THE STORY

OF

HORN AND RIMENHILD

BY

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1.]

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From a Middle-English poem narrating the events of the Trojan war,[1] we learn that formerly in England, when folk gathered "at mangeres and at grete festes," they listened gladly after meat to the "fair romance" of *Horn*, which "gestours" were then wont to recite; and, having this romance before us, we can readily understand the reason of its popularity: it interests us, as it did our forefathers, not only because it tells a tale of an ever-pleasing type, but also because it purports to record native English tradition.

Mi leue frende dere,
Herken & ȝe may here,
  & ȝe wil vnder stonde;
Stories ȝe may lere
Of our elders þat were
  Whilom in þis lond.

These words, with which, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a minstrel secured the attention of English auditors to a version of the story of Horn, form an appeal to which we also willingly respond. Not content, however, with simple enjoyment of the story as such, we nowadays, in a scholarly

[1] MS. Laud 595 in the Bodleian, fol. 1 ff.; see Warton-Hazlitt, *History of English Poetry*, 1871, II, 122–23.

spirit, are disposed to inquire more deeply as to its significance. We desire knowledge concerning its origin, the historical conditions that it reflects, the scene of action of the happenings, the relation of the unlike redactions in which it is preserved. Questions on these points have, in truth, been asked over and over again since the time of Bishop Percy; but satisfactory answers have not been forthcoming, and still dispute is rife. Just now, indeed, interest in the many vexed problems that the tale presents seems greater than ever before. Within the last two years the oldest of the English versions has been twice re-edited in England, by Mr. Joseph Hall, of Manchester, for the Clarendon Press, and by Dr. George H. McKnight, of Ohio State University, for the Early English Text Society, while a third new edition, by Prof. Morsbach, of Göttingen, is announced to appear shortly. Some results of his investigations in the subject Prof. Morsbach has already made known in an interesting article;[1] and Dr. Otto Hartenstein, of Kiel, in his doctor's dissertation recently published,[2] has traversed the whole field of discussion with thoroughness and care. A glance at the extensive bibliography (occupying some twelve pages) that accompanies his work will suffice to indicate how much comment the story in its different forms has evoked. Since, however, no theory regarding the origin and development of the story commands general assent, since no theory, indeed, even to most of its advocates, has seemed more than fairly probable, I have been led to examine the subject anew, and would now offer those results of my investigations which appear to be of value. The opinions I have reached after renewed examination of the cycle from various points of view, will be seen to differ much from those now current. I shall be happy if they prove to have sufficient foundation in fact to ensure acceptance by the scholarly world.

[1] *Die Angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen "King Horn"* (*Festgabe für Wendelin Foerster*, Halle, 1902, pp. 297–323).

[2] *Studien zur Hornsage* (*Kieler St. zur engl. Phil.*, Heft 4), Heidelberg, 1902, pp. 1–152.

I.

Of the several extant versions of the tale of Horn and Rimenhild, two only are of real importance in determining its fundamental character:[1] 1, the simple song of an English minstrel known as the *Geste of King Horn*[2] (which will be referred to here as KH), written about the middle of the thirteenth century; and 2, an elaborate French poem entitled *Horn et Rimenhild*[3] (HR), composed in the century preceding.[4] Although in its present shape KH is much later than HR, it evidently represents a more primitive form of the story. This earlier form, however, it does not reproduce exactly. Written primarily, it seems, for public delivery before audiences of plain people, it is unaffected in tone and unadorned in style. To suit the purpose of its production, the theme is treated succinctly, with but little detail. In comparison with

[1] As to the late English romance *Horn Child*, see below, Section VIII.

[2] For enumeration of the editions, etc., see Hartenstein, pp. 3 ff. Quotations are here made from Hall's edition, Oxford, 1901. Though otherwise admirable, this edition contains a very inadequate and confused chapter on "The Story" (pp. li–lvi).

[3] Ed. Fr. Michel, Bannatyne Club, Paris, 1845; ed. Brede and Stengel (*Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*, VIII), Marburg, 1883. Quotations are here made from the Cambridge MS. as printed by Brede and Stengel.

[4] By a strange blunder, which many (even some of the latest, e. g., Hall, p. liv, McKnight, pp. viii, xii, Billings, *Guide*, p. 5) of those who have written about the English poems have unhappily made, this poem has been thought younger than KH, and much labor has been wasted trying to show either that it was, or that it was not, based on the latter. As a matter of fact, while there has been no final determination of the exact date of HR, all romance scholars are now agreed that it antedates the oldest English version. For example, Gaston Paris (*Manuel*, 2nd ed., p. 248) puts it about 1170; Söderhjelm (*Rom.*, XV, 593, n. 2; 594) "au milieu ou vers la fin du xii^{e} siècle;" Suchier (*Gesch. d. franz. Litt.*, 1900, p. 109) in the reign of Stephen (1135–1154); Gröber, however, (*Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, II, 573) thinks this too early a date. For a discussion of the question, see Hartenstein, pp. 19 ff., who concludes: "Es ergiebt sich aus dem Vorherstehenden auf Grund sprachlicher (Suchier, Söderhjelm) wie rhythmischer (Vising, Gnerlich) Merkmale als Entstehungszeit des uns erhaltenen RH etwa die Mitte des 12. Jh."

KH, HR is a very sophisticated product. While the former has only some 1,550 short lines, the latter comprises about 5,250 alexandrines. In tone HR is courtly and feudal, in style elaborate and refined. It is fashioned in the guise of an epic *chanson de geste*, and contains abundant evidence of having been composed by a well-informed, cultivated, and pious man for the upper classes of Anglo-Norman society.

The precise relation of these two poems to each other, we need not for the moment discuss. Whatever be the immediate source either may have had, it is clear that ultimately both go back to a lost Anglo-Saxon version of the same narrative. To discover the features of this account, both, then, must be carefully examined, for neither has exclusive authority. KH is an imperfect guide chiefly because of the condensation and simplification that the material has undergone. On the other hand, HR must be treated with caution for the opposite reason, that in it the theme is much expanded by the introduction of extraneous material, the whole, moreover, being conceived in a foreign spirit. Those features in which the two versions agree, we may safely regard as original, and inasmuch as most of the incidents in KH find parallels in HR, we are justified in relying on its account in the main; but HR, being older and more detailed, may of course have preserved original features not in the English song, or there in varying form.

In brief, the narrative is as follows: The king of a land called Sudene is slain by hostile seamen, who thereupon take possession of his realm. His young son Horn they set adrift with several companions helpless on the sea. After a day and night their boat is cast ashore by the wind in the country of Westerness, in Britain, and the youths speedily make their way to the residence of the king near by. There they are treated with all kindness and as time passes grow steadily in favor. Horn especially distinguishes himself by his unusual beauty, accomplishments, and prowess, and the princess Rimen-

hild engages him in love. Their intimacy is betrayed by a traitorous friend; the king will accept no explanations; and Horn is banished from the land. Before they separate the two lovers agree to be faithful to each other for seven years, and Rimenhild gives Horn a ring as a keepsake, to inspire him in struggle. Leaving Britain, he journeys by boat to Ireland, where also he wins renown and is offered the Irish king's daughter to wife. He refuses without offence and remains there in all honor until he hears that his lady is to be married against her will to the king of Fenice (Reynes). Collecting a body of Irish followers, he returns in haste to Britain (Westerness), gains access to the wedding-feast in disguise, and reveals himself to the unhappy bride by putting the ring in the beaker of wine that she offers him to drink. Finding her still true, he assembles his men, slays his opponents, and rescues Rimenhild from her plight. Without delaying, however, to consummate a marriage with her, he sets out to recover his native land. While he is restoring it to order and establishing peace, Rimenhild is beset by another lover, this time Horn's old comrade, Fikel (Fikenhild), who has forced her to his castle. Warned by a dream of this trouble, the hero returns, gains admittance to the palace with some of his followers, disguised as minstrels, and soon disposes of the traitor and his men. He gives to one of his friends the land of Rimenhild's father, to another that of the first rival suitor, and a third he weds to the princess of Ireland, before he himself returns with Rimenhild to his own country "among all his kin."

II.

The chief bone of contention among scholars concerning this traditional tale has ever been the determining of the scene of action, on which obviously depends the understanding of its significance as an historical record. The unusual difficulty of the problem all writers on the subject have

admitted. Ten Brink, for example, remarks:[1] "In Havelok the geographical, if not the historical, points of union with fact are clearly defined. The Horn-saga is inextricably confused in both these respects." But nevertheless he, like many others, confidently maintained a wide-reaching theory on the basis chiefly of an unwarranted identification of a single place-name. "So much is clear," he says (p. 231), "the North Sea and its neighboring waters, and their shores, were the scene of the action." This statement, it seems, rested almost solely on the conviction that *Sudene* (*Suddene*), the name of Horn's home, was the same as the name of the people mentioned in *Bēowulf*, the *Suðdene*, South Danes, and therefore might be interpreted as South-Dane-land. Since the other places mentioned could not be made to fit this localization, the poem was naturally declared confused. This old explanation[2] has been supported by many other distinguished scholars, notably German, sometimes with strong emphasis. Suchier, for example, but two years ago, in his excellent History of Old French Literature, stated his belief that *Sudene* was "sicher" Denmark.[3] Mätzner,[4] Körting,[5] Wülker,[6] and others in Germany likewise accepted this theory;

[1] *Gesch. der engl. Litt.*, ed. Brandl, Strassburg, 1899, I, 177 (trans. Kennedy, p. 150).

[2] Haigh (*The A.-S. Sagas*, London, 1861, p. 63) identified the two names. Bishop Percy thought *Sudene* was Sweden (*Reliques*, ed. Schröer, Berlin, 1893, II, 877). Jacob Grimm translated it *Südland* (*Museum f. altd. Lit. u. Kunst.*, II, 1811, p. 284), but afterwards remarked: "Will man unter Sudenne etwa Bretagne, unter Estnesse England, unter Westnesse Irland verstehen, so habe ich nichts dagegen, obwohl z. B. in Yorkshire allein schon wieder zwei Gegenden Namens Estnesse und Westnesse liegen . . . . jene landernamen machen keine Schwierigkeit, dasz das gedicht nicht z. B. an lombardischer küste gespielt haben könnte" (pp. 311–12).

[3] Adding: "da das Land Deutschland nicht fern zu denken ist" (*Gesch. der franz. Litt.*, 1900, p. 111), this argument being based on a consideration of the proper names of persons in HR, which, however, ought not to have any weight in deciding the matter; see below, Section VII.

[4] *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, 1867, p. 208.

[5] *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, Münster, 1893, p. 98.

[6] *Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, 1896, p. 97.

and that it still flourishes there is evident from the fact that Morsbach, the latest writer on the subject, accepts it apparently without question.[1]

On the other hand, the German who has of late examined the whole matter the most thoroughly, Dr. Hartenstein, deliberately rejects this hypothesis,[2] and reverts to one which has found chief favor among English and French critics, namely, that *Sudene* was a district in the south of England. To Francisque Michel, the first editor of HR, is due the credit of formulating this theory.[3] Observing that in one manuscript of Gaimar's History of the English (written 1147–1151) the name of Surrey was given as *Sudeine*, Michel identified this with the *Sudene* of the romance, and concluded that Surrey was Horn's home. The fatal objection to this theory, that Surrey was inland, while all the places mentioned in the story were plainly on the sea-coast, was emphasized first by Dr. Ward, who, in a valuable article on the English poems,[4] suggested that perhaps the *Sudene* there mentioned was intended to include the whole of the ancient kingdom of Sussex. Still, on the whole, Dr. Ward was inclined to regard the name simply as "a vague poetical designation," and, connecting the hero with the Isle of Purbeck, "close to which the Danes had one of their strongholds in 876–7," concluded that "Dorsetshire has a very fair claim to be considered as the birth-place of the Horn legend." This view was adopted in a measure three years later, in 1886, by Söderhjelm,[5] and by various other writers since,[6] such as Dr. McKnight[7] and Mr. Hall,[8] the recent editors of KH, who agree in placing Horn's home on the south coast of England.

[1] *Foerster-Festgabe*, pp. 318–19. [2] *Studien*, p. 131.

[3] Index of edition, p. 454. The identification was accepted by Paulin Paris (*Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 566).

[4] *Catalogue of Romances*, I (1883), 450 ff.

[5] *Romania*, XVI, 591–92.

[6] Cf. Mather, *King Pontus and the Fair Sidone* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, XII), p. xvii.

[7] Edition, E. E. T. S., p. xix. [8] Edition, p. lvi.

Mr. Hall, it may be said, asserts further, though without any real evidence, that Sudene is "the country of the Southern Damnonii, that is, Cornwall."

Thus the two opposing views, that the home of the hero was "South-Dane-land" (supposedly Denmark), or that it was in the south of England, both now find vigorous support. Both obviously cannot be right. Perhaps neither the one nor the other. There are no doubt many students of the poems, like Miss Billings,[1] who feel that the problem still awaits the correct solution.

III.

Before attempting to determine more definitely the topography of the tale, it is well to rid our minds of an erroneous notion which in the past has caused confusion. If I mistake not, every one who has written on the subject has assumed without hesitation that the *Bretaine* mentioned in HR as the land to which Horn and his companions were driven in the rudderless boat was continental Britanny, Little Britain. Yet it is quite clear, if one stops to consider the matter, that it is to the insular Britain, to Great Britain, that the Anglo-Norman poet referred. A vast deal of heated dispute[2] has arisen lately regarding the signification of *Britannia*, *Bretaine*, and the adjective *Breton*, in mediæval Latin and French documents. Considerable divergence, most recognize, is apparent in actual practice, and general rules governing all cases would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish. But on one point there is abundant evidence, that *Britannia* (*Bretaine*) was constantly used from early times throughout the Middle Ages in England as the correct designation of the island of Britain.

[1] *Guide to the Middle Eng. Met. Roms.* (*Yale Studies in English*, IX), New York, 1901, p. 4: "The localities of the poem cannot be identified."

[2] See particularly Brugger, *Ueber die Bedeutung von Bretagne, Breton in mittelalterlichen Texten* (*Zs. f. franz. Sp. u. Litt.*, XX, 1898, pp. 79–162); cf. F. Lot, *Romania*, XXVIII, 1 ff.

Instances from Latin works are too numerous to need mention. A few from documents in English and French will suffice to establish the fact.

The Laud MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle[1] begins as follows: "Brittene igland is ehta hund mila long & twa hund brad. & her sind on þis iglande fif geþeode. Englisc. & Brittisc. & Wilsc. & Scyttisc. & Pyhtisc." At the close of *The Battle of Brunanburh* (a poem in the Chronicle, A. D. 937) Brytene is similarly used:

ēastan hider
Engle and Seaxe ūpp becōmon
Ofer brāde brimu, Brytene sohton.

Wace thus explains how the name became attached to the island:

La terre avoit nom Albion,
Mais Brutus li canga son nom.
De son nom Bruto nom li mist
Et Bretaigne son nom li fist.[2]

And Gaimar, speaking of the English, remarks:

La terre kil vont conquerant,
Si lapelent Engeland.
Este vus ci un acheson
Par que Bretaigne perdi son nun.[3]

In *Sir Gawene and the Carle of Carelyle*,[4] we read:

The yle of Brettayn i-cleppyde ys,
Betwyn Skotland and Ynglonde iwys,
In story i-wayte aryghte
Wallys ys an angull of þ^t yle.

And thus in *The Grene Knight*:[5]

[1] Ed. Earle and Plummer, Oxford, 1892, I, 3; cf. *Britannia þæt igland*, in the Alfredian version of Orosius (ed. Bosworth, 1859).

[2] *Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, ll. 1207 ff.

[3] *Lestorie des Engles*, ed. Duffus-Hardy and Martin, Rolls Series, 1888–89, ll. 31 ff.; cf. Langtoft's *Chronicle*, ed. Wright, Rolls Series, 1866, I, 2.

[4] Ed. Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, ll. 16 ff.; cf. *Percy Folio Ms.*, III, 277.

[5] Ed. Madden, pp. 224 ff., st. 1; *Percy Folio Ms.*, II, 58.

List, when Arthur he was king
he had all att his leadinge
the broad Ile of Brittaine;
England & Scottland one was
& Wales stood in the same case.

On the pivotal locality *Sudene*,[1] however, as we have seen, there has been no such unanimity of opinion. Yet the identification of this place is of first consequence. Here evidently we should begin our investigation.

Dismissing from our minds the various guesses so far made, we turn to the texts themselves to see what actual information they offer concerning Sudene, Horn's home.

In the first place, in the English poem KH it is called definitely an island (l. 1318), and is located in the west (*bi weste*, l. 5). This island was apparently not remote from Britain (England), for we are informed that the boat in which the youths were placed drifted hardly twenty-four hours, though during that time very rapidly, before it was cast ashore.

þe se bigan to flowe
& Horn child to rowe;
þe se þat schup so fasste drof
þe children dradde þerof . . . .
Al þe day & al þe niȝt,
Til hit sprang dai liȝt
Til Horn saȝ on þe stronde
Men gon in þe londe. (C Text, ll. 117–126.)

Later, when in Sudene, having dreamed during the night of Fikenhild's treachery, the hero starts back in the morning to rescue his bride, he accomplishes the journey in a similar short space of time.

[1] Other forms of the name in KH are *Sudenne, Sodenne, Suddene, Suddenne;* in HR *Suddene, Suthdene.* Compare the variant spellings of London in Laȝamon's *Brut: Lundene, Lundenne, Londene, Londenne* (in the A.-S. Chronicle, *Lundenne*). Compare also the variant spellings of Surrey, below, p. 12. In Gaimar's Chronicle we find *Mercene, Merceine, Mercenne* <A.-S. *Myrcena.*

Horn gan to schupe ride,
His feren him biside ....
Er þane Horn hit wiste,
Tofore þe sunne upriste,
His schup stod vnder ture
At Rymenhilde bure. (C 1425 ff.)

Of the same journey, undertaken by Horn immediately after his bridal, we read:

Horn gan to schipe ride
And hys knyȝtes bi side
Here schip gan to croude
þe wind hym bleu wel loude[1]
Honder Sodenne syde,
Here schip bigan to glide
Abowte myd niȝte. (O 1332 ff.)

With a strong favorable wind, Horn and his companions reached Sudene before midnight of the day on which they set forth.

The French poet informs us further that it was a northwest wind (*del norwest uentant*, l. 105) that drove the boat from Sudene to Britain (England).

If, then, we look, as these indications direct, for an island off the west coast of England to which a strong northwest wind would blow a boat within twenty-four hours, our eyes are fixed at once on the Isle of Man. That does not seem to serve, however, until we remember that Man was one of the group regularly called by the Norsemen *Suðreyjar*, "South Isles," because of their position in respect to the Orkneys (*Orkneyjar*). The "South Isles" included the Hebrides and

[1] MSS. L and C have at this point the following additional lines, obviously contradictory and meaningless:

Biþinne (wyþinne) daies fiue
þat schup gan ariue. (C 1295–96.)

A similar haphazard rhyme occurs in another place:

Her buþ paens ariue(d)
Wel mo þan fiue. (C 807–808.)

Man; and any one of them might be called in the singular *Suðrey*, *Sudrey*, even as any one of the Orkneys *Orkney*. In Latin the Orkneys (*Orcades*) were called *Orcania*, and the Hebrides likewise *Sudreia*. The natural form of these names in early English would be *Orkneye* and *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*); but in French they were written differently. In HR, as frequently in French, and in translations of French works, like Laȝamon's *Brut*, we find the spellings *Orcanie*, *Orcenie*, *Orceine*, *Orcene;* and in another French work, already referred to, occurs the English place-name *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*) in the similar, perhaps analogous, form *Sudeine*. In Gaimar's chronicle, as Michel first pointed out, we read:

> Edelbrit fu feit reis de Kent,
> E de *Sudeine* ensement. (ll. 955–56.)

