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HENGEST
A STUDY IN EARLY ENGLISH HERO LEGEND

BY

NELLIE SLAYTON AURNER

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VOLUME II

NUMBER 1

HENGEST
A STUDY IN EARLY ENGLISH HERO LEGEND

BY

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PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY, IOWA CITY

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FOREWORD

The following study was completed in 1917, but owing to conditions growing out of the war has remained unpublished. It grew out of an attempt to produce a satisfactory interpretation of the Finnsburg documents in Old English literature. An investigation of what scholarship had already accomplished in the field resulted in the publication of a monograph in which the various interpretations that had been suggested were analyzed and classified, and a complete bibliography was presented. This analysis made clear the necessity of numerous detailed investigations before any reliable interpretation could be worked out. The point most under discussion seemed to be the relation of Hengest to the events and persons of the texts. Accordingly, the field of research was narrowed to this point and an effort was made to bring together all that language, folk-lore, history, and legend could contribute to throw light upon the subject.

This effort resulted in bringing together an unexpectedly large body of heroic legends gathered about the figure of Hengest. The way in which various details were added, and incidents grew and were combined furnishes an illuminating example of the method of growth in epic material. The query that led to the whole investigation — the question of what light this material may throw upon the interpretation of the Finnsburg passages — has been answered, naturally, in terms of my own personal reaction to the findings. To me the conclusion presented seems practically inevitable, but I trust that the warmth of my conviction will not give the impression that the usefulness of the work depends entirely or even principally upon the establishment of this conclusion. The material here brought together in convenient form lends itself readily to interpretation by those whose wide range of knowledge and technical skill fit them to make important suggestions, but who might not be willing or able to take the time to carry out all the preliminary investigation.

The work of this dissertation together with the monograph

which preceded it owes its existence to Professor Clarke Fisher Ansley. To his careful and accurate scholarship, vitalized by the power of his exceptionally stimulating appreciation of Old English life and literature, is due not only the original impulse but also the sustained interest which has brought pleasure even from the drudgery of uninteresting translation and the routine of comparison and classification. Unfortunately his connection with the University of Iowa was broken before this study began to assume definite form; doubtless it would have been better in many ways if worked out in direct contact with his stimulating mind. For none of its faults is he responsible since he will see it first in this publication.

I wish to thank Associate Professor Percival Hunt for help derived from his keen sense of form, and Assistant Professor J. H. Scott for the suggestion of the tabular appendix. Thanks also are due to Doctor Luebke, Doctor Henning Larsen, and to Professors Charles Bundy Wilson and Franklin Potter for helpful suggestions and for valuable assistance in the work of translation.

INTRODUCTION

HENGEST

In the inherited traditions of the English race the figure of Saxon Hengest stands second only to that of British Arthur, but the fates of the two in literature have been very different. Everyone recognizes the importance of the legends that have gathered about the person of Arthur, while very little apparent consideration is given to the tales that have made the name of Hengest live, although this name has aroused a mental thrill from the first mention of the Anglo-Saxon conquest to the day when Thomas Jefferson, proposing his device for a United States Seal, wrote, "and on the other side Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and form of government we have assumed." Although Jefferson's idea was not adopted, the new world has been by no means without interest in the Saxon chief he wished to honor. It was the vice-president of the College of the City of New York who wrote: "This crafty and valiant prince has left a legend on every coast between Jutland and the Cornish Promontory. All the old stories are fastened on his name . . . Hengest seems to be ubiquitous and fills all sorts of characters."¹

In all the chronicles that have preserved Arthurian material we find Hengest playing an important rôle as the chief of the heathens. This leading position is kept in the earlier forms of the romances dealing with the matter of Britain, but is gradually made subordinate and finally lost sight of as the interest is centered upon Arthur and his knights and the imaginative conception of the Holy Grail. A significant illustration of this tendency is found in the Old French prose "Merlin." In order to account for the building of Vortigern's tower the narrator explains as briefly as possible that among the Saxons called to his aid there was one named Hanguis much more proud than the

¹ Roemer: "Origins of the English People and of the English Language," p. 69.

rest. This Hanguus had served Vortigern so long and so well that the British king was victorious in war. Vortigern had married a daughter of Hanguus and by placing himself in the power of the Saxons had made his own people despise him. Fearing disloyalty, he attempted to build a tower of such impregnability that it should need no defence. The author describing the building of the tower and eager to develop the incidents that lead to the discovery of Merlin, chafes even at the meagre details he finds it necessary to give and exclaims, "Now I will say no more of Hanguus or of things related to him."²

Why, one might ask, if the memory of Hengest has been so persistent and tales of his valor so wide spread, has he not been made the hero of some poetic cycle,— the central figure, perhaps, of the matter of the Saxon Shore as Arthur was of Britain, Charlemagne of France, and Siegfried the Volsung of the North? It has been conjectured³ that he did appear as such a figure in an Old English "Hengestlied" which has been lost as a whole but has in part been woven with other material into the Finn episode of Beowulf. This, however, is pure conjecture and can not be used as evidence. There are reasons, however, why Hengest has not become the central theme in any great work of literature. Practically all the Old English poetry that has been preserved is from the Anglian tribes that settled in the north and they naturally sang of their own heroes or used material that came to them as race tradition. To Celtic writers Hengest was a hated name, bearing much the significance that Hun or Boche does to the Frenchman of to-day. He appears in the tales of the Latin chroniclers — who were all Christian, some of them Celtic — as the embodiment of craft, treachery, and destructive power. He is the adversary, the leader of the pirates, whose only virtue was that he called forth the power of Arthur who

"Fought, and in twelve great battles overcame
The heathen hordes, and made a realm and reigned."

In the continental legends that have gathered about his name he is given a more favorable character. He appears to advantage

² Merlin, Robert de Boron, Societe des Anciens Textes Francais, Vol. I, p. 38.

³ Möller: "Das altenglische Volksepos," p. 54.

in Frisian tradition where he is claimed as a prince of the ruling race, possessed of all the virtues and driven by fate into hardship and adventures that demand the exercise of these virtues. But not even among these admirers has he proved a stimulus to great literary creation or even the subject of special study. A figure that has provoked allusion from the beginnings of our literature to the present time without having been made the definite focus of literary treatment certainly deserves special investigation.

CHAPTER I

EARLY ENGLISH CHRONICLES

It is probably safe to state that the earliest mention of Hengest is the account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Of course the Chronicle in its present form was drawn up in the time of Alfred, but it is generally admitted that records existed from which Bede drew materials for his work. The references to Hengest and his time bear all the appearance of original records, but, since they are in substantial agreement with Bede, it really matters little which is regarded as the earlier. The Chronicle account relates that in the year 449 Hengest and Horsa, invited by Vortigern, as aid against his enemies, landed at Wippidsfleet. Victorious in their battles with the Picts, they were given lands and were soon joined by large forces of their people "from the Old Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes." In 455 the two brothers turned their forces against the Britons and met Vortigern in battle at Aylesford. Horsa was slain but the battle was won by the Teutons for "after that Hengest obtained the kingdom and Aesc his son." In the next year Hengest and Aesc won another battle against the Britons at Crayford which was followed in 457 at the same place by a victory so decisive that "the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to London." Eight years later, and again after an interval of eight years Hengest and Aesc fought the Welsh and "the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire." This is the last direct mention of Hengest although his death is inferred from the entry for 488, "This year Aesc succeeded to the Kingdom."

Bede's narration develops the same events with more detail. King Vortigern, urged by his people to seek help against the cruel and frequent incursions of the northern nations called in "the nation of the Angles, or Saxons." These arrived "with three long ships" and were assigned land in the eastern part of the island. They advanced against the enemy from the north and won such a victory that the fame of their deeds, carried with

reports of the fertility of the country and the cowardice of the Britons attracted great numbers of their countrymen, which Bede says "being added to the former, made up an invincible army." The nations concerned in this invasion are called by Bede the three most powerful nations of Germany — Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Their descendants are traced in the England of Bede's own time, and the names of their leaders are given as Hengist and Horsa with the additional statement that Horsa, afterwards slain in battle by the Britons, "was buried in the eastern parts of Kent, where a monument bearing his name is still in existence." It was not long until the new settlers found excuse to turn against the Britons. Their demands for increased provisions resulted in ravaging expeditions in which they plundered the country and put its inhabitants to flight. Rallying under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelius, the Britons at last gained a victory, and fought against their invaders with varying success from that day until the siege of Baddesdown Hill forty-four years after the landing of Hengest.

Bede's history, written in the second quarter of the eighth century, was perhaps preceded by that section of the "Historia Britonum" which deals with the Saxon conquest, but the version which we have in the compilation of Nennius seems to date from the close of the eighth century.

Nennius begins his story of the Saxons by explaining conditions in the realm of Vortigern. His subjects were in constant fear, not only from the Scots and Picts but from the Romans and particularly from Ambrosius. In the midst of this uneasiness (447) arrived three vessels, exiled from Germany and commanded by two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, sons of Wihtgils. Vortigern, receiving them as friends, made over to them the island of Thanet, and after they had occupied the island for some time, he promised to supply them with provisions and clothing if they would agree to fight against his enemies. The Saxons, however, increased so rapidly in numbers that the Britons, unable to fulfill their promise, declared that they no longer needed Saxon assistance and begged their troublesome guests to return home since it was impossible to support them. But Hengist, "in whom," Nennius says, "united craft and penetration," vowed that if he were allowed to send for more

forces they would take the field against Vortigern's enemies and gain their own support. Vortigern assented and Hengist sent out messengers who returned with troops filling sixteen vessels. Among the new arrivals was the beautiful daughter of Hengist. In order to gain the greatest advantage from her presence the Saxon chief invited the king, his officers, and Ceretic his interpreter to an entertainment during which his daughter served them so generously with wine and ale that they all became intoxicated. Vortigern, carried away by the beauty of the girl, promised to give whatever he was asked for her. Hengist, with the counsel of the elders "of the Aghgul race" asked and was granted the province of Kent in spite of the indignation of Vortigern's subjects. Hengist's influence was now established and he strengthened his power by sending for his son and his brother, Oeta and Ebusa, who came with forty ships. But this was not the end; ships continued to arrive until "some islands whence they came were left without inhabitants."

Vortigern's crimes, however, were not yet complete. In addition to betraying the interests of his own people he committed domestic sins that brought upon him the wrath of St. Germanus and the hatred of his subjects. But his son Vortimer gathered an army and drove Hengist and his followers back to the island of Thanet. Four battles, Nennius declares, were fought by the forces of Vortimer and Hengist; the one just mentioned, a second on the river Darent; the third at Epsford where Horsa fell, and Catigern a son of Vortigern; and the fourth "near the Stone on the shore of the Gallie sea, where the Saxons being defeated, fled to their ships." Shortly after this Vortimer died and the Saxons once more, taking advantage of the weaknesses of Vortigern, laid plans to regain their lost territory. With offers of peace and perpetual friendship Hengist once more prepared an entertainment to which he invited King Vortigern, his nobles, and his military officers to the number of about three hundred. Three hundred Saxons were ordered each to be prepared with a concealed knife and to take his place next to one of the enemy. When they were all much intoxicated, Hengist suddenly called out, "Nimed eur Saxas!" The knives flashed forth and three hundred of Vortigern's leaders were slain. The king bought his own safety by giving over "the

three provinces of East, South, and Middle Sex, besides other districts at the option of his betrayers."

After this the Saxons greatly increased in Britain, and after the death of Hengist, Oeta came to the kingdom of Kent and from him descended the kings of that province.

The three accounts just summarized represent the body of clerical tradition in England that had gathered about the name of Hengest by the year 800. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Bede relate events briefly without marked bias or the heat of indignation, but Nennius writes with the bitterness of a Briton and a Christian against the pagan Teuton. In his pages we note the growth of legend; we find events of other times and places attaching themselves to the name of the hated Saxon leader. It is evident from the language used in representing the infatuation of Vortigern for Hengest's daughter that the narrator had in mind the episode of Herod and Salome, and the trick practised at the second entertainment is a close parallel to the one used by the Saxons against the Thuringians, as related by Widukind.⁴

Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries very little change can be noted in the incidents of the Hengest story. The chronicle of Aethelweard, dating from the end of the tenth century, omits many of the events told by Nennius and gives an entirely different tone to the whole account. Himself a descendant of the invaders, he sees in them a band of noble adventurers rather than a horde of savage and treacherous barbarians. His narrative may be summed up in brief space:—

The Britons, harassed on all sides by enemies which they were too weak to repel, heard of the activity of the Saxons as pirates along the whole coast from Denmark to the Rhine and were greatly impressed by their strength in all matters pertaining to war. Accordingly they sent messengers with rich gifts to ask their help, promising a peaceful alliance after their enemies were driven out. Hengist and Horsa, two young men already preëminent in Germany, the grandsons of Woden, came in answer to the petition of King Vurthern and his senate with three vessels loaded with arms and military stores. Not long after they were sent against the Scots and succeeded in driving them from the field. For this they were rewarded by the Britons and, strengthened by the arrival of large numbers of their countrymen from Germany, they engaged to protect the Britons

⁴ Mon. Germ. Hist., Script., III, ed. 1839, p. 419.

and allow them to remain at ease in return for suitable gifts and stipends. But the Britons before long broke their compact and tried to drive them out of the country. As a result a battle was fought in which the Saxons were victorious. Large multitudes now came over from every province of Germany and carried on war with the Britons, ever remaining masters of the field. So greatly did the number of invaders increase that they gradually wiped out all memory of the former inhabitants and drove the Britons into certain narrow isthmuses of the island and held possession of the island from sea to sea.

In the chapter following this narrative Aethelweard gives a list of events which practically duplicates the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. His account of the provinces from which the tribes came and the ancestry of Hengest follows Bede. The importance of his record lies in the slight details which show a viewpoint very different from that of Nennius and indicate a body of tradition developing in a different direction from that of Nennius.

The twelfth century added important contributions to the Hengest legend. William of Malmesbury, who finished his "Gesta Regum Anglorum" in 1125, began his history with an account of the Saxon conquest. After describing the helpless condition of the Britons under Vortigern he relates in much the manner of Aethelweard their invitation to the German tribes. He adds that the Britons believed the roving life of these without any certain habitation would lead them to accept gladly even an unproductive soil that would give them a stationary residence, and gratitude for the kindness shown them would prevent them from ever entertaining designs against the country. William's description of the country from which the invaders came is a very interesting addition to previous accounts. He says:—

"Almost all the country lying to the north of the British ocean, though divided into many provinces, is justly called Germany, from its germinating so many men. And as the pruner cuts off the more luxuriant branches of the tree to impart a livelier vigor to the remainder, so the inhabitants of this country assist their common parent by the expulsion of a part of their members, lest she should perish by giving sustenance to too numerous an offspring; but in order to obviate discontent, they cast lots who shall be compelled to migrate. Hence the men of this country have made a virtue of necessity, and, when driven

from their native soil, they have gained foreign settlements by force of arms."

Such a band of exiles by lot, he suggests by inference, was the company that came to Britain under the leadership of Hengest and Horsa, "two brothers of suitable disposition, and of noble race in their own country." Throughout his narrative William differs from previous chronicles by calling the invaders Angles. With more vividness of detail than former writers he describes their arrival and reception and their first battle with the Scots in which, he says, the Scots were put to flight "whilst the cavalry pursued and destroyed the fugitives." In later encounters, he states, victory constantly sided with the Angles until the Scots "avoided nothing so cautiously as an engagement with them."

Nennius's account of Hengest's schemes for increasing his power is repeated by William with fuller details, but the results of the battles between Vortimer and Hengest are given differently; the first is reported as closing on equal terms, but all the others resulted in victory for the Angles. "After the death of Vortimer, Ambrosius with the powerful aid of warlike Arthur . . . long upheld the sinking state and roused the broken spirit of his countrymen to war." Hengest, however, strengthened by the continual arrival of new forces, gained a decisive victory by his treachery in slaying three hundred leaders at the banquet. William's story of this entertainment is not an exact reproduction of the Nennius tale. He relates that after they had all drunk much more than usual, Hengest artfully incited them to quarrels and made it appear that the Britons were killed in a fight brought on by themselves. Hengest's death is recorded as following closely this event.

Eight years after the history of William of Malmesbury, appeared (1133) the "Historia Anglorum" of Henry of Huntingdon. In this chronicle the only significant changes in the story of Hengest appear in the details of the various battles fought. The first battle fought by the Saxons against the Scots and the Picts was placed at Stamford in Lincolnshire, forty miles from the town of that name. The Saxons are said to have used battle-axes and long swords which proved far superior to the darts and spears of the Northerners. A vivid picture is

given of the pitiable condition of the Britons after the Saxons had increased in numbers and turned against them:—

“Public and private buildings were levelled to the ground; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people without respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword; nor were there any to bury those who were thus cruelly slaughtered. Some who were taken in the mountains were instantly butchered; some exhausted by famine, delivered themselves up to the enemy, willing to undergo perpetual slavery in return for food, if they escaped slaughter on the spot. Some with grief sought refuge beyond the sea; others cleaving to their native country, prolonged a wretched existence among the mountains, woods, and inaccessible cliffs, in want of everything and continually trembling for their lives.”

After the Saxons, thinking the country subdued, turned their attention to developing their own provinces, the Britons taking heart once more, gathered under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of noble Roman parentage. Vortigern, who had met a disgraceful death in the rout of his people, had left two sons, Gortimer and Catiger, who acted as generals under Ambrosius. A battle followed in the seventh year after the arrival of the Saxons. At first “Horsa charged the troops of Catiger with such fury that they were scattered like dust before the wind, and the king’s son was dashed to the earth and slain. Meanwhile his brother Gortimer, a most resolute soldier, throwing himself on the flank of Horsa’s band, routed it, and their brave leader being slain, compelled the survivors to retreat on the division of Hengist, which was engaged unbroken with the van of the British army commanded by Ambrosius . . . who, straitened by the skilful advance of Gortimer, though he made a long resistance and caused a great loss to the Britons, at length—what he had never done before—fled.”* In the following year Gortimer died “and with him ended the victories, and hopes of his countrymen.” Hengest and his son Ease were victorious in war and reigned in the kingdom of Kent.

Thus far the story of Hengest has developed slowly with but slight changes of detail and, except in the account of Nennius, with but little additional material. But in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s “*Historia Regum Britanniae*” (1139) we come

*Trans. Thomas Forester, Bohn ed. pp. 40-1.

upon a full and detailed legend including material that had existed before probably in oral tradition only. Geoffrey like Nennius made free use of floating legend and presented all events from a Celtic point of view. His treatment of Hengest is important enough to be summarized in full:—

Constantine, king of the Britons, had three sons, Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon. Constans had been given over to the church at Winchester in order to be made a monk, but at the death of his father he was persuaded by Vortigern, an ambitious Earl, to assume the royal authority with Vortigern as chief counsellor and governor of the whole kingdom. The crafty Vortigern was soon established in full power since Constans proved but the shadow of a king and his two brothers were not yet out of the cradle. Pietish soldiers employed as mercenaries at the Court of Constans, led on by cunning speeches of Vortigern, broke into the king’s sleeping chamber and struck off his head. Vortigern, pretending great sorrow, ordered the soldiers to be seized and executed as traitors and, since there was no opposing force, assumed the crown himself. Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon were hurried by their faithful guardians into little Britain and given over to the care of King Budec. The reign of Vortigern, though it met with no effective resistance, was troubled by incursions from the Picts in revenge for the fate of their countrymen and by a growing dread of the sons of Constantine, who were rapidly growing to manhood. Such was the situation when news was brought to Vortigern at Canterbury of the arrival of three long boats containing armed warriors, big of stature. When they appeared before him in answer to his summons he was particularly struck by their captains Hengist and Horsa who surpassed all the others in dignity and comeliness. In response to the king’s inquiries Hengist “for that he was of riper years and readier wit than the others,” declared that they came from the Saxon land to seek service under some prince. They had been banished from their country by the casting of lots to relieve their native land of an overburden of population. Since he and his brother were of the family of dukes they had led the expedition under the guidance of Mercury, whom in their tongue they called Woden.

Vortigern, although feeling an orthodox shudder at their belief, rejoiced at their coming: “For mine enemies do oppress me on every side, and so ye make common cause with me in the toils of fighting my battles, ye shall be worshipfully retained in my service within my realm, and right rich will I make ye in all manner of land and fee.” Gladly accepting the king’s offer,

the Saxons advanced to meet an incursion of the Picts from the north and defeated them "on the further side Humber." Hengist, "a politic man and a crafty," took advantage of the king's gratitude and his fear of Aurelius Ambrosius to ask permission to send for more men of Saxon race. Vortigern freely granted his request whereupon he asked farther for a castle so that he might be considered in this new land of rank equal to that he had held in the land from which he came. Vortigern regretfully admitted that since he was a foreigner and a heathen it was impossible to give him the rank of earl or prince. Thereupon Hengist modestly asked for a plot of ground, "so much only as may be compassed round about by a single thong . . . So I may build me a high place therein whereunto if need be I may betake me." The king granted his petition and Hengist, taking a bull's hide cut it as fine as possible into a single thong and surrounded with it a stony place cunningly chosen and built the castle afterwards called in British Kaercorei, but in Saxon, Thongceaste.

The envoys soon returned from Germany with eighteen ships full of chosen warriors and Hengist's daughter Rowen, famous for her beauty. At an entertainment in the new castle King Vortigern praised the swiftness of the building and greeted the new soldiers. Rowen then came forth bearing a golden cup filled with wine, and bending her knee to the king said: "Laverd King, wacht heil!" The king delighted with her beauty was instructed by his interpreter to reply "Drine heil." The damsel then drank and gave the cup to the king who kissed her and drank, and ever since this custom has remained in Britain. Rowen became the wife of Vortigern in return for the province of Kent, and by this arrangement the king displeased his subjects and his own sons, Vortimer, Katigern, and Pascentius. Hengist now proposed to send for "my son Octa and his brother Ebissa," who were to be given the borderland between England (Deira) and Scotland so that they might bear the brunt of northern assaults. Vortigern willingly consented, and others kept coming until the numbers of Hengist's followers increased so greatly that the Britons began to fear them and to urge the king to dismiss them. Finding that Vortigern payed no attention to their plea, they turned to his son Vortimer who willingly acted as their leader and fought against the foreigners four pitched battles; the first on the river Derwent; the second at the ford of Episford, where Horsus and Katigern fell each wounded to death by the other; and a third, on the sea coast, which ended in defeat for the Saxons, who fled "sneaking away like women to their ships and taking refuge in the Isle of Thanet," where (fourth battle) they were besieged by Vortimer until they finally

slipped in their boats back to Germany leaving their women and children.

