

ON THE JUTE, ANGLE, AND SAXON ROYAL
PEDIGREES.

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EVERY question relating to the *origines* of our race should be especially interesting to men of Kent, for from Kent the Teutonization of Britain began. The pillar-stone, on the shores of the Frith of Forth, which marks the grave of Horsa's grandfather, is to them a family monument; and rich as their country is in antiquities of every age, and worthily appreciated as these antiquities are, not one memorial of the historic past has the value for them which that would have, could it be found again, which, inscribed with his name,¹ for at least 300 years after his death, preserved the memory of Horsa himself. To them I offer as it were a family pedigree, the record of the ancestry of their kings, ascending to the 1st century of our era, collated with, and vindicated by the genealogies of the Goths and Longobards on the one hand, and those of the Angles and Saxons on the other.

Of this record, the first part is preserved in the 'Historia Britonum,' a work originally written in the 5th century,² and (in my opinion) by S. Gildas, who was contemporary with Horsa and Hengest in his

¹ "In orientabilibus partibus Cantiaë" (Ven. Bæda). Qu. at Stonar, "the stone of honour," *lapis tituli*.

² For the son of Vortigern was still living, and the record of Arthur's twelve battles is the work of a contemporary.

youth. The earliest known recension of this work, (nearly represented by a MS. at Paris), made in Kent,¹ in A.D. 675, the 5th year of the reign of an Eadmund, otherwise unknown, gives the descent *Jeta*, *Folewald*, *Fin*, *Fredulf*, *Frealof*, *Woden*, *Wecta*, *Wicta*, *Wictgils*, *Hors* and *Hengest*; and this alone of all the MSS. spells the names which require it with the Runic *wen*. The only other MS. (in the Vatican library), which represents this Kentish recension, has the 1st name *Geta*, all others have *Geata*.

The genealogies in the 'Textus Roffensis' uniformly represent Woden as the son of *Frealaf*. One of these (that of the Lindisfaras) gives his ancestry thus: *Eata*, *Godulf*, *Finn*, *Freodowlf*, *Frealaf*. This dates from the earlier years of the 9th century.

A passage, inserted s.a. 547, in the oldest MS. of the English Chronicle (of A.D. 891), has nearly the same series: *Geat*, *Godulf*, *Finn*, *Freothowulf*, *Freotholaf*; and of these variations I accept the first as an important correction of the older genealogy, and reject the last on the independent authority of the Edda, which gives us *Gutholfr* and *Fiarlef* (*Frialaf*). For the introduction of the name of *Folewald* (for *Folcwald*) in the earlier document, it is easy to account; there was a king, contemporary with Hengest,—Fin, son of Folcwalda,—whose memory was fresh in men's minds when the 'Historia Britonum' was written; and its author has simply confounded him with Fin, son of Godwulf.

The MSS. of the English Chronicle, Cotton. Tiber. A. vi. and B. i. (of A.D. 977 and 1046 respectively), have *Sceaf*, *Bedwig*, *Hwala*, *Hathra*, *Itermon*, *Heremod*, *Scyldwa* (*Scealdwa*), *Beaw*, and *Tætwa*, as ancestors of *Geat*,

¹ For the author of this recension says, "mortuo autem Hengesto, Otha filius eius *advenit* de sinistrali parte Britanniae ad regnum Cantuariorum et de ipso omnes *reges Cantuariorum* usque in hodiernum diem," where all others have "transivit" and "reges illius patriae."

but omit *Frithwulf*; and Asser, writing in A.D. 893, has the same, save that for *Sceaf* he substitutes the name of the Patriarch *Sem*; he retains *Frithwulf*, and inserts *Frithowald* between *Frealaf* and *Woden*, as does the contemporary MS. of the Chronicle, C. C. Cambr. clxxiii. (of A.D. 891). The latest genealogy (of the time of Æthelred II.) in the 'Textus Roffensis,' and the MS. Tiberius B. iv. (of A.D. 1016), omit *Hwala* and *Frithwulf*. The Edda of Snorro has all these names, save *Hwala* and *Tætwa*, but adds seven others between *Sceaf* and *Bedwig*. Æthelweard, on the other hand, a century later than Asser, omits all between *Sceaf* and *Scyldwa*, and of *Sceaf* relates a story which belongs to another hero of antiquity, (as we know from *Beowulf*); but this story throws light on the origin of the fable in MSS. A. vi., B. i., and B. iv., that *Sceaf* was a son of Noe, born in the Ark, and on Asser's substitution of the name of *Sem* for his.

I think it very probable that our fathers, possessed as they certainly were of the art of writing when they came to Britain, and inheriting it as a tradition from days of very remote antiquity, had records of the ancestry of their kings ascending to *Sceaf*; and the more so, as they seem to have had this tradition in common with their Scandinavian kindred; but as we have no other authorities, by the aid of which we might have formed a judgment as to the credibility of the statement which is first presented to us in the 9th century, nor dates whereby we might have verified the chronological succession of his ancestors, I commence with *Geat*, whose era is satisfactorily ascertained, since his identity with *Gawt*, the ancestor of the Ostrogothic Kings, is admitted.¹ He stands at the head of the

¹ *Gawt* is the correct reading, transformed into *Gapt* by inaccurate scribes, mistaking *wen* for *p*. *Gawt* is the Goth. equivalent of our *Geát*, and Procopius' Γαύροι are our *Geátas*. The pronunciation of the words was nearly, if not quite, the same.

genealogy in the record of S. Gildas, as Gawt does in that of Jordanis; and if S. Gildas says that he was reputed to be the son of a god,¹ Jordanis tells us that the Goths regarded the chiefs, to whose valour and generalship they owed the victory they gained over the forces of Domitian, A.D. 86, as something more than human, and called them *Anses*, *i.e.* "demigods;" evidently intending to mark the period when the line of the Anses, (*Gawt*, *Hulmul*, etc., as he gives it), commenced.

A statement, in a genealogy preserved by Langhorne, (from some authority which is now lost), that *Geta* (first of his family) went to Asgard, and that Woden, his descendant, returned to Germany, may account for the silence of Jordanis as to his ancestry. In the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era, the Goths were on the southern coasts of the Baltic and the mouth of the Vistula; early in the 3rd they were infesting Dacia. Of this movement we may regard Geat as having been the precursor, the first of the family who came into conflict with the Roman Empire, the first who emigrated to Asgard, *i.e.* the district whence Woden returned to Germany,—the coasts of the Black Sea, where Azov (*Asa-hof*) still preserves the trace of their name. In the East, therefore, he was regarded as the founder of the fortunes of his family; and, perhaps, the distinguished part which he played on the occasion in question, was the first step of their advancement to the sovereignty of the Ostrogoths, which was completed in the person of his great-grandson Amal. Thus we may place the birth of Geat in the first half of the 1st century of our era, and with this date the genealogy of his descendants is consistent throughout.