Sudeine here is the reading of the best manuscript, but variant readings of the same name in Gaimar are: *Sudreie*, *Suthdreie*, *Sutraie*, *Sudrie*, *Suthrie*, *Surrie*. The present Surrey, of course, is meant. In form the old name of Surrey was identical with that of the Isle of Man, *Suðreye* (*Sudreye*), though the two differed etymologically in the last part. No one, then, can deny that *Sudeine*, *Sudene*, is a name which, at least in a French work, might have been given to the Isle of Man.[2] The Isle of Man fulfils all the indications of

[1] Note that the translation of *Orcadas insulas* in the Alfredian version of Orosius (pp. 24, 58, note) is *Orcadus þæt igland*.

[2] In Laȝamon's *Brut* (III, 7) we read that knights came to Arthur:

> Of Scotlond of Irlond
> Of Gutlond of Islond
> Of Noreine of Denene
> Of Orcaneie of Maneie.

Noreine (in another MS. *Norene*) is Norway, which elsewhere in the same work is written *Norþwaie*, *Norewaieȝe*, *Norweye*, *Norhweie*, *Norweine* (I, 186, 191, 198). In III, 252, we find again the forms *Noreine*, *Norene;* and for Denmark *Denene*, *Dene*. *Maneie* (Man) in another MS. is written *Mayne*. Another good parallel appears in Laȝamon's spelling of the old kingdom of Moray (Moravia). Alongside *Muræf* (II, 507) occur *Mureine* (II, 487), *Mureinen* (II, 559), *Muraine*, *Morayne*, *Muriane*, *Morene* (ll. 4352, 10746,

Horn's home in the oldest versions of the story, and being the centre of viking sway in the Irish Sea during the ninth and tenth centuries, it is a most natural place to locate events like those in our cycle of poems, which, as I hope to show, reflect the life of that period.

But, granted the identification of Sudene and the South-Isle Man, does this clear up the situation? From this starting-point, can we trace Horn's journey readily? If not, then the identification is of little service. If so, it is sufficiently confirmed.

When the hero is set adrift, he comes first, as we have seen, to a land vaguely called by the French poet "Britain," but by the English minstrel more precisely *Westernesse*,[1] *Westnesse*. This latter name I take to indicate a ness or promontory in that region which later Middle English writers[2] frequently call "the west country," the west of England, in the neighborhood of North Wales.[3] The difference between the two forms of the name is apparently only that in the one case the Norse ending *-r* of the adjective *vestr* has been preserved and in the other dropped.[4]

The Scandinavian use of the designation "west" for Great Britain and Ireland is clearly preserved in HR in the name *Westir*. Fortunately, we are in no doubt as to this locality, for the French poet twice tells us definitely what land was meant.

21048, 22178; I, 272, 318). Note also that the name of Modun's land is spelt *Fenenie* as well as *Feneye*, *Fenoie*, *Finée*.—The medial *-r-* in *Sudrey* was sometimes omitted in Old Norse; cf., for example, the form *Sauðeyjum* in *Laxdœla Saga*, ed. Kr. Kaalund, p. 33.

[1] MS. C has regularly *Westernesse*, O and H always *Westnesse* except in l. 989, where both MSS. have *Estnesse* and in l. 1250 where O alone has this name. In neither of these cases, however, is *Estnesse* original. On this point see Morsbach, p. 319.

[2] E. g., *The Grene Knight*, ll. 39, 515 (*Percy Folio Ms.*, II, 58 ff.); *Lay Le Freine*, l. 29 (Weber, *Met. Roms.*, Edinb., 1810, I, 358).

[3] For a more definite localization, see below, p. 24.

[4] Cf. the district of Scotland called *Sutherland*, where the *-r* of the adjective *suðr*, south, is preserved; also *Auster Wood*, near Bourne, Lincolnshire (see G. S. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, London, 1884, p. 129).

(*a*) En Westir ueut aler . ki est regne preisez :
Yrlande out si a nun . al tens dauntiquitez. (ll. 2130.)

(*b*) Yrlande . lors fu Westir noméé. (l. 2184.)

Dr. Ward (p. 452) connected this name *Westir* (Ireland) with the Norse adjective *vestr*, suggesting that the syllable *-ir* was a retention of the ending *-r*. This is also the view of Morsbach (p. 320) and others. I regard the syllable *-ir* rather as the contraction of the O. N. *ey(j)ar*, the whole name then meaning "Western Isles," the Norse designation of all the British Isles, and Ireland in particular as the most remote. Sometimes we find instead of this the word *Vestrlond*, "the lands of the West," which agrees with the wording in the following passage from KH, which describes how Horn left Westerness.

To þe hauene he ferde,
& a god schup he hurede,
þat him scholde londe
In westene londe.[1] (C 751 ff.)

That Ireland is the hero's destination is here also clearly stated[2] ("He arivede in Yrlonde"), and, in agreement with the French poem, the information is given[3] that when Horn returned to rescue his lady, he was accompanied by *Irish* followers, whom he collected before he sailed.

In the French poem (l. 2937) *Diuelin*, the Norse name of Dublin, is mentioned as the city where dwelt the king of Westir.

[1] There is surely no reason to identify *Westir* and *Westernesse* as some scholars have done, or to regard the latter as having "gradually supplanted" the former (see Ward, pp. 451–53). We cannot therefore agree with Dr. McKnight, who, following the suggestions of Dr. Ward, remarks that "it is not at all impossible to conceive that in the original, simpler form of the story, there were but two scenes to this drama, and that Westernesse of the English version, and Westir of the Norman version, alike refer to Ireland, only that on account of the amplification of the story, one came to think of Aylmar's kingdom as in England, and added a *-nesse* to the Norse form Westir (Vestr) so as to make it fit a promontory on the western end of the south coast of England, in Devonshire or Cornwall" (edition, p. xx).

[2] C 1513; cf. O 785, C 1002.

[3] C 1004, O 1045; C 1290, L 1298.

When Guffer, his son, is slain in a conflict with invading pirates, his body is carried to a *Chastel de Beauni* near by, which may perhaps be the present Dun Boyne (*Dun* means "castle") a short distance from Dublin.

From Ireland Horn sails back to England where he saves Rimenhild from falling into the hands of a rival suitor, who in KH is said to be lord of *Reynes, Reynis* (C 951, L 959). This place, only once mentioned in the English minstrel's song, occurs five times in the earlier and more literary French version, and is there invariably spelt with an initial *F*——. We may assume this, therefore, to be correct. In one place, not in rhyme (l. 3959), the French writer spells the name *Fenice*,[1] which points back to the form of which the English is a corruption. A composite *Freynes* would account for both. But where shall we locate this country? Hitherto no one has made even a likely guess.[2] Modun's land, we

[1] Other forms of the name in the French are: *Fenie, Finée, Fenoie, Fenoi.* To the first appears to correspond the spelling in MS. O of KH, *Reny;* but this may be only an accident. The parallel MS. L reads: "Kyng Mody of Reynis / þat is Hornes enemis (959–60)," for which O has more grammatically: "King Mody of Reny / þat was Hornes enemy (994–95)." Inasmuch as C and L agree in the spelling *Reynes* (*Reynis*), there can be no doubt that this was the original form.

In another place in the English poem we have a hint as to the situation of the place: "He riuede in a (under) reaume / In a wel fayr streume / þer kyng Mody was syre" (O 1550 ff.; L 1525 ff.). "On the western side of the peninsula of Furness," says Mr. Fishwick (*History of Lancashire*, London, 1894, p. 84), "lies the island of Walney, which has near to it several other small islands, on one of which was built the ancient castle or peel long known as the Pile of Fouldrey. The waters near to its site formed a natural harbour capable of floating, even at low tide, the largest vessels at that early period in use, and to protect that and the adjacent country this castle was erected. It is of great antiquity; it was certainly there in the twelfth century." Perhaps Walney influenced the varying spellings of the names in HR.

[2] Paulin Paris identified it without comment with Finland (*Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 563; cf. *prince finnois*, p. 565); Mr. Hall (p. lv) with Rennes in Britanny. Morsbach says (p. 313): "Die metrische Betonung ist *Réynis*. Über den Namen selbst weiss ich nichts bestimmtes zu sagen. Wenn *Reynis*, wie wahrscheinlich, ein germanischer (wirklicher oder fingierter)

observe, was on the coast, since he takes ships to get to the city of the English king (l. 3986); and there is no indication that it was remote. It seems, indeed, to have been near Rimenhild's home, for when, at the end of KH, Horn is represented as establishing his friends one after another in the possessions which had come into his power, upon leaving Westerness, he goes first to Modun's land, then on to Ireland, and finally home to Man. We may then with confidence identify Freynes[1] with the district of Lancashire, north of Morecambe Bay, now as of old called Furness. This region was settled in very early times, and there still remains at Aldringham Moat Hill on the sea-shore the ruins of a castle which probably dates from the tenth century.[2] From the Life of St. Cuthbert we learn that between 677 and 685 the adjoining district of Cartmel was given to the saint "with all the Britons in it."[3] The famous abbey of Furness was founded in 1127, and exercised control of the Church of Man in the twelfth century.[4]

Ortsname und in *Reyn* + *is* zu zerlegen ist, so könnte *Reyn* dem ae. *rezn* entsprechen, welches auch in Ortsnamen an erster stelle vorkommt (v. R. Müller, § 44, s. 82); *is* könnte ae. *is* 'eis' sein. Vgl. *Is-land*. Übrigens ist auch an *regn-tiss* denkbar."

[1] *Furness* is usually written *Furnes* in the *Chronicon Manniae* (e. g., A. D. 1126, 1134, 1228); cf. the spellings of *Calais, Cales, Calyce, Callyce* (*Percy Folio* MS., I, 318 ff.).

[2] See H. Fishwick, *History of Lancashire*, pp. 48–49.

[3] See James Croston, *Historic Sites of Lancashire and Cheshire*, London, 1883, p. 255. Croston says: "From this time a chasm of something like five centuries occurs in the history. Whether the monks retained possession of the lands after the death of Cuthbert, or whether the place was ravaged by the Danish invaders, is not known with certainty, but as no mention of it occurs in the Doomsday Survey, it is not unreasonable to assume that the place had been laid waste during some of the Danish incursions, and the church St. Cuthbert reared destroyed." We may note that when Horn leaves England for Ireland he changes his name (in KH) to Cutberd.

[4] On Furness Abbey, see John Timbs, *Abbeys, Castles and Ancient Halls of England and Wales*, I, 298 ff.; A. W. Moore, *Sodor and Man*, London, 1893 (Diocesan Histories).

Horn, it is evident, simply makes a little circuit to neighboring lands on the coast of the Irish Sea about the Isle of Man.

Every locality mentioned in KH has thus been reasonably identified save one, and to that we may now turn our attention. In the land of Aylmar, king of Westerness, was a body of water called *store* (*stoure*, *sture*). In L 1455 we read: "Hornes ship astod in stoure" (cf. O 1482: "Hys schip stod in store"). In C and L, in another place (ll. 685, 687): "Aylmar rod bi sture (stoure)." The name *store* (*stoure*, *sture*) is, I think, certainly the Old Norse *stór á*, i. e., *big river*. It was formerly applied to any large river,[1] and there are even now in England four rivers called Stour (in Kent, Essex, Worcestershire, and Dorsetshire) and a Stor aa in Denmark flowing into the North Sea. Here it seems to me to refer to the Mersey, not only because it fits the situation admirably, but also because this river is definitely mentioned in the prose romance of *Tristan* as the place to which Tristram and Ysolde drifted, like Horn, in a boat from the same quarter.[2]

Unlike the English popular song, the sophisticated French *chanson de geste* abounds in place-names, but most of these have no significance in the present study.[3] There are a few,

[1] Note the passages cited by Fritzner, *Ordbog over det Gamle Norske Sprog*, 1896, s. v.: "sextigir stórár falla í hana (Donau)," i. e., "sixty big rivers fall into the Danube;" "þann tíma sem stórár oesast af yvirvættis regnum," i. e., "that time when big rivers flow furiously on account of very great rains." Wissmann was not, then, astray in his remark concerning *stoure*: "es steht vielleicht für Fluss überhaupt" (*Untersuchungen*, p. 107).

[2] *Roman en prose de Tristan*, ed. Löseth, pp. 468 ff.; see below p. 25, note.

[3] To read of a horse of Hungary (1590), or of Castilia (3316), or of Servia (3418), of a "cendal" from Russia (1580), or a sword made at La Rochele (3311), is no more significant than the mention of Canaan, the Jordan, or Africa. Nor will anyone be troubled by such phrases as the following:

1. Pur tut lor de Melan · ne largent de Pavie (702).
2. Nel donast pur tut lor · le rei de Portigal (1992).
3. Ioe ne crei plus beaus seit · de si qua Besencon (612).

however, which cannot be ignored. Already we have found two or three (Westir, Divelin, and perhaps Chastel de Beauni) which appear to have been in the original version. We must then examine the others to see whether they also suit the supposed scene of action.

Throughout, as all who have read KH have recognized, the English poet condenses his story as much as possible, and on this account has sometimes obscured the situation. We have an instance of this succinct treatment of the narrative in the few statements regarding Horn's mother, the wife of King Murry, who, when her husband was slain by the heathen pirates, fled to a solitary cave and lived there alone "under a roche of stone,"[1] where the hero again found her, "in a roche walle,"[2] when long after he returned home. The French poet not only explains the situation clearly, but gives us the name of the locality to which the queen fled, namely, *Ardene*, "*un cros sur la mer*" (4879 ff.). With complete disregard of probability, Francisque Michel identified this *cros sur la mer* with the Ardennes, which he describes (p. 420) as a "vaste pays sur la frontière de la France et de l'Allemagne." Paulin Paris pointed out[3] that this was unreasonable; but it was nevertheless repeated by Söderhjelm.[4] A more recent writer, Mettlich, in 1895, gave as his opinion that Ardene

4. Li colier sunt dor · overe a Besencon (621).
5. E quant Herlaund les out · nes donast pur Maskun
   Une bone cite · ke tienent Borgoignun (623–4).
6. Horn i seruit le ior · ki passot par franchise
   Trestuz ki i esteient · entre Bretaigne e Pise (924–25).
7. entre Peitiers e Pise (819).
8. entre Rome e Paris (1082).
9. entre Norweie e Frise (828).

France is named only once (1307), and like most of the other foreign names occurs in rhyme.

Il n'ot tel cheualer par escu ne par lance
Pus icel tens en aca el realme de France.

[1] C 71, L 79; cf. O 79.
[2] C 1384; cf. L 1396, O 1427.
[3] *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 566.
[4] *Romania*, XV, 579.

was some region that received its name "im Gegensatz zu Suddene;"[1] but what he meant by this is not clear. It seems to me, on the contrary, that in *Ardene* we probably have preserved the name of an actual place in the Isle of Man. *Ard* in the Manx language means "Height," and there is one height in the island which is still known simply as *The Ard*. This cliff, according to the description[2] of Mr. A. W. Moore, the historian of the island, rises "about 500 feet above the sea," and on the top are still the remains of an old castle. The French poet, familiar with the Ardennes of France, or the forest of Ardene in England (mentioned frequently in French versions of the romance of *Guy of Warwick*), or simply perhaps with the ending of Sudene in mind, wrote it in the form in which it appears in the single passage where it is mentioned.

We have seen that Aylmar, the British king, was in his own land when on the shore of a *stoure*, "big river," which seems to be the Mersey. Other indications in the French poem point in the same direction.

Of certain pirates who attack the king of Britain, we read (C 1325): "a un port ariuerent. kom apele Costance." Costance is evidently the corruption of the name of some port on the coast of Britain, southeast from Man.[3] The French poet altered the name before him for the sake of rhyme, and to make it look French (cf. Coutances). Possibly, then, the port intended may be Garston[4] on the Mersey.

[1] *Bemerkungen zu den anglo-normannischen Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*, Münster, 1895, p. 34, note 1.

[2] *Surnames and Place-Names in the Isle of Man*, London, 1890, p. 167. Of *Chastel-yn-Ard* (Castle of the Height) Mr. Moore says: "The length of the remains is, from east to west, 105 feet, breadth at west end 40 feet. This place is also called Cashtall Ree Goree, but this is quite a modern name."

[3] Mettlich and Hartenstein (p. 28) identify it with Coutances in Normandy.

[4] In Laȝamon we find *Gursal* = *Cursal* (24339), *Gloffare* = *Clofard* (24358), *Geryn* = *Cherin* (24394), *Organeye* = *Orcaneye* (22527). *Constance* is written *Costance*, *Costanz*, *Costace* (13026 ff., 13720, 13404). In Wace we find *Costans* (6689), *Costant* (6642), *Costan* (6629).

On behalf of the king of Britain, Horn sets out overland with a large company to subdue the count of a neighboring district, called *Angou*, *Ango*, who has caused his master trouble (1737). The land here mentioned is certainly not Anjou, as Michel suggested (p. 419),[1] though the French poet no doubt was quite familiar with that place. It seems to me most likely the island of Angul, the present Angles-ey. We may note that the *-ey* of this name, being the Norse word for island, was not necessarily connected with it.[2]

The departure of Horn and his retainers from Ireland is thus described by the French poet:

Tost sunt as nefs uenuz · e tost sunt eschipez.
Les ueilz traient amunt · kar bon fud li orez.
Ia ne fineront mais · si seront ariuez.
Icoe fud al tierz di[3] · quant li ior fud finez.
Ke il pristrent un port · qui mut lur fud eisiez.
Kar de uile e de gent · fud aukes esloignez.
Bois i out enuiron · dedenz sunt enbuschiez.
Qui trestuz les couerit · quil ne sunt auisez.
La poust bien dan · Horn · lunc tens estre muciez.
Quil ni fust par home · ne oiz ne trouez. (C 3922 ff.)

Horn leaves his companions in this forest retreat, on the side of the river, where they would not be discovered, and makes his way alone on horseback through the woods to the city. On the way he meets a palmer, who, in response to his inquiry, informs him that

Li reis est a *Lions* · ki est cite uaillant.
Et la tendra sa cort · si ad barnage grant. (C 3956–57.)

[1] Likewise Hartenstein, pp. 21–22.

[2] In the account of a Western foray of the year 1098 by the Norse poet, Gisli Illugason, for example, we read as follows:

Háðom hildi með Haraldz frœnda
Önguls við ey innan-verða.

"I fought beside Harold's kinsman inside the island of Ongul (Anglesey)." (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 242)—Cf. *Bretoue* = Bristol, in the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumptone*, ed. Stimming, 1899, l. 2584.

[3] Note that this was about the time it would naturally take at that time to get from Dublin to the Mersey.

This place, "the valiant city of Lions," is at first sight very disturbing. To what city in the neighborhood could the poet have made reference? The answer appears to me[1] to be the present Chester, formerly called Caer Lion (Leon, Legion), the City of Legions.[2]

This identification, however, must be reconciled with the specific information given regarding the place in HR. There it is stated that at Caer Lion there was a Benedictine monastery of St. Martin, and that there dwelt an archbishop called Taurin.[3] The foundation of these statements is not absolutely clear, and yet they seem to have a certain warrant. As Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire, says:[4] "Mention of a bishop of Chester in ages anterior to the Norman Conquest, occurs in several of the old chronicles and legends, and may not be improper for notice, though more as a matter of curiosity than history. Henry Bradshaw, the monk of St. Werburgh's, enumerating the three archbishops constituted

[1] Michel identified it (p. 441) with "Lyon, ville de France, chef-lieu du departement du Rhône." Söderhjelm (*Romania*, XV, 591, note) inclined to the same view. Mettlich (*Bemerkungen*, etc., p. 34 note, 42) favored St. Paul de Léon in Britanny. Haigh (*The A.-S. Sagas*, London, 1861, p. 68) connected it with King's Lynn in Norfolk.

