

# Sutton Hoo—The Evidence of the Documents

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HAVING surveyed the archaeological evidence concerning Sutton Hoo, and drawn what conclusions were possible, R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford appealed to literary, genealogical, and place-name specialists and general historians for their comments and contributions.<sup>1</sup> What follows is an examination of the problem using the documentary evidence, which has proved more abundant than at first sight seemed possible.

The primary document is, of course, the East Anglian royal genealogy (or regnal list) in MS. Cotton Vespasian B VI, the relationship of which to the Sutton Hoo discoveries was considered by the late Professor H. M. Chadwick in his article 'The Sutton Hoo-ship burial: who was he?'.<sup>2</sup> He was concerned, as the title implies, with an attempt to identify the person commemorated in Sutton Hoo, but made the passing comment (*loc. cit.*, p. 78): 'The fact that no connexions of the genealogy have been found outside Britain suggest[s] that in its present form the genealogy is not very ancient.' The logic of this *argumentum e silentio* is hard to defend, given the extremely meagre knowledge we possess of the antecedents of the Anglo-Saxon invaders. In fact, Baesecke<sup>3</sup> drew attention to correspondences between the Anglo-Saxon genealogies and the 7th-century genealogy prefixed to King Rothari's Langobardic laws. Baesecke attributed these to borrowing from the Anglo-Saxons through the Old Saxons who accompanied Audoin to Italy. Among the correspondences he noted is 'Weho' (whose son was Wehilo) with 'Wehha' (son of Wilhelm) of the East Anglian genealogy. Such genealogical connexions need not have been ancient, and it is to be noted also that Cunincpert, king of the Langobards (688–700), married Hermelinda, an Anglo-Saxon, probably Kentish, princess (T. Hodgkin, *Italy*, vi, 305). Edward Schröder, in an examination of the names in the Northumbrian genealogy in the Vespasian MS.,<sup>4</sup> came to the conclusion that they were merely a fabulous compilation of imported names got together to impress us. Schröder localized the *-dæg* names as coming from the ancient territories of the Cherusci, and referred those ending in *-brand* to Langobardic types acquired by the Franks,

<sup>1</sup> R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo ship-burial: recent theories, &c.,' *Trans. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol. and Nat. Hist.*, xxv (1950), 78. I am grateful to Mr. Bruce-Mitford for his encouragement of the following study. It is my pleasant duty, also, to thank Professor Dorothy Whitlock for valuable criticism and comment. Needless to say, she is not to be held responsible for the views expressed.

<sup>2</sup> *Antiquity*, xiv (1940), 76–87.

<sup>3</sup> G. Baesecke, *Vorgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums*, pp. 313–15.

<sup>4</sup> 'Die nordhumbrische Königsgenealogie,' *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Fachgr. iv, n.F. ii (1938), 127–38.

whence they were borrowed by the genealogist. Schröder's conclusions relied on the faithfulness of the Vespasian text to the original, and, so far as the *Weg-* and *Sueb-* elements are concerned, were vitiated by an ignorance of OE. dialectology which led him to deny the existence in English of *Wæg-* and *Swæf-*, both well-attested name-elements. But this need not affect our opinion of the East Anglian genealogy, which must be judged on its merits.

K. Sisam, in his British Academy lecture of 1953 entitled 'Anglo-Saxon royal genealogies', gave good reason for believing that, for the pre-migration period, the typical Anglo-Saxon royal genealogy was very much a rag-bag of mythical and legendary names interspersed with authentic material, the whole dressed up with pseudo-learning and confused tradition. He did not, however, consider in any detail the East Anglian royal genealogy.<sup>5</sup> The names I propose to discuss, in order of descent, run as follows:

frealaf (implied in *frealafing*), uoden, caser, tyttman, trygil, hroðmund, hryp, wilhelm, wehha, wuffa, tyttla.

The other MSS. offer no useful or instructive variants, but Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 15) has the strong form 'Tytilus' for Tyttla as the son of Wuffa.

One type of name in this list is particularly interesting, that typified by 'Tyttla' and 'Trygil'. These are names derived, as are certain nicknames elsewhere, from names of objects, and, to judge from the cognates, mean 'little knob' and 'little trough', but they do not occur as such in Old English, nor, so far as my researches go, as proper names, except that the strong form of 'Tyttla' occurs in a Norfolk place-name, 'Tittleshall' (E. Ekwall, *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4 ed.), s.n.). Bede's 'Tytilus' ('Tytel' in the Old English version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Tanner MS.)) supports the evidence for the strong form. (The other place-names cited by Ekwall, 'Telscombe', 'Titlington', etc., almost certainly have, as he states, *i* in the stem-vowel, and 'Tittleshaw' (E. Ekwall, *Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 64), to which Miss Whitelock kindly draws my attention, appears, from the earlier 'Tuttelleshou', to represent an original *Tyttel-*, and is probably Norse in any event.) The first English record of *tytel* as a common noun is as ME. *tutel* (*Ancrene Wisse*, c. 1220) 'protruding orifice, snout', but whether it is native or a Norse loan-word cannot be established. *Trygel* is not recorded in English, but occurs in Old Norse as the second element *trygill* forming compound common nouns, in *Háleygjatal* (the Norwegian royal genealogical list) as the nickname of Haraldr (trygill), who probably lived in the 8th century, and also in a lost Norwegian place-name, 'Trygilstadir'.<sup>6</sup> It also occurs in continental Germanic, and J. and W. Grimm (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *Trögel*) record it as a common noun meaning 'little trough' in East Frisian and East Middle German, and, in addition to its use in

<sup>5</sup> The oldest and best MS. of this is B.M. Cotton Vesp. B VI printed by H. Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, p. 171) and, with a better text and facsimile of a photograph by ultra-violet light, in Bruce-Mitford (*op. cit.* in note 1, pl. v). A genealogical tree will be found in the same author's appendix on Sutton Hoo in R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (3 ed.), pp. 696-734. The article by Sir Frank Stenton, 'The East Anglian kings of the seventh century' in *The Anglo-Saxons* (ed. P. Clemoes), pp. 42-52, so far as it deals with the present inquiry, offers conjectures about the Swedes (p. 51) that are difficult to reconcile with the historical evidence. I hope to discuss these elsewhere shortly.

<sup>6</sup> E. H. Lind, *Norsk.-isl. personbinamn från medeltiden*, s.n. *Trygill*.

the Alemannic area with the same meaning or that of 'wooden slipper', record it as applied in Swabia to a coarse uneducated lout.

That this type of personal name occurred elsewhere in East Anglia in the early period we learn from Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 22) where he explains 'Rendlæsham' as 'mansio Rendili'. The connexions of Rendlesham, Suffolk, with the East Anglian royal family have been conclusively established by Bruce-Mitford.<sup>7</sup> The name 'Rendil' means 'little shield-boss' or 'little shield(-rim)'. As Sir Frank Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 52) says, East Anglian place-names contain personal names which can be explained only by reference to continental parallels, and Ekwall (*Oxf. Dict. English Place-Names*, s.n. *Rendlesham*) points out that (compound) names in *Rand-* are not well evidenced in Old English, but are common in Scandinavia and on the continent. I have failed to find forms corresponding to 'Rendil' in Scandinavia, and the only certain continental instance given by E. Förstemann (*Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, II, ii, 538) is in 'Rendelshusen' (place-name) in Freiburg (11th century).

