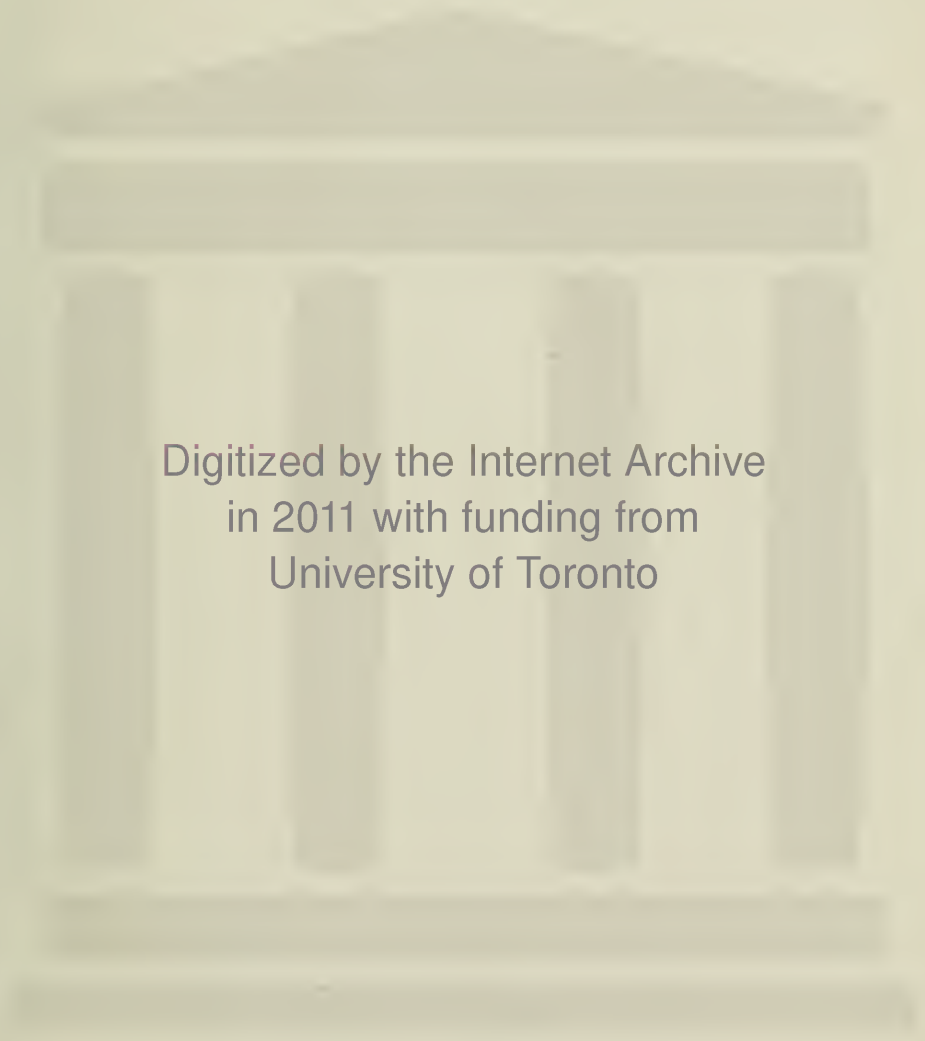








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VOL. IX. PART I.



Henry H. Howorth.

“HARALD FAIRHAIR” and his Ancestors.

PART I.

By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH,
K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
Vice-President.

Being two Papers read before the Viking Society, London,
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“ HARALD FAIRHAIR ”

and his Ancestors.

PROLOGUE.

I PROPOSE in the following pages to describe the reign of the greatest of the Norwegian kings, who probably shares with the famous Emperor Otho the First, the reputation of being the most heroic figure in the European history of the 10th Century—namely, Harald Halfdaneson, known from the profusion and beauty of his locks, as Fairhair, the founder of the kingdom of Norway.

The exceptional features of Harald's career make it necessary, if we are to understand its real meaning, to try and grasp the earlier condition of Norway as it may be gathered from the scanty materials alone available. This I propose to do shortly, before turning to the Life of the Great King. Especially do I deem it convenient to do so because it is an almost untrodden field in English literature, and I intend, therefore, to condense some of the information on the subject which was admirably sifted by Munch, one of the few great historians the world has known, which I shall quote from Clausen's German translation of the first two volumes, and shall supplement it by the later researches of Vigfusson and Powell, G. Storm, A. Bugge and others.

During recent years it has become more and more probable that the same Scandinavian stock which inhabits the great peninsula has been there from very early times and has probably been very little altered in its more general features. I do not propose

at this stage to discuss at length the archæology of the race—this would involve a long description—nor yet the religion, the laws, or the customs of the people, but only its political history and the distribution and movements of the communities into which it was divided in early mediæval times. Munch and others have established the conclusion that the Norwegian race in early times comprised three great communities, one of them occupying Norway east of the “keel” or backbone of the country, and two of them occupying the whole seaboard from Norland to the great inlet of Viken and the Christianiafiord. These were known as the Thronds, in the north-west; the Hords in the south-west, and the Raums in the Uplands, *i.e.*, the northern part of Norway, east of the Dovrefelds.

Munch made it plain that the stock which peoples the whole maritime district of North-West Norway, including the widely ramified Throndheimfiord and extending from the province of North Møre in the South to that of Norland inclusive, is united by certain unmistakable common features, physical, artistic and linguistic, and notably also by the local nomenclature. In all these respects it differs generally from the people to the South, who are separated from them by Raumdal.

The race occupying the long maritime district just named were called Thronds (Thröendr). What the etymology of the name was, does not seem very certain. Munch suggests that it means the prosperous (*op. cit.*, 114, note 2). Thrond occurs as a personal name in several places in the Heimskringla, and occurs also as a place-name, notably where it gives its name of Throndheim (*i.e.*, the home of the Thronds) to the great inland fiord of Central Norway.

The name occurs at a very early period, and is found in the form Throwende, in “Widsith” or the Travellers’ Tale, one line of which reads: “I was in Throwende,” while the indigenous Norwegian chronicle known as the Fundinn Noregr, makes them the earliest inhabitants of Norway.

The province of Halogaland was originally the focus and heart of this community, and a headland called Trondenaes occurs on the north-east side of the Hinn-isle in Halogaland (see Magnusson, *Heimskringla* IV., 285).

The name Halogaland was long ago explained by Adam of Bremen as meaning the Holy or Sacred Land.” He says: “*Hoc ignorantes pagani terram illam vocant sanctam et beatam, quæ tale miraculum præstat mortalibus.*” This etymology has been adopted by Munch, whom it is generally safe to follow. He says: “*Hálugr* is an archaic form of *heilagr* holy, whence *haaloga land* the holy land. In Anglo-Saxon it was called *Hálga-land*, which is the same thing, and the modern pronunciation *Helge land* probably comes from an old form *Helga land.*” (Munch *op. cit.*, 1, 98, note 3).

Adam of Bremen speaks of Halagland (as he calls it) as an island near Normannia not less in size than Iceland or Greenland, *op. cit.*, 245. His mistake was corrected by a scholiast, who says of it that “it is the furthest part of Nordmannia and nearest to the Scridfingi”—*i.e.*, to the Lapps.

As Munch says, Heligoland, also called Fosete, situated in the bight of the Elbe, is the same name and has no other etymology than that of Holyland. In the case of the Norwegian Holyland, the name is best explained by its having been the oldest seat of the race who dwelt there (*ib.*, 96). It further seems to me that he is right in attributing the

reference in Eyvind Scaldaspieler's famous poem, the *Haleyiatal*, in which he applies the name "Mandheim," meaning the first homeland of men, not to Suithiod or Sweden, as some have done, but to Halogaland, the country of the hero whose praises he was singing (*op. cit.*, 96, Note 2). The name Thorscliff, now Thorshaug, in the parish of Stadsbygden-in-Fosen to the north of Throndheim, no doubt recalls a famous shrine of Thor in this district, which may have given its name to Halogaland.

The God Thor, or Thör, was well known to the Germanic peoples as well as the Scandinavians. The Anglo-Saxons knew him as Thunor, *i.e.*, the Thunder God and he presided over heaven and the phenomena of the air and thus corresponded to Zeus or Jupiter. It is a daring and perhaps a foolish suggestion to hint that the names Thor and Thrond were connected, and that the Thronds were the special cultivators of the worship of Thor, who was the great god of Western Scandinavia, as Odin seems to have been of the East, where he had probably largely superseded Thor. It is at least noticeable how frequently his name occurs among those of the early Icelandic settlers. Miss Philpotts, in her admirable account of Germanic heathenism, says that at least one out of every five emigrants to Iceland in heathen times bore a name of which Thor formed a part, and in Iceland we hear of settlers consecrating their land to Thor and naming it after him. (*Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. II., 481). It is interesting to remember that our Thursday still commemorates the famous God, while the winter month of the Norsemen was called Thor's month.

It will be convenient to here set out an account of one of the temples dedicated to Thor. The best

description of such a building is contained in the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, and the account is worth repeating at length. We there read of an exile from Most, an island off South Hordaland, called Rolf. He had charge of the Temple of Thor in that island, and was a great friend of the God, whence he was styled Thorolf. He was outlawed by King Harald Fairhair, as we shall see. Thereupon he made a great sacrifice to Thor and asked of him whether he should make peace with the King or begone. The reply of the god was that he should go to Iceland. He therefore pulled down the temple and took with him most of its timbers and some mould from under the altar where Thor had sat (probably also the altar itself), and when he reached Iceland he threw over into the sea the pillars of his high seat which had been in the temple, and on one of which Thor was carved, and he declared over them that he would settle in Iceland wherever Thor should contrive that the pillars should land. They in fact landed in a firth he called Broadfirth, which they afterwards called Temple Wick. The promontory where Thorolf had landed was called Thor's Ness, and he afterwards went further to the river called Thor's river, and settled his people there, and there he set up for himself a great house at Temple Wick which he called Temple Stead, and there he built a temple. It had a door in the side wall and near to one end of it. Inside the door stood the pillars of the high seat, and nails were driven into them which were called the God's nails, and within it was a great frith-place (*i.e.*, the sanctuary, a kind of apse), and near by was another house of the fashion, says our author, of a choir in a church, and in the midst of it stood an altar on which lay a ring without a joint, that weighed twenty ounces on which all oaths were sworn, and which

the chief must wear on his arm at all male "motes" or assemblies. On the altar also stood the blood bowl and therein the blood-rod like a sprinkler, with which the blood from the bowl, which was called "Hlaut," was sprinkled. It was blood which had flowed from beasts that had been sacrificed to the Gods, and round the altar stood the Gods arranged in the holy place. To that temple all men paid toll, and were bound to follow the temple priest in all journeys, as (says the author) do the Thingmen their leaders, but the Chief must uphold the temple at his own cost, so that it should not go to ruin, and hold sacrifices there.

On the ness or headland was a fell, and Thorolf held it in such awe that no unwashed man was allowed to cast his eyes on it and neither man nor beast could be killed on it. Thorolf called it Holy Fell, and he arranged to be buried there when he died, together with all his kindred from the ness, and he ordered that all oaths were to be sworn on the tongue of the ness where Thor had landed, and there he set up a fylki-thing (Eyrbyggja Saga, chapters iii. and iv.). In the Kjalnesinga Saga we have some additional details. It says Thorgrim was a great settler. He had a large temple built in his home-field at Kjalness 100 feet long, and sixty feet wide, to which all his Thing men paid toll. From its end there projected a building shaped like a cap (*i.e.*, an apse). It was arranged with hangings, and had windows all round. Thor stood in the middle, and on either hand the other gods. In the front was an altar, highly wrought and covered on the top with iron, on which burnt a fire which must never go out, and which they called a hallowed fire.

In the notice last mentioned the writer goes on to tell us that the ring placed on the altar was made

of silver, and on it all oaths relating to ordeal cases had to be taken. The blood-bowl was a large one and made of copper, and the blood was sprinkled on arms and heads. The money of the temple was to be spent in entertaining visitors at sacrifices.

Magnusson reports the discovery in recent years of the remains of a private blood-house. These showed that at one end of it was a semi-circular chamber separated from the main building by a party wall.

In sacrificing men, they were to be hurled into the fire which was by the door and was called the pit of sacrifice. From Hauk's edition of the *Landnama*, we learn that before using the ring or swearing upon, it was reddened with the blood of a sacrificed heifer. The temple guardians were chosen at the Thing according to their wisdom and goodness, and had the further duty of ruling the pleadings of cases and naming the judges. They were called "Godher" (op. cit. xxxi—xxxiv).

Returning to Halogaland; an early notice of the district is that contained in King Alfred's version of Orosius, where he quotes the narrative of a visitor who went to see him from Norway who was named Othere, and who claimed to be a native of Halogaland. He told the King (who, by the way, he styles Hlaford or Lord) that his home lay further north than that of any other Northman. Rask ingeniously suggested that he filled an official post in the far north of Norway and collected the taxes there. It is difficult to explain how Othere came to pay a visit to England from so remote a place, and it has been suggested that he was in fact one of Harald's victims and that he actually settled in England and may even have been a jarl Othere or Othir, who is named as

taking part in a fight there in the year 911. (See Dahlmann Forschungen, i., Note 410). But this is very doubtful, and there is another candidate for the distinction. The name Othere was not uncommon in Norway. Othere's notice of the far north is one of the most interesting relics of 9th Century literature which we possess, but cannot be pursued here.

In the romantic legend about the origin of the Norwegian rulers contained in the Fundinn Noregr and also as an introduction to the Orkney Saga and which is founded largely on geographical assonances and names, the district inhabited by the Thronds is treated as the earliest home of the Norsemen. We read of the two brothers Norr and Gorr who divided the country between them, Norr taking the inland parts and Gorr the islands and outscars. The latter was to have all the islands between which and the mainland he could pass in a ship with a fixed rudder. His sons were Heiti and Beiti, who were also sea kings and fought against Norr's sons, in which first one side won and then the other. Thus we are told that Beiti ran into Thronðheim and lay in the place called Beitsfiord and Beitstede, thence he made them drag his ship from the innermost bight of Beitstede and so north over the isthmus. That is to where the Naumdale comes down from the east. He himself sat on the poop and held the tiller in his hand, and claimed for his own all that lay on the larboard side, including much cultivated land. Munch, in discussing this Saga, rationalises it by claiming it as a proof that the peninsula bounded by the Naumdal Eid or transit, was peopled by the same section of the Thronds as the seaboard, and not by an invasion from Thronðheim fiord itself. Among the names compounded with Beit above named, he mentions in

this district Beitstadt and Beitstadt fiord, Beitsjor, also called Beit's Sjor—*i.e.*, Beit's landing-place, and the lake of Beit. (Op. cit. i., 99 and Note).

There is a good deal of evidence to show, as we shall see, that the Thronds were once ruled by a special dynasty of kings who probably controlled the whole race. One of this Royal stock, on the extinction of the race of Harald, became the King of the whole of Norway—namely, Hakon the 2nd. His deeds and those of his ancestors were recorded in a famous poem (an imitation of Thiodulf's Ynglingatal), and written by Hakon's Court poet, Eyvind Skaldaspieler, who lived in the end of the 10th Century. The poem is referred to in the preface to the Ynglinga Saga, and there it is expressly said that Eyvind derived his hero from Saemingr, the son of Yngwi Frey. These rulers were referred to in the list as Kings and iarls of Halogaland, which originally, doubtless, comprised the whole country of the Thronds.

Eyvind's poem has most unfortunately only been preserved in fragments, which barely include one-fifth of the whole. Four of them are preserved in the King's lives; a fifth in the MS. known as Fagrskinna, and the rest in the Edda and Skalda. These fragments are given by Vigfusson and York-Powell (See Corpus Poet. Bor., i., 251—253), and in a restored text (Ib. ii., 657—658).

Fortunately, portions of the poem have survived as prose paraphrases and quotations elsewhere. Among them we have preserved a list of Hakon's professed ancestors derived through many generations from Saemingr, the son of Odin and the giantess Skadhi, whose reputed descendants were known as Saemings, and formed the

third great Royal stock of the North, the others being the Ynglings and the Scioldings.

In the following list it will be seen that the earlier rulers of Halogaland are called kings, and the later ones iarls :—

KINGS.	IARLS.
1. Odin, who married the giantess Skadhi.	14. Hersir (? Hersi).
2. Saemingr.	15. Brandr-iarl.
3. Godh-hialti.	16. Bryniolfr
4. Swerd-hialti.	17. Bårdhr.
5. Hödhbroddr.	18. Hergils.
6. Himinleygr.	19. Havarr.
7. Vedhr-hallr.	20. Haraldr Trygill.
8. Havarr Handrami.	21. Throndr.
9. Godgestr.	22. Haraldr.
10. Heimgestr Huldar- bröðhir.	23. Herlaugr.
11. Gylaugr.	24. Griotgardhr.
12. Godhlaugr.	25. Hakon Urna-iarl.
13. Mundill Gamli.	26. Sigurd Hlada-iarl.
	27. Hakon Hlada-iarl.

NOTE.—*Vide* Vigfusson and Powell, C.P.B. ii., 522 and 3, taken from Eyvind's poem and The Flatey Book. It will be noticed that one of these iarls is called Throndr. I think Vigfusson is unreasonably sceptical about at least the later of these names. The order of the names 11 and 12 is reversed in the Ynglingatal (see below).

The first of those in the above list who is mentioned in the Ynglinga Saga was a king called Gudlaug who belonged to the heroic age. He is the first ruler of any part of Norway to be named in the Heimskringla. We there read that Jorund and Eric were the sons of Yngwi, son of Alric, King of Sweden. They were great warriors, and one summer were harrying Denmark, when Gudlaug (*i.e.* Godlaugr), "King of Haloga," happened to be there. With him they had a battle, and his ship was "cleared," *i.e.*, its crew were destroyed, and he was captured. They brought him to land at

Straumeyjarnes and there hanged him, and there his folk heaped up a mound over him. Two verses of Eyvind are quoted in the Ynglinga Saga for this account. In them we are further told that the "ness," or headland, was known far and wide from being marked by a stone on the king's mound. (Ynglinga Saga, ch. 26. For the poem see Vigfusson and Powell, Corp. Poet. Bor., i., p. 252). The locality of Straumeyjarnes is not now known. The two Swedish brothers got great fame from this deed.

Presently, we are told, Jorund became King at Upsala, and he often went a-warring, and one summer went to Denmark and harried in Jutland, and went up the Lim-fiord where he plundered, and then landed his ships in Odd-sound, when there came thither Gylaug, King of Halogaland, the son of the above named Gudlaug, and a battle took place between the two kings. The people of the country having heard of it came together from all sides, both great and small, and King Jorund's men were overwhelmed by the multitude and his ships were "cleared." He himself leapt overboard and began to swim, but they laid hands on him and brought him to land, and King Gylaug reared a gallows, and led Jorund thither and hanged him on it. This was reported by Thiodolf in the Ynglingatal (Op. cit., ch. 28), and probably was derived by Eyvind from that poem. I do not understand Vigfusson's note on this verse. - (See op. cit., i., 523).

The next time we read of Halogaland was when Adils was reigning in Sweden. We are told that he was fond of horses, and sent a present of one called "Raven" to Godguest, the King of Halogaland. King Godguest mounted it, and the horse threw him and he was killed (Ynglinga Saga,

op. cit. 33). This was at Omd in Halogaland. Omd was the eastern part of the island of Hin, now called Hindö in Halogaland. (See the fourth volume of Magnusson's *Heimskringla*, page 270). Up to this point Halogaland is the only part of Norway, and its kings are the only rulers of that land named in the *Heimskringla*, and it all points to its having then been the focus and centre of Norwegian life (at least on its west coast) in very early time. Nothing in fact is reported of the eastern and southern parts of Norway until the Ynglings invaded it after the death of King Ingiald of Sweden.

Turning to later times, we have a curious legend professing to show why the kings of Halogaland became iarls. In the poem of Eyvind, as we learn from the fragment on early Norwegian history known as Agrip, where it is quoted as the authority, it is said that Hersi (the fourteenth in the above list) was king in Naumdale (a fylki or shire of the Thronð-land). His wife's name was Wigtha, after whom the river Wigtha in Neamdal (*sic*) was said to have been named. Hersi having lost her, wished to make away with himself in order to join her, and asked if any precedent could be found for a King having committed suicide. On search being made a precedent was found for a iarl having done so, but not for a king. Hersi then went to a certain house on a hill and rolled himself down, saying that he had rolled himself out of the king's title. He then hanged himself in a iarl's title, and his offspring would never afterwards take upon them the title of king (C.P.B., 528). This story is an interesting folk-tale. It is clearly an invention to cover some less romantic cause which it was necessary to disguise. I have not seen this suggested, but it seems

highly probable. Kings in old days did not generally exchange their position for that of iarls except under compulsion. Let us, therefore, turn aside to another more probable folk tale.

It would seem that at an early time Halogaland was divided into a number of shires or “fylkis,” each of them with its petty ruler, but all subordinate to one supreme chief, who had his seat in the fylki called Naundal, and the first of the iarls of Halogaland in the list above quoted is called King of Naundal in a tale to which we will now turn.

Harald Fairhair was not the first Conqueror who subdued this part of Norway. We are told in the saga of King Hakon that Eystein was called the ruthless (*hardhradi*), the mighty (*inn riki*), the evil (*inn illi*), and the evil-minded (*illrádhi*). The focus of his wide realm was Heathmark where he lived, and whence he ruled the Uplands in Eastern Norway (*Ynglinga*, ch. 49-54). He invaded and conquered the “Isles fylki” and the “Sparebiders fylki” in the district of Throndheim, over which he set his son Osmund, whom the Thronds presently slew. He thereupon made a second invasion of Throndheim, which he harried far and wide and completely subdued its people. This we are expressly told in the *Saga of Hakon the Good*, ch. xiii., and it probably occurred in the time of Harald Fairhair’s father or grandfather.

Ari tells us that in order to punish the murder of his son, Eystein imposed a most ignominious punishment on the people of Throndheim. He bade them choose whether they would be governed by his thrall who was called Thorir Faxi or his hound who was called Saur. They thought they would have more of their own way under the latter, on whom therefore their choice fell. They then

had the dog bewitched, so that he had the wisdom of three men, and he barked two words and spoke the third. A collar was wrought for him and chains of gold and silver, and when the roads were bad his courtmen carried him on their shoulders. A high seat was decked out for him, and he sat on a horse as kings were wont to do. He dwelt at the Inner Isle, *i.e.* the Eyna fyki, and had his abode at the stead called Saur's home, and it was said he came to his death in this wise—the wolves fell on his flocks and herds, and his courtmen egged him on to defend his sheep; so he leapt from his horse and went to meet the wolves, but they tore him asunder. This folk-tale may contain some elements of truth, for it was quite after the taste of these grim Norsemen to humiliate their enemies by a punishment of this kind.

Eystein, we are told, did many other marvellous deeds among the Thronðheimers, and to escape from his ravage and cruelty many Lords and other people fled the country abandoning, their old odal lands, *i.e.* lands that paid no tax (*op. cit.*).

Among them was Ketil Jamti, the son of Onund, iarl of Sparbyggja-fylki now Sparburn and he crossed over the keel or Great Mountains and went eastwards with a great company of men who took their families with them. They cleared the woods and peopled the great countrysides there, and the country was thence known as Jamtaland (*ib. ch. xiv.*).

Ketil's grandson was Thorir Helsing, who was outlawed from Jamtaland for murders he had committed there, and migrated thence through the woods to the East, where many people joined him, and the district was afterwards called Helsingland after him. The Norwegians, however, only settled the western part of Helsingland, while the

coastlands of the province were settled by the Swedes. All this seems to me quite rational and probable. The migration eastwards continued in later days, thus we read how, in the reign of Harald Fairhair, Wethorm, the son of Wemund the Old, a mighty hersir, fled from King Harald into Jamtaland and cleared the wild forests or marks there (*Landnamadel* v., 15, 1).

What is plain from all this story is that the Thronds were at that time conquered by Eystein the Great, the King of the Uplands, who had other sons beside Osmund, and we nowhere hear that his victims recovered their independence again. I would urge as a most reasonable solution of the difficulty that Eystein, in fact, divided the country among his own relatives, and that the various Kinglets who were found in Thronnheim, Naumdal and North Mere when Harald arrived were his descendants. In one case only, namely, in that of the specially sacred Land of the Thronds, to which the name Halogaland was now limited, was an exception apparently made. There, as we have seen, the old dynasty which claimed descent from Odin continued to reign, not as Kings but as iarls—that is, they paid tribute to the conquerors. The critical distinction between a King and an iarl was the payment of skat or tribute, and a ruler, however small his kingdom, if he paid no skat was styled a king. This seems to be a rational explanation of the change of the rulers of Halogaland from the status of Kings to that of iarls.

As I have said, Halogaland (the land of the Thronds) was doubtless divided from early times into several "*fylkies*" or provinces, answering to the Northfolk and Southfolk in England, who were all governed by the same code of laws but had their own independent administration. Four of them

were situated on the coast, namely, Raumafylki, Nord Mere, Naundal, and the most northern, *i.e.* Halogaland. Halogaland was separated by an inlet named Nid from N. Mere in the South, and had no definite boundary in the North, where it bordered on the great stretch of land reaching to the North Cape, which was peopled by a thin sprinkling of Lapps. The Norse inhabitants were chiefly gathered in the southern parts, where the temple of Thor was planted on Thor's Ness. In later times it furnished a few emigrants to Iceland, and produced some famous writers, notably the poet of the oldest Eddaic poem, the Volundarkuidha, and there at Tíolto was the home of the last great skald of the Viking period, Eyvind Skaldaspieler, see A. Bugge (*Op. cit.*, 210.) Each of the other fylkies had its sacred fane, called Hof or Thorshof, where the great gods were worshipped and which formed the focus and central point of the shire. Each of the smaller divisions, also had its Thor's temple, and its "Thing," or Assembly. On the west side of the Great Mountain, in fact, Thor was everywhere, and his larger temples were the finest buildings in the land.

The whole district of Thronðheim, called Dronthemen's by Adam of Bremen, was divided into a series of cantons, some large and some small forming eight "inland fylkies," as they are called; they numbered 3 to 10 in the list quoted below, each with its petty ruler and all bound together by a common dialect and laws. The names of these were:—The Orkdale fylki, so called from the river Orke; this is the westernmost of the fylkies and on the south of the Firth; Gauldoela fylki, from the river Gaul; Strinda fylki and Stioradoela fylki, from the river Stiora; these were grouped about the entrance of the fiord; further inland there lived the so-called Inlanders, namely,

Verdaela fylki, so called from the river Vera; Skeyna fylki, Sparbyggia fylki, and Eyna fylki.

I will now abstract from Munch: “*Nordmoen denes aeldste Gudeog Helte Sagn*, 178,” a list of the fylkies into which the land of the Thronds (which was subject to the Frosta Thing) was divided, with the situation of their principal temples, where known:—

1. Haleygja fylki	Throndarnes
2. Naumdael fylki	Jod
3. Sparbyggia fylki	Maerindelni
4. Eyna fylki	Hüssladir (Saurshaugz)
5. Verdaela fylki	Haugr
6. Skeyna fylki	?
7. Stiórdoela fylki	Stjóíadal
8. Strinda fylki	Hladir
9. Gauldoela fylki	Medalhûs
10. Orkdoela fylki	Niardvik
11. Nordrmoera fylki	Yrjum
12. Raumsdoela fylki	Véev.

The larger part of these fylkies, as is obvious, took their name from the principal valleys which traversed them. The two first and the two last faced the sea, and were largely backed by mountains and forests which made access to them from the land side almost impossible at this point. North Mere was separated from Halogaland by a narrow Sound called the Nid, which gives access to the great inland Throndheim fiord that consists of a congeries of converging valleys and waterways. Naumdale lay north of the great Firth, and was nearer to Iceland than any part of Norway, and naturally supplied a greater number of the emigrants, who came from Norway to that island, than any other district. The Thrond extended southward to North-Mere fylki which had its counterpart in South Mere, but was, however, occupied by another race, the Hords. The two Meres apparently originally represented waste

districts separating the territories of the Thronds and Hords. They are now separated by a fylki called Raumdal, which is the frontier of the Thronds in the South. Smaa-land, a similar district in Sweden, was called Mere by Othere.

Behind these four districts lay, as I have said, the sprawling Thronnheim fiord, throwing out its arms in different directions, like a huge starfish, and reminding us of the Lake of the Four Cantons in Switzerland. It was naturally landlocked, and its inhabitants were not fishermen and navigators, but cultivated their rich lands and migrated eastward, and not westward, when conditions demanded it, and in this way largely peopled the Osterdals and the northern frontier of Sweden.

Having described the Thronds let us now turn to their neighbours, the Hords. They gave their name to Hordaland, now known as Sondre Bergenhusamt, which was the kernel of their land. Munch, in his analysis of the population of South West Norway, shows that from Hordaland itself, northwards as far as the Northern frontier of South Mere, the land was peopled by Hords. This is shown by the common dialect prevailing there, and especially by the fact that it was all subject to the same code of Laws and was obedient to the same great Thing or National Assembly.

This code was known as the Gulathingslag, and took its name from Gula in North Hordaland, and no doubt embodied the old Common Law of the Hords. It was also obeyed in later times beyond the borders of the Hords themselves by at least two communities, which once no doubt, had local codes of their own, namely, the Rugians in Rogaland and the district of Agder, both of them famous. To them we will return presently. The Hords, properly so called, occupied

the fylkies of North and South Hordaland, Hardanger, Sogn, Hallingsyadal, Waldres, South Fiord, North Fiord, and the western part of Gudbrandsdal called Lorn or Loar (Munch H.N.F. i. 110).

South of this land of the Hords was Rogaland, *i.e.*, the land of the Rygiar or Rugians. The two, however, were very close akin. The Rugians held the coast and also the islands as far as the eastern district called the Vik: the frontier between the two ran between the hamlets of Nedenaes and Bratsberg called Rygiarbit in old days. Originally Rogaland also included the western part of Thelemarken with the so-called Robygger whence Robygdalag got its name. The latter points to the Rugians having once had a code of their own, and dominated Agder. Munch suggests that Robygger is short for Rogbygger. (Munch, *op. cit.*, 107).

In regard to Agder, it was once a separate kingdom and the seat of more than one legend. It seems plain that earlier however it formed a part of the land of the Rugians. The name, according to Munch, originally merely meant a strip of coast, and was given to the maritime border between the Ryfylki and the Vik, part of which, was known as Rygiarbit. At all events, it is plain that during the Middle ages the whole of Rogaland and Agder were subject to the Gulalag.

Both the Hords and Rugians were known in very early times. The Hords have been very reasonably associated with the Kharudes, who formed a section of the army that invaded Gaul under Ariovistus, in Cæsar's times, and who are also mentioned in the *Morumentum Ancyranum*, dating from the reign of Augustus, and by Ptolemy. They were probably in part at least living in

Jutland, and doubtless gave its name to Harde-Syssel in that peninsula.

The Rugians (the Rygir of the Northern writers) also had colonies south of the Baltic. The island of Rugen was no doubt connected with them. They are, in fact, mentioned as Ulmerugii or Island-Rugii by Jordanes and in the legends of Scandinavia as Holm-rygir. Rugii are also described as living near the Vistula, and are met with in the legends of the Goths and Lombards, and took a part in the great Teutonic invasion of the 4th and 5th centuries.

The two tribes, as I have said, were closely united in the most ancient Sagas and in the early romantic history of Norway called the Fundinn Noregr, we are told that Gard Agde, the son of Nor the Just, ruled over Agder, Rogaland Horda land, Sogn, the Fiords and South Mere. According to the same document, Gard Agde's sons were Hord, King of the Hords, Rugalf of the Rugians, Thrum of Egden, Wegard of Sogn fiord, Freygard of the Firths, Thorgard of South Mere and Griotgard of Nord Mere. (Munch, op. cit., 110, and note 3).

It is a curious fact, that has not been so far as I know noticed, that Odoaker, who deposed the last Roman Emperor Romulus Augustulus and occupied his place, probably came from this district of Norway. He ruled over a confederacy of four tribes—namely, the Rugii, the Turcilingi, the Sciri and the Heruli. In one place Jordanes calls him "*genere Rugus.*" While in another he calls him "*Turcilingorum rex.*"

It would seem that the Turcilingi were, in fact, a tribe of the Rugii. What is interesting to us is that their name is clearly compounded of the

Scandinavian name Thurkil. The Sciri it has long ago been suggested gave its name to Sciringshal, the famous early trading mart, situated in the kingdom of Westfold, quite near Rogaland. A colony of them seems to have settled at the mouth of the Vistula, where Pliny puts them. The name also reminds us of “the Scoringa” of Paul the Deacon. In regard to the Heruli, the most puzzling of all the tribes who invaded the Roman Empire, who filled such a notable place in the history of the 4th and 5th Century, and who apparently formed the great bulk of the army of Odoakar, I believe they were no other than Hords or Haeretha-men with a somewhat altered name. At least I know of no other tribe but the Heruli to which Jordanes’ language can apply. He says of them: “*Qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimium proceritatem affectant praecipuum.*” (Jordanes Hist. Goth., ch. 3). Procopius has much to say of them as a seafaring race, and tells us how a branch of them, after their great migration, returned again to their old home in Scandinavia, and that they “settled near the Goths, the most numerous of the peoples of Thule.” They probably were the tribe otherwise called Hirri.

Jordanes speaks of a King Rodulv, who visited Theodoric in Italy. A. Bugge would identify him with the King of the Heruli of the same name mentioned by Procopius, and with the Roadulv mentioned in the famous Röksetenn in East Gothland, who reigned over a number of tribes in South-Western Norway. Aruth was the name of another Chief of the Heruli. Bugge identifies it with the name Hord (See A. Bugge Die Wikinger, I. 16 and 17). The names in the list are corrupted almost beyond recognition, but something can be

made of them. There are the Tilae or people of Thelemark, and the Granii, no doubt the people who gave its name to the fylki of Grenland near Rogaland. In Agandziae, Zeuss and Mullenhof suggest, we have the same stock as the people of Agder, the former adding the phrase: "*Vielleicht nur in Gothischen Munde umgebildet mit participial endung.*" The Ethelrugi Zeuss would make the Rugians of the west part of Thelemark. The Arochiranni, Munch divides into Arochirani, and makes the latter a corruption of Hords and of Raumi, and Sygni, *i.e.*, the people of Sogn. (Zeuss *Die Deutsche und der Nachbar-stämme*, 507; Munch 1.124).

There still remains another famous stock, the Burgundians, who very probably came from this district. It is usual to derive them from the small Baltic island of Bornholm, where a colony of them doubtless existed, but like Rugen it was probably only a colony, and it is noteworthy that the chief centre in the fylki of South Mere was called Borgund.

A. Bugge condenses a graphic picture of the south-west districts of Norway occupied by the Hords and Rugians in early times, and especially Yaederen and the Hardanger fiord, the lowland in the south of Norway, enclosed by the sea on the one side and the fjeld on the other hand, which already in the bronze age, the early iron age and even earlier, was one of the most populous districts of Norway.

Its excellent soil made it the most fertile part of Norway, enabling it to support a large population. From Yaederen was the shortest passage to Jutland, and both districts seem at one time to have been closely united together. Thence also the passage was the shortest to

England. At the time of the great race migrations as is shown by its archaeological remains, it was closely tied to the lands beyond the North Sea.

In the Viking time Hordaland and Rogaland were among the great foci of piracy in Norway, and were the homes of some of the greatest of the pirate chiefs—of Geirmund and his brother Hamund Heljarskinn and of Anund Trefot, who were descended from the old kings of Hordaland (A. Bugge, *op. cit.* I. 205).

In early times again, Yaederen was the special home of design in handicrafts and of carved Runic stones in Norway. They were doubtless learnt in the West, where the arts were much more developed. Certain stones found in the district, and notably the famous Kleppe stone, are markedly like those from the Isle of Man and the Hebrides. It was from the West that the shorter Runic stave which prevailed in Yaederen at one time and also other artistic ideas must have come, and were thence imported into East Gothland and the island of Gotland. It was in this district also that memorial stones began to be erected which were clearly inspired by those in the West, in the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. (A. Bugge, *Die Wikinger*, 208 and 209).

After the Viking time, Yaederen sank again into obscurity. Professor Sars is of opinion that Harald Fairhair, when he conquered Western Norway, laid a particularly heavy hand on this district so that it never recovered again during the Middle Ages. It occurs sometimes in the sagas of the time of Olaf Trygvesson and Olaf Haraldson, but no such heroes as Erling Skjalgsson of Sole, are then heard of. It must be remembered, however, that after Norway became united into a

kingdom, there was not the same scope for buccaneering on a great scale that there was in the earlier time.

Half, or Halv, was King of Hordaland at the beginning of the Viking time, and was the hero of a poem which now only survives in the Half's Saga. In later times, this poem partly inspired Frithiofs Saga and also Esaias Tegner in his famous story. Other poems also existed about other kings in Hordaland and Rogaland. Thus there has been preserved a strophe from one about the brothers Geirmund and Hamund Heljarskin above mentioned, who were so alike that their own mother could not distinguish them.

At the beginning of the Viking period its chiefs were apparently already intermarrying with Anglo-Saxon wives. A. Bugge identifies the Ljufvina of the Saga, who married Hjórð Halvsson, with the Anglo-Saxon name Leofwynn or Lewina, the female complement of the well-known Anglo-Saxon man's name Leofwine. He suggests that he lived at the beginning of the 9th Century, and was the father of Geirmund and his brother above named. In the Saga she is called the daughter of the King of Biarma, but this is clearly a mistake, for at this time the Norsemen had not found their way to the White Sea, and her name clearly shows she was an Anglo-Saxon. As we shall see, at the great battle of Hafursfiord, there were present Western warriors. Among them, perhaps, as Gustav Storm has suggested, was Olaf the White from Dublin. The poet Hornklofi, apostrophises the "Western swords." Among these were, no doubt, the swords inlaid with the names of English makers on which my friend Lorange wrote such an excellent monograph. The spears and white

shields (probably made of the linden or lime tree), of those who came to the great fight, were also doubtless importations.

A. Bugge also attributes one of the Eddaic poems to an author from Hordaland—namely, the splendid *Hyndlaliod*. Its author, Ottar, sprang from the old Kings of Hordaland, and was of the same stock as Geirmund Heljarskinn and on the mother's side was related to Hordakari, whose family is described by Snorri as the most famous one in Hordaland. To it Erling Skjalgsson belonged. Ottar became a Viking and resided in the West, and Bugge would identify him with Ottar the iarl, or Ottar the black, who is mentioned as raiding in England in 910—920 (*Op. cit.*, 207).

So famous were the Hords, that Hordaland is the name by which Norway is first referred to in our own vernacular literature, and from it the first piratical attack of the Vikings was made on our English coasts. The name occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as *Haeretha land* (see *A.S.C. MSS.*, D. & E. sub. ann., 787). By the Irish writers the name is given in the form *Hirotha* or *Irruaith*. (See Todd, *Chronicle of the Gaedhill and Gael*. xxxv. I., note).

Another and more usual name for Norway in the Irish writers was *Lochlannoch* or the land of the fiords or firths, a specially appropriate name for this coast of Norway, where two of the fylkies were known as *North Fiord* and *South Fiord*.

It is a pity that we have so little recorded about the local history of this district before the time of *Harald Fairhair*, for it is quite plain that the Norwegian raids upon the British Isles for a period of nearly eighty years after the one just

mentioned (the real date of which, as I long ago showed, was 793) down to the battle of Hafursfiord, were conducted in great part, if not altogether, by the men of Hordaland. These raids, as well as the story of the earlier settlements of the Norwegians in the West, are however, much too large a subject to be treated in this prologue, and need a special memoir to illustrate them.

When Harald comes on the scene we find him marrying the proud daughter of the King of Hordaland, who refused to wed him till he was master of all Norway. This shows the pretensions of the race at that time and also its wealth and prosperity.

The country occupied by the Hords was divided like that of the Thronds into a number of fylkies, each with its great Thor temple, its local Thing and its large Hall, the dwelling of its local ruler. These fylkies are thus enumerated by Munch, who gives the corresponding "county towns" where the institutions in question were planted. They were as follows :—

NAME OF FYLKI.		SITE OF HOF OR THOR'S TEMPLE.	
Sunnmoera	fylki (<i>i.e.</i> , South Mere) ...	Borgund	
Firdha	„ (<i>i.e.</i> , the Firths) ...	Gaulum	
Sygna	„ (<i>i.e.</i> , Sogn) ...	Vik	
Horda	„ ...	Gula and Mostri	
Valdres	„ ...	Aurdal	
Haddin gjadali	„ ...	Ali	
Rygjia	„ ...	Gönd	
Egda	„ ('Agder) ...	Thruma	

These different fylkis had a common centre at Gula in Hordaland, from which their code of laws

was named. Each, however, had its separate ruler. Although styled kings, they no doubt accepted the hegemony of the ruler of the dominant fylki of Hordaland, the king of which at the accession of Harald Fairhair was the latter's father-in-law, Eric.

Having dealt with the Thronds and the Hords, we will now turn to the third main division of the Norse people—namely, the Raums. The great area east of the Dovrefjelds and west of Sweden, and bounded on the north by huge forests and wastes, was in early times, so far as can be seen, peopled only by a very scanty population of Finns, divided into two sections with very different histories. A northern section occupying a hilly and not too fertile land, and a southern one comprising the fertile lands round the Christiania fiord and eastward as far as West Gothland. The former was known as Alfheim, and was so-called from the two great rivers, with their affluents, which watered it—namely, the Glommen or Rauma, and the Klar-elf or Gotha.

Munch identifies the Alfheimers with the Hilleviones of Pliny, the Helvikones of Tacitus, and the Heliouen of Ptolemey. Pliny says of them that they came from another world, which Munch explains as meaning that they were immigrants into the country where they were then living. He further argues that they came from the North and occupied a district once occupied by another people. With this he compares the legendary story preserved in the so-called *Fundinn Noregr*, about the origin of the Norway peoples. It tells us that Nor (the eponymos of the Northmen) had a son Rauma, who was settled in Alfheim, which included all the country through which the two rivers flowed. By Vergdis, the daughter of the giant Thrym, Rauma had three sons among

whom he divided his realm. Biorn took Raumdal; Brand, Gudbrandsdal; and Alf, Osterdal and all the country north of the Worm as far as the Gaut-Elf and the Raum-Elf, the modern Gota and Glommen. He goes on to say that other sons of Raum settled in Hadaland, Haddingadal and Ringeriki, which he looks upon as later acquisitions of the Raums. The focus of their country in early times was apparently Raumariki, so-called from the river Rauma, and hence the race which peopled it were afterwards known as Raums, while the name Alfheim was restricted to the fylki, bounded on either side by the two great rivers just named, which had a different history. The Uplands, properly so called, comprised the fylkies or counties of Gudbrandsdal, Hedemark, Thoten, the southern part of Herdalen, Raumariki, and generally the country watered by the Rauma, the Logen, the Worm and Glommen rivers.

It is interesting to find some of the names surviving in this district in use as early as the time of Jordanes. He speaks of the Raumarici, the Ragnarici and the Fervir, (? corruption of Ferdir).

Munch gives us a list of these fylkies in the Uplands, with the sites of the great Thor temples, marking the central focus of each of them:—

FYLKI.		SITE OF TEMPLES.	
Rauma	fylki	...	Ullinshof at Ulleisakri
Hardha	„	...	Thotmi
Ringariki	„	...	Niardharhof and a temple at Grön
Heina	„	...	Thorshof at Redahu (Vang), a hof at Cyjunir and another at Skaun
Eystridalir	...	...	Alfrhimir
Gudbrandsdalir	...	...	Frön near Hundthorp

Eystein the Great, whom I have spoken of above, was the ruler of the Uplands. I have already described his famous campaign against the Thronds. He had several sons namely Hogni and Frothi, Eystein the Younger, and Osmund. While Hedemark or Heathmark, was the centre of his realm and he was sometimes called King of Hedemark, he was also the ruler of the great fylkies of Hadeland, Thoten, Raumariki, Gudbrandsdal, and Osterdaler. He was in fact the great overlord of the Raumfolk, and doubtless belonged to a very old stock.

The fylkies, over which he ruled, were grouped round the great lake formerly called Miors and now known as Mjösen, the second largest lake in Norway, and containing a famous sacred island with a noted shrine of Thor. It was also known as the Watersend (Magnusson *Heimskringla* IV., 265), and stretches from Gudbrandsdal to Raumariki.

Hedemark is the district north of Raumariki, and bounded on the east by the Glommen and by the Wormen the river of Gudbrandsdal. Its name shows it was a frontier district or mark. Thoten, the modern Toten, was bounded on the east by the Mjösen lake and the Wormen, which separated it from Hedemark, on the south by Raumariki. Hadeland was situated immediately to the S.W. of Thoten and bordered the Randsford.

The districts which were occupied by the Thronds, Hords and Raums were not always conterminous, which accounts for their different customs, laws and dialect. Munch has shown very clearly what happened. It was similarly explained by Geiger in regard to Sweden. The earlier tribal settlements were doubtless once quite isolated. Each tribe having round it as a protection a

Mark or frontier, which, in the North really meant a wide stretch of impassable forest. As the population grew the forest was gradually reclaimed by industrious settlers—saeters they are called in the North. The Anglo Saxons called them saetas, as in Dorsaetas, Defnsaetas, etc. They increased in numbers, and gradually pushed on as an advanced guard of each tribe until the two streams met.

Munch tells us that their ancient homes are marked both in the North and South by differences in dialect, pointing to there having been a gap between them at one time. "A mark," in fact, that is a stretch of unoccupied land, separated in each case the great tribal areas. It was the best protection available in a wild country. The intervening gaps were afterwards filled up by immigrants from either side. In this way the upper parts of the so-called Osterdals were gradually encroached upon by settlers from Throndheim, and we find the people in them speaking the dialect of the Thronds. The Thrond speech extends to Nóros on the Upper Glommen, but south of that town not a trace of it is to be found. There they speak the Rauma dialect as far as Quickne, a place near where the Glommen and the Orka come together, and where there is another similar frontier. Munch says that it is clear the settling of this part of the country has come from two sides, and that the streams of population ran from Tonset in the north to the Lower Neendal in the south.

So much for the frontier between the Raums and the Thronds. The evidence points to similar results in the south-west between the former and the Hords. Munch shows that the inhabitants of the upper parts of the valleys to the east of

the mountains and south of Gudbrandsdal—*i.e.*, of Waldres and Hallingdal, are in dialect, appearance and habits much more like their neighbours on the other side of the mountains in Sogn and Hardanger, who were Hords, than with those of their neighbours in the lower part of the same valleys showing whence the latter came. On the other hand, their land in Hadeland, Sigdal and Ringariki, obviously received their first inhabitants from the west—*i.e.*, from the land of the Hords by the easy route of Fillefjeld Hemsedalsfjeld, the Aurlandsfjeld and the heights of Ustedal. This becomes more probable when we remember that Waldres and Hallingdal were in ancient times treated as part of the ancient Hord confederacy, and were subject to the jurisdiction of the Gula-thing. In this district, therefore, we again have two streams of people—one from the West and the other from Raumdal. It is not only the valleys belonging to the water shed of the Drams Elv to which this applies. Thelemark is also divided into two portions separated by their dialect. That in the Eastern, is quite unlike that in the Western “setars,” and it cannot be doubted that the two sections of Thelemarken got their population partly from the East—*i.e.*, from Westfold, which was perhaps once called Thyle or Thule, and partly from the West from the land of the Rugians.

Munch has collected a good deal of evidence to show that the people of Rogaland, who were closely akin to the Hords and obeyed the Gula-thing, also sent considerable colonies across the mountains northward and eastward; both Thelemark and Numedal afford proofs of this.

So much for the three great tribes which occupied Norway in early times. We still have to consider another district which had a distinct

history. South of the Uplands, comprising all the fertile lands round the Christiania fiord, and extending from Westfold in the West to West Gothland in the East inclusive, was apparently in early times occupied by a different race, and probably it was in fact dominated, as it was almost certainly civilised by the Goths, and Munch thus accounts, not only for the artistic work found in the graves in this district being so like that in the graves of East and West Gothland, but for the earliest Runic inscriptions of this same district being written in Gothic runes and in the Gothic speech. He is very emphatic in this matter and says that one of the Gothic monuments has been found even west of Westfold in Thelemark. He also quotes the occurrence of "mark" in the latter name, and in Vingul-mark as due to Gothic influence.

In later times, as we shall see, there is reason to think that a portion of it at least formed a part of the realm ruled over by Signrd Ring, the heroic chief of the Skioldung race, and by his ancestors. Eric, the Swedish Ring, claimed that Signrd had ruled the Raum realm and Westfold, out to Grenmar, Vingulmark, and thence away South. (*Saga of Harald Fairhair*, ch. xiv.)

Round the Tyrifiord in South-Western Norway was a noted centre of wealth and culture. Ringariki in this district, like Yaederen further west, is noted for the number and beauty of its monuments and the carved work on them, and it was clearly one of the great centres of culture in the Viking time. The very rich country west of the Christiania fiord, the Viken of the Norsemen, was the focus of their wealth, enterprise and artistic skill. Near Hole, not far from the modern Svangstraudvei they found a valuable material for these monuments in the red sandstone

which occurs there. Thence they were carried to the neighbouring districts. On these stones we have representations of hawking scenes and other subjects, in which human figures occur, and which are decorated with intertwined snakes and also with acanthus leaves. A. Bugge mentions such stones from Tandberg in Ringariki, from Strand in Upper Hallingdal, from Vang in Valdres, from Dynna in Hadeland and Alstad in Toten. The greater part of them are carved from the sandstone of Hole. This district was divided up, like the rest of Norway, at the time we are chiefly interested in now, into a number of fylkies. Those occupying the district collectively known as Viken, comprised :—

Name of Fylkis.	Site of Thor's Temple.
Grœna fylki.	Lilla heradhr (?)
Vestfold	Skiringssal and Saeheimi
Vingulmark	Osloarheradhi and Tunum
Alfheimr	Konungahellu (?)

As we shall see later, the first two were united under one ruler, and were named Westfold, which became the nucleus of the later kingdom of Norway. To the origin and growth of this we will now turn.

NOTE I.—It is interesting to remember that Adam of Bremen in regard to Thor has the phrase: “*Thor præsedet in ære qui tonitrus et fulmina, ventos imbresque serena et fruges gubernat.*”

NOTE II.—Munch has an interesting paragraph about the particle rik or ric which terminates certain names in South Norway. He says: In the old German world we never find the designation *rigi* or riki except in the case of conquered districts or those from which the former inhabitants have been dispossessed. Thus, Frankrige, France; Myrcena-rica, Mercia; Beornica-rige, Bernicia; Deorarige,

Deira, West Seaxenarige, Wessex, etc. In Norway we have the fylkis of Raumariki, Ranrike, and Ringariki pointing to these districts having been conquered from others. Their conquerors must have come from the south-east, *i.e.*, from the land of the Goths, whose north-west frontier was doubtless Hedemark, while Vingulmark points to another marchland.

NOTE III.—In the Ynglinga Saga, c. 49, we read that Halfdane Huitbein was buried at Skaereidh in Skiringesal. These two names, says Munch, correspond with the Scoringa and Scoeri of Paul Warnefrid, the historian of the Lombards. He suggests that the Winili, as the latter were originally called, first made their way to Vingulmark, and thence to Skiringesal and Rygiarbit, whence with the Scyri and Rugians they fought with the Wendles (the Vandals), *op. cit.* 1, 113.

THE ANCESTORS OF HARALD HAARFAGRE.

Before I enter into the main part of my subject, I must lay down certain postulates which it is necessary to remember, and which, it is possible, may not meet with universal acquiescence. In the first place I hold that among the Norsemen such a thing as a parvenu ruler or chief was unknown. Among no race was loyal attachment to the sacred stock (to which alone the kings and chiefs belonged) more marked. The slaughter of particular chiefs was common enough, but this was followed by their being replaced by others of the same family and blood. The families which had this hereditary privilege were deemed to be the direct descendants of the famous companions of Odin, the Asirs, or Anses, and to them, and them alone, belonged the privilege of ruling.

In the next place we cannot help thinking that the amount of disintegration in the communities

which held Scandinavia in early days has been a good deal exaggerated by the recent critical historians. It is true that before the end of the 8th Century there was not the cohesion in the government that there was in later times, and that the supreme chief was not the autocrat he afterwards became. His authority was considerably distributed, and there were a number of so-called district, or-fylki, kings who divided the lands among them, each controlling his own patrimony; but it seems to me that there was, nevertheless, a very distinct acceptance of the feudal and patriarchal notions by which the head of the house, the high priest of the community, was *de facto*, as well as *de jure*, the supreme ruler of all. I take it that the community was, in this respect, organised very much as a Scotch clan or an Irish sept was, with the senior chief and many subordinate and semi-independent ones. The district chiefs all belonged to the same race as all the chiefs of the Macleods or Campbells theoretically do: all having a common ancestor, all obeying at critical times, and at all times acknowledging as their head, the Lord of Dunvagan or the Macallum Mor. Thus we find that when the great chief had a mortal struggle, the various branches of the house gathered round him at his summons, and joined their ships to his. The amount of independence exercised by the district kings no doubt varied with the locality. In districts like Western Norway where every fiord is separated by difficult barriers from the next one, or where the intercourse either by land or water was difficult, and probably intermittent only, the maximum of independence would be reached. There the little community and, in many cases, the isolated farm would be practically independent.

The same rule, caused by the same circumstances, held good in the Peloponnesus in ancient times and in the promontory of Sorrento in mediæval ones. In more fertile and thickly peopled districts, which were more accessible and more valuable, the authority of the supreme chief was doubtless more marked and his visits more frequent: the association of liberty with a rugged country is well explained in such instances at least.

These postulates are reasonable and generally accepted, and are both supported by ample evidence. Thus, if we turn to the earliest poetic literature of the North, the "Traveller's Tale" and "Beowulf," we are struck by finding the Scandinavian district divided into a number of so-called "gaus," or provinces, each one occupied by a separate clan, as in Ireland and Celtic Scotland in mediæval times; each clan subject to a royal stock, all belonging to the sacred caste tracing descent from Odin and his Asirs, and thus having, for its chiefs at least, a common pedigree. A few lines of the "Traveller's Tale" will exhibit this division into communities, each with its royal caste. I take the following at haphazard:—

Sigehere longest
 Ruled the Sea Danes.
 Hnaef the Höcings,
 Helm the Wulfings,
 Wald the Wöings,
 Wöd the Thydings,
 Saeferth the Sycs,
 The Sweons Ongendtheov,
 Scaefthere the Ymbers,
 Sceafa the Longbeards, &c., &c.

Sedgfield's edition of Widsith lines, 28-32.

It is not my present purpose to examine these clans and their ruling stocks in detail. Our story

begins at a much later stage, when the petty communities were being consolidated into larger kingdoms by the absorption of several by the more vigorous and ambitious among them. This consolidation had a very potent effect indeed on the social condition of the north of Europe. Denmark and Sweden were the first to feel its effects, and were presently followed by Norway. Norway's consolidation occurred just at the beginning of its written history, and, in fact, its real history begins with this consolidation. The movement took place under the leadership of the royal stock of the Ynglings, which, if we are to credit the very reasonable tradition to be presently referred to, was expelled from Sweden by the Scioldungs. We must always remember that the first kings of Norway were Swedes and not Norwegians. This revolution is described for us in the last chapter of the Ynglinga Saga, the general truth of which I cannot see the smallest reason to doubt. This consolidation of power in the North, and especially the internecine struggle between the Scioldungs and the Ynglings just referred to, more than aught else caused, as I believe, the vast impulse given to piracy and foreign colonisation in the ninth and tenth centuries, and converted what had previously been, so far as our facts point, a peaceable, trading, stay-at-home folk into an army of plunderers which assailed every part of the European seaboard. It was as exiles and expatriated chieftains that many of the Norsemen emigrated from their rugged homes, and the migration only ceased when the rival stocks of sacred blood had settled down into what became their normal distribution. Before entering on our main subject we must say something about our authorities.

In a paper written many years ago on the early history of Sweden, I urged that the Ynglinga and the Scioldunga Saga (of which last we have fragments remaining, the most important being the well-known Sogubrot) were probably written by one person, and I suggested that this person was Snorri, the author of the Heimskringla. Since writing that paper I have had the advantage of reading the admirable prolegomena to the Sturlunga Saga, written by my friend, Professor Vigfussion, in which I found my main contention confirmed—namely, that the early part of the Heimskringla and the original draft of the Scioldunga were by one hand. Vigfusson has, however, I think, shown very clearly that the author of the two in their early form was not Snorri, as I urged, but his predecessor, Ari Thorgilsson, styled Frothi, or the Learned, who was born in 1067 and died in 1148, and who was doubtless the first Norse writer who wrote prose history. One of the books he is known to have written was called the “Konunga-bok,” or Kings’ Book. In regard to it, Vigfusson tells us that the superscription of the Codex Frisianus has the words, “Here beginneth the Book of Kings according to the records of the Priest Ari, the Historian : opening from the three-fold division of the world, which is followed by the History of all the Kings of Norway.” To this statement is prefixed a short introduction containing a life of Ari. The words quoted can only mean, either that the following Sagas are Ari’s “Book of Kings,” or that they are derived therefrom. The discrepancy between the mythology of the Ynglinga and the Prose Edda (which was Snorri’s own work) may be noted as some confirmation of this view” (Op. cit.,

xxix). Vigfusson concludes that Ari's “*Konunga-bok*” probably ended with the death of King Harald Sigurdson, commonly called Harald Hardrada. His work has been embodied in and forms the greater part of the *Heimskringla*; and it is nearly certain, as Vigfusson says, that the first book of the *Heimskringla*—namely, the *Ynglinga Saga*, with which we have alone to deal here—is Ari's own work, with slight, if any, alterations.

Let us examine the *Ynglinga* a little more closely. In the preface to the *Heimskringla* we read, “The lives and times of the Yngling race were written from Thiodwolf's relation, enlarged afterwards by the accounts of intelligent people.” The relation referred to was a poem written by Thiodwolf the Wise of Hvin, a valley west of Lindnesnaes. Thiodwolf composed this poem, which was called the “*Ynglingatal*,” or Yngling-tale—*i.e.*, the list or succession of the Ynglings—at the instance of Rognvald, called the Mountain High, who was first cousin to Harald Haarfagre, at whose court Thiodwolf was the chief Scald, or poet. Thiodwolf was on very friendly terms with Harald Haarfagre himself, and became the foster-father of his son Gudrod, who was drowned because he would persist in sailing out in stormy weather contrary to the advice of the old seer (*Id.*, i. 304-5). This enables us to fix the date when Thiodwolf flourished and wrote his poems on the Descent of the Ynglings as the earlier part of the tenth century A.D. He is one of the oldest of the Scalds whose composition has come down to us and who treated his subject historically.

Vigfusson was the first to analyze the versicles of Thiodwolf, and to show that, as we have them,

they are very corrupt, owing to their long passage through many fragile memories, instead of being written down, and owing also to the language having altered and become largely obsolete and unintelligible and been misunderstood.

Fortunately the character and structure of Northern poetry, and especially its rhythm and alliteration, make it possible to restore it when corrupted with some certainty, and it has been done with marvellous insight by Vigfusson, in this case. He has shewn that we have only a fraction of the poems preserved in the versicles as we have them. I have not noticed the fact anywhere, but it is curious that in almost every case the only versicle which is preserved about each king is the last one—*i.e.*, that reporting his death and place of burial ; all the rest are gone.

The poem, in fact, had no doubt become largely quite obscure and incomprehensible after the people in the North had thrown away their old gods and their old modes of thought, and the versicles that were preserved in a corrupt form were doubtless kept alive merely as a convenient *memoria technica* to preserve in a ready way a record of the catalogue of the early rulers. Originally we can hardly doubt that this poem was a genuine historical epic. It was matched in the early poetry of Ireland by similar poems, one famous one of which is still extant, dating from almost the same time. It is almost certain that in this case the poem of Thiodwolf was intact in its original form in the time of Ari Frothi, and that he really translated it into prose in the vernacular of his day. This was supplemented by certain additions from tradition or early songs, and we doubtless have its contents substantially

preserved for us as incorporated in the *Ynglinga Saga*, with some further additions made by Snorri, and notably the early section about Odin and other gods and including the first thirteen chapters, none of which, it will be noted, is marked by a versicle.

Vigfusson has argued very reasonably that in Ari's original *Ynglinga* none of the versicles were, in fact, inserted, for they repeat the same story in part, and confuse the narrative, but that they were added by Snorri, who broke up what remained of the poem and distributed it in Ari's narrative. This is strongly supported by the corrupt state of the text of these versicles as we find them in the *Heimskringla*.

It seems plain, however, that we have in the prose part of the *Ynglinga* a perfectly reputable historical document of the 11th Century, based on a quite respectable historical poem of the early part of the 10th Century, that is of an approximate date to that of the composition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, before which the late Mr. Freeman, who poured contempt on what he called “mere sagas,” used to do obeisance night and morning.

In addition to the edition of the *Ynglinga* in the *Heimskringla* we have an independent witness about it in the so-called “*Historia Norvegiae*.” It only now exists in a Scotch MS. of the 15th century, but was composed much earlier, since it is quoted in the composition known as “*Agrip*,” and was therefore composed before 1190. It was written in Latin by a Norwegian. The earlier part, as my friend Gustav Storm showed, is based upon the *Ynglingatal* before it was sophisticated by Snorri's addition (Storm's “*Snorre Sturlassön's Historieskrivning*, etc.,” 22 and 23).

Beside this we have another tradition, doubtless also derived from Thiodwolf's poem, if not from the "Historia Norvegiæ" in the account of the Upland Kings, by Hauk Erlendson, who was born in Norway. He is named as Lawman of Iceland in 1294 and also Lawman of the Gulathing of Norway, and died in 1334 (Vigfusson, preface to the Sturlunga Saga C 2, x, 1).

With the earlier part of the Ynglinga Saga, before chapter xxxviii., we have nothing to do at present. We begin with the death of Ingiald Illradi, or Evil-heart, who, by his conquests and diplomacy, became sole king of Sweden. He filled the canvas with a considerable figure, and eventually was burned to death in a fire lit by himself while entertaining some of his underkings, having already destroyed all the rest—a notable and terrible holocaust. Whatever may be the case in regard to the earlier parts of Thiodwolf's story, I cannot help thinking that from the time of Ingiald, who was but six generations removed from him, the tradition was perfectly lively and reliable. In our own day a tradition ranging over six generations and extending considerably over a century is a very ordinary occurrence, especially about famous characters who have taken part in history. Many of our own acquaintances repeat stories told them by their grandfathers which they heard from theirs, and which are quite reliable. But in our sophisticated society this is accidental only. The introduction of contemporary writing and of printing has done away with the necessity for preserving a special aptitude for the preservation of a *viva voce* tradition. Before contemporary chronicles were introduced such traditions were preserved in songs and recited sagas by schools

of Scalds, whose continuity and wide dispersal made their report most valuable, since they checked one another. They took the part of State historiographers, and the limits of a possible tradition reaching back without written records were greatly extended. At all events there can be no question that within six generations such traditions, when stated *bonâ-fide*, and when not obviously fables, are worthy of considerable credit.

Our present purpose is with Ingiald's successors, and not with himself. We are told by Ari that he married Gauthild, the daughter of Algaut, the son of Gautrek the Bounteous and grandson of Gaut, from "whom Gothland took its name." Gauthild's mother was Alof, daughter of Olaf Skygne or the Farsighted, king in Nerike. (Ynglinga Saga, xxxiii. and xlvi.). Munch argues that the repetition of the particle "Gaut" in these names, the introduction of Olaf Skygne, (who with Gautrek the Mild are named as contemporaries of Vikar and Starkad in the Gautrek Saga), and the connection of several of the names in form with Gothland, points to a mythical origin to the whole. This rather points, in my view, to Ari having followed the practice of Saxo Grammaticus in connecting names of a quite probable authenticity with others of the same sound; and thus rounding off a truncated pedigree by a bold leap into the realms of myth where eponymous names such as Gaut abound. To proceed with our story, however. By Gauthild, Ingiald had two children—a daughter, Asa, whom he married to Gudrod, king of Scania, and who brought about the death of her husband and his brother Halfdane, and eventually perished with her father. Beside his daughter Asa, Ingiald had a son, Olaf, who lived

with his mother's foster-father Bove, in West Gothland, where he was brought up with Saxi, Bove's son, who was surnamed Flettir (*Ynglinga Saga*, xliii). Saxi Flettir is named by Saxo Grammaticus in conjunction with Sali Gothus as fighting in the Bravalla struggle on the side of Ringo (*i.e.*, of Sigurd Ring). He brings them both from the northern part of the river Albis (*i.e.*, the *Elf par excellence*, the Gothelf). In the fragment of the *Scioldunga Saga* called *Sogubrot*, the two are respectively styled Saxi Flettir and Sali Gautski, and are also brought from the north of the Gothelf, and therefore from Alfheim. The conjunction of two such different authorities, as are the author of the *Sogubrot* and of Saxo in this statement is notable and interesting. "Flettir," says Müller, is an "appellative, and means a cleaver" ("diffisor," Müller's *Saxo*, i. 381, note 5 f. Magnuson equates the name with that of Fletcher Heims. iv. 174). The Saxi Flettir of the two notices is no doubt the same person. Müller and Munch have argued that a foster-brother of Olaf's could not have fought at Bravalla; but this is by no means so clear, for, as we shall see presently, Olaf's grandson outlived the victor at Bravalla, Sigurd Ring, who, again, lived for many years after that fight. But to resume.

The *Ynglinga Saga* tells us that when Olaf heard of his father Ingiald's death he went, with those men who chose to follow him, to Nerike—*i.e.*, the Nether rik, or Nether realm—situated in the western part of Sweden it abuts on the north-eastern corner of Lake Wenern and is bounded on the west by Wermeland. He fled thither because the Swedes had risen with one accord to drive out the family of Ingiald and all its supporters. His maternal grandmother, as

we have seen, came thence. Munch suggests that as Olaf was brought up in Gothland, and as the statement of the Saga seems to imply that he had not returned to his home in Sweden when his father died, that his followers were in fact Gothlanders. (Munch, *Hist. of Norway*, ii. 107, note 2). "When the Swedes heard where he was, he could not remain in Nerike, but went on westward with his followers through the forest to a river which comes from the north and falls into the Wenern lake and is called the Klar river. There they sat themselves down—turned to, and burnt and cleared the woods. Soon there were great districts, with settlements in them, which were collectively called Wermeland, and we read that a good living was to be made there. When it was told of Olaf in Sweden that he was clearing the forests, they laughed at his proceedings and called him Tretelia, or the Tree-feller. There were many people who fled the country from Sweden on account of King Ivar, who had meantime come from Scania, and had supplanted the family of Ingiald and become ruler at Upsala, and when they heard that King Olaf had got good lands in Wermeland, so great a number came there to him that the land could not support them." Here we have detailed, in neither unintelligible nor incredible form, the first colonisation on a considerable scale of the western and remote province of Sweden called Wermeland.

The Klar Elf, or Klar river, of this notice was the Gauta Elf, and was also known in early times as Eystrielfr; in a document of the 13th. century it is called Gautelfr (See Aal's *Snorri*, p. 31, note to chap. xlvi). Wermeland probably merely means the warm land. Geijer says it was a debatable territory between the

Swedes and Norwegians—" *Inter Normanniam et Svioniam Vermelani*," says Adam of Bremen—subject to either kingdom alternately. The early settlers kept to the fertile dales along the rivers in the Western part of Wermeland, between the dales were forests and mountains; the whole of Eastern Wermeland was a wilderness. The settled districts were separated from Norway by the Eidha Skoge, or Waste Wood, whose name survives in the parish of Eda in Wermeland and Eidskog in Norway, through which the road into that country has long passed. Towards Gothland forests were the boundary both on the eastern and western side of Lake Wenern. Above Wermeland the Skridfins or Finn Laps still wandered in the 11th Century; the name of Dalecarlia was not then known. (Geijer, Eng. Trans. 19). Northern Wermeland must have been at the time we are describing very scantily peopled, although, as we know from the archæological remains that are still found there, its southern part had been partially settled long before, and, in fact, Snorri suggests this when he makes Olaf's foster-father come from there.

Let us on with our story. We are told that Olaf got a wife called Solva or Solveig, the daughter of Halfdane Guld tand, or Gold-Tooth, the son of Solve Solveson, who was the son of Solve the Old, who first settled in Soloer (Ynglinga Saga, xlvi.). Munch argues, reasonably, in regard to these names that they are artificial, and that their common particle "Sol" has some connection with Soley, whose etymology is still unknown. Saxo explains it as meaning "*insulæ solis*," islands of the sun; but this, says Munch (ii. 106, note 1), cannot be so, since in ancient times the name was written Soleyar, and not Sóleyyar. The district

lay immediately west of Wermeland, and between it and the Glommen. Sölöyar, or Sóløyar, now called Soloer (says Aal), although forming no part of Raumariki, was yet included in the Rauma fylki (*i.e.*, the gau, or county, of Rauma). It formed a long narrow strip, bounded on the east by Wermeland, on the north by the so-called Alfrhiem's Herad (surviving in the parish of Elverum), on the west by the river Glommen, and on the south by Alfheim and Raumariki (*see* Aal's map). It has been suggested that the early chiefs of Soloer had their seat at the house called Kongshaug, in the parish of Grinder, which in the Red Book and in charters of the fourteenth century was called Konungshof (Aal, *op. cit.*, 32 note).

By Solva, Olaf had two sons, Ingiald and Halfdane. The latter was brought up in Soloer, in the house of his grandfather Solve, and was called Halfdane Huitbein—*i.e.*, White Leg (*Ynglinga Saga*, xlvi.). We have described the overpeopling of Wermeland by the immigrant Swedes. “There then came dear times and famine,” says our author, “which they ascribed to their king—as the Swedes used always to reckon good or bad crops for or against their kings.” The distress was attributed to Olaf's neglecting the sacrifices; they therefore gathered their troops and surrounded his house, and burnt him in it, offering him as a sacrifice to Odin for good crops. Thiodwolf's verses describing this are as follows:—

The temple destroyer* by the bay,
The corpse of Anleiff the tree-hewer (swallowed),
And the ember hot Forniot's son†
Dissolved the frame of the Swedish king,
So the Scion of Upsala's glorious race
Disappeared long ago.‡

* *i.e.*, the fire. † Forniot was the father of Logi fire.

‡ Vigfusson and Yorke-Powell, *Corpus*, etc., i. 249.

It is said that the haugr, or mound, in which his remains were buried is still to be seen at Säflebro, in the Herad of Naes, not far from the Wenern (Aal's *Snorri*, note to chap. xlv.). The sacrificing of the king in a time of calamity was widely recognised in early times in the North. Geijer tells us that sometimes the shedding of noble blood was deemed requisite, even that of the nearest and dearest. In the appendix to the old Law of Gothland we read, "In that time when men believed in groves and mounds, in holy places and palings, then sacrificed they to the heathen gods their sons and daughters and their cattle, with meat and drink." Adam of Bremen reports how a Christian had seen at Upsala seventy-two dead bodies of immolated men and animals hanging in the sacred grove of the temple at Upsala, which shone with gold, and in the interior of which were set up the images of Odin, Thor, and Freya.

In regard to this saga it will be seen that Thiodwolf's verses do not say anything about Olaf having been burnt alive, but merely report the burning of his body on the shore of the lake, as was usual in the case of all royal funerals. The "*Historia Norvegiæ*" distinctly tells us that he died full of years in Sweden, and says nothing about his tragical end as reported in the *Ynglinga Saga*. Its words are, "*Olavus diu et pacifice functus regno, plenus dierum obiit in Suecia*" (See Storm, *op. cit.* 110.) Hauk Erlendson also says that Olaf ruled over Wermeland till his old age; nor does he say anything about his having been sacrificed. (Munch, ii. 106, note 2). The phrase in the verse about the burning of the body has been probably mistaken by the author of the prose setting. Olaf Tretelia, as king of Wermeland, is mentioned in *Egils Saga*

(Op. cit. ch. 73), one of the most important and earliest of the Sagas. He is also named in the "Langfedgatal" as the son of Ingiald Illradi, while an "Olavus Wermorum regulus" is mentioned by Saxo (Op. cit. i. 370); but, as usual with him, in connection with names from heroic times, and in a story full of anachronisms. As the tale is quaint, it may not be inappropriate to interpolate it here as a folktale only. It is introduced to show the prowess of Olo, whom he makes the son of Sigurd by a sister of Harald Hildetand, and assigns him a special rôle during the latter's reign. *Inter alia*, he says that at that time the insolent conduct of the brothers Scatus and Hiallus had reached such a point of wantonness, that they took virgins of remarkable beauty away from their parents and violated them. It came about that, intending to carry off Esa, daughter of *Olavus the ruler of the Wermii*, they announced to her father that, if he was unwilling for her to submit to their desires, he must fight them, either personally or by means of some champion, in defence of his child. When Olo heard this, rejoicing in the opportunity of fighting, he went to the house of Olavus, having first borrowed a rustic dress as a disguise. He was sitting among those at the end of the table, and seeing the distress of the king's family, he entered into conversation with his son, and inquired why the rest looked so sad. The latter told him that, unless some defender speedily intervened, his sister's chastity would be violated by some very formidable warriors. Olo then inquired further what reward would be given to the man who should risk his life for the virgin. Olavus, being pressed by his son on the point, answered that his daughter would be ceded to the champion, an answer which greatly aroused Olo's desire to

hazard the danger. The maiden; however, used always to examine the faces of her father's guests near at hand and attentively, with a light, in order that she might form a better idea of their manners and dress. It is also believed that she could discriminate, from the lineaments of the countenance, the stock of those she examined, and, by mere sagacity of sight, distinguish whether a person was of high descent or no.

When she drew near to Olo, who, as we have seen, was disguised, she viewed him with a very searching examination, was seized with horror at the unwonted expression of his eyes, and fell down almost insensible. When her strength gradually returned and her spirit revived, she again tried to examine the youth, but again fell down and lay as if insensible. She tried again a third time to raise her closed and downcast eyes. Not only her eyes but her feet also now failed, and she again suddenly fell. When Olavus saw this he asked why she had thus thrice fallen. She replied that she was struck with horror at the truculent expression of the stranger; while she asserted that he was of royal descent, and that if he prevented the ravishers from carrying out their purpose she would deem him quite worthy of her embraces. Olo, who had his face muffled up with a woollen wrapper, was now requested by all to put aside this veil and let them see his face. Thereupon, he bade them all to be more cheerful and to lay aside their grief, uncovered his face and drew the eyes of all upon him in admiration of his remarkable beauty—for he had yellow shining hair. He took care, however, to keep his eyes concealed by his eyelids, lest they should strike fear into the beholders. The guests were so elated that they danced, and the courtiers leaped with joy. "In this way the

kindly promise of the guest drove away the common fear of all.” In the midst of these proceedings Hiallus and Scatus came up with ten slaves as if to carry off the maiden straightway. This threw everything into tumult and confusion. They challenged the king to fight, or surrender his daughter; but Olo at once stopped their boasting by accepting the challenge, making one condition only, that no combatant should approach another behind, but that they should only fight face to face. He succeeded in slaying the twelve with his sword named Lägthi, and thus accomplished a unique exploit. The place where the fight took place was an island which stood in the middle of a marsh, and not far from it, says Saxo, is a village which has a memento of this struggle, bearing conjointly the names of the brothers Hiallus and Scatus. Olo now married the maiden, and by her had a son Omund. (Saxo, ed. Müller, 370-72). This story, like many others in Saxo, is full of anachronism. Sniallus and Hiallus (Sniallr and Hiallr) are mentioned in the “Mantissa” appended to the “Landnama-bok” as the sons of King Vatnar, and are made contemporaries, not of Harald Hildetand, but of Harald Hardrada. (Op. cit. 388). They are also named in the history of King Half. (Fornald, Sögur, ii. 28. See Notæ Uberiores to Müller’s Saxo, 215-16).

The Saga reported by Saxo must be treated, like his other tales, as another instance where he has fathered a famous heroic tale upon well-known names. At all events, the fact that he associates his Olaf, the petty king of the Werme-landers, with figures of the mythical cycle, and that his chronology is entirely arbitrary, is not enough to remit the quite reasonable story told as in the Ynglinga to the land of mere legend; for we

must remember that Thiodwolf lived well within the reach of a lively tradition about Olaf Tretelia. To return to the Ynglinga.

“Those of the Swedes who had more understanding, found that the dear times proceeded from there being a greater number of people on the land than it could support, and that the king could not be blamed for this. They took the resolution, therefore, to cross the Eida forest with all their men.” This was the Eydaskog, already named, which formed the march between Sweden and Norway. “The emigrants, having crossed the forest, arrived unexpectedly in the district of Soloer, where they put to death King Solve, and took prisoner his grandson, Olaf the Tree-feller’s son, Halfdane Huitbein or Whiteleg (who had been brought up there). They made him their king. He thereupon subdued Soloer” (Id. xlviii.).

We are told in the fiftieth chapter of the same Saga that Olaf’s other son, Ingiald, succeeded his father in Wermeland. The real story seems to be that the revolution which had taken place at Upsala, by which the old royal stock there was driven out, led, as was very natural, to a considerable migration, voluntary or otherwise. The emigrants followed the steps of their expatriated chiefs westward to Wermeland. Finding no elbow-room there, they left Ingiald in charge of that province which had been his father’s, and went onward across the forest to join Halfdane Huitbein in Soloer. Hauk Erlendson, in his account of the Upland Kings, says nothing of Halfdane having killed King Solve, nor of the Swedish expedition to Soloer, but merely that he succeeded his grandfather there; and it may be that the account in the Ynglinga has been to this extent coloured.

Halfdane Huitbein, says the Ynglinga, became a great king. He was, in fact, the real founder of the Norwegian Monarchy. Munch, who is disposed (as I think) capriciously to question the connection of Olaf Tretelia with the stock of the later Westfold kings, says of Halfdane Huitbein that *his* historical existence is not to be doubted. (Op. cit. ii. 107). He is made the son of Olaf Tretelia in the "Langfedgatal," and in Hauk Erlendson's account of the Upland chiefs. The "Landnama-bok" makes Halfdane Huitbein the ancestor of the famous king of Dublin, Olaf the White. (Op. cit. 106). He married Asa, a daughter of Eystein the Severe, otherwise called the Great, king of the Uplands, by whom he had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod. (Ynglinga, xlix.).

Halfdane's father-in-law, Eystein the Great, was a much more important figure than has generally been supposed. A large part of the various districts peopled by the Rauma clan were united in obeying a common code of laws known as the Eidsivathing, and in being, as we have seen, subject to Eystein the Great, for we presently find his sons and grandson having a fierce struggle with the descendants of Halfdane for the districts which the latter had appropriated; among these we are expressly told was Hedemark, where Eystein had his court. Eystein was, in fact, master of all Norway east of the Dovrefelds, except Westfold, Alfheim, and Vingulmark. He thus ruled over the so-called Uplands, including Hedemark, Thoten, Raumariki, Hadeland, Ringariki, &c. In addition to this he also, as I have described in the Prologue, made a famous conquest west of the Dovrefelds. It is clear, therefore, that Halfdane made a great alliance when he married his daughter, and this distinction he doubtless owed to his ancient and unmatched

pedigree. Halfdane Huitbein's heritage in the district of Soloer was doubtless too narrow for the Swedish emigrants who had joined him from Upsala, who were probably among the most martial men of his country, and ready enough to assist an adventurous chieftain. During the life of his father-in-law Halfdane, Eystein apparently remained quiet and it was only on his death that he began his conquests of which we have only very meagre details. We are told that he first proceeded with an army to Raumariki, which he plundered and subdued (Ynglinga, xlviii.).

Raumariki lay west of Soloer, and formed with it the Rauma fylki, the two being only separated by the river Glommen. It was doubtless settled from an early date, and it is probable that the original people of Soloer came from Raumland.

In addition to Raumariki, Halfdane subdued a great part of Hedemark, Thoten and Hadeland (Id., xlix.). Hedemark is the district north of Raumariki, and bounded on the east and west by the Glommen and the Vormen, the river of Gudbrandsdal. Its name shows it was a frontier district. (For Thoten see ante p. 29). Hadeland was situated immediately to the south-west of Thoten, and traversed by the Rands-fiord. Hadeland, or Hadaland, according to the Sagas was so named from one of the grandsons of the mythical Nor, called Haud, or Höd, and according to an obscure report, he lived at a place in Thingelstad Sogn, near which there is still a mound known as Kongshaug. These various districts, as I believe, were conquered by Halfdane from his own brothers-in-law, the sons of Eystein the Great of the Uplands. It was doubtless from this conquest that Halfdane was called the King of the Uplands. (Landnamma bok ed., Vigfusson,

ii., 144). This did not include all his kingdom, however. In chapter xxxvii. of the *Ynglinga Saga*, we are told that his son Eystein married Hilda, daughter of Eric Agnarson, who was king in Westfold. King Eric died without leaving a son during Halfdane's life, whereupon he and his son took possession of Westfold.

The story shews that Halfdane only acquired Westfold in his old age, at all events after his son's marriage.

The district of Westfold is described in a work entitled “*Regesta Geographica in scripta Islandorum, etc.*,” (Royal Ant. Soc., vol. xii., Copenhagen, 1846). In it we read that Westfold was the part of Norway bordering the Christiania fiord on the west. It was bounded on the east by Vingulmark and Fiordis, on the west by Grönalandr or Grönafulki, and on the north by Ringariki, and in ancient days comprehended, beside the modern governments of Iarlsbergen and Laurvigen, the districts bordering them on the north, namely, the parishes of Sandveren, Ekeren, and Liericum. Westfold was divided into two parts, Upsio (Ofsi or Upsi), and Westmare, the former in the north, the latter in the south, and near the sea. Tunsberg, one of the most ancient emporia of Norway, was situated there (Kruse Chron. Nort., 69, 70).

Munch argues that the early inhabitants of Westfold belonged to the same Rauma clan as the folk in the neighbouring gaus (Op. cit., i. 104). The famous code known as Eidsivathing's law had authority there as in the country of the Raumas (Id., ii. 168), and it would naturally have formed part of Eystein the Great's dominions, and probably of those of his ancestors; but at this time we are expressly told in the *Ynglinga* that

Eric, who was king in Westfold, was the son of Agnar, who was the son of Sigtryg, king in Vendil. The question arises, where was Vendil. Some have suggested Vingulmark; but this is quite out of the question: Vingulmark is always so called in the *Heimskringla*, and it was ruled by quite a different set of kings. There is no place in Norway or Sweden answering to the name Vendil, and we must cross over the water to Jutland to find it. The part of Jutland, north of the Limfiord is still called Wendsyssel; Syssel or Sysla being a well-known early Norse land-division, of which several examples may be found in Aal's map; the inhabitants also call it Vendilsbyggjar. It seems to me that this is the Vendil referred to as the homeland of the early Westfold kings. On turning to the thirty-first chapter of the *Ynglinga Saga*, we read how when King Frode of Denmark was away from home, Ottar, the ruler at Upsala, set sail for Denmark and wasted the land. *Inter alia*, he sailed north to Jutland, entered the Limfiord, and plundered in Vendil. The Danes collected an armament; a battle was fought in the great inlet; Ottar was killed, and his body given to the wild beasts and ravens. The victors then made the figure of a crow in wood, sent it to Sweden, saying he had been no better than that, whence he was called Ottar Vendilcrow. (*Ynglinga*, xxxi. and Aal's note). In Thiodwolf's verse, which is appended to the notice of this Ottar, Wendsyssel is replaced by Vendli.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that, according to the *Ynglinga Saga*, Westfold, for some time before Halfdane Huitbein took possession of it, was ruled by a dynasty which came from Jutland, and which doubtless had authority on both sides of the water. This introduces some curious subjects

of speculation. Such a dynasty was no doubt an intrusive one in Westfold, and the authority it exercised both there and in Jutland probably led, as we shall see, to a more important claim of similar authority, but in a reverse way, somewhat later. In addition to his other possessions already named, we are told that Halfdane, on the death of his brother Ingiald, took possession of Wermeland, imposed scatt, or taxes, upon it, and placed iarls there as long as he lived.

Thiodwolf tells us Halfdane lived to be an old man, and that he died in his bed at Thoten, whence his body was transported to Westfold, and that it was laid at Skaereid, near Skiringesall. (*Ynglinga Saga*, xlix). Hauk Erlendson, who here contradicts Thiodwolf, and is not therefore of much value, says he was buried at Thoten.

I will now extract some phrases from Jacob Aal about the famous site at Skiringesall—just named. It has been the subject of much debate, and has been fixed in several positions, as in Bohuslan, in Skane, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and even in Prussia, notwithstanding that Snorri and the authors of the *Sogubrot* and the *Fagrskinna* put it in Westfold. Aal says that in the 15th Century the name survived as that of the district forming the parish of Tiölling in the bailiwick of Laurvig. (*Op. cit.* ch. xlix, note). The *Sogubrot* tells us that a great temple of Freya once stood there. This temple, Munch suggests, was built by Halfdane and his son Eystein, who also probably introduced the worship of Freya, the special divinity of the Ynglings, from Upsala. (*Op. cit.* ii. 75). He adds that not far from the sea, on an open space in this district, is the old church of Thioling (or Tiölling, formerly called Thiodalyng, the people's heath). On this

open space are still the remains of a stone circle, which was probably connected with some great *Thing*, or meeting-place for law-making; not far off is another and smaller circle. The church doubtless marks the site of the former heathen temple, and the open place is where the great gathering of the people of Viken took place (Munch, ii. 139).

Close by Thiöling, is a field containing a number of mounds, where many antiquities have been found (Id. 141, note), no doubt marking the site of an early cemetery. Somewhat to the west was the royal seat of Geirstad (now Gierrstad), to which we shall revert presently. Besides being a great religious and political meeting-place, Skiringesall was also a noted staple or market, and this was why it was probably visited by the famous navigator Othere, or Ottar, in the ninth century, whose story has been written by King Alfred (See Bosworth's edition, 46, note 53). From its repute as a market came, no doubt, the fact that the name "*Kaupangr*," *i.e.*, a cheaping or mart (reminding us of Cheapside) is still applied to two farms on the so-called Viggs Fiord. The Viggs Fiord and Sandy Fiord were formerly united by a creek running from Siavagaristra (now Sögrist in Thiöling parish) to Eid (Eidet). This creek converted Skaerid, near Skiringesall, into an island. It is now a peninsula called Lande, separating the two fiords. Close by, again, is an island which in the Red Book, dating from the end of the fourteenth century, was called Thorsoy, *i.e.* Thor's island. The mart at Skiringesall was doubtless supplanted by that at Tunsberg (Snorri ed. Aal, op. cit., xlix. note. Magnússon Heinskringla, iv. 277 and 278). With Hetheby, in Jutland, Skiringesall, formed a twin haven,

where the mercantile world of the North met, and where, doubtless, at special times, fairs on a large scale were held. At Skiringesall, as Munch says, there, no doubt, assembled traders from widely separated districts, Helgelanders and Prussians, Thrönders, Saxons, and Wends, Danes and Swedes. There were exchanged, cordage made of walrus hide, and peltries from the far North, amber from Prussia, costly stuffs from Greece and the East, Byzantine and Arabic money, bangles and brooches of silver, and richly decorated armour and weapons. Let us now go on with our story.

As Halfdane was an old man when he died, and was the successor of Olaf, the victim of Ivar Vidfame, it is almost certain that he himself was the contemporary of Ivar's successor, Harald Hildetand, who ruled both at Upsala and also at Lethra. Halfdane's territory was a very considerable one, and, as the representative of the senior line of the Yngling race, he no doubt had, a prestige far surpassing those Norwegian rulers who were still independent.

By Asa, his wife, already named, Halfdane had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod. The former, as we have seen, had married the daughter and heiress of Eric, the ruler of Westfold. He succeeded his father in Raumariki and Westfold, and lived to a great age. It is equally probable, therefore, *a priori*, that Eystein was the contemporary of Sigurd Ring, and the Sagas, in fact, as we shall now see, bring the two into contact.

