continent. In general can we agree with Müllenhoff, who regards the introduction, 1-9, the lines 75-87, and the conclusion 131-134 as later interpolations. Perhaps these interpolations arose in order to make a kind of description of the earth. There is no ground for thinking that the poem is a fragment of an epic or that (in Widsith) there is a mythologic reference (to Odin)."

On these moderate views the most acceptable theory as to the structure of the poem can be based. The singer Widsith we must regard not as a distinct personality but as a type, with whose name the poem as it gradually took form came to be associated. The introduction 1-9, lines 14-17, 75-87, and 131-134 are certainly interpolations. It is impossible with the present data to separate the remaining portions into earlier and later parts, nor can the process of development be authoritatively decided. There are marked divisions in the poem; while a separation into distinct poems is not warranted, yet there is a presumption that there is incorporated here the remains of several old songs. A gradual process of development would in-
The guild of singers, to whose name is united a catalogue of kings and heroes who were known through the Sagas. The basis of the poem is very old, belongs indeed to the oldest that we have of Anglo-Saxon poems. The older portion of the poem points decidedly to the time when the Anglo-Saxons were still on the Continent. In general can we agree with Müllenhoff, who regards the introduction, 1-9, the lines 75-87, and the conclusion 131-134 as later interpolations. Perhaps these interpolations arose in order to make a kind of description of the earth. There is no ground for thinking that the poem is a fragment of an epic or that (in Widsith) there is a mythologic reference (to Odin)."

On these moderate views the most acceptable theory as to the structure of the poem can be based. The singer Widsith we must regard not as a distinct personality but as a type, with whose name the poem as it gradually took form came to be associated. The introduction 1-9, lines 14-17, 75-87, and 131-134 are certainly interpolations. It is impossible with the present data to separate the remaining portions into earlier and later parts, nor can the process of development be authoritatively decided. There are marked divisions in the poem; while a separation into distinct poems is not warranted, yet there is a presumption that there is incorporated here the remains of several old songs. A gradual process of development would in-
The Mythological, Historical and Geographical References.

Fifty years ago Thorpe said of the poem of Widsith, that it was eminently calculated to excite without gratifying curiosity, since that time investigators have been busy with the various problems in Anglo-Saxon Literature and a flood of light has been thrown upon them. Widsith has received its share in the general illumination, but one must still feel that the great interest it arouses, is in some measure destined to be baffled. It consists largely of lists of bare names—names which must have been loaded with association to the Anglo-Saxon mind, but to us they yield their signification only after close research; while in many cases we may be assured that our conclusions are well grounded, in others, the results can not be regarded as certain.

Critics have been guided in their investigations by a comparison with other Anglo-Saxon poems and with Teutonic and Norse Sagas. Widsith undoubtedly brings together princes and peoples widely known and famous, so when we come upon a name celebrated in song or story which corresponds to one in Widsith, we are justified in assuming their identity.

These names, too, cannot have been arbitrarily thrown
together, there must be some relation between those connected in the catalogue, a union either in saga, in history or by geographical position; the very law of association in the human mind would make such a relation inevitable. This assumption aids us in the elucidation of several names hopelessly obscure if taken by themselves.

In the consideration of the references, in general the views of each scholar will be given; this is the more feasible since with the exception of ¹Müllenhoff and ²Möller, critics have been content with occasional suggestions. The explanations of Gonybeare, the earliest worker, have in many cases been superseded. In some measure this is true of Thorpe, though in far less degree. Guest's views, it must be remembered, are colored by his belief that the princes mentioned are contemporaneous or very nearly so. Morley's interpretations have been based almost entirely on those of Thorpe, so that his comments will be given only in the few cases where they vary from the Codex. In connection with the statement of the allusions, a brief sketch of the saga referred to will be given.

So far as possible the order of treatment, will be the order of mention in the poem, special difficulty lies here in the fact that the same prince is mentioned in different portions of the poem in different relations; for convenience of reference it seems best to give in each case the particular aspect of the Saga in its proper position

¹Haupt XI. 275
²Moller Volks epos I.
rather than to group the references to each prince under one head. The consideration of the interpolated passages will be postponed until the end.

The authorities consulted in the investigation will be appended.
Introduction.

Our poem opens at once with the name of the poet, Widsith, Far Traveler, a significant appellation and characteristic of the tendency of early ages to give to gods, heroes and to singers, names indicative of their position, their manner of life or their art, so we have among the Greeks, Phemios, Demodokos, Musaios, Hymolpos.

Widsith was born among the Myrgings: this people was undoubtedly an important branch of the great tribe of the Sevi, and touched upon the Angles. The detailed discussion of their geographical position will be given with that on the Engle and Swaele where the peoples are mentioned together, lines 22. 23:

Walthild later in the poem (98) is spoken of as the daughter of Eadwine (Auduin, King of the Lombards) and as the wife of Eadgils, ruler of the Myrgings. Of her and her husband, we have no other mention in history or saga, but by their close connection with Auduin, are we not justified in assuming, with Müllenhoff, for them also, historic reality though in Widsith the place of Walthild is half mythic, connecting the Lombard Sixth Century King with the Gothic leader Eormanric of the Fourth Century.

The expression, "eastan of Ongle," for the Kingdom of the Goths, would indicate the position that people held up to about the middle of the Third Century, on the shores of the Baltic about the Frische Haff, and on the east bank of...
the Vistula. The location of the Goths as “eastan of On-
gle,” is most important as showing that whatever later
accretions there are in Widsith, the germ of the poem goes
back to the earliest times: this expression, indeed, may
possibly be an ancient traditionary epic formula for the
situation of this people.

Of Eormanric we have repeated mention, each time a
different phase of the many legends about him is shown.
The historic Eormanric was of the Amaling dynasty and
proclaimed King of the Ostrogoths in 350, his predecessors
had made the Gothic nation formidable by their marauding
expeditions and their constant migrations attended with
struggles to gain a new home. Eormanric conceived the
ambitious idea of founding a stable Kingdom. One after
another the surrounding nations acknowledged his sove-
reignty, among them the Heruli and the Venedi, until his
rule extended from the Danube to the Baltic; but his em-
pire was rather a loose confederacy than a homogeneous
Kingdom and on the appearance of the Huns at the fron-
tiers in the old age of the monarch it began to fall to
pieces; the Historians tell us Eormanric committed suicide.

The especial legends with reference to Eormanric
will be given in their appropriate place; here is to be
noted only the remarkable change by which the historic
ruler became in Teutonic legend, the representative of
faithlessness, cruelty and rapacity; the introduction to
Widsith calls him "wrathes waerlogan," compare with the mention of him in the Anglo-Saxon poem, Deor's Lament.

"We geascodan Eormanric
wylfenne gethoht: ahte wide folc
Gotena rices; thaet waes grim cyning.
Saet seog monig sorgum gebundun,
wean on wenan, wyscte geneahne,
thaet thaes cynerices ofercumen waere."

"We learned through inquiry of the wolfish thought of Eormanric: he had the wide-spread people of the Kingdom of the Goths; that was a fierce King. Many a man sat chained with sorrows, in expectation of woe, wished often that this Kingdom might be overcome (it might be overcome as to this Kingdom)."

This fierceness, this wolfish thought, this oppressive cruelty are the invariable characteristics of the legendary Eormanric and mark the passages in which they are found as preserving references to Saga, not to History.

The Catalogue of Princes.

First in the catalogue of princes are named four Kings in the East, on the Baltic, who are connected in saga.

Aetla weold Hunum, Eormanric Gotum
Becca Baningum, Burgendum Gifica.

Aetla (=Attila), became monarch of the Huns in 453; this people was already formidable by the overwhelming
numbers and ruthlessness; Attila brought to their rule superior mental force, quickness and pliability, and by his adoption of civilized methods of warfare, made them irresistible. The extent of his Kingdom was enormous; Gibbon tells us it included Germany and Scythia; the Franks recognized his supremacy, he almost exterminated the Burgundians and subdued the Kingdom of Scandinavia; in the East his rule extended to the Volga; the Gepidae and Ostrogoths were subject nations and he dictated terms to the Romans. He was finally defeated at Chalons in 451 by Theodric the Visigoth, and Aetius: and in 453 he died.