Since the obvious sources give us no clue, we must proceed indirectly, through the name of the East Anglian dynasty, the Wuffingas. The cognate forms of this, MHG. *Wulfinge* and ON. *Ylfingar*, are only too well known to students of Germanic legend, and raise the most formidable problems of localization, a hint of which can be gathered from R. W. Chambers's notes to *Widsith*, l. 29 (ed. Chambers, p. 198), and A. Heusler's unsatisfactory article (J. Hoops, *Reallexikon der deutschen Altertumskunde*, s.n. *Wulfinge*). However, there are no less than three documents that point to Östergötland in south-eastern Sweden as the original home of the tribe (or dynasty). *Beowulf*, ll. 459-72, implies that the Wylfings were neighbours of the Geats, whose name still survives in Götaland, and that they were separated from the Danes (to the south?) by the sea. The Rök inscription (O. von Friesen, *Rökstenen*, p. 28), which refers to 'ÞiaurikR, skati Marika' (Theodoric, lord of the Mærings), the equivalent of MHG. Dietrich, whose faithful followers were the Wulfings, comes from Östergötland; and *Ögubrot*, iv, relates that Hjörmundr, son of Hjörvarðr Ylfing, became king of Östergötland. *Beowulf* (8th century) and the Rök inscription (c. 850) are by far the earliest documents; and the presumption is that they are closer to the historical facts than the jumbled traditions of the Icelandic sagas and the Middle High German epics. The localization of the Wylfings in Östergötland conjectured by Munch<sup>8</sup> has been accepted by J. Köpke (*Altnordische Personennamen bei den Angelsachsen*, p. 15), by E. Björkman (*Studien über die Eigennamen im Beowulf*, p. 122), and by B. Nerman (*Det svenska rikets uppkomst*, p. 116). Björkman, while in no doubt that the Wylfings were to be localized in southern Sweden, hazarded the conjecture that, if the Wylfings were not, in fact, Geats (Götar), their most probable home was in Blekinge. He then identified them with the Gothic Wulfings, the Heruli, who were known to have settled in southern Sweden, in Blekinge or in southern Småland, on their return from southern Europe. (Björkman refers in this connexion to O. von

<sup>7</sup> 'Saxon Rendlesham', *Trans. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol. and Nat. Hist.*, xxiv (1948), 228 ff.

<sup>8</sup> P. A. Munch, *Det norske Folks Historie*, I, i, 227.

Friesen, *Lister- och Listerbystenar*, pp. 63–67, which I have not been able to consult.) Since, however, the defeat of the Heruli which brought about their migration to Scandinavia did not occur till about 507–512, we are well past the time of the events referred to in *Beowulf*, some of which must have occurred in the 5th century by any reckoning; and Björkman's conjecture can be set on one side. K. Malone (*The Literary History of Hamlet*, I, 37) localized the Wylfings as neighbours of the Geats from the mention of 'Ahelmil' in proximity to 'Gautigoth' in Jordanes (*Getica*, iii), but 'Ahelmil' is a long way from 'Helmings', the OE. equivalent of the Wylfings, and Malone has since preferred to place them on the southern shores of the Baltic, a conjecture which goes back to the days of K. Muellenhoff, but which appears to represent a much later setting for the Wulfing legends. The argument that the Glasisvellir where the Ylfings lived were the amber-fields of the southern Baltic is fallacious. Amber was also to be found at Southwold, Suffolk,<sup>9</sup> the land of the Wuffingas, and in northern Denmark, the kingdom of Hjørvarðr 'at Glasislundi' (at the amber grove). It may be pointed out at this stage that there are no linguistic obstacles to the equation of Bede's *Uffingas* with the *Wuffingas* of *Widsith*, l. 29, and the *Wylfingas* of *Beowulf*, l. 471. The forms are etymologically identical, and the phonological variations irrelevant.

We are now in a position to examine the names of the few Geats (ON. *Gautar*) known to us from early sources. The name of Beowulf, the hero of the poem of that name, has given rise to much speculation which is analysed by R. W. Chambers (*Beowulf: An Introduction* (3 ed.), pp. 365 ff.) and by F. Klaeber (*Beowulf* (3 ed.), pp. xxiii–xxviii). It probably means 'bee-wolf', i.e. 'bear', but, apart from the fact that two other Geats are called 'Eofor' and 'Wulf' ('boar' and 'wolf'), this does not throw any light on the East Anglian genealogy or the Wuffingas, since animal names occur elsewhere, and the names of Hengest and Horsa ('stallion' and 'horse') immediately spring to mind. Etymological correspondence between 'Wulf' in *Beowulf* and 'Wuffa' is undeniable, but it would require substantial evidence to make it of any consequence or significance. The name of Hondscio (*Beowulf*, l. 2076), however, one of Beowulf's companions, is a very different matter. It means 'glove', and, though it occurs once as a proper name in an Anglo-Saxon charter,<sup>10</sup> it is not recorded in English as a common noun. It occurs as a personal name in Östergötland, 'i Hanschastadum', recorded in a charter of 1405.<sup>11</sup> This occurrence is of particular interest, since the ON. word *hanzki*, OSw. *han(d)ske*, is well known to be an (early) Low German loan-word in Norse. On the evidence of *Beowulf* it must have reached Scandinavia by the 6th century. The ON. *Skáldskaparmál* (cap. xli) records that Áli, king of Sweden (Onela in *Beowulf*), was killed in a battle against opponents who included Vǫttr and Hjalti. Their names derive from the Old Norse words for 'mitten' and 'sword-boss' respectively. The Norse evidence about the nationality of the foes

<sup>9</sup> T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excav. in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Cambr. and Suffolk* (Cambridge Antiq. Soc., 4to publ., n.s. III, 1931), p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 159 Andsciohesham.

<sup>11</sup> G. Franzén, *Vikbolandets by- och gardnamn*, p. 31. Compare also from Vestergötland 'Hanskemosse' (*Ortnamn i Älvsborgs Län*, III, 29). It also occurs in Germany in 'Hantscohashaim', 'Hanschoashaim', and 'Hantschuhesliebe'. (E. Förstemann, *Alteutsches Namenbuch*, II, ii, 1230 f.)

of the Swedes is contradictory, but it is clear from the account in *Beowulf* of the slaying of Ongentheow, father of Onela, (ll. 2961–98), and from the preceding forty lines that the slayers were Geats. It would be perfectly possible to equate (and identify) *Vøttr* and *Hondscio*, the former representing the native and the latter the loan-word. In his analysis of the Rök inscription, von Friesen (*Rökstenen*, pp. 81–82 and 106) established that the personal names in it include a Frisian or Low German element which bears witness to early trade intercourse with the tribes and peoples of the north German coast. The Rök inscription, as we have already pointed out, comes from Östergötland. Franzén (*op. cit.* in note 11) assembled from the Vikboland area of Östergötland a significant number of place-names containing personal names formed from the names of objects. They include ‘Brand’ (sword), ‘Grande’ (sand), ‘Haki’ (hook), ‘Knif’ (knife), ‘Kofri’ (hat), ‘Stydhil’ (Sw. dial. *stydil* ‘handle of a net’), and ‘Tange’ (tang of a knife). The Rök inscription (von Friesen, *Rökstenen*, pp. 71 ff.) has the personal name ‘Ualkar’ gen. of ‘Ualke’ (Sw. *valk* ‘pad, wart’ and Sw. dial. ‘knot, boss (of a tree)’).