Arngrim Jonsson, who, in 1596, published a well-known work, entitled “*Regum Danorum fragmenta ex vetustissimis Norvegiarum commentariis historicis Islandorum, translata*,” has a very curious fragment on the death of Sigurd

Ring, which Vigfusson says is evidently taken from another manuscript of the *Skioldunga* than that from which the *Sogubrot* comes. This fragment enables us to complete the incident at the close of the ordinary version of the *Sogubrot*. In the latter we read that "when Sigurd was very old, he happened to be in West Gothland in autumn, dispensing justice among his people, when the sons of King Gandalf—*i.e.*, his brothers-in-law—went to ask his assistance against *King Eystein of Westfold*. At this time the sacrifices were being offered at Skiringesall, which it was the custom for the people of all Viken to celebrate there." At this point the "*Sogubrot*" breaks off. The fragment preserved by Arngrim, which is translated into Latin, tells us that on the death of his wife Alfhilda, the mother of Ragnar Lodbrog, Sigurd determined to find himself a fresh wife. Having, therefore, set out from his province of Vestra Gotia (*i.e.*, West Gothland), he went to Skiringesall in Vikia (*i.e.*, Viken), in Norway, to attend the solemn sacrifices which were at that time being carried on there, and he saw a beautiful maiden named Alfsol, daughter of Alf, king of Vendil, and having seen her was determined to secure her, notwithstanding that the gods were unwilling. She had two brothers, named Alf and Inguo, from whom Sigurd asked their sister in marriage. They refused to give the young maiden to the old greybeard. Sigurd was enraged that he, such a great king, should be thus thwarted by the sons of a petty chief. He threatened them with war, but, on account of the solemn sacrifices then going on, had to postpone his vengeance. Presently he prepared an armament to punish them; and, as they were too weak to resist him, they gave their sister poison. In the struggle which ensued they were both killed. Sigurd Ring

himself, however, was so badly wounded in the struggle that his end was clearly seen. He ordered the bodies of the two brothers to be put in a ship, which he himself mounted, and lay down in the poop with the corpse of the beautiful Alfsol. The ship was charged with inflammable matter, it was set on fire, and he held the rudder himself as the wind blew it out to sea. The crowd on the strand was greatly moved that he, the author of so many crimes and the master of so many kingdoms, preferred to visit Odin with regal pomp, after the fashion of his ancestors, rather than pass away into senile imbecility. Before setting sail he had made himself a mound on the strand as a memorial of himself. This was called Ringshaug. Munch says a place called Ringshaug is still to be found in the parish of Slagn north of Tunsberg (Vigfusson, *Sturlunga Saga, Prolegomena*, xc., note. Munch, op. cit. ii. 81 and 82, notes). One thing to be remembered from these notices is that they point to Sigurd Ring having had a potent position in Norway at this time, when he probably, in fact, held the hegemony of Scandinavia.

If Sigurd be the Sigifrodus of the Frank Chronicles, as has been often argued, and as I have a strong conviction he was, we may place his death approximately about the year 800. He is last mentioned *by name* by Eginhardt, in the year 798; while in 804 we meet with his successor Godfred, as king of the Danes.

Let us now continue our story. I would tentatively suggest as probable that Eystein, against whom Sigurd Ring went to war in his last days, did not long survive his rival, but died shortly after. We will now set down what the Ynglinga Saga has to say of him. It tells us that in his time “there lived at Varna a king named

Skiold, who was a great wizard. King Eystein went with some warships to Varna, and plundered there, carrying away what he could of clothes and other valuables, and of the peasants' stock, and killing their cattle on the strand for provision, and then went off. King Skiold came to the strand with his army just as Eystein was at such a distance over the fiord that the former could only see his sails. Then he took his cloak, waved it, and blew into it. King Eystein was sitting at the helm as they sailed within the Iarlsoy, or Earl's isle, and another ship was sailing at the side of his, when there came a stroke of a wave, by which the boom of the other ship struck the king and threw him overboard, which proved his death. His men fished up his body, and it was carried into Borro, where a mound was thrown over it upon a cleared field out towards the sea at Vodle" (*Ynglinga Saga*, li.). Thiodwolf's verse reads thus in Vigfusson's translation:—
 "King Eystein, struck by the boom, went to Hel*
 and the Washer of Blades is now lying under the
 bones of the sea (*i.e.*, the stones) on the beach,
 where the icy cold Wadle Stream, runs into the
 bay close by."

In regard to the various localities in this notice, the name Varna, Vaurno, or Vörno, denoted, in early times, not only the farm Vaerno, but comprised the ecclesiastical district of Rygge, as far as Kambo, with the exception, perhaps, of Joeloen. At early as the thirteenth century the knights of St. John of Jerusalem built a hospital at Varna. Munch says this foundation is still called Waerne (*Op. cit.*, ii. 138, note 1). The Earl's Island, or Iarlsoy, is on the opposite side of the Christiania fiord in Vingulmark. It is still called Jaerso, and is near Tunsberg. Borro, or Borra, now

*" The Maid of Byleists' brother."

called Borre, is situated about a Norwegian mile north of Tunsberg. Vadle is now called Vold, and is a farm near the fiord, close to Borre, where the mounds of Eystein and his son still remain.

On Eystein's death he was succeeded by his son Halfdane, known as the Mild, and the Bad Entertainer. This was because, though he was lavish in giving his men gold, which he distributed as profusely as other kings did silver, yet he starved them in their diet. We are told he was a great warrior who had been on viking cruises and had collected great property. Munch suggests that he was the same Haldane who was sent as his envoy by King Sigfred (*i.e.*, Sigurd Ring) in 807 to the Frank emperor, but this is very improbable. The later kings of Westfold and their descendants were at deadly issue with the Scioldung family, and were not their familiars. Again, the envoy Halfdane was father of Harald Klak, and, if so, was himself the son of another Harald, and, as I have argued, was the son of Harald Hildetand.

In the text of the Ynglinga it is said that Halfdane the Mild took Eystein's kingdom after him. He married Hlif, the daughter of King Day of Westmere. His chief manor was Hottar in Westfold, and he there died in his bed and was laid in a mound at Borre (Ynglinga, ch. lii.) close to his father. Let us now turn to Gudrod, who was the son of Halfdane Whitefoot, and a brother of Eystein, and not a son of Halfdane the Mild, as some have thought. We are expressly told that Halfdane Whitefoot had two sons, Eystein and Gudrod (Ynglinga, ch. xlix).

The Ynglinga Saga gives Gudrod the surname Mikillati (*i.e.*, the Magnificent) also Veidhikonge (*i.e.*, the Hunter); the latter name also occurs in

the "Historia Norvegiæ," where he is called "Gunthodus rex Venator," some reminiscence, probably, of his fame as a sportsman. In the "Langfedgatel" Gudrod is surnamed Göfuglati (*i.e.*, the Magnanimous). In several of the genealogies he is styled hinn Gíafmildi (*i.e.*, Very Beneficent). In the "Mantissa," or supplement to the "Landnama," he is called Gudrod Leoma (*i.e.*, Splendoris). These various synonyms are evidence of the important position he filled (Vigfusson, i. 271). It is curious that the Monk of St. Gallen, in reporting the death of Godfred (which he, strangely enough, states took place on the river Mosel, during his invasion of the Empire) says further that he was killed by his son, *when about to release a duck from a falcon*, in revenge for the wrong he had done his mother in taking another wife (Pertz, ii. 757).

Gudrod's wife was Alfild the daughter of Alfarin of Alfheim, in the maritime district on the east of the Wik, between the Raum elf and the Gaut elf, and with her he got as a dowry one half of Vingulmark. Their son was Olaf, afterwards called Geirstadalf. When she presently died, we are told, Gudrod sent messengers to Harald Redlip, King of Agdir, to ask for the hand of his daughter Asa, but was refused. He thereupon launched his ships and went with a great host to Agdir, where he arrived unawares, Harald, nevertheless, dared to face his powerful assailant, but the odds were too great, and he was killed, together with his son Gyrd. Gudrod then carried off Asa, whom he married, and by her had a son named Halfdane (Ynglinga Saga, ch. 1.).

Gudrod had succeeded to a great heritage from his father, and was no doubt the most potent ruler in the North in his time.

I long ago identified him with the Godfred who was the contemporary and rival of the Emperor Charles the Great. I did not then know that Munch had already published this conclusion.

I will remit the evidence to a note at the end of this paper. Meanwhile I shall take it for granted that the identification is a reasonable one, and shall proceed to record his doings, and those of his sons, outside of his own lands. I shall first epitomize what had happened in the further lands of the Empire in previous years.

In the year 777 Charles the Great (more widely known as Charlemagne), invaded Saxony with an armament, to punish the Saxons for repeated rebellions and the slaughter of his garrisons.

The pomp of his surroundings and the strength of his forces cowed them, and he marched through Westphalia and held a general assembly at Paderborn, at the sources of the Lippe, where he built a fortress at Eresburgh, not far from where Drusus had planted his stronghold. A great crowd of Saxons were baptized and did homage, one only of their chiefs, the most redoubtable and dangerous of them all, whose real name was probably Withmund, but who is generally known by his nickname of Witikind refused to bend his neck, and fled with his followers.

The annals of Lorsch tell us that he fled to Northmannia (*in partibus Nortmanniae*), while in the annals of Eginhardt, the biographer of Charles the Great, we are told that he went to *Sigifridus, the King of the Danes*.

Sigfred and Godfred are German forms of the Norse names Sigurd and Gudrod, and I have long held that this Sigfred was no other than the famous Northern hero—Sigurd Ring.

The Battle of Bravalla, in which Sigurd Ring defeated his uncle Harald Hildetand and sup-

planted him, as ruler of Sweden and Denmark, was a notable struggle. It has been hypothetically dated by Kunlk and others about the year 775. After this struggle Sigurd was acknowledged as "Imperator," or over chief, of the greater part of Scandinavia, and he filled that position for some time. His reign, therefore, coincides exactly with that assigned to Sigifridus in the Frankeil annals, and the identification of the two rulers as one person seems quite reasonable.

Returning to the annals: about the year 781, the Emperor, having meanwhile put down some fresh outbreaks among the Saxons, sent St. Willchad to plant Christianity in Wigmodia, the district between the Elbe and the Weser, where Bremen afterwards stood; this mission was a partial success, and thus was the faith first carried to the borders of the Danish land.

In 782 Charles held another great assembly on the Lippe, which, we are told in the Lorsch Annals, was attended by envoys from king Sigfred, namely, Halbtani and his companions. In two late copies of the Lorsch annals, one of the Fulda annals and in the chronicle of Reginon the name Godfred is wrongly substituted for Sigfred, while Reginon, who was not remarkable for his accuracy, calls the envoy Altdeni and gives him a companion whom he calls Hosmund, which is not a Norse but a Saxon name and which he has apparently made by misreading the word *sociüs* in the earlier authorities.

Pertz rightly insists that we are bound by the testimony of the oldest copies of the Lorsch annals and those of Eginhardt, which were contemporary. The name of the envoy was no doubt the well known Norse name Halfdane. He was doubtless a person of moment, and possibly a

relative and the deputy of Sigurd Ring, in Jutland, and was not improbably sent to enquire what was the meaning of the ambiguous movement on his borders, and whether it meant the planting there of an advanced post of the Empire from which the land might be menaced.

The assembly was followed by another revolt of the Saxons under Witikind, in which the Frank garrisons in Saxony, were again slaughtered, and the Christian missions in Friesland, and the young Church there were desolated. These outrages were punished ruthlessly by the beheading of 4,500 Saxons. The Emperor now began a policy of transplanting large bodies of Saxons to other parts of the Empire and replacing them by Slavs.

The year 792 is marked, in the Biography of Charles by Eginhardt, by the ominous sentence that “the Emperor left Aachen” (Aix Chapelle, as the French call it) in March and made a journey along the maritime district of Gaul and Germany, which was infested by Normans, who were called Danes (*contra Nortmannos qui Danos vocantur*) and he ordered a special fleet to restrain them.

The next year is notable for the first attack made by the Northmen on Britain (*vide infra*).

In 797 the Franks employed their new fleet for the first time and punished the Saxons beyond the Elbe (*Annales Eginhardti ad an*). The next year the Saxons from the other side of the Elbe killed some Frankish envoys who had been sent to obtain a redress of grievances, and also put to death another one who had the Slav name of Godescalc, *i.e.*, Gottschalk. They had been sent by the Emperor to the Danish king, who is again called Sigifridus *i.e.*, Sigurd, by the Chronicler Eginhardt. This is the last time he is named, and it is remarkable that

for the next few years there is no mention of the Northmen in the Frankish annals pointing to its having been a turbulent period in their land. When a northern king is next mentioned, he is called Godfred and it is most likely that Sigfred had died soon after his last mention in the chronicles.

The interval between the years 797 and 804 is a blank in the Frankish Chronicles as far as the Northmen is concerned, and it no doubt corresponds with great changes among them. Sigurd's great victory over his uncle Harold Hildetand had no doubt prostrated all rivals. According to all the traditions he left an only son, Ragnar Lodbrog, whose story is one of the great enigmas of early Northern history. He probably succeeded to only a small part of his father's kingdoms, and became famous not as a great territorial ruler, but as the greatest of the Vikings.

Meanwhile, his relatives, the sons of Harald Hildetand, asserted their pretensions. One of them, Eystein, became King at Upsala and in the Saga of Ragnar Lodbrog, the latter is made to have a struggle with him. Another son, Thrond, is named as the ancestor of an Icelandic family in the Landnamabok. This family was named Oddwerja and to it belonged Saemund Frothi. The descent is thus given. Harald Hildetand, King of Denmark, the father of Hrœrck Sloengvand-bauga, the father of Thorolf Wagane, father of Wemund Ordhlokar, father of Walgard, father of Rafn the Fool, who emigrated to Iceland from Throndheim (Landnamabok ed., Vigfusson, v. 3.1). I believe that a third one was the Halfdane, who was sent as an envoy to the Emperor by Sigurd, as we have seen. He was apparently the ruler of Jutland under him, and on his patron, Sigurd's death, apparently sought refuge from the Emperor.

The death of Sigurd Ring also gave an opportunity to a stronger person than any of the sons of Harald Hildetand, namely Gudrod, who also possessed a wider kingdom and a larger fleet. His position in Viken, looking straight upon Jutland, was a powerful vantage, nor could he forget that Westfold, the focus of his kingdom, was recently held by a ruler who also governed at least Northern Jutland (*vide ante*), nor that he had a heavy debt to exact from the person who, I take it, was then its ruler; since his predecessors had expelled his own from their ancient heritage. I have no doubt that he used all his advantages and proceeded to drive out Halfdane.

This is strongly confirmed by a curious and neglected entry in the narrative of the anonymous Saxon poet, who for the most part follows Eginhardt, but who here records the very interesting fact, not mentioned by the latter, that Halfdane, the leader of the Northmen, and with him a considerable force, submitted to the Emperor and tried to enter into a perpetual pact with him.

*Interea Northmannorum dux Alfdeni dictus
Augusto magna sese comitante caterva
Subdidit atque fidem studuit firmare perennem.*

(Poeta Saxo, Pertz, i. 263).

This admission to the Empire of a great Northern chief with a considerable following is hardly a probable event, unless he was in fact an outcast from his own country, and it is significant that his disappearance from Jutland is coincident with Gudrod's appearance there. I suggested long ago that it is quite probable that the Emperor granted Halfdane an appanage in Friesland, where Harald Klak, who was probably his son, received one some years later. This was quite consonant with the policy of the Franks at this time, which

was to play one of the frontier rivals against another, and to embroil his neighbours, while a feudatory Norse chief in Friesland would be a good fence against his countrymen's piratical attacks.

We are told by both Eginhardt and Reginon that in the year 804 "Godfred, the Danish King" went with his fleet, and all the army of his kingdom, to Sliesthorp (*i.e.*, the far-famed mart of Schleswig, on the Schlie. Eginhardt, in his biography, explains that the enmity (*inimicitia*) of the Northmen arose from the appropriation of the Saxon land beyond the Elbe by the Franks. A very notable encroachment of this kind was made by the latter in the year 804, when, according to the Chron. Moissiacense, the inhabitants of the three gaus or counties of Wigmodia, Hostinga and Rosoga, which formed the later diocese of Bremen, were transported and their lands largely made over to the Slavs called Obotriti. From this time the district of Wagria became a Slav land. According to Eginhardt, Godfred had promised to attend the Imperial diet, but was restrained by the counsel of his own people. This not very friendly mood seems to me to point to some change of policy and to strengthen the view that he was himself an intruder into Jutland, which probably he appropriated at this time. The Emperor who was at Hollenstedt, south of Harburg, sent some envoys to treat for the return of fugitives (probably Saxons).

No doubt Gudrod would hesitate before making a direct attack on the Frankish forces, when they were in strength in Saxony, and he doubtless had in view an attack upon some of their allies, and especially the hated Slavs who had been introduced into what he deemed his borders without his permission, and against whom he had made due preparations. These

lasted some time, but we are told that in 808, while the emperor was at Aachen, Gudrod and his men marched against the Obotriti. Charlemagne sent his son Charles to the Elbe with an army of Franks and Saxons, with orders to resist him if he attempted to cross the Saxon frontier. Gudrod ravaged the borders of the Slavs, captured some of their fortresses, drove away Thrasco, one of their chiefs, hanged Godelaib, another, made the two sections of the Obotriti tributary, and also destroyed their emporium on the coast, called in the Danish tongue Reric. This, as we are told by Adam of Bremen, was the site of the old Mecklenburg, near Wismar, and its inhabitants were afterwards known as Reregi: “*Deinde secuntur Obodriti qui nunc Reregi vocantur et civitas eorum Magnopolis*” (Adam of Bremen, Pertz, ix. 311; Ann. Laur. 808; Chron. Moiss., ib. Ann. St. Amandi, p. ii). Gudrod carried off its merchants, and imposed a heavy tribute on the Obotriti (Eginhardt in Pertz, i. 195; Kruse, 46.) I have small doubt that this expedition has been confused by the author of the longer saga of Olaf Trygvason (copying Saxo), with the campaign against the Friesians in 810, and by the “Islandic Annals,” and that they have converted the emporium Reric into a Hrærek or Rurik prince of Friesland, who is quite unknown to the contemporary Frank annalists. This campaign cost Gudrod some of his best men, and among them, according to Eginhardt, was Reginold, his brother’s son, who was killed with many Danes in attacking a town. The “Chronicon Moissiacense,” calls him Gudrod’s nephew, and the first in the kingdom after himself (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 195; Chron. Moiss., Pertz, ii. 258; Kruse, Chron. Norm., 46, 48). To oppose the attacks of Gudrod, Charlemagne’s son, Charles, crossed the Elbe into Lauenburg, marched in the direction of the modern Lubeck, and having

devasted the lands of the Linones and Smeldingi (Slavic tribes which had gone over to Gudrod), he once more recrossed the Elbe. According to one ingenuous writer, his expedition was by no means altogether a success, for he lost most of his men (Lesser Annals of Lorsch, Pertz, i. 263: Kruse, 49, 50.) Gudrod had been assisted in his campaign by the Wiltzi, another Slavic tribe, the eastern neighbours of the Smeldingi and Linones, who were ancient foes of the Obotriti. They returned home with a considerable booty. Gudrod himself, after his campaign, sent his fleet round to Schleswig, marched his army there, and proceeded to build a mound along the northern shores of the Eider, from one sea to the other. This was pierced by a single gateway for the passage of men and merchandise. After dividing the work among his chiefs he returned home. This mound was according to Worsaae, probably not the celebrated Dannewirke (that having been traditionally connected with another Danish king, namely, Gorm the Old), but rather an older and ruder mound which still runs along the Eider. The making of a mound by Gudrod is, however, distinctly mentioned in the *Annales Islandiac*, and it is there expressly called the Danewirke. The larger mound ran from the termination of the Schley inlet (Selke Noer) as far as Kurburg, or perhaps to Hollingstette. It is 20 feet high, and the narrow entrance mentioned by the annalist is situated near the village of Little Danewirke, now called Ost Kalegat (Kruse, 48; Chron. Moiss, p. 48). Having heard that the emperor was displeased at his campaign against the Obotriti in the previous year, Gudrod, in 809, sent him envoys asking him to fix a convention beyond the Elbe, where explanations might be given. Such a convention was held at Badenflot (probably the village now called Baden-

fleth, on the banks of the Stur—Kruse, 50, *note*). This convention was apparently not very effective in humbling the Danes, but, on the contrary, we find that directly after, Thrasco, the Duke of the Obotriti, and the *protégé* of the Franks, surrendered his daughter as a hostage to Gudrod. This was probably to secure his neutrality in the war which he was then pressing against the old enemies of his people, the Wiltzi, and from which he returned with a great booty. He afterwards, with the assistance of the Saxons, captured the chief town of the Smeldingi, *i.e.*, Möllen.

When the emperor heard of the arrogant behaviour of the Northern king, he determined to build a fortress beyond the Elbe, and having collected a number of artificers in Gaul and Germany, he sent them thither under command of the Saxon Count Egbert. I have elsewhere in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle on the coinage of Egbert, King of England, identified him with this Count Egbert. The former was certainly living at the Court of Charles the Great at this time and his name is very specially an English one. Esesfeldt was fixed upon as the site of the fortress. It has been identified by several inquirers with Itzehoe on the Stur. Mannert (*Gesch. der alt. Deuts.*, i. 486), would place it on the site of Gluckstadt at the mouth of that river. We are told it was occupied by Egbert on the Ides of March.

Meanwhile Thrasco, the chief of the Obotriti, was treacherously killed by an emissary of Gudrod's at Reric (*Eginhardt*, i. 196, 197; Kruse, 51), which may have been meant as a counter blow. He was probably considered a too faithful friend of the Franks to be well disposed to the Northmen. These acts were hardly a gauge of peace. We next read

how Godfred, *i.e.* Gudrod, at the head of 200 ships, fell upon Friesland, devastated its coasts and islands, and fought three battles with the Friesians, whom he made tributary, exacting a sum of 100 pounds of silver from them, after which he returned home (Einhardt, Pertz, i. 197, 198; *Ib.*, Vit., Car. ch. 14, 17; Poeta Saxo, v. 403, 404; Fulda Annals, *ib.*, i. 354, 345; Kruse, 53, etc.). This may have been a blow against Halfdane who, as we have seen, was then probably the emperor's feudatory there. A curious fact is cited by Depping to show to what straits the Friesians were at this time reduced. He quotes an old law by which a captive Friesian, who, in the service of the Northmen, should attack a village, violate women, kill men, or burn houses, was not to be punished when he returned home; it being held that he was not a free agent, but only doing the bidding of his exacting masters. Another law authorised mothers to dispose of the property of such of their children as were carried off, showing how hopeless their return generally was.

We at all events find that the throne of Jutland was immediately occupied by one who courted the friendship of the Franks, while the sons of Godfred escaped beyond the water—assuredly this means their withdrawal to Westfold.

Saxo, as I mentioned in a previous page, tells us that, when Godfred exacted tribute from the Friesians, he made them throw their money into the hollow of a shield and guessed from the sound whether it was good coin or no. Müller throws light on this story from some rather ghastly features of the old laws of the North in reference to compounding for punishment; thus he tells us how, by the law of Sialand (Lib. ii. cap. 39), two pieces of money (*örer*) were to be paid in cases of wounding, for each bone out of the wound, which

made a sound when thrown into the hollow of a shield. (“*Hwaert ben i mullugh skiaelder thaer botaes twa orae forae.*”) This almost incredible provision is repeated in the Friesic laws (Ed. Gaertner. Addit. Sapient. tit. iii § 24) in the following words:—“*Si ossa de vulnere exierint tantæ magnitudinis, ut in scutum jactum XII. pedum spatio distante homine possit audiri, unum ter IV. solidâ. componat, aliud ter duobus, tertium ter uno solido.*” The same occurs again in the Ripuarian Code, tit. lxx. § 1 (See Müller, op. cit. 251). What was true of bones was transferred to the coin paid, in Saxo’s narrative, and perhaps also in the popular traditions which had reached him. In the law just cited, the person testing the sound was to stand twelve feet off. In Saxo’s narrative this has grown greatly, for he tells us Godfred had a building erected 240 feet long, containing twelve rooms of equal size, in the innermost of which sat the royal tax-collector, while the shield was placed in the one at the other end of the building. Saxo also tells us that when Godfred conquered the Saxon chiefs (this, as we have seen, is an unwarranted assertion) he imposed a tribute of a hundred white horses, which were to be paid on the accession of each king. Müller explains that in the middle ages it was customary to use white horses in solemn processions, as when homage was done; and that it is not improbable some Saxon chiefs may have done homage to the Norse chief and offered him a present of white horses (Op. cit. 251).

Saxo has another story about Godfred of the usual type in which he has borrowed the incidents and the facts from other sagas, and the only interest of which is the local colour which he has preserved. In this he tells us that Godfred was famous not only for his prowess but for his

liberality, and he was no less clement than strong. At this time, he says, Goto, *i.e.*, Gautr, the king of Norway was visited by Bero, and Refo (Refr means a fox), from Thule, who presented him with a bracelet of great weight. The bystanders thereupon declared that Goto's generosity was unsurpassed. Refo however, who, notwithstanding the present, was disposed to be candid, declared that Godfred, whom he treats as a Danish king, excelled him in this quality. Ulvus, *i.e.*, Ulf, who was nettled at this, thereupon proffered a wager to Refo to go and test the Danish King. Refo accordingly set out, and found Godfred seated on his throne dividing prey or booty among his soldiers. On being asked what his name was he answered that he was a little fox. This aroused the laughter of some and the admiration of others. "A fox," said Godfred, "ought to take its prey in its mouth," and thereupon detaching his bracelet he tried to insert it in Refo's proffered lips. The latter placed it on his arm and showed it, decorated as it was with gold, to all present. Meanwhile he hid the other bracelet which had no ornament on it so that it might not tempt Godfred into another act of generosity, but that his gift should be spontaneous. He was delighted, not only with the value of the gift, but at having won his wager. When Godfred heard of the bet and how it had been won by accident rather than by design he was more delighted than Refo himself. The latter returned to Norway to obtain the wager, which being refused, he killed the king there and carried off his daughter as a prize to Godfred (Saxo i. 435).

This story has been shown by Müller in his *Notae Uberiores* to Saxo, to have been transferred to Godfred (a supposed Danish king) from another Godfred altogether, for the Saga occurs in an Icelandic

recension. As Müller says, Saxo's narrative shows it is an epitome. In the first place, two Thyllenses, Bero and Refo, are mentioned by him as taking part in the adventure; but Bero speedily disappears from the scene altogether, and Ulvo is introduced without warning as if he had been already described. Nor does Saxo explain how the quarrel arose between Refo and Goto, his former benefactor, which led to his carrying off his daughter.

In the much longer Icelandic legend (Forn. Sög. iii. 40—53) the story is more consistent. According to this account, Refo, or Giafa Refr, who was the son of a rich Norwegian peasant, born on an island in the north of Norway called Jadria, spent his youth in great squalor and indolence. Being scolded by his father, he expressed his willingness to leave home if he might take with him the thing his father most valued. To this the father consented, and he accordingly led away an ox whose horns had been decorated with gold and silver and been united by a silver ring.

This ox he took as a present to Nerio, or Neriús, iarl of the Uplands, a prudent, and a very firm person, who was his father's patron. Nerio accepted the gift, presented him in return with a becoming garment, and also with a gilt shield. Refo having observed that Nerio directly after repented of having parted with such a rich shield, he willingly returned it again. Nerio was pleased with this, and gave Refo a touchstone (*coticula*), and bade him go to Gautric, or Götric, king of Gothland, who, after the death of his beloved wife, was accustomed to assuage his sorrow by hawking. He was to seize the opportunity when the king was sitting alone on a mound and was looking for stones with which to excite the hawks, and then he

was to slip the touchstone into his hand. Refo duly performed his task and slipped the stone into the king's hand, who, in return, gave him a golden bracelet. Refo now returned to Nerio, and spent the winter with him. Again, on his persuasion, he went to Ella, king of England, and presented him with the bracelet.

Ella in return, gave him a ship laden with merchandise and furnished with sailors, and, in addition, gave him two beautiful Melitæan, *i.e.*, Maltese dogs, which Refo in turn gave to Rolf Krak, who repaid him with the gift of a laden ship, as well as a decorated helmet and corslet of singular fabric.

The helmet and corslet he presented to Olav, a sea king who had command of eighty ships, and who offered in return to let Refo have the use of them on some occasion. Having put himself at the head of these, he set out against king Gotric, to whose generosity he owed his subsequent good fortune, and compelled him to adopt him as his son-in-law. Nerio, by whose counsel Refo had acted in these matters, now deemed that he had in some measure repaid him for the ox he had given him.

This Saga agrees with the story told by Saxo in the names of two of its chief actors, Gotric and Refo. Saxo, could not well introduce Rolf Krak, king of Denmark, nor Nerio, chief of the Uplands, into his story without making it incredible, and in appropriating the story he had to make some sacrifices to consistency and he apparently converted the name of Nero or Nerio into Bero. Some of the incidents in Saxo's narrative, and its terminating phrase about Refo's journey to Sweden, prove, perhaps, that he had before him a more perfect copy of the Saga in some respects than is extant in the Icelandic edition.

The story, however, is quite a fabulous one, and full of anachronisms, Rolf Krak and Ella, King of England, *i.e.*, of Northumbria, being brought into contact. Ella seems to have been a generic name for English kings among some Icelandic Saga-tellers, and its occurrence causes difficulty as is well known in explaining the Sagas about Ragnar Lodbrog. Another anachronism of a very patent kind is the bringing of Thylenses or Icelanders into contact with King Godfred. Iceland was not discovered till long after the latter's reign.

Returning to our main story it is strange to read the notice of the preparation of the Frankish forces to meet the attacks of the Saxons, and their march towards the Rhine mentioned in the same paragraph with the death of an elephant which had been sent as a present to Charlemagne by Aaron, the King of the Saracens, *i.e.*, by Harun-az-Rashid, the Khalif of the Arabian Nights. The Franks marched towards the Alar, and at its confluence with the Weser, they awaited the attack of the Norsemen, who had boasted loudly of their intentions after the Friesian war. They did not, however, come, but news arrived that Godfred had been assassinated (Eginhardt, Pertz, 197, 198), assuredly an abrupt and tragical phrase. The Chronicle of St. Gallen says the deed was done by one of his sons in revenge for his having deserted his mother in favour of another wife (Pertz, ii. 757).

The Ynglinga Saga has a different story. It says that when his son Halfdane was one year old and another son Olaf was twenty, Gudrod went on a round of visits. He lay with his ship in Stifla-sund, and there was heavy drinking, and having drunk hard he got very tipsy. His ship was connected with the shore by gangways. When

it was dark, he went ashore and had got to the end of the gangway when a man ran a spear into him and killed him. The man was instantly put to death, and in the morning it was discovered that he was Queen Asa's foot-boy, nor did she conceal that it was done by her orders. In Thiodolf's versicles as edited by Vigfusson we read: "Gudrod the Magnificent (in *Gaofoglati*), who lived long before, was struck down by treason, and a deadly hatred long nursed, drew treachery upon the King, upon the drunken prince; and the traitorous messenger of Asa won a murderous victory over the King, yea the prince was stabbed to death on the ancient bed of Stiflasund" (Vigfusson Corp. Poet., 1.250 note).

Saxo merely says that Godfred was the victim of the treachery of one of his dependents, which agrees with the story told in the *Ynglinga*, and is another proof that the Godfred of the Franks and Gudrod were the same person, and, if so, the Frank Annals are witness that he died in 810. In the annals of the so-called *Rykloster* we read that when he had defeated the Emperor and laid waste Saxony he was thrust through the body.

Gudrod's Norwegian possessions stretched from the modern Folda, along the shores of the Christiana fiord as far as the Miosa lake and the Randsfiord, and thence directly south as far as Rygiarbit. They reached eastward as far as Soloer and Wermeland inclusive.

The death of so great a chieftain would have caused a great gap anyhow, but it was made greater by the misfortunes or perhaps the incompetence of his eldest son Olaf, (who was only twenty) and who succeeded to most of his possessions in Norway. In Jutland he was succeeded, we are

expressly told, not by either of his sons, but by Hemming. Eginhardt calls him his brother's son (Pertz, i. 197). We shall return to him presently, meanwhile a few words about Olaf. The later Saga of Olaf Tryggveson calls him a brother of Godfred, but this cannot weigh against the contemporary Frank annals, while Saxo makes him his son.

This seems to be a mistake, and to have arisen from a confusion between Halfdane, the brother and predecessor of Gudrod, and Halfdane, the deputy of Sigurd Ring in Jutland, who was a *protégé* of the emperor. It is most unlikely that Gudrod, who had sons of his own, who as we shall see were very active at this time, should have been succeeded by his nephew, and, as we shall see presently, Hemming was really a son of another Halfdane, who belonged to a rival family to that of Gudrod, and which had been driven from Jutland by himself, had recovered it on his death. In this way only can we explain what happened

The new king came to terms with the Empire, and in a treaty made between them in 811 the Eider was accepted as the frontier between the two kingdoms (Helmold, Kruse, 58). Steenstrup argues that this was not the North Eider, or Treewe. This is the Danish view, the German view as maintained by Waitz, Simson, and others is that the boundary was the Treewe. Thus the border district occupied by the Transalbingian Saxons, with the Obotriti of Wagrien, over which Godfred had exacted a kind of suzerainty, were surrendered to the Franks. This treaty was concluded at a conference held on the Eider, in which ten chiefs on the side of the Franks were met by an equal number of Danes.

In a letter from Pope Leo, the names of the Franks are thus given :—1. Count Walach, son of Bernhard, that is Walach or Wala, afterwards Abbot of Corbey, cousin to Charlemagne (and son of his uncle Bernard, by a Saxon mother) ; whom he had sent against the Lombard King Desiderius (Simson, *Jahrbuch*, 466 and note 5). 2. Count Burchard ; who was *comes stabuli* to the Emperor, and was sent by him, in 807, with a fleet to Corsica to fight the Moors (Eginhardt *sub an.* calls him *missus domini*). 3. Count Unroch who was sent into Dalmatia ; he was the grandfather of the Emperor Berenger, (Einh, *sub an.* 817, Sims., 466 and note 5). 4. Count Wodo, or Odo, doubtless the Odo *legatus* mentioned in 810 as the commander of Hohhuoki (Eginhardt *annales* Pertz i, 197). 5. Count Meginhardt, *i.e.*, the father of Eberhard the Saxon, who was killed in 881 by the Norsemen. 6. Count Egbert (already named as the founder of a fortress across the Elbe and probably the later King Egbert of Wessex). 7. Count Theotheri, who was doubtless the same person sent as an envoy to the Danes with Kruodmund in the next reign. 8. Count Abo, probably Abbio, who was baptised with Witikind, (*Annales Lauriss.* and Eginh. *sub anno* 785 ; Kruse, 62). 9. Count Ostlag, doubtless a Saxon. Count Wigman, a Saxon, mentioned in 939 (Pertz, i, 619). On behalf of the Danes the deputies were thus named :—Two brothers of Hemming named Hancwin (probably a corruption of Hakon, Dahlman, I., 25) and Augandeo (Augantyr, *ib.*), and the following chief men :—Osfred, styled Turdimul (? from Islandic *tutinn* thick, and *muli* mouth, Dahlmann 25), Warstein (this name also occurs in the *Landnama bok*, Y. Powell) : Suomi ? and Urm, and another Osfred, the son of Heilig (*i.e.*, Helye), and Osfred of Sconaowe,

i.e., of Scania, and Hebbi, (reminding us of Hubba Y.P.), and Aowin (Eanwind, *i.e.*, Onwend). The names are given by Eginhardt in their Frankish form (Pertz. i. 198-9, *sub an.* 811).

We are told that peace was sworn according to the method of the Danes.

The Emperor now divided his army into three sections ; one was sent into Brittany, another into Pannonia, and the third crossed the Elbe into the country of the Slavic Linones, which restored the fortress of Hohbuoki, destroyed the previous year by the Wiltzi. Charles himself went to Bononia, *i.e.*, Boulogne, where the ships he had ordered to be built the year before were assembled. He restored the *pharos* there, doubtless that which had been built by the Roman Emperor Caligula ; and caused the nocturnal fire to be relighted. Eginhardt speaks of it as *antiquitus constitutam*. He then went up the Scheldt to Ghent (*in loco qui Ganta vocatur*), where he inspected another fleet, and in the middle of November returned to Aachen, where there came Aowin and Hebbi, two envoys of the king (Hemming) bearing gifts. While the Emperor thus extended a civil hand to the Norsemen, he carefully prepared more efficacious defences for the coasts.

The Frankish chronicles here introduce us to a fierce struggle. Sigfred, *i.e.*, Sigurd, (who by Eginhardt is called the nephew of Godfred), and Anulo the nephew or grandson (*nepos*) of Harald who was formerly king (that is, of Harald Hildetand) ; in this battle we are told that 10,940 men fell.

Anulo is translated Ringo by Saxo and in the longer life of Olaf Trygveson, which at this point apparently follows him, it has been supposed by

some that by him Sigurd Ring was really meant, while it is almost clear that the latter had been dead some years.

Who then was Anulo? He was clearly a pretender. The name Anulo is conjugated Anulo Anulonis, and has apparently nothing to do with *Annulus* as Saxo thought. It is probably some form of a Norse name. Munch suggested that it stood for Aale, formerly Anli, Saxon Anlo, (op. cit., ii. 153, note 2).

I have suggested that he was the son of Halfdane (above mentioned as having had authority in Jutland) and the brother of Hemming.

As I read the difficult story, the fight which occurred, took place between some relative of Gudrod, possibly a son, named Sigurd, and the family of Haldane whom Gudrod had expelled from Jutland. The party of the former won the fight, and that that of Gudrod which had been in possession of Jutland, and had expelled Hemming, was defeated and driven out. We are told by the Frankish writers (whose story at this time is not at all clear), that both Sigurd and Anulo were killed in the battle. What seems plain is that the party opposed to Gudrod's interests, and who were his heirs, won the day. It was fought in 812, and the number of casualties shows that it was a desperate struggle and a huge strain on such thinly peopled countries as the Scandinavian lands.

The next few years were occupied with a persistent struggle in which the sons of Gudrod and those of Haldane, took a part and in which the success was intermittent on either side. The general result was the great set-back of the new Norwegian kingdom, which is not disguised by Ari's phrases about the courage and manliness of Olaf, the King of Westfold, and probably accounts for

the virtual silence of the Northern Sagas on the details of the struggle for which we have to turn to the Frankish historians. It is curious that even these do not mention the particular names of the Norse chieftains at this time, and only refer to them as "the sons of Godfred." Of their opponents it only mentions two, namely, the two brothers Harald and Reginfred, the sons of Halfdane, who fought against the Emperor's protégés and dependents.

Olaf, according to the *Ynglinga Saga*, was a great warrior, and was very handsome, strong, and large of growth. This is an astounding statement, for it is immediately followed by the most complete confession of disaster that was perhaps ever recorded in such a few sentences. It tells us that the very wide dominions, which had been conquered by Olaf's father and grandfather, were reduced to the small districts of Westfold and Westmar (the latter being named as his in the *Flatey-bok*). Meanwhile King Alfgar of Alfheim took all Vingulmark (part of which had been ruled over by Olaf's father) and placed his son Gandalf over it, after which the father and son reduced the greater part of Raumariki. On another side Hedemark and Soloer with Thoten and Hadeland were recovered by Hogue, son of Eystein the Great of the Uplands. Hauk Erlendson, in his account of the Kings of the Uplands, and the *Flatey-bok*, with whom Munch agrees, say this last conquest was made by Eystein, son of Hogue, and grandson of Eystein the Great (*Ynglinga Saga*, ch. 54; Munch, 154). Wermeland was also conquered by the Swedish king. Meanwhile, Gudrod's widow Asa, ruled over Agdir, in the name of her young son Halfdane.

It is not to be wondered at that Gudrod's sons also lost their hold on Jutland, which the two

victorious brothers Harald and Reginfred appropriated.

We are told that in the same year they sent envoys to make a pact with the Emperor, and to ask him to send them back and to release their brother Hemming, shewing he was still living (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 199); he was doubtless the same Hemming, who died in Walcheren, as I shall show presently, many years later, and is there distinctly called the son of Halfdane. The next year an imperial conventum or council was held at Aachen, where at the request of their king (*i.e.*, Hemming), it was determined by the Emperor to send sixteen of the Frank and Saxon chiefs across the Elbe to ratify a peace with the Danes. They accordingly went, and met sixteen of the latter. They took with them Hemming, and returned him to his people. His brothers were at this time absent with their army, and had gone to *Westarfold*, which region we are told lay beyond their kingdom between the north and west, and looking towards Britain (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200). Steenstup and his followers have tried to claim that Westarfold was some obscure place in Denmark, but as Pertz, i. 200, note 17, and Kruse have argued a view which is also Simson's, the expression *domi non erant*, shows they were not then in any part of Denmark (Simson, 521 note). It was clearly the district of Westfold in Norway, which looks towards England, and was the very homeland of Gudrod and his people, and then subject to the rival family of Inglings. We are told the two brothers reduced the chiefs and people of Westerfold to obedience (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200; Kruse, 69).

The same year, *i.e.*, in 813, Godfred's sons returned from exile with not a few of the chief

Danes who had left their country (*relicta patria* is a most suggestive phrase) and had sought refuge among the Swedés. They also collected a large body of people from all parts of Denmark, who had joined them *etiam regno non multo eos labore pepulerunt*. They were apparently welcomed by a large number of their father's folk, and fought against the two kings and drove them and their brother Hemming out (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200 ; Chron. Moiss., *id.* i. 311, ii. 259). Meanwhile, Karl the Great died on the 28th of January, 814 (See the fine account of his death and burial in Hodgkin, *Invaders of Italy*, vii. 200, etc.). His strong arm and vigorous policy had preserved the empire from ravage. The garrisons he fixed on the coast, the guardships he had built on the rivers, the heavy hand he laid on marauders had restrained the pirates of Denmark and the Saracens from too daring attacks. But even these precautions had not entirely availed. Already the bold seamen of the North had coasted round the peninsula, and entered the Mediterranean, and the monk of Saint Gallen relates how the Emperor one day, when in one of his southern ports, saw from the walls the ships of the Northmen in the distance, and although they dared not beard him, he is said to have lamented for the fate of the empire and for his descendants (Pertz, ii. 757, 758).

It is convenient at this point to refer to a mythical story which has deceived many people, (including myself, in former days), about a supposed paladin of Charlemagne known as Olger the Dane, the alleged hero of many adventures. A certain Otger, who was one of Charles' *marchiones*, is mentioned by the Monk of St. Gallen, in his life of Charles ; also in the Ann. Lob., 771, and the Chron. Moiss. in 773), but he is not call a Dane by any of

them. The first reference I can find to an Olger "the Dane" at this date attributes to him the rebuilding of Saint Martin's Church at Cologne after it had been burnt by the Saxons in the 778, and is contained in the so-called Chronicle of St. Martin, a forgery of the Monk Legepont, and dating from the 18th century.

Between the years 814—19 the monastery of St. Filibert on the island of Noirmouttier was sacked by the Norsemen. (The island was also called Hermutier = *Heri Monasterium*; Herio or Heri being the name of the island on which it stood.); it was south of the Loire. Depping (i. 67, 68) tells an anecdote referring to a fresh prevision of calamity at this time: Liudger, a scholar of Alcuin's, had been a youthful missionary among the Westphalians and Friesians. He also wished to go among the Northmen to reclaim them to Christianity, but the Emperor, who had made him Bishop of Munster, would not permit him. His influence among the Friesians was too valuable for his life to be risked on such a dangerous errand. Liudger, too, saw the danger that loomed in the future. Depping tells how he one night dreamed that clouds came from the north, covered the face of the sun, and threw a gloom over the earth. "I shall not see it," he said to his sister, "but you will;" and truly, as his biographer says, they came frequently after he was dead, and ravished the land mercilessly (*Altfridus vita sancti Liudgeri*, lib. ch. 2, &c., Depping, 68, note). These calamities did not come at once. The first successor of Charlemagne was quite equal to defending his frontiers, however incapable he was of managing his household. He was a soldier as well as a scholar. The Avars and the Saracens had both tested his prowess before his father's death and

after he was crowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen himself, the Emperor Louis received lordly embassies from Nicephoros, Emperor of Byzantium, and the Khalif Abdurrahman, the rulers of the two strongest empires of his day. It is not strange, therefore, that the Northmen respected his borders. Their intestine quarrels continued, however. In 814 the two kings Harald and Reginfred who had been expelled by the sons of Godfred, and had sought shelter among the Obotriti, collected an army and returned the next year to the attack. In the fight that ensued, Reginfred and the eldest son of Godfred are said by one authority to have been killed (Chron. Moiss, an., 813). The report about Reginfred is doubtful however, since Adam of Bremen says distinctly that he took to piracy (Gest. Hamb. Ecc. Pont, i. 17; see vii. 291, note 54). The Ynglinga Saga says the same of Olaf, the elder son of Gudrod. The invaders were evidently defeated, for we are told by Eginhardt that Harald repaired to the Emperor and acknowledged his supremacy (*se in manus illius commendavit*—Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 201; Kruse, 72, 73). He apparently asked for help in recovering Jutland. He was told to return to Saxony (Saxony beyond the Elbe is doubtless meant) and to wait awhile, when he might hope for assistance. The Emperor gave orders that the Saxons and Obotriti should prepare to assist him. It was proposed to advance while the rivers were still frozen, but a sudden thaw broke them up, and the expedition was postponed till May 815. The combined troops, led by the Imperial legate Baldric, then crossed the Eider and advanced seven days' journey into the Danish district called Sinlendi, *i.e.*, the Sillende of Other (Kruse, 73; Simson says Sinlendi, east of Schleswig, Jahrbucher III., i. 52, note 6), without doubt the later

Schleswig. They went as far as the coast, where they entrenched themselves. Godfred's sons meanwhile retired to an island three miles off the mainland (Kruse suggests the island of Alsen, *op. cit.* 74; he follows Leibnitz, but Simson, Dummier, etc., suggest more probably, Funen). There they assembled a large army and a fleet of 200 ships. The Franks dared not cross arms with them, and contented themselves with ravaging the districts around, carried off forty hostages, and then returned to the Emperor, who was at Paderborn. Dahlmann makes out that the camp of the invaders was at Snogoi, opposite the town of Middlefart, in Funen, where the Belt is very narrow (*op. cit.*, i. 27.)* The Convention at Paderborn wished to settle the question of the eastern frontiers of the Slavs and Danes, and also the affairs of Harald (Simson, 53, *vide* Theganus, Pertz ii, 523, *Einh. Ann.* ; Pertz. i. 202).

This expedition of the Frank Emperor seems utterly indefensible. To take the part of a fugitive chief who has been driven out of his country, and to invade and ravage that country with no substantive quarrel of one's own, is surely to attempt severe reprisals when opportunity arrives, and we need not travel far, when we find such policy in vogue, to excuse and palliate the cruel ravages of the pirates a few years later. Louis had no more right to intervene in the domestic quarrels of his neighbours than Napoleon in those of Spain. If it was then deemed good policy to sow discord among the frontagers of the empire by taking the side of fugitives and pretenders (a policy carried out with the Obotriti as well as the Danes), we need not

* It would seem from the confused account in the Icelandic annals that Ragnar Lodbrog was thought to have been opposed to Harald on this occasion (Kruse, 75).

wonder that such sowing should have led to a plentiful growth of ill-feeling on the part of the victims. To the diet at Paderborn in 815, went envoys from the Danes asking for peace (Theganus, Vit. Lud., Pertz, ii. 593). Louis was too strong to be attacked, nor was his strength tempered with overmuch courtesy, for we are told that in 817 the sons of Godfred sent envoys to him to complain of the continual attacks of his *protegé* Harald, and offered their own master's submission. In the Vita Ludovisi (Pertz, ii. 621, 622), these messages are described as *simulata*, i.e., dishonest and they were therefore rejected. Dahlmann suggests that the negotiations with the Slavs had reached Louis' ears (Gesch. von Dan, i. 2). It was deemed politic to neglect the news but further assistance was offered to Harald. About the same time, i.e., in 817, Schlaomir, who, on the murder of Thrasco, had been made chief of the Obotriti, was ordered to share his realm with Ceadrig, the son of his predecessor. This he resented, swore he would neither cross the Elbe again, nor attend the Imperial palace. He also sent envoys to Godfred's sons and invited them to invade Saxony beyond the Elbe (which had been granted to his people by Charlemagne). The Obotriti had hitherto been most faithful allies of the Franks, who styled them *Slavi nostri qui dicuntur* Obotriti, (Chron. Moiss., *sub an.* 798, etc., etc.,; see Simson, i. 110-111, note i.) They accordingly set out with their fleet, mounted the Elbe to Esesfeld, now called Itzehoe, and ravaged the borders of the river Stur. At the same time Gluomi, the custodian of the Norman frontier—("Custos Nordmannici limitis," as he is called in the annals of Eginhardt Pertz, i. 203, 204), advanced overland to the same place, but retired before the

determined attitude of the Franks. This was the first time, so far as we know, in which the Northmen openly dared to attack an imperial outpost, Friesland being only an appanage at the most, and almost independent.

We now read of a revolution in Denmark, which is not quite explicable. This was in 819, and therefore two years after the previous mention of the Danes. Doubtless, as Simson says, Harald had meanwhile kept up his attacks, *assidua infestatio Herioldi* says Eginhardt. In 817, we are told that Harald, having led his ships by the Emperor's orders through the land of the Obotriti,* returned to his own country, where he was well received by two of Godfred's sons, who agreed to share the kingdom with him. Other two sons, however, were expelled from the kingdom, Eginhardt adds, "*sed hoc dolo factum putatur*," that is by fraud (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 208; Kruse, 78, 819). The meaning of this revolution, I presume, is that Harald, backed by the influence of the Frank Emperor, succeeded in planting his foot once more in his native land, not as a welcome guest, but as a traitor, whose presence was a daily insult to his neighbours. The question arises, who were these sons of Godfred? About one of them there is no difficulty, the one who probably supplanted the rest, Eric, known as Eric the First. The other brother who shared his realm with him was doubtless Reginfred. The brothers, who were excluded from Jutland,

* It is not actually said that Harald led his ships, as the words have been translated, but rather that he conducted them through the land of the Obotriti, "*reductus ad naves*" is the phrase used.—Eginhardt Ann., Pertz, i. 208. How could he lead them overland? Messrs. Warn, Koenig & Gerard say he was conducted to his ships and then went by sea towards his own country (op. cit., ii. 214).

who had probably remained behind in Norway, and who shared the kingdom of Westfold, were not improbably Olaf and Halfdane, kings who were certainly sons of Gudrod.

In 820, thirteen piratical ships made a descent upon the coast of Flanders (Eginhardt, *sub. ann.*). They committed some damage and captured some cattle, when they were driven away by the coastguards; *aliquot casae viles incensae, et parvus pecoris numerus abactus est.* They then repaired to the open low-banked estuary of the Seine. There they were attacked, and lost five of their number. Sailing on again, they once more landed on the coast of Aquitaine, at a place called Bundium by Eginhardt, and Buin in the Vita Ludovici, Ch. 33. Bonin, say Messrs. Warn & Ger, ii. 214, was on the island of the same name. Where this island really was is doubtful. Valesius & Leibnitz suggest St. Paul de Born, south of the Garonne, but this is contested by Pertz. Noirmontier or some island close by is perhaps meant. There they plundered effectively (*vico quodam qui vocatur Bundium ad integrum depopulato*, Eginhardt Annales, Pertz, i. 207), and returned home laden with an immense booty (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 207; Kruse, 79), and with abundant temptation to their hardy, poor, and adventurous countrymen to try the trade of buccaneering. As Kruse suggests, it is exceedingly probable that this expedition was led by the two sons of Godfred, who were driven away from home in the preceeding year (Kruse, op. 80). Simson (Ludwig der Frommen, 161, note 4), seems to suggest that it was on this occasion the Brotherhood of St. Filibert of Noirmoutier, which had often suffered from the pirates, built themselves a new monastery on the mainland, whither they

returned in the summer when the sea was free from the pirates. But this was surely later? Prevost (Ord. Vit. Vol., i. 158, note) says the monks passed the good season in the monastery of Dee, 10 miles from Nantes.

During 821 the empire was not molested by the Danes, and Harald, we are told, lived peaceably with the sons of Godfred. H. Martin, Hist. de France, suggests they had ceded him a part of Jutland (op. cit. ii. 381, ed. of 1861 Warn & Ger., ii. 214). They were, however, only considered to be fair-weather friends to the empire, and Ceadrag, the chief of the Obotriti, was suspected of holding secret intercourse with them. Sclaomir, who had been detained at the Frankish court, was allowed to return home, probably with the intention of displacing him; but on his arrival in Saxony he fell ill, and having been baptized, died (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 207; Kruse, 80). In this year a Capitulary was issued, which provided in several clauses for the uniting of the slaves or villeins into Guilds for mutual protection against the Norman pirates, especially on the coast of Flanders; See Sickel, 170.

It was the custom of the Emperor to spend several months of each year in a tour of inspection of his dominions. As Palgrave well observes, the Carolingian sovereigns knew their country well from constantly traversing it. "Travel and tramp are good teachers both of statistics and geography." In the Chron. Moissense, 814, we have a notable entry about the Emperor Louis at this time. We read, that he planted garrisons on the seaboard where they were required—*præsidia ponit in litore maris ubi necesse fuit* (see also Nigellus II., v. 157). On returning from his tour the Kaiser generally settled down at one of his palaces—

Aachen or Nimwegen, Compiègne, Ingelheim, or Frankfort. There he received envoys from the dependent nations, and controlled the administration of his vast dominions. At the council held at Frankfort, in November, 822, envoys bringing gifts came from all the Eastern Slavs—from the Obotriti, Sorabi, Wiltzi, Bohemians, Marvani, (*i.e.*, the Moravians), the Prædenecenti (*i.e.*, the Obodriti, who lived near the Danube, close to the Bulgarians—Kruse, 83, note), and from the Avars, (Eginhardt, Pertz, ii. 209 ; Kruse, 83). The monk of St. Gallen adds that they took gold and silver as proofs of devotion, and their masters' swords as symbols of subjection ; but this is probably a rhetorical flourish. Among the rest we are told that Harald and the sons of Godfred also sent envoys to this conventum (Einhardt, *op. cit.*). Simson suggests that the peace between them was then at an end.

We now arrive at a period when the Franks were seriously preparing to evangelize the country beyond the Elbe, a policy which, perhaps, more than any other brought upon them those flights of gad-flies, the Danish rovers, in the next age. We are told in Rembert's “ *Life of St. Anscarius* ” that about the years 817—819, Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims, fourth brother of the Emperor Louis, burned to call the heathen, and especially the Danes, whom he had frequently seen at the palace, within the Christian fold (*vit. St. Ansch.*, Pertz, II., 2,699 ; Kruse, 79). His first efforts in this direction apparently took place in 822, when we read in the Fuldensian annals that he evangelized the race of the Norsemen (Pertz, i. 357 ; Kruse, 81)—that is, he probably had the gospel preached to such of Harald's people as had come

within or near the Frankish frontier, or were living in Harald's part of Jutland.*

The next year Harald attended in person at Compiègne, and complained that Godfred's sons threatened to expel him from the country. The Emperor determined to send the Counts Theothar and Hruodmund as envoys to them, to make inquiries on the spot, and report to him. With them went Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who on his return claimed to have baptized many (Enhardus, Fuldensian Annals, Pertz. i. 211; Kruse, 84). According to the monk Ermoldus Nigellus, he also converted King Harald, and persuaded him to become a Christian. This is, doubtless, an exaggeration,, but he probably urged upon him the good policy of doing so. The Emperor seems to have been satisfied with his inquiries, for in 825 the envoys of Godfred's sons went and renewed their pact with the Empire, at a conventum held at Aachen. We are told that peace was ratified with them in October of 825, and that it was signed "*in marca eorum*" (i.e., on their march or frontier). It was this march or mark which probably gave its name to Denmark, which merely means the march or mark of the Danes. The absence of perpetual attacks at this time shews, as Messrs. Warnkœnig & Gerard say, that these acts had really been acts of war (op. cit., ii. 296). Ebbo seems to have renewed his mission (see Rem-

* Ebbo had gone to Rome in 822 and obtained a commission for this work from Pope Paschal. He was accompanied on his journey by Wilderich, Bishop of Bremen. Halfgar of Kammerich, whom the Pope had designed as his companion, did not apparently go with him. Dummler, op. cit., i. 259, notes 37 and 38. For his support while he stayed in Denmark the Emperor gave Ebbo the "Cell" of Welanao, the modern Munsterburg on the Stur, near Itzeoe (*id.*). He used it as a base of operations and a recruiting place, and we are told he often went there and prosecuted his labours in the Northern parts successfully (vit. Ansk, 13, 14, p. 697).

bert, ch. 13 ; Dummmler, Ost Franken, i. 259, note 47). Up to this point Harald and Godfred's sons seem to have lived on fair terms. The next year the annual “conventum” was held in Charlemagne's palace at Ingelheim, where envoys went from the Obotriti and from Godfred's sons (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 214 ; Kruse. 88). It was, however, famous for a much more important event. Harald, who had been driven out again by the latter, and was now a fugitive, deemed it prudent to adopt a new policy. He determined to be baptized, and to become a dependent of the empire. The story of the ceremony has been told in detail by the panegyrist of Louis, the monk Ermoldus, who was doubtless an eye-witness ; and a very graphic picture it is of the Imperial court of the early part of the ninth century.

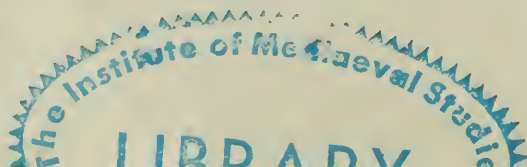
Eginhardt tells us how Charlemagne had built himself a palace at Ingelheim, a suburb of Mainz, close by the church of St. Alban, then outside the city walls. The palace overlooked the grand old river, the Rhine. The poet Saxo speaks of its hundred pillars—doubtless such as can still be seen in Charlemagne's Dom at Aachen ; some were spoils of old Rome, and some of home-got granite. These shafts still survive (scattered however) at Ingelheim, Mainz, the monastery of Eberbach and at Heidelberg (Simson, Vit. Lud. 257), while some of the capitals of the pillars are in the museum at Mainz. Ermoldus describes the palace as ornamented with *bas-reliefs*, or paintings. He speaks in one place of the *Regia domus late per sculpta* ; in another, however, he uses the word *pingitur* as if they were painted, which is more probable, Simson so understands it. In these paintings, or reliefs, the deeds of the great conquerors and legislators of old were represented—of Alexander

and Hannibal, Constantine and Theodosius, etc. They were apparently based on Orosius, and included on one side Ninus; Cyrus, whose head the Scythian queen was putting in a bowl of blood; Hannibal, as he lost an eye in the marshes of Etruria, Alexander's great deeds and the foundation of Rome. On the other side were scenes from later history; the founding of Constantinople. Theodosius the Great, Charles Martel receiving the submission of the Friesians; and Pepin of the Aquitanians: while on other slabs were represented the dealings of the mighty Karl himself (Karl with the sage front, as he is styled) and his conflict with the Saxons,—all rude enough, no doubt; copies of crude works of the later days of the Western Empire, but (when hung about with the florid tapestries and hangings that came from the Saracen looms) impressive enough to the warriors of the Slavic and Northern marches (Simson, 257.) Many small temporary dwellings were erected to accommodate the visitors. There in his *Aula* Louis received the many-tongued and variedly dressed deputations of his friends and satellites. It was there also that in 826 Harald went with his wife and his son (one late writer, Hermann von Reichenau says sons, and Harald had certainly two sons, Godfred and Rodulf). He also took his nephew, or brother Rurik (probably his nephew) and a large body of retainers. The monk describes how when the fleet approached, the Kaiser, who watched it from the battlements, sent Matfred, Count of Orleans, with a body of young courtiers to meet the Danes; and with them some richly caparisoned horses. Harald approached the hall of audience mounted on a Frank horse. The poet also gives at length what he claims to be Harald's address to the great Emperor, *inter alia*, stating how he had been converted by the Archbishop Ebbo, and now

wished to be baptized. The ceremony was performed in St. Alban's Chapel (Simson, i. 258, note). Louis was god-father to Harald, and decked him with his white chrismal robe; the Empress Judith did the same for the great Dane's consort; while the young Lothaire, the Emperor's heir, was sponsor to Harald's son. With them were baptised four hundred Northmen of both sexes—*promiscui sexus* (“*Annales Xantenses*,” *sub anno* 826). The Monk of St. Gallen does not directly refer to this ceremony in his notice. He says that not a year passed without some of the Danes being baptised, and declaring themselves vassals. On one occasion 50 came, and there not being sufficient white robes for them, they had to be made quickly and rudely; and our author reports how one of the northern warriors rejected his robe, saying. “Keep your dress for women; this is the twentieth time I have been baptized, and never before had I such a costume. If I were not ashamed to go naked I would leave your Christ and your garment together” (Simson). This, as Depping says, was probably a tale invented to amuse the courtiers at Ingelheim. After the ceremony the Emperor gave his *protégé* some lordly presents, a purple robe fringed with gold, the sword that hung by his side, a golden girdle, golden bracelets for his arms, and a jewelled sash for his sword, a coronal for his head, his own socks of golden tissue and his white gloves. His wife was also duly decked by the Empress Judith with a tunic stiff with gold and jewels, a golden band to entwine her flaxen curls, a twisted golden collar about her neck, bracelets on her arms, a gold jewelled sash, about her waist, and a cape of golden tissue upon her shoulders; while Lothaire presented his godson with garments of golden material. Their four hundred followers were also rewarded with pre-

sents of Frank robes (see line 397). When thus decked out they proceeded to the Dom, where priests and attendants were assembled, a picture of glorious colour. We are told that among the grandees present were Clement, the head of the school; Theuto, the precentor, who ordered the singing of the choir of clerics; while Adhalewi acted as Chamberlain and arranged the throng with his ferule in his hand, as they raised the alleluia. First came the young Prince Charles, and then amidst stirring strains the great Kaiser and his company paced up the church to the apse, the Abbot and Arch-Chaplain Hilduin on his right, the Imperial Chancellor, the Abbott Helisachar, on his left. Then came Gerung the chief door-keeper, with a staff in his hand and a golden crown on his head, then prince Lothaire, then the Danish king in chrismal robes, and the Empress Judith, conducted by Matfred, Count of Orleans and Hugo, of Tours, also wearing crowns and gold embroidered garments, then followed Harald's wife, and the Chancellor Fridugis, with a crowd of his scholars in white garments, lastly the rest of the people including the Danes, followed by the great nobles of the Empire clad in their state robes.

Most imposing must such pageantry have been to ordinary eyes, but how much more to the homely experience of the Danish exiles! We are told how the preacher raised his voice, and bade Harald convert the Danish swords and spears into ploughs and reaping-hooks—surely a cynical address in the presence of the war-loving Franks. It must have been a solemn sight when, placing his hands in those of the Emperor, Harald commended himself and the realms over which he had such a shadowy hold into the



hands of his suzerain. South Jutland was formally at least added to the appanages of the empire. Once more the Frankish sovereign might claim the much honoured style of *Mehrer des Reichs*, increaser of the empire (Palgrave, i. 258).

After the state ceremonial came the feast, over which Petrus, the chief baker, and Gunto, the chief cook, and Otho, the chief butler (no doubt honorary officers), presided, spreading out the napkins with their snowy fringes, and laying the victuals on the marble discs. Golden cups were used for drinking. By Louis' side sat his wife Judith, the hated step-mother of his sons.

After the feast the Danes were entertained at a royal hunt on one of the wooded islands of the Rhine, and the spoil of bears, stags, wild boars, and roes was afterwards borne in, in state and divided among the courtiers and others, the clergy, as the old poet remarks, getting their due share. The Emperor, Empress, Lothaire, and Charles, Count Wido, and others were all there, and thus did the first Scandinavian chieftain of high rank formally forsake the faith of his forefathers and become a Christian.

When Harald had declared himself “ the man ” of the Kaiser, we read that after the manner of the Franks he was presented with a steed and a set of arms. He also received more valuable gifts, for we are told that the Emperor granted him the district of Rustri, a rich and extensive gau or Pagus, in Friesia, still called Rustringen or Butyadingerland, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburgh, at the mouths of the Weser and the Yahde (Vogel, *Die Normannen*, op. cit., 60). To this was added a vine-growing district, (“*loca vinifera*,” as Ermoldus calls it), probably the district near Coblenz, Andernach, and Sinzig, which was after-

wards (namely in 885), claimed by Harald's son Godfred (Kruse, 95). Palgrave has a note on Charlemagne's cultivation of the vine in the Rhine Valley. These grants probably had attached to them the condition that attached to other margraviates, namely, that of defending the borders of the empire against the Danes. At length Harald departed, accompanied by the monk Anscharius, with appropriate store of sacred vessels, vestments, and priests' books to convert the Danes to Christianity, and to subservience to the Empire (Palgrave, 1,257; see also a long note in Langebek's life of St. Anscharius, Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scrip.*, 1,439). Ermoldus says that Harald's son and nephew remained behind as hostages (v. 629, 630).

On Harald's return he was accompanied as I have said, by the monk *Anschar*, the famous apostle of the North, and his companion Autbert. Their venture and that of Archbishop Ebbo, to which I have referred, were not the first missionary efforts in this direction. As far back as the year 699 the English bishop St. Willibrord had made an ineffectual attempt to introduce Christianity into Jutland, but was repelled by the then king of the country, who was called Augandeo (Dahlmann, i. 30, note). He baptized thirty Danish boys, who he hoped would form the nucleus of a Christian community. Among these, tradition makes out was St. Sebald, who in the legend is called a son of a Danish king (Dahlmann, i. 30, note). These earlier efforts, however, seem to have left no fruit behind them, and Anschar may claim the honour of having been the proto-apostle of Scandinavia. He was born on the 9th of September, 801. Having lost his mother when he was five years old he became an inmate of the school attached to the Abbey of Corbey, on the

Somme, in Picardy, and was there ten years; later he adopted the monkish habit, and when he was twenty was at the head of the school. In 823 he set out with other monks from the same abbey to work in Westphalia, where on the river Weser the Emperor Louis had built several churches and monasteries, and there he founded a “New Corbey” as a focus of missionary light. He had worked in Westphalia for three years, when he received orders from the mother monastery at Corbey to accompany Harald homewards. He declared his willingness to go, and was introduced to the Emperor, and supplied with the necessary articles—vessels, vestments, and books, together with tents and other necessities, but with no servants, as none volunteered, and he did not wish to constrain any; another monk named Autbert (as I have said), was his only companion (see for all this Simson, i. 256, 266). They were commissioned to take care the converted king did not relapse into his old ways, to instruct him further in the Christian faith, and also to preach to the heathen in Denmark. They had a wretched journey down the Rhine, past the lovely Rheingau and the Drachenfels, and suffered a good deal from the coarse, rude manners of Harald and his companions. Their condition was improved, when they were supplied with a separate vessel in which they could stow away their goods, by Hadebald, the Archbishop of Cologne. It contained two small cabins, a luxury unknown to the Danes. These took the king’s fancy, and he transported himself into the Frankish ship, and took possession of one cabin; but considerately left the other to the two monks. They afterwards gained his confidence and the respect of his people. They went by way of Dorestadt, *i.e.*, Wyk te Doorestede, which was an appanage of Harald

(Fulda Annals, *sub ann.* 850), and then by the Lech and the Maas into the North Sea. Coasting along the Friesic shore they arrived at the mouth of the Weser, where Harald's newly granted appanage of Rustringen lay, and then onwards to Harald's frontiers in the south of Schlesvig (Dahlmann, i. 38, 39). There Anschar began his evangelistic work.

Let us now turn from the gorgeous ceremonial at Ingelheim, and its sequel (in which the exile Harald had so freely laid himself and his country at the feet of the Frank Kaiser), to Jutland and its then rulers. Jutland was a rugged, dreary land. Adam of Bremen describes it in the eleventh century as a huge waste of marsh and sterile land (*"Porro cum omnes tractus Germaniæ horreant saltibus, sola est Jutland ceteris horridior"*). Cultivation was confined to the river banks, and its farms were wide asunder; the population were a rough, hardy and persevering folk, such as the Danes are still—fishermen and sailors, much attached to their old creed and customs, and ruled over in great part at this time, as we have seen, by the sons of Godfred. On its borders Anschar now started a school of about twelve boys, partially consisting of those redeemed from Slavery, and partly of those handed over to him by Harald to be educated (Dummler i. 261). One can well believe how unwelcome Harald and his Christian *protégés* would be to this free folk, for he was coming to tie their necks, impatient of restraint, to the triumphal car of the great Emperor, whose renown had reached their ears but whose yoke they had not felt about their necks. Nor can we wonder that Christianity coming under Imperial auspices—coming, in fact, as the pendent to the chains of subservience to

the Frank throne—should have been received with scorn by the bulk of the people, and that their old faith, which thus became a symbol of their freedom, should have been clung to with the long-enduring affection which it was by their neighbours the Saxons.

In 827 we read that the Emperor held two general assemblies, one at Nimwegen, the grand fortress whose fragments still remain and command the course of the Lower Rhine, and the other at Compiègne. The former was held to meet the wishes of Eric the son of Godfred, who had promised to attend it in person (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 216; Kruse, 104). These promises are styled “*falsas pollicitationes*,” which show that he did not go. The sons of Godfred (no doubt including Eric), in fact, expelled Harald once more from their borders; (“*de consortio regni*” is the phrase in Eginhardt meaning, no doubt, from the joint kingship), so that he must have gone back to Friesland. This doubtless stopped evangelistic work in Denmark itself, but Anschar continued to teach at his school; two years later he was abandoned by Autbert, who, no doubt, grew weary of his wretched life of suspense, and returned to Corbey, where he died after a long illness, apparently at Easter, 830 (*id.*). We are told that in 828 negotiations had been opened for mutual peace between the Danes and Franks and to arrange the affairs of Harald. A more likely story is told in the Vita. Ludovici, namely, that the Emperor wished to help Harald, and to make a treaty of peace with Godfred’s sons, and sent the Saxon counts with him to open negotiations for the return of the latter to South Jutland (Pertz., ii. 621, 632). At this conference nearly all the Saxon counts and the marquises or march guardians were present. But while the

Saxon and Danish lords were treating, Harald, who was doubtless jealous of the peacemaking (which it was apparently arranged should involve the giving of hostages—Eginhardt, i. 217), went into and burnt some Danish hamlets. Godfred's sons thereupon naturally collected an army, crossed the Eider and attacked the camp planted on the other side, plundered it and drove the garrison away (Eginhardt, *ib.*, Kruse, 106). This was in 828. Such was the treacherous dealing which sharpened the spears of the Danes when they revenged themselves upon the cities of the Frankish empire some years later. They behaved meekly enough on this occasion, however, for we are told by Eginhardt that they sent envoys to the Emperor to explain how they had been driven to the course they took, and were now ready to make amends. The Emperor was satisfied and peace was renewed with them. This account of the transactions, for which we depend entirely on the Frank Chronicles, seems to point to a rebuff and a distinct blow to the prestige of the Empire, and so Simson reads it. A good proof of this is the panic which followed the rumour which was spread in June the next year, *i.e.* 829, that the Danes were about to invade Saxony and were approaching the frontier. Louis summoned the Franks from all parts to a general levy, and announced that he intended crossing the Rhine at Neus in the middle of July. It was however, a false report. No envoys, came from the Danes to the *conventum* this year. (See Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 218). This is the last notice of the Norsemen by the great chronicler and biographer, Eginhardt. Their invasions at this time were clearly not piratical but legitimate warfare, and meant to create terror in the Empire and prevent its extending northward. They afterwards degenerated into piracy in consequence of

the successes of the Norsemen. Depping asserts that they agreed to admit Harald into their land, probably to share its government, but I have not traced his authority, nor does this seem probable from other considerations. It is singular that in 829 and 830 there should be no mention of trouble with the Danes by the Frankish writers; Harald apparently continued at peace in his holding, and there is no hostile mention in the Frank annals till 834. They may have been raiding elsewhere, for we read that in 830—the island of Herio in Brittany was placed under the special protection of Louis and Lothaire on account of the invasions of the Northmen (Kruse, 122).

We now come to an incident which shows how Anschar's mission was more suspected politically than otherwise. While he had to do his missionary work from outside Denmark, envoys came to the Emperor from the Swedes, begging him to send some missionaries to their country. Sweden probably felt itself out of reach of the grasping Frankish empire, and could afford to trust the missionaries. Anschar volunteered to go. On his return thence in 831 it was determined to found a See on the pagan marches by the Elbe, whence the North might be evangelized; and he was accordingly appointed Archbishop of Hamburg. He journeyed to Rome to receive the pallium, and was duly invested with the commission of apostolical legate to the Swedes, Danes, and Slavs. He busied himself with his work, and we are told how he redeemed boys from slavery among the Danes and Slavs, and educated them for the service of God—native presbyters such as our missionaries still find so useful in Africa and elsewhere. It is probable that few of the Danes, save exiles and their like, were much influenced by

his teaching. The converts were no doubt looked upon as political traitors and renegades, and their new faith was treated as a badge of their disloyalty as well as their apostasy. This nest of Christians on the borders of the Eider was a constant menace to the independence of the Danes, a mere imperial outpost at their very threshold. It was doubtless the feeling nursed by these circumstances that caused Christianity and its professors to be so bitterly hated by the corsairs of a few years later, and made so many ruins of monasteries and churches. In our own day the same feeling led to similar cruel persecutions in Japan and China, where indifferentism and toleration in religious matters are tempered by a fierce jealousy of political propagandism.

In 831 the Emperor held his third general placitum at Thionville (*Theodonis villa*, called Diedenhofen by the Germans). Envoys went there to him from Persia (which seems a long way off), seeking peace. There also went others from the Danes (no doubt from Eric's subjects), who, having renewed their pact with the empire, returned home (Annales Bert. Pertz, i, 424; Kruse, 113). I have already remarked how the early Danish attacks upon the coasts of the empire were far from being mere individual acts of piracy, and were deliberate acts of war, differing from the contemporary wars of the Franks only in being sea fights and not land fights. This is clear when we consider that whenever there was peace between the Imperial ruler and the Danish king; and envoys were exchanged, we read of no attacks on the coasts, but these only occur when there was a feud between the two powers. In England and Ireland matters were very different, as we shall presently show. The view here urged is

supported by the further fact that the assaults upon the coasts of the mainland of Europe, when they recommenced, were directed not against the empire itself, but against the fief granted to Harald and his family. They continued, in fact, the long strife between the sons of Godfred and their rivals which we have traced out.

There is good reason for believing that besides the *gau* of Rustringen, the greater part of Friesland and of modern Holland were under the immediate authority of Harald and his relatives (*Theganus vita Hludovic Imp*, Pertz, ii, 597; Kruse, 89); and we accordingly read that in the year 834 the Danes, (*i.e.*, the Danes of Jutland), devastated a portion of Friesland* and having doubtless mounted the old course of the Rhine, now called the “Oude Rhyn,” they reached *Vetus Trajectum*, *i.e.*, Utrecht, and then passed on to the great mart of those parts, which gave its name to the district—namely, Dorestadt. This was a famous trading centre where the Carolingians had a mint, of which many coins are extant, and, according to the life of Ansharius, there were fifty-five churches and a crowd of clergy there. So famous was it as a religious centre that pilgrims visited it like they did the most holy places elsewhere, and a church was placed as its emblem on its coins (Depping,

* Friesland says Vogel, especially that part of it extending from the Vlie to Sinkfal near Sluis, in regard to trade and industry, was certainly one of the most prosperous and progressive parts of the Empire, as well as one of the most fertile. With the exception of the Jews, the Friesians were the principal traders in Europe. We are told that the fairest portion of Mainz, then the great Mart where the trade routes from the Danube and Italy met, was inhabited by Friesians (A. Fuld, 887). There were Friesian traders at St. Denis (Bouquet, v. 699 and vi. 466); Muhlbach 75; also at York (Altfridus Vit. Luidgeri i. 11; S. S. ii. 40). Friesic fabrics were well known as far as the East. Thence there came too weapons and other kinds of smiths' work from the Rhine and the Belgian towns, so especially did wine, not only for drinking but for the ritual of the church. Thither also came wool from England, furs from the far north, and spices from the Levant (Vogel, 66).

81, 82). It was situated at the point where the Lech and the old Rhine diverge, and is now represented by the village of Wyk te Doorestede, the Vicus Batavorum of Tacitus (Depping, *loc. cit.*). It was doubtless the metropolis of Harald's dominions, and the great focus of light, learning, and wealth for all Friesland.† Here the Danes now committed great ravages, pillaging the town and slaughtering its inhabitants. They then passed to Kynemarca, *i.e.*, the Dutch province of Kennemerland, where they destroyed the church of St. Adelbert the Confessor; cut off the head, as it is said, of the holy Jero at Niortich, *i.e.*, Noortwyk op Zee, and ruined the very strong castle of Aurundel, near Varenburg, *i.e.*, the rude old castle at Voorburg, formerly called Hadriani Forum, near Leyden. They slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants, including Theobald and Gerald (doubtless two of the chief inhabitants), and

† Its fame as a trading mart was wide spread. The annals of Xanten, under the year 834, call it *Nominatissimum Vicum*, Liudger, Vita. Gregorii abb Traject, C 5, S. S., xv. 71 speaks of it as *vicum famosum Dorstad*, see Urk., Karls d Gr. 8 June, 777, Muhlbach 21. Three great trade routes met at Dorstadt:—First that along the Rhine which connected Mainz with the outer world, and which also tapped the valley of the Danube and that which traversed Mont Cenis into Italy; secondly, the English trade by way of the Maas and the Lech; thirdly, the Scandinavian and Baltic trade which went along the Krumman Rhine by Utrecht, through the Vecht, the Zuyder Sea and between the Friesian Islands and the mainland to Schleswig. It is unlikely there was in old times an opening from the Rhine for ships at Katwyk. The traders went to the North by the Vecht (See Berg. Geogr. Ned., 62, 63) Dorstadt was one of the important stations where the excise dues were collected. In a document of the Emperor Louis dated June 831; (Muhlbach, 890)—relating to the City of Strasburg it is stated that its goods were toll-free except at Quentovic Dorestadt and Sclusae. Sclusae says Vogel does not mean Sluys but a place on the Mont Cenis route. This is a proof that the people of Strasburgh at that time traded between Lombardy, England, and Denmark (Op. cit., 66 and 67; for other references (see especially Passio. S. Frederici Episc. Trec., c. 19, A. SS., xv. 354).

See also acts of St. Frederick, bishop of Utrecht and martyr (Dom Bouq., i, 339). These annals call them Danes; the Annals of Xanten pagans; while the Fuldea Annals call them Normanni.

carried off many of the women and children into captivity (Magnum Chron. Belgicum, *ap. Pist.* 65 ; Kruse, 119). Kruse says he does not know whence these details were derived, but does not doubt they are trustworthy.

This attack was doubtless directed against what Eric and his people must have deemed the traitorous colony on his frontier, the pestilent pretenders to his throne, and the servile creatures of the Empire. It was repeated the next year when they again ravaged Dorestadt, whereupon the Emperor Louis, who held a council at Cremica on the Rhone, (*in Stremiaco* Kruse, 121, and note 3 ; Vogel, 69 says at Dramades) ; and was no doubt beginning to fear for his own borders, repaired to Aachen, and set the maritime or coast guards in order (Prudent. Trecen., Pertz., i. 429 ; Annales Xantenses, Pertz, ii. 226 , Kruse, 121).

Prevost. (Ord. Vit. i. 158, note), says that in 830 Louis and Lothairs authorised the construction of a fortified wall about St. Filibert's monastery—*contra piratarum incursiones*. Wala of Corbey was exiled to Noirmoutiers in 830, and released thence in 834, showing it was intact at the latter date.

In 834 the monks of Noirmoutiers are said, in consequence of the invaders, to have left their island and monastery, taking with them the relics of St. Filibert, which had been seen there by Wala of Corbey when an outcast (Ann. Engol, 834 ; Ann. Aquit. 830 ; Pertz., ii. 252 ; xvi. 485 ; Dummler, i. 188 ; Simson ii. 129.

On the 20th August, 835.—Count Rainald of Herbauge (*Arbatilicensis comes*), inflicted a severe defeat on the invaders Ann. Engol. 835 ; Chron. Aquit. 835, 836 ; Ademar, iii. c. 16 ; Tran. St.

Filibert, Mabillon, *iv*^a. 536. The Abbot Ermenarius in his account of the translation of the saint says the battle began at nine and went on to vespers, and the pirates lost nine ships, 484 of them were killed, and only one of the Franks. Some knights were wounded and many horses killed. He adds that Rainald himself was defeated in a fight in 843 against Lambert. It is not clear, says Simson, whether the count was victorious or not. The *Ann. Engol.* simply speak of the fight. Ademar says the Count was beaten, which is confirmed by the fact that Abbot Hilbod the year following sought protection for the island from Pepin, in Aquitaine.

We are told that in 836 Hilbod repaired to Pepin, in Aquitaine, to ask for aid against repeated attacks of the Northmen. With the consent of the bishops, abbots, counts, and other faithful ones, it was decided that the bones of St. Filibert should be transferred to a safer place. On the 7th June they were disinterred and taken to the Monastery of Deas on the mainland, whence they were moved to Burgundy in 875 (Simson, 143, note 5).

In the same year (836) the Danes (one account says, in conjunction with the Saxons, probably the Nordalbingians—Kruse, 125), once more ravaged Dorestadt and Friesland. On this occasion they burnt the town of Antwerp and a trading mart at the mouth of the Maas, which the chronicler calls Witla, and which Kruse identifies, with some probability, with Briel (*op. cit.*, 125) and imposed tribute on the Friesians. Then mounting the Scheldt, they reached the town of Doorne (Turinum), where was situated the monastery of St. Fredegand. There they burnt and destroyed the

monastery, killed part of its inmates, and carried off the rest; but the relics of the saint had meanwhile, been transferred to a place of safety. They then went to Mechlin, laid waste the church of St. Rumold, and devastated the town with fire and sword. If we are to believe the life of St. Gommar, when the Danes came to that monastery and set fire to the roof, it was miraculously put out. This only increased the anger of the pirates, who broke into the church and killed the priest Fredegar at the altar. The same work goes on to say that as they bore off the booty to their ships, two of their chiefs, named Reolfus and Reginarius, came to an untimely end. Reolfus burst his stomach, and his bowels fell out; and Reginarius, being deprived of his sight, perished miserably.

This story is derived from the life of St. Gommar, abstracted by F. Haræus (Ann. Brabant, i. 67; see Langebek, i. 519; Kruse, 125). It is singularly interesting, and although we crave permission entirely to doubt the tale of the death of the two chiefs as related in it, there can be small doubt that it is an otherwise truthful record; and the names, especially, I believe to be most authentic. I shall revert to them on another occasion. I would remark that in this invasion the Danes clearly overstepped the limits of the fief which had been granted to Harald, and crossed the imperial borders. In September, 836, Eric sent envoys to the *placitum* which Louis held at Worms to tell the Emperor that it was contrary to his wish that his borders had been attacked and that he had had nothing to do with it, which as I believe was true. Eric in fact complained that some of his own men had been put to

death near Cologne. These envoys secured the punishment of the offenders (Prud. Tr. Pertz., i. 430; Depping, 83). Later in the year envoys again came from Eric asking for the "wehrgeld," or blood money, for the murdered Danes (Prud. Tr. Pertz., i. 430; Simson, i. 430); Dummeler, i. 266, note. Prudentius thus reports the event.—*Sed et Horik rex Danorum, per legatos suos in eodem placito amicitiae atque obedientiae conditiones mandans, se nullatenus eorum importunitatibus assensum praebuisse testatus, de suorum ad imperatorem missorum intefectione conquestus est, qui dudum circa Coloniā Agrippinā quorundam praesumptione neceati fuerant; quorum necem etiam imperator, missis ad hoc solum legatis justissime ultus est* (Prud. Pertz. i. 430).

In 837 we find the sea rovers again attacking the fief of the exiled Danish princes, and making a descent on the island of Walichra (*i.e.*, Walicheren), where, on the 17th June, they killed Eggihard or Eckhart, the count of the district, and Hemming the son of Halfdane, who was, as I believe, the brother of Harald, "a Dane and a most Christian chief" as he is called by Thegan, (*Ex stirpe Danorum dux Christianissimus*). Thegan says an innumerable number of Christians with many grandees then fell, while others were captured and afterwards ransomed. The invaders also carried off many women and large numbers of different kinds (*diversi generis*) of cattle (Ann. Xantenses Simson, ii. 168, notes 1 and 2). They afterward again ravaged Dorestadt, and having collected black-mail, or tribute, from the Friesians they retired (Thegani vita Ludovici, Pertz, ii. 604; Fuldensian Annals, Pertz, i. 361; Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 430; Kruse, 126, 127). Dorestadt had

been a rare mine for the invaders, and many coins struck there have been found in Scandinavia (Depping, 83). On the news of this last invasion, the Emperor Louis, who had determined upon spending the winter in Italy, altered his plans and went to his palace at Nimvegen, not far from Dorestadt. There he held an inquiry into the conduct of those who had had charge of the coasts, and who explained that their forces had been too weak and had also been thwarted by their subordinates. He appointed certain counts and abbots to repress this insubordination, and to prepare a fleet to cruise on the coasts of Friesland (Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 430; Kruse, 127). The Friesians had proved very lax in making preparations and some officials were specially sent to press them to do their duty (see Prud. Tr.) But the weakness of the Empire was at its very heart. It was the quarrels and dissensions of Louis' sons which really gave rise to it. The old man, in his various schemes of dividing the empire so as to find a portion for the child of his old age, Charles, and of his second wife, Judith, aroused the jealousy and hatred of his other sons.

In 838 the Emperor remained at Nimvegen, where he held his so called “May-meeting” in June, so as to overawe the invaders, and to repair the damage they had done in previous years. They did not make an attack this year; but, according to Prudentius, it was because their fleet was dispersed and destroyed by a storm—*ortoque subito maritimorum fluctuum turbine, vix paucissimis evadentibus, submersi sunt* (Prudentius Trec., Pertz. i. 431, 432). While Louis was at Attigny, envoys went to him from Eric, saying that out of devotion to the Emperor he had imprisoned the authors of the recent raids and had ordered them to be put to death (*captos*

et interfici jussos) and asking that he would make over to him the country of the Friesians and the Obotriti. The former, as M. Kruse says, seems to have been treated by the Northern kings as a dependence of their empire, and was so held especially by Godfred, the contemporary of Charlemagne; while a section of the Obotriti were colonists settled at the instance of the great Emperor in the country of the Nordalbingian Saxons, who were also more or less dependent on the Danish sovereigns. This claim of Eric's proves that he was becoming a much more important personage in European affairs, and also that the Empire was rapidly weakening. It was treated, however, by the imperial authorities with contempt and disdain (Prud. Trec., Simson, op. cit., iii. 189). This year ships were built against the Northmen (see An. Fulden.; also Ann. Bertin.) At a diet held at Ninvegen at the same time a great "relief" was distributed to the maritime districts, which had suffered through the invasion of the Danes (Ann. Bertin.). Simson suggests that the demand was made to provide the wehrgeld for the murdered envoys and suggests a lacuna in the MS. ii. 189, note.

The following year, *i.e.*, in 839, Friesland was visited by its usual scourge (Prud. 839: *Quidum etiam piratæ in quandam Frisiae partem irruentes non parum incommodi nostris finibus intulerunt*). As usual distinction seems to have been made between this outlier of the empire and the empire itself, for the same year envoys went to the emperor from Eric, who were accompanied by the latter's nephew, doubtless Röric. They were gladly (*hilariter*) received and rewarded, and complained of the Friesians, (see Prudentius, Tr., *ad. an.*, and Simson, ii. 217, 218). The emperor then sent

envoys to Eric who secured, as was hoped by the Franks, a lasting peace ratified by oaths (*id.*—Prud. Trec., Pertz, i. 434—436; Kruse, 133, 134). The *Annales Elnon.* Pertz., v. 12 say that in May, 839. *Normanni in Walachria interfuerunt Francos*—Dummler, 188, note 19. This invasion is probably that dated wrongly in 840 in the *Chron. Norm.* (Kruse. 140); and which ought to be under 839. Dahlmann argues that at this time Harald was driven away from Rustringen, and with his brother (? nephew) Rörik retained only Dorestadt (i. 43).

