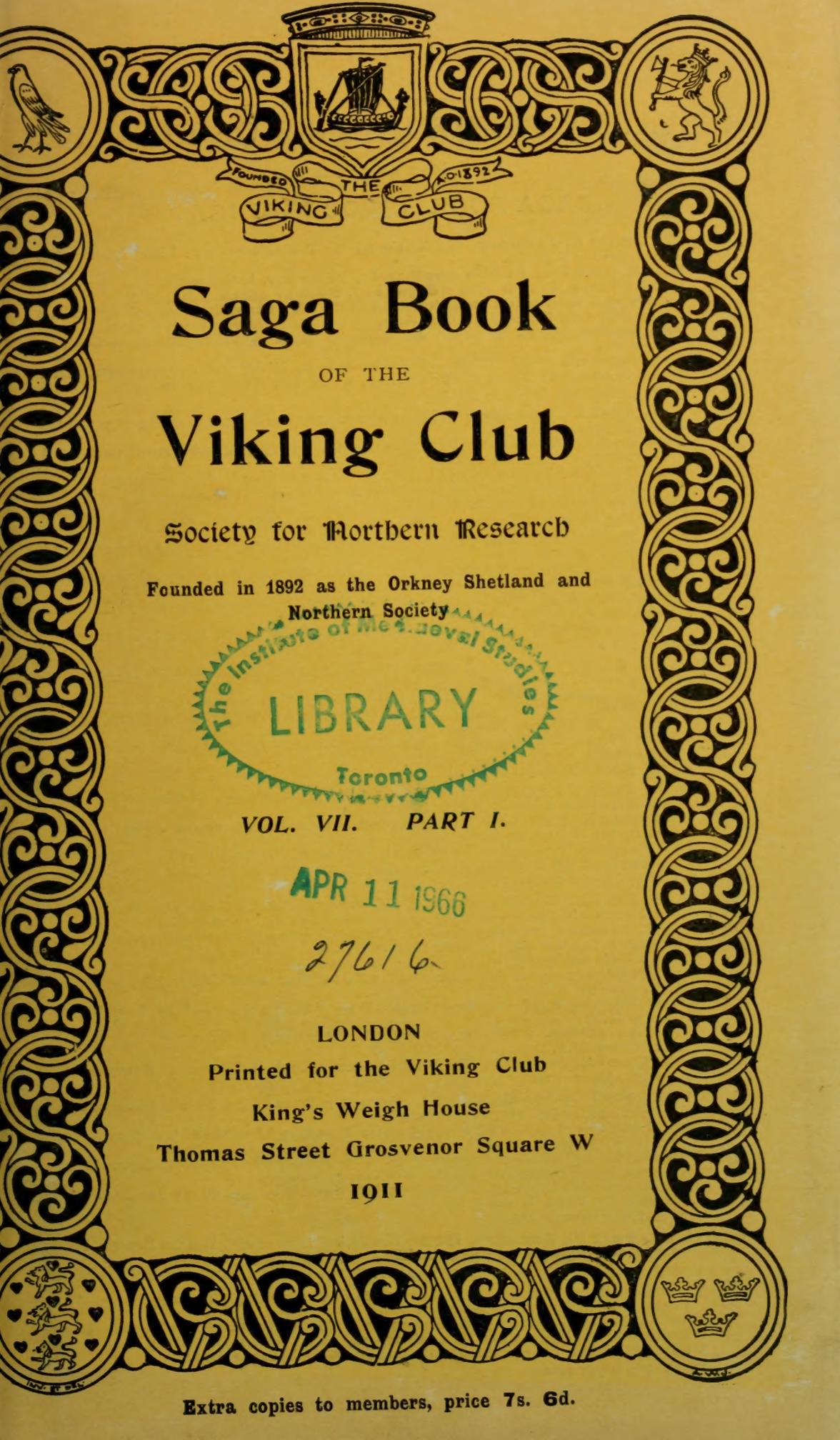


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Saga Book

OF THE

Viking Club

Society for Northern Research

Founded in 1892 as the Orkney Shetland and Northern Society



VOL. VII. PART I.

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VOL. VII. PART I.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

EIGHTEENTH SESSION, 1910.

MEETING, JANUARY 14TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Norse Elements in English Dialects" (A Survey of the Subject) : by Professor G. T. Flom, A.M., Ph.D., of the University of Illinois, printed on pp. 6-24. A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. James Gray, Miss M. Keith Dowding and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part.

A paper was read on "Finds and Excavations of Heathen Temples in Iceland," by Professor Finnur Jónsson and Captain Daniel Bruun, printed on pp. 25-37, with illustrations.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 25TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

The President gave his Inaugural Address on "Recent Theories of Havelok," which will be printed in the next SAGA-BOOK. A vote of thanks to the President was moved by Professor W. P. Ker and seconded by Miss Hull. A discussion followed, in which Mr. James Gray and Mr. A. F. Major took part.

MEETING, MARCH 11TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Wm. Barnes Steveni, M.J.I., read a paper on "The Vikings in Russia," which will be printed in the next SAGA-BOOK. A discussion followed, in which

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. John Marshall, and Mrs. L. Zettersten took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 15TH, 1910.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON (Vice-President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on Friday, April 15th, at 8 p.m.

Professor Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "The Scandinavian Kingdom of Northumbria, which is printed on pp. 38-64. On the motion of the Chairman, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to Professor Mawer for his paper.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented to the meeting, and after amendment were approved and adopted; and have been printed in the YEAR-BOOK, 1909-10, pp. 6-11.

The Officers of the Club, nominated by the Council, for the ensuing year were unanimously elected.

MEETING, MAY 6TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Lovett gave a lecture on "The Folklore of the Horse"; illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer began by referring to the brass ornaments so commonly worn by cart horses in the present day. These, he said, might be divided into two classes: the original, and very old type; and the modern variations of and deviations from the same.

These "brasses," which were originally charms or amulets against the Evil Eye, were worn upon the martingale or upon the forehead of the horse.

The patterns of these amulets were extremely suggestive of lunar and solar symbols, and Mr. Lovett considered that they were survivals of sun and moon

worship! He showed many lantern slides of these, not only from the British Islands, but from Italy and other countries.

The modern brasses were altogether meaningless, being often portraits of well-known persons or the monogram of the firm to whom the horses belonged.

The lecturer then referred to the plumes, or tufts, worn upon the heads by the horses of farmers and others.

Such plumes, or feathers, were to be found also in Italy and Syria, and a series of slides was then shown not only of recent examples, but of Early English, Roman, Greek, Assyrian, and Egyptian forms, going as far back as 2000 years B.C.

Mr. Lovett then described the numerous horse charms of Naples, and showed how the hippocampus (or "sea horse") had become associated with the real horse, by the myth that Neptune or Poseidon was the creator of the horse. He found the hippocampus was a powerful amulet in the coast towns, but not in inland towns of Italy.

On the Lido, Venice, the lecturer found dried sea horses tied up in threes with red worsted and sold "for luck"!

Again! The Venetian gondolas carry upon each gunwale a brass sea horse, with reins held by a brass hand, distinctly suggestive of Neptune's chariot.

Mr. Lovett considered also that the curious and characteristic prow of the gondola was evolved from the hippocampus, for he had seen in the museum at Murano a very old engraving in which the prow was an exact copy of the sea horse.

Many other examples were shown to illustrate the evolution of this myth.

The lecturer then showed photographs bearing upon the connection of horse superstition with the sun chariot from Russia and Northern India, and concluded by referring to the superstitious belief in the horse shoe

and to the curious superstitions connected with the ailments of horses.

He said also that amulets and charms against mishap had now been transferred to the motor-car, which bid fair to be productive of even more superstition than the horse had ever been.

The lecture was illustrated by about forty original photo-lantern slides.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. W. Barnes Stevni, and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part. The President moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his lecture, to which he responded.

TESTIMONIAL DINNER

TO

MR. EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A., JUNE 21ST, 1910.

A Dinner was held at the Florence Restaurant on Tuesday, June 21st, at 7-15 p.m., to present Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon with a testimonial, a report of which is printed in the Year-book for 1909-10, page 23, with an illustration of the illuminated address.

NOVEMBER 18TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., read a narrative poem from his translation of "King Fialar," an Epic in Five Cantos, by Johan Ludvig Runeberg, the great National Poet of Finland. A resumé is printed on pp. 65-84.

MEETING, DECEMBER 16TH, 1910.

Professor I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D. (President), in the Chair.

Professor I. Gollancz having been appointed one of the first two Fellows of the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowships, resigned his Presidency in order to undertake

his tour round the world in 1911. Professor Gollancz in resigning the Chair, thanked the members for the kindness shown to him during his Presidency.

The election by the Council, of Mr. W. F. Kirby, senior Vice-President, as President, was unanimously confirmed by the General Meeting.

Mr. W. F. Kirby then took the Chair and thanked the members for the honour they had conferred on him by electing him as President, in succession to Professor Gollancz.

On the motion of the new President, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Professor Gollancz for the service he had rendered the Club during his tenure of office.

Mr. J. Storer Clouston, B.A., then read a paper on "Odal Orkney," which is printed on pp. 85-100. In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Mr. A. W. Johnston and Dr. Jón Stefánsson took part.

Mr. R. L. Bremner read a paper on "Notes on the Battle of Largs," which is printed on pp. 101-110, with a map.

Mr. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Bremner for his paper, which was seconded by Dr. Jón Stefánsson and carried.

A paper was also read on "Miniatures from Icelandic Manuscripts": by Dr. Harry Fett, which is printed on pp. 111-126, with illustrations.

CORRECTION.

SAGA-BOOK, Vol. VI., Part II.—The Council regret that an obvious error in the translation of Professor Bugge's paper on Havelok escaped their notice. Page 259, line 4, for *King's herdsmen* (hirdmænd) read *King's men*.

The Council of the Viking Club do not hold themselves responsible for statements or opinions appearing in papers in the SAGA-BOOK, the Authors alone being answerable for the same.

NORSE ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH DIALECTS.

(A SURVEY OF THE STUDY).

By Professor GEORGE T. FLOM, A.M., Ph.D.

The University of Illinois.

THE scientific study of Scandinavian-English linguistic relations dates, as we know, from Erik Brate's memorable treatise on Northern loanwords in the *Ormulum* published in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* in 1883. In that work the author formulated certain phonological tests and applied these in a study of the vocabulary of one particular Middle English monument with such sound philological method, that his verdict became definitive in the great majority of the two hundred and forty words there discussed. The criteria Brate adopted were principally formal. They were, in part, such as are based upon differences between English and Norse which find their explanation in a primitive differentiation in North Germanic, as e.g., *trigg*, 'faithful, secure,' from Old Danish *trygger* (or Old Norse *tryggr*) as opposed to Old English *treow*; or, again, they were based upon specific English or West Saxon development where Old Norse, and indeed all the Scandinavian languages at that time, represented an earlier condition, as O.E. *ā* = O.N. *æi* (Germanic *ai*); O.E. *ea* = O.N. *ou* (Germanic *au*), or the West Saxon palatalization of *k* (*c*), *sk*, and *g* in e.g. *cirice*, 'church,' *scīr*, 'clear' and *zeat*, 'gate.' The orthographic principles which find such consistent expression in the *Ormulum* supplied the investigator of its Norse elements with tests which are not elsewhere available and made possible a more exact determination of the Scandinavian provenience of a series

of words whose normal spelling would have nothing to stamp them as un-English. Thus *hannd* 'hand' and *ganngen*, 'to go,' as not sharing in the Middle English vowel lengthening before *nd* and *ng*, are therefore not from native Middle English *hānd* and *gāng*, but from Old Danish *hand* and *gangæ*, which have the corresponding short vowel, such lengthening not having operated in Scandinavian linguistic territory.¹

Brate's results were a distinct and a very significant contribution both to the history of English and to the study of its Scandinavian element. It showed that Scandinavian words were present in large numbers in that particular monument of Midland English and therefore also that Scandinavian influence was very extensive in that particular region. It established by formal criteria the Scandinavian origin of a body of Middle English words, most of which were in general use, many of which passed into standard speech, not a few of which, finally, are still current in the modern dialects, particularly of the North of England. The conservative attitude of the author and the method he employed had a healthy effect upon the study at a time when etymological vagaries of all sorts were to be met with wherever Norse-English relations were discussed. I cannot help regretting, however, that Brate's investigation was not followed by similar studies of the Scandinavian element in other Midland and Northern texts. Such special investigations would have been materially facilitated by the fact that the ground had already been broken and the problems stated—as far as Midland English was concerned. Investigations of Northern texts would, however, have had to be carried on in the light of knowledge of the varied development of native English in all parts of Northern England and Scotland. Had such studies been made we should have been able to determine with far greater

¹ Possible shortening in certain cases as a native change is, however, considered by the author. See discussion, § 9.

accuracy than we now can, the extent and the nature of the Scandinavian factor in English texts and in modern English speech, and therefore also incidentally the extent of the racial admixture of English, Norsemen, and Danes, in the different parts of England and Scotland in the age of Viking settlement.

The bearing of Brate's results upon the study of the Scandinavian element in northern English dialects was, in part, quite indirect. Only to a limited extent are the criteria that obtain in Midland Middle English, also applicable to the Northern dialects of to-day. The history of these dialects is so different from that of Southern English that the problems one is confronted with here are of quite another character. And the details of that history for the different parts of Northern England and Scotland have as yet been investigated only in part. The investigator, therefore, is constantly beset with difficulties, which are often of such a character as to make it impossible for him to decide with anything like certainty, upon the history of the form and the ultimate source of the word.¹

Scandinavian contributions to the vocabulary of Northern English were of course extensive, and the evidence of Scandinavian influence, even beyond the domain of the vocabulary, are clear. But it becomes increasingly difficult as we go northward to determine to what extent such influence is present, or even to decide, in many cases, whether a word is borrowed or not, for the simple reason that criteria which farther south are conclusive, here fail utterly of proving anything. There were even in Old English times certain significant differences between West Saxon and Old Northumbrian. These were due, in part, to the absence in the North of certain changes that characterise the Saxon form of Old English. They were, however, also due in no small measure to the development in the North of certain progressive features

¹See also chapter vi. in Wyld's admirable volume on *The Historical Study of the Mother Tongue*, New York, 1906.

which are lacking in Southern Old English, and only gradually become established there in the Middle English period. It is important for us to bear in mind that English was even in its origins a somewhat composite language, Germanic to be sure, but growing up out of several dialects that already on the continent may be assumed to have taken on distinct individualities. Thus, while the Anglo-Frisian group occupies a position intermediate between German on the one hand and North-Germanic on the other, the South and the North of England exhibit linguistically a character, according to which the former is more purely West Germanic, while Northern or Anglian Old English has entered upon a course of development along lines which were already fully established within the Scandinavian branch.

The most striking fact of Northern English in the latter part of the Old English period is the extent to which the old grammatical forms have been levelled and the suffixal symbols of inflexion been replaced by prepositions. No doubt we have here to do with the influence of race mixture (as Celtic and English), so in part at least. To what extent it may also be due to the inability of the Scandinavians to learn the English inflexions and to the introduction by them of prepositions which to them were clearer, it would of course not be easy to say. We can conceive that they as invaders did not make much effort at mastering the English forms; and also that the English, while acquiring the language of the invaders and becoming themselves bilingual, soon lost the mastery over their own inflexional forms and gradually lapsed into what was at first, of course, laxer ways of speech.

The early development of the phrasal possessive (*of* + dative) in the North is no doubt in a measure due to the speech of the Scandinavian settlers in which prepositional constructions were farther advanced than in English. This has been suggested recently by C. E. Bale in a thesis on *The Syntax of the Genitive Case*

in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, University of Iowa, 1907. With racial and linguistic conditions as they were in the Danelaw, during the last two centuries of the O.E. period and later, it need not surprise us that the Scandinavians should have had a very definite influence upon English syntactical development as well as upon the inflexions. In his *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, which, it seems to me, represents the maturest product of English scholarship upon the history of English that we have, Otto Jespersen discussed briefly certain cases of probable Danish influence upon some fundamental features of word-order and structure in English. While a series of investigations would have to be undertaken before we should be equipped with sufficient evidence on which to base a definitive verdict on the points in question, there are several cases where the probability of Scandinavian influence is exceedingly strong. The pre-position of the dependent genitive is something that quite early becomes characteristic of the Scandinavian languages as opposed to the post-position of the genitive in German. There is good reason for believing with Jespersen that the pre-positive genitive, which on English soil first appears in the North, has some relation to the same word order in Old Norse-Danish. I believe, nevertheless, that also this phenomenon demands a fuller investigation. But these things belong more especially to the domain of the history of English as a whole, and have been mentioned here only because they would seem to represent early Scandinavian features in Northern English, and are especially interesting because they also are among the many Northern contributions to literary English.

On the side of vocabulary and phraseology Northern English, particularly the modern dialects, contain much that is quite foreign to the South and to standard speech. Here the material is much more tangible and cases of loan are often very clear. Idiomatic expressions and

combinations of words that are un-English, but which are characteristic of Norse may with certainty be put down as loans. But also here care must be exercised. We must be sure that these are and always have been contrary to English modes of expression. We must, furthermore, have the necessary evidence that they were established in Norse at the time when Norse influence was operative in English. A clear case in point is the Cumberland expression *lig on*, 'to be of importance.' A thing is said to 'lig on' when it is important that it should be done. It is a combination of a verb and a preposition (resp, adverb) which is nowhere evidenced in pure English. Its source is clearly the O.N. *liggja á*, 'to be important or urgent'; examples, *mér liggr á*, it is important for me—and *mun þar stórt á liggja*, 'it is an urgent or serious matter.'¹ But the cases are not always so simple. A glance through the pages of some of the early glossaries published by the English Dialect Society shows that early collectors were often, and indeed could at that time not help being, misled by Norse and English dialectal parallels. We recognise now that many of these turns of expression were also good English once, and appear in dialectal speech at the present time as survivals from past periods of English.

I said above that the question of loan in the vocabulary is a more tangible one. And yet also here each separate word requires to be weighed carefully and the forms are often elusive enough. For here the question is in a very large number of cases closely bound up with the whole problem of the phonology of Northern English. The most conspicuous departure of the North away from the vowel-system of the South is that which affected the O.E. *ā*. In southern and central England and in standard speech the long *a* changed by process of progressive rounding until in standard English the

¹The example is taken from my article on "Etymological Notes on some English Dialect Words" in Vol. IV., pp. 10-19 of *The Journal of Germanic Philology*.

resultant vowel is \bar{o}^u , while in the extreme South the rounding advanced to the form \bar{u} , or u^o . The Northern process was, as we know, a very different one. Here the \bar{a} undergoes a change of progressive palatalization, until the resultant form is \bar{e} , or in some localities \bar{e}^v . Here, then, in words of the type 'stone' (*stunon*); *staine* (*sti²n*); 'home' (*huom*); *hame* (*hi²m*) the North and the South of England have separated as far as they possibly could.

The development thus outlined is one which not only differentiated Northern English from standard speech, but also brought its vowel system a long step nearer to that of the Scandinavian languages. It gave to a whole category of English words, including the preterite singular of the strong verbs of the first gradation series (type O.E. *drīfan*, *drāf*, O.N. *drīfa*, *dræiv*), a Scandinavian appearance, while in reality they were native English forms. It is, therefore, not surprising that early collectors of dialect texts should have come to regard all such words as derived from Old Norse; *haime* from O.N. *hæim*, *haile* from O.N. *hæil*, *raive* from O.N. *ræif*, thus run the etymological equations. The fact that some of these words, as *strade* (< *strīdan*), did not exist in O.N. only served as evidence of the very far-reaching character of the Norse influence in this group of words;—the native vowel \bar{o} in literary English, had been supplanted by the Norse vowel ($\bar{æ}i[e]i > e$). No one believes now any longer that Northern dialectal \bar{e} is, even in the remotest way, due to the O.N. vowel; but it is less than a score of years ago since that view was given up. While any one of these words, in so far as it has an O.N. equivalent, *might* be from O.N., the theory that the native English vowel had in all such words been supplanted, is, we now know, quite untenable, and indeed, in itself a very unlikely theory. For the sounds of a language are rarely influenced by those of another. It has not been shown

that a single English vowel has been modified in its course of development by Norse influence.¹

The conservative character of Northern English on the side of certain consonants, according to which it remains closer to Scandinavian conditions, while the South has made radical departures therefrom, has given still greater trouble to the student of the loan elements of the dialects. The Scandinavian *appearance* of a word became its principal test of origin, and while the correct source is often pointed out, the results are more often wholly erroneous. Thus Robert Ferguson in *The Dialect of Cumberland* (London, 1873), correctly derives the preposition *amell* 'between, among,' from O.N. *amilli*, and the verb *fest* 'to send out cattle to other farms to be grazed' from O.N. *fasta*, 'to settle, stipulate, make a bargain'; but he is also led so far astray as to find the source of Cumberland *yable* or *able* in O.N. *afla*, which, he says, denotes both 'to be able and to possess or acquire.' Such words as *kist*, 'chest,' *rig*, 'ridge' and *mirk*, 'dark,' are (of course, erroneously) regularly equated with the corresponding O.N. words in such dialect works as William Dickinson's *Glossary of Words and Phrases of Cumberland* (Whitehaven, 1859), *The Dialect of Leeds* published by John Russell Smith (London, 1862), and Wm. Carr's *Dialect of Craven* (1828). In this practice of finding in the Norse stem the source of English words, wherever possible, these authors were, however, merely following in the footsteps of James Jamieson's once much celebrated *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*. According to this writer it was Old Scandinavian that was the parent speech of Lowland Scottish (and Northern English) and he saw in the Old Norse and the "Sveo-Gothic" stems

¹ It is, of course, quite a different question as to whether the vowel of a group of words frequently associated, or of an inflexional category (as the preterite of a strong verb class) may have had its form modified by the same group or class in Norse.

the nearest related forms of the ancient language of Lowland Scotland.

While the attribution of almost every specifically dialectal feature of Northern English to Scandinavian influence was erroneous, and often had its source in a false conception of the relation that originally obtained between the two languages, we of to-day need to be on our guard, perhaps, lest we go too far in the other extreme. I find sometimes now evidence of an undue effort to force dialectal words and forms of expression into the mould of Old and (native) Middle English words. That Scandinavian elements are present in very considerable number in the dialects of the North and the Northern Midlands, has once for all been established. That the Northerner rarely speaks an English sentence without using one or more Norse words, is well known. That the influence extends even beyond the vocabulary into the inflexions and other structural features of his daily speech, we also know. We know that a considerable portion of that which gives Northern English its distinct individuality is of Scandinavian origin and owes its presence there to extensive racial admixture¹; so extensive indeed that in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland the Scandinavian element undoubtedly preponderated. But we also know that a still larger number of those things which are characteristically Northern in English, have arisen by process of regular development on the basis of native Old English material. The problem becomes one of sifting the two, separating the one from the other by the aid of all the available facts relative to English dialectal laws and changes and in the light of all available information bearing upon the subject.

The first scholarly effort to explain English dialectal words from Old Norse appears, I believe, in the Cleasby-

¹ I am aware that I am using the word race here somewhat too narrowly, for in 'race,' Norseman and Englishman, and the Northern German, are one in origin.

Vigfusson *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1873). It was natural that Vigfusson, an Icelander, should have been attracted to that study. Under almost every article in the Dictionary are given Early English or dialectal words whose forms are illustrated by the O.N. words. The great interest that subsequently came to attach to the study among Anglicists was no doubt first inspired by this pioneer work of Vigfusson. In 1876 Rev. W. W. Skeat issued a pamphlet as a supplement to the Oxford dictionary, entitled: *A List of English Words, the Etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic*. This list, which was intended chiefly to throw light on literary English, included a large amount of dialect material, which had been gathered for the most part from Haliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial English*. The index, as Reverend Skeat informs us in the Preface, had been prepared under the guidance of Dr. Vigfusson, and Skeat disclaims any wish to decide on the nature of the relation that exists between the words compared. In this list was brought together for the first time a very considerable body of dialect words with their Norse parallels, the true origin of many of these being here also suggested in the stem cited for illustration. The author exercised great care, however, refraining in almost every single case from indicating etymological equations. The compilation was intended "only to clear the way for more discriminating treatment; and," he continues, "I am of the opinion that the present state of English etymology is such, that all haste, over-confidence and dogmatism are much to be avoided." In his *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (1882), and in numerous editions of Middle English texts (as *Chaucer, Havelok the Dane, Barbour's Bruce*), Skeat has supplied many a helpful hint and pointed out the specific Scandinavian source of many a M.E. word which still lives on in the dialects, although he too has at times gone a little too far in the attribution of English words to Norse sources.

In their *Icelandic Prose Reader* (pages 558-559), published in 1879, Vigfusson and Powell dealt briefly with Norse words in English. They gave there a list of loans and offer certain rules by which to decide the source of a word. These are interesting as being, I believe, the first effort at formulating definite criteria. They are, however, rather general in character as "the absence of the words in Anglo-Saxon poetry," the "Norse character" of a word, and "phonetic reasons," the latter being illustrated by the words *odd*, *happy*, *ransack*, *skin*, *raise*, *fellow*, *window*, *steak*, and *breath*. Four years later appeared Brate's investigation upon the *Ormulum*, which defined much more specifically a series of tests based on form and meaning, and which gave a truly scientific basis for the future study of the subject. I have above spoken of the significance of Brate's work, at the same time pointing out, however, that his tests, definitive as they were for the M.E. monument in question, are wholly inadequate for English dialects. Until the phonology of the dialects could be much more fully investigated than had yet been done, the study of its vocabulary and forms with reference to loan-elements could never be satisfactorily conducted. Scientific certainty was possible in none of the considerable number of cases where the peculiar development of the North had obliterated the phonological differences that once existed as between English and Norse.

During the next decade a series of publications appeared which represented a great forward step in English dialect study. These were, first, a series, a dialect investigations, among which must be especially mentioned Joseph Wright's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, issued by *The English Dialect Society* in 1892. Wright aimed to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the phonology and accidence of a particular dialect. The great value of the work lay in the method of treatment and in the accuracy of the work, guaranteed, as it was, by the

author's statement in the preface, that "I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up."¹

Of still greater significance for the study of English dialects as a whole was the work of Alexander J. Ellis on *Early English Pronunciation* (1889), particularly Volume V. which treated of *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, of which an abridgment under the title: *English Dialects, their Homes and Sounds*, was published the following year, Ellis's monumental work is too well known to require anything but a mention here by me. As an effort at investigating the correspondence of writing with speech from the oldest period down to existing received and dialectal forms with a systematic notation of spoken sounds, it stands without a parallel in any other country. It is due in a considerable measure to that work that the historical study of English sounds, and particularly of that of the dialects, has been carried forward with so much success in recent years. It may be in place here to observe that the first studies which found embodiment in Ellis's treatment of dialect pronunciation were begun as far back as 1868, and in 1875 he presented before the Philological Society a paper on the classification of English dialects. This was followed in subsequent years by papers upon various English dialects before the same body down to 1884, those for the three last years being on the dialects of the Midlands and the eastern counties (April, 1882), the Dialects of the northern counties (March, 1883), and those of the Lowlands of Scotland in April, 1884. The founding of *The English Dialect Society* was due very largely, I believe, to the work of Alexander Ellis.

In this connection there also suggests itself the name

¹Incidentally Wright's *Grammar* frequently throws light upon the Norse element in the Windhill Dialect. Among the words shown to be Norse are *lake* 'to play' pronounced *le²k*, and 'weak' pronounced *we²k*, for the O.E. *ā* is in Windhill *w²*.

of the German scholar, Karl Luick, who, on the basis of the material contained in Ellis, has contributed more perhaps than any other scholar to the elucidation of modern dialectal and standard English.¹

The time now seemed to have arrived for a more thorough study of Scandinavian elements in English. And so we find appearing during the next few years four doctoral dissertations bearing more or less directly upon the subject. The first of these, namely, Jakob Jakobsen's *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, Copenhagen, 1897, a most scholarly work, I shall merely mention here, because it deals with dialect material that is late² and of a wholly different nature from that of the English Scottish mainland. The problems here met with fall in a class by themselves, having, as they do, to deal with the present survivals of that Insular Norse which was actually spoken in the Shetlands and the Orkneys until about a hundred and fifty years ago.

From Cambridge University there appeared the following year the first systematic study of the Scandinavian element in English dialects. The work was that of Arnold Wall, and the material here gathered together was based upon the various glossaries published by the Dialect Society. Mr. Wall adopted in part Brate's tests, adding others on form and distribution, and divided the whole number of words investigated into two lists: one of such words as seemed to the author to be of undoubted Scandinavian origin; this list contained about five hundred words; the other one of about two hundred words, which might be of Scandinavian origin, but whose form did not admit of definite conclusions. The extensive field covered by Wall's work, and the complexity of the material in question, made a thorough-going investi-

¹ Thus, e.g., in *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte*, Strassburg, 1895, and in several articles in *Archiv. für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*.

² Late in the sense of being so recently a part of living Norse speech—the *Norn* of Shetland. For fuller account of Jakobsen's work see my review in *Modern Language Notes*, 1902, 110-118.

gation of each word, based on all its variants, extremely difficult.¹ He made some valuable observations upon such questions as popular Old English and non-palatalization in the Northern dialects; of the latter much more could have been made, however, by an examination of Ellis's phonetic notations and Wright's Grammar. His brief treatment of the question of O.N. *æi*, O.E. *ā*, and words of the type *stane*, *hail*, etc. (§33-35) was quite inadequate, and in part antiquated. But the work represents, nevertheless, a genuine and welcome contribution because of the extensive lists of dialect words offered.

The third and fourth doctorate theses referred to above both appeared in 1900. One of these was my own work upon *Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch*, which was published as Number I. in *Columbia University Germanic Studies*; the investigations, the results of which were embodied in this thesis, were carried on during a year of study in England, Denmark, and Germany in 1898-1899. The second was an exhaustive study by Erik Björkman, Part I. of which appeared under the title *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, from Uppsala University in 1900; Part II. was published in 1902.

My own investigation was an attempt at determining the extent of the Norse element in the English language north of the border, as represented in Scottish literature from Barbour to Burns; to a limited extent Lowland dialect words were included by way of illustration. In addition to the tests of form that seemed to me applicable I used others of meaning and distribution, stressing, as I believe, the latter somewhat unduly, and being led thereby in some cases to decide for the Scandinavian origin of words I now feel are capable of a different

¹ A sufficient examination of the dialectal forms of the words *goum*, 'heed,' *fested*, 'engaged,' *gob*, 'to prate,' *vait*, 'to soak flax,' f.e., would have shown clearly that these are of Norse origin, though relegated to "List B" of doubtful cases by Wall. On the other hand, some of the words of "List A" are hardly of Norse origin.

explanation. My word-list indicates that there are about four hundred and fifty words of Norse source in Scottish literature, the majority of which are still current in the dialects of the Lowlands, particularly the counties of Roxburgh, Dumfries, Kircudbright and Ayr. The nature of my material was in some important cases such, that the solution of the Norse or English origin of a word was possible only by a study of the dialectal phonology of the stems in question. One especially interesting problem lay in the question of the source of a number of words with the stem-vowel \bar{e} variously spelled, *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, or α with the final *e*. The phonology of Norse loans showed that O.N. *ai* and O.E. \bar{a} both appear as \bar{e} . The test of sound therefore does not here operate. Were *haile*, *laike*, *haime*, *hailse* (to greet) from O.N. *hæil*, *læik*, *hæim*, *hæilsa*, or were they from O.E. *hāl*, *lāc*, *hām*, *healsian*?

The number of this class of words was considerable. The test of orthography set up for the dialects by Wall, according to which the representatives of O.E. \bar{a} do not appear with the diphthongal spelling, fails, in the Scottish loans, where there is no such practice observed. O.E. \bar{a} and O.N. *æi* have completely coincided at an early time in Scotland, and are nowhere differentiated in the written symbols. A reference to Ellis's interlinear texts showed me that the two sounds did not coincide everywhere in Scotland and England. In Ellis's D33 in Southern Scotland,¹ which includes Roxburgh, Selkirk and the eastern two-thirds of Dumfries, the modern representatives of O.E. \bar{a} and O.N. *æi* are kept apart to this day, the former being pronounced with a fracture (as *hi̇m*, e.g.), while the latter preserved the *e*-vowel. A similar separation of the two is also found to exist in Dialect 31 (= Westmoreland, Cumberland, except the northern extremity, northern Lancashire, the hilly parts of Western Yorkshire and South Durham). The test of form which here is preserved, then, may also

¹The Dialect treated in Murray's *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*.

be applied to the same words in other parts of Southern Scotland and Northern England.¹ Specifically it may be said that the use of the test to the material in my lists showed that Sco. *haime*, *baine*, *haile*, and *staine*, are native words; they regularly have the forms *heeam beean*, etc., in the regions specified. Notable instances which are shown to be of Norse derivation are: *blaike*, 'yellow, pale,' (O.N. *blæikr*); *claime*, 'to adhere,' (O.N. *klæima*); *flay*, 'to frighten,' (O.N. *fleya*); *laike*, 'to play,' (O.N. *læika*); *lave*, 'remainder,' (O.N. *læifr*); *rate*, 'to bleach,' (O.N. *röyta*)²; *slake*, 'to smear, daub,' (O.N. *slæikja*); *slape*, 'slippery,' (O.N. *slæipr*); *snape*, 'to restrain,' (O.N. *snöyþa*).

The date of the fracture has a bearing upon the question of loan-words also. Clearly the base was \bar{e} , \bar{e} or the much more recent \bar{i} . F. J. Curtis (*Anglia* XVI. and XVII.), in a study of the *Clariodus*, believed the fracture to have arisen on the basis of \bar{i} ; that is, it is a diphthongal development of *i*. Luick, however, holds that it was the \bar{e} -vowel that developed the fracture. It seems clear to me that the point of departure must have been \bar{e} or \bar{e} . Were \bar{i} the basis of the fracture we must assume two M.E. \bar{e} 's, one from O.E. \bar{a} , the other from O.N. *ai*; the latter would then have to be assumed to have been diphthongal, and later to have become simplified to \bar{e} . In this case it becomes difficult to see how M.E. \bar{e} (< O.E. \bar{a}) should have become \bar{e}^i without coinciding with M.E. \bar{e}^i (< \bar{e}) on the way. Even if we assume that the M.E. \bar{e} < O.E. \bar{a} was an open one (= \bar{e}) and M.E. \bar{e} from O.N. *ai* was close, = \bar{e} , the difficulty would still be the same. A proof of the fact that the fracture began on the basis of \bar{e} lies in its distribution in the modern dialects. Thus I find that the fracture $e\hat{c}$, $a\hat{c}$, etc., is established to-day in much wider extent than that of $i\hat{c}$, which indicates that

¹ Perhaps, however, only within a certain distance, as where the racial conditions were quite different other considerations again enter.

² Not from L. German *rotten*.

the latter is but the last stage of palatalization of a falling diphthong, which started as \bar{e}^i .¹ In other words the fracture of vowels is a characteristic of northern English dialects; its scope goes far beyond that of *i*, and existed long before $i\hat{c}$ appeared as a fracture-vowel. Where the O.E. \bar{a} and O.N. $\bar{a}i$ have coincided the process must have been:

O.E. $\bar{a} > \bar{e} > \bar{e}$

O.N. $\bar{a}i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}$; while, where they were always distinguished, the process probably was—

O.E. $\bar{a} > \bar{e} > \bar{e}\hat{c} > \bar{e}\hat{c} > i\hat{c}$ and

O.N. $\bar{a}i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}^i > \bar{e}$.

This will also make clear why \bar{e}^i of late M.E. could not have coincided with the vowel which was the equivalent of O.E. \bar{a} , for this had already assumed too distinct an individuality in the direction of a falling diphthong.²

It may be observed that, as Luick has shown, *-aik* became $\bar{e}k$ in late M.E. times, after which a further fronting of the vowel took place before the consonant *k*; hence the dialect form *feak*, "to twitch," from O.N. *föykja*, "to rush, drive away." The word *weak* and *bleak* are to be similarly explained, while the form *steak* would seem to have come from regions where the vowel \bar{e} prevailed also before *k*.³

Time will not permit of discussing Björkman's contributions to the study in his *Scandinavian Loan Words*, a work which has received well-merited recognition among Anglicists everywhere. I have, furthermore, spoken somewhat in detail of it in two reviews in American journals⁴ and do not need to repeat myself here.

¹ For illustrations see *The English Dialect Grammar*.

² For a general study of the O.N. diphthongs in English, see article by Luick in *Archiv. f. d. St. d. n. Sprachen*, CVII., pages 322-329.

³ But see Björkman, index, under each word, Kluge-Lutz *English Etymology* under *bleach*, *steak* and *weak*, and *Archiv.* CVII., p. 327.

⁴ Review of Part I. in *The Modern Language Notes* XVII., 386-391, and of Part II. in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, V., 422-426.

Björkman's work is a more exhaustive study than any previous one, and was productive of very valuable results. The author dealt only incidentally, however, with dialect material, and it does not carry with it in these parts the same evidence of deep and conscientious study that his presentation of the M.E. material does everywhere. But no student of Norse-English relations can hereafter afford to remain in ignorance of Björkman's study on Scandinavian loanwords.

Finally, I mention, with the pleasure that every student of English dialects must feel at our possession of these works, the *English Dialect Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Grammar*, ably edited by Professor Joseph Wright of Oxford. These works represent the crowning point of the great work of the *English Dialect Society*. The former must be the constant guide of the dialect student in all questions of the distribution of dialect words and their occurrence in dialect literature. The latter will supply him with a wealth of information on the dialect phonology of a very large body of words (2,431) common to standard and dialectal speech. I cannot help voicing my regret, however, that, excellent as these works are, they were not gotten up on even broader lines. The *Dialect Dictionary* should, I believe, have had every variant pronunciation of dialect words fully recorded in phonetic transcription with reference to the home of each of such variant forms. The usefulness of the *Dialect Grammar* would have been immeasurably enhanced as regards the source and history of words if its scope had not been confined to words which the dialects have in common with literary English.

This limitation is felt especially in the study of loanwords. A very large proportion of these are confined to the dialects. As a result the *Dialect Grammar* fails to give evidence at all in our quest after the true history of this group of dialect words. And, furthermore, the dialects have for decades gradually been becoming

replaced by standard English. We are met then, again, with the question of contamination in the dialect forms of those words which the dialects now have in common with standard speech. For genuine dialect material we are thrown back upon the Dialect Dictionary; but here we miss again the accurate notation of dialectal pronunciation. While recognizing the very great worth of these works, representing years of arduous labour by patriotic and scholarly men, and feeling, as we all do, that we could not now get along without them, I believe we are lacking something yet before the dialects of England can be made to yield all the light that they contain toward the elucidation of the history of English speech. I have already indicated the kind of detailed investigations which we now need. And specifically do I believe that we ought to have undertaken such detailed investigations for those most interesting and instructive of dialects which, because of greater remoteness from the centre of culture and literary influence, have best been able to live their own life and to preserve their peculiar individuality with the nearest approach to purity. And among these are undoubtedly the dialects of the North of England, of the North of Scotland, and of the Isles.

The Viking Club, which is carrying forward with such signal success the work of elucidating the cultural relations of Great Britain and the Scandinavian North, is in a position, as no other learned organization is, to undertake such studies of those dialects that have been stamped in a special degree by the language of the Vikings.

FINDS AND EXCAVATIONS OF HEATHEN TEMPLES IN ICELAND.¹

By PROFESSOR FINNUR JÓNSSON and CAPTAIN DANIEL BRUUN.

NOWHERE in Scandinavia, except in Iceland, have remains of heathen temples been found.

In the summer of 1908, Professor Finnur Jónsson and Captain Daniel Bruun dug out a temple ruin, near the farm of Hofstaðir, by Lake Mývatn, in North-Eastern Iceland. The ruins are situated in the homefield of the farm, about 200 metres north-east of the farm-houses. The temple ruin formed an oblong square, running north and south, with an outhouse at its north end. The diggers cut the sod away in square pieces till the floor was reached, leaving the walls. These were 1.75 m. in thickness, rising 70 to 95 cm. above the floor. Length of this hall 36.3 m., breadth from 5.85 m. to 8.25 m. Along the walls ran benches of turf, rising 25 to 35 cm. above the floor. There was a stamped floor, along the middle of which a space $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. broad, lower than the rest of the floor, was covered with charcoal. Stones, indicating a double row of pillars, distant 5 to 6 m. from each other, were found. There were six to seven inner pillars, on which the roof rested, besides the outer pillars. The middle nave, with the long fires, is 2 m. broad, the side naves 2.65 to 3 m. In the centre of the hall the main fireplace, formed by flat stones, was situated. A pit near it contained bones and charcoal. Several other minor fireplaces were in the hall.

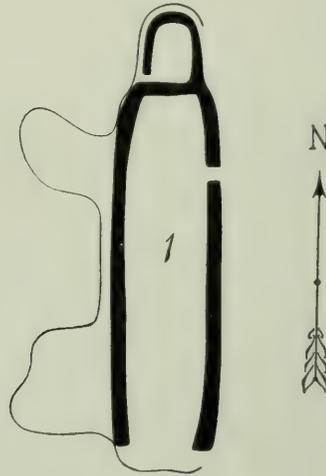
The outhouse, corresponding to the choir of a

¹Abridged and translated into English from the *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1909, of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

Christian church, was 6.2 m. long and 4 m. broad. A low wall, with no door, separated it from the hall. It is probable that during a banquet in the hall, the men



FIG. 1.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE ON THE EDGE OF THE HOME-FIELD, WHERE THE HILLS RISE TOWARDS THE EAST.



○ 2



FIG. 2.—THE RUINS AT HOFSTAÐIR.

seated there, would be able to see the carved images of the gods within. The entrance to this sanctuary was by a door in the south-west, from the outside. There were flat stones and charcoal, indicating a fireplace in the sanctuary.

These ruins pointed out by tradition as those of a temple, correspond to what we should expect from descriptions in the old literature. Every temple had a banquet hall, where banquets were held while the gods stood in a smaller house adjoining it. It is situated on the edge of the homefield, so that the visitors on horseback need not pass through the private ground.

The long fires ran along the middle of the hall, beginning about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. from its south end, and continuing till they reached opposite the door in the eastern wall. Thus there were no long fires in the north end of the hall. A daïs, rising 24 to 35 cm. above the floor, filled the space between the double row of pillars, supporting the roof. A row of stones marks this. In front of the daïs, which was used for seating accommodation, tables were placed during meals. This accommodation would be doubled if wooden benches were placed on the other side of these tables. Giving each person a space of $\frac{3}{4}$ m. the two daïses would hold about 100 seats, and the wooden benches a similar number.

Fireplaces for cooking food were found at the north end and at the south end of the long fires, besides the one in the centre of the hall.

It is not surprising that few objects were found. The temple of Hofstaðir was not in use for more than a century, and only at the annual festivals. Whetstones, iron nails, scissors, heaps of bones of oxen, sheep and goats, a few being bones of horses, pigs and cod, all these were found.

Snorre's description of a temple in *Heimskringla* elucidates the find:—¹Hakon the Good Saga. Chapter XVI.

¹ Morris and Magnússon's *Heimskringla*, Vol. I., p. 165.

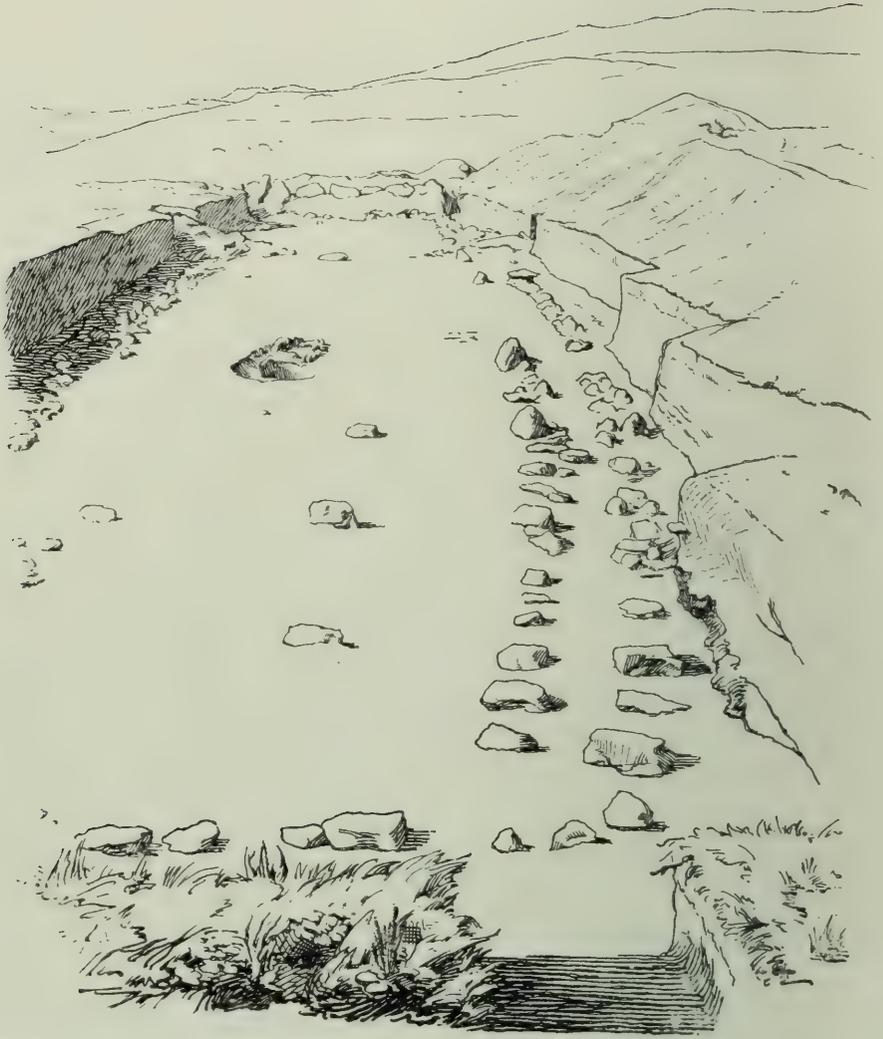


FIG. 3.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, AS SEEN FROM SOUTH TO NORTH.

In the wall on the right the layers of turf are visible. The stone supports of some of the inner pillars are seen on the ground.

Earl Sigurd of Ladir was much given to blood-offerings, and so had been Hakon, his father. Earl Sigurd upheld all feasts of blood-offering there in Thrandheim on the king's behalf. It was the olden custom that when a blood-offering should be, all the bonders should come to the place where was the Temple, bringing with them all the victuals they had need of while the feast should last; and at that feast should all men have ale



FIG. 4.—PART OF THE WESTERN DAÏS IN THE MAIN BUILDING;
SEEN FROM NORTH TO SOUTH.

with them. There also was slain cattle of every kind, and horses withal; and all the blood that came from them was called hlaut, but hlaut-bowls were they called wherein the blood stood, and the hlaut-tein, a rod made in the fashion of a sprinkler. With all the hlaut should the stalls of the gods be reddened, and the walls of the temple within and without, and the men-folk also besprinkled; but the flesh was to be cooked for the feast-

ing of men. Fires were to be made in the midst of the floor of the temple, with cauldrons thereover, and the health cups should be borne over the fire. But he who made the feast and was the lord thereof, should sign the



FIG. 5.—THE ENTRANCE DOOR (P) OF THE MAIN BUILDING, WITH THE SLABS TO MARK THE THRESHOLD.



FIG. 6.—SECTION, WEST TO EAST, THROUGH THE MAIN BUILDING (A) NEAR THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H).

The position of the inner and outer pillars is indicated by the dotted lines.

cups and all the meat; and first should be drunken Odin's cup for the victory and dominion of the king, and then the cup of Niord and the cup of Frey for plentiful seasons and peace. Thereafter were many men wont to drink the Bragi-cup; and men drank also

a cup to their kinsmen dead, who had been noble, and that was called the Cup of Memory. Now Earl Sigurd was the most bounteous of men, and he did a deed that

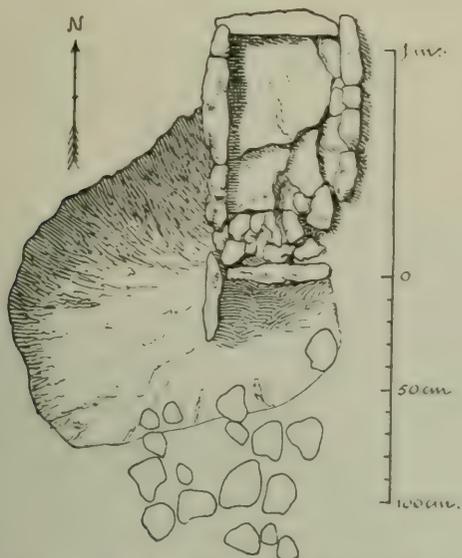


FIG. 7.—THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H),
WITH THE ASH-PIT.

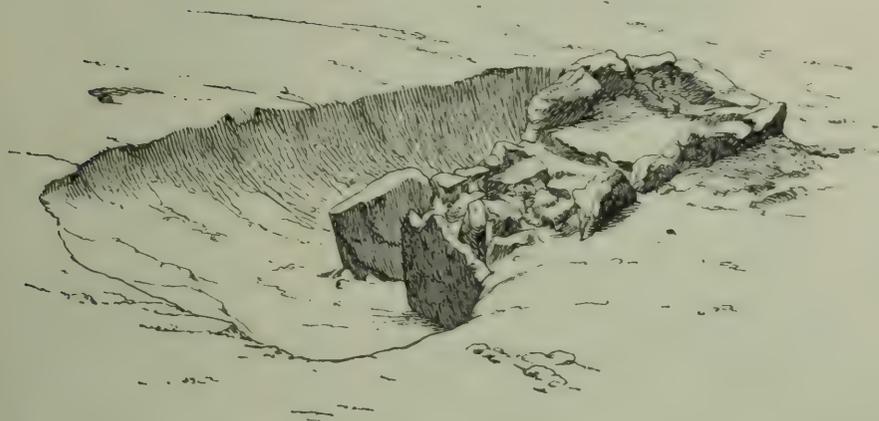


FIG. 8.—THE MAIN FIRE-PLACE (H), WITH THE ASH-PIT UNCOVERED.
(Seen from South-East.)

was great of fame, whereas he made great feast of sacrifice at Ladir; and alone sustained all the costs thereof.

Chapter XVIII. The Bonders compel King Hakon to Blood-offering.

But on the morrow, when men went to table, the bonders thronged the king, bidding him eat horse flesh, and in no wise the king would. Then they bade him drink the broth thereof, but this would he none the more. Then would they have him eat of the dripping, but he would not; and it went nigh to their falling on him. Then strove Earl Sigurd to appease them, and bade them lay the storm; but the king he bade gape

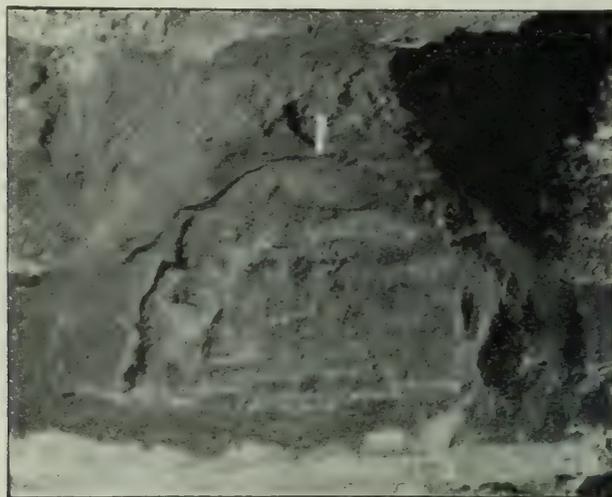


FIG. 9.—SECTION, FROM SOUTH TO NORTH,
THROUGH THE PIT (L)
(Seen from East to West.)

over a kettle-bow, whereas the reek of seething had gone up from the horse flesh, so that the kettle-bow was all greasy. Then went the king thereto, and spread a linen cloth over the kettle-bow, and gaped thereover, and then went back to the high-seat; but neither side was well pleased thereat.

The *Eyrbyggja Saga* gives a description, too: "The Story of the Ere-dwellers." Chapter IV.¹

¹ Morris and Magnússon, "The Ere-dwellers," p. 8-9.

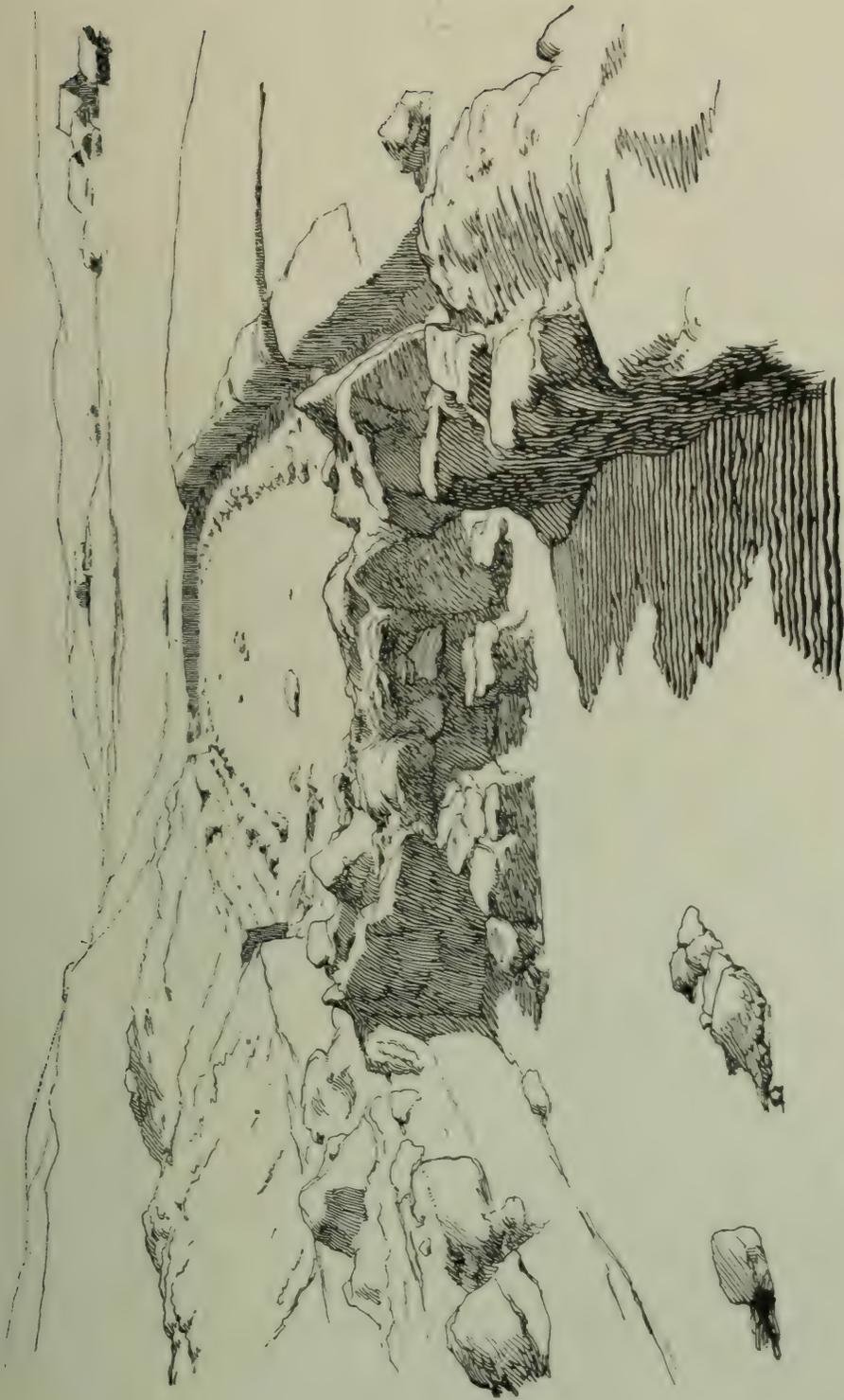


FIG. 10.—THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE, EXCAVATED. (Seen from North to South).
In the foreground is the Sanctuary (C). The farm-houses are seen on the right in the home-field.

Thereafter Thorolf fared with fire through his land out from Staff-river in the west, and east to that river which is now called Thors-river, and settled his ship-mates there. But he set up for himself a great house at Templewick, which he called Templestead. There he let build a temple, and a mighty house it was. There was a door in the side-wall and nearer to one end thereof. Within the door stood the pillars of the high-seat, and nails were therein; they were called the Gods'



FIG. 11.—SECTION, NORTH TO SOUTH, THROUGH THE SANCTUARY (C).

The dotted lines indicate the floor and walls of a stable built thereon.



FIG. 12 AND 13.—STONE IMPLEMENTS.

nails. There within was a great sanctuary. But off the inmost house there was another house, of that fashion whereof now is the choir of a church, and there stood a stall in the midst of the floor in the fashion of an altar, and thereon lay a ring without a join that weighed twenty ounces, and on that men swear all oaths; and that ring must the chief have on his arm at all man-motes.

On the stall should also stand the blood-bowl, and therein the blood-rod was, like unto a sprinkler, and therewith should be sprinkled from the bowl that blood which is called "Hlaut," which was that kind of blood which flowed when those beasts were smitten who were sacrificed to the Gods. But round about the stall were the Gods arrayed in the Holy Place.

To that temple must all men pay toll, and be bound to follow the temple-priest in all farings even as now are the thingmen of chiefs. But the chief must uphold

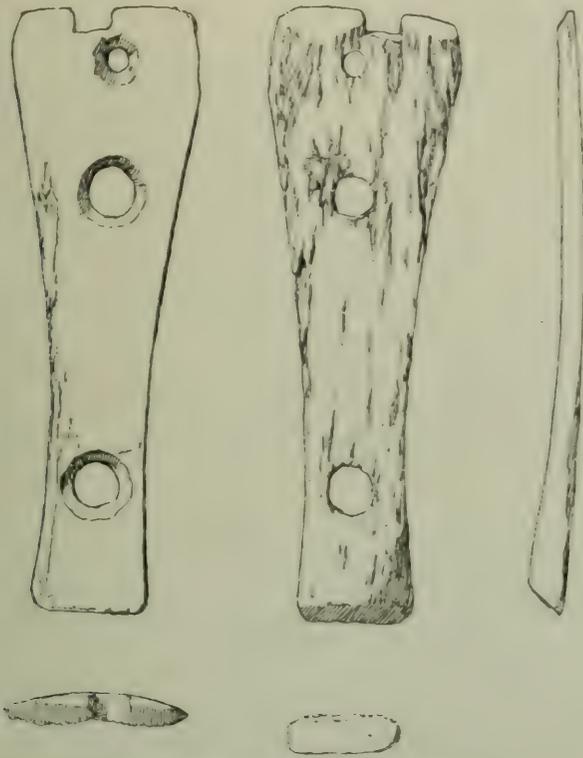


FIG. 14.—BONE IMPLEMENTS.

the temple at his own charges, so that it should not go to waste, and hold therein feasts of sacrifice.

Viga-Glum's Saga. Chapter XXIV.

Whoever had to take the "temple oath" laid hold with his hand of the silver ring, which was stained red with the blood of the cattle sacrificed, and

which ought not to weigh less than three ounces. Then Glum said word for word thus: "I name Asgrim to bear witness, and Gizor in the second place to bear witness, that I take the 'temple oath' on the ring, and I say it to the God" (Thor).

The farm names in hof (temple), and those in which hof enters into a compound, *e.g.*, Hofstaðir, indicate where temples are situated. By law there were only 36 (later 39) chieftain temple priests (goði, plural goðar) in Iceland, three in every þing, thing district. There were no doubt other temples than the official ones belonging to great families.

Subjoined is a list of the Place-names in Iceland, in which Temple (Hof) occurs by itself or in compounds, arranged according to Thing districts.

I. Kjalarnessþing: 1, Hof (Kjalarnes); 2, Hof (Rosmhvalanes); 3, Hofstaðir (in the vicinity of Reykjavík).

II. Þverárþing: 1, Hofstaðir (in Hálsasveit); 2, Hofstaðir (Myrasysla).

III. Þórsnesþing: 1, Hofstaðir (Hnappadalssysla); 2, Hofstaðir (Snæfells nessýsla); 3, Hofstaðir (ibidem).

IV. Þorskafjarðarþing: 1-2, Hofstaðir (Bardastrandasýsla); 3, Hof (Isafjarðs); 4, Hofstaðir (Strandasýsla).

V. Húnavatsþing: 1, Hof (in Midfjord); 2, Hof (in Vatsdal); 3, Hof (Skagaströnd).

VI. Hegranesþing: 1-3, Hof: three places; 4, Hofstaðir.

VII. Vaðlaþing: 1-2, Hof, two places (Svarfadardalr, Hörgárdalr).

VIII. Þingeyjarþing: 1, Hof; 2, Hofstaðir; 3, Hofgarðar.

IX. Krakalækjarþing: 1-2 Hof, two places (in Vopnafjord, Fell); 3, Hofteigr.

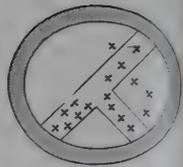
X. Múlaþing: 1-3, Hof, three places (Mjoafjord, Nordfjord, Alptafjord).

XI. Skaptafellsþing: 1, Hof; 2, Hoffell, 3, Hofstaðir.

XII. Rangárþing: 1, Hof.

XIII. Arnessþing: 1, Hof.

We will conclude by giving a brief survey of the sites visited and measured by Bruun and Jónsson, which traditionally were called "hof," or by a name that points to the existence of a hof; only in two cases have they made excavations, which is the only way to



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decide whether there has been a temple or not. We print in italics the names of the sites where there is some probability of a temple having been situated there.

- Hofstaðir (in Gulbringu-sysla).
Hof (in Kjalarnes).
Hofstaðir (in Hálsasveit, Borgarfjord-sysla).
Hofstaðir (Myrasysla).
Norðtunga (ibidem).
Hofstaðir (Hnappadalsysla).
Hofgarðar (Snæfellsnes-sysla).
Hofstaðir (ibidem).
Bersatunga (Dalasysla).
Ljárskógar (ibid.).
Rútsstaðir (ibid.).
Hofstaðir (Barðastrandasysla).
Höfði (in the Dyrafjord).
Melstaðir (in Midfjord, Hunavatnssysla).
Hof (in Skagaströnd, ibid.).
Hof (in Vatnsdal, ibid.).
Hof (in Hjaltadal, Skagafjordsysla).
Hofstaðir (the same sysla).
Hof (in Svarfadardal, Eyjafjordsysla).
Hof (in South Þingeyjarsysla).
Ljósavatn (ibidem).
Hof (in Vopnafjord; North Mulasysla).
Hof (in Fell, ibidem).
Hofteigr (ibidem).
Freysnes (ibid.).
Aðalból (ibid.).
Bersastaðir (ibid.).
Mjóvanes (South Mulasysla).
Hof (in Mjoafjord, ibid.).
Úthlið (in Arnessysla).
Fossnes (ibid.).
Hörgsdalur (South Þingeyjarsysla).
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THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBRIA.

BY PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A., Vice-President.

THE earliest mention of the appearance of Viking raiders in Northumbria is that found under the year 793 in MSS. D, E and F of the Chronicle, where, after stating the marvellous portents seen in Northumbria in that year, the entry runs in E:—

“And a little later in the same year, on the 8th of January, the church of God on the island of Lindisfarne was grievously destroyed by the ravages of the heathen men, with robbery and slaying of men.”

In the next year, 794, we read of further incursions into Northumbria, when the monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, founded by Ecgrith, King of Northumbria, at the junction of the Don and Tyne, was destroyed. Vengeance was, however, close at hand, for one of their leaders was slain, several of their ships were wrecked in a great storm so that many of the crews were drowned, while others escaped by swimming ashore. This disaster was regarded by the pious as a judgment on them for the sack at Lindisfarne, while the close connection of the two disasters is brought out in an interesting reference found in the letters of Alcuin, once head of the monastic school at York, and now in the service of Charlemagne. Writing from abroad to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow when news reached him of the sack of Lindisfarne, he had warned them that their turn might come next, because they dwelt close to the sea-coast whence these plagues first take their rise.¹

¹ Cf. Alcuin Epist., Nos. 19, 20, 21.

The devastation of two of the great centres of religion and learning in the North of England soon became widely known, and there are numerous references to it. These ravages are recorded in the *Annals of Lindisfarne*¹ and in *Simeon of Durham*,² both of which give what is a more likely date for these invasions, viz., the 9th of June, while *Simeon* adds the slight touch that they came from a northern region. The *Annals of Ulster* also refer to these attacks when at this time they speak of a devastation of the whole of the island of Britain by heathens.³

There can be little doubt that these invaders were Norwegians rather than Danes. If already in 787 or thereabouts we find Norwegians from Hørthaland in Dorset, others visiting the island of Skye and Lambey Island off Dublin in 795⁴ and the Isle of Man in 798,⁵ we have every reason to suppose that the invaders of Northumbria were Norwegians rather than Danes. This would agree too with *Simeon of Durham's* account of the direction from which they came, a description which could hardly be applied to invaders from Denmark.

After these two raids there is complete silence for some sixty or seventy years as to any attacks made by the Vikings on Northumbria. This silence may in part be due simply to the scantiness of our records for Northern events—the history of the North is almost a blank during this period—but it is probably due also to the fact that the Vikings from Norway were busily engaged elsewhere during these years. This was the time when they established their kingdoms in Ireland, and no sooner were they fairly settled there than they had to fight for their very existence against fresh invaders—Danes or black foreigners—who tried to oust them from their new-won territories.

It is not indeed until the year 867 that we again hear

¹ *Pertz*, xix., 505.

² *Hist. Dunelm, Eccl. ii.*, 5.

³ *Ann. Ult.* 793.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 794.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 797.

of Viking raiders in the North, and then the trouble there is only part of the great storm of invasion which swept over England, Southern Scotland, and Ireland at this time. The great "here" first took up its quarters in East Anglia, but in the year 567 it turned northwards, crossed the Humber, and attacked York. The work of the Danes there was rendered easier by a civil war. Osberht, the rightful king, had been deposed, and one Aelle, not belonging to the royal family, had been chosen king in his place. The Northumbrians were divided in their allegiance, and the result was that the Vikings captured the strong city of York without much trouble, and it was given up to plunder and pillage. This, according to the Annals of Lindisfarne,¹ took place in November. (In the History of St. Cuthbert² we are told that the leader in this attack was Ubbe "dux Fresicorum," a statement which tallies with that of the Annals of Lindisfarne that the army of 867 was the same as that which had landed in Sheppey in 855, for the latter, according to the same authority, was composed of Danes and Frisians under the leadership of Healfdene, Ubbe, and Ingwar. It is perhaps worth noting that Ingwar was the leader, according to Ethelweard,³ in the siege of York). In face of a common foe the rival kings seem to have patched up their differences, and early in March (probably of 868) they made a combined effort to relieve York. They gathered a large army, made their way into the city, and drove out the Danes. That success, however, was but short-lived. Later in March the Danes returned to the attack; much fighting took place both inside and outside the city, and in the end the two Northumbrian kings were slain and the remnant of their army was forced to come to terms with the Danes. If we may trust the *Fragments of Irish Annals*,⁴ the death of Aelle was due to treachery on the

¹ Pertz, xix., 506.² § 10.³ Ethelweard, IV., 2.⁴ Ed. O'Conor, p. 173.

part of one of his followers. This is very probable considering the uncertain position in which he stood. The Saxon Chronicle and Simeon of Durham make but one fight—an attempt to seize York, in which the two Northumbrian kings were slain, but the Annals of Lindisfarne are very explicit in their statements about the two battles, and it is quite possible that the Chronicle has rolled the two into one. The capture of York, and its successful retention in face of a determined effort at recovery on the part of the Northumbrians, was a great event in the annals of the Scandinavian invasions, and we find it recorded not only in English and Continental annals, but also in Irish and Welsh chronicles.

Still more interesting is the mention of this expedition in Scandinavian Saga and in Saxo's History. There it is represented as an expedition of vengeance undertaken by the sons of the great Viking, Ragnarr Loðbrók, when that chieftain had been cast into a snake-pit by King Hella. The identity of the sons of Ragnarr Loðbrók with the great leaders—Healfdene, Ívarr and Ubbe—may be clearly established. How far there is any element of truth in the other story it is difficult to say, but we may mention that there is some evidence outside Saxo and the Sagas for bringing Ragnarr into connexion with the British Isles, not long before the siege of York.

After the definite conquest of York the Danes set up a puppet king, Ecgberht, in Northumbria, but his rule extended only over that part of Northumbria which lay north of the Tyne, and in the year 873 the Northumbrians drove him and his supporter, Archbishop Wulfhere, out of the district, choosing a new king, Ricsig, in his stead.

Hitherto the Vikings had not advanced north of the Tyne. York had been the centre from which their raids were made, and the Tyne seems to have been the northern boundary of their activity, but a change took

place in 875. Healfdene, one of the sons of Ragnarr Loðbrók, advancing from Repton, where a large part of his forces were encamped, took ship and sailed up the Tyne with a large fleet. They spent the winter in the neighbourhood of Tynemouth, and devastated the whole of northern Northumbria, a district which hitherto had remained undisturbed. "Wyrcesford" is named as the westernmost point on the Tyne reached by Healfdene's vessel. Its identification is, however, uncertain.

News of the arrival of the Danes at Tynemouth soon spread up the Northumbrian coast, and Bishop Eardulf of Lindisfarne, preseeing the future destruction of the church at Lindisfarne and the ravaging of the whole diocese, arranged for the removal of the body of St. Cuthbert from its shrine. For seven years it was carried from place to place and ultimately found a resting place at Chester-le-Street in 883. As soon as the body of St. Cuthbert was removed, a storm of rapine and plunder fell not only upon Lindisfarne, but upon the whole of Northumbria, and monasteries and churches were everywhere destroyed and burnt and their inmates killed. The ravages covered the whole land from the North Sea to the Solway Firth, and were directed not only against Northumbria proper but also against the Picts and the inhabitants of Strathclyde. The encounter with the Picts is mentioned in the Annals of Ulster,¹ where we are told of an encounter of the Picts with the Black Foreigners and a great slaughter of the Picts. This entry would point to the presence of a large Danish element in the army of Healfdene, for the Irish Annals always distinguish carefully between the Black Foreigners or Danes and the White Foreigners or Norsemen. There is also another entry made this year in the Ulster Annals, which tells us that Oistin, son of Amlaibh, King of the Norsemen, was slain by Alband. There can be no doubt that this

¹Ann. Ult. 874.

is Healfdene, and that while devastating Northumbria he managed to take some part in the great struggle between Danes and Norsemen, which was then going on in Ireland. After a brief reign Healfdene's kingdom came to a sudden end. According to Simeon of Durham¹ the vengeance of God fell upon him for his treatment of the lands of St. Cuthbert. He was afflicted with madness and grievous bodily pains. His body exhaled such evil odours that he was hated of all his followers, and in the end he was expelled from his kingdom and fled with three ships from the mouth of the Tyne, perishing with all his followers soon afterwards. The diseases, mental and bodily, of Healfdene, doubtless existed largely in the pious imagination of Simeon, but there is no doubt about the fact of his expulsion and ensuing death. It coincides exactly with the mention in the Annals of Ulster (sub anno 877) that Albann, King of the Black Gentiles, was slain in a battle between Danes and Norsemen on Strangford Lough.

After the expulsion of Healfdene there would seem to have been an interregnum of some six years, and then there came a vision of St. Cuthbert to Eadred, abbot of Carlisle, bidding him cross the Tyne to the army of the Danes, and there find out the boy Guthred, son of Harthacnut, whom the Danes had sold to a certain widow. Having paid the price of his liberty he was to bring him before an assembly of the whole host and there, when he had been elected by the people, an arm ring was to be placed on his right arm, and he was to be appointed to the kingdom. The ceremony was to be performed at a place called "Oswiesdune." Abbot Eadred carried out the instructions given him, and Guthred was appointed king.² The tract, "De Primo Saxonum Adventu," used by Simeon, tells us that Guthred was of royal birth. His reign was one of great piety, and he gave much land

¹ Hist. Dunelm Eccl., II., 12, 13.

² Ibid, 13.

for the use of St. Cuthbert, declaring his right of sanctuary over the whole of the territory between the Wear and the Tyne. The chief incident of his reign was a campaign against the Scots, in which their army was swallowed up, apparently by an earthquake. This earthquake is probably mentioned in the "War of the Gaedhil and the Gael,"¹ where we are told that just after the death of Healfdene in Ireland, the foreigners went to Scotland and won a victory over the men of Alba, in which Constantine, King of Alba, fell. It was on this occasion that the earth burst open beneath the men of Alba. There can be little doubt that Guthred, whose Scandinavian origin is certain, was co-operating with Viking invaders from Ireland in an attack on the Scots. His reign terminated in 894, and then, according to Simeon of Durham, the government of his realm was taken over by King Alfred. That the kingdom of Northumbria was to some extent dependent upon Alfred, even during the rule of Guthred, seems to be established by the evidence of the Guthred-Cnut coins, which have the inscription "Elfred-Rex" on the obverse and "Cnut-Rex" on the reverse. Strangely enough the name of Alfred is not to be found in the coins of that Siefred who is believed to have been Guthred's successor.

Dr. Steenstrup, in his "Normannerne,"² has brought the story of the election of Guthred into connection with the story of Knútr-hinn-fundni, told in the *Jómsvíkinga Saga* and in *Olaf Trygvason's Saga*.³ The story in the latter is briefly as follows: Gormr, the childless, a vassal of Charlemagne, has a friend Earl Arnfinnr. The latter has a child by an incestuous alliance with his sister. The child is exposed in the woods and is found by some members of the household of Gormr. It is by him called Knútr, because of a ring found on him when he was discovered. Gormr is succeeded by this adopted child, known commonly as Knútr-hinn-fundni

¹ C. 25.² II. 95 ff.³ *Flateyjarbók*, I., c. 61, 62.

of Thraelaknútr. His son was Gormr-hinn-heimski or hinn-ríki, who held the kingdom under the sons of Ragnarr Lothbrók. He was specially friendly with Sigurðr ormr-í-auga, and became the foster-father of Sigurðr's son Knútr, called Hörthaknútr, because born in Hörd in Jutland. Gormr was succeeded by Hörthaknútr. The latter called his son Gormr after the name of his own foster-father. This last Gormr was Gormr the Old, who married Thyra, daughter of Earl Klakkharaldr. He died early in the 10th century, and he and his queen lie buried in the famous barrows at Jellinge, in S. Jutland.

In Jómsvikinga Saga we have the same story of Arnfinnr and his child. Gormr is succeeded by Knútr. The latter had a son Gormr-hinn-heimski, known later as Gorm the Old. Gorm the Old married Thyra, daughter of Klakkharaldr, Earl of Hollsetuland.

In bringing these stories into connexion with that of Guthred, Dr. Steenstrup points out that:—

(1) Knútr is known as Thraela-Knútr or Slave-Knútr, while Guthred, though of royal birth, is represented as having been sold into slavery, and it is necessary that he should be redeemed to liberty; nevertheless each attains royal power.

(2) Guthred is a son of Harthacnut, while Knútr is the adopted son of Gormr. Many Danish annals, as well as Adam of Bremen, seem to apply the names Hardecnuth and Wrm (or Gormr) to the same men.

(3) The Guthred of the Chronicles must be identified with the Cnut of the Dano-Northumbrian coins. These coins certainly belong to a period close to the time of Guthred, and there is no other person of the name Cnut known to whom they might be referred. This then would point to the identity of Guthred and Knútr-hinn-fundni. It should be added that Dr. Steenstrup's arguments for identifying Guthred and Cnut are sufficiently convincing, but his explanation of the two-

fold name Guthred-Cnut, as due to the adoption by the heathen Cnut of a Christian-name Guthred at baptism can hardly be considered valid. He quotes several examples of such double names, but in all of them alike one name is distinctively Christian, whereas the name Guthred is by no means so.

(4) We have traces elsewhere in Scandinavian tradition of this Northumbrian line of succession. He instances:—

(a) The *Chronicle of Roskilde*, which tells of a king Sven, who came from Norway and invaded England, expelling its king Ethelred, and taking the kingdom. His sons Gorm and Harthacnut conquered Denmark and slew its king Haldanus. Gorm took Denmark and Harthacnut England. It is perhaps somewhat forcing the story to see in it a reflection of the events leading up to the accession of Guthred-Cnut after the expulsion and death of Healfdene. The Sven from Norway is perhaps due to a perversion of Adam of Bremen's Hardegon, son of Svein, coming from Norway, who reigned in Denmark at the end of the 9th century, with some confusion of this Svein with the later one, who did expel Ethelred the Unready from England.

(b) In Olaf Trygvason's Saga we are told that Gormr, son of Thraela-knútr, held his realm under Ragnarr Loðbrók's sons, and was the foster-father of Hörðaknútr, son of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga. Echoes of this story are to be found perhaps in Sven Aggeson, who makes Sigurðr ormr-í-auga marry a daughter of the King of Denmark. This story Dr. Steenstrup would refer to Northumbria.

In discussing these stories, with the interpretation placed upon them, there are two points on which special stress must be laid.

(1) In all forms alike of the story the name Knútr, either by itself or in combination with some other element, is of continual occurrence. Guthred is the son of Harthacnut and seems himself to be called Cnut in

his coins. Sigurthr ormr-í-auga has a son Hörðaknútr, Gorm the Old is called by Adam of Bremen Hardegon and Hardecnuth, Thietmar and Widukind call the same person Cnuto, while Gormr-hinn-heimski, the foster-father of Hörthaknútr, was himself the son of Knútr-hinn-fundni or Thraela-knútr, Gormo Anglicus is a son of Cnuto, and Gorm the Old has a son Knútr. The name itself seems to have puzzled the old chroniclers and saga-writers, for they tell us that it was now used for the first time, and they give various suggestions as to its origin.

We have seen that the suggestion that the alternative names found in the case of certain persons bearing this name may be due to baptism is untenable. May we not suggest that the second name Knútr or Hörðaknútr was not simply an alternative name for the persons who bore it, but was rather a name belonging to a whole family and borne by its various members? Sometimes they are spoken of under their own name, sometimes under that of their family, and sometimes both are used together.

(2) The story in Simeon of Durham as to the election of Guthred-Cnut is in many ways open to suspicion, but in none more so than in the fact that he is represented as being still but a boy and not a free one at that, and that his selection, putting aside the story of supernatural intervention, seems to have been a purely arbitrary one. Such choice of a ruler of a turbulent nation of pirates and adventurers seems extremely unlikely unless he had some real claim to the kingship. Do we not perhaps find traces of such a claim in the single phrase, "regius puer," used of this youth in the tract "De primo Saxonum adventu," and in the story told by Sven Aggeson of Sigurðr ormr-í-auga, and his son Knútr, or (as he is called in Langfedgatal, the Heimskringla, and the Tháttr af Ragnarssonum) Hörðaknútr. It is almost impossible to find room for that story in the history of Denmark

itself. Is it not possible that it was told in the original instance of Sigurðr and his marriage with Blæja or Heluna (this is the name according to Olaf Tryggvason's saga), daughter of Ella, King of Northumbria? If such a marriage did take place and a son was born to Blæja about the year 868, *i.e.*, a year after the York expedition and the death of Aelle, he would be about fifteen years old in 883, and would have a strong claim to the Northumbrian throne after the expulsion and death of Healfdene, for not only would he be the grandson of the old Northumbrian king, but he would also be nephew to the late ruler of Northumbria, since Healfdene was brother to Sigurthr ormr-í-auga; he would therefore be acceptable both to Danes and English.

The one difficulty in this theory is that Simeon of Durham makes Guthred-Cnúť to be a son of Harthacnut and not of Sigurðr. We must, therefore, suppose either that the name Harthacnut was borne also by Sigurthr, or, as I think is perhaps the more likely, that the "Guthred filius Harthacnut," is a mistake for Guthred Harthacnut, due to the author's or the scribe's misunderstanding of the double name, and his endeavouring to explain it away. I may also hazard the suggestion that the widow to whom Abbot Eadred gave the money was Blæja, and that the money, which is represented as the price of freedom, was in reality the price of legitimation of Blæja's son, who was the offspring of an irregular union.

The history of Northumbria after the death of Guthred-Cnut (about the year 894) is as obscure and uncertain as it was during his reign and previous to it.

From the evidence of Dano-Northumbrian coins it seems that Cnut was succeeded in that realm by one Siefred(us) or Sievert. Some coins have been found with Cnut Rex on the obverse and Siefredus on the reverse. Others, minted either at York or Evreux in

Normandy (the identification of Evraici is uncertain) have only Siefredus rex or Sievert on them. It was suggested by Haigh¹ that this Siefred is the "Sigferth piratus" who is mentioned by Ethelweard as raiding from Northumbria in 894.² The date would suit well, and we must suppose him to have ruled for a time in conjunction with Guthred-Cnut, probably first as a subordinate, since he is not called "rex" on the coins which bear both their names, and then as sole sovereign. If we are to believe Simeon of Durham, who says that on the death of Guthred Alfred took over the sovereignty, he was not an independent ruler, but in that case it is somewhat remarkable that, while some of the coins of Guthred-Cnut have the name of Alfred on them, those of Siefred do not bear that name at all. Who this Siefred was or how he reigned it is difficult to say. The Annals of Ulster in 893³ speak of great dissensions among the foreigners of Dublin, some being for Sitriucc, the son of Imhar, others for Earl Sichfrith. What was the cause at issue or what were its results we do not know. Sitriucc seems to have left Ireland in a time, however, as his return to that country is mentioned in 894.⁴ Earl Sichfrith may at the same time have sought a fresh field for his activities and have taken service in Northumbria under King Guthred, where we find him active during the years 894-5, but without further evidence this must remain purely a conjecture. With the coins of Cnut and Siefred found in the great Cuerdale hoard (dating from the early part of the reign of Edward the Elder) is a coin with the inscription "Sitric Comes."⁵ It is possible that this "Sitric Comes" is to be identified with the Sitriucc, son of Imhar, just mentioned, who returned to Ireland (it is not stated whence) in 894. Two years later he was slain by other Norsemen, *i.e.*, probably by the party of his rival Sichfrith. Again we cannot

¹ Archæologia Aeliana, VII. ² Ethelweard, IV., 3. ³ Ann. Ult. 892.

⁴ Ibid, 893. ⁵ Keary, Catalogue of A.S. Coins, I., 230, 231.

do more than suggest the possibility owing to the lack of direct evidence.¹

The chief point of interest in these identifications is that if true they would bring Northumbria into definite contact with the Norwegian kingdom of Dublin and show that the Norse element was asserting itself at the expense of the Danish, for though Guthred-Cnut's family were undoubtedly of Norse origin, they appear in history as the leaders of Danish rather than of Norse invaders.

How long Siefred and perhaps Sitric ruled in Northumbria we cannot say, but it would seem that at any rate by the year 911 they were both dead, for in the account of those who fell in the fight at Tettenhall or Wednesfield, we find mention of two kings Eohric and Healden, who seem to be represented as ruling in Northumbria. The twofold kingship was perhaps of the same nature as that of Guthred-Cnut and Siefred noted above.

It should be remarked here that the northern part of Northumbria—*i.e.*, North of the Tyne, the old district of Bernicia seems never to have passed under Viking rule. Good evidence of this is still to be found in place-nomenclature. The tributary streams of the Tyne are all burns not becks, those of the Wear are with few exceptions burns not becks, while those of the

¹ There is perhaps some confusion in the Irish annals themselves as to the fortunes of these two men—Sichfrith and Sitriucc. The Annals of Ulster (887) tell us that in that year Sichfrith, son of Imhar, was slain by his brother with treachery. We then have the story of dissensions between the son of Imhar and Earl Sichfrith in 892, of the return of the son of Imhar to Ireland in 893, and of the killing of Sitriucc by other Norsemen in 895. Dr. Steenstrup (II., 143) points out that it is suspicious that two sons of Imhar should thus be killed by comrades in similar fashion and that the "Chronicon Scotorum" has only the 888 notice while the "Four Masters" has that of 891. Is it possible that the entry in the annals of Ulster is a mistake, and that Sichfrith was not slain in 888, but is the Sichfrith of 892? As the son of Ivarr he would then have a strong claim not only to an Irish kingship but also to Northumbria, since he would be cousin to Guthred-Cnut.

Tees are uniformly becks. In Weardale there is a curious intermediate stage in such forms as Beechburn Beck and Bedburn Beck. Undoubtedly these were originally Beechburn and Bedburn; then as Scandinavian influence spread from the South the force of the old suffix "burn" was forgotten, and the new Scandinavian term "beck" was added. North Northumbria probably remained entirely independent until the year 885, when we are told that all England, except that part which was in possession of the Danes, submitted to Alfred. The History of St. Cuthbert speaks of its earl Eadulf as the good friend of Alfred, and says that these relations were maintained between Ealdred and Edward, their respective sons. The centre of his authority was of course at Bamborough.

When in the reign of Edward the Elder, that monarch and his sister busied themselves with the task of curbing Danish power in East Anglia and the Midlands, Northumbria once more suffered attack, when a certain heathen king, Regenwaldus, invaded Northumbria with a large number of ships and seized the lands of Ealdred, son of the Eadulf of Bamborough mentioned above. Ealdred took refuge in Scotland and sought the aid of King Constantine. Together they advanced towards Regenwaldus, but were defeated at the battle of Corbridge-on-Tyne, near Hexham.¹ The date of the battle is determined by the entry in the Annals of Ulster, which tell us that in the year 918 Ragnall,² king of the Black Foreigners, and two earls, Ottir and Graggaba, left Ireland and went against Alba, *i.e.*, Scotland. The men of Alba defeated them

¹ History of St. Cuthbert, § 22. The Pictish Chronicle (Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, ed. Skene, p. 9) refers to this fight—"Bellum Tinemore factum est in xviii. anno inter Constantinum et Ragnall et Scotti habuerunt victoriam." The result is different, but the site of the battle and the names of the combatants allow of little doubt that this refers to the battle of Corbridge-on-Tyne.

² For the chronology of the reign of Regenwald-Ragnall I accept the carefully weighed conclusions of Dr. Steenstrup (III., 18-25).

on the banks of the Tyne. The forces of the invaders were in four battalions. The whole army was defeated, but Ragnall, commanding the fourth division, was more successful than the rest. The contradictory accounts of the results of the battle may perhaps be explained by the account in the Irish Annals, which would suggest that one division out of the four was successful. In his *History of the Kings Simeon of Durham*,¹ under the year 912, says that King Reingwald and Earl Oter and Oswl Cracabam attacked and destroyed Dunblin. Dr. Steenstrup has shown that the date of this entry is wrong, and identified "Dunblin" with Dunblane in Perthshire. In support of this theory he says that the river Tyne of the Irish Annals is the Tyne in East Lothian and not the English Tyne. This seems impossible, as Simeon tells us that the battle took place at "Corebricg." Corbridge, on the English Tyne, is well known, but there is no such place in Scotland. Dunblane may be right, as Ragnall certainly did visit Scotland in this year. This Ragnall came from Ireland, where we have definite record of his activities,² and there he is always spoken of as the grandson of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr beinlausi, the son of Ragnarr Loðbrók, who died in 873. After his victory at Corbridge, Ragnall or Rægenwald, as he is called by the English writers, advanced on York, which he won in 919 or 920,³ and about the same time he took into his own possession the lands of St. Cuthbert, handing them over to his followers, Scula and Onlafbald.⁴ The southern portion from Castle Eden to Billingham in Teesdale went to Scula, that from Castle Eden to the

¹ S.D. Hist. Regum, § 82.

² Ann. Ult., 913.

³ Simeon of Durham, Hist. Regum, § 83, says 919, the Chronicle (E) puts it in 923. As the Chronicle is at least two years out in 921 when speaking of Sitric, it is probable that the chronology of Simeon is here more correct. Regenwald was dead by 921. (The form "Rex Inguald" in the *Historia Regum* is doubtless a corruption of Regenwald).

⁴ Hist. Dun. Eccl. II., 16. Hist. of St. Cuthbert, § 23.

Wear was given to Onlafbald. The latter seems to have been an ardent pagan, and we are told how he entered St. Cuthbert's church in the presence of Bishop Cuthheard and the whole congregation, crying out "What power has that dead fellow Cuthbert over me? I swear by my mighty gods Thor and Othin that from this time forth I will be your greatest enemy." But when he turned to leave the church the power of St. Cuthbert fell upon him and soon after he perished miserably. It was during the reign of Edward the Elder also that a certain Edred, son of Rixincus, made a raid westwards towards the mountains and slew a certain noble named Eardulf, carrying off his wife. He took refuge under the patronage of St. Cuthbert, and for three years cultivated lands granted him from Chester-le-Street to the Derwent, thence South to the Wear, then to the Roman Road called Deorstrete, south-westwards, and also a certain farm at Gainford in Teesdale. At the end of three years, however, his tenancy was brought to a violent conclusion. He was attacked by King Rægenwald and Edred, and a large number of English were slain in a second battle of Corbridge. King Rægenwald died in 921 according to the *Annals of Ulster*,¹ and this enables us to check the chronology of the *A.S. Chronicle* at this point, for we read in the *Winchester Chronicle* (s.a. 924), that in that year Rægenald, and the sons of Eadulf of Bamborough, and all those dwelling in Northumbria, whether English, Danes, or Norwegians, and the Welsh of Strathclyde submitted to the rule of King Edward as their father and lord. It may be noted that the *Irish Annals* at this point call Ragnall king of the White and Black foreigners, which agrees precisely with the mention in the *A.S. Chronicle* of the presence at this time in Northumbria of both Danes and Norwegians.

At the same time that Regenwald was ruling at York another Scandinavian leader, Sitric by name, appeared

¹ *Ann. Ult.* 920.

in Cheshire. This Sihtric destroyed Davenport in 920,¹ a statement which fits in well with the Irish Annals, which tell us that in 920 Sitriuc left Dublin through Divine power, *i.e.*, (probably) having been driven thence by the Irish.² This Sitriuc, or Sitric Gale, was like Ragnall, a grandson of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr beinlausi, but it is impossible to say if he and Ragnall were brothers or cousins.

Sihtric remained in England and seems to have succeeded to the power of Regenwald on the latter's death in 921, for in 925, the first year of the reign of Aethelstan, he is spoken of as king of the Northumbrians, and held a friendly conference with that king at Tamworth. Their friendship was strengthened by the marriage of Sihtric with Athelstan's sister.³ Sihtric died soon after—in 926 or 927—and Aethelstan then took the Northumbrian kingdom under his rule, receiving the submission of all Northumbria, including the part ruled by Ealdred of Bamborough by the river Eamont in Cumberland, at the foot of Ulleswater.⁴

At this point William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum*, has a long episode peculiar to himself.⁵ He tells us that on the death of Sihtricus his son Analafus went to Ireland, and his brother Godefridus to Scotland. Ambassadors were sent to Constantine, King of the Scots, demanding, with threats of war, the surrender of the fugitives. A conference was held at Dacre, standing on Dacre Beck (a tributary of the Eamont), at which the Scots submitted to the English and the son of Constantine was baptised. Godefridus, however, escaped, and besieged York unsuccessfully. He was himself then besieged in a fort, but escaped the vigilance of the besiegers and took to piracy. Godefridus, after suffering much hardship by sea and land, came to the royal court and submitted to

¹ S.D. Hist. Regum, § 83.

² Ann. Ult. 919.

³ Chron. 925, D.

⁴ Ibid, 926 D, *ibid*, 926.

⁵ W. of M. *Gesta Regum*, II., c. 134.

Aethelstan. He was well received, but after four days returned to his piracy.

Dr. Steenstrup has shown that William of Malmesbury's submission at Dacre is the same as the Chronicle's submission at Eamont¹; the geographical proximity of the two places, apart from the identity of the incidents associated with them, would compel us to this conclusion. As William of Malmesbury is of special historical value for the reign of Aethelstan, since he used an old and perhaps contemporary poem for his account of that sovereign, his narrative is worthy of careful study.²

The Chronicle (D. 926) tells us of the submission at Eamont, but E and F tell us that 927 King Aethelstan drove out King Guthfrith. Now since D gives the year of the death of Edward the Elder as 924, while E and F give it as 925,³ it is quite possible that the 926 entry in D and the 927 entry in E and F belong to the same year, and that we ought to connect the expulsion of Guthfrith more closely, at least in point of time, with the submission at Eamont. This would bring the Chronicle into harmony with the story in William of Malmesbury.

We find further confirmation of that writer when we turn to the Irish Annals. In 927,⁴ the year of the death of Sihtric, Gothfrith retired from Dublin, but returned in six months. This Gothfrith was first mentioned in 918, and again in 921 and 924,⁵ where he is called a grandson of Imhar. This would point to his being a brother of Sihtric, again confirming the statements of William of Malmesbury.⁶ Whether Gothfrith remained in Ireland after his return in 927 or 928

¹ U.S., III., 26-9. ² Stubbs' Introduction to W. of M., II., LX.—LXV.

³ As a matter of fact E gives it both under 924 and 925.

⁴ Ann. Ult. 926.

⁵ *ib.* 917, 920, 923.

⁶ Florence of Worcester (anno 926) and the fragment 'De primo Saxonum adventu' (S.D. II., 377) call him a *son* of Sihtric; from the above evidence this seems to be wrong.

is uncertain, but we certainly find him again in 930.¹ William of Malmesbury makes no statement about the time covered by the adventures of Godefridus, but I see no reason why they should not have fallen within the six months of his absence from Ireland. Gothfrith may actually have been in England at the time of his brother's death and have sought the help of the Scottish king in securing his Northumbrian realm. The Scots would seem to have been forced by Aethelstan's threats to give up their alliance with Gothfrith and to make submission at Eamont or Dacre. After a few months' vain struggling to secure the Northumbrian kingdom without the aid of the Scottish king, Gothfrith returned to Ireland. Wherever we have the means of checking William of Malmesbury we find him to be right here, so, considering his good authority at this time, we must accept the general truth of his story.

Gothfrith lived until the year 934,² when we are told that Gothfrith, grandson of Imhar, a most cruel king of the Norsemen, died of anguish. His power passed to his son Amhlaeibh, first mentioned in 933, and again spoken of in 937.³ He is commonly known as Anlaf Godfredsson or Godfreyson.

William of Malmesbury's Onalafus, son of Sihtricus (known to history generally as Anlaf Sihtricsson) does not appear in the Irish Annals for some ten years or more, and the historian's statement that he went to Ireland is unsupported. There is, however, no inherent improbability in it, and his visit may have been but a short one.

According to Florence of Worcester, whose authority is not, however, very good, Anlaf Sihtricsson settled in Scotland, where he married the daughter of Constantine, king of the Scots. So far does he seem to be identified with the Scots, that in Egil's Saga (where he is called Olaf the Red),⁴ he is actually called king

¹ Ann. Ult., 929.

² Ibid, 933.

³ F.W. 931, 935.

⁴ C.51. This reference is due to Dr. Todd, *War of the Gaedhil and the Gael*, p. 281.

of the Scots, and is said to have had a Scottish father and a Danish mother. He is said also to have been a descendant of Ragnarr Lothbrók, which is correct, since he is represented in the Annals as a descendant of Imhar, *i.e.*, of Ivarr beinlausi, the son of Ragnarr Lothbrók (pp. 106-7). The alliance of Anlaf Sihtricsson with King Constantine would seem to have alarmed King Aethelstan, for we find that king going to Scotland in 934 with a large force by sea and land, and ravaging much of the country.¹ Aethelstan's expedition failed in its object: Constantine continued to intrigue, and by the year 937 a great confederation of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and Scandinavian settlers was formed against Aethelstan. Not only did Anlaf Sihtricsson take part in this confederation, but Anlaf Godfreyson from Ireland gave help to the opponents of Aethelstan.

In 937² Amhlaeibh, son of Gothfrith, after overthrowing the power of Amhlaeibh of the Scabby Head, leader of the Danes of Lough Ree, forced many of them to return with him to Dublin, and together they left that fortress and went to England,³ their forces numbering some six hundred and fifteen vessels.⁴

If Florence of Worcester⁵ can be relied on, Anlaf Sihtricsson also came to England and sailed up the Humber, but this statement stands unconfirmed by any other authority, and the Humber lies rather far away from any possible rendezvous of Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and invading Norsemen. It is possible that Florence has here confused Anlaf Godfreysson with Anlaf Sihtricsson, and has placed the landing on the east side of England as a more probable landing place for a prince coming from Scotland than would be one on the west coast. Anlaf Godfreysson would probably land on the west coast in the same way that Sihtric did some fifteen years before.

¹ A.S. Chron., 934. S.D. Hist. Regum, 934. ² F.W., 935.

³ Todd (u.s. p. 281). ⁴ Hist. Eccl. Dun., II., 18. ⁵ F.W., I., 232.

The actual course of the campaign of Aethelstan against his numerous opponents it is impossible to determine, especially as the site of "Brunanburh," at which the decisive battle of the campaign was fought, is still uncertain.¹ The most probable identification that has as yet been suggested is that the battle was fought at Brunswark or Birrenswark Hill in south-east Dumfriesshire,² where the forces of the Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and Norwegians had united to give battle. The result was a complete victory for the forces of Aethelstan and his brother Edmund, who was fighting by his side. Constantine's son, five kings, and seven jarls were among the slain.³ William of Malmesbury says that almost the whole host of the allies was killed, except a few who escaped, and were saved by professing Christianity. The Annals of Ulster themselves tell us that many thousands of Norsemen were slain, and that King Amhlaibh escaped with but a few followers.⁴

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MSS. A, B, C, D) we have a poem celebrating this victory, which it calls the greatest victory since the Angles and Saxons first came to Britain from the east. It tells of the alliance

¹The controversy on this point has recently been renewed in the *Scottish Historical Review*.

²Simeon of Durham (Hist. Dun. Eccl.) says that the fight took place at a spot called "Etbrunnanwerc," *i.e.* æt Brunnanwerc or "Brunnanbyrig" by "Weondune"; Ethelweard gives the name as "Brunandune," and the Pictish Chronicle the same in its later and inverted form "Ðuinbrunde." Egils saga (c. 52) gives the name as "Vinheiði við Vinuskóga," which suggests connection with Weondune. No places which could be identified with "Vinheiði" or "Weondune" have as yet been discovered in the neighbourhood of Birrenswark Hill. The "werc" is still to be seen in the remains of an old Roman camp which stands on the hill or "dun" of Birrenswark.

³William of Malmesbury (§ 131) names Constantine himself among those who fell, but this must be a mistake, as the later history of Constantine is known (Pictish Chronicle, u.s.). He also gives the number of jarls as xii. in place of the vii. in the Chronicle, probably owing to the common confusion of v and x.

⁴Ann. Ult., 936.

between Norwegian and Scot, of the coming of Anlaf with his host over the sea and of the mighty slaughter in the battle. It tells also of the hurried return home of Constantine, lamenting the death of his son, and of the headlong flight of the defeated Anlaf to his kingdom in Dublin, and praises the valour of King Aethelstan and the "ætheling" Edmund. England had been freed from its greatest danger since the days of King Alfred and his struggle against Guthrum.¹

The Chronicle knows of but one Anlaf and tells of his flight to Dublin. This was Anlaf Godfreyson, for we learn from the Irish annals that Amhlaibh, son of Gothfrith, returned to Ireland in 938.² The silence both of the Chronicle and of the Irish annals as to Anlaf Sihtricsson would point again to a mistake on the part of Florence of Worcester when he makes that prince be present at the battle of Brunanburh.

The career of Anlaf Godfreyson after his flight from Brunanburh was but a short one. He returned to Ireland in 938 (v. supra), but in 941 he once more invaded Britain. There he ravaged the district of Tynningham in Haddingtonshire, and destroyed the Church of St. Balther, but died shortly after.³

The career of Anlaf Sihtricsson had only just begun. In 940 Amhlaeibh, the son of Sitriucc, known under the

¹ The recurrence of a crisis in the fortunes of England in her relation to Scandinavian invaders may perhaps be responsible for the revival of the old story of Alfred and his visit to the camp of Guthrum in the disguise of a harper. It is now told in inverted form (W.M., § 131) of king Anlaf, who pays a visit in disguise to the camp of king Aethelstan. He is recognised by one of Aethelstan's followers, the king changes his quarters, and Anlaf in mistake kills a bishop who has unwittingly occupied them. He almost secures the king, but the alarm is raised and Anlaf takes flight.

² Ann. Ult. 937.

³ S.D. Hist. Regum, 941 (Olilaf vastata ecclesia Sancti Balteri et incensa Tiningham mox periit). That this Olilaf was Anlaf Godfreyson is seen from the fact that Simeon of Durham goes on to speak of Anlaf Sihtricsson as a different person, who about this time was ruling the Northumbrians. For his death year see Ann. Clonmacnoise (934); Ann. Cambriae (942) (Todd, u.s. p. 283); Chron. E (942); Hist. Regum (941).

nickname of "Cuaran," left Ireland and went to York.¹ His arrival took place just after the death of Aethelstan, during the reign of his brother Edmund, and he was chosen king by the Northumbrians. The Chronicle² speaks of him as Anlaf of Ireland and tells how the Northumbrians broke their allegiance and chose him as king. Simeon of Durham³ puts his coming to York in the year 939, probably a year too early. Simeon's narrative would imply that this Anlaf was Anlaf Godfreyson, and so would the story in the tract "De Primo Saxonum adventu,"⁴ but as the Four Masters state distinctly that it was Anlaf Cwiran (*i.e.*, Anlaf Sihtricsson) who went to York, this must be an instance of the common confusion of the two Anlafs.

From York Anlaf proceeded south to the district of the five boroughs. He besieged Northampton without success, marched to Tamworth, which he destroyed, and then returned eastwards to Leicester. Here he was met by Edmund with his army. The king laid siege to the town and almost had the enemy in his power, when they escaped from the fort under cover of darkness. A peaceful settlement was now made through the good offices of Oda of Canterbury⁵ and Wulfstan of York. Wulfstan had at first supported Anlaf, for in the Chronicle we are told that both Anlaf and Wulfstan were besieged in Leicester, but now he united with the semi-Danish Oda to bring about terms between Northmen and English.⁶

Simeon states that a division of the kingdom was now made whereby Edmund took England south of Watling Street and Anlaf the district north of it. This division seems incredible, especially in face of the poem inserted sub anno 942 in the Chronicle (MSS. A, B, C, D). There can be little doubt that the story told

¹ F.W., 938. ² 941 D. ³ Hist. Regum., §§ 93, 94. ⁴ S.D. II., 377.

⁵ The mention of Oda as Archbishop shows that this event must have taken place after his accession to that office in 942.

⁶ S.D. Hist. Regum., II., 93-4.

there of the reconquest of Northern Mercia by Edmund refers to the compact made by him with Anlaf as a result of this campaign, while the next entry in the Chronicle tells of another term of that compact, viz., the baptism of Anlaf. Rather we suppose that Simeon misunderstood the nature of that compact and imagined that it was a reversion to the state of affairs which was established by the peace of Alfred and Guthrum, when Watling Street did, to a large extent, form the boundary between the English and Scandinavian districts. Again, the whole course of the campaign points to Anlaf having been driven out of Northern Mercia after some transient success there, and Edmund would certainly not have retired south of Watling Street after such a campaign.

We must now turn to the poem itself. Its substance is briefly as follows:—

“In this year King Edmund acquired Mercia, south of a line from Dore (S.E. of Sheffield, in North Derbyshire) to Whitwell (N.E. Derbyshire), and thence to the Humber, including the five boroughs—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby. Before this the Danes had by force been held subject to the Norwegians, in captivity under the heathen for a long time until they were released by Edmund.”

There can be little doubt that in the phrase “Dene wæron ær under Norðmannum nyde gebegde,” the reading “Dene” in MSS. A, C, D is correct, and not the “Denum” of MS. B. Mr. Plummer¹ says that the phrase “the Danes were subject to the Northmen” is without meaning; it is not so if we take “Northmen” in the sense in which Alfred uses it in the *Orosius*, and in which the Chronicle (sub anno 924) undoubtedly uses it, viz., that of “Norwegians.” Indeed it is the exact term required here, for these Danish boroughs which were in name at least, Christian, had now for some time been subject to attacks from the heathen

¹ II., 143.

Norwegian princes who had from time to time invaded Northern England from their settlements in Ireland. Those who read "Denum" in this passage against the preponderance of MS. evidence, besides numerous other difficulties, have to explain how these Norwegian invaders could be spoken of as Danes; the liberation of the five boroughs from *Danish* rule was due not to Edmund but to Edward the Elder.

The hopes of a southward advance by these Norwegian invaders were now at an end, and peaceable relations were established between Edmund and the Norwegian rulers of Northumbria. The peace was confirmed by the baptism of King Anlaf and a good deal later by the confirmation of King Rægenald. This Rægenald was, according to the Chronicle and other authorities, the son of Guthferth,¹ that is probably of Gothfrith, the father of Anlaf Godfredsson and brother of Sihtric; he would in that case be the cousin of Anlaf Sihtricsson.

The new arrangement was not long lived, for in 943 the Northumbrians drove out Anlaf,² and in 944 or 945 Edmund drove out both Anlaf Sihtricsson and Rægenald Godfredsson, taking the whole of Northumbria into his own hands.³

Anlaf retired to Ireland, where he is found in 945 at Dublin,⁴ and we hear further of his activity in that country in 946 and 947.⁵ In the latter year he and his followers in Dublin were routed, and it was probably in consequence of this defeat that he returned to England, where we find mention of his arrival in Northumbria in the chronicle (E) sub anno 949. But before Anlaf returned to England other important events had taken place. On the death of Edmund in 946 his brother Eadred succeeded him, and after traversing Northumbria brought it into submission to himself. In 947 Eadred met Archbishop Wulfstan

¹ A. 944.² S. D. Hist. Regum., 943³ Ibid, 945, A. 944.⁴ Ann. Ult. 944.⁵ F. M. 944; Ann. Ult. 946.

and the Northumbrian "witan" at Tanshelf, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire. The "witan" pledged their allegiance to Eadred and bound themselves to him by oaths. Nevertheless, within a short time they threw pledges and oaths to the wind and accepted as their king one "Yric," *i.e.*, probably Eric Blood-axe, son of Harold Blue-tooth.¹ In 948 Eadred ravaged Northumbria on account of the perfidy of the Northumbrians, and during the ravaging the minster of St. Wilfrid at Ripon was burned.

On its return southwards the royal army was overtaken by the Danish forces from York and a rearguard action was fought at Castleford,² in which many fell. The king was so angry, that he wished to renew the campaign and lay waste the whole district, but when the Northumbrians heard of that they left Eric and made terms with King Eadred.³

Just about this time Anlaf Cwiran returned to Northumbria. The exact date is uncertain: E, our only authority at this point, states that it was in 949, but as in 948 it is two years in advance of the true date of Edmund's death, there is probably a similar mistake in this entry, and the true year should perhaps be 947, following more closely on his retirement from Dublin.⁴ Anlaf's reign was not a long one, for three years later (in 950 or 952) he was expelled, and Yric, son of Harold, was once more made king in his stead. Yric's

¹D. 947.

²"Ceasterford" in the Chronicle; identified with Castleford by Mr. Stevenson, in the Historical Atlas of Modern Europe.

³D. 948. S.D. Hist. Regum places this event in the year 950; it may be that the events recorded in D. 948 extended over more than two years.

⁴Writers in the 12th and 13th centuries were as confused and uncertain about the history of this period as we ourselves. This is well seen in the tract "De primo Saxonum adventu," where the ravaging of Northumbria is made the consequence not of Eric's succession, but of Anlaf's return, and the expulsion of Anlaf is the result of this harrying, and not the work of the Northumbrians themselves.

reign was equally short, for in 952 (or 954)¹ he was expelled by the Northumbrians, and Eadred finally took over the rule of Northumbria.

The attempt to establish a Norwegian kingdom in Northumbria had failed, and henceforth that district was directly under the rule of the English king, and earls were appointed in his name.

¹ Perhaps the earlier date is again the truer one, since S.D. says that in that year the line of Northumbrian kings came to an end and that henceforth Northumbria was ruled by earls.

KING FIALAR.

TRANSLATED

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.,

Vice-President and Hon. Life Member.

AT the meeting on November 18th, Professor I. Gollancz in the chair, Mr. Magnússon read to the Club his translation of "Kung Fialar," an epic in five cantos by the Finnish poet, J. L. Runeberg. The following is a brief summary of the tragic story, the first and fifth cantos of which deal with events within the kingdom of the West-Goths in Sweden ("Gothfolk"); the second, third, and fourth with men and matters within the ancient Ossianic kingdom of Morven in the Western Highlands of Scotland. The King of the Gothfolk is Fialar, a resistless conqueror, an unbeliever, a beneficent, but terribly self-willed tyrant, whose experience in war has taught him that humanity's highest interest is Peace, a policy to which he devotes the latter part of his long reign. He is the father of two children, a son, Hialmar, and a daughter, Gerda. The King of Morven is the aged, blind Morannal, residing at the capital city of Selma, father of three sons, Gall the hunter, Rurmar of the harp, and Clesamor of the sword, and fosterfather of Oihonna, "Maiden of the Waves" (Gael. Oigh, maiden, tonna, wave).

Ossianic influence is perceptibly present throughout the poem.

SCENE I.—VOW. DEFIANCE OF THE WILL OF THE GODS.

The story begins with "mighty-hearted" Fialar, surrounded by a number of his warriors holding a great Yule-feast at his hall. The most notable character

among the king's entourage was Siolf, the "year-encumbered slayer of hosts," who, throughout the poem, enjoys the privilege of correcting, reproving, admonishing Fialar with impunity. At the midnight hour—"the hour of vows"—Fialar, horn in hand, rises to address his men. He describes his brilliant military career, notably a battle with the army of Morven, which took place at a time when most of his listeners were as yet hardly "old enough to hunt down butterflies on flowery meads," a battle which, begun at dawn of day, did not come to an end

Till in the western sky the evening cloud
Swam pale, and on the sword's abundant harvest
The crescent moon cast down her glance of peace!

Morven's army was clean swept off the earth, while of Fialar's he himself only and Siolf were still left standing. He went on

Harrying lands that winter never harried.

And fared still farther than the summer fares, ever victorious until hoary age made her first appearance, when he took a wife with whom he had a son, Hialmar, and a daughter, Gerda, both of which, when the story begins,

Play with flowers still on their mother's grave.

But now he is tired of war and the glories thereof, his name

Has tired the lips of bards, the harp possesses
No fresh tones more for further triumphs left.

He desires quiet and rest; his tempestuous day is at its eve; seas and lands subjected to his sway

Must learn the tidings of my evening's calm.

Old Siolf rises indignant at Fialar's declaration, reminding the King that above the cairn there is no peace in life; Erin was up in revolt against the King, Biarms made red with blood the oceans in defiance of

Fialar's authority; the game of life was ever an exacting one;

Woe for thy strength untimely broken, king!

Fialar, with a proud smile, took from the weapon-decked pillar his bow, and shot from it an arrow which, flying through the endlong hall, struck a shield,

Hit on the opposite wall, while deep behind it
The arrow quivered in the pine-wood's pith.

So much for the King's untimely broken strength!
Resuming the horn, he declared now in a mighty voice: Peace . . . my will 'tis to protect:

Extended huts and guarded groves and acres
Of golden ears shall be my triumphs now!

Within my country fenced about shall grow
What sweet and soft was sown in human breast,
And weakness blossom safe, while strength, by sparing
The sword, shall but in mercy take delight.

In my own will I heretofore believed,
In that same will I still believe: in war
It ruled the course of death; indomitable
In peace it shall direct the course of life.

Should violence rear a threatening arm, or vice
Go safe, should law be broken in my realm,
Or decent hallowed order be outraged—
Let Fialar sink forgot, and Fialar's oath!

Well meant as this vow was there was the fatal fault about it that the standing invocation: "So help me Frey and Niord and the Almighty God" (Thór) was omitted. Fialar had, in fact, committed a *crimen laesae majestatis divinae*. No sooner had he resumed his seat than into the hall walks an unbidden guest in the person of Dargar, the Seer, who without ceremony strides straight up to the King. Dwarflike of stature at the door, he grows taller for every step he takes, and stands, to the dismay of the hall company, giantlike at last before the King. He is a "blending" of a human being and a sprite.

Quiet, but unconcerned, Dargar delivers to Fialar a message from the offended eternal Powers to the effect

that though in his oath he had forgotten that *they* dispense the lot of man, yet he will come himself to learn before "the barrow's night holds in her keep his fleeting greatness, how it is even they that play as they please with man's defiant and scornful vows of but a bubble's weight." For though

Author of happy ordered state, he shall
Behold a day when, stained with guilt, his race
Is quenched in shame, his only son embracing
As bride his sister to a fiery breast.

At this terrible message

The hall was hushed; the eye beheld a sight
Such as is witnessed when a storm of hail
Has swept along and calm, again returning,
Sinks chilly down upon a whitened land.

Stunned by the blow, Fialar sat a while silent, "Until, with grief subdued, he raised his voice." He ordered both his children to be brought to him.

"I must behold them both, I mean between them
To make a choice, for—one of them shall die."

Awaiting the arrival of the children Fialar addresses himself to the dread Seer, bidding him take back an insolent message to the "cloud-gods" whom he is resolved to defy. He dismisses Dargar unhurt—the sanctity of the hour protecting him—but challenges him to present himself in person on the day when "Fialar marks himself for death," before his hand lies on the sword benumbed, "And for thy dark lie thou shalt have thy due!"

With his children on either knee Fialar's father-heart fails to carry out his decision, and amidst distraction he stares vacantly abroad till Siolf, in tears, delivers him out of the dilemma:—

When, king, thou restest with enfeebled arm,
One day, must Hialmar bear thy sword, and guard
Thy land, and wake the memory of Fialar
Afar, where else it might incline to sleep.

Delay no longer then to make thy choice.
Sheer on the foreshore stands the precipice,
Beneath it waits the chilly wave in silence,
There, like a spark, thy daughter's life goes out.

He took away
The smiling victim from her father's knee;
The portal opened and the night enfolded
Soon in her silent gloom the old man's way.

Fialar forbids, under dire penalties, any mention of the dreadful event or even a mere utterance of his daughter's name,

“ And of the fate that had befallen his daughter
None on the wide earth heard a word, a sound.”

SCENE II.—SELMA, THE CAPITAL OF MORVEN.

WOONG OF OIHONNA.

The city of heroes, Selma, mirrors in the waves of Crona its lofty gleaming towers. The hall, where Fingal throned aforetime, is bright still, and yet there are wandering in it, in dismal mood, the three sons of Morannal, the aged and blind ruler of the land of song.

Gall of the hunt, the oldest of them, betrays a gloomy presence. Rurmar of the harp is wan with grief. Clesamor, lately returned from the wars, broods in silence defiantly.

They send each other only stealthy glances; threats are kindled in their looks; thunders, deeply hidden in their bosoms, await the hour to flash forth in lightning. Wherefore can mirth not thrive in the palace, nor concord in the glowing morning's calm? Why is it, that a brother must frown whenever his looks fall on a brother?

Behold, within the burg there blooms a maiden, with whom each of the brothers is most passionately in love. Whose, then, is she to be, the “ Maid of Selma,” who shall cull the rose-bud of the groves, whose fate is it to be to breathe the cool fragrance of the breeze wafting about the banks of the streams of Morven?

Fearing the wrath of the spirit of Fingal watching

over the fate of Morven, the brothers agree, at last, rather than to plunge the realm into intestine war, to submit to their father the cause of their quarrel and to let him decide whose wife the "Maid of Selma" is to be, seeing that only one of them can obtain her hand. They further agree to abide by the father's decision without further spite.

Having explained their trouble to their blind father, he remained silent for a while, but at length delivered the reply:—

Free did the ocean give to me Oihonna,
She saw but freedom on the waves' expanse,
And unrestrained she has been left to mirror
Her childhood freely in our tranquil streams.

She, like a breeze, has strayed about the billows;
Like fragrant air around our smiling shores;
And she has been to me a very sunbeam
Amidst the darkness of my waning life.

Free must the Breeze be left to wings uplifted,
The Fragrance, in the arms of space to soar,
The Beam, to choose itself the path it follows—
Oihonna shall not be compelled by me!

He orders them to go in person, each in his turn of age, to Oihonna, and thus to leave the decision of the matter to herself, enjoining them to keep like men to the agreement, not to break the peace whatever the answer be. They obeyed.

There sat by Crona, in a cooling hollow
The lock-befluttered maiden of the sea.
And there stood Gall in all his stately presence
Before the young girl's coyly startled gaze.

Wilt thou, Oihonna, be my life's companion?
The hunter loves thee, rosy-tinted cloud!
The Prince of lofty mountain heights entreats thee
To be a sharer in his paths' delights.

Saw'st thou the joyful sights of airy regions
High from the mountains in the morning hour?
Saw'st thou the sunbeams ever reawakened
Drink up the dewiness of quivering fogs?

Rememberest thou the woodland sounds, when breezes
Touch, passing, with their wings the trembling leaves,
When birds are joyful, and intoxicated

The brooklet bounds along between the rocks. . . .

O, maiden, if thou love the dusky evening,
The twinkling lustre of the pallid stars,
Then come with me, and from the top of Mallmor
We'll watch together how the night is born.

O often have I sat upon the mountain,
When in the west his glittering gate the Sun
Had shut, and slowly had the glow of evening
Faded away upon the sombre cloud ;

Have drunk the coolness of the evening's breathing,
Beheld the shadows straying through the vales,
And round the ocean of the nightly silence
Have left my thoughts at liberty to roam.

On cloud-high summits life is life of beauty,
And breathing easy in the fragrant wood ;
Be thou my plighted troth, and I shall open
Unto thy heart a world of high delight !

Oihonna declares herself delighted with Gall's romantic dominion, but more so with the songs of minstrels and memories of heroes from by-gone days ; and as for the pleasures of hunting they were most enjoyable to her when she directed herself her wanderings over the moors of Morven. "Go !" A maiden huntress wants nothing beyond her bow, arrows and quiver.

Rurmar, the sentimentalist, after complaining appealingly of his love-sickness and distressful state of heart, promises that if Oihonna accept his suit, his song shall loudly

Ring out as in the joyful days it rang,
Shall be again endowed with wings and carry
The name of Rurmar down the tide of time.