The only name given the place in the English poem is "castel", (C 1041–42; 1466). This perhaps means nothing definite; still we may observe that the English translation of Castra Legionum, in Welsh Caer Leon, was Laegeceaster, or simply Ceaster, which became Chester; and Ceaster was frequently translated Castel. In Laȝamon, e. g., the name of Lancaster is given as *Lane-castel*, *Leane-castel* (14244). Note also in this connection the verses on Chester in Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Ed. Babington, Rolls Series, London, 1869, II, 81): "Chestre, Casteltoun as he were, Name takeþ of a castel." See the interesting account of the city, II, 77 ff. There "many men of westene londes" got assistance (83).

[2] See Bede, Bk. II, ch. 2 (A. D. 603); Nennius, § 7; William of Malmesbury, Bk. I, ch. 3 (trans. Giles, p. 43); Florence of Worcester, trans. Forester, p. 460. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, 11th Song, "fair Chester, call'd of old Carelegion."

[3] C 4067 ff.; cf. "de Saint Beneit," 5137.

[4] *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, ed. Thos. Helsby, London, 1882, I, 92.

by Lucius, places 'the second o'er North Wales in the city of Legions.' Hoveden says that Chester was a Bishop's see whilst it was under the dominion of the Britons; and an ancient MS. (formerly in the possession of Henry Ferrers, Esq., and printed in the *Monasticon*, I, 197) informs us of Egbert's intending to have his daughter, St. Edith, veiled by the then bishop of Chester. 'And the King Egbryght for the wollenesse that was in Sent Modwen, betoke to hure his dowghtur Edyth, to norych, and to kepe, and to informe hur, *after the reule of Sent Benett*, and after to veyle his dowghtur of the Boschoppe of Chester.' There was, it may also be noted, a church of St. Martin in Chester, the foundation of which, says Ormerod, was 'certainly anterior to 1250, as appears by a deed among the evidences of the earl of Shrewsbury.'"[1] No archbishop of Caer Leon, to my knowledge, was ever called *Taurin;* but the name is very suspicious, inasmuch as it occurs only once and that in HR and in rhyme, being moreover otherwise familiar.[2]

There is some reason to believe that Thomas, the author of HR (where only this name occurs), writing after Geoffrey and familiar with the localization of Arthur's residence at Caer Leon on the Usk, had this latter place, and not Caer Leon on the Dee in mind. This supposition is strengthened by a comparison of HR at this point with certain parts of

[1] Ormerod-Helsby, I, 332.

[2] It is possible to regard it as due to the influence of Geoffrey, who established one *Tremounus* as "Archbishop of the City of Legions" (Bk. VIII, ch. 10). Wace speaks of "Tremonus, uns sages hom, Arcevesque de Carlion" (8207 ff.). Laȝamon writes his name *Tremoriun*, *Tremorien*, *Tʰmoriun* (ll. 29715–16, 29746–47). This name is possibly the same as that of *Tremerin*, "the Welsh bishop," whose death in 1055 the A.-S. Chronicle records (ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 445). It is perhaps worth noting that there is said to have been a bishop of Mercia (and therefore of Chester) in 659 called *Trumhere* (see Wm. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, London, 1899, p. 104; Searle, *A. S. Bishops*, etc., Camb., 1899, p. 242). There was, it appears, a martyr *Taurinus*, reputed bishop of York in the second century (see Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, ed. James Nichols, London, 1868, I, 20); for the legend of St. Taurin, see Ordericus, lib. v., c. vii.

Thomas's *Tristan*, which presents such close parallels to HR in the account of the hero's journey to Ireland that one cannot help thinking that it furnished our author a model in his artistic elaboration of the simpler narrative that he had before him. When, even as Horn, Tristram feels forced to leave Dublin (*Deuelin*) and return to England, he embarks for Caer Leon. As we read in *Sir Tristrem*, the Middle English minstrel version of Thomas's poem:

> Riche sail þai drewe,
> White and red so blod.
> A winde to wil hem blewe
> To Carlioun þai ȝode.[1]

It would certainly have been very natural for a French poet to identify the Caer Leon of his original with Arthur's residence Caer Leon, especially when he recognized, and was perhaps endeavoring to enforce, the parallelism of his hero's adventures with those of Tristram. Indeed, he might well have introduced the name under such circumstances without any justification of misunderstanding.

As we see from the passage from HR last quoted, Horn made his way from the place he landed (probably the southern bank of the Mersey) through a wild forest to Caer Leon. That this situation was original is apparent from the words of KH:

> He let his schup stonde
> & ȝede to londe.
> His folk he dude abide
> Vnder wude side. (C 1021 ff.)

As is well known, the land about Chester was formerly thickly wooded.[2]

[1] Ed. Kölbing, ll. 1299 ff., cf. 1159, 1389.

[2] Only one other geographical indication in HR is worthy of note: Herselot, the attendant of Rimenhild, is said to have been a daughter of Godfrei of *Albanei*. This country appears to be the old *Albania*, Scotland. Geoffrey, it will be remembered, represents Britain as divided into three parts: Albania, Cambria, and Loegria (Bk. II, chap. 1). The duke of Albania in Geoffrey becomes the Duke of Albany in Shakspere's *Lear*.

It was then, it appears, in the district about Chester and the Mersey that Aylmar of Westerness formerly ruled. The name of Aylmar's land guides us to the exact location. The Western-Ness[1] seems pretty certainly the peninsula of the Wirral. This, it should be remembered, was a favorite resort of the Norsemen, a district long dominated by them. As Vogt says:[2] "That Wirral must have exerted a strong attraction for the Norwegian vikings we may well believe, not only because of the excellent harbors of the peninsula (among them Birkenhead, the present suburb of Liverpool), but also because of its desirable situation between the mouths of two rivers by which it seemed as if created to provide a temporary encampment for a great host of colonizing vikings. On this tongue of land . . . . there is now scarcely a single place-name of Anglo-Saxon origin, while everything reminds us of our forefathers [the Norsemen]. In the middle of the peninsula lies the village of Thingwall, and round about one Norwegian estate or locality after another: Raby, Irby, Grisby, Kirby, Shotwick, Holme, Thurstanston, etc. The Norwegian viking-colonists must thus have completely rid the whole peninsula of its earlier settlers, established themselves there, and bequeathed it as allodial property to their descendants." This district of western England was much exposed to viking inroads. Chester, the end of Watling Street, was an important port from which many an armament sailed to ravage or conquer about the Irish sea. It was frequently the gateway to Northumberland for Scandinavians in the West.[3]

The prominence of this "west country" in actual consideration[4] perhaps occasioned its frequent mention in romance. The land of *Norgalles* (North Wales) and the adjoining dis-

[1] Norse names in *-ness* are legion (cf. Inverness, Caithness). A *Westness* in Rousey (Orkneys) is mentioned several times in the *Orkneyinga Saga.*

[2] *Dublin som Norsk By,* Christiania, 1896, p. 174; cf. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes,* London, 1834, pp. 29–30.

[3] Cf. Worsaae, *Minder om de Danske og Normændene i England, Skotland og Irland,* Copen., 1851, pp. 56 ff.

[4] In the time of King Alfred the English army warred against the Danes at Chester *on Wirhealum* (*A.-S. Chron.,* A. D. 894; cf. *of Wirheale,* A. D. 895).

trict of *Logres* are the scene of many an adventure with which the name of Tristram is particularly connected.[1] As I hope to show later,[2] that famous hero lived in other regions familiar to Horn. This country is memorable, too, as one in which the noble Gawain once journeyed.

> Now rideȝ þis renk þurȝ þe ryalme of Logres,
> . . . . . .
> Til þat he neȝed ful nogh in to þe Norþe Waleȝ;
> Alle þe iles of Anglesay on lyft half he haldeȝ,
> & fareȝ ouer þe fordeȝ by þe for-londeȝ,
> Ouer at þe Holy-Hede til he hade eft bonk,
> in þe wyldrenesse of Wyrale.[3]

Guinglain, too, "The Fair Unknown," Gawain's son, traversed the Wirral on his way to rescue from distress the queen of Wales who dwelt at Snowdon.[4]

Contemplation of the Wirral, we recall, stirred the patriotic Drayton to enthusiasm and he describes with spirit the peril of its position between two mighty rivers:

> where Mersey for more state,
> Assuming broader banks, himself so proudly bears,
> That at his stern approach extended Wirral fears,
> That what betwixt his floods of Mersey, and of Dee,
> In very little time devoured he might be.[5]

Finally, in this connection, I may state the fact that at least one family of people called Horn dwelt in the Wirral in 1330, for then Peter, Abbot of Vale Royal, paid four of them, named William, John, Thomas and Warin, divers sums for provisions needed at the feast of the Assumption.[6] This, however, is not a matter to be much considered.[7] It is not

[1] See Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan.*

[2] In an article on "The Home of Sir Tristram," to appear shortly.

[3] *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt*, ll. 691–701 (Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, p. 27).

[4] *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. Kaluza, 1890 (*Altengl. Bibliothek*, v), l. 1068.

[5] *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

[6] See Ormerod-Helsby, *History of Cheshire*, II, 167.

[7] There is a *Hornby Wood* and a *Horncastle* in Lincolnshire (Streatfeild, pp. 135–36); but this has no more significance. Innumerable places are called *Horn*—this or that. Yet scholars have sometimes been disposed to set much store by a particular one.

on such coincidences that I would base an argument for the Wirral as the land of Horn's protector, Aylmar of Westerness.

V.

With all the localities mentioned in the different poems (if they have been here correctly identified) Norsemen were, I repeat, very familiar, and in the three places where the hero seems to have lived, the Isle of Man, the western-ness of the Wirral, and Ireland, they had made settlements. The place-names all depend on forms that Norsemen might have used. Some (e. g., Westir, Sudene, Store) are evidently based on such as they only would have first employed. The tale, indeed, as I shall try to make clear presently, bears every indication of having been originally a Norse saga. Most of the characters, then, acting as they do according to the manner of Norsemen in viking times, we should naturally expect to bear Norse names. I say "most of them," because it would as a matter of fact be exceptional if all the personal names in the story were exclusively of any one origin. The Norse sagas abound in foreign names (Kormak, Magnus, etc.) borne by Scandinavians, and inferences regarding nationality which have only proper names as a basis are perhaps almost as little convincing with respect to early Scandinavia as nowadays in Europe or America. But, in truth, certain names that we know to have been in the early story of Horn were such, it appears, as Scandinavians might have borne, and others of English personages are suitable to them.

The names of the personages in the English and French versions of our story show great divergence. It is not simply that the same names are spelt somewhat differently in the two redactions; that would cause us little trouble, for we should be surprised were it otherwise. Any one who has studied comparatively the various versions of any mediæval story is prepared for the most astonishing transformations and substitutions in the proper names, and is satisfied to do the best

he can to explain the divergences, knowing that changes are due not simply to misunderstandings of scribes and faulty transmission, but to the deliberate desire of redactors to win personal success by making improvements, which often completely disfigure the original monument. Little disposed to retain names of places or persons with which they and their auditors were unacquainted, the French frequently substituted those with which all were familiar, keeping usually within the bounds of easy transference, but sometimes making the boldest leaps. Thus, after the Crusades, Surrey inevitably suggested Syria to a Frenchman, Ermonie Armenia, and Albanie Almania, and the whole scene of action might be changed by reason of some such simple confusion. Alterations of topography, moreover, were commonly made with deliberation to satisfy the whim of a patron or local pride.[1] An English minstrel was capable of establishing Orpheus at Winchester, "a city of Thrace."

When we compare KH with HR in this matter of proper names of persons, we observe that the troublesome differences are due to wilful changes on the part of one or other author. Deliberate substitution and not misunderstanding must account for complete dissimilarity. The two poems agree, as we have seen, in the topography, except that HR, being more literary and complete, preserves names not found in the succinct version KH. But the same cannot be said of the characters. In both poems occur in about the same form Horn, Rimenhild, Modun, and Wikel (Fikenhild); but these are all.[2] In KH Horn's father is Murry, in HR Aalof; in KH his mother is Godhild, in HR Samburc; in KH the hero changes his name to Cutberd, in HR to Gudmod; his true companions in KH, Aþulf and Arnoldin, have no counterparts in HR; in KH the British king is Aylmar, in HR Hunlaf; in KH his steward is Ailbrus, in HR Herlant; in KH the king of

[1] Cf. the remarks on *Pontus*, below, Section IX.

[2] On Aalof and Gudmod, which occur in one MS. of KH, as well as in HR, and seem original, see below, pp. 29 ff.

Ireland is Þurston, in HR Gudred (Gudreche); his sons in KH are Berild and Harild, in HR Guffer and Egfer; his daughter in KH is Rimenild (Reynild), in HR he has two daughters Sudburc and Lemburc.[1]

Besides, in HR we have many additional names unparalleled in KH. Certain of these are probably an inheritance from the story of Horn's father Aalof, which Thomas connected with that of Horn.

Baderolf, the emperor of Germany, has a daughter Goldeburc; her son Aalof marries Samburc, daughter of King Silaf, and with her gets Horn; Baderolf's brother is Haderof (Harderon), the father of Modun; Aalof's seneschal is Hardred and his sons Haderof and Badelac; the son of Horn and Rigmel is Hadermod; the British king Hunlaf has a son Batolf; the father of the seneschal Herlant is called Torel, his son Jocerant; the confidante of the princess is Herselot. The traitors in true epic style are of one race; he who deceived Aalof was Denerez; it was his nephew Wikel who deceived Horn; yet Wikel's brother Wothere is faithful to him. The heathen African kings are Gudbrant, sultan of Persia, and his six brothers are Rodmund, Rollac, Gudolf, Egolf, Hildebrant, Herebrant; his son, a younger Rollac, is the murderer of Aalof.

Inasmuch as the majority of these names were surely not in the original saga, but were gathered in by Thomas, the author of HR, when he saw fit to join diverse material and fashion an epic cycle, they must be left out of consideration in the present discussion: we are, of course, concerned with such names only as we can be fairly certain were in the primitive story of Horn. In determining these, we should certainly place our chief reliance on the indications of KH; but that version is not necessarily right in all particulars, for reasons already emphasized.

[1] For a list of the proper names in HR, see Mettlich, *Bemerkungen*, 1895, pp. 39 ff.; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 44 ff., 75 ff., 81 ff.—Note that unlike names appear in the different versions of *Havelok*; see Prof. Skeat's edition, p. xxxix.

The hero in all primitive versions of the story is called *Horn*. This was a common word in Old Norse as in Anglo-Saxon, and might well have been borne by a Norseman as a proper name. There is no need, therefore, to regard it as a transformation of any other name, no matter how well known and similar.[1] In each of the three important versions a play of words appears which establishes the name in its present form in the lost original of all. In KH Horn begs Rimenhild to "drink to Horn of horne" (1145); and in HR we read: "corn apelent horn li engleis latimier" (4206).[2]

When the hero reaches Ireland, he determines, like Tristram, to change his name. What this assumed name was, we cannot be absolutely sure. In HR it is *Gudmod* (O. N. *Guðmóðr*); but in two MSS. of KH it is *Cutberd* (*Cuberd*). Inasmuch as there appears no particular reason why the Anglo-Norman poet should give a Scandinavian name to his hero if it was not in his original, while an Englishman might easily (forgetfully or deliberately) have substituted for it the name of a well-known British saint, *Gudmod* seems to have the best authority. That the Harleian MS. of KH agrees with HR on this point is perhaps some support for this contention. In three cases this manuscript agrees with HR, as opposed to the other two manuscripts of KH, in names of persons. This has usually been thought[3] to indicate simply that the

[1] It has sometimes been connected with *Orm* (*Horm*); cf. Suchier, *Gesch. d. franz. Lit.*, p. 111. Might it not be quite as well *Ǫrn* (*Hǫrn*)? There are no less than ten persons of this name in *Landnamabók* (*Udg. af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*, Copen., 1900, p. 403), and the name occurs frequently elsewhere. It was borne by the father of Ingolf, the first settler in Iceland (*Eyrbyggja Saga*, chs. 6, 18). When in the years 955–57 the Icelander Olaf the Peacock sailed west from Norway to visit his grandfather King Myrkjartan (Muircertach) of Ireland, a man of distinction named *Ǫrn* (*Hǫrn*) was the captain of his ship (*Laxdoela Saga*, ed. Kaalund, 1888–91, pp. 60 ff.); see below, pp. 45 ff. The initial *H-* was added or omitted in proper names as scribes saw fit.

[2] Cf. also *Horn Child*, ll. 385–386.

[3] Cf. Ward, pp. 465 ff.; Hall, p. liii; Morsbach, p. 310; Hartenstein, p. 75 note.

Harleian scribe was familiar with the French poem; but it is certainly strange, if this be true, that in each case where he borrowed from HR he appears to have reverted to the original form, whereas he never follows HR in any of its variations.

A case in point is the name of Horn's father. In HR he is called *Aalof*, *Aaluf*, *Aelof*,[1] a French corruption, I believe, of the English *Anlaf*, *Anelaf*, *Analaf*, the O. N. *Óláfr*. This is the name that appears also in the Harleian MS. of KH. But in the other two MSS. of that poem, the king of Sudene is called *Murry* (*Mory*).[2] This, I think, may be due to a mistake. In considering the lines with which the minstrel begins,

> A sang ihc schal ȝou singe
> Of Murry þe kinge.

I cannot rid myself of the suspicion that this name of Horn's father is the result of a careless reading or a misunderstanding of oral transmission. In the beginning, was it not said, I ask myself, that the hero's father was king of Moray, the ancient district of Moravia? Moray was famous in romantic fiction as the domain of Urien, father of Arthur's nephew, Ywain. In Wace we read:

> De Moroif Uriens li rois,
> Et Yvains ses fils li cortois.[3]

And in Laȝamon:

> Of Murieue king Vrien
> And his fæire sune Ywæin.[4]

[1] Trisyllabic, to be sure, but not from *Ethelwulf*, as Suchier (p. 111) and Morsbach (pp. 311–12) have conjectured; cf. Hartenstein (p. 132), following Gering. See the spellings in the *A. S. Chron.*, ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 334. Note that the Harleian text of KH has *Allof* wherever written (ll. 4, 33, 73).

[2] The variant spellings are: *Murry*, *Murri*, *Mury*, *Mory*, *Morye*, *Moye*, *Moy*. Morsbach (pp. 298, 312) thinks the name "echt Nordisch."

[3] Ll. 10521–22; cf. 9864 ff.

[4] *Brut*, ed. Madden, II, 599; cf. II, 507 (ll. 22177 ff.). Gaimar relates "com Iwain fu feit reis De Muref e de Loeneis" (ll. 5–6).

With such phrasing before us, we recognize the easy possibility of mistake. The original text may have read "De Moroif Aalof li rois" ("Of Murieue king Aalof") and the Aalof have been lost in transmission.[1] It is perhaps well to say that formerly a king might at the same time rule both Man and Moray. Not only Arthur but also more historical monarchs held control of both. Concerning the traitorous depredations of the Saxons, Laȝamon remarks:

> Arður wes bi norðe: and noht her of nuste.
> ferde ȝeond al Scotlond: & sette hit on his aȝene hond.
> Orcaneie & Galeweie: *Man & Murene.*
> and alle þa londes: þe þer to læien. (21043 ff.)

King Godred Crovan of Man, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, likewise exercised wide dominion. According to the chronicle of the island, he "subdued Dublin and a great part of Leinster, and held the Scots in such subjection that no one who built a vessel dared to insert more than three bolts."[2] Still earlier, in the ninth century, Thorstein,

[1] An instance of a similar variation may be found in Laȝamon (ll. 23109 ff.) where the same statement is thus diversely made in the two MSS. printed by Madden on opposite pages.

For beoþ icumen of Norweiȝe	For me beoþ tydinge icome
niwe tidende	vt of þan londe
þat *Sichelin king* þer is ded.	þat *þe king of Cisille* his dead.