Vortimer at once began restoring property to his countrymen, repairing churches, and otherwise bringing back former conditions, but Rowen, determined to work his destruction, bribed a person whom he trusted to give him a poisoned drink. The great valor of Vortimer was shown while he was in the agonies of death. He ordered that a brazen pyramid should be erected on the coast where the Saxons land and his body should be placed on the top so the barbarians might not dare to return; but the Britons disobeyed him and buried his corpse at Trinovantum. Hengist, learning by a messenger from Rowen of Vortimer's death, raised an army of three hundred thousand armed men and fitted out a fleet. Vortigern and his princes, terrified at the news of his preparations, resolved to give battle and notice of this determination was sent by Rowen to her father. Hengist now made known to the king that his preparations had been made on the supposition that Vortimer was still alive but since learning of his death, he felt safe in leaving the matter of numbers with Vortigern. He asked the king to name a day and a place of meeting so that the matter might be settled. Vortigern, well pleased, promised to meet Hengist and a band of his men near the monastery of Ambrius on the Kalends of May. Before the meeting Hengist commanded each of his men to have a long knife hidden along the sole of his boot, and announced that when the Britons without suspicion were discussing the business of the meeting, he himself would give the signal, "Nemet oure saxas," at which each should cut the throat of the Briton standing next him. All went according to the directions of Hengist and four hundred and sixty of the barons and earls of Vortigern were slain and their bodies buried by the blessed Eldad at Salisbury near the monastery of Abbott Ambrius. In spite of the fact that the Britons had come unarmed, not suspecting treachery, they defended themselves bravely, snatching stones and sticks from the ground and putting to death many of their betrayers. Among those who bravely resisted was Eldol, Earl of Gloucester, who caught up a stake and broke heads, arms, and legs, until he had killed seventy men, and finally escaped to his own city. Vortigern was bound and made to give up his cities and strong places as a ransom for his life. The Saxons then took London, York, Lincoln, and Winchester and ravaged the country at will, while Vortigern fled to Wales.

At this point Geoffrey tells at great length of the building of Vortigern's tower, the discovery of Merlin, and Merlin's prophecies, all of much value as Arthurian material but only indirectly

concerned with the Hengest story. At the close of the prophecies Vortigern asked Merlin to reveal the ending of his own life and received in answer: "Two deaths await thee, nor is it clear which one of the twain thou mayst first escape. For upon the one side the Saxons will lay waste thy kingdom and will seek to compass thy death. Upon the other the two brethren Aurelius and Uther Pendragon will enter into thy land seeking to revenge their father's death upon thee."

The next morning Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother landed with ten thousand warriors. The scattered Britons flocked to the standard and the clergy anointed Aurelius as king. The new king with Eldol, Duke of Gloucester, who had so remarkably defended himself and escaped from the Saxons, besieged Vortigern and, not being able to storm the castle, burned it to the ground. The news of this deed struck Hengest and his Saxons with fear of Aurelius. They withdrew beyond the Humber and garrisoned the cities and castles of those parts. Aurelius followed them and the two forces met at a field called Maesbeli. Arrangements for the battle on both sides are described with much detail; especial stress is laid upon the desire of Eldol, Duke of Gloucester, to meet Hengest man to man and punish him for his treachery. But Hengest, after the battle had raged for some time saw the Britons gaining the mastery and fled to the Castle of Knaresborough. Aurelius pursued, and Hengest turned once more to meet him. At last Eldol and Hengest met and their conflict is described in vivid words. For a long time the issue was doubtful, but at last Eldol gripping Hengest by the nose piece of his helmet, put forth all his force and dragged him into the midst of the Britons crying out: "God hath fulfilled my desire! Up men and down with these Ambrons before ye; in your hands is the victory, for in conquering Hengest we have conquered them." The Saxons were soon put to flight, and Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester and brother of Eldol, advised that Hengest be hewed to pieces with the sword, as was Agag at the command of the prophet Samuel. "Accordingly Eldol took his sword, led Hengest without the city and sent him unto hell with his head smitten off."

Aurelius turned at once to the work of restoration, and among other results of this reign was a suitable monument to those

victims of Hengest's treachery buried at Salisbury. Through the agency of Merlin a group of immense rocks called the "Dance of the Giants" were brought from a mountain in Ireland and set up on the plains of Salisbury in a circle about the buried bodies. Thus Stonehenge stands as monument of Hengest's treachery.

CHAPTER II

FROM GEOFFREY TO MILTON

One result of the Norman conquest was a greatly quickened interest in the keeping of records. Chronicles, written in Latin, occasionally in French, and later in the English vernacular, filled an important place in literature until they were superseded by the work of the critical historian. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the great period of the Latin chronicle. Inspired by the feeling of patriotism carefully fostered by Norman rulers, and supported by royal and aristocratic patronage, English writers put forth records of events so detailed, so varied in interest and so ample in range that Stubbs declares, "It is from the English chroniclers of this period that much of the German history of the time has to be written."⁵ Every important monastic house kept its chronicle, and many individual writers compiled histories of the past and interpreted the life of their own times in their narratives of contemporary affairs.

Naturally these chronicles differed very much in style. Most of them perhaps were mere dry repositories of facts,—compilations from the past and annalistic records of the present,—but many of them deserve to rank as real literature. Such a work as that of Geoffrey of Monmouth had all the charm of imagination and romance added to the serious appeal of history. Its influence can scarcely be exaggerated. Alfred of Beverly, writing shortly after its appearance, states that the "Historia Britonum" was so universally the subject of conversation that anyone ignorant of its stories was considered a mere clown. Henry of Huntingdon in a letter to his friend Warimes declared he was amazed (*stupens inveni*) when he discovered the work, and proceeded to summarize its contents and add them to his own history.

But the work was not without its critics. William of Newburgh, whom Freeman calls the father of historical criticism,

⁵ Stubbs: Lectures on Medieval and Modern History, p. 125.

denounced it as written either "from an inordinate love of lying or for the sake of pleasing the Britons." That at least one Briton was not pleased is evident from the remark of Giraldus Cambrensis, who referred to the "Historia" as not worth consideration and illustrated its falsity by relating the experience of a certain Meilerius. This unfortunate individual was so devil ridden that he immediately recognized anything false that approached him. When the Gospel of John was brought near him the devils vanished, but when he was given Geoffrey's history they immediately returned in greatly increased numbers. However, notwithstanding the scorn of Giraldus for Geoffrey's historical accuracy, he does not hesitate to use many incidents related in the "Historia Britonum." In fact no writer before the days of modern criticism departs from Geoffrey's version of history except to check and modify it by the accounts of other writers.

His version of the Saxon Conquest became the accepted story of Hengest in England; even his enemies accepted it; William of Newburgh, his most severe judge, declared he "disguised under the honorable name of history, thanks to his Latinity, the fables about Arthur which he took from the ancient fictions of the Britons and increased out of his own head . . . I pass by all the things about the Britons before the time of Julius Caesar which this fellow invented, or adopted after they had been invented by others, and wrote down for true . . . It is manifest that everything which this person wrote about Arthur and his successors and his predecessors *after Vortigern*, was made up partly by himself and partly by others." It is evident that even the critical William did not include the tale of Hengest in his denunciation.

Writers of English history from the twelfth to the seventeenth century have been carefully classified by Fletcher⁶ on the basis of their treatment of the Arthurian material in Geoffrey. Since the Saxon conquest forms a section of this Arthurian material it is unnecessary to do more than to refer to this work of Fletcher for the detailed characterization of the long list of chroniclers extending through this period. An illustration, perhaps, of each of the four classes as outlined by Fletcher will

give a clear understanding of the nature and extent of the modifications that were made.

The first and most numerous class consists of those who make incidental use of very brief extracts brought in with other material at what the author regards as the proper point in time. Ralph de Diceto, Dean of St. Pauls, who lived in the stormy times of Thomas Becket, serves as a good illustration of this class. In his "Abbreviationes Chronicorum" he quotes from Bede the letter sent to Aëtius containing "the groans of the Britons." Failing to gain help from the Romans, the Britons agreed with their king Vortigern to call to their aid the Saxon tribe from beyond the sea. He further quotes Bede's account of the invasion of the Saxons and of the three German tribes who colonized Britain. In a note he explains the term *Germaniae* thus: "Omnis terra quae sub septemtrione jacet Germania vocatur, quia tantum virorum germinat; et Angli et alii multi dicuntur Germani." The leaders of these tribes, he concludes, were Horsa and Hengest. Horsa, killed by the Britons, has a monument in Kent.

The second class is made up of writers who include most of Geoffrey's narrative but break it up and tell of other things in connection with it. For that section of the material dealing with Hengest, John of Fordun offers an interesting example of this class. He also serves as an excellent type of the Scotch point of view. In the "Scotichronikon" of this man whom Fletcher terms "the discriminating father of Scottish history"—written about 1385—the following details appear as in Geoffrey, but correlated with parallel events in the annals of Scotland: Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, the arrival of Hengest and Horsa with their forces in three long boats, later arrivals from the three tribes (Angles, Saxons, Jutes), Hengest's defeat of the northern attacks, Vortigern's marriage to Rowen and his infatuation for the Saxons, the turning of the Britons from Vortigern and their choosing Vortimer as king, Vortimer's victorious campaign against Hengest in which Horsa was slain and Hengest was driven to the island of Thanet from whence he and his men escaped to Germany leaving the women and children, the death of Vortimer by poison at the hands of Rowen, the restoration of Vortigern and the consequent return of Hen-

gest, and finally a fairly full account of Hengest's treacherous slaying of the Saxons at Salisbury. An interesting point in this last account is the form of Hengest's war cry: "Zonre Sexes,"—a very peculiar rendering of Geoffrey's phrase.

Another interesting example of class two is the London printer Richard Grafton, whose "Chronicle or History of England" appeared about two centuries later. Grafton's account includes all the principal details of Geoffrey in much fuller form than that of John of Fordun, and although matter is brought in from other sources, it is slight and of minor importance. The paragraphs describing the slaughter of the Saxons illustrate well the way in which he handles his sources: "Ganfride" is paraphrased and quoted until the incident of Vortigern's remaining with Hengest as a prisoner is cited from Fabian, after which Grafton continues: "But the said Ganfride writeth more fuller hereof in this wise," and the incident is carried to its conclusion.

Writers of the third class take from Geoffrey practically everything that they say of the whole period. Their work consists either of a summary of his account or of a close reproduction. Fletcher⁶ cites Walter of Coventry and Bartholomew de Cotton as representatives and they will serve as well as others, since mere imitations scarcely need illustration.

In the fourth class the chroniclers use practically all of Geoffrey but also draw generously upon other writers and make additions and corrections. Higden's "Polychronicon" (1354) was perhaps the most popular of this class. Higden gives a general account of conditions in Britain under Vortigern and then cites specific passages from Geoffrey, Bede, and William of Malmesbury telling of the summoning of the Saxons. The passage from Bede relating the reinforcements from the three tribes follows. Henry of Huntingdon is quoted for the account of the first battle between the Saxons and the Scots and Picts. The building of "Thunecastre" is drawn from Geoffrey and the compact of British food and supplies for Saxon aid in war is quoted from Bede. William of Malmesbury is allowed to supply the story of Vortigern's infatuation for Hengest's daughter. The statement that Vortigern put away his legitimate wife, the

⁶ Fletcher: "Arthurian Material in the Chronicles," Ch. VI. Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.

mother of his three sons, Vortimer, Categirn, and Pascent, although attributed by Higden to Geoffrey, does not occur in Geoffrey's narrative and must be supplied either from Alfred of Beverley or by Higden himself.

Bede's statement that the Saxons turned against the Britons, demanding more pay and larger supplies, is followed by Geoffrey's assertion that the Britons, burdened by the multitude of Saxons, urged the king to send them away and, when he would not, made Vortimer king in his stead. The battles of Vortimer with Hengest, Vortimer's death and Hengest's subsequent return and death are given mainly from Geoffrey and William with a summing up by Higden himself. As a rule Higden accepts Geoffrey's narrative, questioning only the evidently fabulous sections. He puts aside the story of Vortigern's tower, the fantastic birth of Merlin and his prophecies, saying they were contained only in "the British book," and yet he says he would add them to his history if he believed them true.

Many variations from Geoffrey's narrative by later chroniclers are doubtless due to carelessness and wrong interpretation as well as to intentional change. Hengest's command in the slaughter at Salisbury is given in various ways: compare John of Fordun's "Zonre Sexes" and Richard Grafton's "Nempnith your sexes"; all the proper names are given in many different forms, but when one considers the chances for error in the numerous manuscripts and the varying language equipment of the writers, the surprising thing is not the variations but the uniformity of the accounts touching this period.

One of the most interesting of these variations is found in Jehan de Bourdigne "Chroniques d'Anjou et du Maine." In his efforts to set forth all the notable exploits of Angevine he produces "Bortegrimus," "occupateur du pays d'Anjou." He does not hesitate to make incidents fit his purpose and to connect the whole story with Anjou. He says that Vortigern's gift to Hengest was "la ville d'Angiers et le consulat d'Anjou." Evidently he has interpreted the name "Anglous" (Hengest is frequently called an Angle) as referring to Angevine. Because Hengest is connected with Anjou his character is presented in a more favorable light than usual. His treachery at Salisbury

is interpreted as an act of vengeance brought upon themselves by the ingratitude of the British.

Among later chroniclers Holinshed is of special interest because of his influence on literature and especially because he furnished so much material to Shakespeare. The debt of Holinshed's chronicle to Geoffrey's "Historia" may be estimated from the headings of the chapters telling of the Saxon conquest:—*

I

"Constantius the eldest sonne of Constantine having been a monke is created king, the ambitious & slie practises of duke Vortigerne to aspire to the government, he procureth certeine Piets and Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his person, his craftie devises and deepe dissimulation under the pretense of innocencie, he winneth the people's harte, and is chosen their king.

II

"Vortigerne furnisheth the tower with a garrison, he bewraieth his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Constantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuses and sinnes did universally concurre with a plentiful yeere, the Scots and Piets revenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his estate, the Britains send for succour to the Saxons, they come under the conduct of Hengist and Horsus two brethren, where they are assigned to be seated, they vanquish the Scots, disagreement in writers touching the Saxons first comming into this Iland.

III

"Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and subtile practises, a great number of forren people arrive in Britaine for the augmentation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his daughter, whereof Wednesdaye and Fridaie took their name, of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the love of Hengist's daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giveth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come over by Heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie move the king to avoid them, he is deprived of his kingdom, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

*Holinshed's Chronicles, I, Bk. 5, pp. 551 ff.

IV

"Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giveth the Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat fought between Catigerne the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains drive the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons return into Germanie as some writers report, they joine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

V

"Vortigerne is restored to his regiment, in what place he abode during the time of his sonnes reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisburie Plaine, the privie treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Glocester, Vortigerne is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three provinces of this land, a description of Kent."

The remaining chapters treat of the Pelagian heresy, Vortigern's tower, and other matters but distantly connected with Hengest, noting the death of Hengest as related by Geoffrey and citing also varying accounts of other writers. It is interesting to note how nearly his account agrees throughout with Geoffrey's.

We find even the critical mind of Milton following in the main the line of established tradition. His "History of England to the Norman Conquest," written in 1639 soon after he became blind, falls under the fourth class of chronicles, those which like Higden's "Polychronicon," make much use of Geoffrey but check and curb his account by passages from other writers. Milton begins the section we are considering with the statement: "Vortigern who at the time was chief rather than sole king . . . is said by him of Monmouth to have procured the death first of Constantine, then of Constans his son, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have usurped the crown."⁷ This statement is checked by reference to Roman history and, throughout the entire account, Bede, Nennius, Ethelwerd, Malmesbury are called upon and the Anglo-Saxon chronicle is quoted for the events it registers. He closes by recording (in

⁷ Page 74.

489) the death of Hengest, "the first Saxon king of Kent noted to have attained the dignity by craft as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness and civility."

Only a few of the long list of chroniclers following Geoffrey have been brought forward in this section, but a better understanding of the treatment given the Hengest story may be gained from the illustrations of Fletcher's four classes cited above, than could possibly be gathered from a bewildering number of miscellaneous quotations. The difficulty of presenting any coherent idea from such a mass of material has been well expressed by Holinshed: "But diverse such maner of contrarities shall ye find, in perusing of those writers that have written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in every point to recite, would be too tedious and combersome a matter, and therefore we are forced to passe the same over, not knowing how to bring them to anie just accord for the satisfieing of all mens minds, speciallie the curious, which may with diligent search satisfie themselves happilie much better, than anie other shall be able to doo in uttering his opinion never so much at large, and agreeable to a truth. This therefore have we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diverse authors doo write, leaving it so to everie mans judgement to construe thereof, as his affection leadeth him."

CHAPTER III

IN ROMANCE AND VERSE

Milton took pains to explain that the fabulous early history of Britain contained at best only "relics of something true" and yet he declared, "I have determined to bestow the telling over of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets, and rhetoricians, who by their art will know how to use them judiciously." There is no evidence that Milton's history served as an inspiration to poets and romancers, but Geoffrey's certainly did, and the figure of Hengest plays a part in metrical chronicles written with the spirit of the *chanson de geste*, in romances such as the Brut and Merlin, and in verse,—even in such verse as Spenser's Faerie Queene.

As early as 1150 Geoffrey Gaimar, an Anglo-Norman living in the north of England, paraphrased Geoffrey of Monmouth in his "L'Estorie des Engles." He begins, however, with the arrival of Cerdic and refers only to "Hengis" as a "Seisne."

Five years later Wace completed his "Roman de Brut"; also a Norman French verse romance based upon Geoffrey's "Historia." Wace made no pretense of confining his work to the statements of previous writers; he described scenes, characterized persons, and filled in details that seemed needed for literary effect. Instead of the mere statement of Constantine's death he gives a vivid picture of a treacherous Pict employed in the king's household who drew the king aside into a garden on pretence of revealing some secret matter and approaching close to the king's ear, drew a knife "and smote him so shrewdly that he died." Among the councillors of the realm, uncertain whom to choose as king since Constant was a monk and Aurelius and Uther were infants, Vortigern appears with a definite plan. He is characterized as a Welsh earl, strong in body, rich in goods and kin, courteous in speech and prudent in counsel; skill in intrigue is suggested in the statement, "long since had he made straight the road that he coveted to tread." He boldly offered

to take upon his soul alone the sin of drawing Constant from his abbey, rode swiftly to Winchester, and drew the willing monk "with a strong hand" from the monastery, none daring to gainsay his deed. Passing immediately to London, without the aid of Bishop or holy oil he crowned his puppet king.

Constant is presented as very desirous of reigning: "Little love had he for his abbey. Right weary was he of choir and psalter." Yet he makes no attempt to be a real ruler or to perform any of the duties of a king, but puts everything into Vortigern's hands and adopts without question every suggestion. He is weak, pleasure loving, and absolutely without training except that of the cloister. His incapacity as a ruler is shown in his words to Vortigern: "Thou art wiser than I. I give you all the realm to thy keeping . . . Cities and manors, goods and treasure, they are thine as constable. Thy will is my pleasure."

But not content with being the real ruler, Vortigern desired the crown for himself. His plan as developed by Wace was one of clever subtlety. He summoned a body of Picts from Scotland under the pretence of making them a protection against "the sea-folk from Norway and from the country of the Danes" who are threatening to descend upon the kingdom. After the Picts became a part of the king's household, Vortigern used every device to attach them to himself, until the rude warriors declared openly that he was better fitted for the throne than was the king. Finally one day when they had sat long at their cups Vortigern came to them sadly, pretending that he must leave them and seek his fortune in distant lands since he had spent all he had upon their support and the king allowed him so little that he had nothing left to give them; but if fortune favored him he would seek them out and share his means with them again. As soon as he left them his suggestions began to take effect. "Let us slay this renegade monk, this shaveling, and raise Vortigern to his seat;" and they rushed into the king's chamber and struck off his head. Hurrying after Vortigern, they displayed the head of the king, crying, "We forbid you to go from amongst us. Take now the crown and become our king." Vortigern no longer needing the good will of the Picts, pretended great sorrow and anger and, summoning the councillors, caused at once all the heads of the Picts to be struck off.

Thereupon, in spite of secret suspicion against him which was indicated by the flight of Aurelius and Uther, Vortigern became king.

Thus far Vortigern is characterized by Wace as a clever though unscrupulous schemer and a man bold and strong in action. From this point he degenerates and becomes the victim of conditions he has created and Hengest becomes the hero who bends circumstances to his will. The Saxons are described as fair of face and comely of person; Hengest and Horsa as "two brethren of mighty stature and outland speech. They came into the king's presence and did reverence with a proud bearing . . . Shapely were they of body, taller and more comely than any youth he knew." Hengest is called the elder and mightier of the brethren. His strength and craftiness are developed with more fullness and consistency than were the same qualities in Vortigern and without the stigma of disloyalty. In fact, Wace pauses for the direct comment that Hengest's seeking to turn affairs to his own profit "was his undoubted right." Hengest is given the characteristic qualities of a Norman baron; Thong-castle is a Norman keep with "towers, strong and fair" constructed by "good masons." Even the slaying of the Britons leaves no stain on Hengest's honor as a knight, since they are his professed enemies and deceiving them is military strategy. With a thrifty combination of loyalty and personal profit he stands between the Saxons and Vortigern, crying, "Harm not the king, for nothing but good have I received at his hand, and much has he toiled for my profit. How then shall I suffer my daughter's lord to die such a death! Rather let us hold him to ransom, and take freely of his cities and walled places in return for his life."

Rowena is visualized as "a maiden yet unwed, and most marvelously fair . . . sweetly arrayed and right dainty to see, bearing in her hand a brimming cup of wine." She was "gracious of body and passing fair of face, dainty and tall and plump of her person. She stood before the king in a web of fine raiment and ravished his eyes beyond measure."