The power and resistlessness of Attila so impressed itself on the Teutonic mind, that he became one of the chief figures in Germanic Saga. So interwoven are the two names of Attila and Eormanric with every legendary event, that to touch any thread of story would seem to involve the gathering together of the whole net-work of legend. In all these events, Attila is the representative of everything connected with the Huns; he is most conspicuous in the account of the destruction of the Burgundians, given in the second part of the Nibelungenlied. The historical fact is, that the empire of the Burgundians on the upper Rhine - founded in 400 - was overthrown by the Roman general Aetius and his Hunnish allies in 437 and the people almost annihilated. The legendary account confuses the Burgundians with the mythical tribe of the Nibe-
lungen, makes Attila the agent of their destruction, and its motive the revenge of Chriemhild for the murder of Siegfried. It enlarges the significance of the event, also, and from a battle between two forces makes it a gigantic struggle involving the destruction of all the heroes concerned.

The meagre account which follows aims only to bring out the connection of Attila with the story.

After the death of Siegfried, Etzel (Attila) woos Chriemhild, she consents to marry him and departs for the land of the Huns, cherishing in her heart purposes of revenge on Hagen the murderer of Siegfried, and her brothers, Gunther, Gernot and Giselher who had plotted it. For thirteen years, she remains at Etzel's court; at last she prays him to send to her kinsmen on the Rhine and invite them to a feast; this is done. The Burgundians though warned by evil dreams and by many councillors, set out for the land of the Huns. After many incidents, they arrive at Etzel's court. Chriemhild greets the heroes but kisses only Giselher, her younger brother. Hagen and Volker realize the hostile attitude and the whole host is expectant of a struggle. After the feast, the Burgundians betake themselves to the hall assigned them, Hagen and Volker hold watch and frustrate a proposed night-attack on the part of the Huns. The following day the battle begins, the slaughter on both sides is terrific; it continues
until all the Burgundians are slain but Gunther and Hagen. Chriemhild then demands from Hagen possession of the Hildebrand hoard which had belonged to Siegfried and should have reverted to her on his death. Hagen refuses to tell the secret until Gunther is killed and on being assured of his death, rejoices in the fact that he alone now holds this knowledge and announces that it shall never be revealed. Chriemhild in anger seizes the sword and kills him with her own hand.

The historic account of Eormanric has been given. The mention of Becca points without doubt to the Northern legend in regard to his death.

After the destruction of Atli (Etzel, Attila) Guðrun - the Chriemhild of the German legend - plunges into the sea, the high waves bore her up against her will and she reached the land of Iónakr, whom she married. Three sons are born to her, Sórli, Hamdir (Hamtheow), and Ærp, along with the Svanhild, the daughter of Sigurd and Guðrun grows up, "the maid-child - whiter than a sunbeam in a bright day?"

The aged and powerful King of the Goths YÐrmunrek (Eormanric) sends his son Randver with Bicci to woo her for him. Guðrun consents to Svanhild's departure; on the way home, Bicci instigates the youth to keep the bride for himself and then betrays them both to the King. Eormanric aroused to wrath causes Randver to be hung and Svanhild to be torn in pieces by horses. Guðrun, when she learns of her
daughter's fate "eggs on" her sons to vengeance and gives
her magic coats of mail. On the way, Sörli and Hamdir
kill Erp because they unjustly imagine he will not sup-
port them. They fall upon Yormunrek by night, "no iron
will bite their mail," so they slay the Goths on the
right and the left. Sörli cuts off the feet of the King
and Hamdir his knees but Erp is not there who should cut
off his head, so they can not kill him. "Then the god-
sprung King roared mightily, as a bear roars, out of his
harness: "Stone ye these fellows, these sons of Ionakr, that
spears will not bite nor sword-edge nor arrows . . . .
Sörli fell at the gable of the hall, and Hamtheow sank
down at the back of the house."

Both Thorpe and Müllenhoff regard the Becca who
ruled the Banings as the Bicci of this legend. The Ban-
ings, according to Müllenhoff, are a fictitious tribe sug-
gested probably by the saga, the name is a patronymic de-
ived from A.S. bana slayer, murderer, like Fosiskai from
Fosiskj,.

Gifica, the Burgundian King, is in German legend, Gib-
ich the father of Gunther, Gernot, Giselher and Chriemhild,
and the mention of him would seem to come appropriately
in connection with Attila. Müllenhoff, however, while not-
ing the close relationship of Attila, Eormanric and Becca,
regards Gifica as an intrusion in this group; he with
Guest and Thorpe quotes the mention in the Lex Burgundio-
Haupt T.S. X.164.
of the Kings Gibica, Gislaharius, Gothomarus and Gunda-

harius; Gibica may then have been an historic king living
not later than the Fourth Century. Wackernagel claims
that the alliteration of these names points to a back-
ground of Saga & poetry and that they can not be taken as
historical. Jacob Grimm derives Gibico from Goth. Giba,
giver, O.H.G. Kēpo, the diminutive adding to the signifi-
cation, only the idea of the dear, good giver. Gibico was
placed at the head of the Burgundian Kings and Grimm sug-
gests that if not a god he is a divine hero closely al-
lied to Wotan. Mü llenhoff in Haupt § 5. 1.572 quotes
this view.

Casere weold Crecum and Caelic Finnun.

Thorpe translates the first half of this line, Caesar Casere, Caelic 20
ruled the Greeks; Guest, the Kaiser ruled the Creeks (Greeks)
Mü llenhoff suggests that both Cæsere and Caelic may be-
long to the cycle of the Eormanric and Attila sagas, but
this is improbable; he says, that according to the Gothic
sagas in Jordanes, all the race of Finns was subject to
Eormanric, and that Casere as a son of Wōden is placed at
the head of the East-anglian genealogy but by this Casere
the Roman emperor of the West was probably meant.

Hægena Holmrygum and Heoden Glommum.

The manuscript reading of this line was,-

Hægena Holmrygum and Henden Glommum,
but in 69, we have,

Mid Rugum ic waes and mid Glommum.
Jacob Grimm suggested the reading Holmrygum for the former place, and this has been adopted by Rieger, Wülcker, Illenhoff and Möller.

Thorpe basing his remarks on the old reading says he is inclined to give to the word "Holm" the Norse signification of "island" rather than the Anglo-Saxon one of "sea," and to make the territory of the Holmrycs consist of some of the islands lying off the coast of Jutland; the emendation would make this unnecessary, Holmragas would be Sea Rugs, as in Beowulf we have Saegeatas (1851, 1967).

Commenting on line 69, Thorpe quotes Ettermüller's supposition that the Rugs are the Ryggi, or inhabitants of Rogaland on the Bukkelfjord in Norway, he himself suggests the possibility of there being the inhabitants of Rugen, and he Glommen, he regards, as a tribe dwelling on the banks of its Glommen, a river rising in the mountains southeast of Trondhjem.

Möller places the Holmrrugs on the south coast of the East Sea and quotes Jordanes (cap. 4.), "Ulmerugi, qui tunc Osani ripas insindebant."

Müllenhoff notes that the connection in which the Rugs are named in 21 would suggest that they were still in their original places on the East Sea, in 39, their association with Rum-walas (Romans) would place them in their later possessions on the Danube, whence they were scattered by Odoacer, and whence the horde went with Theodoric the Ostrogoth to Italy where the name disappears in history.
In the same line (21), Jacob Grimm suggests the reading Hœden for Henden: there is no instance of a proper name Henden, by making the emendation, we gain a long list of correspondents. A.S. Hœden, Hœden is O.H.G. Hœtan, this is both used as a simple proper name and in compounds -Old S. Hœdan, O.N. Hethinn. Saxo Grammaticus has, Hithinus rex aliquantae Norvagiensium gentis, Hoginus, Jurorum regulus."

The wide spread legend of the Everlasting Battle connects the names of Hethin (Hœden) and Högni (Hagena). It has been variously localized, Saxo places it in Hithinsö, by which he probably means Hethinsey (modern Hiddensee) northwest of Rügen, Snorri places it in the Orkneys, his version is given in the following.