[2] See A. W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*, London, 1900, I, 103. The name *Godred* is derived from O. N. *Guðröðr*, *Guðfröðr* (Irish *Gothfraidh*, Eng. *Godfrey*). In Manx tradition this king is commemorated as an almost mythical king, to him being attributed the establishment of a legislative body, the committal of the laws to writing, and the formation of an army (Moore, l. c., I, 92, 152). His traditional name is *Goree* (or *Orry*). Can it be that "the land (or country) of *Gore*," frequently mentioned in Malory and elsewhere, was his domain? Urien, it should be observed, was king of both Moray and "the land of Gore." Gore was also the land of Bademagus. The enchanter Mongan, in the *Lai du Cor* (ed. Wulff), was king of Moraine. On the connection of Morgain la fée with the place, see the forthcoming *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (ch. 10), by Dr. Lucy A. Paton (*Radcliffe College Monographs*, Ginn & Co., Boston), a very valuable treatise. *Orry* reminds us of the *Urry* of Malory (Bk. XIX,

son of the Norse king of Dublin, Olaf the White, not only conquered the Sudreys but more than half of Scotland, including Moray.[1] My conjecture, then, that Horn's father was king of Moray as well as of Man does not conflict with historical possibility. *Aalof*, the name he bears in HR and in one MS. of KH certainly has the weight of authority. It is a Scandinavian name which a French writer would not be likely to introduce, whereas the occurrence of *Mory* (*Murry*) in the other two MSS. of KH is explicable as a mistake.

In KH the hero has two comrades, *Aþulf* (*Ayol*) and *Arnoldin*, who do not appear in HR. That they were in the original of both is therefore doubtful; but they probably were. *Aþulf* may be a form of the O. N. *Auþúlfr* (*Auþólfr*),[2] of which two instances may be found in *Landnamabók* (p. 330). *Arnoldin* is doubtless only a French adaptation of *Arnaldr*, of frequent occurrence.[3]

chs. 10 ff.) the knight of Hungary (!) who travelled through Scotland and England for the healing of his wounds.

In another place I shall probably treat more fully of the Isle of Man as a land of myth and legend, of "sortilege and witchcraft." Here I need only remark that its eponymous hero, Manannan mac Lir, was a magician and a sea-god (see A. C. L. Brown, *Revue Celtique*, XXII, 339 ff.), and that the island was conceived of as the otherworld. In the ancient tale of *The Turke and Gowin* (partially preserved in the Percy Folio MS., ed. Hales and Furnivall, I, 88 ff.), which is at bottom the account of a visit to the wonder-world (as will be shown shortly in an article by my friend Dr. Webster), the scene is laid in the Isle of Man. Man seems also to have been called Falga in Irish story (the *dinnshenchas*). This Mr. Alfred Nutt considers as "a synonym of the Land of Promise." "It is possible," he remarks, "that these names date back to a period when the Goidels inhabited Britain and when Man was *par excellence* the Western Isle, the home of the lord of the otherworld" (*Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, I, 213; cf. Henderson, *Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Society II, London, 1899, p. 142).

[1] See *Landnamabók*, c. 82 (ed., p. 36): "þeir vnnu Katanes [Caithness] ok Sudrland Ros ok Merævi [Moray] ok meir enn halft Skotland. var þorsteinn þar konungr yfr adr Skotar sviku hann ok fell han þar i orrostu."

[2] Perhaps identified in the first English version with A.-S. *Aþulf*, *Æþelwulf*; see Earle and Plummer, II, 335; Searle, *Onomasticon*, 1897, pp. 75 f.

[3] See *Landnamabók*, p. 326; Ari's *Isländerbuch*, ed. Golther, p. 21; Vigfusson-Möbius, *Fornsögur*, Leip., 1860, Index; cf. Morsbach, p. 308.

Horn's traitorous friend is regularly called in HR *Wikele*. This form is supported by the reading *Fykel* in the Harleian MS. of KH, and has distinctly the best authority. Here we have the third instance where the Harleian MS. of KH agrees with HR, where the latter seems to preserve the original form of the name.[1] The reading *Fikenhild* in the other two MSS. of KH is very suspicious, for a man's name should not end in *-hild*. *Fikenhild* is probably a corruption which arose by association with *Rimenhild*, or for convenience of rhyme. In the two places where it first appears (26, 647) it rhymes with *child*. The name *Fykel* (*Wikel*) looks like the A.-S. *ficol*, "false," and was probably fitted to the character in the first English version of the story by reason of his attributes.[2]

Horn's mother in KH is named *God(h)ild*, which would be in Old Norse *Goðhildr*, *Gunnhildr*. This is doubtless original. The name of the hero's mother in HR, namely, *Samburc*, is pretty certainly an inheritance in the French poem from the introductory account of Aalof, his father, which Thomas joined to the story of Horn.

Inasmuch as Dublin was the capital of a Norse kingdom at the time this story arose, it is natural that the Irish ruler should have a Norse name. This is the fact whether we accept the reading of HR or KH. In the former he is called *Gudred* (H 3571) or *Gudreche*.[3] This is the O. N. *Guðröðr*, which we have seen developed in Manx tradition into *Goree*. As Dr. Alexander Bugge shows,[4] this name occurs in the genealogy of the Norwegian royal race of Westfold. The Irish king Gudred, surnamed *Veiðikonúngr*

[1] Morsbach can hardly be right in thinking *Fikel* a contraction of *Fikenhild* (pp. 314–315). As he observed, Searle (p. 242) has *Fikil*.

[2] In the late French *Pontus* (on which see below, Section IX) this personage appears as *Guenelete*, which, says the editor (p. xviii), "is clearly only a double diminutive of Guenes, the arch-traitor."

[3] On the different forms of the name, see Ward, pp. 462–63.

[4] *The Royal Race of Dublin*, in his *Contributions to the Hist. of the Norsemen in Ireland*, I (*Videnskabselkabets Skrifter*, II), Christiania, 1900, pp. 13 ff.

(Hunting-king), was, he believes, an ancestor, or at least a relative of Olaf the White. In all three MSS. of KH, however, the king of Ireland is called *Þurston* (O. N. *Þorstein*),[1] and this is, therefore, likely to be original. But the matter must be left undecided. In any case, I repeat, the king bore a Scandinavian name.

The sons of the Scandinavian king of Dublin bear in KH the names *Harild* (*Aþyld*, *Ayld*) and *Berild* (*Byrild*, *Beryld*). *Harild* is probably the O. N. *Haraldr*, the other forms being corruptions of *Arild*.[2] *Berild* would then correspond to an O. N. **Beraldr*; but while *Haraldr* is common, no instance of this name is at hand.[3] In Anglo-Saxon, however, occur corresponding names *Beroldus*, *Berewald*, *Beorwald*, (*Beornweald*, *Beorhtweald*),[4] from which it may derive. Yet neither Harild nor Berild may have been in the original.

If we examine the names of those who dwelt at the court of Westerness, we discover that all have English names, as we should expect. In KH the king is *Ailmar* (*Aylmar*)[5] which is a French writing of the A.-S. *Æþelmær*. No great English king ever bore this name; but it should be remembered that we have here to do only with a chieftain of Westerness, who in the course of time gained the romantic designation of king. There was an "Æþelmer ealdorman"

[1] For the variation in spelling, see Morsbach, p. 313.

[2] Cf. Morsbach, pp. 307–308. MS. C has *Alrid*, 844.

[3] In HR the two sons are *Guffer* and *Egfer*; but these are probably not original. Geoffrey of Monmoutb (Bk. I, ch. 12) represents a *Goffarius Pictus* as living in the time of Brutus. *Egfer* may be the same as *Egfert*, *Egbert*, *Ecgberht*. Ecgberht, king of Wessex, ruled from 828–837.

[4] Searle, pp. 103, 104, 541.

[5] See Morsbach, pp. 304 ff. The name *Hunlaf* in HR is a good A.-S. form (see Searle, p. 307); but it is perhaps only a writing of *Unlaf*, which occurs sometimes for *Anlaf* (*Olaf*), e. g., in the *A. S. Chron.* (ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 126); and in Gaimar, 3536, where *Anlaf* is also written *Anlans*, *Anlas*, *Anfal*, *Oladf* (ll. 3536, 3550, 4687). Langtoft has *Anlaf*, *Analphe*, *Anlaphe*.—The name *Houlac* in HC is apparently *Havelok*, another form of *Olaf*; cf. Ward, *Catalogue*, p. 461.

who, according to the A.-S. Chronicle, in the year 1013, yielded to Svein, "þa weasternan þægnas mid him."[1]

Ailmar's steward is called *Ailbrus* (*Aylbrus*), or *Aþelbrus*. The first form, according to Morsbach (p. 306), was in the foundation MS. of KH, while the second was probably introduced by a later scribe or singer. This is apparently a French corruption of the A.-S. *Æþelberht*, which appears in Gaimar as *Adelbrit*, *Albrict*, *Edelbert*, *Edelbrit*, *Edelbrut*, etc. A Frenchman might have fashioned *Ailbrus* out of *Ailbrut* by analogy of other words with final *-s* or *-t* (*-c*) according to the case;[2] or the form in KH may be due simply to the exigency of rhyme: the first time *Ailbrus* occurs in the poem (224–5) it rhymes with *hus*.

The name of the English princess appears in a great variety of forms in HR and in the different MSS. of KH. All of them, however, seem to be based on an original *Rimenhild*,[3] which is the A.-S. *Irmenhild*, *Eormenhild*, transformed by metathesis. It should be observed that the Irish princess bears what seems to be the same name, *(H)ermenyld*, *Hermenyl*. The form in which the name of both princesses appears, namely *Reynild*, *Reynyld*, reminds us of the O. N. *Ragnhildr*,[4] with which it may have been confused. It is customary, it may be said, in O. N. sagas to fashion foreign names in native likeness. Thus, for example, in the *Gunnlaugssaga*, Ethelred the son of Edgar is named *Aþalraþr Jatgeirsson*. The two Rimenhilds of our story, both of whom are devoted to the hero, present a striking parallel to the two Ysoldes (Ishild?) whom Tristram won in love.

[1] Dr. Ward thinks that this alderman, of Devonshire, "was probably the Athelmar the Great, whose son was executed by Cnut in 1017" (p. 450).

[2] Cf. *Carados*, *Caradoc*, *Caradot*; *Mordres*, *Mordrec*, *Mordret*; *Constans*, *Constant*; cf. *Anlaf*, *Anlans*, *Anlas*, in note 4, p. 34, above.

[3] In KH: *Rimen(h)ild*, *Rymen(h)ild*, *Rimenyld*, *Rymenyld*, *Remenyld*, *Reymnyld*, *Rymenil*, *Reymild*, *Reymyld*, *Rymyld*, *Rimyld*, *Reynyld*; in HR: *Rimenil*, *Rigmenil*, *Rimignil*, *Rigmel*, *Rimel*; HC has *Rimnild*.

[4] Compare, however, A.-S. *Regenhild* (Searle, pp. 397, 572); *Rimhild*, p. 401; cf. also *Ragnell* in the romance of *The Weddynge of Sir Gawen* (ed. Madden, l. c., pp. 298[a] ff.; cf. Child, I, 289 ff.).

The name of the king of Furness, who might have been a Briton,[1] is given in HR as *Modun* (*Modin*), for which KH has *Modi* (*Mody*). This seems to be a British name.[2] There was a *Madudhan* king of Ulster in 940.[3] In the *Orkneyinga-saga* (ch. 5) mention is made of an Earl Moddan, chief of Caithness, who is said to have had many friends and relatives in Ireland, and who was surprised and slain by one Thorkel in 1017.

To recapitulate: *Horn* (*Godmod*), his father *Aalof*, his mother *Godhild*, his companions *Aþulf* and *Arnoldin*, the king of Ireland *þurston* (or *Gudred*), and his two sons *Harild* and *Berild* (?), all bear names which may well be modifications of Norse forms; while the English king *Aylmar*, his daughter *Rimenhild*, and his steward *Aylbrus*, appear to have English names. The name of the rival suitor, *Modun*, on the other hand, looks British, but occurs in a Northern saga. Finally, the traitor *Fykel* (*Fikenhild*) seems to have been given an Anglo-Saxon name suitable to his character.

VI.

If, then, the names of the persons as well as of the places are Norse, or such as were familiar to Norsemen, the inference lies near that the story of Horn was originally a Norse saga. By "Norse" I mean here Norwegian-Icelandic. The story as first recorded seems to me an outgrowth of the Norwegian,

[1] See the passage concerning Cuthbert, quoted above, p. 16, note.

[2] *Maddan* is the name of a British king in Geoffrey (Bk. II, ch. 6). A bishop of Scotland called *Modan* is mentioned in the *Metrical Chron. of Scotland*, Rolls Series, II, 190, 639.—Morsbach (p. 310) connects *Modi* with the O. N. *Móði* (Thor's son) and suggests that the *-in* in the parallel form may be a French ending; but this is quite unlikely. Hartenstein (p. 132) suggests A.-S. *Mód-wine* (?).—In *Horn Child* the spelling *Moioun* is a corruption of *Modun*, and *Moging* of *Modin*. As for the latter, cf. *Magan* = *Madan* in Laȝamon, 15748, and the various spellings of Merlin, such as *Marling* (id., II, 237 ff.). Searle (p. 352) has *Mōding*; but this is doubtless another name.

[3] See Moore, *History of the Isle of Man*, I, 91.

and not the Danish,[1] incursions on England, and to date therefore from the ninth or tenth centuries when Norwegian settlements flourished in "The Western Isles." Whether the saga be a record of actual events or not, it reflects the life in Great Britain during an impressive period, when Northerners held control of Western waters, when the lands along the coast were never secure against viking depredations, when kings ruled in petty principalities only so long as they were able to resist encroachment and invasion, and when control passed suddenly from men of one nation to those of another. During this period the Isle of Man was a centre of viking influence, a meeting place for opposing forces, an ever-coveted vantage-ground for invading fleets.[2] The events of the story

[1] This word has for ages been used with deplorable looseness.

[2] "From the first arrival of the Vikings, till about 850," says Mr. Moore, "Man with its unfortunate inhabitants was probably at the mercy of any powerful marauders who thought it worth plundering. Then came the period of settlement, after which for nearly a century, it seems to have been ruled by a dynasty subject to the Scandinavian kings of Dublin and Northumbria, and probably of the same family, if not occasionally identical with them. This was followed by a brief subjection to the Scandinavian rulers of Limerick, from whose hands Man fell, towards the end of the tenth century, into those of the earls of Orkney. The power, which continued till about 1060, was exercised through subordinates, who were, latterly, of the Dublin line of kings whose predecessors had ruled it previously. From 1060 to 1079 it again fell into the hands of Dublin. As to the suzerainty of Norway, it seems to have been, for the most part, merely nominal, though it was probably more felt during the time of Orkney than of Dublin rule. It must, however, be borne in mind that there is much room for conjecture about the events of this period; all, in fact, we can state with certainty is that Man inevitably became the prey of the strongest ruler in the western seas for the time being" (*History of the Isle of Man*, I, 99–100).

It should be observed that, according to HR, the ruling families of Ireland (Westir), Sudene, and Orkenie were intimate. The king of Dublin remarks concerning the hero's home:

> Bien conois le pais · en Suddene fui ia.
> E bien conui Aaluf · le bon rei ki i regna.
> Prist mei a cumpaignun · sun aueir me dona. (2361 ff.)

Later he speaks "Del bon rei Aalof · ki esteit mun iure" (3781). At his court was a son of the king of Orkenie who waited upon the princess. (2450; cf. 3575.)

appear most natural located there. They are such as might have been experienced by the Norwegians who were preponderant in its control,[1] such as they would have been likely to record.

Northern sagas abound in passages descriptive of viking expeditions by way of the Orkneys into the Irish sea.[2] The careers of warriors thus journeying in quest of adventure and fame were often commemorated in contemporary verse.[3] They were kept in memory by their friends and relatives in succeeding generations. Orally transmitted for centuries before being written down, the facts growing dimmer and dimmer in the ever-increasing obscurity of the past, the final written records contained fable as well as fact. What were at bottom narratives of actual events thus often appeared later with strange accretions due to popular desire, in the guise of elaborate fiction.

Is the tale of Horn and Rimenhild of such a nature? Was Horn an historical personage whose career formed the

[1] This has been clearly shown by Dr. Alex. Bugge, who writes as follows: "From the time of Olav Kvaran, members of the same race were kings of Dublin and of Man, and often the same person ruled both kingdoms. There is no doubt that the Norse settlers in Ireland and in the Isle of Man belonged to the same people. Nearly thirty Runic inscriptions have been found in Man—probably from the end of the 11th century. Only one of these is in Swedish; all the others are written in the Norwegian language, not one being in Danish. And we all know that probably from the time of Harald Haarfagre, and at any rate from the end of the 11th century down to 1266, the Isle of Man was a dependency of Norway. This proves that the Norsemen in the Isle of Man were Norwegians" (*The Norsemen in Ireland*, p. 11). Cf. Moore, *History*, I, 84 ff.; A. Goodrich-Treer, *Outer Isles*, Westminster, 1902, "The Norsemen in the Hebrides," pp. 272 ff.

[2] Compare, for example, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, chaps. I, XXIX; Johnstone, *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicae*, Copen., 1786, passim.

[3] Hallfreth Vandræðaskáld thus refers to a journey to the West made by his patron, the famous king, Olaf Tryggvason: "The young king waged war against the English and made a slaughter of the Northumbrians. He destroyed the Scots far and wide. He had a sword-play in Man. The archer-king brought death to the Islanders [of the Western Islands] and Irish; he battled with the dwellers in the land of the British [Wales], and cut down the Cumbrian folk" (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, II, 95).

basis for romantic narrative? Or has in his case, as in so many others, the hero of a folk-tale simply been given "a local habitation and a name?" These are questions to which no certain answer can now be given. I can produce no evidence to connect Horn clearly with any Northern hero of the name. But still probability seems to me to favor the hypothesis that the story before us is fact plus fable rather than the reverse.

We are fortunate to have in Old Norse an instance of this combination—a saga dealing with an historical personage of the tenth century where truth has received poetic embellishment. The saga of Gunnlaug Serpent-tongue and Helga the Fair[1] was not, I believe, dissimilar in origin to that of Horn and Rimenhild. Actually, of course, they are in no way connected; but there are certain likenesses between them in both theme and manner of treatment which show that they reflect like conditions, echo like sentiments, and were perhaps once fashioned in the same style.

Gunnlaug, the son of Illugi, a prominent chieftain in Iceland, when fifteen years old leaves his father's home and travels to the land of Thorstein, a neighboring chieftain, who receives him well and invites him to remain there. He is given instruction in law[2] by Thorstein and conducts himself well. His chief satisfaction the young man finds in play with Thorstein's daughter Helga, reputed to be the fairest woman in Iceland. Quickly the two become enamored of each other, and their association is not interrupted for some time until it becomes known that Gunnlaug wishes to make Helga his wife. Thorstein, however, is strongly opposed to the plan, and insists that their betrothal must at least be postponed a long period. Gunnlaug is required to leave the country for three years and seek distinction abroad, during which time Helga shall wed no other. If he does not return by then, however, she shall again be free. Gunnlaug procures a ship and sails "out" with certain companions. He touches first at Norway, but soon betakes himself to England. There Ethelred then ruled and Norse was understood at his court. The hero secures an audience with him, greets him well and answers fittingly the king's inquiries as to his origin. Being a very handsome youth, of great physical strength

[1] *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*, ed. Mogk, Halle, 1886.

[2] Cf. *Hornchild*, 272 ff.: "He bad Harlaund schuld him lere | þe riȝt forto se | þe lawes boþe eld & newe."

and uncommon boldness, and skilful as a poet, he finds distinguished favor with Ethelred and is fortunate enough to rid him of one of his worst enemies. Single-handed he slays a gigantic bearsark whom the king has long feared, and on this account wins not only Ethelred's gratitude, but "great fame in England and far about in other places." After remaining a while there, Gunnlaug asks the king's permission to leave. The latter grants it reluctantly, because he appreciates his accomplishments and bravery, and urges him to return. Gunnlaug promises to do so and then sails to Dublin (Dyflin), over which then ruled the Scandinavian king Sigtrygg, son of Olaf Kvaran. There too he is welcomed and given presents. He does not, however, remain long but continues his journey to the Orkneys, afterwards to Sweden, and finally returns to England.