Oihonna's answer was unsympathetic. She bade him pour out his heart's distress to sleepy flowers at eve ; she was delighted with song only

When with the clang and clash of striking swords
The harp resounds, and victories come rushing
In stormy riot o'er the minstrel's lips.

Go,
Thou, youth of sighing, as no consolation
For sorrow, such as thine she has to spare.

Then it was the turn of Clesamor, the youngest of the brothers, the haughty prince of battles. He pretended to no eloquence. His victories were never won by words.

Among the shielded hosts on bloody fields,
His tongue was silent, and to speak the language
Of death was left unto the sword alone.

Even now, he said, wars were awaiting him, but before going he desired to embrace Oihonna as his bride. But Oihonna excused herself; she had great admiration for his great martial qualities, but she had no love for him beyond a sister's, and how could she be a brother's wife? But she confesses to Clesamor that she has a lover, unknown to her in person, somewhere far away, and that

Most like a cloud from the horizon's bound,
Or like a stormy blast down from the mountains
Without a warning thought he will appear."

SCENE III. . THE SAGA OF HIALMAR.

Accompanied by song-skilled Gylnandyne Oihonna has been hunting in Lora's dale along the banks of Crona and has shot a stag; and now is taking rest after a toilsome day. She bids Gylnandyne entertain her with some cheerful song until the moon rises and lights up the moorland pathways. But Gylnandyne mourns a lover who, after he once set his eye on Oihonna, proved a faithless lover and who, when Oihonna had not even a responsive glance to cast at him, took his own life by an arrow stolen from Oihonna's quiver. Oihonna, disliking the sadness of her friend's song, proposes to tell her a fresh tale through which is blowing a breeze from the mountains of the north. This saga she had learnt from contemporary minstrelsy:—

In Lochlin, *i.e.*, Scandinavia, sat in peaceful rule of his realm a once famous conqueror, Fialar, so entirely devoted to the policy of peace, that his sword was rusting in the scabbard and his war-galleys lay stripped

about the shore. He had an only son, young in years as yet who, one day, stepped up before his father with the request:—

Build me a dragon, father, fit me out,
The paths of thine own youth allure my fancy;
My arm is strong, hot boils my blood. Away
I long out of the sultry dale of home!

Fialar frowns in silence. His son grew warmer:—

Grant my prayer, O father,
I can no longer tarry fameless here
And hear thee only in the minstrels' songs.

His father's shield is already light for him, he pleads, his bow he bends like a twig.

The world where thou thy victories hast won
Is open still, with room for Hialmar's too.

Fialar answers sternly:—

I swore that peace should be protected,
My day was stormy; in a world becalmed
Shall joyful beam my life's declining sun. . . .
I cherish peace; go, youth, pay heed to that!
Behold its face upon my smiling land!

Hialmar grows passionate:—

Who gives thee right to sacrifice thy son
Unto Oblivion's night, to fate of silence?
My life, thy gift, take back; a deedless life
I yield thee; but the boon was worth no more.
'Tis hard to die forgot without a name,
But so to live is harder still, O father!
Look not so dark! This life I cannot live.
I can obey, and I obey, and—die!

After a long pause, Fialar vouchsafes an icy reply:—

The ship, thou crav'st, I give thee; she has been
Laid up since first I went on viking cruise.
Her keel is cracked, her bottom grown with grass,
And through her sides the light of day is streaming.
Up, take her, fly o'er seas and seek thy name
'Mong foreign sounds, fore'er forgot of me!

Hjalmar runs off to his father's court where idle warriors were engaged at play, and cries :—

Who's here who still loves memories of war?
Who joins me for the boundless ocean's path
To play a game thereon with shield and steel?

In his father's words he describes the ship he has got :—

But victories are won by men, not keels,
And safest is of ways the conqueror's way.

And up went an enthusiastic shout :—

To sea, to war, to victories, abroad!
And soon from half-sunk craft, on waves defied,
The crew beheld their dwindling native shore!

Fialar, perfectly furious at his son's presumption to break the King's law of undisturbable peace, gathers round him a weaponed band of warriors to punish the law-breaker, and fits out in haste a war galley in pursuit of Hjalmar. He scoured the seas for three days, and on the fourth fell in with a warship of the Biarms, the captain of which thundered out the challenge :—

Prepare for fight, King Fialar . . . insolently
Thy son has slain our king and seized his ship;
Atone his deed, give up thine own, and die!

A fight ensued, and equal fought with equal; yet Fialar's host grew thinner until, surrounded by his bodyguard alone, he fought only for a glorious fall. But then a heretofore unnoticed craft came into view, shaping her course straight for the fighting ships.

The stem was gilt, the sail of purple cloth,
And from the top the Gothic wimple streamed;

and here was Hjalmar commanding the royal galley he had won from the Biarms. He speedily put the Biarm keel out of action and won for his father the victory he had lost when Hjalmar arrived. But this did in no way assuage the anger of the offended tyrant :—

Not yet my sword may rest . . . the boldest of the foes
I still behold here standing unsubdued.

The Biarm was not my enemy . . .
I went 'gainst him who boldly mocked my will
And made a plaything of the oath I swore. . . .

Step forth! thy father calls thee out to fight,
Unsheath against him now the sword he gave thee,
Or else, come humbled hither, bend thy knee
And die with guilt atoned here at his feet.

A murmur of dissent rose, but died away again,
among Hialmar's followers.

Then laid the victor, Hialmar, sword and shield
Upon the ship's blood-flooded deck in silence;
And stepped unweaponed to his father forth
And fell on knee obeisant at his feet.

Fialar dealt him, what he meant to be his death-blow,
on the helmet, but failed to split the protection of the
head. Angrier still he ordered Hialmar to undo his
helm, and Hialmar did so—

And stood defenceless, and his only guard
Was frank and smiling calm upon his face.

Lo, now he flinched, the ancient man! His sword,
For death-blow raised, descended on the victim
As faint as though it wished to lie at rest
On his luxuriant ringlets' yellow bed.

From that time forward bold and free the youth
Proceeds from strand to strand o'er foreign waters.

And in Fialar's hall henceforth minstrelsy is busy only
with the great achievements of the young hero Hialmar,
while famous Fialar shines by the absence of his name
from all historic song celebrating contemporary events.

As Oihonna finished her "saga," a messenger from
her foster-father, Morannal, made his appearance,
bidding her return home before the dawn of next day;
for at the royal residence of Selma King Morannal had
three times smitten shield, and war-cry was passing
from lip to lip. But he knew no more.— Oihonna,
"with brightened face," sent the messenger back to
Morannal with the word: "She sees within his tower
how dawns to-morrow's morn."

SCENE IV. HIALMAR DECLARES WAR. OUTCAST
OIHONNA. BATTLE. MORANNAL'S RACE EXTINCT.

Oihonna makes her appearance before her foster-father at the Tower of Shelma at the appointed hour. He is in a sad prophetic mood, instinctively feeling that the day is the last in his life. "What," questions Oihonna, was the reason that she was so urgently wanted? Morannal answers:—

O daughter, war indeed is now upon us!

"Hialmar of the Sagas" was already at Innishonna with Lochlin's host; thence he had sent the message:—

Arise, thou, monarch of illustrious Morven,
And call thy people instantly to arms!
Out of the North a wind is freshly blowing;
When on the waters dawns to-morrow's day
Know, king, a thunder-cloud of sails it carries
Apace against thy tremor-stricken shore.

Asks Oihonna, "What is the cause that the hero of her dreams threatens so Morannal's realm?" And receives for an answer:—

A treasure
I own, and unto that he layeth claim;
In minstrels' tones the fame of it has sounded
And lured the passion of the youthful prince,

whose further declaration he begs Oihonna take heed-fully to heart:—

Over waves I sped
To countries smiling in the sun, and even
Unto the winter's ice-encumbered homes.
But wheresoe'er I came was heard resounding
In song, in Saga-lore, thy daughter's name;
Was heard the wailing of rejected lovers,
The pain of weaklings treated with disdain;
Indignant then I made on oath a promise
To take the scornful girl myself for bride.
Give heed to due protection for thy daughter,
For Hialmar's is a wooing by the sword!
This is his threat!

Against the black cloud only, far away,
There breaks at times what seems a shooting glimmer,
A flash reflected by a seagull's wing . . .

And now Morannal, for the first time in his life, takes the opportunity, reminded by the storm, of telling Oihonna how she ever came to be his fosterling.

There was an infamous robber, named Darg, who, prowling about the seas, was, wheresoever he came, outside the law of civilised humanity. He was discovered infesting Morvenian waters, and King Morannal himself took command of war-galley to punish the hated adventurer. In the pursuit a lightning set fire to Darg's ship, from which he with a tender maiden child on his arm had to jump into the "waves' yawning grave," with the result that the humane Morannal saved both on board his own ship. Here, overcome with exhaustion, the robber speaks:—

One prayer, however, I desire to utter
For her who grieves alone on earth my fall.
It is not mine the blood that thou beholdest
Within her cheeks. The guilt of his own life
The outlawed, persecuted evil-doer
Has left for heritage to none on earth.
She was, one stormy Yule-eve, given to me
By night-veiled sea, when, in the shelter dread
Of Vidar's head-land, I had gone to anchor
Hard at the foot of Fialar's kingly burg.

After thus informing Oihonna of the secret surrounding her babyhood, Morannal's attention is drawn to the sounds from the battle just commencing on the strand beneath the windows of his tower in Selma. Having raged for a while the crash of encountering steel weapons dies down into a lull, and Morannal is anxious to know the cause. Oihonna answers:—

Father, now thou must rejoice,
Anon, anon will Hialmar of the Sagas
Be but a bloodless shade upon the clouds.
He's yielding, and his helm is split in sunder,
He is beset by all thy sons, O king!
He fights alone; and at the princes' contest
A blank amazement reigneth over all. . . .

In wrath he smote the shield he bore in youth ;

Turned gloomy then the face of Morven's ruler,
He raised his voice, and sternly he commanded
An instant truce throughout the stricken field.
"What," he exclaimed, "must with disgrace be covered
Morannal's hoary head?"

"And must the song in praise of Fingal's kindred
Flee past the evening of my life in fright,
Lest it should run the risk of your dishonour
Tainting the beaming splendour of its wings;

"And lest in Lochlin's country-sides the Saga,
When telling of the noble Hialmar's fall,
Should scornfully record how, single-handed
In fight with you, all three of you, he fell."

Morannal commands his sons to fight Hialmar singly in turn and leave the fortune of their weapons to the arbitrament of Fate. Obedient to the father's behest they sink, one after the other, beneath Hialmar's blows. And as Oihonna breaks the news to the aged father he pours from a broken heart his death-song, glorying in the prospect of being able without shame to meet the spirits of his ancestors within the azure palace of the stars.

And gently fell his head of hoary whiteness
Upon his shoulder, and his eye was closed;
And the illumined spirit of the monarch
Flew happy to the mansions of the clouds.

SCENE V. FIALAR'S DISILLUSION. OIHONNA'S AND
HIALMAR'S HONOUR. ATONEMENT.

Fialar, now exceeding aged, is assisted by his men-at-arms up to the top of Mount Telmar, on a bright, sunny day, that he may have a last glance at his happy, prosperous land, that

Lay at his feet in festal robes arrayed;
And with a face, sweet as a grateful daughter's,
It raised its looks towards its hoary sire.

O'er balmy dales the sun was shining brightly,
And o'er a wide expanse of glassy lakes.
'Twixt hillocks blue meandering waters shimmered,
And harvest waved by harvest on the fields.

The sight moved Fialar to tears, and in selfish pride he took to himself alone the credit for the enchanting sight unfolded to his gaze by bounteous nature.

For his boastfulness he is taken to task by Siolf :—

Before high gods, O king, abase thy spirit !
 Thy very greatness was a gift from them ;
 For Frey it was, that clothed the field in verdure.
 All-father fenced thy country's peace alone.
 'Twas Thor's, the vigour that of yore thou thoughtest
 Was thine, when mighty thou stood'st forth in fight ;
 What by thyself thou could'st do, was—forgotten
 To fall, as falls a tree in trackless wood.

Fialar, after pondering a while, answers more sternly defiant than ever :—

“ I've heard of powers that no man e'er set eyes on,
 In dreamt-of phantoms I am bid to trust.
 Unwont am I to put my faith in others,
 In my own bosom I have found my stay.
 Thus men I swayed, and snatched the very rudder
 Of Fate from gods who threatened me in vain.”

It was nothing to make much ado about that Fialar grew older, his shoulder heavier, his locks more white ; that was the ordinary course of things. He then reverts to his intention of committing that act of self-immolation to Odinn which he had long contemplated. He

Let fall upon the rock his royal mantle,
 And to the day laid bare his scarry breast.

But having unsheathed his sword he recalls the tryst arranged between him and Dargar, the Seer, at that unlooked-for visit of the latter to Fialar's hall many a year ago.

“ Had he, indeed, the wisdom he professes,
 He now would know the hour and keep his tryst ;
 He's pledged to stand before my sword, ere mightless
 Th' avenger's lightning rests in withered hand.”

And at the word a ghostly figure was seen slowly gliding along the valley and mounting the slope and

making its way up to the spot where Fialar was seated. The King was struck with wonder; his hand and sword sank to the ground. Dargar, coolly confident, addresses the King:—"Commanded by thee to come, here thou beholdest me!"

"A long time thou, O king, hast left me waiting;
Since former years thy frailty has advanced.

Hast thou succeeded in thy work's fulfilment,
And is the oath thou swore'st still maintained?
Hast thou laid out for life the path it follows,
Turned gods and godly counsels into clouds?"

King Fialar, with a forced laugh, asks: "But on what breeze was born unto thine ear my challenge, the very moment it had passed my lips?" But without awaiting a reply, he continues: "Still thou hast come, that is enough. An answer unto thy question in return I give."

And in a long, self-praising address, he bids Dargar observe all the wonderful blessings which his reign of Peace has conferred upon his happy realm. The powers of the sword are substituted by those of law and order; where force was victor, law is victor now. Chaste manners are cultivated, mercy practiced, peaceful labour honoured.

"But more: the threat, that from thy gods thou bore'st,
Has vanished into nothing, e'en as smoke.
My son enclasps no sister in his bosom,
Upon my head is weighing no disgrace.

The azure deep conceals my only daughter,
But over regions of subjected waves
His father's pride, the spotless, song-exalted
Hialmar from triumph unto triumph speeds."

"But one more vow still unfulfilled remaineth . . .
Come hither, Durgar, and atone thine outrage:
To expiate thy lie I crave thy blood."

The ancient Seer, confessing to a sense of weariness of life, prays the King to stay execution of his threat for but one hour:—

"That hour I crave for thine own sake, O king.
Delay revenge till one more witness cometh

Thy final triumph's splendour to enhance;
 Delay, till Hialmar comes, his father's honour,
 Not long to wait, he is not far away!"

Therewith Dargar lifted calmly up his hand, pointing to the main.

"And Fialar's men broke out in stormy shouting:
 'Lo Gothfolk's drakes with Hialmar heave in sight!'"

Amidst the general rejoicing of his men King Fialar looked gloomy;

"And thoughtful, dark and hushed he viewed the ships."

But mustering what courage he could, King Fialar turns again to Dargar, saying:—

"Thou spak'st of Hialmar. Well, then, his arrival
 Shall serve my triumphs splendour to enhance.
 With Sun and Sea and Earth to bear the witness
 Here shall he stand and judge between us twain."

This was no sooner said than Hialmar appeared in person, not weapon-decked, and beaming with youth and health and happiness, but with uncovered head without a shield,

The pallor of his face was like the moonshine
 In cloudless winter night upon the snow.
 He looked as weird as from the grave some spectre,
 And in his hand he bore a bloody sword.

In broken voice Fialar bade his son welcome. He would fain have seen him looking differently; but no matter what his news were, he was delighted to see him. He feared that he must be suffering from serious wounds

"That drain the fountains of thy vigour,
 Since quivering shows thy lip and white thy cheek."

Hialmar, labouring under intense grief, confesses that though he had been hurt by no weapon,

"Yet deeply wounded bleeds my heart to death."

He would fain, he continued, hide his face from the light of day; he recoiled from looking his father in the

face, and yet he yearned to confess to him his guilt; and to that yearning it was due that still he bore life and was breathing yet. He tells his father briefly his life-story; how his progress had been one of constant victories; how he had dethroned kings and enthroned others; how through the loud praises by contemporary minstrelsy and Saga-tellers of the beauty and highmindedness of the daughter of Morannal, the blind King of Morven, he had fallen in love with her and waged war for her with Morven's host; how he had overcome in fight the three sons of Morannal, taken on board the King's daughter Oihonna and celebrated marriage with her on foam-covered sea. He gives a glowing description of his rapturous happiness, and then turns to the unforeseen tragedy of his life:—

But woe was near at hand. I took the rudder,
One night, and sat behind it sunk in dreams;
None kept the watch save, by my side, Oihonna,
One lonely star looked on us from on high.

“ My wedded bride then took my hand :—O Hialmar,
Why art thou ever dearer to my soul?
Early indeed thou wast Oihonna's hero,
Ere she beheld thy glances she was thine.

“ Why is my love no longer self-consistent!
Because I then had courage to conceal
What unto thee I dreaded to discover,
Lest thou shouldst scorn me with indignant pride.

“ I was so happy then, and more than Hialmar
Was unto me my own delight as yet.
Morannal I was proud to call my father,
As king-begotten I became thy bride.

“ In vain I now should try to hide in silence
What then I was too timid to unfold.
All things I could endure and all things suffer,
But thee, O Hialmar, I cannot deceive.

Put me away, reject me! Know, my father
Was not Morannal, not a king, I ween;
This blood that now within my heart is seething
Was once, perchance, that of a common slave.

“ Against thy homeland's shore, close to the castle,
Where thou in kingly splendour wilt reside,
'Neath Vidar's crag I, on a stormy Yule-night,
Was snatched up from the waves, an outcast child.”

This story left the identity of Oihonna with Gerda, Fialar's daughter, beyond all doubt. The sequence of the dreadful discovery Hialmar indicates with masterly brevity:—

“Nay, blanch thou not, my father,
Her blood upon my sword thou here behold'st.
My ocean-bride, Oihonna, Maid of Morven,
Was thine own daughter, was my sister, king!

“She wished to die; to die for me. I bring thee
Her greeting.’—He was silent. But his steel,
Like lightning, hid itself within his bosom,
And on the rock he sank to rest in death.”

Fialar sits a long while, incapable of movement or speech. But at length he pours out his repentant soul in a sincere confession of conversion to a firm belief in the all-victorious power of the Eternal gods; winding up with the sigh of relief—“To you I go!”

“And with his sword he calmly
Cut runes into his breast of many scars.
Rushed from the deep the fountains of his bosom,
And warm with Hialmar's mixed the Father's blood.

Upon the North lay bright the summer evening,
And calm was settled over land and sea.
Beyond the wood the sun concealed his radiance
And like the day King FIALAR'S life went out!”

ODAL ORKNEY.

BY J. STORER CLOUSTON, B.A.

THE scope of this paper may be defined as an attempt to discover from reliable evidence—and reliable evidence alone—what actually were the social conditions and the political framework of Orkney in Norse times. Stress is laid on the reliability of the evidence because there already exist several picturesque accounts of this vanished society, sound enough in many particulars, but written unfortunately before the modern spirit of critical inquiry had permeated as far as the local antiquary. The most vivid, best written, and most often quoted of these accounts is that given by Balfour in his introduction to the *Oppressions of Orkney and Shetland*. The salient features are (in his own words) these:—

“The Althing was the simple prototype of a modern Parliament, but the assembly was primary and not representative; and the Estates met and voted together as in one chamber. . . . The Odallers and Odal-born were the Commons of Orkney and Zetland. . . . who constituted the numerical strength of the Althing. There is no class in Europe exactly analagous to this—the Odals-maðr, Bondi, or *Peasant Noble* of Orkney and of Norway. He was a Peasant, for he tilled his own land, and claimed no distinction above his free neighbours; but he was also noble, for there was no hereditary order superior to his own. . . . The King might wed the Odaller's daughter or match his own daughter to the Odal-born without disparagement. . . . The Jarl might be deemed less free and therefore less noble, for he owed something to the grace of a human superior. The Bondi in his Odal was *sui juris* and in the one-chambered Parliament of the Althing had a vote and voice as potential as King or Jarl. . . .”

In this account two peculiar characteristics are conspicuous: The democratic equality of all landowners—the “peasant-nobles,” as our author calls them—an equality alike of birth, rank, and influence; and the

primary nature of their governing and judicial assemblies. In modern language, every voter was a member. This description, it may be said at once, is so at variance with the known facts that (in spite of its picturesqueness) we must unfortunately dismiss it altogether and make a fresh start. It is quoted in order to illustrate fairly what is the still current theory, and to justify this present inquiry.

At the outset of our inquiry there is this word of caution to be remembered; that the Norse period covered probably much more than seven centuries, and that naturally the conditions existing at the beginning were not exactly those existing at the end. At the same time, the direct evidence is so scanty that one must risk an occasional inference as to what probably existed, say in the 13th century, from a fact gleaned from the 15th.

The line of argument I shall follow is this: first to see what the conditions actually were in the mother country of Norway; then, with a glance at Iceland by the way to check one's inferences, to consult Orkney records (documentary records, not the statements of antiquaries) and see how far the facts bear out the reasonable expectation that that part of the Norse dominion should resemble the rest.

Early Norway. Beginning with ancient Norway before it was reorganised by Harald Harfager and his successors, I cannot do better than summarise the account given by Professor Taranger,¹ an account which in turn condenses the results of Scandinavian scholarship. At that early date the people of Norway were divided into three classes: the free, the half-free, and the thralls, of which only the first class counted politically. This free class, again, fell into two divisions, the nobles and the free-born bonder; the free-bonder forming the general mass of the landowners. As for the nobles, they had at that time, says Professor

¹ Udsigt over Den Norske Rets Historie.

Taranger, no particular class privileges, but consisted of the actually ruling families, who, on account of their power, wealth, and valour, compelled greater consideration, and out of whom arose the kings, princes, and priests. We thus find at the very outset that our "peasant-nobles" are divisible into peasants and nobles, and one might just as well talk of bread and jam as a homogeneous compound. The chief members of the noble or chieftain class—the titled aristocracy, as it were—were the petty kings or jarls who ruled the small kingdoms into which Norway was then divided, and the *hersir* or hereditary lords of the various districts of which these kingdoms were composed. As for the *things* or moots, they appear at this date to have been primary, in the sense that all the landowners attended them, though it would also appear that their rulers took the initiative in legislation. But on these points the evidence is scant and the historian cautious.

Saga-Time Norway. This then was the condition of the first settlers in Orkney and Shetland. But in the 9th century they were subjugated by Harfager, placed under one of his earls, and became a part of the reorganised Norse dominion. What now were the features of this new consolidated Norway? Still following Prof. Taranger's summary, we find the following changes made by King Harald and his son Hakon the Good. Each of the twenty-five chief divisions of Norway was placed under an earl, and under each earl were at the least four *hersir*—or lendermen, as they now came to be called, a title finally changed into that of baron. These were semi-feudal nobles, obeyed and respected by the bonder as the descendants of their old hereditary chieftains, and bearing to the king the relation of crown vassals. In addition to their odal inheritances, they held from him grants of crown land on condition of military service, and they were referred to as the king's "umbbothmen"; that is, men who held the king's commission. They seem, in fact,

to have had some of the characteristics both of Highland chiefs and feudal barons, though in both directions their authority was (in earlier days at any rate) limited by the power and independence of the bonder class below them. This bonder class was divided into two: haulds and free-born bonder; while below these again came freedmen's sons, and finally freedmen; each class being conveniently distinguished by the fine one paid for killing a member of it, and the division of the churchyard in which the body was interred. Finally, holding a position between the lendermen and the bonder, but not apparently forming a distinct class in themselves, stood the king's other umbothmen; his sysselmen and aarmen, officials corresponding more or less to sheriffs and stewards of the crown revenues. Surely we are here at the very opposite pole from democratic equality.

The Norwegian Lawthing. A still more important change was made in the substitution of the *Lagtings* or Lawthings for the old primary folk things. Regarding these, Professor Taranger says: "The organisation of the Lawthings was a landmark in constitutional history. It was in fact based on the representative principle and the payment of members. The representatives were called 'named-men,' because they were named or nominated each for his district, and the number from every district was prescribed by law; as was also the amount of their allowance, which varied according to the length of journey they had to make, and was paid by the commons in provisions and money. The delegates were nominated by the king's umbothmen, but they represented the people. The king was represented by his umbothmen (lendermen and aarmen), and the church by bishops and priests." Once the Lawthing was assembled, there was then chosen out of it (again by the king's umbothmen) a smaller selection, who formed the really vital part of the assembly—the High Court of Justice and the tribunal which

interpreted and amended the laws. This selection was called *Lögrétta*, and its members the *lögréttumenn*. They, again, were apportioned so many from each district.

Iceland. Such was the Norwegian model, and we should naturally expect to find its essential features reproduced in the Norwegian dependencies of Orkney and Shetland, even though the details might be modified. But before proceeding to examine the earldom records, it is well to take the precaution of glancing for a moment at Iceland, where we can see the Norwegian settlers working out their own destiny and providing themselves with a constitution after the tradition of their forefathers. The analogy is valuable, for although Orkney and Shetland were, unlike Iceland, part of the Norse dominion, they were settled under similar circumstances and must have contained among their early population the same predominance of refugee chieftains. In Iceland, as is well known, the country was divided into a number of jurisdictions called *goðorðs*, ruled by hereditary chieftains or *goðar*. The Althing—the Icelandic equivalent of the Lawthings—was attended, it is true, by all the bonder of the *goðorðs*, but their presence seems to have been chiefly useful in providing their liege-lord with a convincing argument for treating his decisions with respect. The actual parliament and courts of justice were composed entirely of the *goðar* and their nominees; they were, in fact, purely aristocratic assemblies, undiluted by the large infusion of bonder delegates found in Norway. Doubtless this was the result of the fact that (speaking generally) it was the chieftains who fled from the conquering Harfager and the bonder who stayed at home.

Orkney Social Classes. In the *Orkneyinga Saga*, which covers the history of the islands down to the early part of the 13th century, we have abundant proof that during this period the aristocratic element was not only strong but dominant. Each man who makes any figure

in the Saga—Havard Gunnarson, Swein of Gairsay, Sigurd of Westness, and the rest—is described as well-born or noble; and in one conclusive passage we have the distinction specifically drawn between the rikismen, or nobles, and the bonder or yeomen.¹ There is no mention of lendermen, except once in a priest-written life of St. Magnus—of no great value as evidence; but we find a distinctive word “*gæðingar*,” frequently used of the greater chieftains. It means generically noblemen, but its peculiar use in Orkney led so distinguished a scholar as Vigfusson to conclude that it was the equivalent of lendermen or barons. That this was the case is strongly borne out by the fact that whenever this phrase is used it is in connection with the earls: “the earl summoned *his Gæðingar*,” “so and so were *Gæðingar* of the earl.” We have no positive proof, but it seems pretty certain that these *Gæðingar* were semi-feudal vassals of the earl, just as the lendermen were of the king. With regard to the bonder, there seems to have been no division into haulds and free-born bonder; while as for lawthings the Saga is a blank on the subject; so that we are forced to depend on much later evidence.

After the close of the saga period, the curtain descends upon the stage of Orkney history. For 150 years we know nothing, and even then the curtain only lifts at long intervals for brief and tantalising glimpses. Still, we are able to get consistent and recurring testimony to one thing, and that is the continued existence of an aristocratic governing class; even though the individual members of it were steadily diminishing in importance owing to the odal laws, which gave all the children shares in their father’s property. As the Orkney noble’s pedigree grew longer his acres grew fewer, till in the course of centuries he had become a very different person from Swein of Gairsay with his

¹ “*en flestir rikis-menn, ok sva bændr*,” *Icelandic Sagas*, Vol. I. Rolls Edition, ch. 77.

eighty retainers and his power of making and unmaking earls. At the same time he maintained the same proportional relation to the bonder, since their farms were likewise sub-divided. Meanwhile, the estates of the church and earl expanded and expanded till they covered probably more than half of Orkney, awaiting the hour when they were to be feued out to immigrant Scotchmen who should thereby become in their turn the island magnates.

Later Glimpses. The first of the brief glimpses is an agreement drawn up at Kirkwall in the year 1369, between the Bishop of Orkney and Hakon Jonsson, the Norwegian Governor. Among a series of alternate concessions by either party, occurs this clause: "It was also ordained and agreed that the lord bishop and the noblest, or mightiest (*rikest*) men in Orkney and Shetland shall be first and foremost in every council (*ráð*) henceforth, as regards the king, the church, and the people, according to the laws and customs of the land." From this it is clear that in the said councils were two not always harmonious elements, the Norwegian officials, and the local nobility headed by the bishop; that "home rule" was secured by the predominance of the latter element; that the Church had astutely identified itself with the native interests; and that the bonder, as distinguished from the *rikest* men, had no direct finger in the government pie.

Another glimpse is afforded by the complaint of Orkney in 1426, wherein it is stated that twenty-four *goðamen* (nobles or magnates) were prepared to accompany Menzies of Weem to Norway and testify against his misrule. Thus we again find this class forming the natural representatives of the Orkneymen; and we may further conclude that if twenty-four of them could be spared they must at this time have been fairly numerous. The odal laws, in fact, were doing their work of making two chieftains sprout where one had grown before: each, unfortunately, half the original

size. Still, in the Diploma of 1446, the words "*proceres*" and "*nobiles*" make an imposing show on paper, and have since given rise to several plausible speculations on the part of writers misled by the "peasant-noble" legend and naturally somewhat puzzled as to the reasons which caused the learned Latinist, who wrote the Diploma, to differentiate between those supposititious rustic patricians and the "*populus ac communitas*." In point of sober fact, the mere use of the phrases by the learned cleric in question is sufficient in itself, when the point is deliberately considered, to explode the legend.

The Orkney Laws. We now come to the actual and proveable constitution of the Orkney Lawthing, so far as we have the facts to go upon. The evidence is confined to the beginning of the 16th century, when the Lawthing had probably ceased to do much legislative business and become practically the High Court of Justice in the islands. Still, the old laws remained in force, and though in all likelihood there had been minor alterations, there is no indication throughout the previous centuries of any revolutionary constitutional change.

In the first place we are confronted by the question, what were the old laws? That they were essentially the same as those of Norway is clear from recorded legal points decided in the Orkney courts. But that they differed in some particulars is proved by at least two statements in the Orkneyinga Saga. (a) "Then he (Earl Hakon) set up in the Orkneys new laws, which pleased the bonder much better than those that had been before." (b) "Kol gave him that advice that the earl (Rognvald) should bring in a law." Differences in the form of the administrative courts we actually do find, and we are justified in accepting them frankly as local characteristics, rather than trying to twist the evidence so as to fit the letter of the Norwegian code.

In the second place, we must be careful not to assume

rashly that Orkney and Shetland were precisely alike. Shetland was administered directly from Norway for nearly 200 years (1195 to 1379); the titles of the officials differed—we find no mention of Fouds and hardly any of Lawrikmen in Orkney, and none of Roithmen in Shetland; and finally, while the Orkney Lawthing was able to pronounce “final dome,” cases could be appealed from Shetland to Bergen.

The Shetland Lawthing. Of this the following description is given in the *Complaints* of 1576. “This Lawthing is the principall court haldin in the cuntrie in the haill zeir, to the quhilk all men aucht to cum, bath Mayneland and Yles, that hes land and heritage or grit takkis of the king”; and it is further stated that a fine was inflicted upon all who were absent. Again, further on in the same *Complaints*, there is reference to “ane lawthing and comown assemblie of the haill cuntrie.” This is not the Lawthing of delegates known to Norway. It rather reminds one of the local Norwegian *things*, at which attendance was compulsory upon all the landowners of the district, and in connection with which a “wapenshaw” was held. Possibly during the period of direct Norwegian administration the Shetland Lawthing was subject to the same regulations as these.

But, just as in the Norwegian Lawthings, the essential feature was the Lögrétta. We learn from the *Complaints* that a Lawrik man (lögréttu-man) “was ane necessar officiar in everie severale Yle and parochie of the cuntrie, chosin with the commoun consent and electioun of the Fowde and Commownis.” By 1576 he had become primarily a local official in his own district, yet his very name makes it certain that his original function was that of member of the lögrétta; while his distribution makes it equally clear that he was a representative delegate.

The Orkney Lawthing. There is no direct evidence whether or not the attendance of all landowners was

compulsory in Orkney. No mention is made of the ingenious Lord Robert Stewart taking advantage of the fines on absentees to increase his revenue, as did Lawrence Bruce in Shetland; there is no reference anywhere to such a general gathering; and the analogy with the minor Norwegian *things* would not hold good in this case. There is also this curious distinction, that "forcop" is found among the burdens on Orkney land, but not on Shetland land. "Forcop" is simply a corruption of the Norse and Icelandic *Þingfararkauþ*, the tax levied on the bonder for the payment of delegates' expenses when they went to the Lawthing or Althing.¹ Its absence in Shetland seems to emphasise the general and compulsory attendance there; its presence in Orkney would seem to indicate a different system. But that is all one can say. The court we read of in documents as the Lawthing was, strictly speaking, the lögrétta of the Lawthing, and it is on the constitution of this that the ensuing evidence bears. Yet since there is no proof of the existence of any more popular and general assembly, much less of what it consisted, it will be more convenient to use the familiar word Lawthing throughout.

Our evidence consists of three "Domes," dempt in the years 1509, 1514, and 1516, together with a brief quotation from a dome of 1510. Strictly speaking, the first of these is not a dome dempt at the actual Lawthing. It is described as "ane ogane and dome dempt at Saba and Toab;" but the constitution of the court and the proceedings generally are so exactly similar, that we are not only able to apply the deed to our particular case, but also to deduce the conclusion that though only one special court held at Kirkwall during the month of June was officially styled the Lawthing, others of a pre-

¹ The statement by some authors that "forcop" went to pay the Lawman's salary has neither evidence nor analogy to support it. The first syllable in itself is sufficient to confute it, since *farar* means "the men who fare" (to the thing).

cisely similar nature were held at other seasons and places. I do not mean by these the minor and purely local courts—the bailie courts, as they came to be called—but a kind of alternative head court, instituted doubtless to meet the inconvenience of waiting till the annual Lawthing came round.

The chief features of the Lawthing, then, were these. The court consisted of a variable number of “Roithmen”—a corruption of the Norse *ráðmenn*, or councillors. The term “lawrikman” is only met with twice in Orkney records.¹ From their functions, these roithmen were clearly the same officials under a different name, though why that designation should have been used instead, we can but guess. Possibly it was a relic of the days when the earl and his councillors formed the island executive; or it may conceivably have been an imitation of the nomenclature in the Bergen court which disposed of Shetland appeals (see O.L. Records, Nos. 33 and 41), and which was composed of the Gulathing Lawman and the *ráðmen* of Bergen. Generally the Roithmen were presided over by the Lawman, but this was not inevitably the case, for in the 1516 decree he is absent. They are variously styled “the worthiest and best of the land, goderytt landed men and Roithmen” (1509)—“XIV. of the worthiest” (1510)—“ane certane of famous, discreet, and unsuspected persons, of Roithmen and Roithmen’s sons” (1514), and “ane certane of worthy persons” (1516). Their number, as I say, varied. In 1509 there were 17 names “with others divers”; in 1514, 13 altogether; in 1516, 20 names “with others divers”; and in 1510, 14 altogether. The reason of this variation may perhaps be discovered by an investigation of the old Norwegian law codes; or perhaps it was a

¹Three lawrikmen (see Appendix B) append their seals to the Diploma in 1446, and Robert Isbister, lawrikman, is found in a Stenness baillie court decree of 1576.

local peculiarity. In default of any evidence, I can only offer the guess that the suitors may have had the right of challenging such Roithmen as they thought might be partial, and that it was exercised to a varying extent. A careful study of the families whose members are found upon the Lawthing, shows that these three chance decrees¹ include almost all those families known to have been of good standing at the time; there are moreover no more than two or three names in the whole collection, regarding which there are not good grounds for the presumption that they were people of some position; only two or three, in fact, of whom one simply knows nothing.

The phrase "Roithmen and Roithmen's sons" applied to the members of the Lawthing in 1514, is notable. On the face of it, it suggests that they were a hereditary body—a kind of House of Lords; but this would imply a very wide divergence from the Norwegian model. Possibly it was used as a guarantee that only the best native talent was employed; no mere "ferry-loupers," but men well able to adjudicate on the nicer points of odal law. At the same time, whatever the explanation, we can hardly escape from the conclusion that at this period the Orkney Lawthing was a deliberately undemocratic body. It may have been so always:—it is inherently likely enough that the Icelandic Althing is a nearer analogy than the Norwegian Lawthings; but in any event the odds are long that only families originally well endowed with land, and with an heiress-marrying tradition, can have stood the strain of centuries of odal sub-division, and that by the 16th century the bonder class were in too poor a way to contribute legislators.

But a study of the names gives considerably further information than this. The native surnames on these lists were almost all taken from known landed estates, while most of the Scotch families can be specifically

¹No names are mentioned in 1510.

identified with certain properties, so that in all but a very few cases one is able to tell the district from which a Roithman hailed. The result of this examination is to leave no reasonable doubt that they were delegates sent from the various parishes and islands up to the Lawthing at Kirkwall, or wherever else the High Court was held. On each occasion they come from all over Orkney—hardly a parish is unrepresented, and in only one instance are there more than two representatives of any one district. In fact, two is exceptional; generally it is one per parish; and I am even inclined to think that in cases where there is more than one name associated with a district, the extra man was probably delegate from some other district in which he also held property. This is supported by the fact that we find no names associated with certain parishes and islands where the land was almost wholly bishopric or earldom, and where there were no local landowners of importance; and yet these surely must have been represented on the Lawthing by someone.

These are the chief facts concerning Odal Orkney so far as I have been able to collect them, and from them it has been the endeavour of this paper to draw a few reasonable inferences. The very facts in themselves—every fact found in Saga, or statute, or document—lead us at least to one inevitable conclusion: that the “peasant-noble” and his primeval assemblies must henceforth be relegated to the realm of romance.

*Appendixes illustrating the Constitution of the
Orkney Lawthing.*

A.

The following Table shows the districts of Orkney in which the various Roithmen are known to have held property. In almost every case it was either their chief property or the only landed estate with which they can be identified. The

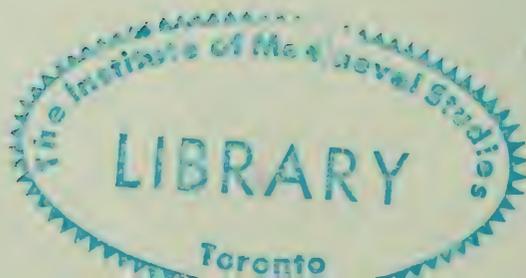
exceptions are entered under each parish with which they were connected, and a question-mark put against the name. It must be remembered:—(a) that in the 1509 and 1516 decrees there were a few names not recorded in the documents; (b) that almost certainly each court did not consist of all the available Roithmen, but only of a certain proportion; (c) that certain districts are entirely unrepresented in this Table, and certain others unrepresented in one or other of the decrees, and that their Roithmen may reasonably be expected to be either among the unrecorded or unidentified names, or among the plural representatives of other districts (*e.g.*, St. Andrews in 1516).

	1509.	1514.	1516.
Burray	Robert Yorston . . . . .	. . . . .	Robert Yorston
Deerness	Thomas Hallay	Magnus Aitken?	Andrew or Peter Paplay?
Firth	{ William Heddle	Andrew Scarth	Adam Sclater
	{ Kolbein Grimbister	{ John Flett of Harray	
Harray	John Flett of Harray	{ Magnus Aitken?	{ John Sinclair of Air
Holm and Paplay	John Garrioch of Holm . . . . .	. . . . .	{ Andrew or Peter Paplay?
(Two districts)	. . . . .	{ Henry Craigie	{ Thomas Craigie
North Isles (various par-	. . . . .	{ Thomas Craigie	{ Thomas Mure
ishes and islands)	. . . . .	{ Nicol Craigie	{ William Fotheringham
Orphir	Piers Louttit	Piers Louttit	Andrew Hall
Rendall	John Rendall . . . . .	. . . . .	James Rendall
St. Andrews	John Yenstay	Henry Foubister	{ Henry Foubister
	. . . . .	. . . . .	{ John Yenstay
Sandwick (Two districts, {	Thomas Sinclair of Tenston	{ Andrew Linklater	{ Andrew Linklater, Yr.
North and South)	{ John Norn?	{ Alexander Housgarth	{ John Norn?
South Ronaldsay (Two {	Andrew Halcro	{ Magnus Cawra (probably Cromarty of	Magnus Cromarty
parishes)	{ Magnus Cromarty	{ John Berstane	
Stenness	Richard Ireland	William Clouston	David Louttit?
Stromness	{ Alexander Sinclair of Stromness	. . . . .	John Norn?
	{ John Norn? . . . . .	. . . . .	{ John Adamson
Cannot be identified	{ Thomas Adamson . . . . .	. . . . .	{ Peter Brandeson
	{ Andrew Reid . . . . .	. . . . .

The decree of 1509 is printed in the *Scottish Journal*, April 22nd, 1848 and *Orkney and Shetland Records*, January, 1911; that of 1514 in Mackenzie's *Grievances*, Hibbert's *Shetland*, and *Orkney and Shetland Records*, January, 1911, and reproduced in facsimile in *Scottish Historical MSS.*; and that of 1516 is printed in Vol. V. of the *Spalding Miscellany*.

B.

To illustrate the representative nature of the names in the foregoing decrees and the standing of the families to which they belong, the following lists are added. They contain all the surnames mentioned in the other recorded gatherings of representative Orkneymen during the Norse and early Scotch periods (excluding a few patronymics and rare place-surnames which subsequently disappeared altogether, and in all probability were changed into something else). To accentuate the point, the names found in the Lawthing decrees are printed in italics. (1) From the list of arbiters in the quarrel between the Bishop and Governor in 1369:—*Ireland, Mure, Paplay, Sinclair, Irvine.* (2) From a list of “principal men” who “with many others” were present at an agreement between the Governor and Earl’s Mandatory about 1426:—*Mure, Heddle, Sutherland, Craigie, Irvine, Flett, Linklater.* (3) Lawmen of Orkney:—*Kirkness, Rendall, Craigie, Hall.* (4) Lawrikmen who appended their seals to the diploma in 1446:—*Tulloch, Craigie, Fotheringham.* (5) Leaders in the Orkney army at Summerdale (1529) who were respited in 1539, and also are known to have been Orkney landowners:—*Sinclair, Craigie, Rendall, Sclater, Cromarty, Peirson, Yorston, Louttit, Paplay, Garrioch, Berstane.* Other evidence less easily condensed, but to the same effect, is available regarding most of the remaining names in the decrees; and further information concerning these families in general may be found in two papers upon “The Odal Families of Orkney” (*Old-love Miscellany*, Vol. II., pp. 155 and 227).



NOTES ON THE BATTLE OF LARGS.

By ROBERT L. BREMNER, M.A.

I.—HISTORICAL RECORDS.

THE *Scottish Sources* of any value are three in number, viz.:—The Chronicle of Melrose; The Scotichronicon of John De Fordun and Wyntoun's Chronicle.

(a) *The Chronicle of Melrose* (731-1275) has been twice edited. It was first published by Bishop Fell (Oxford, 1684) and again for the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1835). Presumably the Chronicle was completed before the original Abbey of Melrose was destroyed by the English in 1322. Its account of the battle is contained in three sentences, which relate that in the year of our Lord 1263, Haco, King of Norway, came with an immense multitude of ships through the Western Sea to make war upon the King of Scotland; that in truth (as Haco himself acknowledged) not human power, but divine grace, repelled him, wrecking his ships and scattering death throughout his army, so that those who had convened for battle on the third day after the feast of St. Michael were conquered and overthrown. Wherefore they were forced to make for their ships along with their wounded and dead and to turn homeward more shamefully than they had come.

(b) *The Scotichronicon*. Nothing is known of either Fordun or his continuator, who is commonly supposed to have been Walter Bower, Abbot of Inchcolm. Fordun was probably a Chantry Priest of the Cathedral of Aberdeen. He wrote the first five books and apparently the first 23 chapters of Book VI. between the years 1384 and 1387, *i.e.*, 120 years after the battle. This section of the work ends with the death of King

David, 1153, and therefore does not include an account of the battle. Fordun left a mass of additional material, and his continuator, who was born in 1385, edited this, interpolating many inferior additions of his own. He began the work in 1441, and finished it in 1447. The most accessible editions are the Folio Edition in two volumes by Walter Goodall, published in 1759, and Skene's Edition in the *Historians of Scotland Series*, Volume I. of which contains the text, with a learned account of the manuscripts, and Volume IV. the English translation. These were published in 1872-3. In Skene's Edition a considerable amount of matter contained in the earlier edition is omitted as consisting of worthless interpolations of the unknown continuator.

(c) *Wyntoun's Chronicle* (in rhyme) completed about 1420. Andrew de Wyntoun was a canon of St. Andrew's. The best edition of Wyntoun is in the same Series, and is edited by David Laing.

The later histories of Boece (1526) and Buchanan (c. 1582) are of no independent value for this period. They contain many obvious exaggerations.

Norse Sources. The Saga of Hákon Hákon's son, written by Sturla, the Law Man, nephew of Snorri Sturlason, the famous historian of the Kings of Norway, at the command of Hákon's son and successor, Magnus, King of Norway. This work was begun in the Spring of 1264 and probably finished in 1265. Extracts from two MSS.—the Flatey and Frisian—were published with a translation by the Revd. James Johnstone, A.M., Chaplain to the British Embassy in Copenhagen in 1782. The little book is now out of print. By far the best edition of the complete Saga is that by Gudbrand Vigfússon in the *Rolls Series of Public Records*. It is No. 88 of the *Series of Chronicles and Memorials*, Volume II., and contains the text and a learned discussion of the MS. sources. Volume IV. contains an excellent translation by the

late Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., with a historical introduction.

The Saga account, it will be observed, is a contemporary chronicle, unmistakably derived from the reports of eye-witnesses, and therefore immeasurably more worthy of credit than the Scottish accounts.

II.—DATE AND PARTICULARS OF BATTLE, TAKEN FROM
THE SAGA.

The year 1263 is proved correct from the mention of the Annular Eclipse on August 5 at Ronaldsvoe. Michaelmas, 1263, fell upon Saturday, 29th September.

Monday, 1st October.

Heavy gale (supposed to be raised by witchcraft) began to blow at night, while half of Hákon's fleet lay at anchor in Cumbrae Sound.

Tuesday, 2nd October.

A transport broke from its moorings and went ashore in the morning after dashing against King Hákon's flagship and carrying away its figurehead. During the day five others went ashore. They were attacked by Scots. Hákon's ship had to put out eight anchors. Hákon landed on Cumbrae in his boat and had mass sung. Weather slackened a little. Hákon sent some men ashore. Scots retreated. Norsemen were on shore all that evening and early part of night.

Wednesday, 3rd October.

Scots had partially pillaged transport. Norsemen landed in morning. Salvaged remainder of cargo. Scots came down in great force. Main fight took place. Northmen retired from hillock. Death of Hákon of Stein. Gallantry and Death of Perus (*i.e.*, Sir Piers de Curry, a Scottish Knight). Storm continued. Eilif of Naustadal landed. Norsemen began to gather force. As day wore away, attack made by Norsemen on hillock

now occupied by the Scots. The Scots retreated to the fells. The Norse returned to their ships.

Thursday, 4th October.

King Hákon let carry the dead to a Kirk (til Kirkju). "The Thursday after" (*i.e.*, after the battle) Loch Long contingent returned. Sixty ships had been sent up Loch Long before Hákon's squadron sailed from Lamlash to Cumbrae. Ten of them were wrecked in the same gale.

Friday, 5th October.

King sent his guests ashore to burn the wrecks. King and Fleet sailed to Lamlash, the weather being now good.

Nothing in the Saga indicates that the Northmen considered themselves defeated. Hákon, when at Lamlash met a (second) deputation from Ireland urging him to sail thither and help the Irish¹ against their English oppressors. He himself was inclined to go; but the plan was over-ruled in Council. So the fleet sailed northwards through the Isles, and as each of his Sudreyan allies took his leave Hákon confirmed him in his fiefs.

That the Battle of Largs was not the decisive moment marking the end of the Norse domination of the Sudreys, which had lasted for four centuries, is sufficiently shown by the fact that two years later (1265) negotiations were open between Alexander III., the King of Scotland, and Magnus of Norway, to treat for the *purchase* of the overlordship of the Isles. By the Treaty of 1266 the overlordship of the Sudreys was sold for the sum of 4,000 marks down and a yearly payment of 100 marks. The fact that King Magnus of Man, threatened by Alexander immediately after

¹ *i.e.*, The Ostmen or Norse settlers who, as Prof. Alex. Bugge has shown, had wonderfully preserved their nationality, and still regarded Scandinavia as their mother country. (Aarbøger for n. Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1904, pp. 230, 249.)

Hákon's death, had yielded allegiance to the Scottish monarch, was in all probability the circumstance that chiefly decided Magnus of Norway to sell his patrimonial possessions.

III.—ALLEGED RELICS.

The only relic of the Battle which possesses the least claim to authenticity is the Gallowgate Mound. This is an artificial mound behind Gallowhill Place close to the shore and to the north of the Gogo Burn.¹ It is about 15 feet high by 75 feet long and 27 feet broad.

It is close to the site of the old Parish Church of Largs. According to Mr. John Dillon, whose careful, and upon the whole, excellent account of the Battle, was published in Vol. II. of *Archæologica Scotica*, pp. 350 *et seqq* (1823) "the only church near (the battlefield) was the church of Largs, which appears from the chartularies of Glasgow and Paisley to have existed before 1263." Its revenues were in 1265 gifted to the Bishop of Glasgow. In 1318 they were transferred by Walter, the Steward of Scotland, to the Abbey of Paisley, "for the safety of his soul and the soul of Marjorie his spouse." The mound was excavated in 1873 by Dr. John S. Phené of Chelsea, a well-known archæologist, who discovered burnt clay and charcoal from oak, interspersed with flakes of bright green, supposed to be copper or bronze, probably "remnants of armour," and some substances supposed to be bones—some partly and some wholly calcined.

¹ Dr. Jón Stefánsson suggests that the true origin of *Gogo* might be *Gauká* = Cuckoo Burn. Regarding this Mr. Craig says: "The suggestion that *Gogo* is *Gauk-á*, cuckoo river, strengthened by the Gowk craigs may be a likely derivation, all the more so that the stretch of land between the *Gogo* and *Hailie* is a favourite haunt of the bird." Still he is unwilling to give up the *Gjá* derivation, as it describes the burn and its characteristics so fitly. He also says: "*Flot* or *Flote* is, I think, what is now known as the Moor-burn, the more so that the farm of Flatt is in the immediate vicinity."

Human teeth were also found. Dr. Phené, in a letter to "The Times," states that "when the centre of the mound was reached, it was one mass of fat unctuous earth, dotted all over with red and black, formed by pieces of the burnt clay and charcoal." These discoveries appear to have convinced the excavator that the Norsemen were buried in this mound.

The arguments against this theory are (first) that there were many other churches, or at all events cells or places of devotion, in the vicinity, some of them nearer the battlefield, some dating to the Culdee period, and one of these was probably in the grounds of Hailie (which *perhaps* means Haly, Holy), and may have been known as St. Margaret's Chapel; (second) that the Mound being over a mile from the probable battleground is too far off, especially as the Gogo is impassable after heavy rains; (third) that the Mound is too large to have been constructed in the time at the Norsemen's disposal.

I am inclined to think that none of these arguments have much weight.

(First) Cells and small chapels are not churches. I have seen no evidence of the multitude of holy places, except the more or less fantastic derivations of place names, originally suggested, I believe, by Mr. Lytteil.

(Second) The most of the fighting took place along the shore, and there was nothing to hinder the bodies being carried in the ships' boats to the place of interment. The numbers of slain Norsemen cannot have been so very numerous. In all probability not more than 1,500 at the outside were engaged in the running fight. Munch (*Chron. Manniae*, p. 125) admits that there was nothing to hinder the bodies being removed to the church, but thinks they were carried to Bute and buried there. There is nothing whatever in the Saga to suggest this. The Chronicle of Melrose, above quoted, however, indicates that the dead and wounded were removed to the ships (quoted by Munch, p. 123).

(Third) It does not appear to me at all improbable that a grave and mound of earth of such dimensions could have been erected in the course of one day. The Norsemen had a host of willing workers, and the whole of Thursday (and possibly part of Friday) may have been spent in the work.

It is much to be desired that this mound should be properly excavated by qualified archæologists.

Two other alleged relics, viz.:—An enormous tumulus of stones known as St. Margaret's Law, formerly existing on the grounds of Haylie, but removed in 1780, and the Curling Hall monolith were both quite obviously pre-historic monuments of the neolithic period. The former was a chambered cairn and contained stone cists, etc.; and since its demolition in 1780 the central chamber at its base, composed of large slabs, which still remain *in situ*, has been absurdly called Haco's tomb.

IV.—PLACE NAMES.

There are few place-names in Largs and neighbourhood of distinctly Norse origin, and none that can with any likelihood be attributed to the date of the Battle. If I am right in my conjecture that Hawking Craig, a few miles south, close to which the famous Hunterston Brooch was found, is a corruption of Hakon's Craig, that might be an exception; though there is nothing in the Saga to connect King Hakon Hakonsson with that particular spot.

The only place-name referable to the great fight is not Norse at all, viz.:—"Killing Craig," on the rising ground, about half-a-mile from the shore, one of the knolls on which might well be the hillock that was held alternately by the Scots and the Norsemen.

But a little north of Largs, where Noddsdale or Brisbane Glen stretches up to the high moorland that lies between Largs and Greenock, there are traces of

an early settlement of Northmen.¹ We know that in the ninth century the southern part of the Cumbrian Kingdom and Galloway and indeed the fringe of the West Coast mainland from the Mull of Galloway to Cape Wrath, were dotted with colonies of Northmen. The whole district about Largs in the ninth century formed part of the British or Cymric Kingdom of which Alclutha or Dumbarton (Dun Breatan, the fort of the Britons) was the capital. In the year 870, Olaf the White, Norse King of Dublin, besieged Alclutha, and after a fourth months siege reduced the fortress. It may well be that some of his tough old sea-dogs set covetous eyes on the fine farm lands on the side of the wide firth and determined to end their days on the fertile slopes that front the Cumbraes, the Kumreyar or Cymric isles, as the Norsemen called them.

At all events it would not be strange that a Thord and a Thorgil, a Bersi and a lady Hallgerda, an Ottarr, a Knút and a Svein should have "taken land" and set up their garths and their sheep folds on the "hlíðir" or slopes of Skelmorlie, Noddale, Haylie and Fairlie.

NORSE NAMES IN AND NEAR NODDSDALE OR BRISBANE GLEN.

Noddsdale, locally pronounced Neddle or Noddale = Nautadal or Nautsdal, *i.e.*, Neat-dale, Cattle-dale; *cp.* Nautholt, Nautabú, Nautaklif, etc., in Iceland. (Pont's Map c. 1600 Nodsdal).

Halkert Glen, two miles up from mouth of Noddale Burn on right bank = Hallgerðr. (Pont: Halkertden).

Stockerlie Glen, next glen on same back = Stakka-hlíð (pron. Stacka-leethe), a place-name in Iceland, = the slope of the stacks (of hay, etc.). (Pont: Stokorth).

Outerwards Farm, about two miles still further up

¹ My attention was first directed to this by Mr. Matthew Craig, Seaforth, Largs, a gentleman extremely well informed in the local antiquities; and the following list is the result of a study of the six-inch Ordnance maps.

Noddale Burn on the same bank, might be Ottarsgarðr, *i.e.*, Ottar's farm or Otrargarðr, *i.e.*, Otter-farm; *cp.* in Iceland Ottarsstaðir, Otrardalr, etc. (Pont: Vtterward).

Black Fell = a hill half a mile to the east.

Tourgill (a farm and stream), a little lower down on left bank of Noddale Burn = Thor's gil (gully), Thora's gil.

Slanghill Burn, tributary of Tourgill Burn, Slangi = serpent (Slanga-gil?).

Slanger Burn, quite near, tributary to Greeto Burn, same as above.

Bessel Moor. Where these burns take their rise; *cp.* Bessastaðir, for Bersastaðir, Bear-stead or Bersi's stead, a common name in Iceland (Bessa-mýrr?).

Girtley Hill and Langley Hill. Two little eminences in the moor = Grjót-hlíð, stone slope, and Langahlíð, long slope.

Wooy Hill. Another little eminence close to the above = Quoy, in Orkney, Shetland and Cumberland = Kví, a sheep fold; *cp.* Kvía and Kvíabekkr in Iceland.

Gowk Craigs = gaukr, cuckoo.

Thortermere Burn, tributary of the Greeto Burn = Thorðar-mýrr, Thord's moss. (Pont: Thortermeer).

Greeto Burn. Quite evidently Grjótá = stoney stream, a common place-name in Iceland.

Swinside = Svein's síða.

Whitlie Burn, a tributary of the Noddale Burn, a little below Tourgill, might be Hvíthlíð, white slope; *cp.* Hvít-staðir, etc., in Iceland.

Nitslie Hill, farther to the south, might be Knút's hlíð.

Flatt, a farm immediately to the N. of the Gogo = Flöt. (Pont: Flot or Flote).

Meigle Bay = Mjógil, narrow gil, Professor Ker

suggests, because it corresponds to the natural features of the place, also phonetically and phonologically.

OTHER NORSE NAMES NEAR LARGS.

Gogo Burn, locally supposed to be derived from *gjá*, a rift or chasm. Dr. Jón Stefánsson suggests *Gauk-á*, *i.e.*, Cuckoo River.

Haylie, commonly derived from Scots *haly*, *i.e.*, holy. It is, however, most unusual for a place-name to be formed by an isolated adjective. I conjecture, *Hey-hlíð*, hay-slope.

Swinsholm, about a mile farther to the east, might well be *Svein's hólmr*.

Skelmorlie, a few miles north of Largs, the steep ground at the back of Wemyss Bay (*circa* 1400 A.D. Skelmorley. Pont's Map: Skelmoirluy, Skelmurlay, and Skelmorly). Johnston, "Place-Names of Scotland," doubtfully conjectures "shelter, lee-side of the great rock," from Gaelic and Ir.sceilig mòr. But *Skálmarnes* and *Skálmardalr*, etc., are place-names in Iceland and *Skálmarn-hlíð*, "the slope of the sword" is the obvious derivation. *Cp.* Skelmersdale (Schelmeresdale), which occurs in a group of names belonging to a Norse colony, of which there is no historical record, north of the Mersey. Mr. Collingwood (*Scandinavian Britain*, p. 197) derives it from *Skálmýrardalr*. Mr. Sephton, with greater probability, from *Skelmir* = rascal, the supposed nickname of a settler.

Fairlie, two miles south of Largs, is probably *Fögr-hlíð* = fair slope, or *Faerhlíð* = sheep slope.

Still further south, near West Kilbride, lies Hunterston estate, where was found in 1826 the famous Hunterston brooch, the most beautiful relic of the Norse period, now preserved in the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh. Close by is:—

Hawking Craig, which I conjecture may be a corruption of *Hákon's Craig*.

MINIATURES FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.

PART I.

By DR. HARRY FETT.

IN the picture, which little by little we shall be able to draw of our Norse culture, the Icelandic part must take its place by itself. In one department, it will even be one of the chief sources. In Norway, the style of the late Middle Age has, as it were, continued the old romanesque tradition. The very popular character of this style has, in a way, fettered the artistic imagination of the country district. In the Sætersdalen we have it pure and clear, often in a somewhat degenerated form. The rich ornamentation in Gudbrandsdal may have arisen as a new impulse from the Louis XIV. style, which was grafted on the old interlacings, etc. But the strange life of the romanesque ornamentation in popular art, the fate of this ornamentation through the Ages, can nowhere be studied so clearly as in the Icelandic miniatures. Where our material only gives hints—and we have many such hints where it is indefinite, or changes its character, there the Icelandic material seems fixed and harmonious. The ornamental picture of the style of the late Middle Age does partly find its complement in the late rich Icelandic art, namely, the old conservative character of it. From natural science it is also known that such older groups continue under new conditions, that specially in isolated places an older flora and fauna may continue their special evolution—as obsolescent—after they have disappeared long ago elsewhere. Such forgotten examples or styles are also found in Norway and in Iceland; romanesque ornamentation is found,

even in the nineteenth century, which has lived through Gothic, late Middle Age, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo. Similar phenomena are found elsewhere. In Graubünden, in Switzerland, *e.g.*, such remains of romanesque style are found as late as our own time.

From an artistic point of view, there is in Icelandic art, something of the same that is seen in language and literature, *viz.*, that they flourish on the basis of the old Norse romanesque culture. The near connection of this culture with Norway is undoubted, and, we have here probably something similar to that which Gaston Paris¹ speaks of as regards France and England, *viz.*, that several of the oldest French poems are preserved in Anglo-Norman copies.

Into this interesting group, in the romanesque style, there comes a little, as it were, Gothic intermezzo. It is the great Norwegian art of the 13th century. Of our pictorial art of this time, we have preserved a series of interesting remains, both entire ceiling pictures and altar frontals. Bendixen has published some of the last in his interesting articles in the year-books of the Bergen Museum, without determining their style. It is clear we have also had miniature painting. Literary production was at this time very extensive, and several of our books of that time are beautifully illuminated. In the Bergen town law of 1273 painters, "pentarar," are mentioned; they had to live in a certain district. The manuscript speaks of all kinds of painters, "skripta, meistarar," which may mean people who sold illuminated books.² Law codes excepted, destruction seems to have overtaken the bulk of our Norwegian manuscripts, but we have preserved a richly illuminated law manuscript, *viz.*, the beautiful so-called Codex Hardenbergianus, gl. Kgl. S. 1154 fol.,³ in the Royal

¹ Gaston Paris: *Esquisse historique de la littérature Française au Moyer Age.* Paris, 1905, s. 2.

² Bendixen: *Bergen Museums Aarb.*, 1889, nr. 2, s. 29.

³ *Norges gl. Love IV.*, s. 389.

Library, Copenhagen. This is the only one which shows how rich was the Gothic Norwegian art of illumination. There are eleven miniatures in initials painted on gold ground, and one on blue ground. The first picture on page 2 shows King Magnus sitting

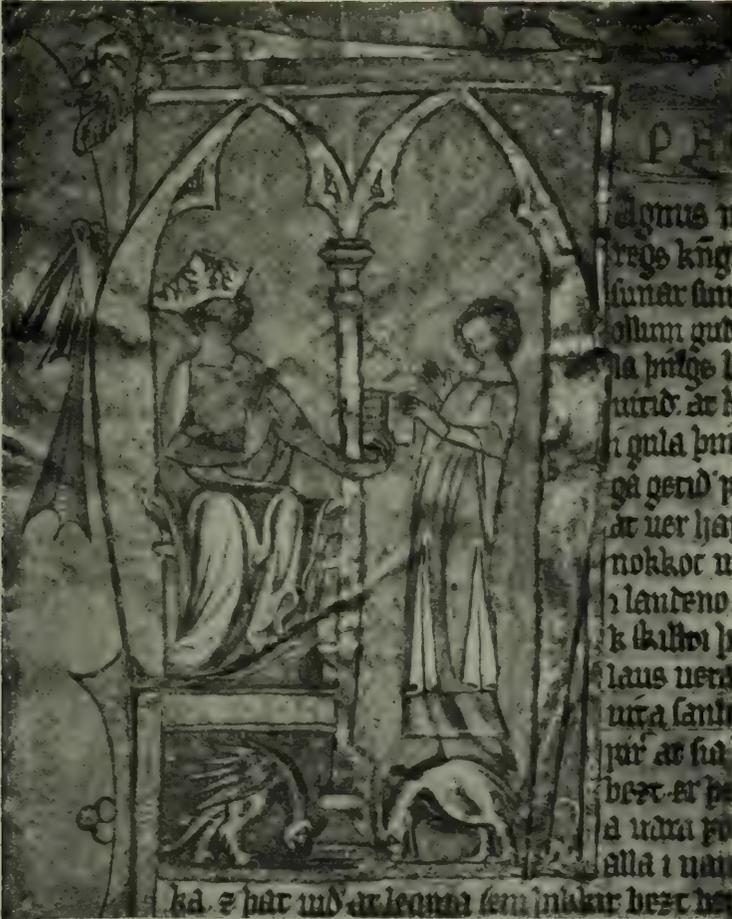


FIG. 1.—KING MAGNUS HANDING OVER THE CODE OF LAWS.

In the Introduction to a Norwegian Law Manuscript, gl., Kgl. sml. 1154 fol., Royal Library, Copenhagen.

on his throne and handing over the code of laws (fig. 1); in the margin are various animals. Page 4 is a picture common in law-books—Christ as Judge. It is part of those Judgment Day pictures that were shown in town

halls, and in law courts, in the Middle Ages, and thence passed into law MSS. King and bishop kneel down underneath. In the margin, knights are fighting. Before the section dealing with Christianity (the section which caused strife between king and clergy), one sees the king with the sword of justice and the orb, opposite the bishop with his crozier. The clergy wanted everything relating to church law to come from the bishops, and be based altogether on the canonical law. Here, as so often, both in reality and in art, king and bishop stand opposite each other, in this case to form the initial **P**. Before the Defence section, p. 18, there are armed warriors in a ship. Before the Weregild section, p. 30, which says that no one may injure another without being punished, the king is seen giving one of his subjects this code of laws. Before the Inheritance section are two drawings; a young heir is clasping the king's hand, p. 47, and on page 51 a judge and an heir divide the inheritance; while above we see the chests with the property and the money. Before the Land section, p. 63, concerning land redeemed from another, a man is seen coming with his treasures to redeem the land; and in the Tenant section the landlord is seen negotiating with the tenant. Before the Trade section, p. 101, two figures are seen, buying and selling a piece of cloth. In the Thieves section, p. 113, there is a thief tied to a post, in the act of being flogged; some people are present at the punishment. The manuscript is probably from Bergen, date about 1330. Storm surmises that it was written for Bishop Thorstein (who died 1349). It is in style nearest to the later group of altar frontals, the two from Aardal¹ and the one from Roldal. The wavy lines of the draperies are there too, and the style shows the later development of the Franco-English illumination, which in the reign of Magnus the Law-mender reached us. The question is whether we have had older illuminations. This, I think, we may assert. We have

¹Bendixen : Berg. Museums Aarb., 1889, no. 2, and 1893, no. 8.

a series of altar frontals in a definite early Gothic style, which shows that the art of painting was eagerly cultivated in Norway under Hakon Hakonsson. But we have other evidence. In the Icelandic, somewhat degenerated style of portraiture in illuminations, early Gothic motives are seen far into the 14th century. Everything goes to show that the Gothic-Icelandic art of illumination is connected with the Norwegian, and that this artistically weak group is of historical interest to us, as a contribution towards completing the picture of the art of illumination in Norway, in the 13th century.

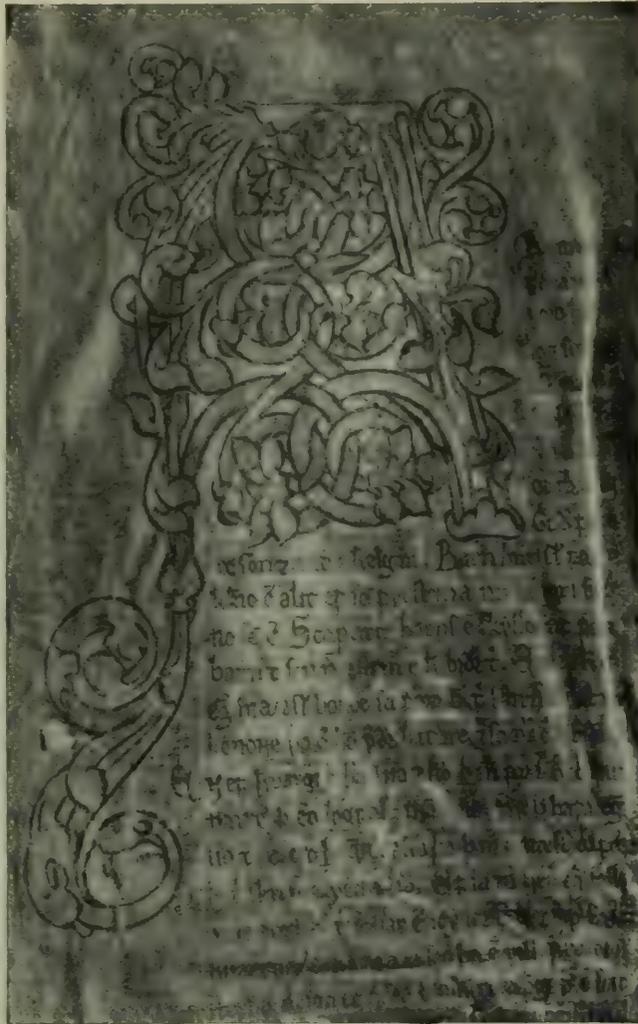


FIG. 2.—INITIAL FROM STADARHOLSBOK.
About 1280. A.M. 334 fol. Author's Photograph.

We will now look at the Icelandic illuminations in their connection with the Norwegian. If one wants to see old romanesque illuminations of books, one may find them in Stadarholsbok, A.M. 334. Dr. K. Kaalund

dates it 1260-80,¹ Gustav Storm² 14th century. Here are many ornamental varieties of the style we know best in Norway, from our (Stavkirke) church portals. In some places, even in this antique manuscript, hints of a later decoration are visible, *e.g.*, p. 27; as a whole the manuscript has several of the fine fixed decorative

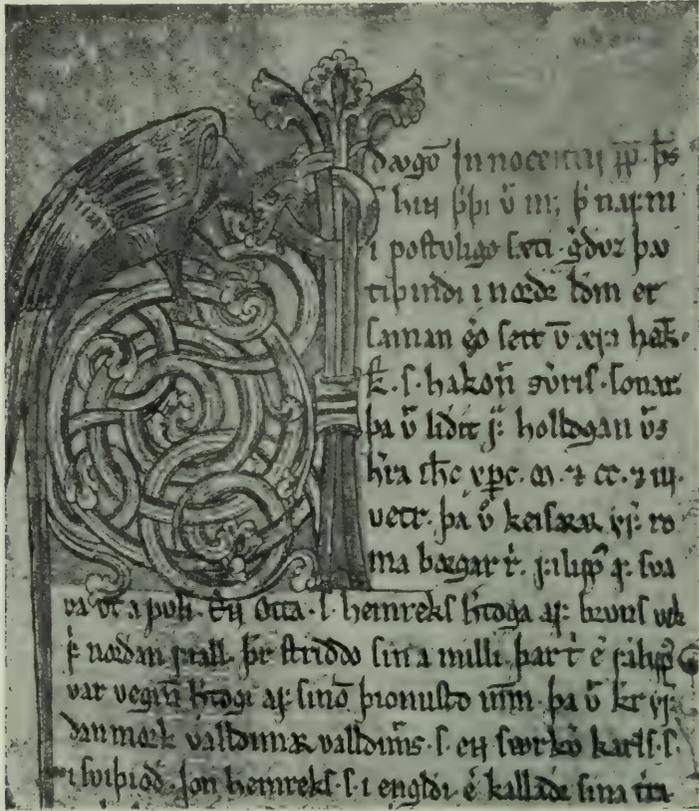


FIG. 3—INITIAL FROM THE CORDEX FRISIANUS.
Beginning of the 14th Century. Author's Photograph.

combinations which probably had long prevailed in Norwegian works, and which continued in Iceland for a long time. In the initial letter A, wide scrolls are interlaced in an antique design (fig. 2). The famous Codex Frisianus, A.M. 45 fol., is also fine and interesting; it is

¹ Katalog over den Arnamagneansk haandskriftsamling. Kbh. 1888, s. 275.

² Norges Gamle Love, IV., s. 531.

written in 1300, or shortly after, by an Icelander, who was staying in Norway.¹ It is also quite romanesque in design. It is finer and richer than the *Stadarholzbok*. There are several pretty compositions, and some of them survive a long time; a few of the motives are found as late as the Gudbrandsdal style, but the later Gothic art, as it developed in Norway, probably influenced this Icelander during his visit. The initial, page 84, which is filled with old interlacings (fig. 3), shows the style of the 12th century, is almost of an especial Norse design.

With the Gothic art, portraiture came more and more to the front in Norway. As the romanesque style, found in a series of Icelandic manuscripts, is preserved in Norway, in still another way, viz., in the portals of the *Stavkirke*, similarly this pictorial art can be studied in Norway in a series of altar frontals. Here can be followed the development of the style, from Early Gothic to Gothic, and on to later forms. The same we shall find in the Icelandic manuscripts, sometimes very late, so that it is difficult to determine the age of the style, because later ideas have, as it were, obscured the original design. It is clear that these, in a way, reproduce the Norwegian style; this style is best seen in a sitting figure, with the globe in the left hand, the right hand lifted to give the blessing (fig. 4), in page 59. A.M. 679, 4to. The figure, with the free treatment of its drapery, all the many little folds, is found in our Early Gothic figures of the Saviour, the carved figure in Kinn Kirke² and the painted figure of the altar frontal of Hitterdal,³ and on the ceiling in Torpe Kirke. The nearest akin seems to be the altar frontal in Ulvik.⁴ Here is a typical Early Gothic drawing, in a manuscript of the 13th century. The manuscript is written in

¹ *Codex Frisianus*. Edited by C. R. Unger, preface. Storm : Snorre Sturlasson's *Historie Eskrivning*. Copenhagen, 1873, s. 210.

² Fett : Norges Kirker.

³ The same. Fig. 306.

⁴ Bendixen ; Bergens Museum Aarbok, 1893, No. 8.

Latin, possibly in Norway. The design is in a purer style than is generally found in the Icelandic drawings. The figure itself is also very interesting. It is either the God-father or Christ. Some time passed before they



FIG. 4.—CHRIST OR GOD THE FATHER,
FROM *ORDO ECCLESIASTICI*.
13th Century. A.M. 479 4to. Author's Photograph.

dared to delineate God the Father. In the oldest time, in representing *e.g.* the Creation only the hand of God was seen. When they began to represent God, it was entirely the same figure as Christ.¹ Christ is represented with a book, and, God the Father with the globe in His hand. This figure dates back to the romanesque beardless Christ. The question is, if the representation of God the Father dates back so far as to the beardless Christ. In the Latin manuscript in Beauvais called

Augustino Genesis, of the 11th century, there is the same beardless figure with the globe in his hand, and Didrou

¹ Didrou: *Christian Iconography*, English Edition. London, 1886, I., S. 214.

thinks that this is an early representation of God.¹ But the portrait of the Father is borrowed from that of the Son. Later it is differentiated by the addition of the long beard and a crown on his head, which in Germany has developed into an Imperial crown. Besides the interest in the design, it is a pictorial memento, of the time when God was portrayed as similar to Christ, an early stage in the representation of God the Father, which is interesting for iconography.

The important manuscript of St. Olaf's Saga, A.M. 68 fol., has on its first page: St. Olaf seated. (Fig. 5). The figure is of Early Gothic character. The sleeve hanging from the left arm, the folds round the waist, the oval motives on the right knee, show this. At the same time, the influence of the wider folds of draperies in

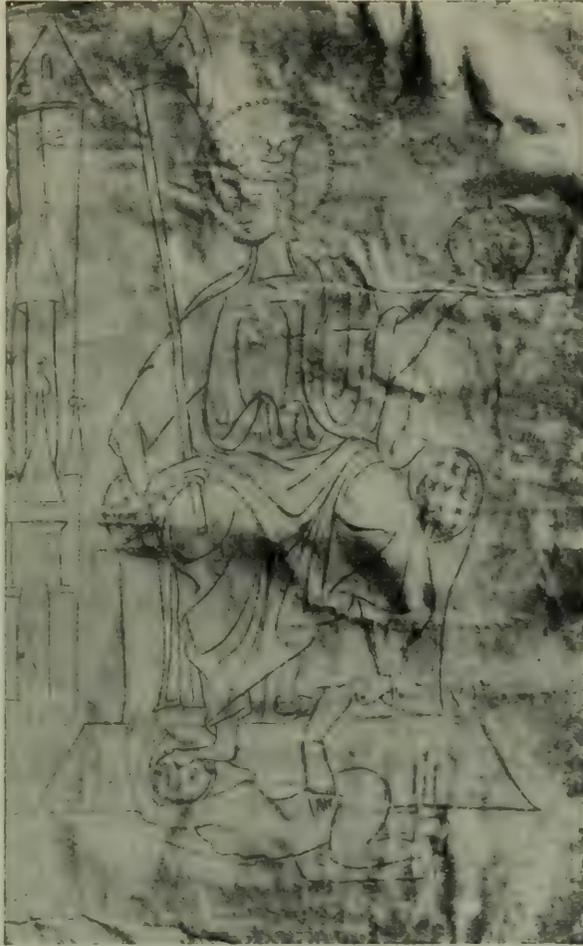


FIG. 5.—KING OLAF THE HOLY, FROM ST. OLAF'S SAGA.

Beginning of the 14th Century. A.M. 68 fol.
Author's photograph.

¹ Didrou: *Christian Iconography*, English Edition. London, 1886, I. S. 212.

the later Gothic can be seen. St. Olaf is seated holding an axe and an orb. The motive is related to the preceding picture, and is one of the numerous seated figures of St. Olaf known. The manuscript dates from the beginning of the 14th century. The wavy treatment of the line seems to be most similar to that of the

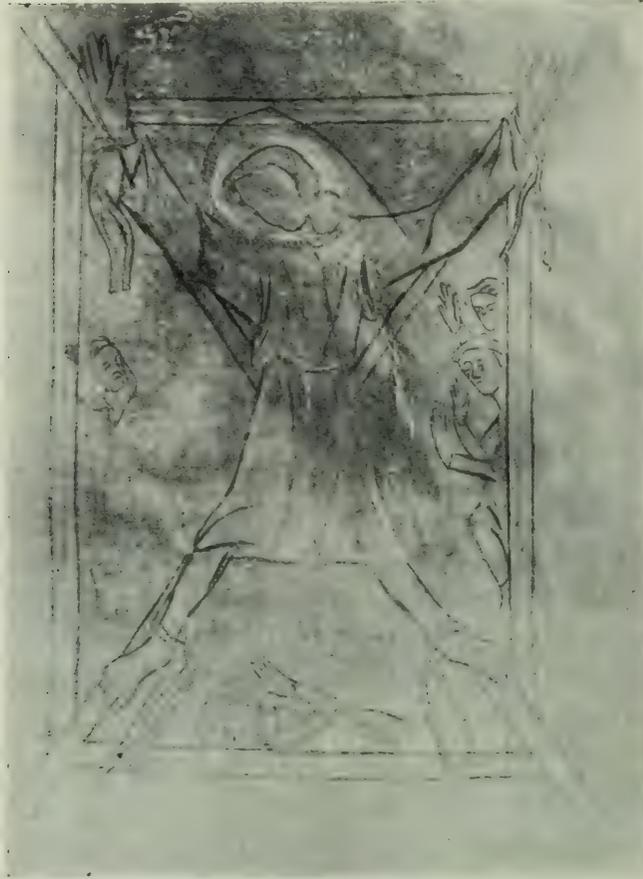


FIG. 6.—ST. ANDREW, FROM ST. ANDREW'S SAGA.
First half of the 14th Century. A.M. 646, 4to.
Author's photograph.

altar frontal of Kaupanger¹ with the coronation of Mary. The crowns are similar in form. On this altar frontal are found two representations of the life of St. Olaf, the Battle of Stiklestad, and also one of his miracles. This would seem to be traces of representations of St. Olaf in Early Gothic, and we may take

it for certain that we have had complete Early Gothic St. Olaf-altar-frontals, just as one is preserved in Norwegian Later Gothic, in Copenhagen. It is the picture of the King sitting on the throne, which we, in Norway,

¹ Bendixen: *Bergens Museum Aarbok*, 1905, No. 12.

otherwise only know, in the Early Gothic, manner in a series of sculptures and in the representations of the altar frontal in Kaupanger.

A.M. 646 4to contains the Saga of the Apostle Andrew, which is introduced with a representation of Andrew's Crucifixion, which also in its main motives is Early Gothic (fig. 6). It is peculiar that the Kaupanger altar frontal has the same representation. Yet still one representation of this altar frontal is from the legend of St. Nicholas. It only occurs in Norway on this occasion. In an Icelandic manuscript from about 1400, in the Royal Library of Stockholm,¹ there are pictures representing St. Nicholas. I have not had occasion to



FIG. 7.—TWO REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A RITUAL BOOK OF THE BEGINNING OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

A.M. 241A, fol. Author's photograph.

see these miniatures, but if they, too, are Early Gothic in character, it becomes still more probable that a certain group in the West of Norway may have influenced these Icelandic miniatures.² To this Early Gothic group belong, also, some miniatures in MS. A.M. 241 a fol. (fig. 7), eight small pictures of the Passion. They

¹ Gödel: Catalogue of Early Icelandic and Early Norwegian Manuscripts in the Royal Library, Stockholm, p. 56.

² I have recently seen these miniatures, which belong to the best Icelandic Illumination left us. The manuscript is dated about 1400, but is undoubtedly of an Early Gothic character. St. Nicolas in the Kaupanger altar-frontal and the one in the manuscript have the same style, the same motive, and probably spring from the same source.

represent the Kiss of Judas, the exhibition before the people, Christ before Pilate, Christ carrying His Cross, the Crucifixion, Mary and John at the Cross, the taking down from the Cross and laying in the grave. We have these motives in the Early Gothic group, in altar frontals from Hauge church,¹ from Nes church,² and in the



FIG. 8.—THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR, ABOUT 1300.

A.M. 249D, fol. Author's photograph.

A.M. 249 d. fol. (fig. 8) is also Early Gothic in the draperies of the Madonna; calendar A.M. 249 c. fol. has a severe representation of a Madonna (fig. 9). The catalogue of the Arnamagnean collection dates the manuscript about

¹ Bendixen: Bergens Museum. Aarboger, 1905, No. 12.

Fett: Norges Kirker, in Mid. Fig. 308.

altar frontal from Eid church, Christ's persecutors are represented in profile while the typical Early Gothic motives, with the cloak below trailing over the field, is not seen so often in Norway. There is a trace of it in the altar frontal in Nes church. Here two of the pictures are given; the raising of the cross, and, the crucifixion itself. Another crucifixion from a Latin calendar,

the beginning of the 13th century. It is in excellent severe style, the crown and the whole arrangement is of early date. We have here, the beginning of the wide flowing draperies, so the work probably belongs to the period which, in my book on "Sculpture in Norway under the Sverre family," I called the second Early Gothic style,

date about 1250. This representation differs somewhat from the earlier sitting figures with their flowing lines. We come to a more architectonic style, with better defined lines, a style we have well represented in a somewhat later stage in the altar-frontal of Hammer church.¹ There is thus another Early Gothic influence here.



FIG. 9.—MADONNA, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR, FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY. A.M. 249C, fol. Author's photograph.

The representation of the Madonna is also interesting, as showing the artistic arrangement of the relation between mother and child. The romanesque Madonna has the child solemnly sitting on her lap. It was tried in various

¹ Bendixen: Bergens Museums, Aarbog, 1905, No. 12.

ways to put more life into the picture, to produce a kind of interaction between mother and son. Here as often an old Byzantine motive was resorted to, the child, as it were, hiding itself behind the draperies of the mother's arm. In Byzantine art this motive was often used to express tender relations; our picture has taken the motive, but preserved, at the same time, the old romanesque solemnity, without expressing any tenderness between the child and the mother.

Then there is a series of illuminated Icelandic law codes. The style in the above-named Norwegian law codes, with the late Gothic forms, clearly recurs in Icelandic. The question is, if among the later illuminated Icelandic law codes, one also can find in the same way as in these miniatures, motives which are older than the style of Magnus the Lawmender, which runs into the Early Gothic of Hakon Hakonsson. I think I see behind the interesting miniatures of H. S. gl. klg. MSS. 3269, a 4to in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, Early Gothic prototypes. It is known that several laws were written down under Hakon Hakonsson, and the style in our altar frontals can be determined. Both representations and manner differ from the pictures of the later law codes, and are clearly of an older type. This law code is dated from the 14th century. The designs are romanesque, and not as in other law codes, often late Gothic. Of course it is difficult to make conclusions about style in primitive art, but the whole arrangement of pictures seems to make it likely that other miniatures are their prototypes. In contrast to the more solemn arrangement in "Codex Hardenbergianus," with the persons arranged two and two in pairs, there are here lively scenes with representations drawn from life (figs. 10-13). First, King Magnus handing over the code of laws. Instead of king and bishop in the Christianity section, there is the old motive of the fight between good and evil—a warrior fighting the dragon of heathendom.

It is a typical old motive in manner and matter. In the Manslaying section, there is no affirmation of the rights of man, as in the Norwegian law code, but the deed itself is represented. A man is pierced through with a sword. We see a whale being divided, see a trading scene with



FIG. 10.—THE KING HANDING OVER THE LAWS.
JONSBOK GL. KGL. SAML.
3269A, 4to. 14th Century.

weighing scales, a merchant ship, and finally a thief being punished by hanging. But they differ from the Norse codes. Before I go through the various foreign law codes, I cannot determine the time or the group to which

the work belongs, but it seems to me clear that it is an older type. Probably it is connected with the Anglo-French Early Gothic style, which Hakon Hakonsson brought into Norway, and I think we have in these artistically inferior miniatures, memories of the kind of illuminations used in law codes at the time of this king. This I conclude from the Early Gothic treatment of the drapery on which the designs seem based, rather than from the antique arrangements of the representation itself, which so clearly differs from later work, and, finally, from the strong influence of the romanesque designs in this, so to speak, Gothic group.

In what manner did this later Gothic style come to Norway? Here is one of the few places, in the history of Norwegian art in the Middle Ages, where the written sources help us as a guide.

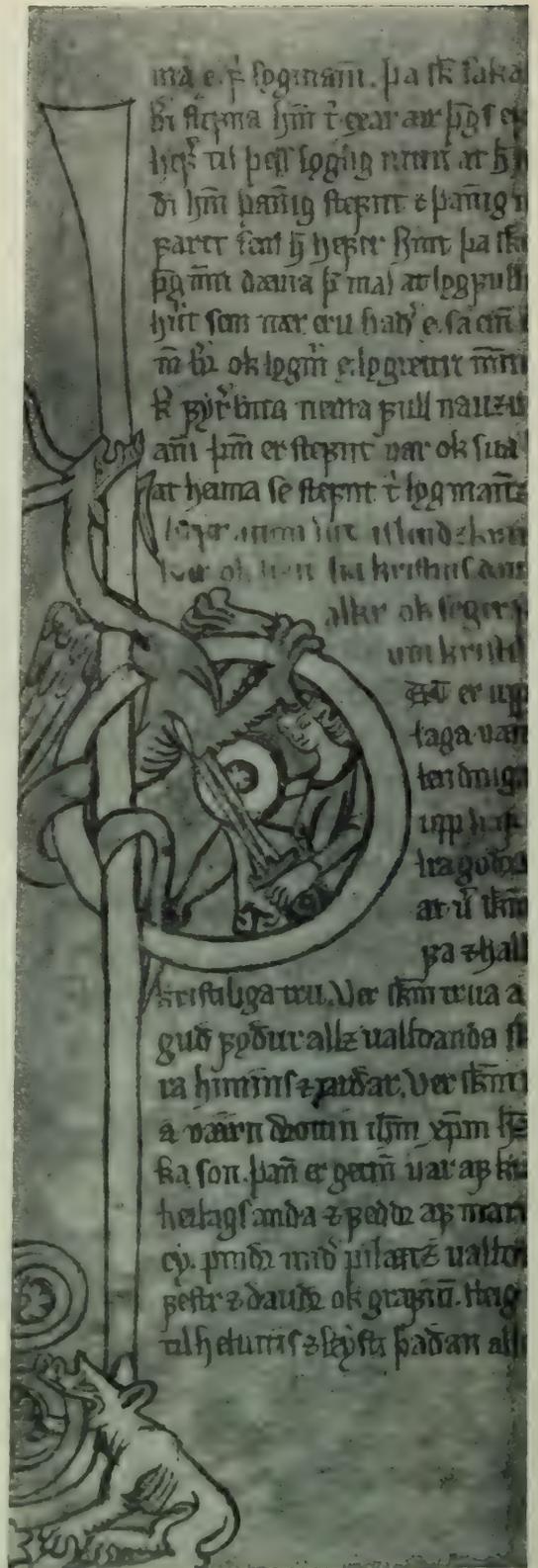


FIG. 11. A WARRIOR FIGHTING A DRAGON, FROM THE CHRISTIANITY SECTION.

GL. KGL. SAML.

3269A, 4to.

Privately Printed Works of the Club—continued.

9. **Vol. III., Part III., January, 1904.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1903, and the following Papers in full:—

The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford, by A. R. GODDARD, B.A. (Illustrated.)

Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde, by R. L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L. (Illustrated.)

Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark, by KARL BLIND. (Illustrated.)

The Saga of Havelok the Dane, by the Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.

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Stone Circles and other Rude Stone Monuments of Great Britain, by A. L. LEWIS. (Illustrated.)

The Lay of Thrym, translated by Miss BEATRICE H. BARMBY.

Survey of Orkneyan Place-Names, by A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.

xii., 291-492 pp., paper covers. 10s.

10. **Vol. IV., Part I., January, 1905.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1904, and the following Papers in full:—

Research, Inaugural Address, J. G. GARSON, M.D.

Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney, M. MACKENZIE CHARLESON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. (Illustrated.)

On the Place Name Wetwang, Rev. E. MAULE COLE, M.A., F.G.S.

Traces of Danish Conquest and Settlement in Cambridgeshire, E. HAILSTONE, F.R.Hist.S. (With Map.)

The Danes in Cambridgeshire, Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE.

Scandinavian Motifs in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation, Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S.L. (Illustrated.)

King William the Wanderer, W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North, EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.

260 pp., paper covers. 10s.

11. **Vol. IV., Part II., January, 1906.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc during 1905, and the following Papers in full:—

The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names, JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D.

Notes on the Danework, H. A. KJÆR, M.A. (Illustrated.)

Ship Burials, HAAKON SCHETELIG.

Notes on Some Icelandic Churches, Mrs. DISNEY LEITH. (Illustrated.)

Homer and Beowulf, PROFESSOR J. WIGHT DUFF, M.A.

Review of "Origines Icelandicæ," EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.

261-480 pp., paper covers. 10s.

12. **Vol. V., Part I., January, 1907.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1906, and the following Papers in full:—

The Life of Bishop Gudmund Arason. By Professor W. P. KER, M.A., LL.D.

Gringolet, Gawain's Horse. By Professor I. GOLLANZ, Litt.D.

Some Illustrations of the Archæology of the Viking Age in England.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (Illustrated.)

Tradition and Folklore of the Quantocks. By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A., M.R.C.S.

Northern Folksongs: Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish.

By SVEINBJÖRN SVEINBJÖRNSSON. (With Musical Illustrations.)

Ship Burial at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Scotland, By HAAKON SCHETELIG.

196 pp., paper covers. 10s.

13. **Vol. V., Part II., April, 1908.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1907, and the following Papers in full:—

Notes on Danes' Skins, by H. St. G. GRAY (with plate).

A Newly Found Inscription from the Brodgar Circle, by MAGNUS OLSEN (Illustrated.)

A Shetland Legend from Fljótisdæla Saga, by Professor W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Western Influence on the Earliest Viking Settlers, by JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D.

Notes on a Decorated Bucket from the Oseberg Find, by Professor GABRIEL GUSTAFSON (with two Plates.)

The Last of the Icelandic Commonwealth, Part I, by EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON M.A.

Iceland and the Humanities, Inaugural Address, by Professor W. P. KER, M.A., LL.D.

The Viking Raft or Pontoon Bridge, discovered at Glamford-Brigg, N. Lincs., by Rev. ALFRED HUNT, M.A. (Illustrated.)

The Gael and the Gall; Notes on the Social Condition of Ireland during the Norse Period, by ELEANOR HULL.

197-421 pp., paper covers, 10s.

Privately Printed Works of the Club—continued.

14. **Vol. VI., Part I., January, 1909.** Containing Proceedings from January to December, 1908, and following Papers in full :—
Seafaring and Shipping during the Viking Ages, by Prof. ALEXANDER BUGGE.
The First Christian Martyr in Russia, by FRANCES P. MARCHANT.
The Vikings in Spain From Arabic (Moorish) and Spanish Sources, by JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D.
The Sites of Three Danish Camps, and an Anglian Burying Ground in East Anglia, by BELLERBY LOWERISON. Illustrated.
Brunaburh and Vinheið in Ingulf's Chronicle and Egil's Saga, by the Rev. CHAS. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.
Ragnar Lothbrok and His Sons, by Prof. ALLEN MAWER.
The Last of the Icelandic Commonwealth, Part II., by EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.
A Ship-Burial in Brittany, by P. DU CHATELLIER and L. LE PONTOIS (Illustrated). 162 pp., paper covers, 10s.
15. **Vol. VI., Part II., January, 1910.** Report of Proceedings from January to December, 1909, and the following Papers read before the Club :—
Abstract of a Paper on Antiquities dating from the Danish Occupation of York, by G. A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D., F.S.A. Illustrated.
Traces of the Custom of Suttee in Norway during the Viking Age, by Dr. HAAKON SCHEDELIG, Norway.
Söl and Samphire, by W. H. BEEBY, F.L.S.
Siward Digri of Northumberland. A Viking-Saga of the Danes in England, by Dr. AXEL OLRIK.
The Early Historians of Norway, by Professor W. P. KER, LL.D.
Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason. A Contribution towards the further understanding of the Kings' Sagas, by Dr. ALEXANDER BUGGE.
Grötta Songr and the Orkney and Shetland Quern, by ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.
The Alleged Prevalence of Gavelkind in Orkney and Shetland, by ALFRED W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. 163-307 pp. 7s. 6d.

N.B.—Saga-Books Nos. 14 and 15 and Year Book Nos. 1 and 2 will be issued gratis to Members elected in 1910.

Binding of Saga-Book Vols. I. and II.—Owing to an error in printing, the indexes have folios consecutive with titles and contents, etc. Binders should be instructed to place indexes at end of each volume.

YEAR BOOK.

- No. 1, 1909:** List of Members, Annual Reports, 1908-9; Reports by Hon. Dist. Secs., Viking Notes, Reviews, Obituary, Additions to Library and Bibliography. 116 pp., paper covers, 2s. 6d.
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EXTRA SERIES.

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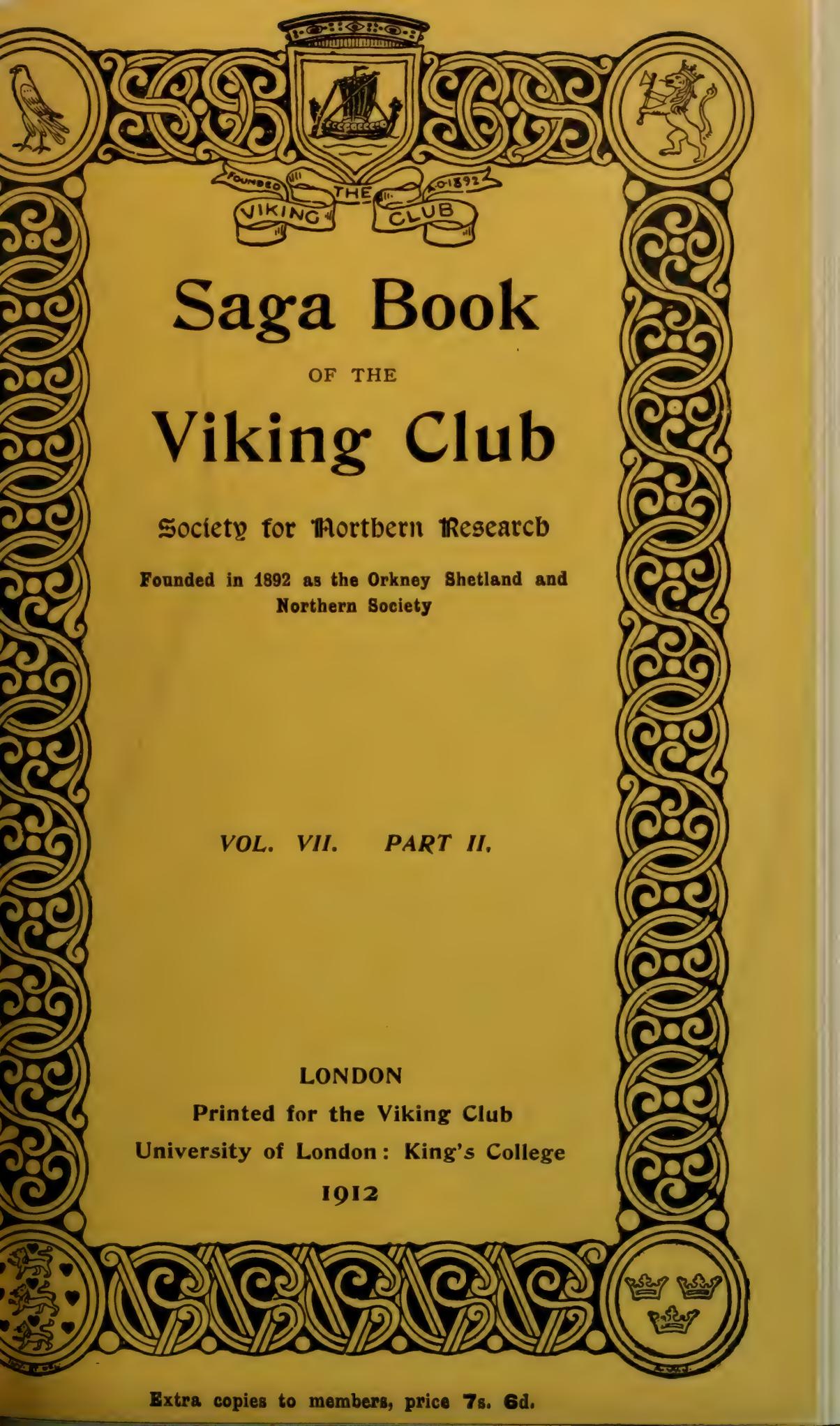
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VOL. VII. PART II.

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1. **Vol. I., Part I., January, 1895.** Report of Proceedings, etc., from 1892 to 1894, and the following Papers in full:—
 - Whale Hunting in the Shetlands**, by the Rev. A. SANDISON.
 - Pre-historic Art in the North**, by J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A.Scot.
 - The Encroachment of the Sea and the Subsidence of Land as seen in the Island of Sanday**, by the late WALTER TRAILL DENNISON.
 - The Boar's Head Dinner at Oxford and a Teutonic Sun-God**, by KARL BLIND.
 - Godhilda de Toni, Wife of Baldwin I., King of Jerusalem, and her family of Toni and Limesy**, by the late HYDE CLARKE. 114 pp., paper covers (out of print).
2. **Vol. I., Part II., January, 1896.** Report of Proceedings, etc., during 1895, and the following Papers in full:—
 - Shetland Folklore and the Old Faith of the Scandinavians and Teutons**, by KARL BLIND.
 - The Vikings in Lakeland**, by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. (Illustrated).
 - A Ramble in Iceland**, by J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., etc. (Illustrated).
 - Edda**, by EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A. 115-240 pp., paper covers. 10s.
3. **Vol. I., Part III., January, 1897.** Report of Proceedings, etc., during 1896, and the following Papers in full:—
 - The Norsemen in Shetland**, by GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A.Scot. (Illustrated).
 - A Boat Journey to Inari**, by A. H. COCKS, M.A. (Illustrated).
 - Illustrations of the Sagas from Manks Monuments**, by P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot. (Illustrated).
 - The Monuments of the Island of Oeland**, by Dr. HANS HILDEBRAND. 241-374 pp. paper covers (out of print).
4. **Vol. II., Part I., January, 1898.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1897, and the following Papers in full:—
 - The Norsemen in the Hebrides**, by Miss A. GOODRICH-FREER.
 - Chronicles of Hardanger: a Sketch of Old-World Norway**, by Major A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.
 - Norse Place-Names in Gower (Glamorganshire)**, by ALEX. G. MOFFAT (Illustrated). 126 pp., paper covers (out of print).
5. **Vol. II., Part II., January, 1899.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc. during 1898, and the following Papers in full:—
 - Ethandune, A.D. 878, King Alfred's Campaign from Athelney**, by Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.
 - The Earliest Traveller to the High North**, by KARL BLIND.
 - The Revival of Old Northern Life in Denmark**, by Pastor A. V. STORM. 127-240 pp., paper covers. 10s.
6. **Vol. II., Part III. Double Number, January, 1901.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1899 and 1900, and the following Papers in full:—
 - The Norse-Lay of Wayland (Volundarkvitha), and its relation to English Tradition**, by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE. (Illustrated).
 - King Eirik of York**, by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.
 - Early History and Monuments of Jutland and Sleswick**, by Pastor A. V. STORM. (Illustrated).
 - On a Passage of "Sonar Torek" in "Egil's Saga,"** by Rev. W. C. GREEN, M.A.
 - The Conversion of Iceland to Christianity, A.D. 1000**, by EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.
 - Nine Men's Morris: an old Viking Game**, by A. R. GODDARD. (Illustrated). 241-392 pp., paper covers. 10s.
7. **Vol. III., Part I., January, 1902.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1901, and the following Papers in full:—
 - The Vikings: Traces of their Folklore in the Lincolnshire Marshes**, by Rev. R. M. HEANLEY, M.A.
 - The Features of the Advance of the Study of Danish Archæology in the last Decades**, by Dr. W. DREYER. (Illustrated).
 - The Balder Myth, and Some English Poets**, by Mrs. CLARE JERROLD. 130 pp., paper covers. 10s.
8. **Vol. III., Part II., January, 1903.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1902, and the following Papers in full:—
 - Painatoki in South Wales**, by ALEX. G. MOFFAT, M.A. (Illustrated).
 - The Round Church and Earl's Bu of Orphir, Orkney**, by A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (Illustrated).
 - The Anthropological Evidences of the Relations between the Races of Britain and Scandinavia**, by J. GRAY, B.Sc. (Illustrated).
 - Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature**, by ELEANOR HULL. 131-290 pp., paper covers. 10s.
9. **Vol. III., Part III., January, 1904.** Report of Proceedings, District Reports, etc. during 1903, and the following Papers in full:—
 - The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford**, by A. R. GODDARD, B.A. (Illustrated).
 - Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde**, by R. L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L. (Illustrated).
 - Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark**, by KARL BLIND. (Illustrated).
 - The Saga of Havelok the Dane**, by the Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.
 - The Norsemen in Uist Folklore**, by the Rev. ALAN McDONALD.
 - Maeshow and the Standing Stones of Stenness: Their Age and Purpose**, by MAGNUS SPENCE. (Illustrated).

VOL. VII. PART II.



REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

NINETEENTH SESSION, 1911.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1911.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., gave a lecture on "The Origin and Folk-lore of Boats," illustrated by lantern slides.

The lecturer said:—

Time was when mankind had no knowledge of water travel; all his peregrinations and excursions being over land areas. In all probability the suggestion for the first boat was a floating tree-trunk; then it would naturally follow that a hollowed-out tree-trunk floated better than a solid one. Here we have the "dug-out" so wide in its geographical distribution, the typical pre-historic boat! The earliest Egyptian boat, however, appears to have been formed of bundles of rushes tied up "fore and aft" and spread out "amidships." These boats, smeared with clay and bitumen, were used for wild-fowling on the shallow waters of the Delta. Mr. Lovett considered that the dead bodies of animals floating vertebræ-down may have suggested the built boat with its keel and ribs, figure head and "skin," and he showed many pictures of early boats, all of which were of the animal form. The most primitive types of this boat, in a very crude form, exist to-day in the "Coracle" of Wales and the "Curragh" of North Ireland, both of which, until comparatively recently, were actually covered with the skins of animals, replaced to-day by tarred canvas. The propulsion was in all probability suggested by the webbed

feet of water-birds; he had seen paddles in which the structure of the foot had been carefully copied. He also considered that the use of wind was suggested by a man standing up in a boat and holding out a mat by both arms! Indeed, the word "yard-arm" would suggest this. Mr. Lovett said that when he was at Venice he saw a boat near Chioggia actually being sailed in this very way. He then referred to the use of boats in the burial of the dead, and described the well-known Viking ship and the funeral boats of the Ancient Egyptians. In Shetland they still have an interesting annual custom called "Up-helli-a," in which two large boat models (one ancient and the other modern) figure; after a day of processions and ceremonial the boats are burned. Then followed some pictures of recent funeral boats from Venice. Reference was made to the custom of "saluting the quarter-deck" in the Navy. This was not the saluting of a superior officer, but was based upon the fact that the stern of the ship was the Holy Place, and, indeed, at one time, was the chapel or the shrine. On the rivers of China the poorest boatman will not allow a stranger to desecrate the little railed-off spot in the stern. At Chioggia, all the fishing boats have a board enclosing this sacred spot, and such boards are brightly painted with Biblical subjects, such as "The Last Supper." The modern slang expression, "Up before the Beak," was a survival of the Roman plan of having the seat of Justice ornamented by the projecting rostrum (beak or nose) of a galley. Even now our auctioneer's desk is called a rostrum. Concerning the connection between the power of the Evil Eye and boats: it was well known that sailors were exceedingly superstitious, and this may be said to apply to the sailors of every nation. It was once thought that storms and tempests were caused by demons, and even in Northern Siberia this still holds good. It became necessary then to ward off the influence of these demons, and the eye was a potent

charm. Talking of luck for the boats, he had seen horse-shoes nailed to the masts of fishing craft on our South Coast. At Chioggia he noticed that all the fishing boats had large eyes of wood—painted—fixed, one on each bow. The old Roman galleys, too, had eyes painted on them, as also have many of the smaller craft of the South Pacific Islands. He described the boat "ex Votos," given by grateful sailors on safe return from a voyage. In Holland and Belgium these may still be seen in some of the churches. Amongst the Flemish fishermen "Santa Claus" comes, not in a reindeer sledge, but in a boat, and cake models of this boat are given to the children on December 6th.

The lecture was illustrated by a large series of original photographic lantern slides of the various subjects described, together with another series of slides of toy-model boats, such as Kayak, Umiak, Canoe, Coracle, Curragh, Coble, and other primitive types, and strongly emphasized the educational advantage in the proposed Folk Museum of using toys and toy models to illustrate as far as possible the history of folk objects. Such collections would attract, interest, and instruct children as well as adults.

A discussion followed in which the President, and Mr. James Gray, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. W. Barnes Steveni took part. Mr. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Lovett for his lecture, which was seconded by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, and carried by acclamation.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1911.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Two Derivations" (English-Latin: Scaldingi—Old English: Wicing), by Professor Erik Björkman. Printed on pp. 132-40.

"Costumes, Jewels, and Furniture in Viking Times," by Dr. Alexander Bugge. Printed on pp. 141-76.

“Miniatures from Icelandic Manuscripts,” Part II., by Dr. Harry Fett. Printed on pp. 177-205. Illustrated.

Professor Collingwood's water-colour sketches of costumes of the Viking Period, which were sketched for the “Danish Scene” in Festival of Empire, were exhibited; also Dr. Fett's illustrated book of miniatures from Icelandic manuscripts.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to the authors for their papers, which was heartily responded to.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH, 1911.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The Chairman gave his Inaugural Address on “William Herbert and his Scandinavian Poetry.”

On a motion by Mr. F. P. Marchant, a vote of thanks was put to the meeting, which was seconded by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and carried by acclamation. Printed on pp. 206-20.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, MAY 19TH, 1911.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on Friday, May 19th, at 8 p.m.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet was presented to the meeting, and was approved and adopted unanimously.

The officers of the club, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected (Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. Douglas C. Stedman acting as scrutineers); and have been printed with the Annual Report in the YEAR-BOOK, 1910-11, pp. 4-21.

A vote of thanks to the out-going members of Council, Professor Auchterlonie and Dr. Laughton, was carried in the usual manner.

A paper was read on "Early English Influence on the Danish Church," by the Rev. A. V. Storm. Printed on pp. 220-31.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part; Mr. A. W. Johnston proposed a vote of thanks to Pastor Storm for his paper, and to Mr. W. R. L. Lowe for kindly reading it, which was seconded by Mr. J. P. Emslie and carried by acclamation. To which Mr. Lowe responded.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 17TH, 1911.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. H. Buergel Goodwin, Ph.D., gave a lecture on "Scandinavian Races and Nationalities," illustrated by coloured lantern slides.

Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part in the discussion; to which Dr. Goodwin replied.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Goodwin for his lecture, which was carried by acclamation.

MEETING, DECEMBER 15TH, 1911.

A paper was read on "Anglo-Saxon Silver Coins from the Eleventh Century in a Silver-hoard from Ryfylke, Norway," by Dr. A. W. Brøgger. Printed on pp. 232-46.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. R. L. Lowe and Mr. A. W. Taylor took part.

The President moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Brøgger for his paper, and to Mr. A. W. Johnston for reading it, which was accorded in the usual manner.

During the evening Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish Folk-Songs were contributed by Mr. Pasi Jääskeläinen, a Finnish minstrel on a visit to London, to the accompaniment of the Kantele.

TWO DERIVATIONS.

By PROFESSOR ERIK BJÖRKMAN.

ENGLISH-LATIN : SCALDINGI.—OLD ENGLISH : WĪCING.

This name for the Vikings occurs in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* worked up by Symeon of Durham, in the following places:—

(1) Post hoc bellum dedit Egfridus rex Sancto Cuthberto Carrum, et quidquid ad eam pertinet. Et habuit eum in summa veneratione quamdiu vixit, ipse et tota sua cognatio, donec eo defuncto venerunt Scaldingi et Eboracam civitatem fregerunt, et terram vastaverunt (Symeonis Monachi Opera omnia, edidit Thomas Arnold London 1882 i Rerum Britannicarum Medii ævi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, during the Middle Ages, I, p. 200 [Rolls Series]; Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 51, S. 141).

(2) Priusquam Scaldingi venerunt in Anglicam terram dederunt Ceolulfus rex et episcopus Estred sancto Cuthberto quattuor villas, scilicet Wudacestre, et Whitincham et Eadwulfineham, et Ecgwulfincham, et ecclesias harum villarum consecravit idem episcopus (Arnold I, p. 202; Surtees Society p. 143).

(3) Occiso igitur Ælle, et fratre ejus Osberto, nullus de cognatione eorum regnavit, obtinente hoc apud Deum Sancto Cuthberto, in quem multum peccaverant, quia Scaldingi omnes prope Anglos in meridiana et aquilonari parte occiderunt, ecelesias fregerunt et spoliaverunt. Igitur Halfdene rex Danorum in Tinam intravit, et usque Wyrcesforde navigavit, omnia vastans, et contra Sanctum Cuthbertum crudeliter peccans. Sed mox ira Dei et sancti confessoris super eum venit. Nam adeo coepit insanire et fætere, quod totus eum exercitus suus a se expulit, et longe in mare fugavit, nec postea comparuit (Arnold I S. 202 f.; Surtees Society s. 143).

THE events told in connection with the *Scaldingi* belong to the ninth century, and apparently the name *Scaldingi* itself dates from this time, though of course it may be later, as the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* is supposed to date from the second half of the tenth century.

The above-named *Halfdene* was the brother of the famous son of Lodbrok, Ingvar, and according to some sources Ubbi was another brother.

Another name for the Vikings is doubtless connected with *Scaldingi*, namely *Scaldi*, which occurs in *Annales Lindisfarnenses* A. 532-993 under A.D. 911: *Scaldi Rollo duce possident Normanniam* (Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* XIX, p. 506).

There are two derivations of *Scaldingi*. One is from the river name, *Schelde*, Lat. *Scaldis* (Old English *Scald*, *Saxon Chronicle*, 883). Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England* I., p. 212 gives this derivation, and the other, too. Storm, *Kritiske Bidrag*, p. 81, decidedly prefers this derivation to the other. The name *Scaldingi* would thus indicate a Norse Settlement in the delta of the Schelde, and, also, that the Viking expeditions to England issued thence, especially those of Halfdene, Ingvar and Ubbi. Also Steenstrup, *Normannerne* II., p. 178, thinks it is very probable: "It has been shown above that Vikings in England came from Frisland, and about this time a name for Vikings in England occurs, *Scaldingi*, supposed, perhaps rightly, to denote warriors from the Schelde (*Scaldis*) tracts." In II. p. 283, footnote, he supports this view: "Here I may refer to A. *Lindisfarnenses* 911, Pertz XIX, 506: *Scaldi Rollo duce possident Normanniam*; as *Scaldingi* is the name of the Danish-English Vikings of the Schelde, this gives a hint of the origin of Rollo and his warriors. We find the same derivation in Ducange VII. p. 329. "*Scaldingi*, Dani, seu Normanni, sic appellati quod ad Scaldim annem positis castris diu ibi morati sunt ann. 833." According to Pertz, l.c. *Scaldi* means "fortasse Normanni ad Scaldim siti."

The second derivation is given alternately by Lappenberg, l.c., who connects it with Norse *Skioldungar*, thus also Arnold I. p. 200, footnote 1, Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* II., p. 85, who connect it with O.E. *Scyldingas*. In his edition of Asser (Oxford, 1904), W. H. Stevenson supports this derivation: "it (*Scaldingi*) is much more probably a somewhat corrupted form of

Skiöldungar, the *Scyldingas* of Beowulf, the name of the royal race of the Danes, and, by extension, of the Danes themselves." This derivation is supported by Collingwood's, "Scandinavian Britain," Lond., 1908, p. 124: "The tenth-century History of St. Cuthbert which calls him (*i.e.* Halfdene) and his brother *Scaldingi*, Skjöldungs, says that in the end he became mad and unpopular with his army."

Neither of these derivations seems to me convincing. The derivation from *Schelde*, *Scaldis* has no ground to support it beyond the mere form. I must agree with Stevenson that no evidence whatever exists that the Vikings were called after this river. The second derivation might seem more probable for this reason that *Skiöldungar*, as a name of Danish sea-kings, might easily be extended to the Viking army. But on linguistic grounds, this derivation is impossible; we should expect **Sceldingi* or an anglicized **Scyldingi*, not *Scaldingi*.

Hence we must look for a derivation that may satisfy us both *formaliter* and *realiter*. It is known that the Vikings in England (and why not also on the continent?) were named after their ships and often merely called "ship-farers, ship-men."

The following examples show this: *Scipflotan* Sax. Chron. 937 (the poem on the Brunanburgh battle) denotes Northmen, also (in the poem) merely *flotan*, sailors. *Sciphære*, ship-army, is a usual Old English name for the Vikings, but may also be used for the English fleet. *Here*, however, denotes exclusively, or almost exclusively, Viking troops. The English troops were called *fyrd*, and their fleet *scipfyrd* (also *sciphære*).

Flotmann (properly sailor, cp. *flotan* above), is, just as *wicing*, a gloss of Lat. *pirata* in Wright-Wülcker, Anglo-Saxon and Old Eng. Vocab. 2 Ed. 1884, col. 311; cp. *flotmann*, pirate, in Dodd, A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies, p. 63.

Æscmann, shipman, sailor, viking, pirate, Sax. Chron. 921, pl. *æscmen* Wr. Voc. (*piratici wicinsceaþan, sæsceaþan, æscmen*), from *æsc*, Viking ship, Sax. (Chron. 897 (*þa het Aelfred cyng timbran langscipu ongen þa æscas*), *æsc, dromo*, Wr. Voc. It is interesting to find that this name was also used on the continent, to judge from *ascomanni, piratæ*, in the Lex salica (cp. Schrader, Reallexikon, p. 715).

Scegðmann, pirate, viking, identic with O.E. *wicing*, together with which it is a gloss of *pirata*, Bosw. Toller, p. 828, Wr. Voc.; from O.E. *scegð*, a light, swift vessel, a loanword from Scand. *skeið* (Björkman, Scand. Loanwords, p. 38).

We must then consider if *Scaldingi* can be derived from any word meaning a ship. Such a word exists; it seems to be found exclusively among the continental Teutons, but that is no objection to my derivation, since *Scaldingi* may have had its origin on the continent, and thence reached Symeon of Durham through literature. Oral transference of it to England is also possible.

This word is Old Saxon, Old Low Frankish **skalda*, the existence of which is proved by the following words: Dutch *schouw*, ferry, from Middle Dutch *schoude*¹; Middle Low German *schalde*, boat, ferry, is given in Grimm's Wörterbuch under *schalte*, which according to him has a similar meaning in many High German dialects. The glosses *naves longe schaldin* in Heinrici Summarium (Rieger, Germania 9, p. 26), *dromones scaltûn, scaldun, schaldin* (Heinr. Summ., Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd. Gl. III., p. 163) belong here. Also New High German *schältich*, Kahn, Nachen, der durch ein unbefestigtes Steuerruder (Schalte) regiert wird, Flussfahrzeug überhaupt (Grimm, Schmeller), also contracted as *schelch*. Middle High German *schelding*, Flussfahrzeug (Lexer) also occurs.

¹ Franck, Et. Wb. p. 862. For phonetics compare Dutch *vouwen* < *faldan*. Franck also gives a Rhenish *schalde*.

This Low German **skalda* has also reached Scandinavia. Snorri, in his Edda, gives *skalda* among the names for ships (*skipa heiti*, Sn. E, Arnamagn. I., p. 582, II., p. 481, 565, 624); it is not likely that the word is Scandinavian, since it does not occur there otherwise.

Low German **skalda* originally denotes a vessel that is pulled along with a punting pole, and is the same as O.H.G. *scaltscif* pontonium, Fahrzeug (z. Flussübersetzen), das mit der Stange fortgestossen wird.¹ It is formed from the verb *schalten*, O.H.G. *scaltan*, which in Sievers' glossary to Tatian is rendered by "rudern,"² Old Saxon *skaldan*, to punt a ship along³; this verb is used in many parts of Germany to denote the pulling along of a vessel by means of a punting-pole.