The King Högni had a daughter whose name was Hild; while he was away at the King's-moot, Hethin, the son of Hœrand, made a descent upon the land, harried it and carried off the daughter, then set sail with her northwards up the coast. King Hagena followed in pursuit, when he came to the island Hoy, one of the Orkneys, he found Hethin with his son of war. Then Hild offered her father on Hethin's behalf, a necklace for peace but her words were for battle and Hagena answered her stiffly, so she returned to Hethin and told him Hagena would have no peace. Then the King's made ready for the contest, but Hethin called to his father-in-law and offered him peace, once
Hagen refused it, for he had drawn his sword Dains-
lon, that was "fated to be a man's death every time it
was made bare, never swerved from its stroke and its wound
never healed;" but Hethin called in return for this boast
"thou shalt brag of the sword but not of the victory;" so
the battle began and continued until evening, then the
kings returned to their ships, but Hild during the night,
by her enchantment brought to life all that had been
dead, and the next day the battle was renewed, so it went
on from day to day, and the legend says, so it shall con-
tinue until the Doom of the Powers.

Thorpe in the Codex had pointed out the reference to
this saga in these two names, and Morley enlarging on the
suggestion, gives a brief account of it. Mullenhoff a-
cepts the allusion as just, but Möller is inclined to
doubt it.

Witta weold Swaefum Wada Haelsingum
Meaca Myrgingum, Mearchealf Hundingum.

The Swae's over whom Witta ruled, must be considered Swaefum 22 41.61
in the same position as the Suevi of the First Century, on Myrtingum 23 42.98
the Elbe and the Oder. Möller holds the Swae's(22) in the
list of princes to be used in a narrow sense as the cen-
tral people of the great Suabian stock, in line 23 we have
the Myrginges spoken of, again in 42.44, we have these two
names brought into juxtaposition.

one sweorde
merce gemaeerde wit Myrtingum
bi Fiefoldore; heoldon forðsith than
Engle and Swaete swa hit Offa geslog
In line 61 we have
Mid Englum ic waes and mid Swaeum.
In 96, Eadgils is spoken of as “frea Myrginga,” and
in 4, the bard has his origin “from Myrgingum,” in 138 the
doncan gedryht With - Myrginga is spoken of in connec-
tion with Æormanric.
Möller holds, in general that Swea's, Suevi, is the
comprehensive name for a great Teutonic stock of which
the Myrginges were the most Northern tribe including all
the Suebian peoples north of the Elbe, and bordering on
the Angles.
With this locality for the Myrginges, Müllenhoff
agrees referring to the map of the Cosmography of Raven-
ra in which the country about the Elbe lying on the East,
from the Danube to the East Sea, or rather the remnant of
the German peoples living therein the Fifth or Sixth Cen-
tury, went under the collective name, Maurungani. He con-
siders that there is no doubt of the philological identi-
ity of the names Maurungi, Mauringi and Myrgingas, but he
regards the Myrginges as a distinct tribe from the Suevi.
Leo, Estmüller, Guest, and Morley all agree in placing
the Myrginges in Maurunga land. Morley adds that Jornan-
des in his Gothic History, written 552, includes the Merens
among the tribes subdued by Æormanric and these may be
the Myrgings.
Thorpe makes the Helsings a Scandinavian people who have left traces of their name in Helsingborg, opposite Helsingör (Elsinore), Helsingfors, Helsingland, the last named lies in the northeast of Sweden about Geile and he thinks it was over this, Wada probably held sway.

Müllenhoff notes that Helsingör and Helsingborg and Helsinggaland - the latter first colonized from Norway in the Tenth Century and then named - show only that the name was known in the North.

In another article, the same critic tells us that according to the order of the song, the Helsings and Swaeft can only be in the East Sea, the Helsings apparently on both sides; but in a later number of Haupt's Verkohrift, he is inclined to believe the Helsings an entirely mythic race.

Müllenhoff suggests that there probably existed a saga that connected Witta and Wada and refers to a North Schleswig folk legend, which binds the names together, but applies them to a pair of dwarfs.

The name Wada appears in many Northern and German Sagas, analyzing the idea connected with it, there is always found association with the sea. Wada suggests, indeed, waten to wade, Helsingas, O.N. Helsinggar must be derived from held (colum) but this signifies also the prow, the part of the ship where the steerer sits. The mythical Wada must have been a sea-giant, a masterful sea man,
wild and uncontrollable; in the folk sagas, he plays the part of a heathen Christopher. One relates that at the mouth of the Elbe an old giant dwells in the water, in stormy weather he carries over those to whose call no one else responds and sets them on the other side; he takes no passage money but wanders ever back and forth. Under this form doubtless an old nature-myth is preserved, the sea-giant wading from shore to shore represents the regular change of ebb and flow.

The name Meaca is related to the A.S. gemaca; Old S. gizaco; O.H.G. gamahhio, a companion, the A.S. maca, O.N. maki are also found with the same meaning; Mearchealf may signify one who shares rule with another or taking the A.S. ealh, O.H.G. halba, in the meaning side, it may mean a prince who rules a neighboring country.

Thorpe says the Hundings were probably the people of Hundland; the editors of the Copenhagen edition of Saemund's Edda place it in Jutland in the diocese of Aalborg on the strength of the local names Hundborg, Hundsland. He also quotes Lappendberg's supposition that they dwelt near Blarmelanda the country about the Dwina, in the White Sea, since the two names appear in conjunction.

Mullenhoff asserts that the Hundings were an historical race of princes among some people on the South coast of the East Sea, concluding this from the Northern ballads of *Helgi Hundingsbani. He derives the name not from hund, a dog, but hund, hundred.
Müllenhoff notes here that up to this point, line 24, the stand point has been that of the Myrting singer, from on we have the Anglo-Saxon Sagas of the Cimbric peninsula.

Theodric would Froncum.

With Theodric who ruled the Franks, we come to the ground of History; he was the oldest son of Chlodowech (Clovis), and on the death of his father in 511, he received as his share in the partition of the Kingdom, the district afterwards called Austrasia; it lay between the Meuse and the Rhine, but extended beyond the upper Meuse, so as to include part of modern Champagne, and beyond the upper Rhine embracing the Palatinate and even part of Switzerland. He made Metz his capital and is usually called King of that city.

While the mention in Widsith does not suggest this reference yet the special interest of Theodoric for us lies in his relation to Hygelac, King of the Geats in Beowulf. In 520 the Danish or Jutish King Chochilaiicus made a plundering expedition into the district of the Hattuador, the modern Geldern, at the command of Theodoric, Theobert his son hastened thither with an army, killed the King and recovered the booty. The identity of Chochilaiicus and Hygelac has been fully proved and this expedition is the one described in Beowulf 235ff., which Hygelac with Beowulf undertook into the land of the Frisians - the allied Frisians, Hugas & the Heptware opposed him.
"No theaet laesest waes hondgemot, thaer mon Hygelac sloh, syththan Geata cyning guthe raesum, freawine folces Freslondum on, Hrethles earora hiorodryncum swealt, bille se beaten. Theman Riowulf com sylfes craefte, sundnytte dreah: haefde him on earme ana thrittel hildegeatwa, tha he to holme st gig."

"That was not the least of hand to hand combats when they slew Hygelac, when the King of the Geats, in the rush of battle, the dear lord of the people, in the land of the Frisians, the offspring of Hrethel, died through the drink of the sword (blood shed by the sword), struck down by the battle axe. Thence Beowulf came away by his own strength, he used his power of swimming; he had on his arm alone thirty pieces of armor, when he plunged into the sea."

Theodoric died in 584 and was succeeded by Theodoric who, in happier times would have won lasting fame. Gregory calls him, elegante in et utilam, and praises his justice and mildness,

Thyle(weold)Holdingum.

Of Thyle who ruled the Rondings, Müllenhoff tells us Thyle, Holdingum. People and prince are alike fictitious. Thyle (of O.N. Thulé-sorator) is the name of a court office in Beowulf 1166, 1487. Hunferth is spoken of as thyle Hrothgares. Ronding, O.H.G. Ranting would be shieldmen.
Breocaweold) Brondingum.

It is a striking feature of the poem of Widsith, that mention is made of the leading heroes in the Beowulf epics. The sole princes in this catalogue, down to the episode of Hrothgar and Hrothwulf, are Ongendtheow ruler of the Swedes and Breoca prince of the Brondings, for, although no detail in reference to these heroes is given in Widsith, the exact correspondence in the names both of princes and peoples assures us that they are the same in the epic as in the poem.