Meanwhile a rival in Iceland, by name Hrafn (Raven), has pressed suit for Helga and an arrangement has been made that she shall be married to him on a certain day at the expiration of the three years' tryst. "But Helga thought all ill of the arrangements." She is unalterably attached to Gunnlaug and will marry no other but by necessity. Her lover, however, ignorant of her trouble, remains with Ethelred at his urgent request to assist him in his strife with hostile Danes. Peace being secured, he returns home in all haste to Iceland, is informed on the way of Helga's approaching marriage, and arrives upon the scene while the celebration is in progress. As for Helga, "it was the saying of most men that the bride was sad; that is true, as is said, that one remembers long what happens in one's youth; now it goes to her so."

We need not follow the story farther except to say that Gunnlaug is prevented from making an attempt to recover Helga, but afterwards slays his rival in a duel, and dies himself from a wound treacherously delivered him by his opponent. Helga's devotion to her lover was manifest at all times. She ended her life gazing fondly on a scarlet mantle which Gunnlaug had given her, a present that Ethelred had made him in gratitude for great service.

The agreements of this story with that of Horn and Rimenhild are noteworthy: the position, age, beauty, and accomplishments of the hero; his early departure from home and welcome by a neighboring lord who gave him instruction; his association with his host's beautiful daughter by whom he is ardently loved; the opposition of the father to the marriage; the necessity of his departure from the country; the love-tryst of three (seven) years; his journey to foreign lands (to Dublin in both cases); his flattering reception by foreign monarchs; the service he renders them against their enemies; their reluctance to have him leave

them; his hurried journey home to his betrothed; his learning on the way of her enforced marriage to a rival suitor; his arrival upon the scene while the feast is being celebrated; her joy at his return and unwavering affection.—These are surely worthy of consideration. They indicate not the slightest historical connection between the two stories, but do establish the fact that in general character they are sufficiently alike to make it probable that like that of Gunnlaug and Helga the love of Horn and Rimenhild was once recounted in Old Norse.

It should be noticed, moreover, that the two narratives have certain stylistic features in common. Conspicuous among these is the device of dreams for motivating conduct. The whole career of Helga is outlined to Thorstein in a dream, even as Rimenhild dreams of the interruption of her happiness with Horn. Hrafn dreams of his approaching conflict with his rival, even as Horn of Fikenhild's treachery. Dreams, indeed, are very characteristic of Old Norse story,[1] and in two other instances appear in the *Gunnlaugssaga* before us.

This saga is at bottom history. Gunnlaug is an historical personage who was born in 983 and died in 1009. He visited England in 1001 and Dublin the following year. Still the saga in its present shape is not all trustworthy. Apart from the matter of anticipatory dreams, which are incredibly precise, we observe such folklore features as Hrafn's treachery towards the hero, his pleading for a drink out of his helmet that he might get his opponent off his guard, and his fighting on his stump after his leg is off, of which abundant parallels have been collected.[2] History is sometimes wrenched a little for artistic effect. In order to account for the hero's slow return to Iceland, it is said that he remained in England at the urgent request of Ethelred, whose retainer he was, to aid him

[1] Cf. Henzen, *Die Träume in der altnord. Sagaliteratur*, Leip., 1890.

[2] See Child, *Ballads*, Parts VI, 306; VIII, 502; IX, 244; X, 298. On Gunnlaug's "trick of reserving a peculiarly formidable sword," a commonplace in Northern sagas, see Part III, 35, note.

in opposing the Danes, for Svein Forkbeard was then dead and King Cnut threatened invasion. This was in 1006 and Cnut did not succeed Svein until 1014. It is not likely true moreover that the "holmgang" of Gunnlaug and Hrafn was the last of its kind, and of itself brought about the disestablishment of that ancient institution. But above all, it is here noteworthy that the whole saga is conceived as an artistic whole, and kept within strict bounds. It is simply the enaction of the events in a dream. Thorstein dreamed one night that, while before his house, he saw on the ridge a fair and beautiful swan which seemed to be his. From the fells flew a great eagle and alighted beside the swan and conversed with her, and she seemed pleased. Then another eagle flew thither from another direction and strove to win her. Thereupon the two birds fought fiercely and long, and finally both fell from the ridge, one on each side of the house, and both died. The swan remained after, but was sad. Then came a hawk and sat beside her and was blithe towards her, and the two flew away together in the same direction. Whereupon the chieftain awoke. This dream is interpreted to Thorstein so plainly as having reference to the career of a daughter yet unborn that he makes every provision for her "exposure" when she comes to life; but his designs are thwarted, and the saga unfolds itself in strict accordance with the dream.

Similarly, the saga of Horn was artistically rounded. It was fashioned in the likeness of a common form of story favored in England, known as the "exile and return" type. The present introduction is about as likely to be true as that in the *Gunnlaugssaga*. The account of the boy's exposure in a rudderless boat which carries him unknown to a foreign land where he is brought up by strangers, certainly looks like romantic embellishment.[1] But apart from this there is

[1] See Mr. Hall's note (edition, pp. 102–103), where he cites, among other passages, the following from William of Malmesbury (*De Gestis Regum Brit.*, I, 121): "Iste (Sceaf) ut ferunt, in quandam insulam Germaniae

practically nothing at all in the narrative as preserved in the most primitive version, namely KH, which might not have happened in actual life.[1] The story is entirely devoid of the marvellous. The ring which in later versions has magic properties had none at first. It was simply a memento of the lady whose name was engraven upon it, a keepsake which would serve to inspire the hero to his best effort in struggle (569 ff.). Another of the same kind Rimenhild gave to Horn's foster-brother Aþulf. Certain exaggerations, to be sure, appear in the popular versions of the story alone preserved, as, for example, when in KH Horn is represented as slaying an hundred pirates (l. 616); but this was simply a round number introduced by a late minstrel for effect. On the whole, the story is singularly free of the extravagant or improbable. It contains no more fiction, perhaps, than the sagas of the old kings of Norway, like Olaf Tryggvason, or even Asser's life of our own King Alfred, certainly not so much as the popular accounts of Hereward, Fulk Fitz Warren, or Eustace the Monk, these last historical persons of a later period.

On the contrary, it is interesting to observe how strictly our story is in accord with actual occurrence. It affords

Scandzam, de qua Jordanes, historiographus Gothorum, loquitur appulsus, navi sine remige, puerulus, posito ad caput frumenti manipulo, dormiens, ideoque Sceaf nuncupatus, ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus, et sedulo nutritus: adulta aetate regnavit in oppido quod tunc Slaswic, nunc vero Haithebi appellatur" ("cf. Ethelwerd, M. H. B., p. 512"). Attention has also been called to the fact that Athelstan is said to have set his brother Eadwine adrift in a boat (Lappenberg, *England under the A.-S. Kings*, London, 1845, II, iii). Let me add a reference to the interesting story of Mordred, prince of Orkanie (as recorded in the 13th-century prose *Merlin*, ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, S. A. T. F., Paris, 1886, I, 204 ff.), who was shipwrecked in the Irish sea and borne by the waves in his cradle to shore, where he was discovered by strangers who nourished him and brought him up. Note also that Arthur exposed a large number of noble youth in a rudderless boat to the mercy of the sea, to save the land of Logres, as he believed, from misfortune; but the boat came safely to land and the youth were welcomed to a neighboring castle (*id.*, 207 ff.).

[1] Whether or not it really did, is another question.

reliable pictures of what actually happened in the epoch of the Norwegian depredations in the Western Isles. Note, for example, the coming of the heathen vikings to Sudene. King Murry discovers this as he rides by the sea one summer's day:

He fond bi þe stronde
ariued on his londe
schipes fiftene
wiþ Sarazins kene.[1]
He axede what isoȝte
Oþer to londe broȝte
A Payn hit of herde
& hym wel sone answarede:
'Þi lond folk we schulle slon
and alle þat Crist luueþ vpon
and þe selue riȝt anon,
ne schaltu todai henne gon.'
. . . . . .
þe pains come to londe
& neme hit in here honde:
þat folc hi gunne quelle
& churchen for to felle.
þer ne moste libbe
þe fremde ne þe sibbe
But hi here laȝe asoke
& to here toke.[2] (35 ff.)

Horn's mother escapes the general destruction and manages to worship the Christian God in a lonely cavern.

Vnder a roche of stone,
þer heo liuede alone,
þer heo seruede gode
Aȝenes þe paynes forbode,
þer he seruede Criste
þat no payn hit ne wiste.[3] (73 ff.)

[1] As Mr. Hall notes (ed., p. 97): "The following passage describing the first appearance of the Danes in England forms a good parallel. 'Regnante Byrhtrico rege piissimo super partes Anglorum occidentales . . . . advecta est subito Danorum ardua non nimia classis, dromones numero tres; ipsa et advectio erat prima. Audito etiam, exactor regis, jam morans in oppido quod Dorceastre nuncupatur, equo insilivit, cum paucis praecurrit ad portum, putans eos magis negotiatores esse quam hostes et praecipiens eos imperio, ad regiam villam pelli jussit: a quibus ibidem occiditur ipse et qui cum eo erant.' Ethelwerdi Chronicorum, lib. iii (M. H. B., p. 509)."

[2] To quote again from Mr. Hall (p. 98): "The Northern heathen behaved with peculiar barbarity to Christian clergy and buildings. The following entry is of a type frequent in the earlier chronicles: 'Verum Majus Monasterium, quod non longe a Turonis erat, funditus eversum centum viginti monachos, bis binos minus, ibidem gladio percusserunt, praeter abbatem et viginti quatuor alios qui cavernis terrae latitantes evaserunt,' Chroniques d'Anjou, i, p. 49."

[3] Good evidence that such a situation was not uncommon is afforded by Jocelin in his Life of St. Patrick: 'Tempus autem tenebrarum Hibernici

The value of KH, moreover, as a source of genuine information regarding the manners and customs of early Scandinavians and Germanic peoples has been strongly emphasized by Wissmann[1] and others, and needs no further remark here. In all respects it is found to accord with information on the subject available elsewhere, notably such as is given by Saxo Grammaticus, the twelfth century Danish historian.

Before leaving this part of the discussion, I should like to call attention to a famous journey of a Norseman to Ireland, which resembles that of Horn in more than one particular—to that, namely, of Olaf the Peacock thither in 955, as recorded in the *Laxdoela Saga*[2] (ch. 21).

Olaf was the son of an Icelandic chieftain, by name Hoskuld. His mother was an Irish princess who had been carried from home and enslaved when but fifteen years old. She secretly taught her boy Irish and when he grew up urged him to visit her father west over sea. Provided with a great gold ring that her father had given her as a child and other tokens, he set sail to Norway with a ship-captain named Orn (Horn). There King Harald showed him great favor and friendship. "Then Harald the king asked how old a man he was. Olaf answered, 'I am now eighteen winters.' The king replied, 'Of exceeding worth, indeed, are such men as you, for as yet you have left the age of child but a short way behind; and be sure to come and see us when you come back again.'" In the king's opinion, "no goodlier man had in their day come out of Iceland." With a company of sixty armed men Olaf sailed to Ireland. Hardly had he come to land when he was observed by people congregated on the shore. When they discovered that the visitors were in warlike array, they fled straightway to their king fearing that a viking host was upon them. "So now the Irish break their journey, and run all together to a village near. Then there arose great murmur in the crowd,

illud autumant quo prius Gurmundus, ac postea Turgesius, Noruagienses principes pagani in Hibernia debellata regnabant. In illis enim diebus Saucti in cavernis et speluncis, quasi carbones cineribus cooperti, latitabant a facie impiorum qui eos tota die quasi ones occissionis mortificabant.' Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, p. 104 (quoted Hall, edition, p. 99).

[1] *Anglia*, IV, 342–400; McKnight, *The Germanic Elements in the Story of King Horn* (*Pubs. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, XV, 1900, 221 ff.); Hall, edition, passim (cf. pp. 94, 96, 97, 121, 127, 135, 144, 145, etc.)

[2] Ed. Kr. Kaalund, Copen., 1889–91; trans. Muriel A. C. Press, Temple Classics, 1899, pp. 55 ff.

as they deemed that, sure enough, this must be a warship, and that they must expect many others; so they sent speedily word to the king, which was easy, as he was at that time a short way off, feasting. Straightway he rides with a company of men to where the ship was." Thereupon followed a parley in which Olaf explained who he was and showed his ring. Convinced of their kinship, the king invited him and his followers to Dublin and they dwelt there with him. Thus we read: "The king was seldom at rest, for at that time the lands in the west were at all times raided by war-bands. The king drove from his land that winter both vikings and raiders. Olaf was with his suite in the king's ship, and those who came against them thought his was indeed a grim company to deal with. The king talked over with Olaf and his followers all matters needing counsel, for Olaf proved himself to the king both wise and eager-minded in all deeds of prowess. But towards the latter end of the winter the king summoned a Thing, and great numbers came. The king stood up and spoke. He began his speech thus: 'You all know that last autumn there came hither a man who is the son of my daughter, and high-born also on his father's side; and it seems to me that Olaf is a man of such prowess and courage that here such men are not to be found. Now I offer him my kingdom after my day is done, for Olaf is much more suitable for a ruler than my own sons.' Olaf thanked him for this offer with many graceful and fair words, and said he would not run the risk as to how his sons might behave when Myrkjartan was no more,—said it was better to gain swift honour than lasting shame; and added that he wished to go to Norway when ships could safely journey from land to land, and that his mother would have little delight in life if he did not return to her. The king bade Olaf do as he thought best." Olaf parted from the king with the greatest friendship and sailed back to Norway and thence to Iceland. On account of this journey he gained great fame. Soon after his return he married Thorgerd, a sister of Thorstein Egilsson, the father of Helga, Gunnlaug's beloved. "Every one who saw Olaf remarked what a handsome man he was, and how noble his bearing, well arrayed as he was as to weapons and clothes" (ch. 22).

Such works as the *Laxdoela Saga* and the *Gunnlaugs Saga* are the records of events preserved for centuries in oral tradition. Yet not being subjected to much outside influence, developing among people who had a fine feeling for truth in narrative, they are in the main exact. Being recorded in prose, the happenings appear more real than if they had been elaborated in verse. The story of Horn and Rimenhild was likewise first orally transmitted. But it was perpetuated by foreigners, who treated it as fiction, and it was recast in

poetic form. Inevitably it assumed a certain resemblance to foreign models after which it was fashioned, and it reflected to some extent the sentiments of the redactors. In a crusading epoch we are not surprised to have heathen vikings envisaged by the French as pagan Saracens,[1] or their leaders as giants. Nor does it startle us that Horn, even in the most primitive version, is pictured as a romantic warrior, whose fairness of itself lighted a bower (KH, l. 385).[2]

Fairer ne mihte non beo born
Ne no rein vpon birine,
Ne sunne vpon bischine:
Fairer nis non þane he was,
He was briȝt so þe glas,
He was whit so þe flur,
Rose red was his colur. (10 ff.)

After being "dubbede to kniȝte wiþ swerd & spures briȝte" (499), there was nothing else possible for such a hero than that he should demean himself, as he declares his desire to do, according to the conventions of chivalry.

Also hit mot bitide,
Mid spere i schal furst ride,
& mi kniȝthod proue,
Ar ihc þe ginne to woȝe.
We beþ kniȝtes ȝonge,
Of o dai al isprunge,
& of ure mestere
So is þe manere
Wiþ sume oþere kniȝte
Wel for his lemman fiȝte,
Or he eni wif take:
For þi me stondeþ þe more rape.
Today, so Crist me blesse,
Ihc wulle do pruesse
For þi luue in þe felde[3]
Mid spere & mid schelde. (543 ff.)

All this, however, is external decoration. The picture of Horn has been touched up and given a new frame. But it remains in KH the tale of an adventurous Norse youth who had experiences similar to those of Gunnlaug and Olaf in the West. It was, indeed, not uncommon in early viking

[1] See Wissmann, *Anglia*, IV, 383 ff.

[2] Cf. HR 1053. "De la belte de Horn tute la chambre resplent."

[3] Geoffrey of Monmouth says (Bk. IX, ch. 14) that in Arthur's time ladies "esteemed none worthy of their love but such as had given a proof of their valor in three several battles."

times to have noble youths brought up among strangers until they came to maturity, and given aid by them to recover lands of which they had been forcibly deprived. Even without the spur of necessity occasionally applied, ambitious warriors travelled widely in the path of adventure. They went from one court to another to obtain knowledge of the world and experience of men. Assistance in war was desired by chieftains everywhere, and strong fighters were gladly received by any king. Personal bravery was above all lauded in this age of independent achievement and valorous deeds won ever substantial reward, even to the hand of a princess and the control of a kingdom. Were visitors to foreign courts also accomplished in music, poetry, or manly sports, they were thrice welcome; for festivities were as frequent as combats, and some "abridgement" was necessary to "beguile the lazy time." In pastimes of various sorts men and women associated and deep attachments were then naturally formed. We have many instances of international marriages between historical personages which were productive of important political results, many cases where the love of great leaders o'ermastered their prudence and led to the rash imperilling of their own and their followers' lives. The story of Horn and Rimenhild is the natural product of such conditions. In my opinion, it was originally an Old Norse saga recording what were possibly actual events of the tenth century, but in the guise of romance, and with certain accretions of fancy which became attached to it in the course of a long period of varied transmission.[1]

[1] "We must remember," says Dr. Alex. Bugge, "that for centuries the Norsemen held sway in Erin, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man. It is, therefore, easy to understand that their rule, their wars, their victories and defeats, must still be remembered in many ways" (*Norse Element in Gaelic Tradition of Modern Times*, p. 26). Morsbach, too, was right in saying: "Die schöne romanze vom 'Konig Horn' erinnert uns wie kaum ein anderes Denkmal so lebhaft an jene zeit, in welcher Angelsachsen, Skandinavier nnd Franzosen sich zu gemeinsamer kulturarbeit auf englischem Boden zusammenfanden" (p. 323).

This theory, it will be observed, is opposed to any hitherto held. Four different explanations of the origin of the story have in the past been offered. An old view maintained by various writers from Grimm's[1] time on, that it was of German origin, is now seldom maintained. It was based on a misapprehension of the meaning of the Germanic names in HR and a false assumption regarding *Sudene*. More recent scholars, such as ten Brink, Körting, Suchier, Morsbach, and others, recognized its Scandinavian character, but again, chiefly because of the wrong identification of Horn's home, or a misunderstanding of the opening of *Horn Child*, believed it Danish. Körting even conjectured that it might have been brought over by the Danish settlers when first they came to England.[2] Ward, Söderhjelm, McKnight, Hartenstein, and others, have thought that it arose in the south of England, largely because the name of Surrey in Gaimar's chronicle was identical with that of Horn's abode. Following the same line of thought, Hall has recently advanced again[3] the untenable theory that the story was at bottom British. These theories have all seemed unsatisfactory even to those who framed them. Manifest difficulties have in each instance been acknowledged, and the situation has invariably been declared obscure. On the contrary, the hypothesis of Norse origin offers a reasonable solution to the whole problem. It explains the agreement of the story with similar sagas of the North and the actual occurrences that they record, enables us to determine definitely the scene of action, clears up the darkness surrounding the names of persons and places, and will be found, I think, to throw light on its development.

[1] *Museum f. altd. kunst u. Litt.*, Berlin, 1811, II, 303 ff.; cf. Stimming, *Engl. Studien*, I, 355; Wülker, *Gesch. d. engl. Litt.*, 1896, p. 98.

[2] Cf. also Morsbach, p. 298.

[3] Nyrop (*Den Oldfranske Heltedigtning*, Cop., 1883, p. 219) thought it "efter al Sandsynlighed et rent bretonsk Sagn eller rettere Æventyr."