For, in the middle of the 3rd century, we overtake

¹ Asser says that Geat was himself the object of divine honours, quoting Sedulius, but with an evident misapprehension of his meaning.

his 5th descendant Ostrogotha, at the close of his career. He had passed the Danube in the 5th year of the Emperor Philip; Decius was sent against him, but on being saluted Emperor, A.D. 249, made peace with him, and returned to Italy. Cniva, his successor, probably his son, renewed the war after his death, and it was in opposing him that Decius lost his life, A.D. 251. During the reign of Constantine, Aoric and Araric are mentioned as kings of the Goths; they are not named in the line of descent, and it is not improbable that the great Gothic nation was divided into tribes, each acknowledging a distinct succession of kings. In A.D. 323, during their reign, Constantine defeated the Goths in several engagements, drove them out of Illyricum, and carried the war into Dacia with such success, that he was enabled to boast that he had recovered that province, which, half a century before, Aurelian had relinquished to them. The Goths, however, were not subdued; for in A.D. 331, the Sarmatians sought the aid of Constantine against them; and, when it was known that he had espoused their cause, Araric passed the Danube, ravaged Mæsia, and routed the Roman forces, commanded by the Emperor in person. In the following year, under the generalship of the younger Constantine, the Romans retrieved their honour, expelled the Goths from Mæsia, pursued them into Sarmatia, and reduced them to submission, exacting from Araric his eldest son as a hostage. Geberic, 4th in descent from Ostrogotha, if (as is not improbable) we may identify Cnivida with Cniva, next appears as a king of the Goths. Desiring to signalize the commencement of his reign by some deed of glory, he made war upon the Vandals, who had recently migrated from the shores of the western ocean to the borders of Dacia, and so completely defeated them, after an obstinate conflict on the river Marosk, that the remnant

of their army, with all who were unfit for war, emigrated to Pannonia, and were allowed to settle there by Constantine. The great Hermanaric, who died in A.D. 375, at the age of 110, probably became king about the beginning of the 4th century. He was never in conflict with the Roman armies, but devoted his energies to the conquest of Central Europe, and subjected to his authority Southern Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and a great part of Germany. Eventually, after the death of Geberic, he seems to have been acknowledged sole ruler of the Ostrogoths. He died, at last, by his own hand, because, languishing under the effects of a dangerous wound inflicted by a Roxolan chief, he despaired of being able to oppose effectual resistance to the Huns. Withimer and Witheric followed successively; their relation to this line is not stated. Winithari, grandson of Hermanaric's elder brother Wuldulf, was the next; then Hermanaric's son Hunimund; then his son Thorismund, whose death in the flower of his age, and the 2nd year of his reign, so afflicted his people, that for 40 years they allowed no one to occupy his throne; and his son Berimund, disdaining the supremacy of the Huns, as it is said, but probably disgusted at being debarred of his rights, fled to the Visigoths. These 5 reigns must have occupied a short period, for, after this interregnum of 40 years, Winithari's grandsons, Walamir, Theodemir, and Withermir, appear reigning conjointly and confederate with Attila. Theodemir survived his brothers until A.D. 475, and then was succeeded by his son Theoderic, who died in A.D. 526. Eutharic, of the younger line, married Theoderic's daughter Amalasuinth, and their son Athalaric died in infancy, the last male representative of his race.

Here then we have a genealogical descent, which is not only intrinsically probable, but consistent, at every

point of contact, with contemporary history ; and which affords us a fair criterion whereby to measure the parallel descents of the royal dynasties of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons through Woden from Geat ; all of which we shall find to be as nearly accordant with it as we have any right to expect.

In researches of this kind, when our authorities are discordant, the safest course is to follow the earliest, because it is most probable that they have preserved for us ancient traditions in their purest form, unless in any particular instance there be reason to suspect an error. To this principle I shall adhere throughout.

The descendants of Geat, in the line of ancestry of our own kings, were Godwulf, Fin, Frithwulf, Frealaf, and Woden. Frithwald, inserted between the two last by Asser, and in the earliest MS. (contemporary with Asser) of the English Chronicle, but omitted in the MSS. Tiberius A. vi., B. i., and B. iv., may be safely rejected on the authority of S. Gildas, of the earlier genealogy in the *Textus Roffensis*, and of the Norse genealogies. Woden, then, the 5th descendant of Geat, stands in the same degree as Ostrogotha, who was living in A.D. 250 ; and as his must have been a younger line, he would be, under ordinary circumstances, Ostrogotha's junior. The date at which his descendants in the 4th degree, Horsa and Hengest, appear in our annals, and the circumstances of their history, suggest that he lived during the latter half of the 3rd century and the earlier of the 4th, and thus was contemporary with Hunnuil, Athal, Achiulf and his sons. This inference, on the one hand, is quite consistent with the facts of the Gothic genealogy and history, and, on the other, is abundantly confirmed by the other genealogies of his descendants, and by the circumstances of his life, as detailed in Scandinavian tradition.

For whatever was the period in which he lived,

Woden is in truth a historical personage. As such all our early chroniclers regarded him. The author of the 'History of the Britons,' writing within a century and a half after his death, without an idea of anything divine or mythical about him, records the names of his ancestors; S. Kentigern, in the 6th century, is represented, in his sermons to the Angles, as denouncing him, as one who had been a mighty king in his day, but had been damned for his crimes; Ven. Bæda, in the 8th century, says of him in parenthesis, "from whose stock the royal races of many provinces derived their origin;" in the 9th, Asser simply mentions him as one of the line of Alfred's ancestors; and in the 10th, Æthelweard calls him "king of a multitude of barbarians," "king of many nations, whom now some Pagans worship as a god." The rest speak of him in similar terms, in exact accordance with what is related of him in the Ynglinga Saga.

The details of his story are by no means improbable.

At a time when many chieftains fled from their dominions, because the Roman generals were going about subjecting all nations to the authority of the Empire, he is said to have left his home at the head of a powerful force of warriors, whose bravery and noble appearance, superior wisdom and civilization, caused them to be regarded, by the ruder peoples through whose territories they passed, as more like gods than men, and contributed materially to ensure the success which everywhere attended them. Woden invaded and conquered in succession Russia, Franconia, East Saxony, Westphalia, and Denmark, and established kingdoms in these countries for his sons, Suarlami, Sigge, Wægdæg, Bældæg, and Scyld. Gylf, the King of Sweden, knowing that he had no force to oppose him, adopted the wiser policy of receiving him amicably, and allowed him to form a settlement in his land, in which he

founded the city of Sigtun, built therein a temple, and established sacrifices according to the rites of Asaland. Woden then conquered Norway, and gave it to his son Sæming, who appears to have been born after his arrival in the North. Returning to Sweden, and perceiving that death was near, he put an end to his life, and left the kingdom to his son Yngve.

In all this there is nothing improbable. It is a simple narrative of an expedition, by a comparatively civilized race, through regions inhabited by peoples less advanced than they, by a race who had the address to consolidate by the arts of peace the conquests of the sword. No wonder that success everywhere attended them, that plenty and prosperity followed them, that the dynasties they established remained secure. They were, in fact, Goths, far the most civilized of those whom Greeks and Romans called Barbarians;¹ Woden and the rest of their chiefs, the *Asar*, were those whom Jordanis calls *Anses* (for *As* is a Norse equivalent of the Gothic *Ans*, O.E. *O's*); and, through Woden, Swedes, Danes, Jutes, Angles, Saxons, and many other tribes, each received a royal dynasty of the same blood as that of the Goths.

It is implied that this expedition was consequent on reverses suffered in conflict with the forces of the Roman Empire. Of all the successes which the Romans gained over the Goths, during the period in which we have ascertained that Woden must have lived, Constantine's victories in A.D. 323 seem the most likely to have occasioned it. Woden must have been far advanced in years at the time, for he had many sons who had attained to maturity. We shall find the supposition, that his expedition commenced immediately after this defeat, confirmed by history, and consistent with the genealogies of his descendants.