It was about a year before his death, *i.e.*, 839, that Louis le Débonnaire made the tenth of his dispositions of the empire among his sons, the tenth of those arrangements which were being constantly altered, and which became the seeds of so much bitter contention in later days. The portion of Lothaire the eldest, included, according to Prudentius of Troyes, the kingdom of Saxony, with its marches, the duchy of Friesland as far as the Maas, and the counties of Hamarlant, Batavia, Testerbant, and Dorestadt (Kruse, 133). That is, it included the districts which had been granted to Harald and Rörik as appanges. The old emperor spent the few months which remained to him in suppressing the revolts of his sons Pepin and Louis the German. He afterwards summoned a Diet at Worms, on the Feast of St. Rumbold, the first day of July, 840. “But,” to quote the picturesque sentences of Palgrave, “the end was nigh. Louis le Débonnaire never saw any of his children again. At Frankfort on the Maine he stayed his progress; it was springtime, past Whitsuntide. The season had been rendered awful; on the eve of the Ascension the sun was totally eclipsed, and the stars shone with nocturnal brightness. His stomach refused

nourishment, weakness and languor gained upon him ; uneasy and seeking rest the sick man fancied that he would pass the approaching summer upon the island which, dividing the heavily-gushing Rhine, is now covered by the picturesque towers of the Pfaltz ; and he desired that a thatched lodge, or leafy hut, should be there prepared, such as had served for him when hunting in the forest, or as a soldier in the field. Lying on his couch, he longed for the soothing music of the gurgling waters and the freshness of the waving wind. Thither he was conveyed, his bark floating down from stream to stream. Many of the clergy were in attendance ; amongst others, his brother, Archbishop Drogo, who at this time held the office of *Archicapellanus* ; and it was he who received the last injunctions which the son of Charlemagne had to impart. His imperial crown and sword he gave to Lothaire, with the earnest request that he would be kind and true to Judith, the widowed empress, and keep his word and promise to his brother Charles. Dying of inanition the bed of the humble and contrite sinner was surrounded by the priests, who continued in prayer with him and for him till he expired. Louis the Emperor died on the third Sunday in June, and his corpse was removed to Metz and buried in the basilica of St. Arnolph, without the walls" (Palgrave, i. 309). The weak and foolish old man, as he had now become, who was laid under the ground in the year 840, was the last sovereign who ruled over the entire heritage of Charlemagne. Its incongruous elements now fell asunder, and fell very naturally into fragments coincident largely with peculiarities of language, &c. It was perhaps well that the mere pretence which bound together Frenchmen and Germans, Italians and Aquitanians, under one government should cease. It led however to

disastrous results in the internecine struggle of those who divided to the Empire and the opening of the gaping wounds which the Northern pirates utilised without stint presently.

For some years the Dane Harald does not appear in the Annals, and it would seem from the narrative of Prudentius of Troyes, confirmed by Saxo (Kruse, 142), that he had relapsed to paganism, perhaps with the sanction, or even by the advice, of Lothaire (Prud. Tr., Pertz, i. 437, 438); at all events Count Nithard the Royal historian (probably a grandson of Charlemagne), tells us Lothaire subsidized the Norsemen, and incited them to plunder the Christians. To Lothaire he remained faithful to the end, and the last time he is mentioned is when, after the terrible defeat of the Emperor by his brothers at Fontenoy, Lothaire planted guards at Coblenz to defend the passage of the Moselle against the victors. Among whom were Otgar, Bishop of Mainz, Count Hatto, and *Harald*. They were not strong enough to offer real resistance and withdrew (Nithard, Pertz. ii. 667); Harald the exile, the godson of the Emperor Louis at Mainz, the rival of the Jutish King Eric, now disappears from history. He seems to have died about this time), probably, like others, a victim of the disaster at Fontenoy.

We are told that after living on good terms with the Franks for many years, he was put to death by the Marchiones or Marquises, the custodians of the frontier, from a suspicion that he was having treacherous communications with his countrymen (Ruod. Fuld. Pertz, i. 367, see *sub an.* 850; Kruse, 206).

He had lived a curiously romantic life and is a prominent figure in the history of the ninth century. He was doubtless the Harald Klak of

the Saga writers. Vogel says, whether his brother (? nephew) Rörik succeeded to his dominions is doubtful. Later he is found in conflict with Lothaire (op. cit. 86).

We are now told that Lothaire granted the isle of Walcheren (*Gualacras*) and other neighbouring districts to Rörik (Prudentius v. 41; Nithard, iv. ch. 2), and thus added the mouth of the Scheldt to his other possessions in Rustringen and Dorestadt.* He in fact now probably dominated over the whole country inhabited by Frieslanders, from the Elbe to the Scheldt.

In this narrative it has not been possible to separate the doings of the special rulers of Westfold from those of their brothers; the annals group them together in the phrase "the sons of Godfred," nor yet has it been possible to separate the doings of the rival clans who followed the standards of the sons of Halfdane and Godfred (*i.e.*, Gudrod), respectively representing the rival houses of the Scioldungs and the Ynglings. I have deemed it best in this monograph to report all the doings I could meet with about both of them, and to unite them together by their intercourse with the Empire. I must now return to Westfold and its special rulers.

Two other brothers of Hemming, called Hancwin (*i.e.*, Hakon) and Angandeo (Angantyr) by Eginhardt, are mentioned among the envoys sent by him to the Frank emperor in 811. These three brothers were probably the sons of Eystein,

* Perhaps the most notable feature of these cruel raids was the fate which now overtook Dorestede, which went down from the position of a great mart to a mere obscure trading place. In 1842, 1845 and 1846 excavations were made there and a large number of coins were found. Some dated from Merovingian times, but the great bulk were coins of Pepin, Charles the Great, Louis the Pious, and Lothaire. The excavations also proved that the place had been destroyed by fire and doubtless at some date during the years 834—837.

Gudrod's predecessor. A fourth brother was doubtless the Sigurd who fought against Harald and Raginfred in 812. In that battle, where, according to the Frank historians, more than 10,000 men perished, it would seem that Gudrod's nephews who fought for the heritage of Hemming were all killed, for they are not again named in history.

Especially is it notable that Olaf, the reigning ruler of Westfold at this time, is not mentioned by name by the Franks.

The victors in the great fight were Harald and Raginfred, the sons of Halfdane, and the meaning of the struggle is that for a short time the Scioldungs resumed their supremacy in Denmark and the Ynglings were thrust out. Having secured the throne, the two victors sent to ask the emperor for the release of their brother Hemming, who was allowed to go back with their envoys. On his arrival they were absent, having gone to *Westerfold*, which lay, we are told, beyond their kingdom, between the north and west, and looking towards Britain. There is no doubt they had gone to Westfold to complete their victory over the family of Godfred (Gudrod) by an attack upon its special heritage. We are told they reduced the chiefs and people of Westfold to obedience.

This very year, however, namely in 813, Godfred's sons, together with not a few of the Danes who had sought refuge among the Sueones or Swedes, collected their forces from all sides, and were joined by a great crowd of people from all the land of the Danes. Having fought a battle with Harald and Raginfred, they drove them out of the kingdom with little trouble (Eginhardt, Pertz, i. 200). Here, then, we have the Yngling dynasty once more reinstated—reinstated in the persons of Godfred's sons. Who, then, were these

sons? The Frank annalists mention one only by name, namely Eric, although they tell us he had in fact five sons. One of them is stated to have been killed in 814 in a struggle with Harald Klak. In 819 four others are mentioned, two of whom are said to have shared the kingdom of Denmark with Harald, while the other two were driven out from the kingdom (Eginhardt, *Annales Pertz*, i. 208). Of the two who stayed, Eric was no doubt one; the name of the other is not forthcoming in any of the annals.

The *Ynglinga Saga* says Olaf was twenty years old when Gudrod died, and that he divided the kingdom with his young brother Halfdane. He lived at Geirstad, which is supposed to have been on the site of a farm now called Gierrestad, in the parish of Tiolling, where Skiringsal is also situated (Aal's *Heimskringla*, liv. note).

A curious legend is reported of Olaf, namely, that he once dreamt that a great black and vicious ox came into the land from the east, whose poisonous breath killed a number of men, and eventually his whole court. He thereupon summoned a great Thing-assembly at Gierstad, before which he interpreted the dream as meaning that a terrible pestilence would arrive from the east which would first destroy a great number of people, then the court, and lastly himself. They decided that the whole assembly should set to work and erect a vast mound on a neighbouring tongue of land, and plant a hedge round it so that no cattle could traverse it. In this mound all the dead were to be buried, and every illustrious man was to have half an öre of silver buried with him. Olaf ordered that he himself should also be put in the mound, and that no blood offering or sacrifice should be made after his death. The dream was duly fulfilled, and he was

buried, as he had ordered, in the mound. The king's men were the last to die and were taken unto the mound, and he himself was then quickly laid beside them with much treasure and "the house," *i.e.*, the tomb, was closed. His injunction about the sacrifice was, however, disobeyed, and a sacrifice was offered to him as the guardian of the frontier and the tutelary spirit of the district, whence he was afterwards called Geirstad Alf (Aal's Heimskringla, *liv. note*). Munch quotes this Saga from the account of Olaf in the 'Fletey-bok,' and from Olaf the Saint's Saga. He adds that the story of the dream and the pestilence was not very old, or Thiodwolf, who dedicates his Ynglingatal to Rognvald, Olaf's son, would have mentioned it; while he tells us, on the contrary, that he died from a disease in his foot (? the gout), and that he was buried in a mound at Geirstad. We must remember, however, that we only have fragments of Thiodwolf's original poems. Munch urges that the Saga was probably manufactured out of the fact that he was generally looked upon as a protector of the frontier, or else made up merely to suit his great mound at Geirstad. Another Saga, reports how the sword Baesing, which was afterwards called Hneitir, was dug up out of Olaf Geirstad Alf's mound and presented to another Olaf (Munch, *ii.* 162, 163). Saxo, who habitually transfers the stories about other foreign princes to Denmark, states that this Olaf was buried at Lethra in a mound called after him. The mound referred to was known as Olshoi, and doubtless belonged to some other Olaf. Thiodwolf's verses about King Olaf read thus in Vigfusson's translation. "And the shoot of the tree of Woden's son Treythron in Norway, Anlaf, (*i.e.*, Olaf), once ruled Upsa, Vithi (Wood), Groen and Westmare. He reigned till gout was fated to destroy 'the war dealer' at the land's

thrum (*i.e.*, the shore). Now the doughty king of hosts is lying with a barrow over him at Geirstad. He was succeeded by his brother Halfdane, called the Black from the colour of his hair" (*Ynglingatal* Corp. Poet., i. 251). Westinare is familiar enough, Groen is no doubt Grönland, the land of the Grens, or Græini, the Granii of Jornandes, Upsi, is not named elsewhere.

Olaf's son and successor in Westfold, and perhaps Groenland (*Ibid.*, 163), was Rognvald who was called "Higher than the hills." Of him we know nothing more than what is reported in the last verse of Thiodwolf's poem, which has been explained entirely afresh by Vigfusson, namely, as a glorification of his suzerain, King Harald. It reads thus:—"The best surname that I know any king under the blue sky has borne, is that when Reagnaldr the Lord of ruin called thee Fair Hair Corpuscle," *i.e.*, King Harald Fairhair, 251.

With Halfdane the Black we enter upon a new phase of Norwegian history. We no longer have the poem of Thiodwolf of Hvin upon which to thread the story; but on the other hand, the number of details shows that we are getting nearer to a period when traditions of a trusty character abounded. Let us first examine what materials are available for a history of Halfdane, and what authority they possess. The only contemporary ones that we could expect to meet with would be songs or productions of the skalds, and genealogies, for prose history had not yet begun to be composed in the North. We have no poems relating to Halfdane, although we know the name of at least one Skald, namely, Audun Illskaelda, who lived at his court, and doubtless wrote about his famous doings (G. Storm, Snorre Sturlason's *Histoireskriving*, 112). We can only recover such

legends and traditions as were incorporated in their histories by the prose-writers. Of these the first in date and importance, was Ari Fröthi, in whose "*Landnama-bok*," as well as the supplement called "*Mantissä*," we have three interesting references to Halfdane. Ari also wrote a "*Konungatal*," contained in the "*Islendinga-bok*," now lost, and of which an epitome, generally quoted as Ari's "*Libellus*," is alone available. Ari's "*Konungatal*" is referred to in his preface by Snorri. It was probably the basis of Ari's own *Saga of Halfdane the Black* in the *Heimskringla*. We next have a notice of Halfdane in the "*Konungatal*," or collection of *Lives of the Kings*, cited in modern times as "*Aagrip*," of which Dr. Vigfusson says it comprises short lives of the kings of Norway from Harald Fairhair to King Sverri, 1180; adding that it is a very early work and closely connected with Saemund and Ari, from whose "*Konungatal*," in the lost "*Liber Islandorum*" it may have been copied (*Sturlunga Proleg.*, lxxxvii); Storm has given a critical notice of the work (*Historieskrivning*, 25—28). It was probably composed in Iceland about the year 1190. Another book which dates from an early period is the so-called "*Fagrskinna*," or *Fair Skin*—"the modern name," says Vigfusson, for "*Aettartäl Noregs Konunga*" (so it is inscribed in Codex A), or *Noregs Konungatal* (as inscribed in Codex B), an independent compendium of the kings' lives from Halfdane the Black to Sverri, who reigned 1135—1177, to which later *Saga* it was apparently intended to serve as an introduction. It was preserved only in Norse vellums (destroyed in 1728), and must have been compiled by Norwegians from Icelandic sources. The style in many places resembles that of the Northern version of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat dating from the days of Hakon the Old.

Moreover, we can identify it with the work read to King Sverri as he lay dying (*Hakon's Saga*). This follows both from the place of its beginning, and also the time it took to read through, which correspond exactly with "*Fagrskinna*." (*Sturlunga Proleg.*, lxxxvii and lxxxviii). Lastly, we have the story of Halfdane as told by Snorri. This occurs in two recensions: one is contained in the well-known "*Flatey-bok*," which is so called from having been discovered in the Isle of Flatö in Breidafjord, in Iceland, in 1651: It is an Icelandic manuscript, written for Jon Hakorisson in the years 1379—80, and contains the lives of at all events the later kings more fully than in the epitome (which is known as the "*Heimskringla*"), and with which the name of Snorri is alone legitimately connected.

Let us proceed with our story. Halfdane the Black, as we have seen, was the son of Gudrod by his second wife Asa, the daughter of Harald Rödskeg (Redlip), king in Agder (*Ynglinga*, liii). In the "*Mantissa*" or appendix to the "*Landnama*," he is referred to "as Halfdane the Black, king of the Uplands, son of Gudrod Leoma" (*Op. cit.*, 385). He was only a year old when his father died, and his mother took him to Agder and there he occupied the kingdom which belonged to her father (*Heimskringla*, Harald the Black's *Saga*, i.). Munch says, very truly, that as we meet with independent kings of Agder in the reign of Halfdane's son and successor Harald Fairhair, it seems to follow that Halfdane did not rule over the whole of that district. It is even probable that he merely reigned as a dependent or subordinate ruler to his older brother Olaf. We are told he grew up as a stout, strong man, and was called Black from the colour of his hair. When he was eighteen years old he

took his heritage (whatever it might be) in Agder on his own shoulders, and also claimed his own share of his father's dominions, which, we read, his elder brother Olaf divided with him. According to the *Heimskringla*, Olaf took the eastern (? northern) part, and he the southern. This seems a mistake: the southern part of Westfold was the kernel of the kingdom where Skiringsal was situated, the residence and burying-place of the kings. It is hardly likely that Olaf would surrender this to his younger brother, and it is much more probable that Halfdane's portion lay in the north of Westfold, near to Vingulmark, whither he first turned his arms. The mistake is a very pardonable one in an author writing in Iceland. This is my view. Munch accepts the statement in the *Saga*, and says that Olaf probably chose for himself the part of Westfold which was the nearest to the district of Grönland, over which he inherited a special claim. He suggests that he received Grönland with a daughter of Iarl Nerid, whom he may have married, or perhaps his father Gudrod had a daughter of the iarl for one of his wives (Munch, *op. cit.*, ii. 161—2). This view involves two unverified postulates. We know little of what happened during Halfdane's reign.

The same autumn that he acquired his share of Westfold he took his men to fight against King Gandalf of Vingulmark, who had, as we have seen, recovered that province from Halfdane's brother Olaf. After fighting several battles, with varying success, it was at length agreed that he should retain that portion of Vingulmark which had belonged to his father Gudrod. The district of Raumariki had been subdued by Sigtryg, the son of King Eystein, who was then living in Hedemark, (by whom Eystein,

Hogne's son, King of the Uplands, is doubtless meant). A battle was fought with him, which Halfdane won, and we are told Sigtryg was killed by an arrow which struck him under the arm as his troops were trying to fly. Halfdane thus secured Raumariki; but no sooner had he returned from this expedition than Eystein Sigtryg's father, who was then king in Hedemark, marched to Raumariki and reconquered the greater portion of it. Halfdane once more set out northwards, drove out Eystein, and compelled him to fly to Hedemark, where he pursued and again defeated him. Eystein now fled onwards to the herse Gudbrand (*Id.* 171, and note 2), in Gudbrandsdal, (to which he may have given his name), and who was probably one of his most important subjects. There he received reinforcements, returned to Hedemark in the winter, and fought with Halfdane on a large island in the midst of the Miosa, or Miosen lake, which is known as Helge Oen, or Holy Island. Guttorm, son of Gudbrand above named, one of the finest men in the Uplands, fell in this struggle. Eystein once more fled to Gudbrandsdal, and sent his relative Halvard Skalk to Halfdane to beg for peace. Halfdane surrendered half of Hedemark to him, which he and his relatives had held before, but retained for himself Thoten and Hadaland and Land, a district lying between Hadaland and Valdres, and bordering the upper part of the Randsfiord and its tributaries. We are further told he plundered far and wide and became a mighty king. Eystein was probably reduced to the position of an under-king. By these victories Halfdane recovered the greater part of what had been ruled over by his ancestor and namesake, Halfdane Huitbein.

A curious Saga reports that it was at this time that Hereydal was first settled by Halfdane's

frontier commander, a border guardian or marquis (*merkesmand*). Having incurred Halfdane's displeasure, he had fled to the Swedish king Anund, by whom he was received in a friendly manner, and with whom he stayed for some time, until he was obliged to fly again for having seduced a kinswoman of the king named Helga. With Helga he returned to Norway, and settled in an uninhabited valley which was afterwards called Heryedal (Heryardalr). From this pair there sprang, in the eighth generation, one called Liot Dagson, who built the first church in Heryedal (Munch, ii. 170—1). The Saga seems to be very old, and a Heriulf Hornbriot, whose grandson Thrase settled in Iceland, is mentioned in the “Landnama-bok.” Peter Clausen has published an account which seems to be an independent witness that the cause of Heriulf's quarrel with Halfdane was his having killed one of the courtiers with a drinking horn, whence his *sobriquet* of Hornbriot (*Id.*, 170, note 2). The story seems credible enough. On the other hand, we must remember that the name of the dale where Heriulf settled is nowhere given as Heriulfsdal, but Heryedal, and that it is more probably derived from the river Herya, or Heryaa, which flows through it (Munch, ii. 171, and note 2).

Sogn is a remote district of Western Norway, whose name some have derived from a mythical king Sokni. In the old speech, however, it meant a deep or secluded dale, which was doubtless what really gave it its name. It included the district threaded by the famous Sogn fiord, which, with its various ramifications, is much the largest fiord in Norway. It was bounded on the east by the Dovrefell, on the west by the sea, on the north by Firda fylki, and on the south by Horda

fylki. In the early times it had a wide reputation. Aal has a considerable note on its topography. At the time we are writing about, we are told that Harald Gullskeggr, *i.e.*, Goldbeard, ruled in Sogn. Halfdane married a daughter of this Harald. In the "Landnama-bok," she is called Thora; in the King's Lives and the Heimskringla—Ragnhild (which is probably a mistake), the latter tells us further that her mother was called Salvör, and was the daughter of iarl Hundolf and sister of iarl Atli Míove (*i.e.*, the Thin), and of Thurida, who married Ketil Hellaflög (Landnama-bok V., chap. xi.) Hundolf and his son Atli were iarls of Gaular, upon which name Aal has again a very long note. Some would explain it as referring to the famous Gulathing-sted in North Hordaland, where the Gulathing's law, to be referred to presently, was enacted; others again, as referring to an important district in the Fiala fylki, which lay immediately north of Sogn, and which was so important that the whole fylki was sometimes called by the name. To this latter conclusion, which seems the most reasonable, Aal himself inclines (Aal's Heimskringla, pp. 43—45, note). The "Mantissa," I must add, calls Hundolf, *Hunolf Iarl ör Fiordom*, thus connecting him with Fiorda fylki, which lies north of Fiala fylki (Op. cit., v. 2). By Thora Halfdane had a son, who was called after his maternal grandfather and brought up at his house. When Harald Goldbeard became very weak and old, having no sons, he gave his dominions to his grandson Harald, who was then but ten years old. Shortly after, he died and his death was followed by that of his daughter, Halfdane's wife, and a year later by that of her son, who was then ten years old, a fact which has a sinister look. Halfdane went to Sogn and

claimed the district as his son's heir, and, no opposition being made, he appropriated the whole kingdom (Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. 1—3; Landnama-bok V., xi. 1).

When Halfdane had secured Sogn, he did not incorporate it with his dominions, but appointed his brother-in-law Atli as its iarl. The acquisition of Sogn was an important success, for it was the first portion of Norway on this side of the Dovrefell over which the kings of Westfold gained authority. We are told iarl Atli proved a good friend to Halfdane, that he judged the country according to the country's law (*i.e.*, no doubt, according to the Gulathing's law, which had authority in all this district), and collected scatt, or tribute there, on the king's account (Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. iii.; Munch, ii. 165). These Scandinavian iarls answered closely to the ‘comes,’ or counts, of the Carlovingian polity. They were administrative officials, who acted as viceroys in their special governments, and collected the taxes there. They differed from the earlier counts at this time in their office being apparently hereditary, and not merely held during life.

Having appointed Atli as his deputy in Sogn, King Halfdane returned again to Westfold. The same spring he happened to be in Vingulmark, when a man who had been on guard there came up on horseback and reported that a large army was coming up. It proved to be a considerable force under Hysing and Helsing, the sons of Gandalf. (In the ‘Flatey-bok’ the names are given, apparently in error, as Hysing and Hake, see Munch, *op.cit.* II. 166, note 1). They were doubtless bent on recovering their former supremacy in Vingulmark. In the fight which ensued, Halfdane was overpowered by numbers, and fled to the forest, leaving

many of his men behind. There he was joined by numbers of people, and he again marched against his assailants and a battle ensued at Eyde-Sker, or Eidi. The river Glommen, some distance above its outlet, opens out into a long lake called Oieren, also known as Eyyirde vatn, which perhaps preserves the older form of the name; while Eid and Eidsberg are names marked on Aal's map, a little south of this lake, which, with the Glommen, separated Vingulmark from Alfheim, and there can be small doubt the battle was fought there. Hysing and Helsing both fell in the struggle, while a third brother fled to Alfheim, and Halfdane occupied all Vingulmark. In the *Heimskringla* we are told that among the victims of the first fight in which Halfdane was defeated was his foster-father, Oelver the Wise. In the '*Flatey-bok*,' on the contrary, Oelver is made to bring him reinforcements (Munch, ii. 166, note 2; Aal, 45 note).

As we have seen Halfdane had consolidated a considerable Kingdom and was virtually master of all Norway, *east of "the Keel,"* as Dovrefell, the Backbone of that country, has been picturesquely called. The two or three semi-independent communities which remained there under their own rulers were insignificant and reduced to impotence.

By a lucky marriage, assisted by a strong will, Halfdane had also, as we have seen, secured a foothold on the West of the Mountains and appropriated his father-in-law's realm which was situated round the Sogn fiord. Halfdane thus ruled a very wide district with powerful frontiers. On the east he was protected from Sweden (where King Eric then reigned) by huge forests, on the west by the Dovrefell range and on the north by a stretch of almost unpeopled wild forest land.

He had consolidated his realm by wise measures and had especially given to it a famous code of laws known as the Heidssaavis or Eidsiva-lag, and also the Sleps-lag.

On the death of his first wife and son Halfdane married again. In regard to his second wife there are two legends. One of them is contained in the Fagrskinna,* which Munch accepts as the more probable; a conclusion in which I cannot follow him. It tells us he married Helga, the beautiful-haired daughter of the great Herse Dag Frothi, who lived at Thengilstad in Hadaland, and who beside her had a son named Guthorm Raadspake (*i.e.*, wise in counsel, Munch, *op. cit.* II.171). In the ‘Landnama-bok’ and Heimskringla we are told a different story, and one which is certainly vitiated by anachronisms. They make him marry Ragnhild, a daughter of Sigurd Hiort (*i.e.*, Sigurd, the hart or deer), king in Ringariki, who was, according to the Heimskringla, the son of Helge the Sharp and Aslaug, a daughter of Sigurd the Worm-tongued, son of Ragnar Lodbrog. Sigurd Hiort’s mother is also called Aslaug, daughter of Sigurd the Worm-tongued, in the so-called ‘Mantissa,’ an appendix to the Landnama-bok. This statement is most improbable: Sigurd the Worm-tongued, son of Ragnar Lodbrog could hardly have been a grandfather at this time. About Sigurd Hiort we are told that many a long Saga was extant: *inter alia*, we read of him that when only twelve years old he killed the Bareserk Hildebrand in single combat with eleven of his companions. He had two children, Ragnhild, already mentioned, and Guthorm, who was younger. Perhaps the latter

* This is an independent rescension of the King’s lives composed in Norway from Icelandic sources and containing materials not found elsewhere. The original MSS. were burnt in the great fire of 1728, but good copies remain (see Corp. Poet. Bor., introduction p. 2).

was baseborn, as he did not succeed to his father's realm. Ragnhild's mother, we are again told, was Thyrni, daughter of Harald Klak, sister of Thyra Dannebod, the wife of the Danish king Gorm the Old, which is again most improbable, for Thyra is elsewhere said to have had no sister, nor does the chronology allow of such a solution. The motive of the sophistication, as well as of the introduction of Sigurd the Worm-tongued into the story, is probably due, as Munch says, to the wish of the Northern genealogists to connect the Norwegian kings with the famous stock of Ragnar Lodbrog, and also with that of the Danish Royal family.

It was related of Sigurd Hiort that he performed many heroic feats, and was fond of hunting great beasts. In one of these excursions he rode into the forest as usual, and after riding a long way he presently came out on a piece of cleared land near to Hadaland. There he met the Bareserk Hake, who had thirty men with him. They fought, and Sigurd himself fell, after killing twelve of Hake's men. Hake, the champion, lost one hand and had three other wounds. After the fight he went to Sigurd's house, whence he carried off Ragnhild and her brother Guthorm, and took them, with much booty, to Hadaland, where he had many great farms. Ragnhild was then fifteen years old, and Guthorm fourteen (*ib.*). The Heimskringla says she was twenty years old, and her brother a youth. Hake wished to be married to her, and ordered a feast to be prepared; but his wounds healed very slowly, and he had to keep his bed. At this time King Halfdane was in Hedemark at the Yule feast, and one morning he ordered Haarek Gand or the Wolf to take a hundred men, and to cross the Miosa lake to Hake's house at "otten" (*i.e.*, break of day—the Icelanders call the interval be-

tween three and six in the morning “otten”—Aal, op. cit., 46, note), and to bring Sigurd Hiort’s daughter to him. He went about this task so quickly that he had crossed the lake by dawn, and came to Hake’s house. They surrounded it, and occupied the doors and stairs, so that his housecarls could not come to the rescue. They then entered his bedroom, and carried off Ragnhild and her brother, and all the goods that were there ; and they set fire to the housecarls’ dwelling, and burnt all the people in it. They then covered over a magnificent waggon, put Ragnhild and Guthorm into it, and drove down upon the ice. Presently Hake woke up, and pursued them ; but when he reached the ice he turned his sword hilt to the ground, and let himself fall upon its point, and thus killed himself. He was buried there under a mound. When Halfdane, who was quicksighted, saw the party coming back over the ice with the waggon, he knew their errand had been successful. He summoned the most distinguished men in the neighbourhood to a feast, and the same day united himself with Ragnhild (Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black’s Saga, chap. v., Munch, op. cit. ii. 171—73). This story, with the exception of the genealogical phrases, which seem to be interpolation, reads as if it were a genuine one, and I don’t know on what ground Munch prefers that in the “Fagrskinna.” It accounts, as Munch himself says, for the manner in which Ringariki, with its capital Stein, was added to the patrimony of the chiefs of Westfold, and for Halfdane’s head having been buried at Stein, as we shall see.

Munch draws attention to the mention of a waggon instead of a sledge having been used for the conveyance of Ragnhild as a suspicious circumstance ; he also says, truly enough, that unless by

Hadaland in the above notice we are to understand the district of Thoten attached to the Hada fylki, it is incomprehensible how Ragnhild could be taken *across* the lake from Hadaland to Hedemark. He further suggests that it is not probable that Halfdane's position in Hedemark was sufficiently assured for him to have had the adventure there, and urges that in the oldest form of the Saga the residence of Halfdane was placed, as is natural, in Hadaland, and that he sent across, not the Miosa lake, but the Rands fiord, which traverses Hada fylki, and across which he could see. Hake's residence, being in that part of the Hada fylki west of the Rands fiord and nearest to Ringariki (Op. cit. ii, 173 note). To continue our story.

Ragnhild was accustomed to dream great dreams. On one occasion she dreamt she was in her herb-garden, when she took a thorn out of her shift. While she was holding this thorn in her hand it grew to the size of a great tree, one end of which stuck in the ground and became firmly rooted, while the other end raised itself so high in the air that she could scarcely see over it, and the trunk also became very large. The under part of the tree was blood-red, the stem beautifully green, and the branches snow-white. The tree had many great limbs, which spread all over Norway, and even further. Soon after this her son Harald*Haarfagre was born.

Halfdane himself never had dreams. Thinking it strange, he consulted Thorleif Spake, *i.e.*, the Wise, who replied that he himself when he wanted to have a revelation in a dream used to go to sleep in a swine's sty, which never failed to bring him dreams. The king followed his advice, and he

dreamt that he had the most beautiful hair that ever was seen, which was so thick that it grew in locks, some of which reached to the ground, some to his calves, others to his knees, others to his hips, some to his neck, others again in small knots clung to his head. These locks were of different shades; but one of them surpassed all the rest in size, beauty and lustre. Halfdane having asked Thorlief to explain the dream, the latter said it meant that he would have a numerous posterity, and that his descendants would be great people, but not all equally great. As to the exceptionally long and beautiful lock, it was explained as betokening king Olaf the Saint (Halfdane's Saga, ch. vii; Munch, ii. 175—176). It is notable that Halfdane's counsellor was on this occasion called Thorleif Spake and Munch says the name occurs in several generations among the chief advisers of the kings. Thus King Hakon the Good is said to have issued the Gulathing laws on the advice of Thorleif Spake. A Thorleif Spake again is named in the reign of Olaf Trygvesson as the ancestor of the famous stock, to which Ragnald the Saint, iarl of the Orkneys belonged (Munch ii. 176 note).

Halfdane's death is thus reported. “In the spring, when the ice began to be unsafe, he was one day returning from a feast at Brandabu, in Hadaland, and had to cross the Rands fiord. There were many people with him, but most of them were drunk. As they drove across the bight called Rekensvik (a small inlet half-way down on the eastern side of the Rands fiord, taking its name from a farm called Reken which is situated there Aal, op. cit., 48 note)—they came to a place where the ice had broken in and a hole had been made for the cattle to drink at, and where the dung having fallen upon the ice the thaw had eaten into

it. As the party drove over, the ice broke, and Halfdane with his father-in-law, Dag Frothe, and twenty-one men were drowned (Fagrskinna, ch. iv. ; Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. ix. ; Munch, ii. 178). A Saga still extant in Hadaland makes out that Halfdane was drowned while returning from paying a visit to a noble lady at Hermansrud, west of the Rands-fiord (Munch, ii. 178, note 2). He had been a very fortunate king, and good seasons had characterised his reign, and he was so highly thought of, that when his body was floated to Ringariki to be buried, the people of most repute from Westfold, Raumariki, and Hedemark, who came to meet it, all wished it to be buried among themselves, hoping thus to secure good seasons and crops. It was at last agreed to divide the body into four parts. Ari says the head was laid in a mound at Stein in Ringariki, while those from each of the other districts took home a portion. They were laid under mounds which were afterwards called Halfdane's Mounds, and sacrifices were long after offered there. The "Flatey-bok" agrees with this notice, only replacing Hedemark by Vingulmark ; while the "Fagrskinna," which has been followed by Munch tells us the head was laid at Skiringsal in Westfold, the entrails at Thengilstad in Hadaland (there was a royal residence there from early times—as its very name implies, "Thengil," meaning a king or overlord (Aal, 48 note) ; and the body at Stein in Ringariki, where Sigurd Hiort probably had his residence. Nothing is said of the fate of the fourth portion, and Munch suggests that Hedemark was its probable bourne (Munch, op. cit., ii. 179—80).

We must now say a word or two to fix, as well as we can, the chronology of Halfdane's reign, or, at all events, of its beginning and end. We are told

that he was a year old when his father Gudrod died. If Gudrod was the same person as Godfred the Danish king who fought against the Franks and who was killed in 810 A.D., then Halfdane was born in 809. Ari says he took possession of his share of Agder when he was eighteen years old, that is in 827. A Saga which I have above quoted brings him into contact, as we have seen, with the Swedish king Anund. This Anund is in every probability the Anund, King of the Swedes, mentioned by Rembert, in his "Life of St. Anscharius," whom I mentioned in my paper on the Early History of Sweden, and who flourished about the year 845. The best authorities agree that Harald Fairhair, Halfdane's son, died about the year 933. Ari says he was then eighty-three years old. This puts his birth in the year 850, and as we are told he was ten years old when his father died, we may approximately date this event in the year 860. So that, roughly, Halfdane reigned from 827—860, that is, thirty-three years.

All these dates hang together, and seem very reasonable. There is only one difficulty—namely, that Ari says Halfdane was but forty years old when he died, while this calculation makes him fifty; and we have no other resource than to suggest that Ari, in fact, made a mistake of ten years in the life of the king—a very small postulate, considering what a remote period his narrative refers to.

Halfdane is described by Ari as a wise man, a man of truth and uprightness, who made laws and observed them himself, and obliged others to observe them; and, in order that violence should not take the place of laws, he fixed the number of criminal acts recognised by the law, and the wehr-gelds or compensations, fines and penalties for each

case according to every one's birth and dignity (Heimskringla, Halfdane the Black's Saga, chap. vii). In a later Saga Ari tells us expressly that the Heidsaevis laws were first established by Halfdane the Black (Hakon the Good's Saga, chap. xi). These laws made up the so-called Selfs Lag and Heidsaevis or Eidsiva Lag.

Munch derives Self tentatively from "Sef," meaning blood-relationship, and "Sefi" a relative—so that Selfs lag would mean law of the relatives or of the companions, and Eidsiva the union of Eid. This view is also that of the editors of the Olaf's Saga, Messrs. Keyser and Unger and of Munch (op. cit., 167 note). The explanation needs a further one as to the meaning of Eid, which will lead us into a somewhat wide digression. Munch has shewn that it was a very early feature of the fylkis in Scandinavia (*i.e.*, the divisions corresponding to the "gaus," or counties, in Germany and England, traces of which remain in the North *folk* and South *folk* of East Anglia) to be united in Unions of two or three for religious purposes, and for holding a common Thing, or legislative and judicial assembly; while on the other hand there is evidence that certain districts, as, for instance, that of the Upper Dales, did not originally constitute separate fylkis at all, but attached themselves to some neighbour for these special purposes, still retaining their independence as communities. Thus, Vors and Haddingyadal were apparently united in this way to Hördaland, Waldres to Sogn, Osterdal to Raumariki, Southern Thelemark to Westfold, North Western Thelemark and Robygdalag to Ryfylki. It would seem that in early times Fiarda and Sogn fylki were thus united to Hordaland, Agder to Rogaland, and Hada fylki to Raumariki or Hedemark. These

unions seem to point to an early relationship and close kinship among the people who formed them. The so-called Gulathings-law, *i.e.*, code of the Gula Thing, had authority in all the district from Rygyarbit as far as the frontiers between Söndmøre and Raumsdal. In the form in which it has reached us it dates from the end of the twelfth century. It was passed at a common Thing at Gulen, in the northern part of North Hordaland. From the so-called Eigla, which was composed at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, we learn, on the other hand, that at that time the Thing at Gulen had authority only in Horda fylki, Sogn, and Firda fylki. The old Frostathingslaw had authority in Raumsdal and Finmark; while the eight fylkis in Thronðheim had a similar joint code, and formed a close union.

From the remains of the old laws of Viken which are extant in a recension of the twelfth century, it would seem that three fylkis were there united and had a common Thing—namely, Ranriki, Vingulmark, and Westfold; while Westmare and Grönland either did not belong to the union, or were merely attached to it without forming essential parts of it (Munch, i. 131—132).

Munch considers it probable that the inner Upland fylkis formed a close union from the earliest times. At first, this probably comprised only Raumsdal, Gudbrandsdal, and Hedemark; but later, as the people of Rauma obtained control of Raumariki, and even further towards the south-west, while Raumsdal extended its influence beyond the mountains, it came to include the focus and kernel of the Uplands, *i.e.*, the fylkis round the Miösen lake, namely, Heina, Hada, and Rauma. Munch further holds that the general

gathering-place for this union of fylkis was the Eid-Harde (the modern diocese of Eidsvold), South of Lake Miösen. Here we find from very early times a place called Eidsvellir used as the general gathering-place of the Upland fylkis. It is marked on the map attached to Aal's edition of "Snorri." The Thing held there was called Eidsivathing, and the code of laws enforced there was called the Eidsiva law.

It is more than probable that the old union of gaus, which had its meeting-place at Eidsvellir, had a law from early times, and it would seem that Halfdane's work was that of a codifier. We have no extant remains of his original code, nor of any of the original codes of Southern Norway, and only such parts as were incorporated in the later Christian laws. He also probably extended the authority of the Eidsiva lag over a wider area than it had previously embraced—namely, over his whole kingdom. In early Norwegian history we meet with three great codes—the Frostathing's lag in Nordmøre, Raumsdal, and the northern fylkis; Gulathing's lag, for the district of the Thronde people, *i.e.*, the fylkis from Söndmøre as far as Rygiarbit; and, lastly, Eidsivathing's law, for what is known as Eastland. The former two were, according to Snorri, the work of Hakon the Good, and the last of Halfdane the Black. This last had authority, as we have said, in the districts immediately subject to Halfdane, that is to say, Rauma fylki, the greater part of Heina fylki, Sand, Hadaland, Westfold, and Vingulmark, and also probably, on the death of his nephew Rognvald, Grönland, Westmare, and the southern part of Westfold, and, in addition, the northern part of far-off Wermeland. In

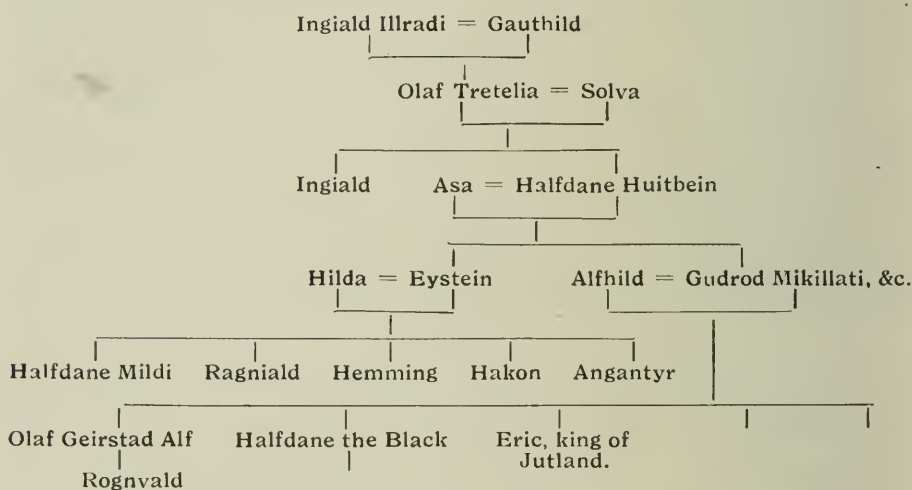
Harald Fairhair's Saga, chapter xv., it is expressly said that the bonder Aake, who was the greatest of the bonders of Wermeland, had formerly been Halfdane the Black's man. In later times the Eidsiva code also had authority in Gudbrandsdal, Osterdal, Thelemark, and Alfheim, and eventually included the district of Viken, which was originally subject to a Thing of its own, known as the Borgar Thing; for we are told that the remains of the old Borgarthing law and the Eidsivathing law, which are preserved in the later Christian editions of these codes, approximate to each other more closely than either of them does to the Gulathing or Frostathing laws.

To revert to Halfdane's kingdom. It must be remembered that Raumariki at this time only extended as far as the river Glommen. East of that river was Alfheim, subject to King Gandalf. Nor did Halfdane reign directly over distant Sogn, which, as we have seen, he made over to Earl Atli to rule for him, taking scatt, or tribute from it. The part of Agder which Halfdane possessed at the beginning of his reign was apparently not included in the jurisdiction of the Eidsivathing, and it is indeed very doubtful whether he retained possession of it or not.

Halfdane's kingdom was bounded on the north by Gudbrandsdal and Osterdal, on the east by the Glommen and the forests of Wermeland, on the west by Valdres, Haddingdal, Thelemark, and Agder, and on the south by the sea; and he was undoubtedly the most powerful ruler of Norway if not of Scandinavia at this time (Munch ii.).

We have now traced the history of the Yngling occupation of Norway, from the time when the

fugitive Olaf the Treefeller first occupied a part of Wermeland to that when his descendant had secured the most valuable part of the fertile land in the heart of the Christiania Gulf, and had there consolidated a power such as had not up to this time been known in Norway.



HARALD FAIRHAIR.

The "Flatey-bok" and Snorri preserve some fabulous tales of Harald's youth, which, as Munch says, so far as they are reliable, point to there having been but little harmony between him and his father. Thus we read that when Halfdane and his companions were having a feast one Yule-tide evening, the meat and drink suddenly disappeared from the table. The guests went home frightened, but the King sat on alone in his place much confused. He presently had a Finn (*vide infra*) who was skilled in sorcery, seized and tortured in order to extract from him some explanation of what had happened. He would not give any explanation, however, and begged Harald to assist him. The latter interceded, for him, but in vain. Presently, however, he allowed him to escape, against his father's will, and himself followed him to where his chief was holding a feast, and where he was well received. There Harald remained till the spring, when the Finn said to him "Your father took it amiss that I robbed him of his Yule-feast. I will repay what he did in a friendly manner. If you will follow my counsel you will go home again. There is some one there who needs your help and who will be of great assistance to you, for it is your destiny to become master of all Norway." This is the story as told in the Heimskringla. In the "Flatey-bok" we have another Saga in which a great Yotun, named Dovre, is introduced, (The Yotuns of Norse legend were the primitive people of Scandinavia, who occupied it before the advent of the Norse-folk, and were represented as giants and sorcerers). Dovre had repeatedly plundered the king's gold coffer, but had eventually been caught in a skilfully constructed trap, and

had been bound with leaden coils in a steel box. He had his home in the mountains which bore his name. The king had doomed him to the most disgraceful death, and had forbidden anyone to help him or to give him anything to eat. Harald (who, we are gravely told in the story, was not yet five years old), had pity on him, and cut his leaden bands with an excellent knife which had been given him by the Finn chief. Dovre thanked him and sped away as fast as he could. He was soon missed, and the king learnt that Harald had loosed him. He was greatly enraged, and forbade him ever to enter his presence again, and told him to betake himself to his friend Dovre. Harald went away into the forest, and after he had spent four or five days and nights there he met Dovre, who took him into his cavern. He lived with him for five years, and was taught by him all kinds of bodily exercises. When the five years had elapsed Dovre said one day to him, "I have not forgotten to requite thee for having helped me to escape. Thy father is dead, and not altogether without my assistance. Thou must now return home to thy kingdom, and mind not to cut thy hair nor thy nails till thou art master of all Norway. I will continually support thee." When Harald returned home he found his father dead, and was nominated king in his stead. From his residence with Dovre he received the name of Dovre-Fostre, *i.e.*, Dovre's foster-child (Munch ii. 176—7). The latter part of the story referring to Dovre is not told by Snorri, who, perhaps, thought it too incredible, and tried to rationalise the legend. It is contained in chapters iv. to vi. of Halfdane the Black's Saga in the "Flatey-bok." Munch and others have tried to rationalise it in another way by assuming that Halfdane did not care for

Harald, and that the latter, when a child, was, in fact, fostered by one of his chieftains; others, again, have argued that Dovre was the name of some illustrious chief who did Harald some service (Munch, *op. cit.* 177—8). Without any rationalising, the story as it stands is very interesting as a graphic folk-tale showing the real beliefs of people in times when men's days were largely spent in lonely mountains and forests far from their neighbours and were prone to see visions and to translate the forces of Nature into acts of very uncanny supermen. This accounts for the potency which the men of the North then attributed to Wizardry.

Harald according to Ari was ten years old when his father died. He had a great physique and is naturally described in the *Heimskringla* as the biggest, strongest and fairest of men, a wise man and high minded. His mother's brother Guthorm was nominated as his guardian and held the appointment of Captain of his body-guard, the leader of his host, and the controller of his lands.

From his mother he inherited the province of Ringariki, which was situated round the borders of the Tyrifiord in south-eastern Norway and was one of the most fertile districts in the land.

His father had left many enemies behind him, for he had laid hands on several small kingdoms, and their rulers naturally deemed a “minority” of so marked a kind, a fair opportunity for reprisals. The first of these to try his chance was Gandalf, (formerly, as we have seen in an earlier page, King of all Vingulmark) who had been deprived of half his territory by King Halfdane. He gathered his forces and determined to cross “the Firth,” now called the Christiania fiord, and thus to invade

Westfold. Meanwhile his son Haki, who had escaped to Alfheim after a defeat by Halfdane, went with three hundred men by the inland roads and tried to surprise Harald and his uncle Guthorm unawares, but the latter, having heard of the plan, collected an army and, taking Harald with him, he marched against him up the country, where a battle was fought, and Haki was killed with a great part of his men. He was buried, says our author, in a place called Hakadalr, now Hakedale, a valley dividing Hadaland from Raumariki (Magnussen, op. cit. iv. 253).

Guthorm, with the young king, returned to Westfold, which had meanwhile been invaded by King Gandalf, Haki's father. The two armies fought a hard fight, but Gandalf was beaten and lost most of his men, and returned in a sad plight to his home in Vingulmark.

While these events were happening Hogni and Frothi, the sons of King Eystein of Heathmark, who had been deprived of half that kingdom by Harald's father (Saga of Halfdane the Black, ch. 2), associated themselves with Hogni Karason, who had been raiding far and wide in Ringariki, or Ring realm and had appointed a rendezvous at Ringsacre in Heathmark* with the *hersir* Gudbrand† from the Dales.

To meet this attack Guthorm and Harald, with all the host they could collect, went towards the Uplands, keeping by the way through the forest in order to surprise their enemies, and arrived at midnight where they had appointed their muster.

* The place is still called Ringsaker, it is a manor on the eastern side of the Western arm of Lake Miosen, which runs north towards Gudbrandsdale, by the west of Heathmark (see Magnusson's Note—Heimskringla, vol. iv, 273).

† Who probably gave his name to Gudbrandsdal.

They surprised those on guard and surrounded the house where Gudbrand and Hogni Karason were sleeping. They set fire to it and burned them both in it; Eystein's sons, Hogni and Frothi, managed to get out for a while and made a fight, but both were killed. The result of the fight was that King Harald, by the help of his uncle, secured a great accession to his kingdom, namely, Heathmark, Gudbrandsdal and Hadaland, Thotn and Raumariki, and all the northern parts of Vingulmark. After this Harald and Guthorm fought again with King Gandalf, who had escaped, as we have seen. They had several struggles, in the last of which the latter was killed, and Harald annexed all his realm as far as the river Glommen*. The next event mentioned in the *Heimskringla* is the negotiation for Harald's wedding with Gyda, the daughter of King Eric of Hordaland.†

The fact of this proposal points to Harald's having been more than ten years old at his father's death. The lady was at this time being fostered in the house of a rich bonder, or farmer, at Valdres.‡

Like most royal brides, she is described as very fair and high-minded, and we are told Harald would fain have her for a bedmate. When his messengers arrived she is reported to have said haughtily that it was not her intention to wed one who was merely the master of a few fylkies, or

* It is the largest river in Norway, running from north to south into the eastern side of the Skagarak.

† This was a great district in Western Norway, now called "Søndre Bergenhusamt" which was bounded on the east and south-east by Haddingdal, Numdale, and Thelemark, and on the south by Rogaland (Magnussen, *op. cit.* 257). Its people were known as Hords.

‡ A district east of Sogn fylki, bounded on the north by Gudbrandsdale, on the east by Land and Ringariki, and on the south by Haddingdale.

counties, and she marvelled there was no king who was minded to make Norway his own, and be its lord and master in the way that King Gorm had done in Denmark and King Eric at Upsala. Harald's messengers were taken aback by this reply and assured her that Harald was such a mighty king that he was quite worthy to be her partner, but if she was unwilling, there was nothing left for them but to take their departure, and they put on their travelling clothes to depart. Thereupon she spoke again and said she would only consent to be his wife if he would make himself master of all Norway and rule that kingdom as freely as Eric of Sweden and Gorm of Denmark did theirs.

When the messengers returned to King Harald and reported her answer, which they deemed impertinent and witless, they said it would not be wrong (if the king were so minded) to send a body of his men and forcibly ravish her. He took another view, and replied that she had done no ill in the matter, but had in fact won his gratitude, for she had only brought to his mind a matter which he now thought it wondrous had not occurred to him before, and he proceeded to take a solemn oath that he would neither cut his hair again, nor comb it, until he had conquered all Norway and had taken dues and taxes from it. For this oath he was thanked by his uncle and tutor Guthorm, who pronounced it the resolve of a King (*Saga of Harald Fairhair IV.*).

Harald by his rapid and well planned campaign had now made himself virtually master of all Norway, east of the Great Mountains, which had been largely dominated by his father, and which he now completely subdued. A much more difficult task awaited him, namely, the conquest of

the communities living in Western and South-Western Norways, from Halogaland round the whole of the coast as far as Westfold, and which was broken up into a number of separate and independent fylkies, with the sea before them and the great mountain barrier behind. They seemed safe against attack, and had for the most part been independent for many generations. There had never been a time before, as far as we know, when these maritime fylkies had all obeyed one master. They were no doubt, however, grouped into larger communities, united by racial ties and similar customs and laws. They may have had tribal chiefs who, as was the habit, divided their heritage among their sons, each one being styled a king. This meant no more in Norway than that they paid no tax or dues to any superior. Harald's object was to weld them all into one State, as his contemporaries in Sweden and Denmark had done theirs.

The whole proceeding looks at first sight like a purely ruthless buccaneering expedition, unprovoked and inspired by mere lust of conquest and plunder, the innate prompting of a piratical race and of its ambitious ruler. Although probably thus prompted it must be added that its ultimate result was that of putting an end to piracy in the North, and this fact no doubt greatly strengthened Harald's hands, for it meant protecting the peaceable bonders or farmers from the assaults of a cruel and untamed race, and the substitution of law and order for the capricious justice of a most insolent and undaunted caste of fighting men.

He determined to begin by attacking the richest but the least powerful of these confederacies of fylkies, namely, that which occupied the fertile

valleys grouped round the great Thronðheim fiord, which was more open to attack than any other on the West coast, and which (having formed a part of the realm of Eystein the Great, King of the Uplands, the eastern part of which latter Harold had in such large measure subdued), he might well deem he had some rights to, and he made preparations accordingly.

“Thereupon,” says the *Heimskringla*, “the kinsmen” gathered much folk together and armed themselves to invade the Uplands. Thus did Harald set out for his great venture, which eventually led him far afield and was to take him four years to accomplish. Of the two ways to his goal, the one which led by the sea no doubt was too risky, nor is it likely that at this time he commanded a sufficient fleet for such an undertaking. It would certainly arouse the animosity of the most powerful and dangerous of the Viking communities, whose strongholds he would have had to pass on the way. He, therefore, chose the overland route, which must then have been difficult, for the forests were still largely uncleared and the population was sparse, and it no doubt involved great obstacles in provisioning his men, hardy and enduring as they were, with food and necessaries. These difficulties did not daunt him, however, and we are told he went up into the Uplands, and so northwards through the Dales, and thence again north over the Dovre-Fell, the great Scandinavian backbone.

When he and his men first reached a peopled country they began to ravage and kill. Those who would not submit fled down the valleys, some to Orkdale, some to Gauldale, and some into the forests. The invaders found nothing to resist them till they came to Orkdale itself, where the people

had assembled under a petty king called Gryting. There is still a small town called Orkedalseren at the influx of the river Orka into the Orkdale fiord.

In the fight which followed, (Harald won the battle) Gryting was captured and many of his people were slain. Their king was humble and swore fealty to the conqueror, whereupon all the people of Orkdale also submitted and became Harald's men (Harald the Fair's Saga, ch. 5).

After this Harald went “to Gauldale,” and fought there, and killed two kings and annexed the fylkies of Gauldale and Strinde in Thronðheim, and he gave Iarl Hakon, the iarl of Halogaland, who had submitted to him, charge of the conquered country.* Harald went on to Stior-dale and received the submission of that fylki also. After these victories the up-country people of Thronðheim gathered together under four kings to oppose Harald, one of them was the ruler of Verdale, another of Skaun, the third of the fylki of the Sparbiders, and the fourth of the Isles fylki. In the battle which followed the victory was again with him, and in it two of the kings were killed, while two escaped. Altogether, we are told, he had fought eight battles and destroyed eight of the kings, and all Thronðheim had become subject to him (Saga of Harald Fairhair, v.). These eight rulers had been united in a common League governed by a common code, called the Thronðerlag, and had a common Legislative Assembly. It met at Nidaros, which was so called from the river Nid, where it was planted. The people of Thronðheim as I have said, were very different from those of

* As we saw in an earlier page, he was the descendant of the old Kings of Halogaland, and had a long pedigree and no doubt rejoiced at the overthrow of the descendants of Eystein in Thronðheim.

other parts of West Norway, from whom they were cut off by mountains and forests. Their country was more fertile and temperate in climate owing to the Gulf Stream. They were prosperous farmers, traders and fishermen, and being well-to-do had no occasion to join the piratical expedition of their countrymen further south. The Vikings found few recruits among them, nor did many of them settle in Iceland or the Western colonies. On the other hand, as we shall see, they colonized the upper country of North Norway and Sweden. in large numbers.

Having thus conquered the several inland fylkies of Thronðheim, Harald compelled the bonders or farmers to pay dues to him, both rich and poor, and he set up a iarl in each fylki to collect the skatt or taxes, of which one-third was to go to himself for his board and the costs of administration. Each iarl was to have under him four hersirs or more, each of whom was to have 20 marks for his maintenance. For this each iarl was to supply 60 men, for the King's army at his own cost and each hersir 20. So much were the revenues of the land increased by these measures that the iarls had a bigger income than the Kings had before and when the news spread throughout Thronðheim many rich men came to King Harald and took service under him (Saga of Harald, 6).

Among these by far the most important was Hakon, son of Griotgard above-mentioned, iarl of Halogaland, who presently became Harald's right hand man. The submission of Hakon meant that of the province over which he had ruled, namely, Halogaland, which thus became part of Harald's realm without a struggle. The fact of Hakon having offered no resistance is notable, and supports the view above urged that his interests

and sympathies were not those of the foreign princes who ruled the rest of the land. North-east of Halogaland was the fylki of Naumdal with which it had close ties of race. It was almost certainly once ruled by princes of the same stock (namely, that of the Saemings). Its rulers, when Harald arrived, were styled Kings, while those of Halogaland were styled iarls. It is also noteworthy that when Harald divided his kingdom into sections among his sons, Halogaland, Naumdal, and Nordmere were given to one son, while the inner fiords of Thronðheim were given to another.

Harald's next step was the conquest of Naumdale, which was then ruled over by two kings who were brothers. They were named Herlang and Hrollaug. They had been three summers making a howe or burial mound doubtless for their own burial. It was built of stone and lime and roofed with timber. It was doubtless also covered in with earth, although the fact is not mentioned. This was just finished when news arrived of Harald's approach with his army. It was clearly impossible for the brothers to resist. Herlaug, with the Spartan instincts of his race, determined to put an end to his own life rather than become another man's deputy, and to do it in an original way. He placed a store of victuals and drink in the howe and then went in himself with eleven men and had the entrance closed.

His brother, Hrollaug, we are told, went to the top of another howe near by, whereon the Kings were wont to sit in state. He decked out the royal seat and then sat upon it ; he then placed pillows on the seat below, where the iarls had been wont to sit, and came down from the high seat to the humbler one and gave himself the style of iarl, that is to say, he divested himself of his kingly *status* and

accepted that of a iarl under Harald. He then went to meet the latter and surrendered his realm, and asked to become his man, and told him what he had done. Then, we are told, King Harald took a sword and fastened it to his girdle, and hung a shield about his neck and made him his iarl, and led him to a high seat and proclaimed him iarl of the Naumdale fylki (op. cit., ch. 8). The mode of investiture thus described is very interesting and early. Naumdale, like Halogaland, afterwards supplied a large number of emigrants to Iceland, to which it was nearer than any other part of Norway.

After this Harald returned to Throndheim and spent the winter there, and called it his home ever after, and there he built the finest house in the country, which was called Ladir, whence the later iarls of Ladir, took their title. The same winter he married Asa, the daughter of iarl Hakon, who had freely submitted to him as we saw, and whom, we are told, he held in highest honour among all men (Saga of Harald Haarfagr, ch. ix).

Having subdued those of the Northern fylkies which he could approach overland, he now turned his thoughts to those further south which could only be approached by the sea, and which were sheltered from attack from the land-side by the great mountains. He had, therefore, to prepare a fleet, and we are told that during the winter he built himself a great galley shaped like a dragon and arrayed in noble fashion. This he manned with his Court guards and his *baseserks*, or indomitable champions.* The best tried men, called the stem-men, with the King's banner were

* It is doubtful what the word means; Snorri gives the name to Odin's warriors, who fought without byrnies or coats of mail and in bare shirts (Serks or Sarks). Hornklofi the poet, however, groups them with Wolf Coats as if the name meant Bearskins (Magnussen iv. 298).

in front. Aft of the stern as far as the baling place was the forecastle, which was specially manned by bareserks, the very pick of the crew for strength, good heart, and prowess. Besides this Royal vessel, which was then no doubt of phenomenal size and splendour in the North, Harald had with him a large number of big ships, and many mighty men followed him.

The poet Hornklofi, in his famous Glymdrapa, apostrophized him and his doings in this venture, but the verses are, as Vigfusson shows, utterly corrupt (see Harald's Saga, ch. ix).

In the spring Harald set out with his fleet from Thronðheim southwards towards Mere (really North-Mere), which was doubtless peopled by the same stock and perhaps ruled by the same family as its southern neighbour Raumsdale. The King of North-Mere was Hunthiof, who was the father of Solvi, styled Klofi. Raumsdale was ruled by Nockvi. He was Hunthiof's father-in-law, and they went together against Harald and met his forces at Solskel, now Solskelo in Aedo parish, off the coast of the southern part of North-Mere (Magnussen *Heimskringla*, iv. 279). As usual Harald won the fight, and both the kings who opposed him (*i.e.*, Hunthiof and Knockwi) fell, but Solvi escaped. Ari has preserved another verse of Hornklofi referring to this fight, which is very corrupt. Harald appropriated the two fylkies dwelt there a greater part of the summer, and proceeded to set up law and justice, and established rulers over them and took their fealty. Harald appointed Rognwald, (the son of Eystein Glumra), iarl of North-Mere and Raumsdale (whence he was afterwards known as the Mere iarl), and assigned him lords and franklins, or freemen, and also ships with which he

might protect the country. He was known as Rognwald the Mighty or Keen-counselled, and it was said he deserved both titles equally well. He was the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy and and of our Norman Kings. Harald spent the next winter at Thronðheim.

Meanwhile Solvi, the son of Hunthiof, had remained with his ships all the winter, had harried in North-Mere and had slain many of King Harald's men, robbed others, and burnt the houses of others. Part of the time he stayed with Arnvid, his kinsman, the King of South-Mere, which lay south of Raumsdale;* the latter fylki, in fact, divided the two Meres from one another, forming an important race frontier as well, since it divided the Thronds, of whom we have said so much, from the Hords, of whom we shall say more presently.

When Harald heard of their doings he got his fleet together and in the spring set out for South-Mere, where Solvi gathered a considerable number of those who were discontented with Harald. He also paid a visit to King Audbiorn who ruled in Firda fylki, or Firdir (the Firths, a maritime kingdom of south-west Norway) now Nord-og Söndfiord in the Stift of Bergen (Magnussen iv. 249) It was the very focus of Viking activity, the Lochlannoch of the Irish writers, which merely translates the name. He asked him to aid him and urged that there were only two courses for them to follow, either to rise up against the aggressive King or to become his slaves, which was a thing not to be thought of in the case of a person like Harald, who was not more nobly born than themselves.

* It is possible in fact that all three fylkies N. and S. Mere and Raumsdale, which formed a wedge between the Thronds and Hords, were peopled by the Raum Stock which had come down to the seaboard by way of Raumsdal.

“ My father,” he said, “ deemed it a better choice to fall in battle as a real king than to be one of Harald’s underlings.” Audbiorn was talked over by this rhetoric and set out to join his forces to those of Solvi and of King Arnvid. At this point we get an important sidelight from a responsible and trustworthy Saga, which was written down about 1160—1200, but preserves a good tradition and is generally trusted, namely, Egil’s Saga.

It begins with the story of a certain Ulf, who lived in Firda fylki, and whose father was a notable person and one of King Audbion’s feudatories. He was famous for his height and strength and had been a noted Viking. He had a partner named Kari of Berdla, already named, also a strong and daring pirate and a bareserk. The two had a common purse and had acquired great wealth, had both given up piracy and were living on their estates, and were great friends. Kari had two sons, Eyvind Lambi and Aulvir Knuf, and a daughter Salbgory, whom Ulf had married. Ulf, we are told, took the title of liegeman, as his father had done. He was a very considerable personage and looked carefully after his affairs. He rose early and then went round among his labourers and smiths, overlooked his stock and fields, and would talk with those who needed good counsel, but in the evening he became duller, and we read that he was “ an evening sleeper.” He was surnamed Kueld Ulf. He had two sons, Thorolf and Grim, fashioned largely on their father’s pattern. The former was comely and cheery, like his mother while Grim was swarthy and ill-favoured like his father, and like him a good man of business, and skilled in working wood and iron. In the winter he often went to the herring fishing with his father’s men. When Thorold was 20 years old his father gave him a long ship

with which to pursue the profitable profession of piracy and his uncles Eyvind and Aulvir, the sons of Kari, his grandfather, joined in the venture in another long ship. For several summers they engaged in buccaneering, and spent their winters at home with their fathers and mothers ; to whom, we are told, Thorolf took many costly things.

At this time Harald was engaged in his great campaign again, the kings of the Western fylkies among them, as we have seen, was Audbiorn, King of the Firthfolk, who summoned his feudatory Ulf to go to the help of himself and his confederates against Harald. Kueldulf replied that he would consider it his duty to fight alongside of him in defence of the Firths, but it was no part of his duty to defend Mere from attack, and he further thought that Harald had a load of good fortune, while Audbiorn had but a handful. He accordingly remained on his property and took no part in the fight (where his suzerain, Audbion, was killed), and about which Ari preserves another verse from Hornklofi's sadly corrupt poem. It was then the custom, says Harald's Saga when men fought on ship-board, to bind the ships together and to fight from the forecastle, and this happened now. King Harald laid his ship alongside that of King Arnvid of South Mere, and many men fell in the *melée* which followed ; Harald fought in the midst of his men and with such effect that some of the crew of Arnvid's ship were pressed back to the mast and others fell, and presently the rest took to flight. The two allied Kings fell fighting. The struggle must, however, have been a desperate one, for among those who were killed on Harald's side were Asgaut and Asbiorn, who were doubtless well known champions, and two of his iarls, Griotgard and Herlaug (one of his wives' brothers, and sons of iarl Hakon of Ladir).

Solvi again escaped and became a Viking. He greatly ravaged Harald's kingdom, and afterwards killed one of his sons, Guthorm, who governed “The Wik,” or “Vik,” comprising the fylkies bordering on the Bay of Fold (now Christiania fiord, viz.: Grenland, Westfold, Vingulmark, and Alfheim (Mag., op. cit., iv. 291). This was in a battle at the mouth of the Elf or Gotha river (Heimskringla, ch. 33).

Harald now completely appropriated South-Mere, but Vemund, the son of Audbiorn, still retained the throne of the Firth people. He would have gone against him but the autumn was much advanced and he was persuaded by his followers that it was dangerous to sail round the Stad, (*i.e.*, Stadtlandet, or Cape Stadt, the westernmost peninsula and promontory of South-Mere—Magnussen, op. cit., iv. 280). Harald therefore added South-Mere to Hakon's iarldom and returned to Thronðheim (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 12).

Meanwhile Harald's friend, iarl Rognwald, set out to take possession of the Firths where Vemund still held out. He went by the inner course through Eid, or Inner Eid, now called Mandseid,* and then southward past the Firths and surprised King Vemund in his house called Naustdale,† where he was feasting. He set fire to it and burnt him to death with 90 of his men, a ruthless fate which was often dealt out by the Northmen and which he himself had to meet at a later day. After this Rognwald was joined by Kari of Berdla.‡ Ari says he was a mighty

* That is through the upper part of the isthmus which connects Stad with the mainland on the North side of North fiord in Firth fylki (Mag., 246).

† Now called Naustdal in the parish of Eid in Nord fiord in the northern part of Firth fylki (Mag. iv. 266).

‡ This place, now called Berle, was an ancient manor house on the south-eastern coast of the large island of Brimangrsland, now Bremanger, in the mouth of the North fiord (Mag., 241).

bareserk. With a long ship they returned together to North-Mere. Rognwald took the ships belonging to Vemund and also his goods.

After this in the spring King Harald himself went from Thronðheim to Firda fylki and subdued all the people there and according to the *Heimskringla* he left them in charge of Hakon, the iarl of Ladir. In *Egil's Saga* (which is probably right, since Hakon's own iarldom in the North was far away) we are told that he gave it to Hroald, who had been a iarl under King Audbiorn (*Op. cit.*, 2). The same *Saga* says that King Harald was very careful when he had got new people under his power to keep watch on the liegemen and such land owners and others who might raise a rebellion. He insisted either on their becoming his own liegemen, or going abroad, or else imposed harder conditions, and even the loss of life or limb, and treated as his own freeholds all their patrimonies, and all lands, tilled or untilled, and all sea and fresh water lakes. All the landowners must become his tenants, with all who worked in the forest, salt burners and hunters, and fishers on land or sea. They all now owed him duty (*Ib.*, iv). He then went eastward and northward till he arrived at Vik. When the King was gone iarl Hakon bade Atli the Slender to get him gone from Sogn and to become again the iarl in Gaular as he had been beforetime, for he said that King Harald had given him Sogn. Atli, as we have seen, had been given his iarldom of Sogn by Harald's father Halfdane. He now replied that he intended to hold both Sogn and Gaular till he had seen Harald. Thereupon the two iarls collected their forces for a mortal struggle. This took place in the fylki of Fialir in Stafanessvagr, now Stang fiord. There they fought a great fight

in which iarl Hakon was killed. This must have been a serious loss to Harald for he was a faithful and skilled friend of his. Iarl Atli was himself mortally wounded and his men carried him to “Atli’s Isles,” now Atleo, on the north side of the mouth of Dalsfiord in the fylki of Fialir. There he died.

After the late battle Harald, as we have seen, went down himself with his fleet to the Firths. He then sent messengers to invite Ulf (*i.e.*, Kueldulf) to go and see him, no doubt to secure his homage. The latter replied that he was too old and unfit for war. They then suggested that one of his sons should go, for they were tall men and likely warriors, and they told Grim, who was the only one at home, that Harald would make him a lord if he went. He replied that he would be a liegeman under none as long as his father lived; “while he lives he shall be my liege lord.” The old man replied that he would be Harald’s friend that he would persuade others to be so, and that he would be prepared to hold the same authority from his hand that he had held from his former King Audbiorn, but he would not go to him. Thorolf, his elder son, he added, was not at home, but engaged on an expedition, but on his return he might go to Harald if he pleased and become his man. With this answer the king was apparently content.

It would seem that Ulf’s father-in-law, Kari of Berdla above named, and his sons, had followed the example of his partner and had not taken part in the late fight. After the battle the sons of iarl Atli of Gaula attacked Aulvir Knuf, Kari’s son, at his home, intending to kill him, but he escaped and fled to King Harald and submitted to him, and went to Throndheim with him and became one of his scalds. Aulvir had married Solveig the Fair,

daughter of iarl Atli, whom he had met at a great gathering for a sacrificial feast at Gaular, and for whom he composed many love songs, and left off freebooting, while his brother Eyvind kept it on (*Ib.*, 11). After King Vemund had been killed by iarl Rögnwald, Kari himself, who was no doubt an old man, went to the latter with a fully-manned long ship, and afterwards went to King Harald at Thronðheim and also became his man (*Op. cit.*, ch. iv.).

Meanwhile Thorolf, Ulf's son, who had been on a Viking cruise with his uncle (Kari's son Eyvind Lambi) returned home and heard of what had happened. His father Ulf told him that he himself had in fact declined to become Harald's man and foresaw only trouble in doing so, but that he might please himself, although he counselled him to follow his own example. Thorolf decided differently, for he thought he should get much advancement from Harald if he became his man. He had heard that he had only valiant men in his guard whom he treated generously and well, and he told his father that if he had had prophetic foresight of what would happen, why had he not gone to help his own king Audbiorn in the late battle. It was not reasonable to be neither his friend nor his enemy. The old man replied that he must choose his own path. If he chose to join Harald's guard he was sure that he would be equal to the foremost among them in feats of manhood. He counselled him to keep within bounds and not to try and rival his betters, nor yet yield to others overmuch, and when Thorolf set out for the North he accompanied him to the ship, and embraced him and gave him his good wishes (*Ib.*, vi.).

At this time Harald also secured another champion, namely Bard, whose story is worth

telling. His grandfather, named Biorgalf, was a powerful and wealthy land owner who lived at Torgar, in Halogaland, and who had grown old and lost his wife. One autumn there was a banquet at Leka, at which Biorgalf and his son were the most honourable guests present. In the evening the guests were paired off by lots to drink together, as was the old custom. There was present a man of great wealth, handsome and shrewd, but of no family. He had a beautiful daughter called Hildirida, and the lot fell upon her to sit by Biorgalf. The old man was captivated by her. The next autumn he went in a ship of his own, holding 30 men, and went with 20 of his crew, to call on Hildirida's father Hogni, who went to meet him and offered him welcome for himself and party which was accepted. When they had taken off their travelling clothes and put their mantles on, Hogni gave orders to bring in a great bowl of beer, and Hildirida helped the guests to it. The old man then told his host that he had come to fetch his daughter and proposed to marry her then and there, and having received an ounce of gold from his guest, the marriage followed. Hildirida went home with her old husband by whom she had two sons, soon after which he died.

Thereupon Biorgalf's eldest son Bryngalf, to whom he had some time before made over all his affairs, drove away Hildirida and her sons, nor would he let her share in his father's fortune. This was the beginning of a long tragedy. She thereupon returned home to her father, whose fortune she and her boys inherited. Bryngalf had a son Bard, who presently married Sigridi, the daughter of Sigurd, who was deemed the richest man thereabouts, and his daughter was the best match in Halogaland. He went to woo her on a ship manned by 30 men

His offer was accepted and he proposed to return next summer to wed her and take her home.

Meanwhile King Harald summoned all the principal men in Halogaland to go to him, and Bryngalf and his son duly went southward to Thronðheim and there they met the king who received them gladly, made Bryngalf a liegeman and gave him large grants, besides what he had before, and notably the office of collecting the skatt or tribute from the Finns, the right of travelling among them, the control of the king's business on the fells, and the Finn traffic. A similar position had been held by his father. Bryngalf returned home and Bard became one of the king's bodyguards. Of all these guards, says Egil's Saga, Harald most prized his scalds, and of them Audun Ill-Skald, the oldest, sat innermost. He had been his father's poet. Next sat Thorbiorn Raven, then Aulvir Knuf already named, and next to him was placed Bard who was named Bard the White, or the Strong. He was held in high honour by all, but especially by Aulvir Knuf. The same autumn Thorolf, Kueldulf's son, and Eyvind Lambi, Kari of Berdla's son, arrived at Thronðheim in a swift twenty-benched long ship, well manned, which they had previously used in their Viking voyages. They were introduced to Harald by Kari of Berdla and Aulvir Knuf. The king said he would do well by Thorolf if he should prove himself as accomplished in deed as he was brave in looks. Thereupon the latter joined the king's household and became one of his guard. Meanwhile Kari of Berdla and his son Eyvind returned to their own estate in the same ship which had brought Thorolf. The king gave Thorolf a seat between Aulvir Knuf and Bard and the three became close friends. In the autumn Bard asked leave to go and fetch his bride,

which was given him, and he asked Thorolf to go with him saying he would meet many of his kinsmen of renown whom he had not seen or known in Halogaland. At the wedding there was a great gathering and, as Bard had said, Thorolf met many of his relations he had not seen before. The wedding was held at the house of the bride's father Sigurd, who gave a splendid feast, after which Bard and his wife went to his own home and Thorolf with him, and in the autumn returned to the king and was with him during the winter. At this time Bryngalf, Bard's father died; Bard asked Harald to let him go home to take up his inheritance, and the king made him one of his liegeman as his father had been, and he held of him all the offices which Bryngalf had held, and became a great chief (*Ib.*, x.).

King Harald had meanwhile taken his host eastward into the Wik and, according to Ari, laid up his ships at Tunsberg or Tonsberg, which was a famous cheaping place or market. The name had, as we have seen, replaced one of wider fame, namely, Skiringsal, which was a very notable trading mart in earlier times. It was situated in Harald's own fatherland of Westfold.

Harald had now been engaged for four years in conquering and settling his north-western dominions, and it was quite time he should return to look after those in the east, where things were not going on so well. At Tonsberg he heard of the ambitious schemes of Eric Eymundson the king of Sweden, who had invaded the frontier province of Wermeland and claimed taxes from its woodland people (*Harald Fairhair's Saga*, xiv.) He also claimed to extend the western borders of West Gothland, beyond the river Gotha, and as far as Swinesund, thus encroaching

on a recognised old frontier of Norway. He not only levied dues there, but also appointed the Gothlander Rani to rule the district as his deputy or iarl, between Swinesund and the Gaut Elf, or Gotha. His pretensions were still greater for he claimed that he intended to appropriate all the lands in "The Wik" which he alleged had been ruled over by his great ancestor Sigurd Ring and his son Ragnar Lodbrog. This included Raumariki and Westfold as far as Grenmar (now Langesundsfjorden), with Vingulmark and the country to the South, that is to say, the very kernel of Harald's dominions. Probably as the result of the latter's absence in the West many chiefs in these frontier lands had turned their eyes to the great King of Upsala. Harald was naturally much distressed at the news, and summoned a gathering, or mote, of his bonders, or farmers, in the district of Westfold and charged them with treason to himself. Some denied it, some paid money as a fine, and others were punished. Thus he spent the summer, and in the autumn he went to Raumariki, upon which he also laid a heavy hand.

Meanwhile he heard that the Swedish King was going to and fro in Wermeland and claiming quarters and forcible entertainment there. He accordingly crossed the great Eid Forest and entered Wermeland, where he in turn claimed entertainment. There lived there a very rich old bonder, the mightiest man in the place, who was called Aki. He sent his son and bade Harald to a feast on a certain day, on which he also invited the Swedish King. Aki's great guest-hall had grown old so he built a second one, quite as big and well appointed as the older one. He furnished it with new furniture, while he kept the old for the older building.

In the old hall he entertained the Swedish King, while Harald was his guest in the new one. The former drank from the old beakers and horns well decked with gold, but Harald's, which were new, were probably more showy. In either case the drink was of the best. The reason for the distinction shown by Aki to Harald was that he had once been the liegeman of Halfdane the Black, Harald's father.

The feast having ended, the kings put on their travelling dress. Aki sent his son Ubbi, who was twelve years old, to Harald and begged him, if he approved of his goodwill, to reward the boy by making him his page or attendant; Harald duly acknowledged the hospitality which had been shewn him, and Aki produced many lordly gifts, while he and the king greeted each other with a kiss.

After this Aki went to say goodbye to the Swedish King, whom he found clad for his departure, and, as might have been expected, in a by no means amiable mood. Aki offered his presents, but the king answered little and leaped on horseback while Aki accompanied him. The road passed through a wood near the house and when they came to it the king asked him why he had treated him so differently to the way he had treated Harald, although he knew that he was his man.

“I deem it Lord,” said Aki, “that neither Harald nor thyself has lacked aught at the feast. If the appointments in the hall were old so was the king himself, whereas Harald being in the flower of his age had the newer things. As to his being the king's man, Aki held that Eric was just as much his own man, whereupon Eric clove him down with his sword and killed his host; assuredly a brutal

act, even if the old man Aki had been exceptionally tactless in steering through a difficult position.

When Harald was ready to mount, he summoned Aki. His men went to look for him and found him dead on the road. He called on them to avenge their host. They thereupon rode together in pursuit of King Eric until they reached the forest that separates Gothland from Wermeland. There Harald turned back into Wermeland, which he subdued, and slew King Eric's men wherever he found them. After which he returned to Raumariki and dwelt there awhile. Thence he went to visit his fleet at Tonsberg. Having put the ships in trim he crossed over the Firth with them to Vingulmark, and through the winter he harried much in Ranriki, *i.e.*, the district between Swine-sund and the Gotha, administered by iarl Rani, who had probably given it his name, for the Swedish King.

Meanwhile the Gothlanders began to get together from the country side, and when the spring came they staked the river Gotha so that Harald might not bring his ships up into the land, but the latter took them up as far as the stakes and then harried the land on either side and burnt the homesteads. Thereupon the Gothlanders came down with a mighty host and a great fight and slaughter took place, but Harald prevailed. After his victory he went to and fro about Gothland, and many fights took place on the river Gotha. In one of them fell Rani, the Gothland iarl. Then Harald subdued the land north of the river Gotha and west of Lake Wener, together with all Wermeland; and he set his uncle Guthorm to rule over them; he thus largely increased the latter's government. Harald then turned to the Uplands and dwelt there awhile, whence he crossed the Dovrefell

once more to Thronðheim, where he abode a long time, and had many children.

It was hardly possible that after he had conquered so much, Harald should not wish to complete his work and bring all Norway under his sway. On the other hand, his ambition and his unqualified successes hitherto, made him a perpetual danger to the few States which were still free, and we are told that they confederated together against him with many ships and men. Their chiefs were Eric, King of Hordaland, who was Harald's father-in-law; Sulki, king of Rogaland and Iarl Soti, his brother; Kiotvi* the Wealthy, king of Agdir, who in Hornklofi's poem seems to be treated as head of the Confederacy; and Thorir Longchin. From Thelemark† there came Ronald and Rig, and with them Hadd the Hardy.

When Harald heard of their doings he in turn collected his forces: it was a mighty array from every folk land that counted him as its master. He presently came South and arrived near the Stad, now *Stadt-landet*, or Cape Stadt, the most westerly peninsula and promontory of Southmære (Mag., iv. 280). King Eric of Hordaland, heard of it, so he in turn went South to meet his friends who were coming from the East, and they all met north of Yadaren, (*i.e.*, on the western coast of Rogaland, south of the Boknfirth archipelago), and then went on to Hafursfiord, (now

* Vigfussen thinks that Kiotvi is a Norse corruption of Kiotvan, which he suggests was a Gaelic name like other names in the Landnamabok ending in n., *i.e.*, Beslan, Trostan, Kiaran; Haklangr sounds as if translated from Gaelic, like Svarthodfdi, Hunding, and so many more. These chiefs, he says, were of half Gaelic blood, like so many of the Icelandic settlers, C.P.B., i. 73.

† An inland fylki surrounded by Hordaland on the N.W.; Numdale on the S.W.; E. Grenland on the E.; and Agdir on the S. and W.

Hafrsfjord in Yadaren), where Harald was awaiting them. A great and long fight ensued. Harald won the battle. He in fact probably had an overwhelming force. King Eric was killed, so were King Sulki and Iarl Thorir with the long chin, who was a great bareserk. He had laid his ship alongside of King Harald's, and it was a fierce fight before he was killed, after which, in the grim words of the Saga, "his ship was utterly cleared."

King Kiotvi fled away to a certain holm where there was a good fighting position and the rest of the survivors also fled, some by ship and others escaped up the country, and so to the South about Yadar.

The poet Hornklofi has some picturesque touches in regard to this fateful fight, which became a byword for many a day. He speaks of the ships, with their grim gaping heads and "fair-graven" prow plates, and of the white shields that hung around their sides, of spears from the Westland, and Welsh wrought swords (probably from Flanders or Britain), of the roaring of the bareserks, and the howling of the wolfcoats. He speaks also of "the bold Lord of the Eastmen, the bider at Utsteinn or Outstone,"* (*i.e.*, iarl Thorir), and again of the brawny-necked king who waxed weary with protecting his country from Shockhead (meaning Harald) and found shelter at the holm, (*i.e.*, Kiotvi). "Down 'neath the decks dived the wounded warriors, their buttocks uphoven and their heads laid by the keel" (Op. cit., ch. 19).

Gustav Storm, who was a friend of mine, and was a distinguished scholar of Munch and the editor of his works, wrote a short memoir on the

* This was a manor of Harald's situated on the west of an island of the same name, now called Utstenö, or Klosterö, off Rogaland. It is now, says Magnusson, called Utsten or Utstens Kloster from the Augustinian monastery which existed there in later times (Op. cit., 270).

battle of Hafrsfiord, entitled, "Slaget i Havrsfiord," in which he reached some conclusions about the fight which are very reasonable, and to which I must refer. He points out that Olaf the White, the Norwegian king of Dublin, who had filled that office since the year 853, disappears from the chief Irish Annals about the year 871. There is no notice of his death, which is singular, since the obits of the foreign princes are very regularly entered in these Annals. The last entry about him in the Annals of Ulster—a most reputable work—is in the year 870, where we read that he and Ivar his brother returned to Atheliath, (*i.e.*, Dublin), from Alba, or Scotland, with 200 ships and a great multitude of men; English, Britons, and Picts who were taken back as captives to Ireland. In 872, Ivar who is mentioned in the same annals as King of all Norsemen of Ireland and Britain, finished his life.

There is one important work, which strongly supports Storm's conclusion, but of which we only have fragments. They are preserved at Brussels and were published by J. O'Donovan under the name of "Three Irish Fragments." In this work, after reporting the return of Olaf from Scotland, which it puts in 871, the author says: In that year Olaf went from Ireland to Lochlann, *i.e.*, Norway, (for at that time there was war among the Lochlannag, *i.e.*, Northmen), to help his father Godfred or Gudrod, who had sent to ask his son to go and help him. This war can only have been the one we have described between King Harald and the rulers, of South-Western Norway, which ended in the battle of Hafrsfiord, and which the Northern writers, including Ari, put in the year 871 or 872. Storm further suggests that Kiotvi (who was King of Agdir and a distinguished leader of

the rebellious Vikings) was a foreign name, and that he also had a Norwegian name, and was really perhaps called Godfred, and that "Kiotvi" or Ceotvi was his descriptive name, or cognomen. If so, then Kiotvi was the father of Olaf the White. Storm further suggests that Haklang (named as a hero of the fight by Hornklofi) was a cognomen of Olaf. This would fit in very well with the fact that Haklang, as we know, was killed in the battle of Hafrsfiord, while on the other hand, Olaf is mentioned no more after the date of that fight. That Kiotvi and Haklang were both used as cognomina is shewn by Storm, who quotes the name of an Asbiorn Kiotvi from the Vatnisdla Saga, while Haklang is used as the cognomen of Thore in Hornklofi's poem. Against all these coincidences I know of only one fact for which I have no explanation, namely, that Haklang is made in the poem the cognomen, not of an Olaf but of a Thore. Whatever explanation there may be of this it seems to me clear that that single fact cannot outweigh the large number of others which Storm has brought together in his paper. I may add that his contention completely agrees with the date of the great fight 871 or 872, as fixed by the old Norse writers against that of Vigfusson who puts it in 885.

The defeat of the Vikings at Hafrsfiord led to a large migration to Iceland. Among others who thus went was Geirmund, called Hell Skin. He had a principality in Rogaland and is called a "host King" in the Landnama-bok, but he had long left off his Viking life. When Harald's victory drove out so many men from their possessions, he thought there was no room for him in Norway, so he set out for Iceland and took Ulf the Sqinter, his cousin, and Stanulf son of Hrolf the Herse of Agd with him. Each one of the three went in his own ship.

Another emigrant to Iceland from Agd (or Ogdhom, as it was called) who went with Geirmund, was Throndr Slimleg. Geirmund must have been a considerable person for we are told he had 80 freemen (*Landnama-bok*, ii. 17—3). Men said that he was more nobly born than any other person in Iceland, but had little feud or war with other men there because he was old when he went to Iceland. There he was buried in a “ship-how,” (*i.e.*, in a ship buried under a mound), in a wood near his house. “Erne was the son of a nobleman and a kinsman of Geirmund. He came from Rogaland to Iceland because of the oppression of King Harald” (*Ib.*, 22—1).

Ann Redcloak, son of Grim, we are told, fell out with King Harald, who had harried in Ireland. He had there married Greliath, the daughter of iarl Beartmar, *i.e.* Great deed, and then went to Iceland and settled down where his wife thought she could smell the honey (*Ib.* ii. 22). Another of the settlers was Thiord, who professed to be the son of a Viking, but most men declared that he was the son of King Harald. He himself left many distinguished descendants (*Ib.*, ii. 23—2). Hallward Sougher fought in the battle of Hafrsfiord against King Harald. He came from Shielings, in Hordaland, and settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, ii. 24—3). Aurlyg, the son of Bead-were, was another fugitive from the oppression of Harald (*Ib.*, 27—1). Slate Biorn was a great Viking and a foe of King Harald. He went to Iceland and when he entered Biorns-firth his ship was all set with shields. He was afterwards called Biorn of the Shields; the foundations of his house were still to be seen when Ari wrote (*Ib.*, 28—1). Of Hererod (Hwic timber, *i.e.*, White Sky), we are told that he was a man of birth, who was slain by the

contrivance of King Harald, and his three sons went to settle in Iceland (*Ib.*, ii. 28—4). Balce, son of Clong, was also against Harald. He fled to Iceland after the battle (*Ib.*, ii. 30—1). Throndr the Far-sailer, son of Biorn, was also against Harald at Hafrsfiord and was afterwards banished the land and settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, v. 12—5). Orm the Old, who went to Iceland, was the son of iarl Eywind, who was with Kiotvi the Wealthy against King Harald at Hafrsfiord (*Ib.*, v. 16—4).

A more interesting story is told of Ingimund, styled the Old, a great Viking, who harried in the West in joint cruises with Saemund who was his partner. They came back from a raid at the time when Harald was coming to the land and setting out for Hafrsfiord. Ingimund wished to help the King, but Saemund did not, and the two parted. After the battle Harald gave Wigdis, the daughter of iarl Thore the Silent in marriage to Ingimund, who, says our author, could find no peace in Norway, whereupon Harald urged him to try his fate in Iceland. He said he had never been minded to do so. He had apparently been before, for we read of him that he was the son of iarl Ingimund, iarl of Gautland, and Wigdis, and was brought up in the isle of Hefne with Thori, the father of Grim and Hiodmund. Heid volvu, *i.e.* the Sybil prophesied of all three that they would settle in a land that was still undiscovered, West over the sea. Ingimund said he would not do that. She replied that he would not be able to help it, and as a token she said that the teraph or lot, *i.e.* the mascot, would disappear out of his purse, saying he would find it when he dug a hole to plant his porch pillars in. However, he sent two Finns thither, to get back his sacred image or family teraph, or penate. It was a figure of Frey made in silver, which must have been

concealed by him. On their return the Finns reported that they had found where the teraph was, but could not obtain it, and that it was in a certain dale between two woods, and described how the land lay. He then set out for Iceland with his brother-in-law, his friends, and his thralls or slaves. They stayed the winter with Grim, his sworn brother. He got a large estate there and duly found his teraph buried in the ground as he was digging the foundation for his porch pillars.