VI.

The history of the story in literary form is not easy to trace. A great deal of discussion has arisen concerning the interrelation of the extant versions, and the most divergent views are held. It is not my purpose to give here a *résumé* of previous opinion, but rather to state simply my own idea of how the story was developed and preserved.

That the narrative was, in the first instance, an actual Norse tradition, I have endeavored to show. We have no evidence, however, that in this form it was ever committed to writing, and probability is not much in favor of the supposition. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that it became literature in Anglo-Saxon. So far as *Horn* is concerned, we have no express statement to that effect; but of its companion poem *Aalof* and of the similar romances of *Tristan* and *Waldef*,[1] we have definite evidence that English versions existed before the Norman Conquest, and of *Waldef* at least that the form was metrical.[2] Note the following passage from the last-named poem:

> Ceste estoire [Waldef] est molt amée,
> e des Engles molt recordée,
> des princes, des ducs e des reis.

[1] C. Sachs, *Beiträge zur Kunde altfranz., engl. u. provenz. Literatur aus franz. u. engl. Bibliotheken*, Berlin, 1857, p. 47. This poem, not yet published, is said to contain ca. 22000 lines. It is contained in "MS. Middlehill, 8345—cf. Cat. Libr. Manuscript, in Bibl. D. Thomae Philipps, etc., 1837" (Hartenstein, p. 110 n.). Cf. Suchier, *Gesch.*, p. 113. The passage quoted is commented on by G. Paris, *Rom.*, XIV, 604 ff.; Sudre, *Rom.*, XV, 555; Söderhjelm, *Rom.*, XV, 576; Röttiger, *Der heutige Stand der Tristanforschung*, Hamburg, 1897, p. 8.

[2] The fifteenth century Latin translation of this romance by John Bramis, monk of Thetford, begins: "Primitus subsequens regis Waldei filiorumque historia suorum *in lingua anglica metrice composita et deinde* ad instanciam cujusdam femine que ipsam penitus linguam nesciret quam non alio quam amice nomine voluit indagare a quodam *in linguam gallicam est translata.* at vero nouissime eandem historiam . . . muneribus compulsus sum . . . in latinum transferre sermonem." (Sachs, p. 51; MS. 329 of Corpus Christi, Cambridge.)

mult iert amée des Engleis,
des petites gens e des granz
jusqu' a la prise des Normanz . . .
puis i ad asez translatées,
qui molt sunt de plusurs amées
com est Bruit, com est Tristram
qui tant suffri poine et hahan,
co est Aelof li bon rois. . . .

This statement we readily believe, for only by an English intermediary could the material have easily become accessible to the Normans. Other evidence, moreover, supports the assumption of antecedent probability: as we have already seen, there was in the original of KH and HR an English pun on the name of the hero.[1] In HR, moreover, English words appear, which, taken along with other considerations of language and metre, show that the poem was composed in England.[2]

There is a prevalent opinion that this lost Anglo-Saxon romance was the direct source of KH. It is repeatedly stated that this is the one exception to the rule that all English romances are drawn from the French. But unfortunately this statement is not well founded. Much as we should like to believe that KH descends directly from an early English poem without mediation of the French, it looks as if that view could no longer be sustained. My own consideration of the proper names of the poem, particularly *Sudene*, showed me that they were such as could be satisfactorily explained only on the hypothesis of a French original. And very recently Morsbach has given good support to this view by independent study along the same lines.[3] *Ailmar*, *Ailbrus*,

[1] See above, p. 29.

[2] Not necessarily, however, that it was based directly on an English work, as most have assumed. The oath *witegod* (C 4013), indeed, occurs in a part almost certainly added by Thomas; see below, pp. 64 ff. Cf. Madden, p. xlvii; *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, 55; Wissmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 120; Hartenstein, pp. 26 f.

[3] *Foerster-Festgabe*, Halle, 1902, pp. 297 ff.

Ayol, *Cutberd* (*Cubert*), *Arnoldin*, etc., to say nothing of *Sudene*, which Morsbach did not understand, are clearly French transformations of Germanic names, and pretty certainly point to a French redaction from which they were drawn. One or two French names might possibly have been introduced by an English writer, following an Anglo-Saxon original, because there was much French spoken in England, but it is hard to believe that practically all he could thus accidentally have transformed. It should also be observed that the language and metre of KH is far more French in character than we should expect if the poem were drawn directly from the Anglo-Saxon. In the C text appear 95 French rhymes[1] and the French element in the vocabulary is considerable. But, above all, the tone is quite unlike that of any Anglo-Saxon poem. It is sophisticated in the mediæval style.[2] The phraseology is marked by the conventions of foreign romance. Indeed, the more carefully we study the subject the more evident, I think, it becomes that the theory of purely native transmission is an assumption dictated chiefly by desire.

The arguments that in the past have been used to support the hypothesis are really of little weight. They are chiefly two, the simplicity of the story, and its so-called Germanic tone. These, however, one may readily admit without any consideration of the language of the redactors. If, as is

[1] According to Hartenstein's count, pp. 114 ff. Yet Hartenstein, it should be said, decided, though with some hesitation, against a French source; and has apparently not been moved since by Morsbach's arguments (see *Engl. St.*, XXXI, 282 ff.). His objections will, I hope, disappear in consideration of the facts here adduced, concerning *Sudene*, *Modun*, etc.

[2] Cf. McKnight's discussion of the style of KH (edition, p. xx f.). Ten Brink says (*History of Eng. Lit.*, trans. Kennedy, I, 227): "The *Song of Horn* must be counted as a metrical romance, in view of its contents, its structure, its dress, and mounting. The age of romantic chivalry distinctly left its impress upon the material derived from an obscure transition period." He calls KH a *roman d'aventure* and notes that "the influence of the age of chivalric poetry upon manners and culture is unmistakable" (p. 231).

probable, the foundation of the story was Norse, and it was recorded in Anglo-Saxon, we should expect it to preserve the characteristics of Germanic works. Translation, of course, does not imply the elimination of early features. In truth, however, it is the popular rather than primitive appearance of KH that has chiefly led people to assert its independence of the French. But this is obviously due to the purpose of its production, its character as a "song" fashioned for public delivery. If KH is succinct and hurried, if it is in a native metre, and popularly presented, so also is *Sir Tristrem*, which we know to be nothing but a condensation of the work of the Norman Thomas. All sorts of native metres (alliteration as well as tail-rhyme and other strophes) never so employed by foreigners were utilized by Englishmen to transmit material taken from the French. If KH seems Saxon in tone, so also, and to a far greater degree, does the alliterative *Brut* of Laȝamon, which, written earlier and vastly more national in language and spirit, is nevertheless in the main based on the French *roman* of Wace. There is not the least show of English patriotic feeling in KH, while Laȝamon betrays it to the full. The stories of the English heroes *Waldef* (*Walþeof*), *Havelok*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Beves of Hampton*, *Hereward*, *Fulk Fitz Warren*, and others, were, it is well known, recorded in French. There is, indeed, as has already been said, no single instance where purely native transmission of an English romance is demonstrable, and the burden of proof—a heavy burden—rests on him who would claim it for *Horn*. I have given over unwillingly the view I have long had on this point, but it seems to me now impossible to maintain it with good reasons, and cogent arguments are distinctly opposed. KH, it seems to me most probable, is based on a Norman redaction of the Saxon account of Horn. Whether this redaction was in the form of a romance like Thomas's *Tristan*, or in that of a "Breton lay" like the *Lai d'Aveloc*, no one can say positively, and the matter is not of much consequence. The two forms are not, of course,

exclusive of each other. The story of Havelok, we remember, was narrated in French not only in lay but also in romance form.[1] Whether romance or lay, this French poem was probably written about the middle of the twelfth century, and was a simple and lucid narrative. From it was drawn directly KH, which shows no features that might not have been in its source, though it is unnecessary to assert that all were.[2]

Although the most primitive version is thus discovered to have passed through a Norman-French intermediary, this fact entails less consequence than might be supposed. It should be kept in mind that the basis of all the known redactions is without doubt an Anglo-Saxon account, which, had the Norman Conquest not occurred, would probably have perpetuated itself in the English vernacular. The mistake is frequently made of regarding native productions as foreign simply because they happen to have been written down in what we now regard as a foreign language. In the twelfth century French was familiar from birth to most of the Englishmen who had skill to write. Patriots then composed and recorded English works in French. Fortunately, we have the *Geste of King Horn* in a form which, in substance at least, is not unlike the original English treatment of the theme. Though ultimately Norse, it is in a very real sense an English story.

VII.

The extant Anglo-Norman poem called *Horn et Rimenhild* is plainly a more elaborate product. The story now appears amplified in incident, sophisticated in language, and feudal in tone—in a word, made over evidently in the style of the

[1] See Putnam, *The Lambeth Version of Havelok* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, xv, 1900, 1 ff.); cf. *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. Skeat, Oxford, 1902, pp. xlvii ff.

[2] The original manuscript of KH is lost, the three extant copies being so unlike in details that recent editors have not tried to establish a critical text.

continental French epic. No longer a lay or romance, it has the semblance of a *chanson de geste*. There is no need to postulate as source of HR another poem than the French original of KH. That both HR and KH have in common the form *Sudene* (*Sudenne*) shows that they had probably the same source; for if HR had been drawn directly from the English this spelling would hardly have been the same in both cases. The writers of Anglo-Norman epics (such, for example, as *Beves*) working freely, inclined rather to substitute a localization in the East for scenes in their own neighborhood. It is a matter of surprise, indeed, that *Suðreye* was not at once made over into *Syrie*, Syria, by a writer in a Crusading epoch. In KH the heathen Norsemen are termed Saracens. This identification, which in the beginning was French, was probably already present in the original French romance from which not only it but also HR probably derive, and thus transformation in the style of the Carolingian epic was natural.

The early romance was revised by Thomas[1] with the intention of making it part of a cycle. The first section of the trilogy he planned was to deal with the history of Horn's father Aalof, the second with Horn himself, and the third with his son Hadermod. That the part concerning Aalof was written is clear, not only from the frequent references in HR itself to the story there developed, but also from the explicit statement of the author of *Waldef*, above quoted. The third part, on the contrary, we cannot be sure was written. Thomas informs us (5420 ff.) that not he but Gilimot his son was to accomplish the task. From the following passages in HR one might perhaps infer that a story of Hadermod had been developed; and that it was of the ordinary Crusading type, which *Horn* only by chance escaped.

[1] Note that Thomas had, as he says, a *parchemin* before him (HR, ll. 2933, 3981), or an *escrit* (l. 192).

(*a*) Uncore est par cest Horn conquis regne Persan,
E par le fiz cestui ki ore est en ahan,
Ki paens destrurat d'ici qu'al flum Jordan.
Nes i purrat tenser Mahum ne Teruagan. (O 82 ff.)

(*b*) Le vaillant Hadermod de Rigmel engendrat
Ki Asf[r]iche cunquist e que pus regnat
E ki tuz ses parens de paens uengat
De pruesce e de sen trestuz les ultreat. (O 5237 ff.).

We tremble to think what sort of a hotchpotch of adventure this trilogy would have offered if it had all been finished. How hard it would have been to straighten out the topography if Horn had actually been represented as conquering Persia, and his son as fighting victoriously against pagans by the river Jordan, and avenging on them there the wrongs of his father. In truth, however, no trace of any composition by Gilimot remains; and we may surmise that it was not executed for the same reason that seems to have kept Wirnt von Gravenberg, the author of *Wigalois*, from tracing the career of the hero's son *Li Fort Gawanides* as he promised, namely, the lack of sufficient appreciation and encouragement on the part of the public to which the poet appealed.[1] To judge from the plan outlined by Thomas, the work would not have been such as to make us greatly regret its loss.

Whether *Aalof* is a story of quite independent origin simply attached to *Horn* by the poet Thomas, who desired to round out the narrative of his hero in epic manner, or whether it is merely the elaboration of hints previously present in the source of KH, it is not now possible to ascertain definitely. The former view is certainly the more probable. Finding in his original certain vague information concerning Horn's father, King Allof of Moray (?), he introduced alien material to elaborate his account. Every Norse saga tells briefly of the parentage of the heroes, yet without lingering long to do so. But it was the custom

[1] Cf. my *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus* (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, IV, 1895, pp. 2, 212).

of chivalrous poets to present the exploits of succeeding generations in long-drawn-out narrative.

So far as we can tell from the summary of *Aalof* in HR (250 ff.), it was sufficiently like *Horn* to have been reasonably considered as a suitable counterpart; for it too was one of the numerous tales modelled on the familiar "exile and return" formula. Horn's father, we learn, was a foundling, kindly reared by a king named Silaf (Silaus). When he grew up he was discovered to be of royal lineage, the son of Goldeburc, daughter of Baderolf, emperor of Germany, and Silaf gave him the princess Samburc to wife. Previously he had distinguished himself by his prowess and worthy deeds, overcoming many heathen warriors, but had been the victim of calumny on the part of a traitor Denerey. We infer that these unjust accusations concerned his relations with the princess and no doubt resembled those directed against Horn by Wikel (who in HR is represented as the nephew of this traitor), and that, being in some way vindicated and his real origin recognized, he was decreed the king's heir. After Silaf's death he assumed power and for ten years defended well his realm against the heathen until finally he was overcome by an invading host and put to death. His son, however, lived to achieve revenge for this disaster. Not perhaps until this story was joined to that of Horn, was the hero given the name Aalof or his land called Sudene.

Without by any means endeavoring to fix the source, but simply to show a similar story recorded, I would call attention to the narrative of a foundling like Aalof, which is related in that part of the saga of Olaf Tryggvason which deals with the Danish kings of Northumberland.[1]

Olaf, surnamed "the Englishman," ruled in Northumberland, tributary to King Ring of Denmark. One of his descendants was Gorm, who had many thralls. Some of the latter discovered a child, evidently of noble

[1] Chs. 61, 62; trans. Sephton, pp. 75 ff.; see below, p. 68, n. 1.

origin, exposed in a forest. They bore him to the king who christened the child Knut, because of a knot tied in the fine linen wherein he was wrapped. "He was brought up in the king's court," we read in the saga, "and quickly showed cleverness and skill beyond his contemporaries. King Gorm, having no son of his own, loved his foster-child, Knut, to such a degree that he adopted him as his own son, esteeming him so far above all his own kinsmen as to make him his successor in the kingdom. He was called Knut the Foundling. King Gorm's reign over the land was not of long duration, and he died a natural death; but before he expired he caused Knut to be chosen king over all the realm that he held in Jutland." Later, Knut is informed from the Saxon thralls who had exposed him that he was the son of a much-loved sister of an Earl Arnfinn, ruler over the land of Holdseta, and that they had been bidden make away with him that the affair might be kept secret. "Wherefore he was called Thrall-Knut. He had a son whom he named Gorm, after his foster-father. The reign of Thrall-Knut was not a long one and yet he was a famous king. After Knut, his son Gorm was made king and reigned subject to the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok, being regarded with special favour by Sigurd Snake i' th' eye."

Some such story as this may well have formed the basis of the romance of *Aalof*, being adapted by Thomas to elaborate the career of Horn's father previously given in but vague outline. Thomas intended thus to enhance the reputation of his chief hero, even as in Arthurian romance later Galahad was represented as the son of Lancelot and his counterpart Parzival as the father of Lohengrin. In like manner, in Old Norse saga, Ragnar Lothbrok was connected by a fictitious marriage with Sigurth and the Volsungs. The names in HR indicate that the story of Aalof was not in origin Norse, but West Germanic. By means of the combination of the two stories, names appear in HR which were evidently not there in the beginning: Baderolf, emperor of Germany, his daughter Goldeburc and brother Haderof (Harderon); King Silaf (Silaus), and his daughter Samburc; the seneschal Hardred and his sons Haderof and Badelac; the daughters of the king of Ireland Lemburc and Sudburc, who marry two of Hardred's sons; the whole group of African kings Gudbrant, Sultan of Persia, and his six brothers, Rodmund, Rollac, Gudolf, Egolf, Hildebrant, and Herebrant, and perhaps

others. These were as foreign to the primitive story of Horn as that of the hero's son Hadermod. Grimm and the rest who in the past have utilized them to establish the German origin of the tale were plainly at fault.

A new character, likewise introduced from alien saga, though perhaps not so remote in origin, is that of *Batolf*, whom Thomas represents as a son of the king of Britain, Rimenhild's brother, and the composer of a lay on the subject of his sister's love. That this is a late addition is obvious if only from the fact that Horn is pictured as singing it in Ireland before his love was consummated, during the period of his first separation from Rimenhild, while he was ignorant of her condition. Under an assumed name, the hero is dwelling at the court of the Irish king, where he ever distinguishes himself anew by his skill in manly sports, hunting, chess, and music. The king's daughter conceives a passion for him, but he holds aloof from any entanglement. One evening, after he has finished a game of chess with her, the young princes suggest that she play on the harp and she accedes. She harps two lays, and would, she explains, gladly harp another, but of it she knew only half; her dearest wish was to know the whole. It was the lay of *Batolf* concerning Rimel's love for Horn, which already was known to fame. Each of the others then harps a lay in turn.

A cel tens sorent tuit harpe bien manier
Cum plus fu gentilz hom e plus sout del mestier. (2824 f.)

Finally the instrument comes into the hands of the disguised hero, and all marvel at his wondrous skill.

Lors prent la harpe a sei, si comence a temprer.
Deu ! ki dunc l'esgardast com il la sot manier,
cum ses cordes tuchot, cum les feseit tremler,
asquantes fait chanter, askantes organer,
de l'armonie del ciel li pureit remembrer.
Sur tuz ceus ke i sont fait cist a merveiller.
Kant celes notes a fait, prent s'en a munter
e par tut autres tons fet les cordes soner.

Kant il ot issi fait, si cumence a noter
le lai dunt or ai dit de Batolf haut e cler,
si cum funt cil Breton de tel fait custumer.
Aprés en l'estrument fait les cordes chanter
tut issi cum en vois l'aveit dit en premer.
Tut le lai lor a dit, n'en vot rien retailler.[1]

Thomas, in composing this part of his poem, evidently wrote with the *Tristan* in mind,[2] here imitating the scenes in which that hero figured as a stranger at the courts of Cornwall and Ireland. No one could have written the beautiful description just quoted without full familiarity with Breton lays and the power to perpetuate their charm.

It is probable that the hero of the primitive saga was, like Gunnlaug, a poet, perhaps skilled in music. Certainly, in the original of KH and HR he was represented as a harper. Just as Tristram in disguise reveals himself to Ysolde, who is being carried off by a hated suitor Gandîn, through familiar lays that he harps before her, so Horn in a like situation, when Fikenhild has abducted his bride, and is about to rescue her, enables Rimenhild to penetrate his disguise by the same device.[3]

He sette him on þe benche
His harpe for to clenche.
He makede Rymenhilde lay,
& heo makede walaway.
Rimenhild feol yswoȝe
Ne was þer non þat louȝe. (1475 ff.)

[1] Ll. 2830 ff.; quoted after Warnke, *Lais der Marie de France*, 2nd ed., p. xviii f., q. v.

[2] Cf. Wissmann, *Anglia*, IV, 393 ff.; *Untersuchungen*, pp. 108 f.

[3] As Wissmann observed (*Anglia*, IV, 393). Note the words of Gottfried von Strassburg:

Er harphete an der stunde
Sô rehte suoze einen leich,
Der Isôte in ir herze sleich
Und ir gedanken alle ergie
Sô verre daz si weinen lie
Und an ir âmîs was verdâht. (13324 ff.)

Cf. my *Chaucer's Franklin's Tale* (*Pubs. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Amer.*, XVI, 441).

Apparently, the story of Horn was somewhat Bretonised in its first French form. If so, Thomas went but one step further in the same direction in enforcing the likeness of his hero to Tristram.