The swimming contest of Breca with Beowulf is given in the epic 520ff. as a youthful adventure of that hero. Eadmerth the "Thyle" or Hrothgar challenges Beowulf's assertion as to his strength and prowess, recalling the match Moller p.22. with Breca and giving a version favorable to the prince of the Brondings. Beowulf, then, recounts the story. Sarrazin p.66. Ten Brinck p.35.36

While yet youths they challenged each other to a trial of strength, fully armed and holding the naked sword in the hands, they plunged into the waves, the sea was rough and wintry, the wind from the north, for five nights they were together, then the flood drove them apart. Huge sea monsters opposed Beowulf, nine of the "nicors" he slew, at last the morning light came, and he reached the land of the Finns.

Moller sees in this a nature myth, signifying the warm current of the Gulf-stream, flowing northwards along
The enemies against whom Beowulf must guard himself, are the Polar stream coming from Spitzbergen, which bears ice bergs. Eventually the colder current sinks out of sight beneath the warm one.

Sarazzin justly objects to this as implying far more knowledge of the phenomena of nature than the Scandinavian of primitive times would have. He explains it rather as the development of the Balder myth; the sinking of the sun in the waves, leaves behind it a reflection on Midsummer nights, which moves toward the North, so the significance would be that the sun-god swims more quickly than any other being, even than the foaming (brandende) waves (Breoca).

Müllenhoff suggests a comparison of the swimming of Beowulf, armed apparently for the purpose of overcoming the roughness and tempestuousness of the sea in order that it might be made navigable, with the contest in which Freyr overcomes the giant Beli, the son of the giant Æmir (the Winter storms), and stills the sea and obtains a good wind.

The critics of Beowulf are agreed in regarding the swimming contest of Breca as a myth, carried over to the hero of Beowulf and connected with him probably because he was a famous swimmer.

Of the Brondings, Müllenhoff says, Brandingi is the name of a Northern giant. O. N. brandi signifies prow, so
Rounding may be of like etymological signification with Halsing.

Billing (weold) Wernum

Grimm tells us the race of the Billings or Billungs, Billing.

"Those mythic relations are not now discoverable," were Deutsche Mythologie flourishing in the Tenth or Eleventh Centuries in Germany. I. 373.

Guest, Thorpe, Müllenhoff and Möller hold the Waerns Waerns 25. to be the Varini of Tacitus. Müllenhoff, Nordalbingische Studien I. 129, places the Varini in a northerly direction from the Anglii.

Oswine weold Eowun and Ytum Gerwulf

Fin Folowalding Fresna Cynne.

Sigehere lengest Sae. Denum weold, 

Hnaef Hocingum, Helm Wulfingum,

Wald Woingum, Wod Thyringum,

Saeferth Sycgum, Sceafa Longbeardum,

Hun Haetwerum and Helen Wrosnum,

Hringweald waes haten Herefarena cyning.

Several of the names in this excerpt have so great a resemblance to those in the Fragment of the Battle of Finnsburg and the episode in Beowulf, which tells of the same event (1090ff), that we can conclude without hesitation that the author of this catalogue of princes has taken them over from some form of the Finn Saga.

More than that Müllenhoff suggests & Möller supports Möller p 46ff. that besides those names immediately recognizable as
suggested in this way, it may be that others connected
with them in Widsith belong to the same legend but have
escaped enumeration in the narrations preserved to us, so
that in Widsith we have traces of a fuller and truer ac-
count of the events.

No problem in all Anglo-Saxon Literature has vexed
scholars more than the just relation of the Finn episode
and fragment, and in consequence the sequence of incidents
in the story of Finn. The episode strikes at once as is (Bugge P & B. XII.
usual in Anglo-Saxon narration, into the heart of the oc-
currence and assumes previous knowledge on the part of
the hearers. A battle has taken place between the fol-
lowers of Hnaef the Soylding, the son of Hace, King of the
Eoteks, and the Frisians under Finn, his brother-in-law.
Hnaef has fallen but Finn's forces are so weakened that
neither side can claim the victory and a compact of peace
is made between Hengest, Hnaef's successor and Finn. The
Soyldings were the invading party, and Finn grants them a
hall and high-seat and in the distribution of rings, they
are to have equal share with his own followers, then the
funeral pyre is raised, Hnaef is burned and with him the
son of Hildeburh, his sister, and Finn. Hengest his suc-
cessor remains all winter with Finn, but his thoughts are
upon revenge and in the spring on the return of two of
his comrades Guthlac and Óslaf from a sea-voyage, a second
time
and carried to the ships and the Scyldings set sail bearing away much booty from the home of Finn.

The Fragment of the Battle of Finnsburg, is a spirited account of one of the combats between the Scyldings and Hengest and the forces of Finn. Hengest's band is within the hall, his comrades, Sigeferth, the prince of the Saxons, and Haha hold one door, Ordalfr & Guthlar, the other and Hengest with them. Two other warriors are named Garulf & Guthere, presumably on the side of the Frisians.

The battle rages fiercely five days. Garulf falls and another unnamed warrior drags himself wounded away, but the abrupt breaking off of the Fragment forbids any certain knowledge of the result.

Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the story, Möller and Bugge represent the latest theories. Möller's version has been evolved by a comparison of the features in the account we have, with the Frey-mythus, the Hildsaga and a legend preserved in the Island of Sylt, all of which have striking resemblance to the story of Finn.

In brief it is as follows—

Finn has carried away Hildeburh the daughter of Hōc and in the battle by which he affected this, many of Hōc's men and probably Hōc himself have fallen, so that revenge has been deferred until a new generation grows up. At the time of the episode, Hnaerf, son of Hōc, and his successor as King of the Eotens, has entered the land of the
Hsiians and attacked Finn; in this battle, Hnaer is slain of Finn's son, and a treaty is entered into between the sides, but it is rather an armed neutrality than a peace. Hengest, Hnaer's successor remains with Finn through the winter, but broods on revenge, Finn's followers are suspicious of the designs of Hengest and to frustrate him, attack him in the hall, the Fragment describes this battle, Hengest is killed, Guthlaf and Oslaf escape and go but return with fresh troops, when a third battle takes place in which Finn is slain, his possessions seized by the Htens and Hildeburgh carried home to her own land.

Bugge believes the fragment preceded the episode and that it described the battle in which Hnaer fell, thereafter follow the occurrences mentioned in the episode, the treaty, the burning of Hnaer & of Hildeburgh's son; Hengest then becomes a liegeman of Finn and receives permission to go to his own home Denmark, for the ostensible purpose of bringing gifts to Finn; he returns to Friesland with a new and strong band of Danes of which Guthlaf and Oslaf are named, these are all received without suspicion, whereupon the final battle mentioned in the episode, takes place ending in the death of Finn and overthrow of the Hsiians.

As in Beowulf, so in the Finn story, there is doubtless an intermixture of Saga and of History, a carrying of mythical features to an historical event. In the geneal-
Finn is a personification of the God Freyr, and as Möller has shown, there is a strong resemblance between his Frey Myth and the Finn Saga. But there is also an historical basis for the incidents commemorated in this story; this Möller believes to have been an expedition of Chaukian tribes in conjunction with Saxon and Anglian North Sea peoples, that is of all non-Friesen Ingvaesones Grimm Deutsche Mythologie I.345. of the whole North Sea coast from the Chauki to the Arne-Mythologie I.345.
is against the Frisians; this took place sometime between the second and fifth centuries.

To return to our consideration of Widsith - and in discussing these references it will be necessary to deviate from the order in the poem - in line 27, we have Finn Mawalding(weold)Fresna cynne, line 29, Hnaer(weold)Hocingum thus giving the two leaders in the Finn contest.

The Hocings were a race of the Chauci-Hoc-and Chauc-Hocingum 29. etymologically identical - one of the leading tribes, afterwards invaded and gained possession of England, settling in Northumbria, Kent and a portion of Wessex and Sussex.

Line 31, we have Sæferth(weold)Sygum, corresponding to Sigereth, prince of the Seogena(Finn 24), an ally of Sægest.

Möller holds the Seogs to be East-Saxons having their origin in the land between the Elbe and the Eider, their place in the Catalogue before the Langobards, and
after the Angles and Suevi, would seem to indicate a position in Ditmarschen, they were northeast of the other Saxons and immediately south of the Anglian tribes. They settled in England, the land between the Thames and the Severn.