¹ "Pæne omnibus barbaris Gothi sapientiores semper extiterunt, Græcisque pæne consimiles." (Jordanis, 'De rebus Geticis,' iii.)

For Sarmatia was Woden's first conquest. In the interval between A.D. 323 and 331 the Goths had conquered Sarmatia, and in that country they were eventually subdued, when Constantine responded to the appeal of the Sarmatians and espoused their cause.

Again, this supposition receives striking confirmation from the history of the Longobards, and in turn invests with a character of truth their ancient tradition. The Vandals, we are told, making encroachments on the territories of their neighbours, sent a message to the Longobards, demanding tribute; they replied they would rather fight than yield to this demand, and both nations prepared for war; the Vandals besought Woden to grant them victory, whilst the Longobards, more wisely, made interest with his wife Freya, and she so arranged matters that her husband gave the victory to them. Paul Warnefrid calls this story ridiculous, because "victory is not attributed to the power of men, but rather is dispensed from heaven;" evidently intimating that the tradition ascribed to human agency the victory which the Longobards gained; but if we consider attentively the nature of the case, it does not appear so very ridiculous. Woden claimed magical power. Northern tradition tells us that his people believed that victory was always his; and that not only was he always successful when he commanded in person, but that, whenever he sent them on any expedition, he laid his hands upon their heads, and invoked a blessing on them, and that they then went forth confident of victory. This mighty chief was in the neighbourhood of the place where the Longobards and Vandals had arranged their forces in preparation for battle; both parties sought that blessing from him, the utterance of that charm which would ensure them victory; and it is easy to understand what effect, in raising the spirits of one party, and depressing those of the other,

the knowledge that he had espoused the interests of the former would have. Let us, then, compare this tradition with history. The Vandals were actually in motion at the time we have conjecturally fixed for Woden's expedition. About A.D. 334 they had migrated, in the course of one year, from the shores of the Western Ocean to the borders of Dacia, where they suffered defeat at the hands of Geberic. They had, therefore, as Paul says, been pressing on the settlements of their neighbours, those of the Longobards amongst the rest.

The chronology of the Longobards is perfectly consistent with the supposition that Ibor and Ayo, their first historic chiefs, were living at this time, and contemporary with Woden. Although their genealogical succession does not commence before their 3rd king, Lethu; yet, as his reign was of 40 years' duration, and Agelmund's was 33, we may fairly take the succession of their kings as equivalent to a genealogy; and, if we place Ibor and Ayo in the same line as Ostrogotha and Woden, we observe that Hildigisl, who was 8th in succession from Ayo, and was slain in A.D. 548, is but one degree above Theoderic the Ostrogoth, who died in A.D. 526. Further, if we suppose Hildigisl to have been born about A.D. 500, and allow 30 years average to the generations, the birth of Lethu would be about A.D. 350. Then taking A.D. 333 as the date of the victory, 10 years of Ibor and Ayo's chieftainship bring us to A.D. 343, Agelmund's 30 years reign to A.D. 376, and Lamissio's 3 years to A.D. 379, for the accession of Lethu (at the age of 29,¹ according to the former

¹ Paul gives no dates for the succession of these first kings. Some uncritical hand has interpolated this series in Prosper's *Chronicle*:—

A.D. 379. Ibor and Ayo conquered the Vandals.

389. Agelmund reigned 33 years.

423. Lamissio reigned 3 years.

Lethu's reign, therefore, would be from A.D. 426 to 466; but as this

reckoning). Thus the succession of their kings, for the most part genealogical, corresponds with the genealogy of the Goths; their history coincides with that of the Goths; and their chronology is consistent with the theory, that Woden's career of conquest, commenced in Sarmatia, had not yet reached Denmark in A.D. 333.

The genealogies of our royal dynasties are very variously stated, in the notes appended to some MSS. of the 'Historia Britonum' by some anonymous Cambrian authority, in the *Textus Roffensis*, in the *English Chronicle*, and in the *Tables of Florence of Worcester*; and in several of the lines of descent we observe, that the later chronicles give more names than the earlier. So the *Edda* interpolates 7 names in the ancestry of Geat, of which our chroniclers knew nothing, (the same process of amplification); and the *Ynglinga Saga* illustrates the way in which it has been brought about. The succession of kings there given may be historical, but cannot be genealogical throughout; so I apprehend that the additional names, which appear in these later genealogies, represent elder lines which failed, and made way for younger branches of the same family. If we take the historical succession of the kings of any one of the kingdoms of the Octarchy, and suppose the records of their relationship to have been lost, and the series represented as genealogical by a writer who knew only of their names and their succession, we can readily understand this process of augmentation. For instance, Penda, Peada, Wulfhere, Æthelred, Cœnred, Ceolred, a succession of 6 kings, represent but 3 degrees of the Mercian genealogy.

The Cambrian genealogist must have been living a would scarcely allow an average of 20 years for the 5 succeeding generations, I have no hesitation in discarding these dates. They do not appear in MS. Colbert, (the best of Prosper).

century earlier than the time of the compilation of the English Chronicle, for the latest name he gives is that of Ecgfrith, the son of Offa, who died A.D. 796. I shall venture to quote him as Nennius, for, when he speaks of the baptism of Eadwine, he says, "if any one wish to know who baptized them, Run map Urbgen baptized them," and MS. Denham, B. ii. 35-6, (one of those which contain the shorter prologue of Nennius), has, "if any one wish, etc., thus Bishop Renchid, and Elbo-deus, the most holy of Bishops, related to me, Run map ur Beghen (that is Paulinus)," etc. We have, then, a disciple of S. Elbod imparting this information, and Nennius is the only one we know of who satisfies this condition, of those whose names are connected with editions of this history. The writer of these notes was evidently well acquainted with the history of the times, of which he has left us these fragments, and supplies, in several instances, information which we have not elsewhere. In the East Anglian genealogy, for example, he gives a descent which enables us to understand the relation of Aldwulf to his predecessors; and in the Mercian we have an opportunity of testing his accuracy; for the poem of Beowulf tells us that Offa was contemporary with Hygelac, who was slain in A.D. 511, and Nennius gives 3 generations between him and Penda, who was born A.D. 576, which will answer exactly; whilst the Chronicle and Florence give the manifestly impossible number 7. His authority, therefore, I do not hesitate to prefer, and shall follow, except in one instance, in which I think he may possibly have been mistaken.

Next in value to these Notes I consider the genealogies in the *Textus Roffensis*, originally compiled in A.D. 824, since Cœnwulf of Mercia is the latest whose descent is traced, and Beornwulf his second successor, who died in that year, the latest who is named.

All authorities are agreed that there were 3 generations between Woden and the brothers Horsa and Hengest, and nearly so as to their names.

<i>Hist. Brit.</i> (<i>Paris MS.</i>)	<i>Bada.</i>	<i>Æthelweard.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Wecta.	Uecta.	Wither. Uuithar.	Wehta.
Wicta.	Uitta.	Wieta. Uuicta.	Witta.
Wictgils.	Uictgils.	Wihtgils. Uuyrhtels.	Wihtgils.
Hors and Hengest.	Hengist and Horsa.	Hengest and Horsa.	Hengest and Horsa.