The name of Helm, king of the Wulfings (*Widsith*, l. 29), in the sense of ‘helmet’, probably belongs to the same type, though it may represent simply ‘protector’. The same element occurs in the East Anglian place-name, ‘Helmingham’. The connexions between the Wulfings and East Anglia were established long ago by G. Sarrazin.<sup>12</sup> The evidence was drawn from the Latin abstract of the lost *Skjöldungasaga* and from *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*. The former (cap. xi) records that Roas (Hrothgar), king of Denmark, married the daughter of an Angle (Wealhtheow in *Beowulf*). *Hrólfs Saga* (cap. v) records that she was the daughter of the king of Northumberland, called Norðri. This, Sarrazin contended, was due to a misunderstanding of *Norðfolc* ‘Norfolk’. The name ‘Norðri’ was derived from *Norðhymbraland* as ‘Dan’ was derived from *Danmark*, and the Norfolk place-name ‘Helmingham’ showed that the princess (a Helming according to *Beowulf*, l. 620) came from Norfolk. Sarrazin also drew attention to the fact that the name ‘Hroðmund’ in the East Anglian royal genealogy—a rare name—was also borne by Hrothmund (son of Hrothgar in *Beowulf*) whose mother, Wealhtheow, was a Wylfing, and, since ‘Helm ruled the Wulfings’ (*Widsith*, l. 29), ‘Wylfing’ and ‘Helming’ were synonymous. He therefore concluded that there was a settlement of Wylfings in East Anglia by 470, the date being inferred from the chronological evidence in *Beowulf*, and the name from the corresponding ‘Uuffingas’ of Bede. Sarrazin omitted any reference to Helmingham, Suffolk, some ten miles west of Rendlesham.<sup>13</sup>

I have already drawn attention (*Encyclopedia Americana* (1957), s.n. *Beowulf*) to the existence of evidence, of which Sarrazin’s is one part, localizing *Beowulf* in East Anglia, and propose, in due course, to publish it in detail; but at least

<sup>12</sup> *Englische Studien*, xxiii (1899), 228–30. ‘Helm’ occurs elsewhere in English place-names, but ‘Helming’ does not, I believe.

<sup>13</sup> Chambers (*Widsith*, p. 198) notes that persons with names in *Helm-*, viz. Helmschrot, Helmschart, and Helmnot, in the MHG. *Dietrichs Flucht*, all belong to the Wulfings. The correspondence of *Hadu-/Heaðo-* in Hadubrant of the Wulfings and Heaðolaf of the Wylfings (*Beowulf*, l. 460), which he also notes, is not so impressive, but these cross-correspondences, taken together, are nevertheless quite striking.

it can be said here that *Beowulf* is in essence a poem based on Geatish material, it has a Geat as its hero, and expresses a Geatish point of view. We must therefore pursue other Norse references to Geatish names. One group of these we have already touched on, the names of Bǫðvar Bjarki's champions, in the reference to *Skáldskaparmál* above. These names gave A. Olrik (*The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, tr. Hollander, pp. 252 ff. and 367 ff.) a great deal of trouble. Although he knew quite well that the men were Geats (*op. cit.*, p. 351), he indulged in a fruitless search for their names in Danish tradition, and wrote them off as late inventions of the Viking period. A glance at the names suggests a solution. In addition to Vǫttr and Hjalti (earlier called Hǫttr 'hat'), we find Vǫggi ('wedge' or 'cradle') and Haki 'hook'. The meaning of 'Fasti' which occurs with 'Vǫttr' in *Ynglingatal* (*Ynglingasaga*, cap. xxvii) has not been determined, but in a Geatish context 'clip' or 'fastening' (Danish *fæste* 'handle' and Icel. *festr* 'fastener') cannot be far from the correct answer.

Before we leave the subject of Geatish names, we must consider 'Grendel' in *Beowulf*. This is a diminutive of the same type as those we have already examined in the East Anglian genealogy, in East Anglian place-names and in Scandinavian sources, *viz.* the name of an object used as a personal name. The precise etymology is contested, but whether it is derived, for example, from *grand-* 'sand, gravel' (as in Östergötland), or *grund* 'bottom', or the continental Germanic word *grendel* 'bolt', or the widespread Old English word *grendel*, *grindel* of obscure meaning, but probably surviving in a Suffolk (Bury) document of the 15th century as *grendyll* 'a culvert or drain' and in 19th-century Suffolk as 'grindle' with the same meaning, the formation is identical. The only certain occurrence of the name elsewhere in England is in Aedric Grendel in the Great Roll of the Pipe, 1179-80 (*Herrigs Archiv*, cxxvi (1911), 180) where it is clearly a nickname derived from a common noun.<sup>14</sup> In a poem dealing with Geatish affairs, there is every reason to assume (despite Klaeber, *Beowulf* (3 ed.), p. xxvii) that the name of Grendel was already in existence in Scandinavia.

It would be very satisfactory to establish that this practice of using as personal names what were usually nicknames was exclusively Geatish. Franzén (*op. cit.* in note 11) quotes no parallels, and offers his derivations with obvious diffidence. H. B. Woolf (*The Old Germanic Principles of Name-Giving*, p. 3) does not go beyond saying that 'Although some names of one theme may have been familiar forms of compound names, many of them cannot be explained in this way'. Despite F. Stark's scepticism ('Die Kosenamen der Germanen,' *Sitzungsberichte d. Phil.-Hist. Cl. d. Kaiserl. Akademie d. Wiss.* (Wien), LII (1866), 260, note 1), there seems no doubt that such monothematic names did occur, and that, as Olrik (*op. cit.* above, p. 73, footnote) assumed of 'Baugr,' and E. Schröder (*Deutsche Namenkunde*, pp. 3-4) of other names, they were nicknames that replaced the more

<sup>14</sup> The relevant discussion will be found in R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf: An Introduction* (3 ed.), pp. 44, 305-10, and (despite the index) 551. Chambers begs the question by stating that the Anglo-Saxon charters demonstrate 'belief in a Grendel, haunting mere and fen', and dismisses the East Anglian form in favour of the dialect word 'drindle'. This is bad method, since it rejects an early in favour of a later form, and assimilation is a more probable process than the converse, dissimilation, especially as there appears to have been influence from a quite different word, 'drindle' meaning 'to trickle'.

formal given name, but, so far as my investigations have reached, the employment of such names as a *normal practice* in the Heroic period is confined to the Geats.<sup>15</sup>

Among the other names of the genealogy, 'Wilhelm' calls for comment. It is not native in Scandinavia; its popularity there was due to the fame of William the Conqueror.<sup>16</sup> The earliest instance of the name cited by Förstemann (*op. cit.* in note 11, I, 1601) is of Guilielmus, bishop of Rennes (Brittany) 655–684, and is presumably Saxon or Frankish. Schröder (*op. cit.*, p. 75) notes that the Hohenzollerns used it as evidence of their connexion with Cleves on the lower Rhine. Despite a few entries in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, the name had no currency in pre-Norman England, and these Durham entries may be of Franks or Germans. This possibility is strengthened by evidence of the well-known practice of exchanging the names of benefactors for whom masses and prayers were to be offered.<sup>17</sup> Since we have already seen that continental Germanic names occur very early in southern Sweden, we need not necessarily reject the appearance of 'Wilhelm' in a possibly Scandinavian genealogy as an intrusion.