The following will further elucidate this word: German *schalte*, f. Ruderstange, Stange, welche dazu dient ein Schiff an das Ufer zu ziehen oder vom Lande abzustossen, which name was subsequently transferred to the boat punted along by a pole (Grimm); this, however, seems to me very doubtful; I am inclined to think both *schalte*, a boat, and *schalte*, Ruderstange, lange Schiebestange der Schiffer, are derived, independently of each other, from the verb *schalten*, the first as a synonym of *schaltschiff*, the second as a synonym of M.H.G. *schaltboum*, M.L.G. *schaltbom*, Ruderstange (Grimm) or M.H.G. *schaltruoder* (Schade). German *schalte*, Schleusenbrett, Schleuse, G. *schalter*, Schiebefenster, M.H.G. *schalter*, *schelter*, Riegel, G. *schaltjahr*, leap-

¹ Cp. the gloss: *pontonium scaltscif* (Heinr. Summ.) Rieger Germania 9 s. 26. Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd Gl. III. p. 164.

² Tatian 19.6: *scalt thaz skef in tiufi* 'duc in altum.'

³ Hêliand v. 2381 ff.:

*ak gêng imo thô the gôdo endi is jungaron mid imu,
friðu-barn godes, themu flôde nâhor
an ên skip innan, endi it scaldan hêt
lande rûmur, that ina thea liudi sô filu,
thioda ni thrungi.*

year, are all connected. See Kluge, Et. Wb. Grimm's Wb. and Falk and Torp, under *skalte*.

Morphologically no objection can be taken to my derivation of *Scaldingi*, *Scaldi*. The first seems to be a Low German name, originating chiefly on the coast of the North Sea (the present Holland and parts of Belgium). Old Low Frankish and Old Frisian morphology is very little known; the possibility of forming from **skalda*, ship, a noun **skalding*, a member of the crew of such a ship, cannot be doubted. *Scaldi* may be a direct Latin derivation of **scalda*, perhaps for **scaldii*.

Semasiologically, objection might be taken to my derivation. **Skalda* did not expressly mean a Viking ship, but a vessel in use by the Continental Teutons, punted along by a pole or punt. The answer to this is that the pirates who visited the coast of Frisland (present Holland and present Belgium) and came up the rivers to plunder, often could not reach the coast, not even enter the bays and river mouths, except by punting their ships along like a Low-German **skalda*. With extensive shallows along the coast, **skalda* was clearly the only form of ship known, and the only crews known were *skaldingar*.

Scaldingi was thus originally a Low-German name meaning "shipmen." O.E. *butsecarl*, boatman, mariner, Sax. Chron. 1052 C., 1066 C. D. E. is also certainly of Continental origin, though it is impossible to decide whether *butse*, which is found in several European languages, came to England by way of Low-German or French; cp. M.E. *buss*, a vessel of burden (The Oxford Dictionary). Several words for various kinds of ship and shipping spread already in the early Middle Ages to nations where they did not originate. Without discussing further this well-known fact, I will quote some M.H.G. glosses in the

above-named Heinrici Summarium (Rieger, Germania 9 p. 26, Steinmeyer and Sievers Ahd. Gl. III. p. 163): *snacgum*, *snaggum*, *snegchun*, *snacgin*, *rostrate naves* (identical with Old W. Scand. *snekkia*, a kind of longship or skeið, French *esneque*), *buzo*, *paro* (cp. O.E. *butsecarl*, O.W. Scand. *buza*), *gnarrun*, *gnarren*, *mioparo* (= Gr. *μυοπάρων*, a light pirate vessel), in which I find Old Danish *knorr*, O.W. Scand. *knörr* (gen. *knarrar*), a large ship, O.E. *cnear*, a small warship.

If then *Scaldingi* originates in a continental Teutonic dialect on the North Sea, one is inclined to look for a similar origin of other names for the Vikings. There is the word *Viking* itself. It is remarkable that the word is found in England long before a Viking landed in that country. It occurs in the oldest Old English glosses (Epinal, Erfurt, Corpus)¹ and must have been known to Englishmen in the first half of the eighth century, nearly a century before the Viking expeditions to England began, namely, in 787. We thus reach a time when Norse Vikings were unknown to Europe. Chance contingents of Danes or other Scandinavians, joining in Saxon raids on the shores of Britain before the Viking time, do not count here, any more than the Scandinavian expedition to these tracts, mentioned by Gregory of Tours, under Chochilaicus (Hygeālc, Huggleikr), about A.D. 515. This expedition, little as we know of it, was hardly an ordinary Viking raid, and did not give rise to the word *wicing*.

It is obvious that *wicing*, pirate, in the oldest O.E. glosses cannot have reached England directly from Scandinavia and hardly indirectly, either; Viking as denoting a Norse pirate was at that time unknown. *Wicinga cynn*, the name of a tribe in Wīdsīþ seems (if the word is identical) to indicate that the name existed at the time of the migrations of the fourth century. It

¹ Epinal; uuicingsceadan, piraticum; Erf. uuicingsceadae, piraticam, (Sweet, O.E.T. 84), Corpus: wicingsceaðan, piraticam (Sweet 87).

is worth mentioning that the tribe of Reuben is called *sæwicingas* in the Old English Exodus.

Since *wicing* at any rate existed in England in the eighth century, possibly earlier, it seems natural to seek its origin in those parts of the Teutonic world which before the Viking time were pre-eminently exposed to pirates. This was the case with the old so-called *litus saxonicum*, i.e. those coasts of Northern France and Belgium (to the Schelde) which were visited by Saxon pirates long before the Viking time, and according to others also certain parts of the opposite coast of Britain,¹ but also the continuation of the North Sea Coast, north of Schelde (Holland and Frisland) which cannot have escaped from piracy during the troubled times when the Anglo-Saxons migrated to England (5th and 6th centuries) or later on. Teutonic pirates are mentioned by Plinius (Hist. nat. XVI., 203); these precursors of the Vikings embarked in vessels made out of one single tree, some of which could hold 30 persons. Saxon pirates are mentioned in the 4th century, and their raids continued during the two following centuries. In these circumstances it is not impossible that *wicing* originated in the Teutonic countries that were visited by the Saxons, or with the Saxons or other Teutonic pirates.²

Viking became later on quite international, a technical term which was also adopted by the Norsemen, and used *par excellence* of the Norse warriors who in the ninth and tenth century made war in the British Isles and in present Normandy. The word is also found in Friesland (Old Frisian *Witsing*, *Wising*).³ I will not let myself be

¹ Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen*, p. 580.

² The Frisians were important at sea in the eighth century, also as pirates.

³ This form is remarkable, as it has passed through the Old Frisian assibilation *k > ts* which indicates that the word had belonged to Frisian vocabulary for a considerable time. It is not impossible that the word originated with the Frisians.

tempted to say more about *wicing* here. But as for its original meaning, *skalding* being a pirate who punts his ship over shallows on the coast, might not *wicing* mean approximately the same, *i.e.*, one who punted his ship into shallow bays (*wic*) or river mouths? In these shallow waters the pirate vessels were specially protected against wind and waves where they stopped. This favours the old derivation from *vik*, bay. But the foundations for this are too unsafe, nor can I discuss here another derivation which is possible, though less probable, namely from Teutonic *wic* (from Latin *vicus*) which in English and possibly also on the continent was used in the meaning of "an occasional dwelling place, camp, camp site"; cp. Old English *wīcstōw*, camp, encampment.

COSTUMES, JEWELS, AND FURNITURE IN VIKING TIMES.

By DR. ALEXANDER BUGGE.

NOTHING travels so quickly from land to land as fashion in clothing, jewellery, and furniture, and the arrangement of the house. When people that have lived long without intercourse with the rest of the world, come into close contact with foreign nations, of perhaps higher culture, then these things are amongst the first to be borrowed. The Vikings who, with all the impulsiveness of youth, rushed into the tumult of life, loved wine, women, magnificence, and fine clothing. They were vain, and rejoiced like children in all kinds of gorgeous display. When Olaf, the twelve-year-old son of Hoskuld and Melkorka, rode to the Al-thing the first time, every one turned round to look at him, he was so handsome, and his clothes and weapons were so splendid; his father then gave him a nick-name, and called him (*þái*) peacock¹; and this name stuck to him during his lifetime. This is told in *Laxdæla Saga*. But there was no hidden irony in this nick-name, as people might be inclined to think nowadays; on the contrary, it expressed an admiration for the handsome and beautifully-dressed boy. Later, also, we have interesting evidence how eager our ancestors were to imitate foreign fashions in dress, viz., the Norwegian king, Magnus Barefoot, this Viking, born too late for Viking Times (died 1103). "So say men that whenas King Magnus came back from his West-Viking, he held

¹ The same nick-name was also used in England and in Denmark. *Robertus Pa de Scardeburgh* is mentioned 1333 (*Surtees Soc.*, Vol. 33, p. 302), *Johannes dictus þaa* of *Esrom* is mentioned 1290 (*Codex Esromiensis*, edited by O. Nielsen, p. 28r).

mostly to the fashion of raiment as was wont in Western Europe, and many of his men likewise. They would go bare-legged in the street, and had short kirtles and over-cloaks. So men called him Magnus Barefoot, or Bareleg.”¹

The dress described here is the same as that which is still worn in the Highlands of Scotland. It is therefore natural that, in Viking times, perhaps in no department were there so many words borrowed, and so much foreign influence as in everything relating to clothes, jewels and furniture, yet we must not think that the Norse people had nothing of this before. Long before the Viking Period the Scandinavian peoples knew the art of weaving, not only simple wadmél, but also finer cloth; and to make beautiful trinkets and ornaments, and to adorn the house with fine wood-carving. From the earliest times down to our days, the peasants in the Scandinavian countries have themselves woven the material for their clothes, from the wool that was spun on the farm. This cloth was called *vaðmál*. Already in the Bronze Age, they knew how to dye the wool, but how it was done, and to what extent the clothes were coloured, cannot be decided now.² So much only can be stated, as already then, that they, besides coarse stuff, had fine fabrics. From the later Roman Iron Age (3rd or 4th century of our era), cloth has been found in Norway, which is coloured with a brownish Iceland moss (*Atralia Islandica*), and must have been woven in Norway. From the 4th century, red-brown two-ply cloth has been found, and also cloth that has been coloured yellow-brown.

How developed the art of weaving was in Norway about 600 a. Chr. may be inferred from a find in western Norway (Evebö, Gloppen, Nordfjord). In the well-

¹ *Heimskringla*, *Magnus Saga Berfoets*, c 18.

² Hjorth, *Undersøgelser af forhistorisk Tøi og Tøirester* (Stavanger Museums Aarsberetning, 1908), p 9.

built sepulchral chamber the dead chieftain was found lying in a coat of reddish brown cloth, with green squares woven into it. The coat was open in the front, and was held together by hooks of silver. Along the front was a border with animals woven into it; the colour of this seems to have been brown and green. The collar of the coat was likewise figured, and had squares of silver-thread. The corners of the coat were set with fringes.¹ In one of the oldest bog-finds of South-Jutland (3rd century of our era) there has likewise been found a complete dress of a man which, however, differs from the dress of the Enebö-find. The coat of the Torsbjerg-find is not open in the front, and has sleeves of a thicker and finer cloth. Besides the coat were found trousers that reached from the body to the ankle, and were woven of a coarser stuff. The trousers were held together round the body by a girdle, and had socks, woolly on the inner side, sewn to them. Around the shoulders was a cap with long fringe. It is highly probable that people in Norway before the Viking Age already used breeches (an. *brók*, pl. *broekr*) and hose (an. *hósa*) that reached from the knee to the tiptoe. The word *brók*, which is also found in Anglo-Saxon (*brôc*), is probably a German word. Latin *braca*, *bracca*, which is a Celtic loan-word, has most likely come to Gaul from the Germans. The word *brók* and *hosa* as well as *höttr* ("hat") are found in Norwegian place-names that seem to be older than the Viking Age.

In the Viking Age other vegetable dyes were used. In the Oseberg ship berries of the woad-plant, which contain indigo-blue (*Isatis tinctoria*), were found. Remains of cloth found in Denmark, showing traces of yellow and dark green colours,² are also discovered. From these finds it appears that the red and brown were the

¹G. Gustafson. The Enebö-find and some other grave-finds from Gloppen. Bergen's Museums Annual Report for 1889.

²Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1900, s. 276.

prevailing colours of old, and next to them green. The Sagas often mention wadmél, which was dyed with dark brown or red-brown stripes (*mórent vaðmál*); red-brown cloth (*mórauðr*) is also mentioned.

We can also see that there were several kinds of wadmél in Iceland, a superior sort (*hafnarváð*), a coarser sort specially used for export, *söluváð*, *vöruvéð*, or *þakkaváðmál*, and finally *bragðarváð*, the finest cloth, which had woven designs in it.

Roman influence was probably strong during the first centuries of our era, also in regard to dress, and it taught the Norse people, among other things, to weave fine borders and designs into their cloth. A piece of woollen cloth woven with zoomorphic designs (thus woven in Norway), as above mentioned, is preserved in Bergen's Museum. Another piece of the sixth century is illustrated in O. Rygh, *Antiquités Norvégiennes* (fig. 833). Yet, already at this time, foreign cloth probably reached Norway.¹

Excavations in Hafslo (Sogn) have brought to light cloth with many-coloured borders, scroll border, which points to foreign work; the find dates from the sixth century.¹

During the Viking Age much foreign cloth was imported to Norway, especially for the use of kings and chieftains. The wadmél, woven at home on the farm, could not, even if it was dyed, vie in splendour and bright colours with the foreign, especially with the cloth from the Netherlands. And the most costly and beautiful of all fabrics, silk, could not be got at home in Norway. Silk appears first in the Viking Age. In graves from times earlier than the Viking Age no remains of silk have been found.² It is doubtful, and it cannot be decided on linguistic grounds, if the word *silki* came to Scandinavia from Eastern or from Western

¹ Kindly communicated by Dr. Schetelig, Bergen.

² Th. Thomsen, *Vævede stoffe fra jernalderen* (Aarb. f. nord. Oldk., 1900), p. 257 f.

Europe. Silk is in Anglo-Saxon called *seolc* or *seoloc*, a word that is closely akin to *silki*. On the other hand, there is the Church-Slavonic form *selkie*, which seems to be connected with Mongolian *sirgek*, Manchurian *sirghé*, Chinese *sir*, Korean *sir*. It is therefore most probable that the word *silki* came from Eastern Europe, and that trade with the Arabs through Russia first brought silk fabrics in larger quantities to Scandinavia. The Anglo-Saxon word would then be borrowed from the Norse. But probably in the Viking Age much silk came to Scandinavia from Western Europe also. The home of the silk is, as is well known, China. But at the beginning of the Viking Age the silk industry had spread over the whole Orient, and was introduced into Sicily and Spain by the Moors.¹

The Norwegians in Ireland who traded much abroad, delighted in splendid clothes, and had many foreign ornaments. When the Irish plundered Limerick in 968, they took away with them the jewels, and the most valuable property of the Norse settlers there, their foreign saddles, their gold and silver, their beautiful woven clothes of all colours and kinds, their satin and silk clothes, beautiful and variegated, scarlet and green, and also all kinds of garments.² It is not probable that the Norwegians in Ireland traded with the Eastern Europe; it is more likely that the above mentioned fabrics were imported from Spain, as we know that they had intercourse with the South of France and Spain.³ Norse tales that reached the Arabs point to this, and it is well known that the Moors in Spain were eminent in skin and leather-work.³ The foreign saddles (*a sadlaici allmarda*) have therefore probably been Spanish. The same is most likely the case with the silks. The silks of the Norwegians in

¹ Cf. Heyd, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im mittelalter* II, 649, ff. and 682 ff.

² *Cogadh Gaedhel*, ed. Todd (Rolls Series) p. 78-79.

³ Cordova in Spain, Cordwain derives its name from this City.

Ireland are mentioned several times. When the Irish in the year 1000 had taken and plundered Dublin, the the poem about it says: We brought silks out of their fortress (" *Tugsam siccir as a dún* ").¹

In the Eddic poem *Rígsþula*, silk is mentioned the first time in old Norwegian poetry. It says, about the birth of the young Jarl, son of the chieftain (st. 34): *Svein ól Móðir, silki vafði*. As it is commonly accepted that the Lay of Rig was composed among Celts in the British Isles, we may conclude that the silk wrapped round the new-born child came from Spain *via* Ireland; also elsewhere silk is mentioned in the Viking Age, which probably came to Norway from Western Europe. Thus the chieftain, Arinbjorn, in Western Norway, gave to Egil Skallagrimsson a silk cloak set with gold buttons. Egil says about it in the verse:

Sjalfáraði lét slæðor	"The chieftain of his free will
Silki drengr of fengit	gave a gold-buttoned
Gull Knappaðar greppe.	silk cloak to the warrior."

Arinbjorn had then just returned from England, so we may conclude that the silk cloak came from there. Silk was, of course, far more expensive in the Viking Age than now. It was used for head-bands and also for wrist-bands, and for narrow borders sewn on woollen cloth. The scald, Einar Skálaglam, in a poem 986, calls Hakon jarl "the righteous silk-band adorned chieftain." In a grave at Mammen in Viborg Co. in Denmark there has been found a bolstered sewn bracelet of silk (illustrated in Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1869, p. 5). Finds show that chieftains in the Scandinavian countries, usually, were dressed in silk. Thus in Denmark in the four Viking Age graves, *e.g.*, in the royal graves of Jellinge, and in Norway, in the Oseberg and the Gokstad ship, and other finds, remains of silk have been found.

Most of the foreign clothes used by the Norwegians

¹ Cogadh Gaedhel, p. 112 f.

and Icelanders in the Viking Age probably came from France and the Netherlands. In Flanders, Brabant, and adjoining parts of present France there were famous looms, which were already known in the Roman Period. The art of weaving existed in these countries from that time throughout the Middle Ages. In the time of Charlemagne the so-called Frisian cloth (*pallia fresonica*) was known all over Europe, even by the Arabs. Professor Pirenne, in Ghent, has shown that this cloth was woven in Flanders, but Frisian traders made them known in foreign markets. From Dorestad and Quentovic, whose trade which flourished throughout the Viking Age, a good deal of the cloth came to Scandinavia. The Norse languages prove this. In *Sigurdarkviða Skamma* (verse 66), Brynhild asks to have her body wrapped in a cloth that is called *valarípt*, and it is *vel fád*, i.e., beautifully coloured: this word cannot, as some scholars think, signify "funeral cloth," and come from *valr*, the field of the slain; it should then be *valrípt*, and not *valarípt*; and even *valrípt* would probably be cloth from Valland (the usual name of France), as *valskikkja* is the same as *volsk skikkja*. Also it seems as if *vala* in *valarípt* answers to *Vala* in the following line, where it is the genitive of *Valir* (the inhabitants of France or the reign of the Franks):—

Valarípt vel fád
Ok Vala mengi.

English cloth is often mentioned in the sagas.¹ But these accounts are not conclusive, and probably date from the twelfth century, at which time we know from reliable sources that linen and cloth were exported to

¹ Thus in Egil's Saga (chap. 17), Thorolf Kveldulfsson sends a ship to England to purchase cloth and other commodities. In the Eyrbyggjasaga (chap. 50) it is told that in the year 1000, a ship arrived in Iceland from Dublin with Hebridean and Irish men on board. A Hebridean woman, by name Thorgunna, was also on board; she brought with her a large chest of bed-linen, among which were "English sheets" (*Enskar blæjur*),

Iceland from England.¹ In Domesday Book cloth-weavers are only mentioned in Stamford, one of the Five Boroughs that formed a Viking settlement. It is possible that looms were introduced into Stamford by the Norsemen.

The Northmen liked to get a variety of coloured clothing from abroad, which they could not make themselves. Purple and scarlet were in high favour. The word *skarlat*, *skallat*, scarlet, is not mentioned in the oldest scaldic poetry, but scarlet seems still to have been known in the Viking Age. In the sagas it is often mentioned that chieftains were dressed in scarlet clothes. Kjartan, when he came to Olaf Tryggvason, was dressed in a scarlet kirtle (*í skarlataskyrtili rauðum*) (*Laxdæla Saga*, chapter 40). I have before mentioned that the Norwegians in Ireland used scarlet cloth. The word itself is of Romanesque origin; it is in Mediæval Latin *scarlatum*, and in Middle English *scarlat*, and in Old French *escarlate*. We are unable to decide whether the word came into Scandinavian languages from French or English. Scarlet and purple cloth had always to be imported when required. Thus, in *Haraldskvæði* (st. 19), it is mentioned that the scalds of Harald Fair-hair were dressed in red cloaks with fine borders (*á feldum rauðum vel fagrrenðudum*), it is probable that the cloth of these cloaks was not woven in Norway, but like the weapons that Harald's enemies bore in Hafrs-fjord, and like the customs of Harald's court, came from Western Europe.

¹ It is not generally known that cloth and linen in the 12th century already were exported from England. The Icelandic laws (*Grágas*), however, mention English linen (*enskt lerept*). At the middle of the 12th century Svein Asleifarson and Hakon, a son of Harald, the earl of Orkney, made a Viking expedition to the Hebrides. Not far from the Isle of Man they met two English ships which were sailing to Dublin. The cargo consisted of English cloth and was very rich (*Flateyjarbók II*, p. 512 f.) That this story is historical we may a.o. infer from the fact that the ships are called *kjólar* (English *keel*, a word still used in the meaning of "ship" in Yorkshire).

Other kinds of cloth is also mentioned in the Viking Age, which may have been imported from Western Europe. In several places in the Eddaic and Scaldic poetry, a costly cloth used by chieftains is mentioned, called *guðvefr*, which is probably the same as Anglo-Saxon *godwebb*, which means a kind of fine cloth.

The sagas also mention very frequently, cloaks and other fine garments, which Norse chieftains in the Viking Age carried away from foreign lands, or obtained as a gift from foreign kings. In *Gunnlaug's saga Ormstungu* (chapter 7), it is mentioned that King Ethelred, in England, gave Gunnlaug, as a reward for poetry, a scarlet cloak, lined with the best furs, and decked with borders to the hem. This cloak, it is well known, plays a great part in *Gunnlaug Saga*. Gunnlaug gave it to Helga the Fair, and she had it spread out before her, to look at, before she died. Also in Dublin, Gunnlaug got a beautiful costume, as a reward for poetry; King Sigtrygg gave him his own dress of new scarlet. The kirtle was finished with a border, and the cloak was lined with costly furs (*Gunnlaug's Saga*, Chapter 8). When Egil had recited his poem concerning King Athelstan in England, the king gave him a costly cloak (*Egil's Saga*, Chapter 55). When Kjartan returned home to Iceland, King Olaf's sister, Ingibjörg, gave him, for Gudrun Ovisdaughter, in a bag of godweb (*þar var guðvefjarþoki um útan*), a white head-dress wrought with gold (*motr hvítan, gullofin*). (*Laxdæla*, chapter 43).

The word *motr*, a kind of cap or bonnet, is of foreign origin, and perhaps related to Lat. *almutia*, *almutium*, a head-dress originally worn by clergymen, later on also by laymen, Ital. *almussa*, Portuguese *mursa*. From the Portuguese word may perhaps be inferred that there has existed a word *mutia* or *mutium* which would correspond to *motr*. It is most likely that King Olaf Tryggvason had got this costly head-dress in Eastern Europe. It must not be forgotten that the

Scandinavian peoples during the Viking and the early middle ages got Oriental and Byzantine silk and gold woven fabric in Russia, especially in Novgorod, the chief place of the transit trade between the Orient and Northern and Western Europe. In the Oseberg ship are found pieces of a tapestry which, according to Professor Gustafson, is of Oriental origin. In the year 1017 a Norwegian merchant, called Gudleik the Russian (*gerðski*) sailed to Russia in order to purchase silk (*pell* = Lat. *pallium*) that was intended for a festive garb to King Olaf Haraldson.¹ Gotland, the centre of the Baltic trade, was especially rich in Oriental fabric. The ancient "Gutalag" (the law of Gotland) mentions golden head-dresses (*gullaþ*, the same as the above mentioned *motr?*), silk ribbons, silk damask (*pell*) and scarlet.²

Together, with the foreign cloth, foreign fashions also came to the North. First I must describe, briefly, the dress of the common people in the Viking Age, it was the same all over the North. The man usually wore a shirt, and over that a kirtle (*kyrtill*) and breeches; these were usually called *brækr*, reaching a little below the knee, and fastened round the waist by a band or belt; sometimes they were in one piece to the foot, they were then called *leistabrækr*; otherwise people wore socks (*sokkr*, *leistr*) on their feet; sometimes hose (*hosur*) were worn, long stockings which reached up to the knee; over that they usually wore a long full cloak. The men often wore a hat (*hötr*). The women wore first a chemise (*særkr*); their kirtles reached the feet, and were fastened round the waist with a belt. They did not wear any hats; but frequently other kinds of head-gear. Men and women usually wore on their feet shoes of leather or skin. During the Viking Age there must have been a good many changes in this simple dress.

¹ *Heimskringla*, Olaf's saga helga, ch. 66.

² *Gutalag och Gutasaga*, ed. by H. Pipping, p. 61.

The descriptions of Norse chieftains at the end of the tenth century show that they were dressed in foreign—mostly English—fashions. The Danish king Svein Fork-beard got his nick-name because he wore his beard cleft like a fork (*tjuga*), in Anglo-Saxon fashion. Silk bands, embroidered in gold, were worn round the forehead, by preference set with a precious stone in the centre—that which Starkad had despised at the Danish court—became, during the reign of Earl Hakon in Norway, an indispensable part of the dress of the chieftains; and even in Iceland, the great land-owners would wear jewels hanging down on their foreheads (*Ennitingl*, *Landnáma* 3 ch. 10). New articles of dress and new modes had been introduced. The following list of foreign words will prove this. I give them in alphabetical order.

Kápa. An outer-garment or cloak usually provided with a hood or head-covering. The word occurs for the first time in *Krákumál* (st. 18), which was probably composed in the 12th century, and in a verse in *Orvarrodd's Saga* (*Fornaldarsögur* II., pp. 225). But it is probably older, and had already come into the language in Norway and Iceland at the end of the Viking Age. It is mentioned in the Norse farm-names of the Middle Ages; thus in *Kaapegot* (*Kápukot*) in Raade in Smalenene, which is already mentioned about 1400 (*Rygh*, *Norske Gaardnavne* I., pp. 330). In Ramnes, in Jarlsberg and Larvik County, two farms are found close together, *Kaape* and *Hette* (an. *hetta*, a kind of cloak). That the fashion to wear a cloak was new towards the end of the Viking Age, we also see from the fact that one of the Joms-Vikings was called *Sigurðr Kápa*. The word *Kápa* is of Romanesque origin; it was possibly used in the vulgar Latin, and is *capa* in mediæval latin; in Old French *cape*, *chape*; Italian *cappa*, and Spanish *capa*. The word probably came directly to the North from France; it is unknown in Anglo-Saxon, and does not occur until Middle

English. It also occurs in Old Swedish (in the laws) in the form *Kápa*, and means then: hood. The Old Danish form of the word is *Kaabe*. I cannot decide when the word first came into those languages. The word *Kappe*, which in its origin is the same, came in much later than *Kápa*.

This garment was generally used in the Middle Ages by men and women, laymen and clergymen. The cloak which has been found represented in the catacombs of Rome, was at first without a hood. Yet the hood is mentioned in the Middle Ages. The cloak, with the hood, was specially used by the clergy and also in travelling. I am unable to decide whether this garment was introduced by the Northmen themselves from abroad or by the first clergymen who came to the North.

Kellir. A verse by the famous Icelandic poet, Kormak, who lived in the middle of the 10th century, says:—

“*Fiöll eru fiarþar kelle falden,*”

The mountains are covered with ice.

Kelle is, according to Professor Sophus Bugge, dative of a nominative *Kellir*, which is again derived from the Irish *caille* f. veil. This word is again derived from the Latin *pallium*. Latin *p* becomes regularly *c* in Irish, e.g., in the Latin *purpur* = Irish *corcur*. The word is also found in Middle English *kelle*, *calle*, hair-net. It is not easy to decide whether the word was taken from Anglo-Saxon or directly from Irish. Besides Kormak, it is only found in some verses of Snorre's Edda (I. 573), as a name for helmet (Odin's hat). In Iceland, after Kormak's time, it has probably been only used in poetry, or possibly by Norsemen in the West. The above explanation is, however, rather uncertain. It is, according to Professor Hjalmar Falk, more likely that *kellir* means “helmet,” and is derived from Lat. *galea*, Old French *cale*, “a small bonnet.”

Klæði, n., cloth garment, cloth fabric. The word

must have been used in the North in the Viking Age. It occurs in a verse in the saga of Gunnlaug Orms-tunga (Chapter 11), where it stands for bed-clothes. And in a verse in *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga* (Chapter 21), where *Hamðis Klæði* denotes armour. The word *klæði*, cloth, which is now found in Norwegian, Icelandic and Danish, is probably a loan-word in Norse. Professor Sophus Bugge and others have supposed that it was borrowed from Anglo-Saxon.

Laz, ribbons. *Egil Saga* (Chapter 78), says: *Egill . . . hefði fustans kyrtil rauðan, þröngvan upp hlutinn, ok laz á síðu* (Egill wore a red fustian kirtle, with a narrow upper part, and ribbons at the sides). The word *laz*, which does not occur in the old scaldic poetry, but often in prose, is of Romance origin, and is derived from old French *laz* (*las laqs*, from Latin *laqueus*), whence also the English *lace* is derived. Originally Norse, on the other hand, is another word which also means "ribbons," and occurs in the scaldic poetry, *hlad*.

Mottull, mantle. This word occurs in a verse by Kormak in the 10th century (*mottul-skaut*, mantle-skirt). We may also conclude that this word came to the North in the Viking Age, from the fact that the Danish historian, Saxo, who wrote about 1190-1200, speaks of *Matullus, Finarchiae dux*. Some time must have passed before this fabulous story was told, and yet a longer time must have passed before it could have become a personal name. The word also occurs in old Swedish, in the form of *mantel*, *mattul*, and in old Danish in the form *mantel*. The word probably came from German into Danish (Middle-High-German, *mantel*), but to Iceland and Norway from Western Europe. The scald Kormak, in his poems, uses many words of English and Irish origin. As the word *mottull* occurs first in Kormak's poems, that is a reason for thinking it is a loan-word from Anglo-Saxon *mentel* (Middle English *mantel*). That the

Norsemen on the British Islands have used the word *mottull* very early, we may conclude, as it passed from Norwegian into Old Irish *matal*. The word occurs very frequently in the "Book of Rights," which describes Irish society in the beginning of the eleventh century. We may then conclude that the Norwegians in Ireland had introduced mantles in the tenth century, and that this foreign fashion spread from the Norwegians to the Irish, as a garment fit for kings to wear. Like most fashions, this one came from France. Old-High-German *mantel* and Anglo-Saxon *mentel* are both derived from Medieval-Latin *mantum*, *mantellum*, *mantellus*; Old-French *mantel*). The West European *mantel* was in the ninth and tenth century square or half-round, and held together with a buckle and fastened on one shoulder.

Olpa, a kind of cloak or cape. This word appears in a verse in Hallfred's Saga (Flateyjarbók I., p. 307), and must have been already in use about the end of the Viking Age; later it often happens in prose. The verse runs thus:—

*En ís ólpu grænni
Ek fekk dreng til strengja.*

Professor S. Bugge told me that the word *ólpa* was possibly of Romance origin. It is probably connected with the Old French *voleper* (= French *enveloppe*), envelope. One might think of Latin *vulpes*; Old French *volpe* f. fox. The word can also be used for fox-skin, but it never means a cloak of fox-skin. As Hallfred's Saga says: The *ólpa* was green; that perhaps also shows that these clothes did not originate in Norway or Iceland. The home-spun cloth was seldom dyed green. It is, however, strange that the *v* has disappeared. In Swabien, a grey coat worn by the peasants is, as Professor Falk informs me, called *wolf*.

Sokkr, *sock*. This word does not occur in old poetry, but about 1115 an Orkney man was called *Sighvatr Sokki* (Flateyjarbók I., p. 431); this nick-

name is derived from *sokkr*. As the word *sokkr* was already used as a nick-name in about 1100, it may probably have been in the language some time, and may have come into it at the end of the Viking Age. The word is derived from Latin *soccus*. It probably came to the Scandinavian countries from England, as the form is the same as the Anglo-Saxon *socc* (sock). The Danish form *sokke* is probably from Low-German.

The word *sekk*, sack, is common in all the Scandinavian languages. It occurs late in poetry, but is frequently found in the Sagas. It must have come to the North long before the Viking Age, being an old place-name in many parts of Norway, e.g., *Sækken*, a fjord inlet in Bremsnes parish in Sondhordland, and a sound between Hvaler and Bohuslen and the island *Sekken* in Veø parish in Romsdalen; still this last word is feminine as other names of islands. That *sekk* is borrowed from Anglo-Saxon may be seen from the vowel, which corresponds to Anglo-Saxon *sæcc*. The Old High German form of the word is *sac*. The Anglo-Saxon is borrowed from Latin *saccus*; derived through Greek *sakkos*; from Phenician-Hebrew *sak*. There was a time, about two thousand years ago, when sacks were unknown in Norway. If the island *Sekken* is the same word, it certainly existed in Norway many hundreds of years before the Viking Age.

Lastly, I must mention a word, of which the origin, however, is very doubtful, *ársalr*, *ársali* or *assali*. It occurs the first time in *Guðrúnarkviða II.* (st. 25), where Grimhild says to Guðrun, when offering compensation for the slaying of Sigurd:—

Gef ek þér, Guðrún,
gull at þiggja,
fiolþ alls fiár
at föður dauðan,
hringa rauða,
Hlōðvés sali,
ársal allan
at jöfur fallinn,

The meaning of the word *ársalr* in this passage is not clear; but elsewhere it seems to mean a kind of woven cloth, used for bed-hanging. Several scholars have been of the opinion that the word is connected with the town of *Arras* in the North of France, which had famous looms in the Middle Ages. But the difficulty is that *Arras* was called *Atrebates* by the Romans. In the tenth century this had not yet become *Arras*, but something like **Adrevats*. *Ársalr* might be derived from **adrevats-sagulum* (*sagulum*=a short military cloak, also later used of woven cloth). There are traces of *Sagulum* in the Romance languages. The verse in *Guðrúnarkviða*, where *Hloðvés* occurs in one line, and *ársal allan* in the next one, seems to show that *ársalr* was looked upon as a compound of *salr*. *Hloðvés sali*, the halls of Louis, point to France, and to the Carolingian Emperors. *Arras* is in English used exactly like *ársalr*, namely, of woven tapestry, and especially of bed-hangings. In *Cymbeline* (Act II., scene II.), Jachim, hidden, got into Imogen's bedroom, and appears when she is asleep; he looked around the room, and says:—

" To note the chamber I will write all down:—
Such and such pictures;—there the window;—such
Th' adornment of her bed;—the arras, figures."

There cannot be any doubt that *arras* means here the woven tapestry that hung around the bed. In *Hamlet* (Act IV., scene I.), *arras* means a curtain ("behind the *arras* hearing something stir"). All agree that *arras* is called after the town of *Arras* in the North of France. If that is so, the similarity between *arras* and *ársalr* is too great to be fortuitous. *Ársalr* must in some way be derived from *Arras* or *Atrebates*. Professor S. Bugge thinks that the Norsemen could have adopted it, in the form *aðr-salr*. This could become *ársalr*, as *hvaðrir* became *hvárir*.

It was not only cloth and dress that the Norsemen got from abroad, they also learnt new ways of dyeing

the wool and cloth. In the Oseberg ship woad-berries were found. The inhabitants of Vestfold at the Christiania Fiord had probably become acquainted with the woad (*isatis tinctoria*) in France, where, as we see from the Capitularies of Charlemagne, it was cultivated. On the other hand, Scotch and Irish process of dyeing were adopted in Shetland and the Faroes. Purple dye was invented by the Phenicians, according to tradition; from the Orient it spread over Europe. The Greeks learnt it first, and the Romans from the Greeks. The purple dye became known in Europe through Rome, and the Norwegian word *purpur* ("purple"), which came to Norway through Germany and Denmark, is derived from Latin through intermediate stages. Ireland learnt the purple dye from the Romans in Britain; *purpura* in Irish became *corcur*.

Red cloth is mentioned early in Ireland, *e.g.*, by the poet MacLiag (about 1000). The Irish probably called red cloth purple, even if it was not the red dye of the genuine purple shell. In its place the Irish most likely used a kind of lichen, which dyes red or red-brown; *corcur* in Gaelic means: (1) purple, scarlet, (2) lichen for dyeing.

The word and the art of red dyeing came to Scotland from Ireland; from Scotland it spread to the Shetlands, where *korkji* means a kind of lichen that grows on rocks, and is used for dyeing (*lichen tartareus*). From there it spread to the Faroes, where *korkji* is the name of a lichen or moss that dyes a red or red-brown. The same word is found in Norwegian dialects in the form *korke*, *korkje*, and means a kind of rock-lichen used for dyeing. All these words are derived from Gaelic *corcur*.

It appears from the foregoing investigation that the Northmen of the Viking period obtained silks and the finer kinds of cloth from abroad, as well from Western as from Eastern Europe, for the use of their chieftains and great men. At the same time foreign fashions gained a footing and helped to transform the costume

of the chiefs in conformity with the customs prevailing in other countries. Most of these new garments and fashions came, as we have seen, from the Carolingian Empire, though sometimes by way of England. But a few came directly from England itself. It is easiest to point out the results of foreign influence in the cases of Norway and Iceland. As for Denmark, that country was, it seems, powerfully affected in the Middle Ages by new and mighty influences coming from Germany. Thus it was that foreign terms, which had perhaps been introduced at an earlier period into the Danish language, were then replaced to a great extent by words of German origin. And from Denmark the same influences spread to Norway, and in part also to Sweden.

Everything in the shape of ornaments or jewellery is closely connected with dress. From the earliest times the Scandinavians used to wear many kinds of ornaments, especially buckles, brooches, rings and necklaces. Even a long time before the Viking period they imported gold ornaments, glass beads, and other adornments from foreign lands. The raids of the Vikings brought to the North a great quantity of gold and silver, in the shape of ornaments of all kinds. The collections at Christiania, Bergen, Stockholm, Copenhagen, etc., contain a great number of such ornaments, which came to the North from Western Europe during the Viking period. They include not only objects expressly devised from the beginning for ornamental purposes, but also other things which the Northmen have turned into personal adornments, such as book clasps, coins pierced with holes, and so forth. At the same time many foreign words gained a footing in the Scandinavian countries when the ornaments in question first made their appearance. Most of these words occur in the poetic Edda, and were certainly used by the Norsemen in Western Europe. In the sagas and other later writings few of them are found. These words are not so much tokens of a permanent influence exerted over

the whole of the North, as of an influence which affected the Scandinavians, who travelled in Western Europe, and especially those who visited the British Isles.

I am now going to enumerate in alphabetical order the foreign words, by which ornaments are designated. *Dálkr* m., a clasp, by means of which a cloak is fastened over the shoulders (Latin *Spina*). The word makes its first appearance in the writings of Cormac the Skald, who says in one of his poems:—*Drengr ungr stal mik dalke*.¹ “A young man stole my clasp.”

The word is also found later on as meaning “a cloak pin, a buckle,” in a few passages in the sagas, but it does not seem to have been known in Sweden or Denmark. On the other hand it was employed by the Northmen of the British Isles.

In the neighbourhood of Largs, where king Haakon Hakonsson, as is well known, was defeated by the Scots in 1263, a beautiful silver-gilt buckle was found bearing the following inscription in runic characters:

“*Malbriþa a dalk þana,*” *i.e.*

Mælbrigde is the owner of this buckle.

The owner's Gaelic name shows that the buckle cannot have belonged to one of the Norwegians who fought at Largs. It is more likely to have been the property of a Northman from the Hebrides, whose Norse-speaking inhabitants often bore Celtic names. Professor S. Bugge supposes that the word *dálkr* is taken from the Anglo-Saxon *dalc*, m. a brooch or bracelet, and that this word again is connected with the Old Irish word *delg* or *dealg*, which too means “a breast pin, a buckle.”

Gim. In the Lay of *Völund* (st. 6), it is said of *Völund* the smith:—“*Han sló gull rautt við gim fastan.*”

These lines may properly be translated as follows:—

He struck the red gold
And clasped it round the hard gem.

¹ Cormac's Saga, ch. 25 (st. 2).

The word *gim* is, according to Professor S. Bugge, the same as the Anglo-Saxon *gimm*, and the English *gem*, a precious stone. The word is derived from the Latin, and is identical with the Latin *gemma*. The word only occurs once in the Lay of Völund (Weland), and was certainly never used in ordinary conversation either in Norway or Iceland. It is indigenous to the British Isles, where the Scandinavian settlers in Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia naturally borrowed many words connected with civilised life from the Anglo-Saxons. On the other hand, a word compounded with *gim*, and one which also means a precious stone, namely *gimsteinn*, is often found not only in the poetry of the skalds, but also in the sagas. The same word has also, in the forms of *gimsten* and *gemsten*, been adopted by the Old Swedish and Old Danish languages. It is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *gimstan*, a precious stone. *Sigli*, n. a kind of ornament. This word occurs more than once in the Eddic poems. In the Flyting of Loki (*Lokasenna*), st. 20, we read:—

“*Sveinn inn hvíti
er þer sigli gaf.*”

And again in the short Lay of Sigurd there is a passage:—

“*Ek gef hverri
um hroðit sigli
bók ok blæju
biartar váðir.*”

The word *sigli* is not a genuine Norse word. It is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon *sigle*, n., “a neck-lace.”¹ In the opinion of some scholars, the Anglo-Saxon word is derived from another Anglo-Saxon word, namely, *sigel*, “sun.” Others are of the opinion that *sigle*, as well as the Anglo-Saxon *sig(e)l*, n. “brooch, bracelet,” which so closely resembles it in meaning, are both derived from the Latin. They are possibly connected with the Latin *sigillum*. As the

¹ S. Bugge. Studier over de nordiske Gule-og Heltesagns opr., s. 4.

word *sigli* is only found in the Eddic poems, it might have seemed probable that it was a poetical word, and that it was never used in ordinary conversation in the North. Such, however, can scarcely have been the case. On a buckle from Strand in Aafjord, of the shape which was universal during the latter part of the Iron Age, is a Runic inscription, which runs as follows, **NIƿ ƿIN†*†IƿI**, i.e., *Siklisahaili*.

The late Professor O. Rygh read this inscription as follows: *sigli sá hailli* (i.e., *heilli*), "may he have a fortunate journey (sail)." Professor S. Bugge held that *sá* in that connection is very objectionable. Moreover, the word *heilli* (dative of *heill*, n.) is never used in that sense by itself, but always in connection with an adjective, such as *góðu heilli*, *illu heilli*, etc. He explains the inscription as follows:—*siklis*, pronounced *siglis* from *sigli*, n., "an ornament," and the relative pronoun *es*; *a*, i.e., *á*, "owns". *Hail*, pronounced *hæill*, substantive, "good luck". Either: *sigli's á, hæill í*, i.e., (*þeim*) *er sigli á, (er) heill í*, "for him who owns the ornament there is luck in it."

In any case we possess in this inscription, which is from the ninth or tenth century, a testimony showing that an important word relating to a civilised art had been acclimatised in Norway in the Viking Period.

The above short list of words shows us, as do also discoveries which have been made, that the Norsemen who settled in England, obtained new ornaments for their houses and their persons, as well as precious stones from abroad. The Eddic poems, from which we derive most of our knowledge about these matters, seem to point, by the foreign terms which they employ, to frequent communications with England, but not so much with other countries. But there also came to the North from the countries of Western Europe, and especially from Valland (France), much gold and jewellery during the Viking Period. We gather this not

¹Foreningen for norske fortidsmindesmerkens bevaring, 1872, s. 58.

only from the discoveries which have been made by archæologists, but also from the expressions used in the poems, *e.g.*, in the Lay of Hyndla, where it is said of young Ottar and of Angantýr, "they have pledged the treasure of the Valir."¹

"Þeir hafa veðjat
Vala málm
Óttar ungi
ok Angantýr."

Valbaugar, "rings from Valland," are used in the Lay of Atli, st. 28, as a synonym for "gold rings." Detter and Heinzel take this for granted in their commentary on the Eddic Poems.

The passage runs as follows:—

*I veltandi vatni
lýsash valbaugar
heldr en á höndum gull
skíni Hína börnum.*

Others are of the opinion that *val* in *valbaugar* comes from *valr*, a battle-field, on which the dead lie, and that the word really means, "death rings, death-bringing rings." When, however, the rings are thrown into the water, they cannot cause any further disasters. They only lie at the bottom of the river and shine like red gold. I believe myself that "*val*" here has the same meaning as, *e.g.*, *valbygg*, *i.e.*, barley from Valland (France).

Thus we see that the chieftains and great men of the North were not restricted to the use of homespun frieze for their clothing. When they appeared in all their glory at high festivals, they were clad in silk, scarlet, or costly and brightly coloured material from Eastern Europe, the Netherlands, and France. Their garments were often outlined with gold thread or gold-coloured ribbons,² which they must have got from abroad.

¹ Hyndl. st. 9 Valir is, as is well known, the ordinary name for the inhabitants of France.

² Egil's Saga p. 67. The suit of clothes which Egil received from Arinbjörn had slæður gervar af silki ok gullsaumaðar miök.

There was nothing in a Northern chieftain's dress to show that he belonged to an uncivilised people who stood outside ordinary European civilisation. "Fine feathers make fine birds," says an old proverb. And it is true enough, for there is nothing which shows the degree of the civilisation of the Scandinavian peoples and their connection with Western Europe so plainly as their dress. And now, having examined the dress of the nobles, let us take a glimpse of the chieftain's hall. Let us imagine that we are walking with the god Rig, over green paths until we come to the chieftain's abode. It is quite true that the Lay of Rig, which is the most important source of our knowledge as regards the furniture of the dwellings of the chiefs during the Viking Period, was, according to the general opinion, composed in the British Isles for a chieftain there. The difference, however, between a Norwegian chieftain's dwelling on one of the Orkney Islands, or in the North of Scotland, and a similar dwelling in Norway or Iceland cannot have been so very great. Besides this, most of the great men in Norway had relations and friends in the West. We possess, too, partly in the Eddic poems, and partly in other specimens of Icelandic literature, other descriptions of the halls of the great. The method of construction was the old one. Along the walls there stood rows of benches, which were still covered with straw on high festivals, and that even in the royal hall. The open hearth was in the middle of the floor. From it the smoke rose into the outside air through the louvre. Besides the louvre there were other openings or vents in ancient times, through which light and fresh air streamed in (*vindauga*). A word which must have been incorporated into the Irish from the Norse language as far back as the Viking Period because (*fuindeog* = Old Norse *vindauga*) is rendered in Old Irish glossaries as *haec fenestra*. But though the method of construction was the old one, very much that was new, which had been introduced as a consequence

of the Viking raids in Western Europe, was to be seen in the furniture of a chieftain's palace. The royal palaces of England and France were looked upon by the Viking chiefs as the finest that they had ever seen, and it was their splendours that they strove to imitate.

First of all there was the Imperial palace of the Carolingians. Even after the empire of Charlemagne had been divided and his real power had vanished, it is quite certain that the Emperor was still the greatest and most powerful of monarchs in the eyes of the Northmen. His name *Carolus* (Charles) continued to be for the Northmen in Ireland and the Isle of Man, the very symbol of royal power. In Dublin the sword of Carlous was preserved.

It is no wonder then that Grimhild, when wishing to entice Gudrun by offering her the greatest splendours imaginable, names among them *Hlōðvés salir*, the palace of Louis (Lay of Gudrun II. 26). *Hlōðvér* is the Northern form of the Frankish Ludwig, the name of Louis the Pious, and of many others of the Carolingians. By *Hlōðvés salir* is meant the Imperial Palace of the Carolingians, which the Northmen pictured to themselves as a vast hall of unattainable magnificence. The splendid tapestries, with their gold embroideries and pictures of battles, which they saw in the countries of Western Europe, made a specially deep impression upon the Scandinavians. In the second Lay of Gudrun, we are told how she went after Sigurd's death to Denmark. There Thora Haakonsdatter sought to console her in various ways, among other things, by occupying her time with needlework and embroidery. Gudrun narrates as follows:—

Hón mér at gamni	She to delight me
gullbókaði	Gold embroidered
sali suðræna	Southland Halls
ok svani danska ;	and Danish Swans.
hōfðu vit á skriptum	We set in the pictures
þat er skatar léku	The deeds of the warriors,
ok á hannyrðum	And with our hands wrought

hilmis þegna,	The men of the prince,
randir rauða	And their red shields,
rekka Húna,	The Hunnish youths,
hiǫrdrótt, hialmdrótt,	A sworded company, a helmed company
hilmis fylgju.	And the chief's guards.

Skip Sigmundar	Sigismund's ship
skriðu frá landi,	Put off from the land,
gyltar grímur,	With gilded heads,
grafnir stafnar ;	And carved bows,
byrðu vit á borða	We broidered on the tapestry
þat er þeir þorðusk	The terrible strife
Sigarr ok Siggeir	'Twixt Sigar and Sigair
suðr á Fívi.	Southwards in Fife.

The Oseberg find and similar Swedish finds, f. i., from the Island of Björkö in Mälaren, seem to show that the women of the Scandinavian countries were well acquainted with the art of embroidery. It seems, however, that in this passage in the Lay of Gudrun allusion is made to a foreign influence affecting art. The word *skript* (*höfðu vit á skriptum*) is of foreign origin. *Skript*, f., originally means in Old Norse "a picture, a painting" (*pictura*), and *skrifa*, "to cover with pictures, to paint." It was at first used as meaning a picture on church banners, etc. In the Middle Ages, the word usually, as the Anglo-Saxon *script*, signifies "confession, public penance." Foreign influence is probably also to be traced in the word *gullbóka*, which, judging from the context, must mean to work in gold, probably as a kind of embroidery. To make gold thread¹ was an Oriental art during the earlier part of the Middle Ages. One of the greatest authorities on the history of Eastern trade and civilisation, W. Heyd, writes in his *Geschichte des Levante-handels im Mittelalter* (History of the Trade of the Levant during the Middle Ages):—

"Mediæval craftsmen understood full well how to flatten gold and silver by dint of hammering and

¹Gering in his glossary of the Eddic poems, translates *gullbóka*, as to "embroider with gold."

stretching into thin plates. Narrow strips of metal prepared in this way used to be attached to strings made of the chopped entrails of cattle which had been slaughtered. As the strings were concealed and only the precious metal round it was visible, it was supposed that the strings consisted exclusively of pure spun gold or silver. Thus this material was known by the name of *or, argent filé*. It was used for outlining arabesques or borders on robes or carpets. Brocade was also woven with it. The best known seat of this manufacture was the island of Cyprus, for which reason the expression *or de Chypre* was used synonymously with *or filé*." We thus perceive that gold brocade and gold embroideries originally came from the East, and that gold thread was used to trace out borders and arabesques. On the other hand they never, so far as I know, employed gold thread to depict whole scenes with men and animals. This falls in very well with the words of the Lay of Gudrun: *Hón mér at gamni gullbókaði sali suðræna ok svani danska*. Only the halls of the Southrons and the Danish swans were embroidered in gold. The armed warriors, Sigismund's ships, the fighting between Sigar and Siggeir, etc., were on the other hand woven or embroidered in ordinary thread. The word *gullbóka* is not used of this. The words are: *hofðu vit á skriptum . . . ok á hannyrðum og byrðu vit á borða*. Animals, and especially birds, were often embroidered in mediæval times with gold thread on tapestry. In one of Viollet-le-Duc's books there is a picture of a chasuble from the treasury of St. Sernin's, Toulouse. On it are represented falcons and pelicans in gold thread.¹ On other fabrics golden lions and leopards are to be seen.²

The Venetians were those who, above all others, brought costly silks with figures embroidered in gold and silver thread to Western Europe. Right down to

¹ Viollet-Le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, III., 7. pl. 3.

² *Ibid*, III., pl. 9 and 12.

the eleventh century the Venetians had factories at Limoges and Périgueux, whence they sent Oriental fabrics all over France and even to England.¹ The peoples of Western Europe soon learnt how to embroider in gold thread. The Anglo-Saxons were masters of this art in the earliest times, so much so that their productions excited admiration on the Continent.

There is still preserved beautiful work dating from the time of Alfred the Great. Such gold-embroidered stuffs were, above all, used for the service of the church or in royal palaces.

Indeed, there was a special establishment in which gold embroideries were worked for the use of the king and queen. Nor must it be forgotten that in Norway itself gold thread has been found. The discoveries at Tune have brought to light materials made partly of wool and partly of silk, and a matted gold-coloured ribbon and two small tassels with gold thread. A discovery in the parish of Vangsnes proved the existence of cords of genuine gold thread.² Both parts are of real gold thread. Such thread was certainly not used merely for cords or lace sewn on to the fabric. It was doubtless also employed in the representation of figures by means of woven fabrics or embroidery, such as those mentioned in the Lay of Gudrun. At Björkö, Sweden, there has been found a golden hart embroidered on silk, probably from about 900 A.D.

Both in France and in England, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, people understood how to weave into and embroider tapestries, with representations of men and animals. This art had certainly come from Greece and the Orient. Most people have heard of the celebrated "Bayeux tapestry," upon which are depicted

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 356 ff, cf. Heyd, II., p. 682 sq.

² Lappenberg. *History of England*, I., p. 623.

³ Cf. the Report of the Union for the preservation of the Historical Monuments of Norway (*Foreningen til norske fortidsmindere bevaring*) for 1867. Dr. H. Schetelig kindly drew my attention to the above report.

William the Conqueror's invasion of England, the Battle of Hastings, and so forth. Upon this there are represented, as upon the embroidery alluded to in the Lay of Gudrun, ships setting out from land, battles and fierce blows, and the warriors who follow their chieftain. The Bayeux tapestry was, however, woven later than the time at which the Lay of Gudrun was probably composed.

In England similar tapestries were known as early as the tenth century. After the Battle of Maldon (991), at which heroic Brihtnod fell, his widow stitched or embroidered a pall, which she presented to the Cathedral of Ely, and on which she had depicted her husband's deeds of valour.¹ So also the description of the embroideries worked by Gudrun and Tora Haakonsdatter bears distinct witness to foreign influences. Woven tapestries representing various scenes were, however, also to be found in Norway, at any rate towards the close of the Viking Period. Thus it was that there hung in the hall of King Olaf Haraldsson (St. Olaf), a tapestry, on which was depicted Sigurd killing the dragon Fafne.² On the other hand, the whole art of wood-carving was developed on native soil. The whole scheme of carved wooden decorations of the Oseberg ship (beginning of the ninth century) is of native origin, and the same was doubtless the case with the carvings which adorned the palaces of the kings and chieftains. Both images and forms have, as Dr. Schetelig writes to me, been carried out in the ornamental style, which was the only one at the disposal of the artists. Their contemporaries have seen in these extremely conventional carvings a special meaning. The historical representations were treated as pure ornament. On the other hand, it is not quite so certain that the whole of the luxuriant ornamentation

¹ *Historia Eliensis*, II., 7. Cortinam gestis viri sui intextam atque depositam depictam in memoriam probitatis ejus huic ecclesie donavit; cf. *Freeman*, I., p. 303.

² Cf. *Otte Brudstykker af Olaf den helliges Saga* ed. G. Storm.

has been filled with life in the eyes of those living at the time, or has had an intelligible meaning, as being in accordance with the imagination or thought of the time. The decorative style was the artistic style of the time being, and ought also to suffice when historical representations were needed.

It seems, however, possible that these historical representations came to be used more widely in the course of the tenth century. The sagas mention Olaf Paa's hall at Hjardarholt as something new in Iceland. In the *Njálsaga* (c. 119), composed about 1000 A.D., an Icelander named Torkell Hall is mentioned as having depicted above his bed his doughty deeds in foreign lands. It is possible that foreign, and especially Western influence, is traceable in this fact. In France and England pictorial representations of such a character were certainly very common.

Taking it as a whole, foreign intercourse had set its mark upon the furniture of the hall. If we cast a glance round the hall of a Norse chieftain of the 10th century, we see a great chest (Old Norse "*kista*," f.) standing on the floor, and containing tools, ornaments, and other articles. The word "*kista*" occurs first in the Lay of Valund (stanza 21 and 23), in which it is mentioned that the smith, Valund, kept his ornaments in a chest. It is said of the sons of Nidad, when they came to see all the beautiful things belonging to Valund: *Kómu til kistu kröfðu lukla*, they came to the chest, they asked for the key. In the discourse of Sigurd with the battle nymph (*Sigrdrifumál*, st. 34) *kista* is used of a coffin. This word, which is still commonly used in Denmark, Norway and Sweden, had already been naturalised in Norway during the Viking Period. It is derived, like so many words relating to civilised life, in the very first instance from the Greek (*κίστη*). From that language it was borrowed by the Latin (*cista*). The Romans introduced the word among the Teutonic peoples. It occurs both in Old-

High-German (*chista*) and in Anglo-Saxon (*ciest, ciste*). The word probably came from England to the North. Not only were the Northmen of the Viking Period in much more active connexion with England than with Germany, besides there also are *kiste* to be found in the Lay of Valund, where appear for the first time several other words of Anglo-Saxon origin.¹

The Old Norse word *ork*, f. (Old Swedish and Old Danish *ark*), is a word of nearly the same meaning as *kista*. It first occurs in poetry at a comparatively recent period, but it certainly came to the North at the same time as *kista*. One of the proofs of this is that the word *ark* is frequently found in the Old Swedish laws. The word is derived from the Latin *arca*. It came to the Germans very early, at the same time as *cista*, together with the article which it designated. The word doubtless came to the Scandinavian countries partly from the Anglo-Saxon (*earc*, f., *arc. m.*).²

In the corner of the chieftain's hall, on a shelf, the visitor would see costly flagons. Thus we read concerning the sorrow of Gudrun on the death of Sigurd, in the short Lay of Sigurd, st. 29 :

“*svá sló hón sváran
sinni hendi
at kváðu við
kalkar í vrá.*”

The word *kalkr*, m. (Old Swedish *kalker*, Old Danish *kalk*) is borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon (*calic, cæl(i)c*), which word itself is derived from the Latin *calix*. The word *kalkr* occurs in a number of the Eddic poems. The Lay of Atli (st. 34) relates how Gudrun went to meet Atli bearing a golden cup (*með gyllum kalki*). In the Lay of Rig (st. 31) the wife of the chieftain set before her guest goblets covered with precious metal (*varðir kalkar*).

¹ See S. Bugge's treatise on the Story of Völund in the Saga Book of the Viking Club, London.

² The word *skrin* (Latin *scrinium*), a shrine, seems to have been introduced with Christianity into the North. It comes directly from the Anglo-Saxon *scrin*.

Sometimes these goblets were made of glass or rock crystal, and were likewise imported from abroad. A "cup" of this kind was in the possession of the giant Hyme. The goblet was so hard that no mortal man could break it to pieces. The god, Thor, however, succeeded in doing this after many an effort. As it runs in the Lay of Hymi, st. 29:—

"En Hlórríðe,	"But Hlorriðe (<i>i.e.</i> Thor) when he
er at höndum kom	Had graspèd it,
brátt lét bresta	At once with the glass
brattstein gleri."	Made a breach in the pillar."

We learn from this passage that the goblet was made of rock crystal or glass (*gler*). Crystal cups of this kind were also called *hrimkalkar*. In the Flyting of Loki (str. 53), the story runs that the Goddess Sif, in order to soften the angry Loki, and silence his evil tongue, offered him a cup of mead with the following words:—

"Heill ver þú nú, Loki!
Ok tak við hrimkalki
Fullum forns miðar!"

Gerd, who became the wife of Frey, uses exactly the same words in the Discourse of Skírnismál (str. 37). Professor S. Bugge has shown that *hrimkalkr* is a translation of *calix crystallinus*.¹ May it not be possible that this was translated into the Anglo-Saxon word *hrīmcalic*? It would seem from the use of the word *kalkr*, that it was during the expeditions of the Vikings in the West of Europe that the Northmen learnt to make use of such drinking vessels. Glass goblets were, however, imported to the Scandinavian countries several centuries before the Viking Ages, mostly from the Netherlands, and were used side by side with the drinking horns, that probably likewise were imported. This is also indicated by the fact that Hymi's cup is called "the circular way for the wine"

¹ S. Bugge. Studier, p. 4.

(*vinferill valr*).¹ The Northmen learnt to drink wine during the Viking Period, even though the word wine probably came earlier to the North. Steenstrup, in his book about the Normans (I., pp. 184 *sq.*), cites numerous cases to show how fond the Northmen were of wine, and how one was certain during the vintage to meet the Vikings near the estuary of the Loire and in other regions where the vine was cultivated. A typical case is that of the Viking, King Godfred, who requested the Emperor Charles in 865 to make over to him Coblenz and other rich wine producing districts near the Rhine, as Friesland, which he had held in fee, did not afford him the wine for which he longed. We know too how the Northmen of Ireland imported wine from France about the year 900. King Cormac of Munster, who died at the beginning of the tenth century, speaks in his celebrated Glossary of a liquid measure which was used in the wine trade by the Norse-men and Franks.² A hundred years later the poet Mac Liag relates in a poem about King Brian, how the Northmen of Limerick had to pay a daily tribute of a barrel of red wine to Brian. The Northmen of Dublin, on the other hand, were obliged to pay 150 vats of wine as tribute, probably once a year.

It is in imitation of the customs of the royal palaces of Western Europe that wine is set before the god Rig, as recorded in the Lay of Rig (st. 31), or when, in another poem it is related of Odin, that he drinks nothing but wine³ :—

“*En við vín eitt
vaþngofugr
Óðinn æ lifir.*”

In the Lament of King Eirik (*Eiriksmál*) which was certainly composed in England, Odin, when awaiting the arrival of Eric Blood-Axe at Valhalla, is described

¹ Lay of Hymi., str. 31.

² Cormac's Glossary trans. by J. O'Donovan ed. by Whitley Stokes, p. 67 (s. v. Epscop fína).

³ Discourse of Grimnir (st. 19).

as bidding the Valkyries set forth the wine. We see from this that it was upon their journeys in the West, and under foreign influence, that Northmen learned to appreciate wine. So it came to pass that from that time forward wine was poured out in king's palaces and drunk in cups. Roman merchants had, however, many centuries before that time, imported wine to Denmark. But let us take a closer survey of the table and its furniture.

It was, it would seem, the custom in the North not to use fixed tables, which stood all day in the hall. On the contrary, when meals were to be served, small tables were set up, which were removed at the conclusion of the meal.

In the Lay of Rig (st. 31 sq.) the table and the serving of a meal are described as follows:—

*Þa tók Moðir
merkta dúk,
hvítan af hörfi,
hulði biód ;
hon tók at þat
hleifa þunna,
hvíta af hveiti
ok hulði dúk.*

*Fram setti hón
fulla skutla,
silfri varða,
. . . . á bióð,
fán fleski
ok fugla steikta ;
vín var í kornu,
varðir kalkar,
drukku ok dæmdu,
dagv var á sinnum.*

The table (*biód*) is first set forth. It is covered with white linen cloth adorned with embroidery, which is probably coloured.¹ On the cloth white wheaten loaves are laid. Then dishes adorned with silver (*skutlar silfri varðir*) and full of meat are placed upon the table, as

¹ It is thus that Fritzner in his Dictionary explains *merktr dúkr*.

well as wine in a jug (*vin var í kōnnu*), and goblets bound in precious metal (*varðir kalkar*).

We find here perhaps signs of foreign influence. Among the Anglo-Saxon, too, the table was removed after the meal. In a riddle composed by an Anglo-Saxon writer of the eighth century, a table is represented as speaking. While speaking it has four feet, and it is covered with a fair cloth. Afterwards it is deprived of its adornments and loses its feet. In other words, it is removed :—

De Mensa.

Multiferis omnes dapibus saturare solesco,
 Quadrupedem hinc felix ditem me sanxerit ætas,
 Esse tamen pulcris fatim dum vestibus orner,
 Certatim me prædones spoliare solescunt ;
 Raptis nudata exuviis mox membra relinquunt.¹

Pictures of Anglo-Saxon feasts in old manuscripts show, it seems to me, that the arrangement of the table among the Anglo-Saxons was exactly the same as that which is described in the Lay of Rig. We see the table-cloth with its embroidered border, and dishes containing fish and other kinds of food. The roast meat is offered by the servants to the guests at the end of spits and eaten, as it seems, on loaves, as may be seen in a whole series of drawings in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Other drawings show us how the drinks were poured out of jugs.²

It is not only these mere external resemblances which cause me to come to the conclusion that the chieftain commemorated in the Lay of Rig was influenced as regards the arrangement of his table by the customs which prevailed in the British Isles. If we examine the description in the Lay of Rig a little more closely, our theory will be confirmed. As regards the table-cloth, I will only say that it was adorned with coloured embroideries in the same way as among the Anglo-Saxons. Wheat was not grown in Norway during the

¹ Th. Wright. *Hist. of English Culture*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* figg. 19, 20, 22 and 67.

earlier part of the Middle Ages, but was mostly imported from England. Wheat was, however, only eaten by rich people in England at that time. The same was certainly the case in Ireland, where it seems as though the Northmen in particular made use of wheat. During the winter of 942-943, King Muirchertach made his celebrated progress through Ireland, as described in a contemporary poem. He came with his men to Dublin and encamped outside the walls. While they lay there the Northmen of Dublin were obliged to supply them with all kinds of food, such as hams, meat, and cheese of the highest quality. Special mention is made of a supply of "good and sufficient wheat" (*do chruitnecht chain, chóir*).¹ The meat is, in the Lay of Rig, set forth on a sort of flat dish made of silver, or rather, it may be, bound with silver (*fulla skutla, silfri varða*). The word *skutill*, m., has been taken from the Anglo-Saxon *scutel*, m., a dish. This is derived from the Latin *scutella* or *scutula*,² which has the same meaning as *skutill*. In prose *skutill* is used to mean small tables, such as were brought out at meal-times. The word *kanna*, f., a can, is also a foreign word, and is most probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon *canna*. The word likewise occurs in Old High German (*channa*). In the opinion of some scholars, it is a word borrowed from the Latin *canna*, a reed. Goblets (*kalkar*) bear witness, as I have already mentioned, to the presence of foreign influences.

The influence of Western Europe on the Scandinavian countries during the Viking Age has probably been over-rated by my late father, Sophus Bugge, as well as by myself in earlier works. The Oseberg find and other recent discoveries show that the Norsemen long before that time already were as civilised as the Anglo-

¹ Poem about the progress of Muirchertach, ed. E. Hogan, S. J. Verses 12-13.

² *Pogatscher*. Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen, § 11.

Saxons and the Franks. The influence from civilised Europe began during the first centuries of our era, when Roman commodities first reached to the Scandinavian countries, and was continued during the Migration period, when Goths and other northern peoples (*e.g.*, the Eruls) founded kingdoms in Southern Europe. It must also not be forgotten that there was already, about A.D. 600, an important trade between the British Islands and Norway and Gotland. That Western Europe during the Viking Age, especially through the Norse settlements on the British Islands and in France, has exercised a much greater influence upon the Scandinavian peoples than in previous times can, however, not be doubted. But the Western influence was, if perhaps the strongest, not the only one. There were also a southern, and—not to forget—a powerful eastern influence (from Byzantium and the Arabs).

MINIATURES FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.

PART II.

BY DR. HARRY FETT.

Hakon Hakonsson worked with a definite aim upon introducing into Norway a new, rich Gothic culture and art. Like all princes who are lovers of art, he had his connections abroad; one of these must have been Mathew of Paris, one of the finest and most gifted characters of the English Middle Age. He was a monk of St. Albans, and also the greatest English historian of his time—known as diplomatist, politician, and courtier. In his historical works, in which Norwegian matters are often treated, he was an excellent storyteller, with an animated, picturesque style and with a flow of critical remarks on men and matters. He was also one of the greatest artists of his time. *Gesta Abbatum* says so directly: Hakon Hakonsson appears to have got to know this man early, whose nature was a little akin to that of Leonardo; we do not know how, but we find there is an intimate friendship between them; he visited the King in 1248. Munch thinks it likely that he was the literary adviser of the King, and I have in a lecture to the Royal Society, 12th November, 1909, shown that he was also his adviser in art. His style is found in several places in Norway, and I have stated it as probable that he made the design for the west front of Trondhjem Cathedral; so that his visit could not have been a short one, and it is clear that this visit by one of the most highly gifted and artistic personalities of the times must have left its mark in Norway. I think the

influence of his style can be traced in several places in Norwegian art. I cannot decide whether the King got his artist friend to send over gifted pupils early in his reign, or whether the king sent Norwegians himself to England to learn. Until I have thoroughly studied his style in England, I cannot decide which works are influenced by his style and by that of his pupils. His style is clearly visible in the above miniatures, especially in God the Father, or Christ with the globe, where all the

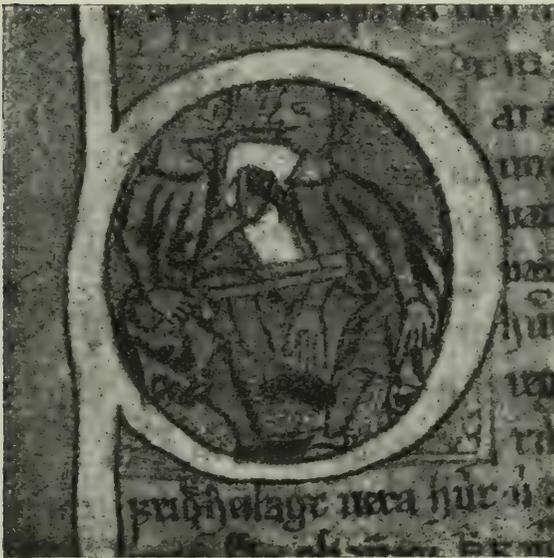


FIG. 12.—MAN-SLAYING, FROM THE
CRIMINAL LAW SECTION.
Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269 A, 4to.

flowing draperies recall his own work with the Later Gothic free treatment of the draperies. The same is seen in fig. 7, where one of the figures by the side of Christ, is identical with one found in a design by Mathew. The style and the historical material show that the rich school of art in St. Albans is the origin of our Norwegian

school; and I think it is very probable that the King had among his scribes who did the new translations, his court-painters; that, in other words, it is an Anglo-Norwegian court style of which we have traces in these miniatures, and in the oldest altar-frontal, and paintings on the ceilings.

The next group of Icelandic manuscripts is clearly under High Gothic influence. Both their style and history point back to originals in Norway, especially two groups

of illuminated manuscripts, viz.: Jonsbok and Stjorn, both of which as literature have been derived from Norway.

Jonsbok consists of the old Icelandic laws and the new Norwegian laws worked together by Magnus the Law-mender. It was finished in 1280, and brought over to Iceland by the Law-man Jon Einarson, after whom it was called: "Jonsbok."

The law-book which was sent from Norway to Iceland, was no doubt as beautiful

as it was possible to make it at that time in Bergen. Stjorn, too, goes back to various Norwegian translations. Others Hakon V. had translated into Norwegian, for the pleasure of intelligent men who did not know Latin. The King wished that passages from this book should be read aloud at his table, so that good men should obtain instruction from the house and dwelling of God, that is, from holy writ. Stjorn itself is based on translations of Peter Comestors "Historia Scholastica"; Vincenz de Beauvais "Speculum Historiale" and "Speculum Naturale"; Augustin "De Civitate Dei" and Isidor of Sevilas "Etymologist." It is these two groups of manuscripts, Jonsbok and Stjorn, which form a group in which the influence of the High Gothic art of illumination is clearly seen; and in this, together with the Norwegian law-code, I think we can see the after-glow of the High Gothic art of illumination,



FIG. 13.—NAVIGATION, FROM THE NAVAL SECTION.

Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269 A. 4to.

a continuation of the court style of Hakon Hakonsson which was in use under the succeeding kings of the Sverre family, and of which we have highly interesting mementoes in our High Gothic altar-frontals.

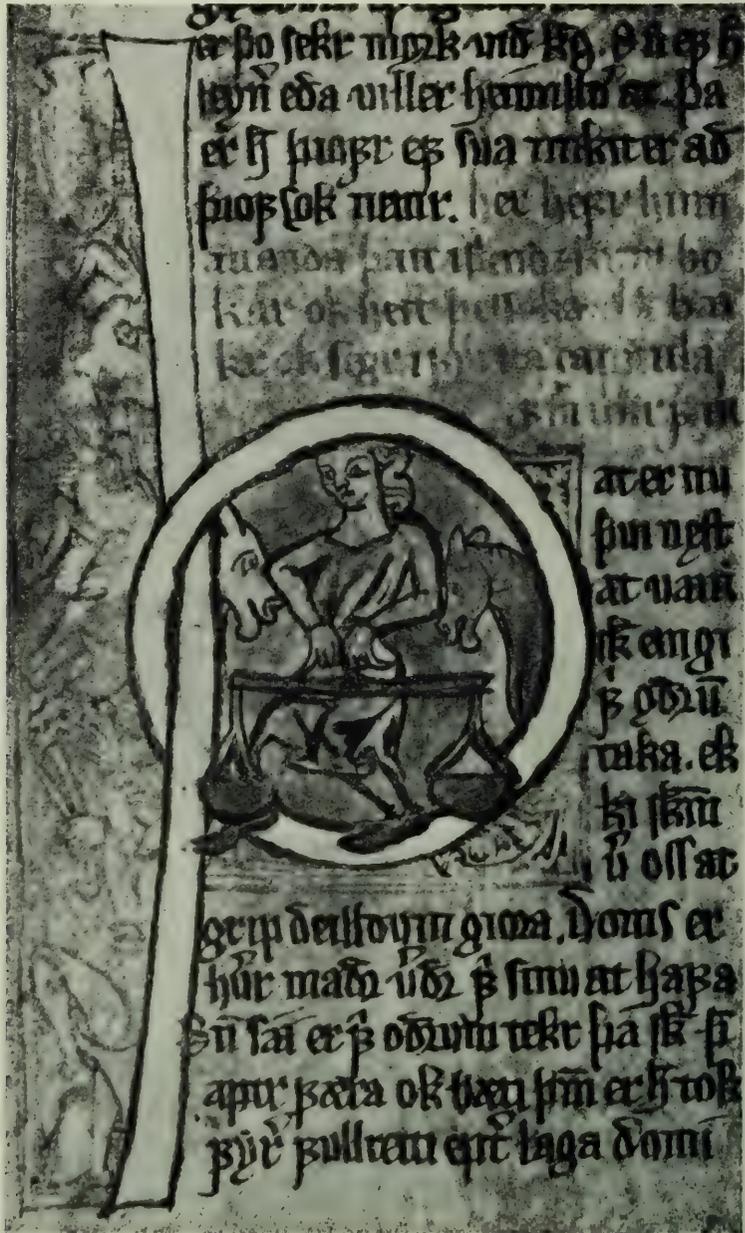


FIG. 14.—CATTLE DEALING.

In the border is a man, a woman and an animal: from the Trade Section, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 3269A, 4to.

If one asks which English group is the nearest prototype of the illuminations of the Stjorn manuscripts, one must point to the court style, which, under French influence, developed in England. French motives are vigorously treated in England, and many manuscripts, also law-manuscripts, in this style are preserved. Here is represented Queen Isabella's English Psalter, of the time of Hakon V., now kept in the Hof and Statsbibliotek in Munich (cod. gall. 16) and this is really a prototype of the Stjorn manuscripts. It is this style which, in our High Gothic art, came over and formed our altar-frontals and miniatures. The Stjorn manuscripts of Hakon V., which he had translated and read aloud to his courtiers, were probably also influenced from the English court style, since this style is visible in the Icelandic books. Of course the English workmanship is firmer and finer, with more figures in the initials, and is richer, on the whole, than the Stjorn illuminations; but the border-work, the grotesque figures along the border, with interlaced leaves and figures along the foot, the fall of the draperies, and the designs show undoubted connections. If the history of our Gothic pictorial art is ever to be written as a whole, this group must be minutely studied. At present only vague indications can be given.

Stjorn manuscript A.M. 227 fol. is marked by the same Anglo-Gothic miniature style as the Norwegian law-code. The same long branches along the borders, ending in foliage; animals and birds, small hunting scenes and such-like, occur as in our law-code. The treatment of the dress is High Gothic, and the placing of two figures opposite each other, which is typical of our law-code, occurs frequently. The first figure on page 1 represents the Day of Judgment (Fig. 16), which also occurs in the law-code. Though this Stjorn manuscript is later than the law-code, it seems to be derived from a

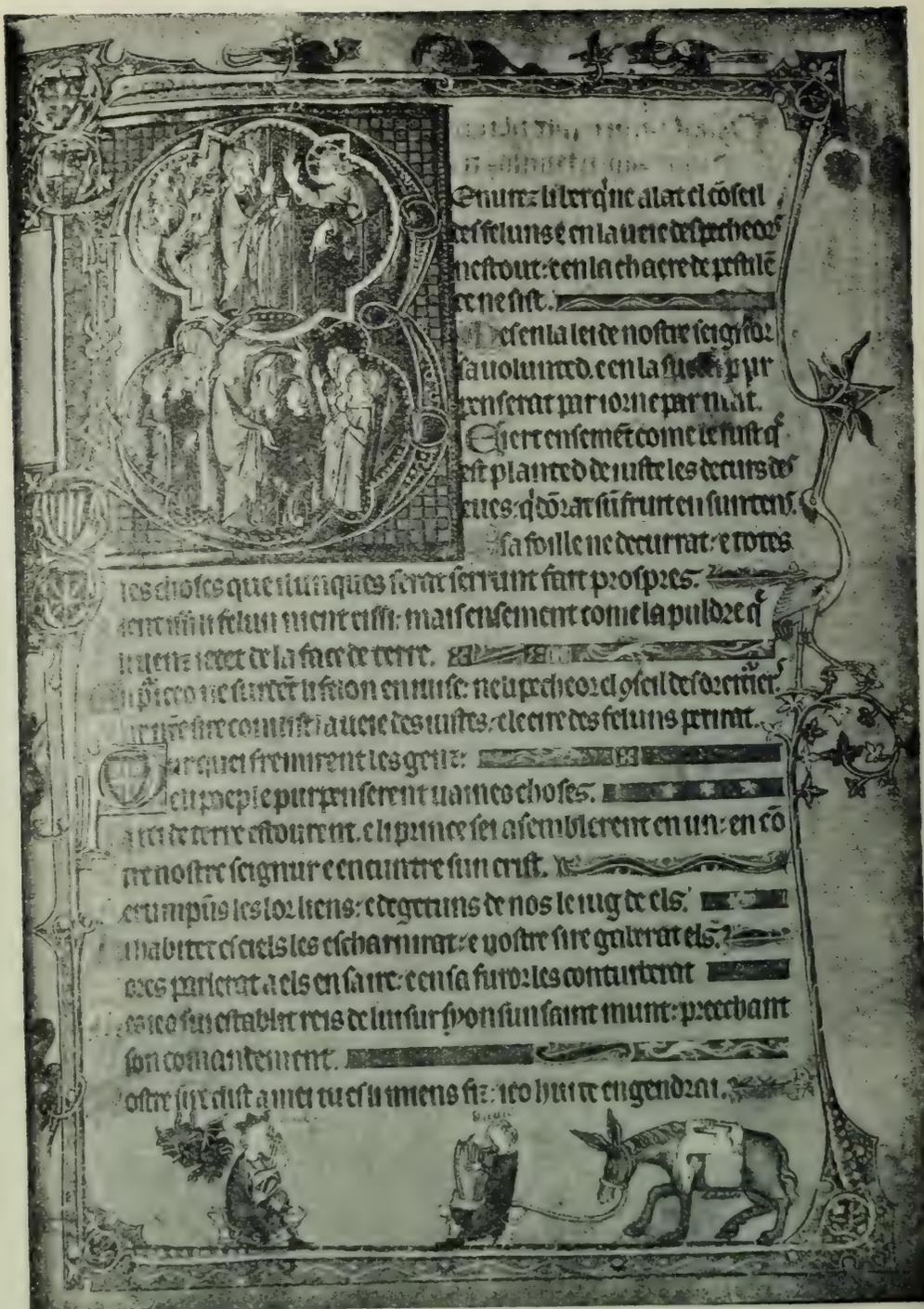


FIG. 15.—THE CORONATION OF SAUL, FROM QUEEN ISABELLA'S PSALTER. English work, from about 1310. Hof und Staatsbibliothek, München. Cod. gall 16. Teufel's photograph.

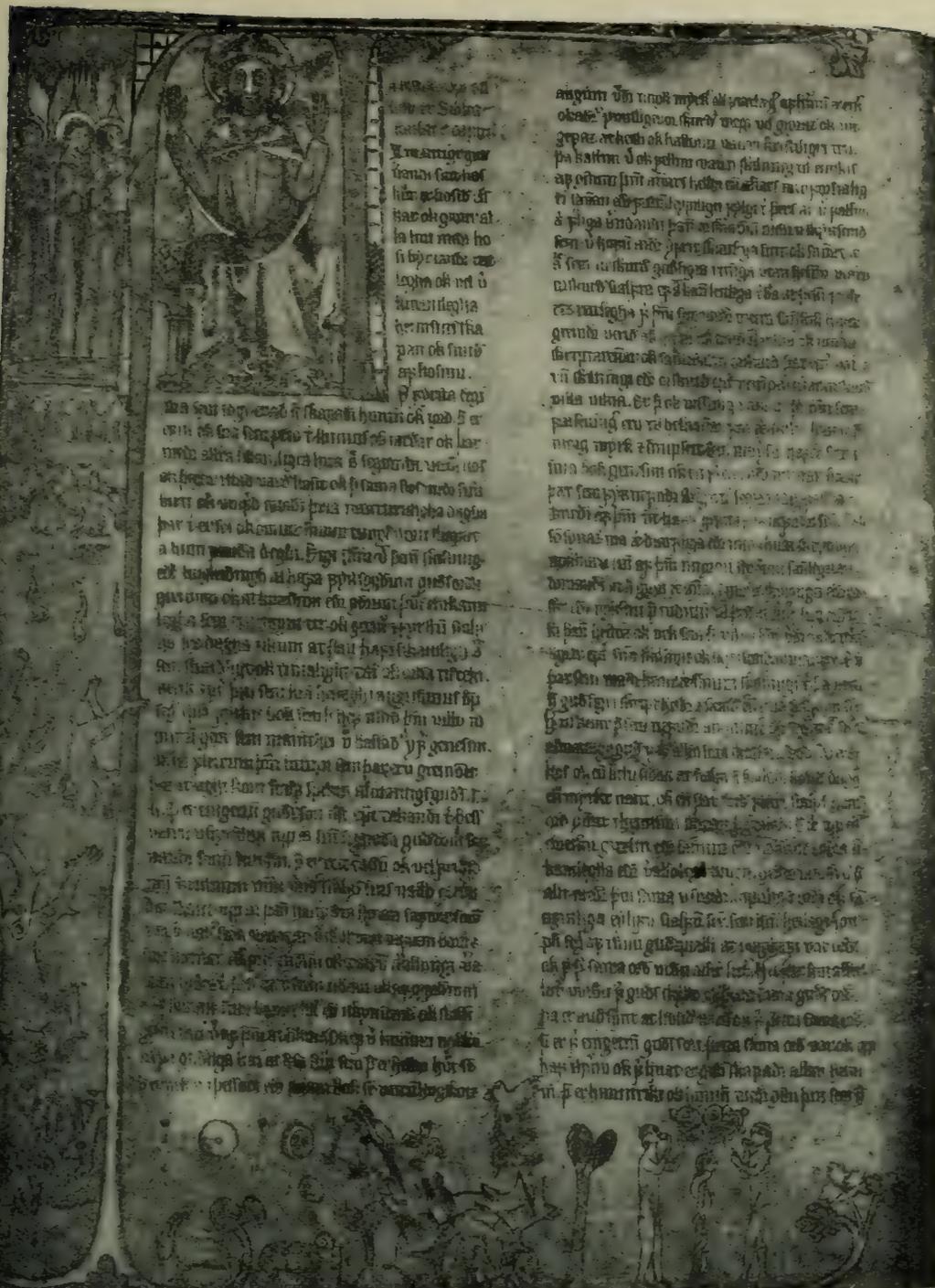


FIG. 16.—CHRIST ON THE THRONE, WITH THE EVIL ANGELS FALLING INTO HELL: TOGETHER WITH THE FALL OF MAN. Stjorn, 227 fol. 14th Century. Author's Photograph.

somewhat older style than the one found in our law-codes. The folds in the last-mentioned are more free and flowing. The motive is the same in the Stjorn law-codes, but here, like that, somewhat better defined and older. By the side of Christ stand angels singing, along the border the doomed ones are hurled down. At the foot of the manuscript the Creation is represented, and the "fall of man"; also Abraham offering up his sacrifices, God the Father, Esau, Jacob and Rebecca, God speaking to Joshua,¹ Saul being anointed. The whole representation bears a strong impression of the style which is found in our altar-frontals of High Gothic character. It is the Franco-English style. We possess several works of this group, and it is probable that we also had miniatures in the Stjorn manuscripts, which at that time were illuminated in Norway. As our pictorial art is an interesting branch of the Anglo-French art, similarly the Icelandic art is derived from the Norwegian art, and this Stjorn manuscript is so closely related to Norwegian art, that I do not think it is too bold to see in it, if not a copy of, yet one derived from Norwegian Stjorn manuscripts. In any case it evidently belongs to our Norwegian school of art. Different, and doubtless of a more Icelandic character, is A.M. 226, also a Stjorn MS. Still, it belongs to the Gothic MSS., and is in the same style as the preceding MS. But it is as if the old Romanesque popular art, which at all times has reigned in Icelandic art, enters again. On the whole we have here again popular art in contrast to Gothic art of the higher classes.

In several cases we find a different composition in the pictures of the MSS. A.M. 226 and 227.

For instance, in Isaac, Jacob and Rebecca, in 227. Rebecca stands outside the composition proper, she stands in the margin, while all three figures stand together in

¹Pallæografisk, Atlas III.

226. There is a development from greater freedom to more strictly defined forms.

On the first page (fig. 17) God the Father is represented in a mandorla; along the border a series of animals form a frieze, a motive taken from popular art, and later on used in Norway. At the foot of the MS. an archer is hunting; a Gothic miniature motive. The famous *Flatey-*

book is related in style to this MS.

It also has the Gothic ground-work, but the old Romanesque crops up continually, as if it were a kind of popular art.

The MS. is written 1387-94 by the priests Jon Thordarson and Magnus Thorhallsson.

It is the last named who has done the illuminations. There is a series of smaller pictures, a monk at his desk,

armed men along the gun-wale of a ship, an archer, a monk with a long staff, and a warrior with a lance.

Also a representation of the battle of Sticklestad, and a portrait of Hakon the old and one of Harald Hair-fair. Also in the *Flatey-book*, the influence of the Norwegian court



FIG. 19.—ST. OLAF, FROM THE ARNAR-BÆLISBOK, 1350-1400.

A.M. 135 4to. Author's Photograph.

style is visible: the elegant initials with graceful lines and feathery trails, are found in Norwegian MSS. But the Icelandic characteristics crop up. The Initial introducing Harald Hair-fair saga (fig. 18) represents the King sitting on his throne, and by his side, probably, a page handing the King a beaker. At the foot of the



FIG. 20.—THE CRUCIFIXION, FROM A LATIN CALENDAR.

13th Century: A.M. 249, E. fol.
Author's Photograph.

page are Gothic figures, known from the Stjorn MSS., and which are typically Gothic. The ornamentation along the margin is Romanesque reminiscences. In contrast to the earlier figure St. Olaf is the Holy King, in A.M. 135, 4to., in the High Gothic style. The folds fall more heavily, and the figure is set in architecture. The picture is from the second half of the 14th Century (fig. 19). In the crucifixion (fig. 20)

is shown the High Gothic taste which then exercised a strong influence upon Icelandic art, for a short time. The last picture is from A.M. 249 e.

Of the Icelandic law MSS., it is the so-called *Belgsdalsbok* A.M. 347, fol. which strikingly shows the

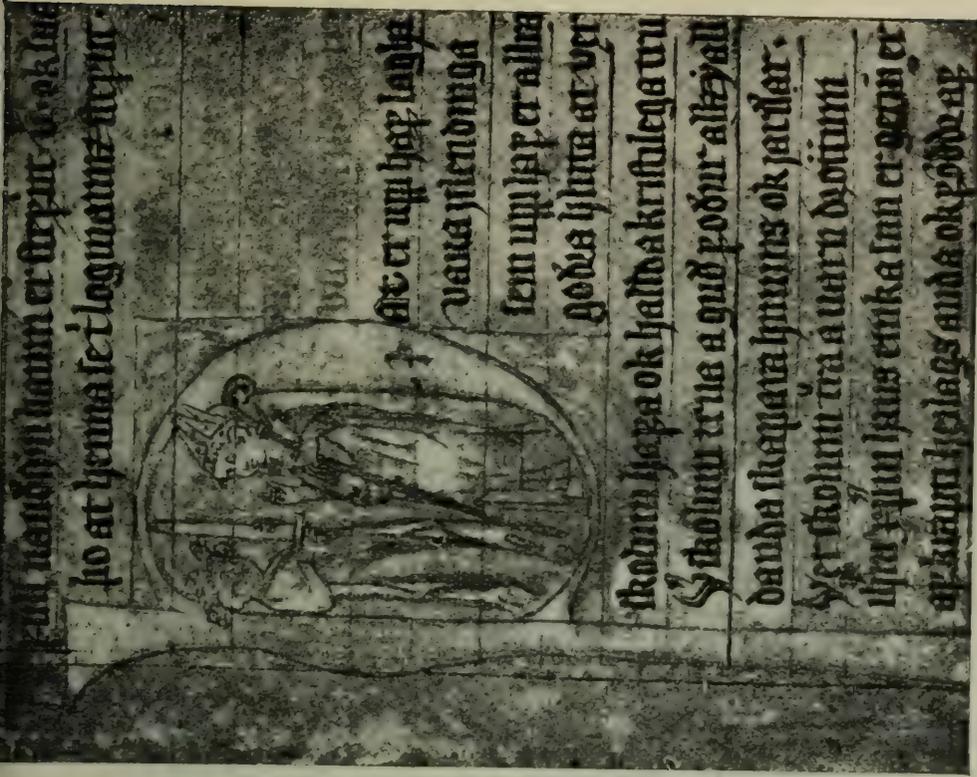


FIG. 22.—THE KING AND BISHOP, FROM THE CHRISTIANITY SECTION. A.M. 247 fol.

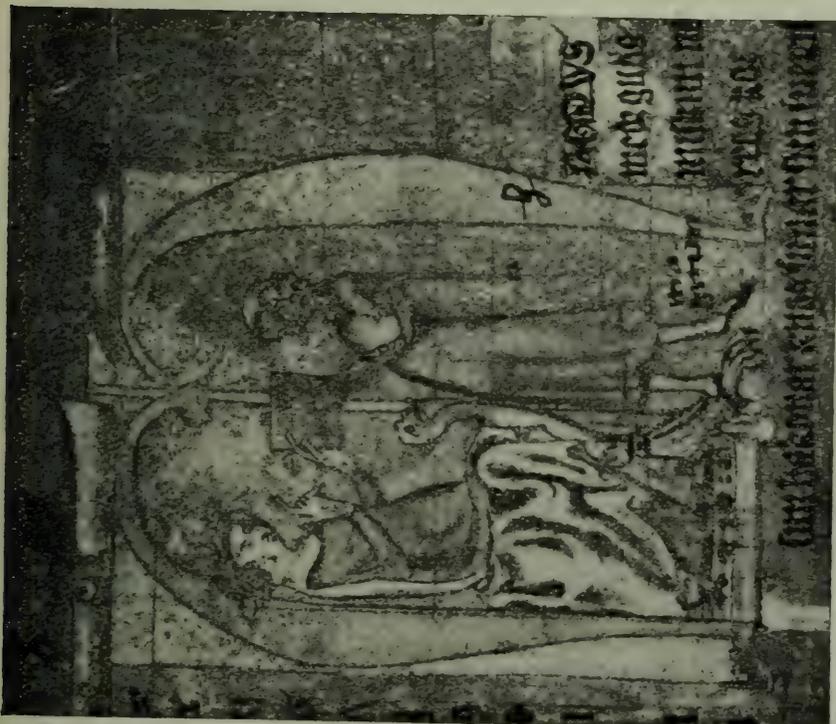


FIG. 21.—THE KING HANDS OVER THE LAWS. JONSBOK, ABOUT 1400. A.M. 347 fol.

connection with the Norwegian law MS., Codex Hardenbergianus. It is written in the last half of the 14th Century. From an artistic point of view these Icelandic miniatures do not stand very high, but they are interesting because they are almost direct copies from the fine Norwegian law MSS. On page 8 the king

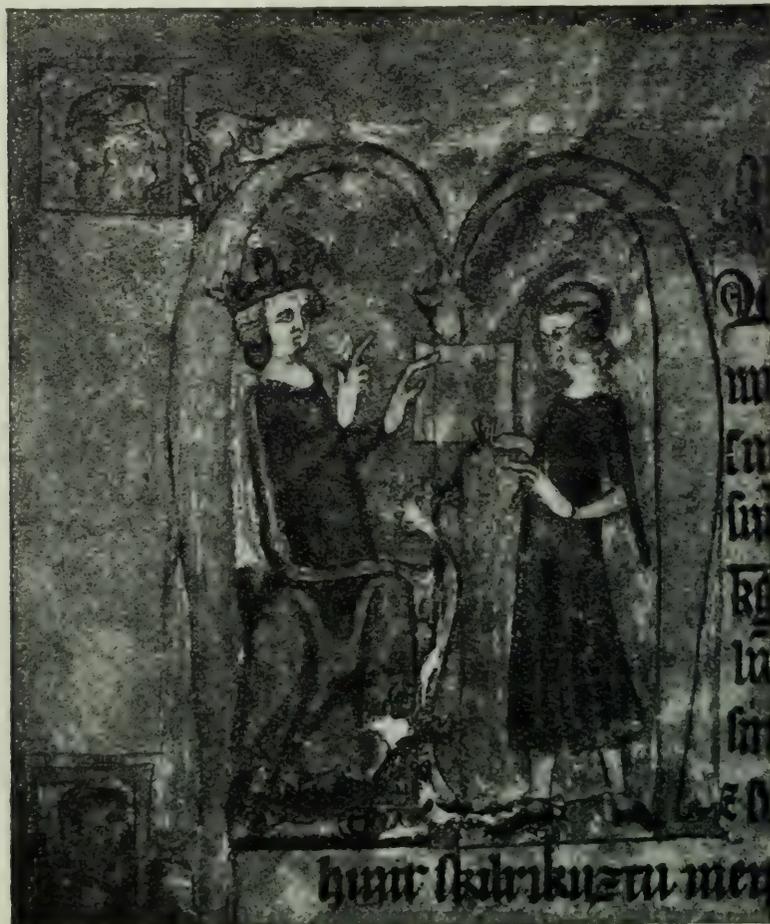


FIG. 23.—THE KING HANDS OVER THE LAW.
14th Century, A.M. 343 fol.

hands over the code of laws, exactly as in the representation in the Norwegian MS. (Fig. 21). On page 9 is Christ on the Throne, a part of the Judgment Day picture, which was much favoured in the law-codes, and is also found in the Norwegian. The Christian Section is quite the same as in the Codex Hardenbergianus, with

King and bishop standing opposite each other (Fig. 22). The illustrations of the Personal-rights Section and the Thieves Section have some of the older motives. On the whole this MS. is a strong proof of the influence of Norwegian illumination. So too is Svalbardsbok A.M. 343 fol. though not quite to the same degree as Belgisdalsbok. It is from the first half of the 14th Century. Here, too, King Magnus hands over the new code (Fig. 23). On pages 14 and 84 there is a Man-slaying Scene and an Imprisonment Scene in the Personal-rights Section and the Thieves Section, with scenes of daily life. The design inclines towards the Romanesque. The High Gothic branches along the margin do not occur. The older Skaalholtsbok A.M. 351 fol., has a picture on page 2, which we recognise as Norwegian with some changes. The bishop and the king introduce the Christian Section. Here the king has become St. Olaf (Fig. 24), sitting on his throne. The bishop stands at the foot of the throne. As the Christian Section of this MS. is missing, this picture introduces the Thingfaring Section. The designs are elegant and good, with several Romanesque combinations.

Several copies of Jonsbok seem to be influenced, partly by the older Early Gothic motives found in Gl. Kgl. S. 3269, a 4to, and partly by the High Gothic motives. Out of these varied motives Icelandic masterpieces grew up, original and more Icelandic in character than anything else. While Iceland nationalized the Romanesque art, it is only here that Gothic, and mainly late Gothic, acquired an Icelandic character.

It cannot be denied that, with few exceptions, the Icelanders did not treat the Gothic style with artistic freedom. It is as if it did not suit their temperament so well, while the Romanesque came natural to them. Still there is one exception, the splendid Skardsbok, A.M. 350, fol. It too, is in Jonsbok. There were two groups in Jonsbok, one which I take to be the older, and which is

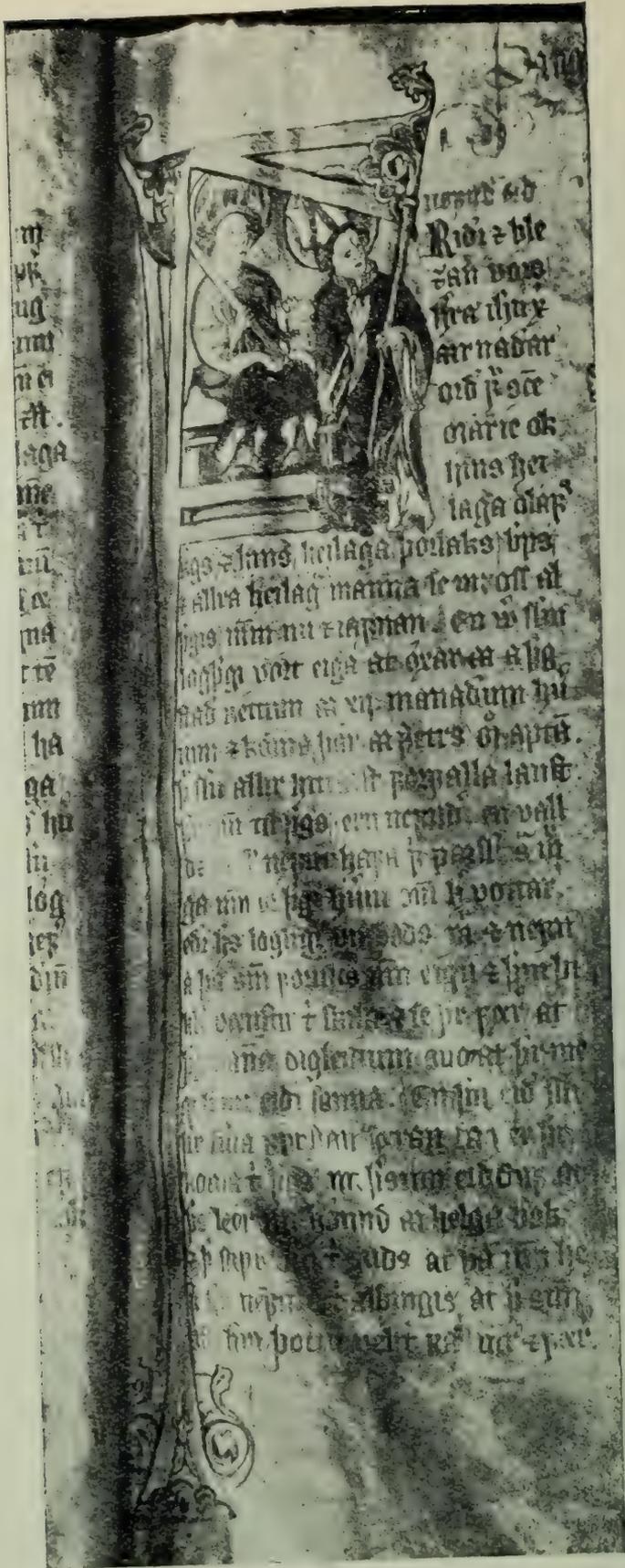


FIG. 24.—KING AND BISHOP. AN INITIAL FROM JONSBOK.

1350-1400. A.M. 351. Author's photograph.

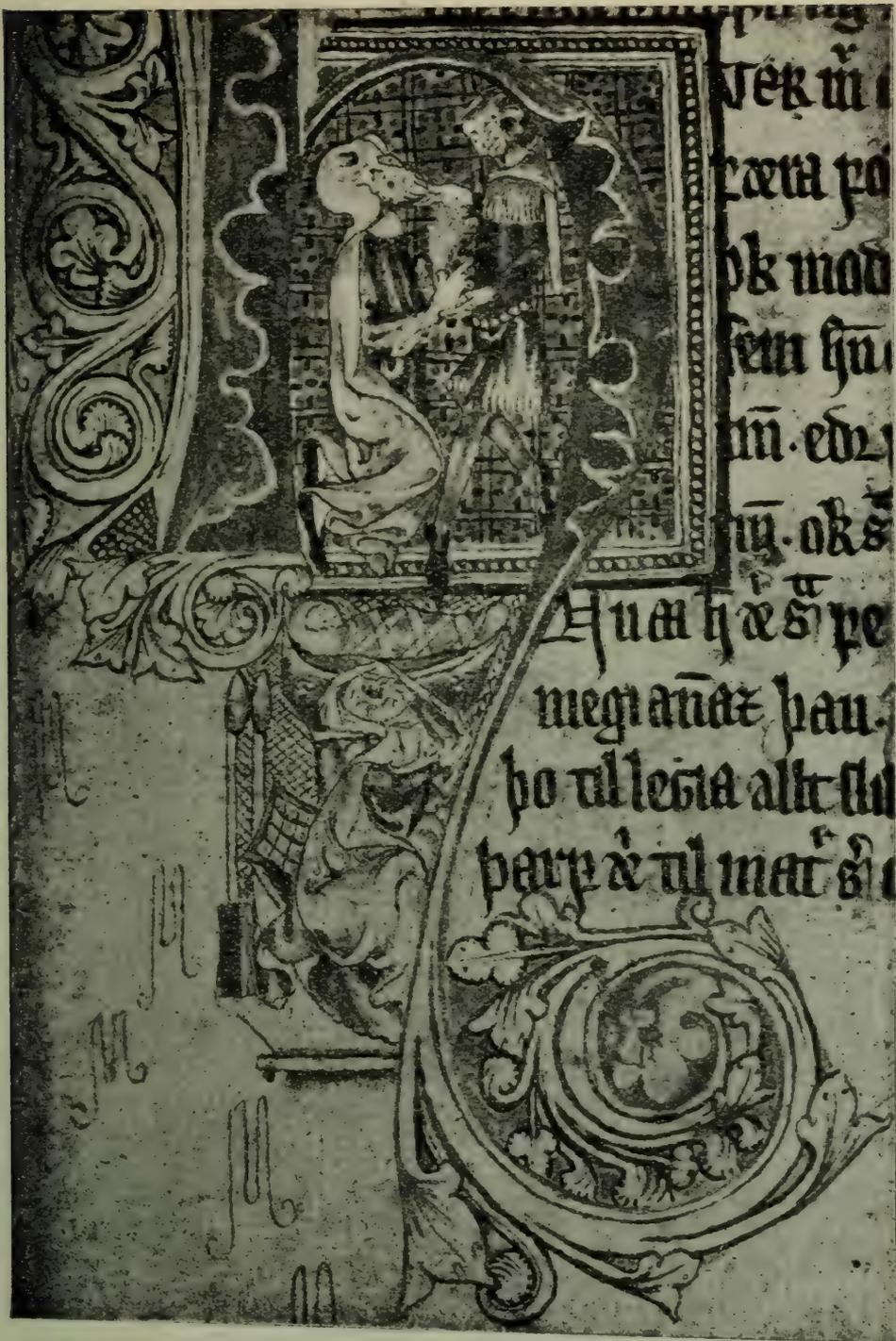


FIG. 25.—AN OLD MAN IS HELPED BY A YOUNGER MAN. BELOW IS A WOMAN AND A CHILD.

Section treating of the duty of providing for one's family. A.M. 350, fol.

only found in late MSS., and another influenced by the later High Gothic. In this MS. there is a characteristic mixture of both groups, and at the same time clearly a further development. The MS. has a late Gothic character, and at the same time it shows the old Romanesque, though not slavishly; it gives full and free play to the imagination and it has more character of its own than any other MS. in Iceland; it is probably the most interesting work produced by the Icelandic art of illumination. Instead of the King who hands over the code, this law-code is introduced by a characteristic late Gothic Annunciation. On page 9 of the Personal-rights Section, the payment of fines is seen below a knight who is in the act of man-slaying. On page 27, concerning charity, a young man is seen helping an old man, while a woman and a child are standing below (Fig. 25). On page 31 a young man is seen claiming his Udal-right. Then we see land being leased, a whale being cut up, men striking a bargain, a boat being built, a father saying good-bye to his son who is going on a trading journey. Fig. 26 is a picture from the Thieves Section; a criminal is led, bound before a judge. At the foot of the page he appears in chains, in the margin he is hanged, while slaves circle round his body. The design is elegant, with a Romanesque ground motive, but original and freely treated as never before, nor later in Icelandic art. In the second picture there is the same richness of design (Fig. 27). The introduction to Hirdskraa is Magnus Lagabøter handing his new code of laws to a courtier. It is in the design that the artist specially shows his talent and his ability to render humorous scenes; there is something anecdotal, and partly witty, in his manner of arranging his groups. One almost believes it is intentional, when as an introduction to the chapters on marriage he uses the design of an old ugly Romanesque dragon.

«1704»

þa daga m þ skip upp sidan. þa abþaga
 h þ a þo at udr hō eþ þong becau þ
 w. þy udr in eþ þengr heyr upp. þne
 þel loku. ok kallt a aþa in udr þeng
 þ hnt s at þ medinþ ag. þa abþaga
 la þ er at leddu udr. er ve. þeg atn an
 þeta. ok þ þ s þa te u skip skalt. þy þa
 in m. þa þm eþ. m. eþm. ok lecau upp þ
 ip hnt. i topr e nauit. ok heimr lat udr
 er at in skip hnt. ok mull þ npp dga þa þo
 þe udr dga eþ atn upp lat. þu mla þr
 a udr dga. þa hant pullu þnamm. þne
 upp lat a. þuku sem h er mrt. ok alþyr
 ge hals skip hnt at dlu þo at h ngr m
 xer e þm at þeta skip hnt in udr þ ok
 gant. ok mþm þ a lla hnt. þe þuarta
 þull ok ne eng. ok up þ þ kaða hnt er
 þa udr a R. B. C. E. Eþu udr uer
 at mull skalt þhræ hedaþ af þdmu



melli hallari er.
 þ heyr hnt þi. þu
 log hok er heft
 þuþa balk. z leg
 þt hnt sekt v hō
 at er hnt zku.
 þa þ udr. at udr þ engi aþan hnt.
 þu er þ gmanda. at eþ la in skte
 mar in eþm. er a þar s mnt i post

er. ok heyr s þm hnt þ þungu leka.
 þa eþ la stult. þ amgn uum þeþing ok
 e u eþm skte hndt in eþ þer. þau m
 eþ v lla. ok dlla þ er mla e at. er in
 eþm. þ er hnt þa. ok eþ in udr. þer
 at þa stalt hnt. aera eþ þm eþm eþ
 n. ok hnt u at udr. eþ eþ la in skte
 eþm. er s þer uum ul þdnt. þa e ok
 u a er skte hnt. þa e h a þing þer
 a ok leþ hnt hnt u. aþ þ hnt udr
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 v. aþ. eþ eþ h leþs a. lan hnt m. ok
 se hnt gnt. mlti a lan hnt. þu stalt hnt
 hnt þ na hnt eþm. lan hnt hnt. eþ
 mlti v. aþ. aþ þe hnt. eþ eþ la in hnt
 i skte optax. þa eþ h hnt. eþ eþ la
 skte v. hnt er eþt v þr at þeþm hnt
 þa eþ h a hnt þer. ok leþ hnt udr. aþ
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 e u eþ h skte optax. þa eþ h hnt. þu
 þuþa skte ul u. mla i þm hnt. þa eþ
 þ h hnt laua þe lan udr. eþ eþ h
 a i hnt. þa udr in ul. eþ mla. ok
 þn at ok lla þeþing. þer lan hnt. aþ
 h er hnt udr heþ. hnt ul. eþ. þeþing
 a. ok v lla þo hnt. eþ eþ la hnt hnt
 skte eþm. þa heþ h þ stalt hnt ok la
 hnt eþm. ok hnt in. þa þeþ er la m

FIG. 26.—THE PUNISHMENT OF EVIL-DOERS; FROM THE THIEVES SECTION.

Representing: Imprisonment, hanging, and a man in fetters. A.M. 350, fol. Author's photograph.

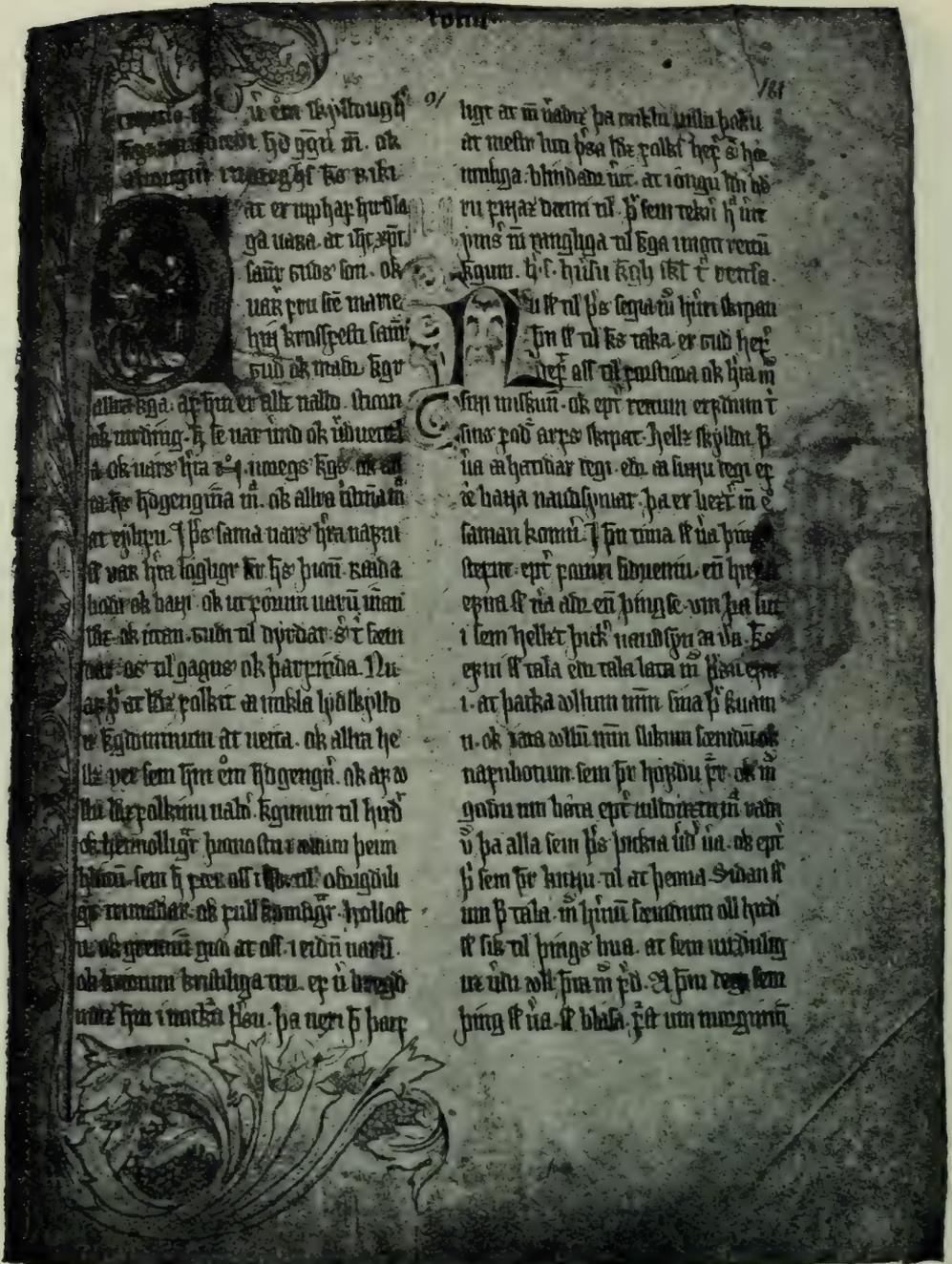


FIG. 27.—KING MAGNUS HANDS OVER THE COURT-LAWS (HIRDSKRAA) TO A COURTIER.

A.M. 350, fol. Author's photograph.

It is in a similar humour to his other miniatures and designs. This manuscript seems to be done by a lively, original, Icelandic and late-Gothic artist. Yet it cannot be denied that the style of his figures is connected, in various points, with the corresponding one in Norway. In the altar frontal of Røldal church we find this evolution towards late-Gothic. Figures and postures became more angular and lengthened, sometimes



FIG. 28.—THE CRUCIFIXION.
1300-50, Gl. Kgl. Sml. 3270, 4to.

affectation comes in, with the numerous motives of a late Gothic style. This is clearly seen in Jonsbok illustrations of Gl. Kel. 3270, 4to., (Fig. 28), which is related to the above-named MS. Another picture in this style yet somewhat more High-Gothic, is Fig. 29, A.M. 233 a. fol. It is John the Baptist with a female and male saint, and a

youth at his feet. The design is full and we have also an example of a Norwegian altar frontal from Tjugum Church.

After this Gothic Intermezzo in the Icelandic MSS., the old Romanesque decorative feeling again comes to the



FIG. 29.—JOHN THE BAPTIST, WITH A MALE AND FEMALE SAINT, UNDERNEATH IS A SMALL FIGURE. FROM JOHN THE BAPTIST'S SAGA.

14th. A.M. 233, a fol. Author's photograph.

fore. This characteristic conservative design evolved in all its richness. Not only in book craft, but in metal and wood we have the same rich designs. To examine the

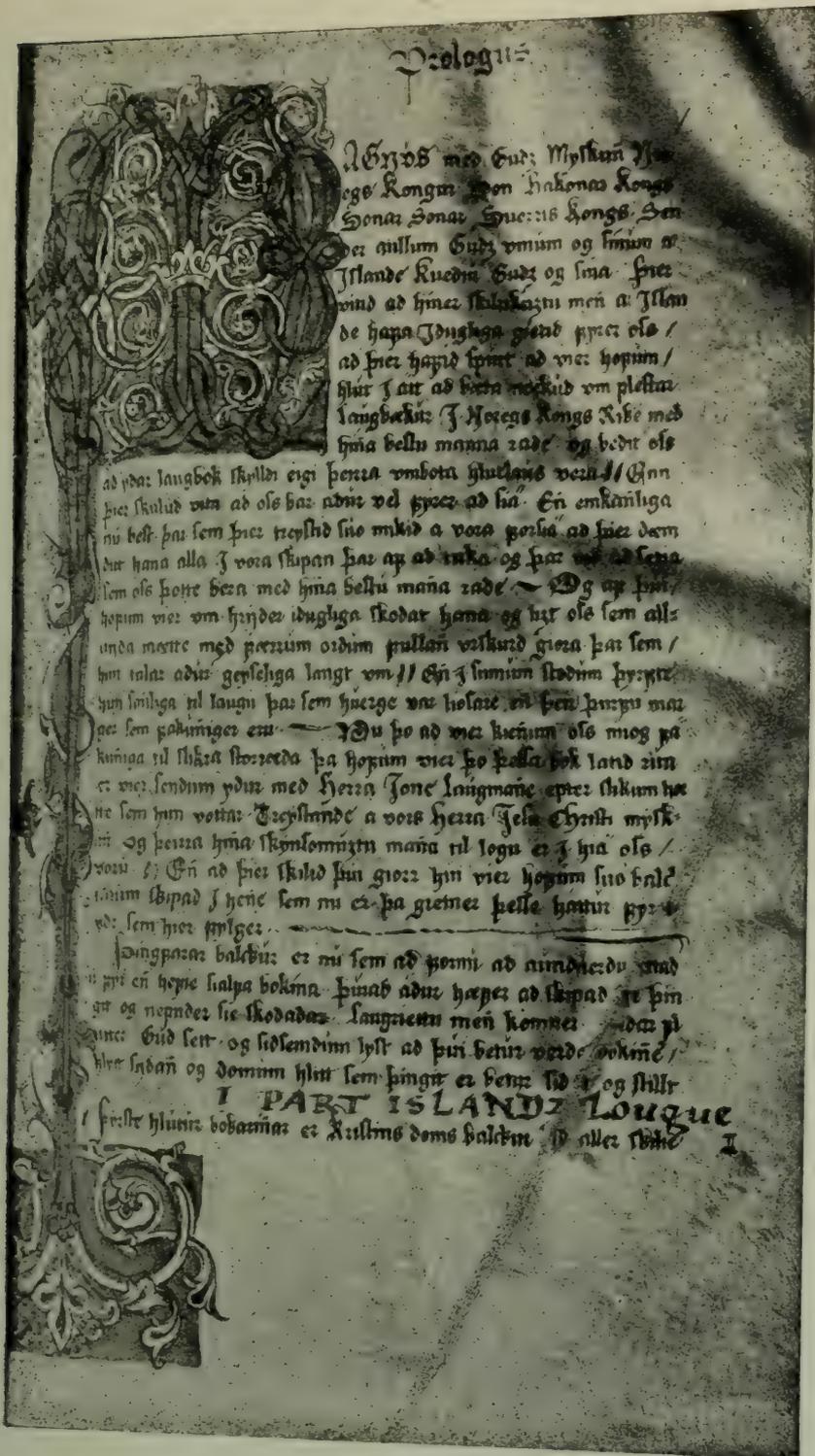


FIG. 30.—INITIAL FROM JONSBOK.
 16th Century. A.M. 342, fol. Author's photograph.

links with the past and the new forms, should be a grateful task, for us it is of the greatest interest. But the Icelandic material is richer and less influenced from the outside than the Norwegian. In Iceland is found Romanesque in pure culture through five hundred years, if the little Gothic Intermezzo is excepted. We are always studying new developments of style, and the continual movements of art interest us specially in modern times.