. . . Presently he fell upon a white she-bear with two cubs on a mere near his home, and afterwards went to Norway and gave the bears to King Harald. We are told that white bears had never before been seen in Norway. Thereupon the king gave him the ship *Stiganda* (Stepper) with a cargo of wood, a most welcome and precious gift for an Iclander. He returned to the island with his two ships and on his return voyage he was the first to round the Skaw in Iceland. After this Raven the Eastman stayed with him. He had a good sword, which he took into the Temple, whereupon Ingimund took it from him; apparently it was deemed wrong to enter a Temple with a weapon (*Ib.*, iii. 5—2, 3, and 9). Two incidental notices in the story have a special interest of another kind. The present treeless character of Iceland makes it interesting to read in one sentence of a willow-dale at Ingimund's *holt* or wood; another note tells us that Ingimund lost ten swine and they were found the next harvest time in Swinedale, and there were there a hundred swine. “The boar was called Beigad” and leapt into Swine mere and swam till his hoofs fell off and he died!!! (*Ib.*, ii. 10). There are no swine now in Iceland, and I remember Vigfussen telling me that he had never seen one when he first read the story of Circe and her swine in Homer.

Let us now return to Egil's Saga. It says that when the roll of King Harald's men was called after the great fight there were many who had fallen and many who were sore wounded. Among the latter was Thorolf above named, who was badly hurt, and Bard who was worse, nor was there a single man unwounded before the mast, except those whom iron would not bite, *i.e.*, the bareserks. The king had the wounds of his men bound up, and he thanked them for their valour and gave them gifts. Some he named steers-men, others forcastle-men, others bow-setters. He also saw to the burial of the dead.

Thorolf's wounds presently healed, but Bard was mortally hit, and he sent for the king and asked him to be allowed to name his heir, and on the king assenting, he named his friend and kinsman Thorolf as successor both to his lands and chattels, and left him his wife and the bringing up of his son, and then died.

In the autumn Thorolf, who had won such great honour in the great fight asked leave from the king to go to Halogaland to take up his heritage from Bard. Harald gave his leave and made Thorolf a liegeman or landman, and transferred to him all the rights he had given Bard in the Finn land, and also gave him a good long ship with all its tackling. When he reached Torgar he was well received, and Sigridr (Bard's widow) consented to the match and was duly betrothed to him, and he took over the management of the property and also the king's business. He now went in his ship with 40 men to Sandness and Alost to get the consent of Sigurd to his daughter's marriage. He was well received and described to his host the details of the fight and how his son-in-law had fallen, how he had left him his wife, and how the king had consented to the arrangement.

Sigurd duly consented and the marriage was fixed for the autumn at Torgar. The wedding was held on a great scale. The same winter Sigurd died and Thorolf succeeded to all his property. Thereupon the sons of Hildirida (half-brothers of Bard) went to him and put in a claim to some of the property which had belonged to their father Bjorgalf. This claim he repudiated and said it had been also repudiated by Bard, who spoke of them as illegitimate. They declared on the contrary that they were honourably born and that their mother (as they could prove by witnesses), had been bought with payment, *i.e.*, her father had received a wedding gift for her, which was apparently necessary to constitute a regular marriage. It was true they said that they had not pressed their claim against their kinsman but now that the property had passed to a stranger they could no longer remain silent. Thorolf denied the statement about the wedding gift and declared that the mother of the claimants had been really carried off by force and taken home as a captive (*op. cit.*, ch. ix). This refusal was the cause of Thorolf's eventual undoing.

To that we will now turn and describe the dramatic close of his career. We have seen how he became one of Harald's chief champions. How he fought at Hafrsfjord and afterwards inherited two great estates, and was also given the very lucrative post of collector of the skatt or tribute paid by the Finns. The mention of Finns introduces an interesting issue. Who were the Finns referred to in the early Norwegian Sagas? The natural reply would be that they were the Lapps, as has sometimes been suggested, but this seems to me to be very improbable; the Lapps are not mentioned (at all events by that name) for a considerable time after this, and their

tradition is that they were late intruders into the land which they now occupy, which is called Finmark. They brought with them a strain of reindeer differing considerably from those of early times in Scandinavia and in all probability they came from Russian Lappland, which is known as Lappmark. The Finns it will be remembered were treated very largely as equals by the Norwegians who inter-married with them. King Harald himself had a Finn wife, and their women are described as comely and their men as able artificers in metal and sword makers. They were also fighting men. In all respects therefore, except their language, they differed from the small ill-favoured, dark skinned dwarf Lapps. They were also found wandering far to the south of the habitat of the Lapps and especially in the northern provinces of Sweden, and in the forests and fells of the Uplands of Norway, and were doubtless close akin to the true Finns of Finland; tall, flaxen-haired men who were hunters and fishermen, and also betimes cultivators of the soil, and whose focus was the two sides of the Bothnian Gulf, but who travelled far and wide in their occupation and left their name in many places in the unenclosed forests and mountain lands of the great peninsula. They were also known as Quens, and were at feud with another Finnic race, the "Carelians," who had a higher culture than their own, who came from the country surrounding the great Russian lakes, and whose national epic was the Kalevala. It seems to me plain that it was from these true Finns who were living, not in the remote and barren district of the North Cape, but on the eastern frontiers of the Thronde people and in the northern parts of Sweden, that the Norwegians took tribute.

Let us now turn to Thorolf's intercourse with them. We are told in Egil's Saga that in the winter Thorolf took his way up to the fells with a force of not less than 90 men, whereas it had been usual for the king's stewards to have only 30 men with them, and sometimes fewer. He also took with him plenty of goods for trading and appointed a meeting with the Finns, where he took tribute and held a fair. They were all friendly, and he went far and wide about Finmark, but when he reached the fells towards the East he heard that the Carelians were come from the East to trade with the Finns and also to plunder.

Thorolf set Finns to spy out the movements of the invaders, and followed after in search of them. He came upon 30 of them in one encampment, all of whom he slew. Presently he did the same to 15 or 20 others. He killed in all nearly a hundred, and having taken a large booty, went home in the spring. This shows that winter was the season for travelling and fighting in those parts.

Thorolf then returned home to Sandness. He had a long ship built, which was large and had a dragon's head, and it was well appointed. He gathered great stores in Halogaland, and employed his men in herring and other fishing, also in seal hunting and egg gathering, and he never had fewer than a hundred men about him.

That summer King Harald went to Halogaland and banquets were made ready for his coming, both on his estates and those of the liegemen and great landowners. Thorolf's banquet was an especially costly one, and he asked a great company of the best men to meet the king. Altogether he had 500 men there, while the king had only 300, which was a dangerous contrast in the presence of one so jealous as Harald was.

Thorolf caused a large granary, where the drinking was to take place, to be prepared, for there was no hall large enough to hold them. The building was hung round with shields. The king sat in the high seat, and when the high table was filled with Thorolf's men he looked round and turned red, and men thought he was angry. The banquet was splendid and everything was of the best but Harald looked gloomy, and he remained for three days and three nights, which was the usual length of these Royal entertainments. On the third day, when the king was to leave, Thorolf offered to go down to the strand with him, and there was moored off the land the great dragon ship that he had had built, with its awning and tackling complete. He gave the ship to the king, like Wolsey gave his palace to Henry the Eighth, and assured him he had gathered all these men not as a rival but to show him honour. The king was pleased and cheerful and merry, and they parted good friends. Harald then went northward through Halogaland, and then south as the summer went on with banquets all the way.

Among his hosts were the sons of Hildirida, who as we have seen had a grievance against Thorolf because they considered he had robbed them of their patrimony. They gave the king a three nights banquet, and took the opportunity to poison his mind against his late host, whom they charged with being very ambitious; of keeping a great guard round him, like a king, and further, that he was very wealthy. It was even said that he proposed to make himself king of Halogaland and Naumdale, and that the force he had got together was meant to fight the king, and that, in fact, he had intended to kill him at the banquet by setting fire to the dining hall, and the only reason that

he had for entertaining him in the granary was that he did not like to destroy his beautiful hall. Thus did the two brothers arouse the king's jealousy and anger, and he was inclined to believe what he had been told.

Meanwhile Thorolf ordered Thorgils, his house-steward, who had been his forecastle man and standard bearer, and had fought with him in the great battle of Hافرfsfiord, to get together all the king's tribute which he had collected from the Finns, to put it on board a large ship of burden with 20 men on board and to go and meet the king. It was clear that Harald was angry, but he went to the ship where Thorgils had set out the furs. The show was much larger and better than was expected and Harald became more pacified and was especially pleased with the bear skins and other valuables which Thorolf had sent him. He nevertheless remarked that it was a great pity that the latter should have been unfaithful to him and plotted his death. The people round merely remarked that it was a slander of wicked men who had misled the king in this matter.

That winter Thorolf went again to the Finn land. He held a fair with the Finns and travelled far and wide over the country, and when he reached the far East there came to him some Quens saying they were sent by Faravid, king of Quenland, because the Carelians were harrying his land, and asked Thorolf for help, and saying he should have a share of the booty equal to the king's share, and each of his men as much as two Quens. Among the Finns the law was, that the king should take one-third, as well as all the bearskins and sables, and his men the rest.

“ Finmark,” says our author, “ is a wide track. It is bounded westward by the sea, from which large

firths run up into the land; the sea also bounds it, going northward and round to the east; southward lies Norway, while Finmark stretches along nearly all the inland region, bounded on the west by Halogaland." This shows that by Finmark was then meant a great deal more than the modern Finmark now inhabited by the Lapps.

"Eastward from Naumland," continues our author, "is Jemteland, then Helsingjaland and Kwenland, then Finland, then Kirialand, *i.e.*, Carelia. Bounding all these lands on the north lies Finmark, and there are wide inhabited fell districts, some in dales and some by lakes."

When Thorolf came to Quenland and met King Faravid they prepared to march. There were 300 Quens and 100 Norsemen, and they went by the upper way over Finmark and came to where the Carelians, who had been harrying the Quens, were camped in the fen. In the battle that followed the Norsemen charged furiously, carrying shields stronger than those of the Quens. There was great slaughter among the Carelians. Many fell and some fled, and the two allies took an immense booty and returned to Quenland, whence Thorolf went home by way of the fell to Vefsnir and then to his farm at Sandness, and in the spring went with his men north to Torgar.

Meanwhile the sons of Hildirida háð been living with the king and continued to slander Thorolf, assuring Harald that he had kept back a larger portion of the booty than he had sent. Thus, he had sent only three bear skins, but his traducers declared they knew for certain he had kept back 30 skins. All this made the king very angry. In the summer Thorolf went south to Thronðheim, taking with him all the tribute and much wealth,

and 90 men besides. They were entertained magnificently in the guest hall. There his friend Aulvir told him what had happened, and what his enemies had reported to the king. He asked Aulvir to plead with Harald for him, for said he, “I shall be short spoken if he chooses to believe the lies of wicked men rather than the truth and honesty he will find in me.” Aulvir returned and told Thorolf he had spoken to the king, but knew not what was in his mind. The latter then determined to go himself. He accordingly went, and arrived when Harald was having his meal, and when he went into the hall he saluted the king, who accepted his greeting and bade them serve him with drink. Thorolf then told him he had brought him not only the tribute, but part of the booty his own men had captured in Finmark. The king said he expected nothing but good from him, for he had deserved nothing else from the generous way he himself had treated Thorolf. But men, he added, told two tales as to his intention towards himself. Thorolf said that the men who spoke thus were his bitterest enemies and would pay dearly some time for their slanders. Next day he brought in the tribute and counted it in the king’s presence, adding some bear skins and sable skins. Still the king was unsatisfied, and said that Thorolf had not been faithful to him, to which he replied with dignity, pointing to what he had done and suffered in his cause.

Hildirida’s sons, when attacking Thorolf, had suggested that Harald, in order to secure his loyalty, should keep him more close to himself, and at his Court. There he would be removed from possible temptations, as he was very powerful in the North, where he had many retainers. Harald accordingly suggested to Thorolf that he should join his guard and bear his banner. The latter, we read,

looked on either hand where stood his housecarls and replied that, in regard to the titles and grants he had made him, Harald must have his own way, but he could not desert his faithful followers as long as he had means to keep them, and he invited the king to visit him again at his home and inquire for himself, from those who knew him, what they thought of his loyalty. Harald replied that he would not again accept entertainment from him, and he accordingly left.

When he had gone, Harald gave Hildirida's sons the Royal Stewardship Thorolf had had in Halogaland, and also his office of tax-gatherer in Finland. He also deprived him of Torgar, and all the property Brigjolf had had, and he sent messengers to tell Thorolf what he had done. Thereupon the latter got together the ships that belonged to him, and put on board all the chattels he could carry and with all his people, both freemen and thralls, sailed northward to his farm at Sandness, where he kept up no fewer men, and no less state than before.

The two sons of Hildirida now proceeded to Finnmark to collect the tribute, taking 30 men with them. The same winter Thorolf went up on the fell again with a hundred men, and went straight to Quenland and took counsel with King Faravid, and again made a joint expedition against the land of the Carelians with 400 men, and they attacked such districts as they deemed they could overmatch. In the spring he went home to his farm and employed his men at the fishing at Vagar (now Vaagen, in the south of the island called Ostvangö, in Halogaland), probably the cod fishing, and also in herring fishing, and had the catch taken to his farm.

We now come to a particularly interesting paragraph in the Saga. Thorolf we are told had

a large ship which was waiting to put to sea. It was well appointed in every way, beautifully painted down to the sea line, the sails were striped with blue and red, and the tackling was as good as the ship. He had it made ready and put on board some of his domestics (housecarls) as a crew and freighted it with dried fish, hides, ermine, and grey furs in abundance, and other skins he had got from the fell, and it was commanded by Thorgils Yeller. The ship set sail westward for England to buy him clothes and other supplies. It first steered southwards along the coast and then westward along the North Sea to England, where they found a good market and loaded the ship with wheat, honey, wine, and clothes, and sailing in the autumn, returned with a fair wind and came to Hordaland.

There were at this time two brothers, named Hallvard the Hardfarer and Sigtrygg the Swiftfarer, sons of a wealthy man who had an estate in Hising. They were employed as his agents by the king, and had been sent by him on many dangerous errands, either for getting rid of his enemies or in confiscating their goods. They had a large following, but their occupation did not make them popular, although the king prized them highly. They were valiant and very wary, and were famous walkers, either on foot or with snow shoes.

Meanwhile the king was present at a banquet in Hordaland, and ordered the two brothers, to waylay the ship. They accordingly pursued it northwards, whither they were told it had gone, on two vessels. They found it in Fir Sound and knew it at once, and laid one of their own vessels on the seaward side of it.

Some of the men then landed and climbed on the ship by the gangways. Thorgils and his men

were taken completely by surprise, and had no time to seize their weapons, and were put on shore without arms, and with nothing but the clothes they wore. Hallvard's men now pulled up the gangways, loosed the cables, and towed out the ship, then turned about and sailed southward along the coast till they met the king, to whom they brought the ship and all its cargo.

Thorgils and his crew managed to get transport, and went to Kueldulf, Thorolf's father, and told him of the mishap which had occurred. The old man said things had only happened as he had foretold, namely, that his son's friendship with Harald would never bring him good luck. "I don't mind his money-loss, but I fear he will underrate the power of his enemies." He told Thorgils to tell this to Thorolf. He then counselled Thorgils himself to leave Norway and take service with the King of England, of Denmark, or of Sweden, and he gave him a rowing cutter with tackling complete, with an awning and provisions, and all things necessary for their journey.

Thorgils then set out and did not stop till he had rejoined Thorolf and told him what had happened. The latter took his loss philosophically, and said he "should not be short of money, for 'twas good to be in partnership with a king." He then bought meal and what was needed to maintain his people, but he said that his housecarls must be for a time less smartly attired than they had been. In order to maintain his position he now sold some of his lands and mortgaged other parts, but spent as much, and had quite as many men with him as before, and also continued his feasts and hospitality as lavishly as ever.

When the spring came and the snow and ice were loosened Thorolf launched a large warship,

had it made ready, and manned it with a hundred men, all well armed, and when a fair wind came he steered south for Byrda, along the coast, and then continued an outer course outside the islands, and at times along the channels between fell slopes, and thus they sailed southwards and then eastwards, and met with no one till they came to the Vik. There they heard that King Harald was in the Vik, and that he proposed in the summer to go into the Uplands. The people there knew nothing of Thorolf's voyage. He held on to Denmark, and thence into the Baltic, where he harried, but only got an indifferent booty, and in the autumn returned to Denmark. At that time the fleet at Eyrar was breaking up, and there had been many Norse ships there as usual. Thorolf let them all sail past without disclosing his presence. One day he sailed into Mostrar Sound and saw a large trading ship which had come from Eyrar. The steersman was named Thorir Thrum, he was the steward of Harald's great farm at Thruma, where the king used to make a long stay when he was in the Vik; it required much provisioning, and Thorir had gone to Eyrar to buy a cargo of malt, wheat, and honey for Harald, for which the king had supplied him with ample means. Thorolf challenged Thorir to fight, but the latter had not sufficient force to resist, so he yielded. Thorolf thereupon carried off the ship, and put Thorir on shore on an island. He then sailed inwards along the coast until he came to the mouth of the Elf, where he waited for the night, and when it was dark he steered up the river and made for the farm buildings belonging to Hallvard and Sigtrygg, who had recently robbed him of his own ship and had taken it for a voyage to England. He and his men formed a ring round the buildings, then raised

a war shout which awoke those inside, who seized their weapons. Thorgeir fled from his bed chamber. The farm was surrounded with high wooden palings. Grasping the stakes he swung himself over, Thorgils Yeller, Thorolf's benchman, was close by and struck him with his sword, cutting off his hand, but he escaped to the wood. His brother Thord, however, was slain with 20 of his men. The farm was plundered and burnt, and Thorolf and his men then withdrew again, and went down to the river. They sailed north to the Vik, where they met with another merchant vessel, belonging to the men of Vik, laden with malt and meal. It was defenceless and also surrendered and its crew were disarmed and put on shore. Thorolf and his men again proceeded on their way with their three ships. We are told they took the high way of the sea to Lidandisness. They moved quickly, raiding cattle on their way on headland and shore. They then held a course further out, but pillaged wherever they touched land. When he came near the Firths Thorolf turned inwards in order to go and see his father, to whom he described his summer voyage. The latter told him he had once warned him that he would get no good by entering Harald's service. He now warned him again of the consequences of trying to put his forces against those of the king. He told him plainly that he was not strong enough to do this successfully and that all who had hitherto tried had failed. He said further, as they parted, that he foresaw that they would never meet again. Thorolf now proceeded onward, but no tidings of him were heard, says our author (who was evidently writing from the narratives of contemporary witnesses) until he reached his home at Sandness, where he stored all the cargoes he had

brought with him, and there was no lack of provisions through the winter (*Ib.* chap. xix.).

It was not to be expected that Thorolf's recent action would be tolerated by the king whose hold on his unruly subjects would not bear the strain of such a rebuff if it went unpunished, nor was it likely that the two brothers Hallvard and Sigtrygg would quietly tolerate the burning and plundering of their home. The king himself had been in Viken during Thorolf's buccaneering tour, he now went to the Uplands, where he stayed through the autumn with a large force, and the two brothers just named were with him. They asked his leave to take their usual following with which to attack Thorolf in his home. The king warned them of the dangers they would incur, for Thorolf was a brave and powerful opponent. They replied that they had been accustomed to meet risks when the odds were against them and had been hitherto successful. They made preparations accordingly, and in the spring received the king's consent to go. Although many prophesied ill luck Harald hoped they would return with Thorolf's head, and much rich plunder. They took two ships and 200 men with them and sailed out of the Firth with a north-east wind, which was a head wind for those going northwards.

The king was at Ladir when the brothers set out, and he seems to have distrusted their power to compass what they had in hand, and himself hastily got ready four ships in which he put a large force, and they rowed up the Firth by Beitis-Sea inwards to the isthmus of Eida.

There he left his ships and crossed the isthmus to Naumdale, where he took others belonging to the great landowners, with his guard, which was

400 men strong, with him. He had six well manned and equipped ships. They had to face a head wind so had to row night and day, for the night was then light enough to travel by. They arrived at Sandness, Thorolf's home, at sunset, and saw lying there, with its awning spread, a long ship which they knew to be Thorolf's. He had prepared to escape, and had ordered the ale for the parting carousal. The king bade his men to disembark and to raise his standard. It was a short distance only to the farm buildings. Thorolf's watchmen, who clearly did not know what was coming, were all drinking instead of being at their posts. The hall was surrounded. A war blast was sounded on the king's trumpet, and a war whoop came from his men. Thereupon Thorolf's dependents sprang to their weapons, for each man's weapon hung over his seat. The king caused a proclamation to be issued, bidding women, children, old men, thralls, and bondmen, to come out. Sigridr, Thorolf's wife, and her maids, then came out. She asked if the sons of Kari of Berdla were there. They both came forward and she asked them to take her to the king. She then asked him if anything would reconcile him to Thorolf. He replied that if he asked for mercy his life and limb should be spared, but as to his men, they must be punished for their misdeeds as the law provided. Thereupon Aulvir, son of Kari, who was an old friend of Thorolf's, went out to interview him. He reported what the king had said. The reply was a haughty and characteristic refusal to accept any compulsory terms from Harald. He asked that they might have their freedom, adding ambiguously, that things should then go their course, that is, he challenged him to fight it out. The king replied that he would not waste the lives of his men in

this way, and ordered them to fire the hall. The wood was dry, the timbers were tarred, and the roof covered with birchbark, so the fire soon caught. Thorolf ordered his men to break up the wainscoating and to take the gable beams, and with them to burst through into the hall. When they got a beam, as many men as could hold on, seized it, and they rammed at the corner so effectively that the clamps flew out, and the walls started asunder, and there was a wide opening. Through this Thorolf led the way, followed by Thorgils the Yeller, and then the rest. There was a desperate fight, and for a while it was uncertain which side would win, for the wall of the building protected the rear of Thorolf's forces.

Many men were lost on the king's side before the hall began to burn, then the fire attacked Thorolf's side, and many of them fell. Thorolf rushed forward and hewed about him on either side. “There was small need to bind the wounds of those who encountered him,” says the graphic Saga writer.

He made for the king's standard, and at this time his henchman Thorgils the Yeller fell. When he himself reached the shield-wall he struck down the royal standard-bearer saying, “Now am I but three feet short of my aim,” meaning doubtless the king. There they all set on him with sword and spear.

The king gave him his death blow, and he fell forward at his feet. Harald then called out to them to cease fighting, which they did, and his men returned to their ships.

He then turned to Aulvir Knuf, and bade him take his kinsman Thorolf and give him honourable burial, and also to bury the rest of the dead, and to see to the wounded who had hopes of life, nor

should any be allowed to plunder, seeing the place was now his property. This showed unusual magnanimity in one who had, in the latter days at all events, been sorely tried by the splendid warrior Thorolf. When the king reached his ships he went round to superintend the care of the wounded, and confessed he had lost many of his men in the fight.

It was only on his return voyage southwards that he realized what a serious danger he had run, for as the day wore on they came upon many rowing vessels in all the sounds between the islands, carrying men who were replying to Thorolf's summons to go to his help against the men of Hallvard and Sigtrygg, who said they had been delayed by the north wind and took no part in the fight. On their return home, we are told, the latter were much mocked at.

The king and his men went on their ships to Naumdale. There they left them and travelled overland to Thronðheim and on to Ladir.

The two brothers Aulvir and Eyvind remained behind awhile at Sandness to bury the dead. Thorolf was buried with all customary honours in the case of a man of wealth and renown, and they set a memorial stone over him, and also looked after the wounded. They also arranged with Sigridr about the house, but most of the house-furniture, table service, and clothing were burnt.

On their return to the king they were sad and down-spirited, and spoke little with others, for they had been very close friends with Thorolf, and they asked Harald to be allowed to go home to their farms, for they had no heart to share drink and seat with those who had fought against their kinsman Thorolf. The king refused this and

presently had the brothers summoned to him in his audience hall. He said they had been long with him and had borne themselves like men, and satisfied him in everything. He then told Eyvind to go north to Halogaland, and gave him Thorolf's widow, Sigridr, in marriage, with all the wealth that had belonged to him, and said he should have his friendship as long as he could keep it. Aulvir, he said, he could not spare, on account of his skill as a skald, and he must remain with him. The brothers were very grateful to the king for the honours he had given them and gladly accepted his offer. Eyvind, having got a good and suitable ship, went north to Alost and Sandness, where he was welcomed by Sigridr, the widow of two great Norsemen. He shewed her the consent to their marriage which the king had given, and they were married. He thus became the owner of Sandness and all Thorolf's property, and was now a wealthy man. One of his sons, Fid, surnamed the Squinter, married Gunhilda, the daughter of iarl Hakon, and of Ingibiorg, daughter of King Harald, and was the father of the famous skald, Eyvind Skald-spiller (*Ib.*, xxii.).

After Thorolf's death, Kettle Haening, his kinsman and close friend, who had intended fighting by his side, but was prevented by the king's rapid journey, did not wait long to revenge him. He took a ship and 60 men, and went to Torgar, where Hildirida's sons lived. Their slanders had been, as we have seen, the cause of the king's turning against him. They only had a few people with them. Haening killed them both and appropriated all their wealth that he could lay his hands upon, including their two largest ships of burden. In one of them he shipped his booty and cattle, and also took his wife and children. His foster-brother,

Bang, a man of good family, and wealthy, steered the ship, as well as his late ship-mates, and they made for Iceland and settled at Hofi, near East River. His son Hrafn became the first law-man in Iceland (*Ib.*, ch. xxiii).

When the old and wise Viking, Kueldulf, heard of the death of his famous son Thorolf, he took to his bed from sorrow and age. He was cheered by his other son Skallagrim, who reminded him that anything was better than to become useless and bedridden; "it were better they should determine to revenge Thorolf's death." Kueldulf, we are told, wrote a song. This is preserved in Egil's Saga, and I follow Mr. Green's translation:—

Thorolf in Northern isle
(O cruel Norns!) is dead.
Too soon the Thunder God
Hath ta'en my warrior son.
Thor's heavy wrestler, age,
Holds my weak limbs from fray;
Though keen my spirit spurs,
No speedy vengeance mine.

(*Op. cit.*, xx. iv.).

That summer the king went to the Uplands, and in the autumn, westward to Valdres, and as far as Vors. Aulvir, we are told, asked him if he would pay wehrgeld or blood atonement to Thorolf's father and brother, for having slain him. The king consented to do so if they would go and see him. Aulvir at once set off for the Firths to meet them, and he remained for some time with his old friends. He told Kueldulf the details of his son's death, and that it was the king who had given him his death wound, and said that Thorolf fell forward when he died. Upon which the fierce old man replied that there was a saying "that he would be avenged who fell forward, and that vengeance would reach him who stood before him."

Aulvir told his friends that if they would go to the king and crave atonement it would be a journey to their honour, and he pressed them to do so. Kueldulf said he was too old to travel and he meant to sit at home. Grim said he had no errand thither. He declared the king would find him too fluent of speech, and he would not long pray for atonement. Aulvir said he would have no need to speak as he himself would be their spokesman. Presently he consented to go, and fixed a time to do so. He accordingly prepared for the journey, and selected the strongest and bravest men from his household, twelve in all. Among them, one was a wealthy landowner, some were his housecarles, one of them “a coal biter,” *i.e.*, one who could bite live coals, and two others, sons of Thororna, who was skilled in magic.

They set sail in one of his ships and went along the coast southward to Ostra Firth, then by land up to the lake of Vors. They arrived when the king was being entertained at table there. When Grim reached the door he sent for Aulvir and his men to come out. Having greeted them, he invited them in. Grim told his followers that it was customary for men to enter the king’s presence weaponless. Six therefore took off their weapons and went in, while the other six remained outside with their arms on. Aulvir then approached the king, with Grim behind him. The former was the spokesman and begged that Harald would confer some fitting honour upon Grim, who deserved it better than many who had been so treated, and that it would please his people, and especially himself, if he did so. Several others present supported Aulvir’s words.

The king then turned to Grim, who was called Skallagrim from being bald, and was taller than the

others by a head. He asked him to become his liegeman and to join his guard, and he would honour him and make him atonement for his brother's death if he should deserve it, but he must know better how to keep troth than he had done. This was not a conciliatory speech to make to a proud, brave man. Grim said his brother was far superior to himself, and yet he got no luck with the king. Nor would he accept his offer, for he could see no chance of faring better than his brother in return for honest and worthy service.

The king was silent and became blood-red with fury. Aulvir now bade Grim and his men secure their weapons and begone with all haste. He and many others escorted Grim to the waterside. Aulvir expressed his disappointment that his efforts had failed, and bade them haste homewards and keep well out of the way of the king and his men. They accordingly set off, while Aulvir and his men dismantled the boats which were lying on the shores of the lake, so that they could not be used in pursuit. Meanwhile a large body of armed men were seen advancing rapidly towards them. When Grim and his men withdrew from the audience Harald regained his speech. He was very angry, and declared "the bald-head" to be full of wolfishness, and a dangerous person, and ordered his men to pursue and kill him. They found no boats, however, fit to travel in, and had to return. Grim went back to his father, who was pleased that he had refused to join the king's service. Father and son now discussed what they should do, since it was clear that Norway had become a very dangerous place for them, and they determined to emigrate to Iceland, for good reports had reached them about the land to be had there, where men could take land free of cost, and choose their households

where they willed, while several of their relations had gone there, notably Ingolf Arnarson, and his companions.

In the spring Kueldulf and his son made ready their ships. We are told they had plenty to choose from. They selected two large ships of burden, and put 30 strong men in each, beside women and children, and all the moveable goods they could carry, but no one dared buy their lands for fear of the king, and when ready they sailed away, first to the Solundir islands, off the mouth of Sogne-firth, which were many and large and so cut into by bays that few men knew all their havens.

From this vantage the emigrants kept a look-out for the return of a ship laden with merchandise, and which had been sent by Harald under the command of Hallvard and Sigtrygg (who had been the mortal enemies of Thorolf), to bring home the family of his uncle Guthrom, the iarl of Viken, who had died. Presently the ship was espied by Grim, who was on the look-out. He had a good sight, and knew the vessel which had once belonged to Thorgils. He watched them lay to in the haven in the evening and reported what he had seen to his father. They accordingly set their boats in order and put 20 men in each. Kueldulf steered one and Grim the other, and they rowed for their enemy's ship, but when they came near where it lay they put into land.

Hallvard's men had put an awning over their ship and laid down to sleep. When Kueldulf's force came upon them, the watchman who sat at the gangway leapt up and called to his shipmates, and bade the men rise, for an enemy was upon them. Upon which they took to their weapons, but the two gangways were blocked by the two

assailants, father and son. Kueldulf and some of his men were now seized with the fervour and war madness which sometimes seized the Norsemen; this was incited, doubtless, by the memory of his son's death. He now rushed on board his enemy's ship and ordered his men to go along the outer way of the gunwale and cut down the awning from its forks, while he himself rushed aft to the stern-castle, and he and his men slew all they came across. Grim did the same at his end of the ship, nor did they stay their hands till it was "cleared." When Kueldulf came aft to the stern-castle he brandished high his axe and smote Hallvard with it and cut him through helm and head, so that the axe sank in up to the shaft. He snatched it back so forcibly that it carried Hallvard's body aloft, and he flung him overboard. Grim cleared the fore-castle and slew Sigtrygg. Many of the victims had plunged into the sea, but Grim took one of the boats and rowed after them, and slew all that were swimming. The two brothers lost 50 men in the struggle. Their ship became the prey of the victors, who only gave their lives to two or three of the crew whom they deemed of least count. From them they heard what had been the motive of their voyage. Thereupon they looked over the slain on board and found that more had perished by drowning than those who had fallen in the ship. Among those who had thus perished were two boys of 12 and 10; sons of Guthorm, Harald's uncle, who had recently died.

Grim now released the men who had been spared, and bade them go to their master Harald, and tell him what they had seen and heard, and he also sent the king a verse in which he referred to what he had done as revenging the death of a noble warrior (*Op. cit.*, ch. xxviii.).

Grim and his men took possession of the captured ship and cargo, and they made an exchange, loading the ship they had taken with the contents of one of their own, which was smaller, and which they sank by boring holes and putting stones in it. When the wind was favourable they set out for sea.

It was reported of the bareserks, and other men possessed with the bareserk fury, that they were so strong that no one could resist them, but when it abated they were weaker than their wont. It was so now with the old man Kueldulf, who felt so exhausted from the onset he had made that he was utterly weak, and lay in his bed. In their voyage to Iceland, Kueldulf commanded the captured ship and his son the other. For a while the two ships kept together, and were long in sight of each other. Meanwhile Kueldulf's sickness increased, and as he felt death coming near, he summoned his shipmates and told them he had never been an ailing man, but if so be that he died they were to make a coffin and put him overboard, and he thought it likely that he would be drifted to Iceland. They were further to bear his greeting to his son Grim, and to tell him that if he reached Iceland, and (as might be the case) he himself should reach it first, that Grim should choose a homestead as near as possible to the spot where the coffin landed. He soon after died, and his shipmates did as he had bidden them, and they shot his coffin into the sea. An old friend of Kueldulf and his son, also called Grim, son of Thorir Kattleson, who was travelling with them, now took charge of the ship. When he reached Iceland, he took it up a narrow river, called the Gufer river, and there unshipped the cargo and remained over the first winter. When they explored the land along the sea shore, inwards and outwards, they

had not gone far when they found Kueldulf's coffin cast up in a creek. They took it to the ness close by, and raised a pile of stones over it.

Harald, not unnaturally, confiscated all the lands which Kueldulf and his son had possessed in Norway, as well as their other property, and sought out all those who had supported them and had been in their confidence. He laid a heavy hand on all their relatives and friends. Some he punished, and many fled away and sought refuge either in the land or outside it. Among them was Yngvar, Grim's father-in-law. He turned all the property he could dispose of into chattels that could be moved, and having secured a good sea-going ship, set off for Iceland, where he heard that Grim had settled. He and his men were welcomed by him, and spent the winter with, and accepted a farm from him on Swan Ness (*Ib.*, ch. xxx.).

There is another story in Egil's Saga which illustrates graphically the rough life of men in King Harald's time, and the way in which he pursued wrong-doers and breakers of the public peace. The hero, if such he should be called, was named Biorn. He was the son of Brynjolf, the son of another Biorn, who was a great personage in Sogn.

The younger Biorn was a famous traveller, both as a freebooter and trader, and a tough man withal. On one occasion he was at a banquet where there was present a good-looking maiden called Thora, styled Lacehand, the sister of Thorir Hroaldsson previously mentioned. Biorn sought her in marriage, but Thorir refused his consent. The same autumn the former took a well-equipped long ship to the Firths, and went to Thorir's house when he was not at home and carried her off to his father's house

at Aurland, and there they spent the winter together. He wished to marry her, but Brynjolf refused to allow such a thing in his house, for he was a great friend of Thorir's, and sent to the latter to offer him redress for what his son had done. Thorir replied that the only atonement possible was to send his sister home again. This Biorn would not consent to, and so matters remained awhile. Next spring he asked his father for a long ship and a crew, that he might go freebooting. Brynjolf replied, saying he would doubtless, if he got the ship, use it against his wishes, and that he had already had enough trouble with him, but he offered him a trading vessel laden with goods for trafficking, and bade him go south to Dublin, which he said was well spoken of as a mart, and he also provided him with a crew. To this Biorn consented, and got a ship ready, which was manned with 12 men, which he took to his father's house at Aurland. He found his mother there, sitting in her bower or parlour with several maidens, among whom was Thora. Biorn told them that he was determined Thora should go with him. His mother, as is the usual way of mothers, took his part and helped him, and Thora's clothes and trinkets were duly put together ready. That night they went out together to Biorn's ship. They had a bad, stormy passage, and presently reached the east coast of Shetland during a gale, and the ship was finally wrecked in making land at Hrossey, now Mainland, in Orkney. They took shelter in the borg or Pictish tower there, into which they moved their goods, and then proceeded to repair their ship, and there he married Thora (*Ib.*, xxxii). A little before winter news reached them that a long ship had come to the Orkneys with messages from King Harald, ordering Iarl Sigurd to kill

Biorn wherever he was found. The same orders were sent to the Sudereys and also to Dublin. Biorn also heard that he had been outlawed in Norway, and realised the danger of his position, and in the spring, as soon as the weather was settled, he got a good wind and sailed for Iceland, where he was welcomed by Grim, who did not know what had happened. Biorn was a close friend and foster-brother of Thorolf, who was also a friend of Biorn's father, Brynjolf, and so Biorn and Thora took up their abode with Grim. In the autumn, however, ships came from Norway with full tidings of what had really occurred, and that Biorn had actually married Thora without the consent of her family and had been outlawed by King Harald. When he heard this Grim was furious, for he was a great friend of Thorir. Grim's son Thorolf, however, pleaded for him, as did others, and he was presently appeased and bade them do what they liked in the matter. Thora had meanwhile had a daughter, who had been sprinkled with water and was called Asgerd, while Thorolf became a close friend of Biorn. He asked his father what he counselled should be done, for Biorn had a great wish to return to Norway, and he further begged him to send men thither to make atonement for him, for he thought Thorir would greatly honour his counsel. He accordingly sent deputies to Norway, and when they arrived they were joined by Brynjolf, who also offered to make atonement for his son. Thorir on his side agreed to accept this, and he put up the messengers from Iceland in his house for the winter, when they went back with their message. Biorn stayed a third winter in Norway, and then returned for his wife. At her own request they left their child Asgerd with Grim's wife Bera, the daughter and heiress of Yngvar, who had been its foster-mother, and she

was brought up in Grim's family. Thorolf, Grim's son, went to Norway with Biorn. The voyage was a successful one, and they duly reached Sogn, and thence went to Biorn's father, where the atonement was duly ratified. One condition was that Thorir paid such of his property in his house as belonged to his sister to Thora, and afterwards, we are told, the two remained good brothers-in-law and friends. (*Ib.*, xxxv.).

I have deemed it right to give at length these most valuable and illuminating extracts from the Egil Saga as a very notable and instructive picture of the inner life of the Norsemen in the time of King Harald. What would not we give for a similar picture, with equal authority (and there are others), illustrating the parallel condition of the English race at the same time? I have given the story in the great Saga writer's own words, and have taken it from Mr. W. C. Green's racy translation, upon which I could not improve. Let us now return to the King.

After the battle of Hafrsfjord, says the Heimskringla, King Harald found nothing to withstand him in all Norway, for all his greatest foemen were fallen. Certain of them had migrated to other lands, and thus were the waste lands peopled far and wide. Jantaland and Helsingland were then occupied, though both of them had already got some settlers (*Op. cit.*, ch. 20).

Harald's conquest of the Western coasts of Norway, and his making their proud and free landowners pay taxes was a hard blow for many of them. And among other consequence (as told in his life) were that the *Outlands* were discovered and peopled, namely, the Faroes and Iceland. Many again went to Shetland and many others adopted a Viking's life and went warring and buccaneering

in the West. They abode largely, in the winter, in the Orkneys and the Sudereys, or Hebrides (as they are now called), but in the summer they greatly ravaged Norway and caused much trouble there. There were many, however, who sided with Harald and became his men. Probably the bonders or farmers, who had suffered much from their piratical countrymen, were the latter's chief recruits. When he heard how the fugitives who had fled westward had turned their weapons on their old home of Norway, he determined on a vigorous campaign against them. He on several occasions made summer trips with his fleet across the North Sea, and searched the islands and skerries and drove them from their haunts out to sea. Growing tired of this privateering warfare, he determined on a greater effort, and collected a large fleet and made straight for Shetland and there slew all the Vikings who did not flee.

He then went to the Orkneys, which he entirely cleared of their Vikings, and then to the Sudereys or South islands, where he also harried and slew many Vikings "who were captains of bands" there. He had many fights, but always won the day. Then he harried in Scotland. When he arrived in the Isle of Man all the people, having heard of his previous doings, fled to Scotland, and that island was depopulated, and all the property in it was removed away, and thus when he and his men landed they secured no booty.

In these battles Ivar, son of Rognwald, iarl of Mere was killed, and as a recompense King Harald offered his father the iarldom of the Orkneys and the Shetlands, but Rognwald declined the gift. He probably did not relish ruling a depopulated and devastated land and he gave it over to his

brother Sigurd, who stayed behind when the King and his host returned to Norway. Harald confirmed his appointment.

Rognwald left two sons Rolf and Thorir, by Hilda, daughter of Rolf Regia, and also left three other sons, whose mothers were not high born, and who were called Halladr, Einar, and Hrollaug. They were a good deal older than the two sons just named and had reached manhood when the latter were still children. Rolf adopted the career of a Viking. He was so big that no horse could carry him, so that he used to march afoot and was hence known as the Ganger. He was continually harrying in the East lands (*i.e.*, East of the Baltic). On one occasion when he was returning thence he was apparently short of provisions and ran into the Vik, and there seized a number of cattle on the shore. This form of plundering was known as strand-slaughtering. Harald happened to be then in Viken and was very angry since he had forbidden all such piratical acts in his own dominions. He therefore summoned a Thing and there proclaimed Rolf an outlaw, nor did the appeals of his mother Hilda avail to save the culprit. She then sang a song in which she warned the King that it was rather a rash thing to quarrel with a wolf of Odin's lineage and that if he withdrew to the forest he would grievously harry his flock. Rolf thereupon went westward to the Sudereys and thence to Valland, *i.e.*, the Frankish kingdom, where, as Ari says, he founded a mighty iarldom, which he peopled with Northmen, and which was afterwards called Normandy (Harald Fairhair's Saga, ch. xxiv.). In Olaf Trygvissón's Saga we read that Harald, having found that on his return home the Scotch and Irish Vikings had descended on the Sudereys (*i.e.*, the Hebrides), sent Ketil Flatnose, son of Biorn

the ungartered, into the West to win them back. Ketil left his son Biorn to look after his estates in Norway, and went West with his wife and other children. Having reduced the Sudereys, he made himself chief of them, and refused to pay taxes to Harald, who thereupon seized all his estates in Norway and drove away his son Biorn (*Op. cit.*, ch. 121).

The widespread conquests of Harald, which involved the subjugation or suppression of such a number of previously independent communities under their own rulers and owners, and the extirpation or disappearance by emigration of the latter, necessitated a revision of the administrative machinery of the Country on an equivalent scale. Harald proceeded to divide it afresh. At first he put the larger areas under the control of his most trusted dependents, giving each of them the title of iarl. He deputed to each of them a virtually supreme jurisdiction within his province subject only to his own dominant authority in the last instance. Each iarl he appointed was also subject to his paying over to him a considerable portion of the scatt or taxes which were collected in the province and which had not been used in paying the expenses of Government there. These iarldoms were in effect great hereditary administrative posts.

Harald having put down all his enemies, was, we are told, feasting with his friend iarl Rognvald when he remembered the oath which he had made that he would neither be shorn nor bathe until he had conquered Norway, and he accordingly, after ten years, took his first bath and had his hair sheared and combed. Aforetime, says Ari, he had been called Shockhead, but men now called him Harald Fairhair, and they all said he was well

named for he had both abundant and beautiful hair (Op. cit., 23).

Harald, like many other handsome warriors (in the old days before Christianity had intervened with its restriction on the numbers of a man's wives) had a large and well-born harem. He first married Asa, the daughter of iarl Hakon, who was his most trusted and powerful subject (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 9). By her he had four sons, Guthorm (doubtless named after his own uncle and foster father); two twin sons called Halfdane, distinguished as Halfdane the White and Halfdane the Black, and fourthly Sigfrod (? Sigfrodr). They were apparently born during his four years' residence at Thronðheim and, we are told, were brought up there in great honour (*Ib.*, ch. 18). Secondly, he married Gyda, the daughter of King Eric of Hordaland (*Ib.*, ch. 3 and 21). We have already referred to this proud lady who refused to marry him till he had conquered all Norway. By her he had four sons, Rœrik, Sigtryg, Frothi, and Thorgils, and a daughter Aloh, called Arbot, *i.e.*, the Year's-heal, who was the oldest of the family and whom he married to Thorir the Silent, iarl of Mere (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 30).

Another of his wives was Swanhild, daughter of King Eystein of Heathmark. By her he had three sons, Olaf Geirstad-Elf, Biorn, and Ragnar Ryckil (*Ib.*, ch. 21); another of his wives was Ashild, daughter of Ring Dayson from Ringariki, and their sons were Day, Ring, and Gudrod Skiria, and a daughter Ingigiord.

In regard to one of his wives we have a curious Saga. We are told that on one occasion he went a guesting into the Uplands and spent his

Yuletide at Nord Tofti, in the parish of Dovre, in North Gudbrandsdal. When he had sat down at table a Finn, who was a Shaman or Wizard, named Swazi, came to the door and sent a message to the King bidding him go to his cot. Although Harald was wroth he felt constrained to go, but some of his company were not pleased. When he entered, there met him Swazi's daughter, who was very fair to look at, and who offered him a bowl of honeymead. He took both the mead and the hand that offered it, says our author, and straightway it was as hot as if hot fire had pierced her skin, and he felt overcome with passion. All this, he suggests, was the effort of her witchery. Swazi insisted that if the matter was to go any further the King must be duly betrothed and lawfully wedded. He became so engrossed with her that he forgot his duties to his kingdom and they had four sons, Sigurd a-Bush, Halfdane Longlegs, Gudrod Gleam, and Rognvald Straightlegs.

Snowfair presently died, but her skin remained as red and white as she was when alive, and the King sat beside her and thought in his heart she was still living. For three winters he thus sorrowed, and his people did so too, that he should be so beguiled. Presently came Thorleif the Sage, learned in medicine (or leechcraft, as it was known in those times); he approached him soothingly and said he did not wonder he was so devoted to so fair a woman, but that it was necessary she should be moved so that her clothes might be changed. But as soon as she was taken out of bed a dreadful smell came from the dead body and they brought holy fire, *i.e.*, incense, and burnt it. It first turned thin and then nauseous, uncanny beasts came from it, worms and adders, frogs and paddocks, and other creeping things, and she thus fell into ashes.

Thereupon the King recovered his good sense and cast out his folly, and ruled the realm stoutly with the help of his councillors (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 25).

Ari tells us that after Snowfair's death Harald realized that she had bewitched him into an alliance with her, and he drove her four sons away and would not look at them. Thereupon one of them, Gudrod, repaired to Harald's famous bard Thiodolf, who had been his foster-father and who was a great favourite of the king's, and asked him to intercede for him. Harald was then staying in the Uplands, whither Gudrod and his brother made their way, but as they arrived in the evening and were still in their travelling dress, they sat down in an outer place and kept hidden. As the King went up the hall-floor and looked over the benches he sang a verse in which he spoke of his old warriors as being over eager for the feast and added that they were many and hoary. Thiodolf, who had disguised himself, and was hurt by the remark, thereupon improvised a reply, in which he recalled that in their fights together, the heads of his warriors had borne hard blows in his company, and he asked if they had been too many then. He now removed his head covering and the King recognised and welcomed him. The old poet then begged him not to cast out his sons and uttered a memorable phrase, saying that they would gladly have had a better-born mother if he had only given them one. The King took the rebuke kindly and asked him to take Gudrod to himself again and let him live with him as he had done before. Sigurd and Halfdane he sent to Ringariki, while Rognvald he sent to Hadaland. Ari adds that they became manly men and well endowed with prowess (*Ib.*, ch. 26).

Returning to Harald's wives, the one he cherished most, and who was most high-born, was Ragnhild the Mighty, daughter of Eric, King of Jutland, no doubt the son of Gudrod, King of Westfold, who has occupied us so greatly. Eric was therefore Harald's uncle, and Ragnhild was his cousin. By her he had one son, namely, Eric, styled Bloody Axe, who presently succeeded him as King of Norway. People said that when Harald married her he put away from him nine wives.

Hornklofi refers to this in one of his caustic verses in the Raven Song. He tells us that when Harald married his Danish wife he scorned the Holmfolk (*i.e.*, the women belonging to the typical Norwegian district of the islands on the coast of Rogaland) and the maidens of the Hords and Raums (or of Horda land and Raum realm) and of Halgoland.

He adds the cryptic sentence that the bondmaids of Ragnhild, the proud woman, would now have something more pleasant to talk about than that they had been treated with short commons by Harald (Vigfusson, *Corpus Poet*, Bor. i. 259).

When Harald grew old he had a son by a woman of good, but not noble family, named Thora Mostrstöng, *i.e.*, Most-staff. Her family name was taken from the place called Most,* and the poet Horde Kari was one of her relatives. She was very tall and fair and was one of the King's bond-women, for in those days there were many of good blood, both men and women, who were in the King's employment. It was then the custom, when a child of high birth was born,

* Now Mosterö, on the Western side of the Sound called Bömmelen in South Hordaland, the main inlet into the Hardanger fiord from the South (Magnussen iv. 265).

to select someone who would sprinkle water on him and give him a name. When the child we are dealing with was about to be born, his mother Thora, who was living at Most, sought out Harald, who was then in residence at Sæheimr,* whither she travelled in a ship of Sigurd, iarl of Ladir, who had undertaken the task of godfather. One night, when they lay off the land, Thora brought forth a child at the cliff's side by the gangway-head leading to the ship, and it proved to be a boy. So iarl Sigurd sprinkled him with water and called him Hakon, after his own father. He grew up to be handsome and tall and was the very image of his father Harald. He was brought up with his mother and was about the king's manors while he was young.

While still a boy Hakon was the hero of an incident which has been by some suspected as an invention, as I think with very poor reason. Although coloured with some obviously fanciful incidents, it seems to me to be substantially true.

At this time Athelstane had recently become King of England. Ari says he was called the Victorious or the Faithful, and adds that he sent men to Norway to King Harald with his greeting. This was in itself a very likely matter since the Norwegian king was the mightiest man in the North and had ties with the Scottish islands that would make him well known to the English king. Athelstane's envoy took with him a lordly gift in the shape of a sword, the hilt of which was decorated with gold as was the grip, while its array or scabbard was also wrought with gold and silver. So far the story seems perfectly natural.

* This was one of Harald's manors and is now called Sæm. It is on the N. side of the Osterfirth (North of Bergen), almost opposite Hammer on the isle of Osterö (Magnussen iv. 275)

Then comes a passage which is in itself hard to believe. Ari says that when the king took the grip, Athelstane's messenger immediately said: "Since thou hast taken the sword as our king would, now thou hast become his man." That the messenger on an occasion where courtesy was everything should have thrown such an insult at the aged king, who was very much more powerful than Athelstane and over whom he could have no pretence of claiming homage, seems incredible and seems rather an addition to the story to meet the tastes of the Icelandic vikings for whom Ari wrote, than a reality. He goes on to say that Harald deemed that the affront was meant to mock him and declared that he would be no man's feudatory, but he recollected that it was his practice to "sleep upon his wrath" and not to take a hasty decision, and he also consulted his friends, who agreed that it would be better to let the messenger return in peace rather than to do him ill. This again was hardly the way these proud Norwegian Junkers were wont to behave when flouted.

The next summer we are told Harald sent a ship to England under the command of Hawk Habrok, *i.e.*, High-breech, who was a great champion and much liked by the king. He sent him to visit Athelstane and put Hakon in his charge, which in itself is not an improbable thing, but most improbable if he had previously been treated with indignity by him. Hawk found the King in London, where he was well received and feasted. To carry out the dramatic part of the story Ari reports that at this feast Hawk instructed his men that he should go out first who came in last, and that all should stand abreast before the Royal board, each man with his sword at his left side but with their cloaks so

arranged that their swords should not be seen and so they entered the hall, a company of 30 men. Hawk then approached Athelstane and greeted him and the king bade him welcome. Then Hawk took the lad Hakon and placed him on Athelstane's knee. Athelstane having asked why he did so. Hawk replied: "King Harald biddeth thee foster the child of his bondwoman." Here again is an incident which is incredible. That Hawk should have thus described the pet child of Harald's old age, the special foster-child of the great iarl of Ladir, and have invited a very cruel treatment, not only for the lad but for the whole party, by insulting the English king, seems ridiculous, and may be explained as a dramatist's clumsy form of tit for tat, but does not represent the conduct of a sane man. Ari says that Athelstane was exceedingly wrath and took up his sword to kill the boy, upon which Hawk replied: "Thou hast set him on thy knee and mayest murder him if thou wilt, but thou wilt not thus put an end to all the sons of King Harald." Thereupon Hawk and his men all withdrew to their ship and put to sea and returned to Norway. Ari goes on to say that King Harald was well pleased that his son had remained to be fostered by Athelstane, for men ever account the fosterer less noble than him whose child he fostereth. Then he adds a moral which rather spoils the effectiveness of his way of telling the story. He says: "By such like dealings of the kings may it be seen how either would fain be greater than the other, yet not a whit, for by all this was not any honour of either spilt, and either was sovereign lord of his realm till his death day."

What follows shows that the incident of the mutual insults of the two kings is almost certainly

an imaginative addition to the real story, for after Hawk's challenge and before his whole Court, Athelstane certainly did the very reverse of treating the boy as the son of a bondwoman.

We are told that he had him christened and taught the right truth and good manners and all kinds of prowess and that he loved him more than all his kin, and so did all other men who knew him. Hence he was called "Hakon, Athelstane's fosterling." He became a man of great strength and size and of fair speech, and eventually rose to be King of Norway. We are told that King Athelstane gave him a sword, the hilt and grip of which were all decorated with gold, while the blade was still choicer, and that with it Hakon was reputed to have split "a quern-stone to the eye," whence the weapon was called Quernbiter. It was the best sword that ever came to Norway and Hakon kept it until his death day (*Ib.*, ch. xlii. and xliii.).

After reporting how well filled his quiver was with children and speaking of his later days, Ari says that King Harald sat at home in his own land enjoying good peace and plenteous seasons (*Op. cit.*, ch. 26).

This does not mean that he had no troubles. The great king had had a successful career and was the most notable ruler in Europe of his time. He had conquered and consolidated a great kingdom and beaten or driven away all his enemies, but like other great conquerors, troubles accumulated in his own family which were harder to face. His quiver no doubt was full, and he was proud of it, but the weapons it contained began to be menacing. The fact is that for the most part his various wives continued to live among their own

people and brought up their own sons there. This was the only feasible plan when a king had many wives who could not be treated like the slave-wives among the Mohammedans, where they occupy one harem and are kept under strict discipline by truculent eunuchs or an exacting mother-in-law. High-born and high-spirited Scandinavian dames could not be thus treated.

As is still the fashion among the rich Arabs each wife had a separate house. The difference being that in the North these several houses were not in one place but in the different parts of the country, each among her own people. For the most part such marriages were political and diplomatic and meant to secure the allegiance and loyalty of powerful families. It was perhaps only in this way that a country so broken by physical obstacles into separate counties could be tied together.

This had, however, its inconveniences, for having no common home, the king's sons hardly knew each other and hardly recognized the ties which bind brothers together who have been playmates and companions from their nursery. Jealousies and rivalries and quarrels naturally arose and each one became the centre of intrigues. Being of Royal blood, and great personages, they naturally had expensive households, and often found that their incomes, which were at first mere doles and allowances from their father, were not sufficient for their needs and ambitions.

Ari says that some of them had become riotous, and in some cases had driven out the iarls, and in others killed them. As I have said, the great king was baffled when he tried to rule his own household in which the children of several mothers had to be satisfied. They struggled with each other for their

father's inheritance, which he had parcelled out among them in the fashion recognized in the North, without taking care to make any one of them absolutely supreme over the rest. Some of them, too, whose portions were too scanty for their ambitions, viewed with great jealousy the dominating position assigned by Harald to some of his own administrative officers, the great iarls. They treated them as not having pretensions like themselves who claimed descent from a long race of lordly kings.

Thus it came about that his most devoted counsellor and friend, and the most powerful of his iarls, the ancestor of the Dukes of Normandy, namely, Rognwald, iarl of Mere came by his end. One spring we read that Halfdane Longlegs and Gudrod Gleam, two of Harald's sons by the Finnish woman Snowfair, went with a company of men and surprised the great iarl in his house and burnt him there with 60 of his men. It will be remembered that Rognwald had committed a similar crime on another iarl years before. Gudrod thereupon appropriated the possessions of the iarl while his brother Halfdane took three of his big ships and sailed into the Western sea.

Rognwald left several sons, more than one of whom became distinguished. One of them was named Hrollaug. He lived with King Harald for some time, made a good marriage, and eventually settled in Iceland. He remained a powerful person there and continued his friendship for the King, and he never left Iceland. The king sent him a good sword, an ale horn, and a gold bracelet weighing five ounces. The sword became the property of Kol, son of Hall O'Side, and the horn was seen by Kolskegg the historian (see the long Saga of Olaf Trygvissón, ch. 214).

When King Harald heard what had happened he was naturally enraged with his sons and went with a great force against Gudrod, who had appropriated the dead iarl's realm and who at once submitted. His father sent him eastward into Agder, and he made over the iarldom of Mere to Thorir, called the Silent, son of Rognwald, and gave him his own daughter Aloh in marriage.

Meanwhile Halfdane, as we have seen, went westward to the Orkneys, where he was murdered.

We must now revert for a few paragraphs to the story of those islands. We have seen how Harald had made Sigurd, son of Rognwald, iarl. He there associated himself with Thorstein the Red, the son of Olaf the White, of whose probable death at Hafsfjord I have already spoken. The two harried in Scotland and conquered Sutherland and Caithness, as far as the Eikkjel which separates Ross from Sutherland. (In the Orkney Saga, Moray and Ross are also named, but these were apparently later conquests). In this war they fought against the Scotch iarl, Melbricta or Melbriga. The account in the Flatey-bok and the Orkneyinga Saga, says that they had agreed to meet at a certain place, with 40 men on horseback on each side, in order to settle their difference. Sigurd, who suspected some treachery on the part of the Scots, mounted 80 men on his 40 horses. Melbricta noticed this and said to his men: "I see two legs on each side of each horse" and he at once determined to fight. Sigurd told half of his men to dismount and attack them from behind, while those who were mounted were to charge them in front. Presently Melbricta fell, and with him all his men. Sigurd fastened the head of the Scotch iarl to his saddle bow and thus

rode home. Meanwhile, when spurring his horse, he struck his leg against a projecting tooth of Melbrieta (whence his soubriquet of Tönn or the Toothed). The wound proved serious and he died of it and, says the Saga, he was buried in a mound at Ekkjalsbakki. Anderson, in his edition of the Orkneyinga Saga, identifies it with a mound on the Dornoch firth. Skene argues against this and would identify the place as near Forres, and would even equate the famous sculptured pillar there and known as "Sweno's Stone" with Sigurd's monument. On one side are two figures engaged in friendly conversation, and above, a cross with the usual network ornamentation ; on the other side is a representation, difficult to make out, of a number of men engaged in Council and behind is a building or fortification, above which is a party of men at full gallop followed by foot soldiers with bows and arrows. Above again is a leader with a man's head hanging to his girdle followed by three trumpeters sounding for victory and surrounded by decapitated bodies and human heads ; above again is a party seizing a man in a Scotch dress, and below another party, one of whom is cutting off another man's head ; above all is a leader followed by seven men. The correspondence of these sculptures with the incidents in the tale is striking (Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 337—8, and notes).

Sigurd was succeeded as iarl by his son Guthorm "who ruled the land for one winter and then died childless," whereupon his patrimony as iarl was seized by several Danes and Northmen Harald Fairhair's Saga, xxii.). When Rognwald the iarl of Mere heard of the death of his brother and nephew, and what had become of their lands, he sent his son Hallad, who received the title of iarl,

and took a large number of men with him and settled them at Hrossey, but the Vikings in the islands landed on different nesses or headlands, and ravaged the land, killing the cattle, until Hallad grew weary, relinquished his title as iarl, and again became a franklin, much to the chagrin of his father (*Ib.*, ch. xxvii.). In the Orkneyinga Saga the names of two of the Vikings are mentioned who then occupied the late iarl's lands, namely, Thorir Woodbeard and Kalf Scurvy.

Rognwald then summoned his three elder sons, who were base born : To Thorir, he said he could not spare him, his career must be at home ; to Hrollang, that his future would be in Iceland, where he prophesied he would become famous. The third and youngest son, Einar, is then reported to have spoken to his father and said : “ Wilt thou that I go ? I will promise thee in that case that which will be most welcome to thee, that I will never again come into thy eyesight, nor have I much here to live upon.” The grim iarl replied : “ Thou art not a very fitting person to become a chief, for thou art thrall-born on all sides, but it is true I would gladly see thee go, and hope thou wilt not return.” Rognwald gave him a ship, with 20 benches, fully manned, and King Harald gave him the title of iarl.

He sailed West to Shetland, where he was joined by a number of people, and then went on to the Orkneys, and proceeded to attack Kalf and his companion. A battle followed, in which both the Vikings fell. Einar was a tall man and ugly, and one-eyed, and yet very sharp sighted (*Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. vi.).

It was reported that he was called Turf Einar, because he was apparently the first Norwegian to

use turf for fires in Torf Ness, there being no wood in the Orkneys. We shall return to him presently.

I described on an earlier page the murder of the great iarl Rognwald by Harald's two sons, and how thereupon one of them, Halfdane Longlegs, went westward to the Orkneys—a daring journey, since those islands were then in the hands of the son of the murdered chief. On his arrival some of the settlers there joined him and became his liegemen, but Einar fled into Scotland. Halfdane subdued the islands and made himself King of them. The same year Einar returned and a great battle was fought, in which the latter gained the victory and Halfdane jumped overboard. Thereupon Einar sang a song, in which he reproached his brothers for not having taken vengeance on their father's murderers, and specially attacks Thorir for sitting mute over his mead cups in Mere.

Next morning they went to look for runaway men among the islands and all they caught were at once slain. Looking towards Rinansey, Einar said he saw something that stood up and then laid down, and it must be either a bird or a man. They went to see and there they found Halfdane Longlegs. Einar made them carve an eagle on his back with a sword and cut the ribs through from the backbone, and drew the lungs through the cuts, and made an offering of the whole to Odin for the victory he had won. Vigfusson and Powell seem to throw some doubts on this. I think with little reason. The particular penalty of making a spread eagle on an enemy's back was common in Viking times, and we must remember that Einar was revenging the very ruthless murder of his own father. Several of the latter's verses on his victory are reported in the Orkneyinga Saga. Some of the lines are vigorous. In them, *inter alia*,

he claimed to have hewn a hole in Harald's shield, which no one could gainsay. He gloated over his victory, and the feast he had given the falcons and carrion birds. "Cast the stones," he says, "over Longlegs," *i.e.*, pile them on his grave, "for we have got the victory. It was with hard money I paid him taxes. I know that a good many men are seeking my life, but they cannot know until I am dead whether it will be I or they who will feed the eagles" (see V. & P., Corp., Poet Bor., i. 371 and 372).

On the news of Halfdane's murder reaching Harald, in Norway, he called out his men and set out for the West to revenge him. As soon as he heard of the king's approach iarl Einar fled to Caithness. Harald doubted the policy, or perhaps the possibility of waylaying him, and it was arranged that they should come to a parley, at which Einar and the people of the Orkneys agreed to pay 60 marks of gold as a blood penalty for the outrage they had committed. The bonders or farmers deemed the fine altogether excessive, so Einer agreed to pay it himself on condition that all the odal or tax-free lands in the islands were made over (or perhaps rather became taxable) to him. This they consented to do, for the poor people had but little land while the rich hoped to redeem their property again. After this Harald returned to Norway.

Meanwhile another tragedy happened to another of Harald's sons. We have seen how much he was helped in his earlier days by his uncle and foster father Guthorm, and how the latter was well rewarded by him. He lived at Tonsberg, in Westfold, which he administered as he did the Uplands in Harald's absence (*Ib.*, 21). We are told he had a good deal of worry in

protecting his charge against the piratical attacks of the Vikings and the men of Eric Eymundson, King of Sweden. The latter, we read, died when Harald had been King of Norway ten years, and was succeeded as King of Sweden by his son Biorn (Saga of Harald Fairhair, ch. 29).

It was apparently a few months after this that Guthorm, also died "in his bed," as it is said in the *Heimskringla*, a rare occurrence in those days. We have seen how his two young sons were drowned when on their way to join Harald (*vide ante*). Guthorm had undertaken the tutelage of Harald's eldest son, Eric, and had sprinkled water over him and given him his name. Ari says "he set the lad on his knee and became his fosterer and had him away with him into the Vik" (*Ib.*, 21). When the old man died without a male heir Harald appointed his own son, "the godson and namesake of the elder Guthorm," to succeed him as governor of Westfold and the Uplands (*Ib.*, 29). He had to guard the former against the forays of the pirates and used to patrol the skerries round the coast with his ships. On one occasion, when he lay in the mouth of the river Elf, Solfi Klofi, of whom we have heard before, and who had been formerly severely defeated by King Harald, attacked and killed him. He was apparently succeeded as ruler of Viken by his brother Biorn (*Ib.*, 38).

Another of Harald's sons, Halfdane the White, was also killed at this time in a desperate battle fought between himself and his twin brother Halfdane the Black in the Eastlands, *i.e.*, in the lands to the east of the Baltic (*op. cit.*, 33).

Of one of Harald's sons by the Finn woman Snowfair, named Rognwald Spindleshanks, Ari has a grim story. He had been given a share of

Hadaland as an appanage by his father and took to wizardry or magic and working spells, which had been practised by his Finn mother, and to which black art Harald was greatly opposed. The king having heard of a wizard living in Hadaland called Vitgeir, sent to bid him leave off his wizardry. He replied in a verse in which he rebuked the king for restraining him who was only earl-born by either parent, while his own son Rognwald was practising the same art in Hadaland. On hearing this Harald sent his eldest son Eric with a force to Hadaland where he burnt his brother and with him 80 wizards (*Ib.*, 36).

Wizardry continued to be practised in the family by the son of Rognwald Spindleshanks, grandson of King Harald, named Eyvind Kelda, who is described as wealthy, and who was a wizard. He afterwards came by a tragical end in the reign of King Olaf Trygvissón (see *Saga of O. T.*, ch. 195).

Still another of Harald's sons also had a tragical end at this time, namely, Gudrod Gleam the foster son of the poet Thiodwolf. He was determined to go in an ill-manned ship northward to Rogaland when the weather was very rough, nor would he listen to Thiodwolf's advice to put off his journey till there was better weather, but set out most rashly. When he came off Yaderen the ship foundered and all who were in it perished (*Harald Fairhair's Saga*, 37).

Meanwhile Harald in order to stop the struggles and jealousies of his sons, had to make fresh provision for them and to give them a higher status. Hoping to satisfy their ambitions, he called together a great Thing or Assembly of the South Country, to which he also invited the Uplanders. At this he gave appanages to several

of them with the title of kings and established that in each case the father should be succeeded by his son in his kingdom. This title was reserved for his sons and their descendants, while according to Harald those who were related to him on the spindle side (by whom the descendants of his daughters are probably meant) were to have only the status and name of iarls.

In dividing the kingdom he had assigned Vingulmark, Raumariki, Westfold and Thelemark to Olaf, Biorn, Sigtrygg, Frothi and Thorgils. Heathmark and Gudbrandsdale he gave to Dag, Ring, and Ragnar. Ringariki, Hadaland, Thoten, and all that pertained to them he gave to the sons of Snowfair, Sigurd Brushwood and Halfdane Long-legs. The latter was afterwards killed, in the West, as we have seen, by Torf Einar, iarl of Orkney, but Sigurd retained his kingdom in Ringariki. There he was succeeded by his son Halfdane, and he by his son Sigurd, who married the widow of King Harald the Grenlander, named Asta. They were both baptized at the instance of King Olaf Trygvissun, as was their boy Olaf, who was named after the great King Olaf himself (see the long Saga of King O. T., ch. 194). To Guthorm Harald gave Ranriki that is, all the country from the river Gotha Elf to Swinesund, and doubtless called after iarl Rani the Gothlander, who had governed it for the Swedish king.

Harald chiefly made his home in the middle of the land, namely, Rogaland and Hordaland. His sons Rörek and Gudrod always lived with their father but held great bailiwicks or appanages in Hordaland and Sogn. The far-north province of Throndheim Harald gave to his sons Halfdane the Black, Halfdane the White, and Sigrod. To Eric, his favourite son (whose mother was the Jutish

princess, Ragnhild the Mighty, who he meant to succeed him as Overlord of the whole State, and who also lived continually with him), he gave as a special appanage Halogaland, Northmere and Raumsdale.

The dues in each of these petty kingdoms were divided between himself and his sons in equal parts, while they had a place on the high seat higher than the iarls, but lower than his own. Ari remarks, in regard to Harald's own high seat, that each one of his sons hoped some day “to sit in the seat which Harald had selected for Eric.” On the other hand the Thronðheim people, probably the most wealthy in the realm and whose country was planted in the very midst of that which was given as a special appanage to Eric, were determined that their special king, Halfdane the Black, should presently sit on the high throne.

In regard to this Halfdane, who, as we have seen, had destroyed his twin brother in a fight, we read elsewhere that when his other brother, King Eric, was “guesting” (*i.e.*, being entertained) at Solvi, inside of Agdaness, Halfdane hastened thither with “a host” and captured and burnt the house he was living in, with all its inmates, but Eric was luckily sleeping in an outbuilding with four of his men and escaped. He went to his father and gave him an account of the outrage. The old man was very wroth and led a fleet against the Thronðheimers. He lay with his men by Reinsletta, in the parish of Rissen, on the northern side of the outer Thronðheim fiord. Halfdane on his side summoned his men and ships and put out to Stadr, inside of Thorscliff; Magnussen says of it, “now Stadshygden, in the district of Fosen, in North Thronðheim.” The position was no doubt very serious, and we are

told that certain people intervened between father and son. Among them was one called Guthorm, named Cinder, a skald or poet. He was now with Halfdane, and had formerly written for them both, and had been offered a reward by them. He had refused the gifts, but said he might sometime ask them a boon instead. This he now claimed, and it was that the two chiefs should make peace with one another, while other noblemen also intervened. Father and son consented to do so. Halfdane remained king in Thronðheim and undertook not to molest his brother. Jorun, the female skald, made a poem on this quarrel, of which a stanza is preserved in the *Heimskringla* (*Harald Fairhair's Saga*, ch. xxxix: see also V. and P., *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, ii. 29).

To two of his sons Harald did not give lands, but ships, namely, Thorgils and Frothi, and they went harrying out to the West, to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. It was reported that Frothi was poisoned there, while Thorgils reigned for a long time over the Dublin people and eventually died there* (*Harald's Saga*, ch. 35).

Turning to the troubles caused by the local jealousies of the different sections of the realm, we are told, the people of Vik and the Uplands also had different views to the Thronðheimers in regard to their choice of their future rulers. "Whence," says Ari, "there waxed dissension anew amidst the brethren." The fact is that apart from the ambitions of various princes there underlay a strong element of disruption in the position itself. The local differences of custom, descent and dialect, with the different loyalties and prejudices of the

* In the *Heimskringla* it is said that he was the first Viking who possessed Dublin, but this is a mistake. Its founder was Olaf the White in 852.

various communities caused a great cleavage among them. They had been separated by natural barriers from early days. A strong and powerful personality like Harald had succeeded in uniting them for a while by artificial ties into a whole, but it took a long time and many struggles to weld them into a real union. The history of early England, of France, Germany, and Italy, afford abundant examples to illustrate the problem as it occurred in Early Norway.

While Harald gave a number of his sons appanages with the distinction of being entitled kings, and of receiving a royal income, he reserved a large part of the administration of the country in his own hands, and it continued to be controlled by his iarls or deputies. He appointed that there should be a iarl over each folkland or county and gave him the control of justice and the right to collect fines and land taxes in his special government. Each iarl was also to have a third of the "skatt" or royal revenue and of the dues, for his board and other costs of living. He was to have under him four or more officials called *hersirs*, each of whom was to have 20 marks for his maintenance. Each iarl was to bring 60 men-at-arms to the king's host at his own cost, and each *hersir* was to bring 20. Harald had so managed the finances (no doubt by increasing the taxes and dues) that his iarls had more wealth and weight than the kings formerly had (*Ib.*, ch. vi). We are told by Ari that the regulation just described endured for a long time (Long Saga of Olaf Trygvissón, ch. l.).

The *hersirs* were set over the administrative districts called herads or hundreds, whence their name. Each originally probably consisted of a hundred families. Their position was apparently

hereditary, thus the *hersir* Erling on being offered a iarldom by his brother-in-law King Olaf Trygvissón replied: "*Hersirs* have all my kindred been, nor will I have a higher name than they, but this I will take of thee, King, that thou make me the highest of that title here in the land." To this the king consented and gave him control of the dominion south away, between Sognfirth and East Lidandisness, the most northern part of North Agder, in such wise as Harald Fairhair had given it to his sons (Heimskringla, Saga of Olaf Trygvissón, ch. lxiv). The *hersir* seems to have combined the offices of war commander and chief priest of his district. Of one of these *hersirs*, called Gudbrand of the Dales, Ari says he was as a king in the Dales though he only bore the title of *Hersir* (Saga of Olaf the Saint, ch. cxviii.) The mode of investiture for iarls and *hersirs* adopted by Harald was followed by his successor (see Magnusson, iv., p. 94). We have described it in the case of iarl Hrollaug of Naumdale. The order of precedence of sub-kings and iarls was determined by the position each one occupied on state occasions, when the king sat on his throne, the under kings or folk kings on the second step and the iarls on the third one. One of Harald's most important regulations was the compelling all franklins or free men to pay him dues. This was a very unpopular regulation but it lasted until the days of Hakon the Good who gave back to the freeborn bonders the *odal* rights which King Harald had taken from them (Saga of Hakon the Good, 1).

The great king was now an old man in strength and vigour as well as in years, for he had spent himself without stint all his life, and his feet, we are told, were heavy so that he could not travel to and fro as he was once wont, nor could he look

after State affairs with the same skill, so he put his son Eric on his high seat and gave him dominion over the land (*Saga of Harald Fairhair*, ch. 44). How uneasy that seat proved, we shall see presently.

Harald lived for three years after he had given over the realm to Eric, and eventually died in his bed in Rogaland and was buried in the howe, by Kormtsound, that is the waterway separating the island of Kormt from the Mainland and there a memorial monument of granite was erected to him in 1872.

“ In Howe Sound,” says Ari, “ a church standeth to this day and just to the north-west of the churchyard lies the howe of King Harald Haarfagre, but west of the church lies the stone which lay over the king’s grave in the Mound, and the stone was thirteen feet and a half long and nearly two ells broad. In the middle of the howe was the grave of King Harald, and one stone was set at the head and the other at the feet, and on the top was laid a flat stone, while a wall of stones was built below it on either side, but these stones, which were once in the howe, are now in the churchyard.” This shows how very soon the grave of the Mighty King was dismantled.

All men agreed, says Ari, that King Harald was the handsomest man recorded, the biggest and strongest, the most bounteous of his wealth, and the friendliest to his men. The common report went that the great tree which his mother saw in her dream foreshadowed his life and his deeds, for the lower half was red as with blood, and thence upwards for a span it was fair and green, which pictured the flourishing of his realm, while the top was white, betokening the great age and hoary hairs he would see. The boughs and branches represented his widespread descendants (*Ib.*, ch. 45).

The internecine struggles of Harald's sons no doubt (as civil strife inevitably does) caused a great spread of lawlessness, cruelty and utter disregard for life, and I am tempted to again refer to that excellent storehouse of accredited facts, the Egil's Saga, for two striking examples of the anarchy that ensued. They also throw considerable light on the common law relating to property and its succession at this time. The first one is not quite so ruthless as the other. They are both reported in the Landnama-bok. The first one refers to a certain Ketilbiorn, a nobleman in Naumdale, son of Ketil and of Asa the daughter of iarl Hakon, Griotgard's son, who married Helga the daughter of Thord Skeggie. He went to Iceland, when its maritime part was widely settled, in a ship called Eilida, and stayed the first winter with his father-in-law. In the spring he set out to find a suitable place to settle in. They had a sleeping place and built a Hall, says Tait, at a place called Hallbrink in Blue shaw. His children were Tait and Thormod (Diarmaed), Thorleif and Ketil, Thorkatla and Ordleif, Thorgedr and Thordr. Five of them, it will be noted, had names compounded with the name Thor. He was so rich in money, says Ari, that he bade his sons cast a crossbeam of silver for the temple that they were about to build. This they would not do. He then drove with the silver up onto the fell with the aid of two oxen, and went with Hake, his thrall, and Bot, his bondwoman. They buried the treasure there "so that it has never been found since." No doubt to secure the secret being kept, Ketilbiorn killed Hake at Hake-pass and Bot at Bot-pass. Many great men, we are told, were descended from Ketilbiorn. The names are recorded of two of his great grandsons, and a great great grandson, who became bishops (*Ib.*, v. 14, 1—4).

The second story, also from the great Domesday book of the North, illustrates the savage and cruel methods which justice pursued in King Harald's days. Biorn was the name of a nobleman in Gothland, the son of Hrodwolf-a-River. His wife was Hlifa, daughter of Hrodwolf, the son of Ingiald, the son of Frothi. Starcad the Old was poet to the two last-named personages. Their son was Eyvind. Biorn had a quarrel with Sigfast, father-in-law of Solwar, a iarl of the Goths, by whose help he kept possession of all Biorn's lands by force. Biorn then settled all his lands and goods in Gothland upon his wife Hilda, and his son Eywind. He then burnt Sigfast in his house and set out westward for Norway with 12 men, and 12 horses laden with silver, and went to Grim the herse, who lived at Agd in Hwin, now Kvinesdalen, through which the river Hwin in Agder flows (Magnusson, iv., 258). Biorn and his companions were well received, and stayed with Grim during the winter, but presently, tempted by his wealth, the latter hired a man to assassinate him, who failed. Biorn then left and went to stay with Ondott Crow, the son of Erling Knit, who lived at Hwin-firth in Agd, with whom he stayed when not engaged in a Viking's life. At that time Biorn's wife Hlifa died in Gothland, and he then married Helga, Ondott's sister, by whom he had a son called Thronð the Far Sailer. Presently Eyvind, his elder son by Hlifa, came from Gothland and took over his father's warship, and continued the latter's pursuit as a Viking. He was known as "the Eastman" because he had come from Gothland. Soon after Biorn died in Ondott's house. Thereupon Grim claimed that he ought to take charge of all his property, since he was a foreigner (he was, of course, a Goth), while his son was away in the

West, but Ondott kept the inheritance on behalf of Biorn's younger son Thronð, his own nephew (*Ib.*, iii. 13, 1 and 2). Meanwhile Thronð, who had been raiding in the Sudereys, returned home and took over the moveable assets of his father Biorn, and sailed with them for Iceland.

Ondott's homestead stood near the sea near Ingialdsby. Grim lived close by. One night as Ondott was cutting wood in the copse, for the brewing preparatory to the Yule feast, Grim came upon him and killed him in the king's name, and four men with him. Thereupon Ondott's widow put all his goods and chattels on a long ship and set out, with her two young sons, Asmund and Asgrim, and all her housecarls. She herself went to her father, Sighvat, while her sons were sent to take shelter with her foster-son, Hedin, in Sokendale, who hid them. Grim pursued, and came upon her ship, which he ransacked, but could not find the boys, who reached Hedin's house in safety. Grim and his men went after them. He met one of Hedin's sons in the wood, and inquired about the boys, but he pretended to be witless. Presently he met another son, and offered him half-a-hundred pieces of silver money to say where the boys were. He gave his father the money and told him all about it, but did not return to Grim. The latter suspected that the man who had got his money would betray him so he went home again. The two boys lived hidden in an underground house with Hedin till the harvest came. They then set out to go to their grandfather, Sighvat. The ground was frozen hard, and they were shoeless, and lost their way, and they presently reached a homestead which they did not recognize at first, but presently realised that it was a house their father Ondott had built. They thought they would not be safe there, so went to

that of one called Ingiald near by, and were concealed by him and his wife, and remained there for the winter, meanwhile passing by other names.

Next summer Grim was entertaining King Harald's iarl, called Eadwine. After the feast the two sons of Ondott just named set fire to Grim's house and burnt him in it, and taking Ingiald's boat, rowed away to the islands in the fiord of Hwin. When they landed they heard men talking in the house who had been with Eadwine on his cruise. They returned to the mainland, where they saw the iarl's smack lying afloat under awnings. They went to the hall, where they learnt he was sleeping, with two men on guard. Asgrim, one of the boys, seized the men and held them while his brother entered the hall and put the point of his spear to Eadwine's breast and demanded the wehrgeld, or blood money, for his father's murder. Thereupon the iarl gave him three golden bracelets and a finely woven mantle. He was dubbed a goat (*i.e.*, a coward) by Asgrim for thus surrendering. The two brothers then rushed down to the sea, where they spread the mantle on the water to make believe they were dead, and thus misled their pursuers. Presently they got separated. Asgrim went on to Surndale, and northwards round Stimr, a promontory between Naundale and Northmere, where dwelt a landowner or thane called Eric Aulfus and another thane called Hallstan Stred, who were keeping Yuletide, and who bade them welcome, but Hallstan struck Asgrim with a drinking horn, probably in a drunken revel. Asgrim in turn wounded his assailant (who presently died of the injury), and then fled to the woods, and was pursued by Hallstan's men, and was wounded sorely as he was crossing a river in the frost. He presently found shelter and was hidden away by an

old woman. Ari tells us she killed an animal and took out its entrails, and laid them on Asgrim's body, to make believe he was dead, and so deceived the pursuers. Fancying he was no more, they went home again, while the old woman kept him in hiding in an underground house till she had cured him. His brother, also thinking him dead, went to Iceland. Presently Eric Aulfus, above named, gave Asgrim a long ship with 30 benches, and he took to buccaneering for some summers.

Meanwhile King Harald put a price on his head, and sent Thorgir, Grim's sister's son, with two warships to secure his head. He failed to catch him, and then went to Iceland to seize his brother. Both eventually settled in Iceland (*Ib.*, iii. 15, *passim*).

We can hardly realise what a drain upon the thinly-peopled Norwegian land must have been caused by the reckless slaughtering of so many of its people in the fashion here described, in which the victims suffered mainly as the result of firing the great halls, when everybody inside, men, women and children, guests and slaves, perished together. This was largely matched by the toll of the sea caused by the losses in the predatory raids in the wild weather round the North Sea and the Irish Channel.

The ruthlessness of the incidents of the story proves how necessary a strong hand was in such times, and Harald had no scruples whatever, in fact, in having any person who deliberately disobeyed him killed, nor were his victims always cowed. We read of one of them who himself killed three of Harald's reeves and then fled to Iceland.

In a later page we have a notice shewing that it was Harald's intention to subdue Iceland. We

are told his agent in the work was a certain Une the Unborn (*i.e.*, say the editors, the posthumous, or Cæsarian); he was the son of Gardhere, who had first discovered Iceland. He went there with the intention of conquering it, under Harald's patronage, and the king promised to make him its iarl if he did so. After several unlucky attempts to secure support, he was killed in a quarrel (*Landnama-bok*, iv. 6, 7).

The imposition of taxes was resisted by the old Norwegian freeholders, or *odallers*, with great pertinacity. Thus we read that King Harald sent Thororm, his kinsman out of Thrum, in Agd, to get in scatt or tax which he had demanded from Asgrim, son of a mighty hersir, in Thelemark. Asgrim would not pay, though he had shortly before sent the king a present of a Gothic horse and much silver, saying it was a gift, but not a tax, for he had never paid skatt before. The king sent the money back and would not receive it. Presently Thororm came again to gather the tax, whereupon Asgrim summoned a moot and asked the franklins or free men if they wished to pay the impost. They, of course, said they did not wish to pay. The moot was held near a wood, and a slave of Thororm rushed out and killed Asgrim, whereupon the murderer was at once slain by the freemen. When Thorstan, Asgrim's son, heard of this he was away “warring,” and on his return he sold his lands for silver and made ready to go to Iceland, but before he set out he burnt Thororm in his house in Thrum, and thus revenged his father. The climax of these tragedies is made more grim by the fact that Asgrim, when his son Thorstan was born, had ordered him to be exposed, *i.e.*, to be put out to die. The thrall who was to dig the grave was sharpening his spade, and the boy was already

laid out on the floor, when they all heard him recite these lines :—

Give me to my mother, the floor is cold for me,
Where should a child be better, than by his mother's
hearth ?

No need to put an edge on the iron, nor to shear the
strips of turf,

Let the wicked work cease; for I shall yet live among men.

When the boy was sprinkled with water they called him Thorstan (*Ib.*, i. 8, 2). After he had settled in Iceland, a ship came to the mouth of the Rang river, in which was a great sickness, and no man would take the travellers in, but Thorstan went and fetched them, and pitched tents for them at the place afterwards called the Tialda-stader (Tilt booths), and ministered to them himself as long as they lived, but they all eventually died (*Ib.*, v. 8, 5). This incident marks an amiable side of the old Norwegian life at this time, of which samples are seldom recorded.

About the home life of King Harald we know little and should like to know more. We are told by Ari that, in his latter days, he often abode in his great manors.*

A few picturesque details about him are preserved in a unique, but cruelly mutilated poem, written by a contemporary of the king who was a close friend of his, Hornklofi, which enable us just to peep into his home doings. It is in the form of a dialogue between a Raven and a Walkyrie, or perhaps a Finnish wise woman. A Walkyrie was a kind of compound of Minerva and a witch who

* In Hordland was Alrek-stead, now called Aarstad, a short distance south-east of Bergen (Magnussen, op. cit., iv., 240). On the western or Boknfirth end of an island of the same name, now called Utensteno or Utsten (*Ib.*, 270) was another of these houses. Another was at Seaham (now called Seim, on the north side of the Osterö (*Ib.*, 275) and another at Ogvaldsness on the N.E. side of the large island of Kormt, the south end of which is watered by the mouth of the Boknfirth,

could ride through the air on a super-natural horse, who selected those entitled to enjoy the rewards of heroism in another world, and apparently directed and shaped the fortunes of men. The Raven represents the poet himself, whose surname was Hornklofi, or Hardbeaked. The poem is worth quoting at length, and I have adopted Vigfusson and Powell's translation :—

"Listen ye warriors while I tell the feats of arms of Harald the fortunate. I will tell of a parley I heard between a fair and bright-eyed maiden and a raven. She seemed a wise walkyrie that despised wedlock, a keen Finnish maid that knew the tongue of birds. The white-throated lady spoke to the rover of the sky with the quick eyelids, as he sat on a peak of Wincrag.

"How is it with you ravens, whence have ye come with gory beak at the dawning of the day? There is flesh cleaving to your talons and a carrion's stench comes from your mouth. You lodged last night I ween, where the corpses are lying.

"Thereupon the poll-feathered sworn-brother of the eagle shook himself and wiped his beak, and thought of an answer. We have followed the young Yngling Harald, the son of Halfdane, ever since we left the egg. I thought thou must know the king that dwells at Kwinnom,* the lord of the Northmen. He has many a deep keel, with reddened targets and red shields, tarred oars and snow-white awnings. The eager prince would drink his Yule at sea and play Frey's game (*i.e.*, war) if he had his will. From his youth up he loathed sitting indoors beside the hearth, in the warm bower on the bolster full of down.

"*Quoth the Walkyrie*: How does the generous prince deal with the brave men who guard his land?

"*Quoth the Raven*: They are well cared for, the warriors who throw dice in Harald's court, they are endowed with wealth and fair swords, with the ore of the Huns (*i.e.*, gold), and with maids from the East. They are glad when there is a hope of a battle. They will leap up in hot haste

* On this name Vigfusson has a note. He says "Kvinnom," no doubt the present Quind-herred, Hardanger (Rosendal). Although never named in the King's Lives, which always speak of Alrekstad near Bergen it must have been a favourite residence of the kings, being a central place in the Viking time—C.P.B., i. 529.

and ply the oars with hot haste, snapping the oar thongs and cracking the tholes. Fiercely I ween do they churn the water with their oars at the king's bidding.

"Quoth the Valkyrie: About the poets, how fare they. Thou must know well how the minstrels fare who live with Harald?

"Quoth the Raven: Their good cheer and their gold bracelets show well that they are among the king's friends. They have red cloaks, gaily fringed, silver mounted swords and ring-woven coats of mail, gilt trappings, graven helmets, and wrist-fitting rings, the gift of Harald.