Vortimer's characterization is very slight. He is the typical soldier patriot who rouses the Britons and clears the country of its oppressors. He is easily entrapped by Rowena and has

not made sufficient impression on his followers to make them fulfill his dying command.

Many details are supplied by Wace to make the story plausible and vivid. Vortigern's wife had long been "dead and at peace." In the meeting at Salisbury plain "those who gripped the knives thrust the keen blades through cloak and mantle, breast and bowels, till there lay upon back or belly in that place nigh upon four hundred and sixty men of the richest and most valiant lords in the kingdom." "Eldof, Earl of Gloucester got a great club in his right hand, which he found lying at his feet." When Aurelius was besieging Vortigern "Aurelius and Eldof laced them in their mail. They made the wild fire ready and caused men to cast timber in the moat, till the deep fosse was filled. When this was done they flung wild fire from their engines upon the castle. . . . The castle flared like a torch; the flames leaped in the sky; the houses tumbled to the ground; . . . the king was burned with fire . . . and the king's wife who was so marvelously fair." In the final battle between Eldof and Hengest, "The two closed together with naked brands and lifted shields, smiting and guarding. Men forgot to fight, and stared upon them, watching the great blows fall and the gleaming swords."

But even more than Wace amplified and developed Geoffrey's narrative, Layamon enlarged upon the work of Wace. His "Brut," finished in 1205, took up the story of Hengest with the same incident used by Wace,—the killing of Constantine by a treacherous Pict; but Layamon, not satisfied with merely relating the incident, makes it dramatic; he gives action, speech, manner; and works up the details to the tragic end. More detail also is used to picture the confusion that followed: "mickle sorrow spread to the folk; then were the Britons busy in thought; the king's two sons little they were both,—Ambrosie could scarcely ride on horse and Uther his brother still sucked his mother; Constance, the eldest, wore monk's clothes in Winchester; the landfolk came to London to their husting; then chose they Aurelia Ambrosie."

At this crisis Vortiger is made to appear. Layamon's characterization of him differs from that of Wace in laying less emphasis on his strength and stressing more his craftiness and

evil nature. Almost with the regularity of a refrain such lines follow the mention of "Vortiger" as "gep man and swithe war," or "he was wis and swithe war," or "of moche uele he was war." And Layamon does not depend on direct statement to carry conviction but he shows Vortiger working out his evil plots. He makes the Welsh earl complete his plan to make Constance king by trickery rather than by straightforward force of will. First Vortigern persuades the council to wait two weeks before they crown Ambrosius; then riding to Winchester he pretends great affection for Constance and wins his consent to forsake his vows and take up the sceptre. The scene in the monastery is very definitely pictured. Vortiger causes Constance to exchange garments with one of the forty knights in his retinue and then he holds the false monk in conversation in the "speech house" while Constance escapes. "Monks passed upward, monks passed downward; they saw by the way the swain with monk's clothes; the hood hanged down as if he hid his crown; they all weened that it were their brother, who sat there so sorry in the speech house in the daylight, among all the knights." At last, when Constance was safely away, Vortiger departed. The monks found the heap of garments by the wall and the abbot leaped on his horse and overtook the Earl. Vortiger swore to hang the abbot unless he consented to unhood Constance, and his threats prevailed.

No less dramatic is the way in which Vortiger presents Constance to the council. Dressed in royal garments and hidden with twelve knights, the unfrocked monk waited his cue to appear. Vortiger allowed the Britons to weary themselves with debate, then quickly and sharply told what he had done, had monks ready to witness that Constance had been freed from his vows and held out the crown to Constance, who had instantly appeared, and cried "Whoso will this withsay, he shall buy it dear!"

Layamon's treatment of this incident is typical of the way he makes use throughout of Wace's account. He is fuller, more concrete, and much more dramatic. He gives more direct discourse, and the speeches are longer and characterize the speakers more definitely. Hengest is presented with much the same qualities that Wace gives him. The Old English device of

epithet is used to accompany his name as well as that of Vortiger; he is "Hengest, enihten alre hendest," or "enihten alre feirest;" or with lengthening to three lines "fairest of all knighte, . . . in all this kingdom is not a knight so tall nor so strong," and "fairest of all knights who lived of heathen law in those days."

Hengest's rank is stressed and his courage and subtlety are emphasized by many details. In going to court, "Hengest went before, and Hors next of all to him, then the Alemainish men, who were noble in deeds, and afterwards their brave Saxish knights, Hengest's kinsmen of his old race;" and again: "There came Hengest, there came Hors, there came many a man full brave." In battle against the Piets, it was safety to the Britons that Hengest was there. . . . "for very many Peohtes they slew in the fight; fiercely they fought, the fated fell! When the noon was come the Peohtes fled; on each side they forth fled, and all day they fled, many and without number." But it was not bravery alone that gave Hengest his ascendancy over Vortiger, for he outdid even that crafty Briton in subtlety, and Layamon furnishes details that make his subtlety very convincing. In gaining land for his castle, "He had a wise man who well knew of craft, who took his hide, and laid it on a board, and whet his shears . . . of the hide he carved a thong very small and very long . . . as it were a thread of twine; when the thong was all slit, it was wondrously long; about therewith he encompassed a great deal of land." Of course the trick is the same as given by Geoffrey and Wace, but the process here is shown so clearly that we are much more impressed by its cleverness.

In describing "Rouwenne," Layamon does not give all the personal details that are found in Wace, but he calls her fairest of women and adds that she was clad with excessive pride, her clothes were embroidered with gold, and the wine bowl was of gold. In the poisoning of Vortimer her procedure is given minutely with details befitting a Borgia. She filled from a tun of the most precious wine (while men were drinking and harps were resounding in the hall) a bowl of red gold and advancing to the king before all the company, greeted him thus: "Lord king, Wassail, for thee I am most joyful." Then she drank half of the wine and, as she finished drinking, secretly emptied

into it the contents of a golden phial filled with poison which she had carried in her bosom. As she passed the bowl to the king immediately after taking it from her lips, he drank without suspicion and did not know that he was poisoned until the company had dispersed and Rowenne had fled and was fast enclosed in her own castle.

Another characteristic of Layamon's romance is the remarkable way in which it retains the spirit of Old English verse. Especially is this true of the battle passages. At times the very language seems an echo of the older phrasing. When during the slaughter of the Britons the fate of Vortigern is described—"woe was the king alive . . . Hengest grasped him with his grim grip"—we are reminded of Grendel in the terrible hand grip of Beowulf or of Finn who in his own hall experienced the grim grip of vengeance. Hengest's last battle might, except for the rhyme, be mistaken for a passage of Old English heroic verse. Before the forces meet, Hengest makes his "gylp-spraec;" "Better are fifty of us than of them five hundred,—that they many times have found." Aldolf makes a vow to the ruler of dooms to avenge his kindred slain by the long saexes at Ambresbury. Scarcely are his words spoken when Hengest and his host appeared over the down; "fiercely they marched; together they came; terribly they slew. Helms resounded; warriors fell, steel struck against bone; streams of blood flowed in the ways, the fields were stained, the grass made fallow." At last Aldolf comes upon Hengest and smites so mightily that Hengest's shield is shivered in two. "Then Hengest leaped like a lion and smote upon Aldolf's helm so that it parted. Then hewed they with swords,—the strokes were grim; fire flew from the steel." When Hengest is finally taken Aldolf shouts in triumph: "Hengest, it is not so merry for thee now as it was by Ambresbury, where thou drewest the saexes, and slew my kindred!"

All of the qualities that have been spoken of as peculiar to Layamon appear in his account of Stonehenge. Many concrete details are added in relating the efforts of Aurelius to provide a suitable monument for the fallen Britons. A dramatic interview between the king and Merlin resulted in the decision to send an army of fifteen thousand knights with "Uther the good" as

leader to Ireland. "And the brave knights took the haven; they went upon the sea strand and beheld Ireland. Then spake Merlin: 'See ye now, brave men, the great hill so exceeding high that it is full nigh to the welkin. That is the marvelous thing; it is named the giant's ring (Eotinde Ring), to each work unlike,—it came from Africa.' " But Gillomaur, king of Ireland, who was most strong, heard that Britons had come to fetch the stones and "made mickle derision and scorn" and swore by St. Brandan they should not "carry away our stone" but should "spill the blood out of their bellies" and so be taught to seek stones; "And afterwards I will go into Britain and say to the king Aurelie, that my stones I will defend and unless he do as I will, I will carry the fight into his land; make him waste paths and wildernesses many; widows enow,—their husbands shall die,"—a very fair "gylp-spraec" but one destined not to be carried out. The armies came together and fought fiercely,—the fated fell, but the Irish were defeated and the king was shamed; thus ended his boast,—he fled to the wood and let his folk fall: seven thousand lay deprived of life. The Britons went to their tents and worthily took care of their good weapons and rested as Merlin counseled them. On the fourth day a thousand picked knights approached the hill and viewed the marvelous work; then with strong sailropes and trees great and long they wreathed with utmost strength one stone; they labored, with mickle strength but they had not power to make one stone stir. After this Merlin caused Uther to assemble all the knights and draw them back so that none should be near the stones; and Merlin went thrice about, within and without, and moved his tongue as if he sung his beads; next he called Uther and his knights to come quickly and lift all the stones. They obeyed and carried the stones like featherballs to the ships and brought them to Ambresbury where Merlin reared them as they stood before; never any other man could do the craft. "Then was the king wondrous blithe and on Whitsunday he made there a feast. There on the weald, over the broad plain tents were raised,—nine thousand tents and the place was hallowed that was formerly called Aelinge but now hight Stonehenge."

With Layamon the Hengest legend in England is practically complete. The various treatments that follow belong to what

may be called the period of translation and imitation. There are many interesting variations and modifications of Layamon's version, but Hengest is no longer the center of interest; the romancers turn their attention to Arthur and Merlin and there is no more expansion of details relating to Hengest,—on the contrary he is made an increasingly subordinate figure until he is gradually dropped altogether from the Arthurian cycle. He does, however, retain a fairly important position in all the Brut manuscripts and one of some interest in the various Merlin romances.

The most important form of the Brut after Layamon is the French prose "*Brut d'Engleterre*," composed about 1272 and translated into English in the early part of the fifteenth century.* In this very popular romance king Vortiger was not only beset by Piets but was at the same time threatened by a host assembled under Aurilambros and Uter when tidings were brought him that a great navy of strangers had arrived in Kent. Messengers sent to them by the king were received by "two brethren, prynces and maistres," one called Engist and the other Horn. These leaders said that they came from Saxoyne, the land of Germayne, where it was the custom, because of the many people, to send out the boldest and best after giving them "horse and harneyse, armure, and al thing that have nedeth," into other countries to find homes for themselves as their ancestors did before them. "And therefore, sire king," they concluded, "if ye have ought to done with oure company, we bene comen into youre lande; and with gode wille you wil serve, and your lande helpe, kepe, & defende from youre enemys, if that you nedeth."

Vortiger gladly accepted the proffered service and the strangers "delyverede the lande clene of here enemys." After this follows the Thongcastle incident, the wassail incident with Vortigern's giving of Kent for Rowene, and the crowning of Vortimer by the Britons. Three battles are mentioned against the Saxons; "the ferst was in Kent . . . the secunde was att Tetteford; and the thridde was in a shire a this half Cool, in a more. & in this batail ham mette Cattedren and Horn, Engistes

*"The Brut." *E. E. T. S.*, Orig. Series, Vol. 131.

brother, so that everyche of ham slough other; but forasmuche as the contre was geven longe bifore to Horn through Vortyger, tho he hade spoused his cosyn; there he hade made a faire castel that men callede Horncastel, after his owen name." In revenge for his brother's death, Vortimer destroyed this castle and drove Hengest and his people out of the land.

"Ronewenne the Quene," after bribing servants to poison Vortimer, "sent prively by lettre to Engist . . . that he shulde come ageyne into that land, wel arraide with miche peple, forto avege him uppon the Britons, and to wynne his land ageyne." The traditional trick of Hengest in the slaughter of Salisbury is repeated with the consequent subjugation of the land by the Saxons. The statement is also made that Hengest caused the name to be changed from "Britaigne" to "Engistes land" and divided the country into seven kingdoms each under its own king in order that it might be so strongly protected "that the Britons shulde never after come therein." The remainder of the tale follows tradition without going into detail; it is even briefer than the account in Geoffrey.

In the Merlin romances there is a noticeable tendency, as in the instance previously cited (Ch. I, notes 2 to 3), to subordinate Hengest and his affairs. The Middle English prose romance, translated about 1450 from the French prose of Robert de Boron, referring to him as a Dane calls him Angier and says of him only that he served the king "trewly till he had made ende of his werre" and that Vortiger "took oone of Angiers doughters to his wif." Later in the tale after Pendragon is made king, we learn that "the Danoys that Vortiger had brought in to the lande werred sore upon the cristen people. And Pendragon beseged Aungier in the castell of the Vyse." When they sought counsel of Merlin they were told: "Go to your prynee, and telle him that he shall never wynne the Castell till Aungier be slain." Later when the king was anxiously awaiting messengers from Merlin, a comely man appeared before him and announced: "Wite thow wele that Aungier is ded, for thy brother Uter hath hym slayne." Soon after messengers arrived who told how Uter had slain Aungier. When Merlin was finally found and questioned as to how he had gained his knowledge he replied: "Anoon as ye were departed fro your oste, to come

hider, Aungiers wolde have morderid thi brother in his teinte. And I went to the brother, and warned him of Aungiers purpos, and of his strengthe, and how he wolde come by nyght hym-self to his teynte, formeste of his company. And the brother dide not mystruste me, but made good waieche all that nyght, sole be him-self, till that Aungiers com with a knyf in his honde, to see thi brother. And Uter let him entre into his teynte, and serched aboute; but he fonde not Uter ther-in, Wherefore he was sorry. And at the comynge owte, thi brother fought with hym, and slowe hym with his owne handes."

About the same time (1450) a rhyming version of the French prose Merlin was made by Henry Lonelich (or Herry Lovelich, E. E. T. S. Extra Series XCIII), skinner and citizen of London. The details given are practically the same as those just cited. A good idea of the relation it bears to the English prose Merlin may be gained from comparing the passages describing Hengest's death:—

"Sire, quod Merlyne, as it not ben scholde,
Augwys uter mordred han wolde,
Anon to thy brother i wente in hye,
and told hym al his purpos utterlye,
and how that augwys hym ordeynede to slet;
al this i told hym, ful Sykerle,
and yit he ne wolde not me beleve,
tyl that the sothe him-selve dede preve.
so that yowre brothir wook alone al nyht,
tyl that the sothe he preven myht,
and evere awayted the comenge
of Augwis, that was so crewel a kinge.
thanne atte laste cam this haugwis
into uteris pavyloun, that was of prys.
and youre brothir let hym entren anon,
with a scharpe knyf drawen, into his won,
hym forto haven slayn verayment.
so that uter he sowhte a abowtes the tent,
but he ne cowde hym not Fynde,
wherfore he mornede in his mynde.
and owt agen he wolde han gon,

but youre brothir mette with him anon.
So there fowten they to-gederis, in certayn,
that uter, youre brothir, hath hym slayn."

In the age of Shakespeare we find the story of Hengest embedded in two very interesting verse forms: Drayton's "Polyolbion" and Spenser's "Faerie Queene." The "Polyolbion" (1622) attempts to "digest into a poem" a "chorographical description" of Great Britain "with intermixture of the most Remarkeable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same." In his fourth book Drayton imagines a musical tournament between England and Wales. The English first turn to Glastonbury

"And humbly to Saint George their Country's Patron pray
To prosper their design now, in this mighty day."

The Britons, fully as devout address their petitions to St. David and

"Thus either, well-prepar'd the other's pow'r before,
Conveniently being placed upon their equal shore;
The *Britons* to whose lot the onset doth belong,
Give signal to the foe for silence to their song."

Their song, of course, is of Arthur, "their most renowned knight";—of his sword "Escalaboure"; his spear "Rone"; and his shield "Pridwin"; of his round table, his wars, and especially

"The several twelve pitched Fields he with the Saxons fought
The certain day and place to memory they brought."

The English, attempting to interrupt, are overborne by the courageous spirit of the bards who bend to their "well-tun'd Harps" and sing

"How *Merlin* by his skill, and magic's wondrous might,
From *Ireland* hither brought the *Stonendge* in a night."

But at last they finish and the English

"that repin'd to be delay'd so long,
All quickly at the hint, as with one free consent,
Strook up at once and sung each to the instrument;

* * * * *

Of *Germanie* they sung the long and ancient fame,
 From whence their noble Sires the valiant *Saxons* came,
 Who sought by sea and land adventures far and near;
 And seizing at the last upon the Britons here,
 Surpriz'd the spacious Isle, which still for theirs they hold.

* * * * *

And as they boast themselves the Nation most unmix'd,
 Their language as at first, their ancient customs fix'd,
 The people of the world most hardy, wise and strong;
 So gloriously they show, that all the rest among
 The Saxons of her sorts, the very noblest were."

In the "Eleventh Song" the praise of the Saxons is given in more detail:—

"Nor were the race of Brute, which rul'd here before,
 More zealous to the Gods they brought unto this shore
 Than *Hengist's* noble heirs; their idols that to raise,
 Here put their *German* names upon our weekly days.
 These noble Saxons were a nation hard and strong,
 On sundry lands and seas in warfare nuzzled long;
 Affliction thoroughly knew; and in proud Fortune's spite,
 Even in the jaws of Death had dar'd her utmost might:
 Who under *Hengist* first, and *Horsa*, their brave Chiefs,
 From Germany arriv'd, and with the strong reliefs
 Of th' *Angles* and the *Jutes*, them ready to supply,
 Which anciently had been of their affinity,
 By *Scythia* first sent out which could not give them meat,
 Were fore'd to seek a soil wherein themselves to seat.
 Them at the last on *Danak* their ling'ring fortune drave,
 Where *Holst* unto their troops sufficient harbour gave.
 These with the Saxons went, and fortunately wan:
 Whose Captain, Hengist, first a kingdom here began
 In *Kent*; where his great heirs, ere other Princes rose
 Of Saxony's descent, their fulness to oppose,
 With swelling Humber's side their empire did confine."

But Drayton's references to Hengest although interesting do

not give us so connected an account as is found in the *Faerie Queene*. In the second book toward the close of canto IX Sir Guyon and his companion have found in the chamber of Eumnestes "an auncient booke, hight Briton Moniments" and "burning with fervent fire their country's ancestry to understand," they are given permission by the lady Alma to read. Here they find the story of Vortigern who

"sent to Germany strange aid to rear;
 From whence eftsoons arrived here three hoys
 Of Saxons, whom he for his safety employs.

"Two brethren were their capitains, which hight
 Hengist and Horsus, well approv'd in war,
 And both of them men of renowned might;
 Who making vantage of their civil jar,
 And of those foreigners which came from far
 Grew great, and got large portions of land,
 That in the realm ere long they stronger are
 Than they which sought at first their helping hand,
 And Vortiger enfore'd the kingdom to aband.

"But by the help of Vortimere his son,
 He is again unto his rule restored;
 And Hengist seeming sad for that was done,
 Received is to grace and new accord,
 Through his fair daughter's face and flatt'ring word.
 Soon after which, three hundred lords he slew
 Of British blood, all sitting at his board;
 Whose doleful monuments who list to rue,
 Th' eternal marks of treason may at Stonehenge view.

"By this the sons of Constantine, which fled,
 Ambrose and Uther, did ripe years attain,
 And, here arriving, strongly challenged
 The crown which Vortiger did long detain;
 Who, flying from his guilt, by them was slain;
 And Hengist eke soon brought to shameful death
 Thenceforth Aurelius peaceably did reign,
 Till that through poison stopped was his breath;
 So now entombed lies at Stonehenge by the heath."

CHAPTER IV IN FRISIAN TRADITION

Toward the close of the sixteenth century a considerable body of tradition had been connected with the name of Hengest by Frisian writers. According to them he was the son of Udolphus Haron, the last duke of the Frisians. Suffridus Petrus, who appears to have been one of the foremost historians in North Holland at the beginning of the seventeenth century, gives the following account of Frisian history and historical writers.⁸ Hanco Fortemannus, a Frisian in the time of Charlemagne wrote commentaries upon his expeditions through Greece, Anglia, Scotia and other places. A little earlier under the same emperor, Sulco Fortemannus, a man of nobility, excellent in learning and ability to write, composed a historical work in the Latin tongue including the history of all the tribes from Frise to Radbod II. On account of his frankness of statement (he praised Gundebald the Christian brother of the king more than the monarch himself) he was thrown into prison by Radbod but was afterwards liberated by Charlemagne. This work, burned in the presence of the author, was not passed on to posterity entire, but certain scraps and torn fragments, saved from the flames were collected by Oeco Scharlensis, his direct descendant, and were put in order and filled out.

After these Cappidus of Stavora, (*ca.* 920) a priest, wrote the whole history of his race collected from all the Frisian writers before named and many others. Of this work, which was lost as a whole, some parts were preserved by a certain Andreas Gryphius, who lived about 1574 A. D. Then Oeco Scharlensis, (of Scarl in the district of Geestano) a member of the noble family of Takema, having carefully collected what he could find of the writings of his ancestor Sulco Fortemannus, reduced them to order and as far as he was able by learning and industry

⁸ Cf. Ubbo Emmius: "De Origine atque Antiquitatibus Frisorum, contra Suffridi Petri & Bernardi Furmerii," etc., p. 14ff.

filled out the gaps and supplemented them by later occurrences. Thus he produced in the Latin language a continuous series of events from the earliest people to his own time. He wrote about 970. His work lay unknown and unpublished among the possessions of the Takema family for four hundred years when John Vlieterpius (1370), who had himself collected material concerning the antiquities of his native land, came upon it and used it to produce a work giving a continuous history in the Belgic tongue to the year 1370, his own time. This volume, unknown and so carelessly kept that parts of it became almost illegible, fell at last into the hands of Andreas Cornelius, who will be spoken of later.