Oswine who ruled the Eowes recalls Oslaf of the Finn episode (Beow. 1143) and Orðr in the Fragment (§ 16). Eowulf suggests Eaha (Frag. 15) Ea = Eaha (O. H. G. Cuwo) [The names Óla and Osmóld follow each other as father and son in the Mercian Genealogy]. If we assume a change of eo and ea, Haupt VII. 411 as in Beow (Beawa), Beowulf, and a weak form of the Nomina-

tive, we would have A. S. Eawan (Eowan) = Assorian or Tacitus, is island dwellers, and we can with propriety regard these princes and people as belonging to this Saga.

The Ytum over whom Gefwulf ruled, Müllenhoff implies Ytum 26. were Jutes.

Koller believes that they were not Jutes but belonged to a Chaucian stock, that which afterwards possessed Kent. Yte comes from Prim. G. Eut; Juten is derived from a primitive Germ. stem Jeuto-z. When the name had ceased to be applied to a living tribe, it became confused with Geotas and this was held to be identical with Jutes. The Yte may fittingly have been one of the peoples belonging to the Finn Saga, left unmentioned in our accounts.

Sceafthere who ruled the Ymbres, Müllenhoff regards Sceafthere 32. as a mythical personage, a personification such as the names Scild and Helm are.
Möller holds his people as without doubt belonging to the Finn cycle. Ymbri=Ambrones, they were a branch of the Chauci, their name remains in the district Ambria, Ambrland, west of the Weser. The Chaucian Ambrones, Möller says, took possession of Deira in Yorkshire, for Nennius in the following notice of a baptism of the people in 277—"per quadraginta dies non cessavit baptizare omnes Ambrornum." Ten Brinck notes, however, that the account of this baptism occurs in Beda II.14 but there refers to Bernicians.

Both Wald and Woing, Müllenhoff regards as epic fictions when treating of them in his article in Haupt's XI. Wald signifying Tyrannus; Woing from A.S. wóh, crooked, depraved.

Möller supporting a view advanced by Müllenhoff in his earlier work, Nordalbingische Studien, derives Wótã - from Welsh - and makes this people the inhabitants of the island and stretch of country Wangia - Wange, modern Wangelge and Wangerland. They were a Chaucian branch who settled west of the Western mouth of the Weser. Möller regards them as without doubt belonging to the opponents of Finn.

Müllenhoff, in Haupt Z.S. XI, regards both Hringweald and the Herefaries as epic fictions. Herefare is a fitting appellative for a warrior, and ring distributor would be a just tittle for a prince.
Moller (p 30) comparing this name with that in the Sylt legend, which he regards as holding genuine traces of the Finn Saga, is led to think that Hringweald corresponds to Ring, the chieftain who in that legend took part in the battle against Finn, was wounded and died on the way home; and his ship are said to be buried in Ringhoog. Ring could be a shortened form of Hringweald. The Herekeusis are the name for a pirate people just as Ascomanni, Adam, are the men of the ashen ships. Since the Saxons with the Chauci were the pirates of the Fourth and Fifth centuries, Hringweald might well belong to one of those peoples, hence he would be an opponent of Finn. On the strength of the Sylt legend, therefore, this leader and people can with some probability be included in the cycle of the Finn Saga.

One other prince and people is drawn by Bugge, into this cycle. Line 1142ff. of the Finn episode in Beowulf he extends, thus,-

Swa he ne forwyrrnde worod raedenne,
thonne him Hun Laring hilde-leoman,
billa seleste, on bearn dyce.

Bugge makes Hun a follower of Finn, and Laring the name of the sword which he places in Hengest's lap, in token of Hengest's recognizing allegiance to Finn (see Bugge's explanation of Finn story p 66 thesis) He quotes to support this the mention of Hun in Widsith as the lea-
or the Haetwers, that is the Hattuarischen Franks. In
Hauwulf, 2363, 2916, we have the Haetwere and Frisians al-
lied against Hygelac, in the land of the Frisians, so there
is in any event historic probability for a union of Fri-
sians under Finn with the Haetwere.

Müllenhoff, on the other hand, considers Hun to be a
hero of primitive times or from a primitive race, quoting
the meaning of Hun in the compounds Althun, Folchun &c.
The Haetwers are the Hazzeorier (Chatuarii) of the
Inner Rhine about Geldern, Zeurs and Cleve. It was in an
expedition against them Hygelac was killed. Thorpe re-
fers to this in connection with this allusion.

A relation between the Finn Saga and this portion of
Hisith can be assumed as certain only of the leading
rulers, Fin Folcwalding who ruled the Frisians, Hnaer, chief
of the Hooings and Saeferth, of the Secgs; but there is
strong probability for the association of Oswine, ruler of
the Eowes with this legend, and some reason for Gerwulf
ruler of the Ytes; Moller also includes Sceafthere, chief
of the Yubers, Wald, ruler of the Woings and Hringweald,
king of the Herefares, and Bugge associates Hun who ruled
the Haetwers, but these last are based entirely on conjec-
ture.

Sigehere who ruled the Sea Danes, Müllenhoff tells us Sigehere 28.
refers to a northern hero, Sigarr father of Signy.
Moller regards Sigehere as an historic king of the
Sigarius, who according to Saxo, reigned in the eighth Century.

Thorpe suggests that the Wulfrings are the Volsungs of the Northern Saga.

Morley holds that they were Goths supposed to be of the tribe of Hildebrand who fought with Hadubrand and who bore wolves on his shield.

Müllenhoff refers the Wulfrings, Vylfinge, O. N. Ylfinger to the East Sea. They are mentioned in Beowulf 459, where Hrothgar says to Beowulf, "thy father was the slayer in a hand-to-hand fight of Heatholaf among the Wulfrings."

"Weartbe Heatholafe to handbonan mid Wulfringum."

Wealtheow, the wife of Hrothgar, is called ides Heltinga, 621. Grain holds the Helmings to be identical with the Wulfrings.

Müllenhoff considers Wōd an epic fiction.

A.S. wōd insanus, furiosus.

Thorpe places the Thuringians on the bank of the Elbe. Guest also localizes them in what is now the Thuringian Forest.

In Beowulf's reminiscences before his fatal battle with the fire-drake and again before his death, he recalls the feud between the Geats and the Swedes. The account is given in Beowulf 2473 ff.; 2925.

Soon after Haethcyn had succeeded his father Hrêthel
the throne of the Geats, he was drawn into a war with the Swedes, the inhabitants of the modern Scandinavian province of Svearike (Sweo-rice). Onela and Others, sons of the Swedish King Ongendetheow, made frequent raids into the land of the Geats about the promontory of Breosna bang. Haethoyn undertook a retaliatory expedition and in the absence of her sons, took the mother of Onela and their prisoner. Ongendetheow pursued the Geats, killed Haethoyn at Ravenswood, freed his wife, and pressed so hard upon his enemies, that they with difficulty reached the shelter of the wood. At day break of the following morning, however, Hygelac, Haethoyn's brother arrived with reinforcements, a battle ensued in which the Swedes were overcome by the Geats and Ongendetheow himself is killed by Hulf and Æfer.

Rüther places Ongendetheow at the end of the Fifth Century.

By Sceaf (sheaf) the first King of the Langobards, Ælf-Sceaf 32. Lehnoff thinks the introduction of German civilization is typified, and from him dates the founding of political and social order. The legend of his coming is given in the opening lines of Beowulf.

The Langobards are to be thought of in their primitive home on the Elbe about Bardewik and Lüneburg.

Müllenoff says that the name Holen signifies stony English holt or holly nedd, nülse, nulse; ndl. nulst; cf. O.H. Holen 33

Longbeardum 32
and refers chiefly to his primitive origin. Of his people, the Wrosns, Thorpe asks, Are they Wrosn and Westrosn in Pomerania? and quotes the praises of Lappenberg and Ettmüller, that they may be the Scandinavian race from whom the present Russians derive their name and who are first known to history in the ninth century.

Various conjectures are made as to the identity of Hervin, whose prowess is lauded as equal though not greater than that of Offra. Thorpe says he is Ali (Olfi, Olur) the natural son of Fridleif, who was treacherously murdered by Starkodder, at the instigation of his brother Frode. W. Morley tells us he was Olaus or Olave probably the Claus who succeeded Ingeld. According to an old chronicle, he subdued the surrounding regions and carried victory beyond the Danube. Müllerhoff thinks him unknown except for this reference.

The mention of Offra is most interesting since it gives the legend of his youth, while in Beowulf, we have no notice of this, but an account of his wife, the imperious Eohrytho.