"Quoth the Valkyrie: I will next ask thee, thou blood-drinker, how live the Bareserks.* How are the men, daring in war, who rush into the fight treated?

"Quoth the Raven: Wolfcoats they call them, and carry bloody targets in battle. They redden their spear heads when they rush into the fight, where they work together. The wise king only enrolls men of high renown among those who smite upon the shield.

"Quoth the Valkyrie: What of the tumblers and players.† What is the treatment of Andad and his company in Harald's house?

"Quoth the Raven: Andad dandles his crop-eared dog and plays the fool, making the king laugh. There are others who carry burning wooden chips across the fire, tucking their flaming shock-locks under their belts.

Quoth the Valkyrie: Didst thou hear how, at Hafsfjord, the high-horn king fought with Kiotvan the Wealthy?

Quoth the Raven: Ships came from the West, ready for war, with grinning heads and carved beaks. They were laden with warriors, with white shields, with Western spears and Welsh (*i.e.*, Western) swords. They tried their strength

* Vigfusson in his note says that while Bareserks is the generic name, Wolfcoats refers specifically to Harald's own bodyguard. In each case derived from the skins of the wild beasts which they wore. He aptly quotes the fact that the Aquilifer or eagle-bearer of a Roman legion—answering to the drum-major in a modern regiment—wore a wolf's skin (*Ib.* 257).

† Vigfusson & Powell suggest that this Court buffoonery and juggling was probably brought back by Harald from his Western journey. In the Irish story of Cuchullin and in the *Senchus Mor*, quoit hurling and keeping balls and knives in the air together are mentioned, and the whole has the air of the Irish Court life (*Ib.*, 530).

against the eager king, the Lord of the Eastmen, who dwells at Outstone, and he taught them how to flee. The king launched his ship where he spied the battle. The Berserks roared in the midst of the fight, the Wolfcoats howled and shook the iron, *i.e.*, their spears. There was a hammering on bucklers ere Haklang fell. The thick-necked king (Haklang) could not keep his land against Shockhead Harald. He put the island between them as a shield. The wounded threw themselves down beneath the bench. They turned their backs up and jammed their heads down to the keel. The cunning ones let their shields shine on their backs as they were pelted with stones. The Eastern fellowship, *i.e.*, the allies of the confederated Vikings, ran along the shore of Yader, away from Hafrsfjord, thinking of their mead at home, corpses lay on the sand there, a present for the one-eyed husband of Frigga (*i.e.*, Odin). We (*i.e.*, the Ravens) rejoiced at such a deed of fame (C.P.B., i. 255—259).

“*Quoth the Raven* (when the Walkyrie asked him of Harald’s wife): He scorned the Holm-rygians and the maidens of the Hords, of the Heins and the race of Halgoland. The high-born king took a Danish wife. Ye bondmaids of Ragnhild (the Queen), that proud woman, shall have other things to gossip over at their cups than that ye be slavewomen that Harald has starved”

Thus ends a broken line and a cryptic sentence. This splendid poem is unmatched in Northern poetry, in its fresh, unconventional imagery, and condensed strength. The sharp cut words read like flashes from a flint when struck by steel, and have a biting grip, which is the character of the dialogues in Northern stories.

Returning to Harald and his later days. It was a tragical conclusion to a great career when the old king having spent his life in integrating the broken fragments of Norway into a compact whole in his own firm grip, should in his latter days have undone so much of his work by once more dividing it into fragments at deadly feud with each other, and that his blood should have run out and his heritage have passed into another stock, notwithstanding the numerous progeny he had left. It might otherwise

have initiated a new era in Norwegian history. It would require the pathos and splendid diction of a Greek tragedian like Aeschylus to do adequate justice to such a theme. To his people he became a type of the highest kind of leader. Ari reports the opinion of an old warrior called Egil Woolserk, who had once been bigger and stronger than any of his men, and had long borne King Harald's banner. He thus apostrophises his master's masculine virtues. Addressing his son Hakon, who had become King of Norway, he says:—"I have been in battles with thy father. While at times he fought with great foes and at other times with lesser ones, he had always the victory. Nor did I ever hear him seek counsel of his friends to teach him how to flee (Saga of Hakon the Good, ch. xxiii.).

Thus again spake the proud and boastful Swedish King Olaf of him:—"In Norway are but little dwellings and far sundered, and there have been but kinglets. But Harald Fairhair was the great king in the land, and he had to do with kings of the folk-lands and broke them down under him; yet he knew what was well for him, and did not covet the Swede King's realm, and for that reason the Swede Kings let him rest in peace, and there was kinship between them."

I will conclude with a few words from my old friend, who died too early, and was such a picturesque and gifted person, York Powell, which may well close my paper:—"The impression left upon one's mind," he says, "by reading the Book of Settlement and Fairhair's Battles, is that before his day Norway was a land of loosely organized folk-kingdoms, an anarchy rather than a heptarchy, save in the South, where, as Ari tells us, under Halfdane the Black and perhaps

earlier, there was a well-organised nucleus, strong, compact, and orderly, a small league, we take it, of folk tribes round Heathsævi-Moot by the Vik. Harald Fairhair, in fact, starts as head of the best organised state in Norway—the only compound state—which was ruled by one king, and he wins folk-kingdom after folk-kingdom, and governs them by his sons, as other conquerors have done, but ever keeping a strict eye to their good rule and peace-keeping. The only time that Harald is in danger, through all his task of conquest, is when he meets the war leagues of Kings and Western Vikings he beat at Hafrsfjord, after a struggle of the most desperate kind. But this victory was the keystone of his power. His kingdom was never after in jeopardy and he was able, by his expedition to the West, to force the great part of the Confederation that had fought against him at Hafrsfjord to leave the western islands for the Northern colony ” (Corp. Poet., ii. 498).

Harald Fairhair had eight wives, respectively named :—

ASA, daughter of iarl Hakon, by whom he had four sons—Guthorm, Halfdane the Black, Halfdane the White, and Sigfrod (or Sigrod).

GYDA, daughter of King Eric of Hordaland, by whom he had a daughter and four sons—Alof, Rörek, Sigtrygg, Frodi, and Thorgils.

RAGNHILD, daughter of King Eric of Jutland, by whom he had one son—Eric Bloody Axe.

SNOWFAIR, daughter of Swazi the Fair, by whom he had four sons—Halfdane, Gudrod, Sigurd, Rognwald.

SWANHILD, daughter of King Eystein of Heathmark, by whom he had four sons—Ragnor, Biorn, Olaf, Ingigird.

ASHILD, daughter of King Dayson of Ringariki, by whom he had three sons—Day or Dag, Ring, Gudrod.

THORA MOST-STAFF, by whom he had one son—Hakon the Good.

Besides these children, Harald had a daughter, Ingibiorg, whose mother is unknown.

NOTE I.

The earliest historical records of Scandinavia, as in other countries, were doubtless the poems and prose tales in which the pedigrees of the chiefs and other notable events were enshrined, and which the bards and court poets and professed storytellers composed and committed to memory when prose writing was unknown. Besides these were lapidary records, which were naturally very short. The lack of more important literature was largely due to the corresponding lack of materials for writing. It was upon such oral sagas and poems, as we have seen, that the earliest prose writers of any moment in Norway—namely, Saemund and Ari—relied.

After the introduction of prose writings these poems were largely corrupted and forgotten for lack of the trained class of skalds whose duty it was to preserve them, and they have only reached us in many cases in a fragmentary way. It was Vigfusson who first carefully analysed the character and quality of these poems in his great work written jointly with Yorke Powell, the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*.

Of these poets or bards we have no mention of the actual names before the reign of Halfdane the Black, one of whose bards, namely, Andun Illskald, is mentioned in the Egil's Saga. In the reign of his son Harald we have the names of a galaxy of such poets recorded. This outburst was coincident with the beginning of the intercourse of the Norsemen with the Irish, who had a much older culture, and among whom the composing of epical and other poems was greatly developed, as was that of composing historic tales. In regard to the Norse tales Magnusson has given a graphic picture of the Saga teller's art which I shall not scruple to copy. He says: "The chief settlers in Iceland were men of high birth who had seen better days. They left behind lands, homes, kindred, environment; they took with them family traditions, family pride, martial mettle, uncurbed ambition. A dreadful solitude prevailed throughout the land for a long time while the process of colonization was going on, which lasted for two-thirds of a century. In the widely-scattered homes the family circle became the centre of orally-rehearsed family stories during the evenings of the long winter. These stories were easily learnt by heart by nimble-minded listeners. They were the first nuclei of the Sagas of Iceland. They were recited at religious festivals, which were presided over and conducted by the Temple Godi or priest, at wedding feasts and Thingmotes, and other popular gatherings. In course of time the nucleus expanded into a complete Saga recording the acts of the settlers themselves and their dealings, hostile or friendly, with one another. Ultimately the Althing at Thingvellir, where the *élite* of the little nation congregated yearly, became the great centre for the display of the storyteller's art, and from there the Saga travelled into every part of the country more or less faithfully remembered, and recited to curious listeners. The interesting part of the business was that the teller of the story was in most cases placed face to face with critical audiences. The chiefs themselves, their children and relatives would in most cases be numbered among the crowd of interested visitors, and would be certain if necessary to interrupt and correct the reciter whenever his delivery failed in veracity as to facts or offended against fairness. In this way, to tell a story fairly (*i.e.*, truthfully) was a moral duty and the highest matter of honour, while telling a leaning story (*halla sögn*) was regarded as the meanest of actions, and more than once cost the perpetrator his

life (*Nial's Saga*, 1875, ch. 155, s. 23; *Olaf the Good's Saga*, *Heimskringla*, ii. 222, pp. 14-29). ”

As an illustration of this lucid account, Magnusson quotes a really remarkable story from the *Morkinskinna*, pp. 72-73, in regard to Harald Hadrada and an Icelandic Saga-teller :—“ It happened that one summer a young and lively Icelfander approached the King and asked for his favour. The King asked if he knew any lore, and he said he knew some sagas. The King said that in that case he would patronize him, but he must be prepared at all times to offer entertainment whenever asked, whereupon the courtier presented him with suitable clothes and the King with weapons, and he fulfilled his task apparently satisfactorily. But at the approach of Yuletide he looked sad, and the King suggested it was because he had exhausted his Sagas, which was unfortunate as Yuletide was approaching. He replied that it was partly true, since he had only one Saga remaining untold, but he dared not tell it for it related to his journey abroad. The King replied that this was of all Sagas the one he desired most to hear, and he forbade him telling any more stories till the Yuletide came, and the loss would not be felt since his men had much on hand, and he must recommence it on Yuleday (*i.e.*, Christmas) and make it last out till the end of the feast. This could be done, for the season was chiefly devoted to hard drinking, when there was not too much time for listening to stories. The Icelfander duly began the Saga, and continued it till the King told him to stop, and thus the story went on till Yuletide was gone. The listeners, who did not know that the matter had been arranged by the King, deemed it an impertinence on the part of the Icelfander to recite it, but were conciliated by the fact that he had told it so well. On Twelfth Night, the Saga having been ended while it was still daylight, the King asked the story-teller if he wished to know his own opinion of it. ‘ I fear to hear it,’ he said. ‘ I like it right well,’ said the King; ‘ it is in no way worse than the deeds warrant. Who taught thee the Saga?’ ‘ It was,’ said the story-teller, ‘ my custom every summer to attend the great Althing or annual gathering in Iceland, and learn by heart each summer a part of the Saga from Halldor Snorri-son.’ ‘ It is no wonder that thou knowest it well,’ he replied. The King duly rewarded him with a store of goods and kept him by him, and he became a man of substance” (Magnusson, *op. cit.* iv., lv.-lvii.). This Halldor, son of Snorri, had in fact served under Harald when he commanded the Varangian mercenaries at Constantinople (*ib.* 82).

Presently when writing was introduced into Iceland these oral recitals were written down, and no doubt their artistic qualities were duly improved by skilled writers like Snorri and others. The art itself had been originally largely borrowed, as I have said, from the Irish. Before that a skilled class of bards or poets had put the main facts into verse and thus greatly assisted the memory and perpetuated the poem, and every considerable court had its poets, who were highly rewarded and very privileged persons and, like the mediæval clowns, were permitted to indulge in covert gibes at their employers, which formed a very useful and necessary antidote at times to the unbounded eulogy they employed at others. I have quoted two notable instances when Thiodolf rebuked his master Harald at a feast when he had complained that his veterans unduly flocked to his feasts and when he repudiated his sons by Snowfair, and in both cases very effectively; while Guthorm Cinder interfered equally effectively to make peace between Harald and his ruthless son, Halfdane the Black.

NOTE II.

The rival schools of history in the North which have championed the respective claims of the Norwegians and the Danes as the real heroes of the heroic time of Scandinavian history have misled a large number of Western writers of the last generation. The fact is that the Danes, under the leadership of Steenstrup, a very industrious, ingenious and persistent champion, have largely befogged the position in regard to the earlier history of Denmark. Danish history really begins with the conversion of Denmark to Christianity, which took place much earlier in Denmark than among the Norsemen. For the pagan period we have no records of the least value except those shreds which have been preserved by the Icelandic writers and by the Frankish chroniclers. There are neither native poems nor prose writings of any value extant dealing with the pre-Christian period with the exception of *Beowulf* and the *Gleeman's tale*, which deal with an earlier period and mainly with Germanic and not Norse traditions. Christianity apparently swept away all the trustworthy memorials of the pagan period of the Danish annals. Nothing shews this better than the great and romantic Danish prose epic of Saxo Grammaticus. The latter part of his work, especially that dealing with the reigns of the three Waldemars, is excellent history. The earlier books form an entirely fabulous compilation, in which the author has appropriated tales and Sagas from other people and deliberately invented a large number of royal names and attached to them incidents which have been deliberately transferred from the traditions of other nations, and in doing so has entirely mixed up and sophisticated the chronology as well as the facts, and constructed a romance as remote from real history as Baron Munchausen's adventure. The romance has been excellently told in excellent and fluent Latin, but has no kind of basis of truth. The real history of Denmark begins with Gorm, the father of Harald Blatand, grandfather of Swegen, and great-grandfather of Knut, or Canute, the famous Emperor of the North, whose career first brought the Danes into a conspicuous position in history and gave Denmark a notable place in the European polity.

Gorm was a real person, and his gravestone still remains where it was erected by his son Harald, but for what we know of both father and son we have to turn elsewhere than to Saxo, who has made an astounding "muddle" of their chronology, and gives us no new facts which have any value whatever about them.

On another occasion I may enlarge on Gorm and his son at greater length. At present I wish to speak of Godfred, whose relations with the Empire I have described. Saxo makes him the son of a Gormo or Gorm, and in order to give his view a semblance of consistency he has had to triplicate the only Gorm known to real history, who lived in the early part of the 10th century. One of these he makes the father of Godfred, who in that case must have lived in the second half of the 8th, since Godfred was the contemporary of Charlemagne. The Gorm whom he makes the father of the latter is preceded in his list by a series of names and events which take us back to the 6th and earlier centuries to Jarmeric and Bikko heroes of the *Volsunga Saga*, and to Aggo and Ebbo, the heroes of the Lombards, as reported by Paul the Deacon, who was himself a writer of the 8th century. This is not all. These latter names are again preceded by those of Harald and his nephew Sigurd Ring, the latter of whom lived in the end of the 8th century, but who Saxo plants in the earlier

centuries after Christ. To intensify the confusion this second Harald and a second Sigurd occur in Saxo as successors of Hemming, who is definitely mentioned in the Frankish Chronicles of the 9th century, so that the same two rulers are in this case made to repeat their reigns after an interval of several centuries. Saxo's account of this Gormo is full of anachronisms. Thus he makes him have intercourse with Thule, or Iceland, which was not discovered till long after, and also be converted to Christianity in Germany and to introduce it into Denmark. As Godfred died in 910, if his father Gorm was a Christian, the latter must have been converted in the 8th century. The first Danish ruler to be converted was, however, Harald Klak in 826, and Denmark's conversion was long after this. The whole story is a huge tangle of confusion, and can only be explained by the fact that Saxo had no materials except his own fancy for reconstructing the lost annals of Denmark, except what he got from the Icelanders and the Frankish annals, and finding the name of Godfred mentioned very prominently by the latter authorities as an opponent of the Empire in Jutland, he concluded he was a Danish king, and proceeded to find him quite a mythical father and quite a mythical pedigree.

The Frankish annalists nowhere tell us who his father was. They call him a Norseman and they call him a Dane indifferently. His having come from Jutland to some extent justified the latter name, as it justified the Northern writers in sometimes calling the speech of Norway *Danskattunga*. The fact is the name Godfred or Gudrod does not occur in the best accredited list of Danish names or in the undisputed references to early Danish affairs in the Chronicles, while it is a very common name among the Norwegians.

The Danish writers who have claimed Godfred as a ruler of Denmark, not only in older uncritical times, but in our own day, and notably Steenstrup and Jesson, have based their conclusion on the flimsiest evidence. They could produce no early witness in its favour, either native or foreign, and merely relied on the two facts that Godfred is sometimes called King of the Danes, by which was meant no doubt that he ruled at the time over at least that part of Denmark called Jutland, and, secondly, that the utterly discredited narrative of Saxo makes him a King of Denmark.

On the other side, the evidence is very strong indeed, if not, as I believe it, to be conclusive.

First, he is made King of Westfold in Norway by the Icelanders, and designated as a very potent king in that part of Norway, with abundant details of his reign and of his ancestry given by Ari, the Icelandic historian, who wrote two centuries before Saxo, and whose writings, as we have seen, were not only remarkable for their proved reliability and critical faculty, but who had a large mass of excellent materials to support him. Godfred's sons are expressly referred to in the Frankish Chronicles more than once as rulers of Westfold, and they tell us in fact that it was when they were driven out of Jutland that they returned to their home in Westfold. Godfred occurs in the well-known *Landfædatal*, the oldest list of the Northern Kings. His name is a very well known Norwegian name, and, what is very important, the approved chronology of the Northern rulers of the Ynglings places him just at the period when Godfred is named by the Franks. He occurs in the latter as the commander of a very large fleet, and his sudden appearance in the Frankish annals after a lapse of several years of silence points to his having been an intruder in Denmark, as does the fact of one of his sons being called “Eric the Usurper” by them. This

view has been adopted by such excellent authorities as Kruse, Munch, G. Storm, Vigfusson, and Yorke-Powell. I arrived at the conclusion myself independently forty years ago (*vide* Translations of the Royal Historical Society for 1877), and it seems to me to be the only view consistent with the facts and with the history of the period.

Steenstrup's attempt to identify Westfold with quite an obscure place in Jutland has not, so far as I know, had any support, and is quite inconsistent with the great rôle played by Gudrod. Kruse, Pertz and Simson all agree that the Westfold here named was the Norwegian Westfold (*vide ante* p. 86). It is clear to me that, in addition to Westfold in Norway, he and his sons ruled over a large part of Jutland, and perhaps of Denmark proper, in the interval between the reign of Sigurd Ring and that of Gorm the Old, the real founder of the Danish Monarchy.

It is curious that Steenstrup and his followers, who accept the statements in the Scioldunga (which was almost certainly composed by Ari Frothi) in regard to the earlier history of Denmark, should have treated with such scant regard Ari's other and more famous work, viz., his History of the Norwegian Kings.

Gudrod, or Godfred, was not the only great Norwegian who has been appropriated by Steenstrup and his followers, as it was by most of the older writers, including our own Palgrave and Freeman, and made into a Dane. A second one was Rolf, the founder of the Dukedom of Normandy. In this case they also base their conclusion upon an authority whose veracity has been greatly discredited of late years, namely, Dudo de St. Quentin, who in the 12th century wrote a panegyric of the rulers of Normandy. It is many years ago since I subjected this work to an elaborate analysis in a paper in the "Archæologia," and showed that the French writer in question apparently knew nothing of the Norse speech or Norse literature. He was, like Saxo, in large part a mere romancer and, except in the latter part of his story, quite untrustworthy. He speaks of Rolf as a son of a King of Denmark, and quite ignores the details given by the Icelanders about him. I must refer my readers to my analysis of the work just mentioned for proofs of its worthlessness. I may say that it has been accepted by Vigfusson and by the most recent French critical writers on the period. The most notable circumstance in this case, apart from the direct evidence we possess, is the fact that Saxo, who raked together from every side all the materials, fantastic and otherwise, he could find to exalt the glory of Denmark, does not make any claim whatever in favour of the founder of the great Norman Dukedom having been a Dane. In this case, as in that of Gudrod, the only satisfactory authorities are in fact the Icelanders, and especially Ari Frothi and Snorri, and their witness is the stronger because Rolf lived within quite a reasonable traditional memory of Ari and in a period about which much detailed information exists. It must also be noted that whilst Rolf is a common name in Norway, it is virtually unknown in Denmark.

Ari's story about Rolf is plain and consistent, and his pedigree of him quite free from ambiguity. As we should expect from what we know of the potency of blue blood among the Normans, he had a very distinguished descent, and as we have seen he is described by Ari as a descendant of the early rulers of the Uplands. His ancestors for several generations are recorded by him. He makes him the son of Rognwald, the son of Eystein Glum, or the Noisy, the son of Ivar the Uplander, the son of Halfdane the Old, the son of Sweethi, the son of Hesti, the son of Gor. The three last names are mythical, but the others were doubt-

less Kings of the Upland. Halfdane the Old is mentioned in another pedigree in the *Landnama-bok*. Ari does not inform us, however, from which of the primitive Northern stocks they sprang, but it is clear that when the Ynglings settled in Norway these Upland Kings were the most powerful of its rulers. The recurrence of the names of Eystein and Ivar among them very possibly point to the solution of the question, and I may return to it on another occasion. Like Saxo, Dudo has transferred the deeds of other Northern freebooters who plundered in France to him, and confused the chronology. I ventured in my memoirs on him to give the first certain date of his appearance in France as the year 910, and the date has been adopted by Vigfusson and Yorke-Powell and the more recent French writers.

NOTE III.

In regard to the chronology of Harald's reign, I do not find it possible to accept Vigfusson's dates or his arguments, and it is the only substantial difference I have with my master. They are based partly on the date he fixed upon as that of the original settlement of Iceland, and partly on the equating of the generations of a number of Icelandic families, an uncertain guide, since it depends on the ages of the several individuals tabulated, when they married, etc. He puts these calculations in opposition with the dates reached by Ari, and claims to correct the latter by them. If this had merely involved a correction of two or three years it would have been reasonable, but to suppose that a very critical and trustworthy authority like Ari would have been mistaken to the extent of 15 to 30 years in his calculation of the length of the reign of the great Harald and the date of the original settlement in Iceland seems to me quite incredible and impossible. The family records and genealogies in Iceland were very carefully kept, and Ari makes a masterly use of them in his works, and in regard to questions of chronology he had a predecessor who had made a special study of chronology, namely, Saemund Sigfusson, Priest of Oddi in Iceland, styled the Learned, who the *Kristna Saga* tells us was the best Clerk in Iceland, who was born in 1056, the year Christianity was introduced in Iceland and twelve years before Ari, and died in 1133, fifteen years before him. Saemund went abroad when quite young, and in 1076 was studying in Paris under a great master of astronomy, as reported in *Jon's Saga* (see Magnusson, iv., lvii.); and we learn from the preface to the *Islinga-bok* and in chapter 7 of the same work that Ari submitted its first edition to him and relied upon him for the date of Olaf Trygvissun's reign. Saemund's own grandson, the poet Jon Loptson, in enumerating the kings of Norway with their regnal years, tells us that for those of the ten reigns from Harald Fairhair to Magnus the Good, both inclusive, he depended on the authority of Saemund (*Ib.*, lviii.). Magnusson argues plausibly that Saemund's work was written in Latin.

It must further be remembered that Christianity was introduced into Norway by King Olaf Trygvissun, who reigned from 995—1000, and that from that date educated priests and the use of writing would be known there, and that the obits of the different Norwegian kings would doubtless be duly recorded there. The most important fact, however, to me is that the recognised dates of the Kings of Norway as generally accepted tallies with such events as we can approximately date; a good example of which is that of the battle of Hafsford, which, if Storm's arguments about the end of Olaf the White that I have accepted is right, must have taken place in 871 or 872, as Ari says, and not in 885, as Vigfusson argues, while Harald's death would similarly fall in 933.

NOTE IV.

One of the things about Harald which we should like to know something more about is his attitude towards the Christian religion which was facing him in all the realms around him, except those of Sweden and the Baltic lands. There are evidences that although he was probably a devotee of the worship of Thor, he was strongly opposed to the wizardry and magic which prevailed in so many of the Norwegian valleys, for he pursued its adherents, who were very numerous, with bitterness and asperity.

It is also remarkable that, as we have seen, he should have sent his youngest and favourite son Hakon to be brought up at the court of the Christian King of England, Athelstan, and allowed him to be baptized there. A form of baptism was indeed preached at this time among the pagan inhabitants of Norway, among whom when a child was born his godfather, whose name he generally took, sprinkled him with water. This was possibly of Christian origin.

We must remember also that at this time a great change had taken place in Odinism, involving an amalgamation of various Christian traditions with it. This has been shewn to have been the case by the elder Bugge, Vigfusson and others. The latter has also given some excellent reasons for believing that this change of faith took its rise among the Vikings of the Western islands of Scotland, where the Eddaic poems were probably composed.

CORRECTIONS.

There is one difficulty always attending a writer when he deals with Scandinavian history which is almost insuperable, namely, the variation of orthography of personal and geographical names, due to the fact that it is enshrined in three separate languages, requiring three different dictionaries to explore them and adopting a varying alphabet and phonology, especially in the vowels, while the names themselves have also considerably varied in their spelling in their long history. I am conscious of having failed too frequently in maintaining a uniform spelling, but hope I have not seriously misled my readers by the fact, although I may have irritated some by these small flies that have crept into my pot of ointment, the majority of which consist in one letter being substituted for another. My bad eyesight and the difficulties of having proofs properly read under recent conditions have also caused lapses for which the author can only crave patience and tolerance from those who care to consult his work. I hope that they will not fail to remember that as far back as Adam it is possible to affirm of our race that error is human and patience divine.

Page 2, line 16 and elsewhere. For "Dofrefelds" read "Dovrefells."

" 3, " 30. For "ib. 90" read "Munch, op. cit. 1, 96."

" 7, " 15. Insert a second "it" before the comma.

" 13, " 11. Erase the words "to which we will now turn" and insert "cited in the previous pages."

" 15, " 8. For "Landnamadel" read "Landnamabok."

" 16, " 16. For "op. cit." put "Die Vikingr."

" 16, " 25. Erase the "'s" in "Dronthemen's."

" 17, " 35. For "Thronð" read "Thronðs."

Pages 19, line 2, and 28, line 6. For "Hallingsyadal" and "Haddingadal" read "Hallingyadal."

Page 19, line 34. For "Morumentum" read "Monumentum."

" 22, " 10. For "Arochirani" read "Arochis Rani."

" 29, " 34. For "Geiger" read "Geijer."

" 31, " 5. Delete "with."

" 32, " 22. For "Ring" read "King."

" 30, " 33. For "rica" read "rige."

Pages 34, line 31, and 36, line 20. For "Asirs" read "Aesir."

Page 38, line 11. For "Vigfussion" read "Vigfusson."

" 38, " 21. After "history" read "in the vernacular."

" 41, " 3. I am not as sure as I was that Ari did not write the first 16 chapters of the Ynglinga Saga. It is quite possible that he did so.

" 45, " 11, and elsewhere. For "Tretelia" read "Tretelgia."

" 51, " 36. Transpose "told" and "as."

" 54, " 7. Transpose "Haldane" and "Eystein."

" 55, " 6. For "he" substitute "the latter."

" 57, lines 29 and 32. For "Freya" read "Frey."

" 58, line 26. Erase "ga" from "Siavagarista."

" 58, " 36. For "Heinskringla" read "Heimskringla."

- Page 61, line 24. For "Sigifrodus" read "Sigifroidus."
 ,, 62, ,, 11. For "Iarl soy" read "Iarlsoy."
 ,, 63, ,, 25. For "Hottar" read "Holtar, now Holtan (Magn. iv. 157)."
 ,, 65, ,, 28. For "*partilus*" read "*partibus*."
 ,, 66, ,, 13. For "Willchad" read "Willehad."
 ,, 71, ,, 23. For "Trygvason" read "Trygvisson."
 ,, 72, ,, 25. For "Icelandic" read "Icelandiæ."
 ,, 74, ,, 3. For "Fresians" read "Friesians."
 ,, 83, ,, 28. Insert "between" after "struggle."
 ,, 83, ,, 35. Substitute "is" for "e" in Trygveson."
 ,, 84, lines 17 and 32. For "Haldane" read "Halfdane."
 ,, 91, line 11. For "Ludovisi" read "Ludovici."
 ,, 94, ,, 4. Erase "good."
 ,, 94, ,, 5. For "Dee" read "Deas" (see supra 112).
 ,, 113, ,, 24. For "is" read "it."
 ,, 113, ,, 35. For "beleive" read "believe."
 ,, 116, ,, 4. For "hove" read "have."
 ,, 116, ,, 34. Cancel the words "doubtless Röric."
 ,, 119, ,, 2. Cancel "to."
 ,, 151, ,, 2. For "Norways" read "Norway."
 ,, 153, ,, 6. There is a homestead in Orkedale called Grytingr or Griting, perhaps named from this chief.
 ,, 155, ,, 15. For "Herlang" read "Herlaug."
 ,, 157, ,, 26. For "Knockwi" read "Nockvi."
 ,, 159, ,, 15. Cancel the words "already named."
 ,, 159, ,, 29. Kueld Ulf means the Night Wolf."
 ,, 163, ,, 5. For "Atleo" read "Atleö."
 ,, 173, ,, 33. Omit the comma after "rulers."
 ,, 176, ,, 20. This was probably because his neighbours resented his fighting on Harald's side and not their's in the great battle.
 ,, 177, ,, 32. For "there" put "then."
 ,, 180, ,, 29. Put "originally" after "came."
 ,, 182, ,, 9. Erase the comma and the words "and he" and insert "He."
 ,, 197, ,, 15. Eating a piece of live coal was one of the tricks played by the wizards and bareserks and is practised by modern conjurors.
 ,, 219, ,, 23. The name is a corruption of the Gælic Mælbrighde, and he was no doubt a Gælic Maormar or iarl subordinate to the Scottish king.
 ,, 222, ,, 21. Now North Ronaldsay in the Orkneys.

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3.—Caithness and Sutherland Records.

4.—Orkney and Shetland Place-names.—The Survey of Orkney place-names is now in progress.

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.

Publications, such as the collection of words of Norse origin in Orkney, Shetland and the North of Scotland; printing special volumes on special subjects.



Saga Book

OF THE

Viking Society

for Northern Research

Founded in 1892 as the Orkney Shetland and
Northern Society

VOL. IX. PART II.

Proceedings 1914-1918

LONDON

Printed for the
Viking Society for Northern Research
Burlington House
1925



Viking Society for Northern Research.

OBJECTS.

THE SOCIETY is founded for all interested in the North and its literature and antiquities.

Subscription: Annual 20s.; Life £20 for the Saga-Book (*Proceedings*), Year-book, and Old-Lore Series of Miscellany and Records;
or Annual 10s. 6d., Life, £10 10s. for (1) Saga-book and Year-book, or
(2) Old-Lore Series and Year-book.

The Council, which is elected annually by the Members, has the sole management of the income and all other affairs of the Society. No liabilities are incurred beyond the funds in hand.

The composition of Life Members now amounts to £472 16s. 3d., of which £325 10s. 4d. is invested in an Endowment Fund.

COUNTRY AND FOREIGN MEMBERS.—The whole funds are, in effect, devoted to the Publications. Very little expense is incurred by Meetings, which are indispensable for procuring, reading, and discussing Papers, so that Country Members really participate in the full benefits of the Society.

ENLISTING NEW MEMBERS. The working expenses of the Society remain practically the same for any number of Members, so that all new Subscriptions gained go to enlarge the Publications. Members and others interested in Northern Studies are therefore earnestly requested to introduce new Members, and to forward the names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Society to the Honorary Secretary.

The means by which the Society seeks to promote its objects are briefly, by :—

- (1) Meetings for the discussion of Papers on Northern history, literature, music, art, archæology, language, folklore, and anthropology.
- (2) Publication of the *Saga-Book* (*Proceedings*), *Year-Book*, and the Old-Lore Series of Miscellany and Records.
- (3) Encouraging the transcription and publication of original documents relating to Northern history, etc., and the translation of Sagas and other works on Northern subjects;
- (4) Formation of a Library of Books, MSS., maps, etc., relating to Northern history and antiquities;
- (5) Exhibition of Northern antiquities.
- (6) Social Gatherings, etc.

Meetings are held from November to April in Burlington House, W. 1. The Annual Dinner takes place in June or July, and occasional summer visits are made to places of Northern interest.

SAGA-BOOK

VOL. IX. PART II.

*Completion of Vol. IX., of which Title-page,
Contents and Index will be issued in
due course.*

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE VIKING SOCIETY.¹

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION, 1914.

MEETING, JANUARY 23RD, 1914.

HELD IN KING'S COLLEGE.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

² Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: The Rev. John Gray.

Professor Alexander Bugge read a paper on "Arnor Jarlaskald and the First Helgi Lay." Professor W. P. Ker, Miss Eleanor Hull and the Chairman took part in the discussion which followed. In place of this paper Professor Bugge has contributed "Celtic tribes in Jutland? A Celtic Divinity among the Scandinavian Gods?" which was read on January 6th, 1925, and printed pp. 355-371.

The President then read "A Note on the Orkneyinga Saga." In the discussion which followed, Mr. R. L. Bremner and others took part.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1914.

HELD IN KING'S COLLEGE.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Colonel H. H. Johnston, C.B., A.M.S., and Mrs. Bertram Blount.

¹ Lists of gifts to the Funds and Library, Reports of Annual Dinners and Exhibitions, Obituary, etc., will be found in the *Year-book*.

² The names are omitted of those, who through non-payment of a first subscription, failed to qualify as members.

A paper was read on "Northern Jutland in the Viking Age," by Dr. Sophus Muller. A discussion followed, in which Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. W. R. L.-Lowe, and Captain Rason took part.

MEETING, MARCH 20TH, 1914.

HELD IN KING'S COLLEGE.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Mr. H. T. Grundtvig.

A paper was read on "The Result of the Excavations of St. Edmund's Chapel, Hunstanton," by Mr. Bellerby Lowerison. Photographs of the site were exhibited.

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS' DAY, THURSDAY, APRIL 16TH, 1914.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for 1913 were presented to the meeting, and on the proposal of the President, seconded by Mr. James Gray, were unanimously adopted.

The President gave his presidential address on "Orkney and Shetland Folk, 872-1350." A discussion followed, in which Miss Eleanor Hull and Dr. Jón Stefánsson took part. Printed on pp. 372-408.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was then announced, and is printed in the Year-Book.

Mr. James Gray, the President, then took the Chair.

A vote of thanks to the retiring President, Mr. A. W. Johnston, was moved by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, seconded by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, and carried unanimously.

MEETING, MAY 22ND, 1914.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Elections announced: *Subscribing Member*, Mr. Ernest Payne, M.A.Cantab; *Honorary Members*, Mr. John Marshall, M.A.Cantab; Mr. Edward Warburg, past *Hon. Treasurer*; *Honorary Life Member*, Dr. Finnur Jónsson.

Mr. John Marshall read a paper on "Russo-Gothic History: the Source of Eddic Mythology."

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Captain E. Rason, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni and others took part in the discussion which followed.

A paper was read on "Norse Bishops in Orkney," by Dr. Oluf Kolsrud.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1914.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Dr. R. M. Shaw, Captain I. R. Mackay Scobie, the Signet Library, Wisconsin University Library.

A paper was read on "Manx Crosses—relating to Great Britain and Norway," by Dr. Haakon Schetelig.

A discussion followed, in which the President, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mr. John Marshall took part. Printed on pp. 253-274.

MEETING, DECEMBER 2ND, 1914.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair,

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Dr. A. Rugg-Gunn.

A paper was read on "The Rock-carvings of the Norse Bronze Age," by Dr. Just Bing.

In the discussion which followed the following members took part: The President, Mr. John Marshall, Mr. W. Barnes Steveni, Rev. Dr. Dukinfield Astley, Mr. Douglas Stedman and Mr. A. W. Johnston. Printed on pp. 275-300.

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1915.

MEETING, JANUARY 7TH, 1915.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mr. Ashley K. Maples, M.A., and the Rev. George Sutherland.

Mrs. H. W. Bannon, F.R.G.S., read a paper on "Some old historic homesteads of Iceland," in which she described the subjects of her water-colour sketches of Iceland, of which about 80 were exhibited.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. Jón Stefánsson, seconded by the President, and carried unanimously. Printed on pp. 301-310.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1915.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Miss Bertha S. Phillpotts, M.A., read a paper on "A neglected source of the Icelandic Sagas."

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mrs. A. W. Johnston took part.

MEETING, MARCH 3RD, 1915.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Miss Liebe MacLeod, The exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with the Icelandic Archæological Society, the Icelandic Historical Society, and the Icelandic Literary Society.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., gave a lecture on "The Scandinavian Thunder Weapon and its British Representative," illustrated by lantern slides.

A discussion took place, in which Mr. John Marshall and the Chairman took part.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING.

ST. MAGNUS' DAY, APRIL 16TH, 1915.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for 1914 were presented to the meeting, and, on the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was then announced, and is printed in the Year-book.

Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Honorary Secretary, read a paper on "Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstunga."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. Marchant, Mr. Stedman and the Chairman took part.

VISIT TO THE LONDON MUSEUM,

LANCASTER HOUSE, ST. JAMES'S, S.W.

DECEMBER 4TH, 1915.

The President, Mr. James Gray, M.A., and members visited the London Museum to view the Viking sword which had been discovered in the River Thames, and other antiquities.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1916.

MEETING, JANUARY 8TH, 1916.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Mrs. Hugh Rose Linklater and Miss Constance Stoney.

Mr. R. L. Bremner, M.A., read a paper on "The Battle of Brunanburh." (Printed in *The Norsemen in Alban*, published by MacLehose, Jackson & Co., Glasgow, 1923, pp. 122-158).

MEETING, FEBRUARY 5TH, 1916.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Dr. William Traill Thomson.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President, read a paper on "Scottish Influence on Orkney Law." (Printed in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XIII., pp. 209-218).

In the discussion which followed, the following members took part: The Chairman, Mr. Douglas Stedman, Mrs. H. W. Bannon and Mr. F. P. Marchant.

MEETING, MARCH 4TH, 1916.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

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

Miss Constance Stoney read a paper on "The English Parish before the Norman Conquest."

The following members took part in the discussion :
The Chairman, Mr. W. R. L.-Lowe and Mr. F. P. Marchant. Printed on pp. 311-332.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, MAY 6TH, 1916.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced : Mr. J. S. Chappelow, and Columbia University Library.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, were unanimously adopted.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was then announced, and is printed in the Year-Book.

A paper was read on the "Hedin Cross," Maughold, Isle of Man, by Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, with illustrations. Printed on pp. 333-342.

MEETING, DECEMBER 2ND, 1916.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced : Mr. Alfred A. Hurry, M.A., LL.B.

Miss Smith-Dampier read a paper on "Danish Ballads."

The following members took part in the discussion :
The Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mr. F. P. Marchant. Printed on pp. 343-354.

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION, 1917.

MEETING, JANUARY 6TH, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

The resignation of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. Shaw Mellor, was announced.

On the motion of Mr. F. P. Marchant, seconded by Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, the meeting unanimously resolved to convey to Mr. Mellor a vote of thanks and an expression of its great appreciation of his valuable services and its regret that his duties necessitated his resignation.

It was announced that Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe had been elected *Honorary Treasurer* in succession to Mr. A. Shaw Mellor.

Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Honorary Secretary, read a paper on "Women Doctors in the Viking Age."

The following members took part in the discussion :
The Chairman, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe and Mr. A. W. Johnston.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced : Mr. Snæbjörn Jónsson.

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for the gift of 52 copies of "Cormac

Saga," translated by Mr. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Mr. Edward Lovett, Honorary Curator of the Folklore Section of the National War Museum, gave a lantern lecture on "The Influence of the War on Superstition."

In the discussion, the Chairman, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe and Mr. A. W. Johnston took part.

MEETING, MARCH 3RD, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Vice-President, read a paper on "Old land valuations of Orkney and Shetland."

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 21ST, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

Mr. JAMES GRAY, M.A. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet were presented at the meeting, and, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, were carried unanimously.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, Vice-President, read a paper on "The Orkneyinga Saga."

In the discussion, the Chairman and Dr. J. M. Laughton took part. (Printed in the *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. XIII., pp. 393-400).

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was then announced, and the new President, Mr. A. W. Johnston, took the Chair, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the retiring President, Mr. James Gray.

MEETING, MAY 19TH, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The election of the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M.,
as an *Honorary Life Member* was announced.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, Litt.D., F.R.S.I.,
read a paper on "Religious Dances."

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mr. Corney took part.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 3RD, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson read a paper on "Thomas Gray :
the beginning of the Norse Renaissance in England."

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr.
W. R.-L. Lowe and Mr. F. P. Marchant took part.

MEETING, DECEMBER 1ST, 1917.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, Honorary Treasurer, read a
paper on "The Danes in Hertfordshire in the Viking
Period, and Hertfordshire Men in Scandinavia in the
11th and 13th Centuries."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. F. P. Marchant,
Colonel Bowden and Mr. W. Skeat took part. (Printed
in the *Herts Advertiser and St. Albans' Times*, Decem-
ber 15th, 1917).

TWENTY-SIXTH SESSION, 1918.

MEETING, JANUARY 5TH, 1918.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Mr. Björn Sigurdsson, Representative for Iceland.

Miss Smith-Dampier read her second paper on "Danish Ballads."

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe took part. Printed on pp. 343-354.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 2ND, 1918.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Member* announced: Colonel Geo. Harland Bowden, M.P.

Mr. Edward Lovett, F.R.H.S., Hon. Curator of the Folk-lore Section of the National War Museum, gave a lantern lecture on "The Folk-lore of the War."

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Mr. F. P. Marchant and Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe took part.

MEETING, MARCH 2ND, 1918,

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., Trustee of the British Museum, etc., and Mr. C. H. Bond.

Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Honorary Secretary, gave a reading from "The Saga of Eric the Red."

A discussion followed, in which Sir Henry Howorth, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe took part.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL
MEETING, APRIL 27TH, 1918.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

The Annual Report of the Council and the Balance Sheet for 1917 were presented to the meeting, and, on the motion of Mr. W. R.-L. Lowe, Honorary Treasurer, seconded by Dr. J. M. Laughton, were carried unanimously.

The election by ballot of the officers for the ensuing year was announced.

Mrs. A. W. Johnston, Honorary Secretary, read a paper on "Women in Iceland in the Viking Age," Part I.

A discussion followed, in which Sir Henry Howorth and others took part.

MEETING, MAY 4TH, 1918.

HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot. (President), in the Chair.

Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., Vice-President, read a paper on "Harald Fairhair and his Ancestors," Part I. Printed on pp. 1-252.

Professor W. P. Ker, Vice-President, proposed a vote of thanks for his most interesting and instructive paper, which was carried unanimously.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 2ND, 1918.
HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

Election of *Subscribing Members* announced: Rev. A. O. T. Hellerström and Dr. D. R. Paterson.

Sir Henry Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., Vice-President, read the second part of his paper on "Harald Fairhair." Printed on pp. 1-252.

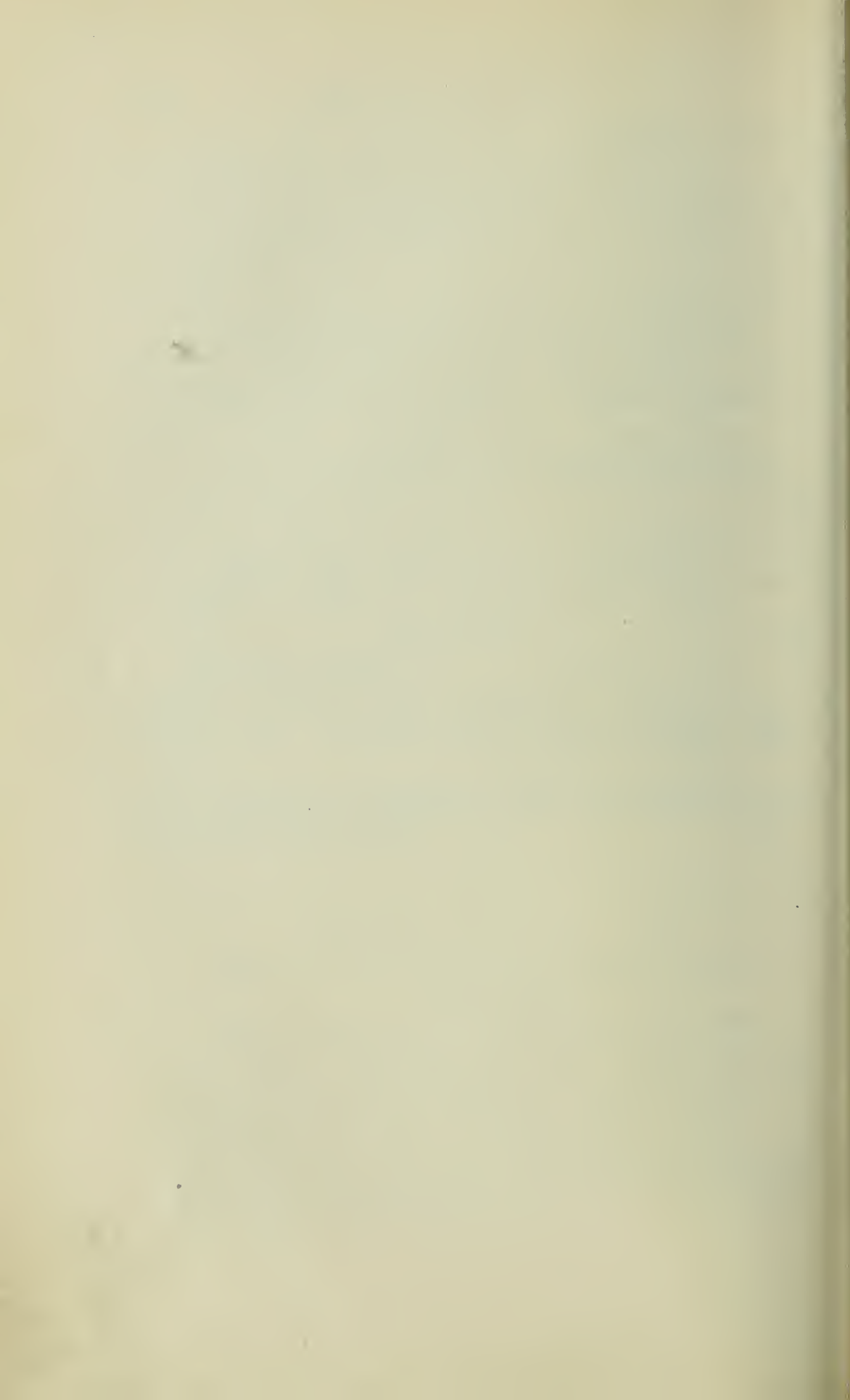
On the motion of the Chairman, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

MEETING, DECEMBER 7TH, 1918.
HELD IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, SOUTH
KENSINGTON.

Mr. A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

The Rev. G. S. Streatfeild, M.A., author of *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, read a paper on "The Danish Settlement in Lincolnshire."

A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Professor W. P. Ker, Dr. Jón Stefánsson and others took part.



MANX CROSSES—RELATING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND NORWAY.

BY DR. HAAKON SHETELIG.

(Read November 4th, 1914).

THE following brief study treats of the chronological classification of a limited group of monuments on the Isle of Man. The Manx stone monuments, which by their ornamentations and inscriptions are recognized to be Scandinavian, have been examined for more than seventy years, and the publications on them are copious. Here it is enough to refer to the great and excellent work by P. M. C. Kermodé: *Manx Crosses*, 1907 (p. 8 *et seq.*), where a complete list of literature on the subject is to be found; and it contains a detailed account of the monuments, with descriptions and illustrations of each of them. The work of Mr. Kermodé will, in the future, be the standard work on these monuments. Here we have for the first time got a full survey both of the Scandinavian and the Celtic monuments of the Isle of Man, so we are able to form an opinion of the relation between these groups. Besides this, Mr. Kermodé was the first to study the sculptured ornamentations and figure-subjects of the crosses and the first to try to establish the chronological order of the monuments. When I, in the following paper, wish to show that we, in this respect, can obtain more positive and partially different results from those obtained by Mr. Kermodé, it is with the full acknowledgment of our indebtedness to him.

The first thing that must be done is the grouping of the crosses according to a critical examination of their style. It has often enough, and with good reason, been pointed out that the Scandinavian crosses in the Isle of Man owe their style to an imitation of the Celtic crosses.

At this period in Scandinavia it was not the custom to erect crosses; it was not till after the colonisation of the British Islands that the Vikings adopted the Christian habit of erecting crosses as a monument to the dead. When studying the Manx crosses we meet with the peculiarity that they are on the whole, especially the oldest of them, more connected with the type that was general in Scotland than with the Celtic ones on the Isle of Man. The majority of the Celtic crosses on the Isle of Man are more nearly approaching those of Ireland than those of Scotland, whilst the reverse is the case with regard to the Scandinavian ones; and the Scandinavian invaders who erected the crosses must consequently have brought the type with them from Scotland.

A cross from Barra, in the Hebrides, which has a Runic inscription and which gives the impression of being a barbaric imitation of the Scottish type, confirms this conclusion.¹ These facts give valuable enlightenment with regard to the nationality of these crosses. The historical position of the Isle of Man during the Viking Age varied in its connections both with regard to the Danish town Limerick, and with regard to the Norwegian territory on the islands west of Scotland, but in the end the Isle of Man paid tribute to the Earl of the Orkneys and to the Norwegian king.² This shows us that the Manx crosses from the Viking Age are connected with the north, with the undoubtedly Norwegian colonies in Scotland and in the Hebrides, and it is also the north part of the island which particularly gives evidence of a Scandinavian population during the Viking Age.

Passing to the classification of the monuments, we will begin with the well-known passage on a cross at

¹ Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Second Series, p. 227, fig. 137. A. Bugge, *Vikingerne*, 1904, I., p. 193, mentions a stone from Iona, which is said to be allied to the Manx crosses.

² Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, iii., p. 213, *et seq.* W. G. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 226, *et seq.*

Kirk Michael, fig. 1 (No. 74).¹ “Gaut made this (cross) and all in Man.” I agree with Mr. Kermode that this is a distinct statement that Gaut was the first Norwegian sculptor in the Isle of Man, and from an

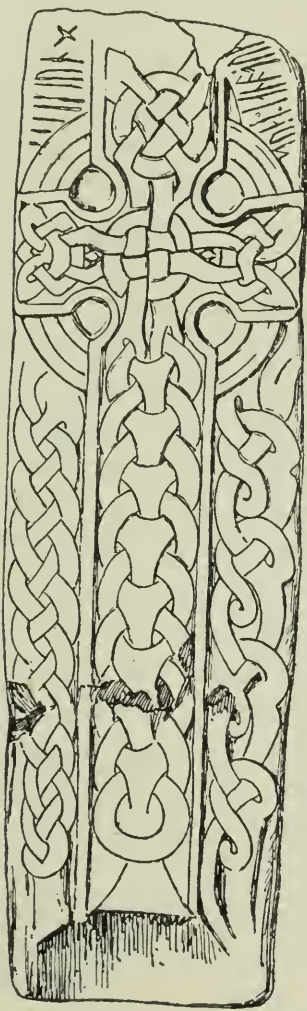


Fig. 1.—Gaut's Cross, Michael.

examination of the style of ornamentation in his work, this appears to be very probable. Besides Michael No. 74, he has signed Andreas No. 73, and there are reasons to ascribe Michael No. 75, Treen Church

¹ All numbers refer to Kermode: *Manx Crosses*.

No. 78, German No. 81, Andreas No. 83, Michael No. 85, Braddan No. 86, and most likely Bride No. 92, to the same hand, though the "motives" in the last-mentioned begin to show an ampler composition and greater variation:—features that point to a somewhat later group which we may call the school of Gaut.

Gaut uses the Scottish form for his monuments, and his ornamentation is throughout built of interlaced bands. At first sight his crosses give the impression of being a simpler and coarser imitation of the Scottish crosses. He has a regular broad pattern of plait-work and a simple key-pattern which is undoubtedly adopted from Celtic art. But otherwise the ornamental composition of the details is strikingly original. The ring-chain pattern which he often uses to cover the shaft of the cross grows to be characteristic of the crosses of the Isle of Man, and the decoration of the limbs is a quite new and original band-composition. I want especially to call attention to a number of designs formed of linked bands, which are quite unknown in Celtic art, but well-known in Scandinavia. In previous works on the Scandinavian-Celtic relations of style during the Viking Age the fact has too often been overlooked that Scandinavia had its own and independently developed band-ornamentation;—band-motives which of course are constantly interlaced and combined with the animal pattern, and, moreover, appear in pure form as an independent decoration. Space does not permit to deal more closely with the Scandinavian ornamentation and its development; I refer to Rygh, *Antiquités Norvegiennes*, fig. 643 and 650. A bronze mounting from the Gokstad ship (Rygh, fig. 607) has in fact all the motives which are found in Gaut's original band-plaits. On sword-hilts we often find band-motives such as Gaut generally adopts (Montelius: *Svenska fornsaker*, fig. 506, Rygh, fig. 504). Gaut has consequently taken foreign ornamentation as a model, but in the details of

the decoration he falls back on Scandinavian forms and motives.¹

The character of Gaut's work is just as we might expect of the founder of the Manx school. His ornamentation is clear and simple, with a certain broad and serene effect, compared with which other closely

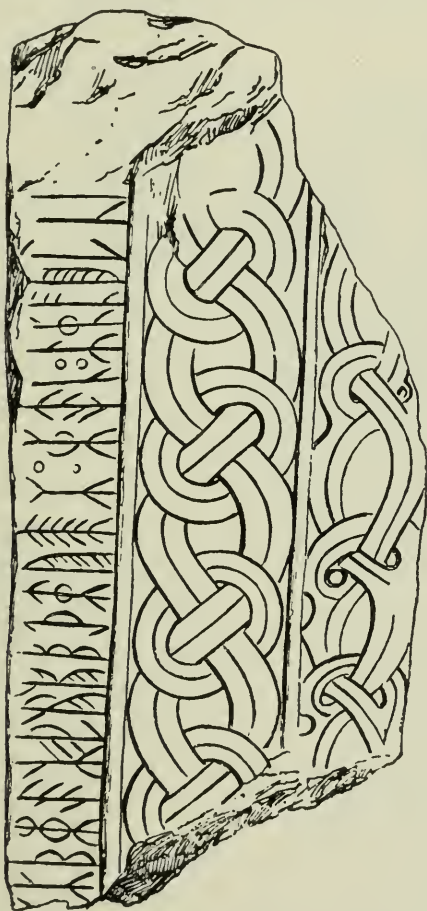


Fig. 2.—Broken slab, Andreas.

related works must certainly be attributed to his imitators. He forms his patterns of simple, plain bands, without double outlines or pelleting. Considering the evolution of style, it is natural to look upon the

¹ Compare Einar Lexow, Ringkjeden. (The Ring-chain-pattern), *Bergen Museums Aarbok*, 1917-18. See also *Osebergfundet*, vol. iii. Kristiania, 1920.

more austere and serene works as the older, whilst the desire for a livelier effect and more variety in the decoration are displayed in the younger monuments. The transition from Gaut to his younger school is gradually effected, as in the fragment Andreas No. 84, fig. 2, and a defective cross from Bride No. 92, and it is not impossible that Gaut himself participated in a part of the evolution.

On the crosses that reasonably may be attributed to Gaut, we only find ornamentation and no figure-subjects. There is, however, another artist—probably a contemporary one—who has chiefly imitated the figure-subjects of the Scottish school. He is not broad and rather primitive, like Gaut, but is tidy and exact in the execution—one might quite say academical in his faithfulness to the rules of Scottish art for figure-subjects. He is recognised in two monuments, both situated at Kirk Andreas (as No. 102 and 103), but, as he has not signed, we do not know his name. It is easy to distinguish the character of his work from Gaut's, to whom he is allied, by his chief ornamental motive: the ring-chain pattern. The excellent cross of Sandulf at Kirk Andreas No. 103, fig. 3, is by him; here the decoration is restricted to the shaft of the cross only, whilst the arms are blank. The room that is left on the surface of the slab outside the cross is covered with Scottish figure-subjects, but in between are put band-motives of Scandinavian character, and also a piece of a border, which is undoubtedly Scandinavian. His other piece of work is a fragment: the cross of Thorvald, Andreas (No. 102), fig. 4, with exactly the same treatment of the cross and the same relief-treatment of the figures on the slab. One of the figure subjects is the well-known representation which has been interpreted as Vidar in Ragnarok.

I have assigned this master to the same date as Gaut, though it is difficult to decide the question with

certainty. His close relation to the Scottish crosses is an indication that he belongs to an early period of the Manx school, and besides this, his simple treatment of the band-motives is undoubtedly closely related to Gaut's and not to the younger ones that continue the development. But, at the same time, the total impression of the two crosses is, that they are related to the

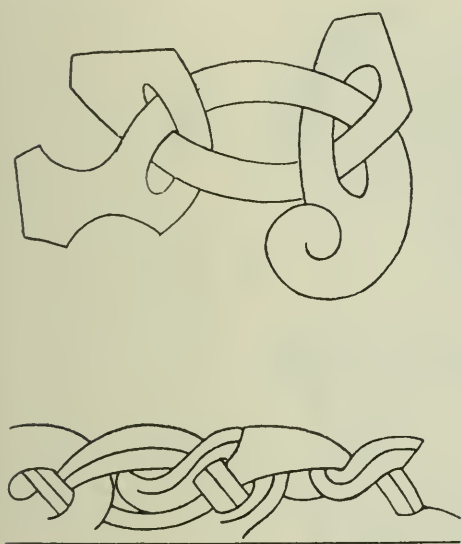


Fig. 3.—Sandulf Cross, Andreas
(portions).



Fig. 4.—Thorvald's Cross,
Andreas.

big cross St. Michael (No. 105), fig. 10, and this is one of the youngest in the school of Gaut. However, this master has not strictly left any traces in the evolution of style of the crosses of the Isle of Man, and his position is of no essential consequence to the grouping of the other crosses.

I have mentioned that certain crosses, Andreas No. 84 and Bride No. 92, show the first stage of a further devel-

opment of Gaut's motives. The well-known fragment from Kirk Andreas No. 84 (fig. 2), with an inscription of incomprehensible secret runes, has the same patterns that we know of from Gaut's crosses, but the relief is more vigorous and the effect livelier, because all the bands are separated by a sharp central line. On the cross Bride 92 the same ornamentation is enriched by a new combination of the band-plait. The simple twist-and-ring pattern, which is commonly used by Gaut, is

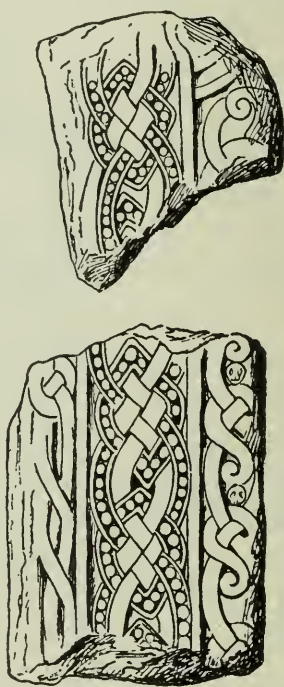


Fig. 5.—Grim's Cross to Hromund, Michael.

enriched with a similar pattern of four twisted bands, and this motive grows to be one of the most prominent patterns in the following group, which I call Gaut's school. The group consists of crosses as Jurby No. 98 and No. 99, Michael No. 100 (fig. 5) and 101 (fig. 6), Jurby No. 107, Braddan No. 110, and one side of Michael No. 105. On account of its decoration, the cross Ballaugh No. 77 also belongs to this group, but the cross itself is of another type from those used by Gaut. The effect of the ornamentation of this group is more lively, both

because the patterns are partially more complicated and because the ribbons are very often filled up with oblique lines or sculptured points. The figure-subjects are richly displayed and also contribute to a livelier effect.

In the works of Gaut there are no figure-subjects, neither animals nor human beings, and I think it very probable that his school—in this particular—is influenced by the master who has made the two crosses at Andreas (No. 102 and 103); for several reasons I



Fig. 6.—Michael.

judge it likely that this master is a younger contemporary of Gaut. A single animal-figure is represented on the cross Bride No. 92, and in the following group the figure-subjects are very prominent. Here we have a number of the interesting pictures which Kermodé and Bugge have interpreted as representations from the Norse mythology; this interpretation must at any rate be certain regarding the well-known scenes from the story of Sigurd Fafnesbane, as on the cross Jurby No. 93. Occasionally we also find representations with Christian

subjects (Michael No. 101) fig. 6. The treatment of the contents of the pictures is outside the limits of this paper, and the fact that actually is of any interest to us is that the animals connected with the story are sometimes carved in the conventional forms of the Norse ornamentation: as Michael No. 101, A (not figured here), the animal figure on the left hand side of the cross.

I want especially to call attention to the Sigurd crosses:



Fig. 7.—Sigurd slab, Andreas.

Jurby No. 93, Malew No. 94, and Andreas No. 95. Jurby No. 93 is entirely connected with the school of Gaut. The dragon which is killed by Sigurd is treated as a somewhat materialistic figure, and not according to the ruling style of ornamentation. On the cross Malew No. 94 the dragon has a more ornamental form, and on the other side of the stone the shaft of the cross has an ornamentation that evidently is Scandinavian. Andreas No. 95, fig. 7, shows excellent proofs of Norse

animal-ornamentation, whilst the band-ornamentations are subordinate. In the two last-mentioned stones, where the Norse animal-ornamentation dominates the decoration, No. 95, fig. 8, we meet a new school—or a new master—who is more independent of the traditions coming from Gaut. By an abrupt transition in the development the animal-ornamentation here suddenly appears as a principal motive on the crosses, and the band-plaits are also treated differently from the patterns of

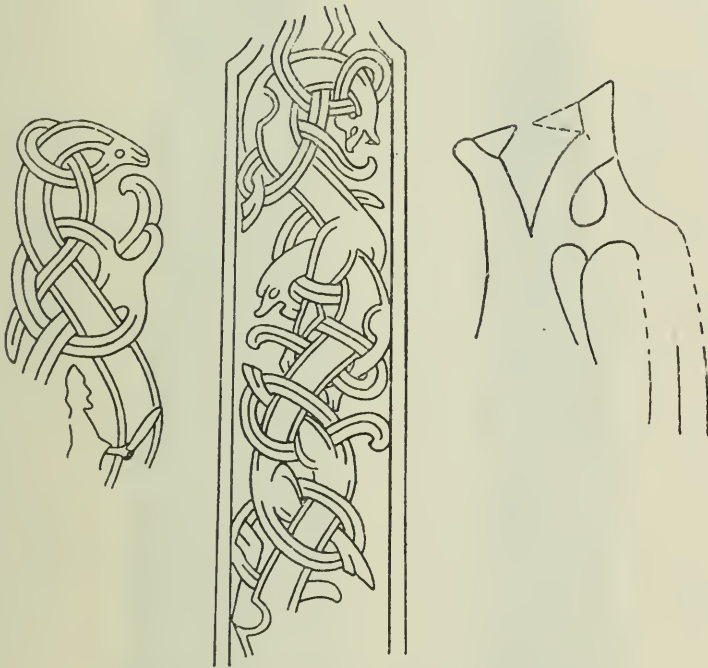


Fig. 8.—Sigurd slab, Andreas (portions).

Gaut and his successors. The name of this new master is not known, as neither of his two crosses have preserved the inscription. But at this point there is a transformation. From a local development—which is on Celtic soil but carried out and stamped by Norwegians—we pass to a style that is quite Scandinavian, a style that borrows nothing from Scottish and Irish art; it is a firm and clear animal-ornamentation that seems homely and well known to everyone who has studied Scandinavian art during the Viking Age. With all certainty this ornamentation



Fig. 9.—Thorleif's Cross, Braddan.

may be reckoned in the group that is called the Jellinge group—a style flourishing about the middle of the 10th century.

In pure animal-ornamentation still, but from another hand, we have two excellent crosses at Kirk Braddan, No. 108 (fig. 9) and No. 109. Here we have ornamentation only, no figure-subjects, and the shape of the crosses is different from the ordinary type of the Manx crosses. The ornamentations belong to the Jellinge group, with the details that show that they must be assigned to the last part of the 10th century. A feature of special interest here is the broad indented projections which reach from the ornaments to the edge of the stone. Something very similar is found on the big stone from Jellinge (II. C). The cross No. 109 has now an incomplete signature; from former interpretations, when more of the runes were still intact, the name is said to have been Thorbjörn. The reading cannot be verified now, but in this connection it is proper to make use of the advantage of attaching a fixed name to certain monuments. The two crosses from Braddan are surely from the same hand, and we also find the same character of style in two animal-figures at the bottom of side A of the cross Michael No. 105. In some other features—the ornamentations on the side B and C—this large and excellent cross is completely connected with Gaut's younger school; and on Braddan No. 109 (side B) we find motives belonging to the same group. I consider it certain that this Thorbjörn, whose name we know from Braddan No. 109, also has carved Michael 105, fig. 10, as on both crosses we find quite the identical treatment of the animal-subjects and at the same time proofs of the band-ornamentation, which is characteristic of the tradition coming from Gaut. We also get the information that Gaut's younger school is connected with an animal-ornamentation, which may be assigned to the end of the 10th century.

The works that may be attributed to Thorbjörn indicate in reality a transition, a dissolution of the older school. He possesses the tradition coming from Gaut, but combines this with the animal-ornamentation, and his carvings on Michael No. 105, side A, are closely



Fig. 10.—Michael.

allied to Celtic art. On this cross we have a composition and motives closely copied from Celtic models, but also details that establish the connection with a Norse school on the Isle of Man. But it is of very great importance that Thorbjörn, with these crosses from Braddan, introduces a new type for the cross itself: a slab which is

cruciform in outline. Of the same type, but less prominent in its form, is the cross Ballaugh No. 77, fig. 14—the ornamentation of this cross is of the youngest of Gaut's school—and so also is the cross Maughold No. 91; here the decoration is very close to Celtic art, but, on account of its ring-chain pattern, allied to the

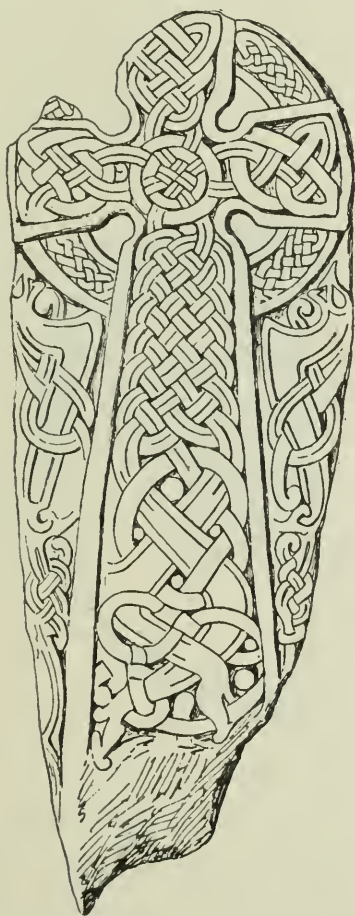


Fig. 11.—Michael.

Norse school on the Island. This type of cross also prevails in a little group which is the youngest of the Norse decorated crosses on the Isle of Man: Maughold No. 82, Michael No. 89 (fig. 11) and No. 90, and Ramsey No. 96.

These stones form a very homogeneous group. In

the decoration of the limbs (No. 89 A), in the ring-chain pattern and in the broad band-plait (No. 82), this group has kept up with the traditions coming from Gaut, but besides this it works in the same specific broad and compact plait-patterns, which may be owing to a direct Celtic influence, merged with animal-ornamentation. The character of style is so uniform that we must suppose that these monuments came from the same hand, and, to judge from the character of the forms of the animals, this master belongs to the first part of the 11th century. Here we find the animal-ornamentation in a

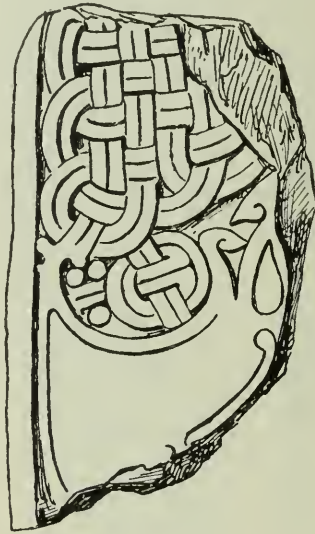


Fig. 12.—Michael.

stage of development that is younger than the Jellinge style and older than the youngest rune-stones from Upland, and older than the church of Urnes. This master has two strongly defined forms of animals: one has a clear and organic composition, with a broad front of body and characteristic head with a prolonged appendix extending from the neck; the eye is oblong, and towards the nose has a pointed form, No. 89 and 90, fig. 12; the other one, which is composed in combination with pure band-plaits, is a long animal—formed like a ribbon—the head of which has a broadened muzzle

but neither eye nor appendix from the neck, No. 89 and 96, fig. 13. On the cross Michael both these forms of animal occur. Ramsey No. 96 has on one side figure-subjects with scenes from the Sigurd legend. On none of these crosses is the inscription preserved.

So far I have reviewed the grouping of the Norwegian sculptured monuments on the Isle of Man, and must add, that we have still a small number of stones—some of them are decorated and some of them have runic



Fig. 13 — Ramsey, Maughold (portions).

inscriptions—which Mr. Kermode judges to be Scandinavian; in my opinion, the ornamentations of these stones is not Scandinavian. The cross Bride No. 97 has sculpture on both sides without inscriptions. It is a rather rough and barbaric work, with entirely Celtic motives, and in the composition there are no indications that ally it with certainty to the Norse school. The case is the same regarding the peculiar cross Maughold No. 72. It may be a matter of opinion whether these crosses are to be reckoned as Celtic ones or Norse

barbarian copies of Celtic models—they do not, at any rate, coincide with the logical and coherent development of the Norse school of the Island.

The cross Michael No. 104 is of more importance. Here the decoration is certainly executed by a Celtic artist, and the runic inscription is on the back of the stone where there is no decoration. Most likely this is an older Celtic cross that subsequently has had a runic inscription inserted, and the same is undoubtedly the case with the simple cross of Conchan No. 113. It is outside the limits of this examination of style to fix the date of these crosses, but it may be mentioned that, judging by its runes, Michael No. 104 is reckoned among the younger Scandinavian inscriptions on the Isle of Man (according to Brate, as will be referred to below).

This is of a certain consequence; it is natural to suppose that the school terminates in a decadence which displays itself in the fact that they no longer made new monuments but only adopted the older Celtic crosses and gave them new inscriptions. In consequence the crosses 104 and 113 may with some probability be reckoned among the youngest Norse inscriptions on crosses.

According to the preceding review of the crosses we have the following fixed points of chronology. The master of the animal-ornamentation on the cross Malew No. 94 and Andreas No. 95 works in the Norse style dating about, or nearly up to, the year 950. Thorbjörn, who made the crosses from Braddan No. 108 and 109, flourishes during a period somewhat before 1,000, to fix it more precisely, about 980-990. Because of his band-ornamentation, he belongs to the group we have called the younger school of Gaut. In the crosses Michael No. 89 and 90, and Ramsey No. 96, we finally have a master whose style of animal-ornamentation must be assigned to 1000-1050,—to be more definite—this style does not come so far down as the middle of the

century. According to these dates, and the general development, we may form a chronological synopsis:—

1. The crosses of Gaut, Andreas 73, and Michael 74, fig. 1, and the crosses that may be attributed to him, Port St. Mary 76, Treen Church 78, German 81, Andreas 83, Michael 85, Braddan 86, and most likely Bride 92, must be supposed to belong to the period *from about 930 to somewhat after the year 950*. It is perhaps a short time for such a considerable production as the monuments here preserved give evidence of, and one might be apt to fix the former date somewhat earlier.

2. The crosses Andreas 102 and 103, fig. 3 and 4. Celtic figure-motives, connected with band-ornamentation of Gaut: *about 940*.

3. Malew 94 and Andreas 95, fig. 7 and 8. Norse animal-ornamentation of the Jellinge style, representations of Sigurd: *the period immediately after 950*.

4. The cross Braddan, of Thorbjörn, 108, fig. 9, and No. 109. Norse animal-ornamentation of the Jellinge style with younger details: *about 980-990*.

5. School of Gaut, Ballaugh 77, Jurby 93, 98 and 99, Michael 100, fig. 5, No. 101, fig. 6, and 105, fig. 10, Jurby 107, Braddan 110. The group shows a considerable development of style, as the older ones are more allied to Gaut and the younger ones have more variation and livelier effects in the patterns *from about 950 to 1000 or a short time after 1000*.

6. Maughold 82, Michael 89, fig. 11, and 90, fig. 12, Ramsey 96, fig. 13. Norse animal-ornamentation, representations of Sigurd: *from about 1000 to 1040*.

7. Michael 104, Conchan 113. Celtic crosses with rune inscriptions added later: *about 1050?*

It is very interesting to compare these results with the dates that are fixed for the rune inscriptions. The latest pronouncement regarding this question is by E. Brate (*Fornvännen*, 1907). According to the use of the rune F pronounced alternately as a nasal *a* and *ô* Mr. Brate has

divided the inscriptions into two groups, an older and a younger one. The previous authors Wimmer and Bugge had fixed the dates for the inscriptions on the crosses of the Isle of Man to the latter part of the 11th century. Brate says that the above-mentioned transition in the use of the rune—according to Wimmer this might depend on influence from the Anglo-Saxon runes—must be assigned to a somewhat earlier date, so that the rune-inscriptions, which have *F* pronounced as nasal *a*, must be assigned to the first part of the 11th century. Thus the inscriptions are divided into two classes: the *a*-class from 1000-1050, and the *ô*-class after 1050.

To the *a*-class belong: Gaut's crosses (Andreas 73 and Michael 74), and two of the crosses that we have attributed to Gaut (German 81 and Michael 74); still a cross of Gaut's school (Jurby 99), the master who uses the Celtic figure-motives (Andreas 102 and 103), and the crosses of Thorbjörn (Michael 105, Braddan 108 and 109).

To the *ô*-class belong: Two crosses of the younger school of Gaut (Ballaugh 77, fig. 14, and Braddan 110), the additional inscription on a Celtic cross (Michael 104), and two inscriptions on stones that have no ornamentation (Corna 114 and Maughold 115). The two last-mentioned inscriptions are considerably younger than the others, and are of no consequence for this investigation.

The mutual relation between these two groups agrees very well with the development of style. The two sculptured monuments which belong to the *ô*-class are both—because of their style—to be regarded as the very youngest in Gaut's school. In the above chronological survey of style, the transition between the *a*-class and the *ô*-class may be placed about the year 1000 without involving any changes in the grouping, which is based on critical analysis of style. To obtain a thorough agreement it would be necessary to put the dates given

by Brate as 50 years earlier, and also to allow the *a*-class, as a whole, a somewhat longer period than the half-century, as is estimated by Brate. I cannot judge of any possible objections, either linguistic or runological, respecting such a change of the date, but it is certain that most serious chronological objections arise if the

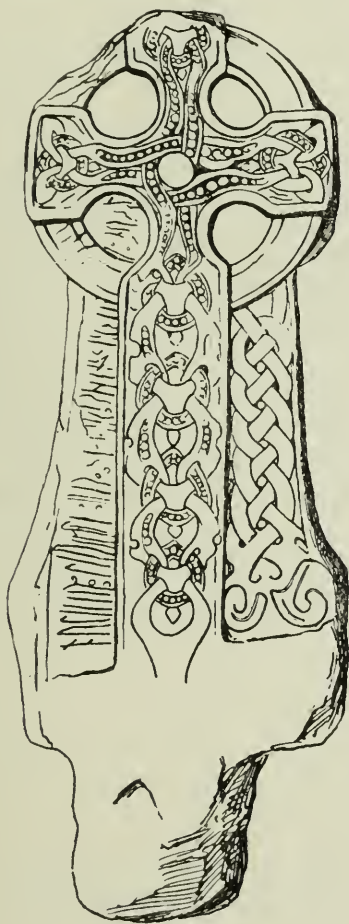


Fig. 14.—Ballaugh.

whole development of ornamentation which is allied to the *a*-class is referred to the 11th century according to the opinion of Brate. It is also certain that this development in all probability has required a larger period than the 50 years estimated by Mr. Brate.

After this paper had been printed in Norwegian Mr.

Brate kindly wrote me regarding the chronology of the Manx runic inscriptions. From an epigraphic point of view, he thinks it difficult to date the beginning of the ô-class so early as about 1000 A.D. He also objects that the Isle of Man was hardly Christianised so early as would be necessary to suit my opinion upon the age of the crosses (*cf.* Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, p. 5). In this question, however, we may safely rely on a prominent English authority, Mr. W. G. Collingwood. In his work *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 232 (London, 1908), Mr. Collingwood says, after a short survey of the monuments in the Isle of Man: "The conclusion seems to be that perhaps a hundred years earlier than Roolwer (who is mentioned in 1060) there was a Christian church on the Island under Godred and his predecessor Magnus—as indeed is not impossible: for a realm in touch with England on the one hand and Ireland on the other, inhabited by a settled population as Man then was, must have assimilated itself to its surroundings." I perfectly agree with Mr. Collingwood's statement, and think there will—from historical reasons—be no objections to the chronology which I have fixed upon in my paper.

ROCK CARVINGS OF THE NORSE BRONZE AGE.

BY DR. JUST BING.

(Read December 22nd, 1914).

I.

THE CHARIOT OF THE GODS.

WHEN you leave Christiania in the evening, by the Gøteborg boat, you reach Strømstad at 6 o'clock the next morning, and a little bathing-place called Grebbestad, in Bohuslen, at 8-30 a.m. The rock-carvings are found chiefly in this district, Tanum, (the old Tunheim) where over 250 rock-carvings have been discovered. To one of these I will direct your attention (Fig. 1).

On this rock-carving at Bjørnerød in South Tanum, a chariot may be seen between two ships, with a buck harnessed to it on the right and a horse on the left. The team is incongruous; it cannot be a real one; it must have some symbolical meaning. In two other examples of rock-carvings I have found buck and horse grouped together, and these will tell us something about the nature of the supernatural beings represented by these animals. At Kalleby (Fig. 2) we have, over a ship, a buck bound to a wheel, and under it a horse. On the great Hvitlycke carving we have in the uppermost part (Fig. 3) a buck, and lower down a horse connected to a ring and to a man with his hands uplifted. It must be presumed that these three groups with buck and horse correspond to each other, and that their meaning is found in the same circle of ideas; that both animals at Kalleby and Hvitlycke have the same symbolical mean-



Fig. 1.—Rock carving, Bjørnerød, Tanum.

ing as they have at Bjørnerød. In his great work, *The Golden Bough*, Frazer has shown that the animal sacrificed to the god is a representative of the god himself. It is the god who is killed and sacrificed so that his might may be imparted to all who share the sacrificial meal. Consequently it must be inferred that the buck

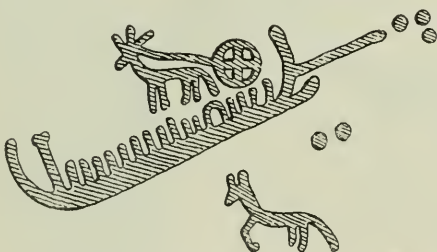


Fig. 2.—Kalleby, Tanum.

and the horse here represent two divinities, and that the figures connected with them are further determinations of these divinities, their attributes or representatives. Thus the buck is united to the wheel, which is acknowledged as a sign of the sun. The horse is connected with a ring and with a man with uplifted hands, though



Fig. 3.—Rock-carving, Hvitlycke, Tanum (portion).

as yet we do not know what they mean. That this view is right, is shown by a group (Fig. 4) further down on the Hvitlycke carving, where a buck's head and a great ring are grouped together. Here the sun-divinity is represented by the buck's head and the horse-divinity by the ring. The correspondence with the group above

is evident, so there can be no doubt in the identification, though this is a unique example of an animal's head carved on the rocks of Bohuslen.

As the ring here stands for the horse, we know that the sun is represented by the wheel, and thus we find our group in the celebrated sun-chariot of Trundholm (Fig. 5). It is thought that this shows the sun drawn by its horse, but as a matter of fact the sun-wheel and the horse are connected in such a manner that this is mechanically impossible. There are remains of hemp strands on the horse's neck and on the rim of the wheel. But with a rope fastened to the rim of the wheel, the horse could not draw it; it would fall at the first step.

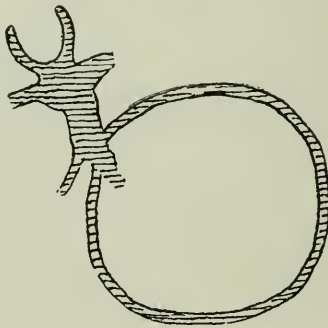


Fig. 4.—Rock-carving, Hvitlycke (portion).

And on the rock-carvings and elsewhere we see the wheel and the horse grouped together in such a manner that it cannot be meant for a horse dragging a wheel. In (Fig. 6) the Løberg carving (Telemark, Norway) there is no connexion between them. In (Fig. 7) the Nes Aune carving (Nordtrøndelag, Norway) the wheel is so great, and the horse so little, that he would be crushed in drawing it. And on the pot from Morlungo (North Italy) the wheel is placed before the horse (Fig. 8). We must therefore conclude that in the Trundholm chariot the sun and the horse are independent, though connected; the figures represent a sun-divinity and a horse-divinity, like those we have found in the rock-carvings. In the Trundholm example the gods are placed upon the



Fig. 5.—Sun-chariot from Trundholm.

chariot; at Bjørnerød they are set before the chariot to draw it. Both are illogical; in one case a horse is set upon a chariot, in the other a buck and a horse are associated to draw the chariot. Evidently we have here the gods in animal form, as they were represented in an early stage of art; in a later stage the cult of the chariot comes in as a new departure. In different ways this cult is brought into connexion with the divine



Fig. 6.—Rock-carving, Løberg.

Fig. 7.—Rock-carving, Nes-Aune.

Fig. 8.—From a pot, Morlung, N. Italy.

animals, but in either case the result is a completely unnatural one.

We then have to examine, first, the nature and meaning of the gods, and then the relation between them and the cult of the chariot. Let us begin by looking at further representations of the gods connected with the buck and the horse. United to the horse we have found a man with uplifted hands. This raises the much dis-

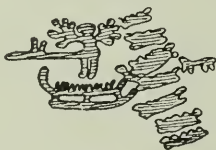


Fig. 9.—Rock-carving, Aspeberget (portion).

cussed question whether the figures in human shape carved on the rocks represent gods. Happily, it is not necessary to reopen the discussion, for the question is definitely settled by a figure in the carving of Aspeberget (Fig. 9, 30). We there have a man with his hands lifted; the immense phallus is marked with a horse's head. Indeed, this is a human shape, but not a human

being. Our feeling of human fraternity has a limit, and it stops before this object like a ship's prow with an animal's head, and we instinctively feel that this is a being of a nature different from ours. Evidently, it combines into one form the horse and the man with uplifted hands, the god in animal shape and the god in human shape which are connected in the Hvitlycke carving.

The sun-god, whose animal is the buck, has a human form, in which the animal and the human element are combined. We have in the rock-carvings a man with



Fig. 10.—Rock-carving,
Løfåsen.



Fig. 11.—Rock-
carving Ryk.



Fig. 12.—Rock-carving,
Tofvene.

a buck's head and one or two hammers (Figs. 10-12), but the buck's head sometimes degenerates into a horned helmet and the hammer into a hammer-shaped sword-sheath. In the Museum at Copenhagen there is a man with a horned helmet (Fig. 13), and an old catalogue notices that when the figure was found he had a hammer in his hand. But the horns are bull's horns, as Professor K. Helm has observed. Such a man, with bull's horns on his helmet and a hammer or hammer-formed sword-sheath, we have in a carving (Fig. 14) from Østerrød (Kville, Bohuslen). This seems to lead back to a bull-element; it suggests that the bull and the buck are interchangeable as animals of the sun. But as yet I have found no direct connexion between the bull and

the sun (the wheel) as it occurs with the buck at Kalleby, and this use of the bull appears to be rare.

There seems, however, to be another variety of representation of the sun in human form (Fig. 15). With the wheel we have two men, a great one and a little one, and in such groups usually—not always—one hand or arm of the little one is cut off. This seems to be a later type than the man with the hammer. With these two



Fig. 13.—Bronze figure, at Copenhagen.

figures no animal element is combined, and they occur with the spiral, which as a sign of the sun is certainly later than the wheel, for it is found most frequently in the later part of the Bronze Age. In one instance, however, at Bjørnstad (Østfold, Norway), we have the great man and the little one, and the great man is holding a hammer in his hand; in Fig. 16 two representations have been brought together. The key to this pheno-

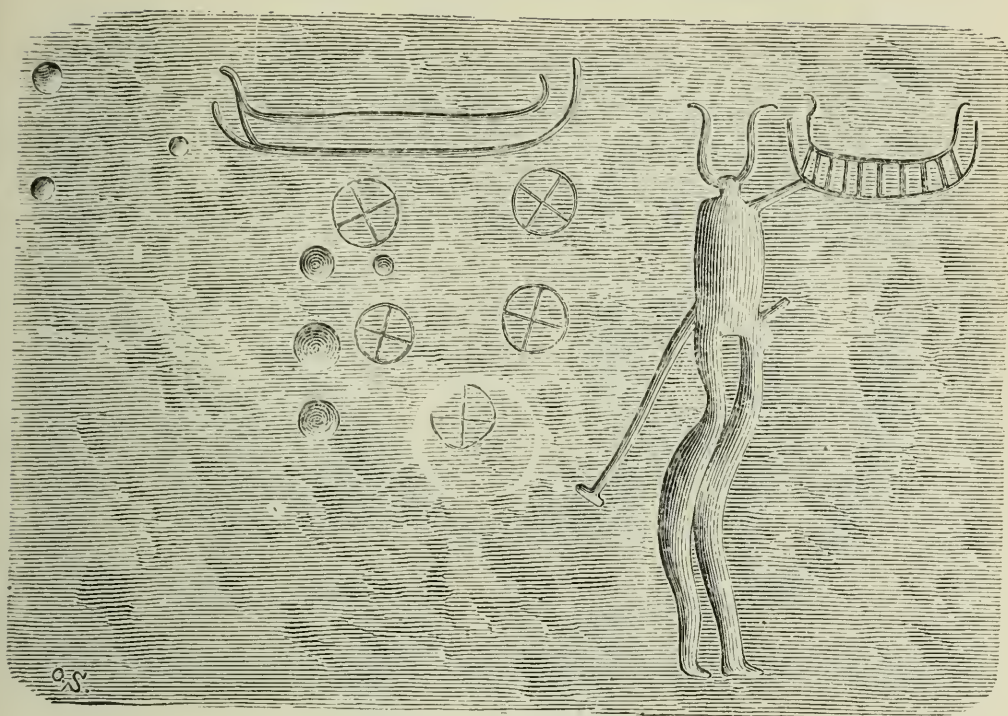


Fig. 14.—Rock-carving, Østerød.



Fig. 15.—Rock-carving, Norre Trättelanda.

menon, the double divinity of the wheel, I think is found on two carvings, that of the grave of Kivik in Scania and that of Løkeberg (Foss, Bohuslen). On the first (Fig. 17) we have two images of the sun, each of them showing the sun and a chopper, the new moon, together.

On the other (Fig. 18) we have the wheel and a round disc, *i.e.*, the sun and the full moon. These combinations lead us to guess that the great man and the little one, grouped with the wheel or a spiral, are meant to represent the gods of the sun and of the moon, the

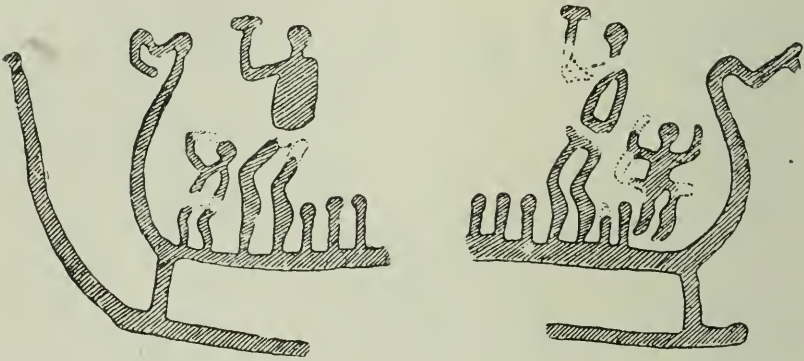


Fig. 16.—Rock-carving, prow and stern of ship, Bjørnstad (portion).