'Hryp' has no discoverable etymology. It may be the same word as 'Hrype' which occurs in 'Ripon', 'Ribston', 'Repton', and possibly in 'Ripley' (Yorks.), and which Ekwall (*Oxford Dict. English Place-Names*, s.n. *Repton*) gives as a tribal name of obscure (i.e. unknown) etymology. It would be tempting to connect it with ON. *hríp* 'basket', but *hryp* in an early 9th-century manuscript must represent an earlier *u* (from *o*) or *ū*.<sup>18</sup>

'Hroðmund' offers peculiar problems. Unlike its immediate neighbours, it is a compound name, but it alliterates with 'Hryp', and alliteration in a genealogy is a warning not to reject out of hand. However, since 'Hryp' may be a ghost, this does not get us very far. The name appears in Scandinavian as well as English sources. In *Beowulf*, l. 1189, it is the name of one of Hrothgar's two sons (see Appendix II, p. 19). It is therefore *pace* Björkman (*op. cit.* on p. 3, p. 74) presumably Danish as well as Norwegian and Swedish. Sarrazin, as we have already seen, drew attention to its occurrence in *Beowulf* and in the genealogy. Klaeber (*Beowulf* (3 ed.), p. xxxiii), while noting the name as 'showing distinct English affiliations', added the comment (universally echoed) that it 'seems peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon account'. Confirmation of a connexion between the Geats and the royal house of Denmark, outside *Beowulf*, is to be inferred, however, in the person of Hjørvarðr, who later married Hildegúðr, daughter of King Granmarr, king of Södermanland (*Ynglingasaga*, cap. xxxvii) or king of Östergötland (*Sögubrot*, iv). Hildegúðr toasted Hjørvarðr with the words, 'Allir heilir Ylfingar at Hrólfs minni kraka! (Hail all Ylfings in memory of Hrolf

<sup>15</sup> A. Socin, *Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch*, pp. 227 ff., draws attention to the Langobardic practice of employing both names. A selection of names of objects used as nicknames in Sweden is given by E. Hellquist, 'Fornsvenska tillnamn,' *Xenia Lideniana*, pp. 97–102. A. Bach, *Die deutschen Personennamen*, p. 392, regards such names as *Hamar*, *Nagal*, *Ketil*, *Cezüring*, *Hantscuoh*, *Harpha*, etc., as perhaps derived from original occupational names.

<sup>16</sup> E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden*, col. 1110, and *Supplement*, col. 812.

<sup>17</sup> T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England*, pp. lii and 12.

<sup>18</sup> It could also be interpreted as a misreading of *hryp*, and a connexion made with ON. *hrútr* 'ram' which occurs as a personal name 'in widely separated districts of Scandinavia' (Ollrik, *op. cit.* on p. 6, p. 144, note 2), but at this stage of our argument conjecture is premature.

Kraki!'). Since it was Hǫrvarðr (Heorowearð, cousin of Hrothulf (Hrolf) and cousin again of Hrothmund in *Beowulf*) who launched the fatal attack on Hrolf Kraki famous in northern story, the connexion is all too clear. According to *Ynglingasaga* (*loc. cit.*), King Granmarr made Hǫrvarðr his heir, and this is confirmed by *Sögubrot*, iv, which says that Hǫrvmundr, son of Harvarðr (an obvious error for Hiarvarðr/Hǫrvarðr), became king of Östergötland. We are entitled to expect Geat aid in the dynastic struggle against Hrolf Kraki. Indeed, in *Beowulf*, ll. 1180–1191, Wealhtheow (herself a Wylfing) appears to imply it, an implication which is accepted by Klaeber (*Beowulf* (3 ed.), p. xxxii). Olrik (*op. cit.* on p. 6, pp. 81–83), who did not equate Gautar and Geats, nevertheless accepted the view that the Gautar participated in the attack on Hrolf, since it is asked in the *Biarkamál* 'Ergo duces ubi sunt Gothorum militiaeque/Hiarthvari?' (Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, II). We have, therefore, complete support for the statement that the Geats aided Hǫrvarðr, but we still have no trace of Hrothmund, his cousin. The nearest we can get from *Ynglingasaga* and *Sögubrot*, iv, is that Hǫrvarðr's son, Hǫrvmundr, has a name that alliterates and has *-mundr* as the second element. Evidence of Hrothmund, however, is to be seen in Hrómundr, one of Hrolf's champions in the same final battle, not in Saxo but in the account given in *Hrólfs Saga*, cap. xxxii. Whether Hǫrvmundr and Hrothmund are identical or first cousins once removed does not really matter. If the two are identical, the connexion between the Ylfings and Hroðmund of the genealogy is automatic. If they are two related persons, we have only to make the highly probable assumption that Hrómundr joined his cousin in the attack on Hrolf, for, as we know from the *Biarkamál*, Hrolf had slain Hrothmund's brother, Røricus (Hrethric in *Beowulf*), and usurped the throne. Put more briefly, we may say that Hǫrvarðr was an Ylfing by adoption, Hrómundr by descent through his mother (Wealhtheow). It is entirely consonant with the preservation of the name of one of Hrolf's dynastic opponents in an East Anglian genealogy that, in striking contrast to the Norse traditions which glorify Hrolf, an English poem should call Heorowearð (Hǫrvarðr) 'brave' and 'loyal', that it should take the side of Hrothgar and his Wylfing wife in the matter of the succession to the Danish throne, and that its hero, Beowulf, should take it upon himself to say that the Geat king would help Hrothgar in words and deeds, should he lack men, and that if Hrethric should plan to go to the Geat court he would find many friends there (*Beowulf*, ll. 1830–39). As we have already seen, this promise of Geat help was fulfilled. The sequel to that expedition is not mentioned in *Beowulf*, but it had its historical implication in the battle of Brávellir which Saxo relates in his eighth book, and which is also described in the corresponding passages of *Sögubrot*. According to Olrik's interpretation<sup>19</sup> of the story, King Hring of the East Gautar (note the typically Geatish name) fought and defeated an invading army of Danes, Frisians, Saxons, Slavs, and Germans. Geat losses, however, were so great that the way lay open for the Swedish conquest

<sup>19</sup> Summarized by P. Herrmann, *Erläuterungen zu Saxo*, pp. 511–27 and 532–52, and by Kemp Malone, *Studies in Heroic Legend and Current Speech*, pp. 82–85. See, on the latter, my comments in *Engl. Hist. Rev.*, LXXVI (1961), 121.

which soon followed, and to which we must presently revert. The presence of Danish exiles at the Geatish court may also explain why *Beowulf* makes no mention of the part played by the Danes in weakening the Geatish kingdom, and why the poem, besides a close knowledge of events at the court of Hrothgar, also reveals an acquaintance with the mythical beginnings of the Danish kingdom. In short, the presence of Danes at the Geat court is parallel to the presence of a Danish name in a Geat genealogy, and to the presence in a Geatish story of Danish legends shading off into myth that can have had no origin or viability outside a Danish milieu.

'Woden' and 'Frealaf' call for no elaborate comment. They are the common (divine) ancestors of most of the Anglo-Saxon dynasties, and the Woden imagery on one of the plates of the Sutton Hoo helmet is in keeping with that claim, but no special significance need be attributed to it. 'Caser' is taken by Bruce-Mitford (*op. cit.* in note 1, p. 14) as an insertion to express the imperial nature of the dynasty of the Wuffingas. This is a legitimate assumption, but it tells us nothing of the date when 'Caser' entered the genealogy. S. Lindqvist (*Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen*, pp. 249-50 and 346-7) draws attention to the probable influence of Roman imperial burial rites on Swedish customs, and it is possible that emperor-worship has left its trace in the genealogy among the gods of the north. Tacitus (*Annals*, I, lvii) records as early as A.D. 9 such practices by a German, Segimundus, who was a priest of the shrine of Augustus at Ara Ubiorum (Cologne). It must be remembered, too, that a Germanic prince, Theodoric the Ostrogoth (d. 526), had made himself master of Rome; and inter-marriage or vague ancestral memories of the Goths in Scandinavia may have contributed to the belief. The Arthurian legend shows a precisely similar claim.