But the conservativeness of style is also of importance, and development, with strict limitations, has all the serious slowness of primitive culture. It is imposing, like Egyptian art. It is remarkable how high on the average the purely artistic faculty rises. My task has been to give a resumé of the Gothic intermezzo, which is so clearly con-

nected with our own rich art, and in which we have tried to show that the Icelandic material, in places, supplies what is lacking. A few words yet about the Later-Icelandic book-craft.

When the Renaissance came to Iceland, it became not the classical, but the Romanesque Renaissance. But the



FIG. 31.—INITIAL: FROM JONSBOK.
Beginning of the 17th Century. Gl. Kgl.
Sml. 3274 a 4to.

Romanesque evolved out of the classic from the same sources, yet the Romanesque design has quite a different heavy, complicated and formal character. Sometimes there is a glimpse of Renaissance in the heavy Icelandic design. *Jonsbok* A.M. 3420 fol. (Fig. 30), shows this. It is Romanesque but a fresh breath of Renaissance runs through

the whole book, which is sixteenth century. Still finer is the design in *Gl. Kgl. Sml.* 3274 a 4to of the beginning of the seventeenth century. A fine artist has been influenced by the rich figures of the Renaissance as they are shown in Flemish baroque. Round these figures clings the Romanesque design, as full of life and youthful as ever. The book is paradox in style. The Romanesque, which has defeated Gothic, seems in the first MS. to be influenced by the Renaissance, and in the last to unite with the style of the figures of the time, but then only apparently. The Romanesque remained, and also defeated Renaissance and baroque. The colours may

be brighter and the whole may look merrier than the old Romanesque design did, but the conservative

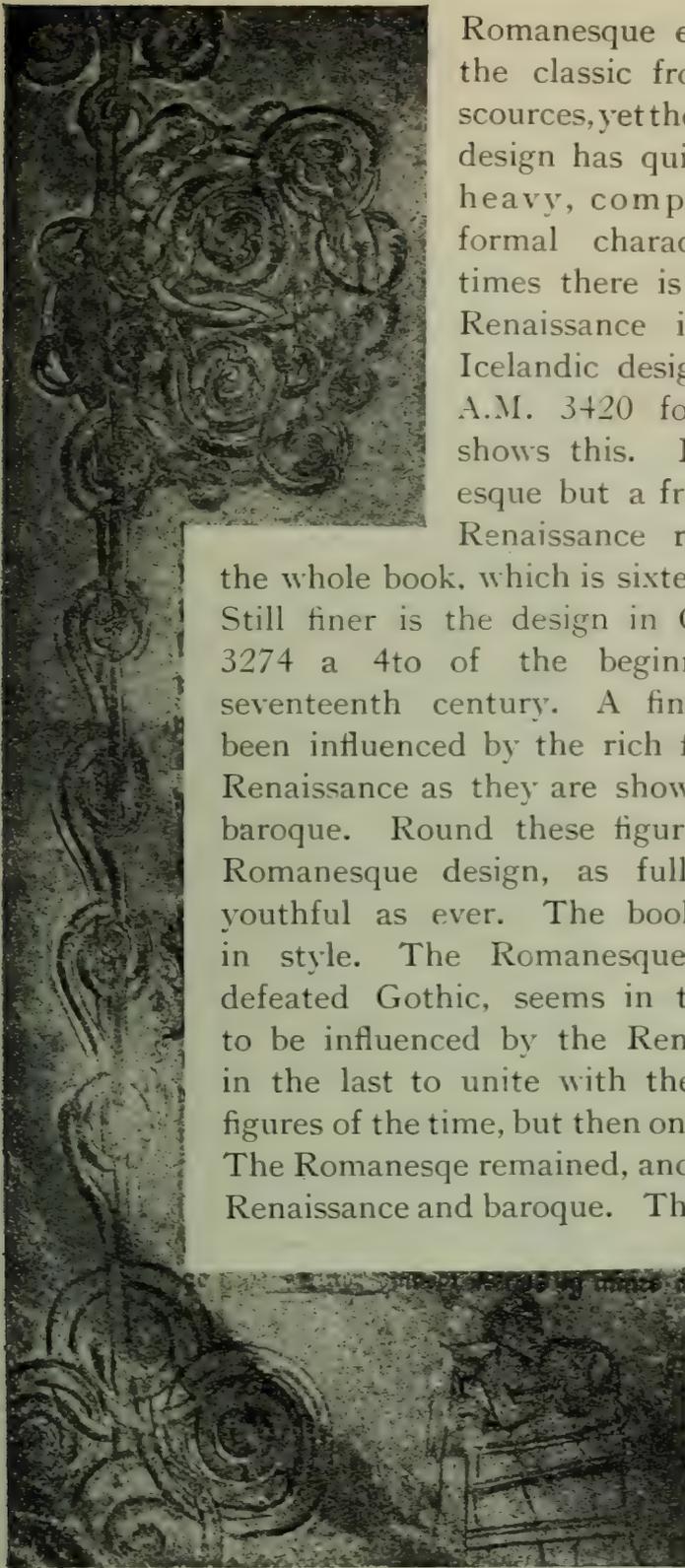


FIG. 32.—INITIAL, WITH A PRIEST IN THE PULPIT; FROM *JONSBOK*.

Late 16th Century. A.M. 345, fol. Author's photograph.

line of the scrolls was preserved. Fig. 31 shows the Romanesque scrolls, winding round the Renaissance figures, where at the same time the interest of the Renaissance for the nude shows itself in characteristic manner. Fig. 32

shows the old hard winding scroll of the end of the sixteenth century, A.M. 348, fol. In the same M.S. is found a pen and ink sketch of the Norwegian kings Sverre, Haakon, Magnus and Erik, as the Icelandic people imagined them. They are Renaissance monarchs with long beards. Magnus Lagabøter is depicted with a moustache (fig. 33). St. Olaf sitting like a king, surrounded by Romanesque ornament (fig.



FIG. 33.—THE KINGS SVERRER, HAAKON, MAGNUS, AND ERIK. JONSBOK, 1550-1600.

A.M. 345, fol. Author's photograph.

34), is also in Jonsbok of the last half of the sixteenth century. Two more pictures may serve to show the last stages of St. Olaf's figure. We have seen him as a seated Late-Gothic King, and also High-Gothic. In

A.M. 160, 4to, fifteenth century- (fig. 35), St. Olaf is seen in plate-armour, influenced by the Hanseatic Olaf-type; but while he is standing in the latter, he is

seated in the former example, as the old tradition demanded. The chair and the border of the picture show the somewhat confused popular art.

There is an Olaf of the seventeenth century design by the priest Jon Erlendsson, A.M. 163, 4to. (Fig. 36). The old King is

seated in his Gothic costume with his axe and dragon, but both the saint and the dragon show clearly that they no longer live in the age of perpetual war; they have advanced with the times. The terrible dragon of heathen times has an elegant and civilized head, and St. Olaf looks tired. One sees that his Gothic days are numbered, also Valhalla is represented in a way that clearly shows, that the naïve and merry motives of the peasant style, give character to the last home of the Vikings (Fig. 37) A.M. 738, 4to., the MS. is of 1680, and also contains a series of pictures of gods and goddesses.

It was King Sverre who broke down the Romanesque culture in Norway, and his

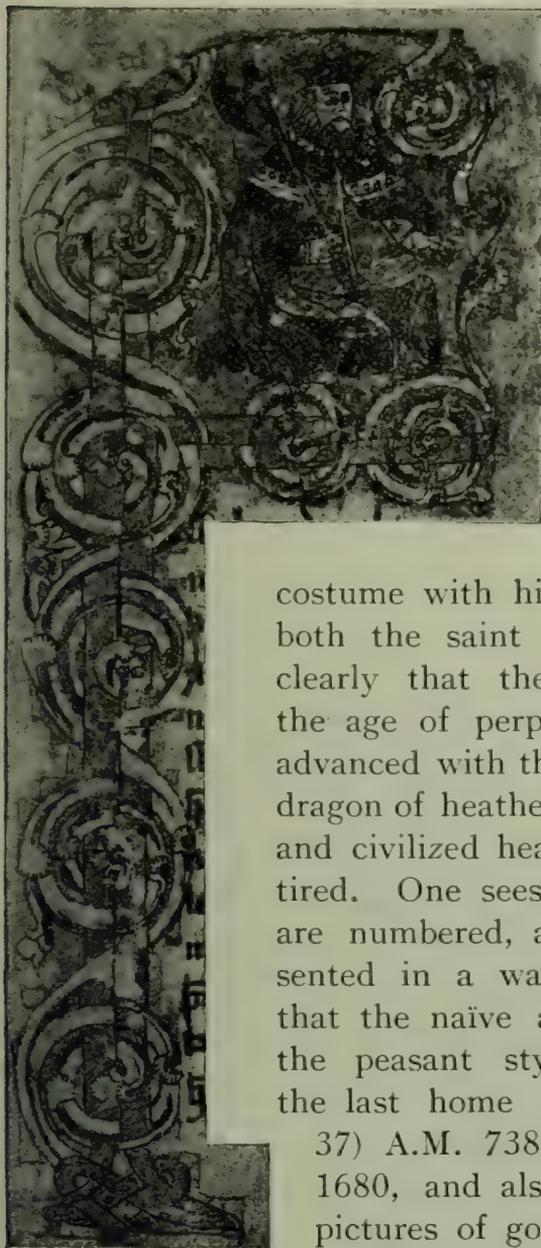


FIG. 34.—ST. OLAF: FROM
JONSBOK, 1550-1600.
Steph. 12. Author's photograph.



FIG. 35.—ST. OLAF: FROM JONSBOK.
15th Century. A.M. 160 a 4 to.
Author's photograph.



FIG. 36.—ST. OLAF: FROM JONSBOK.
17th Century. A.M. 163, 4 to.
Author's photograph.



FIG. 37.—VALHAL AND THE MIDGARD-SERPENT.
Paper manuscript, written in 1680. A.M. 738, 4to.
Author's photograph.

family felt the responsibility of this, for they helped forward the new Gothic culture in Norway. The rich thirteenth century in Norway is due to their support. The movement also reached Iceland. I have used Icelandic book-craft to show these movements of style. The old Romanesque art, its connection with Norway, its evolution and strong conservatism, in short, the history of this dialect in

art, is another page in the history of Norse-Icelandic art, which also deserves a thorough examination. That side has only been touched upon here, but in it lies the wealth of Icelandic design.

WILLIAM HERBERT AND HIS SCANDINAVIAN POETRY.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

By W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S., President.

LADIES and Gentlemen of the Viking Club,—
When I learned that it was a general desire that I should offer you an address this evening, I thought over various subjects of interest, and finally decided to speak to you respecting William Herbert, who did so much to popularise the knowledge of Northern literature in England at the beginning of the last century. Previous to that time, we had very little material in English, perhaps the most important being Gray's Odes, "The Fatal Sisters" and "The Descent of Odin," and a small volume entitled "Five Pieces of Runic Poetry," published in 1763, and containing "The Incantation of Hervor," "The Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrok," "The Ransome of Egill the Scald," "The Funeral Song of Hacon," and "The Complaint of Harald." A translation of the "Lodbroka-Quida," by James Johnstone, was also published at Copenhagen in 1782, which went through several editions. Nor must we forget Bishop Percy's translation of Mallet's "Northern Antiquities." About the beginning of the 19th century several workers were in the field, and among others, A. S. Cottle, Frank Sayers, Walter Scott, and his coadjutors Henry Weber and R. Jamieson, and William Herbert. The Hon. and Rev. William Herbert, who was born in 1778, and died in 1847, was the third son of the first Earl of Carnarvon. He was an extremely accomplished and versatile man, and made his mark in politics, religion, and natural history, especially botany; as well as in

literature, and his works include, besides original poetry in English, Latin, and Greek, translations from Greek, Icelandic, Danish, German, Italian, Spanish, &c. Ultimately he became Dean of Manchester.

William Herbert was educated at Eton, and his first publications appeared in a collection of Latin and Greek verse, edited under the title of "*Musæ Etonenses seu carmina delectus nunc primum in lucem editus*" (3 vols., 1795, reprinted, with additions, in two volumes, in 1817). To the first edition no editor's name is attached; the second was edited by William Herbert. Several poems in these volumes are by William Herbert himself, and one or two of older date by William Herbert (Lord Carnarvon), his father.

These Latin and Greek poems are classical imitations, and contain no Scandinavian allusions; nor does Herbert's Latin Prize Poem, "*Rhenus*," printed in 1797 (?), which is included (in English) in a volume of translations of Latin Prize Poems, published at Oxford in 1831.

Herbert did not neglect his classical studies after leaving Eton and Oxford, and in 1801 he published a small volume entitled "*Ossiani Darthula Græce reddita, accedunt Miscellanea*." *Darthula* extends to 252 lines in Greek hexameters. The *Miscellanea* include various Latin and Greek poems, one being "*Rhenus*," but none of those published in the "*Musæ Etonenses*," and none relating to Scandinavian studies. As late as 1820 Herbert published "*Iris, a Latin Ode*."

Herbert early turned his attention to Scandinavian literature, and in 1804 and 1806 he published two small volumes of "*Select Icelandic Poetry, translated from the Originals*," dedicated (in Danish) to the Hon. C. Anker of Copenhagen. The most important poems in the first part are the "*Song of Thrym*," and the opening of the "*Descent of Odin*," both from the *Edda* of Sæmund; the combat of Hialmar and Oddur with Angantyr and his brothers (from the *Hervarar Saga*,

on which Herbert afterwards founded his important poem of Helga), and the Death of Hacon.

I may quote the opening of the "Song of Thrym" as a specimen:—

Wrath waxed Thor, when his sleep was flown,
 And he found his trusty hammer gone;
 He smote his brow, his beard he shook,
 The son of earth 'gan round him look,
 And this the first word that he spoke;
 "Now listen to what I tell thee, Loke;
 Which neither on earth below is known,
 Nor in Heaven above; my hammer's gone."
 Their way to Freyia's bower they took,
 And this the first word that he spoke:
 "Thou, Freyia, must lend a winged robe,
 To seek my hammer round the globe!"

Here in the mention of the "globe," to which there is no reference in the original, we already have an illustration of the way in which Herbert often intrudes incongruous classical, religious and modern ideas into the old poetry. We shall find this error very pronounced in some of his later poems.

There is a translation of a Danish paraphrase of the "Song of Thrym," in Prior's "Ancient Danish Ballads" (Vol. I., pp. 5-10), under the title of "Thor of Asgard."

The Death of Hacon is given in a different metre, from which I quote a few stanzas, relating to the Valkyriur, especially as I propose later to quote Herbert's own account of them.

"Couching her lance quoth Gondul fair,
 "The crew of heaven be now encreased;
 Stout Hacon, with his countless host,
 Is bidden hence to Odin's feast."

The monarch heard the fatal words,
 The steel-clad maids of slaughter bore;
 All thoughtful on their steeds they sate,
 And held their glittering shields before.

“ Why thus ” (he said) “ the war divide?
From Heaven we merit victory ! ”

“ Thy force (quoth Skogul) we upheld,
We bade thy mighty foemen fly.”

“ Fair sisters (cried the virgin bright),
Ride we to heaven’s immortal domes!
Hear Odin ! Lo, to grace thy court,
The king of men, the victor, comes.”

“ Haste Braga and Hermoder, haste !
To meet the chief ” (quoth Odin) “ go
Hither he wends, whose sturdy arm
Has wrought full many a champion woe.”

You will no doubt remember a passage parallel to the last verse in a much finer poem, the *Eiriksmal*, translated in Dasent’s “ *Story of Burnt Njal*,” ii. pp. 383-387, in which Odin sends two heroes to meet Eric on his way to Valhalla :—

Sigmund and Sinfjötli
Up with you lithely,
Out with you cheerily,
Eric to greet.
Bid him in blithely,
See ! he steps wearily,
All up the rain-arch,
Long is the day’s march,—
Dreary the journey
’Neath buckler and byrnie,
Hasten to bear up our chosen one’s feet.

To return to the *Hakonarmal*, I may mention that there is a very free translation by F. Scarlet Potter in “ *Once a Week* ” (Vol. XIII., pp. 434-436, October, 1865). There is also a good version of the *Haraldsmal* in “ *Once a Week* ” (Vol. VII., pp. 152-154, August 2, 1862) by George Borrow.

The last stanza of the *Hakonarmal* reads very oddly to modern ears. It is thus translated by Herbert :—

Wealth perishes, and kindred die ;
Desert grows every hill and dale ;
With heathen gods let Hacon sit,
And melancholy swains bewail !

The poem was written at the time of the conflict between the old and new religions, and the original actually reads:—

“Sizt Hakon för
Med heidin goð.”

I may add that a somewhat similar expression is applied to the Berserker in the *Haraldsmal*, “Ulfheðnar.” Borrow translates this word “wolf-heathens,” but in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vigfusson and York Powell render it as “wolf-coats.”

The second part of Herbert's translations includes Skirner's Expedition, Brynhilda's Ride to Hell, the Song of Regnar Lodbrock, the Song of Harald the Hardy, &c. (This rendering of Hardrade is odd, and I cannot explain it).

From Skirner's Expedition I quote two stanzas from the word-contest between Skirner and Gerda:—

Skirner sung.

“Gerda, for thee this wonderous ring
Burnt on young Balder's pile I bring;
On each ninth night shall other eight
Drop from it, all of equal weight.”

Gerda sung.

“I take not, I, that wonderous ring,
Though it from Balder's pile you bring.
Gold lack not I in Gymer's bower;
Enough for me my father's dower.”

In 1804 Herbert printed a small volume of “Translations from the German, Danish, &c., to which is added Miscellaneous Poetry,” and in 1806 he published a second volume of “Miscellaneous Poetry.” The first part includes a translation of the Danish ballad of Sir Ebba, of which a different version is translated by Prior (“Ancient Danish Ballads” ii. pp. 171-176) under the title of “Sir Ebbe's Daughters.” It is a semi-historical

legend of two girls who slew two brother-knights who had insulted them while their father was absent on a pilgrimage.

None of the other poems in Herbert's two volumes of miscellaneous poetry deal with Scandinavian subjects, except one or two unimportant translations from Danish; nor do the following poems, published in separate small volumes in 1822: "Pia del Pietro, a Tale," "The Guahiba, a Tale in Verse," and "Julia Montalban, a Tale."

Another publication of Herbert's in 1822, however, deserves a passing mention. This is "The Wierd Wanderer of Jutland, a Tragedy." It is a dramatic poem in blank verse, founded on a Danish drama by Ingemann (Löveridderen), dealing with a *motif* which is extremely common in Northern literature; the misfortunes of two lovers who discover later that they are brother and sister.

We now come to the best known and most interesting of Herbert's works, "Helga, a Poem in Seven Cantos," 1815, of which a second edition was published, not "in the following year," as stated in the Dictionary of National Biography, but in 1820.

The Hervarar Saga relates how the Berserk Angantyr and his brothers sailed to Sweden to carry off Ingebiörg, the daughter of King Aun, whom one of the brothers had vowed to marry. At the king's table were sitting two great warriors, Hialmar, the High-Minded, and Oddur, the Far-Travelled, or Orvar-Odd. Hialmar besought the king to grant his daughter's hand to him, rather than to the Berserk Hiorvardur; and the king asked his daughter to decide between them. She chose Hialmar, and Hiorvardur then challenged him to a duel on an island; and finally Hialmar and Oddur met the brothers. Hialmar then fought with Angantyr as the leader of the Berserker, while Oddur challenged the other brothers one by one, and slew them all, being clad in a magic silk dress, which no weapon could

penetrate. Oddur then buried the Berserker in a mound, and carried back Hialmar's body to Sweden. Ingebiörg would not survive him, and killed herself.

When Angantyr's infant daughter Hervor was grown up, she visited her father's tomb, and claimed from him the dwarf-sword Tyrting, which could never be drawn without taking one or more lives. (Compare the story of Angelfyr and Helmer Kamp in Prior's *Danish Ballads*, i., pp. 193-204).

Prior writes "the celebrated Hervor, whose visit to her father's tomb is described in a subsequent part of the Saga, and has been paraphrased by Gray," but I think this is an error, for I do not find it in any edition of Gray's works which I have consulted. It is possible, however, that Prior alluded to "The Incantation of Hervor," which is one of the "Five Pieces of Runic Poetry" already referred to, and which may perhaps be by Gray.

Herbert's poem of Helga is founded on the first part of the *Hervarar Saga*, but is greatly altered, expanded, and embellished, and I will now give a brief outline of the story.

Ingva, the King of Sweden, is holding high festival in his hall at Yule-tide, when Angantyr the Berserk, accompanied by his brothers, enters the hall, and demands the hand of Helga, Ingva's beautiful daughter. Ingva calls on his champions to come forward in her defence, and Hialmar challenges Angantyr to a duel to the death, with the maiden as the prize of the victor. Hialmar was one of three great warriors who guarded Sweden, but Asbiorn (a hero introduced by Herbert into the story) was incapacitated by sickness, and Orvarod was fighting abroad. Asbiorn and Helga had both long been admirers of Hialmar, but she favoured Hialmar, and was greatly alarmed at the prospect of the coming fight. When night fell she left the palace, and crept down to the eastern gate of Hell, where lay the Vala in her grave;

and the Vala responded to her cry, and declared that Hialmar must seek a magic falchion from a pigmy race in the North. Helga was carried back to her bed by protecting powers, but Odin appeared to her in a dream, upbraided her for her impious daring, and threatened that she should lose her reason if she betrayed the secret. During a bear-hunt on the following day, Helga met Hialmar, and of course told her secret, losing her reason as Odin had foretold. Then Hialmar travelled to the north, till he reached the cave of the dwarfs, and carried off a sword inscribed with the words, "Angantyr's Bane," though the dwarf chief declared that its wielder would speedily perish. After Hialmar had secured the sword, a voluptuous fairyland opened before him, where an attempt was made to deprive him of it, but he resisted in time, and carried off the sword in safety. During Hialmar's absence, Orvarod had returned, and Asbiorn had recovered his health. Asbiorn begged the king to allow him to fight Angantyr in Hialmar's absence, but the king declared that he could not go back on his word. Nevertheless Asbiorn carried his suit to the mad Helga, but without success. Next day Hialmar himself returned, and the fierce Orvarod insisted on his setting sail at once, to meet Angantyr on the island of Samsoe, without further delay. When they landed, Hialmar was greeted by the Valkyriur, who were invisible to Orvarod. Orvarod rallied his comrade on his softness; but they at once encountered Angantyr and his brothers. Hialmar met Angantyr, who attacked him with his mace, and when it was cloven by Hialmar's sword, he overbalanced and fell. Hialmar chivalrously allowed him to rise, when Angantyr drew his own magic sword, Tirfing, likewise forged by dwarfs. While Hialmar and Angantyr were fighting, Orvarod pretended to fly, and drew off Angantyr's brothers in pursuit, turning round and slaying them one by one with his own arrows till they had all fallen,

when he returned to watch the great fight between Hialmar and Angantyr. Both were grievously wounded, and when Angantyr at last fell, Hialmar could only utter his last wishes to Orvarod before he too expired, and was borne to Valhalla, looking back mournfully on Helga's bower, and on his own bleeding corpse on Samsøe's shore.

Orvarod then buried Angantyr and his brothers in a common tomb, and carried Hialmar's body back to Sweden, where he was met by Asbiorn. When Hialmar's corpse was brought to Helga, her memory returned, and she cast one look of reproach on Asbiorn, and died. She was buried with Hialmar in the same tomb, and Asbiorn fell upon his sword.

Helga is written in a very even rhymed metre, and as a specimen I will quote from Canto VI. part of the passage relating to the Valkyriur, which I consider one of the best in the book:—

I ween they had not paced a rood,
 When close beside Hialmar stood,
 On steeds that seemed as fleet as light,
 Six maids in complete armour dight.
 Their chargers of ethereal birth,
 Paw'd with impatient hoof the earth,
 And snorting fiercely, gan to neigh,
 As if they heard the battle bray,
 And burned to join the bloody fray.
 But they unmoved and silent sate,
 With pensive brow and look sedate;
 Proudly each couched her glittering spear,
 And seemed to know nor hope nor fear;
 So mildly firm their placid air,
 So resolute, yet heavenly fair.
 But not one ray of pity's beam
 From their dark eyelids seemed to gleam;
 Nor gentle mercy's melting tear,
 Nor love might ever harbour there.
 Was never beauteous woman's face
 So stern and yet so passionless!

Afterwards, Hialmar says to the incredulous Orvarod:—

“ Orvarod, thy friend must fall and bleed !
Yet not Angantyr’s force I fear,
But Gondula’s immortal spear.
I see the stern Valkyriur nigh,
All arm’d and pointing to the sky ;
Virgins of fate, that choose the slain,
They bid me hence to Odin’s train.”

I may perhaps add that I do not remember hearing of any instance of the appearance of the Valkuriur on a battlefield in modern times.

Two short poems of considerable merit are included in the same volume as *Helga*. One is “ *The Song of Vala*,” and consists of twenty-five stanzas based on selected strophes of the *Völuspa*, but greatly embellished and modernised. I will quote a few stanzas :—

Who is he by heaven’s high portal,
Beaming like the light of morn ?
'Tis Heimdallar’s form immortal,
Shrill resounds his golden horn.

Say, proud wardour robed in glory,
Are the foes of nature nigh ?
Have they climbed the mountains hoary ?
Have they stormed the vaulted sky ?

On the wings of tempest riding,
Surtur spreads his fiery spell ;
Elves in secret caves are hiding,
Odin meets the wolf of hell.

She must taste a second sorrow,
She who wept when Balder bled ;
Fate demands a nobler quarry,
Death must light on Odin’s head.

These few stanzas exhibit Herbert’s mannerisms ; the Norse Gods, of course, are not immortal ; “ *glory* ” appears to be used in a conventional theological sense ; and “ *golden horn* ” looks like a gratuitous substitution for “ *Giallar horn*,” the resounding horn. Heimdall’s teeth were of gold, but we are not told what his horn was made of.

The other poem, “ *Brynhilda*,” only runs to 204

long lines, but I regard it not only as by far the finest poem that Herbert has written, but as one of the finest poems that I have seen on the whole Nibelungen epos. It extends from the enchantment of Brynhilda to her mounting the funeral pyre of Sigurd, and I will read you the account of the attack of Gunnar and Sigurd on the enchanted castle. (Brynhilda in this legend is the prototype of the Sleeping Beauty).

Who is it that spurs his dark steed at the fire?
 Who is it, whose wishes thus boldly a-pyre
 To the chamber of shields, where the beautiful maid
 By the spell of the mighty defenceless is laid?
 Is it Sigurd the valiant, the slayer of kings,
 With the spoils of the Dragon, his gold and his rings?
 Or is it bold Gunnar, who vainly assays
 On the horse of good Sigurd to rush through the blaze?
 The steed knows his master in field or in stall,
 No other hands rein him, no other spurs gall.
 He brooks not the warrior that pricks his dark side,
 Be he prince, be he chieftain of might and of pride.
 How he neighs! how he plunges, and tosses his mane!
 How he foams! how he lashes his flank with disdain,
 O crest-fallen Gunnar, thou liest on the plain!
 Through the furnace no warrior, save Sigurd, may ride,
 Let his valour for thee win the spell-guarded bride!
 He has mounted his war-horse, the beauteous and bold,
 His buckler and harness are studded with gold.
 A dragon all writhing in gore is his crest,
 A dragon is burnish'd in gold on his breast;
 The furnace grows redder, the flames crackle round,
 But the horse and the rider plunge thro' at one bound.
 He has reached the dark canopy's shield-covered shade,
 Where spell-bound the beautiful damsel is laid,
 He has kissed her closed eyelids and called her his bride,
 He has stretched his bold limbs in the gloom by her side.

Herbert's next poem, "Hedin, or the Spectre of the Tomb, a Tale told from the Danish History" (1820), is a story of a feud between Högni (called Harald by Herbert) and Hedin, who had married his daughter Hilda. Hedin is slain by Harald, and Hilda recalls them to life by spells, when they commence their combat afresh; and every night her ghost rouses them

to renew the fray. Herbert's poem is written in sixty-nine eight-syllable stanzas, of which I quote stanza IX., from a speech of Harald, as a specimen. These events are said to have happened in the year 360, in the reign of Frode the Third, of Denmark.

Stanza IX.

I had one gem preserved with precious care,
My hope, my treasure. Who so fit to wear
That jewel as my friend? with partial voice
Him unsolicited I bade rejoice;
My heart's best pride, the darling of my sight,
Was freely proffered by a parent's choice.
A form so perfect, and a mind so bright,
She seemed a living beam of heaven's immortal light.

In 1842 Herbert published his collected "Works, excepting those on Botany and Natural History, with additions and alterations by the Author," 3 vols. The first volume contains "Horæ Scandiæ, or Works relating to Old Scandinavian Literature." In addition to those already mentioned, this volume includes three important translations from the heroic lays of the Edda, which were apparently not previously published, and which I will now briefly notice.

Third Song of Sigurd, 1839.

From this I quote part of Brynhilda's dying instructions to Gunnar:—

" Husband, one boon I ask of thee,
The last which shall be craved by me.
So broad a structure from the ground
Raise thou, that ample space be found;
Space for every one that dies
To grace great Sigurd's obsequies;
Veils and bucklers let them bear,
To strew thereon, and vestments rare;
Broidered robes, and a chosen train
Of men and women fitly slain;
And burn the glorious Hun by the side
Of me, his first betrothed bride;
Burn on the other side of the king
My slaves bedecked with jewel and ring!

Two slaves and two hawks at the brave man's head,
 So shall we honor the mighty dead!
 But between us be there laid
 The sharp and gold-adorned blade,
 As when, bride and bridegroom hight,
 First we shared one couch at night.

The Song of Attila, 1839.

From this I quote two strophes, relating to the death of Hagen:—

25.

Hagen stout, the helmet-forged,
 Smiled as they cut his heart to the quick,
 Small thought had he of wailing;
 All bloody from his breast they tore it,
 And on a plate to Gunnar bore it.

26.

Then serene quoth Gunnar, lord
 Of many a Nibelungen spear;
 "I hold the heart of Hagen here,
 Not like that of base Hialler;
 Little quakes it on the platter,
 In his breast it quaked not so."

Volunder's Song, 1840.

Concerning this poem, Herbert remarks: "This ode is improperly placed first in the volume of the Tragic Edda, for it refers (st. 13) to the capture of the gold of Fafner on Gnita heath (see Gripis-spa, st. 11), near the Rhine, by Attila (under the mystic name Sigurd) on his horse Grana, which is the subject of Fafnismal." As a specimen I quote stanzas 35 and 36:—

35.—Niduder speaks.

Fouler word thou couldst not speak!
 Fain would I that evil wreak!
 But who, his courser tall bestriding,
 Can seize thee, thus in mid-air riding?
 Who can smite thee from beneath,
 While wafted to the clouds?

36.

Volunder smiling soared on high,
 Niduder sat down with a sigh.

The second volume of Herbert's works includes "Horæ Pierinæ, or Poetry on various subjects."

Here I find Pia del Pietro, Julia Montalban, The Guahiba, the Wanderer of Jutland, and short pieces in English, Latin, Greek and Italian, including Darthula, Iris, &c., and also two short Latin pieces, dated 1831 and 1841 respectively, relating to Attila, the first being a translation of a passage in Herbert's "Attila," book III., and the second entitled "Hilda Attilæ."

The third volume of Herbert's collected works includes the largest of his poems, his great epic of "Attila, King of the Huns," in twelve books; first published in 1838. It runs to 271 pages, and is followed by "Attila and his Predecessors, an historical treatise," forming a commentary extending to page 553. The poem, which is semi-historical, is written in ordinary blank verse, and I do not propose to-night to discuss it at length, nor to read any passages from it. In the historical treatise Herbert regards Attila as the prototype of Arthur, Sigurd, and a variety of other heroes, a point of view on which I am quite incompetent to express an opinion, but which does not seem to commend itself to my mind.

As regards Herbert's scientific work, his most important publications relate to crocuses and other bulbous plants. I am told that the illustrations to his work on Amaryllidaceæ, were coloured after specimens in his herbarium, instead of after living plants.

Among Herbert's miscellaneous publications is a small volume of four sermons, which seem to me to be of no particular merit, and which contain nothing relating to Scandinavian subjects.

There is a good account of William Herbert, which I have consulted, in the Dictionary of National Biography.

EARLY ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON THE DANISH CHURCH.

BY REV. A. V. STORM.

BEFORE beginning this paper I must ask the indulgence of my old friends of the Viking Club, as this paper contains nothing original on my part. It is simply founded upon the original work by Miss Ellen Jørgensen of Copenhagen, who obtained the gold medal of the Royal Society of Denmark, for an essay upon "Foreign Influence upon the Danish Church during the earliest period of its development." Miss Jørgensen's work originally appeared in answer to a thesis set by the Danish Royal Society of Sciences, which ran as follows: "What foreign influences have affected the Danish Church as regards its internal administration, its Canon Law, its Church Language, and Liturgy?" To this was added a request that special attention should be paid to the question of the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church upon her Danish sister; on analysing Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical documents and reading biographies and monastic chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries, doubts arose with regard to the view commonly taken as to the position of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and another theory became current, based, as it was, upon the researches of English investigators. For a long time English historians and theologians have been occupied with the question concerning the connexion between the Anglo-Saxon Church and the countries beyond the seas. They have made great efforts to collect and examine all evidence which proves that developments in both churches proceeded upon parallel lines. The study of English Church history is not confined to the Anglo-Saxon

Church. It also includes the developments in the churches of all Western countries. The epoch under investigation may be divided into two periods. The earlier period is that of the first beginnings of the Danish Church, and ends with its organisation under Svend Estridssön. It is bounded by the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. The first part of this period is a time when German influence predominated. The life of St. Ansgar and Adam of Bremen's account of the Lives of the Bishops of Hamburg are the main sources of our knowledge of the Ecclesiastical History of Denmark at this time. Adam concludes his history about 1075 A.D. The later period ending about the middle of the thirteenth century, is one in which a number of different foreign influences prevailed.

During the earlier period we are at the mercy of scanty and uncontrolled traditions. When, too, we turn to the rich Anglo-Saxon sources, hoping to find some information there as regards the development of the Danish Church, we meet with disappointment. They tell us nothing of Mission work in Denmark. We should, however, be unduly hasty if we concluded from this silence that the Anglo-Saxon Church took scarcely any part in the conversion of Denmark. How little did the Anglo-Saxons report at home as to their good work among the Germans, and how few and scanty are the notices in the English chronicles concerning the foundation of the Norwegian Church?

The Anglo-Saxon Church as a whole sent out no missionaries. Individuals went out filled with burning zeal or called beyond the seas by some prince or other. Over against the Anglo-Saxon Church may be set the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, with its organised mission work, its fixed aims, and its traditions. The ecclesiastical history of the North presents considerable difficulties. With a view to solving some of these, the Theological Faculty of the University of Christiania in

the year 1886 set the following thesis. It was entitled "On the influence of the Anglo-Saxon Church upon the Norwegian Church." The extent of the investigation was limited by the wording of the title.

Professor A. Taranger, who took the question up, did not exceed the prescribed limits, but confined his researches to the Churches of England and Norway. Onesidedness has, however, its advantages. In the essay in question we see the Anglo-Saxon Church with its organisation and legislation contrasted with the Norwegian Church. Taranger's work became important in the field of ecclesiastical research both in Norway and in Sweden. By exciting controversy it called forth fresh inquiries. In view of the present state of the scientific controversy, the words of the man who was one of the first to narrate the history of the foundation of the Danish Church are of special importance. It is therefore only due to Adam of Bremen to examine his writings first when trying to find out by what nations the Danish Church was influenced during the earliest period of its existence. The name of St. Ansgar must rank first in Danish Church history. He had the enthusiastic tendencies which, despite defeat and failure, are ever directed towards an ideal object, and he had courage enough to begin a work which was at first looked upon as foolish.

It is a matter of small importance whether he accomplished more or less of his task within the boundaries of Denmark. In any case he led the way. Others followed in his footsteps. A period of nearly a hundred years, namely, from the death of St. Ansgar to the foundation of the first dioceses in Denmark, is scarcely mentioned in Adam's book, "*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie pontificum.*" As, however, Adam often mentions "the hard times," and as the two advances of the Hamburg Mission are said to have coincided with the campaigns of the Emperors Henry I. and Otto II. against the Danes, there is ground to

believe that either the work had not thriven, or that it had come altogether to an end. The establishment of dioceses ushers in a new period, inasmuch as starting points for preaching and organisation are thus set up in the country itself. Danish tradition preserves a few vague memories of Anglo-Saxon mission work amongst the Danes. This testimony cannot be weakened by Adam's silence. The Church in Hamburg did not trouble about a few foreign priests. Jealousy was, however, aroused as soon as kings such as Svend and Canute began to go to England in search of bishops. The new period includes the time when England and Denmark were united. Adam relates that King Canute brought over "many bishops." Svend Aagesön also speaks of "many bishops and clerics." We know too that the nameless priests of the eleventh century have left their impress upon our liturgy and the scattered reminiscences of Anglo-Saxon ritual which are still to be traced, and partly due to them, partly to the Danish colony in the Danelaw, and to priests who travelled backwards and forwards over the North Sea. As to the many English bishops, they are not easily accounted for. Danish tradition knows of no other bishops than the three whom Adam mentions.

These bear German names, and would hardly have been partial to Anglo-Saxon customs.

The time of King Svend Estridssön and Archbishop Adelbert of Hamburg forms the next period. In Denmark regular mission work was at an end. Church organisation was in the process of completion under the auspices of the king. During times of adversity King Svend had learnt to reckon with real factors and to be content with the attainable. He strengthened the connection with Rome without breaking off too hastily the ties which united Denmark with the see of Hamburg-Bremen. In contrast to him may be set Archbishop Adelbert, who, though a great ecclesiastical

statesman and missionary, yet sadly degenerated at the very end of his life owing to pride, ambition, and flattery.

The Viking period lasted for 300 years, and in the course of three centuries nations may alter their whole way of thinking. The younger generations, who were themselves Christian, were more susceptible to the influence exercised by other Christians than were their ancestors, whose first encounters with Christians had taken place when they were out on piratical or trading expeditions. The conflict between Christianity and Paganism has been well depicted by S. Bugge, A. Olrik, and K. Maurer.

The question now before us is "by what direct ecclesiastical influences were Church customs formed in Denmark?" Our investigation must at first be limited to the later Viking period and to those colonies that did not sever their connection with the mother country. The temporary settlement in Flanders, the colonies in France and Ireland cannot be included in our survey. The settlement known as the Danelaw, and the united kingdom of England and Denmark will, however, engage our attention. At the same time it may be doubted whether we are right to make a distinction between the settlements in Ireland, France, and Flanders, and the colonies in England. We are best acquainted with the state of affairs in England. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicles the fierce paganism of the invaders and their eventual conversion to Christianity are alike recorded. The song of King Canute in his boat beneath the walls of the Monastery of Ely on the clear winter's day tells us what Christianity had become for the Danes. The Book of Ely gives us but a hasty sketch, but in the *Vita Oswaldi*, by Eadmer, the personality of Archbishop Oswald of York is clearly and fully portrayed. When reading it we are surprised at the excellent picture which it affords us of the Northman Oswald. The lively growing boy, his

early years at Winchester, when his friends crowd round the fine open-handed youth—then his rupture with his companions and the sudden interruption of the merry life which he had led—and finally the years of his manhood spent in toil and asceticism, during which he still bore himself as a king among men—all these things are described for us. Oswald was related to the foremost churchman of his time. Odo of Canterbury and Oscytel of York, both of them Northmen, are also mentioned as benefactors of churches and monasteries, in the chronicles, documents, and memorials of the time. There were rich possibilities at the time of union. The time when the rupture came was also not without significance, as many Danes returned home after the sons of Canute had ceased to reign over England. It should also be mentioned that the Norwegians and Danes were differently situated as regards influences emanating from the Anglo-Saxon Church. During the eleventh century the Danes went mostly to Southern and Eastern England, where church life flourished greatly after the days of Dunstan and Aethelwold. The Norwegians on the other hand mostly emigrated to the West and North. Little is known about direct influences emanating from the Irish Church. The Norwegians must, however, have received indirect Celtic influences through the Church of Northumbria, where traces of Irish mission work during the sixth and seventh centuries might yet be found. The Northern Church had a character of its own, but it was not so rich and varied as that of the Southern Church. Who would compare York with Winchester about the year 1000?

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the differences between the Norwegians and the Danes at this period. Thus it should be remembered that King Olaf Tryggvason was confirmed by St. Alphege, the disciple of St. Ethelwold, at Andover, in 994, and may have been influenced by the ecclesiastical customs of

the South of England. Two names of missionaries brought from England by St. Olaf are of German origin, and are tokens of the connexion between the Anglo-Saxon Church and the churches of the Continent. A yet greater difference between the Danish and Norwegian churches is due to the isolated position of Norway. This led to the long-continued retention of impulses once received. Life in Denmark on the other hand was more varied and many-sided.

The later period from 1050 to 1250 was one during which the conditions were more favourable to foreign influence than had previously been the case. Intercourse with foreign countries was of frequent occurrence. The old relations with Germany were by no means broken off when the see of Lund was raised to metropolitan rank in 1103, and Denmark received an archbishop of her own. A new connection was formed about this time with France, apparently through Archbishop Eskil of Lund.

The Cistercian Abbey of Herrisvad in Scania was founded about 1144 by Eskil, who was a friend and correspondent of St. Bernard. Esrom followed, after Eskil had revisited France. Both monasteries were founded by monks from Citeaux and Clairvaux. The archbishop also tried to induce some Carthusians to settle in Denmark. Herrisvad and Esrom were the mother houses of many other monasteries. French monks came to Denmark. Young Danes went to Paris for their education, while others entered the abbeys of Citeaux and Clairvaux, often seeking refuge there from sorrow and adversity. Evidence of the intercourse between France and Denmark may also be found in the letters of Stephen of Tournay to Canute VI., of Absalom, of Bishop Valdemar of Schleswig, of Omer of Ribe, of Archbishop Peter Sunnesön of Lund, and of St. William, Abbot of Æbelholt. It is evident that the connection was of recent date. Stephen greatly wondered at the young and vigorous

new nation, and the memories of the devastations of the Northmen had not yet entirely died out.

A third way by which ecclesiastical influence came to Denmark was by the well-known route over the North Sea. At first there seemed to be a certain coolness between England and Denmark. Discontented Anglo-Saxon priests were constantly taking refuge in Denmark. The letter, which St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the subject addressed to Archbishop Asser, is calm and prudent, nor did the claims to the English crown put forth by the Danish kings ever prove an obstacle to a good understanding with the Anglo-Norman Church. Just as we read many Danish names in French obituaries, so also we find in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham among many names which bear witness to Northern colonisation and Norman conquest, the following two, namely, "Eiric, rex Danorum, Botild Regina." King Eric Eiegod sent to Evesham for monks to people the Benedictine monastery, which he founded at Odense in 1100, and he invited the abbots, priors, and regular clergy of England to send efficient workers across the sea to raise up the Danish Church from its fallen state. The Cistercian order had quickly spread all over England, and by means of this order new associations were formed between that country and Denmark. Several English Cistercian monks settled in Denmark. The second and third abbots of Sorö and the first abbot of Öm were Englishmen. The third abbot of Öm is said to have come from Normandy. Little is heard about studies in England. It is in Dominican records of the thirteenth century that Oxford is mentioned for the first time as a place of resort for young Danes. We learn, however, from Saxo's preface that Archbishop Andreas Sunnesön had studied in Italy, France, and England.

In the eleventh century great steps were taken towards the unification of the Western Church owing to the monarchical and centralising tendencies of the Papacy.

The power of the Pope was ever on the increase, and there was a growing tendency towards liturgical uniformity. This tendency, however, was neither firm nor constant.

The state of the various national churches before the centralising process began is an interesting subject of enquiry. Let us see how it was with the Anglo-Saxon Church before it was drawn into the general movement. The idea of a theocratic state, the influence of the king upon canon law, his appointment to clerical offices, the amalgamation of the synod with the Witenagemot—all these may seem to be features peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon Church. Such, however, is not the case. The Church was similarly situated in the Frankish empire under the Carovingians, and in Germany under the Saxon and Salic emperors. The king governs the Church, but his hand is guided by her dignitaries. We know how fervently King Canute embraced the theocratic idea. The power of clerical ideas was very great. The standard of the reformers of that time was a very high one. The oft-quoted theory of the tolerance of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which is exclusively based upon the letter of Pope Gregory I. to Mellitus, has but slight foundation in fact. It was certainly not tolerance or prudence which caused men such as Olaf Tryggvason and St. Olaf to do their utmost to Christianise Norway, nor was it tolerance, but rather the most burning zeal which inspired the great work done by Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent during the eighth century. There is a difference between Anglo-Saxon Church customs and those of the Frankish empire with regard to bishops' sees and the relation of the bishop to his diocese. In the Roman Empire, the Church spread abroad from the big cities in which the bishop governed his diocese with absolute power. Roman centralisation had become a heritage of the Church. In England there were some towns in which bishops resided, but in many dioceses the bishop lived in a village.

In one respect especially the Anglo-Saxon Church was peculiarly situated.

Clerical courts for the trial of clerics were unknown there, except in the case of offences against ecclesiastical discipline, which were always referred to the judgment of the bishop. The bishop and the ealdorman sat side by side in the scirgemot and laid down the law with regard to both ecclesiastical and civil matters. The ecclesiastical and civil laws were closely connected. The State punished offenders against the laws of the Church by compelling them to do penance by depriving them of the protection of the law, or by inflicting fines; or, it may be, the punishment inflicted by the State was added to the penance exacted by the Church.

There is nothing peculiar in the fact of the State punishing disobedience to the precepts of the Church.

This system had, however, been developed to a greater extent in England than elsewhere, as the Anglo-Saxons, thanks to the Celtic influence, used to do private penance. Indeed they scarcely knew anything of the public penances, which the Carolingian reformers had revived upon the Continent.

A similarly close connection between the Church and State existed in Denmark at least until the close of the twelfth century. It was not till later that quarrels broke out between the Church and the State. In conclusion I wish to draw attention to the following evidences as to the intimate connection which subsisted between the churches of England and Denmark.

The Benedictine monks of Odense were brought to Denmark by King Eric Eiegod (who died in 1103) from Evesham Abbey. The connection between Evesham and Odense continued to exist for centuries, and the election of the prior of Odense was confirmed at Evesham.

In England it was the custom to dedicate the same church to two or more saints, as in the case of the cathedral of Winchester. This was also done in the

case of the cathedrals of Roskilde and Odense in Denmark.

In the baptismal ritual used in the diocese of Roskilde it was the custom for the priest, before baptising the child, to trace a cross with his thumb upon the right hand of the child, saying "Accipe signaculum sancte crucis in manu tua dextera, quo te signes, et de adversario tuo defendas, ut habeas vitam eternam et vivas cum deo in secula seculorum. Amen."

A similar ceremony is described in the Stowe Missal as being used in the Irish Church at least as early as the ninth century. The form of baptism contained in the Stowe Missal or parts of it may have been used in England before the coming of St. Augustine, and, in some parts of the country, for a long time afterwards.

There is also a likeness between the ceremonial for a wedding which was in use in the pre-Reformation Church of Denmark and that which is contained in the Sarum Manual.

In both cases the bridal pair await the coming of the priest outside the church door. There he blesses the ring, which the bridegroom places first on the thumb, then on the second, and finally on the third finger of the bride, where he leaves it, saying some such words as "With this ryng I the wed, and this gold and silver I the geue, and with my body I the worship, and with all my worldely cathel I the endowe."

Mass followed, in the course of which a special blessing was pronounced upon the bride and bridegroom. The marriage customs of France are somewhat similar.

With regard to the English saints who were honoured in Denmark, we find the following, namely, the Venerable Bede and St. John of Beverley at Viborg, St. Birinus and St. Thomas of Canterbury at Lund, as also the latter at Ribe, Roskilde, and Aarhus.

One of earliest Danish historical writings, the *Passio Sancti Canuti* tells us how the relics of St. Alban were

kept in the Church of St. Alban at Odense. Aelnoth says that the relics both of St. Oswald and of St. Alban were kept over the high altar of St. Alban's, Odense. The cultus of St. Botolph, who was born in East Anglia, was evidently brought to Denmark by settlers returning from England, churches dedicated to him being found in Danish settlements, in London, Lincolnshire, Northampton, Norfolk, and Essex. In Denmark an Augustinian nunnery at Viborg, a parish church at Aalborg, which still bears his name, and other churches were dedicated to him. His feast day on June 17 was a great festival at Aalborg.

Lastly, the liturgical terms formerly used in Denmark show strong traces of Anglo-Saxon influence.

Such are the old Danish words, *rökælse*, *incense*, *guðfaður*, *godfather*, *guðmoður*, *godmother*, *biskopdom*, *diocese*, *ærkibiskup*, *halægdom*, *relic*, *kristendom*, *scrift*, *confession*, *calck*, *chalice*, *disc*, *paten*. As to the last word, its compound *huseldisc*, *eucharistic paten*, is peculiarly English.

The old Danish word *kors* (cross) seems to be derived from the Irish *crois*. Such are a few of the tokens of Anglo-Saxon influence upon the Church of Denmark during the earliest period of its history. That the union between the two churches in the past may be an earnest of unity and concord between the two peoples, both descended from the Vikings, in the future is my most sincere and constant desire.

ANGLO-SAXON SILVER COINS FROM THE XIth CENTURY IN A SILVER- HOARD FROM RYFYLKE, NORWAY.

By DR. A. W. BRØGGER.

THE silver-hoard described in the following paper was found in the year 1907 on a little island, named Foldøen, in Ryfylke, about twenty-eight miles north-east of Stavanger. It was dug out of an uncultivated and somewhat marshy place, where the plough, passing over the spot, brought it to light. It consists of nearly 800 silver coins and fragments of silver rings, &c.

Of the silver coins four were *Norwegian* (Harald Haardraade, 1047-1066), 99 *Danish* (from Canute to Svein Estrithsson 1047-1075), 532 *German* (German, Netherlandish, Bohemian, etc.), minted in the earlier part of the eleventh century. There were 135 *Anglo-Saxon* coins belonging to Aethelred II. (the Unready), Canute, Harold Harefoot, Harthacnute, and Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), and besides there was one *Irish* coin from Dublin (Sigtrygg Silkiskeggi). In addition there is one *Hungarian* (St. Stefanus) and three *Cufic* silver coins (about 1000).

Before I give a description of the Anglo-Saxon coins in this find, I must briefly mention the early history of coinage in Scandinavia, and its relation to the great quantities of foreign coins, which were imported as a result of the Viking raids. We get our knowledge of this history from the silver-hoards of that time, and it is evident that in the series of these hoards is reflected the salient features of the communications between the northern countries and Western Europe in the Viking Age. The importation of silver coins

from Western Europe to Scandinavia in the Viking period (800-1050) might be divided into two periods—one weak, the early period of the importation of coins in the eighth and the ninth centuries, and one vigorous, concentrated in the time between 980 to 1050.

The first named importation is of special significance as illustrating the earliest historical communications between the Anglo-Saxons and the Norsemen.¹ Neither the finds nor the number of coins in them are very great, and cannot at all be compared with the richness of the silver-finds from the second period of coin importation. The coins belong to various kings of Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex, before and after the year 800, and it is obvious that they were brought to Norway (where they are generally found in tumuli) as personal ornaments and not for use as coins.

The second period, from 980-1050, is represented by a lot of silver-hoards, generally found in moors. According to P. Hauberg, who has treated the Danish coinage of this time in an excellent work²; up till 1900 nearly 20,000 coins were found in Denmark, and more than 95,000 in Sweden; of these coins 67,000 were from Gothland. In Norway we know of about 10,000 silver coins of the same period, distributed in fifteen finds.

This sudden increase of imported silver coins is certainly owing to the last energies of the Viking Expeditions towards the end of the tenth century. These expeditions promoted a lively commercial connexion between Scandinavia and the western countries, and just at this time the Scandinavians began more and more to use coins in commercial life. This is the reason why such enormous quantities of West European

¹ A. W. Brøgger: *Angelsaksiske mynter fra VIII.-IX. Aarh-i-Norden. Norsk historisk tidsskrift*, 1912.

² P. Hauberg; *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146. Det kgl. danske videnskabernes selskabs skrifter. VI. Række. Historisk-filosofisk Afdeling. V. Bind. København, 1900.*

coins found their way to the Scandinavian countries in this period. On the whole, this last period of silver coin importation shows how fruitful to the northern countries was their acquaintance with the more elaborate western culture. Soon after this great importation of English and German coins, the national coinage of the three Scandinavian countries began, as a direct result of the intimate connexions of the Viking Age with more advanced communities.

P. Hauberg ascribes the great importation of foreign coins in the period dealt with (980-1050) to commercial connexions, but he also points to the important fact that just between the years 990 to 1018 the English were paying the famous *Danegjeld* (*danegelt*) to the Norse Vikings. We are only told about the greater sums which were paid, and if we only reckon those of which exact information is existing from the first payment after the defeat at Edington in 991 to the last taxation during Canute in 1018—the *danegelt* amounts to 403,067 pounds of silver, *i.e.*, in present money about £9,921,649! All these amounts were yielded partly in money and partly in articles of value in weight. In the year 1900 about 30,000 *English* coins were known from Scandinavia, dating from the period in question, and of course being only a small fraction of the enormous quantities that were got in this way.

It is evident, however, that commerce was the most important factor in this great acquisition of silver coins, as we learn that nearly double that number of *German* coins, *viz.*, 60,000, reached Scandinavia in the same period. In Western Germany no regular *danegelt* was paid, though of course tributes and robberies had their part in this great amount. But to judge from historical information we have no reason to believe that the main part of these coins—from Germany, the Netherlands, Lorraine, Bohemia, &c.—have come to us in any other way than by regular commerce. Thanks to the place-names on the coins we are also able to dis-

tinguish the great commercial routes, along which the German towns were flourishing in the tenth and eleventh centuries—especially in the Rhine valley, where cities like Cologne, Mainz, Speier, etc., have displayed much commercial activity.

This great importation of foreign coins in the latter part of the Viking Age has given rise to the national coinage of the Scandinavian countries. It is to be remarked that the earliest coins of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were minted by Englishmen after English types. Regarding Denmark this is quite natural, as the conquest of England by Canute the Great brought this country into the most intimate connexion with Denmark. But the earliest coins of national production are older than those of Canute—the great penninge from Swein I.—which are imitated from English types and struck by English minters.

The earliest Norwegian coins were silver pennies, and the first ruler who minted them was Earl Haakon Sigurdsson (970-995). From his reign, and from those of his successors (Olav Tryggvason 995-1000, Olav the Saint 1016-1029), we know only of a few silver coins. Generally speaking, we may conclude that there has not been any regular coinage in these years, because there was an enormous quantity of foreign coins in currency in the country, supplying the demands of legal tender. The king who, in Norway, introduced a real national coinage was Harald Haardraade 1047-1066. He began a regular coinage in the first year of his government at Nidaros, now Trondhjem, then the capital of the Norwegian kingdom. The coins were minted by Norwegians, and the basis of the coinage was the national *mark brendr silfrs*, a unit of weight differing from the foreign mark. This mark was divided into 8 *aurar*, each of 3 *ortuger*, each of which was further divided into 10 *penninge*, so that the *mark* contain 240 *penninge*.

A detailed description of all the coins in the new silver-hoard from Foldøen is given by me in "Aarbøger for nordisk old-kyndighed, 1910," København. It remains to be mentioned that the various groups of coins point to the fact that the hoard from Foldøen must have been buried c. 1055, and not before 1051, but not very much later than the year 1055. The *Anglo-Saxon coins* are of some interest, as some of them are really "new," in the sense that they have not been observed before in earlier silver-hoards in Scandinavia.

The work of *B. E. Hildebrand* (*Anglosachisiska Mynt i Svenska Kongliga Myntkabinettet. Ny upplaga. Stockholm 1881*) is referred to in the following description. The obverse inscription is given with the letters and numbers relating to the list in Hildebrand of each king. The reverse inscription is given fully. References are also given to the great work: *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series. Vol. I.-II. London, 1893.*

AETHELRED II. (the Unready, 978-1016).

CANTERBURY.

1. $\frac{2}{3}$ Type C. Hildebrand 146 f. obv. a, 10.
.. ADVOLD M'OC . . .

LINCOLN.

2. Type D. Hildebrand 1623 var. obv. irr. 18, 63, 66.
+ ÆLFSIC MO OLINC. W. 1, 8 g.
3. Type E. Hildebrand 1754 var. obv. a, irr. 26, irr.
+ EDELBRIC MO LINC. W. 1, 3 g.

The obv. inscr. contains ÆICL which is not mentioned by Hildebrand.

LONDON.

4. Type D. Hildebrand 2707. Obv. a, 5.
+ LEOFRYD M'O LVND. W. 1, 3 g.

THETFORD.

5. Type A. Hildebrand 3758. Obv. o, 5.
+ LEOFRIC MO ON DEO. W. 1, 2 g.

WINCHESTER.

6. Type A. Hildebrand 4270. Obv. a, 4.
+ LEOFVOLD ON VINCZ. W. 1, 2 g.

BARBARIAN.

7. Type D. Thomsen, Catalogue de la collection de monnaies de feu C. J. Thomsen, Copenhague, 1876, T. III., p. 21, No. 9021, 9022. Obv. OCLDLONODO.
Rev. : OILVLOH : FH. W. 1, 6 g.

CANUTE (1016-1035).

COLCHESTER.

8. Type I. *New*. Obv. Hildebrand b.
Rev. : + GODRIC ON COLEC. W. 1, 15 g.

Neither Hildebrand, nor catalogue of English Coins know an I-type from Colchester with the name of Godric. Godric has, however, minted at Colchester, types E, G and H.

DOVER.

9. Type H. Hildebrand 328. Obv. b.
+ ETSICE ON DOFR. W. 1, 15 g.

EXETER.

10. Type H. Hildebrand 385. Obv. b.
+ EDVINE ON EC+EC. W. 1, 1 g.

YORK.

- 11-20. V^o In the Foldø-board, were 10 Coins from Canute and 15 from Edward the Confessor. The specimens in question are well-known from earlier finds and belong to the following types and numbers.

Type E. Hildebr. 451. Obv. a, 7.
+ ARNCETEL·O EO. W. 1, 1 g.

Type H. Hildebr. 462. Obv. a.
+ ARNNCETEL ON EO. W. 1, 05 g. Perforated in the edge.

Type E. Hildebr. 477. Obv. a, 8.
+ ASGVT OEOFR V: W. 1, 3 g.

Type G. Hildebr. 494. Obv. a, 4.
+ BRIHTNOD M^oO EO. W. 1, 05 g. The minter's name generally written Brehtnod.

- Type G. Hildebr. 511. Obv. a, 3.
 + CETEL M^oO EOFR^YIC. W. o, 95 g.
 Type I. Hildebr. 620. Obv. a, 4.
 + GRIMOLF M^oO EOFR.
 Type I. Hildebr. 631. Obv. a, 2, irr. 41.
 + GRIMVLF ONN EOFR^Y.
 Type I. Hildebr. 804. Obv. b.
 + DVRGRIM ON EOF. W. 1, 05 g.
³/₄ Type G. Hildebr. 815. Ob. a, 4,
 + TOOCA M (T^oEEO) FR.
 Type H. Hildebr. 864, var. Obv. a, 2.
 + VVLNOD ON EOFER.

IPSWICH.

21. Type E. *New*. Obv.: + CNVT REX ANGL.
 Rev.: + BRANTIN^c O GIP. W. o., 95 g.

Branting or Brænting has minted E-types for Canute at Southwark. His name is, however, not found among the coins from Ipswich by Hildebrand, or catalogue of Engl. Coins.

LEICESTER.

22. Type G. Hildebrand 1435. Obv. a, 3, irr. 33.
 + VVLNOÐ ON LEICST. W. o, 9 g.

LONDON.

- 23-28. 6 coins of Canutes in the Foldø-hoard were from London. They belong to the following types:—
 Type G. Hildebr. 1950. Obv. b, 2.
 + ÆLF^YIC ON LVNND. W. 1, 05 g.
 Type G. Hildebr. 2483. Obv. a, 1.
 + GOD^YINE ON LVND. W. 1, 05 g. Perforated in the edge.
 Type G. Hildebr. 2609. Obv. a, 1.
 + LEOMRED ON LVN.
 Type E. Hildebr. 2718, var. Obv. i, a, 7.
 + S^YETINC ON OLV. W. 1, 05 g.
 Type E. Hildebr. 2786. Obv. a, 7.
 + VVL^YFINE LVND. W. 1, 15 g.
³/₄ Type G. Catalogue of Engl. coins, 446 foll.
 Rev.: COE . . . IC ON VN. It does not exactly correspond with any known variety.

OXFORD.

29. Type H. Hildebr. 3038 var. Obv. a.
 + LIFINC ON OCX. W. 1, 05 g.

NOTTINGHAM.

30. Type G. Hildebr. 3205 var. Obv. a, 2.
+ BRUNIC ON SNOTIN.

STAMFORD.

31. Type H. Hildebr. 3254. Obv. a.
+ FÆRGRIM ON STAN. W. 1, 05 g.
32. Type H. Hildebr. 3293. Obv. b.
+ LEOFDÆII ON STA. W. 1, 05 g.

THETFORD.

33. Type G. Hildebr. 3448. Obv. b. 1.
+ ÆLFVINE ONN ÐEO. W. 1, 05, g.
34. $\frac{1}{2}$ (cut). Type G. Hildebr. 3463². Rev. . . . NSTAN ON . . .
Surely BRVNSTAN ON ÐEO.

WINCHESTER.

35. Type I. Hildebr. 3744, var. obv. a, 2.
+ GODEMAN ON VINCE. W. 0, 9 g.
36. Type H. Hildebr. 3748. Obv. b, irr. 45.
+ GODVINE ON VIN. W. 1, 20 g.
37. Type G. Hildebr. 3790 var. Obv. a, 8, 2.
+ LEOFVINE ON VIN. W. 1, 15 g.

In addition there are 5 more indefinite fragments of coins
(No. 38 to 42) from Canute.

HAROLD I. (1035-1039).

CANTERBURY.

43. Type A. *New*. Obv. + HAROLD REX.
Rev. + CETELL ON CENTVA. W. 0, 9 g.

Neither Hildebrand nor Catalogue of Engl. coins have any
A-types with the name of CETELL. He has however minted
other types in Canterbury for Harold, and he generally writes
his name CYTEL.

DERBY.

44. Type B. *New*. Obv. + HAROLD RECX.
Rev. + LEOFRIC ON ÐEO. W. 0, 95 g.
The name of Leofric on coins from Derby has not been
known before.
45. $\frac{1}{2}$ Type A. Hildebrand 92. Obv. a, ir. 28.
(SVE)RTINC ON DE.

JEDBURGH.

46. Type B. Hildebrand 256. Obv. b, irr. 29.
+ LEOMÆR ON IOÐ. W. 1, 1 g.

HERTFORD.

47. Type B. Hildebrand 290. Obv. b, irr. 29.
+ DEORSIE ON HEOR. W. 0, 7 g.

LINCOLN.

48. Type A. Hildebrand 493, var. Obv. a.
+ FVLFREC ON LINC. W. 1, 1 g.

LONDON.

49. Type A. Hildebrand 509. Obv. a.
+ ELFVOLD ON LVNDE. W. 1, 1 g.
50. Type A. Hildebr. 614. Obv. a.
+ GODMAN ON LVNDEN. W. 1, 1 g.
51. Type B. Hildebr. 617. Obv. b, ir. 29.
+ GODRIG ON LVN. W. 1, 1 g.
52. Type A. Hildebr. 674. Obv. a, ir. 27, 1.
+ LEOFRIC ON LVNDE. W. 0, 9 g.

One coin 53 ($\frac{1}{2}$ cut) from Harold, type B, is indeterminable.

*HARTHACNUTE (1039-1042).**CANTERBURY.*

54. Type A. Hildebrand 15. Obv. a, var.
+ LEOFRIC ON GA·XN $\overline{\text{V}}$. W. 1, 15 g.

LINCOLN.

55. Type B. Hildebrand 98. Obv. irr. 7, 10.
+ SVERTINC ON LINC. W. 1, 20 g.

LONDON.

56. Type B. Hildebrand 120. Obv. irr. 6.
+ GOLDSIGE ON LVND. W. 1, 1 g.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042-1066).

CANTERBURY.

57. Type E. *New*. Obv.: EDYHERD REX.
Rev.: + LEOFYINE ON CENE. W. 0, 9 g.
This type was not known when *Hildebrand's* book was published. It was, however, observed in the year 1868, in another Norwegian silverfind, from Eastern Norway. Cfr. my treatise in Aarbøger; 1910, p. 266.
58. Type C. Catalogue of English Coins, II. p. 344 No. 59, var.
Obv.: EDYHERRDEX.
Rev.: + MAN: ON CÆNCTE. W. 1, 0 g.
Besides these two Canterbury-coins a little fragment (about $\frac{1}{4}$) of an E-type might be referred to Canterbury (59).

DERBY.

60. Type E. Hildebrand 71, var. Obv. h, i.
+ FROME ON DEORBE. W. 1, 1 g.
61. Type A. Hildebrand 73. Obv. h, i.
+ GODRIC ON DEORB. W. 1, 1 g.

YORK.

- 62, 63. Type E. Hildebrand 102. One specimen has obv. inscr. like 11, i, rev.: ÆLFYINEE ON EOFERI. (W. 1, 75 g). The other has obv. f, k, rev.: ÆLFYINE ON EOFERY. (W. 1, 75 g).
64. Type A. Hildebrand 103. Obv. f, i.
+ ÆDELVINE ON EOF. W. 1, 0 g.
65. Type E. Thomsen, Catalogue, etc., 9445, var.
Obv. f, ir. 71. Rev.: + ARCIL ON EOFER. W. 1, 1 g.
On the reverse side a little ring in one field of the cross.
Cfr. Hildebrand 105.
66. Type A. *New*. Obv. EDYERD REX. A.
Rev.: BEORN ON EOFER. W. 1, 15 g.
Beorn has minted a D-type at York.
On the rev. a little ring in the field.
67. Type C. Thomsen, Catalogue 9449, var.
Obv.: EDYIFEREX. Rev.: EOL ON EOFERYICE.
W. 0, 85 g. Cfr. Ruding, Annals of the coinage of Britain, London, 1819, Vol. VI. pl. 25, fig. 21.

68. Type E. *New.* Obv.: EDVƆRD REX.
Rev.: EOLFNOÐ ON EOFE. W. 1, 75 g.
Minters of this name are not known by Hildebrand, Catalogue, etc. On the reverse side a little ring in one of the crossfields.
69. Type C. Hildebrand 140 var. Obv.: DVƆRVƆRX.
Rev.: + OÐIN ON EOFEREI. W. 1, 1 g.
70. Type E. Ruding, Annals of the coinage of Britain, vol. vi. pl. 24, fig. 8. Obv.: EDVƆRD REX.
Rev.: SCVLA ON EOFERVƆIC. W. 1, 8 g!
71. Type E. Hildebrand 154. Obv. f. irr. 71.
+ STYRCOL ON EOFER. W. 1, 8 g!
72. Type E. Hildebrand 155. Obv. h. i.
+ STYRCOL ON EOFERVƆI. W. 1, 75 g.
73. Type E. Catalogue of Engl. Coins, p. 364.
No. 318. Obv.: EDVƆRD REX.
Rev.: ÐORR ON EOFRVƆIC. W. 1, 1 g.
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield.
74. Type E. Catalogue of Engl. Coins p. 364.
No. 314. foll. var. Obv.: EDVƆRD REX.
Rev.: VLFCETEL ON EOFR. W. 1, 3 g.
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield.
75. Type E. *New.* Obv.: EDVƆRD RX.
Rev.: + GO. ON EFRVƆICIC. W. 1, 8 g.
On the reverse side a little ring in a crossfield. The name might be read GOD.
76. Type A. *New.*
Rev.: + IOCIL ON EOFRVƆI.
A little ring in the field on the rev.

The name of the minter must be compared with IOCITEL, who has minted several of the later types of Edward from G to L. This is an important fact, as it is mentioned above, that the Foldø hoard did not contain coins of a later date than Edward's E-types. It is, however, to be supposed that this makes no difference as to the chronology of the hoard as fixed above.

IPSWICH.

77. Type E. *New.* Obv.: + EDVƆRD REX.
Rev.: + LOFVOLD ON GIPESVƆI. W. 1, 05 g.

HASTINGS.

78. Type A. Hildebrand 209. Obv. irr. 26, 29, 1.
+ LEOFVINE ON ÆSTIC. W. 0, 95 g.

HERTFORD.

79. Type D. Hildebrand 221, var. Obv. c. k.
+ DRSIIE ON REOR. W. 0, 85 g.
80. Type C. Catalogue of Engl. coins, p. 380, No. 553. Obv. h, i.
+ GODMAN ON HEOR. W. 1, 15 g.

LEICESTER.

81. Type B. Hildebrand 225 var. Obv. f. irr. 67.
+ ÆELFSI ON LEICES. W. 1, 05 g.
82. Type A. *New.* Obv. : EDYERD REXA.
Rev. : + BRVNINC ON LEICE. W. 1, 15 g.

LINCOLN.

83. Type 3. Hildebrand 292 var. Obv. f. k.
+ AVTTI ON LINCOL. W. 1, 0 g.
84. Type C. Hildebrand 301 var. Obv. h, i.
+ BRIHTRC ON LINCOL. W. 0, 95 g.
85. Type A. Hildebrand 304. Obv. h, i.
+ COLGRIM ON LINC. W. 1, 0 g.
- 86, 87. Type E. Obv. : EDYARD REX. Rev. :
+ COLGRIM ON LINCO. Two specimens, weight 1, 1 g.

This type has not been described by Hildebrand, nor in Catalogue of Engl. coins. It is however, found in a silver-ward of the XIth century at Sandø in the Færøes, and described by the late director, *C. Herbst*, in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1863 p. 376.

88. Type B. Hildebrand 327 var. Obv. irr. 49, irr. 67.
+ GODRIC ON LIN. W. 1, 1 g.
- 89-93. Type E. Hildebrand 338 var.
89 : Obv. f. irr. 71, + GODRIC ON LINCO. W. 1, 1 g.
90 : Obv. f. k. + GODRIC ON LINCO. W. 1, 05 g.
91 : Obv. f. k. + GODRIC ON LINCOL. W. 1, 05 g.
92 : Obv. f. irr. 72. Rev. like 92. W. 1, 0 g.
93 : Obv. not distinguishable. W. 0, 95 g.
94. Type D. Hildebrand 351. Obv. irr. 17, i.
+ LEFVINE ON LNNC. W. 1, 05 g.
95. Type E. Hildebrand 358 var. Obv. f. i.
+ MANNA ON LINCO. W. 1, 0 g.
96. Type B. *New.* Obv. : EDYRDR.
Rev. : OSFERD ON LIN. W. 1, 15 g.

97. Type E. *New.* Obv. : EDYARD RECX.
Rev. : OÐBERN ON LINCO. W. 1, 0 g.
98. Type E. Hildebrand 371 var. Obv. f. irr. 71.
+ OÐGRIM ON LINCOL. W. 1, 05 g.
99. Type C. Ruding, Annals of the coinage of England, VI. pl. 25,
fig. 23 var. Obv. : EDYERD REX.
Rev. : ÐVRIGRIM ON LINC. W. 0, 75 g.

LONDON.

100. Type A. Hildebrand 402. Obv. : h, i, 1.
+ ÆLFGAR ON LVNDE. W. 1, 15 g.
101. Type C. *New.* Obv. : EDYARD REX.
Rev. : ÆLFRIC ON LVNDEN. W. 1, 15 g.
Cfr. Catalogue of Engl. coins no. 870.
102. Type C. Hildebrand 415. Obv. h, i.
+ ÆLFYINE ON LVNDE. W. 1, 15 g.
103. Type B. Hildebrand. 419 var. Obv. irr. 24.
K. + ÆLFYOLD ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.
104. Type B. Catalogue p. 399 no. 789. Obv. h. irr. 71.
+ BINRED ON LVN. W. 1, 0. g.
105. Type C, var. a. Hildebrand 431 var. Obv. h. i.
+ BRIHTRED ON LVND. W. 1, 0 g.
106. Type E. Hildebrand 457 var. Obv. irr. 49, i.
+ EADMVND ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.
On the reverse side two points in two of the angles.
107. (Fragm) Type D. Hildebrand 469 var. Obv. f. k ?
+ EDRIC ON LVNDE. In the cross : XACX.
108. (Fragm) Type C. Hildebrand 479. Obv. : h. irr. 71.
+ EDYINE ON LVNDE.
109. Type C. Catalogue p. 403, no. 857.
Obv. : irr. 17, 77. + EGELVI ON LVNDE. W. 01, 95 g.
110. Type E. Ruding pl. 24, fig. 7. Obv. : irr. 49, i.
+ GODEYINE ON LVN. W. 0, 9 g.
111. Type E. Ruding pl. 24, fig. 6. Obv. : irr. 49, i.
+ YVLFFARN ON LVND. W. 0, 9 g.
112. Type E. Catalogue p. 408, no. 947, var.
Obv. irr 49, i. + YVLFFINE ON LVN. W. 0, 9 g.
113. Type C. Hildebrand 584. Obv. : f, i, 1.
+ YVLSIC ON LVND. W. 1, 0 g.

NORWICH.

114. Type E. Hildebrand 609 var. Obv. irr. 41, 71.
+ ÐORORD O NORÐY. W. 1, 1 g.

OXFORD.

115. Type C. Hildebrand 616 var. Obv. h. irr. 75.
+ ÆGELYIC ON ON OCX. W. 1, 1 g.

ROCHESTER.

116. Type A. *New*. Obverse: barbarian inscr.
Rev.: GODYINE ON ROFE. W. 1, 0 g.

SANDWIC.

117. Type A. Hildebrand 637 var. Obv. not distinguishable.
Rev.: LIOFYINE ON SANDYIC. W. 1,05 o. g.

SHREWSBURY.

118. Type B. *New*. Obv.: EDYARD RE.
Rev.: + YVLMÆR ON SCR. W. 1, 2 g.

STAMFORD.

119. Type D. Hildebrand 685 var. Obv. irr. 5, k.
+ GODYINE ON ZTA. W. 1, 05 g.
120. Type A. *New*. Obv. EDYERD REX. Rev.:
+ HVRTIN ON STAN: W. 1, 0 g.
This name of the minter has not been observed before.
121. Type A. Hildebrand 697 var. Obv. h, i, 1.
+ ÐVRSTAN ON SAN. W. 1, 15 g.

SOUTHWARK.

122. Type A. *New*. Obv.: EDYERD REX. A.
Rev.: + ÆLFRIC ON SVÐGE. W. 1, 1 g.

WALLINGFORD.

123. Type A. Hildebrand 745 var. Obv. irr. 26, i, 1.
+ ÆLFYIG ON YELINN. W. 1, 1 g.
124. Type A. *New*. Obv.: EDYERD REXA. Rev.:
+ EDYERD ON YELING. W. 1, 05 g.

WILTON.

125. Type E. *New*. Obv.: EDYERD REX.
Rev.: ÆLFYOLD ON YILTV.
Cfr. Catalogue of Engl. coins No. 1337.

WINCHESTER.

126. Type C. Catalogue p. 444, No. 1382. Obv. cannot be distinguished.

Rev. : GODVINE ON VINC. W. 1, 10 g.

127. $\frac{3}{4}$ Seems to be the same as the preceding type.

128. Type E. *New.* Obv. : EDVARD REX.

Rev. + VICMC ON VINER. W. 1, 1 g.

Unknown minter.

To these 128 must be added 7 coins or fragments of coins, one evidently from York, one from Lincoln, one from Hamton, and barbarian. All from the reign of Edward the Confessor. The *Irish* coin (136) dates from *Sigtrygg Silkiskeggi*, King at Dublin, 989-1029. It corresponds with Hildebrand No. 47.

Type = Æthelred D. Obv. b, 24. Rev : + FÆREMIN M·O DYFLI.
W. 1, 65 g. Perforated at the edge.

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MEETING, JANUARY 17TH, 1912.

Mr. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The publication was announced of "ESSAYS on Questions connected with the Old English Poem of BEOWULF." By Knut Stjerna, Ph.D. Translated and Edited by John R. Clark Hall, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., gave a lecture on "The Origin of Commerce and Currency," illustrated by lantern slides. Mr. Lovett explained what commerce and currency really meant, and that commerce began in the later Stone Age; the much-coveted axe of diorite or nephite being used largely as a standard of barter. This has been proved by the finding of stone axes at very great distances from the locality where the stone itself was found *in situ*. Later on the axe of bronze was brought from the East by the Phœnicians, and the lecturer showed a chart of the early trade routes by which the precious golden amber was obtained in exchange for such axes from the Baltic and North Seas. He also explained the method of the Phœnician trading by barter, and showed how such a method still exists, to some extent, on the Congo. He then described the trade of ancient Egypt, and reverted to the curious standards of exchange of various countries, as illustrated by ring money, axe money, bullet money, knife money, shell money, hat money, etc., all of which

tended to the usage of coinage. Bars of metal which once passed as currency became cut up into short pieces and stamped, and from this the coin was evolved. Describing "emergency money," Mr. Lovett showed some copper-slab "Dalers" of Charles XII. of Sweden, some of which weighed nearly seven pounds each, and were carried about in carts as required for use. Reverting to the ever-present trouble of depreciation, the lecturer stated that shell money, as illustrated by the cowrie, had "run down" to such an extent that a silver fish hook "coin" was equated to twelve thousand cowries. Chinese "cash," too, changed hands in great masses of several pounds in weight. Mr. Lovett explained that £ s. d. really stood respectively for the Libra, or balance, the solidus and the Roman denarius. He then proceeded to give an account of the origin of banking. The first bankers (Lombards) were really pawnbrokers, who did business in the street on benches, or "Banco." If one of them defaulted his bench was broken, hence our word bankrupt. The origin of bills was then dealt with, the word "bill" really being a French word meaning a piece of wood, as the first bills were hazel sticks with notches cut in them. These were called tallies, and were once employed in connection with Government annuities! The lecturer, after giving further details of the appliances used in early banking, concluded by drawing attention to the project which was on foot for establishing a Folk Museum in this country. One of the many sections of such a museum would be the history of British Commerce and Banking, and Mr. Lovett said that a collection of objects such as he had used to illustrate his lecture would not only be of great popular interest, but would be of enormous educational value to business men as well as to children.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Edward Lovett for his lecture, which was carried by acclamation.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 16TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. Douglas C. Stedman read a paper on "Some Points of Resemblance between Beowulf and the Grettla (or Gretti's Saga)." Printed on pp. 6-28.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. W. B. Steveni and Mr. John Marshall took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Stedman for his paper.

MEETING, MARCH 15TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The following papers were read: "The Cult of Nerthus," by Dr. Gudmund Schütte. Printed on pp. 29-33.

Mr. John Marshall, M.A., read a paper on "Etymological Notes on Orkney, Shetland, Unst." Printed in the Old-Lore Series, *Miscellany*, Vol. V., p. 105.

Mr. F. P. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed.

On a motion by the Chairman a vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Schütte and Mr. Marshall for their papers, and to Mrs. A. W. Johnston for reading the former.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
APRIL 19TH, 1912.

MR. W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Theatre, King's College, Strand, on Friday, April 19th, 1912, at 8 p.m.

The adoption of the Annual Report and Balance Sheet was proposed by Mr. A. W. Johnston, seconded by Mr. Douglas C. Stedman, and carried unanimously.

The Officers of the Club, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected; Mr.

D. C. Stedman and Mr. F. P. Marchant acting as scrutineers to the ballot.

Mr. W. F. Kirby gave his Presidential Address on "The Völuspá: The Sibyl's Lay in the Edda of Sæmund": printed on pp. 44-52.

A hearty vote of thanks to the retiring President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, was unanimously carried by acclamation.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Founder of the Society, then took the chair.

The Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley moved a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. A. W. Johnston, which was carried unanimously.

MEETING, MAY 7TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Jón Stefansson's translation of Ibsen's play, "The Pretenders," was read by Members of the Club; a report of which is printed in the YEAR-BOOK.

On a motion by the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Members who had kindly taken part, which was received with applause.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 1ST, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Gudmund Schütte gave a lecture on "A Map of Denmark: 1900 years old." Illustrated by lantern slides. Printed on pp. 53-84.

A discussion followed, in which Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Taylor took part.

On a motion by the Chairman, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer for his paper, to which he responded.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Taylor, B.A., read a paper on "St. Bridget of Sweden." Printed on pp. 85-107.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. J. A. Fallows and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Taylor for his paper, which was carried unanimously.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING,
DECEMBER 20TH, 1912.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The adoption of the Law-book was moved by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, M.A., and seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, and carried unanimously. Mr. E. F. Etchells expressed the hope that the social character of the Society should be maintained and developed, with the ultimate view of the Society securing its own premises; and on it being pointed out that this was quite in accordance with the laws, Mr. Etchells was satisfied.

On a motion by the Chairman, seconded by Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, it was unanimously resolved that the Council be asked to invite Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal to become the First Patron of the Society, and to attend the Annual Dinner in July as the guest of the Society, accompanied by Lady Strathcona.

Mr. F. P. Marchant then read a paper on "The Vikings and the Wends." Printed on pp. 108-129.

Mr. John Marshall took part in the discussion which followed.

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Marchant for his paper, which was carried by acclamation.

SOME POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN BEOWULF AND THE GRETTLA (OR GRETTIS SAGA).

By DOUGLAS STEDMAN, B.A.

“PERSISTENT attempts have been made for many years, and are still being made with much vigour to establish connection between the Grendel and the Dragon-Stories in Beowulf, and tales in (among others) the Grettis Saga. In face of such exhaustive disquisitions as that published by Panzer, it behoves one to be modest, but I may say that I have never felt able to accept the conclusions of the theorists in this matter in their entirety. The resemblance of the Beowulf-stories to (say) the Glam and the Grettir tale is not close enough to satisfy me.” Thus Dr. John R. Clark Hall in the Introduction to the latest edition of his excellent Prose Translation of Beowulf. The object of these few notes is to show that there are real and close resemblances between:—

- (a) The Beowulf-Grendel and the Grettir-Glam story.
- (b) The Beowulf-Grendel’s mother and the troll-wife story in the Grettla.

(a) In the first place we should, I think, consider the character of a fiend that wrought such dire scathe to the noble hall Heorot and the thanes of Hrothgar. That eminent scholar, Professor Skeat, has in the “Journal of Philology,” No. 29 xv., 120-131, pointed out the fact that, in many respects, the monster Grendel resembles a bear. I will not dwell upon this point here—though it is of some import, for Glam is not a beast, but the evil ghost of a murdered shepherd—save to agree that several of the epithets applied to Grendel, *e.g.*, *mūð-bona* (mouth bane), *bona blōdig-tōð* (bloody-

toothed destroyer), seem singularly applicable to a wild beast. And again—*grāpode gearo-folm* (grasped with ready hand).

Glōf hangode
Sīd ond syllic searo-bendum fæst;
sīo wæs orðoncum eall gegyrwed
Dēofles cræftum ond dracan fellum.

Beo. 2085-8.

“Wide and wondrous his glove hung down, fast in cunning bands; it was all skilfully wrought with craft of devils and with skins of drakes,” might be taken as a poetical description of a bear’s paw.

Hē mec ðær on innan unsynnigne,
dior dæd fruma, gedōn wolde
manigra sumne;

Beo. 2089-91.

Therein he wished that fierce deed-worker to destroy me, sacless, one of many.

But appropriate to a wild animal as are these epithets and descriptions, there is, I think, far more of the semi-human monster than of the beast about Grendel. There is, however, throughout the early passages of the poem a kind of reticence concerning him as if, indeed, the sons of men, the dwellers-in-land, could make little of him, could gain little knowledge of his real nature. He is the

deorc dēað-scūa (the dark death-shadow),
the atol æglæca (the dire monster),
the atol ān-gegea (the dire lone-goer),
the dēogol dæd-hata (the secret ravager),
the mære mearc-stapa (the great march-stalker),
the sceaðona ic nāt hwylc (some scather I know not
what),

all which vagueness, as in so many modern poems, is dramatically most effective.

But can we stretch the point so far as to imagine the Angles and Saxons speaking of a beast, bear or another, as contemplating and despising the use of weapons?

Hæbbe ic ēac geāhsod pæt se æglāca
 for his won-hȳdum wāpna ne recceð;
 ic ðæt ðonne forhicge, swā mē Higelāc sīe,
 mīn mon-drihten, mōdes bliðe,
 ðæt ic sweord bere oððe sīdne scyld,
 geolo-rand tō gūðe; ac ic mid grāpe sceal
 fōn wið fēonde, ond ymb feorh sacan
 lāð wið lāðum;

Beo. 433-40.

Also I have heard that in his rashness the monster reckes not of weapons. I then forgo—so on my score may Hygelac my (lawful) lord be blithe-mooded—to bear sword or wide shield, yellow buckled to battle; but with my grip I shall grapple with the fiend and strive about life, foe with foe. Again he (Grendel) is said to be of the kin of Cain, but this may be a later and Christian touch—in any case it is not at all inconsistent with the elementary and crude ideas our forefathers held on the teaching of Christ, and on the problem of the everlasting struggle with evil. Mr. Thomas Arnold calls Grendel a monster in human form. Mr. Stopford Brooke, a grim and giant demon of the old Eoten race, “a man beast,” Ten Brink, “a monster that dwells in the fens,” Earle, “a devouring fiend.”

So that I think you will concur with me so far that the general opinion among scholars is broadly that Grendel was a monster in man’s shape. I must now proceed to a comparison of the night attack by Grendel upon Heorot Hall with the night attack by Glam upon Thorhall-stead. First there are one or two little points, trivial perhaps, but interesting, of resemblance between the two “spirits of Elsewhere.” Each, for instance, loathes the sound of music,

Ðā se ellen-gæst earfoðlice
 þrāge geðolode, sē þe in þȳstrum bād,
 þæt hē dōgora gehwām drēam gehȳrde
 hlūdne in healle; þær wæs hearpan swēg,

Beo. 86-9.

“then the mighty spirit that dwelt in the shadows scarce for a time, with difficulty, bore it that he each day heard loud joy in the hall. There was sound of the harp.”

Kirkja var á Thórhalls töthum; eigi vildi Glámr til hennar koma: hann var osöngvenn ok trúlauss, stirfínn ok viðskotailr: “öllum var hann hvímeiðr.”

There was a church at Thorhall-stead, but Glam would by no means come therein, he was a hater of church-song, and godless, foul of temper and surly; nor could any man abide him.”

Consider likewise the description in each story of the monster's head.

Fēower scoldon
on þāem wael-stenge weorcum geferian
to þāem gold-sele Grendl's hēafod. *Beo.* 1637-9.

Ðā was be feaxe on flet boren
Grendles hēafod, þær guman druncon,
egeslic for eorlum ond þære idese mid.
Beo. 1647-9.

Four of them (Beowulf's party) had much ado to bear on spear the head of Grendel to the gold-hall.

And—

Where men drank, then on the floor, was dragged by the hair Grendel's head; terrible before the earls and the lady too.”

And of Glam:—

sá Grettir, at þrællinn rétti inn höfuðit, ok sýndist honum afskræmilega mikit ok undarlega stórskorit.

Grettir saw that the thrall stretched in his head, which seemed to him monstrously big and wondrous thick cut.

The horror in the eyes of both trolls is emphasized, particularly in the case of Glam.

him of ēagum stōd
ligge gelicost lēoht unfæger. *Beo.* 726-7.

“From forth his eyes stood a loathly light, likest to flame.”

Beo. 726-7.

Tunglskin var mikit úti ok gluggaþykkn; hratt stundum fyrir, enn stundum dró frá. Nú i þvi er Glámr fell, rak ský t frá tunglinu, enn Glámr hvesti augun upp i móti, ok svá hefir Grettir sagt sjálfr, at þá eina sýn hafi hann sét svá, at honum brygði við. Þá sigaði svá at honum af öllu saman, mæði ok þvi, er hann sá at Glámr gaut sínum sjónum harðlega, at hann gat eigi brugðit saxinu, ok lá nálega i milli heims ok heljar.

“Bright moonlight was there without, and the drift was broken, now drawn over the moon, now driven from off her, and even as Glam fell a cloud was driven from the moon, and Glam glared up against her. And Grettir himself says that by that sight only was he dismayed amidst all that he ever saw. Then his soul sank within him so, from all these things, both from weariness, and because he had seen Glam turn his eyes so horribly, that he might not draw the short sword, and lay well-nigh 'twixt home and hell.”

But this so fearful terror of Glam's eyes which exerts a marked effect on the whole of Grettir's future life is unparalleled in “Beowulf.” While the victorious battle with Glam marks a turning point for the worse in Grettir's story, the noble unselfish Swede is haunted by no such shadow. He goes on and on, from strength to strength; ending a laurel-crowned life as illustriously as he began it.

I said “began it,” and perhaps I should have used some other expression for, as Professor Ker puts it: “His youth was like that of the lubberly younger sons in the fairy stories” :—¹

ne hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne
drihten wereda gedōn wolde
swyðe (wēn) don, þæt hē slēac wære,
æðeling unfrom.

Beo. 2185-8.

¹ “Epic and Romance,” Ch. ii., p. 166.

Nor would the lords of hosts do him much honour on the mead-bench, they held strongly that he was slack, an inert ætheling.

Then the fight in each case is maintained with Nature's weapons, the bare hands, and the terrible struggle between Beowulf and Grendel has its counterpart in that of Grettir with Glam in Thorhall-stead. The latter, as would be expected, in a story written later, is far fuller in detail, but for sheer power and intensity of horror I know of nothing of the sort to compare with the rending of the Render in Heorot. There is a tense and awful majesty about Grendel's advance on the Hall, twice repeated is the poet's announcement of his approach:—

Cōm on wanre niht
scriðan sceadu-genga.

“In dim night came the shadow-goer stalking.”

Beo. 702-3.

And again:—

Ðā cōm of mōre under mist-hleoþum
Grendel gongan, Godes yrre bær;

Beo. 710-11.

“Then from the moorland all under the misty slopes came Grendel striding, wrath of God he bore.”

Glam is more of the ghost, less of the monster, but the added details of the gruesomeness of Glam, terror-striking as they are, do not compensate for the sense of awful resistlessness the poet of “Beowulf” has wrought into his description of Grendel.

Once more we have in each story the details of the havoc wrought on both halls by the mighty power of the contestants. In the case of Heorot the door is burst in at Grendel's first grip.

duru sōna onarn
fȳr-bendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folmum [hr]ān;

Beo. 721-22.

“The door, fast in forged bands, opened at once when he had laid hands thereon.”

“It is great wonder that the wine-hall itself withstood the bold in fight, that it fell not to ground, the fair earth-building, but it was fast in iron bands, smithied with crafty thought. There from the sill, as I heard, started many a mead bench, adorned with gold, where fought the fierce, the wise of the Scyldings never erst deemed that any of men might break it with might, splendid, antler-adorned, secured with cunning, unless the embrace of fire should consume it in smoke.”

After the fight the hall is repaired :—

wæs þæt beorhte bold to brocen swiðe,
eal inne-weard ĭren-bendum fæst,
heorras tōhlidene; hrōf āna genæs
ealles ansund.

Beo. 997-1000.

“That bright dwelling, all inward strong in iron-bands, was much shattered; the hinges destroyed, the roof alone remained, entirely sound.”

Glam, also like Grendel, glares into the Hall he haunts. He and Grettir are almost as destructive as Grendel and Beowulf :—

Gengu þá frá stökkarnir, ok alt brotnaði þat
sem fyrir varð.

The seat-beams were driven out of place, and all was broken that was before them.

And again, at the end of the wrestle :—

Glam gathered up his strength and knit Grettir towards him when they came to the outer door; but when Grettir saw that he might not set his foot against that, all of a sudden in one rush he drave his hardest against the thrall's breast and spurned both feet against the half sunken stone that stood in the threshold of the door; for this the thrall was not ready, for he had been tugging to draw Grettir to him, therefore he reeled

aback and spun out against the door, so that his shoulders caught the upper door-case, and the roof burst asunder, both rafters and frozen thatch, and therewith he fell open-armed aback out of the house and Grettir over him.

So much for the first great troll-fight in each saga. I proceed to consider the second:—

Beowulf and Grendel's mother
Grettir and the Troll-wife or, rather,—
Grettir and the Giant under the force.

Between these stories, we shall find, I think, even more striking resemblances than those I have already indicated. In both fights the hero dives under water to find the fiend—note, please, that as in the Beowulf-Grendel, so in the Grettir-Troll-wife story—there is a second monster beneath the water, in each case the champion is accompanied by others, one or more who leave the falls, despairing of the hero's life; in each case a peculiar weapon in the monster's cave is described—the “eald sweord eotenisc ecgum þyhtig,” in the “Beowulf,” the “hefti-sax-” in the Grettla. Grendel's mother is thus defined:—

ides, āglāc-wīf, yrmþe gemunde,
sē þe wæter-egesan wunian scolde,
cealde strēamas.

Beo. 1259-61.

A woman, a woman-monster, was mindful of her woe, she who must inhabit the terror of the waters, the cold streams—

The troll-wife likewise dwells in a cave beneath the force, she drags Grettir to its brink, she had carried these Steinvor's goodman and her house-carle also.

However different the mere of the Grendels be from the force of the trolls, however they themselves differ in nature from the Grendel-kin, it seems to me that this is to be ascribed to the racial differences of thought, of imagination, of fear of the supernatural between the

peoples by whom the stories were fostered and among whom they grew up. For we do not know in what form the Danes or Continental Saxons had the "Beowulf"; as it exists now it is essentially old English in form and spirit; the other, of course, Icelandic.

But there are points of resemblance far closer than these I have described, points which, to my mind, are not to be disregarded or lightly set aside, between the Beowulf-Grendel's mother and the Grettir Troll-wife contests. It will be remembered that, to find the mere-wife, Beowulf has to dive into an uncanny mere, or, rather, as Stopford Brooke has it, "a deep sea-gorge with a narrow entrance from the sea." When seized by the she-fiend, the two swim upward into her cavern, and the fight is waged on the sandy floor, the combatants being protected from the sea by the fact that the cavern rises upward and inland; its entrance is below the lowest level of the tide. Stopford Brooke describes it minutely. He observes that "we have here a cavern of which kind many known examples exist, and such a cavern was, I think, known to the poet. It marks especially the sea-nature of the Grendel-kin."¹

Now when Grettir has smitten off the arm of the troll-wife, she falls into the gulf and is carried down the force. Stein the priest comes to Sandheaps and asks Grettir his opinion as to the fate of the two men who had previously disappeared. Grettir replies that he thinks that they would have gone into the gulf—he had all but been carried thither himself—the priest refuses to credit this without signs thereof. Grettir promises an investigation, and, after Yule-tide, fares with Stein to the gulf. The champion dives under the force and comes up under it, where is a jutting rock and a great cave.

Gekk hann þá inn i hellinn, ok var þar eldr mikill á bröndum.

¹ Early English Literature (Vol. i.).

“ He went up into the cave and there was a great fire flaming from amidst of brands.”

Likewise does Beowulf find a fire in the cave:—

fȳr-lēoht geseah,
blācne lēoman beorhte scīnan.

Beo. 1516-17.

“ Firelight he saw, a bleak flame shine brightly.”

And in the Grettis Saga:—

Grettir sá, at þar sat jötunn ógurlega mikill;
hann var hræðilegr at sjá.

“ And there he saw a giant sitting withal, marvelously great and dreadful to look on.”

And now we come to another curious point. Unlike Grendel and Glam, these two cave-monsters use weapons against their foes. Beowulf throws Grendel's mother, she pays him hand-reward therefor, throws him, sits on him and draws her seax.

Ofsæt þā þone sele-gyst ond hyre seax getēah
brād, brūnecg.

Beo. 1545-6.

“ Then she sat on the hall-guest and drew her seax, broad, brown-edged.”

Enn ed Grettir kom at honum, hljóp jötuninn upp ok greip flein einn, ok hjó til þess er kominn var; því at bæði mátti höggvad ok leggja með honum. Tréskaft var í; þat kölluðu menn þá heftisax, er þann veg var gert.

“ But when Grettir came anigh, the giant leapt up and caught up a glaive and smote at the new-comer, for with that glaive might a man both cut and thrust, a wooden shaft it had, and that fashion of weapon men called then, heft-sax.”

Notice the detailed description of the giant's weapon. It is paralleled in “ Beowulf ” where Unferth lends the sword Hrunting to the hero for his coming fight with Grendel's mother.

Næs þæt þonne mætost mægen-fultuma,
 þæt him on ðearfe lāh ðyle Hrōðgāres;
 wæs þāem hæft-mēce Hrunting nama;
 þæt wæs ān foran eald-gestrēona;
 ecg wæs iren ātertānum fāh,
 āhyrded heaþo-swāte; nāfre hit æt hilde ne swāc
 manna āngum, þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand,
 sē ðe gryre-siðas gegān dorste,
 folc-stede fāra; næs þæt forma sið,
 þæt hit ellen weorc æfnan scolde.

Beo. 1455-64.

“Nor was that the least of mighty aids, which Hrothgar’s spokesman lent him in his need. Hrunting was the name of that hafted sword which was one of the foremost of treasures of eld. The edge was iron, stained with poison-twigs, hardened with battle-blood, never in strife had it failed any man, of those who grasped it with hands, who durst approach the terror-ways, the camp of foemen; nor was that the first time that it must do deeds of might.”

The point to notice has been remarked by Dr. Vigfússon:—The unique compound hæft-mece, unknown elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, is paralleled—with exactly similar meaning—by hefti-sax, an unique word—so far as I know—in Icelandic.

King Hrothgar and the Danes leave the mere despairing of Beowulf’s life when:—

Sōna þæt gesāwon snottre ceorlas,
 þā ðe mid Hrōðgāre on holm wliton,
 þæt wæs yð-geblond eal gemenged,
 brim blōde fāh.

Beo. 1591-4.

“Soon saw they, the wise men who with Hrothgar were gazing on the mere that the surge was all mingled, the mere stained with blood.”

Ðā cōm nōn dægēs; næs ofgēafon
 hwate Scyldingas; gewāt him hām þonon
 gold-wine gumena.

Beo. 1600-2.

“Then came noon of the day; the bold Scyldings left the ness; the prince of men departed thence home.”

The priest waiting for Grettir leaves the force when he sees a similar sinister token:—

ok er prestr sat við festina, sá hann at slyðrur
nökkurar rak ofan eftir strengnum, blöðugar allar.

“And as the priest sat by the rope, he saw certain fibres all covered with blood swept down the swirls of the stream.”

Hann varð þá lauss á velli, ok þóttist nú vita,
at Grettir myndi dauðr vera; hljóp hann þá frá
festarhaldinu ok fór heim.

“Then he grew unsteady in his place, and thought for sure that Grettir was dead, so he ran from the holding of the rope and gat him home.”

There is one other point of resemblance between these two noble old stories, which as Hume of Godscroft saith: “We will not omit here (to shut up all) . . .” Both heroes are befriended at the last, by one comrade and one only. In the case of Beowulf, it is his young kinsman of the Wægmunding race, Wiglaf, who apparently succeeds him on the throne of the Geats; in the Grettla, it is the beautiful figure of Illugi, fighting over his dying brother, and refusing, when offered his life, to accept it at the price of forgoing the feud for that brother’s death at the hands of Thorbiorn Angle. Wiglaf is among the twelve men whom Beowulf leaves on the headland when he goes to seek the dragon in his rocky lair. At the sight of the flaming monster the young men are terror-stricken and retire landwards into the wood, but:—

Hiora in ānum wēoll
sefa wið sorgum; sibb æfre ne mæg
wiht onwendan, þām ðe wel þenced.

“The heart of one of them welled with sorrows; to a right-minded man naught may set aside kinship.

And Wiglaf reminds his comrades of the whole duty of a thane to his lord, in return for the joy of the mead-hall and the rings and swords from the gift stool, to shield his lord's person in battle, and never to return to hearth and home without him. That was the worst disgrace that could befall:—

God wāt on mec,

þæt mē is micle lēofre, þæt mīnne līc-haman
mid mīnnie gold-gyfan glēd fæðmie.

Ne þynceð mē gerysne, þæt wē rondas beren
eft tō earde, nemne wē æror mægen
fane gefyllan, feorh ealgian.

Wedra ðēodnes.

Bo. 2650-6.

“For mine own part, God knows that I had far liefer the flame should embrace my body with my gold-giver. Nor seemeth it seemly to me that we should bear our shields again to home, save we may first fell the foe, and shield the life of the Weders' Lord.”

He rushes to the fight, and between them the old king and the young thane slay the drake. But the life-joys of the strongest of men are nearly over, the sun is setting for him who was:—

manna mildust ond mon-[ðw]ærust,
lēodum liðost, ond lof-geornost.

Bo. 3181-3.

“The mildest and the gentlest of men, the kindest to his people, and the keenest for praise.”

On his return from the fight, Wiglaf sharply rebukes the cowards and finally banishes them.

Nū sceal sinc-þego ond swyrd-gifu,
eall ēðel-wyn, ēowrum cynne
lufen ālicgean; lond-rihtes mōt
þære mæg-burge monna æghwylc
īdel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas
feorran gefricgean flēam ēowerne,
dōm-lēasan dæd. Dēað bið sēlla
eorla gehwylcum þonne edwit-lif.

Beo. 2884-2891.

“Now shall all treasure-looting and sword-giving, all joy of ownership, estates, be alienated from your kin, each man of your folk must wander, shorn of land-right, so soon as nobles from afar learn of your flight, your inglorious act. Better is death to every man of noble birth than a life of infamy.”

How these last few words recall those of Beowulf in the noblest speech the poem contains, I mean that to Hrothgar after the sudden slaughter of his old friend and servant, Æschere, by Grendel's mother. The gray-haired Danish king is beside himself with grief, but his noble young guest bids him up and be doing; overgreat sorrow is unmanly:—

“Ne sorga, snotor guma; sēlre bið æghwām,
þæt hē his frēond wrece, þonne hē fela muḡne.
Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan
worolde lifes; wyrce sē þe mōte
dōmes ær dēaþe; þæt bið driht-guman
unlifgendum æfter sēlest.
Arīs, rīces weard; uton harþe fēran,
Grendles māgan gang scēawigan.
Ic hit þē gehāte: nō hē on helm losaþ,
ne on foldan fæþm, ne on fyrgen-holt,
ne on gyfenes grund, gā þær hē wille.
Ðys dōgor þū geþyld hafa
wēana gehwylces swā ic þē wēne to.”

Beo. 1384-96.

“Sorrow not, wise man; for each is it better that he avenge his friend, than that he overmuch mourn him. Each of us must abide the end-day of world-life: let him who may work glory before death; that for every warrior lifeless lying is afterward most fitting. Arise, kingdom’s ward; with speed let us go to look on the track of the kinsman of Grendel. I promise thee: he shall not escape to covert, nor in the lap of earth, nor in the mountain wood, nor in the bed of ocean, go where he will. This day have thou patience of each of thy woes, as I expect of thee!”

Wiglaf is the ideal thane. He is Beowulf’s kinsman, too, but not in that nearness in blood in which Illugi stands to Grettir. Beowulf is the son of Ecgtheow, Wiglaf of Ecgtheow’s younger brother, Weohstan. Both are of the House of Wāgmund, therefore Swedes on the father’s side. But Illugi is Grettir’s own brother . . . and by so much as the character of Grettir falls short of that of Beowulf in nobility, by so much does the beauty of the picture of Illugi outshine that of Wiglaf. Utterly loyal as the young Swede of the House of Wāgmund is, I do not remember a more noble picture than that of Asdis’ youngest son, bearing his brother company when for dread of Glam’s eyes he might not dwell alone, ever at his side, fighting for him on Drangey, defending the dying outlaw—dying already when the coward crew of Angle assailed him. When Gudmund the Rich counsels Grettir to fortify himself in Drangey, the impregnable island in Skaga-firth, Grettir tells Asdis, his mother, that he could by no means abide there alone for the horror ever present with him at nights. Then it is the pretty fifteen-year-old boy who, of his own will, sacrifices home and all its comforts to bear his lonely brother comradeship in the hours of darkness:—

“Ek man fara með þér, bróðir, enn eigi veit ek, at þér sé fylgd í mér, utan þat, at trúr man ek þér vera,

ok eigi renna frá þér, meðan þú stendr uppi, ok gerr veit ek, hvat um þik liðr, ef ek fylgi þer.”

“I will go with thee, brother, though I know not that I shall be of any help to thee, unless it be that I shall be ever true to thee, nor run from thee whiles thou standest up; and moreover I shall know more surely how thou farest, if I am still in thy fellowship.”

This always seems to me one of the most charming little speeches imaginable. Notice the boyish bashfulness of the first words. The promise of loyalty rings like the vow of a true lover, and the concluding words show how Grettir, surly as he was, rough as his life had been, was yet able to inspire utter devotion in the hearts of those who were dear to him. Of such have been, are and shall be, the leaders of men.

“Nor shall I run from thee whiles thou standest up.” How nobly young Illugi kept this word is known to all readers of the Saga. Not only is he ever at the side of Grettir while that strong brother of his is hale and sound, the terror of men, but when brought low at the last by sorcery, dying in the midst of Angle’s men, it is Illugi who fights the hopeless battle over his body, smiting the heads from foemen’s spears. He steadily refuses Angle’s offer of life if he will but renounce the feud for Grettir’s death.

“Rösklega segir þú, enn eigi mun svá vera. Vil ek sýna þat, at mér synist mannskaði í þér, ok mun ek gefa þer lif, ef þú vilt vinna oss trúnadareið, at hefna engum þeim, er í þessari ferð hafa verit.”

“In manly wise speakest thou, but not thus will it be; and I will show thee that I think great scathe in thy death, for thy life will I give thee if thou wilt swear an oath for us here, to avenge thyself on none of those who have been in this journey,” says Thorbiorn.

But Illugi makes reply:—

Þat þætti mér umtalsmál, ef Grettir hefði mátt verja sik, ok hefði þér unnið hann með drengskap ok harðfengi; enn nú er þess engi ván, at ek muna þat til

lifs mér vinna, at vera slíkr ódrengr sem þú; er þat skjótt af at segja, at engi skal yðr óþarfari enn ek, ef ek lifi, því at seint mun fyrnast mér, hversu þér hafið unnit á Gretti; kýss ek miklu heldr at deyja.

“That night I have deemed a thing to talk about, if Grettir had been suffered to defend himself, and ye had won him with manliness and hardihood, but now nowise is it to be thought that I will do so much for the keeping of my life, as to become base, even as thou art: and here I tell thee, once for all, that no one of men shall be of less gain to thee than I, if I live; for long will it be or ever I forget how ye have prevailed against Grettir. Yea, much rather do I choose to die.”

And even so on the east shore of the isle died this noble boy, with his face to the dawn.

The object of this paper is only to bring together some of the points of resemblance between the two sagas. What the explanation of the existence of those resemblances may be is another and much-disputed matter. Mr. Thomas Arnold says:—“Although it is manifest that if there be a legend which lies at the base of ‘Beowulf’ on the one hand, and the Böðvar (Biarki) and Grettir sagas on the other, it preserves in the former a shape far nearer to its pristine character than in the two latter, and must have been reduced to writing many centuries earlier than they, yet the resemblances are much too close to be accidental.”¹ One of the latest essays on “Beowulf,” that by Mr. H. Munro Chadwick, of Clare College, takes the view that since Grettir is an historical person who died about the year 1031, there was an older story, which has become attached to his name, “but,” he says, “there is nothing in the account that gives any colour to the idea that it is actually derived from the Old English poem. More probably the origin of both stories alike is to be sought in a folk-tale, and just as the adventures were attributed in Iceland to the historical Grettir, so in England, and,

¹ “Notes on Beowulf,” pp. 97 *seq.*

possibly also in Denmark, at an earlier date they were associated with a historical prince of the Götar." This, I may remark, is one of the explanations advanced by Stopford Brooke in his study of the Mythology in "Beowulf."

He says:—"The parallel is very close, and three suggestions may be made concerning it. Either the Beowulf Saga was known over Sweden and Norway, and its lays came from Norway or the Western Isles to Iceland in a broken fashion, or there was a tale older than 'Beowulf' itself—a combination of a nature-myth and a folk-tale—which was common property of the Northmen, and out of which the Grendel story in 'Beowulf' and the Glam and Troll story both grew independently of each other."²

My answer is that the details of the contest seem to be so curiously alike as to establish a very strong probability that the author (Sturla Thordson or another) of Grettla knew "Beowulf," and used the stories of the great fights in that poem in his history of Grettir's life, and I believe that this knowledge of "Beowulf" in Iceland was one of the results of the work of Anglo-Saxon missionaries there.³

There is another saga which has such remarkable resemblances to "Beowulf" that I feel that some mention of it will not be out of place here. In "Hrólf's Saga Kraka," Böðvarr Biarki has been brought up at the court of King Hring of Updal. Böðvar comes from Götaland to Leire, the royal seat of the Danish king, and slays a demon-beast, a bear, which has been making constant attacks on the king's farmyard at Yule-tide. Böðvar is himself credited with the power of becoming a bear at will. In the battle on the ice of Lake Vener he fights for Aðils against Áli. Beowulf is brought up at King Hrethel's court; he comes

¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, Ch. III.

² History of Early English Literature, Ch. V.

See Year-Book of the Viking Club, Vol. II., 1909-10.

to Heorot. He slays Grendel, the ravager. Later in life he fights for Eadgils against Onela, and these two have been identified with Aðils and Ali. Beowulf's uncle, Hygelac, is king of the Geats or Gauts, and Biarki's brother, Thorir, rules over Gautland. Beowulf slays Dæghræfn by crushing him in his mighty arms, those arms that tore asunder the shoulder sinews of the giant Grendel; and Biarki, observe, has the power of becoming a bear at will. And certain it is that the tone of the following speech by Biarki is curiously like, both in tone and sentiment, to many of Beowulf's speeches, and particularly to the noble address (already quoted) to Hrothgar after Æschere's violent death:—"Sorrow not, wise man; for each is it better that he avenge his friend, than that he overmuch mourn him," &c.

Then said Bjarke: "If I may look on the awful husband of Frigg, howsoever he be covered with his white shield, and guide his tall steed, he shall in no wise go safe out of Leire; it is lawful to lay low in war the war-waging God. Let a noble death come to those that fall before the eyes of the king. *While life lasts, let us strive for the power to die honourably and to reap a noble end by our deeds* ("each of us," says Beowulf, must abide the end-day of world-life: let him who may *work glory before death*"). I will die overpowered near the head of my slain captain, and at his feet thou also shalt slip on thy face in death, so that whoso scans the piled corpses may see in what wise we rate the gold our lord gave us. We shall be the prey of ravens and a morsel for hungry eagles, and the ravening bird shall feast on the banquet of our body. Thus should fall princes dauntless in war, clasping their famous king in a common death."¹

Compare the grim passage in "Beowulf," where Wiglaf prophesies the fate of the Geats now that the great warrior is dead:—

¹ Saxo Grammaticus-Elton's translation, p. 80.

ac se wonna hrefn
fūs ofer fægum fela reordian,
earne secgan hū him æt æte spēow,
þenden hē wið wulf wæl rēafode.

Beo. 3024-7.

“ But the wan raven, fain o’er the fey, many things shall tell forth, shall say to the erne how it sped him at feasting when, with the wolf, he plundered the slain.”

Finally then :—

The main points of resemblance between these two great Northern sagas, “ Beowulf ” and the Grettla (or Gretti’s saga), are :—

- (a) The details of the wrestling contests of Beowulf with Grendel and of Grettir with Glam.
- (b) The minute details of the sword-fight of Beowulf with Grendel’s mother and of Grettir with the giant under the force.
- (c) The great swimming power of each champion—a point I have omitted in the reading of this paper. Beowulf in his race with Breca swims for five nights in a storm-tossed sea (seven nights according to Unferth), and will not leave his spent rival until the waves force them apart. Before he comes to land nine eoten-fish have fallen to his sword. Then after the fight with the Franks, Hetware and Hugas, in which Hygelac falls, Beowulf swims away to Sweden, with thirty mail-shirts as his spoil.

Sōð ic talige,
þæt ic mere-strengo māran āhte,
earfeþo on ȳþum, ðonne ænig oþer man.

Beo. 532-4.

“ Sooth I tell thee more might had I, more endurance in the waves, than any other man.

“ Grettir, too, is a mighty swimmer; he will make

no double journey over the ice-bound Isledale river, for Steinvor and her child. Placing the child in the mother's lap, and both in his left arm, thrusting the ice-floes before him, he lands both of them safely and comes back alone. And he swims the sea-mile from Drangey to Reeks for firewood, to the wonder of all men and in especial of Illugi:—

“Mikit þykki mér þat,” segir Illugi, “pvi at vit erum upp gefnir, ef þér verðr nökkut.” “Eigi mun ek á sundi drukna,” sagði Grettir.

“Much my mind misgives me thereof,” said Illugi, “for we are all lost if thou comest to any ill.”

“I shall not be swallowed up swimming,” said Grettir.

(d) The loneliness of each hero is emphasised:—

Bīowulf maþelade, bearn Ecgðēowes:
 Fela ic on giogoðe gūð-rāesa genæs,
 orleg-hwīla; ic þæt eall gemon.
 Ic wæs syfan-wintre, þā mec sinca baldor,
 frēa-wine folca, æt mīnum fæder genam.

Beo 2425-29.

Beowulf, son of Ecgtheow, spake:—

“In youth I endured many a battle storm, times of war: all that I mind me of. Seven winters old was I when the treasure-lord, the friendly ruler of folk, received me from my father.”

His father was exiled early in life; we hear but little of his mother, but she was the only daughter of Hrethel, King of the Geats and sister of Hygelac, Beowulf's lord. Hygelac and Beowulf were therefore uncle and nephew.

Beowulf has no son. When dying, he says:—

“Nū ic suna mīnum syllan wolde
 gūð-gewādu, þær mē gifeðe swā
 ænig yrfe-weard æfter wurde
 līce gelenge.”

Beo. 2729-32.

“ Now would I give my son these war-weeds, had it been granted that any heir belonging to my body should come after me.”

Nor has he a wife. As Thomas Arnold puts it :—

“ Beowulf has no wife, no lover; he has indeed, his period of peace and prosperity ushered in by successful battle and ended by utter discomfiture; but this is the common lot of eminent men.”¹ Unless, I would add, we accept the theory that, after Hygelac’s death, Hygd became Beowulf’s wife. At the burning of his body, an aged woman mourns her fate; but the text of the passage is grievously mutilated :—

swylce gīomor gyd	[sīo gēo-] mēowle
.	[b] unden heorde
. . . sorg-cearig	sǣlðe geneahhe,
þæt hīo hyre	:::gas hearde:::de
wæl-fylla wonn	:::des egesan
hyðo : h : : : : d.	

Beo. 3150-55.

of which Bugge’s admirable reconstruction is :—

swylce gīomor-gyd	sīo gēo-mēowle
æfter Beowulfe	bunden-heorde
songsorg-cearig,	sǣde geneahhe,
þæt hīo hyre	hearm-dagas hearde ondrēde,
wæl-fylla worn,	wigendes egesan,
hȳnðo ond hæft-nȳd,	hēof on rīce wealg.

Likewise the “ wife of his youth,”² with hair bound up [sang] a mournful dirge (and said) oftentimes that sorely she feared evil days for herself, much slaughter, the terror [of warriors], shame and captivity.

It is to be remembered that, after the death of Hygelac, Hygd, the young widowed queen, offered Beowulf the “ hord ond rīce, bēagas ond brego-stōl,” thus passing over Heardred, her son or step-son.

¹ “ Notes on Beowulf.”

² Perhaps Hygd (So Wyatt).

And this same pathos of utter loneliness in Grettir's case is finely shewn by S. Baring-Gould's metrical paraphrase of the fragmentary death-chant of Grettir, in the Saga:—

“ For nineteen years, I a hunted man,
On mountain, on moor, and fen;
For nineteen years had to shun and flee
The face of my fellow-men.

“ For nineteen years all bitter to bear
Both hunger and cold and pain;
And never to know when I laid me down,
If I might awake again.

“ And now do I lie with a burning eye,
As a wolf is fain to die;
Whilst the skies are dripping and ocean roars,
And the winds sob sadly by —.”¹

(*d*) The last fight of each hero, befriended by one ideal kinsman, Wiglaf, the loyal cousin and thane of Beowulf and Illugi, Grettir's young brother, fifteen winters of age, and of all men the goodliest to look on.

Illugi bróðir hans var þá fimtán vetra gamall,
ok allra manna gervilegastr.

¹ “Grettir the Outlaw,” by S. Baring-Gould.

NOTE—Translations of the Grettla throughout are those of Magnússon and Morris, Anglo-Saxon text of “Beowulf” follows that of A. J. Wyatt (Camb. Univ. Press). Icelandic Text of Grettis Saga, the Reykjavík Edition.

THE CULT OF NERTHUS.

BY DR. GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.

I. INTRODUCTION.—TRADITION.

NO religion has such a venerable place within old Northern myth-lore as the cult of Nerthus. It is verified through older tests than any other cult within that group of nations which was in Old Norse called *Got-thiod*, in Old English "*eþel Gotena*," (*Widsith*)—we here prefer to say: the *Gottonic* group.¹

The following little sketch does not pretend to be a special study on myth-lore or folk-lore. It simply collects those facts which quite involuntarily present themselves to any student who happens to read the evidences in question. For particulars of the discussion, see the works of the specialists, such as the German: Müllenhoff; the Dane: Axel Olrik; the Swede: Axel Kock; the Englishman: H. M. Chadwick.