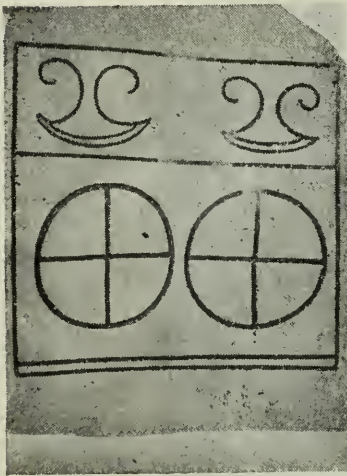


Fig. 17.—Rock-carving, Kivik, No. 6.



Fig. 18.—Rock-carving, Løkeberget (portion).

moon-god accompanying the sun-god as his little page-boy.

The horse-god with his hands lifted and his fingers spread can originally have had no such weapon as the hammer of the sun-god. But at Aspeberget (Fig. 30) he appears as the leader of the row of ships, the "review

of the fleet," he seems to be the god of war or the god of the sea, bearing in addition, as the god of war, a spear and an axe. In the rock-carvings of Eastern Götaland, in Sweden, discovered and recently published by Arthur Nordén, the spear and the axe are carved alone, as independent magical tools. And we know that they were believed to have a magical influence. One used to throw a spear over enemies to beat them down, crying: Othin has you all! And in 2 Sam., 23, 8 is named Josheb Basshebeth, the Tachmonite, chief of the captains of King David, who once slew 800 enemies by

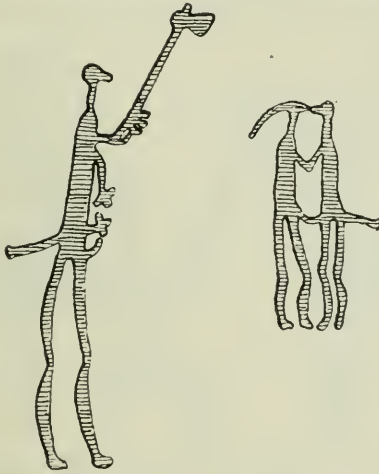


Fig. 19.—Rock-carving, Hvitlycke (portion, from Almgren).

throwing a spear over them.¹ Perhaps the original meaning of the axe in this instance is of a different nature. Dr. Wilke thinks that the axe is a magical symbol of fecundity, and notes that in Livonia an axe is laid under the bridal bed, that the couple may have strong children. On the rock-carvings (Fig. 19) we find a man holding an axe over a married couple, perhaps with the same meaning. It may be presumed that this is the original function of this god. In a primitive state of society when there is a war every summer, a happy

¹ So it may be inferred from our "Authorized" English version. The revised version omits mention of a spear; but see 2 Samuel xxiii. 18, 1 Chronicles ii. 11.—ED.

raid may equal a good harvest, and a god of fertility might easily develop into a god of war. But even this function cannot explain the shape of the god on the rock-carvings. His lifted and open hands continue for the present to be a point obscure to us.

II.

In order to lift the veil we must enlarge the circle of our observations. For, indeed, this man with his great uplifted and open hands does not occur only on the rock-carvings. The same type is found in numerous figures of bronze from South Russia (Fig. 20), and most of them

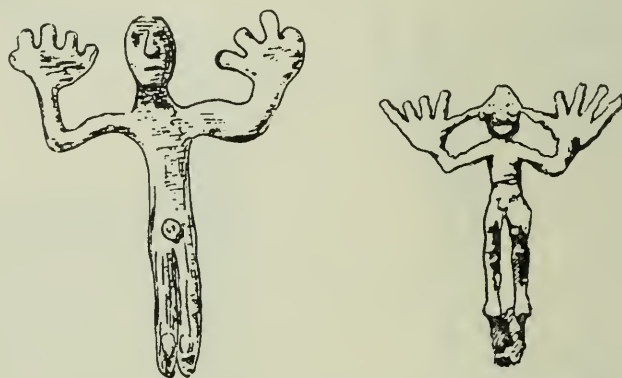


Fig. 20.—Bronze figures, South Russia.

are shaped so that they are unlikely to represent human beings. If we regard them as identical with the man with the great hands from Bohuslen, we must consider them as images of a god.¹ In South Russia there lived anciently the Scythians, of whom Herodotus relates (IV., 59) that their highest divinity was a god which

¹ Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der Kunst*, 2nd edition, p. 53, has compared these Russian figures to those of the rock-carvings of Bohuslen. He qualifies them as "adorants," but puts a mark of interrogation after the word. We have seen that the man with the uplifted hands on the rock-carving of Aspeberget appears in a form that must be the image of a god or a demon, not that of a human being. The same may be said of the Russian figure from Kiev (Hoernes, l.c. p. 53, II. 2). Indeed, Hoernes has uttered the same thought, when he says that to a figure such as this may be traced back the Celtic god Cernunnos with his hart's horns.

he identifies with Hestia, the goddess of the hearth-fire. We are justified in thinking that the bronzes represent this divinity. Herodotus says, it is true, that the Scythians had no images of the gods. But these little figures, which certainly are much older than his time, probably do not count in the question. If we consider them as images of this fire-god, their lifted and open hands may be explained as an imitation of the flames of fire, and accordingly it is probable that this is the original function of this god.

Among the leading nations of the Indo-Germanic races we certainly find the buck (or bull) and the horse

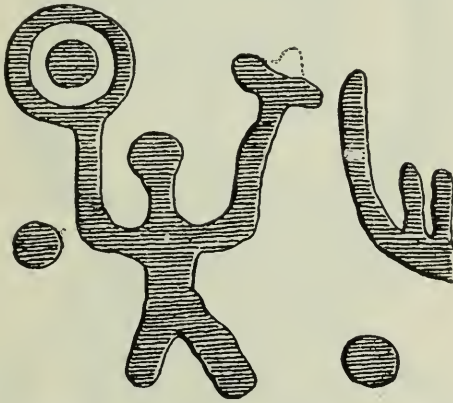


Fig. 21.—Rock-carving, Solberg (portion).

as animals of their great gods. In Vedic India the god of Heaven, Indra, seems to have been conceived as a bull, but in one hymn he is named “the buck” (*Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology*, I., 403). More prominent is the horse as the animal of Agni, the god of fire; his name is the same word as the Latin *ignis*. When a new fire was kindled, they led up to it a young horse and said: “Together with Agni be born, O Agni!” But this god grew out of his original rôle as a fire-god. He was invoked for the welfare of folk and cattle, for the fecundity of marriages, to give strength and honour to men and victory over their enemies. The fire-god developed into a divinity whose functions correspond

rather closely with those of the horse-god of Bohuslen.

Montelius has shown that the double axe of the sun-god in Cretic and Mycenaean Greece corresponds to the sign of the hammer in the North, and concludes that the hammer-god Thor is originally the god of the sun. I think this may be definitely proved by a rock-carving (Fig. 21) from Solberg (Østfold, Norway), showing a

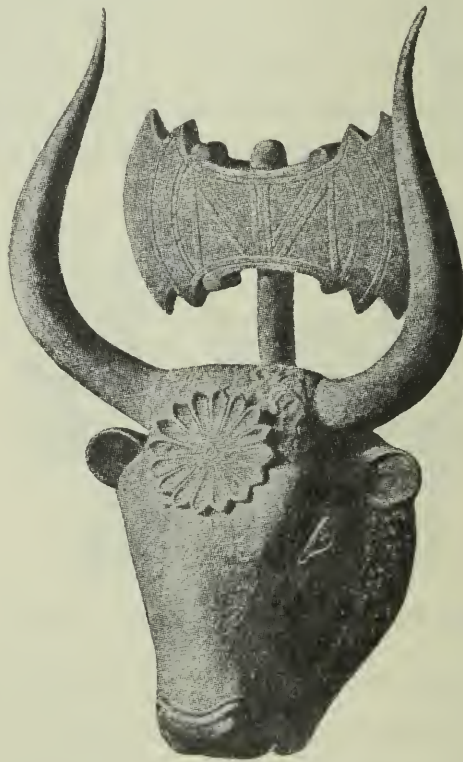


Fig. 22.—Ox-head with double axe of gold, Mycenae.

man, who in the one hand has a hammer and in the other a wheel. The double axe occurs alone under the sun and the moon, as we have seen it on a great seal of Mycenae; it seems to comprehend them both. But the double axe also occurs with the sun animals. The famous golden bull-head of Mycenae (Fig. 22) has the double axe between the horns and the sun-rosette on the forehead, and on seals we find the double axe with a

buck (Fig. 23). One may think that at the great royal feasts of Mycenae there were sacrificed bulls, but that at smaller sacrifices the buck was killed in worship of the sun.

In Hellenic Greece we have Zeus with his Aegis, his shield of goat's skin. In the myth, the nymph Amal-



Fig. 23.—Seal, Cyprus.

theia feeds the child Zeus with milk of the goat Aiga; in another version Amaltheia herself is the goat. Aiga was killed, and of her skin was made the Aegis. The myth evidently mediates between the god in human and in animal form, as a man and as a buck. The other great god, Poseidon, is called *hippios*, “horse-god,”



Fig. 24.—On a vase, Dipylon, Greece.

and is depicted as driving his carriage with four horses. The relation between god and animal here is different from what we see on the rock-carvings. Here the animal is not a representation of the god, but subservient to him. A more primitive image of Poseidon I think we have on a vase from Dipylon (Fig. 24). We there see

a man leading two horses, and under each of them is a fish. The fishes here symbolize the sea, and the man who leads his horses over the sea must be the sea-god, the horse-god Poseidon. This group corresponds remarkably with the horse-god holding a horse in each hand, as carved with the sun-god and his follower (Fig. 25) at Backa Utmark (Brastad, Bohuslen).

The Roman religion has no mythology, but its sacrificial rites give evidence. To the god of heaven, Jovis (Jupiter) there were sacrificed bulls and bucks; on New Year's Day, when the new consuls were inaugurated, a white bull was sacrificed, and every month on Jovis day, the Idus, a white sheep, the relation between them

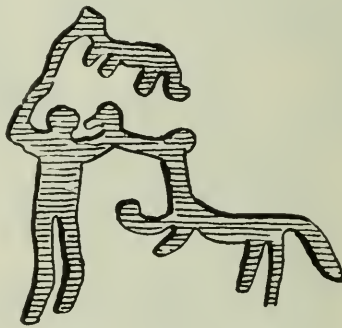


Fig. 25.—Rock-carving, Backa Utmark.

being the same as we have presumed above. To Mars the "October-horse" was sacrificed for a good harvest, the right-hand horse of the winning team in the chariot race. Mars is here, as he certainly was at first, the god of fertility, not as in other cases the Roman god of war.

Thus we see that among all the leading Indo-Germanic nations we have the same gods as on the rock-carvings. Firstly the god of heaven, to whom belongs the bull or the buck, both horned cattle; the bull form occurs only twice in the North. Then we have a horse-god, who is a fire-god, and has developed into a god of fertility, afterwards seeming to follow the main bent of the national character; for among the Hellenes, a maritime

people, he became the sea-god Poseidon, and among the warlike Romans he became Mars, the god of war.

It is no wonder, then, that we find these two in Northern mythology also, the buck-god Thor and the horse-god Frey. Thor drives a team of bucks; the relation between god and animal is altered here in the same manner as we have seen in the case of Poseidon. These two were the old Northern gods. Our sources of northern mythology, the Eddas, lead back to the Viking Age; but Axel Olrik has shown that the reception of Scandinavian gods by the Lapps must have taken place in an earlier period, that the whole religious system of rites of the Lapps corresponds rather to the Bronze Age



The World God of the Lapps.

Fig. 26, from MS. Nærø. Fig. 27, from Rudbeck's *Atlantica*.

than to the Viking Age. And the Lapps worshipped as their great gods Thor and his servant and the Man or God of the World. This expression is the same as the "Veralðar Goð," the name of Frey among the Swedish people. The images of these gods we have on Lapponic "runeboms," or magic drums, the oldest of which belongs to the 17th century, published in Rudbeck's *Atlantica*. It is very curious that we can find traces in these of an iconic tradition, going back to the very rock-carvings. In the Nærø manuscript of about 1720, the Man of the World is holding a mattock in one hand, and on the other side he has a curved and

jagged line, which represents a reindeer's horn (Fig. 26). But in the *Atlantica* the hand itself is altered into a reindeer's horn, and the mattock in the other hand has withered into a little cross, perhaps a Christian cross (Fig. 27). If we remember that one hand holds a mattock, and the other is formed as a reindeer's horn, the figure can be traced back, step by step, to the form of the god (Fig. 28) on the carving at Flyhof (West-Götaland, Sweden). The long fingers have withered into a horn, the axe has changed into a mattock. Now Snorri says, in his Edda, that Frey gave away his sword and killed Beli with bare hands or with hart's

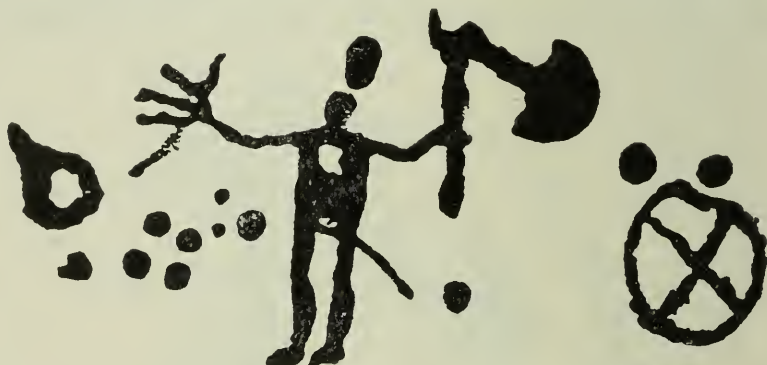


Fig. 28.—Rock-carving, Flyhof.

horns. The hart's horns correspond to the reindeer's horns of the Lapponic god, but here is no weapon. The weaponless Frey of Snorri leads back to the man with both hands uplifted and open on the rock-carvings, which is the original form of the god. In the case of this deity the rock-carvings have two variants of the same figure, and these are the originals of the two different forms—the Scandinavian and the Lapponic. The same is the case with the other god. On the rock-carvings we have a buck-god with one or with two hammers, the Lapponic Thor having two hammers, and the Scandinavian Thor one only.

We are now in a position to understand the servant of Thor. On the Lapponic "runebom" he has only

one arm (Fig. 29), and thus he is drawn in most of the rock-carvings. Thor has different servants, Thjalfi, Loki, and, in Hymiskviða, Tyr. Now Tyr is one-handed, like Thor's servant on the Lapponic "runebom" and on the rock-carvings. Therefore Tyr is the original servant of Thor, or of the sun-god, and in the rock-carvings we have thought we saw in him the god of the moon. But that Tyr actually was god of the moon may be concluded from his function as god of the *thing*. His day is called in German Diestag or Dingstag (the common Dienstag is a confusion of the two), and in Latin inscriptions he is named Mars Thingsus.¹ The *thing* of the Germans was held at new-moon or at full-moon; this was, Tacitus says (*Germania*, cap. 11), thought most auspicious to their enterprises. Thus the

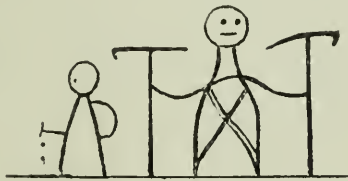


Fig. 29.—Thor and his attendant, on a Lappish runic (*i.e.* sorcerer's) drum, from Rudbeck's *Atlantica*.

god of the moon may easily develop into a god of the *thing*. His name, too, Tyr, that is simply "God," may be explained as suitable to a god of the moon; for Strabo relates that the Celtiberians and the peoples north of them in the nights of full-moon used to have dancing feasts in worship to a god without name (*ἄνοωνυμῶ θεῶ*); the passage is cited in Usener's *Götternamen*, p. 277. The moon-night was full of sorcery, therefore men's lips were closed. They dared not give a name to their god; they called him simply Tyr, "God," as a taboo-name.

But the little moon-god, servant of the sun, became independent, and as the *thing* of the Germans was a

¹ The correct reading is *Thinesus* (R. C. Bosanquet, *Archæol. Aeliana* 3rd series, xix., 186).—E.D.

weapon-show, he became their god of war; in this function he corresponds with the new Othin (Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII., 57). Certainly he rose to the height of his career in the 19th and 20th centuries after Christ. In that period he became the god beloved of philologists, for did not his name correspond with *Zeus* and *Jovis*, with *deus* and *dies*? Thus he was accepted as the great Germanic god of heaven, "der grosse germanische Himmels-gott," and the circumstance that in Hymiskviða he is only the follower of Thor was passed over in silence.

The accounts of the deities of the Germans by Cæsar and Tacitus mention three gods, while the Lapponic group and the group of the rock-carvings give only two and a half. But evolution has made the half one, the servant-god, into a whole, an independent god, and thus we have the three gods. Cæsar only calls them the Sun, Fire and the Moon (*Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam*), which accords with the qualities of the gods we have found on the rock-carvings, but that the fire-god has grown up into a god of fertility and of war, just as the Vedic Agni developed. Tacitus (*Germania*, cap. 9) names Mercurius, Mars and Hercules, *i.e.*, Othin, Tyr and Thor. Here the new Othin has replaced the old Frey, who among the southern Germans completely disappeared. This group of three gods accordingly can be reduced into a group of two, *viz.*, the old Indo-Germanic buck-god and the horse-god. The first of them, the god of heaven, in the North has been split into a god of the sun and a god of the moon. The beginning of this development is discernible in the rock-carvings.

III.

Frazer has shown in his great work, *The Golden Bough*, that religion is preceded by magic, that the belief in the magic force of rites and spells of sacrifices, ceremonies and formulas is older than the belief in gods.



Fig. 30.—Rock-carving, Aspeberget.

And indeed in the earlier rock-carvings, like that of Fossum (Balzer, I., pl. 49-50, No. 8) the ceremonies are more prominent than the gods. But on the great carving of Aspeberget (Fig. 30), a monument of the full-grown art of rock-carving, the religious tendency is predominant; we see the gods in the front, the horse-god leading the "review of the fleet," and the sun-gods conducting the works of peace, ploughing and tending the cattle.

It is reasonable to think that these tendencies came into conflict. When men grew to believe in gods absolutely, ceremonies seemed to be of little consequence, and the leaders of the rites, the old magic priesthood, became insignificant. One may imagine that against this new religious movement a reaction in favour of cult took place. And indeed from the Bronze Age we have several "kettle-chariots," monuments of a cult of the chariot, that seems to be a new element in cult. It is likely that opposition existed between the growing religious belief and this new element in the evolution of cult, an indication of which we find in the relation between the gods and the chariot in the sun-chariot of Trundholm and in the carving of Bjørnerød, where the cult of the chariot in different ways, both of them illogical, has disposed of the divinities, has put them upon the chariot or set them before it.

On the rock-carvings we have two types of chariots, the four-wheeled chariot drawn by oxen (or kine) and the two-wheeled chariot drawn by horses. And we find them again a thousand years afterwards, described in Tacitus' *Germania*. In cap. 10 we have the horse-chariot. White horses are fed in the sacred groves; they are set before the holy chariot; the priest and the head of the tribe follow them and take omens from their neighing and from the noise they make. Evidently the horses here seem to have a divine character, and they have the same function as the buck and the horse, which

represent the two gods when they are depicted as drawing the chariot in the Bjørnerød carving.

And in cap. 40 we find the cow-chariot of Nerthus. "Men believe," says Tacitus, "that Nerthus (that is *Terra Mater* or Mother Earth) takes a hand in the destinies of mankind and drives forth among people. In a holy wood on a sea-girt isle is her consecrated chariot, hidden under a covering. None may touch it but the priest. He knows when the goddess is present in this hiding-place, and escorts it round about, drawn by kine, with the greatest solemnity. Then there is feasting and gladness, and all strangers are entertained. No weapon



Fig. 31 —Kivik, upper part of No. 7.

is to be found; every sword is hidden. So deep, so holy is the place till the priest conducts the goddess back to the temple, when she is weary of human intercourse. There the chariot and covering remain and (if it may be believed) the goddess herself is washed in a solitary lake. She is served by slaves, whom the lake immediately destroys. Fear there is and horror of the unknown, which they barely behold, which is consecrated to death." (*Germ.* 40).¹

In these passages the gods are placed before or upon the chariot, and in both cases they are appropriate to

¹Translated by H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*.

their position. Then we must invert chronology and suggest that it is from a chariot with the two divine horses before it, such as Tacitus describes, that the Bjørneøed chariot with buck and horse before it may be derived, and that the six-wheeled Trundholm chariot has its original model in a four-wheeled chariot, drawn by kine, as that of the goddess Nerthus.

Of the four-wheeled carriage, drawn by kine, no further explanation can be gained from the rock-carvings, but with the horse-chariot the case is different.

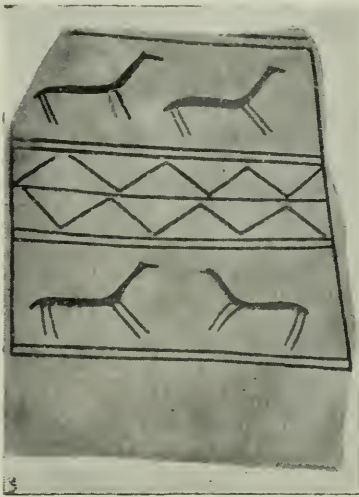


Fig. 32.—Kivik, No. 3.



Fig. 33.—Kivik, No. 4.

On one of the earliest rock-carvings, the carving of the tomb of Kivik, on the Baltic coast of Scania, we see on one of the slabs (Fig. 31) a chariot with two horses. On the other side of the tomb we have on another slab the symbols of the gods, twice repeated, on slab No. 4 (Fig. 33), the wheel of the sun, and on slab No. 3 (Fig. 32) a couple of horses. It seems that the horse-divinity is represented here not by one horse but by a pair. And the same observation can be made if we compare a carving from Klinta on Øland, an island of the Baltic Sea on the coast of Sweden, with the carving from Kalleby (Fig. 2), where we had a buck with the wheel above

the ship and a horse under it. On the Klinta carving (Fig. 34) we have the same motive, but over the ship the sun without a buck, and under it two horses.

The two horses here in the east on the Klinta carving and on the tomb of Kivik form the counterpart to the



Fig. 34.—Rock-carving, Klinta.

sun, just as in the west in the Trundholm carriage and in the carving of Kalleby it is formed by one horse; these two horses must be explained as the team of the chariot. The cult of the chariot has caused a redoubling of the divine animal. With this change here in the east the cult of the chariot has been taken up into the religion of the sun and the horse.

But in the west the relation between the chariot-cult and the religion seems to have had its crises. The chariot-cult has visibly attempted to dominate the whole religion. The worshippers of the two-wheeled chariot have made the animal gods into a team for their chariot. And the worshippers of the four-wheeled chariot have placed the sun and the horse-god upon their chariot. Either of these is a rough attempt to mould the religion of the two great gods into the forms of the chariot-cult. Perhaps this *tour-de-force* was prompted by resistance from the believers in the two gods, who would not let the chariot-cult enter the sphere of their religion, by doubling the horse, the animal of the god.

But it seems that at last on the carving of Backa Utmark, dating no doubt from a late period, a compromise has been made, and that it was effected in the spirit of the eastern group. Here the anthropomorphism of the gods is more developed, and we see the horse-god leading two horses, just as the primitive Poseidon does on the Dipylon vase. Thus the relation between one and two in the divine being could be made up: two horses and yet one man-god. And so the cult could take a more appropriate and more modest place. The belief in the great gods had won, the assault of cult upon religion had been repelled, and the human form of the gods had triumphed over the animal form.

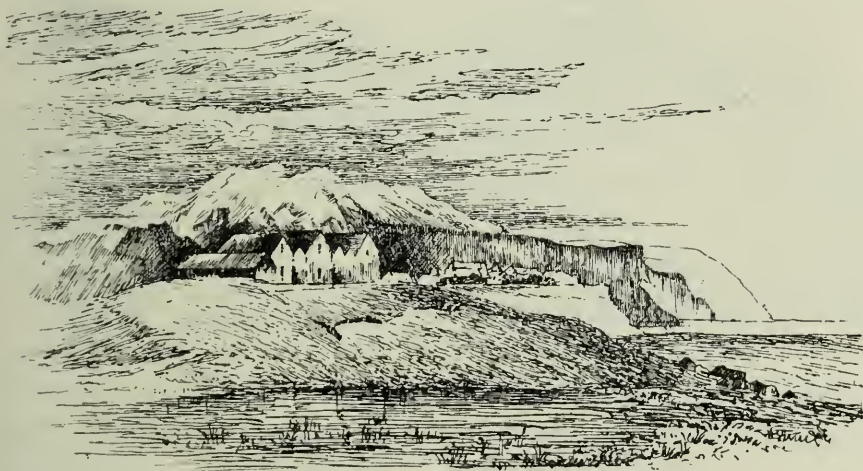
SOME OLD HISTORIC HOMESTEADS OF ICELAND.¹

By H. W. BANNON, F.R.G.S.

(Read January 7th, 1915).

THE homesteads, with their dependencies, were the life centres of Iceland, as in most parts of Europe the steadings were the cradle of civilization, the birthplace of townships.

One of the best authorities on the subject, Dr. Valtýr Gudmundsson, of Copenhagen, has fully described them in his book, "Den islandske Bolig."



Bergþórshvål.—The home of Njáll and Bergþóra.

One of the most interesting of these historic sites is Bergþórshvål, on the south coast, the home of Njáll Þorgeirsson and Bergþóra his wife. The house and adjacent building standing on an eminence facing Vestmannaeyjar (Westmen's Isles), the Eyjafjallajökull behind, and the Affal flowing gently past it, form a picture with the glorious Icelandic colouring richly laid

¹ The pen-and-ink sketches were made by the author from her original water-colour drawings.—ED.

on. In this region every knoll and hillock is sacred to the memory of Njáll and Bergþóra; indeed the whole territory is known as "the Njáll country."

Njáls Saga, "The Story of Burnt Njal," translated by Sir George Dasent, is the best known of all the sagas, and is written in short, abrupt sentences, conjunctions being almost entirely absent. It describes Njáll as "so great a lawyer that his match was not to be found." His wife was also a remarkable woman. The jealousy of their sons, fanned by a spy and tale-bearer, against a young man, Höskuldr, whom Njáll had adopted, led to the final tragedy. Höskuldr was stabbed; and Flosi, a powerful chief, whose niece was the wife of the victim, came one night in the autumn, with a band of a hundred and twenty men, to avenge the deed. Such was his duty, according to Icelandic tradition, as next of kin.

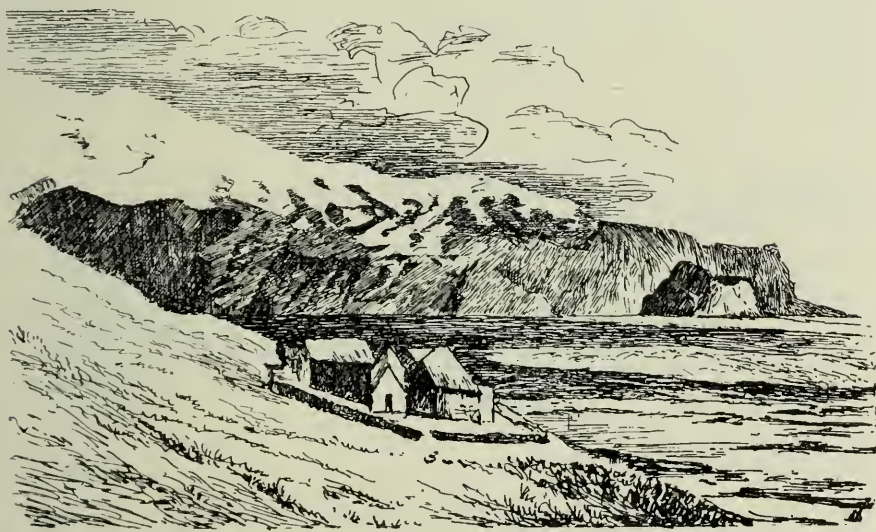
The place was barricaded and stoutly defended; and though the hostile chief, before setting the roof on fire, entreated Njáll and Bergþóra to pass out with the women and house karls, the venerable lawyer refused to leave his sons and sons-in-law; and his faithful wife sternly resolved to share his fate. So they laid down on their bed together, their little grandson Þórðr between them; and committing their souls to God, never spoke again.

The hall stood up black amidst the roaring flames that rose high into the dusky night; spears and darts and burning brands were hurled down upon the heads of the enemy, and sparks fell like a great rain; but the end was soon; the roof falling in with a crashing sound, the central pillars collapsed, and all was over. None escaped save one, Kári, who with hair and clothes on fire, managed to reach a friendly pool, into which he plunged, and finally found refuge elsewhere.

Flosi, the perpetrator of this great crime, was condemned to death at the Alþing; but though he managed to escape, it was believed that he never forgave himself. In after years he became reconciled to Kári; then setting

sail in a vessel known to be unseaworthy, he was never heard of again.

The next historic site is Hlíðarendi, the home of Gunnarr, whose history is interwoven in this saga with that of Njáll. They were close friends and neighbours, as their estates marched, and the two men resembled each other in being heroes. Gunnarr is thus described : “ Tall and strong was he, and none could compete with him in sword exercise, or any kind of sport, or games of strength. He was also the most courteous of men,



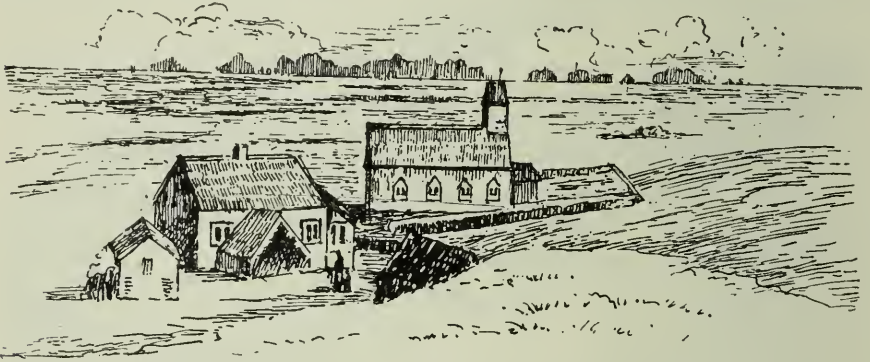
Hlíðarendi.—Farm on the site of Gunnar's hall.

bountiful and gentle, and a fast friend.” This was the man who wooed and won Hallgerðr, the beauty of Mosfell, whose golden hair fell in such masses that it had to be tucked up in her girdle; but her heart was as hard as her face was fair; and it was through her perfidy that her husband was at last overpowered by his enemies.

The ancient hall has long disappeared; and its site, on a grassy bank, high above the river Þverá, is occupied by a small farmhouse and a church. Beyond these, and within an easy walk, is the tumulus where, for over nine hundred years, the remains of Gunnarr have rested

undisturbed. He has long entered the halls of Valhalla, and is at peace.

Well might Gunnarr say of his home: "Fair is Hlíðarendi, I have never seen a fairer!" The locality teems with subjects for the brush. Eastwards, the purple mountains of Eyjafjallajökull rise till their glaciers are lost in the clouds, a bright green valley lying at their base; and near the entrance, the curious, isolated crag Stóra Dímon, forms a river-island where the sons of Njáll, on one occasion, sought refuge from the avenger. Vestmannaeyjar (the Westmen's Isles) lie due south; and the view towards the setting sun embraces a great stretch of land once covered with corn-fields, but



Oddi.—With Vestmannaeyjar in the distance.

now devastated by glacial floods, and crossed and intersected by two rivers and their tributaries in a way that would baffle the most skilful engineer.

The way now lies westwards along the banks of the Þverá, till Breiðabólstaðr is reached. The church here is rich in historic memories; its silver gilt chalice of great beauty, invested with occult charm, used to be known as the "Fairy Cup."

The church and parsonage of Oddi is not far from here, situated on elevated ground, and commanding fine views in all directions. It was at Oddi that Snorri Sturluson spent his boyhood under the tutelage of Jón Loptsson, the intellectual and cultured grandson of

Sæmundr Sigfússon, whose bones lie in the churchyard. From him the Elder Edda takes its name of Sæmundar Edda.

Reykholt is the next homestead on our line of march, and one of the greatest interest as having been the hall of Snorri Sturluson. Born in the year 1178, he was the youngest of three brothers, and derived his genius from his mother, Guðný, a remarkable woman of the family of Egill Skallagrímsson, and known as "the mother of the Sturlungs." Having spent his youth amidst the fostering influences of Oddi, Snorri, in after years



Reykholt.—The home of Snorri Sturluson.

developed into a great statesman and historian. He was the author of the *Heimskringla* and the *Younger Edda*.

Having made a wealthy marriage, Snorri retired, to live at Borg, but afterwards removed to Reykholt. Being a man so far exceeding others in talent and refinement, it is not surprising that he had enemies; but although ignominy was heaped upon his name as the betrayer of his country, it has since been proved that only through Snorri's intercessions had King Hákon refrained from setting sail, and making an onslaught on the island.

The homestead and church of Reykholt, the latter originally founded by Snorri, stands about a hundred

paces apart, at the head of the Reykjadalr, the whole group of buildings being very picturesque. He must have drawn much of his inspiration from beauteous nature around his home, the winding river, the mysterious fountains, and the everlasting hills that form its background, with the mighty Ok glacier towering over all. Everything remains as it was while he was here. The house itself is of the old-fashioned kind, though it must have been rebuilt more than once during the seven centuries that have elapsed since Snorri's time. The warm colouring of the gables, seven in number, contrast well with its turf-covered walls and mossy roofs, where great tufts of daisies (*Baldrs-brá*) wave their snowy blossoms.

Behind the house, in a green sheltered hollow, lies Snorri Sturluson's famous bath, circular, and about fifteen feet in diameter; it is surrounded by a low stone wall, with stone steps descending into the water. The hot spring, *Skriflá*, which feeds it, lies some distance up on a bank beyond; and the conduit can be stopped till the water in the bath has cooled to the temperature desired. It is used by the different members of the clergyman's family, as well as by occasional tourists.

The next historic homestead is Borg, in *Mýrar*, on the west coast. Drained by the western *Hvítá*, the whole valley is rich in legendary lore; and the Borg, giving its name to the district, is a low, flat-topped ridge, once the stronghold of a band of robbers. At its base, on the site of the old Viking hall, stands the parsonage, one end only being modern, the rest a series of gable-fronts. In the floor of one of these divisions, now used as a cellar, the original hearth still exists, a long narrow hollow, filled with ashes to the depth of several feet, a row of stones standing erect round the edge to prevent them being scattered.

Round this hearth many interesting people must have gathered, in times long gone by. There was *Skallagrím*



Snorri's Bath at Reykholt.

From the original water-colour drawing by W. G. Collingwood.

the Viking, a prominent figure in the saga of his son Egill, so tall and powerful that his sword, it was said, required seven ordinary men to lift it. His youngest son, Egill, of poetic temperament, and the hero of the saga that bears his name, next inherited the property. He was the friend of King Athelstan of England, who sent him a chest full of silver coins, believed to have been buried by him somewhere in Mosfell, though it has never yet been found.



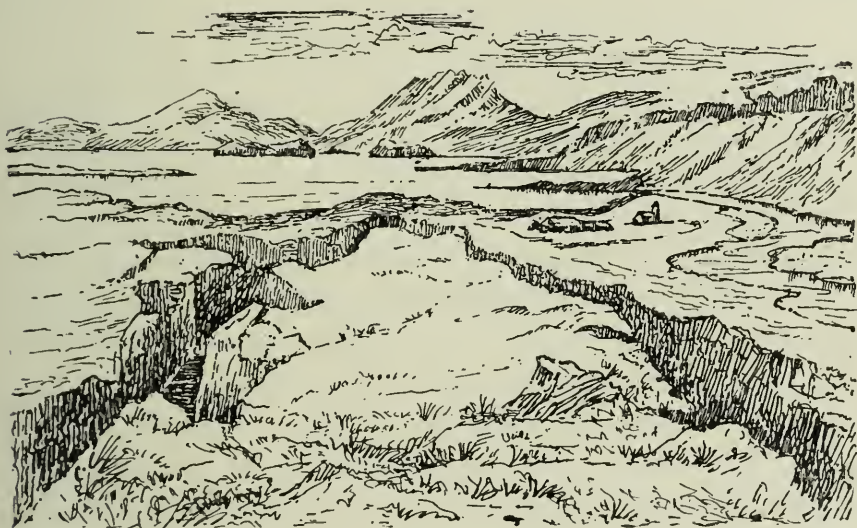
Borg.

Egil's grand-daughter, Helga the Fair, for whom swords were crossed, must often have brightened the home with her beauty and sweetness; and later, Snorri Sturluson, on his marriage, came to live here, for it had been the home of his mother's family.

Borg is also interesting as the last resting-place of Kjartan, one of the principal figures in the *Laxdæla Saga*; and a stone covered with Runic lettering, and supposed to be his epitaph, was recently removed into the church. The name, however, since deciphered on it, is not that of Kjartan Ólaf-son.

The church at Borg has lately acquired a beautiful altar-piece, by Mr. W. G. Collingwood; the subject, "Christ blessing little children." The colouring is tender, and the sunlight, falling through the branches of a vine, plays effectively upon the head of the principal figure and the infant faces surrounding him. The picture seems to diffuse the brightness and warmth of the East throughout the whole building.

This paper will now close with a visit to Þingvellir, the valley where, in ancient times, the Icelandic Parlia-



Þingvellir.

ment, or Al-þing, held its meetings. Whether on an island among the lava-rifts, or on a knoll in the Almannagjá, is now a disputed point; but every part here is hallowed by memories of Iceland in her palmy days.

The place appeals alike to the artist, the geologist, and the lover of history and folk-lore; but the Icelander feels that here he is standing on holy ground. This is the theatre on which were enacted some of the most impressive scenes in the nation's history, the stage trodden by the whole *dramatis personæ* of Iceland's

past. Here the worn-out traditions of the past were swept aside, and reforms of vital import became law.

It was in the year 1000 of our era that Þorgeir, the Speaker of the Al-þing, proclaimed Christianity as the accepted religion of Iceland. Here, Þórr, Freya and Baldr went down before the White Christ, and the images of Óðinn were condemned. Then there came a general awakening. The Roman letters were introduced, and the sagas were then written down; while commerce and navigation received a new impulse. The Golden Age of Iceland had begun !

THE ENGLISH PARISH BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

BY CONSTANCE B. STONEY.

(Read March 4th, 1916).

OUR materials for the history of the church in England before the Norman Conquest are by no means abundant; but even from those at our disposal it is surprising how very little definite information can be obtained on the structure and growth of the various ecclesiastical institutions. The origin and early history of the parish is one of those most wrapped in mystery. Even Bede, who in his five books on the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation has dealt with almost every subject connected with the church, gives us very little help on this matter. Here and there light is thrown upon it from some twelve hundred charters, many genuinely contemporary work, but many, also, forgeries of a later age; from Anglo-Saxon wills, from church councils, from the laws, both secular and ecclesiastical, and sometimes from the various homilies and penitentials of the period. The numerous mediæval chroniclers who deal with pre-Conquest history are, with one or two exceptions, not to be trusted, partly because they interpreted their sources in the light of their own age and obscure the original facts, and partly because, labouring under the same difficulty as we, namely lack of material, they surmounted it by supplying the want 'out of their own heads,' or from still less reliable sources.

The difficulties in the way of any clear and connected account of the beginnings of the parish in England are

considerable; and this essay therefore aspires no further than to set forth in some sort of order such knowledge of the subject as the writer has been so far able to glean from contemporary records and by the aid of modern critical work on the period.¹ The parochial system on the continent has been investigated by several historians in recent years, notably by Ulrich Stutz¹ for Germany and M. Imbart de la Tour for France. The former seeks to give a Teutonic origin to the parish. He sees in the Germanic lord of heathen times, who united in himself both temporal and spiritual power, the prototype of the lay patron, delegating the priestly functions to a paid priest; but there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting this theory, to which we will return later. On the other hand, M. Imbart de la Tour's scholarly work on the early history of the parish in France¹ furnishes many parallels to our scanty knowledge of the system in England. Here it may be noted that in many cases the early ecclesiastical history of France throws a considerable light on that of England, often giving significance to facts in themselves apparently unimportant. Indeed the whole subject of the influence of France upon England up to the eleventh century is one which needs further investigation and would probably add a good deal to our knowledge of pre-Conquest history. The numerous references to France in Bede, indicate a strong connecting link between the two countries, which can scarcely be explained away by their proximity. At the time of Augustine's mission at the end of the sixth century we find that the Christian wife of Aethelberht, King of

¹ Especially:—Professor Chadwick—*Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*. Cambridge, 1905.

Hist. Eccles. Bedae—Ed. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.

M. Imbart de la Tour—*Les Paroisses rurales dans l'ancienne France*. *Revue Historique*, t. lx., p. 241; lxi., p. 1; lxiii., p. 1; lxvii., p. 1; lxviii., p. 1.

Ulrich Stutz—*Die Eigenkirche als Element des Mittelalterlichgermanischen Kirchenrechtes*. Berlin, 1895.

Kent, was of the royal family of the Franks.¹ St. Augustine himself was consecrated in France,² like many other bishops of the English. The Irish bishop, Aegelberht, who came into Wessex in the time of Coenwalh, was of Gallic origin, and later became bishop of Paris.³ His successor, Wine, had been consecrated in Gaul,⁴ and so also the famous Wilfrid,⁵ and Berhtwold, the successor of Archbishop Theodore.⁶ Several missionary bishops came from France to England; Bede mentions Felix from Burgundy, who helped in the conversion of East Anglia.⁷ There was, too, a continual intercourse between the monastic houses of the two countries. Bede tells us that it was the custom of kings and nobles to send their daughters to French monasteries, especially at Brie, Chelles and Andelys⁸: two English princesses became Abbesses at Brie, and St. Hilda of Whitby intended to enter the monastery at Chelles.⁹ To multiply instances of this connection would be tedious, but the above will serve as definite indications that the church in England could not be ignorant of the methods of organisation of the church in France, and in all probability was not slow to profit by the latter's experience. There is good reason to believe, too, that this 'ecclesiastical entente,' if one may so say, continued and increased for long after the time of Bede.

The parish, at all events in England, was primarily a development to meet the needs of the country districts rather than of towns. In examining first the origins of the rural churches, we may perhaps arrive at some conclusions about the origins of the parish, since it is obvious that the church is the centre of the parish.

The first missionaries to England were, as we know, monks; and it was by the permission and through the

¹ H. E. i., 25.

² H. E. i., 24.

³ H. E. iii., 7 and 28.

⁴ H. E. iii. 7.

⁵ H. E. iii., 28.

⁶ H. E. v. 8.

⁷ H. E. ii. 15.

H. E. iii., 8.

⁹ H. E. iv., 23.

generosity of kings that they established their monasteries in the various kingdoms, which thus became their mission fields. In all these original monasteries bishops' sees were established, from that of Roman Augustine at Canterbury to that of Celtic Aidan at Lindisfarne. At first the country round was converted and ministered to by monks sent out from these monasteries, which served as mission stations and centres of the spiritual life of the people. Ministrations by itinerant priests were carried on until well into the eighth century in those parts of the country which were still heathen or had lost their former faith. In the middle of the seventh century, in the time of the Northumbrian bishops Colman and Tuda, Bede says that "priests and clerics went into the villages on no other account than to preach, baptise, visit the sick, and in few words, to take care of souls." He adds that "the people flocked eagerly on the Lord's Day to the church or monasteries . . . to hear the word of God."¹ The author of the *Life of St. Willibald* speaks of the custom of setting up crosses, at the foot of which the sacraments were daily administered.² At the same time, in those parts of the country which were already confirmed in the faith, it was not long before churches other than monastic buildings were erected and, as in France much earlier, the bishops seem to have led the way. At all events, the first churches, apart from those in the episcopal sees, are said by Bede to have been built by them. Birinus, the first bishop of the West Saxons, built churches round his episcopal seat at Dorchester some time between 634 and about 650, the date of his death.³ These churches were probably served by the monks from the episcopal monastery. Similarly, through the

¹ H. E. iii., 26.

² Vita S. Willibaldi, Mab. AA. SS. Saec. iii., pt. 2, p. 334.. (Quoted by Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. i., p. 245).

H. E. iii., 7. . . . "ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis."

zeal of Aidan in Bernicia, we are told that churches were built in various parts of the country.¹ In neither instance is there any mention of a resident clergy. In the case of Cedd, the bishop of the East Saxons (c. 653), it is particularly mentioned that "having built churches, he ordained priests and deacons to help in preaching the Faith and administering the Sacraments, particularly at Ythanceaster (St. Peter's-on-the-Wall, on the Blackwater, Essex) and Tilaburg (Tilbury), where he founded monasteries."² Before the end of this century we find churches apart from the monasteries mentioned in a way which suggests that if they were not widespread they were at least not uncommon. The story is related in the Ecclesiastical History of a vision which came to a certain man called Drythelm, who lived at Incuneningum.³ Bede relates how the man "went to the village church" "*abiit ad villulae oratorium*," or, as the Anglo-Saxon version renders it, "*eode to thaere ciricean thaes tûnes*." Drythelm subsequently became a monk at Melrose. Now the story of this vision was a popular one, and various dates have been given for its occurrence. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle, D.E. places it under the year 693, but in any case it cannot be later than 705, the date of the death of king Aldfrith of Northumbria, who used to go to hear Drythelm at Melrose.⁴

About the same time, while St. John of Beverley was bishop in Northumbria (c. 687-721), we hear of his

¹ H. E. iii., 3. "*Construebantur ergo ecclesiae per loca*."

² Compare these churches with similar foundations in Germany. In Holstein, very shortly after its conversion by the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willehad, we hear of the foundation of four churches for baptism, from the districts of which the later parochial division was established. (*Remberti Vita S. Anscharii*, cxix., quoted by Lappenberg in "England under the Anglo-Saxon kings." B. Thorpe's translation. Ed. by E. C. Otté. London, 1881).

³ "Generally identified with Cunningham, just within the Scotch border. Mr. Moberly . . . suggests Chester-le-street, of which the Saxon name was Cunungaceaster." Plummer, *Bede* ii., 295.

⁴ See Plummer's note. *Bede*. Vol. ii., p. 294.

going to dedicate two churches near Beverley, one belonging to a 'comes' called Puh, at South Burton, and one to a 'comes' Aedde at North Burton.¹ These churches may have been merely small private oratories, but it is much more probable that they were similar to the village church in the story of Drythelm. Bede mentions no priests attached to them, which suggests that at that time monks from the nearest monastery served them.

So far, then, it is possible to distinguish three kinds of rural churches from the middle of the seventh century :—

- (1) Offshoots from the episcopal church (perhaps those of Birinus and Aidan).
- (2) Separately founded churches with priests and deacons of their own (those founded by Cedd).
- (3) Churches belonging to lay founders (those of Puh and Aedde, and probably that at Incuneningum).

The next question is, what actually was the division of land known as the parish, of which the rural church was the centre? In France, in the sixth century, Gregory of Tours speaks of the 'vicus' as though equivalent to the parish,² and it has even been affirmed that in the language of the sixth century the word 'vicus' signified, not a village, but a parish.³ At the same time, before the middle of the sixth century we find parishes established on the domains of landed proprietors, and though these were probably not numerous at this period, there were a sufficient number to give rise to legislation in several ecclesiastical councils. In 541 the Council of Orleans, canon 33, declared that if anyone had, or wished to have on his estate a parish, he was to provide sufficient land for the upkeep of the

¹ Bede v. 4, 5.

² Les paroisses rurales. Chap. iii.

³ M. Fustel de Coulanges, cited by M. de la Tour in the same chapter.

church and clergy to serve it.¹ The word 'diocesis' is used in the canon, and it will be recalled that at this time it still meant 'parish,' while 'parochia' was equivalent to what we now mean by diocese. It was not until late in the sixth century that by a curious inversion the words took the meanings which they hold to-day. The same council, in canon 7, says, "Let not lords of estates introduce into their prayer stations (oratoria) strange clergy against the bishop's will, but only approved men whom the bishop's ruling has appointed for service there."

During the Carolingian period, when the villae multiplied enormously, when practically all 'lords of estates' had their own churches, the vicus ceased to be the ecclesiastical unit, and we find the parish identical with the villa, or sometimes a group of villae. Naturally, every villa did not give rise to a parish, since many of the so-called churches were merely the lord's private chapel, for himself, his family and dependants.

Whether a villa or a group of villae formed the parish depended largely upon the size of the estates. In some cases, where the extent or population of the villa was too great for one church to serve, other churches or chapels were built on the same estate, and these, with the districts round them, acquired in time an autonomy apart from the older church.²

Turning to England, we have seen that in this country, too, lords of estates were accustomed to build their own churches; but the question arises, What was the relation between an estate upon which a church was built and the ecclesiastical division we call the parish, and how did it arise? The question is bound up with the extremely difficult one of land tenure in Anglo-Saxon times. All landed property among the Anglo-

¹ "Si quis in agro suo aut habet, aut postulat habere diocesim, primum terras ei deputet sufficienter, et clericos qui ibidem sua officia impleant." *Con. Aquis. can. 33, anno 541.* Mansi: *Concilia ix.*, p. 119.

² For examples of all three formations see "*Les paroisses rurales.*" Chap. iii.

Saxons seems to have been included under the terms folcland and bocland. The latter, land held by book or charter, is proved from the numerous charters extant to have been land held in perpetuity, or for several lives, subject to the conditions laid down in the original charters. With regard to the nature of folcland¹ there are opposing theories; but, taking that which seems to be best supported by the evidence we have, it was, for the most part, national property at the king's disposal, and as such granted by him to his subjects, in return for military service, not in perpetuity, but held at his pleasure. It was often given to a son of the grantee, but was not necessarily so. The word folcland occurs only three times, and in two of them it seems clear that the land in question did belong to the king. On the other hand, there probably was folcland which was not royal and which was hereditary, but the evidence for it is so slight that for the purposes of this essay we may disregard it.

In Bede's Epistle to Egbert, Archbishop of York, which he wrote in 734, among other complaints of the organisation of the church, he mentions the enormous amount of land which had been booked to monasteries which, as he says, served "neither God nor man." Monastic discipline was absent there, and they were unable to render military service in defence of the country against invasion. Consequently, since there was so little left to be given to the 'sons of noblemen' and 'soldiers who have served their time,'² these would seek service in foreign lands, leaving their own at the mercy of the enemy. The grants to these fraudulent monasteries, he says, must be revoked. We have instances in the Ecclesiastical History of extensive lands being conveyed to spiritual lords by kings. Wulfhere of Mercia gave to St. Chad³ land of fifty hides at Ad

¹ On this and the following points see Prof. Chadwick's *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Excursus V.

² "emeritorum militum."

³ H. E. iv., 3.

Baruae¹ on which to build a monastery. Aethelwath, king of the South Saxons, gave to Wilfrid an estate of eighty-seven hides for a monastery at Selsey.² But such monasteries received their lands before the period when the abuses of which Bede complains were rife. Nevertheless, though in some instances, large lands continued in the eighth century to be conveyed to monasteries,³ even where with increase of riches spirituality waned, these would scarcely come under Bede's condemnation; for such estates, comprising, either then or later, the sites of many villages, would have on them men capable of military service.

But he goes on to describe a still greater abuse which arose out of this, namely, the acquiring of hereditary land by laymen, under pretence of building monasteries. "But others," he says, "by a still more grievous sin, being themselves laymen, and neither exercised in the use of the regular life, nor endued with any love for it, buy for themselves, under pretext of building monasteries, lands in which they may have more scope for their inclinations. Moreover, they cause these to be converted into hereditary property of their own by royal edicts, and even obtain the very letters of their privileges as if truly approved by God to be confirmed by the subscriptions of pontiffs, abbots and secular powers. Having thus usurped to themselves hamlets or villages, they are free from divine as well as human service." He goes on to say that they collect disobedient and runaway monks, or those whom they can entice out of the monasteries, or they invite their own servants to receive the tonsure. They also seek to build similar monasteries for their wives, who, being lay women, "permit themselves to be the rulers of the handmaids of Christ." This, he says, has been the custom in England for about thirty years, since the death of king Aldfrith (d. 705).

¹ Barrow, near Goxhill, Lincs.

² H. E. iv. 13

³ Cf. Birch Cart. Sax. 113, 123, 125.

He declares that there is scarcely a 'praefectus'¹ (= gerefæ in H.E. II. 16 A.S. version) who has not founded a monastery of this kind and given his wife a similar charge, and that the ministers² and servants of the king have done likewise. Bede suggests that all this might have been prevented had the bishops set their faces firmly against the evil custom; but, on the contrary, he implies that they received bribes to confirm these bad writs. Now the lands which the 'praefecti' appropriated to themselves at the expense of the militia were probably not extensive (for the reasons given above). They are more likely to have been the smaller lands of about five or ten hides, sometimes more, in extent, and held by them on lease from the king.³ We need not therefore suppose that the pseudo-monastery was of any great size: indeed, Bede implies that it was the lord's own establishment which formed it. It is not necessary even to assume that the 'monastery' was anything more than a small church, since the word 'monasterium' is often used merely as a synonym for 'ecclesia.' Again, where Bede says that the lords invited their own servants 'to receive the tonsure,' the phrase does not of necessity mean 'to become monks,' since the tonsure by this time was a preliminary to the minor orders, and merely gave a man a clerical status. Men thus receiving the tonsure may in this way have become by subsequent ordination the chaplains of their masters and the parish priests of his church; for, the fact that Bede declares that the bishops countenanced these proceedings, even receiving bribes to do so, suggests that if the bishop of the diocese refused to ordain

¹ Cf. A. S. Institutions, p. 259ff "the Northumbrian 'praefectus,' or king's reeve was an official charged with the administration of a royal estate or 'borough.'" Cf. also pp. 370-371.

² "Cyninges thegn" = A. S. translation of L. "minister." Cf. A. S. Institutions, p. 333f.

³ A. S. Institutions, p. 372.

a lord's man to the priesthood, it would not be a difficult matter to find one elsewhere who would consent.

Reviewing the evidence gained from Bede¹ on this part of the subject, is it possible to find in the pseudo-monasteries an origin, perhaps scarcely respectable, of the parish in England? It certainly seems that, if we cannot affirm that every pre-Conquest parish took its rise in this way, at least we have here facts which must be taken into consideration in dealing with the parochial system. It will be remembered that Bede declares in the Epistle that, since the death of Aldfrith, for some thirty years, there was scarcely a 'praefectus' who had not founded a 'monastery' of this type, and that the king's thegns did likewise. From the very fact of the practice being so common it is obvious that both parties stood to gain, or at least did not lose by the transaction. To the king, the conversion of the lands into monasteries would make little financial difference in view of what has been said with regard to the original land tenure, and in view of the fact that Bede makes no reference to the depletion of the royal exchequer. Indeed it is probable that a sum of money purchased his consent, for Bede says that the lands were bought.² In addition to this he seems to have thought to gain some spiritual benefit by the proceeding, for in many of the charters of this period, which closely correspond to the description given by Bede, we find that he does it 'for the redemption of my soul' and similar considerations.³ The man to whom the land was booked must have gained considerably. The estate would be his own, to bequeath to whom he wished; and being now church land it would escape certain secular burdens. It is possible too that, as the head of a household, the lord would

¹ Note also that the ignorance of the clergy, to which Bede refers in the same epistle seems compatible with their being the less desirable members of the monasteries they deserted.

² Ep. ad Ecgb. cap. 12, "data regibus pecunia."

³ Cf. Birch Cart. Sax. 146, 154, etc.

endeavour to escape contributing to the mother church what was due from him as a layman—posing, in fact, as an ecclesiastic among laymen and a layman among ecclesiastics, a consideration which may give even more significance to Bede's complaint that these institutions escaped the service due both to God and man.

However, by the tenth century, the custom of booking land had become so common that the pretence of building a church was abandoned, all that remains to show its origin being some ecclesiastical phrases and the curse upon the person who should presume to annul or alter the charter. Gradually, then, what was once an abuse grew to be a recognised method of procedure; and this we may suppose to have been the case in the change from the questionable pseudo-monastery to the parish church, if indeed they were not identical from the first. In any case, it is doubtful whether, even at the time of which Bede speaks, the custom, although regrettable, was as evil as he represents.

Bede was essentially a monk, and probably keenly resented the introduction of the secular element into the government of the church. Throughout the *History* he is more severe when his disapproval is aroused than the situation seems to warrant.¹

It is interesting to note in this connection that the good Bishop John of Beverley consecrated Aedde's church at Beverley, which was probably built on land acquired in this way; for, if Dugdale's authority in this instance be reliable, Aedde bequeathed the manor of North Burton with the advowson of the church to Beverley,² which according to our theory with regard to heritable land he could not have done unless the land had been booked to him. This, however, can only be conjecture, since Dugdale gives no authority for his statement.

¹ Cf. his denunciation of Coldingham. *H. E.* iv., 25.

² *Mon. Angl.* ii., 127.

We come then to the next point in connection with the parish—the subject of lay patronage. Reference has already been made to the Council of Orleans in 541, a canon of which says, “Let not lords of estates introduce into their prayer-stations strange clergy against the bishop’s will . . .”, and from other sources we find that the church in France had already long before encountered some of the same difficulties in connection with lay founders of churches. In the early part of the seventh century we see a further stage in the struggle for power between them and the Church. They assumed titles and tried to assume powers properly belonging to the priesthood. The Councils of Clichy (626), Rheims (627), Châlon (650), all of which forbid laymen to take the title of ‘archpresbyter,’ illustrate this tendency. We find, in fact, numerous canonical laws relating to lay patronage when it is already in existence, but no information with regard to its origin. We find but one fact in its beginning—the foundation of a church upon an estate.¹ Professor Stutz’s theory, that the Germans introduced the idea into Gaul at the time of the invasions, is difficult to reconcile with the fact that they found churches already established on domains.² Lay patronage is not peculiar to the Teutonic peoples.³ Again, there is no trace of the lord-priest custom among the Anglo-Saxons who had newly received the Faith, nor, as we have seen, do churches belong to lay proprietors until a hundred years or more after their conversion to Christianity. If lay patronage was essentially Teutonic in origin, why does so much time elapse before we find any traces of it in England.⁴ There are

¹ *Les paroisses rurales.* Chap. iii. *Les églises privées.*

² e.g. Rions. *Le Blant, Inscr. Chrésiennes de la Gaule*, no. 596. Quoted in “*Les paroisses rurales.*” Chap. i.

³ Cf. the basilica founded by Priscillianus and Felicissianus “in proprio.” *Letters of Gelasius.* Jaffé. no. 630.
—(“*Les paroisses rurales.*” Chap. iii.)

⁴ See also M. Paul Thomas—“*Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises et le patronage laïque au moyen âge.*” pp. 28-31. Paris, 1906.

examples of priests who were also landowners in England. In 706 there is a charter by which 'Walter the priest' grants land in Gloucestershire to Evesham Monastery.¹ Headda, mass-priest and abbot in 790, makes a will by which he limits the succession to his land to such clergymen of his family as could govern a minster according to ecclesiastical law.² In 850 the priest Werhard of Harrow owns land,³ and similarly in 896 there is a dispute concerning land belonging to the priest Aethelwald.⁴ There are several other instances, but not sufficient in number to give much support to this theory. We may note too that one writer endeavours to support it in England by reference to the churches of Puh and Aedde. He argues that since Bede does not mention priests attached to these churches, therefore Puh and Aedde were themselves the priests,⁵ as well as owners of the churches. But we have already seen an explanation, if one were needed, of Bede's omission. There are other points in Professor Stutz's theory which invite criticism, but they are too remote from our subject to be considered in this paper. A brief outline of M. Imbart de la Tour's theory of patronage is as follows. An essential element of the custom is to be found in the councils of the middle of the fifth century,—namely, that every church founded on a domain must be consecrated by the diocesan bishop, and that both the church and the priest who serves it must remain under his jurisdiction. At this time lay founders had no privileges. It was not until the sixth century that they gained the first step, the right of presentation. The seventh canon of the Council of Orleans, already referred to, directly recognises it. It stipulates that

¹ Birch Cart. Sax. 118.

² „ „ 283.

³ „ „ 448.

⁴ Select English Documents. No. xiv. F. E. Harmer. Cambridge, 1913.

⁵ Sidney Oldall Addy. *Church and Manor*, p. 173. London, 1913.

the bishop's consent must be sought before 'strange clergy' are appointed to serve in the 'oratoria.' The next step was the establishment of parishes on domains, spoken of in the same council as an accomplished fact. Meanwhile the Church sought to combat by various means the growing danger of almost total separation of the parish thus formed from the church of the city, since the priest was rather the creature of the lord than the bishop's representative. Finally, in the seventh century, the parish of the 'vicus publicus' fell into the hands of the great proprietors. This M. de la Tour explains as the abuse of the custom, almost a necessity in that anarchical age, and sanctioned by the Church herself, of churches and priests placing themselves under the protection of powerful lords. Patronage thus became either confused with ownership, or changed into it by violence, by a system of brigandage which continued till the ninth century. But by the eighth century rights of proprietorship were fully established, and thus early was formed the germ of what two centuries later was known as 'la seigneurie.'

It is extremely difficult to obtain even a loosely connected account of the development of lay patronage in England after the time of Bede. Here and there are references to it in the laws, regulations with regard to the lord's disposal of the church revenues, hints at abuses in the proprietorship of churches, attempts by the Church to keep the parish priests wholly under the bishop's jurisdiction, but the evidence is not very satisfactory.

Where, however, there is any definite statement with regard to the custom, one is led to suppose that from the eighth to the tenth centuries, it developed in general on much the same lines as in France, and gave rise to the same abuses.

To begin with what was a continual source of trouble, the Church's revenue: when the first churches were

founded, it was natural for the faithful who benefited by them to make voluntary offerings for their upkeep. We have no evidence of any compulsory payments until the laws of Ine, towards the end of the seventh century, where we have reference to compulsory payment of a due known as 'cīric-sceat.' Where Bede speaks in the Ecclesiastical History of a man giving a tithe of his possessions, it is in commendation of unusual generosity.¹ However, in the Epistle, written in 734, he refers to villages in the remote parts of Northumbria which, though destitute of churches and priests, were, nevertheless, unable to escape payment of tribute to the bishop. We do not find any reference to church dues until after the death of Alfred in 900. For the whole of the troublous ninth century, when the country was shattered by the Danish invasions, when monasteries and churches were destroyed, bishops and priests killed, the evidence on all church matters grows scantier and more broken up. Then in the tenth century, when the broken threads are gathered together again, we find many things in the history of the church regarded as long established facts, and regular church dues seem to be one of them. The son of Alfred, Edward, bids tithe be paid, and lays a penalty on the man who shall neglect it. To it is added Rome-money,² the light-tax,³ and plough alms.⁴ This is at the beginning of the century, but by the middle, in Edgar's laws, we get more light on the subject. The tithe is to be paid to the 'old minster' (with which information we may compare Bede's reference to the tribute paid to the bishop); but a new factor has had to be taken into consideration. The lay proprietors of churches have sought to divert the dues from the mother church to their own foundations. Hence the following decree of Edgar: "If any thegn have on land booked to him a church where there

¹ H. E. iv., 29, ad fin.

² Rom-feoh.

³ Leoht-gesceot.

⁴ Sulh-aelmesse.

is a burial place, let him give the third part of the tithe to his own church. If he have a church where there is not a burial place, let him give to his priest what he will out of the nine parts." Here are distinguished two kinds of churches. The first, where there is a burial place, is to have a third of the tithe devoted to it, two-thirds going to the old minster. The other, where there is not a burial place, being less important, and probably rather of the nature of a private oratory, is to receive nothing of the tithe. The lord is to pay his own tithe, and support his chaplain according to his generosity out of the remaining nine-tenths.

In many cases the revenues of churches were considerable, not only from their regular dues, but also from the many voluntary gifts of those who worshipped there. When, then, churches were handed over as gifts either to individuals or to monasteries, as became a custom in this and the next century, the phrase so often used, "*et quicquid ad eam pertinet*," was no empty one. Again, where a church possessed any considerable relics of a saint, or was at all closely connected with one, there was greater inducement to give freely to the church of which he was such a patron. In fact the gifts came to be regarded as made to him. Thus St. Cuthbert, after his death, became a proprietor of wide lands,¹ villas and churches,² and is even stated to have punished those who attempted to wrong him. M. Imbart de la Tour sees in this patronage of the saint in France a factor in the religious decentralisation which separated the church on the domain from that of the city, helping in short to form the parish. "*On peut dire que c'est surtout par le culte du saint que la paroisse rurale s'est constituée.*" The same may, in some measure, be true in England, but the point to be noted with regard to

¹ Symeon of Durham i. 83-84. (Rolls series).

² Bishop Ecgrid "*aedificavit ecclesiam apud villam quae vocatur Gegnford et dedit eam sancto Cuthberto, et quicquid ad eam pertinet.*" (S. of D. I. 201).

the wealth of these churches is the temptation they would prove to needy or rapacious men to acquire ownership over them and to traffic with them. That a similar abuse to that in France, of acquiring churches by fraud or violence, was rife in England is suggested by a law of Aethelred, about 978. "Let no man henceforth reduce a church to servitude; nor unlawfully make church-mongering; nor turn out a church minister without the bishop's consent." The law is difficult to explain except in connection with what has been said above.

These, then, are some of the factors which brought about the formation of the parish in England. Before leaving this part of the subject, however, some reference may be made with regard to the wide-spread belief that the origin of parishes is to be attributed to Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690. There seems to be no authority for this theory earlier than the seventeenth century. We have Bede's testimony to the fact that Theodore accomplished much with regard to the organisation of the Anglo-Saxon church in dividing the dioceses, and increasing the number of bishops. It is quite possible therefore that he did not confine his reforms to the bishoprics, but also, where necessary, divided the country into parishes on the plan with which he was already familiar on the continent. This, however, is merely conjecture, and there is no contemporary evidence for stating it as a fact. In addition, Bede's complaint some forty years later of the number of districts in the north still having no settled ecclesiastical administration, tends to disprove it.

The Council of Chelsea, held under Archbishop Cuthbert in 747, lays down the duties of priests in the districts assigned to them by the bishop of the diocese.¹ The phrase used is "per loca et regiones laicorum," which seems to support the theory that these districts were

¹ Canon 8.

co-terminous with the lands of the lay-proprietors. In later laws¹ the priest's sphere of work is called his shriftshire, or the priestshire²: it was, in fact, his parish, though the modern word 'parochia' with its present meaning occurs, so far as I know, only in a spurious Glastonbury charter attributed to Edgar.

The duties of the parish priest were manifold, and he was obliged to give account of his performance of them at least once a year to the bishop of the diocese. To ensure this being done, he was obliged to fetch the holy oils from the bishop, and a penalty was laid upon the cleric who did not fetch them at the appointed time.³ He was diligently to teach the people under his care and to eliminate the relics of paganism among them.⁴ That this last was no light task can be seen from many of the Anglo-Saxon poems, particularly some of the charms against various ills, which present the most curious mixture of Christian phrasing with heathen superstition. Here is one as an example:—

Against sudden pain.

(Take) feverfew and the red nettle which grows through the wall, and plantain. Boil in butter.

"If thou hast been shot in the skin,
Flesh or limb, bone or blood,
Thy life shall in no way be harmed;
If it has been a shot from the aesir
Or elves or witches, I will help thee
This shall cure thee from the shot of aesir
Of elves or witches: I will help thee
Flee into the forest and sound be thou.
The Lord be thy succour."

There is, too, a ceremony for the blessing of the plough, in which the priest apparently takes part. Directions are given for prayers, Paternoster, Magni-

¹ e.g., those of Edgar, c. 6.

² Ecclesiastical Institutes, 14.

³ Cf. Laws of Edward and Guthrum. 901., cap. 3. "Gif preost to riht andagan crisman ne fecce"

⁴ Thorpe i. 378, and ii. 33, 34, 84, 191.

ficat and Benedicite. After these, seed is to be taken to the priest, who is to collect the ploughs, smear on the culters frankincense, fennel, ambergris and holy salt, place the seed in the body of the plough, and finally invoke the Earth Mother.

“ Erce, Erce, Erce, Mother of earth
 May the All-ruler, the eternal Lord
 Grant thee (good store) of all things growing and increasing:
 Spearlike hosts of golden corn,
 Broad barley blades and glistening wheat-ears
 And all the fruits of earth.
 May the Eternal Lord and his saints which are in heaven
 Grant that this soil may be protected from every fiend
 Defended from all ill,
 From sorcery sown throughout the land.
 Grant us too that no witch woman or magician
 May undo the prayer thus spoken.”

Then the plough is to be sent forth, and the first furrow cut, with the words

“ Be thou flourishing, earth, Oh mother of men,
 Grow in the bosom of God,
 Filled with good things for man’s delight.”

Then a loaf is to be baked of every kind of meal, kneaded with milk and holy water and placed in the first furrow. The ceremony ends with the recitation of “ Grow ye in the name of the Lord, be blessed,” and three Paternosters.

The best of the parish churches became little centres of learning, where the priest instructed not only his clerks in Latin and ecclesiastical lore, but also the children of the parish. “ Mass-priests shall always have at their houses a school of learners, and if anyone will entrust his little ones to their care, they are to receive and gladly teach them.”¹ There are many references in the various canons of the tenth century to these priests’ scholars.² From among them in many cases the priesthood was recruited, and when they remained, as they often did, on the land where they had been born and brought up, there was an additional incentive to devoted

¹ Thorpe ii., 414.

² Cf. Canons of Edgar c. 10.

service to those who were at once their spiritual children and their personal friends.

Beside the discharge of his priestly offices, the baptism of infants, preparation of children for confirmation, the Celebration of Mass, visiting the sick, hearing confessions and administering unction, all of which duties are provided for in both the secular and the ecclesiastical laws of the time, the parish priest was advised to learn and to teach to his clerks some handicraft,¹ lest unemployed hours should be ill-used. He was to provide the wayfarer with lodging and food at his own house and help the distressed to the best of his ability.² He might take pleasure in moderation visiting his parishioners and being entertained by them,³ but hawking and hunting and similar sports were forbidden him.

The many efforts of the church to raise the status of the priest resulted in his gaining equality of rank with the thegn, his wergeld was the same sum,⁴ and his oath was of equal value.⁵ 'Mass-thegn' is a term often used as a synonym for 'Mass-priest.'⁶

One last point, the celibacy of the clergy in Anglo-Saxon times, is as difficult to prove as it is to disprove. Evidence which seems to support both views is easy to find. On the whole, the nearest to the truth seems to be that though not openly sanctioned from the beginning, marriage among the clergy was an acknowledged fact. At the time of the introduction of Christianity the majority of the men were married, and it would therefore not have been expedient, even if possible, to exclude all these from the priesthood. Gregory's answer to Augustine on the subject is somewhat ambiguous, and he advocated the introduction of what-

¹ Thorpe ii., 246, 254, 404.

² Thorpe ii., 30, 101, 429.

³ Thorpe ii., 410.

⁴ In Northleoda Lagu both are given as 2,000 thrymsas. See Anglo-Saxon Institutions, p. 76 ff.

⁵ Th. i. 182, 14.

⁶ As in the Northleoda Lagu.

ever practice might seem good in a newly-founded church, necessarily as yet weak in the Faith. At all events celibacy was not enforced, for the learned Aelfric definitely says so.¹ There are several instances of the sons of priests inheriting land; for example, Alhmund, the son of the priest Aethelwald, is made his heir in 896;² there is reason to believe that St. Swithun was married, and in the early part of the eleventh century we hear of the marriage of a Northumbrian bishop. The whole question, however, is controversial, and with the slight evidence at our disposal, impossible to settle with any hope of accuracy. Here this slight sketch of the parish in England before the Conquest must end. When considerably more local records are collected and compared, ecclesiastical documents of the Anglo-Saxon period re-examined and re-edited, more information may be hoped for on this system which has played so great a part in both the spiritual and political life of the English people.

¹ Thorpe ii., 373.

² Select English Historical documents. No. xiv., F. E. Harmer.

THE HEDIN CROSS, MAUGHOLD, ISLE OF MAN.

By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot.,

Honorary Corresponding Member.

(Read May 6th, 1916).

IN the course of the Archæological Survey of the Isle of Man which is now being made several cross-slabs have come to light in connection with the foundations or ruins of the oldest church buildings which have been examined. Most of these are of very early date, but at Kirk Maughold, on the east coast, one has been found which appears to belong to the close of the Scandinavian period in Man. It is of interest in several ways, and deserves to be brought under the notice of the Viking Society and to be recorded in the *Saga-Book*.

In the large churchyard at Maughold are remains of four ancient churches besides the present building, which shows in its wall some trace of eleventh century work. When excavating at one of these *keels*, or early churches, a lintel grave was found, at the east end of which was an upright slab, buried beneath the rubbish of the ruined walls, figure 1. This was broken at both ends, and some modern cuts and scribblings on it showed that it had been previously disturbed.

The stone measured originally about 36in. high by 11in. wide and from 2 to 2½in. thick. Each face shows remains of a long-shafted cross of Celtic form, with cabled border, to which the appearance of low relief is given by the shallow recesses at the junction of the limbs and by a slight and gradual sinking to the cable border. The head is plain, and the shaft shows an inartistic design, carelessly drawn, of incised step-pattern, having the 'steps' connected by double scores. The cable-moulding of the border, though feebly

executed, shows a novelty in treatment, and looks like a feeble copy from memory of the cable-work on crosses at Bilton and at Dewsbury, Yorkshire.¹ The only other decorative work is just below one limb of the cross, and

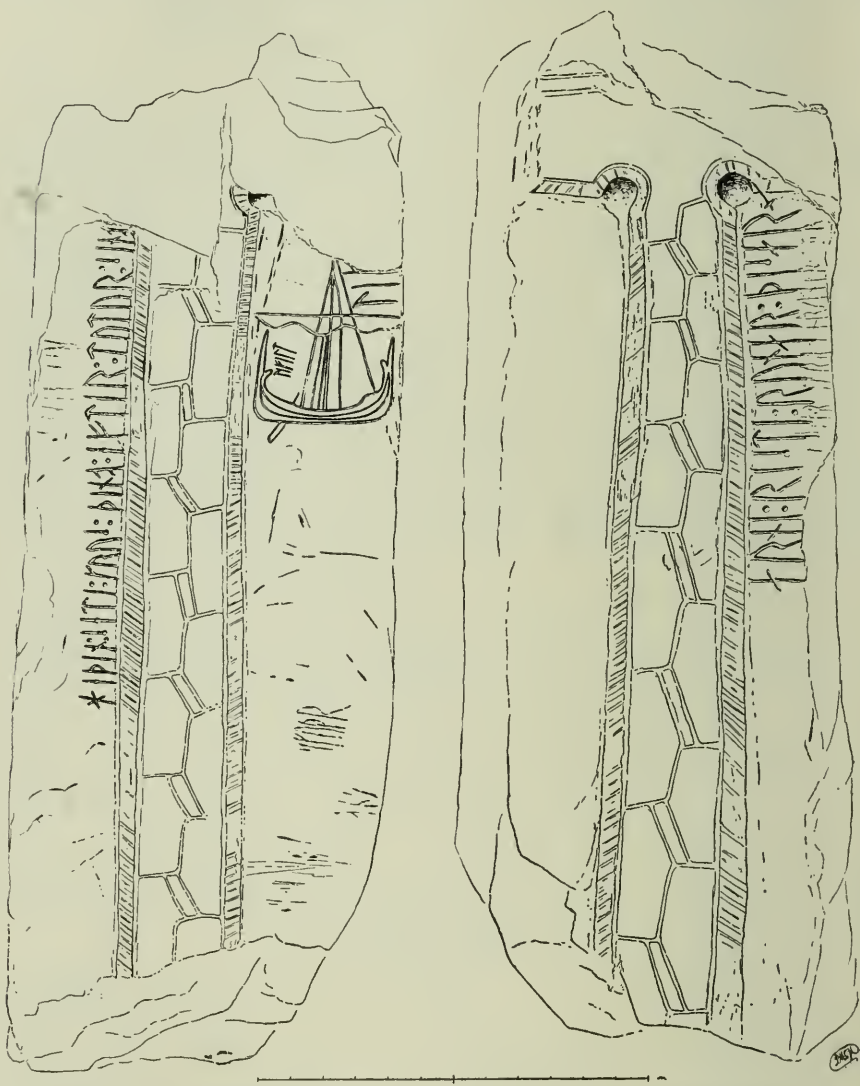


Figure 1.—Hedinn Cross from the North Keeill in Maughold churchyard (No. 142).

takes the form of a Viking ship, being the first example of this design found in the Isle of Man.

The inscription on this face runs up the space at one

¹ Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

side of the shaft. As an arm of the cross came in the way, its last word, which is the name of the person to whose memory the monument was erected, was cut parallel to it at the other side of the shaft, that is to say, below the other arm of the cross. A short inscription, in a similar position on the other face of the slab, gives the name of the rune-cutter. The first reads :—Hedin : seti : krus : thino : eftir : dutur : sino : lif. That is to say :—Hedin set this cross to the memory of his daughter (H)lif. The short inscription reads :—Arni : risti : runar : thisar. Arni cut these runes.

The characters show peculiarities in value and in form. For the first time in Man we see the H-rune, 'hagel,' in its ordinary Scandinavian form of a stem-line crossed at the centre by two small diagonal lines. The stung-rune, which in some Manx inscriptions represents H, here stands for E, as it does in four or five other cases. The fourth rune of the Scandinavian Futhork, Óss, is formed in all other Manx inscriptions where it occurs by two diagonal strokes down-falling on the right side of the stem-line; here the character-strokes are on the left, which in the Isle of Man is the form elsewhere used to represent B. As a later form for O, we meet with it at Maeshowe. The runes for A, N, and T, have their character-strokes on both sides of the stem-lines, a peculiarity which in this district only occurs elsewhere on the Mal-Lumkun cross, Michael (Manx Crosses, No. 104), though unlike that inscription, we have here the rune for S in our usual form of a half-stroke ending in a dot.

The main inscription gives us words new to this district, namely SETI, where elsewhere we find RAISTI in one or other of its forms. The word occurs in the old heathen formula—SATI STAIN, to set up a stone, and, as pointed out by Mr. Collingwood, was introduced into Britain by the Angles. Mr. Collingwood, in 1911, described an Anglian cross-shaft from Urswick Church

with the inscription :—" Tunwini set up in memory of Torhtred a monument to his lord." ¹ He has also figured and described two shafts from near Dewsbury, which he takes to be of late ninth century, in which we find 'sete' and 'sett.' ² But, though these were crosses, the actual word for 'cross' is not expressed as in the present instance, and, in the Urswick inscription the objective appears to be 'Becun,' *i.e.*, monument. The word, he adds, was used in the district as late as the middle of the twelfth century, and occurs on the Tympanum at Pennington, Furness,—“Seti thesa Kirk.” ³ The word for 'daughter' is here spelled 'Tutur,' as on the slab at Peel, and not as on the Mal-Lumkun cross at Michael, which has 'Totir.' In the short inscription we meet with 'risti,' cut, carved,—from *rísta*, as in three other Manx inscriptions, and not from *reisa*, to raise, as in five inscriptions.

The names are all new to the district. They appear in saga literature and are not distinctive of nationality. *Hedin*, in which the third rune, Thorn, is used to express the D, means literally a 'jacket of skin or fur,' and appears as the name of a heroic being, as the husband of Hild, in Bragi's Shield-lay. At least six men of the name are found in the Icelandic Book of Settlement, besides some in Orkneyinga and other Norse sagas; in two instances, as in the present, we read of a Hedin having a daughter named Hlif, namely, in Viga Glum's saga and in Landnáma,—Hlif, the daughter of Hedin of Meola in Norway. Hlif, literally, 'cover, protection, shelter, especially of a Shield,' appears in Heroic days with—Hlifthrasa and others as maids that sit at Meng-laid's knee on the hill of healing. Landnáma mentions several of the names, and Turf-Einar had a daughter

¹ Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. xi., new series.

² Yorkshire Archæological Journal, vol. xxiii., p. 141, figs.

³ Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, N.S. iii., 373.

Hlif. The initial H is here omitted, as it is in two older pieces at Michael and at Braddon, in which we find respectively 'Rumun' and 'Roskitil' with the initial dropped. As regards this name, however, it should be pointed out that the stone is broken at the line of the letter F, between which and the arm of the cross would have been room for three or more runes. It is just possible that it is part of a compound name, an idea suggested by some lightly scribbled runes between the stern and the sail of the vessel. The first three of these are evidently copied from those below; if the other three are rightly copied we find a name Lifilt, *i.e.*, Hlifhild. This particular compound, however, is not otherwise known, and it seems likely that the scribbling is recent and meaningless. The name Arni occurs in the sagas, and, in Iceland, is found as that among others of the noted builder of the Cathedral at Skalholt.

The runes, especially in the short inscription, are deeply scored, evenly spaced and well-formed. They differ from those of other Manx inscriptions to such an extent that, considering also the novel formula, we must regard this to be the work of a new scribe, one who had come from or gained his knowledge of runes in a district other than that of the Manx rune-cutters. The inferior workmanship of the cross makes it seem unlikely that Arni was also the carver of that. Probably, if he had been, he would have expressed himself differently, and, instead of saying 'cut these runes,' would have said, 'made, or, worked this cross,' as in the form used by the sculptor Gaut, in his inscriptions at Andreas and at Michael.

There can be no doubt that both artist and rune-cutter were new to the island, and no other example of the work of either of them has been brought to light. The form of cross on each face, with its long shaft and absence of ring connecting or surrounding the limbs at the head, is met with, but is unusual among Scandi-

navian pieces in the district. Cable-moulding is rare, and in only two late instances at Michael and at Braddan is it applied as a border to the figure of the cross. In this case the design of the cable differs. The border is flat and not actually in relief; it is badly weathered as well as unevenly worked, but seems to show a double strand which the artist has attempted to represent by deep and by thin, lightly-cut lines alternately, with a very slight scallop between. The nearest approach to this treatment that I am aware of is on a Scandinavian stone from Bilton, as figured by Mr. Collingwood in his valuable and interesting account of the "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding."¹ This is described by him as an 'unusual cable-edge, imitating a double-strand cord twined round a roll of soft material. At pages 164 and 166, he figures two Anglian crosses from Dewsbury with peculiar cable-work of a rather different character. We may surmise that the artist of Hedin's cross had come from that district or had seen that work, and had tried from memory to execute a similar design. As to the feeble decoration on the shafts, I have seen nothing like it either in the Isle of Man or anywhere else.

The Ship is more carefully drawn; it has nothing in common with the rest of the decorative work, but appears rather to have been done by another hand, and placed for a definite purpose in a conspicuous position. It is incised in outline, ornamented by two lines between the bulwarks and the keel and ends in a little flourish at the stem and at the stern. The treatment is realistic; it is high at the prow and the poop, showing clearly the raised 'lypting' on which the commander stood and steered. The bulwarks are low amidships. The sail is furled, and, instead of the fixed rudder, we find the steering-oar near the stern on the right side,—*stjorn bordi*, the starboard, a detail not elsewhere met with.

¹ Yorkshire Archæological Journal, vol. xxiii., p. 141. Figs. d, e, f, and g.

When Heraldry was in its infancy the Arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles were represented by a Ship. In the time of Camden there was in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster a perfect seal, which has now long disappeared, of Godred Crovan; this was described by him as bearing a 'ship in ruff sables,' the reverse showing the effigy of a man on horseback. A seal of King Olaf, to a charter in 1134, bore a ship with sails furled; and in the British Museum are two of King Harold, 1245 and 1246, with the same design. These are figured in Oswald's *Vestigia*, Manx Society, Vol. V. One of them shows neither sail nor yard, the other has the sail furled, and shows also remains of the standard. But the form of the vessel is conventional and not that of the Viking Ship. Attached to a Paisley Charter (circ. 1175) is a seal of Reginald, second son of Somerled, which bears a ship filled with men-at-arms; the reverse has a man on horseback, like that of Godred Crovan, of whom Reginald's mother was a grand-daughter. Woodward's Heraldry states that 'on a seal of Angus of the Isles, of the year 1292, appended to a Homage Deed in the Chapter House at Westminster, the lymphad or galley with furled sail appears, but not included in a shield.' He gives as reference, Laing, *Scottish Seals*, I., No. 450.

By the time that Heraldry had grown to be an established science, the ship apparently had passed to the descendants of Somerled, now become 'Lord of the Isles.' It is a well-known Heraldic device on sepulchral monuments in Kintyre and the Western Isles from about the fourteenth century. These all show a vessel of the same conventional form, with high prow and stern, but differing from the realistic drawing on Hedin's cross; the sail, where shown, is generally furled, but, in Islay, where are eight instances, two have the sails spread. Sometimes standards are figured, sometimes sailors. All appear to have a fixed rudder at the stern.

Mr. Collingwood, in 1903, turned over a slab in S. Oran's Chapel, Iona, and found on the other face the worn remains of a large ship, in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail. Some of the other figures appear to be in illustration of the Sigurd legend, so favoured in Man, whose royal house claimed descent from the hero.¹ The rude drawing and the hacked work made Mr. Collingwood think it 'extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona, though strikingly similar to the Manx carvings.' He suggests that it may have been erected to Godred, King of Man, and we know from the Manx Chronicle that Godred died at St. Patrick's Isle in 1187, and was buried at Iona. Mr. A. Ritchie, of Iona, kindly sent me a rubbing of this and a tracing of the figure of it given by Drummond. The ship, which shows the high prow and stern, is more rudely drawn than in the present example; no raised poop appears, and the hull is represented as very low, evidently to allow more space for the figures; it shows neither oar nor rudder. Mr. Collingwood's figure confirms his account of this Iona slab, and his surmise that it was a memorial to Godred, King of Man, seems quite likely.

An Anglo-Danish hogback from Lowther, of which, in 1906, Mr. Collingwood gave an account, is regarded by him as tenth century work. This figures a Viking ship filled with men and their shields; it has high prow and stern, but, possibly for want of space, no mast is shown.² An elaborately sculptured cross-slab at Cosins, Forfarshire, which notwithstanding some 'British' symbols appears to be of rather late date, has the figure of a boat with six men in. No mast is shown, the prow and stern are raised, but the bulwarks are straight.³

¹ *Saga-Book of the Viking Club*, vol. iii., part iii. Jan., 1904, p. 305.

² *Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, vol. vii., new series.

³ *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, By J. Romilly Allen p. 217. Fig. 230 B.

The whole appearance of the Hedin monument is late, certainly more so than that to Godred Olafsson in Iona. The inscription does not help in dating it, as the forms of the runes and the precise wording are due



Figure 2.—Sigurd fragment from Kirk Michael (No. 123).

to the district from which Arni came, as much as to the period, but it rather supports the view of a late date by the use of the Manx B-rune to represent O. Nor do we learn anything from the names, as, unfortunately,

we have no record by which they can be identified. There was, I think, a distinct purpose in figuring the Ship, which, I suggest, was added by Arni as, so to speak, a part of his inscription; it would be recognized by contemporaries as an indication that the descent of Hlif, either on the father's or on the mother's side, could be traced to Godred Crovan, from whom both the Kings of Man and the Lords of the Isles had derived the Ship as an Armorial Bearing.

Only one other cross-slab showing work of the Viking period has come to light since the publication of 'Manx Crosses,' and as members may like to have a note of it, I take this opportunity to mention it. This is a broken fragment found near Michael Church a few years ago, figure 2. One face shows a part of the shaft of a cross decorated with the twist and diamond-shaped ring design which occurs on some other Scandinavian pieces. What remains of the space to the right of this, bears above, a robed female figure holding a four-pronged staff, foliated at the top. This resembles figures on two pieces from Jurby, 'Manx Crosses,' Nos. 98 and 99. On the former it appears above the story of the hanging, and on the other is on one face of the slab which shows Heimdall blowing his horn. In the latter case it might stand for the Sibyl Hyndla, whose prophecies tell of Heimdall and of Ragnarök.