The name 'Tyttman' presents considerable difficulties. Although the OE. word *titt* has etymological *i*, the Germanic cognates, with the same meaning of 'breast, nipple', also show a variant with *u* which would give *y* in Old English. If this is correct, we are confronted with the curious etymology of 'man with breasts'. In the context of Germanic deities in which it occurs in the genealogy we may therefore presume that it is a name for the androgynous parent of mankind known to us from Tacitus as 'Tuisto' (hermaphrodite) and from Norse sources as 'Ymir' (K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, I, 329-30).

Reverting to the 'historical' part of the genealogy, we are faced with the problem of 'Wehha' and 'Uuffa' whose names were discussed by Chadwick (*op. cit.* in note 2). The two historical sources are Bede and Nennius. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 15) says simply that Reduald was the son of Tytilus who was the son of Uuffa, whence the kings of the East Angles are called 'Uuffingas'. Sir Frank Stenton (*Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 50) says that this 'suggests very strongly that their dynasty was founded by the king named Wuffa', and then contrasts it with the statement of Nennius (*Historia Brittonum*, cap. lxix) that Guecha (Wehha), father of Gufa (Wuffa), was the first king 'who reigned in Britain over the race of the East Angles'. The statements are not contradictory, but complementary. Stenton's assumption that the kingdom was established 'not . . . much before 500' is a generation too late for Sarrazin's conclusion, on different grounds, that

it was set up by 470 (*op. cit.* in note 12, p. 230). The assumption from generation-counting by Chadwick (*op. cit.* in note 2, p. 79) and Bruce-Mitford (*op. cit.* in note 1, p. 74) derived from Matthew of Paris of c. 550 brings us to an even later date. Ekwall (*English Place-Names in -ing*, p. 116), on place-name evidence, stated categorically: 'There can be no doubt that one of the earliest Anglian kingdoms in Britain is East Anglia . . . We can confidently place the Anglian invasion into East Anglia about 500 or earlier.' He suggests that Norfolk was colonized even earlier than Suffolk. Sarrazin's conclusion, on literary-historical evidence, was that Norfolk was the home of the kings of East Anglia in the very earliest times (*op. cit.* in note 12, p. 229). An early move of the royal (Helming) capital from Norfolk to Suffolk may account for the existence of two Helminghams, one in Norfolk and one in Suffolk.

We have now to consider the historicity of Wuffa. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 15) says that Rædwald's father was Tytil(us) whose father was Uuffa, whence the East Anglian dynasty derived the name of 'Uuffingas'. According to his statement (*op. cit.*, praef.), Bede's sources of information about East Anglian affairs were twofold, oral and written; and it is possible that Bede's statement that Rædwald's grandfather was Wuffa, though supported indirectly by the genealogy, which does not mention Rædwald, may rest on an early misunderstanding of the patronymic. This, we have good reason to believe, existed 75 years before 550, and in all probability much earlier still, though not, of course, in England, and Rædwald's father, Tytil, was a Wuffing (i.e. a member of the Wuffing tribe or dynasty), not *the* Wuffing (i.e. the son of Wuffa). A possible means of reconciling these conflicting inferences is mentioned below.

The problems of 'Wehha' are almost as intractable. Lindqvist (*Antiquity*, xxii (1948), 139, footnote) conjectures that it was the hypocoristic form of 'Weohstan', whose name occurs in *Beowulf*, l. 2602, but linguistic considerations forbid it, as E. Sievers pointed out long ago in rejecting G. Binz's equation of the two (*Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, xx (1895), 160, footnote 2). *Weohstan* is a later West Saxon form. Since both Nennius and Bede drew on early Anglian sources (Mercian with Nennius and East Anglian with Bede), and both agree on the vowel as *e*, Lindqvist's conjecture (based presumably on M. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English*, p. 57) must be rejected. The expected Anglian form—it occurs six times in the *Beowulf* manuscript—is *Wihstan*. We must seek, therefore, instead, a name containing Germanic *ǣ* of which *Wehhelm* cited by Redin (*ibid.*) is a typical example. Binz (*op. cit.*, p. 161) equated *Wehha* and *Wægmund(ingas)* in *Beowulf*, but *Wægmund* must have been an ancestor, a grandfather, at least, and the short form of this would be *Wegga*, since the second element does not begin with a voiceless consonant. \**Wehhelm*, besides satisfying the linguistic criteria, would be an appropriate name for the son of Wilhelm, since, besides alliterating, it retains the second element *-helm* while varying the first.

Evidence of names cognate with *Wǣg-* (Anglian *Wēg-*) in Scandinavia, outside *Beowulf*, is very hard to come by. Björkman (*op. cit.* on p. 3, p. 113) stated that they were lacking completely (*überhaupt*), but qualified this by drawing

attention to the tribal name 'Vagoth' in Jordanes (*Getica*, iii) for the Gautar, and to the obscure *uamuh* on the Rök stone (from Östergötland) which might be regarded as going back to \**Vágmôþ*, the first element corresponding phonologically to the *Wæg(mund)* in *Wægmundingas*, the clan to which Beowulf himself belonged (how, we do not know). Von Friesen (*Rökstenen*, pp. 30–32) by forcing the orthography, derived *uamuh* from the *wīh*- 'idol' stem, but it appears to correspond to German *Wahmut* (Förstemann, *op. cit.* in note 11, 1, 1489) from Low German *wah* 'alert'. The form in Jordanes is too suspect to build on, and the *-oth* may be merely the Primitive Norse plural ending. Nevertheless, we cannot reject the evidence of *Beowulf*, and if we are to look for a Scandinavian origin for the names in *Wæg*-, *Wæg*- we are back again with the Geats.<sup>20</sup>

We are now in a position to apply these conclusions to the problems of Sutton Hoo; and, if there is one thing that emerges, it is that the Swedes (Svear), as distinct from the Geats (Gautar), have no discoverable connexion either with the East Anglian royal genealogy or with the genesis of *Beowulf*. In the latter, except for one reference to Onela (whose wife was a Danish princess), they are the enemies, the villains of the piece, who in the end will overthrow, as we know from subsequent history they did, the kingdom of the Geats. Bruce-Mitford (*op. cit.* in note 1, p. 60) on the archaeological evidence says that the connexion of Sutton Hoo is with the kingdom of the Svear rather than with that of the Geats. How then are we to reconcile the presence in Sutton Hoo of weapons of unquestioned Swedish provenience with strong evidence of Geat traditions in the royal family of East Anglia? If the evidence of *Beowulf* as an East Anglian poem is added, the contrast is even more pronounced. Even if *Beowulf* is assumed to derive from elsewhere in the Anglian area, we still have evidence of early Geatish tradition in England, but none at all of Swedish. Though among Germanic peoples boat-burials are, so far as is known, a purely Scandinavian fashion, we are not entitled to say *ipso facto* that the Sutton Hoo interments are Swedish, and the documentary evidence suggests that we must first look elsewhere in Scandinavia for the answer, in the land of the Geats. The names in the genealogy give the impression of not being royal. They do not correspond, name for name, to the rulers of the Geats known to us from *Beowulf*—(Swerting), Hrethel, Herebeald, Hæthcyn, or Hygelac; nor, except for Hrethel, perhaps, and Heardred, do they correspond in type. They appear to be those of the *comitatus*, in all probability from Östergötland where the type is evidenced, and where the Wylfings were lords. It is true that *Beowulf*, ll. 3134–82, gives us a detailed account of a Geatish funeral, but K. Stjerna (*Essays, &c.*, p. 197) and Lindqvist (*op. cit.* on p. 9, pp. 252–9 and 347) have both roundly declared that it is garbled. It is fairly evident that the author of *Beowulf* must have had access to a record of various important funerals. He recounts the funeral obsequies of Scyld, of the victims of the Finnsburg slaughter, and finally of Beowulf himself. That accounts of this sort were preserved we know from *Ynglingatal*, for Scandinavia, and from

<sup>20</sup> The Wægmundings are sometimes regarded as Swedes, most recently by C. L. Wrenn (*Chambers, op. cit.* in note 14, p. 512), but W. F. Bryan (*Modern Philology*, xxiv (1937), 113 ff.) has shown that Wihstan was unquestionably a Geat, a conclusion accepted by Klacber (*Beowulf* (3 ed.), p. 458).