Offra was greatly celebrated in German songs, these have been lost but the contents of one of them, that which tells of the awakening of his strength, is preserved in several chronicles. Sven Aggonis and Saxo Grammaticus give this. The same story changed in some of the details of the contents of one or two of them, that which tells of the awakening of his strength,
told in the Vitae duorum Offarum reputed to be by Matthew Paris in the Thirteenth Century. The Offa of Widgith was King of the Angles and is identical with the elder of the two Offas. The legend of his youth runs thus—

King Wermund was blind with age and his throne was without a stay, since his son Offa, though fair of form was imb. The King of Saxony taking advantage of his weakness demanded from him his land of Denmark. Without means to avert the threatened danger, the King is in despair. When Offa dumb until then, speaks and boldly defies the Saxon King, challenging his son and the bravest man in the army to a double duel. Offa is equipped with Wermund's armor, and repairs for the combat to the island Giidora. The King takes his place on the height above, prepared to fling himself into the water as soon as he learns of his son's defeat, but suddenly he hears the sound of his own sword Skrep, and at once is assured of the joyful news of his son's double victory. Such is the legend. Lappenberge adds to it that the place of battle was at the point where a part of the city of Rensburg called the Altstadt now stands. Wermund's adversary is said to have been Sigas, a King of Holstein, and the name of his son slain by Offa (Orfa) was Hildebrand. The Vitae duorum Offarum confuses the elder Offa with the later King of Mercia of that name, and similar legends are told of the latter. The elder Offa's grandson Komar's great grandson Crida was first King of Mercia 582 - 598.
Again our recital touches on ground which it holds in common with Beowulf; the reference in Widsith serving to complete and fill out an incident in the epic.

When Beowulf on his return to the court of Hygelac, tells the story of his journey and his adventures, he relates, how he has seen in the house of Hrothgar, the fair Hrunhilde, the betrothed of Ingeld. Froya, the father of Ingeld had fallen in a battle with the Danes, and through his marriage, Hrothgar hopes to extinguish the feud between the houses. Half as a tale that is told, half apparently in prognostication, Beowulf continues his account. Long the retinue that accompanied the young Queen, was the warrior, on whose side hung the sword of Froya won in battle, the sight inflamed the followers of Ingeld, and the old chieftain failed not to reproach him with his inactivity, and to urge him to revenge, until the love of Ingeld for his wife became cool, the truce was broken and all the Danes at his court were slain, among them, it may be his own wife. The account in Beowulf stops here, but from this mention in Widsith we can complete the story. Ingeld leads a band to Heorot aiming to avenge the death of his father on the Danish King himself, but Hrothgar and his nephew Hrothulf defeat him and “cut in pieces the sight of the Heatho-Bearden.”

In Saxo Grammaticus a Saga is related of Ingellus, son of Frotho and of his guardian Starkath whose leading features strongly resemble this episode of Ingeld.
Hrothulf - the Hrof Kraki of Norse legends - was the son of Helgi, the Halga of Beowulf, younger brother of Rœthgar. Hrothulf was taken by his uncle as a child and brought up at his court. The express mention in Beowulf 107.1181, and in Widsith that they still held peace with another seems to point obscurely to some eventual strife; it may be Hrothulf dispossessed his uncle of his kingdom, or possibly after Hrœthic and Hrothmund, the sons of Rœthgar, came to their inheritance, he usurped their throne.

Wicingacynn here seems to be identical with Heatho-beardana, warlike Beards, and these in turn, Grein holds to be the same as the Langobards.

Guest has the curious and fanciful note that as Long beardana were long beards, Heatho beardana would be war beards, i.e., short ones.

Moller thinks the Heatho-Beardana were a part of the Langobarden and that they went out from the larger family toward the North: since they opposed the Danes at Heorot, they must have controlled a piece of the East Sea coast, they probably possessed the shore of East Holstein and Mecklenburg, lying opposite the Sanish Island and the island Farnarn near the Danes.

The Catalogue of famous peoples.

7 In was mid Hunnum and mid Hreth-gotum
3 Mid Sveom and mid Geatum and mid Suth-Denum...
8 Mid Verum it was and mid Winedum and mid Wiclegum
Mid Geffrum ic was and mid Winedum and mid Gefflegum.
The data for the consideration of the geographical allusions in the poem are comparatively meagre, so that its discussion of this list of famous peoples is necessarily more brief than that of the renowned princes and heroes.

The enumeration starts in the East with the Huns and the Goths names often connected in Anglo-Saxon narration (see thesis p. 89). The next three peoples are Scandinavian, the Swedes certainly on that peninsula, the Geats thought by most critics to correspond to the Gautar of the Iceland Saga, the Swedish Gotar, the inhabitants of East Jutland. Bugge regards them as Jutes and places them in Jutland.

Müller places the Danes on the islands of Seeland and Samsø, and the North and East of Jutland.

The Wenles, the next people, the Wendlas of Beowulf, is regarded as a part of the Danes inhabiting Vendill, or Vendysel, the most Northern part of Jutland; but Müller thinks them rather the Vandili, Vandali, Vandals, and is supported by Bugge.
According to Pliny and Tacitus this name, Vandali, was comprehensive of a great stock of Eastern peoples, but it gradually became limited to a division between the upper Mar and the Vistula.

The Waerns were the Varini of Tacitus, according to Fuller.

The Wicings according to 47.49 are identical with the Heatho-Bearden (see thesis p77).

The Geiths were probably the Gepidae a nation in the East allied to the Goths.

The Wends, Thorpe and Guest consider to be the Veneti of Tacitus. Thorpe tells us that under the name of Vindland, (A.S. Winedum) was at one time comprised the whole coast land from the Schlei, by Slesvig, to the mouth of the Vistula. Guest calls them a Slavish race.

The Geffleges seem to be unknown, though Thorpe hazards the suggestion that they may be inhabitants of the North of Sweden, their name preserved in the town Gerle.

Next come the Anglians of the Jutic peninsula, one of great branches of the Teutonic race, south of them were the Suabians separated by the bay of Eckernöffjord, the Irse and a connecting wall thrown up by the Angles.

In the Aenenes, Jacob Grimm thinks he recognizes the Bavarian Anniona.

With the Saxons, we come into the district about the North Sea. The Seogs are probably the East Saxons.
Thorpe and Guest suggest that the Sword-weres, were the Suardones of Tacitus between the Trave and the Oder. Müllerhoff thinks this possible. Möller is inclined to regard the name merely as an appellative, the meaning being, the Saxons and Seogs are sword-men i.e. warriors.

The unknown Hrons and Deans, Müllenhoff thinks minor tribes of the North Sea peoples, Ettmüller places them in the South of Norway or on the Islands of the Belt.

Möller thinks Hrons and Deans both fictitious people, unless Deaman is corrupt for Denum. Müllenhoff suggests a possible emendation for Deaman of Bawum-Eówum(28)(see thesis p.83) or mid Heánum, i.e. among the Chauci.

The Heatho-reames, Müllenhoff and Ettmüller suggest were the inhabitants of Southern Norway, their name retained in Raumariki. Möller thinks them not known in history, but taken over into Widsith from the account of Brec's swimming match with Beowulf, not directly from the epic, but from the myth on which the episode in Beowulf is founded. Hunferth(519 Beow.) tells that Brec is cast up in the morning among the Heatho-reames.

the hine on morgentid on Heatho-Reæmas holm up eætbaer,

Thrice he seeks the land of the Brondings.

For the Thyrings, see thesis p.72

Thorpe considers the Throvends=the Throds, O.N. Erændir, apparently the people of Trondhjem in Norway.
Allenhoff supports this, making the word a participial formation from A.S. thróvgan, O.H.G. drógan or drüen. Thró- 
vani would mean brave and corresponds to the O.H.G. pro-
pr. name Droant or Druant, O.N. Thrandr. A.S. Throwendas
iten would correspond to O.N. Thraendir, the same conclu-
sion as given by Thorpe.

The catalogue is here interrupted to laud the gene-
Sirety of Guthere King of the Burgundions, the Gundaharius
of the Burgundian laws, Gunther, or German Sage, brother of
Harishild (see thesis p.48). His seat is at Worms on the
Rhine, so that the Burgundians are thought of now in a
different position from that they held in the enumeration
like 19, where they were named in connection with East Sea
peoples. The point of view of the two catalogues is in
several instances strikingly different.