The base of our notions about the Nerthus cult is a series of linguistical and mythological identifications.

Nerthus, main goddess of the Angles, is identified with *Niærth* or *Niorðr*, main god of some Scandinavian tribes. The first name is the exact older linguistical stage of the latter.

Niorðr is married to his own sister; they have a son *Freyr* and a daughter *Freyja*, who in later times inherits the place of the parents. This secondary pair of deities is regarded as an "emanation" of the first.

¹ Commonly used names of the group are:—Goths, Teutons, "Germanen." As all of these names are misleading, "Germanen" has some 8 or 9 significations—we have chosen the classical form "*Guttones*, *Gothones*" which is nowadays never used, and can therefore conveniently be privileged to signify the same as Old Norse, *Got-thiod*, "the whole of our group of nations." Cf. our discussion with *Karl Blind* in previous volumes of the "*Saga Book*." Also our treatise "*Gottonic Names*," *The Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philol.*, 1912.

Freyr, also called Fricco, is the spender of the sacred peace, O. Norse fróða-friðr. He reappears as a dethroned god in the Swedish king Frø, and as the Danish king Frið-Fróði or Frode Fredegod, the spender of the fróða-friðr.

Freyr is called Yngvi-Freyr or Ingun-ár-freyr, *i.e.*, the "lord of Inguions," "the fertility-spending lord of Inguions." The Inguions are an ethnical group, embracing especially Angles, Jutes, Danes, and (later?) Swedes. The most direct continuation of the group seems to be the state of Denmark. A whole series of characteristic features accompany the cult more or less generally.

The deity is a symbol of fertility: Nerthus, Niorðr, Freyr, king Fro. The deity is a symbol of peace: Nerthus, Niorðr, Freyr, Fróde, Frede-god. During the feast of the deity all weapons are ritually locked up: Nerthus; Swedish custom, generalised by Tacitus. During the feast, the deity visits the districts of the country, driving in a chariot: Nerthus, goddess of Hleiðrar, Freyr, Frode Fredegod. The deity is concealed behind the veils of a tester: Nerthus, the goddess of Hleiðrar (hleiðrar = tents). The sanctuary is on an island, peninsula, or connected with sea-trade; Nerthus on an island in the Ocean, Nærbjerg on the isolated peninsular "Holy-ness" in N. Jutland, 2 Nærth-owæ ("Nerthus-hills") on the island of Funen; residence of a goddess in Hleiðrar on the isle of Sealand, Niatherum on the isle of Sealand, islet Niærdholm near the coast of Skane, mythical residence of Niorðr in Noa-tún, "Naval town."

A ritual differentiation is observed, according to the sex of the deity: the female Nerthus as a priest, the male Nerthus (Freyr) as a priestess. Cf. Tacitus on the cult of the dioscures ("Iveir Haddingjar") among the Vandales: the priests have female dress.

A death motive appears: the actual death or disappearance of the deity is hidden to the common people,

whereas the priests go on receiving the sacrifices: Freyr (two different traditions), Frode Fredegod. Most likely it is a mere fortunity that the same feature does not appear in the tradition about the female Nerthus.

The naval element is emphasised more in the tradition about Nogrðr than in the traditions about the female Nerthus and about Freyr.

The element of fertility is, in the cult of Freyr, combined with phallic rites. This special feature does not appear in the tradition about the female Nerthus, but it is quite natural that it was eliminated here, as it did not agree with Tacitus's tendency of idealizing the Gottons.

Most of the above statements are generally accepted by the specialists.

There is some dissension about the extension of the group of Inguions. Most Germans arbitrarily identify the group with the Anglo-Frisians, excluding the Scandinavians. Other Germans, such as Rieger, Kosinna, have shown the futility of this assumption. We here follow Chadwick, who places the centre of the Inguions exactly on Danish ground.

We shall now relate the different main evidences.

II. EVIDENCES ON THE CULT.—2. TACITUS ON THE CULT OF NERTHUS.—In his "Germania," c. 40, Tacitus speaks of a religious community behind the Semnons and Langobards, already belonging partly to the "less known parts of the Gottonic country" ("secretiora Germaniæ"). Members of the community Rendings (Reudigni), Avions, Angles, Varines, Eudoses, "Suarines" or "Suardones," and "Nui-thones"; the latter two names are no doubt corrupt—we may correct them into Charudes and Euthones, *i.e.*, "Hardboer" and Jutes. (See under III.)

"There is nothing particular to be said about these tribes, except that they jointly worship Nerthus, *i.e.*, the 'Mother Earth.' On an island in the ocean there is a chaste grove, and therein a sacred chariot, covered by a tester. Nobody is allowed to touch it except the

priest; he notices when the goddess is present in the sanctuary; then he puts the female oxen to the chariot and follows it with great veneration. Then they have glad days, and there is feasting in all places, which the goddess honours by her presence. They do not begin wars, and touch no weapons; all iron is locked up. Peace and good time is the only thing they know of and aspire. And so it goes on, till at last the goddess gets tired of the intercourse with the mortal beings and retires to her temple. Then immediately the chariot and the garments, and, if people may believe it, the goddess is washed in a secret lake. Slaves make service at the washing, and immediately after it they are swallowed by the lake. Hence is the origin of the mysterious terror and the sacred ignorance about what that may be which nobody is allowed to see unless he is sure to die."

3. TACITUS ON THE CUSTOMS OF THE SWEDES.—After describing how the republicanism of the southern Gottons is replaced by royalism among the Goths in Prussia, Tacitus goes on, making the Swedes represent royal absolutism. The Sitons (= Kvænes), north of the Swedes, form the top of the climax, being reigned by a queen. About the Swedes he says: "They pay much respect to wealth, and therefore a single man rules them, with no exceptions. The weapons are not granted to anybody indiscriminately, as among the other Gottons, but locked up under the custody of a slave. For the ocean prohibits sudden inroads of foes, and armed men's hands often strike out ('lasciviunt'), when they are idle." The whole description is obviously due to an exaggerated report about the ritual peace during the sacrifices.

4. SNORRI ON FREYR.—In his *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 4, *et seq.*, Snorri, in his euhemeristic way, describes the religious development of ancient Sweden. The first vernacular gods were the Vanes. These must afterwards make terms with a southern set of gods, called

Ases, who were headed by Woden. "The most prominent among the Vanes were Niorðr and his son. . . . Niorðr had had his sister as wife—this was allowed among the Vanes. Their children were Freyr and Freyja. But among the Ases it was forbidden to marry such near relations. Freyja was a priestess who presided at the sacrifices (blót-gyðja); she was the first to teach the Ases witchcraft (seið), which was used among the Vanes. . . . Niorðr of Noatunir ("Naval towns") took over the rule among the Swedes, after Woden's death, and kept up the sacrifices. The Swedes called him their lord (dróttinn), and he took tributary gifts of them. In his days there was good peace and abundance of fertility, so that the Swedes believed that Niorðr determined the crops and the riches of men. Niorðr died of sickness; he made himself marked to Oðinn before his death. The Swedes burned him, and wept much at his grave."

"Freyr took over the rule after Niorðr. He was called lord of the Swedes, and took tributary gifts of them; he was kind, and the spender of good years, like his father. Freyr built a large temple near Upsala, and took his residence there, endowing it with all his incomes and possessions. This was the origin of the Upsala crownland, which has since been preserved. In his days the "Frode-peace" began, with fertility in all lands. The Swedes attributed it to Freyr, and therefore he was worshipped more than all other gods, inasmuch as the people grew richer. His wife was Gerð, daughter of Gymir; their son was Fiolnir. Freyr was also called Yngvi. This name was long used as an honorary title within his family, and his kinsmen were called Ynglings. Freyr finally got sick. When his death was approaching, his men allowed only few people to see him, while they themselves built a large hill with a door and three small windows. When Freyr was dead they carried him secretly into the hill, saying to the Swedes that he was still alive.

They guarded him there for three years, but all the tribute they poured down into the hill, the gold through one hole, the silver through another, and the copper through the third. Then fertility and peace persisted.”

“Freyja continued the sacrifices. She was now left as the only still living of the gods. . . . When the Swedes noticed that Freyr was dead, and that nevertheless peace and fertility lasted, they believed that it would remain so, as long as Freyr was in Sweden; therefore they would not burn him, but called him “god of the world,” and brought him sacrifices for the sake of fertility and peace henceforth.”

5. OLAF TRYGGVASON'S SAGA ON FREYR (*Flateyjarbók* II., 337):—

The Norwegian Gunnar Helming was suspected of having committed a murder. For fear of King Olaf he fled to Sweden. There happened to be great sacrifices in the honour of Freyr, and his idol had such a power that the devil spoke through it, and it had been given a young wife. People believed that they could have sexual intercourse. Freyr's wife was pretty, and she had the dominion over the temple. Gunnar asked her for shelter. She answered: “You are not fortunate, for Freyr does not like you. Nevertheless, stay here for three nights, and we may see.” He said: “I like better to be helped by you than by Freyr.” Gunnar was a very jolly and cheerful person. After three nights he asked whether he might stay there any longer. “I do not know exactly,” said she. “You are a poor fellow, and still, as it seems, of good extraction, I should like to help you, only I am afraid that Freyr hates you. Still, remain here half a month, and we may again see.” . . . Gunnar pleased the Swedes well because of his cheerfulness and smartness. After some time, he talked again with Freyr's wife. She said: “People like you well, and I think it better you stay here this winter and accompany us when Freyr makes his annual journey. But I must tell you that he is still angry with you.” Gunnar thanked her well. . . . Now the festival time came, and the procession started. Freyr and his wife were placed in the carriage, whereas their servants and Gunnar had to walk beside. When driving through the mountains, they were surprised by a tempest and all the servants fled. Gunnar remained. At last he got tired of walking, went into the carriage and let the draught-cattle go as they liked. Freyr's wife said: “You had better try and walk again, for otherwise Freyr will arise against you.” Gunnar did so, but when he got too tired, he said: “Anyhow, let him come, I will stand against him.” Now Freyr arises, and they wrestle till Gunnar notices that he is getting weaker. Then he thinks by himself that if he overcomes this load

Foe, he will return to the right faith and be reconciled with King Olaf. And immediately after Freyr begins to give way, and afterwards to sink. Now this Foe leaps out of the idol, and it lay there empty. Gunnar broke it into pieces and gave Freyr's wife two alternatives: that he might leave, or that she might declare him publicly to be the god Freyr. She said that she would willingly declare what he liked. Now Gunnar was dressed in Freyr's clothes, the weather improved and they went together to the festival. People were very much impressed by the power of Freyr, because he was able to visit the country in such a tempest, although all the servants had fled. They wondered how he went about among them and talked like other men. Thus Freyr and his wife spent the winter going to festivals. Freyr was not more eloquent towards other people than his wife, and he would not receive living victims, as before, and no offerings except gold, silk, and good clothings. After some months, people began to notice that Freyr's wife was gravid. They thought it splendid, and many expected great wonders of their god Freyr. Also the weather was fine, and it looked like such a harvest as nobody remembered to have seen before. The rumours of Freyr's power were reported to Norway, and also brought before King Olaf. He had some suspicion of the truth and asked Gunnar's brother Sigurd what he knew about the exiled. Sigurd knew of nothing. The King said: "I believe that this mighty god of the Swedes, who is so famous in all countries, is no other person than your brother Gunnar. For otherwise, those sacrifices are the greatest where living men are slaughtered. . . . Now I will send you to Sweden, for it is terrible to know that a Christian man's soul should be situated thus. I shall give up my wrath, if he comes voluntarily, for now I know that he has not committed the murder." . . . Sigurd immediately went to Sweden and brought his brother these news. Gunnar answered: "Certainly might I willingly go back; but if the Swedes discover the truth, they will kill me." Sigurd said: "We shall secretly carry you away, and be sure that King Olaf's good fortune and God's mercy is more powerful than the Swedes." Now Gunnar and his wife prepare their flight, taking with them as many goods as they were able to carry. The Swedes went in pursuit of them, but lost the trace and did not find them. So Gunnar and his people arrived in Norway and went to King Olaf, who received them well and made him and his wife be baptized.

6. EDDA POEM SKIRNISMAL ON FREY'S LOVE OF GERÐ.—Freyr here appears as the incarnation of sensual desire.

7. ADAM OF BREMEN ON FRICCO.—According to Adam, the three main gods of the Swedes had a temple in Upsala. The most venerated was Fricco, who was represented "cum ingenti priapo." The name of

Fricco may contain the same Aryan root as Priapos, but it may at the same time have been regarded as a pet form of "frið-góði," "the peace-good."

8. SAXO ON KING FRØ.—According to Saxo, once the Swedes were ruled by King Frø, who was a cruel tyrant. After conquering a Norwegian, King Siward, he used to carry off the wives and daughters of the most notable men in Norway, compelling them to a sort of infamy. Because of his cruelty and lechery he was at last slain by Ragnar Loðbrók.

9. SAXO ON KING FRØ'S SONS.—The champion, Starkad, dwelt for seven years with King Frø's sons in Sweden. At last he could no longer stand the lascivious dancing and jingling which took place in Upsala during the times of sacrifice. So he departed for Denmark. [Not King Frø, but the god seems to be meant directly.] The report goes on with a description of quite similar rites at the court of the Irish King, Hugleth, who is killed by Starkad and Haki. Snorri has exactly the same report on the destruction of the lascivious king and his court. But here the scene is at Upsala. Among King Hugleik's people, Snorri also mentions sorcerers ("seiðmenn"). It is obviously Snorri who preserves the correct localisation; the whole tradition must be referred to the Swedish cult of Freyr.

10. SAXO ON KING FRODE FREDEGOD.—What Saxo relates in his 5th book on King Frode Fredegod is mixed up with Icelandic fancy sagas of more or less individual fabrication. The whole story of Frode's battles and conquests must be eliminated. What remains is a ritual tradition which may be summed up in the following way. Frode established the firm and sacred peace (fróða friðr). In order to manifest its firmness, he placed unlocked treasures near the high roads on two spots in Norway and also in Jutland. Nobody ventured to steal them. At last a witch persuaded her son to steal them for her, and when the king set out to punish the thief, she transformed her-

self into a sea-cow and gored him with her horn. Frode died of the wound. But his chieftains embalmed his corpse, put it on a chariot, and dragged it round the country; so credulous people believed that he was still living, and paid their taxes as before. The corpse at last rotted so much that they could not bear the stench; so they buried it near Værebro, on the island of Sealand. N.B.—This locality is close to Ud-Lejre, reminding one of the name of the famous Sealandic place of worship.

We do not take into account the myths about Gefjón, Baldr, and King Skjold, which have been regarded by several scholars as closely connected with the Nerthus-cult. As the connection is not strictly obvious, we think it better to leave this material aside.

III. LOCALISATION OF THE NERTHUS-PEOPLE OF TACITUS.—Tacitus says, "Germania," c. 40: Nerthus is worshipped by Rendingi, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suarines, Nuithones. Sanctuary: an island in the ocean.

Corresponding group in Widsith: Rondings, Brondings, Wærnes, Eoves, Ytes. The Angles are left out, as they must be named at the end of the whole list, according to the law of "back stress."

The hapax legomenon Reudigni of Tacitus no doubt must be read Rendingi or Randingi=the Rendings of Widsith.¹ They may have lived near the river Gudenaa in North Jutland; this river must formerly have been called Rand, since the town at its mouth has the name of Randers, Randar-ós, "mouth of

¹ Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 199, combines the Varini with the South Jutlandic peninsular district of Varnæs, in the neighbourhood of Angel = "promontorium Varinorum in a document of the thirteenth century." It is not quite excluded that this suggestion of Müllenhoff could be correct. But the assertion that the cited words are actually found in a document, "Liber census Daniæ," is false; it is due to a careless quotation from Müllenhoff in the extremely unreliable treatise of Seelman, in "Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung" 1886, p. 31.

Rand." Besides, there is a firth near Fredericia called Randsfjord.

Avions, Eowan, are either "Island-dwellers" or "River-dwellers." The first interpretation has been referred to the islands along the coast of South Jutland. Detlefsen, in Sieglin's "Quellen u. Forschungen zur alten . . . Geographie," Heft 8, Nachtrag, p. 10, suggests that the Avions might be the inhabitants of Åbo Syssel in North Jutland, *i.e.*, the environs of Randers and Aarhus. Åbo means exactly "River-dweller." If the Rondings lived near Randers, the said localisation of the Avions would fit in very well. Yet we must provisionally leave the suggestion as a vague possibility.

Anglii, Angles, are inhabitants of the South Jutlandic district of Angel, perhaps also of the neighbouring east coast of Holstein.

Varini, Wærnes, on the map of Ptolemy, are placed fairly in the present Mecklenburg. One of the main rivers of the country till this day are called Warnow; it debouches near the well-known railway junction of Warnemünde. The reign of the Varines was ruined by the Franks in the year 595. The later invading Slavs who settled near the river of Warnow called themselves Varnabi; perhaps the tribe may have been a denationalised remnant of the Varines.

Eudoses are like the Eudosioi of Ptolemy (corrupted into Fundusioi). Ptolemy's map places them on the north-west coast of Jutland, as neighbours of the Charudes who lived on the east coast. In Cesar's time Enduses and Charudes jointly made an inroad into Gaul. We know of no other native possible equation than the tribe of Wederas in the Beowulf poem. As Euthungi are often called Vithungi, and the Jutæ often Vitæ, it does not seem to us quite excluded that a similar displacement of the initial sounds might have taken place in Euduses-Wederas. The R could be quite regularly developed from a voiced S.

Suarines or Suardones are by Chadwick and others combined with the Varini as Su-varines, and again re-found in the Mecklenburgian town of Schwerin. We should prefer to correct Suarines, Suardones into Charudes, as these are the notorious neighbours of the Euduses.

The Charudes on Ptolemy's map are placed on the east coast of Jutland, and here they are brought to mind by the medieval district of Harz Hæret, nowadays Hads Herred. The greater part of the Charudes, however, have moved on to the west coast, and live here as Hardboer, in the district of Hard Syssel.

Nuithones is evidently corrupt. It may be bettered into Teutones or Euthiones. The Teutones, according to Ptolemy's map, are the neighbours of the Varines, whereas Mela places them on the island of Codanonia (Scandinavia?). The Euthiones, who occur in a poem of Venantius Fortunatus, 583, of course would be identical with the well-known Jutes.

Half of the above interpretations, it is true, are questionable, but at least Angles, Varines and Euduses are firmly localised, and this is enough to give some idea of the general extension of the Nerthus community. Jutland in its whole length is included; that is to say, so far as it belongs to the Baltic sphere; the south-western part, because of its maritime intercourse with the North Sea regions, seems to have belonged to another community. So the Nerthus-community belonged, moreover, to Mecklenburg, the territory of the Varines. As to the Danish islands, they are not directly mentioned. But the sacred "island in the ocean," in the opinion of many scholars, is exactly Sealand. And at any rate we cannot wonder if Tacitus was not aware of the extension of the community beyond the Belts: for here his geographical knowledge was quite sporadic and unreliable.

IV. PLACE-NAMES OR RUNE-STONES PRESERVING THE NERTHUS-CULT.—Nærild in Varvith Syssel, West Jut-

land, anciently a church village = Nerthus-hill? Njære, vicarage in Aabo Syssel, near Randers, = Niarthar-ví, "Nerthus-sanctuary." Nærbjærg, in Aabo Syssel, on Hælghænæs, the "Holy Ness," = Nerthus-Barrow? The "Holy Ness" is no doubt the most suitable place for a maritime cult on the whole coast of North Jutland, as it stands far out into the Kattegat, widely visible with its steep bank, which is called Ellemandsberget, "the Elf-mountain." Runestone, on the island of Funen, mentioning Nora goþi (Nura kuþi), according to Magnus Olsen, "the priest of the Nerthus-worshippers." Nærthowæ, now N. and S. Næraa, in the northern and eastern part of Funen, = "Nerthus-hill." Niartherum, now Nærum, in N. Sealand, = Nerthus-place." Närlunda, near Helsingborg in Scania = "Nerthus-grove." Niærdholm, an unknown islet near the coast of Scania.

In the upper Swedish provinces, place-names, preserving the cult of Nerthus, are exceedingly numerous. Sometimes they are now singularly distorted, such as Mjerdevid, formerly Njærdevi; (H. V. Clausen). Also in Norway the name of Nerthus is represented, *e.g.*, Njarðey, now Nærø is the well-known Nærøfjord.

V. EVIDENCES ON THE CULT OF THE ANCESTRAL HERO, INGUO.—The Inguions, as we have said before, are generally identified with the Nerthus-worshippers. We must remark beforehand that according to ancient Gottonic laws of nomenclature, no ordinary human being was allowed to bear the name of his own native eponymous hero, national nor gentile. Hence we draw the conclusion that eponymous names, found in the early parts of ancient pedigrees, have a certain systematic significance: they proved the means of indicating the genealogical classification of the families concerned. This must be remembered in order to understand the evidences correctly.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV., 96 and 99. The Inguions consist of the inhabitants of Saevo (Norway), more-

over of Cimbrians, Teutons, *i.e.*, Jutlanders, and of Chauks in northern Hannoveria.

GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLIAN KINGS OF BERNICIA—Woden—Beornec—Ing-ui. Anglo-Saxon Rune-Song. Ing was first among the East-Danes. Hence he went eastward over the wave. The chariot (?) ran after him.

BEOWULF.—The Skjoldungs or Danes are constantly called Ing-wine, *i.e.*, “friends of Inguo.”

GENEALOGY OF THE SIKLINGS, who, according to Saxo, have emigrated from Götland to Sealand. Ungvin, at the top of the genealogy, = Ing-vin.

GENEALOGY OF THE YNGLINGS OR SKILFINGS, Kings of Sweden, worshipping the gods called Vanes. Niorthr-Freyr (called Yngvi, Yngvi-Freyr or Ingun-ár-Freyr) (Vana f.) Vanlandi (Skjalf f.) Yngvi.

VI. FIRST COUNTER-VERIFICATION. LOCAL OR NON-LOCAL CHARACTER OF THE NERTHUS-CULT.—It is a question how much of the above-mentioned rites is international, and how much of more local origin.

The sacrificial procession of driving is of course not local. We again find it with the lascivities, etc., on Rhenish ground in the year of 1123 (*Rodulf's Chronicon abbatiae S. Trudonis lib. XI.*, see Kögel, *Gesch. d. deutsch. Litt I.*, p. 23, *Grimm Mythologie* (3) 242, (4) III., 86).

The chariot with religious images is found on Celtic ground in Steiermark (Sophus Müller, “*Urgesch. Europas*,” p. 131, Hallstadt Period) and Danish ground near the Seelandic place of Trundholm, belonging to the cult of the Sun (Müller, *ibid*, p. 116).

Survivals of sacrificial sexual rites were found on the island of Helgoland as late as in the 17th century (Nathan Chytræus).

If we should try to trace the existence of more local features, we should like to point out the difference in the means of conveyance. The Baltic districts evidently prefer the ordinary chariot. Evidences: Nerthus,

goddess of Lejre, Peace-Frode, Freyr, Sun-chariot from Sealand. We may, perhaps, add Gefion's plough as a sub-species. Only one instance of ship-driving is known within this region; the custom exists till this day in Aarhus, the capital of Jutland.

The South Teutonic region seems to prefer the ship-driving. Tacitus relates that a goddess, "Isis," is worshipped by the Swebians in the likeness of a ship. And we again find the ship-procession both on Rhenish ground and in Tyrol (Kögel, i.e.). As the ship symbol is inappropriate for an inland country like the Tyrol, the custom may have been carried thither by Swebian "Isis-worshippers."

VII. SECOND COUNTER-VERIFICATION.—EVIDENCES ABOUT NON-INGUIONIC TRIBES.—(a) Saxons. A national symbol of theirs is Saxnôt. From him the East-Saxon kings in England are derived, whereas all Jutic and Anglian kings are derived from Woden. Another national god of the Saxons is Er, who is also worshipped by the Bavarians. His symbol most likely is the Irmin-sûl, "the enormous column," worshipped by the Saxons, who therefore would seem to belong to the Ermines, a group co-ordinate with the Inguions; the Saxons, and the neighbouring Sigulons and Ambrons of classical times appear in the same relation to the Inguions as the Saxons, Siggs and Ymbres of Widsith, not being mentioned within the Nerthus group.

(b) Swebians, etc. According to Pliny, they belong to the group of Ermines, co-ordinate with Inguions. The Bavarians in the middle ages remembered their origin from Ermin or "Armen," who was, by learned conjecture, derived from Armenia. The national god Er is worshipped from Saxony to Bavaria; hence Bavarian Ertag = Tuesday. Symbol: Irmin-sûl? Compare the Saxons. The god Woden is unknown to the Bavarians; hence German Mittwoch = Wednesday. A part of the Swebians, according to Tacitus, *Germ.* c. 9,

worship "Isis," symbolized as a ship. The ship-symbol is also found in the Rhine-province (near Aachen), and in the Tyrol, see above. The German name of "Isis" was perhaps Hulda, Frau Holle. She may have been a counterpart of the female Nerthus.

(c) Frisians, etc. A national god of theirs is Forsete, the president of the "thing" or law-court, worshipped especially in Helgoland, or "Fosetesland." He seems to be the same as the Mars Thingsus, worshipped by the Tuiantes, the inhabitants of Twenthe, south of West Frisia. Tuesday in German is named after Mars Thingsus: Dingstag, Dienstag; this denomination is most frequent in Western Germany and Holland. The Norwegians in later times adopted Forsete into their mythology, but real worship of him cannot be traced on Scandinavian ground.

(d) Franks. According to Pliny, the people near the Rhine form a group called Istiones, or Istvæones. The statement is supported by a 6th century "Generatio regum and gentium," written down in Gaul; here the Franks appear as "sons of Istio." Even if the genealogy is not to be trusted, its statement about the vernacular tribe may lay claim to reliability. We know nothing about local Franconian gods of greater significance.

The collective evidence from the tribes south of Jutland seems to show that their worship is characterized by special features, in contrast to that of the Inguions. At any rate, we have found nothing which justifies the assertion that the Inguions belonged to a southern type, limited to the countries west of the Øresund and sharply contrasting with the Scandinavian type.

THE VOLUSPÁ, THE SIBYL'S LAY IN THE EDDA OF SÆMUND.

By W. F. KIRBY, F.L.S., F.E.S., President.

AMONG the ancient Teutonic nations, women always occupied a very high and honourable place, and not least as prophetesses and soothsayers. This was the case even among the Gods, and we read in the *Vegtamskvida* that when evil dreams and omens threatened the life of Balder, Odin himself rode down to the eastern gate of Helheim, to the grave of a great Vala, and he compelled her by his spells to rise from the dead and answer his questions. When he left her, she declared that he might boast that no man should ever visit her again until Loki shall break his bonds, and Ragnarök, the Twilight of the Gods, all-destroying, shall come. The *Vegtamskvide* is better known in England than any other poem of the Edda, for it is the original of Gray's *Descent of Odin*.

One of the oldest and most interesting poems of the Elder Edda is the *Völuspâ*, or Vala's Prophecy, which gives a fairly complete outline of Eddaic cosmogony and mythology, and the Prose Edda of Snorri largely consists of an amplification and commentary on the *Völuspâ*.

At one time this poem was supposed to be of great antiquity, and it embodies much ancient belief; but in its present form it comes down to us from about the time of the introduction of Christianity into the North. We now know that Irish poetry of the same period possesses Oriental and Sibylline characters very similar to those of the oldest Eddaic poems, and the literary connection between Ireland and Iceland was probably much closer than we are able to estimate at present.

Vigfusson and York Powell, in their "Corpus Poeticum Boreale," have subjected the *Völuspá* to a kind of "higher criticism," and see in it the prophecy of three Sibyls, in addition to the so-called "Short *Völuspá*," which forms part of another poem, the *Hyndluljóð*. But I prefer to discuss the poem in the form in which it generally stands, and following Thorpe's translation in the main, I may say that it seems to me that Vigfusson and York Powell have been too ready to read Christian allusions into it. Thus, in one passage they allude to the Ash *Yggdrasil* as the "rood." But while it is quite possible that certain ideas connected with the Crucifix may have been mixed up with the idea of the World-Tree, yet the original conception is far older, and thoroughly Oriental in character. Nor is it clear that obscure casual allusions to a Mighty One who shall come to preside over the renovated world, necessarily refer to Christ, as they assume. But we will now see what the Sybil herself teaches.

First of all, she demands silence from all men, great and small, the children of *Heimdall*, who is said, in the *Rígsmaal*, to have infused life into the ancestors of the human race. She remembers the giants among whom she was reared, and nine worlds. Thorpe adds, "nine trees, the great central tree beneath the earth"; but Vigfusson and York Powell read, "nine Pythonesses, a blessed Judge beneath the earth."

As they suggest, the Pythonesses *may* refer to the nine virgin mothers of *Heimdall*; the "blessed Judge" they suggest is *Mimir*, but the interpretation "Central tree" seems to me much more reasonable. The "blessed Judge," and the allusion to *Mimir*, seem to me to be nonsense. Miss Olive Bray reads "nine in the Tree, the glorious Fate-Tree that springs 'neath the earth."

Then the Sybil relates how in the time of chaos everything was in confusion, till the Gods created or

refashioned the heavens and the earth, and assigned their courses to the Sun, Moon, and Stars. Then the Gods settled on the plain of Ida, and led a joyous and prosperous life, and everything was of gold, till there came three hideous giant-maidens from Jötunheim, when all the prosperity of the Gods vanished. Here follows a long account of the creation of the dwarfs from the blood and bones of the Giant Ymir, which Vigfusson and York Powell reject as spurious. According to the Prose Edda, the dwarfs were created from the maggots that bred in the carcase of the giant Ymir, who was slain by the Gods, and from whose body they constructed the world.

In the Prose Edda, the creative Gods are called Odin, Vili, and Ve; but in one passage in the Völuspâ they are called Odin, Hœnir and Lodur, and the last name does not occur elsewhere. They were wandering on the shore, when they found two logs of wood, Ask and Embla (Ash and Elm?), and they changed them into a man and woman, and gave them life and understanding. In the Rigsmal, the vitalising of the ancestors of the three castes of mankind—thralls, peasants, and nobles—is ascribed to Heimdall, but this is not mentioned in the Völuspâ. The Ash was always a sacred emblem in the North; here we find that the ancestor of all men was originally an ash-stump; the great World-Tree, Yggdrasil, was also an Ash; and the son of Hengist was named Æsc; and the men of Kent were called after him Æscings.

Now we come to the Ash Tree itself.

19. I know an ash standing
 Yggdrasil hight,
 A lofty tree, laved
 With limpid water;
 Thence come the dews,
 Into the dales that fall;
 Ever stands it green
 Over Urd's fountain.

Here sit the three Nornir—Urd, Verdandi, and Skuld, Past, Present, and Future, by the Fountain of the Past, weaving the fates of men.

The Vala then relates how she sat alone, when Odin came and gazed upon her; and she declared to him that she knew how he had left his eye in pledge at the well of Mimir. The allusions to Mimir, the guardian of the Well of Wisdom, are inconsistent. Here, Mimir is said to drink mead every morning from the eye as from a cup. Elsewhere Odin is said to have given his eye for a draught from Mimir's well; while other passages seem to imply that Odin cut off the head of Mimir, and used to consult it in time of doubt and difficulty, as if it had been a Teraph.

Then Odin conferred on the Vala the gifts of prophecy and seership, and she beheld in vision the coming of the Valkyriur, and of the Witch of Gold, followed by the outbreak of war in the world, between the Æsir and the Vanir (the Gods and the Wind-Gods?), and the murder, by Thor, of a giant to whom the gods had pledged the hand of Freya, which is related more fully in the Prose Edda.

Then the Vala beheld the Witch of the Iron Wood, and the wolves of the race of Fenrir, especially Managarm, who will devour the moon. There is some confusion about these wolves; and the Prose Edda has mixed up two different legends. According to one, the sun and moon are constantly pursued by two wolves, named Sköll and Hati, who will finally overtake and devour them; but according to the other account, the sun and moon will be devoured by Fenrir and Managarm, the former of whom is fettered up while the world lasts, while Managarm, though here said to be reared up in the Iron Wood, is perhaps the same as Garm, the watch dog of Helheim, who is said in the Prose Edda, as Managarm is said in the *Völuspá*, to be the most terrible of all the monsters.

Then the Vala beheld three cocks, the red cock Fialar, crowing over the Bird Wood, the gold-combed cock, Gullinkambi, crowing over the abode of the Gods, and a cock of sooty red crowing beneath the earth in the halls of Hel.

Then follows an account of the slaying of Balder by Höder with a spear of mistletoe, to the great grief of the Gods, and especially of Balder's mother Frigga. This event Vigfusson and York Powell regard as transferred, and they connect it with the first war in the world, already alluded to, and refer to the story of Cain and Abel, to which, however, it is not an exact parallel, because Höder slew Balder by misadventure, through the machinations of Loki, who, as the Vala relates, was afterwards bound to a rock, with the entrails of one of his wolf-sons, with his sad wife, Sigyn, sitting by him with a shell to catch the poison dropping from a serpent hung above him, and to prevent it from falling on his face. In another poem of the Edda, however (*Ægisdrekka*), Loki is said to have been hunted down and fettered up on account of the abuse and scandal he poured on all the Gods at a drinking-bout given by *Ægir*, the God of the Sea.

Then the Vala speaks of *Slid*, one of the rivers of Hell; the drinking hall of the Giant *Brimir*; and the Hall of Serpents in *Naströnd*, where murderers, perjurers, and adulterers wade in sluggish streams of venom, and the serpent *Nidhögg* sucks corpses, and wolves tear them.

Then the Vala passes on to the greatest Myths of the Northern Mythology; the Twilight of the Gods, and the destruction and renovation of the world.

44. Further forward I see
 Much can I say
 Of Ragnarök,
 And the Gods' conflict.

45. Brothers shall fight,
And slay each other,
Cousins shall
Kinship violate,
The earth resounds.
The giantesses flee;
No man will
Another spare.
46. Hard is it in the world,
Great whoredom,
An axe age, a sword age,
Shields shall be cloven,
A wind age, A wolf age,
Ere the world sinks.

Mimir's sons dance, and Heimdall blows his horn loudly, when the Ash Yggdrasil totters and bursts into flames, and Odin consults the head of Mimir. Then all bonds are broken, and the monsters rise up in their fury on all sides; Loki, Garm, the giant Hrym, in his warship of dead men's nails, the Midgard Serpent, who lies round the world in the sea with his tail in his mouth, and the army of Muspellheim, led by Surtur, waving a sword brighter than the sun in his hand.

52. How is it with the Æsir?
How with the Alfar?
All Jötunheim resounds;
The Æsir are in council,
The dwarfs groan
Before their stony doors,
The sages of the rocky walls.
Understand ye yet, or what?

Then Odin goes forth to fight the Wolf Fenrir, and perishes, to the great grief of Frigga. As William Herbert paraphrases the passages—

She must taste a second sorrow,
She who wept when Balder bled;
Fate demands a nobler quarry,
Death must light on Odin's head.

The Wolf is then slain by Vidar. Frey, the bright slayer of Beli, fights with Surtur, and is slain, because he gave his own sword to his messenger, Skirnir, when he sent him to woo the giantess Gerda on his behalf. In the Prose Edda we are told that the combat with Beli was a slight affair, and Frey could have slain him with a blow of his fist; but he slew him with a stag's antlers. Who Beli was, I do not know, but the name occurs in old Irish tales, and I think it possible that the story, lost in Iceland, may ultimately be traced in this quarter. Keary says, in the "Heroes of Asgard": "Beli was the name of a large stag which Frey slew"; but I doubt the correctness of this interpretation. In the Glossary to the second edition, Keary writes: "Beli"—the stag killed by Frey. *Beli* signifies "to bellow." There was also a King Bele or Beli, a Norseman who settled in Orkney (see a pamphlet by Lady Paget, published at Cambridge in 1894), who was the father of Ingebiörg, the beloved of the famous hero Frithiof; but we do not know that Bele or Frithiof had any special connection with Frey.

Thor fights the Midgard Serpent, whom he had already encountered in indecisive conflict and they slay each other; as do also Loki and Heimdall, and Tyr and Garm, as we learn from the Prose Edda.

Then the sun grows dark, the stars fall, the earth sinks in the sea, and the burning ash-tree flames up to heaven. At length the Vala beholds the fire sink, and a new and beautiful world rise from the waters. The Gods shall meet again on the plain of Ida, speak of the mighty deeds of the past, and recover the ancient tablets of Wisdom, while Balder and Höder return from Helheim, and likewise Hœnir, who had been given to the Vanir, as a hostage. The fields shall bring forth unsown and all evil vanish from the new world. Two brothers' sons shall inhabit the spacious Hall of the Winds, and in the golden palace of Gimli all the righteous shall dwell for ever.

64. Then comes the mighty one
To the great judgment,
The powerful from above
Who rules o'er all.
He shall dooms pronounce,
And strifes allay.
Holy peace establish
Which shall ever be.

It is possible and indeed probable that Christian ideas may have influenced these passages; but they are much mixed with non-Christian matters and may well be largely derived from Persian or other old Oriental sources, directly or indirectly. Another poem in the Edda, the Hyndlulíöð, contains a very similar passage.

42. Then shall another come
Yet mightier,
Although I dare not
His name declare.
Few may see
Further forth
Than when Odin
Meets the Wolf.

This passage occurs in the portion of the poem which Vigfusson and York Powell separate as forming fragments of a lost poem, under the title of "Skamma," or the "Short Völuspá." It is quite distinct in matter and manner from the genealogical poem called the Hyndlulíöð, in which it is incorporated.

The last strophe of the Völuspá is obscure, and probably out of place. It seems to have no immediate connection with what has gone before.

65. There comes the dark
Dragon flying from beneath,
The glistening serpent
From Nida-fells.
On his wings bears Nidhögg,
Flying o'er the plain,
A corpse.
Now she will descend.

Vigfusson and York Powell close the poem with this stanza, but bring it into association with the other reference to Naströnd and Nidhögg, which they place before it.

Notwithstanding the mass of commentary which has already appeared on the Scandinavian Mythology, there are still many important questions unsettled in relation to it. We only possess it in a fragmentary form, but much light may still be thrown upon it; from quarters perhaps quite unexpected. I have already alluded to Old Irish literature, and other important side-lights may be looked for in Northern and North-Eastern Europe. Thus we find, in Scheffer's "History of Lapland" (1674) that Thor was still worshipped in some parts of the country at that time. I presume he may be identified in some of his attributes at least, with Tara of the Esthonians, who are also a Finnish-ugrian people.

The symbolism of the Völuspá in an extensive and profoundly interesting part of the subject which I have not attempted to discuss, for I must not further trespass on your patience, or I might wander from one question to another all night.

A MAP OF DENMARK: 1900 YEARS OLD.

BY DR. GUDMUND SCHÜTTE.

I.—HOW EXPLORERS FROM THE SOUTH DISCOVERED DENMARK.

THE Greek geographer, Pytheas, of Marseilles, was, as far as we know, the first European explorer who undertook a voyage of discovery towards the land of the midnight sun. This occurred about 325 B.C. He also sought the amber coast, as amber was in his time no less highly appreciated than the Kimberley diamonds are now. So he went along the north-west coast of Germany till he met an amber-selling tribe called Teutones. They probably lived in Jutland, or near there. Unfortunately, many of his learned landsmen would not believe in his report. Especially the geographer, Strabo, was hard on Pytheas, calling him an obvious liar. So the book of Pytheas was lost, only some tiny fragments being preserved.

Some two hundred years after the voyage of Pytheas, the Teutones paid a return visit to the environs of his native town. They raided southern Europe, together with the Cimbrians, who decidedly came from Jutland. Both were defeated by the Roman general, Marius, 101-102 B.C. Again, fifty years later, new flocks of Jutlanders attacked Gaul. They were driven back by Cæsar, 58 B.C. So the Romans had repeatedly to do with Jutlanders, but still they did not know where these people came from.

At the beginning of the Christian era, however, the Romans subjugated north-west Germany right up to the mouth of the Elbe. In this way their horizon was at once advanced towards the north, and they became neighbours of the peninsula, which they called the Cimbrian, that is to say, Jutland and Holstein.

2.—ACTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS IN ORGANIZING THE GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY.

Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, promoted the knowledge of the classical world in different ways. It is well known from the Bible that "in those days there went out a decree from Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed, every one to his own city." As he thus caused statistical researches to be made, he also promoted the study of geography. Agrippa, his own son-in-law, began constructing a monumental map of the world. After his death, it was finished by order of the Emperor in the year 7 B.C. The map was of colossal size, and painted with bright colours. Copies seem to have been placed in several provincial capitals.

In the year 5 A.D. new discoveries were made by the Romans, and these exactly concerned the present Denmark. While the Roman army was operating at the mouth of the Elbe, the navy undertook a great expedition towards the north-east. The Emperor Augustus relates its exploits in his autobiography, which was carved on triumphal monuments in Rome and other great towns of the Empire. "By order of Me," he says, "my navy sailed from the mouth of the Rhine to the regions of the rising sun, so far that no Roman had proceeded thither before, be it by vessel, be it on foot. Cimbrians and Charudes and other tribes of that neighbourhood sent ambassadors, asking for friendship with Me and the Roman people." The two mentioned tribes were both Jutlanders; they live in Jutland till

this day, as we shall see later on. One of the Emperor's triumphal monuments is preserved in Angora, it is the so-called "Monumentum Ancyranum." Thus the Jutlanders may read the names of their ancestors on a 1900-year-old Roman monument in the middle of Asia Minor.

The Greek geographer, Strabo, adds that the Cimbrians sent their most sacred bowl as a present to Augustus. Evidently the Jutlanders must have been greatly terrified at the coming of the Roman navy, and their gift to His Majesty was a sort of atonement, because their kinsmen had poured the blood of so many slaughtered Roman captives into a huge bowl a hundred years before. How such bowls looked we may guess from a similar one which was dug up lately in the middle of the Cimbrian district; it is preserved in the Copenhagen Museum of Northern Antiquities; the bowl is of silver, with barbarian reliefs. On its bottom a recumbent bull is represented, evidently a Cimbrian god; for the Greek historian, Plutarch, relates that the Cimbrians carried a bronze bull with them on their raid; they used to certify their oaths by it, as Christian men swear by the Bible. Curiously enough, that very county in which the bowl was found has as coat of arms a bull-head, possibly a survival of the old Cimbrian bull-god.

The same imperial expedition which discovered the land of the Cimbrians also seems to have visited the Saxons in western Holstein and the "Saxon islands" in the North Sea. The Romans also heard about the Angles. Only we do not know exactly when.

3.—DEVELOPMENT OF GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE FROM AUGUSTUS TO PTOLEMY.

It was only for a very short time that the Romans had the opportunity of entering into direct relations with the people north-east of the lower Elbe. The

naval expedition to the Cimbrian country had been undertaken in the year 5 A.D., and already four years later the Roman dominion over Germany collapsed. It was the fatal defeat in the Teutoburgian forest which caused Rome to retire. After that time no Roman navy or army ever visited the neighbourhood of Jutland, and the progress of the geographical knowledge consequently stopped here for more than five hundred years. We are able to show that not a single classical information on Jutland dates from the times after Augustus, except perhaps the above-mentioned notice about the Anglian tribes, preserved by Tacitus in his *Germania*.

From a scientific point of view, however, the discoveries of the Roman navy were not lost. Although the Greek geographer, Strabo, distrusted them, as he distrusted those of Pytheas, the observations of the imperial fleet expedition were not forgotten. They were accepted in the revised editions of the Roman map of the world, and so they were finally handed down to us through the Greek geographer, Ptolemy.

4.—VALUING OF PTOLEMY'S WORK.

Ptolemy published his geography in the last half of the second century. He lived in Alexandria, which was at that time a flourishing centre of science and art. He is known as the most famous astronomer of antiquity, even if others were in reality more deserving of the title.

The astronomic destinations of the atlas are very detailed. Ptolemy relates the length of the longest day in Scandinavia and on other important points of the world. Even the tiniest borough is localised in the geography, with longitude and latitude, so that we may reconstruct the atlas from out the text with relative exactness. The statistical scheme of the atlas is equally minutious: boroughs, towns, smaller and larger, are

distinguished by means of towers and other signs. Ptolemy's leading historical principle was praiseworthy. It was his aim to bring his predecessors' work up to date, leaving out all such names which were no longer actually used, as he says in the preface. But now we turn to his bad sides. He was completely unable to interpret barbarian names. When two of the original maps from which he was composing his own atlas, had the same name spelt a little differently, he would not recognize the identity. Thus the same name may on Ptolemy's map occur twice, thrice, and even four times. It was clearly his ambition to fill out any bare spot of the maps, and for this purpose the despised barbarian names were good enough to be used two or three times over in his philological bed of Proustes. By means of the duplicates and triplicates we are able to show that Ptolemy's atlas is made up of at least five separate original maps. Often these were completely upset: sea-coasts being mistaken for rivers, and rivers being mistaken for mountains, and so on. The result was the most terrible chaos.

The German philologist, Müllenhoff, in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III., p. 95, calls Ptolemy and his predecessor Marinus the "Sudelköche" of ancient geography.

Perhaps the verdict is a little too hard, for the same scheme of constructing maps is found in most other geographies down to modern times. But at any rate it marks the culmination of classical geography in an impressive way.

5.—PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY IN MEDIÆVAL TRADITION.

Famous as it was, Ptolemy's monumental work was copied in numerous MSS. The best copy of the atlas is the Cod. Urbinas 82 in Rome; others are preserved in the British Museum.¹ But only one has been repro-

¹Cf. J. Fischer, "Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Ptolemäus-Karten" in "Verhandl. des deutschen Geographentags." 1912.

duced, viz., the MS. of the monastery of Vatopedion, on Mount Athos in Greece. It was published in phototypical reproduction by the Russian scholar, Sewastionow, and the French scholar, Langlois, Paris, 1867. We could wish it republished with the more advanced technics of modern reproductive methods; but still the present edition is completely sufficient to show the main features of the atlas.

A comprehensive critical edition of Ptolemy's Geography was published by the German scholar, Carl Müller, Paris, 1883-1901. It contains the different readings of most Context MSS., copious foot-notes, and an atlas, reconstructed from the context. The foot-notes are valuable, but the reading of the text is not absolutely exact, and the editor, like all of his predecessors, commits the main fault that he ignores completely the MSS. atlas. The Russian scholar, Kunik, in 1892, advised his German colleague, H. Kiepert, to examine it, but in vain. It was not until 1906 that Kunik's letter was publicly known (see Roediger's Preface to Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. II.), and R. Kiepert's *Formae orbis antiqui* still ignores the MSS. atlas. The disregarding of its copies was a fatal error, because they contain many original features which are lost or hidden away in the geography—*e.g.*, on the reconstructed map the mountains of Germany are piteously meagre; whereas on the Mount Athos copy they are astonishingly rich. Moreover, the reconstruction could not unveil the colossal error of the modern geographers who unanimously place Ptolemy's Sudetian mountains north-east of Bohemia. Whereas the MSS. atlas shows at a first glance that the true Sudetian mountains lay south-west of this country.

7.—THE MAKING OF PTOLEMY'S ATLAS.

The reconstructed atlas in Müller's edition has at least one indisputable advantage: it is on the whole

exhaustive; whereas the Mount Athos atlas often leaves out the tribe-names. Thus the reconstruction gives a good total idea about the confusion prevailing in Ptolemy's maps of barbarian Europe. Let us, *e.g.*, take the map of Germany and Scandinavia. We here notice, first of all, that the Angles are placed in the middle of Germany, far away from the Saxons, a corrupt localisation which has puzzled scholars for five hundred years. We notice a still more obvious displacement of the Langobards. This tribe belongs to those which are doubled. The one example is correctly placed next to the Saxons in the present Barden-Gau, on the left border of the Elbe. The alter-ego, however, has sprung from the Elbe to the Rhine, accompanying the Angles on their migration towards south-west. The Burgundians are split up in a corresponding way. They correctly maintain their place near the Baltic coast of Germany, whereas the alter-ego is banished from Germanic ground, appearing in Poland, east of the Vistula. Near the Polish "Burgundians" we observe the Ombrones, who are in reality the Anglo-Saxon Ambrones from the south-western edge of the Baltic. They have followed the Burgundians into their exile, just as the Angles have followed the Langobards.

Such proofs may be sufficient. Ptolemy's maps of barbarian Europe, as they now appear, are in reality worse than nothing, for the errors are more numerous than the correct information. The consequences of using such corrupt maps without criticism are shown by the corresponding sheets in Spruner's *Atlas antiquus*, and Berghaus' *Physikalischer Atlas*, 3rd edition.

In order to make Ptolemy's material practically serviceable, we have tried to reconstruct the original maps which he has made into one. The task is certainly difficult, but not at all impossible. For although Ptolemy has amalgamated half a dozen maps, he has generally not gone so far that he eliminated every trace of the original, dissolving the material into its

atoms. On the contrary, the series of names, extracted from the different original maps, were entangled into each other, but the order within each series was generally not disturbed. So we can in a great number of cases disentangle the different maps from each other with almost complete certainty.

Within the northern and north-eastern parts of Europe we distinguish the following prototypes:—

A. A very fine map of Europe, etc., forming the general framework with which other prototypes (B, C, D, E, F) were combined. Its Latin redaction still appears from numerous spellings such as *Angriouarioi*, instead of *Aggriouarioi*, etc.

B¹ & B². Special map of eastern Germany, in two copies, both with exact design. B¹ seems to have formed the base of the East German section in A.

C & D. Maps of N. Gaul and Germany, with more or less incorrect design,—that of D is very bad.

E. Map of Germany and Sarmatia. The shape is oblong, the design exceedingly bad, betraying the scheme of overlapping (“telescoping”), known from itineraries of the Peutingerian type. The spellings mostly point towards Greek origin, but in E there are traces of a previous Latin stage, *e.g.*, *Sarmatai* instead of *Skythai* in F.

Sk. Special map of Skandia, perhaps amalgamated with F. The localisations are good. The spellings exclusively point towards Greek origin.

F. Map of Sarmatia and N. Asia, with very good design, amalgamated with A. It is characterized by the system of combining nearly every tribe with homonymous localities, *e.g.*, *Venedai*, *Venedian* mountains. The language seems to have been Greek.

9.—PROTOTYPE A.

A partial reconstruction of Prototype A is contained in our Plate B. Our design is based upon the *Urbinas* 82.

Prototype A forms the fundamental framework of the map of Europe. We may regard it as representing the design of the imperial map, such as it appeared after the discoveries in the year 5 A.D. A very fine map indeed.

In some cases we may still distinguish the local maps, of which the collective design was composed. Such fundamental elements are represented by our Prototype B, and we may regard the design of Denmark and north-western Germany as another, evidently representing the discoveries from the great naval expedition, 5 A.D. But the amalgamation of such elements seems to have been skilfully carried through, leaving no irregularities or inconsistencies worth speaking of.

The reconstruction of Prototype A is easy enough, so far as the physical design is concerned. Prototype A can claim practically the total amount of coast-lines, mountain-chains and rivers. On the map of Germany, *e.g.*, there appear only two interpolated rivers, duplicates of the Vistula and the Oder, originating from Prototype B².

The reconstruction of the nomenclature is more difficult. Generally, we may assign the correctly localised names to Prototype A, but many names do not appear outside of Ptolemy's Geography. Owing to this isolated appearance, it cannot be made out whether their place on the Ptolemaic map is right or wrong, and so it is in many cases not possible to distinguish from which prototype they originate.

In the sphere of our special research, however, it is fortunately otherwise. On the Cimbrian Peninsula and along the north-west coast of Germany there appears a series of tribe-names which are all sufficiently verified by other authorities. Especially favourable is the state of things in the region of the Cimbrian Peninsula. For this part of Prototype A has remained completely free from confusion with other maps used by Ptolemy. Consequently the entire material here belongs

to Prototype A, which has again drawn it from the coast description executed during the naval expedition, 5 A.D.

An additional criterium is found in the orthography. The names assigned by us to Prototype A in a great number of cases have spellings pointing towards a Latin original, *e.g.*, Flêum instead of Flêon. Typical Greek spellings are introduced in a very few cases only, *e.g.*, Sygambroi instead of Sugambri. The described stand of the orthography shows that Prototype A had undergone only a rather superficial translation into Greek, when it was incorporated with Ptolemy's map of the world. Several of the additional maps used by Ptolemy had a much more decidedly Greek type, so especially our Prototype Sk. Consequently we observe here a linguistical contrast which may in certain cases contribute to the distinction of Ptolemaic prototypes.

We shall now more especially examine the design of Denmark. Compare our reconstruction, Plate B.

Our comparison strikingly illustrates the superior topography of the MSS. atlas. As it appears here, it could not possibly have been constructed from the figures of longitude and latitude in Ptolemy's Geography; what results from such a construction is sufficiently shown by the meagre design in the atlantes of Müller, v. Erckert and Kiepert. And especially it is impossible that the superior design of the MSS. atlas map could be due to some Greek monks in the 13th or 14th century. Such a correct idea of remote northern countries was impossible in mediæval Greece, apart from the traditional delivery of Ptolemy's map. This fact is sufficiently shown by their piteously deformed shape in the existing specimens of mediæval maps.

In order to understand the single details, we may recall the circumstances of the Roman discoveries.

The knowledge of West Holstein is explained by the fact that the opposite bank of the Elbe was under Roman dominion for at least four years, *viz.*, from 5 to 9 A.D. In the year 5 the imperial prince Tiberius sub-

jugated the Langobards, who appear on the map; they used to live in the present Barden-Gau, which preserves their name. Tiberius camped for a long time near the mouth of the Elbe, and during the following years of peace Roman merchants no doubt traded actively with the Holsteiners. Hence we understand Ptolemy's knowledge of the Saxons, then a quite insignificant tribe, which, after the downfall of Roman rule over Germany, remained practically unknown till 280 A.D.

The "Saxon islands," as connected with the inhabitants of Holstein, evidently are identical with Helgoland and the neighbouring islands, especially those along the south Jutlandic coast. The west coast of Holstein and of South Jutland must have been explored by the Romans in the year 5 A.D., for Vellejus says, that great flocks of natives fled along the coast for fear of the imperial navy, when it joined the army near the mouth of the Elbe. Most likely Roman merchants visited the Saxon islands even after the downfall of Roman rule in Germany. For the coast of South Jutland was a centre of the amber trade, which was so actively carried on by the Romans that they called the North Sea islands in their own language "Glaesiae," *i.e.*, "Amber islands." The word "glæsum" was of Teutonic origin, being related to "glass." Moreover, the Romans were perfectly informed about the great importance of the tides in the channels between the "Saxon" islands. This is shown by the description which Mela gives of the Cimbric Peninsula, he only by mistake refers the phenomenon to the Baltic coast. The inhabitants of the coast behind the Saxon islands became known to the Romans as Sigulones; they reappear in the Old English poem of Widsith as Sycgas, directly beside the Saxons.

Farther north the Romans had to pass a coast without harbours. Here they only stated the existence of a long, smooth coast-line, such as is shown by the MSS. atlas.

But as soon as the navy had sailed round the Skaw, or perhaps already when it reached the western mouth of the Limfjord, the country again became accessible. And here we clearly observe how well the Roman marine officers have used their eyes. They have, as a matter of fact, discovered and designed the whole southern basin of the Kattegat, from the Skaw to the east coast of the Øresund, and the main groups of surrounding islands.

The outline of the map north of the Limfjord is not yet interpreted with absolute certainty. Directly west of the Cimbrian headland there is a large bay, which would at the first glance seem identical with the Jammer-Bugt. But what then about the three islands of Alokiai, lying north of the bay? Nowadays there is absolutely nothing corresponding with the group of islands, they not being sufficiently accounted for by the existing isolated cliff called Skarreklit, standing in the Jammer-Bugt, opposite the point of Bulbjerg. We therefore agree with those Danish authors according to whom the bay mentioned is the Limfjord, whereas the Alokiai are the insular districts north of that channel. The same opinion is held by H. M. Chadwick in his excellent book on *The Origin of the English Nation*. It is true that the present Limfjord debouches into the Kattegat, and not into the bay of Jammer-Bugt, where its eastern mouth would have been placed by Ptolemy, if our interpretation is correct. But the most northern inlet of the Fjord, Bygholms Vejle, at any rate, is separated from the Jammer-Bugt only by a narrow isthmus, c. $1\frac{1}{2}$ (Engl.) miles broad, and the downs here rise nowhere higher than 30 metres. It is not at all impossible that the inlet of the Limfjord was in ancient times an outlet into the sea. Or, if we proceed farther east, we meet the streamlet Ryaa, running nearly from the Jammer-Bugt into the Limfjord. This streamlet runs along the Vildmose ("Wild bog") and other large bogs which have evidently replaced ancient

lagunes. And why should we not assume that 1900 years ago the streamlet still was a channel, connecting the Limfjord with the sea? As a matter of fact the western extremity of the Limfjord has changed its shape repeatedly during historical times: in the middle ages the Fjord was a real "firch," separated from the North Sea by an isthmus; in 1634 an outlet was formed, but soon after closed again; a lasting outlet was formed in 1825, but it changed its place in 1863. Even if we do not admit the supposed northern outlet as late as 5 A.D., it is quite perceivable that the Roman observers could suggest its existence. For the hills of Hanherred, between Bygholms Vejle and the Vildmose, arise to 90 metres, within surroundings of very low level. Consequently, when observed by seafarers at some distance, Hanherred appears as an island.

Finally, it must be added that the Roman observers could hardly correct eventual mistakes by means of asking the natives; for the ancient northern languages made no distinction between "island" and "greater peninsula"; *e.g.*, Scandinavia literally means "island of Scandia."

If we identify the eastern Alokian island with Hanherred, it is almost certain that the middle will be the island of Morsø in the Limfjord, whereas the western will be the district of Ty, anciently Thiod, between the Limfjord and the North Sea. The inhabitants of the latter district, the Tyboer, seem to be kinsmen of the classical Teutones.

The east coast of Jutland, in the MSS. atlas, has perhaps hardly such a characteristic shape as the west coast, especially the peninsulas of Skaw and Djursland are not prominent enough. Still the character of the coast is, as a whole, correctly observed: it is not the smooth line of the west coast, but a zig-zag line, evidently marking the existence of numerous headlands and firchs. Concerning the Skaw, we may add that its exact shape was known to Pliny, who calls it a long

headland, projecting into the ocean. He also knew its native name, *Thastris* or *Chartris*, as the MSS. have it, and likewise the name of a neighbouring gulf, *Lagnus*.

In order to accomplish our survey of classical Jutland, we must finally look at its tribe-names.

One general observation must be made before discussing details. In our opinion the Ptolemaic tribes of the Cimbric Peninsula are all to be sought in the coast regions, and especially in those parts which were accessible to the Roman navy. We must expect that the Roman explorers got less exact information concerning the interior of the country, and on the west coast which is so scarce of harbours. On the east coast the Romans got very closely in touch with the more northern districts, where they negotiated with Cimbrians and Charudes; the southern districts remained less known. We find these suppositions approximately confirmed by the MSS. atlas, for here all tribes of the Peninsula are maritime, except one, and a great part of the middle and eastern territory is filled out by the words "*Kimbrikê Chersonêsos*," evidently for want of local details. The reconstructed map in Müller's edition distributes the tribes over the whole of the Peninsula, which is evidently wrong.

So much about the distribution of Jutlandic tribe-names in general; now we shall examine the single ones.

CIMBRI, Greek *Kimbroi*=the present *Himmerboer* in *Himmerland*, the mediæval *Himber Sysæl*. The letter *C* in the Latin form *Cimbri* is an archaic spelling, which got fixed owing to the historical fame of the tribe. If the Cimbrians had been discovered as late as Cæsar's times, the name would rather have been spelled *Chimbri* or *Himbri*. There is not the slightest doubt about the identification with the inhabitants of *Himber Sysæl*, for "*Cimbri*" and "*Himber*" are equally unique forms. The usual identification of *Cimbri* and Welsh *Kymry* is evidently wrong, since the latter form

goes back to Combroges, meaning the same as "compatriots" or "comrades." The place of the Cimbri is exactly in Humber Sysæl, according to Ptolemy, who puts them on the northern extremity of the Peninsula. Cimbri and Himmerboer were identified first by the Royal Danish historiographer, Lyschander, c. 1620, since by his successor, Pontanus, a Dutchman (1630), and by the later Danish scholars, Pontoppidan (1730), Bredsdorff (1824), Werlauff (1836), and by the Norwegian scholars, Schøning (1760), and Keyser (1839). The German scholars, owing to Müllenhoff's influence, would for a long time not accept the identification, but now it is gaining ground, even among them, so, *e.g.*, it is accepted by Much (1905) and Detlefsen (1909). It is accepted by the English scholar, Chadwick, in his book on *The Origin of the English Nation* (1907).

CHARUDES, Cæsar's Harudes = the present Hardboer or Hasselboer in Hardsyssel, the mediæval Harthæ Sysæl. The tribe was first known through its attack on Gaul in Cæsar's times. Ptolemy places the Charudes on the east coast; later, the Hardboer must have moved to the west coast, but their name seems to have survived on the east coast in the county of Hads Herred, the mediæval Harz Hæret. Charudes and Hardboer were identified first by Pontanus (1630), since by Bredsdorff, Werlauff, Much, Detlefsen, etc. The connection with Harz Hæret was first suggested by Werlauff.

SABALINGIOI = the present Sallingboer in Saling Sysæl. The identification is a little inexact, both in spelling and localisation, but the whole surroundings make it overwhelmingly probable. Identified by Pontanus, Bredsdorff, Much, Detlefsen.

EUDOSIOI (Ptolemy's Fundusioi), south-west of the Charudes, according to the MSS. atlas, fairly at the west end of the Limfjord. Euduses (MSS., Edusii, Eudures), together with Harudes, attacked Cæsar in Gaul. Eudoses, together with Angles and

Varines, worshipped Nerthus, the goddess of peace and fertility (see Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 40). The tribe is no more traceable nowadays, but its connections with Charudes and Angles show that the Ptolemaic localisation is quite correct. Some scholars connect the Euduses with the original tribe of Jutes. If even phonetically difficult, the identification is perhaps not quite excluded. But it is at any rate only a vague suggestion.

It seems that the Angles were not discovered by the Roman naval expedition, 5 A.D., for they are not found on the map of the Cimbrian Peninsula. So we conclude that the Roman explorers did not land on the east coast of South Jutland, where the district of Angel is situated.

The neighbouring Varines, who, like the Angles, worshipped Nerthus, were, however, noticed. Some German scholars, such as Müllenhoff, have placed them in South Jutland, but this assumption is wrong. The Varines are on Ptolemy's map distinctly placed in Mecklenburg, where their name seems to survive in the river Warnow, debouching at Warnemünde. The Slavonian Varnabi may have inherited the name.

The less renowned Nerthus-worshippers are, on Ptolemy's map, conspicuous by absence only. They still appear as a closed group in the Old English epical catalogue, called *Widsith*. It is evident that Reudigni, Aviones, Varini, Uithones are identical with the epical Rendingas, Wærne, Eowan, Yte. But the group seems to be epically unimportant, and the localisation is quite uncertain (for particulars, see Detlefsen, in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, 1904-09, and Chambers, *Widsith*).

It deserves to be noticed that exactly the historically renowned tribes have survived till this day as distinct populations: inhabitants of Barden-Gau, Saxons, Himmerboer, Hardboer, Angelboer. Whereas the tribes of minor importance have generally disappeared.

except the Sabalingioi=Sallingboer. This fact shows that the preservation or loss of ethnical names is to a large degree directed by traceable laws of rank and merit.

So much about the Cimbrian Peninsula. We now turn to the Scandian islands, that is to say: the east Danish regions.

The "greater Scandia" is the peninsula of Scania, the south part of Scandinavia. Here we notice the observation of several coast details: the cape of Kullen, the capes of Skanör ("ear of Scania") and Smyge Huk.

A still better design than in the Urbinas 82 seems to be contained in the Athos Atlas,—we may believe to notice here even the small bays along the coast of Scania,—but this may be accidental.

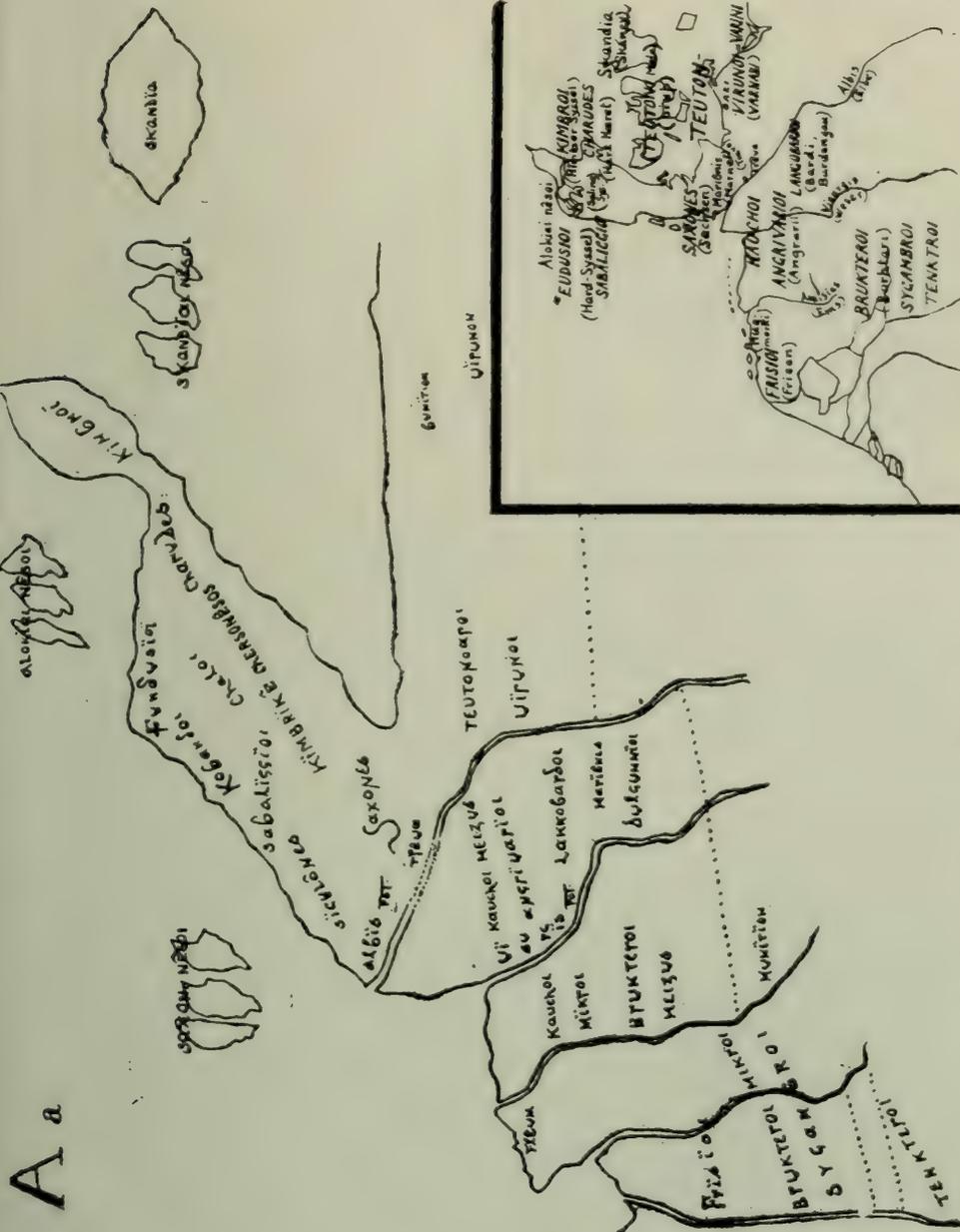
Ptolemy relates no individual names from the smaller "Scandian islands," and also the "greater Scandia" seems to have been bare of names on his original Map A.

The names of Scandia, Scania, and Scandinavia are identical. Scandinavia in old Norse means "Island of Scade." In Norse mythology, there is a goddess Skade, of Finnic origin, and very fond of hunting and ski-racing—the Diana of the North. She is evidently the personification of "Scade's island."

When the Scandinavian Peninsula of to-day is in Northern language called an island, we understand all the better how it could get an insular shape on the Roman map of 5 A.C. As a matter of fact, it was not before medieval times that its peninsular nature was commonly recognised.

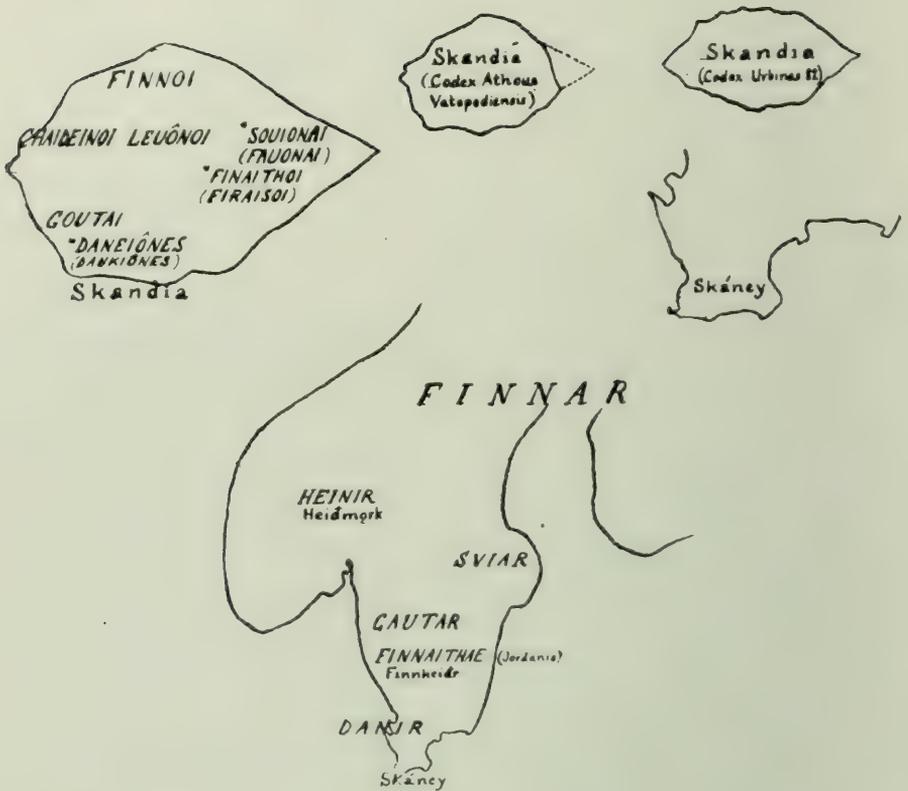
There are no traces of observations north of Skelder Vik and east of Karlskrona or Kristianopel. So far, the Roman navy must have sailed, and no further.

On Ptolemy's map the "Greater Scandia" contains 7 tribes, but most of these cannot have been observed by the Roman navy, as they belong to the country farther north, right up to Finland; we therefore leave them for our next paragraph.



Ptolemy's Prototype A. Section a.—Map of Denmark and N.W. Germany.

SK.



"The Ptolemaic map of Scandia in the Mount Athos Codex and the Codex Urbinas 82. The larger map to the left contains the Ptolemaic Names of tribes according to the description in the text of the Geography."

10.—PROTOTYPE SK. = SCANDIA.

Prototype Sk., according to its spellings, seems to have been of Greek origin. There are no traces whatever of a Latin original. No doubt it was a local map of the Scandinavian Peninsula. It may be based upon reports, acquired by Roman merchants who dwelt on the Prussian amber coast. That Roman factories were established here under the Emperor Nero is related by Pliny's *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii. 45.

Ptolemy has compressed six northern tribes and the Fins within that fragmentary country which appears as Scandia in Prototype A. Such a proceeding is of course a *contradictio in adjecto*; the seven tribes or peoples in Scandia necessarily signalize a country of colossal dimensions. It is clearly that "separate continent," of which Pliny was vaguely informed: he says that the inhabitants of Scandinavia regard their country as an "alter orbis terrarum," IV., 96.

The author of Prototype Sk. must have been excellently informed about the geography of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Hardly a single one of those tribes which we can recognize is misplaced. We shall now regard the tribes separately.

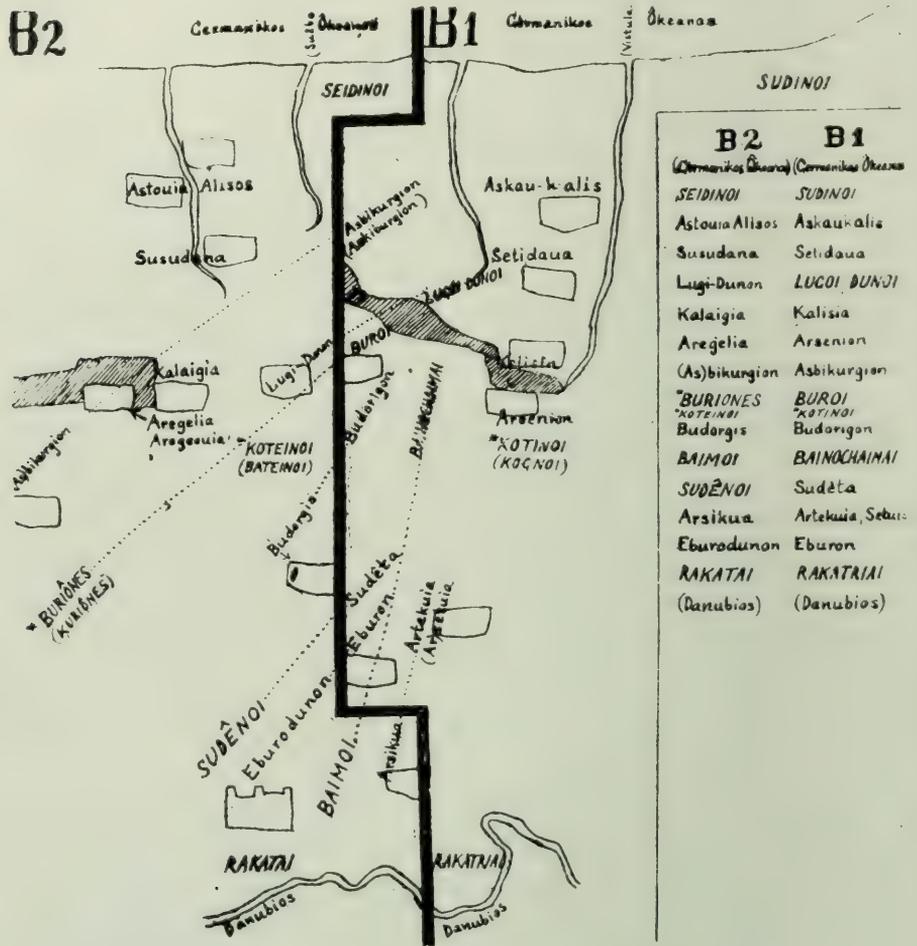
Daukiônes,—read Daneiônes or Danniônes—in the southern part of Scandia, = Danes.

The emendation is necessary, and subjected to no doubt. Among Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, Germans and Goths, there is only one single historically known tribe with a name beginning on Da—, and these people are exactly the Danes. The primeval age of the name cannot be doubted. Short, bisyllabic names of that sort generally belong to the very oldest stock.

Goutai in southern Scandia = Gautoi (Procopius), the present Götär in Götland. The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect.

Leuônoi in middle Scandia are dubious, perhaps identical with the tribe of Liothida, mentioned by Jordanis.

Firaisoi, in eastern Scandia, most likely = the Finn-
aithae of Jordanis, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of Finnheidr
("Finnish heath"), the present Finveden in Småland
Fauonai, read Souionai, in eastern Scandia, =
Suiones (Tacitus), the present Swedes in Svearike.



Ptolemy's Prototypes B¹ and B².

Duplicate maps of Bohemia and eastern Germany.

On Ptolemy's map, B² is placed directly west of B¹.

The emendation is necessary, because the Swedes were the most renowned northern people in Scandia—the only ones who are mentioned by Tacitus. They could not possibly have been missed in a detailed list like Prototype Sk.

Chaideinoi in western Scandia = Hei(d)nir in Heidmork, the present Norwegian district of Hedemarken "Heath-wood." The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect. The fact that the inhabitants of Hedemarken appear as solitary representatives of Norway is no mere fortuity: for, as a matter of fact, Hedemarken is the most fertile province of this country.

Finnoi in northern Scandia = Fins in Finmarken and Finland. The identity is complete, both in phonetical and geographical respect.

The prominence of our document is obvious, not only from the localisations, but also from the statistical selection: out of numerous Scandinavian tribes, exactly the most important are chosen.

11.—PROTOTYPE B¹ AND B².

Prototype B¹ and B² are duplicates of the same original document, a local map of the mercantile road from the Danube to the Prussian amber coast. Its language was Latin; the design was first-class. Prototype B¹ seems to have been used as a fundament by the constructor of Prototype A, whereas Prototype B² was interpolated later on. The two maps do not concern the design of Denmark, but we just mention them here because they most strikingly illustrate the successive making of Ptolemy's map of the world.

12.—PROTOTYPE C.

Prototype C seems to have represented northern Gaul, Belgium, and north-western Germany. The Rhine was designed better than in Prototype A, or else the design was rather bad. The original document was written in Latin. The translation into Greek effaced the Latin type a little more strictly than the case was in Prototype A; *e.g.*, we find Omega in the

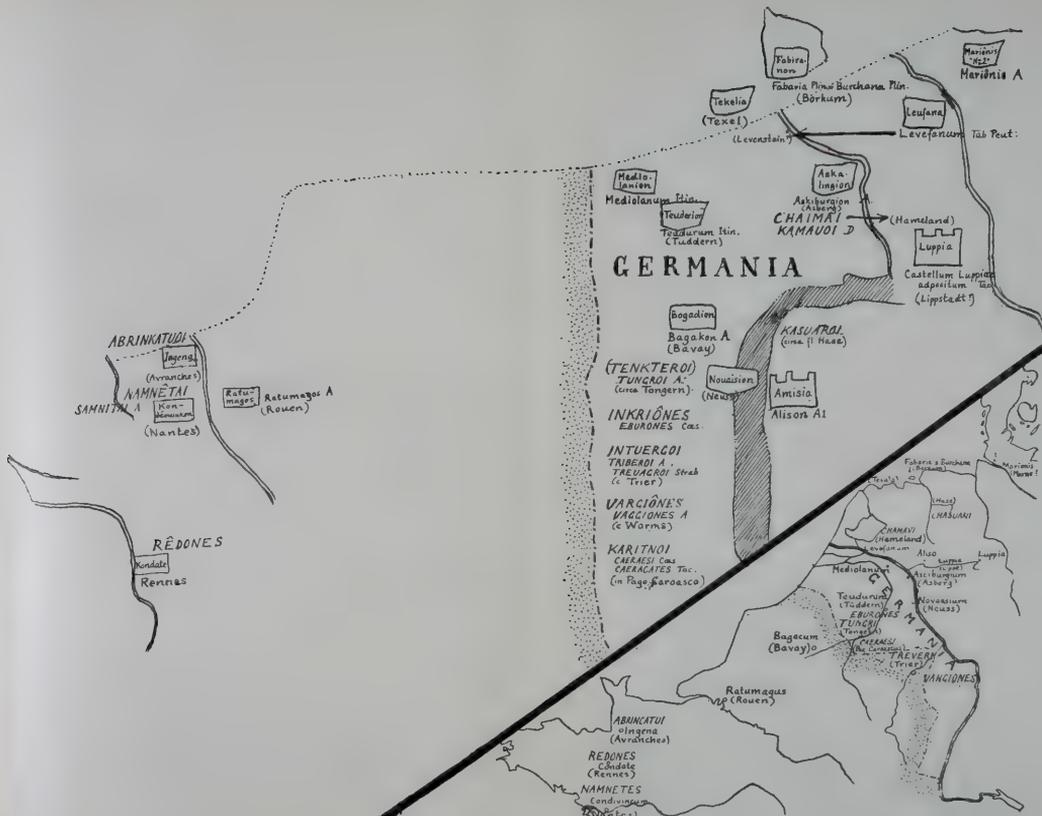
tribe-names of Inkriônes Uargiônes, whereas Prototype A has here constantly short *o*: Uaggiones.

Ptolemy has confused Prototype C with Prototype A in that way, that the localities of C are always placed a little east of their correspondences in A. The displacement was most likely caused by a guess of Ptolemy concerning Rennes. This town, then called Condate, appeared in Prototype C as capital of the Rêdones, a Gaulish tribe. In Prototype A, Ptolemy seems to have found neither the town nor the tribe, but he found a homonymous town, Condate, on the upper course of the Loire. So he transplanted the Rennes-people from the mouth of the river to interior Gaul, and the rest of the map was displaced in the same eastward direction. The Belgian district of "Germania" was mistaken for Germany east of the Rhine. The middle Rhine was mistaken for the middle German mountains (Mêlibokos), and the lower Rhine was mistaken for the Weser. The town of Mariônis, placed by Prototype A on the lower Elbe, was transplanted to the western shore of the Baltic.

It seems that Prototype C contained no design of the Cimbrian Peninsula nor of Skandia. In so far it cannot interest us here. But at any rate it is important to state that the interpolation of Prototype C has not been able to confuse the design of the Cimbrian Peninsula contained in A. This negative statement is proved by the treatment of Mariônis. In Prototype A this town marks the base of the Cimbrian Peninsula, and the duplicate of this base, originating from Prototype C, is by Ptolemy transplanted to the Baltic region. So the two bases are neatly separated from each other.

13.—PROTOTYPE D.

Prototype D represents north-western Germany and, as it seems, part of Belgian Gaul. The design is exceedingly bad. Its confusion has been increased by



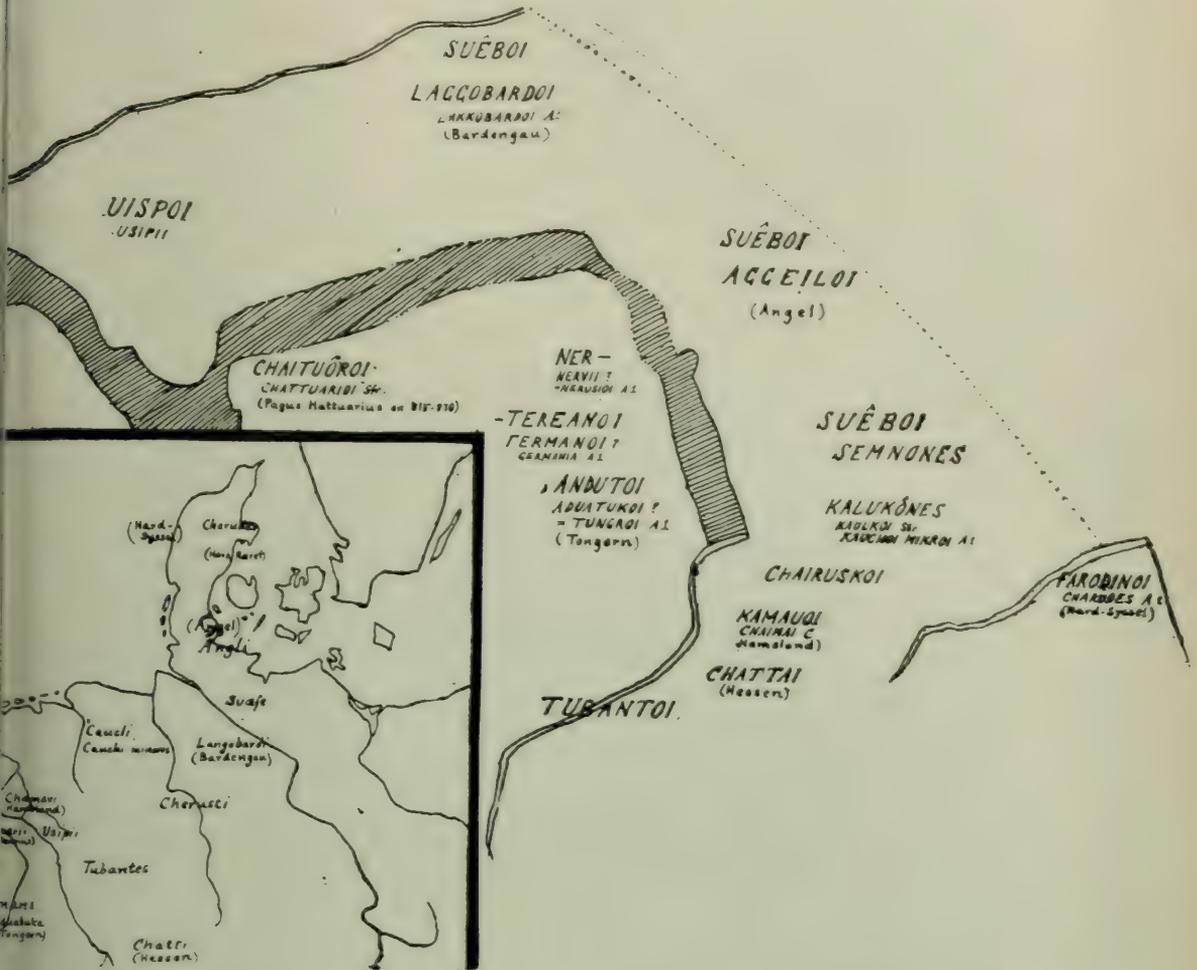
Ptolemy's Prototype C.

Map of northern Gaul, Belgium, and Germany.

The Belgian District "Germania" of this map was by Ptolemy mistaken for the "Great Germania" (Germany) of Prototype A.

The western frontier of "Germania Belgica" (C) was identified with the Rhine (A), whereas the Rhine (C) was identified with the mountains Abnoba and Melibokes and the river Weser (A). Our reconstruction represents the mountains as a broad, hatched stripe, and the Weser as .

the constructor of the atlas, who mistook the Rhine of D for a line composed of the mountains Abnoba-Melibokos and the river Elbe in A. Thus the tribes from



Ptolemy's Prototype D.

Map of Belgium (?) and N.W. Germany. On Ptolemy's map of Germany, D is quite upset. North Sea Coast (D) has been mistaken for the Rhine (Prototype A), whereas the Rhine has been changed into the mountains Abnoba and Melibokos and the river Elbe (D). Our construction represents the mountains as a broad, hatched stripe and the Elbe as \equiv . Though this confusion, the Langobards are transplanted from Hannover to Westfalia, and the tribes from the Cimbrian Peninsula to interior Germany.

N.W. Germany were removed partly towards the south-west, partly towards the east.

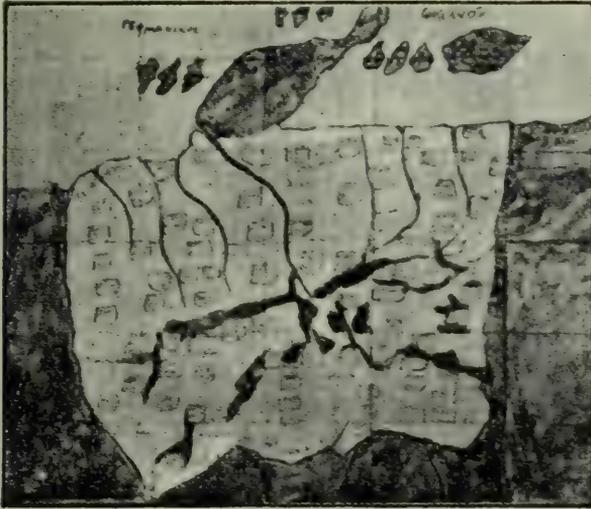
In most cases, Prototype D does not add to our knowledge, but there is one important exception:

through this prototype we are informed about the home of the Angles. The prototype places them, correctly enough, in its northern part, directly beside the Langobards, that is to say, in the neighbourhood of the South Jutlandic district of Angel. The fact that they have been able to emerge in the middle of Germany was only due to the confused scheme of Ptolemy. This colossal blunder has puzzled scholars for five hundred years. And although the editor, Müller, already in 1883 recognized the south-westward displacement of Langobards and Angles, still the Swedish scientist, Erdmann, in 1889, once more defended Ptolemy's statement with philological reasons, and actually succeeded in sustaining its credit for a quarter of a century. After we have disentangled the original maps used by Ptolemy, the riddle seems to be solved in a quite natural way; the "middle-German Angles" will be hopelessly doomed, in spite of the fact that a colony of Angles have actually wandered to the interior of Germany in mediæval times. We shall not go in for a detailed discussion here, but we must at any rate mention an old evidence which has hitherto been completely ignored. *The Quedlinburg Annals* say, a.d. 445: "The Angles emigrate to Britain from the land of the Danes, led by their king, Angling." Here the already concordant Anglo-Danish tradition is confirmed by a German evidence which is absolutely free from literary interdependency of *Saxo Grammaticus*, but still reminds his tale of King Angul in the most striking way. And such a concordant epical tradition of three Gottonic nations should be rejected because it does not agree with a confused geography from Egypt. It is needless to discuss the matter any more.

14.—PROTOTYPE E AND F.

Prototype E and F are so closely related that they may nearly be called duplicates of the very same type.

Both represent Germany and Sarmatia. Both have an oblong shape, stretching from west towards east. Prototype E obviously was an itinerary with the same scheme of overlapping ("telescoping") which appears in the famous "Tabula Peutingeriana," from the fourth century, A.D. That is to say, the map was mainly meant for registering road distances, and the topographical details were pulled east or west in a Procrustean way. The Greek type of spelling is more strictly carried through in Prototype F than in E; still, even in the latter, there are not so many Latin traces as in Prototype A.



In combining the two maps with Prototype A, Ptolemy has distributed them thus: Prototype F is placed within Germania, Sarmatia and Scythia, whereas Prototype E is placed within Sarmatia only. The southern Baltic coast of E is by Ptolemy mistaken for the river Vistula.

The two prototypes touch Denmark and its neighbourhood only peripherically. Still the evidence of E is not without importance to our question. We are informed about the home of the Ombrônes (read,

E

Auarinoi Frugundiōnes Sulōnes Finnoi Veltai Karbōnes Ostioi Saloi Aorsoi Kareōtai¹
 Igylliōnes² Boruskoī Chainides Modokai Zakatai³ asaioi Hippofagoi-Sarmatai¹
 Surnioi Ixoby-gitai Saurai Iēinon Trabana Pagyritai Reukauai³
 P. Asiakēs⁶

F

Finnoi Roboskoī Samnites Molognoi Zaratai Massaioi Hippofagoi-Skythai
 Auarpoi Fluaiōnes Gythōnes Venedai Kariōnes Osiloi Valoi Aorsoi Karatai
 Burguntes
 Bastarnai Hamaxobioi-Skythai Nauaroi Leianon Tabana Pakyris Rōxolanoi
 Axiakēs
 Ptolemy's Prototypes E and F compared.

F Roboskoī Chomaroi Tocharioi Karatai Tapureioi Massagētai Issedōn-Skythikā
 Fa¹ Norossoi Komaroi Tachoroī Kachatai Tapuroi² Massagētai Issedōn-Serikē³⁷

Ambrones). This tribe accompanied the Cimbrians and Teutones on their raid against Rome, 113-101 B.C. After the conquest of Britain the Saxons were often called Ambrones by their Welsh neighbours (Nennius, etc.), and the same tribe-name seems to appear in the neighbourhood of the Saxons as "Ymbre," according to the old English epical catalogue, called *Widsith*. But no direct localisation is ever given by the said authorities. Now Prototype E unmistakably informs us that the Ambrones used to live directly west of the "Auarinoi" = the "Ouarinoi," or Varines, in Mecklenburg. Consequently, the Ambrones are placed exactly in the neighbourhood of the Saxons, where they ought to stand. It seems most adjacent to connect them with the Imbræ, as the Danes used to call the island of Fehmern. Some scholars have identified the Ambrones with the present Amringer on the island of Amrum or Ambrum, west of South Jutland. Here only the localisation agrees less with that of Prototype E. But it is of course possible that the tribe has been divided into two sections.

15.—THE RELATIONS OF CLASSICAL DENMARK TO
"GERMANIA."

Finally, we must discuss an important question concerning the geographical or ethnical classification of ancient Denmark. It practically concerns our Ptolemaic Prototypes A and Sk., but we have put it off till here, because of its importance.

Among modern scholars, it is very usual to regard classical Denmark, or at least Jutland, as belonging to "Germania proper," *i.e.*, Germany, whereas the rest of the Scandinavian territory is placed outside, still within the "wider Germania," but yet as Germanic in a less pronounced degree. So Jutland is represented as Germanic by A. v. Kampen, "*Perthes' Atlas*

antiquus, 3rd ed., 1894, and the whole present Denmark is swallowed by K. Wolff's map of Germania, Meyer's *Konversationslexikon*, last ed., 1904.

Several Danes have contributed to the dogma of Jutlandic Germanism, even if against their will. After 1848, most Danish scholars began denying that the Cimbrians and Angles had anything to do with Jutland. The Cimbrians had been Germans or Celts, no matter which, and the Angles had been pure Germans, who were not to be admitted into Danish ground.

These Danish scholars actually proved neither their negative nor their positive statements. But it is obvious that the alleged Germanism of the Angles could be exploited for regarding Jutland as a part of Germany, because there is a South Jutlandic district called Angel.

Now what about the classical authorities? Do they regard the Danish territory as belonging to "Germania proper" and as separated from the Scandinavian territory? By no means! There is no reason whatever for such a statement.

We have only three classical authorities on the matter: Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Tacitus gives copious, but somewhat confused information. His "Germania" embraces Germans, Scandinavians, and all other Gottonic tribes, and besides Lithuanians and some Fins. The Angles are placed within the "Swebians," a German group; the Cimbrians are placed outside. This statement would seem to assign a part of Jutland to "Germania proper." But what is then to be concluded further on, when we observe that the Swebians of Tacitus embrace also the Swedes and even the Lithuanians and a part of the Fins? These additional statements obviously show that the "Swebian group" of Tacitus, as an ethnical category, is worth nothing.

Pliny regards the Scandinavians as "Germani" in the complexive sense, like Tacitus. There, no distinction is

made between a "Germania proper" and a "wider Germania."

Ptolemy represents things in the same way as Pliny, and consequently the reconstructed maps in Müller's edition and Erckert's Atlas shows Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula as Germanic, without making any sub-divisions.

The three hitherto known classical authorities agree on the main fact that Denmark and the Scandinavian Peninsula belong to Germania, and none of these authorities gives any reason for regarding Jutland or the whole of Denmark as properly Germanic, in contrast with the Scandinavian Peninsula.

But there is a hitherto unknown classical authority that disagrees in a way which has hardly been dreamt of.

This ignored authority is Ptolemy himself, as represented through the Mount Athos Copy of the original atlas. The text of the Geography and the accompanying atlas in reality are sharply inconsistent; for whereas the text assigns Denmark and Scandia to Germania, the corresponding map places them outside, as a separate section. The contrast appears in the colouring; whereas "Germania" is left without colour, the Cimbrian Peninsula and the Scandian islands are painted strongly brown, like the sections of Sarmatia, Rhætia, etc., on the same map.

What is the meaning of this distinction?

We do not at all overvalue its ethnical significance, urging that the Romans must have observed the contrast between German and Scandinavian nationality. It is very possible that the distinction points towards the political status of 5 A.D., when N.-W. Germany was under Roman dominion, whereas the Cimbrian Peninsula and the other regions east of the Elbe remained independent.

But at any rate we must state the following fact: the Athos copy of the original Roman map of the world does not support the extension of Germania, as assumed by v. Kampen, K. Wolff and other scholars. It does not place Denmark within Germania, but, on the contrary, distinctly outside.

The reader will be aware that Denmark is the oldest kingdom of Europe: from the Skjoldung kings mentioned in Beowulf and down to our present king we may count some 1500 years of uninterrupted existence. Among the republics of Europe, only France may be called a rival.

Maybe that the colouring of the Mount Athos map has no direct bearing to this historical fact. But, even if regarded as accidental, it is at any rate very remarkable. And we Danes may say that our national continuity with classical times is symbolized in the most beautiful way through the venerable old map in the venerable monastery of Mount Athos.

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN.

By A. W. TAYLOR, B.A.

IT was only after some hesitation that I made up my mind to read a paper to you upon St. Bridget. It seemed difficult when dealing with such a personage to avoid transgressing the rule of the Club, which forbids theological discussions.

At the same time the importance of St. Bridget with regard to the history and literature of Europe in general and of Sweden in particular is very great indeed. With the exception of another great visionary, Emmanuel Swedenborg, she is apparently the only Swede who has exercised any influence upon English life and thought, outside the sphere of the exact sciences. I need not therefore apologise for reading to you a paper about her. With her religious experiences I will try to deal as objectively as possible. It must always be remembered that St. Bridget was a fourteenth century Catholic. Only when this is borne in mind can an adequate idea be formed of her career and character. Within the limits of this paper I cannot profess to give more than a very slight sketch of the more important part of the enormous literature which has grown up round St. Bridget, her Revelations, and the Order which she founded.

A list of the ancient authorities for her life (dating from 1373 to about 1520) is given in the First Volume of the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* of the Bollandists. Other bibliographies are those contained in Klemming's "*Birgitta-Literatur*," published at Stockholm in 1883 as an appendix to volume 5 of his edition of the Old Swedish version of the Revelations, in Geete's "*Fornsvenk Bibliografi*"; and in the notes to the second edition of the Comtesse de Flavigny's "*Vie de Sainte Brigitte*," published at Paris in 1910. Chevallier and Potthast should also be consulted.

There is no thoroughly satisfactory modern biography of St. Bridget. The one by the Countess de Flavigny is the best, but it is far too uncritical. Its statements should be corrected with the aid of the excellent Memoir of St. Bridget, written by M. Hans Hildebrand in Swedish, and published in the nineteenth volume (that for 1904) of the Transactions of the Swedish Academy.

The life of St. Bridget may be divided into three main divisions, the period from her birth in 1303 to her marriage in 1316, her married life from 1316 to 1344, and her life as a widow from 1344 to her death in 1373. The family of the saint belong to the highest nobility, and she was nearly related through both her parents to the royal family of the Folkungs. Her father, Birger Persson, was lawman of Tiundaland, the most important district in Upland. His second wife, Ingeborg, who was the mother of St. Bridget, was a daughter of Benedict Magnusson. Birger lived at the Castle of Finsta, near Lake Bjoerken. He was given to literature, and he had revised the Laws of Upland. They were contained in the scattered verses, *Vigers flokkar*, attributed to the heathen poet Viger Spa, who was said to have been the first lawman of Upland.

Birger's revised code is still extant, and has been edited by Dr. Schlyter as the third volume of the great collection of the Ancient Laws of Sweden, edited by Drs. Collin and Schlyter.

St. Bridget was born, it would seem, on or about June 14th, 1303.

The first point of interest about St. Bridget is her name. There can be no doubt but that she was named after the great Irish wonderworker, St. Bridget of Kildare. The first time that the name of Bridget occurs in a Swedish document is in the list of Swedish kings appended to the Laws of West Gothland (*Vestgöotalagen*). But though the main part of that venerable code dates from 1230 to 1290, the list of the kings

of Sweden and that of the bishops of Skara (Book IV., chapters 15 and 16) form part of a supplement which is only found in the Manuscript Codex, B. 59. This supplement which, as has been shown by Dr. Nathaniel Beckman,¹ was written in 1325 by the deacon Lawrence, who was prebendary of Vidhem in Skara Cathedral, and one of the secretaries of Peter of Husaby, Bishop of Skara from 1322 to 1336.

The list of the kings of Sweden refers to the baptism of Olaf Skotkonung, first Christian of Sweden, at Husaby, near Skara, in 1008, in the following terms: "han war döptae i kyældu þerrœ wið hosœby liggœr, oc heter byrghittœ, af sigfriði biscupp," he was baptised in the spring which is situated near Husaby and is called St. Bridget's, by Sigfrid the Bishop. Now it is quite certain that this embodies a far older tradition. Although Bishop Peter of Husaby founded a prebend in Skara Cathedral, as we learn from the Chronicles of the Bishops of Skara, in honour of St. Brigid or Bride of Kildare, the patron saint of his native parish, "the Mary of the Gael" was but little known in the North in the fourteenth century. Even in Ireland her fame would seem to have suffered an eclipse. She had apparently become confused in the popular mind with an ancient Irish sun goddess, and the perpetual fire kept alight by her nuns at Kildare had been extinguished by Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin and Papal Legate in 1220. St. Bride lived from about 452 to 523, and for many centuries she was, as she has since again become, one of the saints most venerated by the Catholic Celts. Her cultus had been transplanted not only to the Western Islands and other parts of Scotland, but even to Cornwall, where the parish of Breage (St. Breaca) still commemorates her name. It was from the Celtic world that King Olaf

¹ *Hvem har döpt Olof Skotkonung?* in *Kyrkshistorisk Årsskrift*, vol. xi. (Upsala, 1910), pp. 214-219 and *Studier till Västgötalagarnes historia* in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, xxviii. (Lund, 1911), pp. 54-98, 140-167.

Skotkonung and Bishop St. Sigfrid, who had been court bishop to King Olaf Tryggvasön, brought the cultus of St. Bride. Olaf Skotkonung had many connections with the Celts. His wife was from Ireland, and there he had spent some time. It was in the Scilly Isles that it had been prophesied that he would become a Christian, and there too he had lived for some time after his baptism. In the North of England, of which Bishop Sigurd or Sigfrid was most probably a native, the thaumaturge of Kildare was not unknown. Two parishes in Cumberland, St. Bride's and Bridekirk, still commemorate her name, and it is to be noted that the font of the Church of Bridekirk bears a tenth century Runic inscription, a sure sign of the presence of Northmen in the neighbourhood.

But though these facts are interesting and important as showing how the name of Bridget came to Scandinavia, they afford no adequate explanation as to the manner in which that name was introduced into the family of St. Bridget. The explanation is as follows. In 1102 Magnus Barfot, King of Norway, made a raid upon Ireland, in the course of which he took as his mistress a woman whose name was Bridget, or who had a relative of that name. By her the King had a son, who was named Harald Gillekrist (Servant of Christ), and who is better known as the Norwegian king Harold Gille. He in his turn had a daughter, whom he named Bridget, after her grandmother. King Harold's daughter, Bridget, married first the usurper, Magnus Henriksson, who was king of Sweden for a very short time, and then Sweden's uncrowned king, Earl Birger Brosa. It was thus that the name Bridget (Birgitta) came to be connected with the native Swedish name Birger (the bright one), and obtained entrance into a Swedish noble family. Later on the name of Birgetta was borne by the wife of Tyrgil Knutsson and by the saint upon whom I am trying to lecture. I have, I fear, devoted what may seem a disproportionate amount of

time to showing how the saint got her name. My reason for dwelling at such length upon the subject is that none of the biographers of St. Bridget have, so far as I know, traced with any certainty the connexion between her name and that of the great Irish abbess. Indeed Hildebrand goes so far as to deny that the fame of St. Bride had ever reached the north at all. It was reserved for Dr. Beckman to trace the progress of the name of Bridget from Kildare to Finsta.

But to return to the life of our saint.

In 1314, when she was only about eleven, she lost her mother. As her father had no intention of marrying a third time, Bridget and her sister Catherine were removed to the custody of her mother's sister Ingrid. The latter had married Knut Jonsson, who was lawman of Östergötland, and had twice filled the important office of governor (drotsete) of Sweden. Fru Ingrid was a woman of character and a foe to all undue religious excitement. In her house Bridget learned to embroider, and probably also to read and write. There, too, she seems to have acquired the iron strength of will by which she was afterwards distinguished. The poor children were not long left in peace. In 1316, when Bridget was only thirteen, and Catherine not more than twelve, they were betrothed, by their father's orders, to Ulf and Magnus, the sons of his friend and partisan, Gudmar Magnussön, lawman of Vestergothland. St. Bridget would have preferred to die, but dared not disobey her father. Fortunately, Ulf Gudmarsson, who became her husband, and who was only eighteen years old, was a youth of the most ardent piety. As his knowledge was not equal to his zeal, his wife taught him to read, so that he might follow the services of the Church in his book. She also induced him to study law, so that he might be the better able to do his duty as lawman of Nericia, which post he held in 1330. About 1324 he had become a knight. In 1335 he was a member of the Council of State. By

him Bridget had eight children, four sons, two of whom died young, and four daughters. Ulf owned many estates, but he made his home at Ulfåsa, which lay in a beautiful situation near the southern shore of Lake Borèn. He and Bridget had only been living there for a year or so, when he was called away to help his father-in-law, Birger Persson, and other partisans and feudatories of the Dukes Eric and Valdemar. They had been thrown into prison by their brother, King Birger I., when on a visit to him at Nyköping, towards the end of the year 1317. Their followers besieged Nyköping, and when, early in 1318, Eric and Valdemar were starved to death by their unnatural brother, a crime which filled the whole country with horror, Eric's new-born son, Magnus, was proclaimed heir to the throne of Sweden. Bridget suffered agonies of anxiety during the absence of her husband. She found her only consolation in the contemplation of the mysteries of her religion. Then it was that she composed four beautiful prayers or litanies, addressed to Christ and the Virgin Mary, which are still extant. The civil war continued to rage. Magnus, son of Birger I., who was only nineteen, was decapitated at Stockholm on October 28, 1320. His father died of grief during the following year.

On June 24, 1319, a diet, summoned by Birger Persson to elect a king, met at Mora near Upsala. For the first time representatives of the towns appeared as well as those of the nobility, the clergy, and the peasantry. Matthew Ketilmundsson enthroned the three-year-old son of Duke Eric, Prince Magnus, upon the Coronation Stone. He had just inherited the throne of Norway from his maternal grandfather, Haakon V. Ketilmundsson ruled the country, and established peace at home and abroad, until Magnus came of age in 1332. Ulf returned home about 1319. He rebuilt the chateau of Ulfåsa, the arrangement of which he left to his wife. Among other things she caused a

magnificent bed to be constructed by a local carpenter. One day, however, the story goes, St. Bridget felt a blow on the back of the head, and being led by the Spirit into another part of the house, she heard a voice coming from a crucifix, which hung upon the wall. "I did not rest, but hung upon the Cross. My head had nowhere to repose, but thou carest so greatly for thine ease and comfort." Bridget was smitten with remorse, and henceforth, whenever she was able, she lay upon the ground amongst the rushes or upon a bearskin. It is certain that she increased her mortifications about this time. She became a tertiary of the Order of St. Francis. Being anxious to do good, she had gathered round her a number of noble ladies living in the neighbourhood. At their meetings they used to do needlework for the benefit of the poor or for the adornment of the churches. Ingeborg, the daughter of the lawman of Ostergöthland, and the most learned member of the party, read aloud in Latin or in Swedish the stories of the sufferings of the Martyrs, the Dialogue of Peregrinus and Theodora concerning the Mirror of Virgins, or, what St. Bridget liked best of all, portions of the Bible, which had been translated by the Cistercians into Swedish about the year 1300. On March 25, 1328, St. Bridget had the misfortune to lose her father, Birger Persson. He was buried in the Cathedral of Upsala, where his tombstone may still be seen. In consequence of her father's death the extensive landed estates of St. Bridget and her husband were considerably augmented.

About 1332 she engaged as a tutor to her two elder sons, Charles and Birger, Nicholas Hermansson, who died as Bishop of Linköping in 1391, and was the last Swede to be canonised before the Reformation. Bridget set apart at Ulfåsa a large house, where those who were poor and sick could live free of expense. She waited upon them at table, and washed and kissed their feet. She was not afraid of infectious diseases. She obeyed

all the counsels of her confessor, Matthias, Canon of Linköping, who had studied philosophy and theology at the university of Paris, where he had taken his master's degree. A Paraphrase of the Books of Moses, composed by Master Matthias, is still extant, and he had also written about the art of poetry. In company with her husband Bridget made two long pilgrimages. The first was to the shrine of St. Olaf at Trondhjem, probably in 1336 or 1337. The journey there and back lasted 35 days. It was made partly on horseback and partly on foot, as St. Bridget wished to walk as much as possible. The second great pilgrimage of the pious couple was to the tomb of St. James the Great at Compostella in Spain, and was apparently made in 1341 and 1342. Starting in the autumn in the former year, and accompanied by a number of priests and laymen, the pious pilgrims stopped first at a church eight miles from Stockholm to venerate the remains of St. Bothwid, an Englishman who was one of the first Christian missionaries to visit Sweden, where he was martyred. We next find them at the holy city of Cologne, and then at Aix-la-Chapelle. From the latter city they proceeded to Tarascon. St. Bridget was anxious to visit the localities in Provence which were traditionally associated with the supposed visit of Lazarus, and of his sisters Mary and Martha and of St. Mary Magdalene to Provence and Burgundy.

The whole legend, though devoid of historical foundation, and only dating from about 1150, was universally believed in the fourteenth century. The Swedish pilgrims visited with rapture the cavern on the Mountain of Sainte Baume (the Holy Ointment) in which St. Mary Magdalen is supposed to have spent thirty years in penitence. They probably embarked at Marseilles, and sailed thence to Barcelona, whence they made their way on foot to Compostella. St. Bridget's confessor during the pilgrimage was Dom Swenung, a Cistercian monk, who was to become Abbot of Warnhem. The whole

party seem to have arrived at Compostella in time to celebrate St. James' Day, July 25, 1342, there. Belief in the fact of St. James' burial at Compostella was regarded almost as an article of faith during the Middle Ages, and those were happy indeed who were able to wear a mussel shell on the left side of their cloaks in token that they had made the pilgrimage to his shrine.

On the way back Ulf fell very ill at Arras, but he recovered, and was able to pursue his journey. He returned to Sweden and continued to perform the duties of his office as lawman of Nericia until shortly before his death, which took place in one of the buildings of the Cistercian Monastery of Alvastra on February 12, 1344. On his deathbed he gave his wife a ring, which he himself had worn. Whenever she looked at it, she was to think of his soul. A few days after Ulf's death Bridget took his ring from her finger, and when her friends reproached her for her heartlessness, she explained that she had buried her earthly love with her husband, and that she was henceforward to live for God alone. Her children were already provided for. The eldest, Martha, who had been born in 1320, was married to Sigvid Ribbing, governor of Southern Halland, whose wickedness caused his saintly mother-in-law the deepest pain. She designates him in the Revelations as "the robber."

Of St. Bridget's sons, Gudmar died when a school boy. Benedict survived his father but a short time. Of Charles and Birger I shall speak later on.

Catherine, who like her mother was eventually canonised, was born about 1332, and married very early to the knight, Eggard Lydersson van Kyren. Her sister, Ingeborg, entered the Cistercian nunnery of Riseberga in 1341. The youngest daughter Cecilia was still in the world and unmarried. As her children were more or less able to shift for themselves, Bridget found that she could devote herself to the things of God. For four years off and on she lived as an anchoress in a little

house abutting on the north side of the Abbey Church of Alvastra. Here it was that she began in 1344 to compose her famous "Revelations." As this is probably the most famous work ever written by a Swede, it well merits our attention. It was originally written in Swedish by the saint, at the dictation, as she believed, of Christ and the Blessed Virgin. A few leaves of manuscript of the original text, in St. Bridget's own handwriting, are preserved at the Royal Library of Stockholm. They came originally from the Bridgettine abbey of Vadstena, founded by St. Bridget and her daughter, St. Catherine. The saint's manuscript was translated as soon as it was finished, by Peter, sub-prior of Alvastra, into Latin, and this translation, which ended with the 130th chapter of the 4th Book, was handed over to Alphonso, formerly bishop of Jaen in Spain, who revised it and divided it into books and chapters. To his text fourteen chapters were added later on at Vadstena. Before the end of the fourteenth century the Latin text was retranslated into Swedish at the same abbey. The few fragments of St. Bridget's Swedish text, which yet remain to us, were published at Stockholm in 1854, under the editorship of M. G. E. Klemming. The same writer published the fourteenth century Swedish translation under the auspices of the Swedish Early Texts' Society (*Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*) in 1857 and the following years.

The old Swedish translation above referred to represents an earlier form of the Latin text than to any of the numerous Latin editions of the Revelations which were published between the end of the fifteenth and the last quarter of the seventeenth centuries.

I wish to say a few words about the Revelations now, instead of deferring the consideration of the subject until after we have followed St. Bridget to the close of her earthly career. My reason for doing so is that the Revelations may be said to give the keynote of the last thirty years of the life of St. Bridget, from 1344 to 1373.

St. Bridget was a mystic and a psychic in the fullest sense of the word. From her early childhood she saw visions and dreamed dreams. She fell into trances and received revelations, she was able to distinguish good men from bad, thanks to an almost supernatural insight, long before the death of Ulf. It was, however, only after she had lost the husband whom she loved so dearly that she gave herself up entirely to those great activities as prophetess and seer which were to carry her fame to the furthest limits of the Catholic world. Like many other religious leaders, she seems to have been richly endowed with mediumistic faculties. She was, as we have seen, a clairvoyant. More than once she was, according to contemporary accounts, seen suspended in the air. She saw her visions when she was in a state of trance. In one of the precious fragments of the Revelations, written in her own handwriting, St. Bridget describes herself, as she often does in other passages, as a person who seemed to be awake and not asleep (*enne persona syntis vakande oc eg sofande*).

The Revelations, whether in the Old Swedish version or in the better known Latin one, make up a large book. They belong to the same class as the Revelations of various mystics among St. Bridget's predecessors and contemporaries. Mention need only be made of three inmates of the Benedictine Abbey of Helfta, near Eisleben, under the rule of the Abbess Gertrude of Hackeborn. These were Mechthildis of Madgeburg (1212 to 1277), who had been a béguine for thirty years before she entered the nunnery of Helfta in 1265, St. Mechthildis of Hackeborn, and her pupil, St. Gertrude the Great, who lived from 1256 to 1302, and was abbess of Helfta. Among the contemporaries and successors of St. Bridget may be reckoned the Blessed Ruysbrock; St. Gertrude the Great; St. Machtildis; St. Catherine of Siena; Suso; and Thomas à Kempis. The only person, however,

who combined like St. Bridget the possession of the greatest mystical piety with a mighty influence in ecclesiastical politics was St. Catherine of Siena, who lived from 1347 to 1380. The Latin editions of the Revelations of St. Bridget include the following among her writings:—

1. The eight books of the Revelations, the first being preceded by the so-called prologue of Master Matthias.

To the eighth book, which contains the visions of St. Bridget concerning various kings and princes, there is an introduction in the shape of a letter to kings written by Bishop Alphonso of Jaen, who compiled the contents of the book.

2. The rules of the Order of the Saviour, that is, of the Brigittine Order.

3. An angelic sermon on the excellencies of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

4. Four prayers.

And fifthly, and lastly, the additional revelations, *Revelationes Extravagantes*, so called because they were added to the original collection.

St. Bridget's husband, Ulf Gudmarsson, died, as we have seen, on February 12th, 1344. A few days after his death St. Bridget had a vision of the Saviour, who commanded that Peter, subprior at Alvastra, should write down all those things which He was about to reveal to His servant. Many of the Revelations, and especially the earlier ones, deal with matters of dogma. St. Bridget believed that she had been taken by Christ to be His new Bride, as such something of the fulness of heavenly wisdom had been revealed to her. Her writings bear witness to the most ardent piety, to an accurate knowledge of Catholic theology, and to the possession of a great fund of burning eloquence.

From 1344 to 1348 St. Bridget remained at Alvastra, a devout lay brother being scandalised at her presence in the abbey, for St. Bridget had, it seemed, access to the monastic parlour or *estuarium*, whither she occa-

sionally went to warm herself in winter time, was put to silence on becoming convinced of her holiness.

During at least the last two years of her stay at Alvastra St. Bridget visited more than once the court of King Magnus II., although the assertion in the Latin Version of the Revelations that the saint was Mistress of the Robes to his wife, Queen Blanche of Namur, seems to be unsupported by existing documentary evidence.

In spite of the fact that both King Magnus and his consort were very young and frivolous, St. Bridget seems at times to have exercised enormous influence over them. We can readily believe that they were somewhat afraid of their pious and austere relative. Thus it was that King Magnus asked the saint to define the duties of a monarch.

In reply she told him that he ought to put away evil councillors, to build the nunnery which she had planned, and to send his vassals on a crusade, and not to besiege Copenhagen, as he had recently done, because he coveted part of another Christian kingdom. He was to recite the Hours of the Blessed Virgin daily, unless prevented by business. He was to hear two Low Masses or one High Mass every day. Five times each day he was to meditate on the Five Wounds of our Lord. He was to keep the fast days, and abstain from meat on Fridays, and from butter, if he wished to do so, on Saturdays. Yet his austerities were not to be so great as to hinder him from fulfilling his duties. He was to give a tenth of all his revenues to the poor. If he gave them more, it would be counted to him as a good work.

Every Friday when at home he was to wash the feet of thirteen poor men and to give them food and money with his own hands. On Fridays too he was to remain quietly in his palace and to listen to all the complaints of the common people. He was to be careful in the distribution of his gifts, not generous towards one and miserly towards another. He might bestow gifts even

upon foreigners. He was not to transgress the laws of God, nor yet to introduce new laws contrary to the laws and customs of the country. Finally, he was to show himself in all things worthy of the name of king, to flee covetousness and to love humility, for as a king is higher and greater than all others, he must be all the more humble towards God, from Whom all power cometh, and Who will take as strict account of a king as of the lowest of his subjects. Such are but a few of the precepts laid down by St. Bridget. Her ideal of kingship found its highest expression, as was most fitting, in a woman. The great Queen Margaret, who was born in 1353, and who united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under her sceptre in 1397, was greatly influenced by the Brigittines. Martha, the eldest daughter of St. Bridget had, after her (second) marriage with Knut Algotsson, been Mistress of the Robes to the young queen, and Fru Martha's daughter became Abbess of Vadstena. Queen Margaret was an associate of the Abbey and the main promoter of the canonisation of St. Bridget. One of the plans which her death in 1412 prevented Queen Margaret from realising was the foundation of a Briggittine Abbey at Maribo, in Laaland, Denmark, which was however carried through by her successor King Eric of Pomerania. Magnus II. Ladulas was, however, a very different monarch from Queen Margaret. He and Queen Blanche and the courtiers who rivalled them in frivolousness and extravagances did not like the rebukes of St. Bridget. Respect for their kinswoman and reports of her miraculous powers prevented the king and queen from taking action. Their followers, however, accused the saint of witchcraft, and were only prevented from insulting her by fear of the vengeance of her valient sons. As it was she did not escape annoyance. Knut Folkesson, perceiving that the king was being converted to a better life by the influence of the saint, and that his own influence was thus being diminished, threw some

water over St. Bridget as she was going along the narrow streets of Stockholm past his house. "May God forgive him and not punish him for it in the next life," was her only remark. It was soon after this time that St. Bridget began to extend her sphere of action to the Christian world outside Sweden.