Thirty years after Vlieterpius, M. Alvinus Sneecanus wrote in the Belgian tongue a compendium (in rhyme) of Frisian history from the origin of the people to the time of Charlemagne. A hundred years later,—that is, about 1500—Folkerus Simonis, rector of the School at Sneca, compiled a chronicle of the Frisians in Latin, and about the same time Suffridus Rodolfus Sterkenburgius collected the antiquities of Friesland from the earliest times and wrote a complete history to his own times. This latter work was scattered after the death of its author and only torn relics of it were recovered by his grandson Suffridus Petrus.

About the same time also (1500) Martinus Carmelita wrote an "elogia nobilium Frisionum;" and a little later two Taborita monks, Henry and Vorperus, wrote records of Frisian affairs from the beginning to their own age; the first closing with the year 1508, the latter 1530. Idsard Gravius also composed a chronicle of his people in the interval between that of Henry and that of Vorperus.

Finally Andreas Cornelius, organist at Harlingen, who died in this same town in 1589, prepared in 1566 a volume in Belgic on Frisian affairs from the earliest times to his own, in which he made use of these earlier writers. It is this succession of writers, Suffridus would have us believe, to whom we owe a knowledge of Frisian affairs in the early centuries of our era. Writing of Hengest, Suffridus attempts to reconcile the British chronicles, which call him a Saxon, and Frisian accounts, which claim him as a Frisian prince, by explaining that the genealogy

given by Bede applied to his maternal ancestry. Vergistus (the son of Vitta, the son of Vecta, the son of Voden) was the father of Suana, Hengest's mother.

Udolphus Haron was sent by his father Odibold, the governing duke of Frisia, into Angria to be trained by Yglo Laseon in the exercise of arms in real battles. At this time there was living near Hamburg the satrap Vergistus, and Udolphus Haron, visiting Saxony, met Suana the daughter of Vergistus, and married her with the consent of her parents.

Shortly after, upon the death of his father Odilbald, he became the seventh and last duke of the Frisians, since his successor Richoldus Uffo, proud of his triumphs over the Danes, assumed the title of king. To Duke Udolphus were born two sons, the elder of whom was named Hengest and the younger Horsus in memory of two brothers of Suana who had died before her marriage. Vergistus adopted these two grandsons in the place of the sons he had lost; hence it is not surprising, especially in view of their later career, that they became known as Saxons.

Their natural father Udolphus sent them, as soon as they were of suitable age, to the court of the emperor Valentinian to be trained in letters and to be disciplined in arms and in all matters pertaining to war. Their period of service ended, they returned to their father, who, in order that they might not grow idle, sent them into Angria to assist Yglo Laseon to keep within bounds the restless spirits of that turbulent country. Here they maintained and increased their military prowess and became renowned for their valor among subject tribes and neighboring people; especially were they recognized and esteemed among the Saxons.

But misfortune overtook them soon after they returned to their own land. Complaint arose among the people that their small country was no longer able to support the great number of people to which the population had increased. They demanded that in accordance with the customs of their fathers and an ancient law of the Frisians a colony should be sent forth. The duke having received the complaint, summoned by proclamation the strongest and best known in deeds of war from every district and state of his territory that a band might be sent forth, which by their departure might relieve the straitened condition of the

country, and by their valor seek out and settle new territory. In this summons not even his own sons were spared. The band to be exiled was selected by lot from the best youth of the country thus congregated, and the "black lot" fell upon both sons of the duke, who were at once chosen as leaders of the expedition.

On the day of departure all gathered near Doekenburg, now called Doceum. Fitted out with arms and equipped with all necessary supplies, they weighed anchor and through the river Lavica they arrived at Esonstadium, a territory then at the extreme north of Frisia, opposite an island called "Monachorum Ogva" which offered a convenient port to the Lavican sea of which, now swallowed up together with a great part of the land by inundation of the ocean, no trace remains except in letters. From this place, taking leave of their country, they were carried into Anglia, a region nearest the Jutes, where they found safe landing places and took advantage of their opportunity to occupy some provinces in which they fixed settlements.

This locality possessed convenient ports for conducting sea raids, and the two brothers joined themselves to the Saxons among whom they were already so well and favorably known, and became active in the celebrated Saxon piratical expeditions. For many years they vexed the regions of Brittany and Armorica in company with Angles and Saxons until they were invited to turn their forces into the service of the king of Britain.

Suffridus states that Geoffrey of Monmouth incorrectly makes Octa and Ebissa the sons of Hengest whereas they were his grandsons. Their father Orichius, who became king of Kent after the death of Hengest, kept his elder son, Octa, with him as his successor in the kingdom but sent the younger, Ebissa, back to Friesland where he became ruler of all Angrivari and a good part of Vesualia and adopted as his coat of arms the device of a black horse. From Ebissa sprang the Angrivarian dukes of Vesualia, descending in direct line to Vitkind the Great.

These Frisian chronicles, like the mythical history of the Britons, agree in their essential outlines, although there are interesting differences of detail. They all make Hengest derive his natural descent (as opposed to his adopted Saxon ancestry)

from Friso, the eponymous founder of his race. Three brothers, Saxo, Bruno, and Friso, landed with their followers on the western coast of the North Sea. They agreed each to found a separate colony. Friso established his company along the lowlands of the coast, Saxo went east and settled the region about the Elbe, and Bruno went up the Weser and built the tower of Brunswick. From Friso there descended the princes of Frisia: Adel, Ubbo, Asinga Ascon, Diocarus Segon, Dibbaldus Segon, and Tabbo; then with the title of dukes: Asconius, Adelboldus, Titus Bojocalus, Ubbo, Haron Ubbo, Odilbaldus, and Udolphus Haron. Since Hengest and Horsa, the only direct heirs of Udolphus, were banished from their country by the black lot, the "seventh and last duke" was succeeded by his brother-in-law Richoldus Uffo who, through pride in his victorious struggles with the Danes, assumed the title of king.

There are, however, some variations in the details of these narratives. Bernardus Furmerius in his "Annalium Phrisicorum Libri Tres" (1609) does not spend so much time in controversy with other writers and gives a fuller story than does Suffridus. He explains that the dukes were elected by the suffrage of the orders of the state and that Udolphus Haron, thus elected (in 360) as the successor of his father Odilbald, was a man most eager for glory in war and ever intent on extending his sway as far as possible.

In the year 368 Yglo Lascon, under whom, as we have seen, Udolphus Haron had received his training in arms, was attacked by powerful forces of Sicambrians, Angrians, and Westphalians so that there seemed danger of losing the territory under his control. Duke Udolphus, aroused by this danger, immediately prepared a great army and went to his assistance. He devastated and plundered the fields of the Sicambrians, and, taking possession of a great part of the country, placed a garrison in charge and returned to Frisia. Shortly afterwards Yglo Lascon sent to his Lord Udolphus from Angria a marvelously strange wolf with several heads and a body of strangely variegated colors. This wolf was later sent by Udolphus to the Emperor Valentinian and was prized by him as a great marvel.

The sending of Hengest and Horsa to Valentinian is given

by Furmerius as in 374, and he states that the Emperor received the youths willingly and "maintained them with all care and watchfulness in his hall among equals."

Two years after he had sent his sons to the Emperor, Duke Udolphus collected a strong force and invaded the neighboring lands which extended south and southeast from Friesland. After conquering the country, he erected fortifications and placed garrisons within them to make his conquest permanent. Then the energetic Duke, having brought peace to his borders, turned to affairs within his realm and rebuilt, in 377, the city (*civitas*) of Warden. This place, situated on the sea in the bay of Lavica had been destroyed in a great fire. After reconstruction it was given the name of Aesonstadius.

After an absence of nine years, Hengest and Horsa returned to their own country. They had served the Emperor Valentinian and his son until the year 380 and in all undertakings, especially in military expeditions, they had borne themselves most commendably. When after the death of Valentinian they were returning to their own land, they passed through the territory of the Duke of Brabant and were persuaded by his entreaties to remain with him for three years. At this time Brabant was ruled by Carolus Taxander, its tenth Duke. In his service Hengest and Horsa daily performed deeds of valor, for which they continually burned with the greatest zeal.

Returning to Friesland, they were received with great joy by their father, who kept them and their distinguished band of followers with him for a year with great affection and admiration. Then in the year 384 he sent them to Yglo Lascon his governor in Angria that they might share with him the administration of the provinces. In these duties they bore themselves in the best possible manner.

But they had been in Angria only a year when they were recalled by trouble in Friesland. A complaint had come up from the people that Frisia was so greatly burdened by the multitude of inhabitants that it was no longer able to support them all. Therefore the duke was asked by vote of the orders of state that he carry out the will of the people according to the decrees established by the praiseworthy custom of their forefathers and, following this custom, select by lot those most unhampered by age and most distinguished in strength of mind

and of body to leave the fatherland and, with valor as leader and fortune as companion, seek for themselves new lands, and make by their withdrawal a place more spacious for those remaining and a living more easily obtained. This course was pointed out clearly by the example of their founders (Saxo and Bruno both led colonies beyond the borders of Frisia, and Vitho or Iutho, the son of Friso, had thus founded the race of Jutes) and also by the procedure of bees who, overburdened by too great a throng of progeny, lead forth colonies. Duke Udolphus at once sent forth a proclamation, not only throughout Frisia but also through all other provinces that were subjected to his sway, and assembled from all villages, communities, and towns the flower of youth and valor, that from these the casting of lots might decide who should go forth and seek new homes. With such justice did Udolphus Haron carry out this duty that not even his own sons were spared; and thus the black lot fell upon Hengest and Horsa who were at once appointed dukes and captains by the others upon whom the decree of chance fell.

After fitting out a fleet furnished with all necessary things, Duke Udolphus dismissed his sons and their followers with invocations for their success. They loosed anchor and, making use of favorable winds, arrived in a region almost unoccupied this side of the Eider, a river of the Danes. This region they named Frisia in memory of their fatherland, but Minor in respect to magnitude; for this Saxo Grammaticus* and Albertus Crantzius are authorities. Since this land was not unlike the one they had left, being low and intersected with various streams of the ocean and conveniently furnished with ports, it was so pleasing to the dukes that they determined to found a colony there. They therefore built embankments and proceeded to make it habitable. At this time Hengest was twenty-four and Horsa twenty-one years of age. These two princes, with followers loyal to them and hardy and accustomed to warfare, subjected the country without difficulty, because the Jutes and the Angles were of origin similar to the Frisians and their first colonies had been sent out by the Frisians under Ubbo the son of Iuto in the time of Adel, prince of the Frisians. Moreover of these colonies

*Saxo Grammaticus, ed. Holder, Bk. xiii, pp. 464-5. Trans. Elton, p. 7.

Crantzius wrote: "The community is a witness in name and in language that it was founded by a tribe of Frisians to whom seeking by lot new homes the land offered itself; which, marshy and low at first, they hardened by long culture." In Frisia Minor, then, Hengest and Horsa founded their colony, took wives from the neighboring people, and reared families. Their love of war they satisfied in piratical expeditions, carried on not only among the hostile people to the north but extending even to Greece and Asia. Such expeditions were formerly not considered wrong if we may believe Herodotus and Thucydides.

For the latter part of Hengest's life Furmerius manifestly uses the account of Geoffrey or of Nennius, although he quotes Bede in several places and endeavors to correct the English chroniclers by appealing to the chronicles of his own country. That Hengest was a Frisian he considers proved by the fact of the wassail custom. The habit of presenting the bowl with a kiss as Rowena did is, he claims, a custom found only in England and his own country. This fact with the close likeness of language he regards as proof that the invaders of England were at least partly Frisian. The same point is stressed by Pierius Winsemius, historiographer to the states of Friesland in 1622 who stated that "the pleasant custom of kissing was utterly impractical and unknown in England until the fair Princess Ronix, the daughter of King Hengist of Friesland pressed the beaker with her lipkins (little lips) and saluted the amorous Vortigern with a kusjen, according to the practice of our (Frisick) nation."*

In 1620 Martinus Hamconius put forth a volume on the illustrious men and deeds of Frisia with a preface written by "Pierius Winsemius Historicus." This was a book not of continued narrative but of gleanings gathered into attractive forms of Latin prose and verse. In his pages we find some variations in the Hengest story from the accounts given above. For instance, he states that when the colony was sent out, Hengest and Horsa turned first to their maternal grandfather Vergistus, who adopted them as sons and gave them the province of old Anglia for their settlement. Afterwards they were called into

**Edinburgh Review*, 52: 4-5.

Britain by king Vortigern. Hameonius also tells us that Ebissa accepted as a coat of arms from the king of Frisia a black horse in memory of his grandfather Hengest; black because of the black lot that had deprived him of the kingdom of Frisia. This device was borne by Vitekind before his baptism but as he stepped from the font it was changed by Charlemagne to a white horse to signify his conversion.

Of Hengest's struggles with the Britons, Hameonius writes that his brother Horsa having been killed "*per invidiam*" and fortune having turned against him, he fled to the continent where he founded Western Frisia, building as his stronghold the tower of Leyden which in later years became the city of Leyden. From this place he returned, stronger than before, to accomplish the subjugation of the Britons.

Both Hameonius and Furmerius call attention to the fact that Willebrord, apostle to the Frisians and later their archbishop, was a direct descendant of Hengest. Furmerius gives the details of his descent: Orichius, Hengest's successor as king of Kent, left three sons: Oeta, Ebissa, and Edelredus. Ostrida the daughter of Edelred had two daughters, Oronia and Berta. From Oronia who married Villegis, a noble and pious man, was born Willebrord; and Berta, married to Sigebert, was the mother of Svidbert. Thus from Hengest, who destroyed Christianity in England, sprang the apostle who carried Christianity to his native Friesland; and on account of their kinship in race they were able to preach in the tongue of their listeners, as both Marcellinus and the Venerable Bede testify.

Cornelius Kempius of Doecum, in his book published 1588, explains that the name "Engellandt" was derived from Engist the Frisian, because it was commonly called "Engeslandt after he had gained sway over it, and soon the name was corrupted to Engellant." Kempius is not alone in this conjecture; it was generally accepted by Frisian writers and was also held by a number of writers in England. Even some of those who derived the name from Angle considered that the term Angle-land was selected because Hengest was of that race.

Ubbo Emmius appears to be the first really critical historian in Friesland. He was made head of the University of Groningen, when that institution became a university in 1614, and Professor

of History and Greek. In a spirited controversy with Suffridus and Furmerius he declared that their histories were no better than old wives' tales and that the much treasured early history of Friesland was a tissue of fables. The celebrated Oeco Scarlensis he regarded as a myth and the chronicles based upon his work as worthy of no more consideration than the writings of Hunibald, Geoffrey, or Saxo. And yet even he, although he does not insist upon the point, believed that Hengest was a Frisian. In his "*Rerum Frisicarum Historia*,"⁹ he brings out the fact that the name Saxon had become widespread and was commonly applied to all those who dwelt along the coast between the Rhine and the Eider, or in the vicinity of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems. Especially was the term Saxon used to designate bands of sea raiders. Thus among other tribes, the Frisians were often referred to as Saxons by ancient writers. This being true, he thinks some weight should be given to the strongly established Frisian tradition that Hengest and Horsa were of Frisian blood. He also draws attention to the close resemblance of the English and Frisian languages and to the fact that Wilfrid, Willibrord, and other descendants of Hengest's band went without interpreters as evangelists to the Frisians, preaching as Frisians to Frisians.

But it is not alone among the chroniclers that we find in Friesland traces of Hengest; oral tradition also has something to contribute. In popular descriptions of Holland like that of Edmondo de Amicis occur such remarks as the following: "This castle, (in the middle of the city of Leyden) called by the Dutch the Burg, is simply a large round empty tower, built, according to some, by the Romans, according to others by a certain Hengist, the leader of the Anglo-Saxons."¹⁰ Baedeker's volume on Holland and Belgium also refers to the same tradition. Again, on the island of Sylt there is firm conviction that the invaders of England went from its shores to Ebbsfleet. W. G. Black in his "*Heligoland and the Islands of the North Sea*" says: "The history of Friesland is a confused one; but the great fact which makes its lonely sands more attractive than the glows and glories of the broad belt of the world is that it was the cradle of the

⁹ Ubbo Emmius: "*Rerum Frisicarum Historia, Liber III.*"

¹⁰ "Holland:" Edmondo de Amicis—trans, Helen Zimmern, Vol. II, p. 16.

English race."¹¹ Black calls attention to the fact that Green in his "History of the English People" remarks that it is with the landing of Hengist and his war-band at Ebbsfleet on the shore of the Isle of Thanet that English history begins: "'No spot in Britain can be so sacred to Englishmen as that which first felt the tread of English feet.' As I stood the other day, on the sandy shore of the rift in the dune which local tradition in Sylt points to as the ancient harbors of the Frisians, from which Hengist sailed to the conquest of Britain, I felt that this spot was scarcely less sacred." Mr. Black also states that the language of these north Frisian islands is so similar to English in its word sounds that he was often unable from a distance to tell whether boatmen were speaking English or the dialect of the islands. In written forms the likeness is not so noticeable because of differences in spelling. He quotes a well-known couplet:—

"Buwter, breat ene greene tzies,
Is guth English en guth Friesch."

If one should attempt to compare the treatment given to Hengest by the chroniclers of England and of Friesland* the most striking difference found would be the spirit in which he is regarded. By the British he is considered "the wickedest of pagans"¹² (John of Wallingford) and no detail is neglected to emphasize his cruelty and treachery. Although an occasional writer found in him qualities to admire—as in Layamon's "fairest of knights,"—the body of English tradition is voiced by Milton who, in recording his death as king of Kent, says that he "attained that dignity by craft as much as valour, and giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness and civility."

But to the Frisian writers he was all that a war leader in the heroic age should be. Furmerius says: "Hengist and his men were great in spirit, strong in body, and enduring in labor; they were the bravest of the Germans, most feared by the Romans, terrible in valor and in swiftness." Wherever he appears in

*In this statement the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is not included.

¹¹ Chapter LV, p. 66.

¹² John of Wallingford in Gale: Script.

their tradition, Hengest is the ideal of the "free Friese," a leader of men, bold and ambitious, but loyal to the customs of his fathers even to the extent of depriving himself of his hereditary right to rule and going forth an exile from his country. He has genuine qualities of leadership; a flair for the right place, as witnessed by his settlement near the Eider and his landing in Britain; boldness and initiative combined with the habit of looking beyond the immediate consequences; and mother wit that won victories which mere fighting could never have gained. It was worth while to follow such a leader. Even his enemies admitted his power. Eldol, his mortal foe, cried out in their last battle, "In conquering Hengest we conquer all." And this power, feared and hated by the Britons, was admired and praised among the Frisians and its possessor was held as an illustrious type of the heroic age,—a war-leader who embodied the qualities of his race.

CHAPTER V

IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

Thus far there had been no question of the identity of the Hengest under discussion, but when we turn to Old English poetry, such a question does arise. In two of the best known Old English poems—*Beowulf* and the *Fight at Finnsburg*—Hengest is a prominent figure. He appears in the service of Hnaef and is one of the leaders in the *Fight at Finnsburg*. After the death of Hnaef he assumes leadership of the Danish forces. From this point the episode is given in *Beowulf* as follows (lines 1080-1159):—

“Warfare took off all Finn’s officers save only a few, so that he might not in any way offer battle to Hengest on that meeting-place, nor save the sad survivors from the prince’s general by fighting; but they (the Frisians) offered them (the Danes) terms, that they would give up to them entirely another hall, a chamber and a seat of honour, that they might share equal possession of it with the sons of the Eotens, and that atgivings out of pay the son of Folewalda (Finn) would each day bear in the mind the Danes,—would gratify with rings the troop of Hengest, even with just so much costly treasure of plated gold as he would cheer the Frisian race with in the beer-hall.

“Then on both sides they ratified a treaty of fast friendship. Finn certified Hengest with oaths, absolutely and unreservedly, that he would treat the defeated remnant honourably according to the ordinance of his counsellors; provided that no man there broke the covenant by word or deed, or although, being without a leader, they had followed the murderer of their ring-giver, ever mourn for it with false intent—for it was forced upon them thus; and (on the other hand) if any of the Frisians should call to mind the blood-feud by provoking words, then the edge of the sword should settle it. The oath was sworn, and treasure of gold was brought up from the hoard.

“The best of the War-Scyldings, the battle-heroes, was ready on the funeral pile. At the pyre the blood-stained corslet, the swine-image all-golden, the board hard as iron, and many a noble killed by wounds,—for several had sunk in death—were visible to all. Then Hildeburh ordered her own offspring to be

given over to the flames at Hnaef’s funeral pile—his body to be burned and put upon the pyre. The unhappy woman sobbed on his shoulder, and lamented him in dirges. The war-hero ascended. The greatest of bale-fires curled (upwards) to the clouds, roared above the grave-mound; heads were consumed, gashes gaped open: then the blood sprang forth from the body, where the foe had wounded it. The fire, greediest of spirits, had consumed all of those whom war had carried off, of either nation—their flower had passed away.

“Then the warriors, deprived of their friends, went off to visit their dwellings, to see the Frisian land, their homes and head borough. Hengest still, however, stayed the dead, forbidding winter through with Finn, altogether without strife; his land was in his thoughts, albeit he might not guide over the sea a ring-prowed ship (the ocean heaved with storm, contended with the wind; winter locked the waves in its icy bond), until a new year came round to the homes of men, and the seasons gloriously bright, regularly observing their order, as they still do now.

“Then the winter was past, the bosom of the earth was fair, the stranger-guest hastened from his quarters, yet he (Hengest) thought rather about vengeance than sea-voyage, whether he could not bring about an altercation, in which he might remember (for evil) the sons of the Eotens. Hence he did not run counter to the way of the world, when the son of Hunlaf gave into his possession Hildeleoma, best of swords.¹³ Thus its edges became well known among the Eotens. Moreover, cruel death by the sword afterwards befell the daring-minded Finn at his own homes, when Guthlaf and Oslaf made sad complaint, after their sea-voyage, about the fierce attack,—blamed him for their share of woes. His flickering spirit could not keep its footing in his breast.