The Franks and Frisians are united in Beowulf in
many places 2912.1207.1310. (See thesis p.59)

The Frumtungs according to both Müllenhoff and Köll-
er are a fictitious race, the name indeed, must be regard-
ed as an appellative signifying Franks and Frisians are
active, capable people.

For the discussion in regard to the Rugs and the
Norns see thesis p.53

Rum-walas=Rumwealhs, or Roman foreigners according
to Thorpe.

With the name of Aelfwine we come into Lombard His-
Aelfwine 70.
ry and the cycle of Lombard Saga. Starting from the banks of the Oder as the Langobards, this people had in the Sixth Century, reached the frontiers of Italy, their name by this time transformed to Lombards. Under Auduin (Eadwine), their King in the early part of that century, a fierce war took place with the Gepidae, which was ended after Alboin succeeded to the throne, in the complete overthrow of the rival nation. Alboin next invaded Italy, and in 568 gained possession of the greater portion of it, fixing his capital at Pavia; from that vantage ground he maintained his conquest until 572, when he was killed through the instigation of his wife Rosamund.

The favorable mention of 'Normanric' contrasted with the terms applied to him in the introduction can scarcely be explained except on the theory of a composite origin of the poem.

For the comment on Ealhilda and Eadgils see thesis p.45.
The catalogue of the heroes of Hormanric.

*Ethcan* sohte ic and Beadecan and Herelingas

*Ercan* sohte ic and *Fridlan* ond *East-Gotan*,

trodne and godne faeder Unwenes.

*Seccan* sohte ic and Beccan, Searolan and Theodric,

Beathoric and Sirecan, Blithe and Incogentheow.

Edwine sohte ic and Elsan, Aegelmund and Hungar
and tha wloncan gedryht With-Myrginga.

Kulhere sohte ic and Myrmhere. . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . .

Kulhere sohte ic and Hondhere, Rumstan and Gislhere,

Withergield and Freotheric, Wudgan and Haman.

For many of the names in this list no explanations
are offered by any of the critics who have commented on
the poem.

This last division of Wiidsith describes a journey
through the land of the Goths, naming the heroes at the
court of Hormanric. Before noting the explanations of
the allusions in this catalogue, it will be necessary to
give a brief account of the Teutonic legend of which Hor-
manric is the centre. As in all German Saga, there is a
union of History and Myth, historical facts furnish the
background but they are modified and distorted by the
early legends, the heroes are endowed with superhuman
qualities or some motive from the elder Myth is made the
occasion for the veritable event. Scherer (History of
German literature) gives the outline of the basis of these sagas. The traditions of German heroic poetry, he says, extend over more than 500 years and bring into connection marches and events widely separated in time. Ostrogoths reigned over the Goths in 250, Óormanric in 350, Attila rose to the throne in 450, at his court was Theodomer, King of the Ostrogoths. In 472, Odoacer, the barbarian chieftain assumed the purple, and in 489, Theodoric, the son and successor of Theodomer as King of the Ostrogoths, attacked and defeated Odoacer, whom he afterwards killed. Theodoric then became in fact, though not in name Emperor of the West; his title still remained King of the Goths.

In the Saga, Theodoric is Dietrich of Bern (Verona); the legend adheres to the enmity between him and Odoacer but confuses Theodoric and Theodomer, making him an exile at Attila's court, where he remains thirty years; it further confuses Odoacer and Óormanric. The two opponents, then, are Dietrich of Bern and Óormanric, and an infinity of legends cluster around their relations to each other and the connection of the various heroes of the sagas to their respective leaders.

Teutonic Saga, too, has invented a genealogical table:

Wolfdietrich

Hugdietrich m Sigeminne of Frankreich

Amelunc m

Dietmar m Ermenric

Dietrich (of Bern)

(The Harlinges) Imbrecke Frilda

The Sagas represent Dietrich as the nephew of Eormanric; in his first youth, he lives with the Emperor amicably and takes part in many adventures with the heroes at his uncle's court, such as the slaying of the giants Grim and Hilde, the expedition against the dwarf King Laurin &c. After Eormanric had destroyed his son and the Harlunges, his nephews (see thesis p. 86), Sibich instigates him to the destruction of Dietrich, the latter warned of this, flees accompanied by a few followers to Etzel, King of the Huns. Etzel, the Hunnish Queen gives him her niece Herrad for his wife and thereafter he takes part in Etzel's expeditions. Later he betakes himself to Lombardy, supported by the army of Etzel. The poem of the Rabenschlacht (Battle of Ravenna) describes the combat that ensued. Dietrich is victorious but returns again to Etzel's court. Only after thirty years absence, does he again come into possession of his Kingdom.

Not all the names in this list can be traced to the warriors of Eormanric, Müllehnoff suggests that it is a somewhat arbitrary grouping of related pairs of heroes. The first two, Hethca and Beadeca, he explains as personifications of certain phases of the god Tyr, the German god of war. The Essex genealogy gives the following names. SIXNAT has a son Gesecg, he, one Andsecg, these can be rendered by Symmachos and Antimachos; Andsecg's son is Svepn, this may be a shortened form of a word signifying one
produces confusion, movement, (cf. A.S. svipian, O.N. Svi-

mu); Sveppa's son is Sigefugel, the token announcing victo-

ry, may well come in the names from Widsith, Hethca, O.

J. Hadunno, Hedinno, the vir caedis, and Bedeca = O.H.S. Pa-

naun, the vir stragis: in these names we have personified

various moments of activity in the course of a battle,

of the god of war. Saxneat, the sword god appears; two ar-

mies ready for battle stand opposite each other, Sessecg,

Missag; tumult begins, Sveppa is there; it turns to victory,

Sigefugel appears; the foes are cut down, Hethca, and the

field is covered with the slain, Bedeca.

Emerca and Fridla are the Imbrecke and Fritila of

Hormanric cycle, son of the Emperor's (Hormanric's) bro-

Herelingas, Emercan and Fridlan 113

Her, Diether. The Norse version of the Saga of Hor-

manric's death has already been given (thesis pp. 30), there is

another version which differs from this in several de-

tails.

Hormanric dishonored the wife of Sibich (= Sireca 116)

his chancellor, while her husband was absent, on the return

do the Harlunges, of Sibich, he dissembles his indignation but in revenge

(cf. thesis pp 46-50.

One instigates the emperor to kill his own son, then his

inquiries are directed against the Harlunges. These two

Young Kings, Imbrecke and Fritila, on the death of their

father Diether, had inherited his empire of Breisach and

varia, together with a vast hoard; they lived at Breisach
with the faithful Ekkehard, their guardian. During his absence, Eormanric, instigated by Sibich, marched to Breism with an army overcame the Harlinges, his nephews, and had them hung upon a gallows.

East-gota = Ostrogotha, he reigned over the Goths about 250, when they were living at the mouth of the Danes. He was the first King of the Amaling race. Jordan (ch. XIV.) says, "Ostrogotha autem genuit Hunuil, Hunuil autem genuit Athal." Hunuil is a corruption for Hunuin and his is equivalent to Unwen.

Beccan, as has already been said (see thesis p. 80), corresponds to Bikki of the Northern legend of the death of Eormanric.

Beccan means an adversary, the name is probably archaic.

The mention of Theodric in connection with the hero of Eormanric would naturally suggest Dietrich or Hun (see thesis p. 34). Thorpe upholds this view.

Müllenhoff connecting Theodric and Seafola finds in his reference to the Hugdietrich and Sabene of German legend. Seafola = M.H.G. Sabene. According to the saga, Sabene stands in much the same relation to Hugdietrich as Sibich to Eormanric.

While Hugdietrich is away on a journey his son Wolf-Sabene, Dietrich is born; Sabene the faithless councillor slanders his queen to her husband, and the child is cast out, the
wolves take it and cherish it, afterwards it is saved and brought up by Berchtung.

The historic parallel of Hugdietrich and Wolfdietrich, Mullenhoff finds in Theodoric and Theodobert of the Merovingian Franks, (see thesis p. 59) the same who overthrew Hygelac, and he sees in the legends relating to these “Dietrichs,” stories derived from Merovingian songs taken over and incorporated with the cycle of legends relating to the Gothic heroes.

According to Mullenhoff, Sifica is Sibich the faiths Sifican 116 less counsellor of Eormanric and Heathoric may be Fried Heathoric 116. rich, the Chronicon Quedlinburgense gives this as the name of the Emperor’s (Eormanric’s) son. (For the legend, see thesis pp. 0. 86.