Hors and Hengest arrived in Britain in A.D. 428; Hors fell at Episford, A.D. 435; Hengest reigned after him until A.D. 443, when he was defeated at Conisbrough, fell into the hands of Ambrosius, and was put to death. A Frisian tradition, quoted by Suffridus, tells us that two nephews and namesakes of theirs, sons of Udolph, Duke of Frisia, and of their sister Svana, completed the conquest of Britain which they had begun. It is uncertain what was the authority he followed, for he seems to have been mistaken in quoting Ocka Scharlensis, who mentions indeed a second Hors and Hengest, but represents them to have been the sons of Odilbalt, King of Frisia; but his story appears the more probable, inasmuch as he connects the second Hengest with the first, and so accounts for his succeeding him, and we need have no difficulty in accepting it. It is by no means unlikely that there were in the same family more persons than one of each name,¹ and we can easily account for the circumstance

¹ There was a Chrocus, an Alamannic chief, in Britain in the beginning of the 4th century, and another who figures in the history of Gaul half a century earlier. In the West Saxon genealogy we have two Cuthas and three Ceols in two parallel generations, (abbreviated names, which, however, we can write in full by the aid of their history); later, we have amongst the children of Eadward the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgyth, and Ælfgifu, and the same 5 names amongst those of Æthelred II.; and Eadward and Eadmund, sons of Badgar, sons of Æthelred II., and sons of Eadmund Ironside. The succession in Beowulf, Wiegmond, Wihstan, Wiglaf, is only changed in the case of the Mercian

that the second Hengest is not distinguished from the first in our history. In the original records or sagas, from which the English Chronicle was compiled, the name of Hengest simply was given in the narrative of his exploits, in much the same way as we find it in one of the episodes in *Beowulf*: the chronicler set down an epitome of what he found recorded, and later writers, who knew nothing of a second Hengest, have completely identified the two; just as the author of the '*Historia Britonum*,' in assigning 16 years as the duration of the reign of Constantine of Armorica, has added to his 12 years the 4 of Constantine the Tyrant, who was his immediate predecessor, and so confounded them together.

We shall be the more ready to admit the possibility of confusion, such as this, arising out of the unsystematic records of the 5th century, if we consider the exactly parallel circumstances of the 10th, a period in which the English Chronicle was being regularly kept, and the events of successive years entered as they occurred. The history of this latter period is involved in obscurity almost as great as that of the earlier, owing to the frequent recurrence of the same names. There were certainly two Anlafs connected with the history of Northumbria in the 10th century, a son of Guthfrith and a son of Sitric, and one was the other's nephew; princes, Wiglaf, Wigmund, and Wihstan. Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, had a son, as well as a brother, named Eanfrith; and the names of two ancestors of Eadwine, Wuscfrea and Yffe, were given to a son and grandson of his. In later Northumbrian history we have Eric son of Harald Blodoxe, and Eric son of Harald Blaatand; and in the Norse genealogies frequent repetitions of Frode, Halfdan, Ingiald, etc. So Swane might well have named her sons after her brothers. The feeling which usually dictates the choice of names in a family is nothing new. S. John the Baptist's name was objected to by his relations on this very account, that it had been borne by none of his family; and doubtless it has been the practice in all ages and amongst all peoples, as it certainly was amongst the Teutonic tribes, to give to children the names of their kindred or illustrious ancestors.

and two Erics, each the son of a Harald; but the Chronicle affords us no assistance towards distinguishing the Anlafs, and only notices one of the Erics; their history could never be unravelled without aid from other sources. If this, then, be the case with regard to the Annals of the 10th century, it is no wonder that the history of two Hengests, in the 5th, should have been confounded.

This Frisian tradition affords a satisfactory solution of a difficulty, which otherwise would have been insuperable, the notices of a Hengest in our history, after the time to which the fall of the first, (recorded in the Brut, Boece, and Ocka), must be referred, and enables us in part to reconcile the conflicting statements in our Chronicles, relative to the genealogy of the Kings of Kent. It is the second Hengest who stands at the head of this genealogy in Nennius' Notes, (a document entirely distinct from, and independent of the 'Historia,' in which the ancestry of the first Hengest is given), for it is remarkable that this alone is not traced to Woden, as it could not have been without including the name of a female, and so departing from the universal rule of these genealogies. It is this Hengest, too, who figures in an episode of the poem of Beowulf, a contemporary of Fin, the son of Folcwalda, and of Hrothgar the Scylding. His death is recorded in the 40th year of the "coming of the Angles," A.D. 467.

Again, Boece says that after the death of Octa, in the last year of the reign of Uther, the Saxons made another Octa, a son of his brother, King of England; and, shortly after, he notices his giving Northumbria to Colgrim, and going to the south. Buchanan also speaks of a second Octa, whom he calls a son of the former. In the 'Historia Britonum,' the passage, which immediately precedes the notice of Arthur's 12 vic-

tories, informs us that Octa went from North Britain to Kent, on the death of his father Hengest (A.D. 467), and that he was the progenitor of all the Kings of Kent. Henry of Huntingdon says that Æsc was Hengest's successor; and we know from the English Chronicle that the Kings of Kent were called Æscings. Æthelweard enables us to reconcile these statements, by saying that Ese (Æsc) was surnamed Octa; that he was a son of Hengest, and grandfather of Eormenic; and that the Kings of Kent were named Esings (Æscings) after him.

The evidence of these Scottish historians as to the existence of a second Octa, is equally important with that of the Frisian tradition of a second Hengest; it shows how the recurrence of the same names in this family has given rise to the confusion which exists with regard to the ancestry of Eormenic, and enables us to complete the restoration of this genealogy. The conflicting statements of our different authorities appear in the table subjoined:—

<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Æthelweard.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>	<i>Bæda.</i>
Hengest.	Hengest.	Hengest.	Hengest.	Hengest.
Oetha.	Oega.	Ese-Octa.	Oega vel Oric.	Oeric-Oisc. ¹
Ossa.	Eosa.		Oesa vel Oisc.	Octa.
Eormoric.	Eormiric.	Eormenic.	Eormenring.	Irminric.

Æthelweard, it will be seen, agrees with Nennius, adding that Octa had also the name of Æsc; and in this he is supported by the 'Scalæ Chronicon,' which informs us that Arthur's antagonist, (whom Boece calls Octa, and who is certainly the person whom the English Chronicle and Henry of Huntingdon call Æsc), was named Octa and Osca. He omits the name of his son, but there can be no doubt that it was Ossa, who, as Henry of Huntingdon says, reigned between Æsc and Eormenic, and whose name occurs in this succes-

¹ This Oeric-Oisc of Ven. Bæda is something like Asser's *Fingodwulf*.

sion in the *Textus Roffensis*, and in the double pedigree which Florence of Worcester gives.

Florence appears to have had the two distinct descents before him; one the same as that of Nennius, *Hengest, Oca, Oesa, Eormenring*; the other, *Hengest, Oric, Oisc*; and, not knowing how to reconcile them, has adopted the expedient of writing *Oca vel Oric, Oesa vel Oisc*. Oeric and Oisc belong to the first Hengest; their names certainly followed his in the genealogy; and although Bæda has represented them as borne by the same person, I suspect that they were, as they appear in Florence's tables, those of a son and grandson.