She sent letters to the Kings of England and France to beg them to put an end to the hundred years' war, but her letters were unheeded. But all of the events which had taken place in the world at large the transference of the Papal See from Rome to Avignon in 1309 was that which made the deepest impression upon St. Bridget. Like all pious Catholics of her time she deplored most deeply the desertion of the holy city of Rome by its Bishops. She attacked Pope Clement VI. most violently for his worldliness.

When, however, the same Pope proclaimed a jubilee at Rome in 1350, St. Bridget set out for the Holy City at the end of 1349, though only after some hesitation. She left Sweden just in time to escape a great visitation of the black death, which disease came to Sweden from Norway at the beginning of 1350. In the fifty-seventh chapter of the Eighth Book of the Revelations, St. Bridget regards the pestilence as a punishment for pride, incontinence, and love of money. On her journey to Rome the saint was accompanied by a great following of men and women, clerks and laymen. They seemed to have passed through Stralsund and Northern Suabia, where they stopped at Mayingen. The pilgrims spent a long time at Milan, whence they proceeded by ship to Ostia on the road to Rome. At that time the City on the Seven Hills was in a parlous state. The Pope was at Avignon. The short-lived Italian republic under Cola di Rienzo had been overthrown. Terrible earthquakes had destroyed some of the fairest buildings of Rome, such as St. Paul's, outside the Walls, and the Church of the Holy Apostles. Civil warfare had everywhere left its marks in ruined palaces

and fallen towers and desolate churches and empty monasteries, in whose grass-grown courtyards goats grazed undisturbed. St. Bridget cared for none of the classical antiquities. To her they seemed but vanity. She was lodged in the palace of Cardinal Hugh de Beaufort, brother to Pope Clement VI. His abode adjoined the Church of Saint Lorenzo in Damaso.

On Christmas Eve, 1349, the Jubilee was opened by the Pope's Vicar, Ponzio Perotti, Bishop of Orvieto. Thousands of pilgrims had come from all parts from Christendom. But neither the splendour of the festivals nor the fervour of the pilgrims could hide from St. Bridget the terrible state of the city upon which the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, had bestowed their doctrine, together with their blood. I see, she says, how certain churches, in which the bones of the saints do rest, have been laid waste. Some blessings still remain, but the hearts and the morals of those who rule here, are far from God. Such reflections assailed St. Bridget as she made the pilgrimage of the Seven Churches and prayed in the countless sanctuaries of Rome. Nor was she content to be a passive spectator of all the misery of Rome. In spite of the charity of the clergy and people there was no room for many of the pilgrims in the city, and they had to camp in the open air around great bonfires. As for the Swedish pilgrims, St. Bridget comforted them in all their troubles, both spiritual and temporal, curing their diseases, and receiving them into her own house.

There she and her companion lived according to rule under the guidance of their director, Peter of Alvastra. At four they rose. From four to eight they recited the Hours of the Breviary and heard Mass. Breakfast and recreation lasted from eight to ten. From ten to four all were at liberty to employ their time as they thought fit. From four to six in the afternoon vespers, compline, and other prayers were said. Supper and recreation occupied the time between six and eight, and

at eight o'clock the whole company went to bed. Silence was kept from four to eight in the morning and from four to six in the evening. In August, 1350, St. Bridget left Rome for a time. Widespread displeasure was felt there because the Pope had not visited the city even during the year of Jubilee, but had only allowed himself to be represented by a Cardinal Legate, Annibaldo Gaetani. The Legate's life was threatened, and he laid the city under an interdict for eight days. At the very time that Rome was full of pilgrims, no masses were to be said, and the doors of the churches were to be shut. Such a measure would naturally cause the greatest distress to so pious a Catholic as St. Bridget, and it is therefore not surprising to find her at the Benedictine Abbey of Farfa, north of Rome. It was one of the three richest abbeys in Italy, but had at the time fallen into sad decay. The fame of St. Bridget as a preacher of penitence had preceded her, and she was very ill received. Finally, a miserable hut was assigned to her as an habitation. It contrasted strangely with the splendour of the abbey, where the abbot's hawks and hounds were lodged better than the great lady from Sweden.

In spite of all rebuffs, St. Bridget was not daunted. She gained access to the Abbot Dom Arnold and rebuked him for his sins with such effect that he reformed his own life and that of his community. During her stay at Farfa St. Bridget was greatly comforted by the arrival of her daughter, St. Catherine, whom she persuaded to remain with her during the rest of her life.

After she had spent four years at San Lorenzo in Damaso, *i.e.*, about 1353, St. Bridget removed to the House of St. Bridget, in the Piazza Farnese, which is still standing. There the saint and her companions lived in the deepest poverty. Her bed was of straw, with scarcely a single pillow, and nothing but an old counterpane to cover it. St. Bridget had often to take

her place among the beggars who, then as now, crowded about the entrances of the more frequented churches. Sometimes she received unexpected assistance, as when a messenger arrived from Sweden with a crown which the wife of her son Charles had bequeathed to St. Catherine. The proceeds of its sale were sufficient to supply all the needs of the little community for a whole year. It was between 1365 and 1367, it would seem, that St. Bridget and St. Catherine and a numerous following made long journeys in Italy.

Towards the end of July the pilgrims left Rome and arrived at Assisi in time to gain the Portiuncula Indulgence there in August 1st and 2nd. As usual the saint, whose relics were preserved there, appeared to St. Bridget. This seems to have happened at every important sanctuary. St. Francis preached to her the necessity of obedience. Later on she visited Naples, from whence she made an excursion to Amalfi, in order to visit the relics of the Apostle St. Andrew. Other places visited by the saint were Benevento, which claimed to possess the body of St. Bartholomew, and Ortona where the remains of his brother apostle St. Thomas were said to rest. Thence the pilgrims proceeded to the sanctuary of St. Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano, the rocky promontory which stretches out into the Adriatic. On the way down to Manfredonia Thomas of Malstad, Bishop of Vexiö, fell from his horse and broke two of his ribs. Next morning the pilgrims had to start very early for Barletta on the way to the sanctuary of St. Nicholas at Bari, so as to avoid the Saracenic pirates, who infested the coasts of Apulia. The bishop being in great pain begged St. Bridget to touch his side. She did so, and he was, it is said, immediately healed. From Bari the Swedish pilgrims made their way to Naples. St. Bridget lodged with Jacqueline Acciaioli, a noble lady whose austere mode of life formed a strange contrast to the prevailing luxury. The sovereign of Naples at that time was

Joanna I., the most beautiful woman of her time, and the patroness of Petrarch and Boccaccio. When St. Bridget arrived at Naples in the summer of 1367, Joanna was already married to her third husband James II., King of Majorca. She was suspected by many of having been concerned with the murder of her first husband, Andrew of Hungary. To her splendid court St. Bridget came. Very small of stature and clad in a gown of coarse grey serge, with a black veil concealing her glorious golden hair, St. Bridget visited Queen Joanna with her beautiful daughter, St. Catherine, who was similarly dressed. To Joanna and her courtiers St. Bridget preached repentance, and she succeeded in bringing about a religious revival in pleasure-loving Naples as long as she remained there. This was not very long. The saint returned to Rome in time to welcome Urban V. on his solemn entry into the Eternal City on October 16th, 1367. As soon as possible after the Pope's arrival, St. Bridget urged upon him the necessity of reforming the clergy both higher and lower. Even the cardinals, "the hinges of the doors of the Church," were in most grievous need of reformation.

A couple of years later, namely, in 1369, a number of Swedish pilgrims came to Rome, and among them St. Bridget's two sons, Charles and Birger. They differed greatly in character. Birger was a rough warrior. Charles seems to have been a dandy of the first order. Their mother presented them to Pope Urban V. Birger wore rather old, but quite suitable garments. Charles was gorgeously dressed. He is described as wearing a chain round his neck and a surcoat of ermine, with rows of stuffed animals above and below a magnificent belt loaded with silver. The Pope, on seeing the young men, said to Birger, "You are your mother's son, and to Charles, "You are a child of this world." Then lifting up Charles' belt the Pontiff observed that it must be a real penance to bear

so heavy a burden. "Holy Father," exclaimed St. Bridget, "do you free him from his sins. I will undertake to free him from his belt." It was at this time that St. Bridget used her utmost endeavours to have the Rule of the Order of the Saviour sanctioned by the Pope. She had already besought the intercession of the Emperor Charles IV. when he was in Rome in 1369. But all her efforts were fruitless for the time being. On April 17th, 1370, Urban V. set out on his return to France to St. Bridget's great sorrow and disappointment. She followed the Pope to Montefiascone and tried to induce Cardinal Peter Roger de Beaufort (better known as Pope Gregory XI.) to hand to Urban V. a revelation which she had received. As the Cardinal was afraid to go to the Supreme Pontiff on such an errand, St. Bridget went herself and delivered her message, which was couched in the most threatening terms, to Urban V. himself. But all her efforts were in vain. As for the Rule of her new order the Pope and Cardinals maintained that a new Rule could only be sanctioned by a general council, as the Council of Lyons in 1274 had forbidden the formation of any new orders under other rules than those which existed already. Eventually the Rule of the Brigittines was sanctioned subject to the condition that it was to be regarded as a modification of the Rule of St. Augustine.

In May, 1371, St. Bridget received a revelation exhorting her to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Accordingly she left Rome early in 1372 with her two sons, Charles and Birger, her daughter, St. Catherine, and a number of other pilgrims, including Alphonso, formerly Bishop of Jaen. The first place at which they stayed was Naples. There, according to the Chronicle of Margaret Klausdotter, Abbess of Vadstena, St. Bridget presented her two sons to Queen Johanna. Charles, after kissing the queen's foot, kissed her on the mouth. Joanna was so pleased that she is said to have declared her intention of taking him

as her husband, in spite of the fact that her rightful husband, the King of Majorca, was, it seems, alive at the time. St. Bridget remarked that such an arrangement could not possibly be carried out, as Charles had a wife in Sweden. In her despair she betook herself to prayer. Soon after, namely on February 24, 1372, Charles fell sick, and a fortnight later he died.

On March 14 the pilgrims left Naples on their dangerous journey. After travelling for a month they reached Famagusta. There St. Bridget was well received by Eleanor of Aragon, Queen of Cyprus, and she delivered many exhortations and warnings to the queen, the nobility, and the vicious population of the island. After a stay of fourteen days the travellers set out for Jaffa, which they reached at the beginning of May. In the middle of that month they came to Jerusalem. Altogether they spent four and a half months in the Holy Land, visiting Bethlehem and the Valley of Jehoshaphat as well as Jerusalem and Jaffa. St. Bridget saw the sacred events which had taken place at the various places, re-enacted before her eyes. An altar piece still exists in the National Museum at Stockholm, which was taken from the Church of Lye in Gothland, and represents the Passion of Christ as seen by St. Bridget. The dangers and excitements and fatigues of the long journey seem to have been too much for St. Bridget. She returned to Rome in 1373, but only to die. Sometime before her death she suffered much from depression, but that passed away and she was comforted. On July 23rd, 1373, she expired in the presence of her friends and of her children Birger and Catherine. Her funeral took place with the greatest solemnity two days later, and her body was deposited in the Church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna, which belonged to the Poor Clares. At the end of 1373 the Abbey of Vadstena was ready to receive the remains of its foundress. Her remains were carried in triumph through Italy and Germany, accompanied by her

daughter St. Catherine, her two confessors, and others of her friends. Everywhere miracles were, it was believed, wrought by the sacred relics. From Danzig they were taken by sea to Söderköping, where they were welcomed by Bishop Nicholas Hermansson, and thence by Linköping to Vadstena, where they were deposited. By degrees a number of nuns and brethren were admitted into the Abbey of Vadstena, which was a double monastery, like other Brigittine houses, though the two sexes were, of course, rigidly separated, and could not even see one another in Church. St. Catherine became the first Abbess of Vadstena, but had to spend much time at Rome in promoting the canonisation of her mother. The canonisation of St. Bridget became a national question with the Swedes, was, as we have seen, promoted by Queen Margaret, and finally it was proclaimed by Urban VI. on October 8th, 1391.

Such is a bare outline of the career of St. Bridget. Of the mighty influence exercised by her teachings and her order after her death I have no time to speak.

A large number of monasteries were founded in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Germany, Poland, Italy, and elsewhere during the fifteenth century. Even now a certain number of Brigittine nunneries exist in England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Mexico. The Brigittine nunnery at Chudleigh, Devon, is the direct descendant of the Brigittine house founded at Hinton in 1407, and refounded at Sion Abbey, Isleworth, by Henry V. in 1415, in thanksgiving for the victory of Agincourt. The community went abroad at the Reformation and did not return to England till the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it has preserved its continuity unbroken from 1407. It is the only convent in England of which this can be said. The order of Brigittine monks was revived in South London a few years ago.

The abbey of Vadstena did a great work in Sweden. Much of the Swedish literature of the fifteenth century proceeded from the Brigittine houses of Vadstena in Östergöthland and of Nådendal in Finland.

The Brigittines of Scandinavia wrote many of their books in the so-called Brigittine language, a mixture of Danish and Swedish, as they were always anxious to knit the three kingdoms more closely together. Most of the nuns were of noble birth. It is therefore no wonder that the nunnery of Vadstena survived until 1592, and that of Maribo in Denmark until 1628.

The spirit and influence of so noble a character as St. Bridget, the glory of Sweden, can never altogether die.



THE VIKINGS AND THE WENDS.

By FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.

THE following notes on the Vikings and Wends are the outcome of a suggestion by an esteemed fellow-member, to whom I am indebted for valuable advice and materials. I cannot refrain from passing a tribute to the memory of our beloved former President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, a close friend of many years, through whom I became a Viking, who kindly placed important volumes at my disposal.

At the outset it will be observed that greater space is devoted to the Wends than to the Vikings, and if any apology be needed it is that I am privileged to address older and far stronger Vikings than myself; that the Vikings and their history have formed their life study, while I can offer no such pretensions; and that, on the other hand, I may claim some personal knowledge of the Slavs. Other members have discoursed on the relations of the Vikings with Russia and Byzantium.

The point of departure shall be the Vikings of Jomsburg, near Wolin, of which settlement the founder, Palnatoki, who slew his lord Harald Blaataund, was jarl of Fjon, and also had a jarldom in Bretland (Wales). He invaded Wendland one summer, and Prince Burislav made offers of friendship with a *fylki* or *riki* called Jom, on condition that he should defend it. A sea burg was built, with a harbour to accommodate 300 longships. The community were under rigid laws: no member should be younger than eighteen nor older than fifty; no slander was allowed; only Palnatoki could tell news; booty was shared. Like the Templars, Hospitallers, and the *Sietch* of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Jomsburgers were celibates. The name Jom is supposed to be related to Jomala, a deity of the Lapps and Finns,

whose temple in Biarmaland was plundered by some daring Vikings under Olaf the Saint. (For Jomala or Jumala, otherwise Ukko (the old man), the god of heaven and cloud-compeller, see the Finnish *Kalevala*, translated by W. F. Kirby, F.L.S., F.E.S.). After the time of Sigvald, Jomsburg passed to Denmark. Knut appointed Sweyn governor, but he abandoned the place. Magnus the Good destroyed it in 1044 after a revolt, and the last was heard of Jomsburg under Waldemar I. Wisby, in Gothland, succeeded Jomsburg as a Baltic trade centre.

The late Sir G. W. Dasent wrote a charming historical romance, "The Vikings of the Baltic," based on the saga of the Vikings of Jomsburg during the time that Earl Sigvald, son of Strut Harald, was the chief. This free celibate community had been founded by Palnatoki in the reign of Harald Blaataand (blue tooth), at whose command he had performed the arrow feat, better known in the story of Wilhelm Tell as dramatised by Schiller. Sigvald boasted that each Jomsburg Viking was equal to a king, though lieges in Denmark, Norway, Wales, or wherever they originally belonged. Burislav was then king of the Wends and resided at Stargard, forty miles from Jomsburg, with his Russian consort and three daughters bearing non-Slavonic names, Astrida, Gunnhilda, and Geira. Though the Wends had towns they loved rural life, and Burislav lived practically out of doors. He is called "a short, oily-looking man, with a sleek, sly expression of face." He wore woollen outer garments, with a silk shirt brought from Byzantium by way of Russia, and a gold circlet denoted his rank. King Sweyn Haraldson demanded the tribute levied by King Harald from Mieczeslav, father of Burislav, and Earl Sigvald effected the capture of Sweyn by a ruse, freed Wendland from the tribute, won Astrida for his bride, and arranged that Gunnhilda should marry Sweyn. The daughters of Burislav would inherit a third of his

kingdom. Sweyn taunted Burislav in a parable that the Wends were tits while the Danes were eagles. The dissimilarity of the Scandinavian and Slavonic languages is indicated by the description of Mieczeslav and Burislav as "jaw-breaking names," a hoary sneer at Russian and other Slav words. Burislav's messenger says he is not a Wend, otherwise his name would end in "laf"—this should be "slav." The traditional hospitality is implied in the king's remark, "Burislav the Wend can never turn a guest out of his house." His people were famed for mead and wisdom, and their kings had come straight from heaven. As to their women, the princesses were supposed to have bewitched Sigvald with runes and philtres, like the Finns. Gunnhilda said that the way of Wendish women was to give good counsel, and Astrida was not pleased when her husband returned from battle without a wound. "Valkyries," she said, "we have no such things in the Wends: there all our women are flesh and blood." The story concludes with the expedition of Earl Sigvald against Earl Hakon ("the bad") of Norway, from the effects of which the free company never recovered but passed over to England, where perhaps St. Clement Danes, Strand, marks the site of their camp. Christianity was advancing, but the worship of Thor and Odin by the Vikings, and of Perun and Svantovit by the Wends, was still strong, and the marriages of Burislav's daughters were performed under the holy hammer. Burislav had been half converted by priests from the Emperor Otto. A sturdy Jomsburg hero, Beorn, the sceptical Welshman with a non-Celtic name, cries out—

"The last cup that many of us will drain before we feast with Odin, or Czernebog, or St. Peter, or wherever the hall may be outside this world, where the good and brave of all races and religions will sit and drink this even."

Referring to Snorro Sturlusson's *Heimskringla*, we find many allusions to the Wends and Wendland,

without any defined limits of their importance or extent. The "Avowing of the Jomsburg Vikings" forms a chapter, the occasion being the grave-ale held by King Sweyn, to which Earl Sigvald and his Jomsburgers were bidden, where great oaths were taken, mainly for the conquest of Earl Hakon. There was a Wendel district (Wendsysse) in Jutland, north of Limfiord, but this is outside the area under consideration. Rolf Ganger was outlawed by Harald Haarfager for making a cattle foray south of the Baltic. Hakon the Good ravaged Seeland, Scania, and Wendland. Earl Hakon Sigurdson was called "foe of Wendland men." Sweyn Alfufuson, son of King Knut, governed Jomsburg before he became King of Norway. Hakon Ivarson was commander of King Sweyn's coast defence against the Wendland, Curland, and other raiders of the Danish coast. Harald Hardrada, that campaigner of more than European fame, fought against the Wends. King Magnus the Good, with Duke Otto of Brunswick, advanced against the Wends, and encouraged by a vision of his father defeated them at Hlyrskog heath after his capture of Jomsburg. The slaughter of the heathens, it was said, was greater than any that had taken place since the introduction of Christianity. A young unnamed man from Denmark was captured by heathens and taken to Wendland, but was delivered from a wretched imprisonment by the help of King Olaf the Saint, to whom he prayed. The Wendland king, Rettibur (Ratibor), with his nephew, Dunimiz, and a friend, Unibur, in the days of Magnus the Blind, the Danish king, Eirik, and Archbishop Ozur, of Lund, attacked the town of Konungahella. In spite of heavy losses the Wends spoiled the town and took away captives. When the priest, Andres, went on board Rettibur's vessel with the cross, all were disconcerted by a mysterious feeling of heat, whereupon the heathens aided the priest to depart in safety. The town of Konungahella declined after this Wendish raid.

From the "Saga of Olaf Tryggvason" (translated by J. Sephton, M.A.) we hear a good deal of the intercourse of Vikings and Wends. Hakon, foster-son of Athelstan, subjected Zealand, and "the strength of the choicest of the Wends," by the coast of Skane. Whitserk, one of Ragnar Lodbrok's warlike sons, possessed Reidgotaland and Wendland. Following his conquests in Jutland, Gorm the Old conducted a successful campaign against the Wends. After pillaging Borgundarholm, Olaf Tryggvason and his fleet were compelled to sail to the coast of Wendland, the realm of King Burislav. Geira ruled as queen, and had the shrewd and powerful Dixin for steward. The steward reports to Geira that a fleet is at anchor in the harbour, commanded by a handsome stranger of noble birth, who gives himself out to be the merchant Oli of Garda, though Dixin suspects his real character. As Olaf had arrived peaceably, he and his men were invited by Queen Geira to spend the winter at her capital. Their marriage was almost a matter of course, and as some of the Wendish towns had ceased to pay tribute to their queen, Olaf and his warriors proceeded by stern measures to compel payment. On his second expedition to Christianise Denmark, the Emperor Otto the Young was supported by King Burislav and the Wends. After their repulse by Earl Hakon at the Danework they were joined by Olaf Tryggvason under his assumed name of Oli, by whose help the Danework was burnt, Hakon defeated, and he and Harald, king of the Danes, converted. The cares of his Wendish kingdom prevented Olaf from accepting the Emperor's offer, on hearing who he really was, to become a chief in Saxland.

The Wends appear to have paid tribute to the Danes, and the warlike Vikings of Jomsburg formed a powerful defence for King Burislav. The latter, wishing to free himself from this tax, agreed to Earl Sigvald's demand for the hand of his daughter, Astrida, on con-

dition that the Vikings continued to defend the country, and that King Sweyn Haraldson, of Denmark, was placed in his power. Sigvald obtained possession of Sweyn, who was reluctantly compelled to remit the tax, though he accepted as bride Gunnhilda. In return, Sweyn's sister, Thyri, was offered as wife to King Burislav, and the two countries became independent. (Olaf had left Wendland some time before and settled in England, where he married an English queen, Gyda, sister to the King of Dublin.) Thyri refused to marry the old heathen, Burislav, who complained to Earl Sigvald that this part of the treaty with Sweyn had not been kept. Under pressure she came to Wendland, went through the marriage ceremony, but escaped after the feast, sought refuge in Norway with King Olaf, and married him. Large estates in Wendland had been settled upon Thyri, who protested to King Olaf that with him she was not rich enough for her station. At her entreaty, Olaf agreed to sail for Wendland to claim her estates for her, so a levy was called and the *Long Serpent* manned. After some delays King Olaf arrived at Wendland, saw King Burislav, with whom he had an amicable conference, and met old friends there. Then followed the conspiracy prompted by Queen Sigrid, wife of Sweyn after the death of Gunnhilda, against Olaf, headed by Sweyn, Olaf King of the Swedes, Earl Eric Hakonson, and Earl Sigvald. Tidings reached the fleet of King Olaf, who were impatient at their lengthy stay in Wendland. Before Olaf set sail he was warned by his friend Astrida, Sigvald's wife, of the plot. As the bulk of his host had previously departed, Olaf's following was small, but a mysterious Wendish smack ran up to the *Long Serpent*, when King Olaf perceived that he was trapped by his enemies at the mouth of the Swold. The battle of Swold does not call for description here, when the "crusher of Wends" long held his own valiantly. The crew of the Wendish smack offered

help, which was declined by the king, who bade them stand by at a distance, in case they could be useful later. After the battle they pulled away, and some held that King Olaf was with them, as he disappeared suddenly from the *Long Serpent*. Astrida related that King Olaf reached Wendland, was healed of his wounds, but declined to fight for his kingdom again, feeling that Providence has taken it away. At his request she fitted him out for a pilgrimage to Rome, and accompanied him part way there. It was said that Astrida and the steward Dixin were on board the strange Wendish smack at Swold. In the same saga there is the story of Rognwald, who, in his scheme of revenge against his master, Thorolf, employed two Wendish craftsmen to build a hall, arrange a feast, make the guests tipsy, and burn the whole place about their ears. As he sailed away with the booty the ship was wrecked and the Wends were drowned, though Rognwald escaped.

See for some general information the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* (Vigfusson and York Powell), *Joms-wikinga-drapa*, by Bishop Biarni (V. II., 301).

Having referred to the sagas, wherein little or nothing is said of the history, politics, or religion of the people generally summed up under the term "Wends," we will turn attention to the historians. The Lusatians, or Serbs of Lusatia, in Prussian and Saxon Lusatia, like the maritime Slovincs (Pomeranians; *po*, by *more*, the sea) and Kašoby, on the East Prussian shore of the Baltic Sea, form an insignificant remnant of a once broad Slavonic population occupying the whole of Northern Prussia, extending west of the Elbe, having on the east Bohemia and Poland. They are broadly divided into Baltic Slavs and Polabes (*po Labe*, by the Elbe), and were never fused into a nationality. The Baltic Slavs included the Obotrites or Bodritshy (north-west), Liutitshy or Viltshy (Wilzen), and Pomeranians. There were Viltshy in Holland and Friesland, and the eminent Bohemian

antiquary, Šafařík, thought he saw this name in our Wiltshire. The Baltic Slavs are related to the Liakhy (including the Poles proper, *Poliany*, agriculturists, *pole*, a field), Chorvaty, and Mazovshany. The term Wends (Veneti, Venedi) is given to the Slavs (*Sklaboi*, Greek) by foreign writers, and is not their native name, as is Serbs (Sorbs). It is probable that Phœnician traders bought amber of the Baltic Slavs. At the time of Pliny and Tacitus they lived near the Vistula and bordered Dacia on the south. The word *Wend* has been traced to a Celtic word *Vindos*, whence *Findobona* (Vienna, in Polish and Bohemian *Viden*). The primitive sense of *vindos* (cf. Welsh, *gywen*) is said to be *weiss, schön, glücklich*. According to Šafařík, the term *Wenden* or *Winden* is not only employed by old German writers, but also by Finns, Lithuanians, and Celts. The Finnish name for Russia is *Wennalaiset*. The classical Veneti must be distinguished from those of similar name on the Adriatic, and the Vandals, though there is distant relationship. Germans, Scandinavians, and Anglo-Saxons called the Slavs *Wendi*, *Vindi*, *Vinidi*, the country *Wendland*, *Windland*, *Winedaland*. Latin writers employed *Slavi*, *Sclavi*, *Slavia*, *Slavania*, and sometimes *Vinedi*, *Vinedi*, *Vinuli*. The form *Slovensky* or *Slovinsky* for the language, and *Slovintsi* for themselves, was used by some of them, a term akin to Slovenes, the archaic Slavs of the valleys near the Italian frontier.

The following are names of Slav tribes derived from their localities:—*Luzitsy* (of the marshes), *Pomorcy*, *Primorcy*, *Morlany* (of the seashore), *Berezany*, *Brzezany* (of the river banks), *Dolency* (of the plain), *Hority*, *Chlumcy* (of the mountains), *Borany*, *Drevany*, *Drevliany* (of the woods), *Ozercy*, *Jezercy* (of the lakes), *Luczany* (of the meadows), *Polany*, *Opoly* (of the fields), *Krajincy*, *Okrajincy* (of the frontiers), *Nizeny*, *Nizicy* (of the lowlands). “*Hunnen*” is a name applied to the Slavs by Bede and other historians.

In 690 a priest named Ekbert went to Germany to preach to the "Fressones, Rugini, Dani, Huni, antiqui Saxones, Boruchtuarii," etc. There were traditions of giants and their tombs (*Wanowe mogili, Hünengräber*), in Latin records *tumuli paganorum, sepulchrum Slavorum*.

At the end of the eighth century, writes Professor Freeman ("Historical Geography of Europe") the Scandinavian and Slavonic inhabitants of the Baltic as yet hardly touched one another. The Bohemian historian and statesman, Francis Palacky (quoted by Count Lützwow in his "History of Bohemia") writes that—

"The Slavonic races in the ninth century extended from the frontiers of Holstein to the coast of the Peloponnesus, much divided and disconnected, varying in habits and circumstances, but everywhere able, diligent, and capable of instruction."

The wars with the Romans drew the Germans southwards, thus facilitating expansion of the Slavs and their occupation of German lands. Attila conquered the Veneti and Anti, but the Hunnish yoke was soon shaken. The Slavs proved irresistible to both eastern and western empires. Justinian took the name of Anti or Slav as one of his titles, though his arms did not acquire much glory over them. In 536, following a war of Romans and Goths, Valerian brought into Italy 1,600 mounted Slavs.

Little is heard of the Baltic Slavs before the time of the Emperor Charlemagne. In 748 Pepin had Slav allies in his contests with the Saxons. In 782 a great expedition of Charlemagne against the Elbe Slavs was defeated by the Saxons on the Weser, which was followed by the slaughter of 4,000 Saxons. Charlemagne directed the efforts of his Franks and Saxons against the Slavs. The Velety submitted to him, and joined him against their kinsmen, the Bodritshy, and were welcomed as "our Slavs" by the Germans. Charlemagne named Drazhko and Slavomir great princes of

the Bodritshy. Louis, his successor, settled the claims of Slav princes of Bodritshy and Liutitshy, and dissatisfied Slavs appealed to the Emperor. Lack of cohesion prevented the Slavs from profiting by the division of the Frankish sway. The adoption of Roman Christianity and the solid national feeling of the Germans gave them a powerful momentum in the struggle. The same factors operated in the stronger power of resistance to Teutonic rivals of the Polish and Čech nationalities. Charlemagne, however, did not accomplish the subjection of the Slavs, though they acknowledged him as over-lord and paid tribute. In 808 the Danish King, Godofrid, joined some of the Bodritshy against their prince, Drazhko, destroyed the trading city Rarog, and retired with plunder. At a parliament at Frankfort, in 822, deputies from the Liutitshy, Bodritshy, and Sorbs were present.

The military power of the Slavs declined during the reign of the vigorous Henry the Fowler, whose hand was felt by Danes and Hungarians. Henry instituted the German marks, comparable to the old Welsh marches: that of Schleswig, against the Danes; Meissen, against the Moravians; Austria, against the Hungarians; Salzwedel, afterwards Brandenburg, against the Wends. The state of Prussia (*Borussia, po Russa*) is the outcome of the old German mark. Henry's son, Otto the Great (936) founded the bishoprics of Oldenburg, Havelberg and Brandenburg, later those of Merseburg, Zeitz, and Meissen, and the archbishopric of Madgeburg. Under Otto II. the Slavs made great struggles for freedom, and the beginnings of Christianity were forced back. The Bodritshy and Liutitshy stormed Hamburg, Havelberg, and Brandenburg, and destroyed the churches and seats of the bishops, in 983. Otto III. made a truce with the Slavs, and they accepted Christianity, but under Henry II. Christianity and tribute were both refused. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Polish prince, Boleslav the

Brave, attempted to realise the dream of Samo, Svato-pluk of Moravia, and the Boleslavs of Bohemia, that of uniting all the Slavs politically, including Čechy, Moravians, and Slovaks. The scheme was defeated by Slavs themselves. Liutitshy and Čechy joined the German king against Boleslav, and his scheme was never revived after his death. Professor Freeman ("Norman Conquest") writes that Earl Godwin, in company with Knut, took part in a campaign against the Wends. One of the sisters of Knut was married to a Slavonic prince, "Wyrtegeorn, King of the Wends." (*The Foundations of England*, Sir James Ramsay).

The Bodritshy prince, Godeskalk (Gottschalk), son of a Danish princess, educated in a Lüneburg monastery, laboured hard for Christianity, and lost his kingdom for a time. His wife was Sirit, a Danish princess, and sister of a Saxon duchess. Ratibor, favourable to the Christians, fell in 1042 with his eight sons in battle against the Danes. Godeskalk was restored, and consolidated his people into a kingdom, but an anti-Christian and anti-German reaction restored the old paganism. The Rane prince, Krut (Krooko) succeeded Godeskalk, held his own against Danes and Germans, and ruled over all Holstein. A chance for the Slavs occurred in German dissensions. Henry IV. tried to incite the Liutitshy against the Saxons, with promises of grants of their land, but the Slavs replied that they had enough land of their own, and merely wanted to defend their frontiers. In 1093 Magnus of Saxony and Eric Ejegod, with Godeskalk's son, invaded the Slav lands, and Eric besieged Wolin and Rügen and placed them under tribute. Henry Godeskalkovitch, who slew Krut, extended his kingdom by German help, but at his death, about 1119, his kingdom was broken up, and a large part (the Liutitshy and Pomorane) passed to the Polish princes.

After Godeskalk's family had died out, the Danish

prince, Knut Laward, duke of Schleswig, made claims the Slav lands, and defeated the Bodritshy princes Pribislav and his nephew Niklot. These chiefs continued with some of the Liutitshy the struggle against the Germans, and the kingdom of the former fell to Saxony. Niklot, one of the best known princes and last hope of these Slavs, repulsed a crusade of Germans and Danes, but had to succumb to a second attack by Henry the Lion in 1160. His successors strove vainly to throw off German vassalage, and Pribislav Niklotovitch submitted to the duke of Saxony, embraced Christianity, and held his lands as a vassal. Albert the Bear, markgrave of Brandenburg, acquired the lands of the Brizhany and Stodoriane, and the last to hold out, the prince of the Rane (Rügen) became a Danish vassal. Helmold writes of Albert the Bear—

Omnem enim terram Brizanorum, Stoderanorum multarumque gentium habitantium juxta Habelam et Albiam misit sub jugum et infrenavit rebelles eorum.

Then he—

Adduxit ex eis [Hollandris, Selandris, Flandris] populum multum nimis et habitare eos fecit in urbibus et oppidis Sclavorum.

The name Niklot means "unconquerable" (*ne, klat* or *kolot*, to beat, fight). His descendants, even when Germanised, were proud of their ancestor, and claimed princely titles. Poland, converted to Christianity, did not actively support the western Slav outposts against Danes and Germans, though some Polish princes were aware of their precarious position.

When the archbishopric of Lund was created, Wendland was included in the vast diocese. Pope Eugenius III. commanded a crusade under Adzer to operate against the Baltic Slavs, but this was a failure. The famous Archbishop Absalon, of Lund, was active against the Wends, and once interrupted a service on Palm Sunday to take the field. Henry the Lion and Waldemar I. (the Great) were alternately allies and

rivals in relation to the Slavs. After the conquest of Arkona by Waldemar, at Absalon's suggestion, Rügen was annexed by a Papal bull to the diocese of Zealand in 1169, and became tributary to the Danish crown. The town of Dantsic (*Danes wick*) was built by Waldemar the Great. In the time of Knut VI., Frederick Barbarossa incited Bogislas, duke of Pomerania, to attack the Danish vassal, Jarunar, prince of Rügen. The Pomeranians were defeated, and Knut VI. assumed the title of King of the Slavs or Vandals. Lubeck fell into his hands, and the nobles of Holstein and Schwerin paid tribute. On his expedition against Esthonia, Waldemar II. was accompanied by Wenceslas, prince of Rügen, who was of material assistance in the battle commemorated by the Dannebrog order. The town of Reval was founded and fortified by Waldemar, the terror of whose name spread from Schleswig to the Gulf of Finland. He was styled "Conqueror" and "King of the Danes and Slavs." The *Knyttlinga-saga* sings of Waldemar's exploits. The Germans seized his conquests at length. Some time previously Pope Innocent III. proclaimed a crusade against the northern heathen, and Albert of Bremen was appointed Bishop of Livonia. In 1200 this prelate founded the important Order of Knights Sword-bearers, whose possessions included Dantsic, Thorn, Elbing, Mittau, with Marienburg, their capital. The Pope gave them the rule of the Templars, with the cross and sword as their emblem.

The story of the subjugation of a relatively gentle and humane people by vigorous and tyrannical aggressors is melancholy reading. The treatment of Slavs by Germans is contrasted by Slavonic writers with that meted out by Tartar and Turkish conquerors in Russia and the Balkan lands, and compared with that of the unfortunate Peruvians and Aztecs by the Spaniards. Their fall is explained by apathy, undue conservatism, deficient patriotic sentiment, and exaggerated personal

sensibilities. A Slav legend exists that when God created the different races He gave them gifts according to their desires but that the Slavs requested time for consideration before decision: their deliberations have not yet ceased. Nobles like Barnim of Stettin became Germanised, colonisation followed the crusades of the Teutonic knights, the natives were driven into the rural districts, and the Slav tongue was confined to old men and peasants, as was temporarily the case with Bohemian after the Thirty Years' War. Archbishop Absalon is said to have been more humane than the Germans.

The settlements of the Baltic Slavs were by families (*rod*), on their estates (*diedina*); this system gave way to the community (*obshtshina*), but names of the more prominent families survived in those of villages, e.g., Slaviboritch, Lobkovitch, and Gostiraditch, from the founders of families Slavibor, Lobko, and Gostirad. The heads were the *starosta* (from *stary*, old, elder or mayor), *shupan* (district chief), and *kniaz* (from O.H.G. *kunning*, prince). The *kniaz* was the chief judge and military leader. Originally these heads were elected, but the *kniaz* was often succeeded by his son. This title, which meant *dominus*, *Herr*, analogous to *monseigneur* and *dom*, was afterwards applied to the nobility generally, and may be translated *domicellus*, *Junker*, *Gutsherr*. The *kniaz* was sometimes the sacrificing priest. There were many of these princes in the different Slav districts. The Bodritshy had a *veliky kniaz* (great prince), the Russian title we know as Grand Duke. There were nobles and courtiers of various ranks. They dwelt in cities (*gorod*, *gard*), and villages (*celo*). At first the *gorod* was a fortified centre, where dwelt priests and officials, which formed a refuge in time of war for the surrounding people. Some of the important Slav towns were Stargard, Lubeck, (Bukovec), Dymin, Stettin and Koloberg. The German name of a city of the Bodritshy was Mikilinburg,

Mecklenburg (*mikil, magnus, cf. Mikkilgard, Byzantium*): the Danes called this Rerik. Stettin and Kamen (stone) were called by the Danes Bursteborg and Steinborg. An ancient town of great interest was the "Slavonic Amsterdam," Julin (Danish), Wolin (Slav), or Vineta (Saxon), a parallel with Venice. Helmold reports its destruction by the Danes, but that there were remains when he wrote. It has long been lost under the waves, where legend says Wolin and its inhabitants may still be seen. The city was said to rise on Good Friday, to disappear on Easter Day. Julin was erroneously ascribed to Julius Cæsar, whose lance was shown there. Strielov (Stralsund) was a rising city of the old principality of Rügen. The villagers who were free had taxes and duties towards the state and prince, whom they had to entertain while travelling and hunting. As vassals of emperor, duke (*herzog* or *voivode*), markgrave, or count, they had to pay tribute, and with the introduction of Christianity tithes to bishops (*biskopovnitsa*) in money and kind. All taxes and duties were in accordance with the general Slavonic law (*pravo Slaviansko, jus Slavicalis*). Besides the freemen there were serfs (*rab*), consisting of German, Danish, and rival Slav prisoners of war, kept in rigorous servitude. Slav prisoners were sold in the markets of Germany and western Europe, and from these the word *slave* is derived. Insolvent debtors shared this fate. The popular assemblies for deliberation on war and peace, judicial or public affairs, were the *snemy* or *seimy*, and *vetsty*. The old Slav constitution was excellent for taking possession of abandoned lands, but not for purposes of defence.

The early Slav lands were wooded and marshy, forming a natural defence for their inhabitants and a hindrance for Danish and German invaders. In the time of Albert the Bear colonists came from Holland, and from their experience knew how to deal with water and build dykes. The Slav ploughman used the small

ralo (*uncus, haken*), while the German had the heavier *pluga* (*aratrum, pflug*). Slavonic commerce at first was limited to barter. In old Wendish tombs clay and wooden vessels and images have been found. Bag-pipes, rebecs, and pipes formed their musical instruments. Traces of their songs have been found at Lausitz, Lüneburg, and Dalmatia. Their dances and games show warlike features. Assemblies were held of Slavs from all parts at temples. Fortified towns and districts became converted into principalities under Variag Vikings in the ninth and tenth centuries, in Russia and along the southern Baltic shore. The Variag arrival was for the purpose of trade and occasional piracy, not conquest. The Russians comprehend north German races, Swedes, Angles, Norwegians, and Gothlanders, in the term Variag. (Variagi is explained as a Slav form of the Scandinavian *vaering* or *varing*: *variag*, a pedlar: *variashit*, to conduct petty trade.) The Baltic was the old *Variashskoe more* (*Variag sea*). Dwellers on the Baltic shores looked upon wreckage as a gift from the gods, and asked in their prayers for a good harvest of *strandgut*. The shoals of herrings, once furnishing a staple industry, have long left the Sound and the Baltic.

Traits of character and custom are common to all members of this extremely interesting race, whether extinct or flourishing, with whom extended acquaintance increases admiration and sympathy. A few notes on their social and religious customs will be appropriate here. The early Slavs, usually peaceable, were known to Greeks and Romans for tenacity and courage, doggedness and endurance, in warfare and when captured. Like the North American Indians, they would die under excruciating torture rather than betray secrets. Slav women went to battle, and their corpses were found among besiegers of Constantinople. The Wends fought with dagger and sword, and entered into battle with loud cries, to encourage themselves and alarm the

enemy. When a Wendish ambassador for peace returned, he was accustomed to light a fire as a signal to his people that he was a legate with news. When peace negotiations were unsuccessful the envoy remained with the enemy, so that he should not be able to give information to his countrymen. The Wends employed skilful spies. Desire for peace was intimated by throwing a stone into water, implying that he who broke peace deserved to perish by drowning. Their sturdy qualities were ascribed to northern conditions and climate. Their hospitality, inherited by Slavs of our day, and marital relations were admired by their neighbours. A system of *sullee* prevailed, suggesting an Indian origin, and a widow was discredited: it is thought that this was a safeguard against murder of husbands. The heathen Slavs were not inferior to heathen Germans and Danes, but adopted Roman-Christian culture later. Boniface, the "Apostle to Thuringia," gave the Slavs a high character on his arrival there in 724, and found all industries well represented.

The Baltic Slavs worshipped the powers of nature, with a supreme god, Svarog (heaven), whence proceeded the other gods, Svarozhitsh, son of Svarog, known as Svantovit (holy light, the sun), Bielbog (white, bright god), Triglav (three-headed god), Jarovit (god of war), and Radegost. With the Slavs, the supreme god cared not for terrestrial concerns but abode in heaven. To Bielbog was opposed Tshernobog, the black, evil god. George Borrow, in "The Romany Rye," makes one of his characters poke fun at Sir Walter Scott for calling Tshernobog a god of the heathen Saxons, but though this name is pure Slav there is little doubt that German heathens occasionally worshipped Slav deities, while Slavs adopted Odin. There was also Perun, the Slavonic Thor. The names of Prove and Proven, a god judge, at Oldenburg (Stargard) appears to be a form of Perun, the thunder god.

Perun was succeeded by the prophet Elijah, controller of the seasons, among the Variag and Russian Christians. Bishop Dittmar, of Merseburg (976-1018), mentions a sacred wood, Zutibure (Svantibor), now Schkeitbar, and refers to the numerous idols. The Mecklenburg Wends long preserved some images of Odin. Saxo Grammaticus, secretary to Archbishop Absalon, gave an account of the idol and temple of Svantovit, at Arkona, Rügen, destroyed by Waldemar I. He says that even King Sweyn, of Denmark (probably Sweyngrate), murdered in 1157, sent an offering of a handsome cup to this idol. A huge mottled standard, honoured as a goddess, which, when carried, secured exemption from laws and even permitted insults to idols, stood in the temple of Svantovit, to whom sacrifices were made after harvest. Rhetra, a Slav temple, stood on lake Tollenz, Mecklenburg. The Baltic Slavs held their rude idol temples, called *gontina*, a word meaning a shingle, in great veneration. Their priests wore long hair, entered into the holy place alone, and received a share of booty. According to Saxo, the priest who cleansed the temple at Arkona dared not breathe, for fear of contaminating something holy. The chief priest of Rügen had considerable power over many Slav families, maintained 300 mounted warriors for raids, and was distinguished above the rest by length of hair, beard, and dress. Besides animals, Christian captives or slaves bought from pirates were offered, and the gods were said to revel in Christian blood. A sacred horse was led over a lance, and victory or defeat was predicted from his manner of treading. (In the Bohemian legend, princess Libuša's horse guided the envoys to her ploughman consort, Přemysl.) Another method was by "toss-up" for white or black sides of pieces of wood. The women of Rügen predicted by observation of ashes. Festivals for the dead and the opening of summer were celebrated. A remarkable error was be-

lieved that monks from Corvey, Picardy, went to Rügen, preached the Gospel there, and founded a church of St. Vitus, their patron. Then it was said that the people chased the monks away and elevated St. Vitus into the Slav deity, Svantovit, whose statue they worshipped. As a matter of fact, monks who found the cult of Svantovit transformed his name into that of a Christian saint. (Numerous instances are on record of pious fraud through substitution of even fictitious saints for heathen deities by adroit variation of their names.) Christians were sometimes sacrificed to Svantovit. The interpretation of this name has given rise to much conjecture. (St. Vitus' cathedral, Prague, was founded by the Bohemian martyred prince, St. Vaclav—"good King Wenceslas"—in consequence of a gift from Henry the Fowler of an arm of that obscure young Sicilian saint.) A three-headed idol at Brandenburg was worshipped by Slavs and Saxons about 1153. Rugievit and Porevit, compared to Mars, were other idols destroyed by the Danes. In the temple of Jarovit was a large shield, which ensured victory like an oriflamme. A German who captured it was safe from his pursuers, who dared not approach it. Otto succeeded in destroying idols, and persuaded the people to use the gold of the figures to ransom captives. The general Slavonic word for God, *Bog*, is related to Sanscrit *bhaga*, god and good fortune. This word is matched by *Bes*, a demon. On one occasion the god of the Liutitshy, Svarozhitsh, marched in alliance with the Saxon St. Maurice, causing misgivings to a German missionary. Trees, lakes and rivers were sacred, and offers were made to their presiding genii. A great oak and spring near Stettin were venerated as the abode of a god. Midsummer day (St. John's day) came to be known by a joint Christian and heathen appellation, *John Kuppalo*. St. Columbanus, who converted German heathens, attempted, unsuccessfully, to reach the Slavs early in the seventh century. The Slavs showed

great obstinacy to Christianity, and though they usually opened the Baltic havens to all comers they excluded Christians, seizing their vessels and sacrificing their priests to idols. One writer says that they objected to Christianity because of the immorality, cruelty, and robbery practised by professing Christians. When Bishop Boso, of Merseburg, began to teach *Kyrieleison* to the Slavs, they derided him and said *ve kri olsa* (in the copse is the alder). Adamus Bremensis, appointed a *Dom-Scholaster* by Archbishop Adalbert in 1069, author of the *Gesta Pontificum Hammenburgensium*, canon of the cathedral of a town which claimed to be the Christian metropolis of the Slavs, had been among the Danes and conversed with missionaries. At Rhetra, says Adam, a bishop, named John, of Mecklenburg, was executed by the Slavs, and his head offered to the god Radegost. Bishop Bernard persuaded the inhabitants of Wolin to accept baptism. He founded two churches there, and named them after the Bohemian saints, Vojtech (Adalbert) and Vaclav (Wenceslas). When St. Bernard first arrived, he walked barefooted and in rags. Asked his business, he said that he came in the name of the supreme God, lord of heaven and earth, to convert them from idolatry. The people said that his appearance dishonoured God, Who is glorious and rich. Bishop Otto, of Bamberg, the "Apostle of Pomerania," profited by the lesson, and came with a brilliant but unarmed company in 1125. This honoured missionary from Suabia lived in Poland, and learned the Slav language. After returning to Germany he was made Bishop of Bamberg. At the instance of Boleslav III. of Poland, Otto proceeded to evangelise Pomerania, where he was received by the Christian prince, Vratislav. On his first mission he converted 20,000 heathens and built 11 churches, thanks to his courage, sympathy, and knowledge of the people. A pretext for German and Danish aggression was removed in consequence of Otto's efforts. Helmold,

author of *Chronicon Slavorum*, priest of Bosau among the Wagry, assisted Bishops Vicelin and Herold of Oldenburg in mission work. He disparages the Slavs, and calls their country *terra horroris et vastæ solitudinis*. From him we learn much about the old Slavs and their religion. Helmold reports an outspoken speech by the chief Pribislav in reply to Bishop Herold's exhortations to embrace Christianity in 1154. He accepted the words of the prelate as wise and good for salvation, but complained of the exactions of dukes and counts. When oppressed on land, were the Slavs to blame for piracy upon Danes and merchants? Were not the German princes to blame? The Bishop promised that the persecutions should stop if the Slavs accepted Christianity, and Pribislav said that if they were allowed the same rights as the Saxons they would accept baptism, build churches, and pay tithes. In 1172 prince Casimir, of Pomerania, founded a Cistercian monastery at Dargun, and invited monks from Zealand and afterwards from Mecklenburg. Monks and nuns were Danes and Germans, with the exception of some Slavs of noble birth, and inhabited monasteries on the coast (Trebetov and Bielbog). At Stettin, prince Barnim (1237) appointed a German church of St. James and a Slav church of St. Peter, and allotted villages to each. The old Prussians were converted in the thirteenth century by the German Knights Hospitallers, who reduced them to bondage. The Sword-bearers proceeded in the same way with the Letts. The Sword-bearers suffered a permanently crippling defeat by Jagellon, of Poland, and his allies at the famous battle of Tannenberg, or Grünwald, in 1410.

To complete our story, these ancient Slavs are represented in Pomerania and West Prussia by the Kašuby, distributed among Poles and Germans. This name is derived from *kazub* or *kozub*, furs, and is of some antiquity, as Barnim was styled *dux Slavorum et Cassubiæ*. A few Slavs call themselves Slovincy, and their lan-

guage Slovenish or Slovinish. There remain the so-called Lusatian Wends of Prussia and Saxony, divided into Serbs, Miltshany, and Luzhitshany, known generally in the Middle Ages as Wends (Vinidy, Venedy), or Serbs (Sorbs). The question has been posed by their champions, what would have become of Germany had not the Slavs interposed between that country and Oriental invasions, which materially changed the course of development of Russia and the old Balkan States.

For much of the foregoing information I am indebted to Professor Josef Perwolf's Russian work on the Germanisation of the Baltic Slavs, and some notes occur in the "Early Slavonic Literature" of my late honoured friend, Professor Dr. W. R. Morfill. The eminent Bohemian antiquaries, Dobrovsky, Čelakovsky and Šafařík (author of *Slovanské Starozitnosti*) did not overlook the Baltic Slavs, and Messrs. Pypin and Spassovitch ("History of Slavonic Literatures," a mine of wealth for students) enumerate German, Russian, and other savants who have written on the subject. There is also a great deal of information in *La Mythologie Slave*, by my veteran friend Professor Louis Leger, Vice-President of the Institut de France. Again I would express my best thanks and indebtedness to our late President, Mr. W. F. Kirby, for valuable advantages; and to a man of learning esteemed by all Oxford scholars, Dr. H. Krebs, of the Taylorian Library, for the opportunity of consulting Helmold's chronicles and other works.

Viking Society for Northern Research.

THE SOCIETY is founded for all interested in the North and its literature and antiquities.

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(2) Old-Lore Series and Year-book.

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The composition of Life Members is permanently invested in an Endowment Fund, which now amounts to £332.

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- (4) Formation of a Library of Books, MSS., maps, etc., relating to Northern history and antiquities :
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YEAR=BOOK.

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- c.* Commissary records, Sasines registers, Diligence register, Local register, Bailiary Court Books, Protocol books, General registers, Parish registers of births, deaths, and marriages. Collection of Orkney and Shetland papers, etc., in the Register House, Edinburgh.
- d.* Synod and Kirk session minutes.
- e.* Sheriff Court Books.
- f.* Burgh and County records.
- g.* MSS. in private collections.
- h.* Orkney and Shetland rentals—Revision of Peterkin's rentals, unprinted rentals in Register House and Charter Room of the Town Council of Edinburgh, and in private collections. The MSS. of three Shetland rentals are now ready to go to press. Hitherto no rental of Shetland has been printed.
- i.* Valuation of Orkney 1653.

3.—Caithness and Sutherland Records.

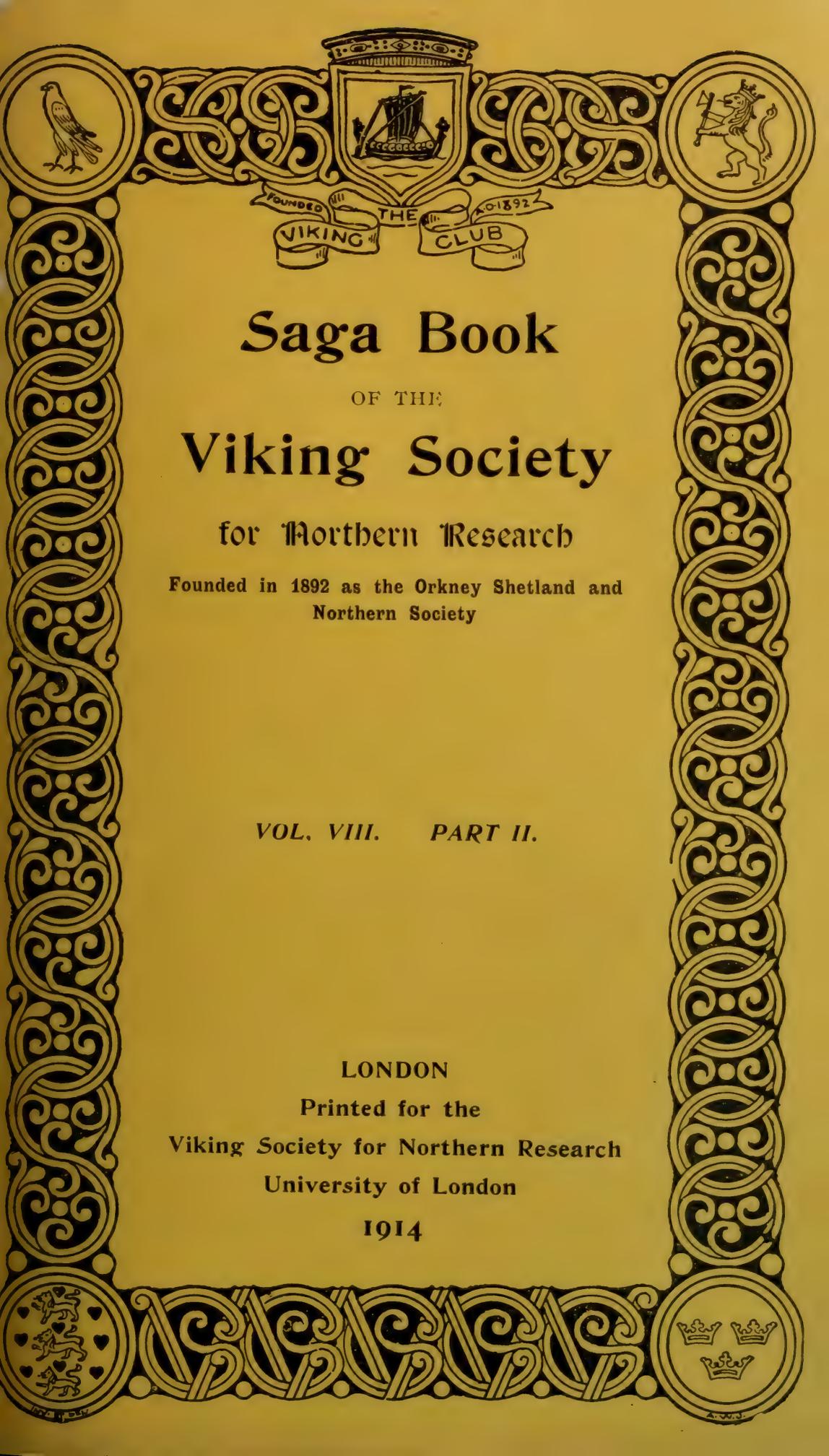
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5.—Translations.—A translation of Professor Hægstad's "Hildinakvad," or Foula ballad, is in progress.

6.—Reprints of rare works, tracts, law papers, etc.

Illustrations are used as much as possible.

ons, such as the collection of words of Norse origin, and the North of Scotland; printing special volumes of local records,



Saga Book

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for Northern Research

Founded in 1892 as the Orkney Shetland and
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FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

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1913

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VOL. VIII. PART II.



Einar Magnússon

REPORTS OF PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING SOCIETY.

TWENTY-FIRST SESSION, 1913.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "The Cultus of Norwegian Saints in England and Scotland" by Dr. Edvard Bull. The following members took part in the discussion: Mr. W. R. L. Lowe, Mr. F. Marsh, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. A. W. Taylor.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to the author for his paper, and to Mr. A. W. Taylor, for reading it, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 135-148.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President gave a short account of the pre-Norse inhabitants of Orkney, Shetland and Iceland, the Norse colonisation and the conversion of the Vikings to Christianity. It is now asserted that there are a number of large cave dwellings with inscriptions in the South of Iceland, pointing to a large pre-Norse population and not merely to the few Irish priests or Papas whom the Norse found there in the 9th century. From the old forms of Norse place-names, odal tenure, etc., found in

the Orkneys, it is surmised that the settlement of these islands took place as early as 700. The Picts having been christianized as early as 565, this would give 150 years, which is ample time, to account for the numerous Pictish ecclesiastical remains in the islands. Mr. Johnston said it was his opinion that the Vikings settled down peaceably and intermarried with the Picts. This is borne out by the survival of Pictish place-names and church dedications, and the latter indicate that Christianity never entirely died out in the islands. This latter theory is also supported by the ease with which Christianity was established there in 995, in strong contrast to the great opposition offered in pagan Norway. Moreover, the cathedral of Orkney was built only some 50 years after the sword-baptism of Earl Sigurd.

The Venerable Archdeacon Craven is of the opinion that two Celtic waves of Christianity affected Orkney and Shetland, the first being a mission of St. Kentigern from the East, and the second St. Cormac's historic mission from St. Columba in the West, represented respectively by the dedications to St. Ninian and St. Columba.

The origin of Norse literature was also referred to. Up to the 12th century the laws, sagas, and Edda lays were oral traditions. Christianity with its written Scriptures and missals gave the impetus to the writing down of the laws and sagas in the 12th century. We find Earl Ronald, a poet, and Bishop Biarni, the Skald, busy at literary work in that century in conjunction with Icelandic Skalds, when possibly some of the Western Edda lays were rescued and recorded. Many of Snorri's poetic words are still used as tabu names in Shetland and nowhere else. This is highly suggestive, seeing that the islanders changed their Norse speech for English from two to three centuries ago.

Mrs. Bannon and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part in the discussion which followed.

MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Professor W. P. Ker, LL.D. (Vice-President), read a paper on "Bishop Jón Arason."

The Chairman moved a vote of thanks to Professor Ker for his paper, which was carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 149-171.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President and Founder), in the Chair.

The Twenty-first Annual General Meeting was held at King's College, Strand, on St. Magnus Day, Wednesday, April 16th, at 8 p.m.

The Annual Report was presented to the meeting and adopted unanimously.

The officers of the Society, nominated by the Council for the ensuing year, were unanimously elected, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. Douglas C. Stedman acting as scrutineers to the ballot.

Professor Allen Mawer, M.A., read a paper on "Scandinavian Influence in English Place-names."

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Professor Mawer for his paper.

Printed on pp. 172-210.

MEETING, MAY 23RD, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The President, Mr. A. W. Johnston, gave his Inaugural Address, "Orkney and Shetland Historical Notes."

A discussion followed in which Mr. J. S. Clouston and Mr. John Marshall took part. Printed on pp. 211-263.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 21ST, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Temple-Administration and Chieftainship in Pre-Christian Norway and Iceland," by Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, M.A.

The Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefansson, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. F. P. Marchant, and Mr. Etchells took part in the discussion which followed. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Phillpotts for her paper. Printed on pp. 264-284.

MEETING, DECEMBER 12TH, 1913.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

A paper was read on "Thyra, Wife of Gorm the Old, was she English or Danish?" by Captain Ernest Rason.

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Dr. Jón Stefansson and Mr. John Marshall took part.

The Chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to Captain Rason for his paper. It was accorded by acclamation, and the reader responded. Printed on pp. 285-301.

THE CULTUS OF NORWEGIAN SAINTS IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

By DR. EDVARD BULL.

SEEING how short is the distance from the Orkneys to Scotland, and frequent as have always been, from the very beginning of historical times, communications across the Pentland Firth, it is not improbable that ecclesiastical customs would be transmitted from Scotland to the Orkneys and from the Orkneys to Scotland from the earliest times. As the mediæval sources relating to the Orkneys are rather scanty, we know very little of the first movement¹; we are, however, better informed as to the movement from the North southwards, especially in connection with the veneration of the saint, Earl Magnus of the Orkneys.

Near the chapel of Ladykirk, in South Ronaldsay, the southernmost of the Orkneys, whence there is the shortest passage to Scotland, a stone is found, four feet long and pointed at both ends. It is called the boat of St. Magnus,² and local traditions concerning it still exist. Magnus is said to have used the stone as a boat—in the same way that so many other saints have done before him—when passing the Pentland Firth, and afterwards to have carried it to Ladykirk. According to others the stone is really a petrified whale. It is in fact the very whale which carried the earl on its back from Caithness to the Orkneys, thus enabling him to fulfil his promise to build a church and dedicate it to

¹ A few disconnected remarks in the *Statuta Generalia* of the Scottish Church (pp. cxiii. 111-112, 136) are almost all.

² Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs and springs*, Glasgow, 1893, pp. 72ff.—The same, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 122.

Our Lady. In later times penitent sinners used to stand barefooted on the stone.

In the northern part of Caithness, on the boundary between the parishes of Halkirk and Watten, there was a hospital consecrated to St. Magnus, and in the 19th century an annual Magnus Fair was still held at Halkirk on the Tuesday before December 26th.¹

Even in Celtic literature the worship of St. Magnus may be traced in the beautiful hymn, *A Mhànnis mo rùin*,² in which Magnus is invoked as a deity of fecundity, who is besought to be kind to the cattle and support the growth of plants and animals. In this as in nearly all other prayers in the popular language his direct help is solicited, and not only his intercession with God.

We also find such local traditions relating to St. Olave in the northern parts of Scotland. The church of Cruden in Aberdeenshire was dedicated to this saint, and was certainly very old, even if the tradition that it was built in commemoration of the defeat of the Danes ("crow-dan") at Cruden, in the year 1006, by King Malcolm, who died in 1033 or 1034, three or four years after the battle at Stiklestad, sounds highly improbable. In the parish a holy well, called St. Olave's, is to be found, of which the people sing:—

St. Olave's well low by the sea,
Where pest nor plague shall never be.

St. Olave's fair is still held at Cruden in the month of March.³

This last fact leads us to the official Scottish ecclesiastical practice in the last period of Catholicism, when the day of St. Olave was kept, strangely enough, in

¹ Mackinlay, *The pre-reformation church and Scottish place-names*, 1904, pp. 380 ff.—The day of St. Magnus was really Dec. 13th; but probably the fair is of earlier origin than the worship of the Saint.

² Henderson, *The Norse influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 35.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, III., pp. 144-49. Mackinlay, *Folklore of Scottish lochs, etc.*, p. 105.—The same, *The pre-reformation church, etc.*, p. 21.

the last days of March. Here there are two chief sources of information to be taken into account. The first is the *Breviarium Aberdonense*, belonging to about the same time as the breviary and missal of Nidaros. It was printed in 1509, by direction of Bishop Elphinstone,¹ with a view to delivering the Scottish Church from the overwhelming influence of the liturgy of Sarum, the use of which had been admitted for national reasons, to counter-balance the claims of York on the primacy in Scotland. There is full reason, then, to suppose that this breviary contains fairly good evidence of Scottish church practice.

The other source is a missal from the church of St. Nicolas in Aberdeen, originally printed in Rouen, in 1506, according to the missal of Salisbury, but with manuscript notes. These notes, according to Scottish investigators, bear traces of Norse influence; but otherwise the calendar in this missal is very corrupt and quite overloaded with festivals.²

According to both these calendars the day of St. Olave is to be kept on March 30th, instead of on July 29th.³ The breviary, however, lays down⁴ that if March 30th falls in Easter week or on the first Sunday after Easter, the celebration is to be put off till after that

¹ Reprinted London, 1854, in two vols. (*Pars hyemalis and Pars estiva*). The notes concerning Olave are printed also by Metcalfe, *Passio et Miracula beati Olavi*, pp. 117ff. (see also pp. 33ff.)

² Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. 33 (1898-99), pp. 440-60.

³ 31st, according to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, Edinburgh, 1845, II., p. 7.

⁴ The print by Metcalfe, *Passio*, etc., p. 33, of these regulations is very inaccurate; the text of *Brev. Aberd.* (March 30th): *Si hoc festum sancti olavi vel festum sancti reguli infra passionem domini vel in ebdoma pasche aut in dominica oct. eiusdem contigerit nichil fiet de ipsis usque post octa. pasche et ibi tunc vbi conueniencius possunt celebrari: de ipsis fiat seruicium cum tribus lectionibus istius temporis. Sed cum R. iis et v. paschalis temporis. Et ita faciendum est de omnibus aliis festis simplicibus ix. lectionum infra dictum tempus contingenti. Ad matuti. ix. lec. fiant.—See also *Brev. Aberd.* July 29th.*

Sunday, and the day is then to be observed with two lessons only. The nine lessons which otherwise belong to the day of St. Olave, in these years, are to be read on July 29th, upon which day only a memorial of St. Olave is, as a rule, read. I am not able to explain this curious feature in the Aberdeen calendar. It is perhaps to be supposed that the March fair at Cruden is old, and that later it took its name from the saint of the parish church, and that then the festival from Cruden spread either over the whole diocese of Aberdeen, or perhaps only to the town of Aberdeen, not many miles away.

That the day of St. Magnus is celebrated as a higher feast than that of St. Olave (as *festum duplex*), is quite natural. So is it that not only the festival of his translation, December 13th,² but partly also the day of his death, April 16th, is observed as *inferius duplex*, and that the breviary of Aberdeen contains rather long hymns in his honour, while in the case of Olave only a very short legend is appointed. The worship of these two saints in the northern parts of Scotland has, of course, come from the Orkneys, where Magnus must have been much more popular than Olave.³

The cult of the two Norse saints, which we find in England, is of quite a different character. Here we find Olave more prominent, and Magnus seems a more or less casual attendant on his great compatriot. His worship is, however, not altogether without interest. In southern Scotland St. Magnus is not worshipped, and of the three churches dedicated to him in England, two belong to the southern parts of the country, Lon-

¹ To this worship of St. Olave in Northern Scotland belongs also the altar dedicated to him in S. Salvator's College, St. Andrews (Metcalf).

² 12th, in the missal of St. Nicolas; 14th, in *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (ed. A. P. Forbes, Edinburgh, 1872).

³ Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 206, says that the nephew of Magnus, the Saint Earl Ragnvald, too, was worshipped in Scotland, but without giving any evidence.

don and Dorsetshire, and only one is situated in the North at Bessingby, in Yorkshire (East Riding).¹ Sea-communication of any importance between the Orkneys and England in the 12th century is not to be thought of, and a direct connexion with the North does not seem very probable, as the worship of Magnus is not to be traced in southern Scotland or northern England. There can therefore scarcely be any doubt but that this worship reached England from Norway, and that owing to the lively traffic between the two countries not only has Norway been influenced from England, but also England from Norway. That this last was the case in the Viking Period has always been acknowledged; but as Magnus was not regarded as a saint in the Orkneys before the year 1135, his worship cannot have been brought from Norway to England earlier than in the second half of the twelfth century.²

This influence surely issued from the western parts of Norway. Magnus, of course,—like the other saints of the Norwegian church—had his altar in the cathedral of Trondhjem; but all other traces of his worship in Norway, that can be localized, belong to the West. Generally speaking, the Norwegian Church only observe the day of his death (April 6th); but some few letters from Voss prove that here, not far from Bergen, the day of his translation (December 13th, generally called St. Lucia's Day), was also kept.³ In the church of Urnes in Sogn is a runic inscription which contains the name of St. Magnus; and in addition to this Professor Magnus Olsen, who has deciphered the inscription, mentions evidence of active communication

¹ Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in church dedications*, London, 1899, II., pp. 455-60. Miss Forster has no doubt that these churches really concern the Saint-Earl from the Orkneys, and not some of the other saints with the name of Magnus; but she gives no evidence, and I have not been able to verify it.

² But on the other hand, not much later; the Magnus church existed already in 1203 (Metcalf, *l.c.*, p. 119).

³ *Historisk Tidsskrift*, III., Series II., p. 103.

between the Orkneys and Sogn in the Middle Ages.¹ It was from these parts probably that the worship of Magnus reached England in the 12th century.

How long the earl of the Orkneys was venerated in England cannot accurately be told; but possibly his cult continued until the Reformation. Henry Machyn, citizen of London, who has left an elaborate and very interesting diary for the years 1550-63, relates that in 1559, on September 16th, there were burnt at the corner of Pye-street pictures of Christ on the cross, Mary, John and St. Magnus; and there is no reason why this should have been any other than the Norse earl, who had his church in London, near London Bridge.

A much more prominent part, however, is played in England by St. Olave. He was popular as well in Anglo-Saxon times as after the Norman conquest. At least fifteen churches dedicated to him are known in England.

The oldest evidence on this subject seems to be the story that the well-known Earl Siward of Northumbria (1055) in the time of Edward the Confessor, built an Olave's church at York, where he was himself buried; but already in the year 1098, King William Rufus gave this church to St. Mary's abbey,² and only a little parish church in the neighbourhood (Marygate) has kept the name of the Norwegian saint. Probably also the son of Siward, Earl Wealhtheow, had inherited his father's love of St. Olave. During the turbulent times after the Norman Conquest he frequently resided in Lincolnshire, where he presented Crowland Abbey with large donations.⁴ Perhaps it is from this

¹ Aarsberetning fra foreningen til fortidsmindesmerkers bevaring, 1907, pp. 135ff, 160.

² Diary of Henry Machyn, citizen of London, ed. J. G. Nichols, London, 1848, p. 209.

³ Arnold-Forster, Church Dedications, II., pp. 451ff.

⁴ Monasticon Anglicanum (ed. 1846), III., p. 546.

⁵ Worsaae, Minder om danske og norske i England, p. 169-74.

period that the stone statue on Crowland Bridge dates. It represents a man with a huge loaf or cake, and local tradition has supposed it to be St. Olave, whose name has been transformed to *Holofius*, and by way of popular imagination connected with the word *loaf*.¹

From Anglo-Saxon times also dates the votive mass in honour of St. Olave, which is prescribed in *The Red Book of Derby*, a manuscript from the diocese of Winchester, which was written about the year 1061. In this manuscript not only is Olave the latest saint recognised, but the only one who is not English.²

Finally, St. Olave's church at Exeter is earlier than 1066.³

It is possible that the Norman Conquest brought about a reaction against the worship of the Norwegian saint, but in no case can this have been of long duration. The communications with Norway, recorded in the time of Henry I.,⁴ grew more and more frequent, and must have kept green the memory of St. Olave.

Characteristic of the prominent part played by St. Olave in the ideas Englishmen had of Scandinavia, and how they considered him the real centre of all the Scandinavian North, is the tale of the death of Swein Forkbeard in Maistre Geffrei Gaimar's poem *L'estorie des Engles* (written between 1135 and 1147).⁵

At York was he buried :
But then after ten years or more
The Danes took up his bones ;
They were carried to Norway,
To Saint Olaf, there were they laid.
In St. Peter's minster he lay
When the Danes took him away.

¹ J. Gunn, Illustrations of the Rod-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich, 1869.—Kunst og Kultur, II. (1911), pp. 50 ff.

² The Leofric Missal, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 244.—Historisk Tidsskrift, 3rd Series, IV., p. 357-69.

³ Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 5th Series, I., p. 563, notes.

⁴ Diplomatarium Norvegicum, XIX., nr. 32.

⁵ Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (vv. 4162-69).

After the conquest of Ireland, under Henry II., an Olave's abbey was founded in Dublin from Bristol, and it continued (till it was abolished by Henry VIII.) to keep up its connection with the convent of Augustinian monks at Bristol.¹

As late as in the beginning of the 13th century we are told that a monastery was founded in the honour of St. Olave at Herringfleet, on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk.² Although it is expressly said to have been founded by Roger Fitz Osbert shortly after 1216, English writers have considered this impossible. They have been of the opinion that all English churches and monasteries in honour of St. Olave—of which by far the greater part cannot be dated—must go back to Anglo-Saxon times, when the Norsemen still formed a separate class within the English people. And they have supported their theory by referring to the fact that all Olave's churches in England—with but one exception—were situated near the sea, where consequently the Vikings and their descendants might have had ready access. Accordingly it has been maintained that the monastery of Herringfleet cannot have been founded for the first time in 1216, but was only rebuilt and enlarged at that time.

Of this older foundation, however, nothing is known at all, and no remains have been found in spite of careful excavations, undertaken by the present proprietor of the ruins.³ Moreover, it seems quite superfluous in this way to contest the express words of the text. If an abbey in honour of St. Olave can have been founded in Dublin at the end of the 12th century, and if the worship of St. Magnus can have been introduced into

¹ J. P. Rushe, *A Second Thebaid*, Dublin and London, 1905, p. 59.—J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 1854, I., pp. 48ff.—Bits of the garments of Olave were preserved, already from the 11th century, in the Trinity-abbey of Dublin (Daae, *Norges helgener*, p. 57).

² *The Victoria History of Suffolk*, London, 1907, II., p. 100.

³ *Kunst og Kultur*, II. (1911), pp. 49ff.

England about the same time, it is not at all impossible that a monastery in honour of St. Olave may have been founded in the beginning of the 13th century.

From this same period date also two manuscripts giving evidence of Norse influence on the English Church. The first belonged to Fountains Abbey near York, and is a copy of the work composed by Archbishop Eystein of Trondhjem, *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*.¹ The other is a psalter, originally written for the use of King Henry III., but with some calendar additions, evidently from the 13th century, including the following: 16th of April, *Magni ducis m.*; 15th of May, *Sancti Halluardi martyris*; 8th of July, *Sanctorum in selio*; 29th of July, *Olavi regis et martiris*.²

These facts seem to be of no slight importance, as showing that Norse influence in England was not restricted to Anglo-Saxon times, but continued in the 12th and 13th century, at a time when the Norwegians who visited England were no longer Vikings, but only more or less peaceful merchants, tradesmen and clerics.

By far the greater number of the churches dedicated to St. Olave were situated in large towns; at least four in London, two at Norwich,³ one at Chester, one at Exeter, one at Chichester; and most of the village churches were situated near the sea—Ruckland in Lincolnshire, Creting in Suffolk, Gatcombe in the Isle of Wight, and Poughill near Bude in North Cornwall.⁴

The age of these churches cannot be established; but the theory of Miss Arnold-Forster that most of them go back to the time when the Danes ruled in England, seems to me highly improbable. We have no evidence

¹ Edited by Metcalfe, Oxford, 1881.

² Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, 8th Series, III., p. 232, note.

³ Blomefield, Hist. of Norfolk (ed. 1806), IV., 2, pp. 65 and 475. An Olave's-guild is mentioned at one of these churches in 1501.

⁴ All these dedications are to be found in the book of Miss Arnold-Forster (II., pp. 751ff), which, however, is to be used with some circumspection.

at all that the Danes spread the worship of St. Olave outside their own country, and we do not even know that Olave was regarded as a saint in Denmark itself, before the death of Harthacnut (1042). The oldest evidence of the worship of St. Olave in England belongs, as we have already mentioned, to the fifties and sixties of the 11th century, and some of these churches may have been founded in these years,¹ but scarcely all, or even the majority. The twenty-four years' reign of Edward the Confessor seems too short to include the foundation of four churches in London, dedicated to St. Olave. And as to the sea communications between Norway and England, we do not know much about them in the 11th century, but everything goes to show that the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-47) and of Harald Hardrada (1047-66) was not the time when they flourished most. Finally it may be mentioned that no one of these churches as it now stands is older than the Norman conquest, while at least one of them, Fritwell in Oxfordshire, is built in early Norman style. In short, the period when the worship of St. Olave spread most rapidly in England seems to have been the first 150 years or so after the Conquest. And in all this time it seems to have spread by direct influence from Norway, and not from one or more centres originating in England itself.

A few such centres, however, existed, and transmitted the worship of St. Olave not so much to other places as to later times. First of all, London must be mentioned, where, as late as the last century, there were founded two suburban churches bearing the name of St. Olave.² In the Ghetto of London, Old Jewry, near

¹ If Snorri is to be relied upon, there was an Olave's church in London in the reign of Harald Hardrada (1047-66). (The saga of H. H., ch. 57).

² At Stoke Newington and at Mile End, East London. The last one got its name because it was built from funds belonging to the old church in Hart Street.

Cheapside, was situated one Olave's church, mentioned for the first time in the reign of Edward the First,¹ and in the City itself also were to be found churches dedicated to this saint in Hart Street and in Silver Street. Just outside the City, in Southwark, at the end of London Bridge, is the still existing Olave's church in Tooley Street.² At the other end of London Bridge there stands a church dedicated to St. Magnus, and thus the very centre of the traffic in old London was flanked by churches dedicated to Norwegian saints.

To the church in Silver Street is attached a tale from the last period of Catholicism, which is often quoted in England.

When Queen Mary resuscitated Catholicism in England, she also desired to revive the old Catholic festivals, customs, miracle plays, etc., and of this also St. Olave had his share. For on the 29th of July, 1557, the above-mentioned Henry Machyn says in his diary: "On the same 29th July, being S. Olave's Day, was the Church Holy Day in Silver Street, the Parish Church whereof was dedicated to that Saint. And at Eight of the Clock at Night began a Stage-Play of goodly Matter [relating, 'tis like, to that Saint]."³

To these London churches finally is to be added one at Queenhithe, on the west side of Bread Street Hill, which is mentioned in the *Liber Custumarum* in the reign of Edward I., but which was very early united with a Nicholas Church in the neighbourhood, and a chantry in St. Paul's Cathedral, whose age we do not know, but which was in the year 1391 incorporated

¹ *Liber custumarum*, ed. Riley, p. 230.

² Tooley is the common English corruption of "St. Olave," as Tullock (Toolog) is the Irish one.

³ Strype, *Historical Memorials, Ecclesiastical and Civil*. London, 1721. Fol., Vol. III., p. 379. The diary of H.M. as we know it has several lacunas just for these days; but at the time of Strype it was still complete, and has been utilised by him. The words in [] were probably added by Strype.

into the general property of the church because of its smallness.¹

The other centre for the worship of St. Olave in England is the district on the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk. We have already mentioned the two churches at Norwich, the church at Creeting and—the most important—the Augustinian priory at Herringfleet. The coast-line has here, in the flat land, with its numerous streams of water, changed much in the course of time. The ruins of the old priory are now situated about five English miles from the sea, but close by a river whose valley gives an easy passage to Norwich. In former times, when the water-courses were larger and the ships smaller, the navigation over the Norfolk Broads to Norwich presented no difficulty; the fleet of Swein Forkbeard is said to have passed Herringfleet on its way to this town; and by the old ferry as well as later on over St. Olave's Bridge, there must have been important traffic. Still in our own time St. Olave's railway-junction marks this natural topographic turning-point.

It therefore surely was a lucrative piece of business when the prior in 1226 got a royal license to hold an annual fair on the day of St. Olave.² The priory seems to have been prosperous for a long time; some parts of the ruins are built in the Tudor style; consequently, the priory still towards the end of mediæval times had enough funds to construct rather important new buildings.

Not far away (only 16 English miles), on the highest point in the neighbourhood, is situated the church of Barton Turf, dedicated to St. Michael. On a side-screen in this church there is to be found a painting from the 15th century, representing four saint-kings—

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, pp. 230, 233, 235.—Metcalfé, *Passio*, p. 34.—*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Richard II.*, Vol. IV., p. 421.

² *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, London, 1844, II., p. 165.

St. Edmund, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Holofius and King Henry VI. This last died in 1471, and Henry VII. later on tried to have him canonized by the Pope. Alexander VI. was not altogether unwilling, but finally it came to nothing. The picture of Henry VI. as a saint therefore must certainly date from the last years of the 15th century. The other kings seem to be about 50 years older.¹ It is curious evidence of the prominent part held by Olave in England, that as late as the 15th century he is the foreigner people would naturally represent together with the royal saints of the country itself.

King's Lynn, on the Wash, is the English port which, in the 13th and 14th century, had the greatest traffic with Norwegian ships. We do not know if there was an Olave's church here; but at least we hear of a place in the town called "St. Olave's fleet."² The Icelandic Saint, Thorlak, accomplished a wonderful miracle here about the year 1200.³

Also it is probable that St. Olave was worshipped at Grimsby, although nothing is known about it from written sources. Only last summer there was found on the west coast of Norway a seal, from the first half of the 14th century, bearing the legend "Sigillum Monasterii S. Augustini de Grimesbi," and representing a saint king with an axe, who cannot very well be any other than Olave.⁴

The only church in England dedicated to St. Olave and not situated near the sea, is Fritwell in Oxfordshire.⁵ It was built in the 12th century; but here, of

¹ F. Gunn, *Illustrations of the Rood-screen at Barton-Turf, Norwich*, 1869.—*Kunst og Kultur*, 1911, p. 50.

² *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX., 462.

³ *Biskupa Sögur*, I., p. 357. ("Kynn" is certainly a mis-script for Lynn).

⁴ Now kept in the Public Record Office (Riksarkivet), Kristiania.

⁵ North Oxfordshire Archæological Society, *Publications* 1882 and 1903. The only trace of Norse influence in the neighbourhood is a manor at Barford St. Michael, some miles farther west, also bearing the name of St. Olave.

course, the worship may be older and date from before the Conquest. It is not easy to understand how Norse influence could reach Fritwell so late as the 12th century.

In this little out-of-the-way village the worship of St. Olave has continued with incredible tenacity. In the old parochial register for November 20th, 1720, is found, among collections for the poor of the parish itself, a collection "upon St. Olave's church near York," which gave a result of 2s. 6d. And still in our own time the day of St. Olave is observed in the parish as a great festival. The priest, dressed in a surplice with an embroidered—modern—image of St. Olave, and the parishioners walk in procession round the church; and the sermon of the day treats of the Norwegian saint. This custom is not—as is the case, for instance, at Herringfleet—newly introduced by people with literary education, but is genuinely old. This is proved, if there be any doubt, by the fact that the festival is held on the first Sunday after August 8th, not on the proper day of St. Olave, July 29th; when the Gregorian calendar was introduced in England (1752), the conservative peasants of Fritwell would not submit to this alteration of the almanac, and kept the old day for the festival, even if it got a new name, August 8th instead of July 29th.

This sketch of the worship of Norwegian saints in England can probably be supplemented. What we have set forth already will, however, suffice to show that in the matter of the relations between Norway and England it was not Norway alone which was the receiver during the 12th and 13th centuries, any more than it had been during the 9th and 10th centuries.

JÓN ARASON.

BY PROFESSOR W. P. KER, *Vice-President.*

THE glory of Iceland is lost at the death of Sturla the historian. This was not the very end of the great Icelandic work of prose history in the mother tongue, but the old spirit is gone; the true imaginative rendering of Icelandic and Norwegian life, the art of Snorri and Sturla, disappears at the union of Iceland and Norway. The decadence of Iceland is manifest in the failure of the great historic school; the decadence of Norway also, when there were no more lives of kings written by Icelanders in the common language.

But the dull times of Iceland, after the 13th century, ought not to be made out worse than they really were. Iceland ran through its good seasons and its fortune; but it never lost its distinctive character. It lost much; but it kept that pride and self-respect which is proved in the history of the language, and which saved Iceland from the fate of Norway, the degradation and disuse of the native tongue. Historians sometimes speak as if the condition of Norway and Iceland through the bad centuries were much the same. No doubt there is a great resemblance. Both countries are altered for the worse through their relations with Denmark; both turn into dependencies. But even though Iceland often received harder treatment than Norway, as happened under the tyranny of the Danish trade, Iceland never gave way in spirit as Norway did. The Icelanders kept their language and their art of poetry. They were saved by their good grammar from the Norwegian lethargy. They maintained their self-consciousness over against the rest of the world; a small community, not as large as Athens or Hampstead. Through the

vicissitudes of a thousand years the Icelanders have not changed their minds with regard to the use of their minds; at any rate they have continued to believe that they were meant to live as intelligent beings. Also, from the conditions of their land and society, as well as from their own native disposition, they pay more attention to individual men than is common in other countries. This habit of thought, which is the source of the great historical art of Iceland, is not lost when the historical school is closed. The history of the Reformation in Iceland, and the life of Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, may show how little the essentials have changed in three hundred years from the time of the Sturlungs. It is true that the life of Bishop Jón is not written out full and fair like the life of Bishop Gudmund, three hundred years before. But the scattered notes and memoirs from which the story can be put together were made by Icelanders who had the same tastes, though not the same ability, as the earlier historians. Snorri and Sturla must have worked with similar notes, in preparation for their finished work. The records of the time of Jón Arason show that there was the same sort of interest in character and adventures as there was when the Sturlung memoirs were composed.

The history of the Reformation in Iceland is a drama of persons more than in other countries. The persons, it is true, cannot be compared for dignity, and hardly for richness of humour, with the principal authors and adversaries of the Reformation, with Luther or Knox, Henry VIII., or the Emperor Charles. But in Iceland, unlike the rest of Christendom, there is very little to be told that is not obviously dramatic; the dramatic, the personal values, are not obscured by general impersonal forces and movements; the stage is compact and comprehensible. With earlier affairs in Iceland, with the matter of the Sagas, it is often amusing and surprising to find how readily historical events seem to fall into

their place like things in a novel. One gets the same impression in the history of Jón Arason, even although the action was never fully represented in the old Icelandic narrative way. The chief situations are intelligible and clear, just as they might be in a novel or a comedy. If one could imagine a chronicle of Barset, with the Reformation for its substance, instead of, *e.g.*, the problem of Hiram's Hospital, one might get something like the Icelandic scale and mode as observed in the life of Bishop Jón of Hólar. It is tempting, though irrelevant, to consider how the Barchester characters might have displayed themselves if they had been transported to the Icelandic scene; to think of Dean Arabin drawn into a raiding expedition by Archdeacon Grantly, against his better judgment, yet not unwilling; of Mrs. Proudie talking manfully and evangelically to the invaders, while Mark Robarts and Bertie Stanhope were packing up the Bishop to carry him away. How the Slopes and Thumbles would have behaved there is no need to imagine, for the Icelandic record has preserved their ancestors undecayed and unmistakable. One of them did his best to edify Jón Arason on the way to the headsman's block.

“When Bishop Jón was led out, there was a certain priest, Sir Svein, appointed to speak to him persuasively. The Bishop, as he came forth from the choir, sought to do obeisance before an image of Mary; but the priest bade him lay aside that superstition, and said (among other comforting words): ‘There is a life after this life, my lord!’ But Bishop Jón turned sharply and said, ‘I know that, Sveinki!’” (*Biskupa Sögur*, ii., p. 353.)

Political novels and plays are apt to fail through overweight of political argument, or else, at the opposite extreme, because they make things too obviously superficial, too simple and easy. In Björnson's political plays the questions often seem too trivial, the politicians not really dangerous. In Icelandic history the casual

reader may often think that the interests are trifling, the values unduly heightened by chroniclers who do not know the world. The documents often confirm this view. There are extant from Jón Arason's time claims for damages suffered in certain raids which take up a considerable space in Icelandic history; a householder feels the loss, among other things, of a pepper-mill and a mustard-mill, and that is recorded. The great men, prelates and chiefs of Iceland, may seem on examination very much like the common people of the English border. "There are a thousand such elsewhere" in Liddesdale, Redesdale, and the Debatable Land. Kinmont Willie and the Laird's Wat might have been princes in Iceland. The great men of Iceland, are they not great through the emptiness of the region round them, the simplicity and inexperience of their countrymen? So one is tempted to ask, and this sort of scepticism and depreciation leads of course to such ignoring of Iceland as is shown in the histories of Europe generally.¹

This low opinion may be contradicted and proved unreasonable. Do not casual readers speak of the history of Attica in much the same way and with not much more consideration?² But it cannot be denied that the material weight of Iceland is small, that the greatest men are not rich men, that the interests are to all appearance domestic or parochial when compared with the fortunes of larger states.

There are at least two modes of defence in answer to this. Material interests may be unimportant where a principle or idea is at work. Thus, returning to Barchester, we observe that the historian Trollope, in *The Warden*, has made the case of Hiram's Hospital into a parable or

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x. index, "Iceland, constitution for, 694": text p. 694, "Iceland received a Constitution."

² It is a pleasure here to remember Sir George Trevelyan's translation of Thucydides into the terms of Stirlingshire and Clackmannan.

allegory containing the whole of politics and the quintessence of public opinion. The argument of *The Warden* does not require a larger scale or a higher stake, any more than Euclid would be helped if you offered him triangles of gold and silver. There is sometimes this kind of moral in Icelandic history. Indeed, this seems to be the peculiar office of Iceland among other nations. Iceland, again and again, is found to resemble an experimental table arranged by Destiny to work out certain political problems neatly, with not too many pieces in the game. So Iceland has been made to declare the true nature of early German civilisation; so the life of Bishop Gudmund is a dramatic conflict of High Church zeal with steady respectable worldly tradition, and represents in a personal story the contemporary life of Christendom. So in the life of Jón Arason the Reformation is exhibited as a dramatic opposition of characters.

But, taking the second mode of answer to those who depreciate and ignore, we may observe that the history of Iceland is not purely ideal or exemplary; it is itself part of the history of Europe and contributes its own share of reality to the actual world. The life of Jón Arason may illustrate the course of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway, but it is also different from anything in those countries, and has much in it that was lacking there—particularly some fortitude in opposition to the new doctrines and their advocates. The value of Jón Arason is not merely that his story brings out some common humanities and some common fashions of the time; he is part of the life of Christendom as far as Allhallowtide of the year 1550, and what he does is done by no one else in Iceland, Norway, or Denmark.

The Church in Iceland was not very well taken care of in the 15th century. The Bishops were mostly foreigners; of many of them, including at least one Englishman, very little is known. One Bishop of Skalholt, described as Confessor of the King of

Denmark, discovered that there was nothing to drink in Iceland except milk and water; therefore he made provision and obtained from Henry VI. of England a licence for two ship-captains to sail to Iceland with supplies. Before him in the same diocese there was a tyrannical Swedish bishop who had thirty unruly Irishmen in his retinue; he was at last (in accordance with the popular will) tied up in a sack and drowned in Brúará. Which, however, was not the last of him, for in the very familiar manner of ghosts in Iceland, he "came again" (of course as a solid body), and gave some trouble before he would lie quiet (1433).

It would have been a great misfortune for Iceland if the Reformation had come when there were no better Churchmen in the cathedrals than this Swedish bishop or the Danish royal chaplain who was so careful about his beer. But, as it fell out, the great debate was not left to be determined in Iceland by wholly external powers, by Luther or the King of Denmark. Some Icelanders very early began to think for themselves in a Lutheran way; and on the other side was Jón Arason.

It is one of the fortunate things and one of the strange things in Icelandic history that at the time of the Reformation the bishop in the north was one of the greatest men of the time, and a man who recalled the greatness of the old days. Jón Arason, Bishop of Hólar, was not like his predecessor, Bishop Gudmund, a great churchman with a consistent theory of the relations between church and laity. But he was a churchman of another old Icelandic sort, a great chieftain, a married man with a family, fond of power and wealth and glory, very closely resembling the great men of the Sturlung age. It was as if Kolbein Tumason or Sturla Sighvatsson had come back to life in Holy Orders. And this great man was not simply a worldly potentate with the dignity of a bishop; he was the chief poet of his time, and his poems were religious. He does not represent any theory of the relations

between Church and State: he is not the successor of Thomas à Becket, or of St. Thorlac. But he represents better than anyone else the church of Iceland as it was for centuries from the time of the first conversion—the rather easy-going but wholesome religion which in so many ways resembles the Church of England.

Jón Arason's poetry cannot be explained except to those who understand it already. Like all Icelandic poetry, its beauty is largely a beauty of form, and of the form it may be said that Jón Arason is a master of rhyming stanzas, apparently without much or any suggestion from foreign literature. He worked on the principles of Icelandic rhyming poetry, derived from the Latin rhyming poetry of the Middle Ages, and used those principles so as to make very beautiful stanzas in which the artifice is not so great as to hinder the freedom of expression. One of his poems has had a strange fortune. It was very early taken up by the Faroese, and was used by them at sea for the good of their fishery—"whale-verse" being a popular name for it.¹

¹ The Faroese version was edited in *Aarb. Oldk.*, 1869, pp. 311-338, by R. Jensen.

The first stanza is the proper 'hvalvers,' and the note on it is as follows:—

"This is what Lyngby quotes in the appendix to his Faroese ballads, the so-called 'whale-verse,' the only fragment of the poem which can be said to be generally known. The name comes from the belief that the singing of it had power to drive away the large whales, if there was danger from them to fishing-boats at sea (hvis man kom i hvalnød ude paa havet").

Miss Elizabeth Taylor, who has a close acquaintance with life in the Faroes, points out that the virtue of the "whale-verse" comes from a popular rendering of *kvölum* (= pains of hell) as *hvölum* (= whales; pronounced in the same way as the other word). The "whale-verse" is thus given, *loc. cit.*—*Ljómur Biskups Jóns Arasonar.*

Hægstur heilagur andi
 himna kongurinn sterki
 lovliga lít tu á meg,
 signauðr á sjogv og landi
 sannur í vilja og verki
 hoyr tú, eg heiti á teg!
 Forða tú mær fjandans pínu og díki,
 feikna kvölum öllum frá mær víki,
 mær veit tú tað, Mariu sonurin ríki,
 mæla eg kundi nakað, svá tær líki!

The Reformation was established in Denmark by King Christian III., in his ordinance of 1538, which prescribed everything to the kingdom and the church, the King being himself the head. The name of "bishop" was disused, though the office was kept. Under the ordinance the king appointed "superintendents" for the various dioceses. These "superintendents" are the Protestant Lutheran bishops, and it may be observed that Bishop Gizur, the Protestant bishop of Skalholt, calls himself "superintendens," though in Iceland the authority and name of "bishop" were too respectable to be supplanted by this new government description.

The ordinance was imposed without difficulty in Denmark: the King was thinking of Denmark, and not particularly of Norway or Iceland, when the ordinance was granted. But Christian III. of Denmark held himself to be King of Norway also. There was some resistance to him, both to his title and his policy there; Norway, however, had no real strength, and it is here that the difference in spirit between Norway and Iceland comes out most clearly. To the Catholic Archbishop, Olaf Engelbrektsson, in Norway, the Reformation was loathsome, and there seems to have been little regard for it among the people. But there was just as little effective liking for the old church, and the Archbishop of Nidaros could make no party of his own out of the Catholics of Norway. He had to leave the country, unheroically though not dishonourably (April, 1537), and the kingdom of Norway accepted the ordinance, keeping all its sympathies still for the old faith, and taking no interest in the teaching of Luther.

The Lutheran ordinance of King Christian III. was imposed on Iceland also. It cannot be said that the people of Iceland showed themselves much more awake than the people of Norway to the meaning of the change, but there is a great difference between the two countries. Iceland being a small country as compared

with Norway is much more easily affected by the talent of any one of its members. New ideas run more easily over the land, and it happened that in Iceland both sides were much better represented than in Norway. The Protestant Reformation in Iceland was not merely a Lutheran ordinance imposed by a king. Although there was much dissatisfaction with the change, it cannot be said that the Reformation in Iceland was carried through without the general consent of the people. Icelandic history brings out very clearly the same unpleasant interests, particularly the appetite for church lands, as may be found in the history of the Reformation in other countries. But there was also very early a movement for the translation of the Scriptures, and afterwards the honour of the Reformation was maintained in Iceland by the great translator, Bishop Gudbrand.

Jón Arason was born in 1484; little is told of his early life. His father died, and Jón acted as steward for his mother at Laugaland (near Akreyri) till he was 24. Then he took Holy Orders, and shortly afterwards was married in some form or other to his wife Helga: a contract recognised by Icelandic tradition, and not apparently at any time challenged on any ground either by Catholics or Protestants. He made two voyages to Norway for Bishop Gottskalk of Hólar, and after the death of Gottskalk (1520) was elected bishop himself (1522) by all the priests with one dissident.

At that time Bishop Ogmund, of Skalholt, had just been consecrated, a man in some things resembling Jón Arason, and very well fitted to be his rival or his friend. At first he was a decided enemy. It is curious how just before the Reformation—the “change of fashion” (*siðaskipti*), as it is called in Icelandic—there should have been, after so many foreign bishops, a return to the old natural conditions, with two men in the two cathedrals so thoroughly like their ancestors. Ogmund was a tall stout gentleman, with a remarkable talent for

strong language and little regard for his personal appearance, though much for his episcopal dignity and power. He was indeed a chieftain of the old school like Jón Arason, but without his wit and poetry. He tried at first to keep Jón Arason out of the bishopric of Hólar; he and Jón met once in the old fashion at the Althing, each with his tail of fighting men, and there was likelihood of a battle. But peace was made by the intervention of the Abbots and other clergy, and there was no more trouble of that kind.¹

The contention between the Bishops is told with some detail, and evidently with much enjoyment of the old fashioned tricks and stratagems. In that respect there was little change after five centuries.

Generally the two Bishops behaved like heroes of the older Sagas, and made their fortunes in the old way—by authority, maintenance, ingenious use of the law. There is material for the history of a law case in which Jón was concerned;² the facts resemble those of the Sturlung time. He thinks of his sons in the same way as Sighvat Sturluson might; the true meaning of heredity is proved when his son Ari is made Lawman. At the same time (in this also like the Sturlung house) he attends to the liberal arts; to his own poetry especially. He had no reputation for scholarship; it was a common belief that he knew no Latin. The Reformation, it should be remembered, encouraged the growth of classical learning in Iceland; the standard was raised after Bishop Jón's time. An interesting document is the Latin account of him written by a Protestant about 1600, pitying Jón for the want of proper Latin education in his youth. *Adeo miserum est infelici tempore natum esse.* This author recognises very fully the native genius of Jón Arason and his accomplishment in Icelandic verse.

¹ Jón Egilson has a curious story of a wager of battle in the old place—the island in Oxará—between champions of the Bishops. See Dict. s.v. *hólmanga*.

² Biskupa Sögur, ii., p. 430 sqq.

It is not quite easy to make out the extent of his learning. He was undoubtedly fond of books, and the first printer in Iceland, Síra Jón Matthiasson the Swede, worked under his patronage.¹ The Reformers did much for the encouragement of study, but they had not to begin at the very beginning.

Jón Arason does not appear very definitely in the earlier stages of the Reformation in Iceland.

The Reformation touched the southern diocese first; the south was more exposed to innovation, as the Danish government house was at Bessastad; and Bishop Ogmund of Skalholt had to meet the impinging forces alone. His tragedy is represented with some liveliness in the extant narratives.

The time is 1539-1541; the chief personages are Bishop Ogmund; his Protestant successor Gizur Einarsson; Didrik van Minden, a man from Hamburg, deputy of the Governor Claus van Marwitz; Christopher Hvitfeldt, a Danish commissioner with a ship of war. The chief witnesses, besides original letters and other documents, are Síra Einar, a priest who was faithful to the Bishop, and his son Egil, then about 17 years old. Egil was alive, aged 70, in 1593, when one of the narratives was written (Bs. ii. 237-259). Another is the work of his son Jón, parson at Hrepphólar in Arnes-sýsla about 1600.²

Bishop Ogmund was old and blind when the "change of manners" befel. He was riding with his attendants one sunny day when his sight went from him. He asked and was told that the sun was shining bright; then he said: "Farewell, world! long enough hast thou served me!"

He had to find an assistant and successor; first he chose his sister's son Sigmund, but Sigmund died in

¹ Biskupa Sögur, ii., p. 440 sqq.

² Biskupa Annálar Jóns Egilssonar, edited by Jón Sigurdsson in *Safn til Sögu Islands*, i., 29-117.

Norway not twenty days after his consecration (1537).¹

Then Bishop Ogmund, with the assent of the clergy, chose Gizur Einarsson to succeed him. This was the first Protestant Bishop in Iceland, and if he was not an absolute sneak, the witnesses (including himself) have done him great wrong. Bishop Ogmund was his patron from very early days, and Gizur made good use of his opportunities. He was a very able man, and the Bishop was right in thinking so. It is hard to discover how much the Bishop knew about Gizur's Protestant sympathies. There is no reason to doubt that Gizur was an earnest reformer. Like other men of the time, he had unpleasant ways of mixing his own profit with evangelical religion, but he seems to have obtained his religious principles through study, and not in a casual or superficial manner. He was associated with Odd Gottskalksson, the translator, and with other young Icelandic students who came under the influence of Luther.

In 1539 Gizur sailed for Denmark as Bishop-elect of Skalholt; and that same year the Reformation displayed itself in a Danish attack on the island of Videy at Reykjavík, and in spoliation of the monastery there. The agent in this was Didrik van Minden; fourteen men in an eight-oared boat were enough for the business. It seems a paltry thing, but, as usual, one must remember the Icelandic scale; the ruin of Videy was no less for Iceland than the ruin of the Charterhouse was for London. In Iceland the retribution was not slow. At the Althing, a few weeks later, all the Danes who had attacked the cloister were outlawed and their

¹ Bs. ii. p. 269. Sigmund's daughter *Katrín* was wife of Egil above-mentioned, and mother of Sira Jón who wrote the Bishops' Annals. She was a child of nine, staying with her grandmother at Hjalli when her grand-uncle, Bishop Ogmund, was arrested by the Danes in 1541. She was keeping the Bishop's feet warm that morning, and saw what happened. Cf. Jón Egilsson, p. 73. *Hinir . . . kómu til Hjalla fyrir dagmál, og tóku þar biskupinn í baðstofunni; móðir mín lá á fótum hans og var níu vetra; þeir leiddu hann út, &c.*

lives forfeited. The Danes made very little of the Althing and its sentence, but here they were wrong. In August Didrik and his men went to Skalholt to bully the old Bishop, meaning to go further east and break up the great cloisters of Thykkvabæ and Kirkjubæ. Didrik blustered in his bad language, bawling at the "divelz blindi biskup," but that was the end of him. The countryside rose; as he sat in the Bishop's parlour he looked out of the window and asked, "What is the meaning of all those halbards?" The meaning was that the avengers had come for him; he had to fight for his life; the man who killed him told Jón Egilsson all about it (*op. cit.*, p. 70). This happened on St. Lawrence Day, August 10th, 1539. It was followed by strong political action on the part of the Althing. Iceland was roused; not only were Didrik and his men convicted after execution and declared outlaws (*óbótamenn*), but a strong and clear description of Claus van Marwitz, the governor, his robberies and forgeries was sent from the Althing, 1540, to the King, with a petition for his removal and for the appointment of no one "who does not know or keep the law of the land, and is not of Danish tongue."¹ The previous summer, after the death of Didrik, arrangements had been made for carrying on the government business through the sheriffs, without the governor. The Icelandic case was upheld in Denmark; Claus van Marwitz was sentenced by King and Council in 1542 to imprisonment for life. He was released the year after.

So far the people of Iceland were victorious; Iceland had never spoken more clearly or with better right as a single community. But Bishop Ogmund had to meet a greater danger than the violence of Didrik and the other ruffians. His coadjutor, Gizur, then in Denmark, is said to have persuaded the King that Ogmund stood

¹ "Danish tongue" does not mean Danish; it is the old name for the old Norse language. The ambiguity may have been calculated, so as not to offend the King. The Icelanders address the king as King of Norway and acknowledge the laws of Norway, not of Denmark.

in the way of the Gospel. In the spring of 1541 he came out in a man-of-war, with Christopher Hvítfeldt, the commissioner, and set himself busily to collect as much as possible of Bishop Ogmund's goods. The story is pretty fully told from the report of eye-witnesses, and there is a letter of Gizur himself which shows how far any witness was from exaggerating.

Bishop Ogmund was staying with his sister at Hjalli when the Danes came upon him. They roused him from his bed, and took him out to the courtyard in his long nightgown, but allowed him after that to put his clothes on; then they collected as much as they could of his silver. His sister, Asdis, tried to keep hold of him, but they pulled her away, put the old Bishop on a horse and brought him off to the ship. How the Bishop's silver was taken is told particularly on very good authority. The Bishop promised to give up his silver, and sent for the priest Einar to fetch it. Einar (whose son Egil tells the story) went to see the Bishop on board the ship, got his letter and seal as warrant, and then started for Hjalli along with six Danes and Egil, his son. Asdis gave them the keys of the money chest, and they swept everything into a sack, dollars, nobles, Rhenish guldens, cups and pots and all, so that there was not a single "lübeck" left. They took even the rims of the drinking horns. Asdis claimed a brooch as her own, and it was given up to her. But the Bishop was not released. They repented about the brooch, and said they must have it too; and the Bishop sent a letter to his sister, and the Danes took the letter, and brought the brooch away. But the Bishop was not allowed to land again; he was taken to Denmark, and died there. King Christian was not well pleased at the work of his servants.

Jón Egilsson, whose father and mother, Egil and Katrin, both saw something of this affair, was told by his grandfather, Einar, of a letter, written by some one to the Commissioner, "not to let the old fox

go ”; at which Christopher Hvitfeldt shook his head, apparently not liking the style of his correspondent. The letter is extant, and the writer was the new Bishop Gizur. It is worth quoting in full, as a document of the Reformation.¹ It appears that to do things thoroughly Gizur had gone with Claus van Marwitz (who had not yet been recalled) to another house of Ogmund’s in Haukadal to make a search there. The letter is written in Low German, which may thus be translated :—

“ IHS. *Salutem per Christum.* I do your worship to know, good Christopher, that I have been with Claus van Marwitz in Haukadal, but there was nothing there of silver plate or any such stuff, nothing worth a mite, except one small silver cup about an ounce weight; everything had been carried off before, as the old one can tell you if he will. And there was nothing here at all of any worth, but all cleared away together, as Claus can inform you. Further, good Christopher, see to it that you do not let the fox loose on land again, now that he is safe in your keeping, for if he were to land the people might raise an uproar. It is not advisable that he should come to the Althing, since many of his adherents will be there. If possible, I will come to speak with you, three or four days before the Althing.

“ The blessing of Almighty God be with you eternally. Written in haste in Haukadal, the Eve of Whitsunday, A.D. 1541.

“ GIZURUS EINARI,

“ Superintendens Schalholt.

“ To the honourable and discreet Christopher Hvitfeldt, &c., this letter with all speed. G.”

It is pleasant to believe, on the evidence of Síra Einar, that Christopher was disgusted when he read those evangelical sentences. The author of them, it

¹ Printed in *Safn*, i., 128.

should be remembered, was the scholar who translated the Protestant ordinance of 1538 from Latin into the vernacular tongue: his version has lately appeared, together with the Latin original, in the *Diplomatarium Islandicum*.

Jón Arason, who had taken his full share in the condemnation of Claus van Marwitz, and who might have been expected to go further, was suddenly checked by the appearance of the Danish force and the removal of Bishop Ogmund. He seems to have felt that the proper course for him was to temporise, and if possible to fend off the detestable ordinance. He was on his way to the Althing when he heard of Ogmund's captivity; he stopped at Kalmanstunga and went no further. On the 27th June he wrote forbidding all action against the diocese of Hólar, and appealing to the Council of Norway. He also wrote in bolder terms to Christopher; sorry that he had been prevented by his friends from coming to an interview; he was ready to accept the ordinance if it were approved by the Catholic Church and the Chapter of Nidaros. The King summoned the two Icelandic Bishops to Copenhagen. Gizur went, of course; Jón of Hólar asked to be excused, and sent three proctors, his son Sigurd, Canon of Nidaros, being one (1542). They did homage to the King, and swore to the ordinance, and returned in 1543. Jón refused to be bound by their oath. But he did not attempt any active resistance, except in so far as he went on his way neglecting the new religion; *nusquam non more Papistico infantum confirmationes missas inferias lustrationes et dedicationes celebravit aliaque ejus farinae postliminio introducere allaboravit*, to quote the learned historian of the Church in Iceland. Jón did not quarrel openly with Gizur. The malignant may be sorry that he did not "teach" the superintendent of Skalholt, or at any rate ask him to consider it possible that he might be mistaken.

But Jón Arason must not be misunderstood through

his heroic death or through his spiritual songs. He was not a blameless heroic martyr; he was a hero like the men of the heroic age, working with craft and policy, and sometimes with violence, and often for very worldly ends. His fall came about through his likeness to his ancestors; he made the fortune of his family by the methods known three hundred or five hundred years earlier, and he came to ruin through a mistake about the strength of a worldly adversary. The other "big buck" (to repeat the familiar Icelandic term), Dadi Gudmundsson, won the match, and did not spare his enemy when he had got him down.

The story is as complicated as any of the feuds in *Sturlunga*. It is part of the great law case of Teit of Glaumbæ, which begins in 1523, and goes on for a century. It may be enough to say here that the Bishop and his sons took the old methods of getting their own; particulars are extant of the effect of their raids, including the loss of the pepper-mill and the mustard-mill already mentioned. The monotonous history comes to a head in the rivalry between Bishop Jón and Dadi Gudmundsson.

Dadi was one of the powerful men of the West, and has left his name in tradition. It may be taken perhaps as another proof of the Icelandic impartiality that tradition accepts with favour both the rivals, and has not made Dadi into a monster or a murderer on account of the beheading of Jón.¹

Gizur Einarsson died in the Lent of 1548. At that time Bishop Jón's spirits were high, and he was enjoying the old sport of raiding. He had let Gizur alone, for sufficient reasons. But the vacancy of the see was an opportunity not to be missed; and when Martin, the brother-in-law of Dadi, appeared as the new Superintendent, the temptation was irresistible.

Martin seems to have been an amiable man, without much distinction, except as a painter. He had been

¹ See Jón Arnason, *Þjóðsögur*, ii., 121.

engaged in trade before he took Orders. He was consecrated by Palladius at Easter, 1549; having spent the winter in Copenhagen studying evangelical divinity with Dr. Hans Machabeus, *i.e.*, John MacAlpine, some time Prior of the Black Friars in Perth, now a famous Professor of Theology in Denmark. Martin seems to have been treated in rather a condescending and patronising way by the great Protestant Theologians; but he got his certificate in good time.

The Protestant clergy in the diocese of Skalholt were fairly strong, and the Bishop of Hólar had not made much way there when Martin arrived. In a raid to the West, along with his two sons Síra Björn and Ari the Lawman, he picked up the new Bishop of Skalholt and Parson Arne Arnorsson, who as *officialis* of Skalholt in the vacancy had not been pliable. He hoped also to get hold of Dadi, and there was a chance of success. But warning was given in time; the story as told in one of the memoirs is not far below the level of the older Sagas. It describes the evening at Stadarstad, Martin's house on the south of the Snaefell promontory. As the Bishop's sons were sitting there, talking too freely about their plans, a man came in and sat near the door, no one paying him much attention, till as the dark drew on he stole away. Then he was missed; then it was asked who was the man sitting at the door saying nothing; and where had he gone? They looked for him and called; but all they saw was a man riding a good black horse hard over the moor. He was one of Dadi's men, riding the famous horse of which other stories were told long after. Naturally, when the Bishop and his sons came to Dadi's house at Snóksdal, their adversary was ready for them, and they had to be content with their clerical prisoners. Bishop Martin received a doubtful sort of hospitality during that winter; sometimes he was a guest at table;¹ some-

¹ A story told in the Annals of Björn of Skarðsa is translated C.P.B. ii., p. 387.

times he was set to beat stockfish. Parson Arne was for a time penned in a place of little ease; Bishop Jón made scoffing rhymes about him.

Arne comes into a curious passage of the memoirs of Jón Egilsson. Bishop Jón Arason had excommunicated Dadi; it happened that Parson Arne came to Snóksdal the very day that the curse was recited at Hólar. He and Dadi Gudmundsson were together.

“Then there came so violent hiccup on Dadi that he was amazed: it was like as if the breath were going out of him. Dadi said then:

‘Of me now there is word
Where I do not sit at board.’

Arne answered: ‘I will tell you how. There is word of you at Hólar because Bishop Jón is now putting you to the ban.’ Dadi Gudmundsson said: ‘You shall have five hundred from me if you manage so that it shall not touch me.’ Arne says: ‘That will I not do for any money, however much, to put myself so in pawn.’ But Dadi Gudmundsson kept on beseeching him, and Arne then says that he will make the venture ‘for our old acquaintance sake, but there will be a load to carry yet, I misdoubt me.’ Then both of them went to the church, and Arne stayed without, and Dadi Gudmundsson went in. Arne bolted the door on him. Then he stayed long outside, and at last he opened the door, and called Dadi Gudmundsson to come out; and there he saw that a shaggy year-old pony was running up and down by the side of a water as if he was mad. And at last the colt plunged head-first into a hole or pool, and ended there. Arne said: ‘Now, friend Dadi Gudmundsson, there you can see what was intended for you.’”

In his turn, King Christian in Copenhagen was cursing the Bishop of Hólar. (Monday after Scholastica, 1549; “he has treated us with disrespect, and not regarded our letters in no wise. Therefore we

outlaw the said Bishop John.”) And on Tuesday after the Conversion of St. Paul, 1550, the King writes to the clergy of Hólar to choose another Bishop.

About the same time, the Protestant Doctor Palladius writes to Jón Arason a letter which deserves to be read for instruction in manners, hardly less than the letter of Gizur Einarsson already quoted.

Palladius says that he is ready to explain the difference between the doctrines of Christ and the Pope, if only Jón will write or signify his wishes to the Governor of Iceland. As a specimen, he offers the statement that Christ has not commanded such things as Papal consecrations, confirmations, masses and fasts. He sends the prayer of Manasses, in Danish, which Jón (if it please him) may use with weeping tears. “Send a *Suffraganeus* who may stay and winter here, and then go out to reform churches and monasteries; *e.g.*, your son Sigurd, or Sir Olaf Hjaltason.”

“Put not your trust in the Pope; he died on St. Martin’s Eve († Paul III., 10 Nov., 1549). Perhaps you have already had news of that in Iceland; *for Hecla Fell often gives intimations of that nature.*”

Bishop Jón seems to have passed the winter comfortably. His ruin came through overweening; his son Ari (generally called the Lawman) had done his best to keep him from more raiding; his wife Helga thought poorly of her son Ari for this, and stirred him in the old-fashioned way with the present of a woman’s skirt: so that Ari went along with his father and his brother Síra Björn in the last expedition.

The scene of failure is one that has come into older history; Saudafell, where Jón Arason and his sons were taken by Dadi Gudmundsson, had been once the house of Sturla Sighvatsson, and the raid on Saudafell by the sons of Thorvald, in January, 1229, when the master was away, is one of the memorable episodes in *Sturlunga*. It stands rather high at the mouth of a valley looking North-West over the water, towards Hvamm

and other famous places, past the country of Laxdale. Snóksdal, the house of Dadi Gudmundsson, is close to it, below, and nearer to the sea. Saudafell had been one chief cause of contention between the Bishop and Dadi; both had some sort of a claim to it.

The Bishop went there in September, 1550, not as a raider, but to keep an engagement and attend a court. The Lawman Orm Sturluson had been asked, and had agreed, to hold a court at Saudafell to decide the differences between the parties. Jón and his sons came to Saudafell and stayed there some days. They did not understand their enemy; he was preparing a surprise, which was thoroughly successful. The Bishop and his two sons were taken; their followers scattered, every man his own way, except two who stood fast.

But then came perplexity for the victorious side. It was October; nothing could be settled till the following summer. The prisoners were to be kept till the Althing. Judgment was pronounced in a court held at Snóksdal, October 23, 1550. The Bishop and his sons had been outlawed by the King; the King had commanded Dadi to take them; Christian, the deputy, was to keep them in custody at Skalholt, with the assistance of Martin, till the Althing in summer. But it was not easy to keep them safe; the men of the North might be expected to come and rescue their Bishop. They were removed to Skalholt, as the court had decided. Christian, the Governor's deputy, who had come to Snóksdal at once after the capture, was always in consultation with Dadi. Then at last some one said the inevitable word: "Let the earth keep them." Bishop Jón Arason and Björn and Ari, his sons, were beheaded at Skalholt on the Friday after Halloween, November 7th, 1550.

How they bore themselves was clearly remembered. It has already been told how Jón Arason answered the poor well-meaning minister who warned him against idolatry, and spoke of a future life. It was long before

the Reformers gave up their unnecessary consolations; Mary Queen of Scots had to endure the same sort of importunity.

Ari was the most regretted of the three. "I went into this game against my will, and willingly I leave it."

The Bishop remembered the poor of his diocese; he always gave away supplies in spring, and now sent a message to Hólar to take care this should not be forgotten. He also made an epigram:—

What is the world? a bitter cheat,
If Danes must sit on the judgment-seat,
When I step forth my death to meet,
And lay my head at the King's feet.

The bodies of the three were at Skalholt all winter; in the spring of 1551 they were brought home to the North like the relics of martyrs.

Vengeance had already been taken for them, and it was Jón's daughter Thorun who set it going.

Among the men of the North who went South for the fishing that winter were some who meant to have the life of Christian, the Danish deputy. They got him at Kirkjuból, out at the end of Rosmhvalanes, and surrounded the house, wearing hoods and masks—a modern precaution. Before breaking into the house they asked and got leave from the owner: "Yes, break away, if you pay for it after." Christian and some other Danes were killed. It was reported that they came back from their graves, which made it necessary to dig them up and cut their heads off, with further preventive measures.