Below is shown a horse, tethered, having on its back not, I think, a saddle, but rather the gold-hoard won by Sigurd from Fafni. If this be so, the connection between the two figures is not obvious, though originally no doubt it would have appeared by other carvings now lost.

The remaining edge shows the upper parts of some runes, but all that can be made out now is:—(THANI) AIFTER MU . . . The diphthong AI is clearly shown, and is of interest, as it only occurs otherwise on the Ballaugh Cross (77), where it appears in this same word.

SOME DANISH BALLADS.

BY MISS N. SMITH-DAMPIER.

(Read December 2nd, 1916, and January 5th, 1918).

THE following Danish Ballads were chosen as illustrations of two lectures delivered before the Viking Society, not only on their merits, but as illustrating the Danish treatment of themes common to all Ballads—historical incidents, love, warfare, and witchcraft. Denmark was early captivated by the mania for the Ballad, sung, and accompanied by the dance, which swept over Europe during the early Middle Ages (about 1149-1400); and though the pastime in its original form survives only in the Farøe Islands, Ballads were sung in Jutland till the mid nineteenth century, while both in writing and in printing the texts Denmark was a pioneer.

For this fidelity to the Ballad, the democratic spirit of Denmark was chiefly responsible. The king's court was always a centre of foreign culture; except for the ducal house of Gottorp in Sleswick there were no petty courts to patronize native talent, and no school of professional minstrels such as the troubadours of France and the minnesingers of Germany. Local talent was encouraged by the local gentry, those knights, fighting gentleman-farmers, whose position in many ways was that of the old English country squire, and their tastes, interests and outlook are mostly reflected in the Ballads. Towards the close of the Middle Ages this class was swamped by the rise of a more powerful nobility, and the round-dance went out of fashion; but the Ballads were still sung in the long winter evenings, and the "albums" of the 16th century lady formed the basis of the first printed collections.

The Danish Ballads are consequently peculiarly rich

in portions most liable to be lost or mangled in oral transmission—the introductory verses and the burdens or refrains adapted from the simple lyrics which originally sufficed for the dance, and came later to serve as chorus when the fashion for narrative poetry began with the 13th century.

As for the Ballads which follow : The “ King-slaying in Finderup,” the earliest of a cycle dealing with the murder of King Erik Klipping (1286), is interesting for its note of personal loyalty—a rare thing in the Ballads, where kings mostly appear merely as capricious tyrants or benefactors.

“ Thord of Hafsgaard ” shows how the Old Norse “ Lay of Thrym ” descended from its epic dignity into the garrulous region of fairy-tale.

The story told in “ Sir Karel’s Lyke-Wake ” has parallels in various countries, Scotland included, but it ends like a Hans Andersen fairy-tale with a characteristic touch of delicate humour.

The “ Avenging Sword ” is a fine example of Northern grimness and glamour, and unique in its mingling of paganism with Christian feeling. The weapon with its indwelling life—the power of the spoken name—the blood-feud and Bersark blood-lust contrast weirdly with the penitential pilgrimage of the slayer.

“ Agnes and the Merman,” a late Ballad, imported from Germany, is the simple folk-theme elaborated by Matthew Arnold in “ The Forsaken Merman.”

In my translations I have reproduced the variations of the original metres.

THE KING-SLAYING IN FINDERUP.

1.

So many dwell in Denmark
 Would all be masters there!
 They’ve ridden up to Ribe,
 And close disguise they wear.
 (And therefore the land lies in peril.)

2.

They've clothed them in a close disguise
As friars of orders grey,
And up the land they've ridden
Their liege lord to betray.

3.

They watched him in, they watched him out,
They watched thro' time and tide,
They watched him till the woeful hour
He should to Finderup ride.

4.

They rode into the goodman's garth,
And shining spears they bore;
Was never a man might know them
For the monkish cowls they wore.

5.

Oh in they went where the wax-light stood
A-burning in the bower;
They led him out, the youthful king,
All in an evil hour.

6.

"Now harken, Ranild Jonson,
"Wilt thou defend my life,
"Half my kingdom I'll give thee,
"And my sister to thy wife!"

7.

It was Ranild Jonson
Spent strokes on beam and board—
Good sooth, most like a traitor
Did he defend his lord!

8.

Oh they've struck in at the shoulder
And out at the heart they smite—
"There shall be dule in all Denmark
"For the deed we have done this night!"

9.

It was the little foot-page
That mote not bear the sight—
The saddle he took from the good grey steed
And set it upon the white,

10.

The saddle he took from the good grey steed
And set it upon the white,
And he's away to Skanderborg
Before the fall of night.

11.

The queen sits on the tower so tall
And looks forth far and wide:
"Oh yonder I see a little foot-page,
"And swiftly doth he ride.

12.

"All on his master's steed he rides,
"And woe is me for fear—
"Now watch, Almighty God in heaven,
"Over my lord so dear!"

13.

"Now God have mercy on his soul,
"For slain our lord doth lie,
"The king lies killed in Finderup,
"And the land is in jeopardy.

14.

"Now watch ye well your castle,
"Now watch ye well your realm,
"Now watch ye well your own young son
"Shall stand at Denmark's helm!"
(And therefore the land lies in peril.)

THORD OF HAFSGAARD.

1.

It was Thord of Hafsgaard o'er the blowing fields did ride,
There he lost his hammer of gold, and sought it far and wide.

2.

It was Thord of Hafsgaard spake with his brother bold:
"Thou must fare to Norrefjeld, and seek my hammer of gold."

3.

It was little Loki that donned his feather-fell,
Forth he flew to Norrefjeld all over the salt sea-swell.

4.

All in the castle garth his garment changèd he,
Then entered in the stone-built hall the Giant King to see.

5.

"Now welcome, little Loki, be thou right welcome here!
"How fares the land round Hafsgaard and the land that lies anear?"

6.

"Well fares the land round Hafsgaard and the land that lies anear,
"But Thord has lost his hammer, and therefore am I come here."

7.

"Never shall Thord have his hammer again, altho' ye seek and
strive,
"Under the earth 'tis buried deep, full fifty fathom and five.

8.

"Never shall Thord have his hammer again, for ye shall buy it
dear,
"Till ye bring me your sister Fredensborg, with all your goods and
gear!"

9.

It was little Loki that donned his feather-fell,
Forth he flew to Hafsgaard all over the salt sea-swell.

10.

"Never shall Thord have his hammer again, altho' we seek and
strive,
"Under the earth 'tis buried deep, full fifty fathom and five—

11.

"Never shall Thord have his hammer again, for we must buy it
dear,
"Till we take him our sister Fredensborg, with all our goods and
gear!"

12.

The maiden seated on the bench, she up and spake to him:
"Oh give me to a christened man, and not to a goblin grim!"

13.

"Now we will take our father, and comb his locks with care,
"And lead him up to Norrefjeld, all for a bride so fair!"

14.

Now true is the tale I tell ye, they took that dainty bride,
They spared no costly plenishing to deck her out with pride;

15.

They seated her, that beauteous bride, all on the bridal seat—
Forth he came, the Giant-King, full fain the maid to greet.

16.

An ox that lusty bride devoured, and thirty salted swine,
And drank ere she could slake her thirst twelve tuns of good red
wine.

17.

The Giant-King he paced the floor, and wrathful was his mood :
 " Who e'er beheld a beauteous bride fall thus upon her food? "

18.

Up spake little Loki, and smiled his cloak behind :
 " For seven days she ate no meat, so love-lorn was her mind! "

19.

Stayed upon a mighty tree by seven champions bold
 Up to the knees of the maiden they bore the hammer of gold.

21.

Up she rose, the bride, and took the hammer in her hand,
 Good sooth, I say, she swung it light as a willow-wand!

22.

She slew the King o' the Giants, that troll so fierce and grim,
 And the lesser trolls that sought the feast, she slew them after him

23.

It was little Loki that spake a merry jest;
 " Our father he is a widow now, to lead him home were best! "

SIR KAREL'S LYKE-WAKE.

1.

It was young Sir Karel
 His mother's rede did pray
 If he should to the cloister ride,
 And bear his love away.
 (The roses and the lilies all a-blowing.)

2.

" Shalt seem to die, a corse shalt lie
 " In shroud the bier upon,
 " And ne'er a one shall ask of thee
 " If thou art a living man."

3.

Late, so late at even
 The sickness on him fell;
 All in the morning early
 They tolled for him the bell.

4.

They're ta'en him, young Sir Karel,
 And streeked him for a corse,
 And all to tell the tidings
 His page has taken horse.

5.

Up and into the cloister
All with the bier they hied;
The Prior came down to meet them
With mickle pomp and pride.

6.

Forth went the little singing-boys
Clad all in the scarlet red,
They bade the maidens come to watch,
“For young Sir Karl is dead.”

7.

It was little Kirsten
Spake with her mother dear:
“Mother, may I to the watching wend
“Over the young knight’s bier?”

8.

“Yea, do thou on thy scarlet weed
“And deck thy head with gold;
“But be thou ware of young Sir Karl,
“His wiles are manifold!”

9.

She entered in, the little maid,
Amid the tapers’ shine;
She could not see them burning bright,
So tearful were her eyne.

10.

All by his head she sat her down,
And for his soul she prayed:
“Alas, thou wast my liefest love
“In the days ere thou wast dead!”

11.

All by his feet she sat her down
And smoothed the cere-cloth white:
“Oh in the days ere thou wast dead
“Thou wast my heart’s delight.”

12.

Right softly then Sir Karel spake:
“Now cease from tene and tear,
“For lo, ’tis all for love of thee
“I lie upon this bier.

13.

" My steed stands in the cloister-garth
 " A-tarrying all for thee,
 " If thou, mine own true sweetheart,
 " Wilt fly afar with me."

14.

It was young Sir Karel
 Rose straightway from the dead,
 And as they reached the cloister door
 A gay good-night she bade.

15.

The nuns they all sat silent
 Each reading on her book—
 They thought 'twas God's good angel
 The beauteous maid that took.

16.

The nuns they all sat silent—
 Each to herself said she:
 " God grant that His good angel
 " May speedily come for me! "
 (The roses and the lilies all a-blowing.)

THE AVENGING SWORD.

1.

Sir Peter rode to the castle door,
 The King of Danes he stood before.
 (Forward, hurrah! ride forward.)

2.

" Welcome, Sir Peter. comrade mine!
 " Say, hast thou avenged that sire o' thine? "

3.

" Oh I have been so southerly
 " Until the sun bowed down to me,

4.

" And I have been so westerly
 " Until the sun sank near to me,

5.

" And I have been so northerly
 " Until the frost was frore to see,

6.

" And I have been so easterly
 " Until the day was fair to see,

7.

"But never did I find the wight
"Could rede me my father's death aright."

8.

He smiled, the King, his words to heed:
"Here stand I that did the deed!"

9.

"By God in heaven I tell thee true—
"None but I thy father slew!"

10.

Sir Peter smote himself on the breast:
"Heart, bide still, nor break thy rest—

11.

"Heart, lie still, bide patiently;
"Sure and swift shall my vengeance be."

12.

Sir Peter walked abroad
To speak with his good sword.

13.

"Good brown brand, wilt fight for me?
"No brother have I on earth but thee."

14.

"Oh say, how can I fight for thee?
"My hilt lies broken in pieces three."

15.

To the smith his way he wended
That the hurt might be amended.

16.

He gave him iron, he gave him steel
Of proof and price, the hurt to heal.

17.

"Good brown brand, wilt fight for me?
"No brother have I in the world but thee."

18.

"Be only in thy blows so stern
"As I'll be swift in point to turn!"

19.

"Be only in thy blows so stout
"As I in hilt will bear thee out!"

20.

Sir Peter sought the hall
Where the knights were drinking all.

21.

To prove his sword he was so fain
That seven champions there lay slain.

22.

Up and down he swung his blade,
Neither matron he spared or maid.

23.

Behind the arras there he thrust,
The King and his sons they bit the dust.

24.

Up spake the babe, in cradle lay :
“ A red revenge dost thou wreak to-day—

25.

“ A red revenge for that sire o’ thine!
“ God give me a day for avenging mine.”

26.

He seized the babe amain,
And smote it straight in twain.

27.

“ Cease, brown brand, thy thirst to slake—
“ Bide thou still for our Saviour’s sake! ”

28.

Wearily whispered the sword and still :
“ Fain of *thy* blood I’d have my fill!

29.

“ Hadst thou not named my name, I vow
“ I would have slain thee, here and now! ”

30.

He sought the smith again,
Bade forge an iron chain.

31.

He bound in chains both foot and hand
To wander weary o’er many a land.

32.

But when o’er the grave of the King he passed
The chain of iron was riven and brast.
(Forward, hurrah! ride forward.)

AGNES AND THE MERMAN.

1.

Agnes she walked on the edge of the steep,
And up came a Merman out of the deep.
Ha ha ha!
Up came a Merman out of the deep.

2.

"Harken now, Agnes, so fair and so fine,
"Say, wilt thou come to be true love o' mine?"

3.

"Yes, good sooth, that will I be,
"Wilt thou bear me down to the depths of the sea."

4.

She dwelt with the Merman eight years and more,
Seven fair sons to him she bore.

5.

Agnes she sat by the cradle and sang
And she heard how the bells of England rang.

6.

She to the Merman did speak and say:
"May I go up to the kirk to pray?"

7.

"Thou hast my leave to go withal,
"But see thou come back to thy children small.

8.

"When thro' the kirkyard thou dost fare
"Then see thou let not down thy shining golden hair.

9.

"And when thou enterest in the door
"Then sit by thy mother's side no more.

10.

"When the priest names the Name of dread
"Then bow not down thy head."

11.

But when thro' the kirkyard she did fare,
Oh then did she let down her shining golden hair.

12.

And when she entered in the door
She sat by her mother as of yore.

13.

When the priest named the Name of dread
Then she bowed down her head.

14.

"Agnes, my daughter, I ask of thee
"Where hast thou been eight years away from me?"

15.

"I dwelt with the Merman eight years and more,
"Seven fair sons to him I bore."

16.

"Now tell me, my daughter, and fear no blame,
"What did he give for thy maiden fame?"

17.

"He gave me a ring of golden sheen,
"Never a better one hath the queen."

18.

"Of golden shoon he gave me a pair,
"Never a better the queen might wear."

19.

"He gave me a harp of gold to play
"That I might touch the strings and wile my cares away."

20.

The Merman made him a path so straight
Up from the strand to the kirkyard gate.

21.

Into the kirk the Merman hied,
And all the holy images they turned their heads aside.

22.

Like the purest gold was his shining hair,
His eyes were full of sorrow and care.

23.

"Harken, oh Agnes, harken unto me!
"All thy little children are longing after thee."

24.

"Let them long as they will, let their longing be sore,
"I shall return to them never more."

25.

"Oh think of the big ones and think of the small,
"Of the baby in the cradle think thou most of all!"

26.

"I think not of the big ones, I think not of the small,
"Of the baby in the cradle I'll think no more at all."

(Ha ha ha!

Of the baby in the cradle I'll think no more at all.)

CELTIC TRIBES IN JUTLAND?

A CELTIC DIVINITY AMONG THE SCANDINAVIAN GODS?

BY PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BUGGE, *Honorary Life Member.*

IT is well known that the Celts and the Teutonic peoples during a long time, probably during centuries, before our era lived as neighbours and influenced each other. The Celts especially have in all parts of life exercised a deep influence upon the Teutonic peoples, who, *e.g.*, have got their idea of kingship from them. Several scholars even think that the Celts must have subdued the Teutonic peoples in Northern Germany and compelled them to follow their campaigns.¹ R. Much contends that this theory is wrong and has to be given up.² Eoin MacNeill, on the other hand, has recently given new proofs that it is probably right.³ The *Acta Triumphalia* mentions that the Consul Marcellus, after the battle of Clastidium in Northern Italy, in the year 222 B.C., triumphed "over the Insubrians, Gauls and the Germans."⁴ It is otherwise unknown that there were at this time Germans in Northern Italy. We must therefore conclude that the Germans mentioned in the inscription had been compelled to follow the Gauls and fight in their ranks. All scholars, French as well as German, on the other hand, agree that the Celtic occupation never reached further north in modern Germany than to the Elbe, because this river has a Germanic name. But there are still many riddles as to the mutual relations between the Celtic and the Teutonic peoples that are not yet solved. It is generally accepted that the Belgae were Celts or Gauls. Cæsar,

¹ Cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *les Celtes*.

² *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, Art. *Kelten*.

³ *Phases of Irish History*.

⁴ *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. Th. Mommsen, I., p. 458 (anno urbis 532): M. CLAUDIUS. M.F.M.N. MARCELLUS. AN. DXXXI. COS. DE. GALLEIS. INSUBRIBUS. ET. GERMAN K. MART. ISQUE. SPOLIA. OPIMA. RETTULIT. DUCE, HOSTIUM. UIRDUMARO. AD. CLASTIDIUM. INTERFECTO.

however, expressly mentions that the greater part of the *Belgae* are descended from the Germans, and in olden times have been brought over the Rhine.¹ It is, therefore, probable that at least some part of the *Belgae* originally were Germans, but that they later on became Gallicized and began to speak a Gallic or Celtic dialect. Professor MacNeill even contends that Belgian tribes must have come to Ireland.² His reason is that we also find in Ireland some tribal names that are well known from North-eastern Gaul and Britain. Ptolemy, *e.g.*, places on the eastern coast of Ireland a tribe called Manapii (*Μανάπιοι*) which seems to be the same name as the Menapii who lived in the present Brabant; besides the Manapii he mentions another tribe called Brigantes (*Βρίγαντες*) which was also the name of a powerful tribe in northern England.³ Together with the *Belgae* some Teutonic elements must also have reached Ireland; on the coast of Leinster Ptolemy likewise places a tribe called Kauki (*Καῦκοι*).⁴ This seems to be the same name as the *Chauci*, a German tribe that lived on the western shore of the Elbe. Also to Britain there have probably, in the company of the *Belgae*, come German tribes. We, *e.g.*, find *Lugii* both in northern Germany and in Britain (*Λοῦγιοι*).

When we thus meet with Teutonic tribes among the Celts not only in Gaul but also in the British Islands, why should we not also find Celtic tribes among the Teutonic? It is well known that during the last thousand years before our era the Celts migrated to most parts of Europe, and that they even came to Asia Minor. Why cannot they also have come to the Scandinavian countries? Germans and Celts must in olden times have lived as neighbours not only inland, but also along the seacoast, else Irish would not have had the same

¹ De bello Gallico II. C. 4 § 2.

² Phases of Irish History, 57.

³ Holder, Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz II. 543ff.

⁴ Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia, ed. Carolus Müllerus, I., p. 79.

word for "sail" as the Germanic languages (Ir. *seól*). This proximity must of course have taken place on the shores of the North Sea.

Archæology shows that in the Scandinavian countries also during the last five centuries before Christ, the so-called pre-Roman Iron Age, the Celtic influence was very strong. During this period there is practically no difference between Scandinavian and Celtic finds. The La-Tène civilisation reigned even in the Scandinavian countries. This Celtic influence must have been stronger and have lasted longer in Jutland than anywhere else. Both the Celts and the Scandinavian peoples in the Bronze Age used chariots in their cult for carrying holy vessels and idols. Two chariots of this type, dating back to the La-Tène period, have been found in a moor at Dejbjerg, near Ringjæbing, in Western Jutland. They look so Celtic that Déchelette gives an illustration of them in his well-known work, "*Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine*" (II., p. iii.).¹ In the year 1891 at Gundestrup, near Aars, in northern Jutland, there was found a wonderful decorated big silver vessel that has undoubtedly been used in a pagan cult. Sophus Müller thinks that it dates from the second century of our era (possibly earlier), and that it most likely was made in Denmark.² The pictures, however, that are represented on the vessel have nothing to do with Norse or Teutonic mythology. Some of them we can trace back to Greek or Roman motives, while others are Gallic, *e.g.*, the god Cerunnos, with a big staghorn growing from his head. Sophus Müller says: "Thus everything that we are able to define on the silver kettle is foreign, and the same is the case with all other pictures from the time of the Teutonic migrations."

But how is this to be explained? From later times, when the intercourse between the Scandinavian and

¹ Cf. II. Page 285. ² S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*. II. 160ff.

other countries was much more lively, we know nothing similar. We can in ornamentation, as well as in poetry and mythology, trace influences from Roman, Frankish, Anglo-Saxon and Irish civilisation. But the foreign influence was never predominating. It was always absorbed by the civilisation of the country itself. The above-mentioned finds from Jutland, on the other hand, are quite un-Scandinavian and purely Celtic. We might from this alone be tempted to conclude that before our era there have been Celts in Jutland.

The Celts at the end of the Bronze Age and in the beginning of the Iron Age were the greatest trading peoples of Central Europe. They were the lords of the passages in the Alps and of the two great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube, which also formed the most important trading routes of Central Europe. This was the reason why the Celts themselves began to trade with other countries. Through their hands passed the tin trade from Britain to the Mediterranean countries. This can be proved from the Greek *Κασσίτερος*, which means tin, and, according to the scholars, is a Celtic word. It was in order to become lords of the country that produced the tin that the Celts migrated to Britain. The abundance of metallic ore in north-western Spain was also the reason why the Celts migrated to that country. They passed through southern France without stopping there, and went straight to the north-western part of the Iberian peninsula. For the same reason the Celts also migrated to Bohemia, where, as the name shows, there are rich metallic ores in the Erzgebirge. Why should not the amber trade have induced other Celts to come to Jutland? In prehistoric times amber was one of the most valuable articles of trade, and was in the Bronze Age already exported to Hellas and Egypt. Amber, however, is only found in Jutland and on the shores of the Baltic, in Prussia.

A. Schachmatov, the celebrated Russian scholar, has

tried to show that Celts have lived in the amber country in Prussia and higher up along the Vistula.¹ Professor Olaf Broch, in Christiania, who has kindly drawn my attention to Schachmatov's paper, tells me that his theory has met with much opposition. I am not myself able to determine whether he is right in everything that he tries to prove. It is in any case strange that Greek and Roman authors like Pliny, Tacitus, Ptolemaeus and Jordanes called the Slavs *Venedi*, *Veneti* and *Οὐενέδαι*, the same name as Wends and Old Norse *Vindr*. This name is the same as the Illyrian *Veneti* of the Adriatic and the Gaulish *Veneti* who lived in Brittany. Schachmatov thinks that the *Veneti* in northern Italy have been subdued by the Celts and have taken their name. There are, he tries to prove, traces of the Celtic *Veneti* in Bavaria and Tyrol, that was originally a Celtic country. These Celtic *Veneti* have, according to his opinion, also come to the Vistula and subjected the Slavs, who have taken their name. There are, Schachmatov tries to prove, along the river Vistula many names of Celtic origin. But also along the Baltic there must, according to him, have been Celtic tribes. Tacitus tells that in the Amber country itself lives a people that he calls *Aestii*. They have the same dress and customs as the Svebs. Their language, however, is nearer to the British language. They adore the Mother of the gods. As symbols of this cult they have images of boars.

Most scholars think that the *Aestii* of Tacitus belonged to the Baltic or Lithuanian race. Schachmatov, however thinks that Tacitus' words prove that they were Celtic; they spoke, he says, a language that resembled the British (*lingua Britannica*), and the boar, it is well known, plays a great part in Celtic mythology. There are also, according to Schachmatov, in Prussia, place-names of Celtic origin. If, in the beginning of our era,

¹ Archiv. für slavische Philologie, Vol. 33.

Celts have really lived in Prussia, they must have settled there because of the amber trade and the important highway of commerce that went from the mouth of the Vistula to the mouth of the Dnieper.

That the amber trade has been of great importance to Jutland we see from the fact that, from prehistoric times, there are more gold finds there than in other parts of Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries. The amber trade especially flourished during the later Stone Age and the Bronze Age. After that time Prussia became the centre of the amber trade, although, of course, the export from Jutland never quite ceased.

Pytheas from Massilia, about B.C. 325, made his two expeditions to northern Europe in order to see those distant countries that were of such importance to the commerce of his native town. He first visited Britain, from which the tin came. In his second expedition he visited the western coast of Germany and Jutland, where he met with amber-trading Teutons.¹ Had not Massilia been interested in the amber trade, Pytheas would never have visited Jutland, and if the traders who exported the amber had not been Celts, the amber trade probably would not have passed through Gaul to Massilia. But, nevertheless, Pytheas calls the traders *Teutoni*.

The first northern peoples who invaded the frontier of the Roman empire, and made Rome tremble, are called *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. It is now acknowledged by most scholars that both of them came from Jutland. On the so-called *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Augustus tells of an expedition that the Roman fleet in the year B.C. 5 made to the shores of Jutland. There, he says: "The Cimbri, Charudes, Semnones, and other Ger-

¹ Pytheas' own work is lost. But his description is preserved by Plinius in his *Historia naturalis*, 37c. 35: "Pytheas (credidit) *Gutonibus* Germaniae genti accoli aestuarium oceani Metuonides nomine spatio sex milium, ab hos dici navigatione abesse insulam Abalum, illo per ver fluctibus advehi (*i.e.*, electrum) et esse concreti maris purgamentum, incolas pro ligno ad ignem ubi eo proximis *Teutonis* vendere." It is generally thought that instead of *Gutonibus* we ought to read *Teutonibus*, and that Pytheas only met *Teutones*.

manic peoples in the same tract, through ambassadors, asked for my friendship and that of the Roman people." (*Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt*).

Strabo, the great geographer, who was born B.C. 66 and died A.D. 21, likewise knows of this embassy, and tells that the Cimbri "still to this day possess the country which they had in former times").¹ Plinius and Ptolemy also place the Cimbri at the northern end of Jutland, which they call the Cimbrian peninsula (*Cimbrorum promontorium*, "Κιμβρικὴ Χερσόνησος.")² Tacitus likewise knows that the Cimbri live far north in Germania, and that in former times they had been a mighty people, but that they at this time were a small tribe only.³ Their name is still preserved in the district of *Himmerland*, old Danish *Himbersysel*, at the Limfjord, where Aalborg is the capital.

The *Teutones* also must have come from Jutland. Pomponius Mela (l. III., c. 3) places them as neighbours to the Cimbri.⁴ We have already mentioned that Pytheas from Massilia met amber-trading Teutones in Jutland. Their name is preserved in the district of *Ty* (older Dan. *Tythesysel*, Old Norw. *þjóð*) north of the Limfiord, with the capital Tisted and the island Tyholm. Some scholars have also suggested that the names Theodorik and the Teutoburgian forest (*Teutoburgiensis saltus*) are derived from the name of the Teutones. R. Much, however, thinks that these names are derived from **þeuðo*, "people." In the company of the Teutons, another people called Ambrones (*Ἀμβρωνες*) migrated southwards. They have probably likewise come from Jutland, where their name is possibly preserved in the island of *Amrum* (older Dan. *Ambrum*).⁵

¹ *Geographia* L. VII., c. 2 § 1.

² *Historia Naturalis*, c. 35.

³ *Germania* C. 35.

⁴ *in eo (Sinu Codano) sunt Cimbri et Teutoni.*

⁵ *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, hg. v. T. Hoops, I. 76f.

Because these peoples had their home in Jutland, nearly all scholars conclude that they belonged to the Germanic race. Diefenbach, however, has in his "Celtica" (II., 187 ff) tried to prove that they were Celts, and the well-known Swedish scholar, Dr. Paul Charpentier, of the University of Uppsala, has sided with him.¹ Among English scholars the late Sir James Murray, in the "New English Dictionary (Vol. IX., p. 236), under the heading *Teutonic*, says about the *Teutones*: "It is now, however, held by many that they were not a Germanic people."

The oldest Roman authors who mention the Cimbri and Teutones, e.g., Sallust² and Cicero³ (who also knows the name *Germani*, however), call them Celts. The books where Livius described the Cimbrian war are now lost and only known from excerpts by later authors. Most of these call the Cimbri and the Teutones Gauls (*Galli*), only one (Vellejus) calls them *Germani*, and one (Orosius) calls them "Germans and Gauls."

The Ambrones are distinctly called Gauls. Festus says: "The Ambrones were a Gallic people, who, through a sudden inundation, had lost their seats and began to live on robbing and plundering" (*Ambrones fuerunt gens quaedam Gallica, qui subita inundatione maris amiserunt sedes suas, rapinis et praedationibus se suosque alere coeperunt*).⁴ Plutarch even tells that the peoples in northern Italy were able to understand the language of the Ambrones.⁵

It is impossible to explain the names Cimbri, Teutones and Ambrones from Germanic. Festus says: "Cimbri in the Gallic language means robbers" ("Cimbri

¹ Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 71, p. 382ff.

² Jugurtha, c. 114: adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et M. Manlio male pugnatum.

³ Cicero de oratore, 2, lib., 266.

⁴ Quotation by Holder I., 125.

⁵ Plutarch, Marius; c. 19 tells that the Ligurians (who he thinks are Gauls) before the battle of Aquae Sextiae understood what the Ambrones said.

lingua Gallica latrones dicuntur”).¹ With this we may compare what Plutarch says: “As these invaders had no intercourse with other nations, and had traversed an extensive tract of country, it could not be ascertained who they were or where they issued from, to descend upon Gaul and Italy like a cloud. The most probable conclusion was that they were Germanic nations belonging to those who extended as far as the northern Ocean, and this opinion was founded on their great stature, their blue eyes, and on the fact that the Germans designate robbers by the name of *Cimbri* (ὅτι Κίμβρους ἐπινομάζονοι Γερμάνοι τοὺς ληστὰς). Others thought that the Celtica extended in a wide and extensive tract from the external sea and the subarctic regions to the rising sun and the lake Maeotis, where it bordered on Pontic Scythia, and it was from this region, as they supposed, where the tribes are mingled, that the invaders came.”

In the Germanic languages there is no word *kimbr* that means “a robber.”

It is possible that the explanation which Festus gives is also wrong. The name in any case looks more Celtic than Germanic. It proves nothing that Cæsar mentions a Svebian chieftain with the name *Cimberius*.² He may have had Cimbrian ancestors. The Teutons are by Roman and Greek authors called *Teutones*, *Teutoni* and *Τεύτονες*. Even R. Much is obliged to say that we only know this name through Celtic mediation (*durch keltische Vermittelung*), and for that reason it is impossible to decide whether the root is *þeuþan* or *þeuðan*. He is, however, sure that it is a Germanic name, and thinks most likely that it is derived from *þeuðo*, “people,” and that it means “Volksgenossen.” But no scholar has been able to explain why the name has got its Celtic form. Why can it not be derived

¹ De significatione verborum, p. 24.

² Plutarch, Marius, 15, cf. Holder, *Altceltischer sprachschatz*, I., 126.

from Celtic *teuta*, later *touta*, old Irish *tuath*, "people," a word that forms the first part of a great number of Celtic names, e.g., *Teuta-genos*, *Teuta-malos*, etc.? ¹ Some of the Teutons stayed in Germany, while the others migrated to Gaul. In the neighbourhood of Heidelberg there has been found an inscription with their name in the form *Toutoni*.² This form likewise is Celtic, and not Germanic. It is, therefore, far from certain that the name *Teutones* is derived from the Germanic *þeudo*, so much the more as Strabo renders the name Theodorik by *Δευδόριξ* and not by *Τευτόριξ*.³

The name *Ambrones* can also be explained from Celtic, it looks like Gallic place-names, as, e.g., *Ambro* (Ambrau in Saintonge) and *Ambro-n-acu-s* (Ambray). Later Latin authors explain *ambro* as a Gallic word.⁴

Some names of Cimbrian and Teutonic chieftains are likewise preserved among Cimbrian princes or kings who fell, or were taken prisoners, on the plains of Ver-cellæ (B.C. 101). Orosius mentions: *Lugius*, *Bojorix*, *Claodicus* and *Caesorix*.⁵ Bjorix is also mentioned by Livius (Epit. 67) and by Plutarch (*Βοιωριξ*). All scholars agree that this is a Celtic name. It is also known elsewhere. The name *Lugius* was likewise used in Gaul. It is found in an inscription from Aquitania: *M(anus) Egnatius Lugius cocus*,⁶ and is possibly derived from the name of the god *Lug*. The name *Caesorix* reminds one of the Celtic place-name *Caesori-acum*, now Kästrich, near Mainz).⁷ The name *Claodicus* is possibly the same as *Clondicus*, the leader of the Gaulish hirelings of Perseus (B.C. 168).⁸

The only Teutonic chieftain whose name is preserved is *Teutobod*.⁹ His name likewise looks Celtic.

¹ Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, II., 1804 f.

² L. Schmidt, *Allgemeine Geschichte der germanischen Völker*, 146.

³ Zeuss, *die Germanen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 147, note.

⁴ Holder I., 125.

⁵ Pauli Orosii *Historiarum adversum paganos* I. V., c. 16 § 20.

⁶ Holder II., 307.

⁷ Holder.

⁸ Livius, 40, 58, 8.

⁹ Orosius, V., 16 § 12.

The Cimbrian name of the North Sea is probably also preserved. Plinius, in his "Historia naturalis" (I, IV., c. 27) mentions that with regard to the North Sea (*oceanus septentrionalis*), Philemon says that the Cimbri call it Morimarus, that is, the dead sea, all the way to the promontory of Rusbeas (*Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rusbeas*). Müllenhoff rightly thinks this a Celtic name).¹ The first part of it is the Celtic *mori*, a neuter i-stem, Old Ir. *muir*; this word forms the latter part of the name *Aremorici* (i.e., "those who live at the sea"), the old name of the inhabitants of Brittany. The second part of *Morimarus* is Celtic **mar-vo-s*, "dead." The name *Morimarus* is, therefore, purely Celtic, and not Germanic. Of the same opinion is R. Much in "Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde" (III., 241), who says that the name is certainly of Celtic origin.

Philemon, who probably lived about the year B.C. 100, must have had his knowledge from traders.² What he tells shows that the Cimbri, before their migration, already had given the North Sea a Celtic name. Even long before Philemon, Pytheas had in Jutland met with a people whose name he gives in the Celtic form *Teutones*. Are we not from these facts allowed to conclude that the Cimbri and the *Teutones* before their migration already were Celts or Gauls, and that it was not during their wandering through Celtic countries that they became Celticized? I should think that they were most probably Belgian tribes.

If the Cimbri and the *Teutones* had been Germanic tribes it is not very likely that a considerable section of the *Helvetii*—the *Tigurini* and the *Toiygeni*—who were purely Celts, of their own free will would have

¹ Deutsche Altertumskunde. I., 414.

² Detlefsen, Die Entdeckung des germanischen Nordens (Quellen u. Forschungen zur alten Gesch. u. Geographie ff. 8), p. 23.

attached themselves to the Teutonic migrants.¹ Strabo tells that the Cimbri on their embassy to the Romans (B.C. 5) brought with them "as a present to Augustus the caldron held most sacred by them, supplicating his friendship, and amnesty for past offences." Strabo further tells that the Cimbri were accompanied by gray-haired priestesses clad in white. They used "to meet the captives throughout the camp, and, having crowned them, led them to a brazen vessel containing about 20 amphorae, and placed on a raised platform, which one of the priestesses ascended, and holding the prisoner above the vessel, cut his throat; then, from the manner in which the blood flowed into the vessel, some drew certain divination."²

The Germanic peoples knew no priestesses, but only wise women who were able to tell the future. In Ireland, on the other hand, were female druids.

The reason why Strabo, Plinius, Tacitus and other later authors call the Cimbri and the Teutones Germans must be that after their migration there were few of them left in their original home, and that these, as Tacitus says, had lost their earlier power. They, therefore, soon began to be influenced by the surrounding tribes and to speak their language. If I am right in my theory that these peoples originally were Gauls, this also throws light upon one of the most enigmatic of the old Norse gods, namely, Niord (*Niordr*). Plinius includes the Cimbri and Teutones among the Germanic peoples, whom he calls *Ingyaeones* or *Ingvaeones*,³ and who are named after the god Ing or Yngve, the Yngvi-Freyr of the Scaldic poems. Ing was a god of fertility, and the husband of a goddess whom Tacitus calls *Nerthus*, or "Mother Earth." All scholars agree that Ing and Nerthus are inseparable.

¹ Cf. Holder, *Alt-celt. Sprachschatz.* II., 1843 ff.

² *Geography* I., VII., c. 2 § 3.

³ *Hist. Nat.* I., LV. § 99.

Frey is, in the Eddic poems, the son of Niord. But in earlier times, when Nerthus was a female goddess, he must have been her husband. It is well known that Frey is a name which the god has got in later time. *Freyr* means "lord." He was in Sweden called *Yngvi-Freyr*, "The lord Yngvi." Later on *Yngvi* was dropped, and *Freyr* became his name. The old name, however, is preserved in *Ynglingar*, i.e., the descendants of Yngvi, as the royal race of Norway, and originally of Sweden, was called. What Tacitus tells of Nerthus, that her idol on a chariot was carried round among the peoples, is from later times told of Frey in Sweden. We may, therefore, be allowed to conclude that the Cimbri and Teutones were among the tribes who worshipped Nerthus. Tacitus, in his "Germania" (c. 40), enumerates seven tribes in Jutland, *Reudigni*, *Aviones*, *Anglii*, *Varini*, *Eudoses*, *Suardones* and *Nuitones*. The last mentioned name is generally supposed to be a corruption of Teutones. The *Anglii* and *Varini* were Germanic tribes. The name *Aviones* may perhaps be connected with Celt. *avios*, Old Ir. *aue*, "grandson, descendant." Of these tribes Tacitus says:—

"There is nothing remarkable as to each of them separately, except that they, in common, worship Nerthus or "Mother Earth" (*nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram Matrem colunt*). In an island of the ocean there is a sacred grove (*castum nemus*), and within it a consecrated chariot covered with a garment. Only one priest is allowed to touch it." Tacitus further describes how the image of the goddess is carried round among the tribes which are united in her cult. During this time all weapons rest and peace and happiness reign. At last the idol is carried back and washed in the remote and quiet lake. Thereafter the slaves who perform this ceremony are killed. The cult of Nerthus has no doubt been a cult of fertility. It is well known that Niord, who is a later development of Nerthus, was

the god of fertility and wealth, and likewise his two children, Frey and Freyja. The chariot that carried the image of Nerthus must have resembled the two chariots found near Dejbjerg in Western Jutland (within the limits of the cult of Nerthus). On a tapestry found in the Oseberg ship are chariots covered by a cloth and resembling the description of Tacitus.

Philologists are able to explain why the female *Nerthus*, from linguistic reasons, was converted into the male *Niǫrðr*. But they cannot explain the etymology of the name from the Germanic languages.¹ It is, however, easy to explain from Celtic. It comes from **nerto-*, nom. *nerto*, n., Old Ir. *nert*, n., Old Cymr. *nerth*, "power, strength," a word which, according to Whitley Stokes, is related to Sabin. *nero(n)*, "fortis," Gr. ἀνὴρ ἀνδρός), "man," and Old Norse *Niǫrðr*. Personal names derived from this word, like *Nertus* or *Nerta*, the fem. *Nerta* and *Nertios*, "the son of power," and likewise place-names like *Nerto-briga*, were very common in Gaul. *Nerto-* would be a good name of the earth which gives fertility and makes everything grow. But Celt. *nerton* is a neuter, and Nerthus was a goddess. Tacitus, however, only uses the word in acc. *Nerthum*, which also may be a neutral form. If so, it would still more closely correspond to Celtic *nerton*.

Nerthus, in my opinion, was not the real name of the goddess, but her surname. Her real name we find in the expression *Terra Mater* ("Mother Earth"). The most popular gods among the Gauls were three female divinities whom the Romans call *Matronae* and *Matres*, "the mothers." The form *Matres* is mostly found in Britain and Gallia transalpina, *Matronae* in Gallia cisalpina and Germania inferior. The Germans along the Rhine also knew the cult of these goddesses.² In

¹ R. Much, *Reallexikon* III., 305, connects *Nerthus* with Gr. *νέπτερος*.

² Holder II., 483 ff., 467 ff.

“ Histoire de France,” ed. by E. Lavisse (I., pt. II., p. 49) we read :—“ Parmi les divinités familières il faut places au premier rang celles que les Gallo-Romains ont appelées les *Dames* ou les *Mères*, *matronae*, *matres*, *matrae*. Ce culte, qui est général, paraît néanmoins avoir été plus répandu dans le sudest et dans le Centre. Il a passé de là, à l’époque romaine, dans la vallée du Rhin. C’est un culte de petites gens, entré profondément dans l’âme populaire. Il a peuplé nos musées d’inscriptions, de bas reliefs, de terres cuites. Les déesses mères sont vêtues de longues robes et assises ordinairement dans de grands fauteuils. Leur visage est bienveillant, leur attitude paisible et grave. Elles tiennent sur leurs genoux ou dans leur mains des corbeilles de fleurs, des cornes d’abondance, des enfants nouveau-nés. Ce sont des déesses tutélaires qui dispensent et entretiennent le don de la vie. Elles protègent les familles, les domaines, souvent des groupes plus étendus, des cités, des provinces, des nations.”

The cult of Nerthus was no doubt more savage. But otherwise Tacitus’ description of “ *Nerthus id est Terra Mater* ” and the description of the cult of the *Matres* in Gaul, given above, closely resemble each other. Like *Nerthus*, the *Matres* also had their cult, especially in holy groves. An inscription in Grenoble is dedicated to the *Matris Nemetiali(bus)*. “ *Nemetialibus*,” Sir John Rhys says, “ might mean that the goddesses referred to were referred to as worshipped in *νεμῆτα*, or groves.” Another inscription near Xanten tells that there, in honour of the “ Mothers ” (*Matribus*), has been erected a temple with trees ” (*Templum cum Arboribus*).¹ The “ Mothers ” are usually represented three together. But sometimes one alone is mentioned. An inscription from Doncaster is dedicated to *Deae Matri*,²

¹ John Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and growth of Religion*, 101 f.

² Holde II., 463.

and a Cymric god was called *Mabon mac Madron*. Madron, of course, is the same word as Matrona.¹

If Celtic or Belgian tribes, some centuries before our era, came to Jutland, they no doubt carried with them the cult of the "Mothers" who gave life to children and cattle and made everything in nature grow and blossom.² I do not doubt that the Germanic tribes of Jutland before that time, like other primitive peoples, had similar divinities. The Celtic immigrants, however, with their superior civilization, impressed this cult, and the originally Celtic Mother Earth got her place in the Scandinavian Olympus. Nerthus, later on, like the Gaulish Matres, was divided into three gods, *Njorðr*, *Freyr*, and *Freyja*. They were the wise, mild and beautiful *Vanir*, who in their whole being were quite opposite to the stern and grim *Æsir*. Even in the Eddic poems there are traces of the foreign origin of the *Vanir*. In *Vafþrúðnismál*, Odin asks *Wafþrúðnir*, the wise giant: "Whence came Niord from Noatun among the Anses? He rules over countless temples and high places; yet he was not born among the Anses." *Wafþrúðnir* answers: "In Wane-world the wise Powers made him and gave him to the gods (Anses) as a hostage. In the doom of Age he shall come back again home to the wise Wanes." This apparent contrast is explained if we suppose that the cult of Niord and the Wanes is of foreign origin, but in the Scandinavian countries has been merged into an older Germanic cult of fertility. *Nerthus* is possibly also the same divinity as the Mother of the Gods that the Aestii in Prussia, according to Tacitus, adored (*Matrem deum venerantur*). In that case the Celts must have carried this cult with them to the Baltic.

¹ Rhys 28f.

² I am greatly indebted to Mr. Flower, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, for the suggestion that *Nerthus* and the *Matres* of Gaul might be identical.

There are perhaps also in the Eddic mythology other traces of very old Celtic influence, *e.g.*, Odin, who gets his knowledge from the head of Mime.¹ Snorre tells us that when peace was made between the Anses and the Wanes, the Wanes sent to the Anses their best men, Niord and his son Frey. The Anses, on the other hand, sent to the Wanes a good-looking man called Hœne, and with him the wise Mime. But when the Wanes understood that Hœne himself was silly, and that Mime possessed all knowledge, they killed Mime and sent his head to the Anses. Odin took the head, rubbed it with herbs and preserved it, so that it did not putrify. He used to carry the head with him, and it told him many secret things.²

The Germans, like other primitive people, used to put the heads of their fallen enemies on poles, but they did not preserve them in other ways. The Gauls, however, used to preserve the heads of their chieftains in oil and show them to strangers. It was thus, according to Gaulish fashion, that the head of Mime was preserved.

A people never lives quite isolated. There are always currents coming from other parts of the world.

¹ *Völuspá*, 46.

² *Heimskringla*, *Ynglingasaga*, c. 4, 7.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND FOLK, 880—1350.

BY A. W. JOHNSTON.

(Read St. Magnus' Day, April 16th, 1914).

THIS paper is an attempt to describe the mixed races which inhabited Orkney and Shetland from the foundation of the Norse earldom, in 880, until the end of the rule of the Gaelic earls, *circa*, 1350, and it is a first instalment of the evidence on which a paragraph on "person-names" was founded, in the *Saga-Book*, Vol. VIII., 260.

The earliest inhabitants, of whom there is any record, were the Picts, the Irish papas, who must have brought some Irish settlers with them, and St. Ninian's missionaries.

It has already been suggested¹ that the Norse must have settled in Orkney and Shetland, *circa* 664, among the aboriginal race, the Picts, who would have become their thralls, and with whom the settlers would have intermarried.

The first Norsemen who came to Orkney and Shetland would have been adventurers, and not settlers with wives, families and thralls, such as later went to Iceland and Orkney. Consequently such adventurers who settled in the islands would naturally have intermarried with the aborigines. This kind of male settlement may have gone on for some time, before the actual *bona fide* colonisation took place.

It has already been pointed out² that Shetland was not so fully colonised as Orkney, at the commencement

¹ *Saga-Book*, viii., 212.

² *Saga-Book*, viii., 214.

NOTE.—Unless where otherwise stated this paper is founded on *Orkneyinga Saga* (Rolls Series, text and translation). Page references are to *Orkney and Shetland Records*, Vol. I. Fb., *Flateyjarbók*. Hkr., *Heimskringla*. J.J., Jacob Jakobsen's works. S.S., *Sturlunga Saga*.

of the Norse migration, which appears to account for the older Norse dialect forms in Orkney, and for the survival of more Keltic island-names in Shetland.

A stronger Pictish strain is thus, on that account, to be looked for in Shetland. The Norse would select the easiest landing-places, while the Kelts would occupy the inland and inaccessible places, as they did in the Isle of Man. The two inland districts of Hara and Stennes in Orkney are especially rich in the remains of the pre-Norse inhabitants—stone circles, brochs, etc.; and Ireland, the only sea-board of Stennes, is particularly inhospitable for shipping.

Besides the archæological and topographical proof of the continued residence of the Picts in Orkney and Shetland, there is the much more reliable evidence of anthropology, in the existence of a large strain of the small and dark race in both Orkney and Shetland, representing the aboriginal race, the later prisoners of raids and the later settlers from Scotland. Allowance must also be made for thralls brought from Norway.

Queen Auðr djúpúðga (deeply-wise), passed through Orkney in the ninth century, on her way to Iceland, with twenty freed Irish thralls. After this, Einarr, grandson of earl Torf-Einarr, went to Iceland from Orkney with two Vestmenn (Irishmen). *Írar*, Irish, occurs in place-names in Iceland, Orkney and Shetland, in each of which two latter places there is an *Ireland*.

It will now be proved that there were only three possible pure-bred Norse earls of Orkney and Shetland, viz., the first three—Sigurðr hinn ríki, his son, Guþormr, and his nephew, Hallaðr.

The first earl of the main line was Torf-Einarr, who was half-Norse and half-thrall, his mother being probably of the pre-Norse dark race. His son, the next earl, married the daughter of a Gael and Norse woman, and after this, through repeated Gaelic marriages, the succeeding earls in the Norse male line were never more

than a cross between Norse and Gael, sometimes almost approaching pure-bred Gaels, if the rules of a modern breeding society are to be observed. The same holds good of earl St. Rognvaldr, a Norwegian, who succeeded on the distaff side, his mother being of Gaelic extraction. The Gaelic conversion of the earls was completed on the succession of the Gaelic earls in 1139.

The next step will be to show that the leading families, some of which were related to the earls, were also mainly of Gaelic descent, and in some cases probably in the male line.

As the Gaels did not give up patronymics and begin to assume permanent surnames (usually those of their chiefs), until after 1350, those who settled in Orkney before that, and became Norse in language and customs, of course adopted the Norse, in place of the Gaelic, patronymic, *i.e.*, *-son* for *mac-*. This was done by the Gaelic earls in Orkney, in precisely the same way as had been done by the Irish settlers in Iceland.

In reply to a query, Sir Herbert Maxwell writes: "You ask me to fix a date 'when patronymics flourished and ceased in the Highlands?' I think it would be impossible to do so. There were few, if any, fixed surnames in England or Lowland Scotland before the middle of the thirteenth century, other than territorial ones, derived from the feudal tenure of land. In the Highlands, the adoption of fixed names appears to have been indefinitely deferred. Such counties as Perth and Dumbarton, being nearest the frontier of civilisation, their people would find it convenient to conform to the habit of their neighbours. In more remote districts the shifting patronymic prevailed much longer, and when it was abandoned individuals frequently assumed the surname of their chief or the name of his clan, which accounts for the old patronymic 'Macdonald' being the third commonest surname in Scotland; Smith and Brown being first and second."

In the following description particular attention will be called to personal appearance, character, habits, superstitions, etc., as indications of descent.

THE NORSE EARLS.

Earl Torf-Einarr, 892-920, was an illegitimate son of the Norwegian earl Rognvaldr, by a thrall mother who was thrall-born on all sides, *i allar ættir þrælborinn*. He was therefore half-Norse and half-thrall. His mother was probably of the pre-Norse small dark race, the Finnar or Lappir, which may account for her son being ugly, *ljótr*, one-eyed, *einsýnn*, but keen-sighted, *skygnstr*, an expression which latterly meant second-sighted, and capable of seeing elves, etc. He saw, what others did not, Hálfván há-leggr, the self-appointed "king of Orkney," bobbing up and down on another island, and had a *blód-örn*, blood-eagle, carved on him.

His poetic genius may have been the result of the mixture of Norse and Finn. He died of sickness, *sótt-dauðr*, equivalent to *strá-dauðr*, straw-dead, died in bed, an ignominious death for a víkingr.

Nothing is known of his wife, but, as he had children before he left Norway, she was, probably, a Norwegian.

His children were earls Þorfinnr, Arnkell and Erlendr, and two daughters, Tórdís, born in his youth, in Norway (she was brought up by her grandfather, earl Rognvaldr, and married Þorgeirr klaufi, whose son Einarr went to Orkney to his kinsmen, and as they would not receive him, he bought a ship and went to Iceland), and Hlíf, who had descendants in Iceland.

Earl Þorfinnr hausakljúfr (skull-cleaver), 920-963, was the son of earl Torf-Einarr and an unknown mother, probably Norwegian, so that he would be three-fourths Norse and one-fourth thrall in descent. He married Grelǫð, a daughter of Dungaðr (Gaelic

Saga-Book of the Viking Society.

Donnchadh, Duncan), Gaelic earl of Caithness, and Gróa, daughter of Þorsteinn rauðr.¹

He is described as a great chief and warrior, *mikill hofðingi ok herskár*, and died of sickness, *sótt-dauðr*, and was buried in a mound, *heygðr*, in Rognvaldsey á *Haugs-eiði*, at Hoxa. The Saga reads á *Hauga-heiði*, wrongly; this isthmus would have been called *Haugs-eið*, how's isthmus, because the Norse found on it a large mound, which covered the ruins of a pre-Norse round tower, in which the earl may have been buried.

His children were earls Arnfinnr, Hávarðr ár-sæli (of prosperous years), Hlōðver, Ljótr or Arnljótr, and Skúli, and two daughters. Three of his five sons married, in turn, the murderess Ragnhildr, daughter of king Eiríkr blóðǫx and the notorious Gunnhildr. She killed her first husband herself. The second husband was killed by his nephew Einarr klíningr (battered-bread), at the instigation of his aunt, who promised to marry him, and for which deed he was thought to be a *níðingr*, dastard. Preparatory to marrying the third brother, she got rid of Einarr at the hands of his cousin Einarr harðkjǫptr (hard-jawed), who was in turn slain by the third and last husband.

One cannot wonder at the character of Ragnhildr, considering the antecedents of her mother Gunnhildr, the reputed daughter of Qzurr toti, a lord in Hálogaland. She, probably a Finn, was found in a Finmark cot, studying wizardry, and was brought to Eiríkr blóðǫx, who, struck with her great beauty, obtained her in marriage. She was held guilty of having poisoned king Hálfðán svartí. Her life was spent in plotting and mischief. She is described in *Heimskringla*: the fairest of women, wise and cunning in witchcraft; glad of speech and guileful of heart, and the grimmest of all folk. Fortunately, her daughter left no descendants in Orkney.

¹ Hkr.

Earl Hloðver (Ludovic or Louis), 963-980, was the son of earl Þorfinnr hausakljúfr, and Greløð, who was half a Gael, and so he was five-eighths Norse, one-eighth thrall and two-eighths Gael. He is described as a mighty chief, *mikill hofðingi*, and died of sickness, *sótt-dauðr*. He married Eðna (Eithne), daughter of an Irish king, Kjarvalr (Cearbhall).¹ She was learned in witchcraft, *margkunnig*, and wove a magic banner, *merki*, in raven form, *hrafns-mynd*, for her son; and predicted that those before whom it was borne should be victorious, *sigrsæll*, but it would be deadly, *ban-vænt*, to the bearer.

Their children were earl Sigurðr hinn digri, and a daughter, Nereiðr or Svanlaug, who married earl Gilli of Kola (Coll).

Earl Sigurðr hinn digri, 980-1014, was the son of earl Hloðver and an Irish Gael, and was $\frac{5}{16}$ Norse, $\frac{1}{16}$ thrall, and $\frac{10}{16}$ Gael. He was a mighty chief, *hofðingi mikill*, and a great warrior.² He was killed in the battle of Clontarf, *Brjáns-bardagi*, in Ireland in 1014, with the fatal *hrafns-merki* wound around him, as no one else would bear his *fjándi*, fiend. He was converted to Christianity by the sword-baptism of king Ólafr Tryggvason, although he expressed his preference for the religion and carved gods of his Norse forefathers, notwithstanding any Christian teaching he may have received from his Irish mother beyond witchcraft. He gave up the confiscated óðul to the Orkney boendr (for one generation) in return for military services rendered against the Scots. The name of his first wife is unknown,³ and his second one was a daughter of Malcolm, the king of Scots. His children by his first wife were Hundi or Hvelpr (Gaelic, *Cuilen*, who was baptised with the name of his grandfather, earl Hloðver), Einarr rang-muðr, stern, grasping, unfriendly, and a

¹ Not Cearbhall who died 887.

² Hkr.

³ Perhaps Hávarðr í Þraðsvík in Caithness, his *mágr* (father-, brother-, or son-in-law) points to a Caithness marriage.

great warrior, Brúsi, meek, kept his feelings well in hand, humble and ready-tongued, and Sumarliði.

Earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki, 1014-1066, was the son of earl Sigurðr digri and his second wife, a Gael, and was $\frac{5}{32}$ Norse, $\frac{1}{32}$ thrall, and $\frac{26}{32}$ Gael in descent. He was *bráðgjörri í vexti, manna mestr ok sterkastr*, early in reaching full growth, tallest and strongest of men; *svartr á hár*, black hair; *skarpleitr ok skolbrúnn*, sharp features and swarthy complexion; *ljótr*, ugly; *nefmikill*, big nose; *kappaðr*, an energetic man; *ágjarn bæði til fjár ok metnaðar*, greedy of wealth and honour; *sigrsæll*, lucky in battle; *kænn í orrostum*, skilful in war; *góðr áræðis*, of good courage. King Ólafr found that Þorfinnr was *miklu skapstærri en Brúsi*, much more proud of spirit than Brúsi, his brother. Þorfinnr gladly agreed with all the king's proposals, but the king doubted that he meant to go back on them, whereas he thought that Brúsi, who drove a hard bargain, would keep his word, and would be a *trúnaðarmaðr*, faithful liegeman. The earl married Ingibjörg, jarla-móðir, daughter of Finnur Árnason. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, got absolution from the Pope, and built the first cathedral in Orkney, at Birsá, where he died.

He was liberal, in that he did that *frama-verk*, honourable deed, by which he provided his *hirð*, body-guard, and many other *ríkis-menn*, mighty men, all winter through, with both *matr ok mun-gát*, food and ale, so that no man required to put up at a *skytningr*, inn; whereas, kings and earls in other lands, merely made a like provision during Yule. Arnórr jarla-skáld sang to his praise in his *Þorfinns drápa*, and noted his liberal fare.

His children were earls Páll and Erlendr, who were *miklir menn ok fríðir*, mickle men and handsome, and so took after their Norwegian *móðurætt*, mother's kin, and were *vitrir ok hógværir*, wise and modest; taking

after their mother, a Norwegian, is in contrast to their father, who was black-haired and swarthy and almost a pure-bred Gael.

Earl Rognvaldr Brúsason, 1036-1046, was the son of earl Brúsi Sigurðarson and an unknown mother, and the nephew of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki. The *fríðastr*, most handsome of all men; *hárit mikit ok gult sem silki*, much hair, yellow as silk; *snimma mikill ok sterkr*, manna var hann gjörfiligastr bæði fyrir vits saker ok svá kurteisi, tall and strong, the most perfect man was he both in wits and courtesy; *fríðastr sjónum*, most handsome in face; *atgervi-maðr mikill svá at eigi fanst hans jafningi*, an accomplished man without an equal. Arnórr jarlaskáld said that he was the *best mennt af Orkneyja-jörlum*, the most accomplished and best bred of the earls of Orkney. From this description one would imagine that his unknown mother and grandmother had both been Norwegians. It is not stated whether he was married or had any children.

Earl Páll Þorfinnsson, 1066-1098, was the son of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki and Ingibjörg, a Norwegian, after whom he took—handsome and modest. He was thus $\frac{1}{3}\frac{2}{2}$ Norse and $\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{2}$ Gael in descent.

He married a daughter of earl Hákon Ívarsson and Ragnhildr, daughter of king Magnús hinn góði. Their children were earl Hákon, and four daughters, Herbjörg (ancestress of Bishop Biarni), Ingiriðr, Ragnhildr (ancestress of Hákon kló), and Þóra.

He was banished to Norway, in 1098, where he died.

Earl Erlendr Þorfinnsson, 1066-1098, was the son of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki and Ingibjörg, a Norwegian, and so was $\frac{1}{3}\frac{2}{2}$ Norse and $\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{2}$ Gael in descent. He married Þóra Sumarliðadóttir, whose mother and grandmother are not mentioned, but her father was the son of an Iclander. The earl was banished to Norway, in 1098, where he died.

His children were, earl St. Magnús, Gunnhildr, who

married Kolr Kalason, whose son Kali became earl Rognvaldr, and Cecilia who married Ísak, a Norwegian, whose sons were Kolr and Eindriði. He had a thrall-born illegitimate daughter called Játvör (fem. of Játvarðr, the Norse form of Edward), who had a son called Borgar,—the earliest record of this name, which, however, occurs in Norwegian place-names; they were both, mother and son, rather disliked, *úvinsæl*.

From 1098 to 1103, Sigurðr (afterwards king Sigurðr Jórsalafari), the eight-year-old son of king Magnús berfœttr, was earl of Orkney.

Earl Hákon Pálsson, 1103-1125, was the son of earl Páll Þorfinnsson and a Norwegian mother, and was $\frac{5}{8}\frac{1}{4}$ Norse and $\frac{1}{8}\frac{3}{4}$ Gael in descent.

He was *ofstopamaðr mikill*, a very overbearing man, *mikill ok sterkr*, great and strong; and *vel menntr um alla hluti*, well-bred, accomplished in every way. He would be the *fyrirmaðr*, leader, over his cousins, and thought himself better born, being the great grandson of king Magnús hinn góði. He always wanted the largest share for himself and his friends, and was *öfund*, jealous, of his cousins. When abroad he suffered from *landmunr*, home-sickness, and wanted *at sækja vestr til Eyja*, to seek west to the Isles (Orkney). He consulted a wizard as to his future. He murdered his cousin, St. Magnús, in order to get the whole earldom, and then made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He ended by being a good ruler, and died in the Isles.

It is not known whom he married, if he was wedded at all; but his son, earl Páll, appears to have had a mother other than his father's known *frilla* or concubine. She was a Gael, Helga, daughter of Moddan, a nobleman rolling in wealth, *göfugr maðr ok vell-auðigr*, who lived in Dalir, or Dalr, in Katanes. The Gaelic name *Moddan* may be connected with the Irish *O'Madadhain*.¹ This man's family of daughters was a disgrace even to

¹ As his two sons had, one a Norwegian and the other a Gaelic name, earl Óttarr and Engus (Gael. *Aonghas*, Angus), probably his wife was Norse

the morals of the twelfth century. After earl Hákon's death, Helga, aided by her sister Frakøk, attempted to murder her step-son, earl Páll, by means of a bewitched garment, white as snow, *linklæði hvítt sem fonn*, which they had sewn and embroidered with gold, but which her own jealous son donned and paid the penalty. Earl Páll, who naturally deemed that this precious article, *gersemi*, had been intended for him, promptly cleared them, and their family and dependents, *skulda-lið*, out of the islands.

It was the opinion of earl Rognvaldr that Frakøk was an old hag who would not do anybody good, *kerling er til einkis er fær*. She was burnt alive in her house by Sveinn Ásleifarson, for having instigated her grandson Olvir rósta to burn Svein's father in his house. Moddan's carlines and their offspring wormed themselves into Orkney society. Frakøk (a Gaelic name?) married Ljótr níðingr (the dastard) of Sutherland, and their daughter married Þorljótr of Rekavík (in Orkney). Another daughter married Þorsteinn fjaranz-muðr (dreadful mouth). Þorleif Moddandsdóttir was the mother of Auðhildr, the frilla of Sigurðr slambi-djákn (the slim or tricky deacon), by whom he had an illegitimate daughter who married Hákon kló. Sigurðr himself, was the illegitimate son of a priest, Aðalbrigð. When he and Frakøk came to Orkney a great faction, *sveitar-dráttir mikill*, took place. He took part in the slaughter of Þorkell fóstri, a man much beloved in Orkney, for which the deacon was promptly deported as an undesirable alien. As the pretended son of king Magnús berfœttr, he, however, met a terrible death with remarkable fortitude. Earl Hákon's children were: earls Haraldr slétt-máli (smooth-speaking) and Páll úmálgi (the silent), Margrét, who married Maddadh, the Gaelic earl of Atholl, and Ingibjörg, who married Ólafr bitlingr (the morsel), king of Suðreyjar.

Earl St. Magnús Erlendsson, 1108-1116, was the son

of earl Erlendr Þorfinnsson and Þóra Sumarliðadóttir. In descent, $\frac{5}{8}\frac{1}{4}$ Norse $\frac{1}{8}\frac{3}{4}$ Gael. In personal appearance he was, great of growth, *mikill at vexti*; manly, *drengiligr*; intellectual in appearance, *skýrligr at yfirlitum*. The saga is voluminous in a description of his good qualities, etc., e.g., he was a most noble man, *ágætastr*; of good morals in life, *siðgóðr í háttum*; fortunate in battle, *sigrsæll í orrostum*; a sage in wit, *spekingr at viti*; eloquent and high-spirited and generous, *mál-snjallr ok ríklundaðr*; liberal of wealth and magnanimous, *qrr af fé ok stórlyndr*; wise in counsel and more beloved than any other man, *ráðsvinnr ok hverjum manni vinsælli*; gentle and of good speech, with kind and good men, *blíðr ok góðr við mælis við spaka menn ok góða*; hard and unforbearing with robbers and víkingar, *harðr, ok úeirinn við ránsmenn ok víkinga*; he let murderers and thieves be taken and punished, high and low, for robbery and theft and all bad deeds, *lét hann taka morðingja ok þjófa, ok refsaði svá ríki sem úríki ráni ok þýfsku ok qll úknytti*; impartial in judgment, *eigi vinhallr í dómum*; he valued godly justice, *guðligan rétt*, more than rank, *mann-virðingar*; munificent, *stórgjöfull*, with *hofðingjar ok ríkismenn*, chiefs and rulers; but ever showed great solicitude and comfort, *huggan*, for poor men, *fátækir menn*. Along with his cousin, earl Hákon, he burnt a Shetlander, Þorbjörn í Borgarfirði, in his house, and they slew their cousin Dufnjáll; the former for sufficient reasons, *fyrir gnógar sakir*, he being deficient in good morals, *fátækr at góðum siðum*, and the latter because he was a víkingr who harried their realm.

St. Magnús, as a youth, accompanied king Magnús on his expedition in 1098, but refused to fight, because he said he had no quarrel against any man there, and he took a psalter, *saltari*, and sung during the battle. He married an unknown Scotswoman of noble family, he had no children, and was murdered by his cousin, earl Hákon, on April 16th, 1116, 798 years ago.

Earl Rognvaldr Kali hinn helgi, 1136-1158, was the son of Gunnhildr, earl Erlends dóttir and Kolr Kalason, a Norwegian, and thus $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{8}$ Norse and $\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{8}$ Gael in descent. He is described as a most promising man, *efniligasti maðr*; of average growth, *meðal-maðr á vöxt*; well set, *kominn vel á sik*; best limbed man, *limaðr manna best*; light chestnut hair, *ljósjarpr á hár*; a most accomplished man, *atgervi-maðr*. He numbered nine accomplishments, *íþróttir*, viz., *tafl*, chess, *rúnar*, runes, *bók*, book (reading and writing), *smíð*, smith work, *skriða á skiðum*, sliding on snow-shoes *róðr*, rowing, *hórpu-sláttir*, harp-playing, *brag-þáttir*, versification, to which may be added a tenth, *sund*, swimming, as he frequently *lagðist yfir vatnit*, in dangerous places. The king gave him the name of earl Rognvaldr Brúsason, because his mother said that he had been the most accomplished, *görviligasti*, of all the earls of Orkney, and that was thought to bring good luck, *heilla-vænlig*.

In 1134, he plotted with his disreputable Gaelic relative, Olvir rósta, to oust earl Páll, but was not successful. Like a good víkingr he was slain in 1158, and was briefly described as *íþróttmaðr mikill ok skáld gott*, a very accomplished man and a good skáld.

The name and race of his wife are unknown. He had a daughter, Ingigerð, who married Eiríkr stagbrellr, in Sutherland (a grandson of one of Moddan's carlines, and whose mother had been the frilla of the slim deacon), and their children were, earl Haraldr ungi, who was slain in 1198, Magnús mangi (nobody; *Mangi* is also a contracted form of *Magnús*, which is sometimes spelt *Mangus* in Orkney documents), Rognvaldr, Ingibiörg, Elin, and Ragnhildr.

Margrét, daughter of earl Hákon Pálsson and Helga Moddandsdóttir, was $\frac{5}{1}\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{8}$ Norse, $\frac{7}{1}\frac{7}{8}$ Gael, and is described as a *fríð kona ok svarri mikill*, a beautiful woman and very proud. She married Maddaðr, the

Gaelic earl of Atholl, as his second wife, and was the mother of Haraldr Maddaðarson, who became earl of Orkney. After her husband's death she returned to Orkney and had an illegitimate son by Gunni, Svein's brother. for which he was outlawed. After that she eloped with Erlendr ungi, of whom nothing is known.¹ Of all the wives of the Norse earls the Saga only records three who were Norwegians, all the others being Gaels, and none Orkney women.

THE GAELIC EARLS.

Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson, 1139-1206, was the son of Margrét Hákons-dóttir and Maddaðr, Gaelic earl of Atholl (Gaelic, *maddadh*, a dog), and was $\frac{51}{256}$ Norse, $\frac{205}{256}$ Gael. When about twenty years of age, he was *mikill maðr vexti ok sterkr, ljótr máðr ok vel vitr*, a big man in growth and strong, an ugly man and well-witted. He was a *mikill hofðingi*, great chief; *manna mestr ok sterkastr*, the tallest and strongest of men; *óðæll ok skap-harðr*, overbearing and harsh.

He was twice married, viz., (1) Afreka, daughter of Duncan, Gaelic earl of Fife, whom he repudiated, and (2) Hvarfloð (Gaelic, *Gormflaith*), daughter of Malcolm, earl of Morhæfi (Moray). The names of the children of the first were, Heinrekr (Henry), Hákon, Helena, Margrét, and by the second, Porfinnr, Davið, Jón, Gunnhildr, Herborga, and Langlíf. He allowed a rebellion, against king Sverrir, to be hatched in Orkney, for which he had Shetland taken from him in 1194, when it was placed under the government of Norway,² and was not restored to the earls till 1379.

Here the *Orkneyinga Saga* (oral tradition) ends, and with it exact history, and information about the succeeding earls (the descent of four of whom is uncertain)

¹ He has been unaccountably confused with earl Erlendr, who would thus have run off with his own aunt. He had a brother, Bjarni, a *göfugr maðr*.

² Fb.

is derived from documents few and far between. In only one instance is the name of a wife mentioned, through whom the earldom passed from one line to another, and no children are recorded beyond the succeeding earls.

Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson was succeeded by his sons, earls Davið Haraldsson, d.s.p. 1214, and Jón Haraldsson, slain, 1231, the latter having been predeceased by his son, Haraldr Jónsson, who was drowned in 1226.¹ Earl Jón Haraldsson was succeeded by Malcolm, the Gaelic earl of Angus, from whom the title was transferred to his uncle, earl Magnús, who was succeeded by [his son] earl Gilbert (Gaelic, *Gilleabart*), who was succeeded by his son, earl Magnús Gilbertsson, who was succeeded by his sons, earls Magnús and John and another earl Magnús, after which the earldom passed to Malise, (Gaelic, *Maoliosa*), Gaelic earl of Strathearn, through his great-grandmother, a daughter of earl Gilbert. After Malise, the earldom, after an interregnum, passed to a daughter's husband, Erngisle Sunesson, and then to a daughter's son, Henry St. Clair, in whom the earldom was vested in 1379. His grandson, earl William, after the wadset of Orkney and Shetland to Scotland in 1468-9, resigned his right to the earldom to the crown of Scotland in 1470, when it was annexed to the crown as a royal title.²

THE GÆÐINGAR : EARL'S MEN.

The suggestion of Vigfússon in the *Oxford Dictionary* that the *gæðingar* of the earls of Orkney were synonymous with the *lendir-menn* of the kings of Norway can be amply proved by the Saga. One explicit instance gives a clue to the whole mystery, viz., that of Kúgi, a *gæðingr* (of earl Páll), whom we find living in Hreppisnes, now Rapnes, in Westrey. The

¹ Isl. Annals.

² Scots Peerage.

bú of Rapnes, Swartmeill, and Wasbuster, were, in 1503, described as *boardlands* or *borlands* of the old earldom, paying no skattr. *Bordland* or *borland* is a Scottish loanword, meaning "land kept for the board of the laird's house."¹ The Oxford *New English Dictionary* states that the form *bordland* is first found in Bracton, c. 1250, by whom it is wrongly derived from *bord*, a table, whereas it is from M. Lat. *borda*, a hut, cot, and was applied to land held in *bordage* tenure by a *bordar*, a villein of the lowest rank, a cottier. The Gaelic *bòrlum*, royal castle lands, *borlanachd*, compulsory labour for a landlord, may also come from the same source.

Boardland in Orkney is, therefore, a translation of Old Norse *veizlu-jörð*, land granted in fief for military service and for the entertainment of the superior when on circuit.² In accordance with the *Hirðskrá* of king Magnús Hákonsson, the earl, while prohibited from disposing of the earldom lands, was permitted to grant earldom lands *at veita* or *at veizlu*, i.e., in return for military service and entertainment. It seems certain that the same privilege was allowed by the older *Hirðskrá*, which is now lost.

To return to Kúgi, he had the *upþ-kvøð* or *útboð*, the calling out of the levy, of ships and men, *leiðangr*, in Westrey. As he was the instigator, *upphafsmaðr*, of a secret þing, *laun-þing*, in Westrey, he probably acted as the representative of the earl in the district assembly [*hérads þing*]. The localities of the other *gœðingar* support the above conclusion.

Þorkell flatr was also in Westrey; Þorsteinn Hávarðsson Gunnason had the calling out of the levy in Rinansey, and his brother Magnús that of the adjoining island, Sandey, where there were the boardlands

¹ *Scottish Land-Names*, by sir Herbert Maxwell, bt., 123, Macbain's *G. Dict.*, s.v. *bòrlum*.

² There may be some connexion with O.N. *borðleiðangr*, food paid to the earl's board. See *Old-Lore Miscellany*, ix., 67.

of Brugh, Halkisnes, Tofts, Lopnes and Tresnes; Valþjófr Olafsson was in Stronsey, where there was the boardland of Holland and skatt-fré lands; Sigurðr á Vestnesi in Rousey, where part of Westnes was old earldom land, and with whom we find the earl á *viezlu* in 1136; and this leads to the conclusion that the gœðingar also held skattland as well as skatt-fré land of the earldom *at veita*; Jón vængr abode in Háey, where there is boardland. The earls also gave gifts, *veita gjafir*, to their friends, the gœðingar.

Gæði means, among other things, profits, emoluments, etc. It seems certain that the *gæði* in Caithness, which the king of Scotland restored to Sveinn Ásleifarson, in 1152, were the *gæði* of the earldom, which he had formerly held as gœðingr.

The gœðingar of Orkney (and Shetland?) were thus the feoffees of the earl of Orkney, from whom they received grants of earldom land, *veizlu-jörð*, *at veita* or *at veizlu*, in consideration of military service and the entertainment of the earl, when on circuit. As the feoffees of the earl's *gæði*, or emoluments, they received the name of *gœðingar*, corresponding to the *lendirmenn*, landed men, of Norway, who were so-called because they held land or emoluments from the king for similar duties. A distinction in nomenclature had to be drawn between the king's and the earl's feoffees.

As was to be expected, some of the gœðingar were related to the earls—remunerative government offices were then, as now, conferred on the relatives and favourites of the rulers. Their military service included the *upp-kvøð* or *útbøð*, calling out of the *leiðangr*, levy, the superintendence of the *vítar*, beacons, etc.

Their civil functions probably included attendance at the local assembly [*hérads þing*], the nomination of delegates, *lōgréttumenn*, to the jury, *lōgrétta*, of the lawthing, and generally the representation of the executive in their respective districts.

As the callers out of the levy of ships and men, the *gœðingar* were necessarily located at strategical points, with easy access to the sea and in close touch with the beacons.

Mr. J. Storer Clouston has suggested with regard to the Orkney place-name, *Clouston*, older forms, *Cloustath* and *Clouchstath*, which probably represent an original **kló-staðr*, claw-stead, that *kló* is "the original proprietor's name—possibly Hákon kló of the Saga."¹

Now Hákon kló, who flourished *circa* 1150, was a *gœðingr*, and was presumably connected with the islands of Sandey and Rinansey, over which his brothers were *gœðingar*, and there is no historical or traditional evidence associating him or his family with Clouston, in any way.

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen has pointed out that *kló*, f., a claw, denotes, in Norse place-names, something projecting, curved or pointed. It occurs in a large number of place-names in Shetland, including an identical name to that in Orkney, viz., Klusta, **Kló-staðr*, *-staðir*, a district situated on a headland between two bights. Now the *bú*, or principal farm, of Clouston, from which the whole township takes its name, is also situated on a ness; and directly opposite to the house is a claw-formed or curved tongue of land which projects into the Loch of Stennes, which leaves no possibility of a doubt as to the true origin of the name.

With regard to nicknames, those which are person forenames in themselves, such as *brúsi*, buck, and personifications such as *hlaupandi*, landlouper, etc., are used in place-name formation; while nicknames which merely point to an eccentricity in personal detail and are attached to forenames, such as *kló*, finger-nail, *flat-nefr*, flat nose, *rang-beinn*, *-eygr*, *-muðr*, wry-legged, squint-eyed, wry-mouth, etc., do not lend themselves for place-

¹ *Sandey Church History*, by Rev. Alex. Goodfellow, Kirkwall, 1912, p. 78.

names, *quasi*, "flat-nose's farm." But even if such nicknames were detached from their forenames and applied to places, they would be in the genitive case, *e.g.*, if Hákon kló had been known as kló (of which there is no evidence) then his farm would have been called **Klóar-staðr*, Claw's farm, not **kló-staðr*, claw-farm, which could only point to a claw-formation in the place, such as we actually find in Clouston itself, and hence the name. His name occurs without the nickname.

Circumstantial evidence is against Hákon kló, a *gœðingr*, with the *uppkvøð* of the *leiðangr*, levy of ships and men, being landlocked in one of the very few inland townships in Orkney, situated from two to three miles from the nearest easy landing-place. Earl Haraldr Maddaðarson in going from Grímsey to Fjørðr (Firth) by way of (Clouston and) Orkahaugr (Maeshowe), chose Hafnarvágr (Stromness harbour) as his landing-place, and the same choice would be made now.

The nearest coast to Clouston is that of Ireland, which is quite unsuited for shipping, owing to its exposed position, shallow water, extensive beach at low water—a place to be avoided by sea-going craft. Moreover, it has been shown that the *gœðingar* were in the occupation of earldom lands, of which there was absolutely not a pennyland in Stennes, and next to none in the adjoining inland parish of Hara. This lack of earldom land in these inland districts, corroborates the supposition ¹ that the earldom estate was formed of the confiscated estates of the leading *víkingar* of 880, which would naturally be situated on the seaboard with easy landing-places, which is a characteristic of the earldom estate; while the two inland and inaccessible districts of Stennes and Hara are remarkable for their wealth of Pictish remains and dearth of earldom lands.

The last notice we have of the *gœðingar* is in 1232,

¹ *Saga-Book*, viii, 222.

when a shipload of them, *gæðinga-skip*, was drowned. Possibly the eighteen men of Haraldr Jónsson, son of earl Jón Haraldsson, who were drowned along with him on June 15th, 1226, were also *gæðingar*.¹

INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES.

In 1106, Dufnjáll (Gaelic, *Domhnall*, Donald), son of earl Dungaðr (Gaelic, *Donnchadh*, Duncan) was a first cousin once removed on the father's side, *fírnari en bræðrungr*,² of earls Hákon and Magnús, by whom he was slain. Dufnjáll's grandfather may have been an illegitimate son of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki, who lived mostly in Caithness, and was almost a pure Gael.³

In 1116, Gilli (Gaelic, *gille*, servant) was a *dugandi-maðr*, a doughty or good man, with St. Magnús, and probably a relative of the earl's Gaelic wife.

Kúgi (G., Cogadh), 1128-1137, was a wealthy *bóndi* and a *gæðingr* of earl Páll, and lived in Hreppisnes, now Rapnes, in Westrey, which he would have held as *veizlu-jörð*. Nothing is told of his family or relations. He is described as a *vittr*, wise, man, and had the *uppkvøð*, calling out of the levy, in Westrey. As a schemer himself, he smelt a rat when the invading earl Rognvaldr played a clever trick in getting the Fair Isle beacon lit; and his pawky *eyrendi*, speech, thwarted the internecine complications which that deed was designed to arouse. Earl Rognvaldr, however, unexpectedly, landed in Westrey, whereupon the *eyjar-skeggjar*, the "island beards," *hljópu saman*, louped together, to get Kúgi's *ráð*, advice, which was that they should at once get *grið*, peace, from the earl; and he and the Vestreyingar submitted to the earl and swore oaths to him. One night, however, the earl's men caught Kúgi napping at a secret meeting for *svíkræði*, treachery, against the earl. He was promptly put

¹ Isl. Annals.

² i.e., father's agnatic brother's son's son.

³ See Appendix.

i fjöttra, in fetters. When the earl arrived on the scene, Kúgi fell at his feet and *bauð*, offered or left, all his case in God's hands and the earl's. He then tried to shift the blame on to others, and asserted that he had been brought to the þing, *nauðigr*, unwilling, and that all the *bœndr* had wanted him to be the *upphafsmaðr*, instigator, of the *ráð*, plot. The Saga states that Kúgi pleaded his own cause *orðfærliga*, with great elocution or glibly. Fortunately, for Kúgi's life, the humour of the situation tickled the earl's poetic fancy to such a degree that he could not resist the temptation of letting off steam in one of his habitual improvisations, stuffed with scathing ridicule; a lasting punishment, more severe than the decapitation, or sound drubbing, which the object of his poetic flight so richly deserved.

The earl referred to the fettered man before him as a *kveld-förlestr karl*, a night-journey-hampered carl or old duffer, and advised him, in future, never to hold *nátt-þing*, night meetings—which, Vigfússon says, were not considered proper. The earl, further, admonished him that it was needful to keep one's oath and covenant. *Grið*, peace, was given to all, and they bound their fellowship anew. Exit Kúgi, of whom nothing further is related, beyond the one line which is preserved of *Kúga drápa*, 'in praise of Kúgi,' and which runs:

*Megin-hræddir ro menn við Kúga, meiri ertu hverjom þeira.*¹

All are afraid of Kúgi, thou outdoest them all.

This can only have been intended as biting sarcasm. His name and character indicate that he was a typical bad Gael of his class.

In 1159, Jómarr, a kinsman of earl Rognvaldr, is mentioned in Caithness, and his name may be the Norse form of some Gaelic name.

SVEINN GROUP.

The next persons to be described are the family, relatives and companions of Sveinn Ásleifarson.

¹ *Skúlda*.

Ólafr Hrólfs-son was a gœðingr of earl Páll, and owned Gareksey (Gairsey) in Orkney, and another bú in Dungalsboær á Katanesi. He was a most masterful man, *mesta afarmenni*, and his wife, Ásleif, was wise and of great family, *vittr ok ættstór*, and most imperious, *ok hin mesta fyrir sér*. In 1135, Ólafr had a great suite, *sveit mikla*, á Katanesi, which included his sons Sveinn and Gunni, and Ásbjörn and Murgaðr, sons of his friend Grímr of Svíney. His wife also lived in Caithness at this time. Their children were Valþjófr (an English name), Sveinn, Gunni, all well-bred men, *velmenntir*, and a daughter, Ingigerðr. Ólafr had a brother Helgi, who lived in Þingvöllr in Hrossey, now Tingwall in Mainland of Orkney, where the þing was held.

Sveinn Ólafsson, after his father's burning, was called Ásleifarson, after his mother. He married (1) Ragnhildr, (2) Ingirið Þorkelsdóttir, a kinswoman of earl Haraldr Maddaðarson, and the widow of Andrés of Suðreyjar or Man. His children were, by (1) Ólafr, and by (2) Andrés, who married bishop Biarni's sister, Fríða, and was the father of Gunni, whose son, Andreas, was in Iceland in 1235 (SS). Sveinn was a wise man and prophetic, *forspár*, about many things, unfair and reckless, *újafnaðarmaðr ok úfyrirleitinn*. When drinking with his karlar he took to speaking, *hann tók til orða*, and rubbed his nose, *ok gneri nefit*, and remarked, "it is my thought" about so and so, and then mentioned his foreboding, *hugboð*.

As an illustration of Svein's masterful unfairness may be mentioned his expedition against Holdboði. He asked the earl for *lið*, assistance, and got five ships, of which the captains were Þorbjörn klerkr (a grandson of Frakok and a brother-in-law of Sveinn), Haflíði son Þorkels flettis, Dufnjáll son Hávarðs Gunnasonar, Ríkgarðr (Richard) Þorleifsson and Sveinn himself. However, Holdboði judiciously fled, but they slew

many men in Suðreyjar and plundered wide and burnt and got much booty, *fé*. On their return, when they were to share their *herfang*, war spoil, Sveinn said that they should all share equally except himself, who should have a chief's share, *hofðingja-hlutr*, because, he said, he alone had led them, and the earl had given them to him for help, *til liðs*, and he alone had a quarrel with the Suðreyingar, and they none. Þorbjörn thought that he had worked as much and had been as much a leader, *fyrirmaðr*, as Sveinn. They also wished all the ship-captains, *skipstjórnar-menn*, to have equal shares, *jafnir hlutir*. But Sveinn would have his own way, *vildi þó ráða*, and he had more men in the Nes than they had. Þorbjörn complained to earl Rognvaldr about Sveinn robbing them of their shares, *goro hlut ræningja*. The earl said it was not the only time that Sveinn was an unfair man, *engi jafnaðar-maðr*, and the day of retribution would come for his wrong-doing, *ranglæti*. Although the earl made good what Sveinn had cheated him of, Þorbjörn declared himself divorced from Svein's sister. The declaration made by him, *segir skilit við*, corresponds with old Gulathinglaw, "ef maðr vill skiliast við kono sína þa skal hann sva skilit segia at hvartveggja þeirra mege heyra mal annars oc have við þat vatta." The consequence of this was hostility, *fjándskapr*, between them, which had its advantage, as it was now a case of "Foruðin sjást best við"—the wrongdoer can best detect his fellow. In contrast with the above is Svein's sportsmanlike treatment of earl Rognvaldr. When earl Erlendr and Sveinn were at feud with earl Rognvaldr, on the latter's return from his crusade, they captured his ships and treasures. Sveinn claimed earl Rognvald's treasures as his share of the spoil, which he promptly sent back to the earl. Being a keen-sighted man, he probably anticipated that his drunken ally, earl Erlendr, would ultimately be defeated by earl Rogn-

valdr, whose treasures from the Holy Land may have been mainly curios and relics of no great market value in the eyes of a víkingr.

Sveinn is further described as of all men the sharpest-sighted, *skygnastr*, and saw things which others could not see. It was the opinion of Jón vængr, junior, that Sveinn was a truce breaker, *grið-niðingr*, and was true to no man. When Sveinn was besieged by land in Lambaborg, which was built on the edge of the cliff, he escaped by being let down by ropes into the deep sea, and then swam along the coast until he found a landing-place. It was earl Rognvald's opinion that such exploits were both brave and hardy, and that Sveinn was without a match. When earl Haraldr advised him to give up roving and twitted him with being an unfair man, *újafnaðarmaðr*, Svein's answer was *tu quoque*, and there the discussion ended. The Saga sums him up as "mestr maðr fyrir sér í Vestrlöndum," the most masterful man in the West, both of old and now, of those men who had no higher *tignar-nafn*, rank, than he.

Of Svein's relatives may be mentioned Eyvind Melbrigðason (Gael., *Maelbrighde*, servant of St. Bride or Bridgit). He was one of the *gofugir-menn*, great men, with earl Páll, and superintended the earl's famous *Jóla-boð mikit*, great Yule feast, at which Sveinn killed Sveinn.

Eyvind schemed to make his kinsman Sveinn Ásleifarson quarrel with his namesake, Sveinn brjóstreip, and having succeeded in this, he then plotted with Sveinn to kill Sveinn, and arranged an artful manœuvre, by which the second Sveinn, before he died, killed his own relative, Jón, the only other witness of the murder. Magnús Eyvindsson, by Eyvind's arrangement, took Sveinn by horse and boat to Damsey, where Blánn sheltered him, and took him afterwards secretly to the bishop. Blánn (Gael., *flann*, red), took charge

of the castle in Damsey. His father, Þorsteinn of Flyðrunes, his brother Ásbjörn krók-auga (squint-eye), and himself were all *údælir*, overbearing, men.

Jón vængr, senior, a relative of Sveinn, abode in Háey á upplandi. He was a *gœðingr*. His brother Ríkarðr (Richard), abode in Brekka í Strjónsey; they were notable men, *gildir-menn*. They burned Þorkell flatr, a *gœðingr*, in the house which their kinsman, Valþjófr, had owned. The earl had given Þorkell the house for finding out where Sveinn (the brother of Valþjófr) had fled to, after the murder for which he had been outlawed.

Jón vængr, junior, was a systur-son of Jón vængr, senior, and became earl Harald's *ármaðr*, or steward. He had two brothers, Blánn (Gaelic, *Flann*) and Bunu-, or Hvínu-Pétr; (*buna*, a purling stream, and *hvína*, to whistle or whine). These two were ignominiously disgraced by Sveinn in a mock execution, to shame their brother Jón, who had given Sveinn a bad character.

Of Svein's companions may be mentioned Grímr, in Svíney, a *félitill*, poor, man, and his sons Ásbjörn and Murgaðr (Gael., *Murchadh*, Murdock). Sveinn, who was *sýslumaðr* for the earl in Caithness, on one occasion, in his absence, deputed his office to Murgaðr, who turned out *sakgæfinn*, quarrelsome, and *áleitinn*, provocative, and was *úvinsæll*, unpopular, for his *újafnaðr*, tyranny. Along with Sveinn, he did much *úspektir*, uproars, *í ránum*, in plunder, in Katanes.