“Then was the hall reddened with corpses of the foes; Finn, the king, likewise was slain among his guard, and the queen taken. The bowmen of the Scyldings bore to the ship all the belongings of the country’s king,—whatsoever they could find at Finn’s homestead of necklaces and curious gems. They brought the noble lady over the sea-path to the Danes, and led her to her people.”¹⁴

In the earlier translations of these poems it was generally taken for granted that this Hengest was identical with the well-known figure in the chronicles. Grundtvig, the first to give a complete interpretation of these passages, assumed as a matter

¹³ For varying interpretations of this passage see analysis referred to in note 15.

¹⁴ Clark Hall: “*Beowulf*.”

of course that the Hengest in the tale was the only Hengest referred to in heroic tradition, just as a scholar to-day if a manuscript should be discovered celebrating a battle waged by Roland somewhere in the region of the Pyrenees in the time of Charlemagne, would without hesitation add the exploit to the legends gathered about the hero of Roncesvalles. The burden of proof would fall upon the person who believed that this Roland was a new and hitherto unheard of person. Grundtvig not only saw in Hengest the historical first king of Kent but he also thought it quite possible that Eaha (line 17 of the "Fight") was Oeca, his son, whose name, spelled in various ways, appears in many records as successor to his father as ruler of Kent.

This understanding of Hengest's identity was not only accepted but was definitely reaffirmed by Price and Kemble. Kemble, however, changed the translation of the important lines 1142-1144, making them tell of the death of Hengest, who was set upon and slain by the followers of Finn. It was this translation apparently, that raised the first doubt of Hengest's identity. Wackerbarth, in 1848, accepted Kemble's translation but thought that Hengest could not be the invader of Britain, since, he says, "I am not aware that any writer states Hengist, the first King of Kent to have died in Friesland, whereas Matthew of Westminster (*ad an.* 489) declares that, being defeated and made prisoner by Aurelius Ambrosius, he was at the instance of Eldad, Bishop of Gloucester, beheaded."¹⁵

But it was the compelling influence of Grein that caused general acceptance of the theory that the Hengest of the Finnsburg tragedy was a person entirely distinct from the one in Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Grein adopted Kemble's reading but agreed with Wackerbarth in thinking him mistaken in seeing the death of the historic Hengest in lines 1142-1144, although he admitted that the two Hengests must have lived at about the same time. From the time of Grein's article in Ebert's *Jahrbuch* (1862) until the present the Grein point of view has been largely accepted as the orthodox attitude of scholarship and the burden of proof has been cast upon anyone venturing to suggest a different interpretation.

¹⁵ For a full discussion of the various interpretations of these poems see Aurner: "An Analysis of the Interpretations of the Finnsburg Documents," University of Iowa Humanistic Series, 1917.

Within the last ten years, however, there has been a distinct tendency to return to the original view, regarding the historic Hengest as the one whose deeds were sung by the scop of Hrothgar. This view has been put forth as a discovery. It was suggested by Chadwick (1907) in his "Origin of the English Nation" who worked out a series of arguments in its favor, cautiously concluding it "more probable than not that the two Hengests were identical." One real addition to material helpful in forming an opinion was furnished by Chadwick when he called attention to a statement in the *Skioldunga Saga* (chap. 4 in Arngrim Jonsson's epitome) that a Danish king named Leifus had seven sons, three of whom were called Hunleifus, Oddleifus, and Gunnleifus. It is difficult to escape Chadwick's conclusion that we have here a key to the Hunlafing of *Beowulf*. By the law of chances one would scarcely find three names apparently bearing exactly the same relation to each other in two different tales of the same age, but referring to entirely different persons. Of course, as Professor Lawrence has brought out in his recent article on "Beowulf and the Tragedy of Finnsburg,"¹⁶ a proper name in Germanic story does not by any means indicate that the same name in another story refers to the same hero or heroine. However, if one should find in different stories two names bearing exactly the same relation to each other in both, and if these names should represent the same kind of characters in each, placed in similar circumstances and at the same period of time, it would be hard to believe that they were not intended to refer to the same people. Now three names occurring together in this way increase the probabilities of identity so greatly that definite proof to the contrary would be necessary to call it in question.

The identification of the three names in the *Skioldunga Saga* with the three heroes mentioned in *Beowulf*,—making Hunlafing the brother of Ordlaf and Guthlaf instead of a sword as Chadwick had supposed—was pointed out by René Huchon in the *Revue Germanique* in 1908. Later, J. R. Clark Hall showed that Hunlaf and not Hunlafing would be the name of the brother of Guthlaf and Oslaf.¹⁷ Since the ending "ing" was regularly

¹⁶ *P. M. L. A.*, June, 1915, p. 372 ff.

¹⁷ "A Note on Beowulf," *Modern Language Notes*, XXV 113-114.

used to indicate a son or descendant of, Hunlafing would be a son of Hunlaf the oldest of the seven brothers (as the order of the names would suggest); and if, as Clark Hall thinks probable, Hunlaf had been killed by the followers of Finn, there would be no need to seek further for a motive in Hunlafing's giving the famous sword to Hengest or for a reason why Guthlaf and Oslaf instead of Hengest are mentioned as leaders in the vengeance taken upon Finn.

The identification of Hunlafing as a Dane would, as Professor Lawrence has stated in the article cited above, show clearly the incorrectness of Kemble's translation of lines 1142-1144. Now it is the supposed death of Hengest, based upon the Kemble and later the Grein translation of these lines, that furnishes the chief argument against identifying him with the conqueror of Britain, and with this supposition removed there would seem to be no reason why the original interpretation should not stand.

But it is not in Beowulf only that we find the name of Hengest associated with that of Hunlaf. Dr. Imelmann of Bonn called attention, in 1909,* to a passage from a late Brut version: (Cott. Vesp. D. IV, fol. 139b.) "In diebus illis, imperante Valentiniano, regnum barbarorum et germanorum exortum est, turgentesque populi et nationes per totam Europam consederunt. Hoc testantur gesta Rodulphi et Hunlapi, Unwini et Widie, Horsi et Hengesti, Waltef et Hame, quorum quidam in Italia, quidam in Gallia, alii in Brittaina, ceteri vero in Germania armis et rebus bellicis claruerunt."¹⁸ In this passage we find the names of four of the heroes mentioned in Beowulf: Hrothulf, Hunlaf, Hengest, and Hama. Such a striking parallel leaves little room to doubt the identity of these heroes of the *Völkerwanderung*. It is worth noting, also, that here at least, there can be no question of Hengest's identity, for he is definitely associated with Horsa and his achievements in Britain are specifically referred to.

Another link connecting the historical Hengest with the Finnsburg warrior is the fact that both Finn and Hengest are names firmly fixed in the tradition and folk-lore of the island of Sylt. As detailed in the chapter preceding this, local tradition

*In *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Apr. 17.
¹⁸ Holthausen *Beowulf* II, p. XXVIII.

has fixed a definite place on the shore of the island as the ancient Frisian harbor from which Hengest sailed on the memorable expedition which led to the Germanic conquest and settlement of England. Another favorite tale, discussed fully in C. P. Hansen's "Westerland auf Sylt,"¹⁹ is the story of Finn and the great war between the dwarfs and the giants. Hansen sees in this tale, as does also Möller in his "Altenglische Volksepos,"²⁰ a dim remembrance of the story referred to in Beowulf, overlaid with the popular features of fairy and folk lore. Finn, king of the dwarfs, who dwelt beneath the largest mound on the island, had succeeded in gaining a maiden of Braderup for his queen. Her brothers, called together the forces of the island, waged bitter war against Finn and his followers. Finn was defeated and deprived of his bride. This general outline, although richly embroidered with fantastic detail, is certainly suggestive of the Finn episode in Beowulf. Neither of these tales was put in written form until the second half of the nineteenth century. Of course purely oral tradition cannot be relied upon as definite proof, but, taken together with many other indications pointing toward the same conclusion, it increases the strength of one's general conviction.

A considerable literature of controversy has grown up around the figure of Hengest in Old English poetry. Discussion has largely centered upon details of translation, which details do not seem to be significant enough in themselves to serve as a safe basis for drawing conclusions. As Professor Lawrence has wisely pointed out in the article cited above, "decision in regard to any one passage is likely to depend upon the view taken of other passages, and of the personal and ethnographical relationships of the different characters." Might it not be well to withdraw from the heat of battle, to step aside, as it were, from the din of discussion and ask oneself calmly what would be the natural understanding of an Old English audience listening to the hero tales of their race if they heard the words chanted: "Then to the doors two noble warriors went, Sigeferth and Eaha, and drew their swords, and at the other doors Ordlaf and Guthlaf; and Hengest himself turned him upon their track."²⁰ Would

¹⁹ Möller: "Altenglische Volksepos," p. 82ff.

²⁰ Fight at Finnsburg, II, 18-19.

not the words "Hengest himself" (unless it can be definitely proved that there was another Hengest famous enough to be thus referred to) inevitably call up to them the hero to whose leadership they owed their English heritage? There must have been adventure and accomplishment in his life before the expedition to Britain, and what more natural than that such adventure should furnish telling allusion in epic tale?

Personally, I see no sufficient reason for refusing a place in the legend of Hengest to the passage recorded in Old English poetry. One might ask why Gruntvig's identification of Hygelac with the Chochilaicus in Gregory of Tours should be unquestioningly accepted and used as one of the means to establish the date of the poem, while his identification of Hengest is cast aside without satisfactory proof. I believe the answer to this query is that Grein's emphatic assertion that the Old English Hengest was not the conqueror of Britain has been generally adopted without inquiring carefully into his reasons for making this statement. In my "Analysis of the Interpretations of the Finnsburg Documents"²¹ I have shown the very inadequate grounds on which this assertion is based. Until proof can be offered that a second Hengest existed of sufficient fame to become a great figure in the Germanic hero cycle, it seems to be the natural and sensible thing to include the Beowulf episode and the Fight at Finnsburg among the tales that make up the legend of Hengest.

The question might be asked why is there no reference in the chronicles or romances to Hengest's part in the Finnsburg tragedy if that was so well known as to furnish one of the epic themes in the folk wandering period. This entire lack of allusion might be taken as evidence against the identity if there could be discovered anywhere in the chronicles reference to other events in Beowulf or to any event in the life of Hengest before his arrival in England. As a matter of fact, all the chronicles treat the Teutonic conquerors of Britain (except for mythological genealogies) as if their histories began with this conquest. Of course, there must have been experiences in Hengest's past worthy to be sung, for we find him everywhere referred to as a mature and capable warrior, skillful in devices as well as power-

²¹ Cf. Note 15 *op. cit.*, pp. 15-17.

ful in combat, and the fact that he was the leader of a large band of adventurers is evidence that he had gained reputation. The part that he takes in both forms of the Finnsburg story, the fight and the episode, is precisely what might have happened just before his descent upon England.

The story as told in Beowulf is the tragedy of Hnaef and the vengeance taken by his kinsman for all their woes. Hengest appears as a thane who does faithful and efficient service in keeping together the Half Danes after the fall of their leader until they are able to return home and get together a sufficient force to obtain the vengeance they long for. If the story had been told from a different point of view,—if it had been Hengest's story, we might have learned many things that puzzle us now. It has been Hengest's fate always to be just outside the center of literary interest; in Old English Hnaef and Finn form the main theme and in Middle English Vortigern and the ancestors of Arthur. Except in the Frisian chronicles — which hardly deserve to be classed as literary — he has always played a secondary, although very vigorous rôle.

In the episode there is no direct evidence as to the tribe of Hengest except that, for the time, he was in the service of Hnaef. He might well have been acting in the same relation that we find him taking later toward Vortigern. We learn from the fight fragment that Hnaef's band included well known warriors outside of the tribe of the Half Danes; Sigferth, prince of the Seeges, proclaims before the striking of blows that he is a warrior widely known, who has experienced many woes, many hard battles.²² The band must have been made up of redoubtable champions, for in the episode Sigferth, important as he must have been, is not mentioned. It is clearly implied that Hnaef has gathered to accompany him to the court of Finn a picked group of men known for doughty deeds. Hengest was certainly the most famous of these, for we find him assuming unquestioned leadership after the fall of Hnaef. And yet Hengest seems not to have possessed any land of his own, since in Widsith he is not mentioned, although Finn, Hnaef, and Sigferth (Saferth) are spoken of as ruling over the tribes ascribed to them in the fight and the episode. If Hengest, who

²² Fight at Finnsburg, 11, 26-28.

ranked above Sigeferth in the same company, had ruled a land or people of his own, Widsith would doubtless have included him in the catalogue.

One of the points which has been stressed by those who argue in favor of interpreting lines 1142-1145 as telling of Hengest's death is that he is not mentioned as leader of the band when it returned,—that Guthlaf and Oslaf are the ones who wreak vengeance upon Finn. If, as seems probable, Hengest was not of Hnaef's kin there is no reason why he should lead the avenging expedition. He had performed his full service in extricating Hnaef's followers from a dangerous situation. In fact, it would have been humiliating to folk pride, the vengeance would have been very imperfect, if an outsider had been the leader. According to the *Skioldunga Saga*, Guthlaf and Oslaf were Danes and certainly if their brother Hunlaf had fallen at the hands of Finn, they would permit no one else to take vengeance upon the slayer of their brother as well as of their prince.

It seems safe to conclude then, on the whole, that since the chroniclers indicated no knowledge of any of the events in the personal history of the leaders of the Germanic tribes previous to their settlements in England, the lack of allusion to Hengest's part in the *Finnsburg* tragedy is no indication that the Hengest there mentioned is another person. When we consider that the Hengest of the episode must have been a contemporary of the Hengist of Bede, that the scene of the fight is in the neighborhood from which the historic Hengest is said to have come, and that the character and situation seem to be the same in each case, it is hard to escape the conviction that Beowulf and Bede have preserved different events in the life of the same man. When we add the various indications cited in this chapter—slight, perhaps, in themselves but taken together forming a strong presumption in favor of the same conclusion—there seems ample justification for including the winter with Fran among the adventures of Hengest, founder of the kingdom of Kent.

Summing up the points made in the preceding discussion, we have the following conclusions:—

1. Hengest was a heroic figure about which a great body of legend accumulated.
2. The development of the Hengest legend furnishes an interesting illustration of the manner in which an epic subject grows into literary form.
3. Hengest forms a connecting link between Old and Middle English literature.
4. The historic leader in the conquest of England and the Hengest of the *Finnsburg* documents belonged to the same time, the same locality, and manifested the same characteristics.
5. Contributory facts from various sources give strong evidence of the identity of the two.
6. Such identity would carry with it two very important results: (a) the interpretation of an important passage in *Beowulf*, and (b) a valuable glimpse of the leader of the Anglo-Saxon conquest before his appearance in England.

There are disadvantages that come from living in a critical age. The constructive instinct is checked; the rebuilding of the past is not allowed to proceed until every element is subjected to searching analysis and tests. Such conditions are favorable to accuracy and clearness in the grasp of facts but are not conducive to imaginative reconstruction or the understanding spirit. In finishing the survey of what has been written and sung of Hengest, one is tempted to forget for a time the scientific attitude and allow the spirit of a thirteenth century chronicler to hover over the field.

Roger of Wendover, perhaps, pottering about in the garden of Latinity with a keen eye for blossoms to add to his "*Flores Historiarum*" would be delighted with the discovery of the Frisian material. Turning to the "*Historia*" of Geoffrey, kept at his elbow, he would finger the pages until he reached the question of King Vortigern as to who the strangers were and from whence they came. Here he would decide to insert the tale of Frisian birth and training, banishment by the black lot, marriage and Saxon adoption, and the various attempts to gain fame and fortune—all in Hengest's reply. Weaving together the accounts of *Occa Searlensis*, *Suffridus Petrus*, *Bernardus Furmerius*, and others, he would make a connected narrative,

omitting, perhaps, contradictory statements, filling in or changing dates if necessary, and supplying sentences to round out a story or explain a situation. No critical doubts would hinder him in the use of this material, for was it not written in Latin as fairly transcribed at times as the pages of Bede; and were not the writers men of learning, some of them monks like himself? Possibly he would lay aside, however, the episode in Beowulf and the exultant song of the fight at Finnsburg. The old heathen verse would repel him and he would not care to encourage the fierce joy in vengeance that it expressed; better, then, omit this event and enlarge and embellish others that might convey an edifying moral.

But if the spirit should happen to be that of Layamon no such scruples would be evident. The joy of battle would fire his pen so that the fight at Finnsburg and the winter with Finn would ring out grandly as the culmination of Hengest's adventures. How could Vortigern doubt that this was the man to deliver him from his foes when he listened to the narrative of the leader in the fight that "swept away all the thanes of Finn except a few." Surely the general that had brought away safely the followers of Hnaef after the dreary winter with Finn would be able to direct the British forces and overcome the dread Scots and Picts. Double assurance lay in the fact that this leader had been joined by his brother Horsa, second only to himself in strength and valor, who, perhaps, had been left in charge of the settlement in Old Anglia while Hengest joined the expedition of Hnaef. Who can doubt that Layamon would have been delighted to incorporate this section of Hengest's life if he had been as familiar with the saga cycles of the North Sea as he was with the body of Celtic tradition?

But in the twentieth century it is impossible to use the method of chronicle and romance. A scientific summary must follow reason alone and examine microscopically the whole body of evidence available. The present study has aimed to bring together all the materials that treat of the name Hengest in the heroic age of the Germanic people. These materials have been presented chronologically except in the case of the Old English passages, which were placed last because they are not universally regarded as referring to the same subject and it seemed best to

have all the evidence in mind before proceeding to a discussion of this much disputed point. The interpretation set forth in the preceding chapter is my own reaction to what has been discovered in going over the work of this field. Of course it is the privilege of every scholar to examine the facts for himself and interpret them as he sees fit. The present work will be justified if it serves to bring these facts to light and to present them in useful and convenient form.

APPENDIX

The following tabulation has been arranged to present in graphic form the growth of the Hengest legend. All the events ascribed to Hengest from whatever source have been noted as nearly as possible in their chronological order. Such arrangement, where it is not clearly indicated in the source, is purely conjectural, but in each case the event and the exact reference from which it is cited are clearly pointed out. So far as I have been able to discover, all the significant allusions to Hengest in writings previous to the seventeenth century have been brought together.

No attempt has been made at an exhaustive critical discussion of the chroniclers and romance writers, since this work has been done so carefully by R. H. Fletcher in his work on the Arthurian material in the chronicles that going over the field again would be a work of supererogation. Of course many of the writers included by him have little or nothing to say of Hengest, and a number who speak of Hengest make no reference to Arthur. The Old English and the Frisian material would come in the latter class and their claims for consideration have been treated in the chapters devoted to them. Many minor chroniclers who merely mention Hengest's name or refer to some fact that has been wearisomely echoed by scores of others have been omitted. In fact, a glance over the tabulation will show that much of the matter included is mere repetition, but this repetition when made by writers of some importance, especially if accompanied by slight variations and additions, has a value of its own. In no other way could be shown more vividly the natural growth and development of an epic theme. First we have a few striking facts and deeds attached to a heroic figure: his name, the tribes under his leadership, his compact with Vortigern, the battles against the Scots and Picts and then against the Britons, and, finally, his death. Later writers fill in explanations and add picturesque details and dramatic events. The two periods most prolific in such additions were the thirteenth century in England

and the sixteenth in Friesland. If the Old English poetic passages be considered as referring to the same person as the one treated in the chronicles they must be regarded as an allusion to actual events rather than as products of the imagination. Taken as a whole then, the appended table gives a clear representation of the way in which tradition gathers about a center of historic fact. If the tale of Hengest had happened to appeal to some genius such as the one that produced Beowulf or the Chanson de Roland, doubtless more striking marvels would have been introduced and the whole fused together with vivid emotion and some great theme. As it stands we have epic materials in the natural state not transformed by genius.

It is interesting to note the nature of the variations introduced by different writers. The name appears in many forms. Following Bede and the O. E. Chronicle, most of the Latin writers use Hengist or Hengistus although Florence of Worcester has Hengst, Cornelius Kempius, Engist, and Ubbo Emmius, Engistus. In the English vernacular we find the form Hengest in Beowulf, the Fight fragment, and Layamon; Engist in the Brut of England and Hardyng's Chronicle; Hungast in Stewart's Boece; Angier, Angys, and Angwys in the Merlin romances; and, in old French accounts, Hengis, Hangist; Englist in Gaimar, Wace, and Waurin.

The tribe from which he springs is most uncertain. Bede makes no definite statement but implies that he was a Jute; Nennius states that he was Saxon; Aethelward and William of Malmesbury, although not very clear, lead us to infer that he was an Angle. Most later writers follow Geoffrey of Monmouth who called him Saxon, but there are many exceptions to this rule. In Layamon he is an Angle, in the Merlin romances a Dane or a Saracen (the two terms are used synonymously), and in all Frisian accounts he is a Frisian prince.

Most versions agree in describing him as an exile from his own country; in Beowulf he is termed *wrecca*. Nennius describes him as driven into exile and Geoffrey of Monmouth supplies the explanation that this exile is for the purpose of relieving his native land (Germany — so called from its astonishing facility in germinating men, according to William of Malmesbury) of its surplus population. This exile by lot is

described in various ways by nearly all the later writers who do not seek to abbreviate or subordinate the events connected with Hengest.

Little variation is found in the records of arrival. Practically all state that a band came in three long ships; some fail to mention the number; the "Brut" speaks of a great navy; one of the Merlin romances makes "Angys" invade Britain with 100,000 men, and William Stewart's Boece makes him come with thirty ships and 10,000 men, but on the whole the accounts are surprisingly uniform.

Three reasons for coming are given: chance, Vortigern's invitation, and the necessity of seeking a new land on account of exile. In several places the first two or the last two are combined.

The compact with Vortigern and the first battle with the Scots and Picts appear the same throughout in their essential features. Many writers, however, amplify the simple statements of Bede and add picturesque details, especially in the accounts of the battle. This latter class make much of the astuteness of Hengest in using the power thus gained over Vortigern to bring reinforcements from among his own people or those anxious to follow him. The building of Thongecastle and the summoning of his family belong among the traditions introduced here. The marriage of Vortigern and Rowena forms a part of most of the accounts after Nennius, about half of them repeating the wassail incident first found in Geoffrey. Oeta and Ebissa are mentioned by about two-thirds of those who give a comparatively full narrative, Cerdic being included by a few. In all cases these are regarded as members of Hengest's family, but the relationship ascribed varies widely. Sometimes Oeta is the son and Ebissa the brother of Hengest; again Oeta and Ebissa are both sons or Oeta the son and Ebissa the son-in-law; others make Oeta and Ebissa grandsons of Hengest and sons of Oriehius or Aesc. Their names show as much variation in form as the names of Hengest and Rowena.