Hengest I. had also a son Octa, who came to Britain soon after him, and, with occasional interruptions, reigned in Northumbria until A.D. 466, when he fell in battle near Verulam; but Octa and Ossa of the genealogy belong to Hengest II. This Octa, generally called Æsc, succeeded the first Octa in Northumbria, and on the death of Hengest II., in the following year, relinquished it in favour of Colgrim, and reigned in Kent thenceforward until A.D. 491.

In the accompanying table, the conflicting statements are attempted to be reconciled as follows:—The descent from Woden to Hengest I. is that upon which all authorities are agreed; that from Hengest II. to Eormenic is derived from Nennius; and the connecting link Swane, is supplied by the Frisian tradition. Eormenic, the 8th descendant from Woden, appears one degree higher than Theoderic the Ostrogoth, and in the same degree as Hildigisl the Longobard, his contemporaries.

Our authorities are accordant, with regard to the East Anglian dynasty, as far as the name of Tytla's son Eni. Bæda notices particularly only the family of Eni's brother Rædwald, and 3 of Eni's sons; and

Florence represents Aldwulf and Ælfwald as sons of one of these, Æthelhere. Nennius and the *Textus Roffensis* take up the line of another son of Eni; the former concluding it with the name of Elric, otherwise unknown; the latter with that of Ælfwald, both agreeing as to the parentage of Aldwulf.

<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Textus Roffensis.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Casser.	Caser.	Casere.
Titinon.	Tytiman.	Tytmon.
Trigil.	Trygil.	Trygils.
Rodmunt.	Hrodmund.	Hrothmund.
Rippa.	Hryp.	Hryp.
Guilhelm.	Wilhelm.	Wilhelm.
Guecha.	Wehh.	Wewa or Wehha.
Guffa.	Wuffa.	Wuffa.
Tidil.	Tytla.	Tytla.
Eeni.	Erri.	Eni.
Edric.	Ætherric.	Æthelhere.
Aldul.	Aldulf.	Aldulf. Ælfwold.
Elric.	Ælfwold.	

It is certainly more probable that Ælfwald, who died in A.D. 749, was the grandson of Æthelric, than that he was the son of Æthelric's brother, who died in A.D. 664. In this genealogy, Nennius supplies us with valuable information which we have not elsewhere; saying of Guecha, "he first reigned in Britain over the nation of the East Angles."

Later chroniclers differ from Nennius in inserting four generations between Eomær and Pybba in the Mercian line. I have already deduced from *Beowulf* a confirmation of his accuracy in this respect, and the life of S. Guthlac, written in the 8th century, supplies another. It is there said, that S. Guthlac was "of the oldest and noblest family in Mercia, who were called Iclings;" and if Æthelbald, who was King of Mercia when this life was written, had been an Icling, the author would certainly not have passed over the fact of S. Guthlac's having been of his family. The Iclings,

therefore, were not then in possession of the throne of Mercia, and Wybba was not of their line.

<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Engl. Chron.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Guedolgeat.	Weodegeot.		Weothelgeat.
Gueagon.			Waga.
Guithleg.	Withlæg.	Wihtlæg.	Wihtlæg.
Guermund.	Weremund.	Wærmund.	Wærmund.
Offa.	Offa.	Offa.	Offa.
Ongen.	Angelgeot.	Angeltheow.	Angengeat.
Eamer.	Eomer.	Eomær.	Eomær.
	Icel.	Icel.	Icil.
	Cnebbæ.	Cnebbæ.	Cnebbæ.
	Cynewald.	Cynewald.	Cynewald.
	Creoda.	Creoda.	Creoda.
Pubba.	Pybba.	Pybba.	Pybba.

As Creoda was King of the Mercians before Wybba, I think it probable that these four names represent a collateral descent. Nennius tells us that Pubba had 12 sons, and of one of these, Penda, we know more on his authority than on that of any other of our historians.

In the Deiran genealogy, I suspect that Nennius has fallen into an error, in placing at the head of the line the ancestors of the Bernicians and West Saxons, Bældæg and Brond, instead of their own Wægdæg.

<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Engl. Chron.</i>	<i>Henry Hunt.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Beldeyg.	Wægdæg.	Wægdæg.	Wepdeg.	Wægdeag.
Brond.				
Siggar.	Siggar.	Sigegar.		Siggar.
	Swæbdæg.	Swæbdæg.		Swæbdæg.
	Siggeot.	Sigegeat.	Sigegeat.	Siggæt.
Sebald.	Sæbald.	Sæbald.	Seabald.	Sæbald.
Zegulfh.	Sæfugal.	Sæfugel.	Sefugil.	Sæfugol.
				Swæarta.
Soemil.	Seomel.			Seomel.
Sguerthing.	Westerwalena.	Westrefalena.	Westrefalcna.	Westorwalena.
Guilglis.	Wilglsing.	Wilgils.	Wilgils.	Wilgels.
Uscfrea.	Wuscfrea.	Uscfrea.	Uscfrea.	Wyscfrea.
Iffi.	Yffe.	Yffe.	Iffa.	Yffe.
Ulle.	Ælle.	Ælle.	Ella.	Ealle.

Swæbdæg and Sigegeat I take to be collateral names. Swæarta, for which Florence is the only authority, is

evidently the result of a mistake on his part. Finding the name Swerting after Seomel, he took it for a patronymic, indicating that his father was Swerta. But Swerting is not a patronymic here; it appears in *Beowulf* as a proper name, and under circumstances which render it probable that the person who bore it was the same as this; it occurs twice in a genealogy given by Langhorne; and probably it was very common, for in the eleventh century we find it borne by two of the Law-men of the city of Lincoln, sons respectively of Harthacnut and Grimbald. In this genealogy, again, Nennius supplies valuable information; saying of Soemil, "he first overcame (or separated) Deira and Bernica."

In the Bernician genealogy the *Chronicle* and *Florence* introduce Brand, the ancestor of the West Saxons:—

<i>Nennius.</i>	<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Engl. Chron.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Beldeg.	Bældæg.	Beldæg.	Bældeæg.
Beornee.	Beornic.	Brand.	Brand.
		Beonoc.	Beorn.
			Beornd.
Gechbrond.	Wægbrand.		Wægbrand.
	Ingebrand.		Ingebrand.
Aluson.	Alusa.	Aloc.	Alusa.
	Angelgeot.	Angenwit.	Angengeat.
Inguec.		Ingwi.	Ingengeat.
Ædibrith.	Æthelberht.		Æthelbryht.
Ossa.	Eosa.	Esa.	Oesa.
Eobba.	Eoppa.	Eoppa.	Eoppa.
Ida.	Ida.	Ida.	Ida.

Beornee, the second name in Nennius' list, is evidently the Eponymus of this race, the Beornicas; the *Textus Roffensis* supports Nennius; Beonoc in the *Chronicle*, and *Florence's* Beorn and Beornd, are false readings of the same. Ingebrand may be a collateral name. Angelgeot in the *Textus Roffensis*, Angenwit in the *Chronicle*, Angengeat and Ingengeat in *Florence*, appear to be variations of one name, Ingwi or Ingwingeat.