Jordanes, for the Goths; yet it is equally clear that the description in *Beowulf* is not derived from local (English) tradition, but is adventitious, i.e. it is 'literary' and not historical, and, like the accounts of Scyld and Finnsburg, probably Danish.<sup>21</sup>

This is an appropriate moment to deal with the supposition that has been advanced that, at the time when *Beowulf* was composed, there were people still alive who had witnessed the Sutton Hoo ceremonies. If Sutton Hoo is to be dated 655 or earlier, *Beowulf* cannot be later than 725 or thereabouts. This however, is an assumption that has been questioned by responsible scholars, and requires to be established beyond dispute before it can be used as part of an argument. In fact, the discrepancies between the account of Beowulf's funeral or that of the Danes at Finnsburg and the actual discoveries at Sutton Hoo, cremation-burials against a cenotaph, are so great as to give the supposition no point. It might more reasonably be argued that, by the time that *Beowulf* was written, all the eye-witnesses were dead and buried, and the Sutton Hoo ceremony forgotten. It would even be possible to argue, though I have no wish to do so, that Sutton Hoo was a cenotaph because the body had been put out to sea in a blazing boat like that of Sigvard Ring in the *Catalogus Regum Sueciae* (Klaeber, *Beowulf* (3 ed.), p. 263) in whose memory a funeral mound, Ringshaug, was constructed. (See Appendix II A, p. 19).

A funeral under Geatish auspices, that of Harald Hildetand, king of Denmark, described in Saxo's book viii and in *Sögubrot*, ix, is of particular interest since it is a ship-burial. Harald was killed in the battle of Brávellir in Östergötland mentioned above. The victor was King Hring (of Östergötland), his nephew, who supervised the funeral arrangements. The date of the battle (c. 550) and the nationality of Hring were established by Axel Olrik (see note 19). According to the 10th-century *Hyndluljóð* (str. xxix), Harald was heir to Hrærekr Slöngvanbaugi, the Hrethric of *Beowulf* and the Roricus of Saxo referred to above; and this is confirmed by *Langfeðgatal* and other sources which make him Hrærekr's son. He was, therefore, the nephew of Hrothmund and the grandson of Hrothgar and Wealhtheow.

When Harald's body had been recovered, Hring hallowed Harald's horse, having decked it with a golden saddle, and 'proclaimed his vows'. Harald's boat (*puppis*) and body were cremated on a pyre, and Hring urged the Danish mourners to consign freely to the flames 'arms, gold, and every precious thing to feed the pyre in honour of so great a king'. Hring commanded that, when the body was quite burned—such an instruction is strong proof of the authenticity of the account—the ashes should be conveyed in an urn to Leire in Denmark, and there, together with the horse and armour, receive a royal funeral. The story in Saxo is here taken up by *Sögubrot*, ix, which records that Harald's 'chariot, horse, and saddle were placed with him in the mound'. Of particular interest is a suggestion by T. Hederström (*Fornsagor och Eddakväden i geografisk belysning*, I, 55–58) that Saxo's *Lethra* is a misunderstanding for Old Swed. *Letha*, present-day Ledberg, Östergötland, where a great mound and other remains

<sup>21</sup> H. Schück, *Studier i Beowulfagan*, p. 34.

point to an ancient royal seat and royal grave. The mound is described by O. Almgren (*Sveriges fasta fornlämningar* (ed. K. A. Gustawsson), p. 162) as 'a real "king's mound" but about the date of which nothing is known'.

Taken together, and allowing for the change of scene from Östergötland to Denmark (which may be Saxo's mistake), this gives us the closest parallel to the funeral obsequies of Beowulf.<sup>22</sup> First of all, it disposes of the difficulty detected by Stjerna (*Essays*, pp. 198 ff.) that treasure was cremated and treasure was deposited unburnt in Beowulf's mound. Stjerna rejected the account in Saxo as 'literary archaizing' because he was (mistakenly) trying to reconcile it with the archaeological evidence drawn from Swedish burials, but it is surely very remarkable that two accounts of Geat royal funerals, closely contemporary, should have the same piece of 'literary archaizing' unparalleled elsewhere. *Beowulf* lacks the boat, but (l. 3134) has the chariot. Saxo and the *Sögubrot* appear to have had a source which regarded the funeral cart as a battle-chariot, an anachronism to which attention was drawn by Herrmann (*op. cit.* in note 19, II, 514-5). If the accounts in Saxo and *Beowulf* are literary, then they are from a common source, certainly Danish in Saxo (and ultimately so in *Sögubrot*). This would not be in the least surprising, since it is agreed on all sides that *Beowulf* and Saxo have in common poetical traditions about Scyld and Ingeld, so close as to show in places verbal correspondences (Klaeber, *Beowulf* (3 ed.), pp. 121, 124, and p. xxxv). If the two accounts are historical (as well as literary), as the reference to the boat in Saxo leads us to believe, and as the general support which *Beowulf* and Saxo give each other in many of the details confirms, then we have a boat and a cremation. This is not the same as we have at Snape or in the earlier Sutton Hoo mounds where we have a cremation but an unburned boat, but it is further away from Sweden. Even if we assume (Hilda Ellis, *The Road to Hel*, p. 16) that a boat without nails was cremated in the Vendel or Uppsala royal funerals, we still have no cairn. I see no evidence in *Beowulf* either for a cairn. The use of *weall* in line 3161 does not imply a wall, though some of the translations take it as such, still less a pyre of wood and clay. The passage in *Beowulf* (ll. 3156 ff.) says only: 'The people of the Geats completed a mound on the bluff, tall and broad, and visible to seafarers from a distance; and constructed in ten days the memorial to the valorous one, furnished the ashes that remained with a mound (*wealle beworhton*) as splendidly as the most experienced of all could devise.' It follows, therefore, that the attempts by Stjerna (*Essays*, pp. 205 ff.), who rejects Saxo, and by Lindqvist (*op. cit.* on p. 9, pp. 253-8), who does not refer to Saxo, to rewrite *Beowulf* in terms of the Swedish royal interments fall to the ground. Stjerna's interpretation was challenged at the time his essays were translated (*op. cit.*, p. 206, footnote), and, though the version of *Beowulf* used by Lindqvist (*op. cit.*, p. 255) correctly renders *weall* by Swedish *vall* 'grassy slope, embankment', it inserts *nu* 'now' as if a fresh action were being described, whereas, in fact, the three clauses are parallel variations on the same idea, a

<sup>22</sup> B. Nerman, *Studier över Sväriges hedna litteratur*, pp. 81-85, drew attention to the similarities between the two funerals as recorded in Saxo and *Sögubrot*, and the way in which they supplement each other. He also drew attention (p. 84) to resemblances between Harald's funeral and that of Beowulf. The relevant passages from *Beowulf*, *Sögubrot*, and Saxo are given in Appendix I, pp. 17-18.