Vortimer, first mentioned by Geoffrey, appears in more than half of the tales as leader of the revolt against Vortigern after the marriage with Rowena. The crowning of Vortimer supplies a plausible motive for the break between Hengest and the ruler

of Britain. A dramatic element is added and Celtic pride is gratified by the enumeration of the battles in which Vortimer won back the land taken by Hengest and finally drove the hated Saxons in precipitate flight to the continent. Gratifying, too, was the fact that Vortimer's death could be brought about only by treachery and that his memory alone was so terrifying that the Saxons would never have returned had his dying injunction been heeded.

The founding of the tower of Leyden is given in two forms. The one quoted by Milton makes it a Celtic fortification built by the Britons who fled in terror from the Saxons. The one more widely spread through Holland, however, is that it was built by Hengest for a safe retreat after he fled from Vortimer. From this point he proceeded to collect the army that returned with him upon the news of Vortimer's death.

Hengest's arrangement with Vortigern for a meeting to settle upon peace terms between the Britons and Saxons and the successful trick by which he seized power over the whole country through the slaughter of British chiefs on Salisbury plain is an effective addition to history and one generally retained until the critical spirit began separating fiction from fact. Both Nennius and Geoffrey tell the story, and it is without question Celtic in origin. It is interesting to note the struggle various writers make to reproduce the words of Hengest's signal. These words though varying in form, are evidently intended for the same expression except in the "Brut of England" alone. Here the signal is quite different in meaning, "now is tyme for to speke of love and pees"—a change which certainly introduces the element of irony into the situation.

The full conquest and settlement of Britain by the followers of Hengest is given in most accounts with varying details. It is at this point that the Hengest story is brought into connection with the Arthurian legend. Vortigern, fleeing into Wales, undertakes to build the tower which causes the discovery of Merlin and the putting forth of his prophecies. Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, rallying the Christian Britons against the heathen invaders, bring us well into the Arthurian cycle. Merlin again appears after the death of Hengest as adviser and director in the plan to make Stonehenge a monument

to the slaughtered British chieftains. Until comparatively recent times the etymology of "Stonehenge" has been regarded as "the stones of Hengest"²³—a reminder of the treachery and cruelty of the Saxon leader. It is interesting to note that if we agree to consider the Hengest of *Beowulf* and of *Layamon* the same man, we have one figure that forms a connecting link between Old and Middle English poetry. The same character plays an active though minor part in the greatest epic of the earliest period and in the most important cycle during the flourishing of romance. Of course in the later forms of the Arthurian story, Hengest disappears, and here again we have an interesting illustration of the way what is accepted as fact is overlaid by fiction through a gradual shifting of emphasis and change in point of view as well as by the annexing of outside material.

No subject in the entire table is more interesting than the family tree of Hengest. The Old English Chronicle and Bede trace his ancestry back to Woden, the Chronicle placing Witta between Wecta and Wihtgils. Later writers follow the Chronicle for the most part, although a number, like Bede, make him the great grandson of Woden. Nennius goes back five generations beyond Woden to the mythical Geat; and Henry of Huntingdon, trying to do the same thing, evidently confuses some story that has connected the names of Finn and Hengest as in the *Beowulf* episode, for he introduces "Floewald" just after Finn, where Godwulf should appear. Such a mistake, together with the many place names²⁴ that recall Finn, Hnaef, and other persons connected with the Finnsburg episode, suggests that the story was current in an early day but, along with other heathen tales, was forgotten in the spread of Christianity. The Frisian chroniclers make him a descendant of the reigning family in Friesland and ascribe his Saxon ancestors to his mother or to his wife. Some writers merely refer to him as the son of a king, of duke's kin, or of noble blood in Germany. Much variation is likewise shown in the list of his descendants. Aesc is mentioned in the O. E. Chronicle as his son who succeeded him. Nennius makes

²³ Cf. New English Dictionary.

²⁴ G. Binz: "Zeugnisse zur Germanischen Sa. in England." *Paul und Braunes Beitrage*, XX, 179-186.

Oeta and Ebissa survive him. William of Malmesbury gives Eise, Otha, and Ermenric without making their exact relationship clear. Most later writers who say anything about his heirs mention two, giving their names in various forms. In the Frisian chronicles, however, more details appear, although these details do not always agree. The point most clearly brought out in them is that Willibrord, the first to succeed in bringing Christianity among the Frisians, was a direct descendant of Hengest. Naturally the Frisian writers were interested in emphasizing the important place the Frisian race occupied in the early history of England and the part England played in continental affairs.

Doubtless, if one knew where to find them, many minor legends could be recognized as springing from the Hengest tradition. The following is an illustration of such an offshoot. In the chronicles of the Monastery of Abingdon we are told that Aben, the son of a certain noble who fell at Salisbury "seduced by the treachery of the most wicked pagan Hengist," escaped from the slaughter with great difficulty. Driven by fear, he fled to a certain wood in the eastern part of Oxonia and lived among the wild animals, maintaining his life with herbs and roots. Lacking water, he prayed and God gave him a fountain which may be seen to-day. Men hearing of his sanctity gathered to listen to his words. Then they built for him a chapel to St. Mary. He withdrew to Ireland, but the hill where he dwelt was called from him Abendun.

Even the name of England has been widely held as an echo of the fame of Hengest. In the conquest and settlement that followed the slaughter of the British chiefs, Hengest is represented in the Brut as going through the land, seizing every part of it and giving it the name of Engistes land, from which came the later form England. This tradition appears rather persistently until the seventeenth century. John Hardyng in his rhymed chronicle says:—

"After Engest it called was Engestes land,
By corrupt speach Englande it hight therefore,
And afterwards so that name it ever bore."

Not every narrative that speaks of Hengest is included in the

following table. The account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest given by Gottfried of Viterbo in his "Pantheon" of universal history²⁵ changes and confuses events so that it is impossible to fit it into the tabular scheme arranged. Its omission is of no importance, however, for it has no significance in the development of the legend and such interest as attaches to it is of curiosity merely. The table has been prepared to give a clear and adequate idea of the growth of the Hengest legend and it is hoped that no element of importance to this end has been omitted.

²⁵ Ed. Migne: "Patrol. Lat. CXCVIII."

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Form of Name	Hengist	Hengist	Hengist	Hengist	Hengist	Hengist
Genealogy	Wihtgils—Witta—Wecta—Woden	Victgilsus—Vecta—Woden	Wihtgils—Witta—Wecta—Woden—Frithwald—Frithuwulf—Finn—Godwulf—Geat	Wyhtels—Wecta—Withar—Woden	Great grandson of Woden	Wictgils—Wicta and Vecta—Woden—Frealaf—Fredulf—Fin—Flocwald—Jeta
Religion		Pagans		Worshipped Woden—offered sacrifices for victory	Worshipped Woden—offered sacrifices for victory	
Tribe		Not definite; calls him leader of the forces; seems to imply Jute	Saxon	Britain called Anglia from its conquerors—leaders H. and H.	Angle (?)	
Education						
Military Service						
Exile			Exiled from Germany		Implied	
Settlement of Anglia						
Adoption						
Marriage	Marriage					
Piratical Expeditions						
Service with Hnaef						
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn						

FIRST SERIES, COLUMNS VIII-XII

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Form of Name	Hengist	Hengis	Hangist	Hengest	Hengistus
Genealogy					
Religion	Worshipped Saturn and Jupiter but especially Mercury under name of Woden (Wodensday) next to him goddess Frea (Friday)		As in Geoffrey, Woden and Freya	As in Geoffrey except that remaining days of week are also explained from their god's names	
Tribe	Saxon	Seisne	Saisne; Saxon	Angle	
Education					
Military Service					
Exile	Exiled by lot to relieve country. Hengist and Horsa leaders of the band sent out		Sent out by lot led by Mercury	Lots every 15 years sent out every sixth man—H. and H. both victims of lot	
Settlement of Anglia					
Adoption					
Marriage					
Piratical Expeditions					
Service with Hnaef					
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn					

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Form of Name	Hengistus	Hengst	Hengistus	Hengistus	Hengist	Hengist
Genealogy	Great grandson of Woden	Wictgisli—Witta—Wecta—Woden	Wihtgisii—Witha—Wetha—Woden			"Of dukes kin"
Religion			Woden—Frea			Woden—Frie
Tribe	Saxon	<i>Quotes Bede</i>		Saxon	From Germany	Saxoyne
Education						
Military Service						
Exile						Driven out by lot as leaders of new colony
Settlement of Anglia						
Adoption						
Marriage						
Piratical Expeditions						
Service with Hnaef						
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn						

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Form of Name	Hengist	Hengist	Hengistus	Hengist	Hengistus	Hengistus
Genealogy			Withgisii—Witha—Wetha—Woden			
Religion		de la paenrye	Woden—Frea	Woden—Ffre	Woden—Frea	
Tribe	Sessoigne (Saxon)	Germenye		Saxoyne	Saxon	Saxon
Education						
Military Service						
Exile		Banished by the ruler of the land		Exiled by lot for relief of country	Exiled by lot to relieve country	
Settlement of Anglia						
Adoption						
Marriage						
Piratical Expeditions						
Service with Hnaef						
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn						

FIRST SERIES, COLUMNS XXV-XXX

	RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (ca. 1400) <i>Ref., Speculum His- toriale, R. S., Vol. 30, Pt. 1, Liber Primus, Cap. I-XVI</i>	JEHAN DE WAURIN (ca. 1455) <i>Ref., Chronicles, R. S., Vol. 40, Pt. 2, 165-289; Pt. 14, pp. 188-318</i>	WM. STEWART'S BOECE (ca. 1536) <i>Ref., Met. Chron. of Scotland, R. S., Vol. 6, Pt. 2, pp. 133-187</i>	BRUT OF ENGLAND (1479) <i>Ref., E. E. T. S., 1906, pp. 50-63</i>	MERLIN (1450) <i>Ref., E. E. T. S., 1875</i>	MERLIN (Beg. 15th Cent.) <i>Ref., Ellis, Spec. of Early Eng. Met. Rom., pp. 77-100</i>
Form of Name	Hengistus	Englist	Hungast	Engist	Angier	Angys
Genealogy	Wihlgisius—Wittia— Wetha—Woden	Son of a king				
Religion	Woden and Frea	Woden—Free				Saracen
Tribe		Saxon	Saxonia	Saxoyne	Dane	King of Denmark
Education						
Military Service						
Exile		Sent out by lot		Boldest and best of country fitted out and sent forth to relieve population		
Settlement of Anglia						
Adoption Marriage						
Piratical Expeditions						
Service with Hnaef						
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn						

FIRST SERIES, COLUMNS XXXI-XXXVI

	MERLIN (Lonelich) (1450) <i>Ref., E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XCIII</i>	ANNALS OF THE PICTS <i>Ref., Annales Pictor- um; Ritson's Annals, Vol. 1</i>	POLYDORE VERGIL (1534) <i>Ref., Polydore Vergil's Hist., Vol. 1; Camden Soc. No. XXXVI, pp. 110-117</i>	ROBERT FABYAN (1516) <i>Ref., Chronicles, ed. Ellis, 1811, pp. 59-69</i>	RICHARD GRAFTON <i>Ref., Chronicle, pp. 75-81, Vol. 1, London, 1809</i>	JOHN HARDYNG <i>Ref., "Chronycle" (1543), Ch. LXVII- LXX</i>
Form of Name	Angwys	Hengistus	Hengistus	Hengistus	Hengist	Engist (Engyst)
Genealogy						
Religion	Heathen			Gentiles of pagan law	Heathen and Pagan law	Peynems
Tribe		Angle or Saxon	Saxon	Saxon	Saxon	Saxonye
Education						
Military Service						
Exile				Sent from country by lot	Sent out by lot to relieve country	Sent out by sort— duke of high renown
Settlement of Anglia						
Adoption Marriage						
Piratical Expeditions						
Service with Hnaef						
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn						

FIRST SERIES, COLUMNS XLIII-XLVIII

	BERNARDUS FURMERIUS (1609) <i>Ref., Annal. Phris., Bk. I, Ch. 7, Bk. III</i>	MARTINUS HAMCONIUS (1625) <i>Ref., Frisia Seu De Viris Rebusque Frisiae</i>	UBBO EMMIUS (1616) <i>Ref., Rerum Frisica- rum Historia, Bk. III</i>	VORPERUS THABORITAS <i>Ref., Chronicon Frisiae, Bk. I, Chs. VII and VIII</i>	BEOWULF <i>Ref., 11, 1064-1159</i>	THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG
Form of Name	Hengist	Hengistus	Engistus	Hengistus	Hengest	Hengest
Genealogy	Son of Udolphus Haron, adopted son of Vergist his Saxon father	Son of Udolphus Haron and Suana, daughter of Vergist	Prefers to follow Bede	<i>Gives Bede's account</i>		
Religion	Pagan	Pagan		Pagan		
Tribe	Frisian	Frisian	But thinks Hengist a Frisian, since Saxon was collective	Frisian		
Education	Sent to court of Val- entinian to be trained in arms and letters (374)	With the emperor Valentinian				
Military Service	Served three years (380-383) Carolus Taxander, Duke of Brabant—for a year with Yglo Lascon of Angria	With Duke of Bra- bant and Yglo Lascon				
Exile	Doomed by the black lot to lead out a band of exiles	Sent by lot through custom of ancestors to lead forth a band				
Settlement of Anglia	Landed near river Eider in region of Old Anglia—called settlement Frisia Minor	First went to mater- nal grandfather in old Anglia near the Jutes				

Adoption Marriage	Married Vergista, daughter of the Saxon satrap—was adopted by him	Adopted by Vergist				
Piratical Expeditions	Joined the Saxons in piratical raids					
Service with Hnaef					H. is called thane of the prince—becomes leader at death of Hnaef	Clearly implied
Fight at Finnsburg Winter with Finn					Describes fight—com- pact between Finn and H.—the winter together—the ven- geance upon Finn	Fight vividly de- scribed but incomplete —no reference to winter following

FIRST SERIES, COLUMN XLIX

	BARTHOLOMEW DE COTTON (ca. 1298) <i>Ref., Historia Anglica, R. S., Vol. 16, pp. 1-2</i>					
Form of Name	Hengist (inserts a transcript of Geoffrey as his first book)					
Genealogy	Wintgils—Wenta—Woden					

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS I-VII

	O. E. CHRONICLE	BEDE	NENNIUS	AETHELWEARD	WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY	HENRY OF HUNTINGDON
Arrival in Britain	Landed at Wippidsfleet, 449	449—arrived in three long ships.	Arrived in 447—received as friends by Vortigern	Landed at Wippidsfleet with three vessels	Arrived in three long vessels called ceols	Came in three long ships—settled in eastern part of island
Reason	Invited by Vortigern	Invited by Vortigern.	Exiled from Germany	Invited by Vurthern	Formal request by Ambassadors	Invited by Vortigern
Compact with Vortigern	Vortigern gave land in S. E. of country—they to fight Picts	Given land in Eastern part of island in return for military service	Vortigern gave isle of Thanet and promised provisions in return for help	Support and honors in return for help	Isle of Thanet given—support promised in return for service	<i>As above</i>
First battle	They fought the Picts and had the victory wheresoever they came	Engaged enemy from north and gained victory		Fought against Scots—remained masters of field—King honored them with a triumph	Scots advanced—Angles defeated them—cavalry pursued and destroyed fugitives	At Stamford in Lincolnshire—Northeners fought with darts and spears, Saxons with battle axes and longswords—Saxons gained victory
Reinforcements from mainland	They sent to Angles—told them worthlessness of Britons and excellence of land—men came from three tribes	News of success, fertility of island, and cowardice of Britons brought a large fleet	Hengest with Vortigern's consent summoned 16 vessels of armed warriors to assist him; brought Rowena	A large fleet and army of their countrymen joined them, hearing of their success	Hengest with Vortigern's consent sent for countrymen—they came with 16 vessels bringing Rowena	A larger fleet with a greater body of men came over
Tribes who came with settlements made	Old Saxons, Angles (Essex, Sussex, Wessex); East A., Middle A., Mercia—Northmen); Jutes, Kent, Wight	Saxons, Angles, Jutes; (Anglia now desert between Saxons and Jutes) Book V, Chapter IX, elsewhere gives Fresones, Rugii, Dani, Hunni, Angli, Saxoni, Boructuarii		From every province of Germany		<i>As in Bede</i>
Thongcastle						
Rowena exchanged for Kent			Vortigern at banquet infatuated promised to give what was asked for Rowena to the half of his kingdom. Hengest asked and received Kent		<i>As in Nennius</i>	

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS VIII-XII

	GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH	WACE	LAYAMON	RALPH DE DICETO (1190)
Arrival in Britain	There arrived (by chance) in Kent three brigandines or long galleys full of armed men—received peaceably by Vortigern	Three galleys brought a strange people to land	Three ships with 300 men landed in the Thames were summoned to Vortiger's court at Canterbury	<i>As in Bede</i>
Reason	Exiled by lot to relieve over population (full details); came to offer service	Exiled—led by Mercury to Britain	Exile—to seek new land	<i>As in Bede</i>
Compact with Vortigern	Lands and possessions in return for service	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Reward and honor in return for service	<i>Quotes Bede</i>
First battle	Saxons joined Britons to repel Picts—Saxons fought bravely—put enemy to flight	Saxons and Britons met Picts at Humber—Saxons won victory and rich rewards from Vortigern	Saxons had overcome Picts by noon—Picts fled all day	
Reinforcements from mainland	Hengist sent for large bodies of his countrymen to protect king—eighteen ships came full of best soldiers—also brought Rowen, one of the most accomplished beauties of the age	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i> —Hengest's wife arrived with 1500 riders, much of Hengest's kin and Rowenne, Hengest's daughter	
Tribes who came with settlements made				<i>Quotes Bede</i>
Thongcastle	Hengist asked for a city or town to give him suitable rank. Vortigern refused because of Hengist's religion—Hengist asked for ground that could be circled by thong for a fortress—granted—cut up bullhide and built thong-castle—later Lancaster	Same trick as in Geoffrey—he called the place Vancaster—later Lancaster	<i>As in Geoffrey but with many additional details.</i> British name: Kaer-Carrai; English name; Thonchester; Danish name: Lancastel	
Rowena exchanged for Kent	Hengist invited Vortigern to see his new castle, entertained him at banquet. Rowen as cupbearer fascinated King—Vortigern in spite of his religion married her giving Hengist kingdom of Kent in return	Incident as in Geoffrey, but with more description and detail	Hengest invited Vortigern to view castle and prepared banquet as in Geoffrey	

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XIII-XVIII

	RALPH HIGDEN (1352)	FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (1118)	MATTHEW OF PARIS (ca. 1253)	WALTER OF COVENTRY (ca. 1293)	JOHN OF OXNEAD (ca. 1293)	ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER (ca. end of 13th Cent.)
Arrival in Britain	<i>As in Bede</i>	<i>As in Bede</i>	Came 449 in three long ships	Came in the time of Vortigern	Came in 449	Landed in Kent with three ships full of knights
Reason	<i>As in Bede</i>	<i>As in Bede</i>	Invited by Vortigern		As if to defend but in reality to fight and to conquer Britain	
Compact with Vortigern	<i>Quotes Bede</i>		Given land and stipend in return for military service	Helped the king against Picts and Scots		Vortigern offered riches and lands for victory over foes
First battle	<i>Quotes Henry of Huntingdon</i>		Saxons put to flight Scots and Picts			Saxon put enemy to flight
Reinforcements from mainland	<i>Quotes Bede</i>		18 ships full of chosen warriors came—also Rouwen			Eighteen ships and Rowen came at Hengist's summons
Tribes who came with settlements made	<i>Quotes Bede</i>		<i>As in Bede</i>			
Thongcastle	<i>Quotes Geoffrey</i>					Hengist built Thwong or Tangcastre
Rowena exchanged for Kent	<i>Quotes William of Malmesbury</i>		Vortigern married Rouwen	Gave his daughter to the king		<i>As in Geoffrey</i>

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XIX-XXIV

	LIVRE DES REIS DE BRITTANIE (ca. 1300)	PIERRE DE LANGTOFT (ca. 1307)	MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER (ca. 1327)	ROBERT MANNING OF BRUNNE (ca. 1338)	THOMAS OF MALMESBURY (?) (ca. 1366)	JOHN OF FORDUN (1385)
Arrival in Britain	442 came in three long ships	Arrived in three ships with armed chevaliers	449 entered Britain in three long ships	Three shiploads of men landed at Sandwich	Came (449) in three keels filled with armed men	<i>As in Bede</i>
Reason	Sent for by Britons	Need of new home	Invited by Vortigern	Sent by their gods to find new land	By chance	<i>Bede</i>
Compact with Vortigern	Implied	Hengist fights for V. Is given land	Fought in return for land and money	V. promised rich gifts in return for service	Aided Vortigern—gained victory—given much land in Lindesey	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
First battle	Delivered Britons from their enemies well enough	Pagans put the Scots to rout		Saxons repelled attack of Scots and Picts	Pagans fought so boldly that they were victorious	<i>Geoffrey</i>
Reinforcements from mainland		After tower is built 18 ships, knights and Rowenne came from Germany		Sixteen ships came after castle was finished—Ronwen (whom ignorant people called Inge)	H. called from continent—18 ships full of chosen soldiers with his daughter Ronwen	Summarizes Geoffrey briefly
Tribes who came with settlements made	Sessoine, Engle, Wite		<i>As in Bede</i>			
Thongcastle		By craft Hengist obtained right to build Tauncastre		Thong castle called by Frenchmen "Castle de Correye"—Britons, "Kair Karre"	Built (by trick) Twoncastre, later Lancastre	
Rowena exchanged for Kent	Vortigern gave Hengist Kent to his shame and took to wife Hengist's daughter	Vortigern infatuated married Rowenne—gave Hengist whole of Kent		Hengist gave R. to V. and was given Kent		Brief mention that Vortigern married Rowen, daughter of Hengist