In the West Saxon genealogy, regarding which Nennius is silent, our oldest authority is a pedigree, in the *Textus Roffensis*, ending with Ine, and, therefore, of the 8th century; supported, where it differs from those in the *English Chronicle*, by the testimony of *Asser*:—

<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Asser.</i>	<i>Engl. Chron.</i>		
		<i>CCC. clxxiii.</i>	<i>A. vi. and B. i.</i>	<i>B. iv.</i>
Bældæg.	Belde.	Bældæg.	Bældæg.	Bældæg.
Brand.	Brond.	Brand.	Brand.	Brand.
		Frithogar.	Frithogar.	Frithogar.
		Freawine.	Freawine.	Freawine.
		Wig.	Wig.	
Gewis.	Gewis.	Gewis.	Gewis.	Gewis.
		Esla.	Esla.	
Aluca.	Elesa.	Elesa.	Elesa.	Elesa.
Cerdic.	Cerdic.	Cerdic.	Cerdic.	Cerdic.
Creoda.	Creoda.		Creoda.	Creoda.
Cyneric.	Cyneric.	Cyneric.	Cyneric.	Cyneric.

To the lists which these authorities supply, all the MSS. of the *Chronicle* add the probably collateral names of Frithogar and Freawine, and most those of Wig and Esla; but all, except the most ancient (the *Corpus Christi*, Cambridge, MS.), agree with them, under A.D. 849, in inserting the name of Creoda between those of Cerdic and Cyneric, and this is very important.

Gewis, we may observe, is the Eponymus of this race, as Beornec of the Beornicas.

The *Textus Roffensis* gives a second genealogy, extending to the sons of Eadgar; evidently a distinct document, derived from some other source. It agrees with that stated in the MS. of the *Chronicle*, Tiberius B. i.

Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon are the only authorities for the genealogy of the East Saxons:—

<i>Florence.</i>	<i>Henry.</i>
Seaxnete.	Saxnat.
Geseccg.	Andesc.

<i>Florence.</i>	<i>Henry.</i>
Antsecg.	Gesac.
Swæppa.	Spoewe.
Sigefugel.	Sigewif.
Bedca.	Biedcan.
Offa.	Offa.
Æscwine.	Erchenwin.
Sledda.	Slede.

They agree as to the number of descents, but differ as to the order in one instance, and as to the names in others.

The *Textus Roffensis* and *Florence* agree in their statements of the genealogy of the *Lindisfaras*:—

<i>Text. Roff.</i>	<i>Florence.</i>
Winta.	Winta.
Cretta.	Cretta.
Cwædgils.	Queldgils.
Cædbæd.	Cædbæd.
Bubba.	Bubba.
Beda.	Beda.
Biscop.	Biscop.
Eanferd.	Eanferth.
Eata.	Eatta.
Aldfrid.	Ealdfrith.

We have no direct means of comparing this genealogy with the rest, nor of testing its accuracy, because the persons named herein are quite unknown in history. Its accuracy, however, may be inferred from the following considerations:—

A genealogy of *Lindisfaras*, deduced from *Woden*, indicates a kingdom of *Lindissi* in the earliest age of the domination of the Angles in Britain. Yet it is certain that this kingdom had been absorbed into that of *Deira*, by conquest or otherwise, early in the 7th century. It is evident from *Bæda's* story of *S. Paulinus' mission*, that *Eadwine* was its sovereign about A.D. 630; and *Blæcca*, the chief man of the province, was only prefect of *Lincoln*; the dominions of *Oswine*, king of *Deira*, must have extended into *Northamptonshire*, for

the place where he had assembled his forces to repel the invasion of Oswine was certainly Wilbarston, nearly 10 miles north-west of Kettering;¹ and, even after Wulfhere had shaken off the Northumbrian yoke, Alhfrith, king of Deira, granted lands at Stamford to S. Wilfrid, A.D. 660. So in the days of Eadwine the kingdom of the Lindisfaras had passed away, and Aldfrith, whom we may regard as their last king, stands in the same degree of descent from Woden as Ælle, Eadwine's father. There is no authority, now extant, for representing Blæcca as belonging to this line; but we must not forget that many MSS. have perished since Smith published his edition of *Bæda*. If he were a son of Aldfrith, he would stand in the same degree of descent as Eadwine. Possibly he is represented by Blæcmon, a descendant of Woden in the same degree, through Ida, and a contemporary of Eadwine.

The Danish genealogy, in the *Langfedgatal*, gives us 20 generations down to Ragnar Lodbrok.

Oden; Skioldr, h. s.; Fridleifr, h. s.; Fridfrode, h. s.; Fridleifr, h. s.; Havare Handrami, h. s.; Frode, h. s.; Varmundr Vitri, h. s.; Olaftr Litillate, h. s.; Danr Mikillate; Frode Fridsami, h. s.; Fridleifr; Frode Fækni, h. s.; Ingialdr (*Starkadar fostri*), h. s.; Halfdan, brodir hans; Helgi oc Roar, hans synir; Hrolfr Kraki, Helga son; Hærekr Hnaviggvanbaugi, Ingialds son; Frode, h. s.; Halfdan, h. s.; Hærekr Slavngvanbaugi, h. s.; Haralldr Hilditavn, h. s.; Sigurdr Hringr; Ragnar Lodbrok, h. s.

Ragnar, then, appears to be one degree lower than the sons of the West-Saxon Æthelwulf, who were strictly his contemporaries; but we observe that Dan is

¹ In the information supplied to *Bæda*, the similarity of the names Kettering and Catterick has been the occasion of confounding one with the other. *Wilfaræsdun*, he says, was about ten miles north-west of *Cataracton*. It has been sought in vain near Catterick; but Wilbarston is in the direction indicated from Kettering, and nearly the distance.

not called the son of Olaf, nor Fridleif III. the son of Frode (though he is so called in the Ynglinga Saga), nor Sigurd the son of Harald.

It is evident that a correct genealogy cannot be deduced from the Ynglinga Saga; for the notices it contains of contemporary Danish kings show that kings must have been erroneously fathered upon their predecessors in some instances. Fiolner, the 2nd of this line, was contemporary with Fridfrode, the 3rd of the Danish; and it is said that Domar the 7th married the sister of Dan, the 9th of the Danish. In the 4th degree after Domar we have Alric and Eric, the latter of whom is said to have married Dag's daughter, Dagrid; so that it is more probable that Agne was a brother, than that he was the son, of Dag. Again, under the reign of On, the 7th from Domar, we are told that during these 7 generations, and the 2 intermediate reigns of Alf and Huggleik, Dan, Frode his son, and Fridleif and Halfdan his grandsons, reigned in Denmark; 7 generations in the Swedish line, and 9 reigns, corresponding to 4 in the Danish. Evidently there is something other than genealogical here.

Egil made a treaty with Frode Fækni; Egil's son, Ottar, perished in conflict with Frode; Ottar's son, Adils, was at war with Helge, Frode's grandson; and Hrolf Kraki, Helge's son, perished during the reign of Eystein; so that for 4 generations these lines are exactly parallel. For the rest, the Swedish succession appears to be one degree in excess of the Danish, which is not inconsistent with probability.