We cannot conclude from the narrative of Thomas that there really existed a lay on the subject of Horn's love,[1] and it is quite improbable that the lay of *Batolf* sung by the hero himself publicly at the Irish court dealt with that theme, any more than that of *Gurun* which Tristram sang when a stranger at the court of Cornwall.[2] That there existed a "Breton lay" with Batolf for a hero is, on the contrary, very likely. We can, however, only conjecture what it was about. I venture to suggest that it may have told the same story that Geoffrey of Monmouth recounted of Baldulph the Saxon, whom he pictured in his own peculiar way as an opponent of Arthur. To gain access to his brother Colgrin, confined in York by Arthur's army, Baldulph adopted a stratagem for the success of which he appears to have become famous. In Geoffrey's words,[3] "he shaved his head and beard, and put on the habit of a jester with a harp, and in this disguise walked up and down in the camp, playing upon his instrument as if he had been a harper. He thus passed unsuspected and by a little and little went up to the walls of the city, where he was at last discovered by the besieged, who thereupon drew him up with cords, and conducted him to his brother. At this unexpected, though much desired meeting, they spent some time in joyfully embracing each other, and then began to consider various stratagems for their delivery." The shrewd

[1] If so, it was, like all "Breton lays," in British or in French, and not in English, as Stimming (*Eng. St.*, I, 355) and McKnight (ed., p. xii) suppose. The source of HR and KH may possibly have been in the form of a French "Breton Lay;" see above, p. 53.

[2] Gottfried's *Tristan*, ed. Bechstein, ll. 3503 ff.

[3] Bk. IX, ch. 1 (trans. Giles, *Six O. E. Chrons.*, p. 231). Cf. Lazamon's *Brut*, II, 428 ff., where the hero's name is spelt *Baldulf*, *Baldolf*. *Bótólfr* was a name borne by Norsemen; cf. *Landnamabók*, p. 333; *Haconarsaga*, § 48 (A.D. 1218); *Kristnisaga*, 20.

Geoffrey, we suspect, here simply adapted a popular tale for his purpose, a tale which, quite as well as *Haveloc*, or *Gurun*, or other stories in no wise of Celtic origin, might have been fashioned in the popular style of a "Breton lay." This story, it will be noticed, presented a situation similar in general character to that in *Horn*, where also the hero assumes the disguise of a minstrel as the only means of penetrating Fikenhild's castle and gaining access to Rimenhild, and it may have been this similarity that suggested to Thomas its adaptation in his narrative. The incident itself, it should be added, was of a sort favored in England. Witness, for example, the pleasant story told by William of Malmesbury[1] of how Olaf managed to enter Athelstan's camp as a minstrel spy and departed thence unharmed, because, though recognized by a former follower, he was yet not betrayed.

This episode, in truth, in the story of Horn (the second rescue by the hero in disguise) does not impress one as original. There was an abundance of popular stories slightly varying from one another, and if one feature found favor it was often duplicated in the same romance by minstrels who thought thus to increase the effect. In our opinion, however, this repetition is to be deprecated. Not only is it inartistic; it also arouses unjust suspicion regarding the value of the narrative as essentially a true tradition. Incidents in romances, no more than miracles in saints' lives, can be duplicated without making the modern reader uneasy; but apparently the mediæval mind was not so disturbed. The authentic achievements of both saints and heroes were embellished by legend without prejudice to their fundamental truth.

If the account of Rimenhild's second rescue may be wholly fiction, that of the first may also have been in parts poetically adorned. We have seen how in ostensibly veracious saga

[1] *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, I, 142 f.; cf., for other references, Hall, pp. 174–175. We recall also King Alfred's visit as a juggler to the camp of the Danes (Ingulph, William of Malmesbury); and in romance Sir Orfeo's conduct after his return from fairyland.

Gunnlaug, after an absence of several years, arrived home on the very day when his betrothed lady was being forcibly wedded to another, and he was only prevented by an accident from visiting the marriage feast then in progress and demanding his own. On the other hand, there existed in England numerous popular stories, presenting a like situation romantically, without any likely basis in fact. A hero obtains admission to the marriage banquet, disguised as a beggar, reveals himself to the bride when she is passing the wine about, and succeeds in winning her away from a discomfited rival. Such a tale is told in the *Vita Herewardi Saxonis*.[1] Another Geoffrey adapted to his purpose in his *Historia*,[2] making it occur in the time of Cadwalla, about 630. It is interesting to observe that while Wace contents himself with reproducing Geoffrey's account, Laȝamon alters it considerably. His variations are all in the direction of popular tradition.[3] Evidently he was familiar with a native story still more like that of Horn than Geoffrey's narrative, and with it in mind made changes in his original.

That the story of Horn reflects historical conditions and may be at bottom fact, I have endeavored to show. To go further, and try to establish its historicity throughout in its present form, would be to evince ignorance of the ways of romance. I have already emphasized its likeness to the numerous tales of the "exile and return" type, and pointed out parallels to the picturesque feature of the exposure in the rudderless boat. Here I need only add mention of the well-known fact that in popular tradition exist many stories

[1] Cf. Wissmann, *Untersuchungen*, p. 110; Ward, p. 449; Hartenstein, pp. 137 f.

[2] Bk. XII, ch. 7; cf. Wace, 14693 ff.; Laȝamon, III, 234 ff. Wissmann calls attention to the passage in Laȝamon, "zum beweise dasz einzelne Züge unseres Gedichtes ganz allgemeiner Natur waren die jeder Spielmann nach Belieben verwenden konnte" (*l. c.*, p. 111).

[3] Cf. his account of the origin of the Round Table; on which see A. C. L. Brown, *The Round Table before Wace* (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VII, 183–205).

which in general parallel the central incidents of the poems before us. As Professor Child has said:[1] "Certain points in the story of Horn—the long absence, the sudden return, the appearance under disguise at the wedding-feast, and the dropping of the ring into a cup of wine obtained from the bride—repeat themselves in a great number of romantic tales. More commonly it is a husband who leaves his wife for seven years, is miraculously informed on the last day that she is to be remarried on the morrow, and is restored to his home in the nick of time, also by superhuman means." These statements Professor Child has enforced with abundant illustration. Such stories, it appears, were particularly common in the epoch of the Crusades, and could hardly have failed to influence the saga of Horn then taking new shape.

Folk-lore embellishment is manifest in KH as well as in HR and was therefore present in their original; but Thomas in his narrative increased the amount. He still more complicated the story by the introduction of new incident. I will mention here but one example, namely an episode that is represented by the poet as occurring while Horn is making his way in disguise to Caer Lion to recover his bride.[2] I can do no better than reproduce Professor Child's observations at this point:[3] "When Horn was near the city, he stopped to see how things would go. King Modun passed, with Wikel, in gay discourse of the charms of Rimild. Horn called out to them insultingly, and Modun asked who he was. Horn said he had formerly served a man of consequence as his fisherman: he had known a net almost seven years ago, and had now come to give it a look. If it had taken any fish he would love it no more; if it should still be as he left it, he would carry it away. Modun thinks him a

[1] *Ballads*, I, 194; cf. also W. Splettstösser, *Der heimkehrende Gatte u. sein Weib in der Weltlitteratur*, Berlin, 1899.

[2] HR 3984–4057; also in *Horn Child*, 901–936.

[3] *Ballads*, I, 191, note.

fool. This is part of a story in the Gesta Romanorum, of a soldier who loved the emperor's daughter, and went to the holy land for seven years, after a mutual change of fidelity for that time. A king comes to woo the princess, but is put off for seven years, upon her alleging that she has made a vow of virginity for so long. At the expiration of this term, the king and the soldier meet as they are on their way to the princess. The king, from certain passages between them, thinks the soldier a fool. The soldier takes leave of the king under pretence of looking after a net which he had laid in a certain place seven years before, rides on ahead, and slips away with the princess."[1]

Evidently Thomas was familiar with some such story as that in the *Gesta* and cleverly adapted it to embellish his narrative. Perhaps it was suggested to him by Rimenhild's foreboding dream (in KH) of the fishing-net in which should be caught an evil fish. Having used this motive earlier than it was first intended, he adapted another riddle for the hero's interview with his lady, not, of course, so suitable. To her he explained that "he had been reared in that land, and by service had come into possession of a hawk, which, before taming it, he had put in a cage: that was nigh seven years since: he had come now to see what it amounted to. If it should prove to be as good as when he had left it, he would carry it away with him; but if its feathers were ruffled and broken he would have nothing to do with it. At this Rimild broke into a laugh, and cried, 'Horn, 't is you, and your hawk has been safely kept!'" As Professor Child says: "The riddle of the hawk slightly varied is met with in the romance of Blonde of Oxford and Jehan of Dammartin,[2]

[1] "Gest. Rom., Oesterley, p. 597, No. 193; Grässe, II, 159; Madden, p. 32; Swan, I, p. lxv. A similar story in Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands, I, 281, 'Baillie Lunnain.' (Simrock, Deutsche Märchen, No. 47, is apparently a translation from the Gesta.)"

[2] Ed. Le Roux de Lincy, pp. 98, 109, 114.

and, still further modified, in Le Romant de Jehan de Paris.[1] 'Horn et Rimenhild,' it will be observed, has both riddles, and that of the net is introduced under circumstances entirely like those in the Gesta Romanorum. The French romance is certainly independent of the English in this passage."[2]

This is sufficient to indicate the freedom with which Thomas elaborated his material. It affords us occasion to observe how stories grow from simple beginnings, by slow accretions of kindred incident, with such alterations of tone and array as was demanded by the age of the redaction and the nature of the audience to which it was addressed.

VIII.

We now come in the history of the story to a version the relation of which to the rest has often been misconceived, to the Middle English strophic romance *Horn Child and Maiden Rimnild* (HC), which being in part preserved in the famous Auchinleck MS., could not have been written later than 1325, and, to judge from the style and allusions, probably not much earlier. In trying to determine the original scene and character of the Horn saga, I have deliberately left this out of consideration, for it is very far from primitive. It is a reconstruction, a new composition, a late product of degenerate minstrelsy. In general, it resembles the French poem HR with which it shows definite agreements as opposed to KH;

[1] Ed. Montaiglon, pp. 55, 63, 111. Suchier thinks that HR contains the germ of the story in the *Gesta* and in Beaumanoir's romance *Jehan et Blonde* (see *Oeuvres Poétiques de Philippe de Rémi*, Paris, 1884, I, p. cxi; cf. *Gesch.*, p. 111). Cf. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 771; Hartenstein, pp. 138–139.

[2] Mr. Ward remarks (p. 457): "The French writer probably invented Horn's encounter with Wikele and Modin merely to introduce the parable, for nothing else comes of it. The writer thinks it necessary, after all, to put a parable into Horn's mouth when he is addressing Rimel; but this repetition, which we may be sure was not in the original, is comparatively commonplace; Horn saying that he has come back after seven years for a falcon, but he will not claim her if she has cast her feathers or broken her wing."

but, as already said, the author has subjected his material to great change. Throughout the localities are unlike, the whole situation having been transformed by the introduction of new elements to replace the old. There is now no mention of Sudene or the coming of the hero to Britain in a cast-away boat. Instead, Horn's father is made king of Northumberland and his struggles to defend his realm against his foes from Denmark and Ireland are narrated in detail. The heathen vikings of the saga in its early form were undoubtedly Norsemen, and it was on the western coast that they landed, but Norsemen were naturally confused with other Scandinavians who meanwhile had made raids on England, and as a result in HC the earlier introduction was rejected. The hostile seamen are represented as Danes, and their depredations are definitely localized in Yorkshire.

King Haþeolf (for this is now the father's name, not Aalof, Murry, or Hunlaf), we read, ruled England from the Humber north "in to þe wan see."

Out of Danmark come an here,
Opon Inglond forto were,
Wiþ stout ost & vnride,
Wiþ ýren hattes, scheld & spere;
Alle her pray to schip þai bere
In Clifland bi Tese side. (49 ff.)

Haþeolf assembles a large body of men and rides rapidly against them.

On Alerton more al þai mett,
þer were her dayes sett,
Failed hem no roum;
Seþþen to Clifland þai rade,
þer þe Danis men abade,
To fel þe feye adoun. (67 ff.)

After an all-day's struggle the English are triumphant, slaying many of their opponents. They laud their leader and enjoy the fruits of victory. Soon after the king goes hunting

"on Blakeowe more," then feasts at Pickering, and afterwards rides to York.

Here, as every reader of the poem has observed, we are on well-known ground, all the places mentioned being in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The narrative bears the impress of reality; it is the record of an actual depredation by Danes on Northumberland, in which the invaders after a temporary success were defeated by the English with great slaughter.

It has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed that we have in the Old Norse saga of King Olaf Tryggvason what might be an account of this very incursion. In the early part of Ethelbert's reign, we read in the saga, "England was invaded by a Danish host, under the command of Knut and Harold, sons of Gorm the Old. They harried Northumberland in all directions, and brought much people into subjection, claiming the land as their heritage, because it had been the possession of the sons of Lodbrok and of many others of their forefathers. King Ethelbert collected a large army, and encountered them north of Cleveland, slaying many of them."[1] An English account of this conflict, or another like it, might have been the basis of the corresponding information in HC.

The author of HC has preserved the record of still another struggle. This time the English king was attacked from a different quarter.

Out of Yrlond com kinges þre,
Her names can y telle þe,
  Wele wiþouten les:
Ferwele & Winwald were þer to,
Malkan king was an of þo
  Proude in ich apres;
Al Westmerland stroyed þay. (148 ff.)

The king assembled a large army to meet them.

[1] Trans. Sephton (Northern Library, 1), London, 1895, ch. 64, p. 80. This saga is a compilation of the first half of the thirteenth century, but is of course based on earlier sources.

Þe Irise ost was long & brade,
On Stainesmore þer þai rade,
  Þai ȝaf a crie for prede;
Hende Haþeolf hem abade,
Swiche meting was never made,
  Wiþ sorwe on ich aside:
Riȝt in a litel stounde
Sexti þousand were layd to grounde
  In herd is nouȝt to hide;
King Haþeolf slouȝ wiþ his hond,
Þat was comen out of Yrlond,
  Tvo kinges þat tide. (181 ff.)

After a long struggle, however, he was himself slain by Malkan, who yet dearly won his victory, for he had to withdraw to Ireland with but thirteen followers, the remnants of a great host. Thereupon an earl of Northumberland, by name Thorbrand, usurped power, and King Haþeolf's young son Horn was secretly carried south by his guardian to the court of the English king.

This narrative I cannot completely elucidate, but it is possible, I think, to show that it too is based on actual occurrences. The king Haþeolf of the poem, who ruled England from the Humber north in to "the wan see" is, I believe, unquestionably the Eadulf who in 966 was made Earl of Northumbria from the Tees to Myrcforth.[1] "The wan see" is of the same meaning as Myrcforth, which was the Scandinavian name for the Firth of Forth. The Malkan of the poem, who was allied with the Irish in making the incursion into Haþeolf's land, is to be identified with Malcolm of Scotland. The record is of one of the several incursions made into Northumbria by the Scots under Malcolm or his sons in which he was aided by Irish friends. That in HC the decisive meeting took place at Stanmore was doubtless a fact. As Mr. Skene says (p. 369): "Immediately after the

[1] "Eadulf, cognomento Yvelchild, a Teisa usque Myrcforth praeponitur Northymbris." *Libellus de adventu, Sax. Ch.*, p. 212 (quoted Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1876, I, 369, note 42).

unsatisfactory expedition against the Strathclyde Britons, the Scots [under Kenneth, son of Malcolm] are recorded in the Pictish Chronicle to have laid waste Saxonia or the Northern part of Northumbria as far as Stanmore, Cleveland, and the pools of Deira, that is the part of Northumbria which had been placed as a separate earldom under Eadulf."

But the actual events to which HC makes reference seem to have taken place in the time of the succeeding Malcolm. Again I would quote from Mr. Skene (pp. 384 f.): "Malcolm appears to have inaugurated the commencement of his reign by the usual attempt on the part of the more powerful kings of this race to wrest Bernicia from the kings of England, but which resulted in defeat and a great slaughter of his people. The Ulster Annals tell us that in the year 1006 a great battle was fought between the men of Alban and Saxonia, in which the men of Alban were overcome, and a great slaughter made of their nobles; and Simeon of Durham furnishes us with other details. He says that 'during the reign of Ethelred, king of the English, *Malcolm*, king of the Scots, the son of King Kyned, collected together the entire military force of Scotland, and having devastated the province of the Northumbrians with fire and sword, he laid siege to Durham. At this time Bishop Aldun had the government there, for Walþeof, who was the earl of the Northumbrians, had shut himself up in Bamborough. He was exceedingly aged, and in consequence could not undertake any active measure against the enemy. Bishop Aldun had given his daughter Ecgfrida in marriage to his son, a youth of great energy and well skilled in military affairs. Now when this young man perceived that the land was devastated by the enemy, and that Durham was in a state of blockade and siege, *he collected together into one body a considerable number of the men of Northumbria and York, and cut to pieces nearly the entire multitude of the Scots; the king himself and a few others escaping with difficulty.*'"

This account is drawn from a curious tract ascribed without

warrant to Simeon of Durham, but printed with his works.[1] It is, says the editor, "an authentic though fragmentary record of the wild and miserable age of Ethelred, concerning which we possess so little direct testimony. . . . The date of writing seems to have been about 1090." The narrative that it contains of Uchtred's later career reads like the Latinisation of an English story, and has perhaps more value as romance than history. One feature, however, of special interest to students of HC, I would here emphasize, namely that the hero's chief enemy, by whose connivance he was slain, was called Thorbrand, and that we remember was the name of the earl of Northumberland who usurped the land after Hatheolf's murder. Had the single fragment of HC been two lines shorter than it is, we should not have had this name preserved. Had we all of HC we might be able to detect other features in which the author distorted the original story of Horn in order to fit into it other events; for the MS. breaks off just when the hero is returning to Northumberland to win back his father's possessions and avenge him on Thorbrand. According to the tract, Aldred, son of Uchtred, who succeeded Eadulf, killed Thorbrand, who was responsible, we have seen, for his father's death, and the blood feud continued through generations.

His information regarding these incursions into Northumberland the author of HC may have derived wholly from oral tradition; but I think it was not so. So great is the

[1] *De Obsessione Dunelmi* (*Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, Rolls Series, London, 1882, I, 215 ff. The tract by mistake dates the siege at 869 instead of 1006, when it appears actually to have occurred; cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I, 329 note; Skene, I, 385; edition, p. 215. Uchtred was really slain in 1016 when defending his earldom against Cnut; but the tract has it otherwise. In revenge for a previous injury, Thorbrand suborned men to slay Uchtred when he was going to a conference with Cnut: "Die statuto, cum intrasset ad regem de pace locuturus, per insidias cujusdam potentio, nomine Turebrant cognomento Hold, milites regis, qui post velum extensum per transversum domus absconditi fuerant, subito prosilientes loricati in Wiheal comitem cum suis XL. viris principalibus qui secum intraverant obtruncaverunt" (p. 218).

resemblance in general phraseology and spirit to certain Anglo-Saxon poems recording conflicts of Englishmen with Danes and Irish in the same era that it seems to me likely that the events of which we have an echo in HC were at one time similarly recorded. I would call particular attention to the poem called the *Battle of Maldon*, or *Byrhtnoth's Death*,[1] which commemorates a hard struggle between English and Danes in 981, during the reign of the same Ethelred at whose court Gunnlaug sojourned and in whose time, as we have seen, Malcolm invaded Northumbria. We are indeed fortunate to have this poem. The Latin tract perpetuating an English account of the Scotch invasion echoed in HC is preserved in a unique manuscript; but no single manuscript of the *Battle of Maldon* is now extant. There did exist one in 1726, and then the antiquarian Hearne transcribed and published it. Five years after, however, this unique document was destroyed in the great Cottonian fire.