typical Old English stylistic device. The rejection of the *Beowulf* account because it records two tributes to the dead man, the first after the cremation and the second after the interment, does not affect the archaeological argument, except that such a rejection would cast doubt on the authenticity of the rest. Stjerna (*op. cit.*, p. 200) regarded this repetition as evidence of the fusion of two lays on the same subject. Chambers (*op. cit.* in note 14, p. 124), in what must be assumed to be the 'standard' analysis of the problem, while not accepting Stjerna's explanation, was content to use his criticism of the account of the funeral to attack Chadwick for saying that it was a description 'of which the accuracy is confirmed in every point by archaeological or contemporary literary evidence'. Chambers, however, omitted to discuss the double tribute, and referred only to the *sorhleoð*, the lament for the deceased, as being recorded in many documents, and as 'a ceremony which was subsequent not merely to the funeral, but even to the building of the tomb'. As Chambers confessed, 'the evidence is far too scanty to allow of much positive argument', but, if the account in *Beowulf* is derived from some version of the funeral of Harald Hildetand,<sup>23</sup> it would be entirely in keeping with the special circumstances of that occasion that there should be a lament when the body was burned at Brávellir, and a second tribute when the urn was interred at 'Lethra'. This, of course, is not proof, but it does forbid us to reject the evidence of *Beowulf* out of hand. The account of the funeral of Attila on which the arguments have previously turned, useful though it is in support of other evidence, cannot be used to prove a negative case, first of all because it deals with a supposedly Christian ceremony, and secondly because it describes a Gothic-Hunnish funeral. Even in Scandinavia we have extensive evidence of funeral customs that varied from district to district, from class to class, and from family to family. On the Anglo-Saxon evidence, we might reject the evidence of Jordanes that the lament came before the burial. It would be just as foolish as to argue the converse.

Having considered the case for Swedish influence in the structure of the barrow at Sutton Hoo in the light of the documentary evidence, we are left with the one unquestioned kind of evidence, the armour. It must be remembered, first of all, that much of the archaeological evidence in the Sutton Hoo arguments derives from places outside Sweden, Öland and Bornholm, for instance. But, even granting this as not really significant, the existence of undoubtedly Swedish armour in Sutton Hoo does not in itself constitute evidence of Swedish presence or direct Swedish contact any more than does the group of objects, the hart on the standard, the Anastasius dish, and the silver bowls, of Gothic presence or direct Gothic contact, which one might assume for material from south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. From what we have already inferred about Geat connexions in East Anglia, we should look first to the Geats. The Geat kingdom was destroyed by the Swedes, as we can infer from Wiglaf's prophecies in *Beowulf*, ll. 2910-3007, with the assistance of the Franks and the Frisians, though Frankish

<sup>23</sup> A connexion between the Brávellir battle and *Beowulf*'s dragon-fight has been suspected by various scholars. Malone (*op. cit.* on p. 4, 1, 48) conjectured that, because it portrayed hostility between Danes and Geats, the battle was eliminated, and the mythical dragon-fight substituted. See also D. Strömholm, 'Försök över Beowulfdikten och Ynglingasagan,' *Edda*, xxv (1926), 233-49.

history provides no confirmation. The poet goes on to say (ll. 3029–30) that the prophecies were not belied by events and reports (*lit.* words). The date of this defeat is assumed by Chambers (*op. cit.* in note 14, p. 13) to have been not long after Hygelac's disastrous expedition against the Hetware on the Lower Rhine of which we hear in Gregory of Tours. The date of this latter event is a matter of controversy. The political situation would suggest that Hygelac made his raid soon after the death of Clovis (November, 511) became known, when the succession to the Frankish Empire was in doubt, but the more frequently mentioned dates, 516–520–522–531, with a preference for the first three, do not seriously affect our chronology. In the conditions that followed a national defeat of the Geats already weakened by the losses they incurred on the Rhine and at the battle of Brávellir, Wiglaf's prophecy that many an *eorl* and fair maiden would have to go into exile must certainly have been fulfilled. It is reasonable to assume, as various scholars have done, that some of the Geats sought refuge in England, not, however, as F. Moorman (*Essays and Studies*, v (1914), 73) conjectured, in Yorkshire, but with their Wylfing kinsmen in East Anglia, bringing with them the heroic stories in *Beowulf* and trophies of war taken from the Swedes. Indeed, *Beowulf* makes two specific references to such Geat booty. In line 2610, we have a mention of the helmet, sword, and shield of Eanmund, prince of Sweden, carried by Wiglaf, which his father, Wihstan, had taken from Eanmund when he slew him, and which Onela, Eanmund's uncle, had presented to Wihstan, slayer of Onela's kinsman though he was. A similar event is recorded in *Beowulf*, ll. 2985 ff., when Eafor and Wulf slew Ongentheow, king of the Swedes and father of Onela, and Eafor took his corslet, helmet, and sword, and offered them to Hygelac. (It would be possible, though I do not think it essential, to equate this Wulf with Wuffa of the genealogy.) The Icelandic *Bjarkarímur*, viii, 23–5, record that Bjarki, the champion and hero corresponding to Beowulf, demanded as booty Hildisvín (battle-boar), the helmet of Áli (Onela), in the battle on the ice of Lake Vener in which Aðils (Eadgils) defeated his uncle Áli, but Aðils refused to give it to him.

The general quality of the shield and the helmet from Sutton Hoo has led to the assumption that they once had a royal owner. Their Swedish character is unquestioned. Their date is presumed to be *ante* 600, and Bruce-Mitford (*op. cit.* in note 1, p. 74) implies that they were in existence by the 'mid 6th century'. Lindqvist (*op. cit.* on p. 10, p. 164) dates the helmet *ante* 500. The death of Ongentheow is reckoned to have occurred about 500–510, and that of Onela some fifteen years later. It is entirely within the realm of probability that the very objects in Sutton Hoo of Swedish workmanship are referred to in *Beowulf*.

A plausible account, drawn from the preceding discussion but put in a more categorical form than the data perhaps warrant, might run as follows: A settlement of Wylfings from Östergötland had arisen in East Anglia not long before 470. Whether it was tribal or purely dynastic it is hard to say. It was reinforced by a second, perhaps limited, influx of important Geat exiles with Danish connexions who took refuge with their Wylfing kinsmen after the final overthrow of the already weakened Geat kingdom a decade or two before the middle

of the 6th century by the barbarian Swedes. (The silence of *Beowulf* about events in Scandinavia after 550 and the cessation of Scandinavian imports about the same time<sup>24</sup> must be taken as establishing the limiting date.) The exiles were led by Wehhelm of the Wegmundings, who became king of the East Angles, perhaps in Suffolk, by peaceful succession. The exiles brought with them the stories and legends of the Scandinavian dynasties, Geat and Danish, and their wars in the period 480–530, and trophies of their earlier battles against the Swedish kings. The literary sequel to this is *Beowulf*. The archaeological sequel is Sutton Hoo with Scandinavian, but not purely Swedish, burial customs, Swedish objects, and an artistic tradition strongly reminiscent of that of Sweden. When the Swedish objects in the barrow were unearthed and displayed in the British Museum, the Geats, fourteen hundred years later, enjoyed their posthumous revenge.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Lethbridge, *op. cit.* in note 9, p. 81.