It has seemed requisite to enter into these particulars, in order to show that this genealogy cannot fairly be collated with the rest. Indeed, it cannot claim to be considered of equal authority, for it is presented to us, for the first time, in a work of the 13th century, whilst those we have had under consideration

come to us on the authority of writers of the 5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; nor could the evidence of a single document outweigh that of so many others. Its chief value consists in this, that it coincides with and confirms the Danish genealogy, in that part which comprises the immediate descendants of Woden, and might be regarded as most open to suspicion; here and in the later part the succession of kings appears to be genealogical, as throughout it is probably historical; but there must be some interruption in the direct descent in the middle, at the very time, too, when a similar interruption is indicated in the Danish succession. I believe this was a real interruption; for nothing less than the supposition of an invasion and conquest can account for the extraordinary difference between the ornaments, and armour, and writing of what Mr. Worsaae calls the 1st and 2nd divisions of the late Iron Age in Denmark. He dates the 2nd division commencing about A.D. 700; I should be disposed to carry it a century higher, seeing that Olaf and Dan are in the same degrees respectively as Eormenric and Æthelberht of Kent, and Wybba and Penda of Mercia.

Now, placing these genealogies side by side, we find the result to be a remarkable vindication of their genuineness, and justification of our preference for the earliest authorities. The inequalities in the number of generations, as presented to us by later writers, disappear, and, in the 9th degree of descent from Woden, we find Æthelberht, Tytla, Penda, Ida, Cuthwine, and Sleda, all of whom were living in the latter half of the 6th century; whilst in the 8th degree, besides Eormenric, (whom we have noticed as being in the same degree of descent as his contemporary, Hildigisl), we have Wuffa, the father of Tytla; Wybba, who died A.D. 597; Eoppa, the father of Ida; Cutha, and his brother Ceawlin, who died respectively in A.D. 571 and 593;

and Æscwine, the father of Sleda. There are, in fact, no greater disparities in this earlier division of the genealogies than in the later, which is undoubtedly historical,—no greater in the whole series, proportionally, than we observe in the dates of the deaths of the grandsons of Æthelfrith of Bernicia, for example.

It is certain that an average of years, much less than the usually estimated number, will suffice for the generations of these early times. The Barbarians married much sooner than is usual now. It is no uncommon thing to meet in the Sagas with notices of warriors on the field of battle at the early age at which Arthur commenced his victorious career; even in his 13th year Eric Blodaxe received the command of a fleet, and sailed on his first expedition; Magnus Barfod was the father of Eystein at the age of 16, and some of the Merovingian kings were fathers at 15; and we may well believe that Goths and Angles, in the 4th and 5th centuries, followed much the same customs as Danes and Swedes in the 11th and 12th. In purely historic times the Anglo-Saxon genealogies prove that early marriage was the rule with our forefathers. Not to multiply instances, we will take examples from the West-Saxon genealogy, of which we know more than of any of the others. Æthelstan, the eldest son of Æthelwulf, died not later than A.D. 878, (if he was, as there is every reason to believe, S. Neot). Suppose him to have been 70 years old at that time, and Ceawlin, who died in A.D. 593, to have attained to the same age, the average of 11 generations is 26 years; although Cuthwine was a younger son of Ceawlin, and Ingild a younger son of Cœnred. Again, as S. Eadweard the Confessor was born in A.D. 1003, and as he was the 11th of the children of Æthelred, his eldest brother Eadmund Ironside could scarcely be born before A.D. 990. From Ælfred, born 849, to Eadmund, the average of 5 generations is 28

years, although Eadmund (the grandson of Ælfred,) was the 11th of Eadweard's children; Eadgar, the 2nd son of Eadmund; and Æthelred, the 2nd (or 3rd) son of Eadgar. From the birth of Ælfred to that of Edward I., Plantagenet, the average of 13 generations is exactly 30 years. The longer the series, the greater the chances of the succession being continued in the lines of younger sons, and, of course, the greater the average; but under unfavourable circumstances it will scarcely exceed 30 years; whilst under others, 27 or 28 will be sufficient.

Hengest came to Britain in A.D. 428, at which time he was the father of a warrior of full age, and of the maiden who became the wife of Vortigern; so that we may safely set down his age at about 45, and an average of 30 years would place the birth of Wecta about A.D. 290. The same average, reckoned from the births of Ælfred, A.D. 849, and Eadwine, A.D. 586, would place those of Bældæg in A.D. 309, and of Wægdæg in A.D. 286. In the case of Penda, born A.D. 576, a larger average would be required to bring the birth of Weothelgeat within reasonable limits of the same period; but we are expressly informed that Wærmund was far advanced in years when Offa was born, that Offa did not marry until a late period of his life, and that Penda, who came to the throne at the age of 50, 29 years after his father's death, had 11 brothers, of whom 9, probably, were older than himself; and in the collateral descent we seem to have an indication that an elder line had been supplanted by a younger. In fact, every one of these genealogies is perfectly consistent with the theory that Geat flourished in the latter half of the 1st century; that Woden was born about the middle of the 3rd, and his 30 sons during a period, of which the central point would be about A.D. 300; and that he commenced his migration about A.D. 325, and conquered Southern Russia and Germany in the years immediately following.

Presenting, then, as these genealogies do, so many remarkable parallels, they are surely entitled to be received in good faith. They are, in fact, witnesses, and, (seeing that they are entirely distinct and unconnected), unimpeachable witnesses, each to the truth and genuineness of the others. It cannot be believed that the Goths in Eastern, the Longobards in Central, and the Scandinavians in Northern Europe, could have invented so many genealogical series, as nearly coincident with our own as we could have expected to find them, even if we had been able to verify them historically in each successive degree. They are, therefore, substantially genuine, and Woden's place in history may be considered as probably determined.

I know it was the name of a god, but it was a name also borne by men. It occurs so frequently in neighbourhoods connected with the memory of Hors and Hengest,—Wodnesborough in Kent, Woodnesborough and the Wansdyke in Wiltshire, Wednesbury and Wednesfield in Staffordshire, Wansford in Northamptonshire, Wansford in Yorkshire, and Wansbeck in Northumberland,—that I am persuaded it was the name of one of their associates. There were Teutons in England before they came, and the Bishop of London whom Hengest slew, was Vodin; the same, perhaps, as the S. Woden to whose memory the church on Coquet Isle is dedicated. After the conversion of our fathers to Christianity, no doubt, the name fell into disuse, as well as that of Thunor, which appears once in the 1st century of our Christianity, in the history of Kent; but in later times both were revived, under Danish auspices. In the reign of Harthacnut, Thur was Ealdorman of Middle Anglia; in the days of Eadweard the Confessor, Othin and Thor were moneyers at York; Otin was witness to a deed executed by John, Prior of Hexham, A.D. 1189-94; and about the same time one

Thor granted land for the building of a church near Durham. In Scandinavia, Professor Stephens tells us their names frequently occur in charters down to the 16th century; and his grand work on Runic monuments presents us with a brooch of the 4th century, on which we can read, in perfectly legible characters, the names of Wodan and Thonar.

Our Woden bore a name which can be traced to an antiquity compared with which his age is but as yesterday. In the 6th century before our æra, amongst a race akin to our own, the Persians, we read it on the rock of Bisitun, the name of one of the conspirators who aided Darius in his acquisition of the Persian throne, *Utana* (Herodotus' Ὀτάνης). Ezekiel (xxvii. 19) records it as an ethnic name, (and these were the names of ancestors of races), in connection with Javan,—וַדָּן וַיָּוֶן, *Vadan ve Javan*. An Assyrian tablet (W. A. Cun. Inscr. ii. 59. 8) tells us that one of the names of the god of war, (and gods were deified men,) was *Vadana*; and more remarkable still is the fact that the author of the civilization of Central America, derived undoubtedly from Central Asia, was another *Votan*.