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XXV-XXX

	RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (ca. 1400)	JEHAN DE WAURIN (ca. 1455)	WM. STEWART'S BOECE (ca. 1536)	BRUT OF ENGLAND (1479)	MERLIN (1450)	MERLIN (Beg. 15th Cent.)
Arrival in Britain	Came with three long ships	Came in three small ships—landed at Saurius (Ebbsfleet)	Came with 30 ships and 10,000 warriors	A great navy of strangers arrived in Kent	Angier came to Vortiger	Invaded Britain with army of 100,000 men
Reason	Invited by Vortigern	Seeking settlement	Invited by Vortigern	To seek service	Invited to help Vortiger	News of Constans' death and succession of his monkish son Moyne
Compact with Vortigern	To fight in return for pay	V. promised land and stipend—H. promised support	To free Britain from Scots and Picts in return for reward	Lands in return for delivering the country of enemies		Hengest had formerly attempted an invasion and been driven back by Constans
First battle	Superior weapons of Saxons defeated foe—Hengist was given lands in Lindesey	Saxons discomfited Scots and Picts	Much space given to battles—careful explanations why Saxons were victors—valor of Scots and Picts emphasized	They delivered the land clean of enemies		Moyne defeated by Hengest—later slain by his baron, so that Fortager might be their king
Reinforcements from mainland	Eighteen ships with chosen warriors—also Hengist's daughter Ronwen	H. sent for a large number of soldiers and his daughter Ronixa	H. convinced V. that help must be called from Germany—great numbers came—wife and daughter Roxsand			
Tribes who came with settlements made	<i>As in Bede</i>					
Thongcastle	Constructed Twangcastre (summary of tale)	Built on a lofty rock Couroye—British Kaercordy	H. given land called Londisia near York by the Humber—also "Thuryn castell"	Engist asked city—refused—asked land that could be covered with thong—built "Twongecastel"		
Rowena exchanged for Kent	No mention of banquet—Vortigern married Ronwen because of her beauty	V. enamored gave Kent (without consulting its owner) to marry Ronixa	V. gave Kent to H. on wedding R. (H. had before been placed in the north)	Ronewenne offered cup (as in Geoffrey)—exchanged for Kent	Angier spoke to the king so that he took one of Angier's daughters for his wife	Fortager married daughter of Angys—no territory yielded

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XXXI-XXXVI

	MERLIN (Lonehich) (1450)	ANNALS OF THE PICTS	POLYDORÉ VERGIL (1534)	ROBERT FABYAN (1516)	RICHARD GRAFTON	JOHN HARDYNG
Arrival in Britain	Came to Fortager	Came in three long ships	Arrived in response to invitation—(<i>alternative</i>) sent forth to relieve country	Gives variant versions of Bede and Geoffrey	Three tall ships full of armed men landed at Isle of Tenet—(Bede and William also quoted)	Came with three ships
Reason		Invited by the king	Invited by chance	Gives exile by lot and invitation	Chance brought them to Britain—in search of service	Had no "habitacyon"
Compact with Vortigern	Served F. long and well till his strife was ended		Given Kent for dwelling place in return for their help	Reward for service	Wages for service	Maintained in a castle in return for saving Britons from enemies
First battle		Contest with enemy from north—won victory	Put to flight the enemy	Saxons beat down the enemy and defended the land	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	Fought full mightily against P. and S.—drove them out
Reinforcements from mainland			Hengistus sent for large bodies of men—fortified and enlarged his boundaries	(Given as coming after building of Thongcastle.) Sent for by H., came (sixteen sails) with Ronowen	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	Eighteen ships came "well stuffed of men"—also daughter Rowan
Tribes who came with settlements made			Saxons, Vites, and Englishemene (Bede)	<i>As in Bede</i>	<i>Quotes Bede</i>	
Thongcastle				Asked land he could cover with hide—built Thongcastle in country of Lindsey	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	Gained castle with thong of bull's skin in "Lyndesey"
Rowena exchanged for Kent	Angwys gave his daughter to Fortager as wife—Britons angered because of her religion		Infatuation of king at banquet made king divorce his wife and marry Ronix	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Banquet and marriage related—Vortiger "set the Saxons above" and alienated his people and his sons

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XXXVII-XLII

	RAPHAEL HOLINSHED	JOHN MILTON	SPENSER (F. Q.)	DRAYTON	CORNELIUS KEMPIUS (1588)	SUFFRIDUS PETRUS (1590)
Arrival in Britain	Certain vessels came—were courteously received	Arrived in three long gallies or kyles	Arrived three hoys of Saxons	Came to Britain	Landed with three long ships and a great multitude of Frisians	Called to Britain to help Vortigern
Reason	Invited (some say chance)	Invited (also gives Nennius' version)		Called by Britons to aid	Invited by Vortigern	Invited
Compact with Vortigern	Reward and land for aid	Land and gifts for service	Employed by V. for his safety	Hired to repel the Picts	Stipend given for fighting	Reward for service
First battle	Immediately led against Scots and Picts—overcame them	Met and defeated Scots and Picts		Drove out the invading Pict	Freed king from enemies	
Reinforcements from mainland	Defended and enlarged his territory—sent for large numbers of countrymen	H. invited others who came with seventeen ships bringing Rowen	The Saxons grew great and forced Vortigern out of his kingdom		H. persuaded king to send for more warriors; eleven ships came with H's wife, his son Ocho, his daughter, and very many friends—later forty ships arrived	
Tribes who came with settlements made	<i>Quotes Bede</i>	<i>Quotes Bede</i>		To the Saxons the Angles and Jutes came as aids		
Thongcastle					<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	
Rowena exchanged for Kent	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Account as in Geoffrey without wassail incident	H. (after break with Britons) pretends sorrow for past deeds and is received to grace through his fair daughter			

SECOND SERIES, COLUMNS XLIII-XLVIII

	BERNARDUS FURMERIUS (1609)	MARTINUS HAMCONIUS (1625)	UBBO EMMIUS (1616)	VORPERUS THABORITAS	BEOWULF	THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG
Arrival in Britain	Happened with three keels to land in Kent	Called by Vortigern into service in Britain	Engist led a strong band into Britain	Gives Bede's account in Ch. VII; in Ch. VIII, says he was driven into exile (Nennius?)		
Reason	Vortigern, at Canterbury, sent enquiries and offered homes and reward if they would fight for him	Invited	Invited by Britons	Invited by Voltigranno (or Vortigern)		
Compact with Vortigern	To serve for reward	To serve for reward	To serve against enemies	Given Thanet for aid		
First battle	Not long after arrival, they met the enemy and drove them from the country	Drove out Picts and Scots	Won victory over Picts and Scots			
Reinforcements from mainland	H. called more forces from the fatherland and neighboring regions		A much greater force than the first both of men and women came as if to settle rather than fight	With consent of King sent to Frisia and collected Frisians in multitude; also wife and son Ocha and daughter		
Tribes who came with settlements made	Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians					
Thongcastle	H. asked land from the king and built a tower for safety of himself and family			Banquet and infatuation described—eastern part of Britain given for H's daughter		
Rowena exchanged for Kent	King invited to view tower—at feast, Rowenna, according to Frisian custom bore bowl to king, knelt, etc., as above					

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS I-VII

	O. E. CHRONICLE	BEDE	NENNIUS	AETHELWEARD	WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY	HENRY OF HUNTINGDON
Wassail incident						
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa			Hengest with Vortigern's consent summoned his son Octa and Ebissa, "fratuelo suo." They settled and held land between England and Scotland		Hengest sent for his son and brother (not named)—they settled in Northumbria	
Crowning of Vortimer						
Break between Hengest and Britons		Entered into league with Picts and turned against Britons—plundered, destroyed churches, took possession of country	Britons grew unable to fill agreement—tried to dismiss Saxons (before calling of Octa and Ebissa). Saxons continually received reinforcements	They demand stipend—Britons refuse—they take up arms—drive Britons out and take possession of island	At suggestion of Vortimer Britons broke truce	Saxons to force payment of support formed an alliance with Picts and drove British from island to woods and shelter
Battles	(473) Hengist and Aesc fought Welsh—took spoils; Welsh fled	Horsa slain by the Britons in Battle; was buried in Kent where a monument bearing his name still stands	(1) Vortimer fought Hengest and Horsa, drove them to the isle of Thanet, and besieged them. (4) Finally near the stone by the Gallic sea, Saxons defeated, fled to ships	(473) Hengist and Aesc gained victory over Britons—immense spoils	First (not named) resulted in a draw; Horsa and Katigis fell; Angles gained other three battles	Says Gortimer fought three battles after Aylesford and drove Saxons to their ships (Sec. 33)
At Aylesford	Hengist and Horsa against Vortigern—Horsa slain, Hengist and Aesc obtain kingdom, 455			Hengest and Horsa fought against Vortigern. Horsa was killed. Hengest obtained kingdom (455)		Gortimer and Catiger, generals under Ambrosius, made war against Hengist and Horsa at Aellestrau in 455
At Crayford	Hengist and Aesc slew 4 troops of Britons (456); (457) slew 4000 Britons			(457) Hengest and Aesc put Britons to flight		H. and Esc fought British led by chief (many details)—British fled; H. and Esc ruled Kent

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS VIII-XII

	GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH	WACE	LAYAMON	RALPH DE DICETO (1190)
Wassail incident	Rowen approached king with wine cup—made low courtesy—said "Lauerd king, wacht heil." Instructed by interpreter, king replied, "Drinc heil." She drank—he kissed her and drank rest—From that time this has been an English custom	<i>As in Geoffrey but salutation not exact:</i> Washael—Drinkhael	"Waes hail," "Drinc hail"; a custom of Saxland—since then of England	
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa	Octa and his brother Ebissa were given north Britain by the wall—Octa, Ebissa, and Cherdich responded to summons with three hundred ships filled with soldiers	Hengist sent messages to his son and (cousin-nephew) who came with 300 galleys—many other vessels followed from time to time	Hengest's son Octa and Octa's wed-brother Ebissa came, Octa with 300 and Ebissa with 150 ships—many followed	
Crowning of Vortimer	The Britons, terrified by the number of Saxons, deserted Vortigern and made his son Vortimer king	Britons terrified at numbers of Saxons, unable to get help from Vortigern chose Vortimer as king	Britons turned against Vortiger and chose Vortimer to help them drive out the heathen	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
Break between Hengest and Britons	Vortimer led Britons in attempt to drive barbarians from their country	Vortimer defied Saxons, and waged bitter war against them	Vortimer rallied the Christians against the heathen—Vortiger stayed with Hengest	
Battles	Fought four battles, third upon sea-shore—drove Saxons to ships—besieged them on Isle of Thanet—Saxons stole away leaving women and children	Four times Vortimer vanquished his foe. Third battle on sea-shore in Kent (4) besieged in Thanet	After Hengest's flight he turned and fought Vortimer on the sea-shore in Kent. Five thousand of his forces were slain	General statement that Saxons were not able to stand against Britons under Vortimer
At Aylesford		Second battle near Aylesford. Here Vortiger and Horsa killed each other		
At Crayford				

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XIII-XVIII

	RALPH HIGDEN (1352)	FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (1118)	MATTHEW OF PARIS (ca. 1253)	WALTER OF COVENTRY (ca. 1293)	JOHN OF OXNEAD (ca. 1293)	ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER (ca. end of 13th Cent.)
Wassail incident				Louerd king, wesheil—Drinc heil		Louerd king, washayl—drink hail
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa			Octa, Abissa, and Cerdic came with 300 ships fully armed			Octo and Ebyse came with 300 ships
Crowning of Vortimer	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>		Vortigern was deposed and Vortimer crowned 454			At the teaching of St. Germanus people turned against Vortigern and crowned Vortimer
Break between Hengest and Britons	<i>Quotes William, Geoffrey, Henry, and Bede</i>		Vortimer began to expel the barbarians			Through counsel of St. Germain Vortimer undertook to drive out pagans
Battles	<i>Quotes William, Geoffrey, Henry, and Bede</i>	(473) <i>As in Aethelweard</i>				Fought four battles in one year
At Aylesford	<i>Quotes William, Geoffrey, Henry, and Bede</i>	Hengst and Horsa fought against Wurtigern—Hors was killed but Hengst had victory and reigned with his son Aesc (455)	At Ailestory pagans were defeated by Vortimer			
At Crayford	<i>Quotes William, Geoffrey, Henry, and Bede</i>	(457) H. and A. fought British—slew 4000—put rest to flight—they fled from Kent to London	Not long after Horsus killed Katigern, then Vortimer killed Horsa—Hengist became king of Kent			

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XIX-XXIV

	LIVRE DES REIS DE BRITTANIE (ca. 1300)	PIERRE DE LANGTOFT (ca. 1307)	MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER (ca. 1327)	ROBERT MANNING OF BRUNNE (ca. 1338)	THOMAS OF MALMESBURY (?) (ca. 1366)	JOHN OF FORDUN (1385)
Wassail incident	Waisseyl Drincheil	Sir, wessail Drinkhayl		Wassayl, my lord, wassail—drynk hayl	Lauerd kyng wassail—Drink hail—that custom is still in use	
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa		Octa, Dissa, Gerdyker; 300 ships sent for	Summoned Ocça, Abyssa, and Cerdicius with 300 ships	Octa, Ebsa, Kerdyk summoned—came with 30 ships—after that came smaller groups	Otta, Ebissa, and Cherdich secretly summoned by H. to help him against Vortimer—came with 300 ships	Hengistus calls Octave and his son Eubusum after the death of Vortigern to aid him against Aurelius
Crowning of Vortimer		People fearing pagans crowned Vortimer	People deposed Vortigern and crowned Vortimer	Britons made Vortimer king in order to drive out Saxons	People deposed Vortigern because of his marriage with Rowen—crowned Vortimer	Vortimer was made king, his father still living
Break between Hengest and Britons			Vortimer made war upon Angles	Vortimer hunted the Saxons as a hound does the hare	Vortimer attempted to drive out Hengist	
Battles				Four times the Britons beat the Saxons in battle	(Third battle was on the sea-shore, the fourth in Cancia where he put all to flight)	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
At Aylesford		(A large section appears to have been missed—tale passes from Vortimer's crowning to his death)	Met Saxons at Aillespord and defeated them. Soon after in battle Horsa killed Katigern and Vortimer slew Horsa—put Hergist to flight	(3) In Kent—Saxons fled to "Yle of Thanet"; (4) in Isle of Thanet—Saxons fled to Germany		
At Crayford						

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XXV-XXX

	RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (ca. 1400)	JEHAN DE WAURIN (ca. 1455)	WM. STEWART'S BOECE (ca. 1536)	BRUT OF ENGLAND (1479)	MERLIN (1450)	MERLIN (Beg. 15th Cent.)
Wassail incident		Verd Cing, Weissail—drinquail		"Whatsaile;" "Drinkehaile"—introduced custom in England		
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa	Octa, Abissa, and Cerdicius with 300 ships, armed in full	Cocta and 300 ships called to increase power against Scots and Picts	Octa sent for—came with 10,000 men			
Crowning of Vortimer	Britons deposed Vortigern, raised Vortimer to throne	Norcimer chosen to free land of pagans	Bishop of London slain by Octa for reproving Vortigern's marriage with R. Britons revolted from Vortigern, crowned Vortimer	Britons incensed at Vortigern's marriage chose Vortimer king		
Break between Hengest and Britons	Vortimer undertook to expel the Saxons	He impetuously attacked and slew Saxons	Vortimer made alliance with Scots and Picts against H.	Britons tried to drive out Saxons—fought 3 battles	The Danes that Vortiger had brought in warred sore against the Christians	Fortager made war against Hengest so successfully that H. promised never to invade Britain again and embarked for Germany
Battles		Fought four noble battles	Vortimer with help of the Scots restores Christianity—summons St. Germanus and St. Lupus	First in Kent, second at Tetteford, third Cattagren and Horn killed each other. Vortimer destroyed "Horncastle" in Kent and drove Saxons out of land		
At Aylesford	Vortimer in second battle at Aillespord overcame a vast multitude					
At Crayford	Not long after a great battle was fought in which Katigern and Horsa were killed					

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XXXI-XXXVI

	MERLIN (Lonelich) (1450)	ANNALS OF THE PICTS	POLYDORE VERGIL (1534)	ROBERT FABYAN (1516)	RICHARD GRAFTON	JOHN HARDYNG
Wassail incident				Wassayle— Drynkehayll	Wassayle— Drynkehayll	Wassayle—Drynke hayle
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa		Hengistus invited Ochta and Abisa (son and his brother-in- law) with 40 keels		Vortiger sent for Octa the son of Hengist as additional help	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	Hengist sent for Occa, Ebissa, and Cherdryk—they brought 300 ships of warriors
Crowning of Vortimer			After Vortiger's death Vortimer succeeded	Britons finding that Vortiger was turning country over to Sax- ons deposed him and crowned Vortimer	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	People terrified— crowned Vortimer
Break between Hengest and Britons		Suddenly making league with Picts, they turned against Brit- ons. Saint Germanus helped British— Alleluiah chorus	Polydore quotes many writers here—with varying accounts— Gildas, Bede, Paulus Diaconus	Vortimer pursued Saxons	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	Vortimer fought Sax- ons "at all places where he went"
Battles			Saxons leagued with Scots, Picts made war against Vortimer— conquered Britons	Third battle by sea- side; fourth battle Cool Moore; other battles drove Saxons to state of siege in Isle of Thanet	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	
At Aylesford						
At Crayford				Aurelius (after burn- ing Vortigern's tow- er) fought H. and Octa —won victory and drove him back into Kent	<i>Same as Fabyan</i>	

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XXXVII-XLII

	RAPHAEL HOLINSHED	JOHN MILTON	SPENSER (F. Q.)	DRAYTON	CORNELIUS KEMPIUS (1588)	SUFFRIDUS PETRUS (1590)
Wassail incident	Wassail Drinke haile					
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa	H. sent for his bro- ther Occa and his son Ebusa	H. gained consent of V. to send for Octa and Ebissa, his own and his brother's son				
Crowning of Vortimer	<i>As in Fabyan</i>					
Break between Hengest and Britons	Great number of Sax- ons terrified Britons —Vortimer made war on Saxons	Saxons complain that they are not paid for service—Guortimer at head of Britons tries to drive them out	By the help of his son, Vortimer, Vorti- ger regains his king- dom	Saxons mastering the field drove the Brit- ons beyond the Sever- erne into Wales and Cornwall	Vortimer, son of Vor- tigern's first wife, in- dignant at marriage with Rowena, waged war against H. in which Horsa fell	
Battles	<i>As in Fabyan</i>				In second battle Vor- timer's brother fell; in third he drove Frisians to ships	
At Aylesford		A. S. Chronicle				
At Crayford		A. S. Chron.				

THIRD SERIES, COLUMNS XLIII-XLVIII

	BERNARDUS FURMERIUS (1609)	MARTINUS HAMCONIUS (1625)	UBBO EMMIUS (1616)	VORPERUS THABORITAS	BEOWULF	THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG
Wassail incident	Wacht Heil— Drinckt Heil					
Summoning of Octa and Ebissa	Ochta and Ebissa, brothers, had come with Hengist his grandsons, sons of Orichius—others call them sons of Hengist					
Crowning of Vortimer	The people fearing the encroachment of H. and his followers deposed Vortigern and set up Vortimer					
Break between Hengest and Britons	Vortimer proceeded to drive out the foreigners			Gortenir, indignant at encroachments, waged war against H. and H.		
Battles				Fought a battle in which the brother of Hengist and many others were killed		
At Aylesford						
At Crayford				In second battle (no names) the brother of Gortenir was killed.		