Ships of war came out, too late; and it is notable that the commander who was sent from Denmark to bring Bishop Jón Arason before King Christian III. was the same Kristoffer Trondsson (a great sea-captain in his day) who had enabled Archbishop Olaf Engelbrektsson of Nidaros to escape from Norway to the Netherlands, in April, 1537, out of the same King's danger.

The case against Jón Arason is found in the form of a speech supposed to have been delivered by Christian, the Danish deputy, in Skalholt, the day before the beheading of the Bishop and his sons. This is scarcely less remarkable than the letter of Gizur Einarsson as an historical document of the Reformation. The following is a good sample:—

“Likewise it is known to many gentlemen how Bishop John and his sons have set themselves to oppose the native people of this land, who have been at cost to venture over sea and salt water, sailing to transact their due business before our gracious lord the King, and many of them for their long voyage and their trouble have received letters from his Majesty, some upon monasteries, some upon royal benefices, which same letters of his Majesty might no longer avail or be made effective by no means; but as soon as they came here to Iceland Bishop John and his sons have made the King's letters null and void, and many a poor man has had his long journey for nothing and all in vain.”

On the other hand, it must be observed that with the exception of some contemporary rhymes upon his death none of the records which bring out the heroic character of Jón Arason were written by Catholics. The curious impartiality of the old Icelandic historians is still found working with regard to the Protestant Reformation, and it is Lutheran opinion in Iceland that thinks of Jón Arason as a martyr.

W. P. KER.

Additional Note. In *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok och Biblioteksväsen* I. 1 (1914) Isak Collijn of Stockholm reports the discovery and gives plates of 2 leaves of the lost *Breviarium Nidrosiense*, printed at Hólar. 1534, for Bishop Jón Arason by Jón Mathiasson the Swede.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE IN THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.¹

BY PROFESSOR ALLEN MAWER, M.A., *Vice-President.*

ONE of the most striking features of present-day philological study in England and on the Continent is the attention which is being paid to the history and development of our English place-names. These studies are of interest not only for the light they throw on certain philological questions, but also—and for many this is their chief interest—because of the help they give in the solution of certain questions of historical or social interest. Recent study of the place-names of Northumberland and Durham has suggested the possibility that the history of the place-names of these two counties may serve to throw some light, however dim, on the very difficult problem of the extent and character of the Scandinavian settlements in North-east England. Attacks by Vikings on Northern England began before the close of the eighth century, but it was not until after the middle of the ninth century that Northumbria fell definitely under their power. At first the invaders contented themselves with Northumbria south of the Tyne, but in 875 Healfdene sailed up the Tyne and devastated the whole of Northern Northumbria. In the same year Northumbria was divided among his followers, and they began to plough and cultivate it. His kingdom came to a violent end in 877, and then, after a six years' interregnum, the rule passed into the hands of Guthred-

¹Note. The earlier part of this paper, so far as it deals with Northumberland, is an expansion of a paper contributed to *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 306-14.

Cnut, a prince of undoubted Scandinavian origin. Guthred-Cnut's kingdom extended over the whole of Northumbria, and he was followed by other princes—Siefred and Sitric—who were connected with the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin. The authority of these kings centred at York, and it is probable that from 885 onwards the portion of Northumbria covered by the present county of Northumberland was once more under the rule of English earls, acknowledging Alfred's authority, and holding Bamburgh as their capital. In the reign of Edward the elder (c. 915) a fresh Norse invasion from Ireland took place under Ragnall. He invaded Northumberland, and was victorious in a battle at Corbridge-on-Tyne against Eadred of Bamburgh, and Constantine of Scotland. After his victory Ragnall advanced on York, which he took into his possession, and at the same time he divided the lands of St. Cuthbert, (the territory covering roughly the east and south portions of the county of Durham), between his two chief followers, Scula and Onlafbald. From this time (c. 921) down to the middle of the tenth century a succession of kings of Norse origin held sway in Northumbria, the last being Eric Blood-axe, finally expelled in 952 or 954.

One of the many problems connected with the study of this Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria is the real extent and character of the Norse and Danish settlements. We have seen that in 875 Healfdene is said to have divided Northumbria among his followers in the same way that East Anglia and Northern Mercia were portioned out among the Viking settlers there, but the fact that Ragnall, after his victories in 928, made an assignment of large portions of co. Durham, would suggest either that Northern Northumbria (Northumberland and Durham) had never been settled in the same way as Northumbria south of the Tees, or else that there had been some resurgence of the old Anglian element leading to the ousting of the

invaders from their hastily acquired land, at least in Northumbria.

An examination of the place-names of Northumbria supports this idea. It reveals wide differences in the proportionate distribution of place-names of Scandinavian origin over Northumbria as a whole, and the general result of this study, it may be stated at the outset, is to confirm the scanty evidence of history and compel us to draw a definite line of demarcation between the counties of Northumberland and Durham, on the one hand, and the remaining counties of the old kingdom on the other. Of the Scandinavian element in these other counties it is not my purpose to speak, except for purposes of comparison; but the intensely Scandinavian character of the place-nomenclature of almost the whole of Yorkshire, of great portions of Lancashire, of Cumberland and Westmoreland, is evident even from the most cursory examination of the modern map, and is made yet more clear if we study works dealing with the actual history of these names, such as Prof. Wyld's book on the Place-names of Lancashire, and Prof. Moorman's on those of the West Riding, or even better, for our purpose, the recently published work of Dr. Lindkvist on M.E. Place-names of Scandinavian origin, of which the first part is all that has at present appeared.

Let us now examine in detail the place-names of Northumberland and Durham, with a view to determining the Scandinavian element. In estimating Scandinavian influence in place nomenclature two methods may be adopted: (1) the rough and ready one of studying the modern ordnance map, and attempting to form an immediate and (in more senses than one) superficial estimate of the number of names containing Scandinavian elements; (2) the more accurate and satisfactory one of collecting the M.E. forms of all the place-names of any particular district, establishing their history and development, and finally determining those

which may definitely be stated to be of Scandinavian origin. In the case of the two counties at least which we have under present consideration both these methods have their value, for the counties of Northumberland and Durham stand somewhat apart from the rest of England in the character and extent of the documentary evidence which we have for the early forms of their place-names. Both alike have practically no charters belonging to pre-conquest times, a misfortune which they share, with but few exceptions, with the whole of England north of the Humber, and neither county is mentioned in Domesday. Northumberland has several valuable cartularies belonging to post-conquest times, and there are abundant references in the national records, but, unfortunately, there were large regalities within her borders where the king's writ seldom ran, and for these districts the evidence is at times scanty or insufficient. Northamptonshire, Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire belonged to the Palatinate Bishopric of Durham, and though there are some valuable early charters there are lamentable gaps. Still more unfortunate is the case of the large district of Hexhamshire, once a regality under the rule of the Archbishop of York. There the early records are very scarce, and it is the more to be regretted as, to judge from the present-day nomenclature, Scandinavian influence may at one time have been a good deal stronger here than in the rest of the county.

County Durham itself is in even worse case. She has, of course, her Domesday Book, in the form of Boldon Book, but invaluable as that work is for the understanding of her social and economic history, it is of comparatively little use for our purpose; for though Boldon Book was compiled in the twelfth century there are no copies extant of earlier date than the fourteenth century, with the result that place-names are recorded in very late forms, for the transcribers have for the most part given them the forms current in their own time.

There are some valuable eleventh and twelfth century charters belonging to the bishopric, and the records of Durham Priory are full and valuable, but a vast mass of early material concerned with the history of the Palatinate has disappeared through the vandalism of bishops and others, and we are, unfortunately, very scantily supplied with documentary evidence for those parts of county Durham in the extreme west, where, to judge from the present-day map, the influence was strongest. It is peculiarly advisable, therefore, in the case of these counties, and more so in Durham than in Northumberland, to endeavour to eke out the deficiencies of ancient material by a careful use of the modern ordnance map.

In the case of each county we will deal first with the comparatively certain material to be found in documents of the M.E. period. It should be added here that one or two names which have often been regarded as evidence of Scandinavian influence can no longer be used as such after examination of their M.E. forms. This applies especially to the two examples of *beck* which may be found in the county. The Wansbeck is in all early documents written as *Wanespic*, *Wanespike*, or some kindred form, showing clearly that the modern spelling is due to folk, or antiquarian, influence, while Bulbeck Common, above Blanchland, is so called from the great barony of Bulbeck, of which it once formed part. The first baron of Bulbeck took his title from Bolbec, a Norman village near the mouth of the Seine, and though the name is ultimately of Scandinavian origin, it is, of course, no mark of Viking settlement in England. One other example of *-beck* may be found in the form *Fullbek*, in the Newminster Cartulary, but the name has disappeared from the modern map and is of little importance. The place-names will be grouped as far as possible according to their geographical distribution. The following is a list of the chief abbreviations used:—

- Abbr.—Placitorum abbreviatio.
 Ass.—Assize Rolls for Northumberland (Surtees Soc.).
 Att. Test.—*Attestatio Testarum* (v. F.P.D.).
 B.B.—Baldon Book (Surtees Soc.).
 Björkman.—Z.A.N. (Zur Altenglischen Namenkunde), N.P. (Nordische Personennamen).
 B.B.H.—Black Book of Hexham (Surtees Soc.).
 B.C.S.—Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*.
 Brkb.—Brinkburn Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 B.M.—Charters and Rolls in British Museum.
 Ch.—Calendar of Charter Rolls.
 Cl.—Calendar of Close Rolls.
 D.B.—Domesday Book.
 Durh. Acct. Rols.—(Surtees Soc.).
 D.S.T.—*Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.).
 E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
 F.A.—Feudal Aids.
 F.P.D.—*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis* (Surtees Soc.).
 Finch.—Finchale Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Gray.—Archbishop Gray's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 H.—Hodgson's *Northumberland*.
 Hatf.—Bishop Hatfield's Survey (Surtees Soc.).
 H.P.—Hexham Priory (Surtees Soc.).
 H.S.C.—History of St. Cuthbert (v. S.D.).
 Inq. a.q.d.—*Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*.
 Ipm.—Calendar of Inquisitions *post mortem*.
 Iter.—*Iter de Wark* (Hartshorne's *Feudal Antiquities*).
 Lind.—*Norsk-isländska Dopnamn*.
 Lindkvist.—M.E. place-names of Scandinavian origin.
 Moorman.—Place-names of the West Riding (Thoresby Soc.).
 N.E.D.—New English Dictionary.
 Newm.—Newminster Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Orig.—*Rotulorum originalium abbreviatio*.
 Pat.—Calendar of Patent Rolls.
 Perc.—Percy Cartulary (Surtees Soc.).
 Pipe.—Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Society, Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Q.W.—*Placita quo Warranto*.
 R.B.E.—Red Book of the Exchequer.
 R.C.—*Rotuli Cartarum*.
 R.H.—*Rotuli Hundredorum*.
 Reg. Bp. K.—Register of Bishop Kellaw (v. R.P.D.).
 R.P.D.—*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, Rolls Series.
 Rygh.—Indl. (Indledning til Norske Gaardnavne), G.P. (Gamle Personnavne i Norske Gaardnavne), N.G. (Norske Gaardnavne).
 S.D.—Simeon of Durham (Rolls Series).
 S.R.—Subsidy Rolls (MS.).
 Swinb.—Swinburn Charters (Hodgson's *Northumberland*).
 Tax.—*Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.
 Testa.—*Testa de Neville*.
 Ty.—Tynemouth Cartulary (Gibson's *Tynemouth*).
 Wickwane.—Abp. Wickwane's Register (Surtees Soc.).
 Wyld.—Place-names of Lancashire.

The basin of the Till and its tributaries:—

AKELD (Kirknewton). 1169 Pipe *Achelda*; 1176 Pipe *Hakelda*; 1229 Pat. *Akeld*; 1255 Ass. *Akil*, *Akyl*, *Akyld*; 1216-1307 Testa *Akild'*, *Akyld'*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Akyld*.

O.N. *á*, river, and *kelda*, well, spring. The second element is used in the Northumberland dialect of a marshy place, and also of the still part of a lake or river which has an oily smoothness (E.D.D.). Akeld lies on the edge of the well-marked valley of the Glen, and Akeld Steads lies low, by the river itself—*cf.* Wyld, p. 363, and Keld in Swaledale (Yo.). The first element is found also in Aby (Lincs.), “the *-by* on the Great *Eau* (or river).” The O.N. *á* is found as M.E. *ā*, “stream or watercourse,” in mediæval documents (*v.* N.E.D.).

COUPLAND (Kirknewton). 1216-1307 Testa *Coupland*; 1255 Ass. *Couplaund*; 1323 Ipm. *Coupelande*; 1346, 1450, F.A. *Coupland*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 145-6). It is the O.W.Sc. *kaupa-land*, land gained by purchase (= *kaupa-jörð*) opposed in a way to *óðals-jörð*, an allodial estate. Only one example of its use is to be found in O.W.Scand., viz., in Biskopa Sögur. Lindkvist notes its occurrence here and in Copeland (Cumb.). It is also to be found in Copeland House (co. Durham) (*v. infra*), and probably in the Copeland Islands, off Belfast Lough.

CROOKHAM (Ford). 1244 Ch. *Crucum*; 1254 Ipm. *Crukum*; 1273 R.H. *Cruchu'*; 1304 Ch. *Crukum*; 1340 Ch. *Crocum*; 1346, 1428 F.A. *Crokome*.

“At the windings.” The dat. pl. of O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. According to Rygh (Indl. p. 62) it often refers to the bends of a river, a sense which would suit Crookham well, for it stands on the banks of the Till, which takes an unusually tortuous course here.

CROOKHOUSE (Kirknewton). 1323 Ipm. *Le Croukes*.

The nom. pl. corresponding to the dat. pl. found in Crookham (v. supra). The name may have borne reference to the winding course of the Bowmont Water at this point—cf. Crookes (Moorman, p. 53).

ILDERTON. 1189 Abbr. *Hilderton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Ildertone*; 1255 Ass. *Hilderton*, *Ilderton*; 1291 Tax. *Hilderton*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Ildirtone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hildirton*; 1336 Ch. *Ildretona*, *Hildreton*; 1346 F.A. *Hillerton*, *Ildreton*, *Hildreton*; 1428 F.A. *Ilderton*.

The history of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 10-11), viz., that it is the *tun* of a woman bearing the Scandinavian name *Hild*. *Hilder-* is the gen. form *Hildar* of this name. It is also found as the first element in Hinderwell (Yo.), earlier *Hilderwelle* and Hilderclay (Suff.). For the loss of initial *h* we may compare the history of Oakington (Cambs.). Skeat (*Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 16) remarks that all the early spellings point to *Hocing-* as the first element in this name.

INGRAM. 1255 Ass. *Angram*; 1283 Ipm. *Hangrham*, *Angeharm*; 1291 Tax. *Angerham*; 1216-1307 Testa *Angerham*; 1306 R.P.D. *Angirham*; 1324 Ipm. *Angerham*; 1346 F.A. *Angram*; 1428 F.A. *Ayngramme*; 1507 D.S.T. cccvii. *Yngram*.

For this name v. Angerton *infra*. It is very doubtful if this name shows Scandinavian influence.

Bamburgh and district:—

LUCKER. 1167-9 Pipe *Lucre*; 1255 Ass. *Lucre*; 1288 Ipm. *Locre*; 1216-1307 Testa *Lukre*; 1290 Abbr. *Loker*; 1307 Ch. *Lucre*; 1314 Ipm. *Louker*; 1346 F.A. *Loker*; 1379 Ipm. *Lokere*.

The second element is M.E. *ker*, "a marshy place" < O.N. *kiarr*, "ground of a swampy nature overgrown with brushwood." The first element may be O.N. *ló*, a sandpiper. The sandpiper specially frequents flat

marshy places, such as are often found near the seashore. This description would suit the actual site of Lucker.

RENNINGTON. 1104-8 S.D. *Reinington*; 1175 Pipe *Renninton*; 1255 Ass. *Renington*; 1256 Ch. *Renington*; 1216-1307 Testa *Renigton*; 1307 Ch. *Reinington*; 1314 Ipm. *Renington*.

The ultimate history of this name would seem to be settled by the passage in Simeon of Durham (Vol. I., pp. 65, 80), which says that Franco, one of the bearers of the body of St. Cuthbert (c. 880) "pater erat Reingualdi, a quo illa quam condiderat villa Reinington est appellata." The name *Reingualdus* is doubtless the Latinised form of the O.N. name *Rognvaldr*, borne by more than one Viking chieftain in England and Ireland. The name *Franco* is certainly not of Scandinavian origin, so that probably *Reingualdus* was Scandinavian only on his mother's side. The history of the form is difficult unless we assume that the name Regenweald or Rægenald, the Anglicised form of O.N. *Rognvaldr* was in use also in the short form *Regin* or *Rein*, whence the patronymic *Reining* was formed.

HOWICK. 1230 Pat. *Hawic*; 1278 Ass. *Hawick*. *Hawyk*; 1281 Wickwane *Howyk'*; 1288 Ipm. *Howick*; 1291 Tax. *Howyk*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Houwyk*; 1318 Inq. aqd. *Howyke*, *Owike*; 1340 Pat. *Howyke*; 1359 Cl. *Houwyk*; 1374; Durh. Acct. Rolls *Hawyk*; 1375 ib. *Howik*.

This name is explained by Lindkvist (pp. 182-3) as from O.N. *hár*, *hór*, "high," and *vik*, "creek, inlet, bay," and he compares it with the Norw. *Haavik*, which is found in several localities and has different origins, but refers sometimes to a shore skirted with high mountains or some (steep) acclivity on the shore. The early prevalence of forms with *o* may have been helped by memories of O.F. *hōh*, M.E. *ho(we)* "a promontory."

DENWICK. 1278 Ass. *Denewick*; 1288 Ipm. *Denewick*;
1216-1307 Testa *Denwyk*; 1334 Pat. *Denewyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place in the valley (O.E. *denu*) or, possibly, of the Danes (O.E. *Dena*).

BROTHERWICK. 1251 Ipm. *Brothirwike*; 1275 Ipm.
Brothirwyk; 1216-1307 Testa *Brotherwick*; 1273
R.H. *Broyerwyk*.

The "wick" or dwelling-place of a Scandinavian settler named *Broðir*. This is a well-established Norse and Danish personal name. The corresponding English name, *Broðir*, is only found in the 11th century, and may well be due to Scandinavian influence. Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 27) finds the same element in Brotherton (Yo.) and Brothertoft (Lincs.). The name is common in Danish place-names. Nielsen (*Old-danske Personnavne*, p. 13), gives Brarup (earlier *Brothæর্থorþ*), Brotherstedt, Brodersby, Brorstrup.

The basin of the Coquet and its tributaries:—

BRINKBURN. 1216-27 Newm. *Brinkeburn*; 1252 Ch.
Brinkeburn; 1259 Ch. *Brinkeburn*; 1255 Ass.
Brinkeburn; 1313 R.P.D. *Brenkeburn*; 1507
D.S.T. ccciv. *Brenkeburn*.

"The place on the steep sloping banks of the burn," here the R. Coquet. It is doubtful if the element *Brink-* is necessarily evidence for Scandinavian influence *v.* *Brenkley infra*.

ROTHBURY. 1099-1128 H.P. *Routhebiria*; 1176 Pipe
Robirei, *Roberi*; 1200 R.C. *Robery*; 1203 R.C.
Robery; 1204 R.C. *Rodbery*; 1210-2 R.B.E.
Roburiam; 1212 R.C. *Roubir*; 1219 Pat. *Roobiry*;
1228 Cl. *Robir*; 1228 Pat. *Rothebiry*; 1248 Ipm.
Roubiri; 1255 Ass. *Roubir*, *Rowebyr*; 1258-9
Newm. *Routhbiry*; 1271 Ch. *Rodebir*, *Robery*;
1291 Tax. *Routhebyr*; 1331 Perc. *Routhebiry*;
1346 F.A. *Rothebury*, *Routhbery*.

The explanation of this name is given by Lindkvist (pp. 158-9). The first element is O.W.Sc. *rauðr*, "red,"

the diphthong *au* being regularly represented in M.E. by *ou*; the second element is the common suffix *-bury*, representing the dative singular of O.E. *burg*, "fortress, castle," etc., and the name of the place was originally "at the red fort." It is of hybrid formation.

THROPTON (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Tropton*; 1248 Ipm. *Tropton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Thropton*; 1309 Ipm. *Thropton*; 1334 Perc. *Thorpton*; 1346 F.A. *Thropton*.

"The farm by the thorp." O.E. and O.N. *Þorþ-tūn*. *Thorp* is a fairly common metathesised form of *thorþ*. cf. Throp Hill (in Mitford), Dunthrop and Heythrop ((Oxf.). The same metathesis is found in Danish. cf. *Hos-trup*, *Vam-drup*. For the use of *thorp* in Northumberland v. *infra*, p.

SNITTER (Rothbury). 1176 Pipe *Snittera*; 1175 Pipe *Snitere*; 1248 Ipm. *Snither*; 1278 Ass. *Snytre*, *Snyter*; 1309 Ipm. *Snytir*; 1334 Perc. *Snytir*; 1346 F.A. *Snytie*; 1439 Ipm. *Snyter*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this element, which is found also in Snetterton (Norf.), Snitterby (Lincs.), Snitterfield (Warw.), Snitterton (Derbys.), Snitterley (Norf.), v. Essays and Studies by members of the English Association, Vol IV., p. 66.

BICKERTON. 1245 Brkb. *Bykerton*; c. 1247 Newm. *Bikerton*; 1266 Ass. *Bikerton*, *Bykertone*; 1216-1307 Testa *Bikerton*; 1346 F.A. *Bikerton*; 1428 F.A. *Bekerton*.

For the history of this name and its Scandinavian origin v. Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 59.

PLAINFIELD. 1272 Newm. *Flaynefeld*.

The first element is fairly certainly of Scandinavian origin, *ay* representing the common O.N. diphthong *ei*. It would seem to be the O.N. *flcinn*, "a pike, an arrow, or the fluke of an anchor" (= O.E. *flān*), and *Flaynefeld* may have meant originally a field whose shape suggested the fluke of an anchor. Less probably the

first element may be an O.N. personal name. *Fleinn* was the name of a 9th century skald (Lind. *s.v.*), and the name is also found as a nickname in *Aeiríkr flæin*. Rygh (G.P., p. 272) finds this name also in the Norse place-name *Flenstad*. The modern name would seem to be due to the substitution of a form more easily capable of explanation.

ROTHLEY. 1233-4 Pipe *Rotheleg*; 1255 Ass. *Rotheley*, *Rotheleg*; 1271 Ch. *Rotheley*, *Rotheley*; 1216-1307 Testa *Rotheley*; 1346 F.A. *Rotheley*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that in Rothbury, but the absence of any M.E. spelling with *ou* makes such an etymology difficult of acceptance. Otherwise it may be for O.E. *Hrōðan-leah*, the meadow of a man *Hrōða*, that being a shortened or pet form of one of the numerous Old English names of which *Hrōð-* is the first element. A very doubtful example of Scandinavian influence.

Basin of the Wansbeck and its tributaries:—

THROP HILL (Mitford). 1166 R.B.E. *Trophil*; 1273 R.H. *Troppil'*; 1216-1307 Testa *Throphill*; 1201 Tax. *Throphill*.

“The hill by the thorp.” *cf.* Thropton *supra*.

TRANWELL. 1267 Ipm. *Trennewell*; 1280 Ipm. *Tranewell*; 1310 Ch. *Tranwell*; 1316 Ipm. *Tranwell*; 1323 Ipm. *Trenwell*, *Tranewell*; 1356 Cl. *Tranewell*; 1386 Ipm. *Trenwell*; 1428 F.A. *Trenwell*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name *v.* Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 68.

ANGERTON (Hartburn). 1186 Pipe *Angerton*; 1261 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1278 Ass. *Angerton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Ang'ton*; 1312 Ipm. *Angirton*, *Angerton*; 1314 Ipm. *Angerton*; 1346 F.A. *Angerton*.

For the history of this name *v.* Essays and Studies, *n.s.*, p. 58. It is very doubtful if it can be considered an example of Scandinavian influence.

FISELBY (Hartington). 1319 Pat. *Fiselby*; 1378 Ipm. *Fisilby*; 1390 Ipm. *Fisildene*; 1396 Ipm. *Fesilby*; 1418 Ipm. *Fisilby*.

This is a place which has, unfortunately, disappeared entirely from the modern map. It seems to be a clear example of the well-known Scandinavian suffix *-by*, but if so it is unique in Northumberland, and it is impossible to explain the first element from any known Scandinavian name.

HAWICK (Kirkharle). 1284 Ipm. *Hawik*; 1216-1307 Testa *Hawic*; 1346 F.A. *Hauwyk*.

The M.E. forms of Hawick are identical with the *a*-forms of Howick (*v. supra*). The second element here is probably M.E. *wick*, O.E. *wic*, a dwelling-place, though it may possibly be the O.N. *vík*, which, according to Rygh (Indl., p. 55) is sometimes applied to a bend of a river, and was perhaps used generally in the sense of "curve," "angle" (*cf. Lindkv., p. 145*).

CROOKDEAN (Kirkwhelpington). 1324 Ipm. *Crokeden*; 1331 Ipm. *Crokden*.

Probably the "valley of a Norseman named *Krókr*," though it may be "the valley with or by a crook, or twist" (*cf. Crookham, supra*). For the former *cf. Wyld*, pp. 104-5 (Crookells, Croston and Croxteth), Björkman, N.P., p. 89, and Z.A.N., p. 58. *Cf. Croxton* (Norf.), *Croxby* (Lincs.), *Croxton* (Lincs.), *Croxton* (Leic.).

Basin of the Blyth and its tributaries:—

BRENKLEY (Ponteland). 1177 Pipe *Brinchelawa*, *Brinkelawa*; 1271 Ch. *Brinkelawe*; 1216-1307 Testa *Brinkelawe*; 1248 B.B.H. 115 *Brinkelagh*; 1346 F.A. *Brenklawe*; 1354 Perc. *Brenkelawe*; 1479 B.B.H. *Brenklawe*.

The element *Brenk-* or *Brink-* is of doubtful Scandinavian origin, *v. Essays and Studies, u.s., p. 62*.

COWPEN (Horton). 1153-95 Brkb. *Cupum*; a. 1197 Newm. *Cupum*; 1250 Newm. *Copoun*; 1271 Ch. *Copun*; 1292 Q.W. *Copun*; 1295 Ty. xci. *Cupun*; 1216-1307 Testa *Cupum*; 1315 Ch. *Coupon*; 1346 F.A. *Copon*; 1380 Ipm. *Cowpon*; 1428 F.A. *Coupowne*.

For the Scandinavian origin of this name v. *Essays and Studies, u.s.*, p. 63.

OUSTON (Stamfordham). 1255 Ass. *Hulkeston, Ulkilleston*; 1346 F.A. *Ulkeston*.

The *tun* of Ulkill, i.e., O.N. *Ulfkell* < *Ulfketill* (cf. Björkman, N.P., p. 168, and Rygh, G.P., p. 269). Cf. Ouston (co. Durham) *infra*.

The Tyne Valley :—

BYKER. 1249-50 Pipe *Byker*; 1259 Ipm. *Bicre*; 1255 Ass. *Bykere*; 1298 Ch. *Biker*; 1216-1307 Testa *Byker, Biker*; 1313 Ch. *Byker*; 1322 Inq. aqd. *Biker*; 1428 F.A. *Byker*.

v. *Essays and Studies, u.s.*, p. 59.

WALKER. 1267 Ipm. *Walkyr*; 1216-1307 Testa *Wautre*; 1316 Ipm. *Walker*; 1346 F.A. *Walker, Walcar*; 1428 F.A. *Walker*.

“The low-lying marshy place by the wall.” O.N. *kjarr*, “copsewood, brushwood, especially on swampy ground.” Walker is on the low-lying ground which slopes down to the Tyne just south of the line of the Roman wall, a little west of its terminus at Wallsend.¹

WHORLTON. 1323 Pat. *Wherleton*; 1324 Cl. *Wherlton, Wherwelton*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is O.N. *hvírfill*, v. *Essays and Studies, u.s.*, p. 70.

¹ Falkmann (*Ortnamnen i Skåne*) pp. 65 and 95, derives the place-name *Vallkärva* from O.N. *völlv* (plain) and *kiarr*. This may possibly be the source of Walker.

NAFFERTON (Ovingham). 1182 Pipe *Nafferton*; 1212 R.C. *Naffertone*; 1221 Pat. *Nafretun*; 1225 Pat. *Naffreton*; 1253 Ch. *Naffreton*; 1261 Ipm. *Nafferton*; 1263 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1289 Ipm. *Natferton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Natferton*; 1280 Ipm. *Nafferton*.

The explanation of this place-name, together with that of *Nafferton* (Yo.) is given by Lindkvist (pp. 187-8) and accepted by Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 63), viz., that the first element is the O.W. Scand. name *Náttfari*, night-traveller, found in the place-name *Natt-faravik* (Lind., s.v.), and also in the place-name *Naffentorp* in Skåne, of which the earlier form is *Natfaræthorp*. The D.B. spelling of *Nafferton* in Yorkshire—*Nadfartone*—is nearest to the original form *Náttfaratún*, except that *t* has become *d*, in accordance with a fairly common practice of A.N. scribes. One objection to this etymology however must be raised. There is a place *Nafford* in Worcestershire, of which the D.B. form is *Nadford*, and whose second element must be *-ford*. *Nafferton* might well be for *Nafford-ton*, in the same way that *Brasserton* (Durh.) goes back to *Bradford-tuna* (= *tun* by the broad ford), *Bretforton* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names, s.n.*) to D.B. *Bratfortune*, Swinnerton (Duignan, *Staffordshire Place-names, s.n.*) to *Swinforton* (= the *tun* by the swine-ford), *Hervington* (Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names, s.n.*) to *Herforton* (= the *tun* by the army-ford). *Nadford* is difficult of explanation. It may be from O.E. *Natanford*, the ford of a man named *Nāta* (cf. B.C.S. 165, *Natagrafas* and Wyld, p. 193, for length of vowel), with shortening of vowel in first element of compound and voicing of *t* to *d* as above.

North Tyne and its tributaries:—

HAINING (Redesdale). 1304 Pat. *Haynyng*; 1358 Ipm. *Haynyng*.

This place-name is probably of Scandinavian origin. In M.E. *hain* is used in the sense of an enclosure or

park, and Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words* (p. 242) connects it with O.W.Sc. *hegna*, to hedge or fence, O.Sw. *hæghn*, Swed. *hägn*, enclosure, fence or protection, Dan. *hegn*, though he points out that as the word-stem from which it is formed was current in O.E. the word may possibly be of native formation. In the modern dialect of Northumberland and Durham the word *haining* (v. E.D.D.) is used to denote "the preserving of grass for cattle, protected grass, any fenced field or enclosure, a separate place for cattle," and the first part of the word is undoubtedly the same as the M.E. *hain*. The suffix *-ing* may be the M.E. *ing*, meadow, grassland, a word which is itself of Scandinavian origin, or it may be the verbal suffix *-ing*, the word meaning originally the action of hedging in or enclosing, and then being used of the enclosure itself. *cf.* the development of *Riding*, originally "a ridding or clearing," and then used of the actual space cleared. The word *haining* is found more than once in the place-names of both Northumberland and Durham.¹

TOFT HOUSE (Rochester). 1397 Pat. *Toft*.

One of the three examples of *toft* found in Northumberland place-names, and the only one for which a M.E. form has been found. It is from O.W. Scand. *toft*, *toft*, "a piece of ground, messuage, homestead, a place marked out for a house or building" (*cf.* Björkman, *Scand. Loan-words*, p. 113).

BINGFIELD. 1180 Pipe *Bingefeld*; 1290 Abbr. *Bingefeld*; 1295 S.R. *Bingefeld*; 1298 B.B.H. 69 *Byngefeld*; 1479 B.B.H. *Byngfeld*.

For the history of this name, in which the first element is pretty certainly Scandinavian, v. *Essays and Studies*, *u.s.*, p. 60.

¹ Steenstrup, *Indledende Studier over de ældste Danske Stednavnes Bygning*, p. 276, mentions place-names of the forms *Hegneden*, *Hegningen*, *Heined*, *Heiningen* and connects them with the O.Dan. word *Hagnæth* used frequently in the laws of "enclosed" land as opposed to "common" land.

GUNNERTON. 1169-70 Pipe *Gunwarton*; 1255. Ass. *Cunewarton*; 1269 Ipm. *Gonewerton*; 1270 Ipm. *Gonewarton*; 1216-1307 Testa *Gunwarton*; 1318 Ipm. *Gunwertoun*; 1346 F.A. *Gunwarton*; 1479 B.B.H. *Gunwardton*, *Gonwarton*.

The element *Gunner-* in English place-names may go back to any one of the following Norse personal names (1) *Gunnarr* (m.), (2) *Gunnvarðr* (m.), or (3) *Gunnvǫr* (f.) The last two names appear in D.B. in the forms *Gunwardus* and *Gunneuware* respectively (Björkman, N.P., pp. 54-9). The old forms of *Gunner-ton* suggest derivation from either of these last two names: if any stress may be laid on the isolated spelling, *Gunwardton*, the first of these two is the more likely, but it should be noted that the Norse name *Gunnvarðr* is very rare (Lind. s.v.) and Björkman (N.P., p. 59) suggests that possibly the English *Gunwardus* is a hybrid formation, with the common English suffix *-ward*. The name *Gunnvǫr* is found in Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 106-7).

Valley of the South Tyne:—

STONECROFT HOUSE (Newbrough). 1175-6 Pipe *Stancroft*; 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Stancroft*; 1262 Ch. *Staincroft*; 1298 B.B.H. 109 *Stayncroft*; 1325 Ipm. *Stayncroft*; 1326 Ipm. *Staincroft*; 1327 Orig. *Stanncroft*.

“The croft by some well-known stone,” or “the stony croft.” Lindkvist (p. 90) notes two forms only—those of 1262 and 1298—and suggests that the first element is O.N. *steinn*, “a stone or rock.” The forms given above would tend to show that the name was originally genuinely O.E., with *stan* as the first element, which should have given Northern English *Stancroft*. During the M.E. period substitution of the form *Stain* or *Stayn*, derived from the O.N., took place, under the influence of the numerous place-names with

forms like *Stainton*. In modern English the Northern form *Stan-* has been replaced by standard English *Stone-*.

HENSHAW (Haltwhistle). 12th cent. B.B.H. 85 *Hedeneshalch*; 1262 Ch. *Hethingisalt*; 1279 Iter. *Heinzhalu*; 1299 Cal. Sc. *Hethenhalc*; 1298 B.B.H. 113 *Hetheneshalgh*; 1316 Ipm. *Hethyneshalch*; 1326 Ipm. *Henneshalgh*; 1328 Ipm. *Hethynsalgh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Hennishalgh*.

The history of this name is the same as that of the Yorkshire Hensall (Moorman, p. 96). The second element is the O.E. *healh*, a corner of land. The first element is explained by Moorman as O.E. *hæðenes*, and the whole name as the "heathen's corner," that is some settlement made by a Dane singled out by his Christian neighbours because of his heathen faith. Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 45) suggests, with more probability, that the first element is the common Old Norse name *Heðinn* (cf. Björkman, N.P., p. 66). This is very frequently found in Old Norse place-names (Rygh, G.P., pp. 120-1) with the same contracted form as in the English name.

OUSTON (Whitfield). 1258 H. 2, 3, 59 n. i. *Vlueston*; 1279 Iter. *Ulvestona*.

The *tun* of a man named Ulf < O.N. *Ulfr* (= O.E. *Wulf*). Oulston (Yo.) has the same origin. Ouston in Leicestershire is from earlier *Osulveston*, i.e., the *tun* of *Oswulf*, a genuine English name.

FEATHERSTONE. c. 1215 B.B.H. 89 *Fetherstanhalcht*; 1222 Cal. Sc. *Ferstonehalc*; 1255 Ass. *Fetherstone-lawe*; 1278 Ass. *Ferstanhallu*; 1346 F. A. *Fetherstanehalgh*; 1428 F.A. *Fetherstanehaugh*; 1479 B.B.H. *Fetherstanhalgh*.

The place-name Featherstone is found in Staffordshire and also in Yorkshire. The forms of the Staffs. place name are 994 *Featherstan*, D.B. *Ferdestan*, 1271 *Fethereston*, and Duignan (p. 60) suggests that the

first element is the personal name *Feader*, the name of a huscarl of Harthacnut, slain at Worcester in 1014. If so, the name is probably of Scandinavian origin, corresponding to O.Sw. *Fadhir*, O.Dan. *Fathir*. The name *Faðir* is of fictitious origin in O.N. (Bjö., N.P., p. 38). It occurs in D.B. as *Fader*, and is found in Danish place-names, e.g., Fatherstorp, Faderstrup (Nielsen, *Olddanske Person-navne*, p. 24). Moorman (p. 71) accepts this explanation for the Yorkshire place-name, whose early forms are D.B. *Fredestan*, *Ferestane*, 1122 *Fedrestana*, 1166 *Fetherstan*, and Wyld (pp. 124-5) inclines to the same solution for the first element in Featherstall (Lancs.).

KELLAH (Featherstone). 1279 Iter. *Kellaw*; 1479 B.B.H. *Kellaw*, *Kellone*.

The first element is possibly a shortened form of the Old Norse name *Ketill*. This form is found in Kelsdaile (Lincs.) (Lindkv., p. 33), in Kelby (Lincs., D.B., *Chelebi*), Kelsey (Lincs., Lincs. Survey, *Chelese*), Kelsale (Suff., F.A., *Keleshale*), possibly in Kelling (Norf., D.B., *Kellinga*). A possible alternative explanation is that given by Moorman (p. 111) in explaining Kelbrook, viz., that the first element is O.N. *kelda*, a spring or well, which survives in modern northern dialects as *keld* or *kell*. Rygh (G.P., p. 158) notes the same possible alternatives in the explanation of some Norwegian place-names.¹

KNARESDALE. 1236-45 Swinb. *Cnaresdale*; 1255 Ass. *Gnaresdale*; 1266 Pipe *Cnaresdale*; 1291 Tax. *Knaresdale*; 1306 R.P.D. *Knaresdale*; 1325 Ipm. *Knaresdale*.

Hodgson (II., 3, 78) says that the place "has . . . the name from the Knar, a rough mountain torrent, which intersects the western portion of it from west to east." The torrent, however, is not the Knar but

¹Since writing the above I find that Kelloe (co. Durham), whose early forms are for the most part identical with those of Kellah has a 12th cent. form *Celflawe* = calf-hill. Possibly that is the origin of Kellah also.

the Knar Burn, and that would seem to take its name from Knar farm on its banks. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin—*Knardal* and *Knarredalen* being of frequent occurrence in Norway (Rygh., G.P., pp. 162-3, but Rygh is unable to explain their origin. It is difficult to explain the first element as a personal name, as that would not explain the neighbouring *Knar*, and it is clearly not the same as in *Knaresborough* (Moorman, p. 118), for there is no form in *d* such as *Cnardesburc* which would allow of its connexion with O.E. *Cenward*. Rygh (N.G. I., 199) in commenting on the Norwegian place-names *Knarberg*, *Knarlag*, *Knarvik*, etc., suggests that the first element may be O.N. *knorr*, a large kind of ship, also used apparently of a piece of land or hill of that shape.

WHITWHAM (Knaresdale). 1316 Ipm. *Le Whitwhom*; 1344 Cl. *Wytquam*; 1364 Ipm. *Whitwham*; 1392 Ipm. *Wytwam*.

“White valley.” O.N. *hvammr*, used according to Rygh (Indl., p. 57) of a short valley or depression, surrounded by high ground, but in such a way that there is an opening on one of the sides.

Derwent Valley :—

ESPER SHIELDS. 1268. Ipm. *Esperscheles*.

The first element in this name may be the same as that found in the Norwegian *Espervik*, which Rygh explains as being an old genitive of O.N. *ǫsp*, an aspen-tree. If so, it means the “shields of (or by) the aspen-tree.” It might also be O.N. *aspir*, pl. of *ǫsp*, with late substitution of the ordinary Northumbrian *esp* (< O.E. *æspe*) for Scandinavian *asþ*. In that case it means “the shields by the aspen-trees.” There is a place in co. Durham called Esperley, of which an early form (1230) is *Esperteslegh*. The first element here is apparently a personal name *Esperd*, otherwise unknown, probably standing for earlier **Aespheard* (cf.

Aesc-heard). *Esperscheles* may be for earlier *Esperdescheles*, with loss of unstressed syllable and of *d* from the consonant group *dsch*. If so, it is not an example of Scandinavian influence.

WASKERLEY (Shotley). 1262 Ipm. *Waskerley*; 1292 Q.W. *Waskerleye*; 1312 Q.W. *Waskreley*.

See *Essays and Studies*, u.s., p. 69.

Hexhamshire :—

DOTLAND. 1154-67, Richard of Hexham, *Dotoland*; 1226 B.B.H. 93 *Doteland*; 1287 B.B.H. 104 *Dotte-land*; 1355 B.B.H. 140 *Dodland*; 1479 B.B.H. *Dot(e)land*.

The first element may be the Scandinavian woman's name *Dóttá*, which is found independently (Lind., *s.v.*) and also in several place-names (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., 58-9). The usual spelling with single *t* may, however, point rather to the name *Dot* or *Dotus*, found in D.B., which Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 29) attempts to explain. He compares the O.Sw. place-name *Dotabotha*, possibly going back to a name **Dote*. There is also an Old Swedish and Old Danish woman's name *Dota*. Björkman suggests, as an alternative explanation, that it may be originally a nickname, perhaps given with the meaning of the Norwegian dialectal *dote*, viz., a dull-witted person.

ESHELLS. c. 1160 Gray 275 n, *Eskeinggeseles*; c. 1225 B.B.H. 90 *Eskilescales*, *Eskingseles*; 1226 B.B.H. 94 *Eskinschell*.

The second element in this name is the common Northumbrian *shiels*, "shelters, sheds for summer pasturage." The form *-scales* shows the influence of the corresponding Scandinavian word *scales* (O.N. *skáli*, a hut). The correct form of the first element it is difficult to determine. The only theory which could possibly explain all the forms alike would be that which said that

the first element is the O.N. personal name *Asketill*. This is found in English in the form *Askill*, *Askell* or *Eskill*. Side by side with this there is a well-established form, *Asketinus*, in M.E. documents (v. Björkman, N.P., p. 17). This may well have been shortened to *Askin* or *Eskin*.¹ The name would then have been the "shields" or "scales" belonging to *Asketill* or *Asketin*. *Esking-* might then be a mistake for *Eskin-*, the unfamiliar suffix *-in* being replaced by the patronymic *-ing*. Another possibility is to take *Esking-* as a compound of O.N. *eski*, ash-tree, and *eng*, an "ing," grassland. *Esking-* would then mean the "grass-land with ash-trees on it." *Esking* would in M.E. place-names often be written *Eskin*. The form *Eskil-* must then be explained as due to the common mistake of anticipating the *l* which is to come later in the word.

In various parts of the country.

NEWBIGGIN BY THE SEA. 1268 Ipm. *Neubigging*.

NEWBIGGIN BY BLANCHLAND. 1262 Ipm. *Neubiggyng*.

NEWBIGGIN BY NORHAM. 14th cent. B.B. *Newbinga*
B. *Newburga*, C. *Newbinga*).

NEWBIGGIN IN HEXHAMSHIRE. 1344 Pat. *Neubyggyng*.

NEWBIGGIN HALL (Kenton). 1216-1307 Testa. *Neubigging*.

The "new building." O.W.Sc. *bygging*, a building, M.E. *bigginge*, and N.E. dialectal English *biggin(g)* (Björkman, *Scand. Loan-Words*, pp. 32-3). Considering the comparative rarity of place-names in Northumberland which are of Scandinavian origin, it is remarkable to find so many examples of the name *Newbiggin*, which is of somewhat infrequent occurrence in counties with a much larger proportion of place-names of Scandinavian origin.

¹The O.Dan. name *Eskin*, (Nielsen, *Olddanske Personnavne*), p. 22 may be that same name.

In summarising the evidence for Scandinavian settlements in Northumberland to be drawn from the place-names found in M.E. documents we may note the following points:—

(1) That there are very few examples in this county of those place-name suffixes most commonly associated with Scandinavian settlements. There is no *-thwaite*, *-lund*, *-with*, *-beck*, *-holm* or *-garth*, only one *-toft*, dating from the 14th century, and a single example of *-by*, not to be found on the present-day map. There are, however, a considerable number of place-names in *-ker*, and the name *Newbiggin* is of remarkably frequent occurrence. Indeed, there are more *Newbiggins* in Northumberland than in any other English county. The absence of place-names in *-garth*, *-thwaite*, *-toft*, *-by* would seem to indicate that there can never at any time have been any regular settlement of the whole district, any division of the whole territory among an organised band of settlers. The prevalence of *-bigging* might at first sight seem to contradict this idea, but the word *biggin* is in common dialectal use in Northumberland for a building, and it is perhaps significant that all the *biggins* are labelled "new." The majority of the place-names of Scandinavian origin either contain some personal name of Norse origin or they contain some Norse element commonly found in the local dialect. This latter statement is true of those containing *keld*, *crook*, *carr*, *flat*, *bing*, *haining*, *biggin*. Indeed, one noticeable feature of the Northumbrian dialect is that it contains a far larger proportion of Scandinavian words than the evidence of either history or archæology would lead us to expect, and it is to be suspected that a good many of them are of comparatively recent importation into that district, coming from districts to the west and south where Scandinavian influence is stronger.

(2) That the settlements are rather markedly confined to the river-valleys and to the immediate neighbourhood

of the coast, a distribution very different from that in the Danelagh generally, and pointing again to isolated settlements rather than to any regular partition of the whole area.

The modern map yields some few additional points of interest. Along the coast we have a series of *skerrs* or rocky islets which must owe their name to O.N. *skiær*, "an isolated rock"; near to Long Houghton there is a stretch of rock bearing the curious name *Bondi Carr*. The second element is Celtic, but the first looks as if it might possibly be the familiar *bóndi*, "a peasant or farmer." Down by the coast at Warkworth there is a level stretch known as the Skaith (O.N. *skeið*, with various meanings, *cf.* Wickham Skaith, Suff.), and near to Monkseaton there is a small island, now called St. Mary's Island, or Bait Island, of which the earlier name (16th cent.) was St. Helen's Baits. This must certainly be connected with O.N. *beit*: if it is used in the sense of "fish-bait" the plural is strange, if, on the other hand, it means "pasturage," the name can only have been given in irony, for St. Mary's Island is nothing but a stretch of barren rocks. These names do not point so much to settlements as to the influence of Scandinavian seafarers, and it is worth noting in this connexion that there is a tradition of a considerable Scandinavian settlement at Tynemouth, a tradition which is to some extent borne out by the evidence of personal names occurring in mediæval documents relating to that town.

Inland we find a few more *Newbiggins*, and one or two *Holmes*, but it should be pointed out that it is not always certain that *holm* may not be a dialectal form of *hollin* or holly. The element *Kip*, found more than once in such names as *Kiphill*, *Kiplaw*, would seem to be the dialectal *kip*, "a large overgrown calf," which must itself be connected with O.Dan. *kip* (*Kalkar*, *s.v.*) and Sw. *kibb* (*Rietz.*, *s.v.*), used with the same meaning. *Silliway*, near Langley, probably contains O.N.

vra, "a corner," and means "the corner where the willows grow." Carlcroft in Alwinton is noteworthy because there are no Carltons in the county (*cf.* Charlton in Tynedale and Charlton near Bamburgh) while Gair Shiel in Hexhamshire contains the common dialectal word *gair*, meaning a triangular piece of land, from O.N. *geir*. In the high lands to the west and south of the county *fell*, *grain* and *sike* are in regular use, and except for the absence of *becks*, place-nomenclature is much the same on either side of the Pennine slopes.

In turning to county Durham it will be well, as before, to deal first with those names found in medieval documents. The names are arranged in alphabetical order.

AISLABY-ON-TEES. 1225-9 Att. Test. *Askelby*; 1311 R.P.D. *Aselackeby*; 1313 R.P.D. *Aslakeby*; 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Aslagby*; 1344 R.P.D. *Aslagby*, *Aslakby*.

The suffix *-by* is the common Scandinavian termination. If the first form is not a metathetical spelling due to the scribe, the original name was the *by* of *Askell* or *Asketill* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., pp. 16-20). The second form points to the name *Aslacr* (*cf.* O.E. *Oslac*) as the first element, with a tendency to voice the *k* before following *b* (*cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 17, Björkman, N.P., p. 20), *cf.* *Aslacton*, Norf. (D.B. *Aslaketuna*), *Aslackby*, Lincs. (D.B. *Aslachebi*).

AMERSTON HALL (nr. Embleton). 1320 Cl. *Aymundeston*.

The *tun* or farmstead of a man bearing the Norse name *Eymundr*, later *Emundr* (Rygh, G.P., p. 65), *cf.* *Amotherby* (Yo.), of which an earlier form is *Aymunderby*. The *rs* in the modern form may be due to a confusion of the genuine Norse gen. *Eymundar* found in *Amotherby* with the anglicised gen. *Aymundes*.

BLAKESTON HILL (Norton). 1099-1128 D.S.T. xxx. *Bleikestuna*; 1100-35 F.P.D. n. *Bleichestona*; 1203 R.C. *Blakestone*; 1300 Ch. *Blaicheston*; 1335 Ch. *Blakeston*; 1345 R.P.D. *Blaykeston*.

The above spellings leave no doubt that the first element is the O.N. *bleikr*, pale. This is not recorded as an independent name, but is common as a nickname, and has maintained itself in the English personal name Blake. The name means the farmstead of a man named or nicknamed *Bleikr*. Lindkvist (p. 25) notes the name of a person called *Alanus Bleik* in the Coucher Book of Selby Abbey (13th cent.?).

BRANCEPETH. 1085 D.S.T. xx. *Brentespethe*; 1131 F.P.D. n. *Brauncepath*; 1155 F.P.D. n. *Brandespethe*; 1254 D.S.T. lxxxiii. *Branspath*; 1311 R.P.D. *Braundespath*; 1316 R.P.D. *Brauncepath*.

The "peth" or path of a man named Brand. The name is probably of Scandinavian origin, for beyond one occurrence in a Saxon genealogy the name is not found in Old English documents before the 11th century, whereas the name *Brandr* was very common in Iceland and other Scandinavian lands. The distribution of English place-names containing this element also favours their Scandinavian origin. Branceholm and Braucedale (Yo.), Branston (Lincs.), Brandiston (Norf.), Bransby and Brauncewell (Lincs). See also Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 27.

BRUNTOFT (nr. Wynyard). 1304 Cl. *Bruntoft*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix meaning a clearing: the first is probably the word *burn*, a stream. This often undergoes metathesis in compounds, cf. Brunton (in Embleton) and Brunton (nr. Newcastle) in Northumberland, of which the earlier form is *Burneton*. Lindkvist (p. 214) favours the derivation from O.W.Scand. *brunnr*, a spring or fountain, but the example of *Brunton* makes this unnecessary.

CARLBURY (Coniscliffe) 1271 Ch. *Carlesburi*; 1313 R.P.D. *Carlebury*; 1340 R.P.D. *Carlbury*.

The form is from the dative of O.E. *Ceorles burh* or *Ceorla burh*, the *burh* of the *ceorl* or *ceorls*, with substitution of Scandinavian Carl (O.N. *karlr*, a man) for English *ceorl*. *cf.* Charlbury (Oxf.).

CARLTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Carlton*; 1307 R.P.D. *Carleton*.

The *tun* of the Scandinavian *carls*: the equivalent of the native English Charlton. The English and Scandinavian forms are both widely distributed in England. The Scandinavian forms are specially frequent in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.

CLAXTON GRANGE (nr. Greatham). 1091 F.P.D. lvxxxii. *Clackestona*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Claxton*.

The *tun* of a man named *Klakkr*. The name is of common occurrence in place-names in the Danelagh. *cf.* Claxton (Norf., D.B., *Clakestona*), Long Clawson (Leic., D.B., *Clachestane*).

CONISCLIFFE. c. 1035 H.S.C. *Cingceslife*; 1263 R.C. *Cunesclive*; 1271 Ch. *Cunesclive*; 1306 Cl. *Conesclive*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Conysclive*; 1336 Ipm. *Consclif*; 1345 R.P.D. *Conesclif*; 1507 D.S.T. ccccv. *Cunynsclif*.

“King’s cliff.” This name would seem to have been originally purely English, to judge from the form found in the History of St. Cuthbert—O.E. *c(yn)inges clif*, but the later spellings point to the influence of O.N. *konungr*; *cf.* the history of Conisborough (Moorman, p. 49), Coniston (*ib.* pp. 49 and 50), Conishead and Coniston (Wyld, pp. 98-9), Conisholme (Lincs., D.B., *Coningesholm*).

COPELAND HOUSE (West Auckland). 1104-8 S.D. *Copland*; 1313 R.P.D. *Coupland*; 1340 R.P.D. *Coupe-land*.

For the history of this name *v.* Coupland (Nthb.) *supra*.

COWPEN BEWLEY. 1203 R.C. *Cupum*; 1335 Ch. *Cupum*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxcvi. *Coupon*.

v. Cowpen (Nthb.) *supra*.

CRAWCROOK. 14th cent. B.B. *Craucrok*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Cranwecrok* (*sic*).

“Crow’s crook.” O.E. *crāwa*, a crow, + O.N. *krókr*, a crook or winding. The place may have been so named because haunted by crows, or from a man (or woman) whose name or nickname was “Crow.” *cf.* *Crawe*, a woman’s name (Searle) and the modern surname *Crow*.

CROOK. 1267 F.P.D. n. *Cruketona*; 1304 Cl. *Crok*; 1312 R.P.D. *Crok*; 14th cent. B.B. *Cruktona*, *Crocketon*.

O.N. *krókr*, a crook, a winding, a nook. In Boldon Book the place is known as “the town by the crook,” later it is called simply “the crook.” The town may be so called because it is on one of the bends or nooks in the winding course of the Beechburn.

CROXDALE (Spennymoor). 1214 D.S.T. 36 *Croxstayl*; 1335 Ch. *Crokestail*.

The first element is the O.N. personal name *Krókr* (*cf.* Wyld, p. 105, Croxteth). The second element, as shown by the spelling in M.E., is not the ordinary English *dale* but the O.W.Scand. *deill*, “a share, allotment or portion of land.” The existence of this word in English field-names has been clearly proved by Lindkvist (pp. 30-55), where an exhaustive and interesting account of its history is given, and numerous examples of its use are quoted from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. None of the examples given have survived on the modern map, and Lindkvist has no mention of Croxdale.

DURHAM. 1191, Feet of Fines, *Dunolm*, *Donelme*; 1227 Ch. *Dunholm*; 1231 Ch. *Durham*; 1313-8 Ch. *Durham*, *Durem*, *Duresme*; 1343-6 Ch. *Dunolm*.

The old name of Durham was *Dūn-holmr*, a compound of O.E. *dūn*, a hill (of Celtic origin), and O.N. *holmr*, an island, hence "the hill island," a name aptly descriptive of the site of ancient Durham, on high ground within a loop of the River Wear, whose two ends very nearly meet. The modern form is probably due to Anglo-Norman influence.

DYANCE (nr. Killerby). 1207 F.P.D. n. *Diendes*.

A difficult name; the first element may possibly be O.N. *dý*, "a bog," cf. Rygh, *Indl.*, p. 30.

FELLING. 1325 F.P.D. n. *Felling*; 1434 F.P.D. *Fellyng*.

"The meadow or grassland below the fell," O.N. *fjall*, mountain, and *eng*, grassland. The word *ing* is in common use in Mod. English dialect. The name aptly described the position of Felling, which stands on the ground sloping down from Gateshead Fell to the Tyne Valley.

FOLLINGSBY. Type I. 1133-40 F.P.D. n. *Foletesbi*; 1153-95 F.P.D. n. *Foleteby*, *Folesceby*; 1203 Cart. Johan. Regis. *Foletteby*; 1217-26 F.P.D. n. *Folasceby*; 1352 Ch. *Foethebi*. Type II. 1416 F.P.D. n. *Folaunceby*; 1430 F.P.D. *Folanceby*; 1446 D.S.T. ccxc. *Folaunceby*.

The explanation of Type I. would seem to go with that of Fulletby (Lincs.) of which the D.B. forms are *Folesbi*, *Fullobi*, while those in the Lincolnshire Survey (c. 1100), which usually gives Scandinavian names more correctly, are *Fuletebi*, *Fuledebi*. Here the first element would seem to be a personal name of the same type as O.N. *Hasliði*, *Sumarliði*, *Vetrlði*. The second of these names is common as the name of Scandinavian settlers in England, in the form *Sumerled*, and forms the first element in Somersby, and in three Somerbys in Lincolnshire, and in Somerleyton in Suffolk. No name *Fulliði* is recorded in Old Norse, but there is an

adjective *full-liða*, meaning "well provided with troops," "fully able" (*v.* Vigfusson and Fritzner, *s.v.*), and this name, used first as a nickname, may well have given rise to a personal name *Fulliði* (*cf.* Selaby *infra*). The forms *Foletes-* and *Folesce-* are due to Anglicising of the name and its being given a gen. sg. in *-s*. Type II. is difficult of explanation, but as it belongs to the 15th century it stands quite apart from any question of further Scandinavian influence.

FULTHORPE (Wynyard). 1311 Cart. Bp. K. *Fulthorþ*;
1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Foulthorþ*.

"Foul or dirty village." For the use of *thorþ* *v. infra*.

HAINING (Houghton-le-Spring). 1401 D.S.T. *cxc.*
Haynyng.

See Haining (Nthb.) *supra*.

HOLME HILL (Muggleswick). 1446 D.S.T. *ccciv. le*
Holme.

The common M.E. *holme* (O.N. *holmr*), an island or peninsula.

HUTTON HENRY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Hotun*; 1307 R.P.D.
Hoton; 14th cent. B.B. *Hotona*, *Holton*; 1430
F.P.D. *Huton*; 1446 D.S.T. *ccxcv. Hoton*.

The first element in this name may be O.W.Scand. *hór*, a phonetic variant of *hár*, meaning "high," which is discussed by Lindkvist (p. 224). This element is to be found in Huby (Lincs.) possibly also in Hoby (Lincs.), and in Huttoft (Lincs.), (*v.* Lindkvist *loc. cit.* and p. 218). Lindkvist's warning that places with *Hotun* in M.E. may go back to O.E. *hō(h)*, heel, projecting ridge of land, is probably not necessary in this case. There is no trace of a medial *h* in the M.E. spellings such as we regularly find in Houghton-le-Spring in the same county, which undoubtedly goes back to O.E. *Hōh-tūn*.

KILLERBY. 1091 F.P.D. lxxxii. *Culuerdebi*; 1197 Pipe *Culuerdebi*; 1207 F.P.D. *Kiluerdebi*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Kyllewardby*; 14th cent. B.B. *Killirby*, *Kylwerby*; 1435 D.S.T. ccvli. *Killerby*.

The explanation of this place-name must go with that of Kilverstone (Norf. D.B. *Culvertestuna*), Kilwardby (Lincs. Surv. 1100 *Culverteb'*) and Killerby (Yo.) For the forms of the last *v.* Björkman, Z.A.N., p. 54. The first element is a personal name, probably of hybrid origin. The first element in the name is O.N. *Ketill*, which often gives an O.E. form *Cytel*, and the second the common English suffix *-weard* (*cf.* Ed-ward). The full O.N. form *Ketilvaðr* is not found (*v.* Björkman, p. 81).

LUMLEY. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Lummalea*; 1196 Finch. *Lumleia*; 1304 Cl. *Lomelay*.

For the history of this name *v.* Essays and Studies, *u.s.*, p. 64.

OUSTERLEY FIELD. 1382 Hatf. *Oustre*, *Oustrefeld*.

The history of this name is similar to that of Austerfield (Yo.), which Moorman (p. 14) explains as from O.N. *austr*, east, + "field."

OUSTON (nr. Birtley).

Surtees (Vol. 2, pp. 126 and 192) gives early forms, *Ulkilstan* and *villa Ulkilli*, showing that the history of this name is the same as that of Ouston in Stamfordham in Northumberland (*v. supra*).

RABY. c. 1025 H.C.S. *Raby*; 1200 R.C. *Rabye*; 1313 Reg. Bp. K. *Raby*.

The second element is the common Scandinavian suffix *-by*, denoting a town, while the history of the first element is given by Lindkvist, pp. 188-9. He says that it is O.W.Scand. *rá*, a landmark. It is found in more than one Raby, and in Raydale and Raskelf in Yorkshire. As Lindkvist remarks, all of these names are capable of explanation from O.W.Scand. *rá* = a *roe*, but that alternative is unlikely. The old explana-

tion which connected these words with O.W.Scand. (*v*)*r*á, nook, corner, is stated by Lindkvist to be no longer tenable, as Scandinavian words commencing in *vr* show uniformly conservative tendencies in English, keeping the initial *v* long after it was dropped in W. Scandinavian itself.

RACEBY. 1344 (45th Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records) *Raceby*.

In the absence of any form earlier than 1344 it is difficult to say with certainty what may be the origin of this name. Raithby (Lincs.) has early forms, *Reythesby*, *Raitheby*, which Lindkvist (p. 76) takes to contain an unrecorded O.W.Scand. *Hreiði*, a shortened form of *Hreiðulfr* or *Hreiðarr*. A form *Reythesby* with the gen. of the personal name might well develop to Raceby in later times.

RAINTON. c. 1125 F.P.D. xli. *Reinuntun*, *Reningtun*, *Reington*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy. ii. *Raintonam*; 1153-95 Cart. Ep. Hug. *Reiningtone*; 1185 F.P.D. n. *Reinintun*, *Renintun*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Reyn-ton*; 1228 Att. Test. *Reiningtone*; 1253 Ch. *Reington*.

The forms for this place-name are practically the same as those for Rainton (Yorks.) (*v*. Lindkvist, p. 73), and Rennington (Nthb.). For the former Lindkvist suggests a patronymic formed from O.N *Hreinn*, while in a note on Rainhill in Lancs. (p. 74, n. 2) he quotes forms for the Durham Rainton, and suggests that the first element in both these names may be O.W.Scand. *rein*, a strip of land which forms the boundary of a tilled field or an estate (*v*. Björkman, Scand. Loanwords, p. 63), used in Norwegian dialect of a "long bank of earth or gravel." It seems, however, impossible to separate the history of the Durham and Yorkshire Raintons, and their history may be either that suggested by Lindkvist for the Yorkshire Rainton, or, more probably, that given above for the Northumberland Rennington.

RUMBY HILL. 1382 Hatf. *Ronundby*.

The M.E. form is probably a mistake for *Romundby*, the first element being the common O.N. name *Hrómundr*.

SADBERGE. 1154-89 Finch. *Satberga*; 1189 D.S.T. lix. *Sadberg*; 1214, Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Sathbergia*; 1176 Pipe *Sethberga*; 1234 Pat. *Sedberg*; 1338 Cl. *Sedberne*; 1307 R.P.D. *Sadberg*; 1318 Ch. *Seberge*, *Sedberga*; 1435 Pat. *Sadberg*.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the vowel of the first element in this place-name. The same uncertainty is found in the case of the Yorkshire *Sedbergh*, but whereas the *e*-forms predominate there, in the Durham *Sadberge* the evidence inclines, if anything, to *a* as the original vowel. *Sedbergh* is commonly explained as from O.N. *set-berg*, "a hill whose top suggests a seat by its shape," and it is possible that this may be correct, though *t* is never found in any M.E. form. In Norwegian dialect the forms *sete* and *sata* are both alike used of a little flat place on a rock or hill-top, and this might account for the variation in vowel, the voicing of the *t* being due to the following voiced *b*. Another possible explanation is that the first element is O.N. *sáð*, "seed," used, according to Rygh (N.G. I., 346), as a nickname. The early spellings with *th* may possibly point to this, though they are capable of another explanation, and the variant vowel might be due to the influence of the cognate O.E. *sæd* > M.E. *sēd*. In any case the name is probably of Norse origin, as there was a "wapentake" of *Sadberge*, the only example of the use of that term north of the Tees.

SATLEY. 1228 Att. Test. *Sateley*; 1304 Cl. *Satley*; 1311 R.P.D. *Satteley*; 1312 R.P.D. *Satley*.

The first element in this word may be the O.N. *saata*, a haystack, which Rygh finds in more than one Norse place-name (*cf.* N.G., v. 276), the meaning being

“the meadow by the haystack.” The first element might also be the Norw. dial. *seta*, *seta*, “a flat place on a rock, or the top of a hill,” but this seems less likely.

SCHOOL AYCLIFFE. 14th cent. B.B. *Sculacle*; 1440 D.S.T. cccv. *Sculacley*.

So-called in distinction from Aycliffe, and probably named after its Norse owner, *Skúli*. cf. Scoulton (Norf. D.B. *Sculetuna*), Sculthorpe (*ib.* D.B. *Sculetorpa*). This *Skúli* may be the very *Scula* mentioned above (p. 173).

SELABY. 1197 Pipe *Selebi*; 1317 Cl. *Seletby*; 1322 Pat. *Seleteby*; 1335 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1336 Ipm. *Seletby*; 1460 Pat. *Seleby*.

The *-by* of a man bearing the O.N. name **Sæ-liði* = sea-goer, sailor. This name is not actually found, but names with *Sæ-* as the first element are common in O.N., and *Sæ-liði* is exactly equivalent to the name *Haf-liði* = ocean-goer, which is well established. *Sæ-liði* corresponds etymologically to the O.E. *sǣ-lida*, a word commonly used to describe a pirate. For the M.E. development of the name cf. Follingsby, *supra*.

SKERNE, R. 1402 F.P.D. *aqua de Skyryne*; 1430 *ib.* *Skeryn*.

It is impossible to separate this name from Skerne (Yo.), of which the D.B. form is *Schirne*, while other early forms are *Skiren*, *Skyryn*. The closest parallel to these is the Norse river name *Skirna* (near Trondhjem), which Rygh (*Norske Elvenavne*, p. 217) connects with *skirr*, clear, bright, *skirna*, to clear up, and *skirning* (a clearing), and the farm name, *Skjern*, in the same district, which Rygh says is named after a stream close to the farm.

SKIRNINGHAM. c. 1090 Hist. de Obs. Dunelm. *Skirningeheim*, *Skerningeim*; 1135-54 Cart. Hy II. *Schirningaham*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Skirningeham*.

“The homestead by the Skerne meadows.” The element *-ing* is O.N. *engr*, “grass-land, meadow,” and the early spellings in *heim* and *eim* point very clearly to O.N. *heimr* rather than O.E. *hām* as the earliest form of the final element. Place-names *Skjern* and *Skjerninge* are found in Denmark (Steenstrup, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-5), and we probably have the same name in Scarning (Norf. D.B. *Scarninga*). Whether the suffix has the same origin in all cases it is impossible to say.

SLINGLEY HALL (nr. Dalton-le-Dale). 1155 F.P.D. n. *Slingelawe*.

The first element in this word may be the proper name found also in the Yorkshire place-name *Slingsby*. The earlier form of that name is *Slingesby*, and Björkman (Z.A.N., p. 77) suggests that the first element is from a Norse nickname **Slongr* or **Slengi*, comparing the modern Norw. dial. *sleng*, used of a growing youth and also of an idler. In Northern English dialect *to sling* is used in the sense “to go about idling, to sneak or slink about.” Björkman suggests that this usage depends on Norse influence. The second element is O.E. *hlāw*, a hill, very often corrupted in N.E. to *-ley*, as if from O.E. *léah*.

STAINDROP. 1131 F.P.D. n. *Standrop*; 1135-54 Cart, Hy. II. *Steindrope*; 1203 Cart. Joh. Reg. *Steindrope*; 1311 Reg. Bp. K. *Stayndrop*.

The first element is O.N. *steinn*, stone or rock, a common element in place-nomenclature. The spellings with *stan* show the substitution of the common O.E. form *stān*; cf. Stainton and Stanton. The second element, *-drop*, is found in other place-names in England as a variant form of *þorþ*, due to metathesis and stopping of the continuant þ, e.g., Burdrop (Oxf.) and Soul-drop (Beds.), but the early and uniform appearance of the spelling *drop* would seem to forbid such an explanation in this case. Lindkvist (p. 84, n. 4) suggests that the second element is O.W.Scand. *dropi*, a

drop, or O.W.Scand. *drop*, Norw. dial. *drop*, a dropping, dripping: Staindrop lies in a valley on a small stream called Langley Beck.

STAINTON, GREAT AND LITTLE. 1284 Finch. *Staynton*; 1308 Ch. *Staintuna*.

STAINTON-LE-STREET. 1312 Reg. Bp. K. *Staynton-in-Strata*; 1479 B.B.H. *Staynton-in-Strata*.

NUNSTAINTON. 1387 D.S.T. clvii. *Nunstaynton*.

O.N. *steinn-tún* = stone-enclosure, the equivalent of English Stanton. For the question how far place-names of this type can be considered names of Scandinavian settlements *v.* Lindkvist, p. 83.

SWAINSTON (nr. Sedgefield). 1351 B.M. *Swaynston*.

“Swein’s *tún*.” This personal name is very common in place-names (*v.* Lindkvist, pp. 91-3). It is also found as *Swin-* in Swinford (Leic.), *Swine-* in Swineshurst (Lancs.), *Swan-* in Swanland (Yo.). There is a Swainston (I. of W.) containing this name: it is probably of comparatively late origin.

THORPE BY EASINGTON. c. 1025 H.S.C. *Thorep*; 1197 Pipe *Torp*.

THORPE BULMER. 1312 R.P.D. *Thorpebulmer*.

THORPE THEWLES. 1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Thorptheules*.
For the use of *thorp v. infra*.

THRISLINGTON HALL (Ferryhill). 1309 F.P.D. 66 n. *Thurstaneston*.

The *tún* or farm of *Thorsteinn*, a very common Scandinavian name in England. It is found in Thurston (Cheshire), Thurston End (Suff. D.B. *Thurstanestuna*), Thruxton (Norf. D.B. *Turstanestuna*), Thrussington (Leic. D.B. *Turstanestone*).

THROSTON. c. 1270 (List of knights at Lewes) *Throston*.

“Thorir’s farm.” *cf.* Rygh, G.P., p. 259.

ULNABY HALL (High Coniscliffe). Newm. *Uluenebi*;
1314 Reg. Bp. K. *Ulneby*.

The *-by* or settlement of *Ulfheðinn*. This is a common Icelandic name, and from its use there Lindkvist concludes that it was already in use in Norway during the Viking period, though no example of its use earlier than 1300 has been preserved to us. A contracted form, *Vlfuen*, is found in a Norse document of 1411. It is probable that a similar contraction took place in England, giving the form *Vluenebi*.

USHAW. a. 1196. Finch. *Ulveskahe*; 1312 Reg. Bp. K.
Uuesshawe; 1312 Pat. *Uuesshawe*.

The first element is probably the O.N. name *Ulfr* (= O.E. *Wulf*), and the second the O.E. *sceaga*, a wood, hence the "wood of a man named *Ulfr*." The spelling *skahe* may be due to the influence of the corresponding Norse word *skógr*, a wood.

WHAM. 1315 R.P.D. *Northquwam*, *Qwhom*.
v. Whitwham (Nthb.) *supra*.

Taking a survey of the whole county, the number of names is of course absolutely smaller than in Northumberland, but in estimating the relative proportion we must bear in mind (1) that a much smaller proportion of the place-names of the whole county is preserved in mediæval documents in Durham than in Northumberland; (2) that the county has only one-half the area of co. Northumberland. Bearing these two points in mind, it is probable that there is relatively a much greater proportion of Scandinavian names in Durham. We have several clear examples of *-by*, some of *-ing*, *-toft*, and *-holm*, several containing the element *crook*, and the names are scattered fairly well over the county. Still, they are not so numerous as to suggest any definite partition. There does not seem to be any special prevalence of Scandinavian names even in those districts assigned by Rægeneald to his followers, Scula and

Onlafbeald, viz., from Castle Eden south to Billingham-in-Teesdale, and from Castle Eden north and west to the Wear.

In studying the modern map we find the continued use of Scar along the coast (*e.g.*, Long Scar), and Loom, by Easington, may well be the same as the familiar Norse place-name *Lóm*, dat. pl. of *Ló*, a word of somewhat uncertain meaning. Medieval documents show that Holmside and Butterby are no evidence for Scandinavian settlement. Holmside is from earlier *Holinside* (from M.E. *holen*, holly), and Butterby is *Beautrove* or *Beautrone* (the latter a blunder of the transcriber), meaning apparently "the well situated" (*beau trouvé*), a name which aptly describes the position of Butterby on the well-wooded winding banks of the Wear (*cf.* Bear Park in the immediate neighbourhood from earlier *Beau Repair*). Biggin and Newbiggin are fairly common, *garth* is occasionally used, there are many *holms* and a few *tofts*, *-mire* is fairly common, and so is *-carr*, *-ker*. Waskerley in the N.W. probably has the same history as in Northumberland, and so has Nafferton. In the high ground at the head of Wear-dale and Teesdale place-nomenclature is very largely Scandinavian: there are *fells*, *grains*, *sikes*, *becks* and *gills* in abundance, and it is much to be regretted that there is a great scarcity of early forms for these districts. Again, as in Northumberland, the great increase in the extreme west would seem to point to settlements from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire, rather than from the eastern side of the county, though it should be noted that *fell* is found as far east as Gateshead Fell and Low Fell. The use of *beck* is significant. The tributaries of Tyne and Wear are all called *burn*, except in the extreme west of the county, and here a name like *Beechburn Beck* shows that they are not all original. On the other hand the tributaries of the Tees are almost uniformly known as *beck*, even in the easternmost parts of the county.

Finally, a word must be said about two suffixes over which there has been a good deal of discussion in dealing with questions of Scandinavian influence, viz., *-dale* and *-thorp*. With regard to *dale*, this is the common word for a valley in Northumberland and Durham alike. From the time of the earliest records we hear of *Glendale*, *Coquetdale*, *Tynedale*, *Allendale*, *Redesdale*, *Weardale*, *Teesdale*, and as there is so little Scandinavian nomenclature in Northumberland, and not much in Durham, it seems safe to conclude that this use of *dale* is Anglian rather than Scandinavian, though it may have been extended under the influence of the later settlers. One piece of evidence in this connexion seems to have been overlooked. Dalton-le-Dale is called *Daltun* already in Bede's history, so that the use of the word in Anglian place-names is clearly established.

The case of *thorp* is more difficult. There are *thorps* in southern England in Bucks., Oxon. and other counties outside the sphere of Danish or Norse influence, but they are scattered and comparatively few in number. *Thorps* are abundant in East Anglia and Northern Mercia and in Yorkshire, just where Scandinavian influence is admittedly strongest. In Northumberland, the only two *thorps* are both in places where there seems to have been a small collection of Scandinavian settlements, while in Durham there are three *thorps*, all in those lands of St. Cuthbert which we know to have been at one time in the hands of Viking settlers. While not denying that *thorp* may often be of native origin, it seems to be fairly clear from the evidence of Northumberland and Durham that it is often a mark of Scandinavian settlement.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND HISTORICAL NOTES.

By A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot., *President.*

IT has been shown by professor Alexander Bugge and dr. Jakob Jakobsen that the Norse colonisation of the islands must have begun as early as, if not earlier than 700, to account for the primitive forms of Norse place-names and institutions which are to be found there and not in the later colonies in Iceland and elsewhere.¹ The place-names of Orkney and Shetland seem to indicate that the colonists came from western Norway. On the assumption that the *óðal*² succession of Gulathing-Law was in force at that time, we have, however, historical proof in the sagas that Orkney was colonised, at the latest, *circa* 664. When king Harald hárfagri fined the *bændr* of Orkney, shortly after 893 (say 895), they were unable to pay him, whereupon earl Einar paid the fine on condition that the *bændr* gave him their *óðul*, until they were able to redeem them. We have here these facts: (1) Orkney was in the possession of *óðalmenn*, and *óðal* law was in full force with its *lausn*, right of redemption; (2) it took five generations of continuous ownership of land to make it *óðal*; consequently (3) the youngest *óðal* family must have dated from the year 730 (*i.e.*, 895, less five generations of 33 years each). It is incredible that all these families began possession in the same year and exactly five generations before 895. We shall, therefore, be safe in allowing a minimum addition of two generations, or sixty-six years, to allow for the colonisation of the islands, which

¹ *Vesterlandenes Inflydelse paa Nordboernes*, A. Bugge. *Shetlandsøernes Stednavne*, J. Jakobsen.

² *óðal*, pl. *óðul*, property held in allodial tenure.

would thus have begun at the latest *circa* 664.¹ The later colonisation of Iceland was effected in some fifty years, but this settlement arose from a definite political cause in the lifetime of one man, Harald hárfagri.

According to the accepted chronology, the Norsemen made their first appearance in England in 787, and in the west of Scotland and Ireland in 795. Orkney and Shetland, being the nearest western land to Norway, would be first visited. From 565, the time when Orkney and Shetland were Christianised, three generations, or ninety-nine years, would be ample time to account for the Pictish ecclesiastical monuments of which the remains have been found. It was only some fifty years after the Norsemen in Orkney were converted themselves that their earl made a pilgrimage to Rome and built a cathedral.

It has been contended that the first Norse settlers found the islands without inhabitants, because the sagas make no mention of any having been found there. But the sagas only commence with the history of the islands at the time the earldom was founded in 872, nearly two centuries after their colonisation which is not referred to at all. It is incredible that the Pictish ecclesiastical buildings, of which the remains have been found, could have been erected, utilised and abandoned and the islands deserted in the short space of a hundred years or even less.

The total absence of any record or tradition regarding the first arrival of the Norsemen in Orkney, and the continued presence of the Picts, as is shown by the survival of their place-names and church dedications, appear to indicate that the first colonisation by the vikings was gradual and peaceful, that they intermarried with the Picts, as they did later on with the Irish in Ireland, and that perhaps Christianity never

¹ The colonisation of Shetland has been already dated, 620 (Ud. N.H., ii., 10, quoting Otto Bremer: *Ethnographie der germanischen Stämme*, § 119).

entirely died out in the islands. The latter supposition, if correct, may account for the ease with which the vikings ultimately became Christians.

Although no anthropological survey has yet been made in the islands, it would not be surprising if such a survey should reveal Pictish features coinciding, even after all these twelve centuries, with the districts preserving Pictish place-names, presumably the inland and inaccessible places, as is the case in the Isle of Man.

The comparatively small number of Pictish place-names in the islands must be accounted for by the predominance of the Norsemen, whose language would have been consequently adopted by the Picts. Many so-called Norse place-names may be unrecognisable glosses of Pictish names. The name Orkney itself is a gloss of a Pictish name, and so also probably is Shetland.¹ If the names of the two groups themselves are not of Norse origin, and only clothed in Norse garments, what may not be the names of the lesser islands and places?

The persistency of Norse, as compared with Pictish place-names is well illustrated in the Hebrides, where the population, during the Norse period and until their cession to Scotland in 1266, was probably bilingual, the Gaels and the Norse each speaking their own language. Since the cession to Scotland, after which the rulers were no longer appointed by or under Norway, political influences very quickly made the Norsemen adopt the Gaelic language. And yet after all these centuries, since the extinction of the Norse language, Norse place-names still flourish with but a very slight Gaelic tinge. Moreover, there are many Norse loan-words in Gaelic, whereas there are very few Gaelic loan-words in Scandinavian.

The second migration from Norway to Orkney took place after king Harald hárfagri began to consolidate Norway into one kingdom, 860-933; during which

¹ *Old-Lore Miscellany* (Viking Society), v., 14, 104-8, vi., 10-19, 74.

period Iceland was colonised. He conquered Orkney and Shetland, and erected them into an earldom in 872. The first colonists no doubt took their Norwegian laws and form of government with them, and these would naturally have been conformed to Harald's new Norwegian constitution, when he founded the earldom.

It is stated in *Heimskringla* that Iceland and Farøe were discovered and peopled during Harald's reign, and that there was also much faring of Northmen to Shetland, and further, that many mighty men of Norway fled as outlaws and fell to warring in the west, spending the winter in the Hebrides and Orkney, and the summer in raiding Norway. It is also stated that before Harald's time, Orkney had been the haunt of vikings (*vikingabæli*). The special reference to the faring of Norwegians to Shetland and not to Orkney, in Harald's reign, appears to indicate that Shetland had not been previously so fully colonised as Orkney. This surmise appears to be supported by the researches of dr. Jakobsen, who has found older forms of place-names in Orkney than in Shetland.

The earliest Scandinavian literature consists of runic inscriptions. Writing began in Norway in the middle of the eleventh century, with the taking down of the hitherto oral code of laws, known as *Grágás*, a work now lost. In Iceland the laws were taken down in 1118, which was followed by the recording of the oral sagas. The oral Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down in the twelfth century.

There can be little doubt that the adoption of Christianity by the Norse, *circa* 1000, with its written scriptures and missals, set the fashion of writing; not to forget the great and uncongenial burden it would have been on the lawsayingmen to be suddenly called upon to add to their memory the voluminous new laws dealing with the establishment of Christianity.

As regards Orkney and Shetland we may therefore assume that their laws were written down at the same

time as they were in Norway, and also at the instigation of king St. Ólaf, the great apostle of Christianity in the north; if indeed his code itself was not actually adopted by or imposed upon the islands, which seems more probable.

From the middle of the twelfth century we find the Orkney earl St. Rögnvald, and, after him, the Orkney bishop Biarni, the skald, both expert poets, busy at work with Icelandic skalds, and we have some of their literature preserved. It was during this period that the Edda lays are supposed to have been taken down, and, as some of them have a local setting, it is not improbable that some, at least, may have been rescued from the mouths of Orkneymen and Shetlanders. It is significant that many Edda poetic words are now alone in use, as seanames, in Shetland.¹ Professor Sophus Bugge was of opinion that the lays were composed in the British Isles, in proximity to Christian influence.² Such of these lays as may have been composed in Britain *before* 787-795, when the Norsemen *first* appeared in the west of Scotland, Ireland and England, could only have been composed in Orkney, where, it has been shown, the Norse arrived *circa* 664, and lived among the Christian Picts, but it appears to be generally agreed now, that none of the lays could have been composed earlier than the ninth century.

In common with other Norse places, Orkney and Shetland had their sagas and poems. There are the sagas of the earls, 872-1206, which were taken down in writing and brought up to date in 1206. The following list of works is compiled from *Orkneyinga Saga*, unless where otherwise stated:—*Fundinn Noregr*, mythical. *Jarla-sögur*, made up of what must have been separate sagas of individual earls. *Rögnvaldsdrápa*, and *Þorfinnsdrápa*, by Arnórr jarlaskáld (partly in saga

¹ Scot. Hist. Rev. IX., 148. ² *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, London, 1899. Gudbrand Vigfússon was the first to suggest that the lays were composed in the British Isles.

and partly in Snorra Edda), written in 1046-1064.¹ *Þáttr Magnúss jarls. Hákon Pálssons drápa*, mentioned. *Vísur* about Hákon Pálsson and Magnús Erlendsson, mentioned. *Þáttr Páls jarls. Jarsteina bók. Þáttr Rögnvalds jarls*, which may also be called Sveins saga. *Háttalykill*, by earl Rögnvald, mentioned, but preserved in Stockholm. *Jómsvíkingadrápa* and *Málsháttakvæði*, by bishop Biarni, not mentioned in the saga, but preserved in Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (see *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*). *Magnúss saga helga* or *Magnúss saga eyja-jarls*: (1) *Magnúss saga hin lengri*, (2) *Magnúss saga hin skamma*, (3) *Legenda de sancto Magno* (six pieces).

The difference between Icelandic and Orkney saga is that the former describes personal and family feuds and litigations, whereas the latter is almost solely concerned with genuine viking life. Iceland was too detached for viking cruises, but Orkney was an ideal striking point for sea-rovers. As a matter of fact the best saga of the Orkney collection is that which treats of Svein of Gairsey, the last of the vikings. He kept a bodyguard of eighty húskarlar. Each year, after seed time, he went on a *vár*, spring, viking, and then returned for harvest, after which he went on a *haust*, autumn, viking, and returned home to spend the winter on his spoils. On one occasion he captured two English keels off Dublin, laden with English cloth. On his return journey he sewed some of the captured cloth on his sails, so that they appeared as though they were entirely made of that material, and hence this viking was called *skróðviking*; *skróð* is used in old Norse for finery, and, in this instance, has been translated *broadcloth* by sir George Dasent, but, in accordance with Fritzner, it should be, *þragtfuldt vikingetog*, gorgeous viking expedition.² As an instance of

¹ Arnórr was an Icelander, resident in Orkney, where he composed these poems on the two earls, and hence he was nicknamed *jarlaskáld*.

² In Goudie's translation of the saga this meaning has also been correctly given.

Svein's fine feeling and generosity may be mentioned the capture of earl Rögnvald's ships by earl Erlend and Svein, when Svein claimed, as his share of the spoil, all earl Rögnvald's treasures, which he straightway sent back to earl Rögnvald. Earl Rögnvald had only just returned from his famous pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He afterwards became one of earl Rögnvald's *hirðmenn* or bodyguard, and in the end fell, ambushed, in his last viking, in Ireland. The saga fittingly ends with the following tribute to Svein: "There now is an end of telling about Svein; and it is the talk of men that he hath been the greatest man in the western lands, both of yore and now-a-days, of those men who had no higher rank¹ than he." Svein set the splendid example of continuing one's life work to the end in harness.

At the time of the conclusion of the Orkney saga, *circa* 1206, the male line of the Norse earls, already half Scottish, came to an end, having lasted only some three centuries; and was succeeded, in the female line, by four lines of Scottish earls, the Athole, Angus, Strathearn and St. Clair families, 1206-1470.

The Norwegian crown passed through a female to a Swedish line of kings, which reigned from 1319 to 1387; and then, after the treaty of Kalmar, when Norway, Denmark and Sweden were united in one kingdom, the crown passed to a Danish line, which was reigning in 1468-9, when Orkney and Shetland were wadset or pawned to Scotland, in security for the dowry of the queen of king James III. of Scotland.

The succession of the Scottish earls in the thirteenth century, and of the Swedish and Danish kings in the fourteenth century, with their foreign influence, must account for the complete break in the insular literature, which was thereafter confined to complaints about Scottish and other interference in insular affairs.

¹ON. *tignar-nafn*, name and rank which raised one above the common *bóndi*.

The residence of the crown in Denmark, with the influx of Danish officials and place-men in Norway, very quickly established the Danish language in Norway, so that, by 1450, Norwegian as a national language came to an end,¹ and, *circa* 1530, the Norwegian laws had to be translated into Danish. In Norway this resulted in the complete disappearance of Norwegian literature, which is only represented by charters.

After the transference of Orkney and Shetland to Scotland, in 1468-9, the Scottish crown acquired the earldom (*i.e.*, the earl's rule, title, the public revenues and the earldom landed estate), from the last Norse earl, William St. Clair, and thereafter appointed its own Scottish rulers. In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney and Shetland was transferred, by Papal bull, from the metropolitan see of Trondhjem to the newly created metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland. In 1486, Kirkwall was erected into a Scottish royal burgh. In 1490, the bishopric was erected into a Scottish regality, with Scottish civil courts and officers. In 1602, we have the last mention of a judicial reference to the Norse law-book of the islands,² since when Scottish law has prevailed.

The succession of the Scottish earls, with their Scottish kin and retainers, transformed the islands into a sanctuary for Scottish fugitives and adventurers. Scottish fashions, habits and language soon took a hold on Orkney, the seat of government, which was also nearer to Scotland than Shetland was.

The latest known Norse charter in Orkney is dated 1329,³ and the latest Norse document *circa* 1426,⁴ a

¹ *Norges Historie*, IV.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7.

³ D.N., ii., 144.

⁴ D.N., ii., 514. But this cannot be the Orkney dialect of the period, as its vocabulary is mixed, and probably represents a sort of court or chancery language for the three kingdoms of the Union.

complaint to the king of Denmark against a Scotsman who was then ruler of the islands. In Shetland, Norse charters occur as late as the seventeenth century, and towards the end of the sixteenth century it is related that a Shetland clergyman went to Norway to learn [or rather to perfect himself in] Norwegian, as the Shetlanders knew no other language, and he so acquired the nickname of "Norsk."¹ We have Orkney charters in Scottish in 1433² and after, and in 1438 the lawman of Orkney gave his testimony in Scottish.³

If the insular literature is mainly confined to complaints during the rule of the Scoto-Norse earls, it is still more so after the transference of the islands to Scotland, when the position became one of "out of the frying pan into the fire." This was accentuated by the strenuous efforts, made by the Scottish government, to render the redemption of the islands by Norway as difficult as possible. The outstanding document in the literature of this period is the report of the royal commission, appointed in 1576, to take evidence regarding the alleged oppressions of the Scottish ruler, lord Robert Stewart,⁴ an illegitimate son of king James V. He was, however, afterwards made earl of Orkney, contrary to the act of Scottish parliament, by which the title of earl of Orkney was annexed to the crown, not to be conferred on anyone but a legitimate son of the sovereign.

The survival of Norse words and legal terms in Orkney deeds indicates a state of corruption which renders some of them almost unrecognisable.

Norse, as the language of the earl's court in Orkney, probably terminated with the succession of the St. Clair line in 1379, if not already with the termination of the Angus line in 1320, as the last known Norse deed in Orkney, in 1329,⁵ is that of the countess of the last

¹ *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, iii., 441. ² O. S. R., I., 246. ³ *ib.* 44.

⁴ Opp. O.Z.

⁵ D.N., ii., 144.

earl of that line. As a dialect Norse, called Norn, continued in corners of the islands until the eighteenth century.

One unfortunate result of the change of language from Norse to Scottish has been the extinction of Norse ballad and music, one going with the other. A few relics have been preserved, and it has been noted that the "Arrow Lay," Gray's "Fatal Sisters," was recited in Norse in Orkney as late as the eighteenth century.¹ Norse dialect words survive by the thousand. Dr. Jakob Jakobsen has made a large collection of Shetland words, and is now engaged in rescuing what survive in Orkney; after which he will extend his researches to Caithness.

Orkney and Shetland literature of the Scottish period began in the seventeenth century, with topographical and historical descriptions of the islands. From that time to this, with perhaps one or two exceptions, the names of all the authors are of outland origin. The study of records began in the eighteenth century, when the landowners, with an eye to business, attempted to have some of their grievances remedied, and the work of hunting up and elucidating the records was done by Mr. A. Mackenzie.² In 1820, Mr. Alexander Peterkin edited a volume of rentals of the earldom and bishopric of Orkney. Amongst the names of subsequent editors of records may be mentioned those of Colonel David Balfour, of Balfour, Mr. George Petrie, Mr. Gilbert Goudie, Mr. F. J. Grant, and the venerable archdeacon J. B. Craven. The most important collection of documents is that contained in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*. It now remains to fill in a few details of the foregoing very brief historical outline. At the most we can only indicate the uncertainties which remain to be cleared up when the necessary documents are found.

¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 1837, iii., 190.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*

LAND-TAKE : LAND-NÁM.

The original colonisation of Orkney and Shetland may have been effected in the same way as it was later in Iceland. Chiefs and their followers would peg out their claims as they arrived. The word *hérað*, district, still survives in Orkney and Shetland. In Orkney it occurs in the name of a defined district, *Byrgishérað*. This place is now divided into two parishes, Birsa and Harra, the latter was called Hurray Brugh, and also Brugh, in 1500.¹ The O.N. term *byrgi*, an entrenchment or mound, may have been applied to this *hérað*, or district, on account of the exceptional number of mounds, covering the foundations of Pictish round towers, which are to be found in Harra; or the name of the *hérað* may have been taken from a possible name of the tidal island, now called the Brough of Birsa, **Byrgisey* (which may be represented by the modern name Birsa), and probably so-called on account of its mound-like appearance. The original *þinghár*, þing-districts, into which the islands were divided, would each be probably of the size of *Byrgishérað*. The colonists must have settled on the enclosed townships of the Picts,² whose chapels would have been utilised as *hof*, temples. That the Picts became thralls of the Norse seems probable. Dr. Jakobsen calls attention to the Shetland word *tralfangi-nn* (O.N. **þræl-fangi*), applied to a short, square-built person, as suggestive of the aboriginal race who became thralls.

The original colony in Orkney was augmented by the discontented chiefs and their followers, when Harald hárfagri formed the united kingdom of Norway. When Harald conquered Orkney and Shetland, in 872, he drove out the leading vikings, who had been making reprisals on Norway, and of course would have confiscated their landed estates as well as those of other chiefs

¹ P.R. No. 1.

² For a description of these, see *Proceeds. S.A. Scot.*, 1884, 254.

in the islands. These estates would form the *lén*¹ or fief of the earl. It is notable that the earl's landed estate lay scattered throughout the islands, which appears to confirm the above conjecture that the forfeited estates of the Orkney vikings formed the earldom estate; these were in Birsa, Orphir, Kirkwall, Burrey, South Ronaldsey, Hoy, Westrey, Sandey and Stronsey. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the earldom estate included a great part of the north isles, which would have been ideal viking stations.

Each þinghá would have had its *hof*, temple, for which a Pictish church would have done service. When Christianity was adopted, the þinghá would become the parish, and its hof the parish church. With the exception of Byrgishérað, there is no indication in the saga of the districts into which the islands were divided. That the parochial þing was the unit of government in the islands appears to be proved by the termination þing in the names of a number of Shetland parishes, e.g., Delting, Sandsting, etc., some of which are mentioned as early as 1321-1355.²

CHURCH HISTORY: KRISTNI SAGA.

The ecclesiastical history of Orkney and Shetland is particularly complicated.

The Pictish church would of course be under Iona. Adam of Bremen (1067-1076) stated that Orkney was formerly ruled by bishops appointed by the Scots (Iona) and English (York). In 605, Pope Gregory wrote to St. Augustine that, after the latter's death, there should be two primates of England, one in London and one in York. It was maintained by the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1119, that "Britanniæ,"

¹ Borrowed from mid. low German, or more probably O.E. *læn*, a lease, to account for the early use of the word, the feudal system in Norway being of foreign origin. The true O.N., *lân*, has the simpler meaning 'loan.'

² D.N., ix., 110; iii., 234.

in Gregory's letter, included Scotland and Ireland. Meanwhile Orkney was colonised by the Norse, 664-872. In 822, Rheims was made metropolitan of the North, and in 831, Bremen was made metropolitan of the three Scandinavian kingdoms¹; but there were no Christians in Norway. In 934, Hákon (son of king Harald hárfagri and fosterson of Athelstan of England, by whom he was converted) vainly attempted to Christianise Norway. He asked for bishops from England. In 961, king Harald gráfeldr, who had been baptised in England, succeeded to the Norwegian throne. In 995, king Ólaf Tryggvason, who had been converted in England, formally introduced Christianity into Norway and Orkney and Shetland, assisted by English bishops and priests. Henry, called "the fat" (the treasurer of Knút, king of England, 1014, 1016-1035, and of Norway 1028-1035), was appointed bishop of Orkney, probably by York, when Knút was king of Norway, 1028-1035. Knút appointed one other Norwegian bishop.

The early Christian kings of Norway repudiated Bremen as their metropolitan, and looked to England for bishops. It was only during the early part of the reign of Knút, when he claimed Norway, that Norway turned to Bremen rather than England.

In 1050-56, Bremen appointed a bishop of Orkney, probably at the request of Þorfinn, the earl who built the first cathedral in Orkney, after he had visited Bremen and Rome. This bishop was ousted, in 1085, by a bishop who had been appointed by York in 1073. The latter York bishop had been probably appointed on the strength of the Papal bull which assigned the primacy of Scotland to York in 1072. After this we have double bishops of Orkney, appointed by Bremen and York. These double bishops were probably run by the rival earls, each having his own prelate. The Pope upheld the York bishops. The dispute was finally

¹ D.N., xvii. B, 177, 178.

settled in 1152, when Nidaros, now Trondhjem, was made the metropolitan see of Norway, including Orkney. Hitherto the bishops had been missionary bishops without chapters, whereas now they were assigned cathedrals, with properly constituted chapters. Bishop William, the old, of Orkney (who would have been appointed by Bremen if his appointment took place in 1102, or by Lund, which was made metropolitan of Norway in 1104, if, as is thought by some, his appointment took place in 1112), was the sole bishop in possession when Nidaros was made metropolitan of Orkney. During his episcopate the cathedral was transferred from Birsa to Kirkwall. As bishop William was the first constitutional bishop of Orkney with a chapter, he is accordingly described in the saga as "the first bishop of Orkney." In 1472, the bishopric of Orkney was transferred from the see of Trondhjem to the newly erected metropolitan see of St. Andrews in Scotland.

Another cause of confusion arose during the great Papal schism in 1378-1429, when double bishops of Orkney were appointed by the Popes and anti-Popes. Norway, which was in possession of Orkney, acknowledged the Papal bishops, so that they were alone in actual possession of the bishopric. Scotland, which acknowledged the anti-Popes until 1417, had certain Scottish clergy appointed as titular bishops of Orkney, but they had permission to retain their Scottish livings, in which they resided.

The payment of tithe, *tiund*, was probably imposed on Orkney and Shetland early in the twelfth century, at the same time as it was laid on Norway, by king Sigurð jórsalafari (Jerusalem-farer or crusader), who had been earl of Orkney until his father's death in 1103.

The bishop and his retinue exercised great influence in the islands. The nature of the civil jurisdiction of the church over the clergy and over the occupiers of

church lands remains to be more fully explained. We are informed, in 1369,¹ that the bishop had jurisdiction of holy church, lay and learned, without let or hindrance from the earl's and king's representatives. In 1490, the Scottish government erected the bishopric into a regality, with civil courts and officers of its own, having civil jurisdiction over all occupiers of church land,² which probably merely confirmed the powers previously exercised by the bishop under the Norwegian government.

CODES: LÖG-BÆKR.

The early oral laws of Norway were recited by the law-speaker. On the foundation of Norway, as a united kingdom, by Harald hárfagri, in 872, new laws were framed. Further new laws were framed by king Hákon hinn góði (the good), 935-961, and by king Ólaf hinn helgi (the holy), 1015-1030, including church and canon law. During the reign of king Magnús hinn góði (the good), 1035-1047, "St. Olaf's Law" was taken down in writing in *Grágás* (Greygoose), a record which is now lost. Old Gulathing Law was taken down about 1100, and New Gulathing Law was adopted in 1275, while various amendments and ordinances were effected after that.

Undoubtedly the Orkney vikings took their Norwegian oral laws, *lög*, and law-speaker, *lögsögumaðr*, with them to the islands. In the period from the colonisation down till the enactment of New Gulathing Law, in 1275, the islands may have exercised a measure of legislative independence; although it is hard to believe that at the foundation of the earldom, in 872, Harald did not have his new laws adopted there also. Likewise the new Christian laws of St. Ólaf must also have been adopted in the islands.

Although the Norwegian parliament, *lög-þing*, had legislative power, such power was mainly confined to the adoption of new laws and amendments, framed and

¹ D.N., I., 308.

² P.R., App.

proposed by the king or his council—a nominal power, not unlike in nature to that possessed to-day by cathedral chapters in the election of bishops, in which there is no alternative but to elect the king's nominee, notwithstanding the *congé d'élire*.

The references in the saga to legislation in Orkney are as follows. It is related, in 1048, that earl Þorfinn turned his mind to ruling the people and land and to law-giving: *á laga-setning*. This was shortly after the compilation of *Grágás*, 1035-1047, and may merely refer to the amendments introduced at that time, if not to the written code itself, which may have been transmitted to the earl of Orkney for adoption by his lawthing. In 1116, earl Hákon set up new laws (*setti ný lög*) in Orkney, which pleased the *bændr* better than those which had been before (*áðr*). This, again, coincides with the recording of Old Gulathing Law, circa 1100, which may have been sent to Orkney for adoption.

In 1137, in order to raise money for the completion of St. Magnús' cathedral, earl Rögnvald was advised *færa lög á*, to bring up [for consideration, with the ostensive object of amelioration], an existing law which was felt to be rather hard, viz., that law by which the earls had hitherto inherited all *óðul* after all *bændr* [generation after generation], so that the heirs of these *bændr* had [either (1)] to redeem these *óðul* [generation after generation], in order to regain possession of their ancestral *óðul*, [or otherwise (2) to continue in occupation of these *óðul* as hereditary tenants, involving the payment of land rent to the earls]. Then the earl called a þing and offered the *bændr* to allow them to buy, *kaupa*, their *óðul*, so that there would be no need to redeem, *leysa* them, thereafter, which was agreed to.¹

¹ The translation of Orkn. renders *færa lög á*: *bring in a law*, whereas it should be *bring up an existing law* (see Fritzner s.v., *færa*, med præp. á). This clearly explains this, hitherto obscure passage. The 'existing law' must refer to that by which earl Torf-Einar acquired the *óðul* in 895 (see *ante*), which *óðul* remained, unredeemed, in the possession of the earls until 995, when earl

A mark had to be paid for every ploughland. As a plógsland is estimated by Vigfússon at one acre, and in Snorra Edda as equivalent to what four oxen could plough in a day and night, and as a markland in Orkney averages a little more than an acre,¹ it has been suggested that this may have been the origin of this land denomination.² Did the Shetlanders also have to buy their óðul?

Sigurd digri gaf upp Orkneyingum óðul sin: gave up to the Orkneyingar their óðul; which gift would thus only have been for one generation, after which the óðul would again revert to the earls. During the whole of the period, 895-995, (during which the óðul remained unredeemed in the hands of the earls) the bændr, as hereditary tenants, must have paid rent to the earls. King Ólaf Tryggvason's account of the transaction was that king Harald hárfagri took as his own all the lands in Orkney and Shetland in consequence of the slaughter of his son, and that earl Torf-Einar paid the king sixty gold marks [as the redemption price of the lands], and so acquired all these lands [the óðul in Orkney and Shetland; the Orkney saga is explicit in only mentioning the óðul in Orkney as having been acquired by the earl] which he held as a fief from the king.

¹ *Proceed.*, S. A. Scot, 1884, 274.

² If the mark of land in the Hebrides is of the same origin as that in Orkney and Shetland, it would appear to make the above supposition improbable. Moreover, a ploughland was of uniform area, whereas the mark of land, representing its purchase value, varied considerably in extent. Fritzner explains O.N. *plógsland*: *arable land*. On the basis of the eyrisland rent-valuation (*see infra*, *Taxation*), $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland (= 6 pennylands = 1 *ertogland) \times 24 years' purchase = 1 mark. Was $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland the *plógsland* of the saga? It has been calculated that the pennyland in Orkney contains from 4 to 13 acres (*Proceed.* S. A. Scot., 1884, 277), so that $\frac{1}{3}$ eyrisland, or 6 pennylands, would contain from 24 to 78 acres. Can the *plógsland* of *Flateyjarbók* (in which this part of Orkn. is alone preserved) be an extension of a possible contraction $\tilde{p}gsland$, in the original, for **peningsland*?—a term, 'pennyland,' only known in Orkney and the west with which the *Flateyjarbók* copyist would have been unfamiliar, while $\tilde{p}gsland$ would also be the contracted form of *plógsland*. If a mark had been paid for a pennyland ($\frac{1}{6}$ eyrisland), the price of an eyrisland would have been 18 marks, as against 3 marks, the redemption price of an eyrisland at 24 years' purchase. In the silver valuation of Orkney the pennyland was valued at from 1 to 12 and more marks,

During the union of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, 1389-1523, New Gulathing Law, together with subsequent amendments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were the principal source of law, viz., "St. Olaf's law and the good old customs," which the kings swore to maintain in Norway.¹

That the Orkney and Shetland law-book, *lög-bók*, was an edition of New Gulathing Law seems clear from the following references. In 1420 the feoffee, *lénsmaðr*, of the earldom undertook to rule Orkney according to the Norwegian law-book and old customs.² In 1425 the Orkneyingers petitioned the crown to uphold king Ólaf's law and subsequent ordinances,³ precisely as in the royal oath above quoted. In 1538, a district court, *réttr*, in Shetland gave its decision in accordance with Gulathing Law, which decision was attested as sound by the king's council in Bergen.⁴ While in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the tradition in the islands that their laws were received from St. Ólaf.⁵ One Scottish bishop was so at sea in the matter that he explained that one Udillaus was sent by the king of Norway to divide the land in Orkney into pennylands, hence *udal land*.⁶ He had turned *Ulaus*

so that one mark, for the outright purchase of a pennyland, in 1137, would not have been exorbitant as compared with the possible recurrent redemption price of $\frac{1}{8}$ mark (*i.e.*, $\frac{1}{8}$ eyrir \times 24 years' purchase = $1\frac{1}{2}$ eyrir = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark). The redemption price would undoubtedly have been maintained on the basis of the eyrisland valuation in 895, when the lands were acquired by the earl; but, possibly at a nominal and less rate than 24 years' purchase, as otherwise each *bóndi* would have paid back the fine every time a successive generation redeemed the land, and if 1 mark was paid for each pennyland in 1137, the earl would have received back six times more than the sum for which it was originally acquired in 895.

¹ Ud. N.H., i., 69.

² D.N., ii., 489.

³ D.N., vi., 449.

⁴ O.S.R. I., 70.

⁵ Gifford's *Zetland* (reprint), 47, 48; Brand's *Description* (reprint), 41; Hibbert's *Shetland*, 193, 275; Sibbald's *Description*, 81.

⁶ P.R. No. iii., 18, 20.

into *Udillaus*, by way of folk-etymology. Moreover, the little we do know of insular law corresponds with New Gulathing Law, *e.g.*, (1) the daughter only inherited half as much as a son, whereas by Old G.L. she inherited nothing; (2) the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, whereas Old G.L. has no ordinance on the subject.

The old customs, *forn* or *gömul siðvenja*, or consuetudinary law, referred to in the royal oath, would include immemorial rights of foreshore, common pasturage, etc.; and in certain cases fishing rights, which, in some cases flowed from royal grants; these were the emoluments, *lunnendi*, of *óðal* deeds.

LEGISLATURE, LAWS, LAW COURT :

ÞING (*afterwards* LÖG-ÞING), LÖG, LÖGRÉTTA

The original Norwegian þing appears to have been a primary assembly of freeholders, *óðalsmenn* or *hauldar*. By the time of Old Gulathing Law the general assembly was called the law-thing, *lög-þing*, and consisted of paid representatives from the various districts, nominated by the king's deputies; the king was represented by his deputies, *lendirmenn* and *ármenn*, barons and stewards, and the church by the bishops and priests. In 1164, the compulsory presence of the priests was limited to two from each fylki, who were nominated by their bishops. The representative system arose from the enlargement of the þing-districts and the growth of the royal power.

From among these nominated men the king's deputies nominated a smaller selection, called the lögrétta, which inquired into and arranged the cases before the decision of the þing was given. These lögréttumenn were also representative of districts, and were paid.

It will thus be apparent that the Norwegian parliament of historic times was, like the contemporary Saxon

assembly,¹ purely a body of royal nominees and churchmen without a vestige of democratic election.

There is not the slightest indication that the earl of Orkney had, like the earls in Norway, lendirmenn, under him, ruling the islands. The only appearance in the saga of a local þing is a *laun-þing*, or secret meeting, held in Westrey. We can only assume that the earldom was, as in Norway, divided into districts with district assemblies, the predecessors of the bailie courts. In Shetland we find notices of parish courts and officials and also of a "varding," *várþing* a spring court.²

From evidence given below it will be seen that the Orkney lawthing remained a primary assembly. The representative nature of the persons serving in the Orkney lögrétta has been shown by Mr. J. Storer Clouston in the *Saga-Book*, VII., 100.

The references in the saga to the þing and laws are as follows. In the ninth century a fine was exacted from the whole community for the slaughter of the king's son at the instigation of the earl; land was held in óðal, with the right of redeeming alienated óðal. In the eleventh century earl Einar rangmunnr held þing in spring with the bændr; earl Einar's slaughter was atoned for as for three lendirmenn, and his third part of the earldom was confiscated by the king of Norway, for the slaughter of the king's hirðmaðr, Eyvind úrarhorn, and afterwards given in lén to one of the other two earls. In 1106, earl Hákon killed the king's sýslumaðr, steward, who was looking after Magnús' share of the earldom. In 1116, the two ruling earls met at the þingstaðr in Hrossey (Mainland), and

¹ *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, by Professor F. Liebermann, pp. 38 seqq.

² Opp. O.Z., 71. A várþing was held in Jamtland in 1463 (D.N., iii., 627) Hitherto the Shetland 'varding' has been explained as varð-þing, but there is no such term on record, and a 'beacon-assembly' is not probable. Lögþing > lögðing in Shetland and elsewhere (D.N., i., 81 and N.G.L.), hence: várþing > várðing > varding.

came to terms and bound their agreement with oaths and handsal. Earl St. Magnús stated that it was *siðr ok lög*, custom and law, of men of old that the executioner should have the clothes of the person executed. In 1128, earl Pál is described as a man of few words, and no speaker at the þing. In 1137, Svein was outlawed and his estates forfeited for the slaughter of the earl's *hirðmaðr*, one of his bodyguard; a *launþing*, a secret þing, was held in Westrey; a þing was held in Hrossey (Mainland) at which there were present *rikismenn*, mighty men, *bændr*, *njósnaðr*, spies, and a skald; earl Rögnvald constantly held þing with the *bændr*, because he had to do with mighty men, *stórmenn*, who were against him; he held one þing in Kirkwall. In 1151, earl Rögnvald called a full þing in spring, in Hrossey, which was attended by all the *höfðingjar*, chiefs. In 1152, earl Erlend and Svein summoned a þing of the *bændr* in Kirkwall, to which they came from all the isles; at this þing the king's brief was read, which gave earl Erlend earl Harald's half of the earldom, to which the *bændr* promised obedience. Harald had got his half of the earldom from Rögnvald by private arrangement and not as a *lén*, fief, from the king. In 1154, earl Rögnvald held a *húsping* (a house-thing, summoned by a trumpet, in cases of emergency; a war council), regarding the invasion by earl Erlend and Svein. A *sáttar-fundr*, peace meeting, was held between Svein and the earls, at which it was agreed that Svein should make peace by the payment of a mark of gold to each of the two earls, lose half of his lands and his good longship. In 1155, another *sáttarfundr* was held in St. Magnús' cathedral, in which had been stored the sail of Svein's forfeited longship, and at which earl Rögnvald attended with a broad-axe.¹

¹ In accordance with old Gulapingslög, a *breiðöx* was one of the weapons which had to be borne in a levy by each *ármaðr* and *lendrmaðr*—*breiðöx* or *sverð* (sword), *spjót* (spear) and *skjöldr* (shield)—while each *bóndi* had to be provided with *tvennar tylftir örva ok bogi einn*, two-twelves, i.e., 24, arrows and one bow.

In 1194, Shetland was forfeited to Norway (*skattr* and *skyld*—public taxes and the rents of the earldom landed estate), for the part the earl had in the rebellion against king Sverrir. The estates in Orkney and Shetland of the rebels who fell at Floruvøe were also forfeited, but were redeemable, within three years, by their kinsmen. Shetland was taken under the king's own control, as well as one-half of all the fines in Orkney. After this the *foguti* the king's bailiff, was appointed to Shetland.¹

From the foregoing references we find that as late as 1152, a þing of the *boendr* was held in Orkney, to which they came from all the isles; a primary assembly, which would have had its *lögrétta*. This was fifty years after the recording of Old Gulathing Law in Norway, where the lawthing of Gulathing was attended by nominated and paid delegates. As Orkney was such a comparatively small place it seems unlikely that provision would have been made for the appointment and payment of delegates, so that the assembly would remain primary.

During 1273-1299 Shetland was in the appanage of duke Hákon, who became king in the latter year.

The next notice we have is of a *lögþing* in Shetland in 1299² (twenty-four years after the adoption of New Gulathing Law), which was attended by the *lögðingismenn*. In 1307, the lawman, eleven men and all the *lögréttumenn* of Shetland held a court [*lögrétta* of the *lögþing*?] at Tingwall, at which the decision was given by the lawman, with the special advice, *ráð*, and consent of *handgengnirmenn* [the eleven?] and *lögréttumenn*.³ The *handgengnirmenn* may have been in the service of the king or the lawman, as *underfouds*.

In 1379, Shetland was restored to the earl of Orkney. It has not yet been shown on what terms Shetland was handed back. In 1386, the king's steward, *dróttseti*, awarded certain lands in Shetland to the rightful

¹ Sverr. S., 156, 157; Orkn., 231, 235.

² D.N., I., 81.

³ D.N., I., 97.

owners, as they had been illegally taken possession of by Malis Sperra.¹

The earl of Orkney died in 1404, and the next earl, his grandson, was invested in 1434. During this interregnum the earldom of Orkney and lordship of Shetland were given out in *lén*, fief, to various persons. In a grant of a part of Shetland, north of Mawed, in 1412, the grantee received skatt, landskyld and wesel (wattle, O.N. *veizla*, entertainment), with all royal right except *þegngildi*, weregild of a *þegn*, thane or freeman, and *friðkaup*, the price at which peace had to be bought from the king by one outlawed for manslaughter.²

In 1433, the burgesses of Kirkwall had to observe the statute of the country.³ In the last *lén* of the earldom in 1434,⁴ the earl, as in the *lén* of 1379, had to serve the king with one hundred men-at-arms out of Orkney, and had to be answerable for his faults to the king and council, in accordance with the law of Norway.

The first notice we have of an assembly [*lögrétta* of the lawthing?] in Orkney since sagatime, is of one held before 1438 (either in 1434-1438 or 1404 or before), in the vestry of St. Magnús' cathedral, consisting of sundry goodmen of the country.⁵ Before 1438 (1434-1438 or 1404 or earlier), a *hirðmannastefna* was held by the earl and the 'gentles' of the country regarding a land dispute which had been debated in the above-mentioned meeting [*lögrétta* of the lawthing], and which had been reported to the *hirðmannastefna*, meeting of the earl's bodyguard.

Orkney was wadset by Norway to Scotland in 1468, in the following terms:—

Damus, concedimus, impignoramus ac sub firma hypotheca et pignore imponimus atque hypothecamus omnes et singulas terras nostras insularum Orcadenisium cum omnibus et singulis juribus, serviciis ac

¹ D.N., I., 366.

² D.N., II., 466.

³ O.S.R., I., 246.

⁴ N.G.L. (anden række), 137.

⁵ O.S.R., I., 45.

justis suis pertinentiis nobis regali jure . . . tenendas et habendas totas et integras terras nostras insularum Orcadensium prædictarum unacum omnibus et singulis custumis, profiscuis, libertatibus, commoditatibus ac aliis justis suis pertinentiis, quibuscunque, tam nominatis quam innominatis, etc.¹

(*Translation.*)

Give, grant, wadset, and under strict hypothec and pledge do set and hypothecate all and sundry our lands of the islands of Orkney, with all and sundry rights, services, and their just pertinents, belonging to us by royal right . . . to hold and to have all and whole our lands of the islands of Orkney aforesaid, together with all and sundry customs, profits, freedoms, commodities and their other just pertinents whatsoever, as well named as not named.

The wadset was redeemable on the payment of the principal sum of 50,000 Rhenish florins (£20,833, Opp. O.Z., xii.), by the king of Norway or his successors. Shetland was wadset in the following year for 8,000 florins (Hvitfeldt, 921).

The hirðmannastefna, which was held by the earl before 1438, consisted of his *hirð* or bodyguard, who were appropriately described as the ‘gentles’ of the country. We have notice of a hirðmannastefna held by lord Robert Stewart in 1574, when it is described as a ‘sheriffcourt called the hermanstein,’ and at which lands were escheated for theft. This latter court consisted of twenty-seven members, including some Shetland landowners. Lord Robert Stewart attempted to revive all the prerogatives of the old Norse régime, and naturally would wish to have his *hirð* or bodyguard, which actually included some Shetlanders, and was therefore not an exclusively Orkney court.

Lord Robert Stewart alleged “himself to be as free lord and heritor of Orkney and Zetland as the king of

P.R. app.; Torfæus’ *Orcades* (1697), 195.

Scotland is in his own realm, or the queen of England, or the king of France in France, and makes his vante, that in case he be put at by the king's majesty's authority, to give the haille countrys into the king of Denmark's hands." ¹

After 1468, we have the following notices of the lawthing in Orkney and Shetland.

In 1510, a court [lögrétta of the lawthing] was held at Tingwall, which carried out the decree of the [lögrétta of the] lawthing of Orkney; the lawman at this time being lawman of both Orkney and Shetland.² In 1538, a *réttr*, (district) court, was held in Shetland by the lawman, local lawrightmen, *lögréttumenn*, and other good men, whose verdict was afterwards certified as correct by the king's court in Bergen.³ In 1576, it was reported to the royal commission, who were taking evidence as to lord Robert Stewart's oppressions in the islands, that the lawthing of Shetland was the head court of the county in which the assize [*i.e.*, lögrétta] gave decreets and the members of the lawthing were all persons having land, heritage and great *taks*, leases, from the king.⁴ The court book of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, 1602-1604,⁵ gives a detailed account of the circuit and head courts in Shetland. In 1538, a lawman of Shetland was appointed by Norway.⁶ There can be little doubt that Norway used every opportunity of keeping alive her right of redeeming the islands, by making concurrent appointments to those made by Scotland and by encouraging insular references to the Norwegian courts.

The exact relationship between the insular and Norwegian king's council and law courts has to be cleared up. As has also been shown, the earl of Orkney was answerable to the king's council in Norway.

¹ Opp. O.Z., 5. ² O.S.R., I., 60. ³ Ibid, 73. ⁴ Opp. O.Z., 44, 58.

⁵ Peterkin's *Notes*, app. Original MS. in the Register House, Edinburgh.

⁶ *Norske Rigsregistranter*, I., 57.

In Orkney, in 1509 and after, we have notices of several "ogangs," district courts,¹ held by the lawman, the justice and the worthiest and best of the land, "landedmen roythmen," or "roythmen and roythmen's sons"; the lawman gave the decree with the advice of the "doomsmen" and, in one instance sealed the decret on behalf of the "roythmen." The lawthing was held in 1509 and after, the members of the court being described as above. After 1519, the members of the lawthing court, *lögrétta*, are merely described as the "assize," as they were later on in Shetland.