APPENDIX.

It may be useful to add as an Appendix to this Paper the genealogies referred to as contained in the *Textus Roffensis*. It will be observed, however, that they are rather of Mercian or Northumbrian, than Kentish, origin; indeed the Kentish genealogy from Hengest to Woden is the only one which presents any serious error. In other respects they are extremely valuable.

Hæ sunt Genealogiæ per partes in Britannia Regum Regnan.

Eadwine. ¹	Weosterwalena.	Swæbdæg.	Clapha . . . i.
Ælle.	Seomel.	Siggar.	Odda . . . viii.
Yffe.	Sæfugal.	Wægdæg.	Æthelric . . vii.
Wusefrea.	Sæbald.	<i>Woden Frealafng.</i>	Theodred . . vii.
Wilgilsing.	Siggeot.	Ida ² regnavit an. x.	Osred . . . xi.

Theonred (Eanr) ii. Ceolwlf.	Item.	Celin.
Osric . . . xi. Leodwald.	Alfrid. ¹²	Cynric.
Ceolwlf . . . xi. Ecgwald.	Eata.	Creoda.
Eadberht . . . xxi. Eadelm.	Eanferd.	Cerdic.
Oswlf . . . i. Ocg.	Bisceop.	Aluca.
Æthelwald . vi. Idin.	Beda.	Giwis.
Alrhed . . . viii. Eadberh. ⁶	Bubba.	Brand.
Æthelred . . iii. <i>Eata Leodwalding.</i>	Cædbæd.	Bældæg.
Alfwold . . . x. Item. Nordan.	Cwædgils.	<i>Woden Freala-</i>
Osred . . . i. hymbrorum.	Cretta.	<i>fang.</i>
Item Æthelred vii. Alvhed. ⁷	Winta.	Hæ sunt genca-
Penda ³ regnauit Eanwine.	<i>Woden Frealafing.</i>	logiæ Regum
an. xxi. Byrnhom.	Freodowlf. ¹³	Occid. Saxo-
Peada i. Bofa.	Finn.	num.
Wulfhere . . xvii. Blæchmon.	<i>Godwlf Eating.</i>	Eadward & Ead-
Æthelred . . xxix. <i>Eadric Iding.</i>	Æthelberht. ¹⁴	mund & Æthel-
Cenred . . . v. Item Merciorum.	Withred.	red Æthelingas
Ceolred . . . vii. Athelbald. ⁸	Ecgberht.	fuere Eadgar
Athelbald . . xli. Alewig.	Ærconberht.	Regis filii.
Egfrid. ⁴	Eopa.	Eadgar. ¹⁷
Oswio.	Pybbi.	Eadmund.
Æthelfrid.	Æthered. ⁹	Eadward.
Ætheric.	Penda.	Ælfred.
Ida.	Pybba.	Athulf.
Eoppa.	Creoda.	Ecgberht.
Eosa.	Cynewald.	Ealhmund.
Æthelberht.	Cnebbia.	Eaua.
Angelgeot.	Icel.	Eoppa Ingelding.
Alusa.	Eomer.	<i>Woden Frealafing.</i>
Ingebrand.	Angelgeot.	Ingeld fuit frater
Wægbrand.	Offa.	Item.
Beornic.	Weremund.	Inæ regis West-
Bældæg.	Withlæg.	sax. qui regna-
<i>Woden Frealafing.</i>	Weodegeot.	uit xxxvii. an-
Item.	<i>Woden Frealafing.</i>	nis. Is Monas-
Offa . . . xxxix. Ecgfrid ¹⁰	Offing.	terium pulcher-
Freodwald . . vii. Offa.	Tytla.	rimum Glastoniæ
Fussa . . . vii. Thingferd.	Wuffa.	ædificauit et pos-
Æthelfrid xxviii. Eanwulf.	Wehh.	tea iuit ad S.
Eadwine . . xvii. Osmod.	Wilhelm.	Petrum ibique
Oswald . . . viii. Eopa.	Hryp.	mortuus requi-
Osweo . . . xxviii. Pybba.	Hrodmond.	escit. Hujus duo
Egfrid . . . xv. Ceonwlf. ¹¹	Trygil.	fratres fuere
Alfrid . . . xx. Cudberht.	Tytiman.	Cenredi filii.
Ecgfrid, cli dies.	Caser.	Cenred.
Cenwulf.	<i>Woden Frealafing.</i>	Ceolward.
Ceolwlf.	Yne. ¹⁶	Cutha.
Beornwulf.	Cenred.	Cudwine.
Cudwine. ⁵	Ceolwald.	Ceawlin.
	Cudwulf.	Cynric.
	<i>Cenwald Pybbing.</i>	Creoda.
	Cudwine.	

Cerdic.	Brand.	Eata.	Bedwig.
Elesa.	Bældæg.	Tethwa.	Sceaf.
Esla.	<i>Woden.Frealafing.</i>	Beaw.	Sescef fuit filius
Gewis.	Frealaf.	Scealdwa.	Noæ Natus in
Wig.	Finn.	Heremod.	arcâ, etc.
Freawine.	Godulf.	Heraman.	
Freodegar.	[Aliis Geta].	Hadra.	

NOTES.

¹ Eadwine, king of Northumbria, A.D. 617-33; his descent from Woden.

² Ida and 4 successors, kings of Bernicia; after these should come Freodwald and 7 successors (placed after Offa, king of the Mercians), then Osred and his 11 successors, who follow here down to Æthelred, whose second reign commenced A.D. 790.

³ Penda and 6 successors, kings of Mercia; 16 lines lower comes Offa, and 8 lines still lower Ecgfrith and 3 successors to Beornwulf, A.D. 82-13. It is difficult to account for this confusion in the Northumbrian and Mercian successions.

⁴ Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, A.D. 670-85; his descent from Woden.

⁵ Cuthwine, father of Cœnred, king of Northumbria, A.D. 716-8; his descent from Ida.

⁶ Eadberht, king of Northumbria, A.D. 737-58; his descent from Leodwald (see pedigree preceding).

⁷ Alchred, king of Northumbria, A.D. 765-74; his descent from Ida.

⁸ Æthelbald, king of Mercia, A.D. 716-55; his descent from Wybba.

⁹ Æthelred, king of Mercia, A.D. 675-704; his descent from Woden.

¹⁰ Ecgfrith, king of Mercia, A.D. 794; } their descent from Wybba.

¹¹ Cœnwulf, " " A.D. 794-819; }

¹² Genealogy of the kings of the Lindisfaras, continued.

¹³ To Eata or Geat.

¹⁴ Æthelberht, king of Kent, A.D. 748-60; his descent from Woden.

¹⁵ Ælfwold, king of East Anglia, A.D. 713-49; his descent from Woden.

¹⁶ Ine, king of Wessex, A.D. 688-728; his descent from Woden.

The genealogies above seem to have been compiled in the 8th century; one name alone being mentioned (and that in the succession of kings, not in a genealogy), which belongs to the 9th. The following—

¹⁷ Traces the descent of the Æthelings, sons of Eadgar, from Sceaf, and therefore belongs to the reign of Eadgar, A.D. 958-57.