The vigorous lines of HC descriptive of the leader's call to struggle against the invaders (157 ff.) certainly resemble the opening of the A.-S. poem in general features, as any one will observe who will bring the two passages into comparison; and elsewhere similar situations are described.[2] Byrhtnoth's sturdy reply to the foreigners' demand for tribute (45 ff.) is filled with the spirit that echoes in the words of HC:

> Better manly to be slayn,
> þan long to live in sorwe & pain,
> Oȝain outlondis þede. (166 ff.)

The exultation of the English poet over the defeat of the men of Ireland is likewise conceived in the spirit of that excellent battle-song in the Chronicle commemorating the Battle of Brunanburh (A. D. 937).[3] Compare, for example, the following lines:

[1] Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. ags. Poesie*, I, 358 ff.; Bright's *A.-S. Reader*, pp. 149 ff.

[2] Cf. HC 61 ff. and Maldon 122 ff.; HC 73 ff. and M 103 ff.; HC 247 ff. and M 191 ff., 202 ff.

[3] Grein-Wülker, I, 374 ff.; Bright's *A.-S. Reader*, pp. 146 ff.

Þo king Malkan wan þe priis,
Oway brouȝt he no mo ywis,
Of his men bot þritten,
þat wounded were in bak & side;
þai fleiȝe & durst nouȝt abide,
Daþet, who hem bi mene!
To Yrlond he com oȝain,
& left her fair folk al slain
Lieand on þe grene.
þarf hem noiþar niȝt no day
Make her ros þai wan þe pray,
Bot slowe þe king, y wene.

(229 ff.)

Swylce ðǣr ēac sē frōda mid flēame cōm
on his cȳððe norð, Constantinus,
hār hilderinc hrēman ne ðorfte
mēca gemānan; he wæs his māga sceard,
frēonda gefylled on folcstede,
beslægen æt sæcce, and his sunu forlēt
on wælstōwe wundum forgrunden
geongne æt gūðe. Gylpan ne ðorfte
. . . . . .
gewiton him þā Norðmęnn nægledcear-
rum,
drēorig daroða lāf, on Dinges męre
ofer dēop water Dyflin sēcan,
And eft Īraland, æwiscmode.

(37–56.)

The famous struggle of Brunanburh, indeed, presents a situation very like that in HC: the Scots and Irish allied against the English of Northumbria, a long and bloody fight in which all but a very few of the invaders were slain, their melancholy return journey through the west country and on by ship to Dublin.[1] The Anlaf (Olaf) referred to in the A.-S. poem, who was the leader of this body of Irish auxiliaries of the Scotch king Constantinus, was a son of the Norwegian Gudred who in HR is represented as king of Dublin in Horn's time.[2] HC gives the names of the two Irish chieftains who assisted Malcolm, namely Ferwele and Winwald;[3] but I have found these nowhere else mentioned. Unfortunately, documents recording the events of this troublesome period are few and far between. Later tradition confused different invasions, and picturesque features were transferred from one to another. The narrative in HC is a blending of similar traditions from the period of Northumbrian invasion

[1] According to Florence of Worcester (ad an. 937) the battle of Brunanburh lasted all day; the same statement is made in HC, 73 ff. A long and circumstantial account of this battle is given in the O. N. *Egils saga*, ed. F. Jónsson, 1886–88, pp. 158 ff. See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, I, 350 ff.; *Two Saxon Chrons.*, ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 139 ff.

[2] Skene, l. c., I, 357.

[3] Possibly Fergal and Fingal.

in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is noteworthy, moreover, that it has mythic decoration. Sixty thousand, we are told, fell in one battle, but ever the leader of the English host was unconquerable.

When king Haþeolf on fot stode,
þe Yrise folk about him ȝode,
As houndes do to bare;
Whom he hit opon þe hode,
Were he neuer kniȝt so gode,
He ȝaue a dint wel fare;
He brouȝt in a litel stounde
Wele fif þousende to grounde
Wiþ his grimly gare
þe Irise ost tok hem to red,
To ston þat douhti kniȝt to ded,
þai durst neiȝe him na mare.

Gret diol it was to se
Of hende Haþeolf þat was so fre,
Stones to him þai cast;
þai brak him boþe legge & kne,
Gret diol it was to se,
He kneled atte last.
King Malcan wiþ wretþe out stert
& smot king Haþeolf to þe hert;
He held his wepen so fast,
þat king Malcan smot his arm atvo,
Er he miȝt gete his swerd him fro,
For nede his hert to brast.
(205 ff.)

This certainly reminds us of the fight between Iǫrmunrek and the sons of Guthrun and Jonakr, as recorded in the Old Norse *Hamþismál* (st. 25) and the *Vǫlsungasaga* (ch. 42). The warriors held out persistently against superior numbers, for no weapon harmed them, and their opponents marvelled. Finally, their enemies were instructed (in the *Vǫlsungasaga*, by Odin) to cast stones at them, and they thus lost their lives. Whether this embellishment was derived from an earlier poem on Northumbrian history to which the author of HC had access, or was simply introduced by him from oral tradition, we cannot say. Elsewhere, it may be noted, he shows himself familiar with Germanic tradition. He mentions a sword, "Bitterfer," "the make of Miming and Weland it wrought" (400 ff.).

The first 250 lines, or thereabouts, of HC are clearly, then, more or less trustworthy records of the struggles of the English against Danes, Scotch and Irish in Northumberland. They embody genuine tradition. But—and this is important to remember—there is not the slightest evidence that they were ever connected with the story of Horn before

the composition of HC. They were certainly not in the primitive poem on which KH and HR depend. It is not an independent stream of traditions *concerning Horn* that is here preserved, as many even now-a-days would have us believe.[1] We are now dealing with a late and unwarranted combination of diverse traditions. HC has practically no value in helping to establish the original form of the story of Horn.

The introduction is obviously the most interesting and significant part of the romance. As for the rest, it is but a distorted version of the story as familiar to us in HR. The poem is a product of a late period when old themes were being boldly remodelled to satisfy depraved tastes, when in the composition of romances little respect was paid to the authenticity of tradition, when art was yielding to artifice and originality to convention. The features in which the central story of HC varies from that in HR are not, it is evident, based on ancient and genuine traditions concerning the hero, but rather the deliberate alterations of a redactor who was effecting new combinations such as were then in vogue. Having completely transformed the introduction, he was led, nay forced, to shift the scene of action of the ensuing events. When the life of Horn, now a prince of Northumberland, is imperilled after the death of his father, he flees with his guardian[2] to the court of King Houlac in

[1] Notably Stimming (*Engl. St.*, I, 354 ff.), Caro (*Engl. St.*, XII, 351 ff.), Hartenstein (pp. 58, 100, 105, 121), McKnight (ed., p. xv), and Hall (ed., p. liv). On the contrary, Wissmann (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 103–104) and Ward (p. 459) recognized their different character, though without being able to show the source.

[2] By name *Arlaund*, *Herlaund* (O. N. *Erlendr*)—a name inherited from HR, though the rôle is changed. In HR he is Hunlaf's seneschal to whose care Horn and his companions are confided. In HC, the introduction being different, he is represented as their guide to Houlac's court. As to Houlac, it should be noted that this is the same name as Havelok, a form of Hunlaf, Olaf. Dr. Ward (pp. 463–64) very plausibly connects Hunlaf of Britain and Houlac, who dwelt "fer soube in England,"

the south. There he is heartily welcomed and grows up in honor, evincing such unusual powers that even at the age of fifteen he has achieved fame. Two of his followers go to France, two others to Brittany. He himself, when banished from the king's court, sets out on horseback across country to Wales and enters the service of King Elidan at Snowdon. On his behalf, to right certain definite wrongs, he journeys to Ireland, landing it may be said at a haven called Yolkil (Youghal?). The rival suitor Modun (Moging, Mogeoun) is now represented as an earl of Cornwall. It is naturally to Northumberland that the hero returns to recover the lands which at Hatheolf's death had been usurped by Thorbrand.

It were distracting without advantage to enumerate the many minor features in which HC varies from KH and HR. The author clearly had a wide acquaintance with mediæval romance of a late sort, and did not hesitate to furbish the old story of Horn to make it match others then enjoying popularity. He makes mention of Sir Tristram, and plainly altered features of the earlier narrative to accentuate the already striking resemblance between the two lovers. The conventionality of his poem in both phraseology and incident, its inconsistencies and vagaries, its tiresome "rhyme doggerel," and many meaningless lines, are faults so conspicuous that Chaucer's ridicule, we can but admit, was richly deserved.[1] He mentions *Horn Child* as one of the "romances of pris" which *Sir Thopas* so far surpassed in worth. Unfortunately, many writers in modern times, ignorant of the early romances

with Olaf Tryggvason, who harried the Sudreys, Cumberland and Wales. The name Erlendr frequently occurs in the saga of Olaf (trans. Sephton, 1895). Indeed, the story of Olaf's boyhood, reminds us of Horn's as well as Havelok's (cf. Ward, pp. 436 ff.).

[1] On the style of HC, see Kölbing, *Amis and Amiloun*, p. lxiv; *Tristan Sage*, p. xxxi f.; Caro, *Eng. St.*, xii (1889), 347 ff; Holthausen, *Anglia, Beiblatt*, viii, 197. As Caro, the editor, says (*l. c.*, p. 350): "wir finden in unserer romanze nicht nur gemeinplätze, sondern anch directe wiederholungen aus anderen gedichten, oder, wenn man nicht so weit gehen will, wenigstens sehr wunderbare anklänge an andere romanzen."

of manifest power and charm, have thoughtlessly or disingenuously declared that the poet sneered at all the productions of minstrelsy, and used this as an excuse for pharisaically passing by on the other side. The *Geste of King Horn*, we may feel confident, had Chaucer but known it, would have received his praise. Simple, direct, graphic, vigorous, it has characteristics of Old Norse saga, and establishes in the minds of those who properly regard it an ineffaceable impression which they gladly retain; while on the contrary *Horn Child* leaves the reader dissatisfied and scornful because of the mistakes in literary judgment on the part of the author.

X.

There is one interesting innovation in HC which should here be mentioned because it serves to differentiate this version and those depending on it from the earlier ones. In KH and HR, we remember, Rimenhild gives Horn a ring as a remembrance, to spur him to high accomplishment in battle. In HC the ring thus bestowed by the heroine is of a magic character; it will change color if she is untrue to Horn, simply wan if her thought is changed, but red if she yields to solicitation. If, on the other hand, the hero is unfaithful to his plighted troth, Rimenhild will recognize it by seeing his shadow in a spring near her arbor. When Horn is in Ireland, his ring changes color and he returns home in haste.

This feature of the discoloration of the ring appears also in the several (nine or ten) Scottish ballads of *Hind Horn*, and is sufficient to establish their close kinship with the late romance. They agree with HC also in another noteworthy feature, that of the proposed elopement of the bride; and they have certain striking verbal resemblances in common.[1] Inas-

[1] For these see Child, *Ballads*, i, 192; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 87–93, 122 ff. The only indication of locality in the ballads is Scotland (A, H); near Edinburgh (D); in Newport town (F). If any weight is to be attached to this localization, it is in favor of a connection with HC.

much, however, as they deal only with the episode of Horn's return to the king's court and reunion with his lady, and are preserved only in very modern records of oral tradition, it has been found difficult to determine their exact relationship to HC. Professor Child's judicious words it is well to recall: "The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral traditions with the later English or the French, but no filiation. And were filiation to be accepted, there would remain the question of priority. It is often assumed, without a misgiving, that oral tradition must needs be younger than anything that was committed to writing some centuries ago; but this requires in each case to be made out; there is certainly no antecedent probability of that kind." The wisdom of these words all will recognize. But Professor Child wrote when the origin and development of the Horn saga seemed to be a hopeless muddle. The situation has meanwhile become clearer. No good reason at present requires us to postulate the existence of still another English version of the story in which earlier than in HC were introduced the features in which it and the ballads agree. Now that we know better the method of composition of that romance and are aware that these features are innovations of the author, we realize that the ballads must be based more or less directly upon his account. That we cannot establish more accurately their pedigree, need not disturb us, for such "waifs of popular tradition" (to use Professor Child's happy phrase) have, like Topsy, simply "growed" without thought of whence they came. Most of them were recovered from the vicissitudes of oral wandering within the nineteenth century. Through them the story has been perpetuated among the people of England for nearly a thousand years, and possibly still remains popular in remote parts. Such links as these bind the present to the past.

XI.

Meanwhile in France the tale of Horn and Rimenhild had been otherwise transformed. Both hero and heroine across the channel completely lost their identity and were presented to continental readers with new names and new costumes, in unlike association. King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone are characters with whom it does not take us long to become acquainted. The prose romance of their career was written, it appears, about 1387 by the French knight Geoffrey de la Tour Landry[1] and was intended to exalt his distinguished family, somewhat as the romance of Mélusine was written to glorify the family of Lusignan. Finding the story of Horn ready at hand, the chivalrous author simply rehandled it to suit his private purpose. Dr. Mather has pointed out[2] that he "has used every essential element of the plot of HR, but has filled in the skeleton freely by invention, amplification, and occasional borrowings." Into details regarding these changes I need not here enter. Suffice it to remark that the topography has once more undergone change. The story is now definitely localized in Galicia and England. Scenes are enacted in places in France with which La Tour Landry and his family were familiar. The characters include many bearing the names of the local nobility. It is most important, however, to note that a totally different spirit animated this version of the Horn story than any of its predecessors. The interest of the book consists chiefly in its portrayal of an ideal knight of later chivalrous times. *Ponthus* is essentially a book of courtesy, fitted for the instruction of noble youth. As a story it drags; its style has little distinction; its composition

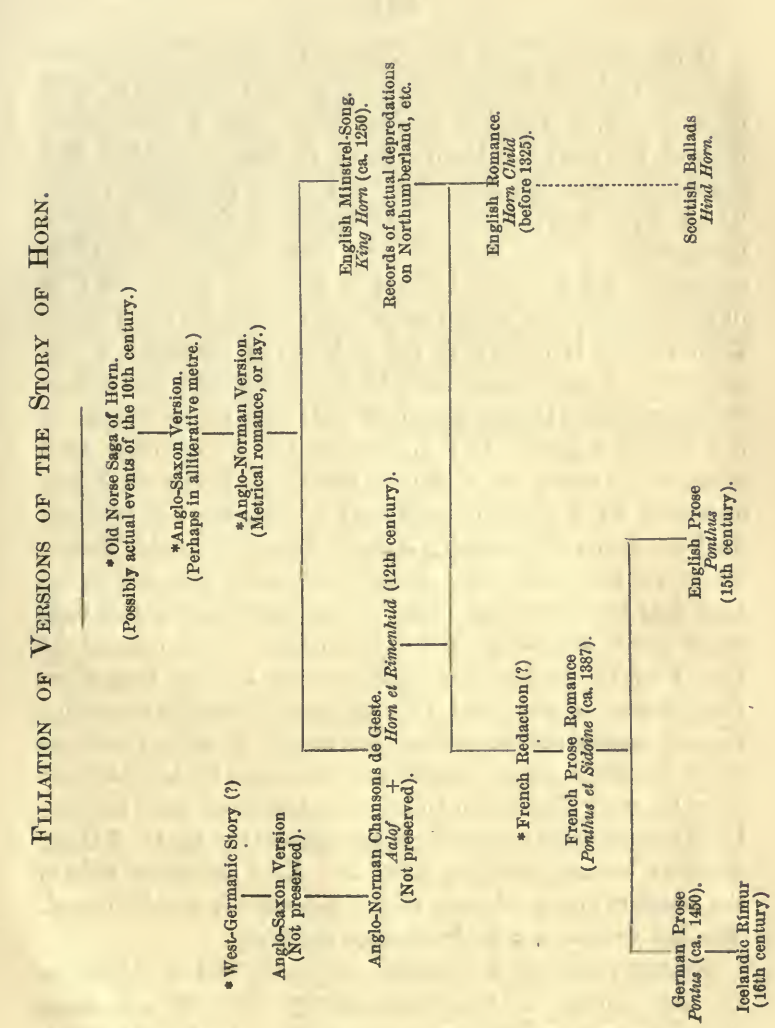
[1] See G. Paris, *Rom.*, xxvi, 468–70. From the hero of the romance, according to M. Paris, Ponthus de la Tour Landry, grandson of the author, got his name.

[2] *King Ponthus and the Fair Sidone* (*Pubs. of the Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, xii.) p. xvii; cf. Hartenstein, pp. 140 ff.

faulty; but its inspiration was worthy and its influence widespread.

The romance of *Ponthus* was popular in France. It was repeatedly copied and printed. It was reproduced in foreign tongues. Evidently it appealed first of all to those in high station. About the middle of the fifteenth century, a daughter of James I of Scotland, the wife of the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, translated it into German. But its popularity speedily became great also among the masses, and in chap-book form it had a long life both at home and abroad. It appeared in Low German and Dutch in the seventeenth century. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth it was turned into English. Wynkyn de Worde printed it in 1511. This translation is naturally to us of greater interest than the rest. It is, we are told, an improvement on the original. In witness, observe Dr. Mather's appreciation, (p. xlviii): "From the point of view of style, *faible ouvrage* the French *Ponthus* certainly is. Better things may be said of the English translation. It will I believe be difficult to find any English prose of the first-half of the fifteenth century on the whole so fluent and readable. Briskly and easily the story chatters along, when most of the prose of the time lumbers in hopeless monotony. Style, in the sense in which Malory, Pecock, or a modern has style, the story has not. It is more like good unaffected talk than anything else,—no slight merit at the time, and a merit almost wholly the translator's. Just as the homespun virtues, and equally clear-cut vices of the book cannot compete in interest with the subtle union of sensuality and religious mysticism that in Malory exercises a somewhat morbid fascination, so the clearness and brightness of its English, excellent for its subject, may appear insignificant, almost inaudible, when Malory resounds in full volume; yet there is room for both, and none of the early English prose romances is likely to suffer less by the contrast."

Filiation of Versions of the Story of Horn.



XII.

If the results of this investigation, as shown in the accompanying table of filiation of the different versions, are, as I hope, correct, it is evident that we have three French redactions of the story of Horn written during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, dependent each on its predecessor, from which were derived three corresponding English versions independent of one another. In each language the three redactions differ greatly in form as well as in spirit, the first in simple metre, the second more complicated, the third prose. Each version is freer than the last in the treatment of the material. New elements are added at every stage; new incidents are regularly substituted for old; new names appear as the centuries pass. The motive of the composition ever changes. Starting as a simple record of heroic tradition, assuming soon the sophistications of romance, it becomes finally a means of glorifying a single family, "a noble storye, whereof a man may lerne mony goode ensamples, and yonge men may here the good dedes of aunciente people that dide much goode and worschip in their days." The hero in the first English version was a Norseman, in the second an Englishman, in the third a Frenchman. Steadily the influence of continental conceptions increases. Steadily the traces of its Northern origin disappear. Journeys by land replace those by sea. The action shifts more and more from the outlying islands to the mainland of Europe and the East. Viking warriors become crusading knights. Each redaction reflects the manners and sentiments of the age when it was fashioned. The last version is a far fetch from the first.

Strangely enough, it is in this last form that it returns to its early home. In the tenth century Horn was, it seems probable, a hero familiar to the Norse. In the sixteenth, under the name of Pontus, he revisited his native land: on the basis of the German romance, Icelandic *rímur* were then written commemorating his deeds.

Guingamor and other heroes of Celtic fable went to dwell in the otherworld unmindful of their past and after three hundred years journeyed home to find themselves forgotten there. Twice that number of years elapsed from the departure of the hero Horn from Scandinavia to an otherworld of fiction and his final return to the North. Meanwhile, "old times had changed, old manners gone." No one recognized the richly-clad stranger even where he was born. The Icelanders marvelled without understanding when they heard of his career.

Few stories illustrate better the extraordinary transmutations that popular tradition is empowered to undergo. Saga lives long by repeatedly shifting its shape.

William Henry Schofield.