Of the names in the next lines, Möller makes Aegel- Hlithe, Aegelmund, mund (Agilmund), Hlithe (Leth) and Eadwine (Auduin, see thesis Eadwine, 116. 117 p. 89) the first, third and tenth Kings of the Lombards and notes their unusual place among the heroes of Eormanric.

Of Inogentheow, Elsa and Hungar, no explanation is Inogentheow 116 given in any of the comments upon the poem. May not Elsa Elsa, Elsa, Hungar 117. be the monk Ilson, brother of Hildebrand, one of the heroes of Dietrich of Bern, who took part in the adventure of the Rosengarten?

Mullenhoff by his change in the punctuation of this passage makes Wulhere and Wyrmhere leaders of the “proud bands of the With-Wyrginges,” but connects them with no legendary heroes.
The Hraeda here must be the army of the Goths. Ettmüller has suggested the change to Hrētha, to correspond with line 57, mid Hreth-gotum. Huns and Hrethgoths are used in connection in other Anglo-Saxon poems, thus in line 65, we have Hūna leôde and Hrēthgōtan, 58 Hūna and Hēna here; these citations would seem to indicate that Hraed is a miswriting and the emendation of Ettmüller just. Müllenhoff holds a contrary view. In O.N. we find Haupt XII.259. Hēngotar, and Reithgōtar, the philological correspondent in Anglo-Saxon would be either Hraethgōtan or Hraedgōtan, by the likeness of the prefix to the Anglo-Saxon hrēth victorious, unconsciously brought about the substitution of this comprehensible word for that which was merely derived and had no meaning. Hrēthgōtan is really written for Hraedgōtan; the epic name of the Goths being O.H.G. Hēadōs, Hrēidgōtan; A.S. Hraedas, Hraedgōtan; O.N. Hreitnar, Reithgōtar.

Müllenhoff thinks Raedhēre = Rienolt; Rondhēre = Randolt, and Rumstān = Rimstein of the German Saga. Reinolt and Randolt are princes from Mailand, their character and unions are contradictory in the various poems of the Eonian cycle, sometimes they appear among the heroes of Óstri, sometimes opposed to him. Rimstein is one of Óstri's warriors, no distinctive legends attach to his name.

Gislhere is the Gislaharius of the Burgundian laws, the youngest son of Gunther in the Sagas, (see thesis p. 44 ff.)
Of Withergield and Freotheric no explanation is offered.

The Traveller mentions Wudga and Hama last with an apology for so doing. They are among the principal heroes in the Eormanric cycle, interwoven in almost all the legends in regard to the Emperor (Eormanric) and the King (Dietrich of Bern).

Wudga (German Wittich) is the son of Weland, the famous smith, and of Beadohild. The Anglo-Saxon poem of Deor's lament (line 1 ff) has preserved the legend of his birth. While still a youth, Wittich demands from his father knightly accoutrements, since his mother was a King's daughter; he receives the horse Skimming, the sword Mimring (Mising), the shield Skrepping, and the helmet Blank. Thus equipped, he betakes himself to Verona, on the way he meets Hildebrand, and in his companionship undergoes many adventures. Upon reaching the city, he challenges Dietrich of Bern (Verona) to a duel and would have slain him with the sword Mimring had not Hildebrand interposed, he is then taken into Dietrich's service. From this point, the Norse and German versions vary, agreeing only in the fact that later he left the court of Dietrich and became one of the followers of Eormanric. The Vilkina Saga tells us this was done with the consent of Dietrich that Wittich might marry a rich widow; he maintains his attachment to his former lord, continually censures Eormanric and in the
great battle, the Rabenschlacht, declares that he only fights under compulsion and will do Dietrich no injury. The German Sagas, on the other hand, emphasize Wittich’s faithlessness to the King, to whom he has sworn allegiance and who has shown him much favor; they reproach him with the betrayal to Eormanric of Raben entrusted to him by Dietrich.

Various wonderful tales are told of his great strength and agility: at one time, he comes to the Weser and finds the bridge gone, he spurs his horse and “swift as an arrow” leaps the intervening space, to the other side. At another time, he is said to have killed eighteen thousand enemies.

A special poem tells of his end: hotly pursued by Dietrich, he plunges into the sea, calling upon his ancestress Wacht th the mermaid to aid him and she, it is said, received him and brought him into a safe place.

Wallenhoff has suggested that the historic predecessor of Wudga (Wittich, Witega) is Vidigoja of whom Jordanes says: “ad quem (Attilam) in legationem remissus a Theodoricus juniori Priscus tali voce inter alia refert. Ingenius, siquisdem illum, id est Tysiam Tibisiamque et Driccan transeuntes venimus in locum illum ubi dudum Vidigoja Sarmatum dolo occubuit.” In that case, he says, we must regard him as a West Goth hero and a champion of his people in their wars against the Sarma-
Hans on the Theiss. The Huns can easily in Saga have
men the place of the Sarmatians, the names Witega, Wudga
and Vidigoja are to be accounted as similar.

Hama (H.G. Heime) is mentioned in Beowulf (1199).
syththan Hama aetwaeg
to theare byrhtan byrig Bosinga mene,
sigle and sinc faet, searonithas fealh
Eormanrices, geceas ecne raed
(-Since) Hama bore away to the bright city the Bosinga
mene, sun shaped and costly, he escaped the cunning
sires of Eormanric, he chose eternal counsel.

The "Bosinga mene" is the men brisinga of the Edda,
3 collar of Freya, there is no mention of this legend in
Hile High German.

Heime of Lamparten, "the hero with four elbows," is
son of Madelgar - the Norse saga gives Studas as the
son of his father - when he is sixteen years old, he
was to Verona and challenges Dietrich to single combat,
his sword Nagelrico snaps, he surrenders to Dietrich who
wants him his life and takes him into his service.

Heime and Wittich are named as comrades in many Mid-
High German poems. They appear to have left the ser-
vice of Dietrich together, for that of Eormanric. At the
court of the Emperor, Dietrich expresses himself strongly
in Dietrich's favor and against Sifica's proposals; when
he finds it is of no avail, he strikes the faithless coun-
sor in the face and rides away. For a long time, he lives in the forest, then he enters a cloister, later he leaves this, to re-enter Dietrich's service whom he follows to Rome and he is finally killed in a battle with a giant.

Interpolation 14 - 17.

There remains only to be considered the references contained in the lines accepted as interpolations: those from 75 - 87, the list of peoples have been sufficiently explained in the translation (thesis p. 76.)

In Alexandreas, Guest and Thorpe doubt that Alexander Alexandreas 15. of Macedon is meant. Müllenhoff and also Morley assume that it is; Morley suggesting a possible association of thought in that Eormanric mentioned a few lines before it called by the Goths the Alexander of his time.

Haigh thinks it may have been the Alexander of whom Scrope speaks, who having raised himself from a humble station, was a conspicuous figure in the Roman Empire in the Sixth Century, and notorious for his wealth and avarice.

Thorpe notes that a Hwala is mentioned as grandson of Soaç, son of Noah, but doubts that this is the allusion meant. Müllenhoff apparently assumes that it is. Morley thinks that Cyrus who ruled two centuries before Alexander is referred to; he gives the following as the phonetic change, 'old h is sounded almost like G, thus Jornandes.
Hnalized Hnaef into Oniva, then there is relation in sound between cerebral "l" and cerebral "r," so "l" may be replaced "r;" Hwala thus takes the place of Cyrus.

This can not be accepted, in the first place the vowel change of y>a and u>a is not accounted for, but in addition to this, phonetic transformation of proper names usually occurs only in those known to the people and in use. Cyrus would be familiar only to one versed in the Sorkish learning of the time, he would know and use it in its Latin form.

Guest suggests that the reference is to Wallia(Walya) of Roman History, a Salkthing and King of the Visigoths under the countenance of Rome; he conquered the whole of Spain except the North west. To the Goths under him, Hwala gave the province known as the second Aquitaine, it is the district about Toulouse; he died in 418.

This comment is based on the manuscript form of the name Hala; on account of the alliteration, it has been suggested to Hwala a correction accepted by all recent scholars.

The reference in this case, is too obscure to admit of any decision.

Lda Jmd.

April 30, 1889.