With regard to the terms "roythmen" and "roythmen's sons," the terms "royth" and "roythman" were used in Orkney, in 1544² and after, as meaning the right of redeeming óðal, and the person who had that right.³ This is undoubtedly derived from O.N. *ráð*, rule, management, the *ráð* which the óðalsmenn exercised in alienating, as well as in redeeming, their óðul. The same meaning must be attached to the *roythmen* as members of the *lögrétta* of the lawthing, viz., a class of persons who were eligible for nomination as members of the *lögrétta* or lawthing court, in virtue of their being óðalbornir. The obvious explanation is that the members of the lawthing court or assize, *lögrétta*, were *chosen from* the landed men, roythmen and their sons,⁴ which was their property qualification; whereas their character qualification consisted in their being the worthiest, best, and good men. They had to be honest and respectable landowners or persons having the *ráð* or right to alienated estates, and their sons, who were óðalbornir. There is no indication that the term roythman was borrowed from the designation radman or raadman, O.N. *ráðmaðr*, used for a member of the *konungs ráð*, king's council, or the *bæjar ráð*, town

¹ O.S.R., I., 251.

O.S.R., I., 259.

² Reg. Gt. Seal, Scot.

⁴ O.S.R., I., 254.

council of Bergen.¹ If such a use of the word had been copied from Norway, one would have expected Shetland to have also done so, considering its closer connexion with the mother country. It would be a contradiction in terms and an absurdity to require that one must be a councillor in order to be eligible for election as a councillor. Orkney may have been under *bjarkeyarréttr*, town law, and Kirkwall may have had a *bæjar ráð*, town council, of which the *ráðmenn*, town councillors, were represented in the lawthing and its *lögrétta*. But this would not explain the "roythman's son" designation. Technically the term *roythmen* was applicable to all *óðalsmenn*, and we find their sons on the assize, designated as 'younger.'²

The occurrence of the term lawrightman, *lögréttumaðr*, in Orkney, puts *ráðmaðr*, councillor, out of court. There is one instance of the "landedmen and roythmen," in an assize, being described as "at that time," a term applied to officials, whereas the term "present at that time" was applied to unofficial persons. This instance occurs in a bungled docket on the back of a doom of the assize of the lawthing in 1516: "The dome of the best landit men *in* [deleted] and roythmen in Orkna at that *ty* [deleted] tyme"; in which doom it is stated that the doom was dempt before the "justice of Orkney for the time." by 20 "worthy persons" (some of whom were "younger"), who collectively, as "doomsmen," gave their "doom." The docket can have one of three possible interpretations, viz. (1) *landedmen and roythmen, in Orkney at that time, i.e., present in Orkney at that time, "in Orkney" being qualified by "at that time"*; (2) *landedmen and roythmen (in Orkney) at that time*, which would mean

¹ Mackenzie's *Grievances* (1750), reprint, app. ii., iv., and pp. 11, 12, in which the assize of lawthing = *rætmen* = *raadmen*, councillors, and hence the fictitious Orkney and Shetland *raadmen* of modern glossaries.

² *Ibid.*, 252.

that the landowners and roythmen were reckoned as officials, an explanation which would involve a number of absurdities; or (3) *landedmen and roythmen in Orkney*, [*doomsmen or assizemen; or present*] *at that time*.¹ The original document is in the Record Room, Sheriff Clerk's Office, Kirkwall. The terms "landedmen roythmen," "landedmen and roythmen," "roythmen and roythmen's sons," are all explicit definitions of the qualification of lögréttumenn: they had to be landowners *who were óðalsmenn or their sons, i.e., óðalsböendr*, as opposed to böendr in the possession of bought land, a distinction and qualification which disappeared, with the term *roythmen*, when the assize was packed with persons other than óðalsmenn.

Besides the lawthing, ogangs and retts, there were also courts of arbiters and the bailie courts; which latter may have been the continuation of the districtþing. In Shetland the parish foud and bailie were synonymous terms.² The justice of Orkney and the foud, *foguti*, of Shetland, sometimes one and the same person, represented the executive, and were similar to the sýslumaðr of Norway. In Shetland the foud was also the receiver of the public taxes and of the rents of the earldom lands.

There were precisely similar officers in both Orkney and Shetland: lawman, justice or foud, underfouds (or bailies) and lawrightmen. The two latter terms are seldom used in Orkney. The Shetland lawrightman, in 1576 and before, is described as an officer in every isle and parish, who was chosen by the common consent and election of the foud and commons, as their procurator and defender, to keep the weights and measures by which their taxes were paid, and to see

¹ As 'for the time,' is the usual official, and 'present at that time,' the usual unofficial designation, and as the docket term, 'at that time,' is part of the latter, probably 'present' has been omitted.

² Opp. O.Z., 58.

that the taxes were justly measured. He was also specially chosen, for his discretion and judgment, to be chancellor of the assize in all courts, where he had to settle any legal questions and show the law, use and practice thereon, and to inform the assize and to pronounce decreets. For this service he was paid by the commons.¹ This payment may have been direct, or it may have been provided for in the skatt. The greater part of the skatt in Orkney and Shetland was undefined and was paid simply as butter-, malt-skatt, etc. Although *leiðangr*, war tax, is not specifically mentioned in the Orkney skatt, it, as the fundamental skatt, must of course be included in the general term skatt. One of the taxes paid in Orkney is called "forcop," *fararkaup*, travelling expenses, the term used in Gulathing Law for the wages paid to the levy. This term has hitherto been, incorrectly, explained as *þingfararkaup*, the Icelandic term for the travelling expenses paid to those attending a þing; whereas the Norwegian terms are *þingfararfé* in Frostathing, and *fé* in Gulathing.

As regards the "Lawbook" of Orkney and Shetland, nothing is known of its existence after the judicial reference to it in 1602.²

It has been shown that Orkney and Shetland, so far as evidence goes, were under the same code, corresponding to New Gulathing Law, which would have made it possible for the same man to act as lawman, or expounder of the law, in both groups, which we know was the case.

In 1611, after the downfall of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney, the Scottish privy council abrogated all

¹ Opp. O.Z., 18, 27.

² Mackenzie's *Grievances of O. and S.*, 6-7. The earl of Orkney referred to it in 1611, as "the auld Dans lawis by which they were governed." Peterkin's *Notes*, App. 86. The bishop, in 1642, remarked that óðal succession was in accordance with "the law of Norroway," P.R., III., 20.

foreign laws in Orkney and Shetland,¹ as well as certain specified laws, "whether they be established by acts and ordinances or received by custom and observation of the country,"² and declared that the islands were to be subject to the law of Scotland. A commission was issued to the bishop of Orkney and another to convocate and assemble the whole inhabitants to concur and assist them; to make, prescribe and set down acts, statutes and ordinances for keeping the inhabitants under his majesty's obedience, and to hold sheriff and justice courts.³ In 1615, the sheriffs depute held a court at which certain acts were passed by the sheriffs with advice and consent of the gentlemen suitors of court and commons, all with one advice, consent and assent.⁴

In 1623, acts were passed by the sheriffs with the advice and consent of the gentlemen and bailies of parishes and suitors of court.⁵ In 1628, acts were passed by the sheriffs depute with consent of the whole gentlemen and suitors of court and commonalty present for the time.⁶

These courts would naturally be constituted and conducted on the same lines as the lawthing, their immediate predecessor, which they replaced; a general assembly of the commons, a primary legislature, by whose consent acts were adopted, while legal decisions were given by an assize (*lögrétta*) chosen from the assembly.⁷

The office of lawrightman (*lögréttumaðr*) appears, latterly, to have been divided into two distinct offices, held by different persons, viz., that of (1) a parochial "lawrightman," who looked after the interest of the commons in his district, and (2) a member of the assize (*lögrétta*) of the lawthing, chosen at the lawthing. Probably a fresh assize was chosen for each sitting of the court, or for each case.

¹ Peterkin's *Notes*, App. 64.

² *Ibid.* 69.

³ *Ibid.* 66.

⁴ Barry's *Orkney*, reprint, 1867, 412.

⁵ *Ibid.* 421.

⁶ *Ibid.* 424.

⁷ *Ibid.* 420.

The following questions remain to be answered : Was there one manuscript lawbook for both Orkney and Shetland, or had each its own copy? Was the lawbook of 1602 in old Norse, Danish or English? If it was in old Norse, had it marginal explanations in English? The possibility of a translation having been made seems highly probable, especially in Orkney, where Norse became generally extinct at an early date. The rentals of the earldom were translated *circa* 1490, if not earlier, and several old Norse charters bear a contemporary note, "put this into Inglis." ¹ As the lawrightman in Shetland had to "show the law" to his parochial assize, it seems to be self-evident that each lawrightman must have had a copy of the Lawbook, in the same way as the later bailies had each to have a copy of the Acts of Bailliary (Barry's *Orkney*, 1808, 469, 482).

TAXATION : SKATTR.

Skatt is assessed in Orkney and Shetland on the ounceland, *eyrisland*, which is subdivided into 18 pennylands, and each pennyland into 4 farthinglands. In Norway the *eyrir*, ounce, of money = 30-60 pennies = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark of silver. The English and Scottish mark = 13s. 4d., of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 20 pence. The Orkney ounce of 18d. may be explained from the fact that a Shetland mark (paid in produce) was reckoned equal to 12 shillings, of which $\frac{1}{8}$ = 18d. The ounce, *eyrir*, in eyrisland, and the penny, *penningr*, in pennyland undoubtedly represent the amount of the original land rent. Skatt was only assessed on cultivated land, and it ceased so long as the land was not cultivated.

In 895, Orkney was fined 60 gold marks, as weregild for the slaughter of the king's son. It is not stated whether Shetland had to pay a share. This sum apparently represented the purchase value of the whole

¹ O.S.R., I., 57.

estates in Orkney, or in Orkney and Shetland, as otherwise the óðalsmenn would scarcely have given up their óðul as a *quid pro quo*. Sixty gold marks were equivalent to 480 silver marks = 3,840 silver aurar. A very rough estimate of the eyrislands in Orkney, in 1500-1595, gives about 170, which is probably much too little. If the eyrir in eyrisland represents the rent value in 895, then the 170 eyrir \times $22\frac{1}{3}$ years' purchase would equal the amount of the fine paid to Harald. In Denmark, *circa* 1200, land was valued at 24 years' purchase.¹ Of course it is just possible that Harald's fine did not amount to the full purchase value of the estates, so that Shetland may have been included; but it seems unlikely that Shetland would have been fined for a crime committed in Orkney by Orkneymen.

It is not known how many eyrislands there are in Shetland. In 1628, there were 13,392 marks of land²; and one pennyland, or $\frac{1}{18}$ eyrisland, was valued at 8 marks in 1299.¹ On the assumption that the average value of a pennyland was four marks, as in Orkney, this would give 181 eyrislands in Shetland, or more than in Orkney. In the beginning of the 17th century the relative valuation of Orkney and Shetland was regarded as 2:1, for the purpose of assessing Scottish land tax³; in 1912 the ratio was 1.34:1; in 1881, 1.91:1; in 1861, 1.57:1.⁴ *Eyrisland* is explained in Fritzner's *Ordbog*, as land paying an eyrir of rent.

If, on the other hand, the eyrisland were a gold purchase-price valuation of Orkney and Shetland in 895, corresponding with the amount of Harald's fine, then the Orkney eyrislands *170 + the Shetland eyrislands *181 = 351, as compared with the 480 gold aurar of Harald's fine. On this supposition, and assuming that 129 eyrislands had gone astray, the difference between the gold valuation of 895 and the later sterling

¹ *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, I., 118.

² Goudie's *Shetland*, 177.

³ Peterkin's *Notes*, 153.

⁴ Tudor's *Orkneys*, 202. 412.

silver mark valuation,¹ is as 1 : 72; *i.e.*, 1 gold eyrisland = 1 silver mark in 895, whereas the average value of the eyrisland in sterling silver marks, was 72 (eyrisland = 18 pennylands × average 4 marks). The lowest silver valuation was 18 marks, and the highest 360. The burnt silver mark valuation of Orkney was the English mark of 13s. 4d. (D.N. II., 146, A.D., 1329; *Proceeds*. S.A.Scot., 1884, 273). In England, 20s. in 1329 = 66s. in present coins (see McCulloch's *Comml. Dict.*, *s.v.* *Coins*), so that the English mark of 1329 would be = 44s. in present coins. Dasent calculated that the Norse mark of the 10th century = 36 shillings sterling (*Burnt Njal*, II., 404), but it was probably of the same value as the English mark which was current in Orkney in 1329. Assuming that the eyrisland valuation is that of the silver-rent in 872, then the rent of an eyrisland in 872 was one eyrir, or $\frac{1}{8}$ old Norse burnt mark silver = 5s. 6d. stg., as compared with 29s. 4d. sterling in 1500, in Orkney, *i.e.*, as 1 : 5.3, an increase which seems reasonable. The latter calculation is arrived at as follows: the eyrisland of 18d. lands was valued in 1500, on the average at 72 sterling marks silver (4 marks per d.) on which rent was charged, on the average, at the rate of 10d. Scots, and the ratio of Sterling to Scots, at that time was 1 : $3\frac{3}{5}$,² so that 72 marks × 10d. Scots = 720d. Scots = 200d. stg. = 29s. 4d. stg., in present coins, silver rent per eyrisland.

The eyrisland valuation must have been made in 872, for the assessment of the skatt which Harald imposed for the support of the government of his earl. The ounceland, or *tirung*, and pennyland of the Hebrides must be explained in the same way.

It can be proved by the rental of 1500 (P.R., I), that *kvíar*, Orkn. *quoys*, folds or enclosures, in the com-

¹ The earliest record of the mark valuation is in 1299, O.S.R., I., 38.

² *Proceeds* S. A. Scot., 1884, p. 255. McCulloch's *Comml. Dict.*, *s.v.*, *coins*.

mons, which presumably had been brought under cultivation after the original eyrisland valuation had been made, were also valued and included in the skatt-roll. It is obvious that such new land would not have been let off skatt-free in the early vigour of the Norse fiscal system. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that Harald's fine amounted to the price of the taxable land in Orkney in 895, and was calculated, on the basis of the then existing eyrisland or rental valuation, at twenty-four years' purchase. This would give 160 eyrislands in Orkney, in 895, or about 10 less than in 1500, which seems a reasonable allowance for the subsequent increase of cultivated and taxable land.¹

The value of the marks of land in Orkney had evidently decreased considerably in value by 1500, when land, formerly worth a mark of 13s. 4d. stg. (the sterling mark of 1329 would be = 25s. stg. in 1500), was let for a payment of produce, worth 10d. and 12d. Scots, = 2 $\frac{7}{9}$ d. and 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. stg. Whereas in 1602, $\frac{1}{2}$ mark (6s. 8d. stg.) of land was sold for 43s. 4d. stg.;² and in 1603, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks (£4 6s. 8d.) was sold for £20 stg.³ At this time sterling to Scots money was 1 : 12, and the sterling mark of 1329 = 41s. 4d. stg., so that the land was sold for about double its mark value.

¹ Comparative value of Orkney in 895 and 1912 :—

A D.	Rent.	Value at 24 years' purchase.
895.	£44.	£1056.
1912.	£87,920.	£2,110,080, including Kirkwall and Stromness.
1912.	£65,254.	£1,566,096, excluding Kirkwall and Stromness, Banks and Bú of Orphir 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. land.
895.	£0 2s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	£3 7s. 10d.
1906.	£85.	£2,040.

Including the towns, Orkney was about 2,000, and excluding the towns, 1,483 times more valuable in 1912 than 895; whereas the Bú of Orphir was only 601 times more valuable; but Orkney now includes a large area of new land.

² O.S.R., I., 272.

³ *Ibid.*, 221.

The earl's acquisition of the óðul in Orkney in exchange for the fine which he paid for the óðalsmenn placed them in the same position as the óðalsmenn in Norway, where Harald appropriated all the óðul and the óðalsmenn became his vassals and tenants. In both cases the óðul were ultimately restored to the óðalsmenn, in order to gain their support. The *Heimskringla*, in one version, states that Harald himself took possession of the óðul in Orkney, and gave them to earl Einar as a *lén* or fief. Pennylands were, at a later date, valued at their purchase price in burnt silver marks of 13s. 4d. sterling each, and on this valuation land rent was charged in Orkney down till 1600. The eyrislands of Orkney are mentioned in 1263.¹ In Shetland the marks of land ceased to be used as the uniform basis of rent charge as early as the sixteenth century, when land was leased at so many pennies per mark, the penny representing the actual currency value of the rent paid in produce. This method continued in use in Shetland until the eighteenth century. The pennyland and eyrisland valuation of Shetland is now lost; there is only one record of a pennyland in Papey, in 1299, when its purchase price was valued at eight silver marks (= 1 gold mark), on which the rent was then charged, as in Orkney.²

The purchase value in marks of the pennylands in Orkney varies considerably. Land in the north isles had not increased so much in value as in the Mainland (Hrossey). This is undoubtedly accounted for by the fact that the north isles (excepting Rousey, Edey and Westrey), are flat and without heath or moorland, and

¹Hák. S., 365-366, where *eyrisland* is translated, *geldable land and crown estate!*

²O.S.R., I., 38; *Old-Lore Miscellany*, I., 117-119. It is assumed that the mark valuation was made previous to 1299 and continued unaltered; but it is possible that it may have been amended from time to time. This valuation was only used for charging rent and for the division of óðal inheritance, except in Shetland, where it was latterly also used for tithing purposes.

consequently more easily cultivated. They would have been cultivated to their full capacity when the first valuation was made. Whereas the Mainland, with its heaths, hills, streams and alluvial soil, provided, as it still does, considerable scope for breaking in new land capable of improvement. In Sandey, as its name implies, sand drift formed a serious impediment to its cultivation. The relative value of Orphir (Mainland parish), to Sandey (north isle), is in pennylands, as 1 : 7, whereas the present rental ratio is 1 : 2. When the markland valuation was made, the average value of a pennyland in Sandey was 1½ marks, and in Orphir 8 marks or over.

ÓÐAL LAW : ÓÐALSRÉTTR.

Five generations of continuous ownership of land converted the estate into an óðal, its owner into an óðalsmaðr, and his son óðalborinn. The óðal could not be alienated without being first offered to the nearest heir, and, when alienated, it could be redeemed again.

Before 1275, óðul were inherited equally by the sons only; but, after that date, daughters inherited one-half of a son's share, and the eldest son had the first choice of the head house, *höfuðból*, *höfuðbæli*; and this was the law in Orkney and Shetland until the sixteenth century.

On the introduction of Christianity, the church speedily got rid of the inability of the óðalsmenn to bequeath land and goods to the church, by the enactment of laws which permitted óðalsmenn to give a *höfuðtiund* and *ávaxtartiund*, a tithe of stock given once in one's lifetime (usually on the deathbed), and an annual tithe of income. Latterly the law allowed óðalsmenn to give away *tiundargjöf*, a tenth of inherited land and loose goods, and *fjórðungsgjöf*, a fourth of self-acquired land and loose goods, terms which appear in Orkney charters as "tiend penny and the ferd." These

gifts could be left to anyone, and were redeemable in the usual way.

Upon the death of an óðalsmaðr, a court was held on the seventh day afterwards, and accordingly called a *sjaund*, at which the property was divided.

As early as 1544, primogeniture crept into Orkney, fortified by crown charters,¹ and is now general.

CURRENCY: VERÐAURAR.

In 1500, we have the last relic of butter currency in Orkney, when 21d. of butter = 1 spann.² In Shetland, butter and cloth currency was in use until the seventeenth century; an ell of vaðmál being = 2d.-vaðmál, and 4 marks weight of butter = 1d.-butter, and 1 lispund of butter = 6d.-butter.³ In 1575, 2d.-vaðmál = 2s. Scots.⁴

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES: VÁG OK MÆLING.

The information on this subject is too meagre and uncertain to arrive at any safe conclusion at present. The only certainty is that the weights and measures were fixed by law in Orkney and Shetland in 1828, and they differ in amount.

The spann, butter measure, of 21d. butter, is mentioned in Orkney in 1500, as equivalent in current market value to 4 lispunds of butter; and 20 lispunds of butter as equivalent in value to a barrel of butter. The lispund, *lífspund*, *linspund*, and the setting, *séttungr*, are, contrary to Norwegian custom, each divided into 24 marks. As in Norway, 6 settings = 1 meil (*mæli*).⁵

In Norway the bismarapund = 24 marks; a subdivision which probably got transferred to the lispund and setting in Orkney and Shetland. But here we must leave the subject, which can only be elucidated by a

¹Gt. Seal Reg., Scot.

²P.R., No. I.

³MS. rental with Viking Society; Goudie's *Shetland*, 178.

⁴Opp. O.Z., 27.

⁵P.R., No. I.

large and systematic accumulation of facts, and by a thorough examination and study of the weights and measures of Norway and the Hebrides.

SOCIETY : FOLK.¹

Classes.—In Gulapingslög, *circa* 1100, society was grouped into five main classes: (1) thralls, (2) freed thralls, (3) free men and freeholders, (4) noblemen, feoffees of crown lands, (5) earls and king. The last four classes were further divided into seven grades, *stig*, so far as the payment of wergild, *bót*, was concerned.

wergild
ratio.

1. unfree, *úfrjáls*: *þræll*, pl. *þrælar*, thrall.
2. freed-man: *leysingi*, pl. *leysingiar*, freed thrall:—
 - (a) *leysingi* of the first four generations, who was still dependent on the original owner. 1
 - (b) *leysingssonr*, the fifth generation, when *þyrmsl*, dependence, on the original owner ceased. 2
3. *bóndi*, pl. *bændr*:—
 - (a) a tenant of a farm, or the owner of *kaupajörð*, bought land, as opposed to *óðalsjörð*, freehold. 3
 - (b) freeholder, franklin, *hauldr*, *höldr*, pl. *hauldar*, *óðalsmaðr*, *óðalborinn maðr*; land became *óðal* when it was inherited from five forefathers, in the sixth generation.²

¹ N.G.L., see also Seebohm's *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*.

² In Seebohm's *Tribal custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, 1903, 273, he quotes from Gulathing Law, 270, an incidental reference to *óðal* which is there described as land which *a fi* has left to *a fi*, and which his translator has rendered: 'grandfather has left to grandfather.' *A fi* in this instance means ancestor (see N.G.L., V., Gloss. s.v., and Fritzner, s.v., (3)). The full definition of *óðal* is given in Gulathing Law, 266.

4. nobleman, *lendborinn*, *lendrmaðr*, landed-man (formerly *hersir*), one holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 12
5. highborn man, *tignarmaðr* :—
- (a) *jarl*, earl, holding a *lén*, fief, of the king. 24
- (b) *konungr*, king. 48

To the titled classes the *hertogi*, duke, was added later on. The titles of *barún* and *riddari*, baron and knight were conferred, in 1277, on the lendirmen, and the *skutillsveinn* in the king's *hirð*, bodyguard, who were styled *herra*, lord. *Herra* was also applied to bishops, and *síra* to priests.

In accordance with Old Borgarthings Law these distinctions of class and grade were applied to the dead as well as to the living. The churchyard was divided into four quarters for burial. Lendirmenn were buried east and south-east of the church, under the eaves if they had taken part in the building of the church, otherwise they were buried in the *bœndr's* quarter. Hauldar and their children were buried next to the lendirmenn, and the *þrælar*, thralls, next to the churchyard wall.¹

The following are the saga references to society, officials, personal appearance, etc., etc.

As regards personal appearance, special attention is always directed to dark and swarthy persons, who are sometimes described as unlucky looking, and to very fair persons with flaxen hair. The inference being that the average islander was brown-haired, and not a pure Scandinavian.

¹ In the Oxford Icelandic *Dict.*, *s.v.*, *Höldr*, is given a description of the Norwegian graveyard, which concludes with a statement that 'the höld had right to twice as much,' etc.; in the *Dict.* after *nearest to the wall* insert sources *N.G.L.*, *I.*, 344, 359, 368, and then commence *In cases of landnám, i.e., fines for illegal possession or use of land, the höld had right to twice as much, etc.*, and correct the source to *N.G.L.*, 44.

In 880, earl Hallad got weary of the earldom, and took up his *haulds rétt*, óðal right, and went back to Norway. When he resigned his *lén*, fief, of the earldom he was only a hauldr or óðalborinn, as there was nothing else for him, unless the king gave him another *lén* and made him a lendrmaðr in Norway.

Earl Torf-Einar, 880-900, the famous skald (whose name was given by Snorri to a metre called *Torf-Einars-háltr*), after he had an eagle carved on the back of Hálfván, the son of Harald hárfagri, and sacrificed him to Óðin, sung a song in which he referred to the höldar who had warned him of the danger, *hætta*, he had incurred. The Orkney óðalsmenn or böendr were therefore called hauldar.

For this crime king Harald, as already mentioned, exacted a payment, *gjald*, from the islands. Earl Torf-Einar paid the fine, in security for which the böendr gave him their óðul. The rich, *auðigr*, böendr agreed, because they thought that they would be able to redeem them, while the poor, *snauðr*, böendr had no money to pay the gjald.

We have here a clear statement that the böendr of Orkney (and Shetland?) were hauldar or óðalbornir. The designation bóndi is applied, throughout the saga, to the óðalbornir or óðalsmenn of the islands. The Scottish höfðingi, Summerled, is called a höldr, in 1157. The böendr of Shetland are called þegnar, thanes or freemen, in a verse.

Earl Einar took the earldom as a *lén*, or fief, from the king, and was not required to pay any skatt (as was paid by the earls in Norway), on account of the viking raids to which the islands were subject.

Throughout the existence of the Norse earldom, 872-1468, it was always held as a fief from the king of Norway, each earl being invested. The title was not strictly hereditary, as it was conferred, at will, by the king, on any member or connexion of the family, or on another family altogether. Earl Sigurð, circa 995,

restored the óðul to the bœndr for services rendered to him in Scotland. He had a *hirð*, bodyguard, which numbered among its members, Helgi and Grím Njáls-sons and Kári. He had also a *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness and Stroma. The *bætr*, wergild, awarded by the king for the slaughter of earl Einar, in 1026, was fixed as for three lendirmenn, instead of two as in the above list.

Earl Þorfinn, who ruled 1014-1064, was half a Scotsman, his mother being a daughter of the king of Scotland. He had the whole earldom to manage after 1028 and to own 1030-1035, the period of king Knút's reign over Norway. He had his *hirð*, bodyguard, and treated them and many other *rikismenn*, mighty men, exceptionally well, as he furnished them with meat and drink all the winter through, and not merely at Yule, as was the custom of other earls and kings, so that no man needed to go to a *skytningr*, a guild or club.

Earl Rögnvald, 1045, brought certain matters before his *vinir* and *ráðgjafar*, friends and councillors. A *ráðgjafi* was one of the council of a king or princely person.

When earl Rögnvald burnt earl Þorfinn's *bú*, in 1046, the women and the *úfrjáls*, unfreemen, *i.e.*, thralls, were allowed to escape, but the *hirðmenn* were burnt in the house, "as they would be no better to him alive than dead." However, the earl escaped in the dark.

Frequently a *sáttar-fundr*, peacemeeting, was held for the settlement of private disputes. During 1098-1102, Sigurð, the nine-year-old son of king Magnús, was made earl of Orkney, when the two ruling earls were banished to Norway. The king provided him with a *ráðuneyti*, council.

During king Magnús' expedition to Scotland and England, Magnús, afterwards earl and saint, acted in his *hirð* as *skutilsveinn*.

On the succession of Sigurð to the throne, the sons

of the banished earls who had since died were made earls. Both of these earls were married to Scottish wives. Among the earl's men, in 1116, are mentioned his *merkismaðr*, standard bearer, and *steikari*, cook. The merkismaðr of the king ranked as a *lendrmaðr*. When earl Hákon's merkismaðr declined to execute St. Magnús, his steikari was ordered to do so. There is a distinction drawn between the ríkismen and *bœndr* who attended a thing in 1137; the difference may have been one of wealth, as previously mentioned, *auðigr* and *snauðr*. There were *njósnaermen* (news-men), spies, in those days. The bishop, on one occasion, acted as *meðalferðarmaðr*, intercessor, between the earls. There were two *gildirmenn*, great men, in 1128, Jón vængr (wing), at Uppland in Háey, and his brother Ríkarð, at Brekka in Strjónsey.

In 1135, the earl had his *skutilsveinn* and *kertisveinn* page and torchbearer, at feasts. The skutilsveinn was one of the *hirð*, bodyguard.

Two earls shared the earldom in 1139, and it was arranged that one should have *ráð*, rule, and that they should have only one *hirð* between them.

Earl Rögnvald, the saint and skald, took into his *hirð*, Hall, the Icelandic skald, and they collaborated in the composition of the famous "Háttalykill hinn forni," a key to metres, and used five *vísur*, strophes, to each *hátt*, metre, but the *kvæði*, song, was thought too long, and now two are sung to each *hátt*. Other Icelandic skalds were also taken into his *hirð*. This earl had his *sýslumaðr*, steward, in Caithness, to collect his revenues.

Svein, the last of the vikings, who was latterly a *hirðmaðr* of earl Rögnvald, had in his house a *heimakona*, housemaid, and *húskarlar*, menservants, followers or bodyguard. He had also a *landseti* or *húsbóndi*, a tenant of one of his farms. The earl's and Svein's *húskarlar* may have been their *hirð*, and not merely menservants; because this term is sometimes applied

even to the king's *hirð*. When Svein and earl Erlend met unexpectedly, at a time when they happened to be at feud with each other, they endeavoured to settle their dispute on the spot. But as the earl was not accompanied by his *hirð* and *ráðuneyti*, bodyguard and council, Svein offered the services of his own *fylgð*, followers or bodyguard, and *ráðuneyti*.¹ This gives a good idea of the status of an Orkney *ríkismaðr*, *göfugr maðr* or *gæðingr*, of the period,

Other leading men, such as Þorbjörn klerk, had a *sveitungr* or *fylgðarmenn*, a following of men.

The designation *gæðingr* denotes a man of *gæði*, wealth. In 1064, the *earl's gæðingar* are mentioned. Earl Rögnvald had the bishop and many of *his gæðingar* at his Yule feast. Svein's revenues in Caithness, in 1126, are called his *gæði*. In 1153, the *gæðingar* went into two bands and took sides with the two earls. In 1128, it is remarked that there were many *göfugir menn*, noblemen, in Orkney, of the stock of the earls, who were all *gæðingar of earl Pál*. In 1136, earl Pál summoned the *gæðingar* and asked council. He had a great feast with *his gæðingar*. The *earl's gæðingar* came to the earl when the danger beacons were lit. There is a reference in Fms. vi., 442, to the king's *stallari* and *other gæðingar*, and x, 303, to the king's *borð* and *gæðingar*. The conclusion seems inevitable that the term *gæðingar* was applied in Orkney to the earl's *hirðmenn*, the "gentles" of a later period. At any rate they were the wealthy *óðalbornin*, and of the stock of the earls. A *gæðingr* was described in 1159, as of the earl's kin, and the *göfgastr maðr*, most worshipful by birth, in the earl's *lið*, troops. They are always called the *earl's gæðingar* and of *his kin*; possibly they had grants, during the earl's life, of portions of the earldom lands *at veizlu*, in return for which they would have to support him in battle and to entertain him when on circuit, corresponding with the king's *lendirmenn*. As

¹ The translation of Orkn. is bad here.

the earl only held the earldom for life, in fief from the king, he could only grant portions of it, *at veizlu*, during his tenure.

A Shetland *búandi* (= *bóndi*), in 1137, had a *leigumaðr*, servant; and *man-frelsi*, giving a thrall his freedom, is mentioned.

An *ármaðr*, steward, also appears in the earl's service. A *bóndi* in Caithness was described as *göfugr*, noble.

In 1154, St. Magnús' cathedral was used as a sanctuary.

Harald Thorbjörn addressed earl Rögnvaldr as *herra* in 1139-48, a title only applied to kings and earls at that time. In 1277, knights and barons were created in Norway, to whom the title of *herra* was given.

The king's *foguti*, bailiff, appears in Shetland, when it was annexed to Norway, in 1194, and the king sent his *befalingsmen*,¹ officers, to Orkney and Shetland in 1210.

In 1273-1299, Shetland was in the appanage of *hertogi*, duke, Hákon, afterwards king of Norway.

There were no *lendirmenn* in Orkney and Shetland, as the earl was sole feoffee, but their place in society and in the government of the earldom would be taken by the rich and leading *óðals-bœndr*,—the *ríkismenn*, *gœðingar*, etc., who probably represented the earls in their respective districts.

Besides the political divisions of classes, it will have been already observed that there were then, as now, a multiplicity of social distinctions, even in one class. It has already been mentioned that, as early as 895, the *bœndr* were divided into rich and poor, as well as the earls' kin, chiefs, great men and such like. For matrimonial purposes there would, undoubtedly, have

¹ Orkn. 236: Peder Clausön Undals Danish translation (*circa* 1600) of the lost *Böglunga sögur*; at this time (1210) the term *befalingsman* does not occur in Norway. The term used in Svrr. S. is *sýslumenn*.

been still further discrimination observed, having regard to family associations. The islands must have been a veritable storehouse of genealogical lore, seeing that five generations had to be traced back to claim óðal right, and four for a freed thrall family to claim to be freeborn. In Frostathinglaw, a family of thrall origin had to trace eight generations, in order to become árborinn. The law required these genealogies to be proved by witnesses in court.

As regards the óðals-bœndr, they were all, rich and poor, members of their primary lawthing, and eligible for nomination as members of the lögrétta—the humble owner working his own patch of ground, and the rich owner with his estate let out to tenants—and, as such, they were indiscriminately, rich and poor, described as *góðir-menn*; good men, *i.e.*, good, honest and respectable men; whereas the rich, the well-born and leading men, or rulers, who were members of the *hirðmannastefna*, were, as such, appropriately described as the “gentles” of the country. The *hirðmannastefna*, which originally was concerned with court ceremonial, latterly, in Orkney, acted as a judicial assembly, over which the earl presided.

The inborn faculty for genealogy was maintained in Shetland until the nineteenth century, when it is told that some families had oral genealogies going back for centuries, which had been handed down from generation to generation.

Living.—In the saga we have descriptions of homesteads—*skáli*, hall; *stofa*, parlour; *bakhús*, bakehouse; *bygghús*, bigghouse, barn; *brunnr*, well; *ljóri*, an opening in the roof for light and for the escape of smoke from the *langeldar*, longfires, in the centre of the hall floor; when the fires were not burning the *ljóri* was covered with a *skjá-vindauga*, skin window, formed of a *skjá-grind*, a frame, covered with *skjall*, a membrane or skin, to admit light; walls were hung with *tjald*, tapestry, with mythological subjects.

There were *skytningar*, clubs or guilds, and Kirkwall was a *kaupstaðr*, merchant town, in 1137. The earls wore *kyrtills* and gilded helmets and had underclothing of *lin-klæði*, linen.

Bread-breaking was performed as a peace token. Brewing took place before Yule, when feasts were held and solemn memorial toasts drunk out of horns, *kapp-drykkja*. Evening meals, with drinking after, were the fashion.

Earl Rögnvald indulged in harp-playing and in extemporising poetry. Among games mentioned are *mann-jöfnuðr*, man-matching, comparing which is the better of two, frequently ending in bloodshed; *tafl*, draughts.

Among sports: otter (*otr*) hunting, hare (*héri*) hunting, grouse (*heiðar-hæna*) shooting, in 1154, in Orkney, and deer hunting in Caithness.

Ships.—In the mythical part of the saga we are told of a *stjórnfastskip*, a ship with the rudder fixed, a term used again in 1098, also *bakborði*, larboard, as opposed to *stjórnborði*, starboard, which is mentioned in 1152. The following notices are arranged chronologically:—

880: *stafnbúi*, forecastle men (*stafn*, stem, bow or stern—*framstafn*, the bow, *aptrstafn*, the stern). The term occurs again in 1136, with *frambyggvar*, bowsitters. The gangway leading to the bow was called *frambryggja*.

1029: *langskip*, longship; *framan siglu*, before the mast; *sigla*, mast; *segl*, sail; *stafnlé*, a grappling hook (*lé*, a scythe); *ár*, oar; *lypting*, poop, a raised place (castle) on the poop.

1046: *bátr*, boat; *háls*, the bow or neck of a boat; *andæfa*, to paddle a boat against tide and wind to prevent drifting, modern dialect *ando*.

1047: *tvítug-sessa*, twenty-oared ship (*sessa*, a seat).

1098: *fyrirrum*, the first cabin in the after part, next the *lypting*.

1136: *þiljur* (planks), the deck; *smá skip*, small ships; *sexæringr*, six-oared boat, modern Shetland *sixareen*; *veiðar-færi*, fishing tackle.

1137: *byrðingr*, a merchant ship, a ship of burden; *skúta*, a small craft, cutter.

1148: *skipstjórnarmaðr*, ship steerer, captain, skipper; *þritugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty rooms, seats or divisions, for sixty rowers; *búit skip*, ornamented ship; *hálf-fertugt at rúma-tali*, a ship with thirty-five rooms, for seventy rowers, and *gulli lagt allir enni-spænic ok veðrvitar ok víða annars-staðar búit*, gilded carved heads and weather-vane and many other parts ornamented; *dreki* (a dragon), a ship of war, with a dragon's head as beak, and *höfuðin ok krókar aftr mjök gullbúit*, the head and tail or coils aft much gilded, and *hlýr-birt*, stained on the bows, and painted above the water line.

1152: *drómundr*, a warship, in the Mediterranean.

1154: *reiði*, tackle, including sails; *eptir-bátr*, after boat, a cock boat of a ship.

1158: *tjald*, a tent or awning on board ship.

Beliefs.—Torf-Einar slew a viking in the ninth century and gave him to the *troll*, trolls; he made an Orkneyman cut an *örn*, eagle, on the back of Hálfván hálegg with a *sverð*, sword, and *skera*, cut, the *rif*, ribs, all from the *hrygg*, spine, and *draga*, draw, there out the *lungu*, lungs, and *gaf*, gave, him to Óðin for his *sigr*, victory; after which he let cast Hálfván's *haugr*, how, when he sung: "The Norns have ruled it rightly." In 995 earl Sigurð digri and the Orkneyingar were asserted by Olaf Tryggvason *trúa*, to believe, in *ýmislig skurðgoð*, various idols or 'carved gods.' When the king desired *skíra*, to baptise, the earl, the latter preferred to abide by the *átrunaðr*, faith, and the *siðr*, religion, of his *frændr*, kinsmen, and *forfeðr*, forefathers (Orkn., 313, quoting *Flateyjarbók*, ch. 12). A *spámaðr*, *spaeman*, *forneskjumaðr*, sorcerer, or *vísindamaðr*, wizard, was consulted by earl Hákon Pálsson,

in 1090-94, about getting *hamingja*, good luck, and hearing his *forlög*, future fate, by *forneskja* or *fjölkyngi*, witchcraft. Heathen sacrifice, *blót*, is referred to.

Svein brjóstreip, a *hirðmaðr* of earl Pál, was *fornmjök*, versed in old lore or witchcraft, and had constantly *úti setið* and *sat úti um nóttina*, sat out at night as a wizard (at the cross-roads), which is described as *úbótaverk*, a crime, in N.G.L. Svein preferred witchcraft to attending midnight mass on Yule eve. The slaughter of Svein was welcomed by the bishop as *land hreinsan*, a cleansing of the land, a term used in Gulating Law for clearing the land of miscreants.

Society after Saga times.—The last Norse earls in the male line were already half Scottish in 1206; and numerous Scottish relatives and friends of theirs came to Orkney. As regards Scottish marriages, like rulers like people. After 1206, the Scottish earls ruled. From that time till 1400, and later, is more or less a blank, except certain misdeeds of the bishops, an elopement, rival claimants to the earldom, and clergy translated from Norway to Orkney and Shetland. In 1347, king Magnús Eiríksson bequeathed, to St. Magnús' cathedral, a chasuble, dalmatic tunic and a cope.¹ The king of England complained to Norway about the bishop of Moray, the excommunicated adherent of Robert the Bruce, being harboured in Orkney²; and later on, Robert the Bruce, who, tradition says, himself took refuge in Orkney, in turn complained about one of his fugitives being received there.³ An agreement, in Norse, drawn up in 1369, between the bishop and the representative of the king of Norway, during an interregnum in the earldom, gives some insight into the social condition of the islands at that time.⁴ It was agreed that the bishop and the *rikast menn*, noblest men, in Orkney and Shetland, should be first and fore-

¹ D.N., V., 149.

² D.N., XIX., 544.

³ D.N., V., 63. See also II., 98; XIX., 594.

⁴ D.N., I., 308.

most in all ráð, councils, henceforth as regarded the king, church and people, according to the laws and *landssiðir*, customs of the country, and that the bishop should have *godirmen* (O.N. *góðir menn*), good, honest men, *inlenskir*, born in, Orkney and Shetland, at þjóna, to serve him, as the custom was with other bishops in Norway.

The islands were evidently, at this early period, suffering from Scottish adventurers. It is significant that of the twenty-four leading men who were present at the making of that agreement, many had Scottish names, including the archdeacon of Orkney, a canon, and several clergy. Only two had Norwegian names, Gudbrand Andresson and Olave Skutt, while Sigurd of Paplay may be the only native man among the lot.

The wardrobe and belongings of a Shetland gentleman of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, sir David Sinclair, great foud of Shetland, captain of the king's castle in Bergen, etc., are set forth in his will of 1506; *inter alia*:

Drinking vessels: two silver and one "mid" stoops, with thirty stopps (flagons and cups?)

Ships: "The Carvell"; a little ship; and the Inglis (English) ship.

Jewelry: gold chain, which he wore daily; gold chain, called a "collar," given to him by the king of Denmark; great silver belt; signet.

Clothing: linen robe bought from the Flemings; blue doublet, with breast set with precious stones; hood, set with precious stones; black doublet of velvet; red hose; short red velvet coat, without sleeves; short black velvet coat; doublet of cloth of gold; grey satin gown; three ostrich feathers; black damask gown with silver buttons; grey scarlet hose; doublet of down cramese; red velvet coat, left to the high altar of St. Magnús' Cathedral; two-thirds of a black velvet coat, left to St. Magnús' church, Tingwall, and one-third to the Cross church of Dunrosnes; green cloth, etc.

Harness : three saddles, etc

Book : "The Book of Good Manners."

Another Shetland gentleman, Magnus Leslie of Ayth, had purloined from him, *circa* 1576, by the foud of Shetland, besides, food, drink, cattle, etc., the following articles :—sixteen ells of "keltar"; one pair double blankets; a bed covering; a doublet of cramese; a black cowl, which cost a crown of the sun; three crystal stones set in silver, of the Dutch fashion; copper kettle; a keg, with twelve pounds of soap; tin cans and empty stoops; honey; cruses; pigs (earthenware jars); "stalis"; cups; beakers; together with all his servants' clothing, such as cassies, breeks, doublets.¹

Person-names.—Patronymics were in use in Shetland until early in the nineteenth century, when they became stereotyped. Some names in Shetland appear to have been taken from local place-names. In Orkney the last vestiges of patronymics occur in the sixteenth century. In Orkney, Scottish settlers were rife, and it is probable that the immediate descendants of the first settlers, especially those without historic names, would conform to the prevailing fashion of patronymics, encouraged by local intermarriage; and, later, undoubtedly the Scots set the fashion, and possibly began the adoption of place- as person-names (an advantage to fugitives). With the exception of Scottish and other outland names, nearly all other Orkney person-names are now derived from local place-names. In the early stages of the adoption of place-surnames, and when the custom was in its full vigour, such Orkney place-names as may have replaced Scottish surnames would become permanent; whereas, in the final decay of the fashion in the 18th century, we find, as was to be expected, that the substituted place-surname was, frequently, only of a temporary nature. We also find, in Orkney, that persons readily changed their place-surname for that of a new abode. Taking all this into

¹Opp. O.Z., 72.

consideration, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to say which families are now of native Norse origin in the male line. Even Blaikie and Halcro, which have hitherto been regarded as the most important Orkney-Norse surnames, are only represented by genuine place-names in Forfarshire and Caithness. Another Forfarshire place-name, Fothringham, is also the surname of an old Orkney family.

Another factor to be considered is the changing of place-names for one or other of the following reasons: (1) the inclination to acquire a property with the same or a similar sounding name to that of the purchaser, and conforming one with the other; (2) the deliberate changing of the place-name to that of the surname of the owner, *e.g.*, the Caithness place-name *Halcro* was given to a place called Holland in South Ronaldsey, which belonged to the Halcro family, in the sixteenth century, and in recent times *Balfour* appears in Shapinsey, (3) personal association has introduced such foreign place-names as Inkerman, Balaclava, Ballarat, etc., while fables have converted Keeso into Kaesar, and Grikalty into Agricola.

Of modern English place-names may be mentioned: News = New-house, Nieland = New-land (old name Orquil, in Orphir), Glowrowra = Glower-over-all, a house on a hill-side, with a wide view.

There are known instances of the glossing of place-surnames, induced by a sensitiveness to fashion. In the ascendancy of Scottish influence, Rusland became Russell, Burgar: Burgess, etc., and conversely, in the full vigour of the Norse influence, Scottish surnames would have been conformed to Orkney forms.

Each Scottish place-man and notable settler would have been followed by a train of relatives, friends, dependents and other persons from the same district, as actually occurred in and after the sixteenth century, of which we have records.

Those persons in Orkney and Shetland who can

prove their descent from the St. Clair earls (which includes all the descendants of bishop Graham) are of viking descent.

As an illustration of the readiness with which Scotsmen became naturalised in the islands, may be mentioned the case of the Scottish-born Scotsman, Lawrence Bruce of Cultmalindie. He was the principal agent in 1575 of the oppressor, lord Robert Stewart, and in 1592 numbered himself, together with seven other persons bearing Scottish names, among the "odallers," and as such supplicated the Scottish parliament against the oppressions of Patrick Stewart, earl of Orkney (the son of his erstwhile employer), and championed the "gwid subjectis, heritable possessoris of the udack (!) lands in Orkney and Zetland."¹

The bulk of the principal landowners in the islands have had Scottish names for centuries, including some leading óðal families, such as Irvine, Craigie, Cromarty, Sinclair, etc.

The ascendancy of the Scots is only natural, when we consider (1) the proximity of Orkney to Scotland, (2) the succession of the Scottish earls since 1206, (3) the acquisition of the islands by Scotland in 1468, since when the clergy, officials, and their following have been Scots, and (4) the population, especially since the adoption of the English language, has been mainly recruited from Scotland, while considerable emigration of the viking element has been constantly in progress. If the male line of the earls died out in three centuries, as early as 1206, the same is to be expected of, at least, the ruling class as well. But there can be little doubt that there are few in the islands who do not descend, through the distaff side, from the old vikings, whose spirit of adventure and colonisation they have so well maintained in all the British colonies.

¹ Opp. O.Z., 101.

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TEMPLE-ADMINISTRATION AND CHIEFTAINSHIP IN PRE-CHRISTIAN NORWAY AND ICELAND.

BY BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, M.A.

THE union of priestly functions and political power exemplified in the position of the *goðar* in pre-Christian Iceland is a matter on which all scholars agree, and it is generally admitted that, to some extent at least, the political power of this class in Iceland developed as a result of temple-administration.

It is with regard to Norway that views diverge. Were the Norwegian emigrants who came to settle in Iceland accustomed to see political and religious administration combined in one office, and, if so, who were the persons in Norway who wielded this combined power?

The older Norwegian historians, Keyser,¹ Munch,² and Sars,³ all held that the Icelandic constitution must have developed on Norwegian lines, and that the Norwegian prototypes of the *goðar* are the petty kings, jarls, and chiefs (*hersar*), who, as they maintained, must have combined priestly functions with their administrative activities. Maurer⁴ at first supported this view, but on finding that the word *goði* occurred on three Danish Runic stones, he appears to have modified his opinion,⁵ and came to the conclusion that *goðar*, and occasionally

¹ R. Keyser, *Efterladte Skrifter*, ii., 1, pp. 6, 23.

² P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, i., 1, pp. 151 ff.

³ J. E. Sars, *Udsigt over den norske Historie*, i. 220.

⁴ K. Maurer, *Die Entstehung des isländischen Staates*, p. 98 ff.

⁵ K. Maurer, *Zur Urgeschichte der Godenwürde*, *Z.f.d. Phil.* iv. p. 127 ff.

gyðjur, priestesses, exercised priestly functions in Norway and Denmark, but in entire dependence on the chiefs or kings to whom they were attached, and on whose behalf they officiated. He also admits that private temples may have existed in Norway, and suggests that the owners of these might also have been *goðar*. V. Finsen,¹ on the other hand, fails to see any indication of a connection between the chiefs and the temple-administration in Norway, and maintains that the *goðar*, as an independent class of priests, had existed from early times among all Northern peoples, and that the survival of the title in Iceland alone is merely due to the circumstance that there alone did the priests come to play any important part in political life. Later writers² on Northern religion, including Mogk, incline to Maurer's later view, but always basing their opinion mainly on the evidence adduced by him, which Finsen, rightly enough, considered insufficient.

The present essay is due to the writer's conviction that there is room for a more detailed study of the question. The evidence vouchsafed by our sources, though meagre and scrappy in the extreme, does yet seem capable, when collected, of somewhat more exploitation than has hitherto fallen to its lot. A systematic review of all the available items of information may bring us a little nearer to certainty as regards the main question at issue, and may further throw light on some other points.

I.—NORWAY.

It will be best to begin our review of the evidence by considering all that we can glean concerning Norwegian temples and their management. If we begin with the south, the prehistoric temple at Skíringssalr

¹Om den oprindelig Ordning af nogle af den islandske Fristats Institutioner, p. 56 ff.

²Herrmann, Nordische Mythologie; Mogk, Mythologie § 89 (in Paul's Grundriss iii., 399). Golther, Handbuch zur germ.—Myth. (p. 610-12) appears to hold Maurer's earlier view.

is the first to be dealt with. Skíringssalr¹ is generally considered to have comprised the modern district of Tjølling, east of Larvik, in the ancient kingdom of Vestfold, and to have taken its name from a temple (Skíringssalr) supposed to be in the immediate neighbourhood of a royal residence. Sacrifice at Skíringssalr is mentioned in the *Sögubrot af Fornkonungum*,² and in the extracts of its lost continuation as preserved by Arngrímur Jónsson.³ The former breaks off with the words: "Then sacrifices were held at Skíringssalr, to which people flocked from all the 'vík.'" Arngrímur continues the story, telling us that King Sigurd Ring, who seems to have owned lands in these regions, though he was probably of Danish origin, turned aside "in Vickiam Norvegiae provinciam ad facienda sacra ethnica in Sciringssal, quae solennia ibi erant," and there sees Álf sól,⁴ the daughter of King Álfr of Vendyssel in Denmark. Skíringssalr was thus evidently of more than tribal importance as a religious as well as a mercantile centre, but all that we can glean for our purpose is that the temple was to some extent under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. However, as far Norwegian custom of that date is concerned, the Skíringssalr evidence is not really conclusive, since these Vestfold kings were not Norwegian in origin, but claimed descent from the Yngling kings of Upsala, and these were certainly regarded as the chief priests of the people. Other evidence for the connection of Norwegian royalty with temples, not so good in itself, but not open to that particular objection, is furnished by the *Fornaldar Sögur*. Thus *Friðjóf's Saga* tells us

¹ G. Storm, *Skiringssal og Sandefjord*, *Hist. Tidskr. Række iv.*, Bd. i., 1901, p. 214 ff. Also A. Kjær: *Hvad var Skiringssalr*, Bd. v. (1908).

² Ch. x. (F.A.S., i., 363-88).

³ Printed in *Aarb. f.n. Oldk.* 1894, p. 131 ff.

⁴ A kenning containing the word *vébraut*, and applied to Harald Fairhair, has been quoted as evidence that he was protector of the temple. But it seems that the kenning has no such significance, cp. F. Jónsson, *Heimskringla iv.*, p. 28.

of a King Beli of Sogn, who lives close to Baldrshagi, a great temple, and later on it tells us that his sons, who had succeeded to the kingdom, sacrificed there. And *Hervarar Saga* knows of a *dísablót*, a sacrifice to the *dísir*, at one King Álf's.

We can now proceed to Vørs. Vørs or Vøss was the name both of a district in South Hordaland, and of a homestead in that district. The fact that we hear of at least one *Thing*¹ held at the farm Vørs suggests that it was the centre of the district, and that it had given its name to the neighbourhood. It seems likely, then, that it was the residence of the *hersir*. All we know of sacrifice at Vørs is from a statement in *Víga-Glúm's Saga*,² where we are told of a great feast there at the winter nights, said to be a sacrifice to the *dísir*, at the temple (?)³ of the *hersir* Vigfús, in about the year 950.

We next reach Gaular, a district comprising the inner part of the Dalsfjord, in the region formerly called Fjalir, in Firdafylki. From various sources⁴ we know that a certain Atli was jarl of Gaular from about 845-870. This Atli joins King Hálfðan hinn svarti, and is made jarl of Sogn by him, and by Harald after him, but it is clear that he was still jarl of Gaular.⁵ *Egilssaga*⁶ gives us the following information:—"Then (about 868) Atli hinn mjóvi was jarl. He lived at Gaular. . . . It was a certain autumn that there was a great gathering at Gaular for an autumn sacrifice." We further learn that Atli's daughter was present. Atli was killed about 870,⁷ and his last surviving son, Hásteinn, must have left the country shortly afterwards, so we cannot identify the host at the next great sacri-

¹ F.M.S., iv., 270 and probably also F.M.S., i., 64.

² Vgl., ch. 6 (cf. ch. 3).

³ "þar var veizla búin at vetrnóttum ok gjört dísablót . . ."

⁴ Hkr. Half. sv. ch 3, H.h. ch. 12, Fagrsk. ch. i., 2, Flat. i., 562, 570, etc.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2, hans hafuð bu var a Gaulum. Hkr., Hh. 12. Atli jarl sendi þau orð í mót, at hann mun halda Sygnafylki ok svá Gaulum.

⁶ Eg. 2.

⁷ So F. Jónsson in his Hkr. ed., but cp. Vigfússon, *Timatal*, p. 290.

fice recorded at Gaular, in the spring of 917,¹ when we are told that great numbers from Firðafylki and Fjalir and Sogn, and most of them important persons, attended, including Þórir, *hersir* of Firðafylki. King Eiríkr Blóðöx was also present. On this occasion Egilssaga vouchsafes the further information that there was a "most splendid chief temple" (*höfuðhof*) there.

But we are fortunate in knowing something more about Gaular. Landnámabók² tells of one Þorbjörn, a powerful *hersir* in Fjalafylki, who was called "enn gaulverski," the man of Gaular. This Þorbjörn had a son Flosi, who emigrated to Iceland, after killing three of Harald's officials, but did not come to Iceland till late, as is clear from the fact that the other settlers called him Flosi *hinn norræni*,³ thus revealing that they already considered themselves Icelanders. So we may assume that he did not go to Iceland until towards 920 or 930, and therefore his father, Þorbjörn, may have lived at Gaular until nearly that date.⁴ Now Flosi's sister, Oddný, also came to Iceland with her son Loptr, and of this Loptr Landnáma relates that he went out to Norway every third summer on behalf of Flosi and himself, to sacrifice at that temple which Þorbjörn, his mother's father, had had charge of at Gaular.⁵ Finsen⁶ says (1) that nothing can be deduced from such an isolated statement, (2) that Þorbjörn may have had charge of the temple before he was *hersir*, (3) that the verb, *varðveita*, to have charge of, does not necessarily imply that he actually officiated. With regard to point (1), we must remember that it rests on Landnáma's unimpeachable testimony, and that it is exactly the

¹ Eg. 49.

² Ld. Hauksbók ch. 315, 323, Sturlubók 368. (F. Jónsson's ed. In the following pages H = Hauksbók, S = Sturlubók).

³ Ld. S., 315.

⁴ Cp. also Timatal, p. 285.

⁵ Ld. H., 323. Loptr fór utan hit iij hvert sumar fyrir hond þeira Flosa beggia moðurbroður hins at blota at hofi því er þorbiorn moðurfaðir hans hafði þar varð veitt a Gaulum. Cp. also Ld. H., 315; S., 368.

⁶ Om den opr. Ord., p. 52.

kind of unexpected statement that bears the stamp of truth upon it, for it is obvious that it could not be invented. The second objection is only a suggestion, and an unlikely one, since it is improbable that Þorbjörn's descendants would have gone to such trouble to keep up sacrificing, if Þorbjörn had only had charge of the temple in his youth. As regards (3) we find that the verb *varðveita* is used of Icelandic *goðar*, having charge of their temple.¹ Moreover there can be little doubt that the grandson at any rate actually officiated, as the word *blóta* (to sacrifice) is used.

We are now faced by several possibilities. Is the temple at Gaular of which Þorbjörn had charge the same as the "chief temple" in Gaular mentioned in *Egilssaga*, and was it at this same temple that Atli held his sacrificial feast in about 868? It certainly seems probable that Þorbjörn had had charge of a chief temple, for his descendants would hardly have thought it worth while to return to sacrifice at a mere private temple. Moreover, if it had only been a private temple, there would have been no reason why Flosi or Loptr should not have removed it, or its most sacred parts, to Iceland, as we know was done with a considerable number of temples. Of course, Atli may have had another temple: the only difficulty in such a supposition is that there should be two, presumably important, temples in so small a district as Gaular. Perhaps Þorbjörn only took over the charge of the temple after the death of Atli in 870. But there is nothing inherently impossible in a jarl and a hersir sharing a temple, at any rate, if any credit can be given to Njála's statement with regard to the Guðbrandsdal temple. The fact that Loptr returns every *third* summer to sacrifice reminds us of the story in the late *Friðþjóf's Saga*,² in which a *hersir*, Þorbjörn of Sogn, had a third of the kingdom,

¹ Eyrb. 15. Snorri varðveitti þá hof. Vápn. 5. Steinvör var hofgyðja ok varðveitti höfuðhofit.

² Ch. 1.

and made a great feast for the King of Sygnafylki every *third* year. It is just possible that Þorbjörn (or his predecessor) and Atli, and perhaps another *hersir*, took it in turns to hold the sacrificial feasts. We know that the chiefs of the Inner Þrándheimr district took over the charge of the sacrifices in turns. However this may be, we have at least seen that a *hersir* certainly, and possibly a jarl, actually officiated in a chief temple in Gaular. We are unfortunately unable to tell whether the King Auðbjörn of Firðafylki ever played any part in this chief temple.

We now pass on to the temple in Guðbrandsdal, where a *hersir* line ruled from the time of King Hálfðan hinn svarti (or earlier) till the reign of St. Olaf. Njála¹ tells us that the *hersir* Guðbrandr of Jarl Hákon's day (up to 995) was a great friend of that ruler, that the two shared a temple together, the second largest in Norway, which Njála declares was only opened when the jarl came thither. This last is usually regarded as a more than doubtful statement. We hear of the temple again in Heimskringla.² In 1022, when St. Olaf was engaged in forcibly Christianizing the neighbouring districts, the *hersir* Guðbrandr is said to have cut up the war-arrow and summoned all the inhabitants to a small village called Hundþorp. We are told that enormous numbers of men attended. Guðbrandr then makes a speech, in which he refers to "our" temple, and to the image of Thorr in it, "which has always aided us." We may discount the historical accuracy of the speech, but it is clear from Snorri's description that he regarded the temple as the main place of worship for the whole neighbourhood.³

¹ Ch. 87.

² Hkr. O.h. 112. Cp. Flat. ii., p. 189.

³ Dr. A. C. Bang, "Om Dale-Gudbrand," 1897, casts doubt on the whole story and even on the existence of Guðbrandr as being a "local legend" (en paa Lokalsagn bygget Legende), but recent researches in many districts seem to reveal a greater substratum of truth in local tradition than has been hitherto admitted. See Gomme, *Folklore as a Historical Science*.

So far we gain the impression that a *hersir* administers this temple also, especially as Guðbrand builds a church in the Dales after conversion. At one time he may have shared the control of it with a jarl. But the warlike gathering at Hundþorp is next addressed by a Þórðr ístrumagi, and in one good MS.¹ of the Heimskringla version he is called *hofgoði*, temple-priest of the Dalesmen. In the other MS. used for this passage the reading is *höfðingi*, chief, and so in all other versions of the story. One cannot help feeling that it is much more likely that *höfðingi*, a word of frequent occurrence in the Norwegian histories, should have been substituted for *hofgoði*, which is rare even in Icelandic sagas, and not again met with in Heimskringla (except in Ynglingasaga) than that the reverse error should have been made.² Moreover, *höfðingi* would need some further explanation, since it is obvious that Guðbrandr himself was "höfðingi" over the Dalesmen.

We now arrive at the largest temple in Norway,³ that at Hlaðir in Strindafylki. The first we hear of Hlaðir is that somewhere about 867 or 868 Haraldr established a "chief residence" there, and called it his home.⁴ Haraldr had made the Jarl Hákon Grjótgarðsson, of Yrjar (on the north side of the fjord), Jarl over Strindafylki about the year 866, and soon we find Hákon called *Hlaða-jarl*, and we hear of his entertaining Haraldr at Hlaðir.⁵

In 943, we find Earl Sigurðr, called Hlaða-jarl like his father, entertaining King Hákon to a Yule-feast (*i.e.*, sacrificial feast), and we are told that Sigurðr was

¹ Cp. Hkr. (Finnur Jónsson's ed.). Indledning. pp. xxiv.-xxvi., and xlvii. ff.

² An Icelandic scribe could the more easily have made the error, as he was in the habit of considering *goði* almost synonymous with *höfðingi*.

³ Odds O.T. 17 (F.M.S. x., 265), vj. 87.

⁴ Hkr. Hh. 9.

⁵ Fgrsk. 2.

a great sacrificer,¹ and that he kept up all sacrificial feasts in Þrándheimr on behalf of the king. If this phrase means anything, the king, if present, was expected to preside over, or perhaps officiate at, sacrificial feasts. Of course, Hákon, as a Christian, would refuse to do this in any case.

We are next told, apparently *à propos* of another feast,² that Sigurðr was the most generous of men, and did a famous deed in giving a great feast at Hlaðir and meeting all expenses himself. We must suppose that he usually provided the horses and cattle for sacrifice, but that the extra expense he incurred on this occasion was in supplying the food and drink, which we are told the worshippers usually brought with them. The third feast³ at Hlaðir mentioned in our sources was in the autumn of 952. The king comes to it, and is made to sit in the high-seat at the feast, instead of remaining apart as he had hitherto done.

The last great Norwegian temple of which we have record is that at Mæri or Mærin (now Mære), an important homestead (later on a royal demesne) in Sparbyggjafylki. The administration of this temple is unique, but we must begin by premising that there had been a jarl of the district of Sparabú⁴ in the 8th century, and that he had fled to Jamtaland before a conquering King Eysteinn, perhaps about 780. Snorri tells us that there was a king⁵ of this fylki until he fell in battle before Haraldr hárfagri in 866. Now Mæri is undoubtedly the chief place in the fylki, so we may assume that either the jarls, or Snorri's somewhat apocryphal king, had lived there.

The first we hear of a temple at Mæri is from Landnámabók, which relates as follows⁶:—"Þorhaddr the Old was temple-priest (*hofgoði*) in Þrándheimr at

¹ Hkr. H.g. 14. The Jarl is called *vés vægi-valdr* in a verse: "the protecting custodian of the sanctuary," cp. Hkr. vol. iv, p. 49.

² Hkr. H.g. 14.

³ Ch. 17.

⁴ Hkr. H.g. 12. O.h. 137.

⁵ Hkr. H.h. 7.

⁶ Ld. Hauksbók, ch. 258; Sturlubók, ch. 297.

Mæri. He wished to go to Iceland, and took the temple down first, and had with him the soil of the temple and the pillars. He landed in Stöðvarfjörð and laid the Mæri sanctity over the whole fjord, and allowed nothing to be killed there but the home cattle." This is the only *hofgoði* mentioned in Norway besides Þórðr ístrumagi in Guðbrandsdal. We note that the temple appears to be Thorhadd's private property, since he can unbuild it and remove its sacred pillars.

After thus learning that the Mæri temple had been partly demolished by a private owner, we are somewhat startled, when we next hear of it, to find that it is a "chief temple" (*höfuð hof*),¹ and that eight chiefs, who had most of the management of sacrifices in all Prándheimr, are making preparations to entertain King Hákon there at a Yule sacrifice,² only a few months after that king had been an unwilling guest at Hlaðir (in 952). Four of these chiefs, we are told, are from Inner Prándheimr, and four from Outer Prándheimr. Their names are given, and we note that each is a leading landowner representing one of the eight *fylki* which compose Prándheimr. These landowners force the luckless king to drink the toasts and eat the sacrificial meat.

We read again³ of preparations for a sacrifice at Mæri, but this was less of a triumph for the heathen chiefs "who had hitherto kept up the sacrifices⁴ at that place." In 998 Olaf Tryggvason agrees with the Prándheimr heathens that there shall be a great midsummer sacrifice at Mæri, but shortly before it is due he invites everyone to a feast at Hlaðir, and suggests sacrificing twelve chief men. He mentions seven names, of which four⁵ are the same as those of the Inner Prándheimr farmers mentioned above. Finally

¹ F.M.S. x., 323.

² Hkr. H.g. 18.

³ Hkr. O.T. 67, 68, 69. Flat. i., p. 319.

⁴ Flat. i., p. 319 "höfuðblótum."

⁵ In one case the son.

he enters their temple and throws down the statue of Thorr. We are not told that he destroys the temple, though it seems probable that he would do so.¹

In the reign of St. Olaf it transpires that the Inner Þrándheimr fylki still form a religious confederacy,² and that twelve men manage the sacrificial feasts, apparently in turn. St. Olaf surprises them *in flagrante delicto*, and there is an abrupt end to public sacrifices in Norway.

It seems as if there could be but one likely explanation of the successive administrations of this temple. We must suppose that (1) a jarl or king lived at Mæri, and administered a temple, deputing his functions to a *hofgoði*, as in the Guðbrandsdal case, (2) on the departure or death of the king or jarl the *hofgoði* continued his functions until he went to Iceland, taking parts of his temple with him, and (3) after his departure the leading men of the whole of Þrándheimr took over the temple, and confided the care of it to eight men, one from each fylki.

We must admit that there is very strong evidence that temple administration in Norway is very closely bound up with chieftainship. Skíringssalr in the south is under the patronage of the Vestfold kings. The great temple in the north, the largest in Norway, is situated at Hlaðir, King Harald Fairhair's self-chosen royal residence. The temple at Gaular is closely connected with a jarl and afterwards with a *hersir*; that at Guðbrandsdal with a *hersir* and traditionally with a jarl. The temple at Hlaðir is obviously kept up by a jarl, though out of originally royal estates. That at Mæri is administered by the chief men of the district.

The voice of tradition is not quite so clear as regards our second point, the exercise of priestly functions in

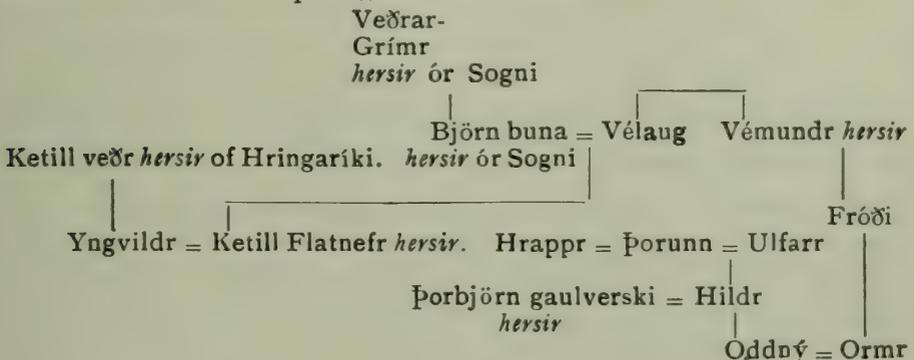
¹ When, later on, one of the leaders is charged by St. Olaf with sacrifices there, he urges that the buildings are large "hús eru stór," Hkr. O.h., 108.

² Hkr. O.h., 108, 109.

the temple. There is a very independent temple-priest at Mæri, and probably another, less independent, in Guðbrandsdal. But otherwise we find the jarl Sigurðr himself officiating at Hlaðir, and the *hersir* Þorbjörn at Gaular. One of the Fornaldar Sögur shows us kings officiating at Baldrshagi. With regard to this point, the actual exercise of priestly functions by chiefs, it may be urged that the evidence just quoted comes through Iceland, and is open to the suspicion of having been affected by Icelandic ideas, since the Icelandic historians were themselves used to the idea that priestly functions and political power went hand in hand. But, fortunately, there is some entirely independent and more or less contemporary evidence on this point. The Irish annals tell us that in 841 the Viking "king" Turges took up his abode in Armagh, the holiest place in Erin, and turned the cathedral into a heathen temple, in which he himself officiated as priest. I think this must be accepted as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of Scandinavian chiefs. I cannot, however, accept it as conclusive evidence for the priestly functions of *kings*, as I find it difficult to credit Turges with royal blood owing to his name. Whether it represents Thorgils or Thorgestr, it is certainly compounded with Thor, and would be unique for that reason in any Scandinavian royal family.

One point is worthy of notice. From some of the genealogies¹ we observe that the jarls and *hersar* (and

¹ The following genealogy may serve as an illustration. It can be deduced from various passages in Landnáma.



to some extent the petty kings) must have formed an almost national Norwegian aristocracy, united by ties of blood. The interests of members of this aristocracy must have far outstripped the narrow limits of the petty kingdom to which the individual belonged. Now we have seen that the great sacrificial feasts were occasions for the chief connected with the temple, whether *hersir* or jarl, to entertain his friends and kinsmen. Such feasts were no doubt the cause of the rise of certain *fylki* temples to intertribal eminence. It may well be that this degree of religious union¹ preceded and fostered political union between the petty states, and made it possible to establish the common *Things* which seem to have been in existence before the time of Harald Hairfair. This must be my justification for taking up so much of your time in marshalling evidence. The connection between temple-administration and chieftainship is important not only in itself, but because, once it is established, public religious observances are indissolubly linked with an aristocracy which forms a network extending far beyond the boundaries of each little kingdom. To discuss the effect of this intertribal aristocracy in neutralizing separatist tendencies in religion lies outside the scope of this paper, but we must realize its probable effects in neutralizing separatist tendencies in politics. The fact that temple-administration was vested in chiefs may thus have been a very important factor in the unification of the kingdom.

II.—ICELAND.

The results of our examination of the Norwegian evidence will have shown us the importance of noting the ancestry of the temple builders, the founders of *goði*-families, among the settlers. The discovery that any large proportion of them were of *hersir* descent

¹ The existence of such intertribal religious unions is proved for a much earlier epoch by Tacitus' account of the common worship of Nerthus, by seven tribes, probably in Sjælland.

would show that the identity of the temple owner and the chief was, at any rate, partially due to Norwegian tradition. We therefore proceed to adduce instances. The *hersir* Böðvarr of Vors (brother of the *hersir* Vigfús already mentioned) settles in Iceland, builds a temple, and becomes a *hofgoði*;¹ Ketill hængr,² son of an earl of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, settles at Hof³ in Rangárvellir; Jörundr *goði*,⁴ son of Hrafn hinn heimski, and eighth in descent from King Haraldr hilditönn, builds a temple; Ketilbjörn⁵ of Naumudal, called *ágiætr* by Landnáma, which uses the word as equivalent to "of *hersir* (or jarl) birth,"⁶ settles at Mosfell and has a temple: Höfða-Þórðr,⁷ *ágiætr*, and said to be descended from Ragnar Loðbrók, dwells at Hof in Höfðaströnd, and is the ancestor of a line of *goðar*; Helgi bjóla,⁸ son of the *hersir* Ketill flatnefr, dwells at another Hof (apparently in spite of being a Christian in name); Eiríkr,⁹ *ágiætr*, settles at Hof in Goðdalir and is counted among the foremost settlers; Ingimundr¹⁰ hinn gamli, son of the exiled Þorsteinn, son of the *hersir* Ketill raumr, dwells at Hof in Vatnsdal and has a temple. The two sons of Asbjörn, son of the *hersir* Heyjangrs-Björn of Sogn, Véþormr¹¹ and Ozurr,¹¹ come to Iceland, and must clearly have had a temple, since Véþormr's daughter is called *hofgyðja*, and Ozurr's son *Freysgoði*. Another Icelandic *hofgyðja*, Þorlaug,¹² is descended on her mother's side, if not on her father's, from *hersar*. Then

¹ Flat. i. 249; cp. Vgl. 5, Ld. i., 338; ii., 385.

² Ld. H. 303, S. 344. (Only the main references are given.)

³ *Hof* always means "Temple" in Iceland.

⁴ Ld. H. 305, S. 346.

⁵ Ld. H. 338; S. 385; his mother was daughter of an earl.

⁶ See Cleasby and Vigfússon Dict., sub. *ágiætr*.

⁷ Ld. H. 175, etc.

⁸ Ld. H. 14; S. 14.

⁹ Ld. H. 163.

¹⁰ Ld. H. 145; Vats. 17.

¹¹ Ld. H. 276; S. 316.

¹² Ld. H. 29.

there is Þórðr skeggi,¹ son of Hrappr (called *ágiætr*), son of the famous *hersir* Björn buna. Þórðr brought his temple pillars from Norway, as did also Hrollaugr,² son of the Jarl Rögnvaldr (and half-brother of Göngu-Hrólfir of Normandy). We may further note Þorgrímr *goði* Kjallaksson³ of Bjarnarhöfn, who is of *hersir* lineage on both sides. This is far from an exhaustive list, but in view of the difficulty of ascertaining who built temples on arriving in Iceland, and the second difficulty of discovering the genealogy of those who did, we have mentioned enough cases to show that just as *hersar* and jarls had temples in Norway, so a very large proportion of the more important temples in Iceland were built by descendants of *hersar* and jarls. On the other hand some few settlers of *hersir* rank appear not to have built temples, unless we are to suppose that their descendants lost the ownership of them. And again, other temple-builders are not stated to have been of *hersir* rank, though of course it is impossible to prove a humbler origin for them. Þórólfr *mostrar-skegg*,⁴ who brought his temple-pillars with him from Norway, and is supposed to have founded the first *þing*, is sometimes quoted as being of less exalted rank, but the assumption seems somewhat rash, especially as he is called the foremost man⁵ on the island of Mostr, his Norwegian home. On the whole it seems safe to assume that temple-builders, if not always of *hersir* lineage, had at any rate been men of importance in Norway. Of course we must make some allowance for opportunities of rising afforded by the conditions of life in a new country.

If we have established that the early *goðar* in Iceland came of a powerful governing class, it seems worth while to enquire whether the possession of a temple was quite such an essential factor in the acquirement of temporal power as it is usually held to have

¹ Ld. H. 14.² Ld. H. 270.³ Ld. H. 72.⁴ Ld. H. 73.⁵ Eyrb. 3

been. That the possession of a temple finally came to be a necessary qualification for a legal chieftainship we do not deny, but there seems reason to suspect that chiefs could rule *þingmenn* and hold sway over a district without it. That this was the case in the actual period of settlement there can be no doubt. For instance, Auðr djúpúðga,¹ though a Christian, exercised at least as much influence in her district as any temple-owning heathen. Of course it is true that her neighbours were mainly dependents and nominally Christians, but Ketill fíflski,² another Christian, who settled in a district entirely heathen as far as Norwegian immigrants were concerned, is yet reckoned among the foremost settlers in the East country. Another case is that of Úlfr h. skálgi,³ fourth in descent from a king. He comes to Iceland and settles in Reykjanes. With him comes out a man named Hallr, of high birth, who built a temple "because Úlfr was no sacrificer." We are then told that Hallr was a great chief, and many men then turned their allegiance to him (*i.e.*, away from Úlfr). It is thus clearly implied that Úlfr, though not a *goði*, had a chieftainship. But there are clearer instances than this. We know that Hrafnkell Freysgoði, on hearing of the destruction of his temple by Sámr, decided that it was "vanity to believe in gods," and never sacrificed again,⁴ nor had he a temple in his new surroundings, yet he gathers together *þingmenn*, and soon has a regular *þinghá* or district, and his sons take on the *mannaforráð*,⁵ chieftainship, after him. Now Sámr, the travelled atheist who destroys the temple, cannot by any possibility be supposed to have charge of one, yet even without the prestige which we may suppose Hrafnkell to have retained, he also gains *mannaforráð*. This occurs as late as about 947-953.⁶

¹ Laxd. 6, 7.

² Ld. H., 354.

³ Þorsk. i.

⁴ Hrafnk. 7.

⁵ Hrafnk. 10. The fact that Hrafnkell is said to have a *goðorð*, ch. 9, can be explained by the later meaning of the word, chieftainship.

⁶ Tímatál, p. 495.

It must be remembered that Hrafnkels Saga is remarkably trustworthy. Unfortunately this cannot be so unreservedly stated of the next saga from which we will quote, Vatnsdæla, but the incident in question is so circumstantially related, and so much opposed to what the actual writer of the saga would consider probable, that it is certainly to be credited. On the death of Ingimundr¹ his sons decide that whichever of them shall make a successful plan to avenge him shall choose some valuable part of their property for himself. Þorsteinn is successful, and he chooses the homestead of Hof and the land that goes with it. The brothers then shared up the rest of their inheritance, and the *goðorð* fell to Þórir's share. But Þorsteinn became chief (*höfðingi*) over Vatnsdal and Vestrhóp and all those districts which had owned allegiance to Ingimundr, his father.² Finally, in return for good advice given by him to Þórir, Þorsteinn begs that his sons may have the *goðorð*. All this takes place between c. 935-950.³ It is here made perfectly clear that the *goðorð*, i.e., priesthood, was distinct from the chieftainship.

At last we see the reason for the constantly used combination: *goðorð ok mannaforráð*. In earlier Icelandic usage these words are not synonymous, as the dictionaries would lead one to suppose, and their history is extremely different. *Goðorð* is an ancient word: *mannaforráð* is a new word, coined in Iceland to express the type of political and administrative power exercised by Icelandic chiefs. *Goðorð* meant priesthood, and nothing more, when the Icelanders first settled in the new country: indeed, it may be doubted whether the meanings of these two words were ever merged into one until after the introduction of Christianity.

It is possible that the revised law of 965, restricting the number of *goðar*, was partly aimed against chiefs whose authority was solely temporal. Such chieftainships would have no guarantee of stability, since they

¹ Vats. ch. 24, 27.

² Vats. ch. 37.

³ Tímatal, p. 495.

would lack all tangible sign of union. Now Professor Björn Ólsen has suggested that the ready acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000 is partly to be ascribed to the agitations and discontent of *ex-goðar* or their sons, who had been dispossessed of chieftainship by the law of 965. It seems more than probable that the ranks of these "outsiders" were swelled by families who had exercised chieftainship without possessing a temple, or who had allowed their temple to descend to another branch of the family.

And this seems the place to consider such information as we can glean about *gyðjur*, priestesses. We are told of one Steinvör in the east of Iceland that she was *hofgyðja*, and had charge of the chief temple. She complained to the local chief, Broddhelgi, whose kinswoman she was, that a certain man, a Christian, had refused to pay the temple-tax. Broddhelgi said he would deal with the matter, but as a matter of fact it was allowed to drop.¹ Here we note (1) that Steinvör is a relative of Broddhelgi, and (2) therefore belongs to a distinguished family, and (3) her sphere is entirely limited to temple-jurisdiction. We know of three other well-attested *gyðjur* in Iceland,² of whom two at least are of *hersir* family. How entirely one of these, Thorlaug, daughter of Hrólf the younger, must have been identified with the priestly office seems to follow from certain words in Landnáma which have hardly received the attention they deserve. "Hrólfur the younger married his daughter, Þorlaug *gyðja*, to Oddi Yraron. For that reason he moved house west to Ballará, and dwelt there a long while, and was called Hrólf at Ballará."³ Evidently his daughter, the priestess, could not move to her husband's house, as she could not leave the temple. The other two

¹ Vápni., ch. 5.

² Þúriðr *gyðja* Solmundardóttir (Ld. H. 147); Þúriðr *hofgyðja* Véþormsdóttir (Ld. H. 276) and Þorlaug *gyðja* Hrólfsdóttir (Ld. H. 29).

³ Ld. H. 29, S. 41, þui reðzt hann vestr til Ballará.

gyðjur are Þurídr *gyðja* Sölmundardóttir and Þurídr *hofgyðja* Veþormsdóttir. Besides this, Friðgerðr, the wife of Þórarinn fylsenni, sacrifices in a temple, at any rate during his absence, and is called *gyðja* in a verse.¹ It seems probable that in all these cases some male kinsman or the husband had *mannaforráð*, chieftainship. The case of Þórarinn fylsenni, just at the close of the tenth century, suggests that even after the revised law of 965 *mannaforráð* could still be held apart from priestly office, if the latter was in the hands of a kinswoman. We can quite understand that there would be less danger in the separation of the two offices, if the priestly functions were performed by a woman, who would be precluded from winning a real political ascendancy. The mention of four *gyðjur* in those of our sources which deal with the heathen period seems to suggest that they were a fairly large class. We are thus rendered less sceptical of the Norwegian *gyðjur* mentioned in the Fornaldarsögur, and can credit the story of Álfhildr, to whom we are introduced while she is performing a sacrifice at night. The case of Turges' wife, who acts as priestess at Clonmacnois, may also be remembered. But in considering priestesses it must be admitted to be possible, and even probable, that we must set very definite limits to their activities and prevalence at the close of heathen times. There seems to be reason for suspecting that women only performed functions as priestesses in the service of the group of divinities, Njörðr, Freyja, and Frey, and in *disir*-worship, which may possibly be a cult of ancestors. We know of so few *gyðjur* that it is surely of importance to note what a large proportion of them are connected with these cults. To begin with the Elder Edda. Hyndluljóð mentions the *gyðja* Hlédís, the mother of that Óttarr who builds a *hörg* for Freyja and sacrifices to her. Then there is the story told in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason, in the Flateyjarbók ver-

¹ Kristni S. ch. 2.

sion, ch. 173, where Gunnarr helmingr meets the priestess of Frey in Sweden. Again, *Hervarar Saga* shows us Álfhildr reddening a *hörg* at night. Now all the references we possess to this form of sanctuary show that in Norway it was dedicated to the Vanir—to Frey or Freyja. Then we have Þuríðr *hofgyðja* in Iceland, whose maternal half-brother (and first cousin on the father's side), is called *Freysgoði*, which at any rate suggests that the family was addicted to the worship of this god. It is thus fully possible that while both men and women might be priests or priestesses of Frey or Freyja, in late heathen times women were excluded from public office in the service of Thor. We must note that the temples of two *hofgoðar* mentioned in Norway, at Mæri and at Guðbrandsdal, are both traditionally associated with Thor.¹

To sum up. There is reason to believe that besides the persons exercising combined priestly and political power, there were in Iceland three other classes of chiefs, at least until 965. (1) Persons like Hrafnkell Freysgoði, exercising political ascendancy in entire independence of a temple. (2) Persons like Þorsteinn Ingi-mundarson, who exercised political ascendancy, but in whose family the priestly office had fallen to another of the co-heirs. (3) Persons like Broddhelgi, or Hrólfur the Younger, who exercised political ascendancy, but whose temple was in the hands of a kinswoman.

In Iceland, where there was at first no other bond to attract dependents, and where at first no settled *thing*-places brought people together independently of the sacrificial feasts, the temple must have loomed large in the public eye, and we can understand that those who succeeded in consolidating their power were those who possessed and administered this central meeting-place. and who, further, did not have to delegate to others

¹Olaf. Tryggvason throws down the statue of Þórr at Mæri, *Hkr.* O.T. 69. In the Guðbrandsdal temple is the image of Þórr "which has always aided us." *Hkr.* O.h. 112.

the observances that gave their acts a religious sanction. Hence the final success of the temple-owners in the race for power. And here we must be allowed to enter a protest against the view, recently repeated both in German and English books, that the mass of the Icelandic settlers were half-Christian, wholly atheistic, or sunk in special and degrading superstitions. The incidental mention of a couple of "godless" men, or the supposition that heathendom must have been sapped by a Viking life, can weigh as nothing against the fact that the communal religious feeling in Iceland was so strong that it shaped the whole political and administrative structure. Chieftainships not connected with temples were fore-doomed to extinction.

Indeed, if one may be permitted to conclude with a generalization, one of the most remarkable things about early Scandinavian history is the constitutional importance of religion among a people so entirely lacking in a priestly caste. We understand and are ready to make allowances for the vast power wielded by the Druids among the Celtic peoples, but the absence of priestcraft among the Scandinavians ought not to blind us to the influences exerted by religion on the social structure. We have seen reason to suspect that at least twice in the history of Scandinavia religious union preceded and fostered political union, and I hope we have also had a glimpse of how the political fabric of the youngest of the Scandinavian States was slowly built up on the basis of its religious organization.

THYRA, THE WIFE OF GORM THE OLD, WHO WAS SHE, ENGLISH OR DANISH?

By CAPTAIN ERNEST RASON.

THE lecture which I am to communicate to you to-night is not by any means intended as a final settlement of the question, "Thyra, the wife of Gorm the old, who was she, English or Danish?" It is, on the contrary, merely an attempt to state the case in England, to call attention to the issues involved, and to interest, if possible, other English enquirers.

The lecture is a development of the evidence I have collected on the subject during research on another theme, "Russia as the Eldorado of Canute the Great." The question of Thyra is for me but a side issue, yet as Denmark came largely into my main work, its history had to be investigated for a certain period before Canute's reign. Whilst doing this the so-called Conquest of England by the Danes was forced upon my notice in a manner it had never been before. English boys are rarely taught their own early history, but rather that of Greece and Rome. It was with a distinct feeling of relief that I read in *Saxo Grammaticus* that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. If Thyra were the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, then the invasion of Svein and Canute was no foreign conquest, but merely a dynastic change brought about by Danish ships and Danish troops, and on the same principle as the Wars of the Roses, except that in the latter Welsh and French troops were employed. When I came to consider the question further I found that the most recent Danish opinion on the matter was so divided, that in the *Danmarks Riges Historie* of 1906 the question is stated as follows: "Some people say that Thyra was the daughter of an English king, but

others with more probability that she was the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein." This statement seemed to call for examination, certainly from an Englishman. There is every appearance on the face of it that it was written in deference to a divided opinion, although Professor Steenstrup's name is connected with this particular part of the history.

The elder Danish writers before the end of the sixteenth century either followed Saxo in his opinion, or they had some other source for their statement, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who calls Thyra the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany. This, of course, is wrong, but it points to a general idea that Thyra was the daughter of an English king.

Besides the old Danish writers, my authorities for the lecture are the *Heimskringla*, by Snorre Sturlason, the *Jomsborg Vikings Saga*, and the *Knytlinga Saga*, perhaps the best and most reliable of the Icelandic sagas dealing with this particular time. I shall take the latter part of the the question first, and consider what the sagas say about Thyra as the daughter of Klak Harald, Jarl in Holstein.

Carlyle, than whom we have no better judge, said of the *Heimskringla* of Snorre Sturlason that it ought to be reckoned amongst the great history books of the world, were it properly published with accurate maps and well edited. This saga was translated into English as long ago as 1844, and it has recently (1899) been edited and published anew by Rasmus Anderson, some time Minister for the United States at the Court of Kopenhagen. For the *Jomsborg* and *Knytlinga Sagas* I have used Rafn's translation into Danish (1829).

The contention that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald rests almost entirely on the sagas. It was not heard about at all till towards the end of the sixteenth century, about 1594, when the sagas were translated for the first time from Icelandic. The *Heimskringla* tells

us that a certain Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiörtr, was the sister of Thyra Danmarkarbót, married to King Gorm the old, who at that time reigned over the Danish dominions; this Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald. Thorny was the grandmother of Harald Fairhair, King of all Norway, and we are told that Harald was born when his mother, Ragnhild, was twenty years old. Harald Fairhair died about 930, and succeeded his father at the age of ten, about 860, so that his mother, Ragnhild, must have been born in 830, and allowing twenty years for Thorny's age when Ragnhild was born, we get 809 for the birth of Thorny, the sister, according to the saga, of Thyra. The same saga tells us that Harald Fairhair, when he was about fifteen years of age, wishing for a wife, sent a deputation to Gyda, the daughter of King Erik in Hörðaland, but she refused to come, saying that she would not wed until she found the man who could reduce all the kings of Norway as Gorm the old had done in Denmark. This settles, as far as the saga is concerned, the date when Gorm had established his paramount power in Denmark, viz., about 865. It may be observed that Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred of England, was not yet born.

The Jomsborg Saga gives a highly descriptive and detailed account of the courting of Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, by Gorm. Thyra is said to have been so wise and intelligent that she was already associated with her father in the government of his small kingdom, when Gorm came down from the North of Jutland to woo her. Gorm had a large party with him, and Thyra was not ready to give her love at once, nor Harald to part with her; but Gorm, in the rough and ready manner of those days, said that if her father would not give her to him for wife he would take her by force, which, it appeared, he was quite capable of doing. Under these circumstances Thyra decided to play with him by her wiles and wisdom till she was ready for him,

or perhaps to give her father time to prepare for resistance. Thyra told Gorm he must go home: there he must have a house built in the forest no larger than to hold one bed; on this bed he was to sleep alone for three nights, and if he dreamt dreams he was to send her an account of them, so that she might ascertain whether it would be a happy marriage.

Gorm went to his place in the north, and had a house constructed out in the forest only large enough to hold one small bed, in which he slept alone; but, being a wise man, he placed a guard of 300 men round the house in the forest to guard against surprise. Under these circumstances he dreamt his dreams in peace; they are somewhat curious, and have a sort of resemblance to those of Pharaoh. The first dream was that he found himself out under the open heaven looking over all the land of his kingdom. Then the sea seemed to go back from the land till all the salt water lakes and fords were dry. Presently he saw three boars come up out of the sea; they begged his pardon, and then they fed on the grass around and went back into the sea. These boars were white. The second dream was that three boars came out of the sea, but they were of a red colour, and had large tusks, and behaved just like the first three. The third dream was the same, but the boars were black, and had the largest tusks of all. When these last boars had gone he heard a mighty noise, so loud that he thought it must have been heard over all Denmark, and the sea came back on the land with awful force. Thyra interpreted these dreams—the three White Boars were three very cold winters, when there would be much snow, and all the fruits of the ground would be damaged; the three Red Boars were three winters when there would be little snow, and the three Black Boars signified wars in the land, and that they all went back into the sea proved that these troubles would not continue long. The noise of the sea when it came back on the land again meant that

mighty men would come on the land with great wars, and many of his relations would take part. If he had dreamed this the first night she would not have married him, but now there would not be so much injury, because she would give advice which would be proclaimed throughout the land.

It seems as if these dreams had been added by some one who knew the Bible account of the dreams of Pharaoh and their interpretation. They have been added by the Christian skalds in their version of the story as told in Iceland. We at least know from another account in the saga that at that time Klak Harald was a heathen, a believer in the old gods and all the superstitions attending such a belief. After Gorm and Thyra had gone back to their homes in the north, Klak Harald was invited to visit his son-in-law at Yuletide. He left for the north in time to be at the Yule-feast, but on the way he saw an apple tree, on which were small green apples. This was very remarkable for the season of the year, and on the ground were many larger apples, arousing great astonishment in Harald and his followers, so that they turned and went home again. The next year Harald went north again to the Yule-feast, invited by his son-in-law, and had almost reached the Lim-fjord, when something happened to the hounds he had with him, and this caused him to give up his visit and go home again. The third year he went north again, and reached the ferry over the Lim-fjord on the western side. When he was at the ferry it seemed as if two waves arose, one from inside the fjord and the other from outside, they met at the entrance to the fjord, and then they seemed to turn into blood; and for the third time Harald's superstitious fears were aroused, and he returned home. From the above we can judge, that as far as the circumstances of the saga are concerned, at the time of his daughter's marriage, and for three years after, Klak Harald was a heathen, with all the heathen superstitions. We also know very well

when Christianity came into his country, for it was brought by the celebrated St. Anskar in 825. He established a small church at Ribe on the west coast, and another celebrated priest became the pastor of the church, viz., Rembertus. We also learn from German history when Klak Harald was made a Christian. He was baptized at Mainz in 826.

From the above history we can calculate that Thyra must have been married to Gorm about 825, which would make her birth fall about 806 to 812, and point her out as about the same age as her sister Thorny, the wife of Sigurd Hiort.

The same saga tells us that Gorm had two sons, Canute and Harald, that Harald was much younger than Canute, and that Canute was brought up chiefly at the house of his grandfather, Klak Harald, and when old enough was given a portion of his kingdom to govern; this marks Canute down as born some time before 834, as Klak Harald died in 846, and Canute must have been twelve years old at least when he was given a kingdom to govern. This would make him at least one hundred years old when he was killed in 936. These three calculations from the side of the Heims-kringla of the birth of Thorny, from the side of the Jomsborg Saga of the marriage of Gorm, and from the story of Canute's being given a portion of the kingdom to govern, give approximately the same date for the marriage of Thyra, daughter of Klak Harald, to Gorm, viz., 825, and for her birth any date from 806 to 812.

Of Canute, we hear that he was killed in England or Ireland on a Viking cruise, and he left, so far as is known, but one son, Gold-Harald, who perished in 969. What the age of Harald was we are not told, but if his father Canute was seventy when he was born, Gold-Harald must have been about sixty-six at the time he was killed, and nearly as old as Harald Bluetooth, his uncle.

Now we will consider the case of Harald Bluetooth.

We are told in the Jomsborg Saga that he was much younger than his brother, and there seem to have been some signs of enmity between them, for we find the Jomsborg Saga saying that Harald killed Canute, which cannot be right, yet we find from the Heimskringla that even if Harald did not kill his brother, he may be almost considered as an accessory to the death of Gold-Harald. He was afraid that Gold-Harald would attempt to fight him for half the land of Denmark, and, by an arrangement with Earl Hakon, Gold-Harald was killed.

If there is one thing certain about Harald Bluetooth it is his death, which happened within a year on either side of 986. We have decided that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, was born not later than 812. Can she possibly have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth? We are told in Medical Jurisprudence that sixty years is the extreme limit of a woman's powers of bearing children, though we have the account of Sarah, who bore Isaac at the age of ninety, which has been a standing wonder for centuries. We cannot suppose that Thyra was any exception to the common lot, and therefore she cannot have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, whatever her relation to Cnut Danaast may have been.

We are told in *Danmarks Riges Historie* that Thyra knew from her birth the necessity of building a Danevirke, with which the name of Thyra is connected, and this is considered one of the side proofs that Thyra was the daughter of Klak Harald, as she was brought up near the Danevirke. But it is evident that she could not have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth, neither could she have governed the kingdom in Gorm's old age.

I think now we have come to the time when we may say that it is most probable that Thyra the daughter of Klak Harald, was not the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

We will now take the case of Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred, King of England, a fact which Saxo distinctly states in his history. Here he is in company with all the old writers of Denmark before the end of the sixteenth century, except Cornelius Hamsfortii, who says that Thyra was the daughter of Edward the Elder, and sister of the wife of Otto I., Emperor of Germany, which of course is wrong; but Thyra as the daughter of Ethelred would have been a second cousin of Editha, Otto's wife.

Thyra was, of course, a Christian, but there is a curious story in Saxo of her wishing for dreams as to the future before she would give herself up to her husband, and there is a statement that Canute and Harald went over to England to wrest the kingdom from their grandfather; but, of course, this is incorrect, as Ethelred must have been dead before Gorm even married Thyra. Yet there is no doubt that Harald and Canute were in England at different times, and they, or at least Harald, may have had some idea that he had a claim on the kingdom.

What history teaches us about the children of Ethelred is very little; we know from the will of Alfred the Great that there was a difference over their money matters between the two brothers, and it was finally agreed that all the money should go to the survivor unless the other had left a will. Ethelred died first, and somewhat suddenly, without making a will, and Alfred took all the money to himself, leaving in his will only seven small manors to his nephews, Athelmær and Ethelwold, and six manors between his daughters; but he stated that he only left to the spindle side what had belonged to him and Ethelred, and not what had been left by his father. This may be a reason why no mention is made of any daughter of Ethelred in the will. In the time of Alfred, when a younger brother was made king in consequence of the youth of his elder brother's children, as Alfred the Great was,

then it was usual for the elder brother's children, if they were grown up, to inherit the kingdom after their uncle, and not the younger brother's children. But King Alfred, having all the money and all the power, managed that his own son, Edward the Elder, should succeed him, to the detriment of Ethelred's children. Ethelwold, the youngest of the two sons of Ethelred mentioned in the will, did attempt to establish his prior right to the throne, in which he was assisted by the Normans and Danes of East Anglia and Northumberland. It must be remembered that the North of England north of Watling Street was almost entirely Danish at this time, and it was the Danes who backed Ethelwold. Gorm might even have been amongst them. Unfortunately, Ethelwold was killed, and the rising subsided.

Steenstrup, in his *Normanerne*, when referring to the building of the *Danevirke* and the Burghs in England, calls attention to the similarity of their construction, especially about the escarpment of the ditch, as being different from the German and French *burgs*, which were also being built about that time. He adds that there was another similarity; that they were built by women, and women whose husbands were ill at the time; and he adds a third resemblance, if Saxo is right, that is, that both were built by the daughters of a king. He might have added that there was no wonder that they were alike, as they were built by cousins, for Thyra, the daughter of Ethelred, was the cousin of Athelflæd, who built the burghs in England.

In another part of the same book Professor Steenstrup calls attention to the great number of treacheries which took place in England during the invasion of England by Svein and Canute, and he adds that there are not many instances in all history that a nation has been so often and so thoroughly betrayed by its own people as the Anglo-Saxons were at that time, except there had been a dynastic strife. But if Thyra was the

daughter of Ethelred, then the so-called invasion of Svein and Canute was a dynastic strife; for they had more right to the throne than Ethelred the II. They were in fact, almost in the same condition relative to Ethelred II., as the Duke of York and his son, Edward IV., were to Henry VI. at the time of the Wars of the Roses. The Duke of York was unquestionably heir general of the royal line through his mother Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, son of Phillipa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., as against the reigning sovereign, Henry VI., a weak king, descended from a younger brother of Lionel. Similarly we may say that Svein was undoubtedly heir general of the royal line by his grandmother, Thyra, daughter of Ethelred I., elder brother of Alfred the Great, as compared with the weak king, Ethelred II., descended from the younger brother, Alfred the Great. The similarity in the treacheries is far too striking not to be the result of the same cause, viz., a dynastic struggle, and is strong corroborative evidence for the accuracy of Saxo's statement that Thyra was the daughter of Ethelred I.

The number of traitors in both cases was very large, and includes all sorts and conditions of men. The great traitors, Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, in the Wars of the Roses, are well represented by Ælfric and by Eadric Streona; the latter's constant changes of side and near connection to the King Ethelred II. are on a par with that of the Duke of Clarence, for the treachery of Eadric Streona has never been properly explained. It puzzled Professor Freeman, but I think, in the light of a dynastic dispute, his change of side may be accounted for.

Eadric Streona was the son of one Æthelric of Bocking, in Essex, who was accused to the king about 995 that he had said that Svein ought to be received in Essex; this accusation appears to have been kept in reserve till his will was brought to be confirmed by

King Ethelred II.; Eadric Streona was the Thane of Oswald, at one time Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, who was a Dane, and a great friend, I think a nephew, of Archbishop Odda, who was Archbishop of Canterbury. This gave Eadric a very good start in life, and his father could not have been such an unknown person as Freeman has stated, and as we know Eadric married Ethelred's daughter. Amongst the signatures to the will of Æthelric of Bocking is the signature of Æthelmaer, immediately after those of the bishops, and at the head of the Thanes. This is most probably Æthelmaer, the great Earl of Wessex, son of the historian, Æthelweard, who claimed descent from Ethelred I., but whether from a son or another daughter is not known. These people must have known that Svein was the head of the House of Ethelred I., and may have been in league with him to restore their common ancestors' family to the throne. When Svein came south from Gainsborough we find the Wessex thanes met him at Bath to give their allegiance, and when Canute came back in 1015, after Svein's death, Æthelmaer and the Wessex thanes welcomed him, and after the defeat at Penselwood we find that Æthelmaer still clung to Canute, for he was at the Battle of Sherston near Malmsbury.

When Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, divided the kingdom of England into earldoms, he reserved Wessex for himself. Was it because it was the rightful property of his ancestors?

The contention that Svein and his son Canute had, like the Duke of York and his son Edward IV., a prior right to the throne of England over the then reigning king, accounts for so many difficulties in the history of that time, that it may be taken as strong corroborative evidence in favour of Saxo's account of Thyra's birth. It accounts for most of the treachery during the so-called conquest of England by Svein and Canute, it accounts for the special form of treachery of Eadric

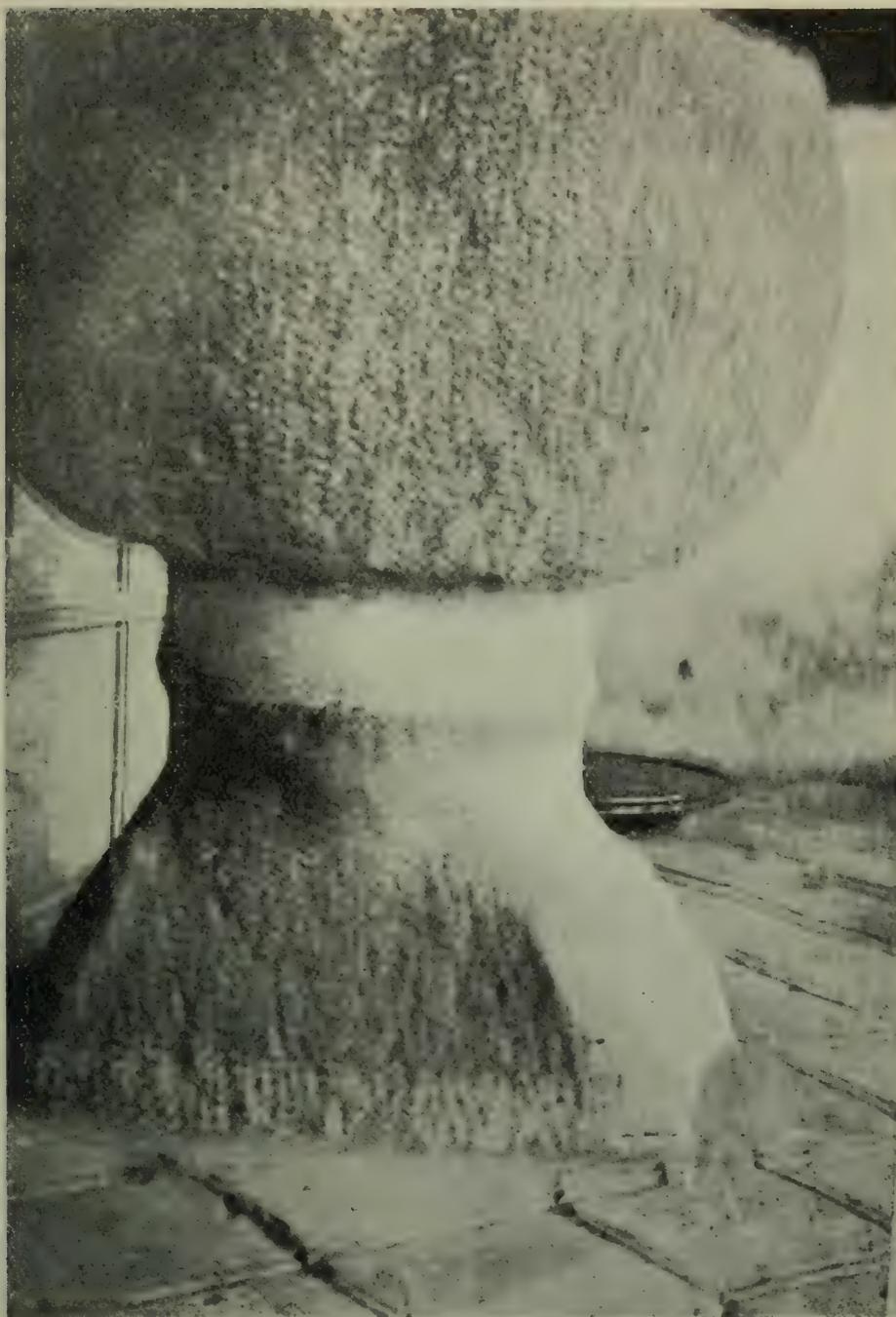
Streona, it accounts for the change back to Ethelred II. when Svein died, as being the most fitting man of the descendants of Æthelwulf left in England, bad as he was; as well as for the return to Canute when he had proved himself as fitting a man as his father. It accounts for the willingness to divide the kingdom between the two rival dynasties, and finally it accounts for the wonderful manner in which England accepted the rule of Canute, when once he had asserted his right to the throne, both by descent and conquest and by election, just in the same manner as the English people behaved towards Edward IV., when once his power was established.

Now I hope I have persuaded you that the account of Thyra's birth ought to be that some people say she was the daughter of Klak Harald, a Jarl or King in Holstein, but that it is more probable that she was the daughter of Ethelred, King of England. I have one other piece of proof, which, although it could not be brought in by itself, can at least confirm the already considerable body of evidence. About the time that, according to the sagas, Gorm and the daughter of Klak Harald were being married, viz., in 825, Christianity was first brought to Denmark by St. Anskar, and he founded a small church at Ribe, a port close to the sea on the west coast of Denmark in those days, but now somewhat inland. It is just to the south of the islands of Fanö and Manö, close to which latter is the now flourishing port of Esbjerg, which was, however, non-existent sixty years ago. At Ribe there was a Christian church built, and Rembertus was the pastor. He succeeded St. Anskar as Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen in 865, but he no doubt kept up his interest in the church of Ribe until his death in 888, for the port of Ribe was only a few hours' sail from Hamburg. Opposite Ribe, on the south part of the small island of Fanö is the village of Sönderho. Some sixty years ago, before the great changes which took place as a



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—I.

consequence of the increasing trade of the port of Esbjerg, a Mr. Marryat was travelling in Denmark for archæological purposes. At Sönderho he heard a tradition that Thyra, the wife of Gorm, the daughter of an English king, had given the font to the old Sönderho church in consequence of her having been saved from drowning when she was wrecked off Manö island on her way to Ribe to marry Gorm the old. Mr. Marryat did not pay much attention, and merely remarks that the font was an unshapely mass of granite. There is no doubt that the font, looked at casually, is to-day an unshapely mass, but on examination it may be noticed that from one direction it is very graceful and symmetrical, although from others most ungainly and ugly; further examination will show that the font has been badly treated, and much of it roughly broken, especially at the sides, just like the monuments in our churches were treated at the time of the Commonwealth, and that the greater part of the rim has been chipped away. There are five other granite fonts in Jutland, one close to Sönderho at Brondon, on the mainland. These are of the twelfth century; they have four crosses on the rim and one or two on the side. We can now see why the sides of the Sönderho font were broken, viz., to get rid of the crosses on the font rim and on the side. It seems very probable that the font at Sönderho had originally some crosses on the side and on the rim, which at some time were broken away, and it takes a great deal to break away the side of a granite font; it was done purposely. There is no doubt that at one time the font was an extremely fine one and very graceful in its outline, and it was made at a time when good workers did work for Christian buildings. In comparison with the five fonts made in the twelfth century it was much more graceful in its lines. This font later fell into disrepute, was roughly treated by somebody's orders, for no amount of casual damage would equal the harm which has been done to it. Granite is



THYRA'S FONT AT SÖNDERHO.—II.

one of the hardest of stones. The font was again restored to favour, but it was used in its damaged condition, with the tradition attached to it which has already been stated. It is situated in the very place where a traveller coming from England would be wrecked. It is old enough to have been made at the time mentioned, *i.e.*, about 900. It bears evidence of having been wilfully damaged in a manner which would occur during a lapse from Christianity, such as occurred during the regn of Svein, so I think we may add this as a scintilla of additional evidence in favour of Thyra's being the daughter of Ethelred I. of England.

The *Danmarks Riges Historie* gives a choice of two solutions for the birth of Thyra, I should like to offer a third, and that is that Gorm the old had two wives, both of them named Thyra. The first was the daughter of Klak Harald, and the second the daughter of Ethelred of England. Some one will no doubt ask how did an English king's daughter come by such a Scandinavian name as Thyra; the answer is that Ethelred's mother was the daughter of the last of the princes of Mœn, who were of Jutish descent.

There is no difficulty in Gorm's having two wives, in succession or even together, or even of the same name. The instance of Halfdan the Black, King of Norway, immediately recurs to memory.

We have seen that Thyra, the daughter of Klak Harald, could not for physical reasons have been the mother of Harald Bluetooth; but there is no great physical difficulty about Gorm, even at the age of over eighty, being his father when he married the young daughter of Ethelred of England, who would have been about twenty-eight years old.

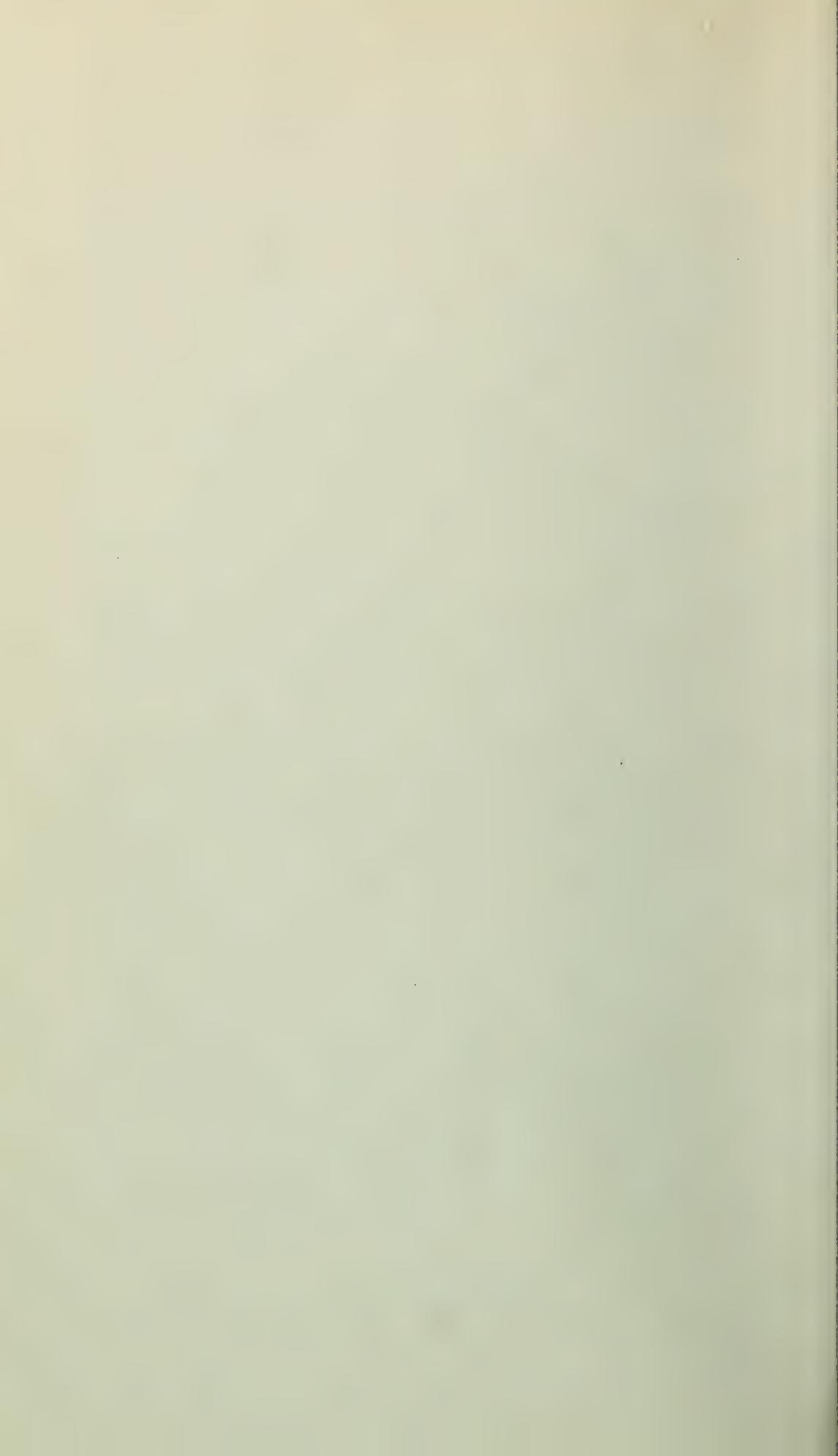
In support of the suggestion I have made I may remark on the inscriptions on the two rune stones in Jellinge churchyard, a large one and a small one. The church lies between two immense tumuli. The northern one is called by tradition Thyra's grave, but by a

curious chance the smaller rune stone, which comes from the southern tumulus, is inscribed as follows: "Gorm made this monument in memory of his wife Thyra Danmarkarbót." It is generally stated that Thyra lived after Gorm, which this monument proves an error, unless there were two Thyras. The larger rune stone, which is said to have been always in the churchyard, tells us that Harald the king bade make this stone after Gorm his father and Thyra his mother, the Harald who conquered all Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christian.

It is noticeable that Thyra is not called *Danmarkarbót* on the larger stone.¹ It seems to me that there must have been two Thyras—one who helped Gorm when he was conquering all the smaller kings, and a second Thyra who was the Thyra of his old age, who built the Danework, and who outlived him, and was the mother of Harald Bluetooth.

Photographs of Thyra's Font.—Photo I. represents the general appearance of the font, shewing that, with the exception of the broken parts, it is graceful in form, much more so than the twelfth century granite fonts. The uneven line on the left upper rim is due to its damaged condition. A piece has been broken off on the right upper corner of the photograph, but the greatest damage has been done in the lower left-hand corner, which place corresponds to a cross on the twelfth century font near Skuer in Jutland. High up on the left of Photo I. is a broken piece. This is shown on Photo II. in front view, and corresponds to a Runic inscription on the twelfth century font near Skuer.

¹ It may also be noticed that on the smaller stone the name is spelt *Thurin*, while on the larger it is *Thouvin*.



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- d.* Synod and Kirk session minutes.
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- g.* MSS. in private collections.
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- i.* Valuation of Orkney 1653.

3.—Caithness and Sutherland Records.

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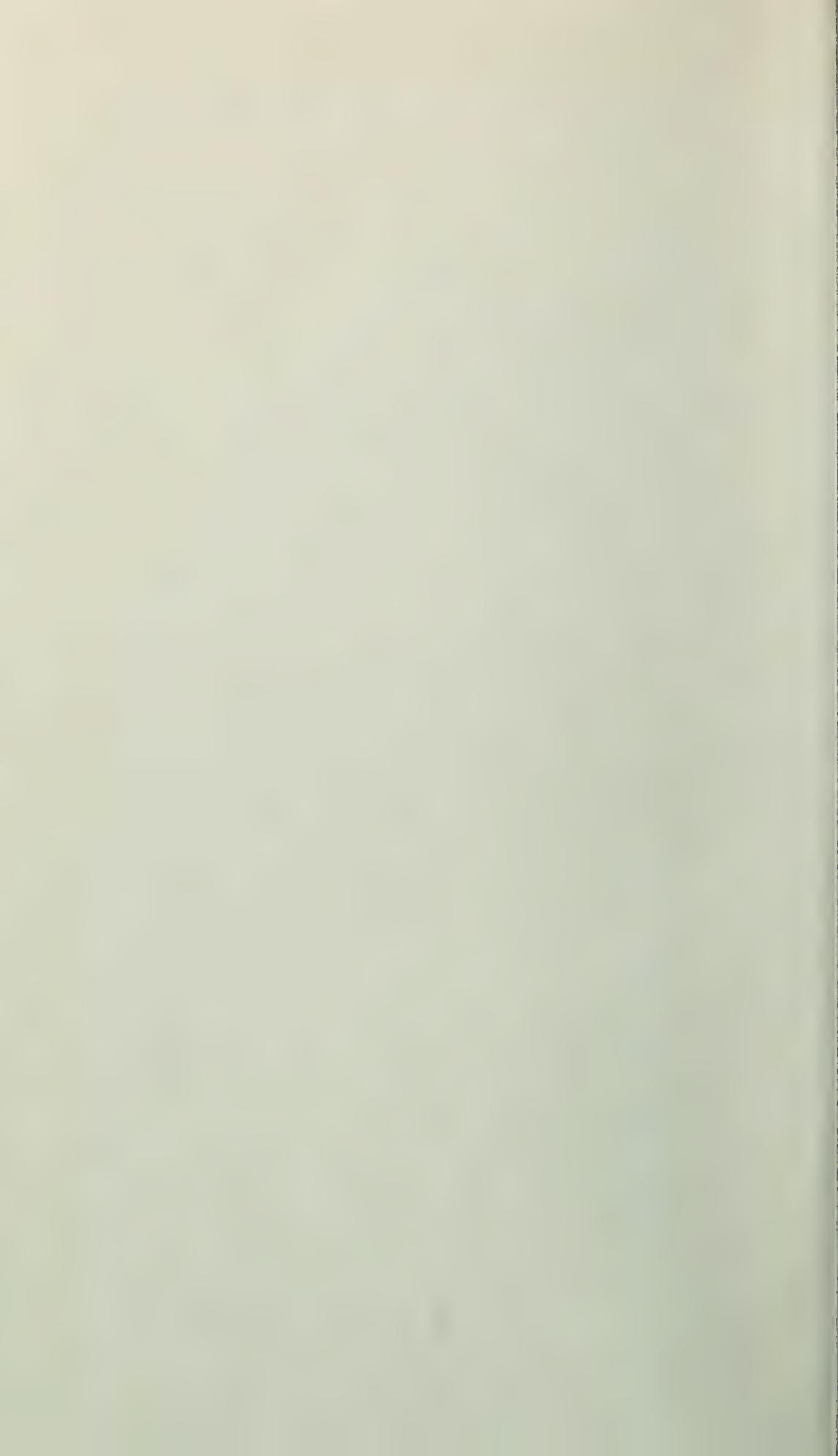
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