<sup>25</sup> The burial of captured weapons and of standards in Attila's tumulus is recorded by Jordanes, *Getica*, cap. xlix: 'Addunt arma hostium caedibus adquisita, faleras variarum gemmarum fulgore pretiosas et diversi generis insignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus.' These were clearly heirlooms.

## APPENDIX I

## BEOWULF'S FUNERAL

Then twisted gold was loaded on to the waggon, a great quantity of every kind; the grey-haired warrior-prince borne to Hronesness. Then the people of the Geats prepared a splendid pyre on the earth, hung about with helmets and battle-shields and bright corslets, as he had desired. Lamenting warriors laid the famous prince, their beloved lord, amidst it. The soldiers proceeded then to kindle on the hill the greatest of funeral pyres. The wood-smoke rose, black above the blaze—the roaring flame accompanied by lamenting—the turmoil of the winds had subsided—until, hot by nature, it had consumed the body. With grieving hearts, they bewailed their sorrow, the slaying of their lord. Likewise, the Geatish lady, her hair bound up [in mourning], sang, burdened with care, a song of lament . . . that she feared now her days of mourning, a tale of slayings, the terror of the hostile troop, humiliation and captivity. The heavens swallowed up the smoke.

Then the people of the Weders [i.e. the Geats] constructed on the bluff a mound that was high and broad, visible from far and wide to seafarers, constructed in ten days the memorial to the valiant fighter, furnished the remains of the burning with a mound<sup>26</sup> as the most skilled could most seemingly plan it. They put in the mound rings and jewels, likewise such trappings as hostile men had taken in the hoard—let the earth hold the treasures of nobles, gold in the ground, where it still lives [lies?] as useless to men as it was before. Then valiant men, sons of princes, rode round the mound, twelve in all. They wished (thus) to express their grief, and lament the king, utter an elegy, and speak of the man. They praised his nobility and passed judgment on his valorous deeds (*duguðum*) . . . So the people of the Geats, his hearth-companions, lamented their lord's demise.

*Beowulf*, ll. 3134 ff., (ed. E. V. K. Dobbie) with slight alterations from the facsimile edition by the Early English Text Society (1959), pp. vii–xiii.

## HARALD'S FUNERAL

## i

Hring had the body [of Harald] put in the chariot which Harald had had for the battle, and after that he had a great barrow built and had him conveyed in the chariot with the horse which King Harald had for the battle, and caused it to be driven to the barrow, and after that the horse was slaughtered. And then King Hring caused the saddle to be taken which he himself had ridden on, and gave it to King Harald, his kinsman, and bade him go wherever he wished—to ride or be conveyed to Valhalla. And then he caused a great feast to be prepared there, and the departure of Harald, his kinsman, to be honoured. And before the barrow was closed, King Hring bade all the mighty men and all the champions that were there to go and cast into it great rings and goodly weapons in honour of King Harald Hildetand; and after that the barrow was carefully sealed.

*Sögubrot*, ix

*Spgur Danakonunga* (ed. C. af Petersens and E. Olson), p. 24.

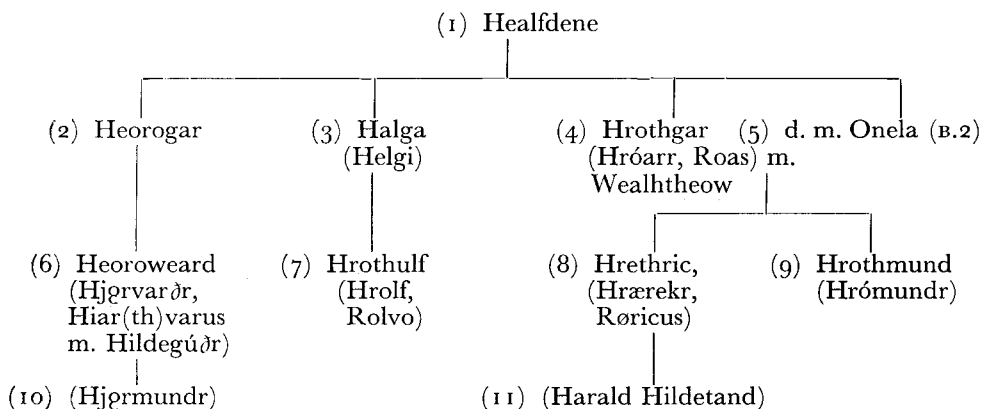
<sup>26</sup> This rendering of OE. *weall* by 'mound' is supported by *Beowulf*, ll. 2957 and 3090, where *eorþheall* is used for 'tumulus'. It may be objected that *bewyrcan* here means 'surround', but in OE. it is used to render Latin *disponere*, hence 'furnish, cover'. The meaning 'surround, in other occurrences is purely contextual. The OE. words for 'surround' are *ymbseallan*, *ymbtrymman*, and *ymbwyrcan*.

Ringo . . . Tande cum corpore reperta clava, Haraldī manibus parentandum ratus, equum, quem insedebat, regio applicatum currui aureisque subselliis decenter instratum eius titulis dedicavit. Inde vota nuncupat adicitque precem, uti Haraldus eo vectore usus fati consortes ad Tartara antecederet atque apud praestitem Orci Plutonem sociis hostibusque placidas expeteret sedes. Deinde rogum exstruit, Danis inauratam regis sui puppim in flammae fomentum conicere iussis. Cumque superiectum ignis cadaver absumeret, maerentes circuire proceres impensiusque cunctos hortari coepit, uti arma, aurum quodcumque opimum esset, liberaliter in nutrimentum rogi sub tanti taliterque apud omnes meriti regis veneratione transmitterent. Cineres quoque perusti corporis urnae contraditos Lethram perferri ibique cum equo et armis regio more funerari praecepit.

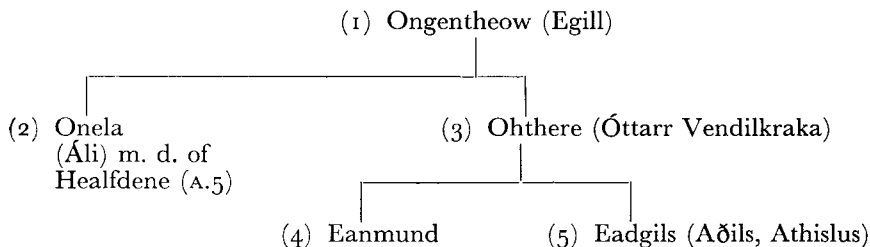
Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* (ed. J. Olrik and H. Ræder),  
I, 220.

## APPENDIX II

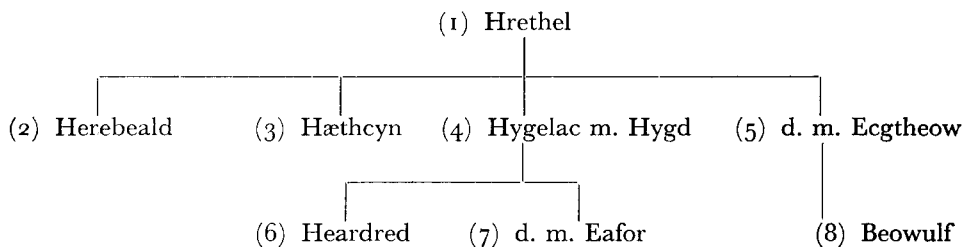
### A.—DANISH ROYAL FAMILY (SCYLDINGS)



### B.—SWEDISH ROYAL FAMILY (SCYLFINGS)



### C.—GEAT ROYAL FAMILY (HRETHLINGS)



Note: names in brackets are those of the Scandinavian sources.