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS I-VII

	O. E. CHRONICLE	BEDE	NENNIUS	AETHELWEARD	WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY	HENRY OF HUNTINGDON
At Wippidsfleet	(465) Hengist and Aesc fought Welsh— slew 12 ealdormen— lost thane, Wipped			(465) Hengist and Aesc fought Britons and twelve British chiefs fell, also Saxon Wippid		H. and Esc against British under twelve chiefs—killed chiefs —took standards— lost Wippid
At Darent			(2) Success for Vor- timer			
At Episford			(3) Horsa fell and Categrin son of Vor- tigern			
Hengest's flight to continent						
Founding of Leyden						
Vortimer's death			Vortimer died		Vortimer, who had been the instigator of the war, perished pre- maturely	Gortimer fell sick and died after battle at Aylesford—this en- couraged Britons— battle of Crayford
His dying injunction			To bury his body at rock where Saxons first landed to keep them from returning. He was not obeyed			
Hengest's return						
Slaughter at Amesbury			He plotted to gain country—invited King and 300 leaders to banquet; at signal treacherously slew them		As in Nennius except that Hengest caused nobles to quarrel and precipitate the conflict	

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS VIII-XII

	GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH	WACE	LAYAMON	RALPH DE DICETO (1190)
At Wippidsfleet				
At Darent	First upon river Derwent	First battle on banks of Darent	Vortimer with his brothers Pascent and Catiger marched against Hengest and Vortiger at Apiford on the Darwent—3200 of Hengest's men fell—Hors and Catiger were wounded—Hengest and Vortiger fled to Kent	
At Episford	Second upon the ford at Epsford. Horsa and Categirn killed each other		Same trick as in Geoffrey; they fled to Saxland	
Hengest's flight to continent	Hengist sent Vortigern to Vortimer to ask leave for Saxons to depart and while conference was being held he and his followers slipped away to Germany	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>		Hengist fled from Vortimer to Germany
Founding of Leyden				
Vortimer's death	Rowen bribed a prisoner to give Vortimer a poisoned drink	Rowena, that evil stepmother, caused Vortimer to be poisoned	Vortimer restored Christianity and built churches—Rowenne offered to become Christian—Vortigern delighted made a banquet to receive her—following the custom of honoring the king with wassail bowl, she poisoned the drink from a bottle carried in her breast just after she drank	Killed by plots of his stepmother Rowein
His dying injunction	Vortigern urged soldiers to continue defence of country—to place a brazen pyramid in the port where Saxons landed and bury his body on top to frighten them—soldiers disobeyed and buried him in London	"Take my body and bury it upon the shore—raise above me a tomb that shall be seen afar—they shall not dare to come." Barons disobeyed—buried him in London	"Lay my body in a chest and carry it to the sea strand where the Saxons will see it and fear to land." (Buried in London)	

Hengest's return	At Rowen's request Vortigern invited Hengist to return—Hengist started with 300,000 men—Britons prepared to dispute landing—Warned by Rowen, Hengist pretended that learning of Vortimer's death he would come with a few followers to make terms of peace. Vortigern agreed to meet him at Ambrius on Kalends of May	Vortigern, incited by Rowena, invited Hengist to return with small company. Hengist prepared 300,000—sent false message asking for a truce—meeting was arranged at Ambresbury	Hengest entered Thames with 700 ships each with 300 men—offered to let Vortiger choose 200 and send the rest away. Meeting was arranged near Ambresbury—the place was Aelenge now high Stonehenge	Hengest returned with 300,000 armed men
Slaughter at Amesbury	Hengist ordered each follower to carry dagger in garments and at signal to stab Briton next him—460 were thus slain—Eldol, consul of Gloucester, killed 70 and escaped—Vortigern ransomed his life by giving up his kingdom—retired to Cambria and built tower	Hengist ordered men to conceal a sharp, two-edged knife in hose—at signal to slay neighbor—near 460 men killed. Eldol found club and killed seventy—escaped on his horse. Vortigern ransomed fled to Wales	Arrangements expressly made that no weapons should be brought to meeting—trick as in Geoffrey—405 slain—Aldolf took a club from a churl and slew 53—escaped on a horse	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XIII-XVIII

	RALPH HIGDEN (1352)	FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (1118)	MATTHEW OF PARIS (ca. 1253)	WALTER OF COVENTRY (ca. 1293)	JOHN OF OXNEAD (ca. 1293)	ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER (ca. end of 13th Cent.)
At Wippidsfleet		<i>As in Aethelweard</i>				
At Darent			Vortimer gained victory at river Derwent			
At Episford						
Hengest's flight to continent			Leaving women and children Saxons fled to Germany			Hengist was forced to flee to Germany
Founding of Leyden						
Vortimer's death	Vortimer having died, Vortigern became king		460 Vortimer was poisoned by Rouwen			Rowen, incited by the devil, poisoned Vortimer
His dying injunction						Buried in a high tomb at the haven to frighten pagans
Hengest's return			461 Hengist returned with force of 300,000			H. returned with 300,000 men
Slaughter at Amesbury	Gives summary of Geoffrey and as an alternative William's account		<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Saxons killed 460 noble Britons at Salisbury—Vortiger and Eldolf fled		460 slain, Vortigern made prisoner, Eldolf escaped

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XIX-XXIV

	LIVERE DES REIS (ca. 1300)	PIERRE DE LANGTOFT (ca. 1307)	MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER (ca. 1327)	ROBERT MANNING OF BRUNNE (ca. 1338)	THOMAS OF MALMESBURY (?) (ca. 1366)	JOHN OF FORDUN (1385)
At Wippidsfleet						
At Darent				(1) "Upon Derwent"	First battle at river Derwent	
At Episford				(2) "That other at Berforde"	Second battle at Episford; Horsa and Catigern killed each other	
Hengest's flight to continent			Hengist fled to Germany			<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
Founding of Leyden						
Vortimer's death		Rowenne poisoned him to death with a wicked drink	Vortimer poisoned by Rouwen—buried at Trinovantum	Ronwen poisoned V.	V. poisoned by Ronwen	Vortimer died by poison from his stepmother Rowen
His dying injunction				To be buried at seaside under a high tomb—words forgotten—buried in London		
Hengest's return		H. 300,000 men, asked parley—to keep men or send them back	Hengist returned with 3,000 warriors	H. returned with 100,000 men	Secretly sent for by Ronwen	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
Slaughter at Amesbury		340 barons of renown slain—Vortiger made prisoner—Edol escaped	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Last of May—360 British lords slain—Eldok escaped; V. imprisoned	Story told briefly as in Geoffrey	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXV-XXX

	RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (ca. 1400)	JEHAN DE WAURIN (ca. 1455)	WM. STEWART'S BOECE (ca. 1536)	BRUT OF ENGLAND (1479)	MERLIN (1450)	MERLIN (Beg. 15th Cent.)
At Wippidsfleet						
At Darent	V. gained first victory—killed many at Dorwente	(1) On bank of river d'Eured				
At Episford		(2) Near the vale of d'Epiford				
Hengest's flight to continent	Horsa, first king of Kent, slain—Hengest became king in 456. At end of resources, leaving women and children, H. fled with followers to Germany	(3) Third and least memorable battle on the seashore, Saxons fled to island, Thain-et. (4) Victory was complete; leaving women and children, Saxons sailed for Germany	Scots and Picts revenge their defeat—carry banner of Christ—make H. flee to Saxony	Driven from England by Vortimer		Hengest embarked for Germany
Founding of Leyden						
Vortimer's death	Vortimer died and with him hope and victory of the Britons	R., through an attendant poisoned Vortimer	Vortimer poisoned by R.'s treachery	Ronewenne bribed Vortimer's servant to poison him		
His dying injunction		Place his ashes in a copper likeness of himself on a pillar of stone at port to frighten Saxons (disregarded)				
Hengest's return	H. summoned by Vortigern returned with 3000 armed auxiliaries—warned by Ronwen he arranged for a peace conference	Returned with 300,000 men	H. returned on learning Vortimer's death—sent messenger who made long oration—meeting appointed	Vortigern restored on condition that he should not let Engist return—Engist did return with great force		Fortager punished slayers of Moyne by death—Britons rose in insurrection—F. sent to Hengest for aid
Slaughter at Amesbury	Met in district of Ambrosius; 460 Britons slain—Eldol killed 70 Saxons	460 noble Britons slain, Eldol escaped—Vortigern made prisoner	Meeting at Saresberri—300 on each side—Vortigern taken—all the rest killed but Heldoll	Asked to meet Vortigern each with knights—ordered his soldiers to follow and slay at signal		

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXXI-XXXVI

	MERLIN (Lonelich) (1450)	ANNALS OF THE PICTS	POLYDORE VERGIL (1534)	ROBERT FABYAN (1516)	RICHARD GRAFTON	JOHN HARDYNG
At Wippidsfleet						
At Darent				(1) Gave battle at river Darwent—had great victory	Same as Fabyan	Vortimer fought the "myscreauntes sore upon Derwent"
At Episford				(2) Fought them at Epifoorde or Aglisthorp—Catriguus and Horsus fell; Britons were victors	Same as Fabyan	"At Abirforth he fought with them also" (Categirn and Horne slain)
Hengest's flight to continent					As in Geoffrey	"So went they home with lytel folke alyfe"
Founding of Leyden						
Vortimer's death				Ronowen seeing danger of her father sought such means that Vortimer was poisoned; ruled seven years	Same as Fabyan	Poisoned by Rowayne'e agency
His dying injunction					Repeats Geoffrey's account	To be buried on the coast in a pillar of brass (not obeyed)
Hengest's return						Vortiger sent for Hengest who came back with 300 ships
Slaughter at Amesbury				Vortiger restored made war on Hengist—Hengist asked for peace treaty—the rest as in Geoffrey—Edolf Earl of Chester slew seventeen	Quotes Geoffrey	Plot as traditionally given—400 "lordes" slain

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXXVII-XLII

	RAPHAEL	JOHN MILTON	SPENSER (F. Q.)	DRAYTON	CORNELIUS KEMPIUS (1588)	SUFFRIDUS PETRUS (1590)
At Wippidsfleet		A. S. Chron.				
At Darent	(1) Gave great battle on river Derwent and had upper hand	(Given as reported)				
At Episford	(2) <i>As in Fabyan</i>	(Given as reported)				
Hengest's flight to continent	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Fled from Guortimer—away five years			Hengist fled, driven out by Vortimer	
Founding of Leyden		Founded by Britons who fled from Hengist; "Brittenburgh" tower yet to be seen near Leiden			Built a castle on the east bank and fortified it for a safe retreat—called Leiden	
Vortimer's death	<i>Quotes William as alternative; but stresses Fabyan's account</i>	<i>As in Nennius</i>			Shortly after Vortimer's victory he died	
His dying injunction		<i>As in Nennius</i>				
Hengest's return	Gives account of his return but notes in the margin his belief that H. never left the country after he "once set foot within this Isle"	H. rid of his great opposer, returned with great forces			H. returned and plotted how he might gain the kingdom from Vortiger	
Slaughter at Amesbury	<i>Quotes Geoffrey and William</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i> , but number slain 300	Soon after reconciliation of Hengist and Vortigern 300 British Lords are slain while sitting at the board of Hengist		Slaughter of 300 as in Nennius	

FOURTH SERIES, COLUMNS XLIII-XLVIII

	BERNARDUS FURMERIUS (1609)	MARTINUS HAMCONIUS (1625)	UBBO EMMIUS (1616)	VORPERUS THABORITAS	BEOWULF	THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG
At Wippidsfleet						
At Darent						
At Episford	V. gained victory in a great battle at Episford. H. retired to Thanet					
Hengest's flight to continent	H. was so pressed that he escaped in his fleet to the continent			In the third Gortenir gained the victory, the Frisians fled to ships		
Founding of Leyden	Founded Leiden on the Rhine—built tower for safety	Hengist founded Leiden				
Vortimer's death	H. was informed by message from Rowena of the death of the enemy who had driven him out			Gortenir died not long after		
His dying injunction						
Hengest's return	H. with as great a force as he could collect unexpectedly returned to Britain			Hengist with a great throng of Frisians came back and began to plot		
Slaughter at Amesbury	<i>As in Geoffrey</i> , but number slain 450—no mention of Eldol	Refers to the story but does not tell it except to call attention to Frisian signal		<i>As in Nennius</i>		

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS I-VII

	O. E. CHRONICLE	BEDE	NENNIUS	AETHELWEARD	WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY	HENRY OF HUNTINGDON
Signal			Nimed eure Saxes			
Full conquest and settlement		Took possession of country	Saxons greatly increased, both in strength and numbers	They drive Britons out and take possession of island		
Revival of British		Under Ambrosius Aurelius, a Roman, waged war until Baddesdown-hill	After death of Hengest under Arthur		Ambrosius Roman King after Vortigern—with aid of warlike Arthur quelled barbarians	
Hengest's death	Inferred from statement (488), "Aesc succeeded to the kingdom"		After death of his father Hengest, Octa came from the sinistral part of the island to the kingdom of Kent	In 488 Aesc began to reign in Kent	Hengist died in the 39th year after his arrival	Hengist died in the forty-fifth year after his invasion of Britain
Stonehenge as a monument						
Hengest's descendants			Octa, Ebissa	Aesc	Eisc—Otha—Ermenric	Esc

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS VIII-XII

	GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH	WACE	LAYAMON	RALPH DE DICETO (1190)
Signal	Nemet oure Saxas	Nimad eoure seax	(1) Nimeth eoure sexes; (2) Nemeth oure seaxes	
Full conquest and settlement	Saxons took London and afterwards York, Lincoln, and Winchester, wasting the country and destroying the people as wolves do sheep	Vortigern granted Sussex, Essex, and Middlesex as ransom in addition to Kent	Hengest took all this rich kingdom—divided it among his men—gave an earl Kent—gave his steward Essex—gave his chamberlain Middlesex—Vortiger gave up his land and fled over Severn	The Saxons occupied almost all Britain
Revival of British	Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother with 10,000 men returned—British rallied about them—crowned Aurelius, burned V. in his tower—advanced against Saxons	Aurelius rallied the Britons and marched north against Hengist who was trying to get help from Scotland	Aurelie regained crown—burned Vortiger in his tower and pursued Hengest to the Humber	Brief statement from Geoffrey
Hengest's death	Hengist defeated at field of Mausbeli—fled to Cunungeburg (Conisburg). He was taken by Eldol—Later by advice of Bishop Eldad, was beheaded by Eldol	Taken by Eldof and beheaded as in Geoffrey	Final battle given in full detail—Hengest taken by Aldof (as in Geoffrey) and beheaded. Hengest buried according to his pagan rites	Eldol killed Hengist
Stonehenge as a monument	Aurelius, to get a monument for the slaughtered Britons, buried on Salisbury plain, commissioned Merlin to bring from Mt. Killaraus in Ireland the great stones known as the Giant's Dance—By his art Merlin accomplished this feat—he set up the stones in their original form about the burial place. They were dedicated with great ceremony by king and people	Aurelius called masons to build monument—was advised to send for Merlin—moving of Giant's Dance as in Geoffrey with addition of battle of king of Ireland to get the stones	Aurelie called counsel at Merlin's advice to decide upon monument. Merlin's suggestion followed. Merlin and Uther in charge of expedition—overcame king Gillomaur—brought stones back and set them up	
Hengest's descendants	Octa (Hengist's son); Eosa (Octa's kinsman)	Octa, son, Ossa (cousin of Octa), Ebissa (cousin-nephew of Hengist)	Octa; Ebissa—"his wed brother"; Ossa—"The other"	

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XIII-XVIII

	RALPH HIGDEN (1352)	FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (1118)	MATTHEW OF PARIS (ca. 1253)	WALTER OF COVENTRY (ca. 1293)	JOHN OF OXNEAD (ca. 1293)	ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER (ca. end of 13th Cent.)
Signal	Nymeth youre sexes			Nimis oure sexes		Nimeth youre sexes
Full conquest and settlement			Saxons laid Britain waste, Vortigern fled into Wales, 462	The pagan Saxons held all Locariani		Saxons took possession of whole land
Revival of British	<i>Quotes Geoffrey and William</i>		464-487 Aurelius reconquered country	Aurelius entered Britain, besieged and burned Vortigern		British under Aurelius burned Vortigern and regained country
Hengest's death	<i>Quotes Geoffrey and William</i>	(488) Hengst died after reigning 34 years in Kent	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Aurelius killed Hengist and exterminated the Saxons		Taken by Eldol in battle—later beheaded
Stonehenge as a monument	Gives as a tradition (<i>si fas sit credere</i>) that Merlin brought from Ireland the "Coream Giganteum which now on the plain of Sarum is called Stanhenges"—		<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>		<i>As in Geoffrey</i>
Hengest's descendants	also speaks of Arthur and Aurelius as buried beneath these stones. Aesc (son) succeeded Hengest—reigned twenty-four years					

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XIX-XXIV

	LIVERE DES REIS DE BRITANIE (ca. 1300)	PIERRE DE LANGTOFT (ca. 1307)	MATTHEW OF WESTMINSTER (ca. 1327)	ROBERT MANNING OF BRUNNE (ca. 1338)	THOMAS OF MALMESBURY (?) (ca. 1366)	JOHN OF FORDUN (1385)
Signal		Neme yhoure sexes	Nymet oure sexes	Nymeth out your sexes	Nimeth oute your Sexes	Zoure Sexes
Full conquest and settlement	By the wheel of fortune Saxons were all at the top and Britons at the bottom	London, Lincoln, York, and Winchester taken—Hengist supreme—Vortigern fled to Wales	Saxons drove out Britains—destroyed churches	V. yielded Sussex, Oxfordshire, Middlesex, fled to Wales	Vortigern captured all Britons killed but Eldolf	<i>As in Geoffrey with added details</i>
Revival of British	Arthurian section omitted—narrative proceeds to tell how country was divided into petty kingdoms—Heptarchy, etc.	Ambrosius rallied British—burned Vortigern—defeated Pagans	British sent for Aurelius who burned Vortigern	Aurelius and Uther besiege and burn V. H. tries to get help of Scots and Picts	Under leadership of Aurelius Vortigern was slain, kingdom regained	
Hengest's death		Edol took H. — by judgment of army "cut off the head of Hengist who flinched in no way"	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Eldok took H. and sent him as a present to Aurelius—by decision of council H. beheaded by Eldok	Taken and beheaded by Eldolf	
Stonehenge as a monument		<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	<i>As in Geoffrey</i> —Giant's Dance brought from Ireland and set up as memorial to nobles slain by Hengest	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	
Hengest's descendants						

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXV-XXX

	RICHARD OF CIRENCESTER (ca. 1400)	JEHAN DE (ca. 1455)	WM. STEWART'S BOECE (ca. 1536)	BRUT OF ENGLAND (1479)	MERLIN (1450)	MERLIN (Beg. 15th Cent.)
Signal	Nymeth youre Sexes	Nimet oure saxas		"Now is tyme forto speke of love and pees"		
Full conquest and settlement	Vortigern, seized and imprisoned, was forced to give up cities and strongholds—retired into Wales	Saxons became master of all Britain—V. fled to Wales	V. gave over all Britain and went into Wales—H. slew Britons and destroyed churches	Engist went through the land and seized all the land—called it Engistes land divided it into seven kingdoms		Angys and Fortager put Britons to flight—F. built tower on Salisbury plain
Revival of British	Britons summoned Aurelius Ambrosianus and Uterpendragon from Britain, chose Aurelius king and overcame Vortigern and Hengist	Aurelius and Uther led Britons—burned V.—vanquished Saxons	Britons rallied at coming of Aurelius—burnt V. in his castle—got help of Scots and Picts—defeated Hungest	Britons rose under Aurilambros	Pendragon besieged Angier in the castle of the Vysee	Aurelius and Uther came to Winchester. F. and H. met them and were defeated
Hengest's death	Beheaded by Eldol as in Geoffrey	Eldol captured and beheaded Hengist	Hungest was slain in battle by Aurelius who gave Scots and Picts lands between Humber and Tweed for their help	Slain in battle in the north country whither Aurilambros had pursued him	Angier entered tent of Uther with knife to kill him—Uther warned by Merlin hid and killed Angier as he passed out	Fortager fled to castle—was burned—Angys shut himself in a castle, and was besieged by Uther—With aid of Merlin Aurelius slew Angys
Stonehenge as a monument		As in Geoffrey but with emphasis on religious element		As in Geoffrey—Place called Stonehynges forevermore		
Hengest's descendants				Otta (his son)		

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXXI-XXXVI

	MERLIN (Lonelich) (1450)	ANNALS OF THE PICTS	POLYDORE VERGIL (1534)	ROBERT FABYAN (1516)	RICHARD GRAFTON	JOHN HARDYNG
Signal				Nempnyth your Sexis	Nempnith your sexes	Nemyth your sexes
Full conquest and settlement				H. ruled country and called it Hengistus land or England; others say it was Anglia or Engle land	Drove Britons from country as wolves sheep	H. ruled all Britain "except the occident"
Revival of British			Under Aurelius the Britons revived, put Saxons to flight, and slew Horsus	Aurelius rallied Britons; burned Vortigern in tower	Same as Fabyan	Aurelius Ambrose retook country from H.
Hengest's death	Warned by Merlin, Uther lay awake and saw Angwys enter tent to slay him—Uther surprised and slew Angwys		Aurelius pursued Hengistus to York—met his force at Dancaestre—slew him and a wondrous number of Germans	Hengist died in his bed when he had reigned twenty-four years—others say he was slain in battle by Aurelius	Same as Fabyan	Duke Eldoll took Hengest—he (Hengest) was beheaded with a sword
Stonehenge as a monument				Stones brought from Ireland some say by Aurelius with Merlin's help, others by Uther	Same as Fabyan	The king made a worthy sepulture at Stonehenge for the slain Britons
Hengest's descendants			Two sons, Ossa and Otha	Hengist's son Octa or Osea reigned twenty-four years	Same as Fabyan	Occa, son of H. Oysa, son of Occa "After Engestes land; By corrupt speach Englande it hicht therefore, And afterwarde so that name it ever bore"

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XXXVII-XLII

	RAPHAEL HOLLINSHED	JOHN MILTON	SPENSER (F. Q.)	DRAYTON	CORNELIUS KEMPIUS (1588)	SUFFRIDUS PETRUS (1590)
Signal	Nempt your sexes	Nemet eour saxes			Nimmet oure Saxes (Frisian words)	
Full conquest and settlement	H. peopled the land with Saxons	H. added to his terri- tory three provinces given by Vortigern as ransom		Hengist first began a kingdom in Kent, and his heirs extended it to the Humber	V. gave up his king- dom for his life—H. began to reign	
Revival of British	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>	Under Ambrosius Au- relius Britons rallied and drove out Saxons (partly)				
Hengest's death	Gives two versions: (1) taken in battle and beheaded by Edol; (2) slain at River Dune	In 489 Hengist died —first King of Kent	H. was brought to shameful death by Aurelius and Uther		Hengist died not long after	
Stonehenge as a monument	<i>As in Geoffrey</i>		Stonehenge doleful monuments and eter- nal marks of treason			
Hengest's descendants	Hengist left two sons, Osca and Occa	His son Oeric sur- named Oisc, succeeded him			H. succeeded by son Ocha or Orich (sur- name Hoersch)—Min- ric—Edelberht; Willi- brord (a descendant)	Orichius—Octa, Ebis- sa (Kent) (Vesualla —Angrivarian Dukes to Vitekind)

FIFTH SERIES, COLUMNS XLIII-XLVIII

	BERNARDUS FURMERIUS (1609)	MARTINUS HAMCONIUS (1625)	UBBO EMMIUS (1616)	VORPERUS THABORITAS	BEOWULF	THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURG
Signal	Nimmet ouvre saxen	Nimet oure saxen		Nymet oure Saxa (Notes that these are Frisian words)		
Full conquest and settlement	H. pursued the Brit- ons to "Erfordum" on the river Darent and slew so many that he reigned in peace thereafter					
Revival of British	Ambrosius Aurelius of Roman descent as- sumed purple at death of Vortigern and turned arms against H.					
Hengest's death	H. defeated in battle on the river Don— taken and beheaded			Not much after Hengist died	Some translators con- strue II, 1142-1145 as an account of H.'s death	
Stonehenge as a monument						
Hengest's descendants	Orichius (Haseus) his son succeeded him— Oeco, Ebissa, and Ed- elred, daughter Ostri- da; Oronia and Ville- gis—Willibrord; Berta and Sigebert— Svidbert	Orich—Octa, King of Kent; Ebissa, Duke of Angria S. Willi- brord from Hengist		After his death Ocha passed "de sinistra parte Britanniae" to the kingdom of Kent Orrich or Oisc— Occa—Iurminrici— Edilbrecht (Bede II, 5). From these came Willibrord		

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