As has already been mentioned, Ólafr Svein's father was burnt in his house in Caithness at the instigation of the hag, Frakøk, whom Sveinn, in turn, burnt in her house.

Svein's father had estates both in Orkney and Caithness, and as he resided in Caithness, where he had the *yfirsókn*, the stewardship, of the earldom, and where Sveinn was afterwards *sýslumaðr*, the family appears to have been a Caithness one, and the Caithness Clan

Gunn claims to be descended from Gunni Ólafsson. This, taken in conjunction with the personal characteristics and the numerous Gaelic names of members of the family, relations and friends, makes it probable that these families were all of Gaelic descent in the male line.

Sveinn brjóstreip, *circa* 1136, had a kinsman Jón, of whose family nothing more is known. He was a *hirðmaðr* of earl Páll, by whom he was well esteemed, *metinn vel af honum*. He spent the summer in *víking* and the winter with the earl. He was a *mikill* man and *sterkr*, strong, *svartr*, of dark complexion, and rather evil-looking, *úhamingju-samligr*, he was a great wizard, *forn mjök*, and had always sat out at night (as a wizard), *úti setið* (in order to raise *troll*, ghosts), which, in accordance with Old Gulathinglaw, was *úbótaverk*, an unfinable crime punished by outlawry. He was one of the earl's forecastle men, *stafnbúi*, and was the foremost of all the earl's men in battle, and fought bravely, *barðist all-hraustliga*. Sveinn preferred "sitting out" to attending midnight mass on Yule. The bishop hailed his slaughter as a cleansing of the land of miscreants, *land-hreinsan*. It was the opinion of Ragna of Rinansey, that the earl had little scathe in Sveinn, even though he were a great warrior or bravo, *garðr mikill*, and that the earl had suffered much unpopularity, *úvinsældir miklar*, through him.

There can be little doubt as to the race of the swarthy wizard Sveinn, notwithstanding his Norse name. With him compare the Icelandic-named Gaelic witch, Þórgunna, in *Eyrbyggja Saga*.

Hávarðr Gunnason, *circa* 1090, was a *gœðingr*, who married Bergljót, daughter of Ragnhildr, daughter of earl Páll. Their children were Magnús, Hákon kló, Dufnjáll (Gael., *Domhnall*, Donald) and Þorsteinn. Hávarðr was on board earl Hákon's ship, on the way to the last meeting with earl St. Magnús; and when he

was informed that Magnús was to be killed, he jumped overboard and swam to a desert isle, rather than be party to the martyrdom.

Dufnjáll Hávarðsson and one Ríkarðr (Richard), were worst in their counsel against Sveinn, when he was in trouble with the earl about Murgað's goings on. His brother, Hákon kló, married the illegitimate daughter of Sigurðr slembidjárn, by a daughter of one of Moddan's carlines. The names Gunni and Dufnjáll appear to point to the Caithness origin of this family, as well as does the Caithness marriage of Hákon kló.

Þorljótr í Rekavík, 1116-26, married Steinvör digra, (the stout), daughter of Frakok Moddansdóttir and Ljótr níðingr (the dastard), in Suðrland. Their son was Olvir rósta (the unruly); a great and powerful man, *manna mestr ok ramr at afli*, turbulent, *uppvígðslumaðr mikill*, and a great manslayer, *vígamaðr mikill*. He, at the instigation of his grandmother, Frakok, burnt Ólafr, Svein's father, in his house. Their other children were Magnús, Ormr, Moddan (Gaelic), Eindriði, and a daughter, Auðhildr. The whole of this nest left Orkney with Frakok, in her repatriation, under whose evil influence they were reared.

Notices of Shetland, in the Saga, are to all intents and purposes *nil*. We find among the Shetlanders who were taken to be healed at St. Magnús' shrine two bændr, viz., Þorbjörn, son of Gyrð (O.E. Gurth), and Sigurðr Tandarson, who abode in Dalr, in north Shetland, and who was *djǫful-óðr* or *ærr*, possessed or mad. Tandr, or Taðkr, is E.Ir. *Tadg*, and the Shetland Tandarson = Gaelic *M'Caog*, Ir., *Mac Taidhg*, Mac-Caig, son of Teague.

The Irish Gaels, who settled in Iceland in the ninth century, proved to be desirable and enterprising colonists, the admixture of whose blood helped to form the Icelandic genius in saga and song. They readily adopted Icelandic patronymics and names, and gave up

their Christianity for the Norse religion. Their presence is commemorated there to this day in Irish place-names and in the continued use of Irish person-names.

The Scottish Gaels who settled in Orkney were, in accordance with the Saga, in some cases undesirable adventurers, of evil reputation, loose habits, glib, mischief-makers, oath-breakers, witches and wizards. They do not appear to have endowed their offspring with traits other than their own, combined with a personal appearance which is usually described as unattractive.

Gaelic names of residents in Orkney first made their appearance in the late eleventh century in the family of Hávarðr Gunnason, who was probably a Caithness Gael.

The differentiation between the Norwegians and the mixed Gaelic-Norse race in Orkney, is unmistakably brought into prominence in the middle of the twelfth century, when the Norwegian contingent of the famous crusade, which wintered in Orkney, got on so ill with the islanders that it resulted in murder and bloodshed about love and mercantile affairs.

The earls who were of Gaelic descent in the female line, while exhibiting Gaelic features, were also good rulers and great warriors, whose exploits provided good copy for the *Orkneyinga-Saga*, which was probably written down by Icelanders. The Gaelic admixture of blood in Orkney does not appear to have produced any literary or poetic talent such as it did in Iceland.

As mentioned in a previous paper,¹ the *Orkneyinga saga* consists of only two complete sagas, viz. (1) *Jarlasögur*, earls' sagas, the history of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki and his joint earls—his brothers, and his nephew, Rognvaldr Brúsason, 1014-1066, and (2) *Rognvalds saga hins helga*, the story of earl St. Rognvaldr, 1136-1158, brought down to the death of Sveinn Ásleifarson, 1171. The first of these sagas is prefaced with a summary of the sagas of the preceding earls, 880-1014, of

¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, xiii.

which none have been preserved, while the second is prefaced with a summary of the sagas of the earls, 1066-1136, the period between the first and the second sagas, of which we have preserved St. Magnús' saga, 1108-1116. The saga of earl Haraldr Maddaðarson, 1139-1206, is partly preserved in the second saga, and in *Flateyjarbók*.

As regards Orkney poets, earl Torf-Einarr, the skáld, was a Norwegian by birth and family, with a thrall mother, probably Finnish, from which admixture of Norse and dark races he probably derived his ugly appearance and poetic genius.

Earl St. Rognvaldr, the skáld, was also a Norwegian by birth, and the son of a Norwegian father, while his mother was an Orkney woman of Gaelic extraction. Bishop Biarni, the skáld, was the only Orkney-born poet, but his father was also a Norwegian, and his mother an Orkney woman of Gaelic extraction. It is just possible that these two last-named skálds derived their poetic inspiration from just the right dash of Gaelic descent.

All the other poets, whose compositions are recorded in the saga, were Icelanders: Arnórr Jarlaskáld, Hallr, etc. It goes without saying that Orcadians and Shetlanders must have been, like their fellow Norsemen of the period, improvisers, whose verses, although referred to, have not been preserved.

There were only two Orkney saints, viz., earls Magnús and Rognvaldr, the one was martyred and the other assassinated, and both of them had very little Gaelic blood.

It is a question whether Orkney and Shetland, with their Christian Picts and heathen Norse, in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, were the birth-place of some of the Edda lays; and whether any of these lays were current there, as oral tradition, and taken down in writing in the twelfth century by earl St. Rognvaldr

and his Icelandic skálds. The solitary preservation and use of many Edda poetic words in Shetland is significant. The first notices we have of writing in the saga are in 1116, when Kali Kolsson, afterwards (1136), earl Rognvaldr Kali, in a verse, numbered among his accomplishments, *bók*, reading and writing, in 1136, when Rodbart compiled the Latin saga of St. Magnús, and, in 1152, when earl Erlendr produced king Eystein's *bréf*, letter, at the þing in Kirkjubágr.

With regard to person-names, it will have been noted that the Norse earls in the male line, although half-Gaels, always gave their children Norse names, while the Gaelic earls, who were only of slight Norse descent, gave their children Norse, English and Gaelic names. So that the goðingar and other leading families of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, who also gave their children Norse, English and Gaelic names, were therefore probably, like the Gaelic earls, also of Gaelic descent in the male line. This is also in accordance with the known practice of other Gaelic settlers in Iceland, etc.

The non-Norse characteristics of persons of Gaelic descent are most pronounced—black hair, swarthy complexion, quarrelsome, given to witchcraft, pawky and glib, oath-breakers, etc., which perhaps point to the Iberian element rather than to the true Gael; and that in comparison with the Norse—fair-haired, accomplished and well-bred, generous, makers of hard bargains, which they, however, kept, true to their word, etc.

It must be remembered that these comparative characteristics are the observations of the Norsemen themselves, who wrote the saga, probably Icelanders, and therefore, presumably, exaggerated in their own favour. They are valuable, however, in placing beyond doubt the large strain of non-Norse people who lived in Orkney.

It has been shown that the Gaelic earls, 1139-1350,

adopted Norse patronymics, and that all persons in Orkney and Shetland before 1350 used Norse patronymics, including the numerous Gaelic families, which must have settled in the islands. There was no other alternative, just as it was, conversely, the case in the Hebrides, where the Gaels predominated, and where their language prevailed, and was adopted by the Norsemen. Here the Norse *Goðormsson* became Gaelic *M'Codrum*, *Þorketilsson* : *M'Corcodail*, *Ivarsson* : *M'Iamhair*, etc., etc. Compare also the case in Ireland.

Gaelic names in Orkney and Shetland in their Norse form have already been dealt with.

The blending of Norse and Gael in the Hebrides does not appear to have been more successful than in Orkney, since we find, in 1139, that earl Rognvaldr said that most *Suðreyingar* were untrue, and even Sveinn Ásleifarson put little faith in them.

The use of Norse names and patronymics by the leading Gaels in Caithness, who are alone mentioned in the Saga, is accounted for by the fashion set by their Norse earls, as well as through the influence of Norse marriages. While the leading people must have been bilingual, speaking Norse (the court language), and Gaelic, the *almúgi*, or peasants, appear to have maintained their native Gaelic. This is indicated in two striking instances in the Saga. In 1158, earls Haraldr and Rognvaldr went from Þórs-á up Þórs-dalr and took *gisting*, night quarters, at some *erg*, which "we call *setr*." The local Gaelic name of such a shieling was *àiridh*, E. Ir. *airge*, *áirge*. In 1152, earl Haraldr, who was living at Vík, dispersed his men *á veizlu*, i.e., quartered them on various houses, in accordance with the obligations of the householders, during *Páskar*, Easter; then the *Katnesingar* said that the earl was on *kunn-mið*. Vigfússon suggested that this word was some corrupt form of a local name;

Dasent translated it "visitations," and Goudie "guest-quarters," which is correct, as *kunn-mið* must be Gaelic, *comaidh*, a messing, eating together, E. Ir. *commaid*; cf. Gaelic *coinne*, *coinneamh*, a supper, a party, to which everyone brings his own provisions, E. Ir. *coindem*, *cionmed*, quartering, coigny, conveth. In both these cases the E. Ir. spelling comes nearer to the Norse than the Scottish Gaelic does, and corresponds to the Scottish Gaelic of the twelfth century.

The fact that the earl had the right to quarter his men in Orkney and Shetland, is preserved in the tax, *wattle* < *veizla*, which was paid in lieu of actual entertainment. This tax continues to be paid to this day.

"The Inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland after 1350," will be the subject of a future paper; meanwhile it may be emphasised that the Gaelic earls of Orkney failed in the male line before the Scots began to assume permanent surnames. The Gaelic earls were succeeded, in the female line, by the Lowland-Norman family of St. Clair, bearing a hereditary surname, about the time of whose arrival began the Lowland-Scottish settlement of Orkney, to the influence of which must be attributed the assumption of the Lowland Scottish language and the adoption of place-surnames, and not fixed patronymics, in Orkney, by the Norse-Gaelic inhabitants. Shetland, being far removed from the seat of government and fashion, continued the use of patronymics until the nineteenth century, when they became fixed.

The great number of persons in Orkney and Shetland bearing the names of Tulloch and Sinclair appears to indicate that the ancestors of some of them may have been tenants of the bishopric and earldom who, in accordance with Gaelic custom, assumed the names of their lords of that ilk. The Tulloch bishops ruled, 1418-1477, and the Sinclair earls and lessees, 1379-1542, the period during which patronymics were giving place to hereditary surnames in Orkney. Tulloch and

Sinclair may also have been Christian names which became stereotyped as patronymics and the "son" termination afterwards dropped, as in the case of Omondson, > Omond.

Shetlanders pride themselves in their geographic detachment from Orkney with its Scottish people and customs, and claim to be regarded as purer Norsemen as compared with the Scots of Orkney. Perhaps it is owing to this qualified humdrum purity that the Shetlanders did not achieve any deeds of sufficient interest to be recorded in the Saga. However, from an anthropological point of view, the Pictish and small dark strain is as much in evidence in Shetland as in Orkney, and perhaps more so.

In the twelfth century even an ordinary Shetlander *bóndi*, farmer, had his thrall, and *manfrelsi*, giving a thrall his freedom, is mentioned as an ordinary transaction. The thrall element must therefore have formed a large proportion of the population, and intermarriage must have taken place between the Norse and the thralls. We find the earls had children by thralls, and intermarriage between the *bœndr* and thralls, especially the freed thralls, must also have taken place.

Persons of mixed racial descent are usually very loud in an exaggerated appreciation of the heroic line of their ancestry, especially when it is on the distaff side, usually coupled with an inverse depreciation of the other ascent which is represented by an inappropriate and inconvenient surname.

There would be no necessity for a genuine Norse islander to crow himself hoarse on his native rock; and, to do so, would indicate that there were grave doubts as to the purity of his strain.

Hitherto the Norse traditions of Orkney and Shetland have been solely espoused by outlanders and by natives bearing surnames which leave no doubt as to their foreign origin.

The most voluminous history of Shetland was written by an English tourist, Dr. Hibbert, afterwards Dr. Hibbert Ware. But then, the English are noted for their greater interest in the history and antiquities of countries other than their own, which may be accounted for by the exceptional variety of races which they represent.

But after all the land makes the man. If it had not been for these northern islands there would have been no *Orkneyinga Saga* with its verses and narratives of stirring events.

Dr. John Rae, first honorary president of this Society, was a Scottish Gael born in Orkney (where his father had settled), an Orkneyman of Orkneymen; and to his youthful training, experience in boating, and his environment in these islands, he attributed his success in Arctic exploration.

And, moreover, it is well known that Orkney and Shetland supply the British Navy and mercantile marine with a deal more than their due share of personnel, and have given the British colonies a good supply of useful pioneers and settlers.

APPENDIX.

Thralls in Orkney. In *Landnámabók* it is stated that [besides the Scot earl Melbrigða tönna] Sigurðr hinn ríki, the first Norse earl of Orkney, slew [circa 880-89] the Scot earl Meldun [Gaelic, *Maelduine*] and took his wife Myrgiol [Muir-gheal] daughter of Gliomal [Gleomael], king of the Irish, and their son Erpr [Welsh *Yrp*] Meldunsson as booty and made slaves of them—tók þau at herfange, ok þiáðe. Myrgiol was bondmaid, *ambátt*, to the earl's wife, *jarls kona*, or queen, *dróttning*, and served her faithfully, and was learned in witchcraft, *margkunnig*. Queen Auðr bought Myrgiol at a high price [from whom?] and took her and her son Erpr to Iceland, where Erpr received his freedom and land and was ancestor of the Erpingar.

It should have been stated that Dufnjál's grandfather must have been a son of earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki and not a son of his widow, Ingibiörg, by her second husband king Malcolm III. of Scotland, whose sons were king Duncan II., and possibly Donald. Nothing definite is known about the latter, who was a half-brother of earls Páll and Erlendr,

but earl Dungaðr (Duncan), Dufnjál's father, could scarcely have been his son, who would not have been the earl's *bræðrungr*. Because, if Dufnjáll had been a great-grandson of king Malcolm and Ingibiörg, and if each of his forefathers had married when sixteen years of age, he himself would only have been fourteen years of age in 1116, the year St. Magnus was martyred. As he was slain apparently some years before this, when Hákon and Magnús were on friendly terms, he would have been very young to have been slain as a troublesome viking. There is still another explanation. Although earl Þorfinnr hinn ríki was early in coming to full growth, he did not marry Ingibiörg until 1040-44, when she was about 20-24 years of age, and when he was 40-44. It is improbable that he would have remained unmarried till so late in life. In fact, the Saga, in speaking of Ingibiörg, in 1044, remarks that she was *then* his wife, as though he had had a former wife. And further, Munch was of opinion that "Dolfinn son of Finntur," who was slain, in 1054, fighting with the Saxons against the men of Alba (king Macbeth),¹ was Dólgfinnr, probably a son of earl Þorfinnr of Orkney—Finntur being a transposition of Turfinn. In that case Dólgfinnr must have been born between 1019 (when Þorfinnr was 19) and 1034 (so as to allow of his being at least 20 in 1054), and consequently some years before Þorfinnr married Ingibiörg. A remarkable corroboration of Munch's guess is to be found in "Notitiae of grants by Macbeth and Gruoch, king and queen of Scots, to the church of St. Serf A.D., 1040—1057" (Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, 5, 6). Here we find king Macbeth, at the end of his reign, (c. 1054-7, the time when Dólgfinnr was slain), granting "Bolgyne filii Torfyny" (described in 1152—1153 as "Bolgin filii Thorfini") to the church. Lawrie's emendation is "*terram* Bolgyne filii Torfyny," and he suggests that Bolgyn was the son of Torfyny, and that the land was called after him. Bolgyn, now Bolgie, in the parish of Abbotshall, is apparently a genuine place-name, and the explanation appears to be, clearly, that the place-name Bolgyn has been confused with the person-name Dolfinn, or Dólgfinnr, and the writer would suggest the following emendation: "*terram* Bolgyne *Dolfinni* filii Torfyny," "the land of Bolgyn, which belonged to Dólgfinnr, son of Þorfinnr." We can weave a little romance around these relics. Þorfinnr must have married first *circa* 1019, when he was 19, an unnamed wife, probably a Gael, and a son, Dólgfinnr, was born in 1020. In 1034-5, on the death of king Malcolm (Þorfinnr's grandfather), Þorfinnr came to blows with the succeeding king, (king Karl Hundason of the Saga), and made an expedition into Scotland as far south as Fife. Dólgfinnr, who would have been 14-15 years old at this time, probably accompanied his father, and remained behind and acquired the lands of Bolgyn.

¹ Annals of Ulster.

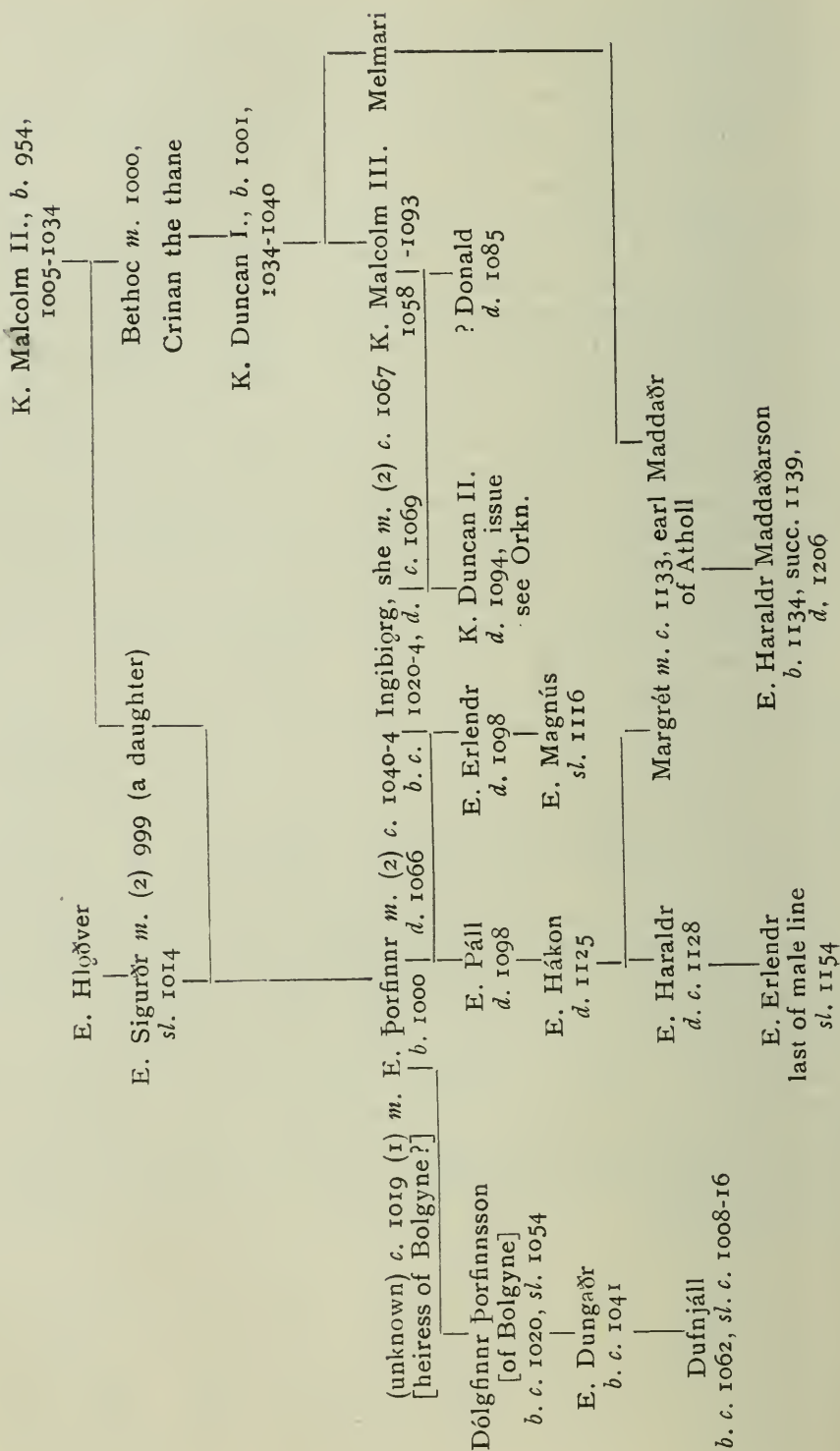
Dólgfinnr took sides with earl Siward of Northumberland and the Saxons in supporting Malcolm in his attempt to oust king Macbeth from the throne in 1054—the same Malcolm who afterwards married Dólgfinn's stepmother, Ingibiörg—Dólgfinnr was killed in this battle, and his estate, which would of course have been confiscated by Macbeth, was bequeathed by that king to the Church. In 1054, Dólgfinnr would have been 34, and if he had married at 20 he might have had a son, 13 years of age at that time. This would be earl Dungaðr (Duncan), father of Dufnjáll who is mentioned in the Saga. As Dólgfinnr fell in the cause of Malcolm, it seems probable that Malcolm, on his succession to the throne in 1058, rewarded Duncan Dólgfinnsson, for the loss of his father and estates, with an earldom. The history of the earldom of Fife at this period is very obscure, and there is a possibility that Duncan was made earl of Fife. There were two later Duncans, earls of Fife, the daughter of one of whom married earl Haraldr Maddaðarson, the great-great-grandson of Þorfinnr. Or, Duncan may have been created an earl by king Malcolm on his marriage to Ingibiörg (Duncan's step-grandmother), *circa* 1067; or otherwise Duncan may have assumed the title of earl of Orkney, *de jure*. Dufnjáll (Donald) Dungaðsson would be, at the most, 50 years of age when he was slain, *circa* 1112, by his cousins earls Hákon and Magnús. There can be little doubt that he was slain quite as much as a possible claimant to the earldom as on account of his being an alleged viking.

The Orkney Saga (from *Flateyjarbók*) states that the following events occurred 5 years after Svǫldr (1000+5): Þorfinnr, 5 years old, sent to his grandfather, king Malcolm II.; battle of Clontarf fought; Þorfinnr made earl of Caithness. Whereas the *Annáll* (*Flateyjar*-, and *Konungs*-) date these events and the succession of king Knútr, 1004, 4 years after Svǫldr. Svǫldr was fought in 1000, while (1) Clontarf was fought, (2) Þorfinnr succeeded to the earldom of Caithness, and (3) Knútr succeeded to the throne of Denmark, in 1014. The only event, therefore, which took place 4 or 5 years after Svǫldr, was the sending of Þorfinnr, aged 5, to be fostered by his grandfather, king Malcolm II. (in 1005, the year in which he succeeded to the throne of Scotland). The Saga has run all these events together, and hence the conflicting statements as to the number of years of Þorfinn's rule—*Flateyjar Annáll*, 52 years [1014+52=1066], *Konungs Annáll*, 62 [1004+62=1066]. The Rolls text of *Orkneyinga* (edited by Vigfússon), which is taken from *Flateyjarbók*, gives 60 years, which is an arbitrary alteration of the original 70 as a "conjecture" on the part of Vigfússon [because it resulted in 1004+70=1074, whereas Þorfinnr appeared to have died in 1064]. That Þorfinnr was born in 1000, and not in 1009 (5 years before 1014), is also proved by the statement, in the Saga, that he was full-grown before earl Einarr was slain in 1019-20.

The true sequence of events then appears to be that Earl Sigurðr married the youngest daughter of Malcolm (afterwards king M. II.), "litlu sǫðarr," a little after, 995, viz., in 999, and their son Þorfinnr was born in 1000, the year in which Svǫldr was fought. Five years after this (when Malcolm had defeated his cousin, king Kenneth III., on March 25th, 1005, and had succeeded to the throne, as king Malcolm II.), earl Sigurðr, whose wife had presumably died, sent his son Þorfinnr, aged 5, to his grandfather, king Malcolm, to be fostered. Þorfinnr would thus have learned Gaelic, the court language, and his grandfather would undoubtedly have had his ward betrothed to a Gael [the heiress of Bolgyne?] On earl Sigurð's death at Clontarf, in 1014, king Malcolm made Þorfinnr earl of Caithness, and he ruled for 52 years, until he died in 1066, or 1065, if 1014 is reckoned as one of the 52 years. The reason why the annalists have given $1004+62=1066$, as the date of his death is because the Saga tradition relates that he died "á ofanverðum dögum," towards the end of the days, of king Haraldr harðráði who was slain in 1066. The English and Scottish chronicles differ as to the date of the marriage of king Malcolm III. to St. Margaret, it being variously given as 1067 and 1070, while his first marriage to Ingibiörg is entirely ignored. The explanation appears to be that he married Ingibiörg in 1067 and St. Margaret in 1070.

In the appended genealogical table it will be noted that Dólgfinnr Þorfinnsson was a half-brother of earls Páll and Erlendr, who were half-brothers of king Duncan II. Ingibiörg, as the widow of earl Þorfinnr, was related to king Malcolm III. in the 2nd and prohibited degree and could not have legally married him, as Papal dispensations were not granted in Scotland at that time. Consequently their son king Duncan II. was a bastard, and he is so designated by Scottish historians. Margrét Hákonsdóttir was related to her husband, earl Maddaðr, in the 4th and prohibited degree, but at that time (1133) they may have been able to get a Papal dispensation. The only proof that Melmari was the father of Maddaðr and a brother of king Malcolm III. is the solitary testimony of the notorious Frakök, as recorded in *Orkneyinga Saga*.

Earl Hundi of *Njála* is undoubtedly the same as earl Finnleikr of *Orkneyinga*, and consequently king Karl Hundason, the antagonist of earl Þorfinnr, was none other than MacBeth. This supports the contention that Dólgfinnr Þorfinnsson, who fought against MacBeth, in the cause of king Malcolm III. the cousin of earl Þorfinnr, was the son of earl Þorfinnr.



OBITUARY.

W. P. KER.

William Paton Ker was born in 1855, the son of William Ker, a merchant of Glasgow. He was educated at the Glasgow Academy and Glasgow University, and went to Oxford with a Snell Exhibition. There he gained the Taylorian Scholarship in Italian (1878) and in 1879 a Fellowship of All Souls. In 1883 he was appointed, together with a number of other young men (they were nearly all, as he recalled in later years, under thirty), a Professor in the new University College in Cardiff. In 1889 he became Quain Professor of English in University College, London, and held the chair till his resignation in 1922. In 1920 he had been appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford.

In this place we are concerned more particularly with what he did for the encouragement of Scandinavian languages and literatures. His early training had been rather in Classics, Philosophy and the Romance languages, and when he was appointed Professor at Cardiff he was concerned with English History as well as English Literature. His chair in London included both English Language and English Literature. Very soon, as Henry Morley had done before him, he included classes in Icelandic in the curriculum of the English department at University College. Even during the strain of the war, which left such a mark upon him, he was giving thought to the organization of Scandinavian teaching in London : after some Swedes had been dining with him he writes, "They were all very keen about getting Sweden better known over here, and I am hoping to be one of the instruments, under Providence." When the Department of Scandinavian Studies was formed in University College he became the first director, and it is characteristic that when he resigned his Professor-

ship he still retained his directorship of the Scandinavian work. The thing for which he cared most was the study of what Scandinavia had given to the world. He would break off in a letter to admonish his correspondent "not to neglect the Danish tongue"; and almost the last thing he said to the Provost of University College was, "I am anxious about Scandinavian Studies: they must be kept going." When he took his farewell of his present and of his old students, met to give his portrait to the College and an album of their own signatures to him, it was in these words: "May I add the piece of advice not to forget Mr. Helweg's 'Danish Ballads'? These are my last words. Thank you."

This is hardly the place for a full enumeration of Ker's writings. Special mention must be made of *Epic and Romance* (1897). This did so much to bring home to English readers the value of the Norse literature, and at the same time threw extraordinary light upon problems which had long been puzzling scholars. *The Dark Ages* (1904) and *Mediæval English Literature* (1912) also need mention. To the *Saga-Book* of the Viking Society he made a number of contributions: *The Life of Bishop Gudmund Arason, Iceland and the Humanities* (Vol. V.), *The Early Historians of Norway* (Vol. VI.), *Bishop Jón Arason* (Vol. VII.) In this connection also his Romanes lecture on *Sturla the Historian* should be mentioned.

Professor Ker was President of the Viking Society, and was Vice-President in Council from 1907 till the time of his death in 1923.

It has been felt at University College that nothing was more characteristic of him than his devotion to the Scandinavian tongues and Scandinavian literatures: and an attempt is being made to endow one of the Scandinavian Readerships in the College in his memory.

R. W. CHAMBERS.

SIR HENRY HOYLE HOWORTH.

On July 15th, 1923, there passed away, by the death of Sir Henry Hoyle Howorth, a figure equally well known in political, archæological and scientific circles. His kindly and urbane character, his great versatility of mind, and his familiar acquaintance with a vast variety of subjects, made him representative of a type of intellect fast becoming rare with the greater specialisation demanded by modern research. His mind wandered over many fields and remained active and receptive up to the time of his death at the age of 81. He was an effective member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Anthropological Institute, of the Geological Society, and of the Royal Historical Society, and he served at various dates in the Councils of several of these bodies. He became President of the Archæological Institute, Vice-President in 1918 and President in 1919-1923 of the Viking Society, and Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Numismatic Society. The width of his sympathies not only contributed to the remarkable freshness of his mind, but it enabled him to suggest analogies between subjects which could not have occurred to the specialist occupied mainly with one aspect of a study. His contributions during his term as President of the Viking Society dealt chiefly with the wanderings and early settlements of the Scandinavian and Celtic peoples, a subject the romance of which had always appealed to his mind, and with "Harald Fairhair and his ancestors," in a paper which has been printed in the *Saga-Book*, vol. ix.

Sir Henry Howorth was born in Lisbon, where his father was in business, on July 1st, 1842, but he was educated in England, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1867. He was much more attracted by politics than by his own profession of the Law, and in 1886, and again in 1892 to 1895, he sat in Parliament for South Salford. His long series of letters to the

Times on political and fiscal matters were appearing at the same time that he was pouring forth articles in scientific and literary journals on such varied topics as the ethnology of Germany, the spread of the nomadic races of Russia, the discoveries of the Northmen, the extinction of the mammoth, and the geology of the Isle of Man. At the same time he was occupied with more permanent work. His *History of the Mongols*, in three parts (1876) is still the main authority on this subject, and he was engaged in reading proofs of a new edition at the date of his death. The attraction for him of the Early Christian period in Europe, and especially in our own islands, is shewn by his publication in 1916 of his *The Golden Age of the Early English Church*, by his *St. Augustine the Missionary*, and by his work on *St. Gregory the Great*. Though he shews his extensive reading by free quotations from earlier writers, he is not slavishly dependent on them, but sustains his own point of view with vigour and independence.

In another direction his works on Geology, "The Mammoth and the Flood" (1887), the "Glacial Nightmare" (1893), and his "Ice or Water" (1905), which ascribed to the action of water the effects usually believed to be caused by the motion of ice, involved him in a long controversy with the followers of Lyell; his theories cannot be said to have been generally accepted.

In 1893 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1899 he became a Trustee of the British Museum, an honour which he fully appreciated. In 1892 he had been knighted in recognition of his varied attainments, and he was an Honorary D.C.L. of Durham University. He threw himself unweariedly into his various duties; he was seen everywhere, known to everyone, and interested in everyone. Even to the end of his life no excuse of business was ever made for the omission of an act of courtesy or friendly sympathy towards any of his large circle of acquaintances.

On another side his pleasure in art enabled him to collect some good pictures, three of which he presented before his death to the National Gallery, and several excellent replicas of important works by Old Masters. It was his wish to see a gallery of such replicas established in London for the use of students. His powers as a conversationalist and as a *raconteur* made him everywhere a welcome guest; and some of his tales, such as the charming story of his wife's necklace, will be long remembered by his friends.

We can almost imagine that when the last dread visitor, who may not be denied, entered his chamber, he was greeted with the familiar formula: "One little story more, and then I go!"

ELEANOR HULL.

JAMES GRAY.

James Gray was born on 19th July, 1856, at Golspie, Sutherland, the son of Donald Gray and his wife Maria Gray. He entered Rugby School (Scholar) in 1870, and was there until 1875, when he left with a Major and Minor School Exhibition. An Exhibitioner of University College, Oxford, from 1875 till 1879. 1st Class in Classical Moderations and Honours in Final School. He subsequently took his M.A. Degree. For a short time he was private tutor to the elder son of the Rt. Hon. George Goschen. For a term or so he was a Master at Rugby School during a Master's absence through illness. He adopted law as a profession, however, being admitted a Solicitor in 1887. About the years 1888 and 1889 he was engaged in drawing up the Digest of Evidence given before a Select Committee of the House of Commons in connexion with the question of Leasehold Enfranchisement and Taxation of Ground Rents, the Report of which was published in three volumes, and dealt with the subject exhaustively, and is still of considerable value from a historical point of view.

Among the appointments he held was that of Solicitor to the Greenwich Hospital Department of the Admiralty from 1896.

He married, in 1882, Beatrice, the younger daughter of the late Rev. Canon C. B. Hutchinson, by whom and two sons, Donald C. Gray and James Neville Gray, he is survived. The latter married Hildegard Mary Gunn, elder daughter of the late Robert Marcus Gunn, F.R.C.S.

He was much interested in educational questions, and was for many years Chairman of the Governors of the Roan School at Greenwich. He worked very hard in connection with University Extension Lectures.

He interested himself very much in the London Ross, Cromarty and Sutherland Association.

He worked for the National Service League for many years, to which he was honorary legal adviser. He knew Norway well, and was one of the founders of the Norwegian Club in London. He joined the Viking Society for Northern Research in 1909, and became a Founder of the *Old Lore Series*, to the *Miscellany* of which he contributed articles on the Scandinavian Place-names of Sutherland, &c. He became a member of Council in 1909, a Vice-President in Council in 1910, President 1912-1916, and Vice-President until his death in 1923.

He read a paper before the Society in 1919, on "The Jarls and the Freskyns in Sutherland," which, considerably amplified and revised, was published by Oliver and Boyd in 1922, under the title "Sutherland and Caithness in Saga Time, or the Jarls and the Freskyns."

James Gray was an enthusiastic student of Norse lore and of the mutual influence exerted between Celt and Viking. He was passionately fond of his native county, Sutherland, and was exceedingly generous and kind-hearted to his countrymen, many of whom will greatly miss his staunch friendship.

A. W. JOHNSTON.

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The Council, which is elected annually by the Members, has the sole management of the income and all other affairs of the Society. No liabilities are incurred beyond the funds in hand.

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ENLISTING NEW MEMBERS.—The working expenses of the Society remain practically the same for any number of Members, so that all new Subscriptions gained go to enlarge the Publications. Members and others interested in Northern Studies are therefore earnestly requested to introduce new Members, and to forward the names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Society to the Honorary Secretary.

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- (4) Formation of a Library of Books, MSS., maps, etc., relating to Northern history and antiquities;
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- (6) Social Gatherings, etc.

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THE OSEBERG SHIP.

BY PROFESSOR ANTON WILHELM BROGGER.

(Read January 9th, 1923).

THE ships of the Viking Age discovered in Norway count among the few national productions of antiquity that have attained world-wide celebrity. And justly so for they not only give remarkable evidence of a unique heathen burial custom, but they also bear witness to a very high culture which cannot fail to be of interest to the outside world. The Oseberg discoveries, the most remarkable and abundant antiquarian find in Norway, contain a profusion of art, a wealth of objects and phenomena, coming from a people who just at that time, the ninth century, began to come into contact with one-half of Europe. It was a great period, and it has given us great monuments. We have long been acquainted with its literature. Such a superb production as Egil Skallargrimson's *Sona-torrek*, which is one hundred years later than the Oseberg material, is a worthy companion to it.

The Oseberg ship was dug out of the earth and caused the greatest astonishment even among Norwegians. Who could know that on that spot, an out of the way barrow on the farm of Oseberg in the parish of Slagan, a little to the north of Tönsberg, there would be excavated the finest and most abundant antiquarian discoveries of Norway. It was in the summer of the year 1903 that a farmer at Oseberg began to dig the barrow. He struck some woodwork and stopped digging. A journey to Christiania brought him in touch

with Professor G. Gustafson, at that time director of the Museum of Antiquities, to whom he made known his discovery. Gustafson at once went to the spot, and made a small trial excavation, which after a day or so convinced him that the barrow contained a Viking ship, as large as the Gokstad ship excavated near Sandefjord in 1880. On that hypothesis he was able to plan his excavations, which took place throughout the summer of 1904, and were not concluded until late in the autumn. The task was long and difficult, but the result was a complete romance. That such an achievement was made, and that the Oseberg discoveries obtained so great historical importance, are very largely due to the enormous care and energy displayed by Professor Gustafson. He did not live to see the completion of the work of preparing the material discovered, dying in the midst of his labours in April, 1915.

The barrow in which the discovery was made was situated close to an ancient river bed, five kilometers from the sea. During the Viking Age the river was navigable for a vessel of the size of the Oseberg ship. The barrow was at one time one of the largest in Norway, but in the course of centuries had been completely destroyed. It was built of huge masses of peat, and formed a completely airtight covering over the whole of the interior, and in conjunction with the foundation of clay in which all the objects lay, it resulted in the excellent state of preservation which characterizes the material excavated. All the wooden objects were preserved, although broken by mechanical means, through the great pressure of the masses of earth above.

The ship lay in the barrow pointing north to south, with the prow towards the south.¹ Behind the mast there was a sepulchral chamber of timber, in which lay the dead. Stones were thrown over the whole of the ship, and above them the barrow was erected. At the very

¹ See *Saga-Book*, iv., p. 60.

commencement of the excavations, those engaged found proofs that the barrow had been broken into in ancient times, and the course of the thieves could be distinctly traced. From the southern side of the mound they penetrated to the middle by means of an open passage some three or four meters in breadth, with the sole object of reaching the sepulchral chamber. It was evident that they had succeeded in doing so, for the chamber bore very distinct traces of their work. They chopped out a large opening in the tent-shaped roof, and took away a considerable quantity of the valuables which must undoubtedly have been in the chamber. This compartment contained the bodies of two women, the Oseberg Queen and her bond-woman. We can see how the robbers desecrated the corpses by chopping off arms and hands, which presumably bore gold rings. Traces of the robbers were found all over the passages along which they had forced an entrance. Here and there lay broken remains of objects which had lain in the sepulchral chamber.

From the level of the thieves' entrance an investigation was by degrees made of the sepulchral chamber. There had lain the two dead women, presumably each in a separate bed, surrounded by coverlets, pillows and clothes. One of the women, perhaps the Queen herself, must have been about thirty years of age, the other about fifty. The sepulchral chamber in the ship was made their resting-place, and with them were placed a number of articles of a more personal character. We must content ourselves by mentioning the most important. There was a beautiful oak chest containing both fruit and grain, viz., wild apples (crab-apples) and wheat. Wild apples were found in other parts of the ship, and in all we have now about fifty of them. We may here mention that the vegetable remains from the Oseberg ship are in such considerable quantities, that they prove with certainty that, assuming the year to

have been a normal one from the point of view of vegetation, the burial of the Oseberg Queen must have taken place at the end of August or during the first week of September.

Two other chests were found in the chamber, both of oak. One of them was quite entire, and contained two iron lamps with long rods, a wooden box for cotton, an awl, a spindle, iron scissors, horseshoe nails, etc. In general the sepulchral chamber contained a collection of domestic implements. We may mention a winder for yarn, and also two looms, both of very important and interesting types. In this connection we may also mention the most remarkable contents of the sepulchral chamber, the numerous remnants of woven picture tapestries which lay there. At the present time a scientific assistant to the Editorial Committee is working at this material, and it may be said, *inter alia*, that these tapestries must to a large extent have been made in Norway.

In another part of the sepulchral chamber was found a collection of buckets and pails.¹ Two of these belong to the most beautiful objects in the entire collection, one having four handles and a wealth of brass fittings, the unique form of which has given rise to the incorrect name "Buddha" pail, whereas the workmanship is Western, and most probably English, belonging to the early Viking Period.

It should also be mentioned that the sepulchral chamber once contained two beds, a large quantity of rope for tents and sails, a considerable quantity of down and feathers for pillows and coverlets, a number of unique and beautifully carved wooden poles representing the heads of animals, and further, a quantity of large and small objects of various kinds.

When the investigation of the sepulchral chamber was completed, it was possible to proceed with the stern

¹ See *Saga-Book*, v., p. 297.

of the ship. The space was small, but nevertheless it contained a number of the objects belonging to a tidy and well-appointed kitchen, such as an iron pot with a three-legged stand, a chain for a hanging pot, a number of small dishes and troughs of wood, frying-pans, kit-boxes, knives, a hand-mill for corn, a kitchen stool with four legs, and a great many other articles. In the stern there was also a small ox. It was placed between two oak planks and was wonderfully well preserved.

That which was found in the sepulchral chamber and in the stern, however, was nothing in comparison with that found in the fore part of the ship. It is only possible to enumerate here the most important of the objects discovered. As regards ship's equipment, here were found a number of oars, a gangway plank, two water barrels, booms and gaffs for spreading sails, bailing scoops, anchors and anchor stocks, in addition to a number of indeterminate objects which undoubtedly belong to the equipment of a ship. Among the burial equipment may be mentioned, first and foremost, the beautiful four-wheeled wagon, which is one of the most remarkable objects in the Oseberg collection. As will be seen, it was intended to be drawn by two horses, and is of a most curious construction, there being a loose wagon body made of oak. On the sides of the latter we find some very interesting and remarkable carvings in the oak. As regards other vehicles, there were four sledges, three of which are very beautiful and luxurious, with richly carved bodies. These too, were intended for two horses. There were also discovered three beds, the framework for two tents, one framework for a very large tent, a chair, a trough containing rye flour, several wooden dishes, a box or basket made of bast, two buckets, one of which contained combs, balls of thread, wax, buckles, mountings, and in addition seeds of the woad plant which was used for dyeing, and also flax seeds and wild apples. There

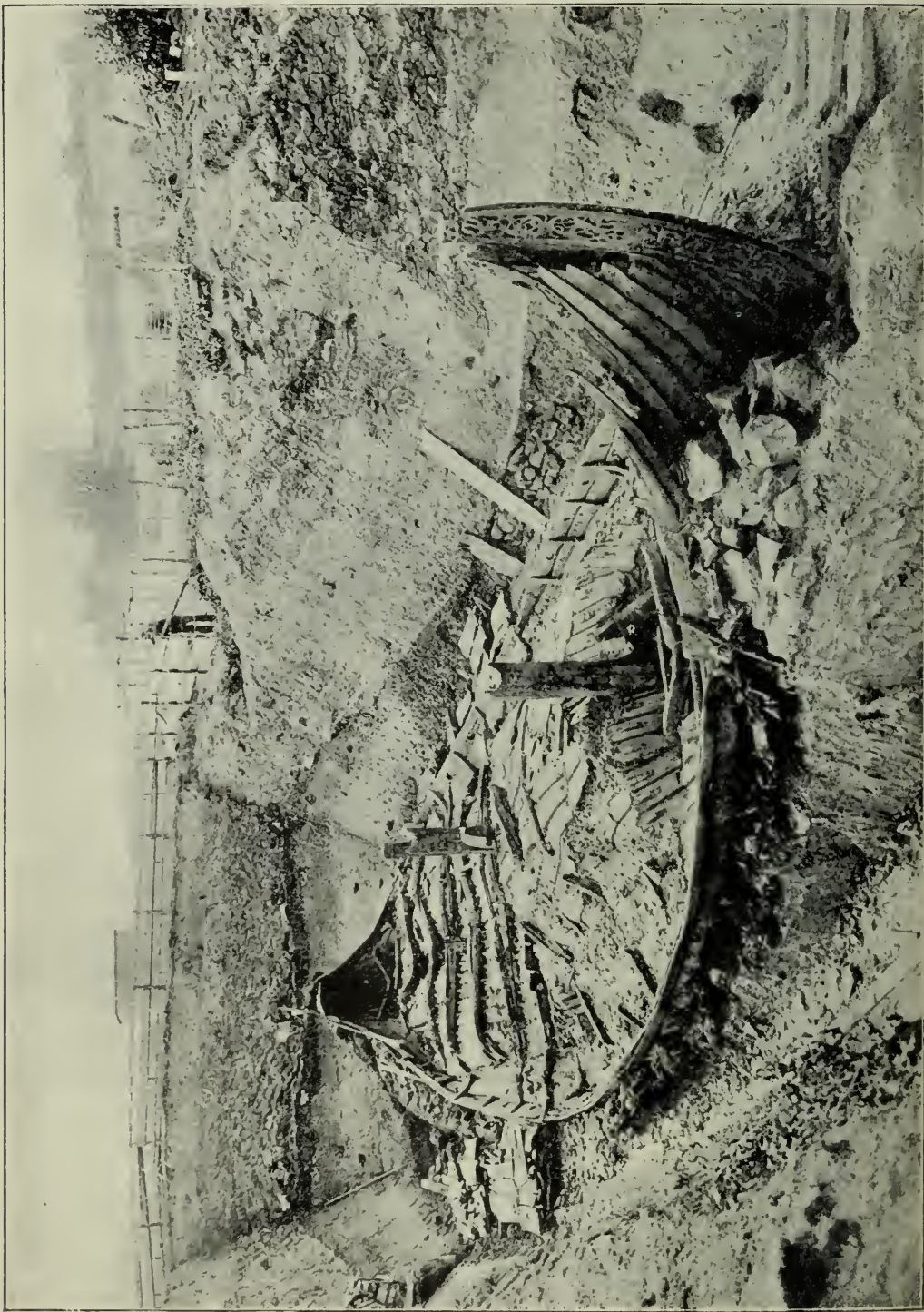


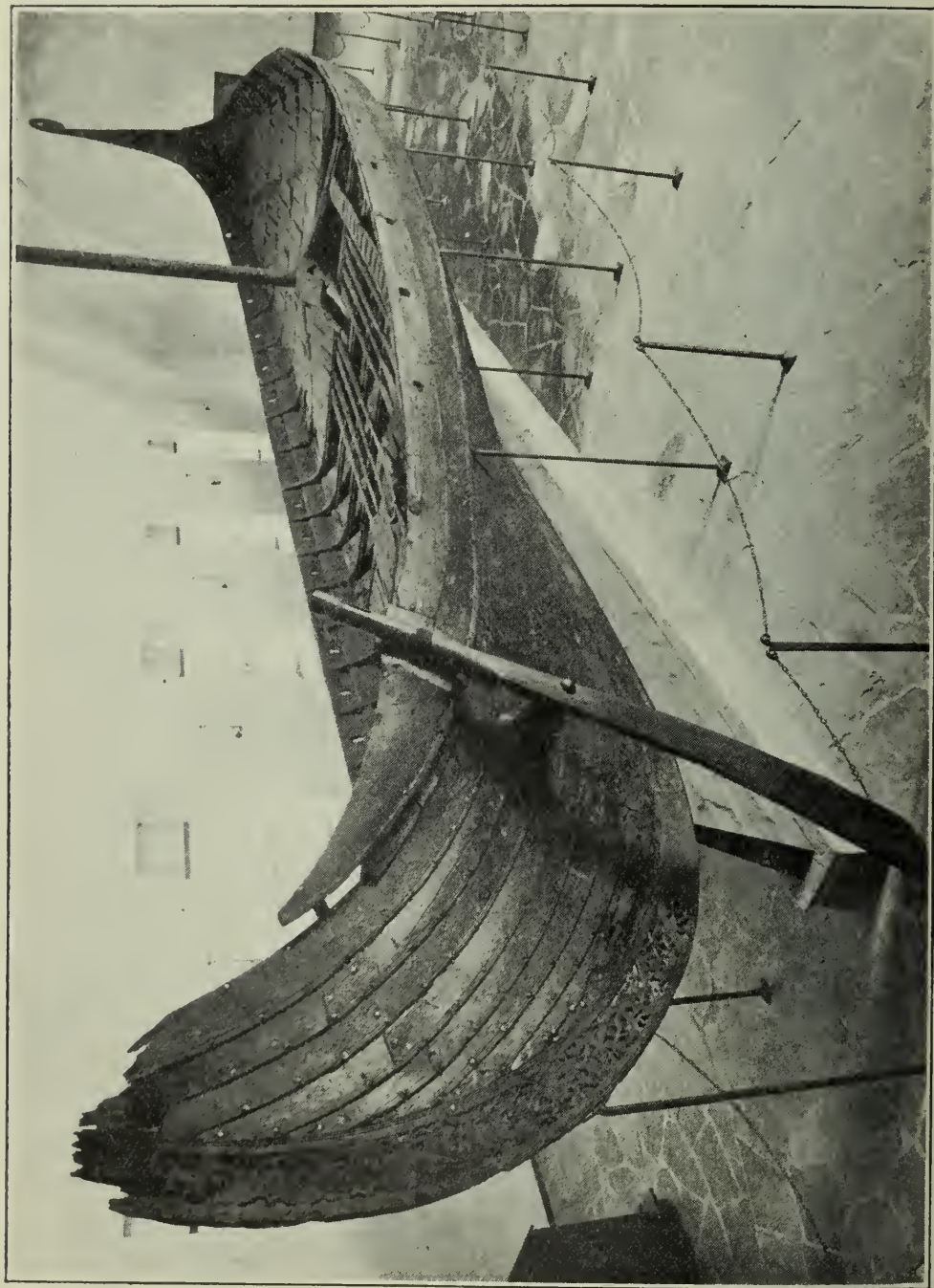
Fig. 1. Oseberg ship after excavation, looking forward from the larboard side. (Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.)

were further a litter or stretcher, a number of spades, three pairs of shoes, a ribbon loom, a beautifully carved pole representing an animal's head, three sledge poles, harness for horses and chains for dogs. Finally, in addition to all the above, there were the remains of fourteen horses, three dogs and an ox. It was certainly not a cheap funeral.

In the forepart of the vessel oars had been stuck out through openings in the ship's side ready for the voyage. In other words, it was intended that the Queen should be able to use the ship just as she had done during her lifetime.

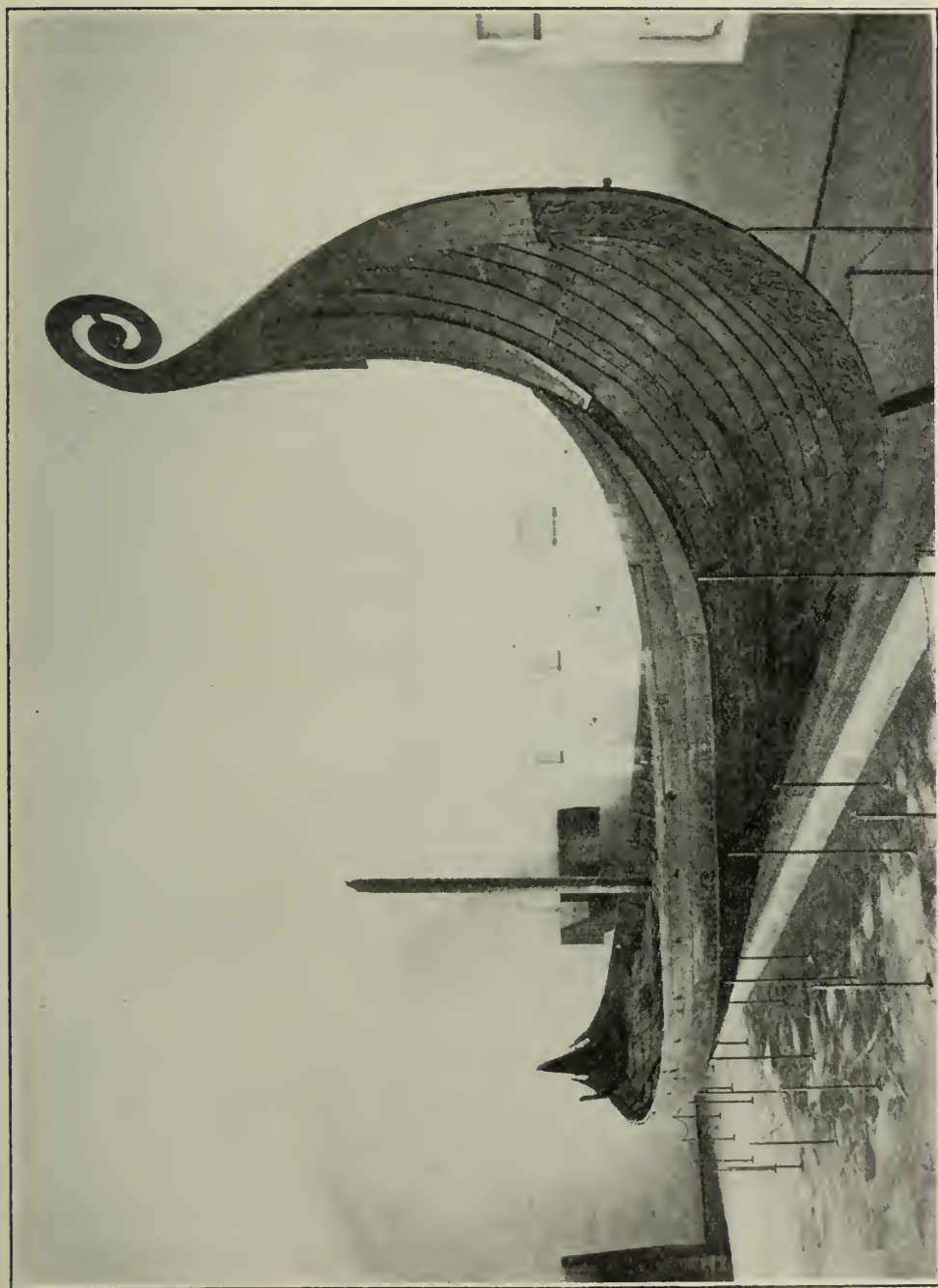
It was not until the end of September, 1904, that all the different objects had been excavated, and for the first time since its burial the Oseberg ship lay uncovered. (Fig. 1). It was not a pleasing sight, twisted as it was by the masses of earth, the bottom of the ship pushed up by the underlying clay, broken, warped, all the boards crushed and loosened, the ribs sundered and partly destroyed. The ship required to be taken out as quickly as possible, but that could of course not be done except piece by piece. An expert ships' engineer supervised the work, which proceeded until the Oseberg ship, in about 2,000 pieces, reached Christiania at the end of December, 1904. There it was at first stored, and then, after a lengthy restoration, was re-erected on the spot where it stands to-day. (Figs. 2 and 3).

The Oseberg ship itself is a large, open boat, twenty meters long on her keel, and about twenty-four meters from stem to stern. The breadth is very great, being more than five meters, and the vessel is quite flat-bottomed, being intended to sail in very shallow water. The height above the water-line is quite inappreciable. She has seventeen ribs and holds (or intermediate spaces), all the important parts being made of oak, and there are fifteen holes for oars on each side, so that



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[Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.]

Fig. 3.—Oseberg ship, partly restored, starboard side, looking backward from the prow to the stern.

thirty men were required to row the ship. But in addition, she has a pine-mast for a sail. There was a deck or flooring. The ship was steered by means of a rudder placed on the starboard side aft. Thus the Oseberg ship was not a sea-going boat like the Gokstad ship, so that it would not be possible to sail to America in the Oseberg ship, as Magnus Andersen did in a replica of the Gokstad ship in 1893, although the two vessels are almost of the same size. But the reason is that the purpose of the two vessels was different. One was a sea-going ship, the other a pleasure boat. The Oseberg ship was the Queen's yacht for summer cruises along the Norwegian coast within the sheltered waters inside the skerries. The stem and stern of the ship are richly decorated, with beautiful carvings of animals. This is the first monumental work of Norwegian art. The great profusion of art in the Oseberg discoveries represent new acquisitions for the history of Norwegian culture and is of the utmost importance. It is Norwegian in spirit and in execution. The subjects are, of course, the result of influences from various parts of Europe, but in scarcely any county of Europe can we find at that time—the decades succeeding the death of Charlemagne—such a rich, independent, and fruitful art as that which the Oseberg discoveries have revealed to us in Norway.

There is one very natural question which every one will ask when reading of the Oseberg Queen and her treasures. Who was she? The present author, in a work published in 1915, endeavoured to prove that we can connect this remarkable group of discoveries of ships with a special Norwegian princely family, that which commenced the conquest of Norway from Vestfold. By means of detailed investigations, which space does not permit us to refer to here, the author has tried to show that the Oseberg Queen must be a certain Queen Ása, who was the mother of King Halfdan the

Black, and also the grandmother of King Harald the Fair-haired. She was married to King Godröd in Vestfold, but against her will. The year after Halfdan was born she caused her husband to be killed in revenge for his having taken away and killed her father and brother. It is on account of this fearful deed that her name is preserved in our history. But she was a remarkable woman, loved and feared. She brought up her son Halfdan the Black, and gave him lofty ideals regarding his vocation. Her figure stands out in history as fully worthy of the picture we obtain of her by means of the Oseberg discoveries.

QUEEN ÅSA'S SCULPTORS.

WOOD CARVINGS FOUND IN THE OSEBERG-SHIP,
NORWAY.

BY DR. HAAKON SHETELIG.

(Read December 6th, 1919).

FEW museums can boast of more impressive exhibits than the collection of early 9th century wood-carvings to be seen in the University Museum of National Antiquities at Oslo. These most remarkable objects were all found through the exploration of a queen's grave at Oseberg, Slagen parish (not far from the town of Tønsberg), as has already been reported to this Society in 1904.¹ It will be remembered that the grave was arranged in a Viking ship, covered by a very large tumulus and loaded with innumerable objects (four sledges, a large carriage, several large beds, embroidered and woven fabrics, etc.), all of which are naturally of priceless value as documents in the study of Norse civilisation at that time. The excavation was carried out by Professor *G. Gustafson* in a manner which is beyond praise, and in later years he devoted himself exclusively to the still more difficult task of preserving all these fragile and perishable objects. Professor *Gustafson* had to find out for himself how to do it, no reliable methods being then known of how to preserve wood in such a condition and in such quantities, and by and by he solved the problems in a most splendid way. It is to his honour that the wood-carvings of Oseberg are now preserved in the Museum at Oslo as the most precious and unique of Norwegian antiquities.

¹ *Saga-Book*, vol. IV., part I., pp. 54 ss.

These preparatory works, however, prevented Professor Gustafson from carrying out his plan of publishing a complete account of the grave and its contents. The Storting had already granted the money necessary for the book, for which plans and illustrations were in preparation, but Professor Gustafson had not properly begun to write the text at the time of his death in April, 1915. Later a Committee was appointed by the University of Oslo to have the publication worked out under the superintendence of Professor A. W. Brøgger, Gustafson's successor, and the first volume of the work appeared in 1917.¹ The third volume is now nearly completed, and the second, fourth and fifth will follow. The following remarks are a *resumé* of the results described in Volume III., and are given by the kind permission of the Committee. The blocks for illustrations are lent by the courtesy of Messrs. John Greig, Forlag, Bergen, publishers of the review "Kunst og Kultur."

For information about the grave itself I must refer readers to the above mentioned paper in the *Saga-Book* Vol. IV., but it is of great importance to our present purpose to state who she was, this queen honoured at her death by a burial of such fantastic magnitude. Professor A. W. Brøgger has succeeded in making it evident, that the woman buried in the Oseberg ship was none other than Queen Ása, the mother of Halfdan Svarti and grandmother of Harald Harfagri, who conquered all this country and established the united kingdom of Norway. Her history is told in a few words by Snorri, and is most dramatic. Her father Harald, king of Agder, refused to give her in marriage to King Gudroed of Vestfold, who then went himself unexpectedly with his fleet in great force,

¹ Osebergfundet. Utgit av den norske Stat under redaktion av A. W. Brøgger, Hj., Falk og Haakon Shetelig. Bind I., Kristiania, 1917, Bind II., 1928, Bind III., 1920, Distribueret ved Universitetets Oldsaksamling.

killed King Harald and his son, and brought with him Ása as his wife. The year after her son Halfdan was born she succeeded in assassinating her husband in revenge for her slain father and brother. She then retired to her home in Agder, where she reigned as queen till her son Halfdan was 19 years of age. She got him established in his father's kingdom, and after that Ása is scarcely mentioned in history. But her influence is still visible when the eldest son of Halfdan Svarti was named after her father, Harald, and not after her husband. She died towards 850, having then lived for many years as the widow queen and the king's mother in the neighbourhood of the royal residence at Borre.

The grave at Oseberg has in a surprising way told us what were the occupations and the interests of Queen Ása in the quiet period of her life after she had her son firmly established as the successor of her father and her husband. She was a passionate collector of works of art. The ship selected for her burial is exquisitely decorated with carvings on a large scale, the carriage and the sledges are carved all over with fantastic ornaments, and so are a series of wooden posts of doubtful purpose, terminating in animals' heads, but certainly the most refined masterpieces of decorative art. The exceedingly luxurious offerings in this grave are far above what was then considered necessary, or even magnificent, at a royal burial. The king, at Gokstad, for instance, belonging to the same dynasty, was buried in a good ship properly equipped, the body costly dressed and accompanied by his horses, his dogs, etc., but without a touch of the exorbitant luxury displayed by the queen of Oseberg. All those decorated posts, the sledges and numbers of other carved objects, all the gobelin fabrics woven in many colours with mythical representations, which were stored in the grave-chamber—all these had been offered in the grave, not as objects

of practical use for the deceased in the after-life, but as the property which had been most dearly loved by the queen in this world. Several details in the arrangement of the grave lead to the suspicion that the aged queen had been, perhaps, more feared than beloved. But whether it was fear or affection that dictated the rich offerings in her grave, all this wealth of decorative art can be interpreted only in one way. The queen did love these powerful monsters carved on wooden posts, the wild and flourishing ornamentation on her ship and her sledges and the endless coloured friezes woven in gobelin fabric. She was a collector. And at that time the only way of founding a collection of works of art was to engage the artists and set them to work at her court. Certainly the studios of the wood sculptors were a prominent feature at the queen's residence at Oseberg, as were also the women's work-rooms where the maids were busy at the looms. So we may imagine the daily life of Queen Ása, going to and fro, rejoicing at every fresh work created by the artists and enriching her collection.

From various indications it is clear that only a part, and probably the smaller part of the queen's collection, was buried in her grave, and certainly the objects now preserved have been selected by mere accident. They are sufficient, however, to give an impression of the quality of the collection as a whole, and to distinguish the hands of different artists, partly of different generations, and each of them with his individual character. It is evident at first sight that the collection comprises a good number of works of very high quality, works that are distinguished equally by their refined execution and by the eminent artistic conception. May be it is decorative art with rather restricted possibilities, but within these limits it attains the highest possible artistic quality.

The art of a distant past is always unfamiliar, and a

modern student necessarily is first impressed by the general character of the period, so essentially different from modern art. Long and intimate studies are required to understand what it was to the contemporary public. In Norway we have special difficulties in appreciating the carvings from Oseberg, difficulties which might in some degree be felt also in Ireland in a similar case, but I think not in England. We have been too much tired by insipid imitations of our ancient wood-carvings during the 19th century. Of course the only way to understand the antique works before us is to avoid all reminiscences of lifeless modern production. We have to make the effort to look upon the Oseberg carvings as if we had never before been acquainted with this branch of decoration. We shall soon discover that Queen Ása's style is no thoughtless ornamentation, but real art, living and growing, stamped by the individual genius of sculptors who strove for the solution of artistic problems.

I am going here to introduce the principal masters from Oseberg through a selection of their works, beginning with the stern Academist who is characterised by the purest and soundest style of them all. His principal work is a wooden post terminating in an animal's head, figured here (Fig. 1). The head is boldly modelled, the nose is short, and the mouth open. The surface of the face is slightly fretted with a chess-board pattern, while the rest of the head is more deeply carved in a picturesque animal pattern. The post itself is plain, only the base of it being decorated with a pure geometric pattern. The form as a whole is masterly, the curve of the post being exquisitely proportioned to the bold carriage of the head. It is most surprising to find, in a Norwegian sculptor of the early 9th century, this mastery of conception in avoiding all excess of ornament, to find an artist knowing how to produce the effect by contrasts of plain surfaces and rich carvings, and who has, besides,



Fig. 1.—Animal-headed wooden post.

understood the secret of balancing his vivacious animal motives against regular geometric patterns. As a piece of conscious and well calculated art this work is no doubt the most perfect of all that is left of Queen Asa's collection. It gives a certain impression of cool composure and of self-command which is closely related to the effect of the classical works of Greek art.

Of course this is no accidental resemblance. In reviewing the other masters from Oseberg we shall have ample evidence that the Norwegian art of that period was working with the intention of assimilating forms and motives and general artistic ideas which had been inherited from Greek and Roman art, and which were much cultivated in Western Europe during the early part of the Viking Period. But of the queen's sculptors at Oseberg no one else has, in such a degree, got hold of the stern and fixed principles of classical decoration, nor has any other of them in this way grasped the importance of geometrical motives as a means to counteract the more animated ornaments. His form is so classical that it is permissible to ask whether he was a Norwegian artist or a foreigner. The question may be decided with certainty; he must have been a Norseman. The post is a purely native type, and the same sculptor has also decorated a sledge, mentioned below, which is by its very nature a production of home industry. Our sculptor, consequently, was working at Oseberg. The separate motives of his compositions give evidence in the same direction. He does not know the picturesque acanthus or the vine motive which flourished at that time in Byzantine and Carlovingian decoration; animal forms only are the motives of his ornaments; or, by closer inspection, all his decorations are composed of birds designed so as to form very intricate patterns. The bird itself may have been inspired by classical models, probably it is meant as an eagle seen from the side with the wing raised, but in all

details the figure is executed in accordance with the native Northern style. This style was the one he mastered as his own, in spite of all influences from abroad, his native language as an artist.

Another work decorated by the same hand is a sledge which, during the excavation, was named "Gustafson's sledge." It is a sledge of simple and sound construction, in contrast to the following sledges which are developed as objects of pure luxury, and the decoration on it is restricted to geometrical patterns only on the supports and the frames of the deck. This sledge has two thills; the one is slender with a plain decoration of incised lines, while the other has a broad triangular termination providing space for richer decoration. The central part of the triangle is filled with an intricate composition consisting of three decorative birds; the borders are worked out as different geometrical patterns. A section of the ornament is illustrated here. (Fig. 2.)

This is the *Academist* of the school of Vestfold, which name I have proposed for the whole group of sculptors represented in the royal graves at Oseberg and Gokstad. The name is that of the ancient kingdom Vestfold, the realm where reigned Queen Ása's husband and where she installed her son when he came of age. Our *Academist* is restrained and confident, appropriate in the choice of motives, and inflexible in his stern symmetrical composition. He is the learned artist of all those at Oseberg. The separate motives and the details of his animal patterns all belong to the typical Scandinavian style of the 8th century, the later Vendel style,¹ which had developed the animal motives as a wealth of elegant linear designs. But at the same time, our *Academist* was intimately acquainted with classical art. From that source he developed his preference for geometrical patterns and, in fact, he really

¹ I propose the name Vendel style, early and late to substitute the styles II and III. established by Bernhard Salin in his well-known work "Die altgermanische Thierornamentik," Stockholm, 1904.



Fig. 2.—Part of ornament on "Gustafson's sledge."

understood something of that which is the essence of classical art, the self-command and the restraint in every single work of art.

His style is the most antique in the school, and certainly he was, himself, the most conservative among the masters at Oseberg. His reputation was great, as is shown by the fact that his style was imitated by a less prominent sculptor, in an animal head of the same type as the one figured here, which is, however, far from reaching the delicate decoration of the original. One specimen alone of the whole find approaches to the classical style of the Academist, though certainly executed by another artist. It is a carved frame found attached to one of the sledges (commonly called "Shetelig's sledge").

All the sledges from Oseberg were provided with separate frames. The frame is built like a low square box without bottom and with the sides overhanging outwards. The frame was not permanently attached to the sledge; only when in use the sledge had the frame placed on the deck of it fastened by thin ropes. When found in the grave all the sledges had their respective frames mixed up; the frame found in position on "Gustafson's sledge" was carved to match "Shetelig's sledge," and the other frames and sledges were unmatched, their proper belongings being certainly left at home among what still remained of the queen's collection. Such mistakes are easily explained, as all arrangements for the burial seem to have been made in a hurry, and the event took place in August or September, consequently at a season when the sledges were stored away and not ready for use. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the season of the burial is decided by remains of plants and flowers found in the the grave.¹

¹ See the special chapter written on this subject by Professor *Jens Holmboe*, *Osebergfundet*, vol. I., pp. 204 ss.

The frame of "Shetelig's sledge" is a very curious departure in the history of decorative art. Like the other similar frames in the find it is of square construction, the sides being planks which are joined together at the corners by solid upright posts terminating in carved animals heads. As seen from the illustration here (Fig. 3), from a drawing by the painter Mr. O. Geelmuyden, these decorations are meant to be lions' heads, no doubt the usual classical form of this motive and imitated as well as might be expected from a Norwegian wood-carver when working after a Greek model. The sides are decorated with a system of rails, carved in high relief, and forming a rather complicated pattern, as shown in the illustration (Fig. 4). First of all, this decoration recalls certain motives in the Dutch and Northern Renaissance of the 16th and 17th centuries, and our sledge, as well, might be called a work of Renaissance art, though its date is the late 8th century. We have here a most interesting proof how the Carolingian Renaissance of Western Europe influenced the decorative style of Norway in a more direct and effective way than was ever suspected.

Also the construction of the frame, consisting of four panels joined by corner-posts, was a common form of different kinds of furniture during the early Middle Ages. As the decoration of the frame is certainly borrowed from classical art—the lions' heads and the rail-patterns being very common in Byzantine and Italian art of the period—so it may well be supposed that the construction and shape of it as well was inspired by productions of foreign industry. No contemporary furniture is preserved in Western or Southern Europe, but we may safely imagine a Byzantine treasure-chest or a Carolingian chair of state being built in the same fashion and with similar decoration. Of course, the frame of this sledge was made in Norway, though much influenced by foreign furniture; and as a background to the

rail-pattern of the panels there is carved in very low relief a rich and fantastic animal composition, which in all respects belongs to the native style of decoration.

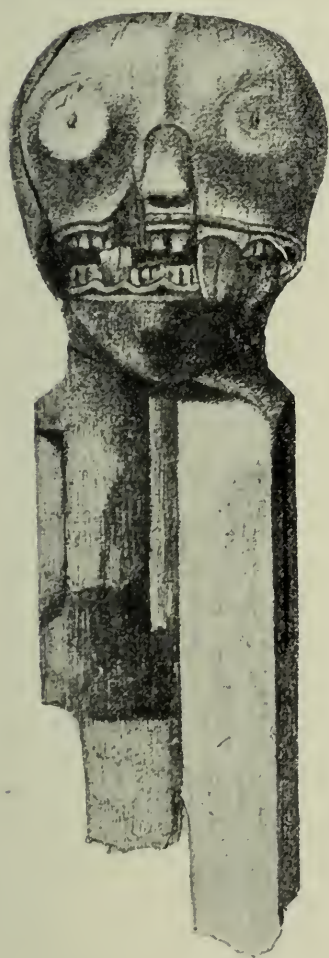


Fig. 3.—Upright post of "Shetelig's Sledge" with lion's head.

From a drawing by O. Geelmuyden.



Fig. 4.—Part of side of "Shetelig's Sledge."

In the pure ornaments the artist chooses the Norse form, the late Vendel style of the 8th cent., as he preferred talking his native tongue. We admire how masterly he succeeded in combining these native animal ornaments with a composition borrowed from foreign models. As already mentioned, the frame of Shetelig's sledge cannot be ascribed to the Academicist; there is too much difference both in the treatment of details and in the conception of the work as a whole. But the character of the style is identical in all these carvings; the animal-headed post first mentioned, Gustafson's sledge with its thills, and the frame of Shetelig's sledge. They have in common a certain calm and prudent way of appropriating the classical forms, with somewhat the same discretion which is characteristic of the Renaissance in its early stage. It is also interesting to note that the oldest carvings from Oseberg bear witness to the most conscious and trained artists of the school. Skilled in the traditions of four centuries of Northern decorative art, they are able to touch the classical motives nearly on equal terms. Unfortunately we have a very incomplete knowledge of the older Norse school in decoration which formed the starting point to the early masters at Oseberg, as no wood-carvings have been preserved older than the Queen's collection. But the small metal ornaments which are found in great numbers in the graves¹ may be taken as a reflection of the monumental carvings, now lost, from the preceding centuries. During the 7th and 8th centuries the decorative art of Scandinavia had turned its attention entirely to the linear design of the ornaments. The decoration is always flat, strictly following the surface of the object, and modelling in relief is never used as a means of producing a bolder effect. In the early Vendel style (Salin's "Style II.," in time, corresponding to the 7th cent.), the animal motives are

¹ Readers are referred to Bernhard Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, where such objects are amply illustrated.

brought into the shape of ribbons and plaited patterns, and in the late Vendel style (Salin's "Style III.," corresponding chiefly to the 8th cent.) richer and more fantastic details are introduced, with an effect not much unlike the classical foliage ornaments. During these changes we always feel the influences from general European fashions—the plaited patterns of the 7th and the Carolingian acanthus foliage of the 8th cent.—but Northern art never gave up its preference for animal figures as the principal motive in all ornaments.

At last the Northern school of the 8th century introduced also the classical rail-patterns and the classical medallion frame-work in combination with flowing and picturesque animal ornaments. The Academist at Oseberg marks the culmination of this period. In all his work he is faultless, restrained and sure, but he does not avoid the drawbacks inherent in an old and academical school of art. He never tries experiments which are not acknowledged by the school, always proceeding on the paths where he is sure to succeed, while already a new movement has begun among his younger contemporaries. They now took up fresh problems, which they did not master, and thus opened up the sources from which sprang a new period in the history of art in Norway.

The breaking up of the old artistic rules is first inaugurated by the master who carved the Oseberg ship. The ship is the largest of the works of decorative art preserved in this grave, a worthy parallel to the carvings of the doors in the medieval wood-churches of Norway. The stems are carved as broad friezes of animal figures, the pattern being composed on a large scale and executed in high relief. But the ornamentation itself forms a flat plane, level with the borders of the stem, so that the ornaments do not interfere with the impression of solid thickness in the stem pieces. Of course these principal constructive parts of the ship



Fig. 5.—Part of stem.



Fig. 6.—Part of stem.

must not appear to be weakened by the carvings. The decoration has a certain rhythmic movement, somewhat recalling the effect of a classical vine border, which is brought about by the regular repetition of animal figures, the one above the other, all of a common type, but every detail always different from the others. All the animals' feet are turned outwards touching the plain edge-border of the stem, and thus securing the impression of an unbroken surface, and the figures are provided with long tails and similar narrow projections (attached to different parts of each figure) which are arranged so as to produce a regular interlaced pattern. The two illustrations given here will afford a clear impression of the work (figs. 5 and 6).

The decorated stems of the ship are essentially of the same style as that of the Academist and of Shetelig's sledge-frame. It is the flat patterns of the late Vendel style, though with a somewhat broader and more energetic touch, as required by the monumental character of the decoration in a ship, and also with a more free and popular form. The Master of the Ship—and his work in all respects qualifies him to be called a master—is not a refined and exclusive artist as the Academist; his work is rather akin to the peasant art. And still more striking is the likeness to peasant art when we inspect the decoration at the inner side of the stem. The steep part of the gunwales meet the stem in a very narrow angle which is covered by a piece of wood, of corresponding triangular shape, called the *tingl*. In the Oseberg ship the *tingl* is carved all over in high relief, and the composition exclusively consists of grotesque and clumsy animal-figures. The figures are an unusual kind of animals, broad and heavy, though rather naturalistic in form, with broad round faces turned straight forward from the back-ground. The form in itself is of no decorative effect at all, without any trace of the graceful curves and the fine interlaced

patterns so highly developed in the late Vendel style. To produce in some measure a coherent composition the artist has made his figures grasp with all their feet at the surrounding animals or at the border of the panel.



Fig. 7.—Tingl at junction of stem
and gunwales.

A look at the illustration (fig. 7) will dispense with further description. It is quite a new style which is introduced here, a very strange decoration, surprisingly

uncontrolled and barbarous as compared to the sure and conscious art of the Academist or to the ornamentation of the stems. And in spite of all, it is certain that one man carved both the stems and the *tingl*.

The conclusion is that the master of the ship (and other contemporary artists) must have been conscious of the special effect produced by the contrast of the two different styles in the ornamentation. They excel in the use of the rich and elegant forms of the late Vendel style in which their school had been trained for ages; and as opposed to these refined and easy patterns they introduced a heavy and clumsy form by which they set new and difficult problems. To begin with, they were not successful in their attempts to pass the limits of the ruling style; but the intention is clearly expressed as a new principle in decorative art, in opposition to the uniform and flat patterns of the Vendel style, the effect of the new style being based exclusively on a bold modelling of the figures and used as a contrast to the picturesque interlaced designs.

Here again our artists were inspired by the old classical forms. In the Byzantine and Carolingian decorations of the period we often find animal representations modelled in high relief, *e.g.*, lions or griffons, or animals fighting each other, as in a well-known motive of bulls attacked by lions. The figures generally are set in panels surrounded by borders of rich foliage. Our wood-carvers must have seen such things, and were trying to obtain a similar effect, making the experiment of modelling figures in high relief. The first results were not happy, as illustrated by the Oseberg ship (fig. 7); but this first and rough attempt at a more plastic manner in ornament had very far-reaching consequences in Northern art. Here problems were introduced which brought with them a revolution in the development of the style through the 9th cent. The new form of ornaments illustrated by the *tingl* is gener-

ally called the Northern-Carlovingian style of ornamentation, as first proposed by *Dr. Sophus Müller*.¹

Naturally, it takes a good time before the consequences of the new style are clearly seen. At first the Vendel style is enriched by single details borrowed from the new modelled figures. Another part of the ship, a piece of oak fastened across the inner side of the stem, is decorated with two animal figures which in all respects belong to the Vendel style, the heads being only broad round faces of the Carlovingian type. We thus see just one detail of the new style introduced without changing the character or the effect of the ornament as a whole. An exquisite little work by the same hand as the ship are some small ornaments on a peculiar wooden frame, usually called the bedstaff. The decoration is confined to four small triangular panels, and one of them is figured here (fig. 8). They are carved in very low relief, two of them with figures of birds and one with an animal figure, all the three being designed in the pure Vendel style in every detail corresponding to the carvings of the ship's stems. But the fourth panel is a composition of three animals belonging to the Northern-Carlovingian style. In the same manner as in the ship the artist here introduces the new form as a foreign element in contrast to the usual decoration. In mentioning the bedstaff we ought to notice the artist's capacity for a broad and monumental design even in a work of very small dimensions. His compositions are never of the intricate miniature kind which prevail in contemporary metal-work, while the Academicist is under some influence from the goldsmiths' style. The master of the ship is unstrained, clear and simple, he is the grand popular sculptor among the artist of the queen Asa.

At his side we distinguish a younger member of the

¹ *Dyreornamentiken i Norden* Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyrkdighed, Kjøbenhavn, 1880.

same generation, an artist of less energy, but of much individualistic life, and with a special grace in the design of the decoration. He is the master of the fourth sledge. All the carvings of this sledge are executed in very low and smooth relief, the design is rich in varying animal motives combined with a system



Fig. 8.—One of four small triangular panels on the bedstaff.

of round and oval frame-work. The total effect of the work is that of the late Vendel style, but on closer inspection several details prove to



Fig. 9 —One of the runners
of the fourth sledge.

be borrowed from the new form, the Northern-Carlovingian style. The ample and rich impression is chiefly obtained by the gracefully curved and swaying wings attached to all the figures and giving an effect not unlike a foliage pattern. This resemblance is not accidental. Certainly our sculptors were acquainted with

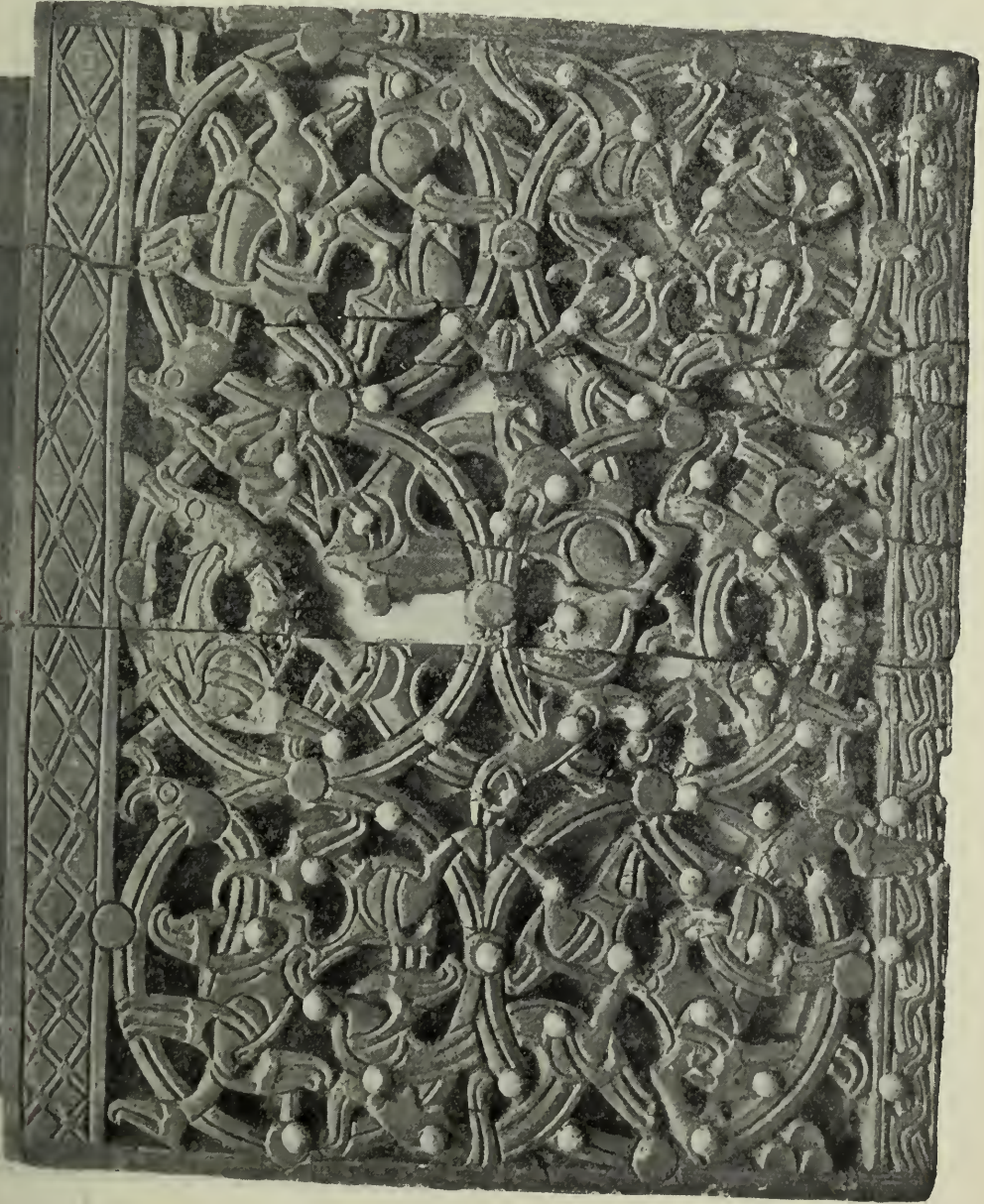


Fig. 10.—Back part of the deck of the fourth sledge.

the acanthus ornaments in the French art of that period, and were inspired by such works, though they always clung to the native animal motives in their own productions. The 4th sledge is a thoroughly excellent bit of work, which does great credit to its master. The ornamentation is original and animated, sure and tasteful. In spite of many fresh inventions no blunders are found in the design, and for the first time the oval and round medallions of frame-work are combined with Northern animal patterns in the same manner as a system of rails was introduced in the decoration of Shetelig's sledge. We figure here (fig. 9) one of the runners of the sledge, and special attention is called to the back part of the deck, also illustrated (fig. 10), which is a most exquisite piece of wood-carving.

But the master of the fourth sledge, in spite of his mirth and good taste as a decorator, is not an innovator of the style. To him the new forms of Northern-Carlovingian animals are only a resource for enriching the Vendel style by fresh details, and so is also the remembrance of classical foliage. He never tries a more striking modelling of the ornament. All the carvings of the sledge are in a very low relief, and the artist has been exclusively occupied by the drawing of the ornaments, not by the modelling. As a striking contrast to this discreet work, we next have to examine a wooden post terminated in an animal head, of the type already described. The animal head is slender and graceful, and the post forming its neck is carved all over with a system of circular medallions consisting of narrow frames and crowded with animal figures. Part of the post is illustrated here (fig. 11), showing the decoration carved in rather high relief. The figures are treated as if they had the full roundness of living beings in a manner very different from the Vendel style, where the animals are always flat and side-face, as if cut out of a cardboard. In the animal-headed post here

before us, all the figures have the back upwards and are stretching out the head and legs in different directions. Apparently the animals are designed to give the impres-



Fig. 11.—Decoration on an animal-headed post.

sion of swift movements, as they are passing between the frames from one medallion panel to another and grasping at each other with all their feet. As a whole

the composition was certainly inspired by classical models, as might be illustrated by a Carlovingian ivory carving of bulls and lions; the artist must have had some work of that kind hovering in his mind when he planned his composition. Of course he had no training in the classical manner of rendering the figures, but he understood and he tried to express the purely decorative effect of the lively agitated groups and of the bold modelling of the figures. We clearly feel the effort of the artist to create a new impulse in decorative art, to improve on the experiments of Northern-Carlovingian form as it was tried already by the master of the ship. His work marks a good step forward in the mastering of the new form, and the artist is sympathetic in his bold attack on problems which must have been very difficult for him. He did not attain the perfect and harmonious form of the new style, and, from a technical point of view, this work is not among the best in the queen's collection. It is not the work of a leading artist, though it is of much interest as a necessary phase in the evolution of the style. The special form of the decoration we have seen here, largely contributed to clearing the way for the achievement of the new grand style towards the middle of the 9th century.

A fresh generation of wood-carvers was then starting, and first among them we meet a sculptor of uncommon genius and energy who is usually named the Baroque Master of Oseberg. Four of his works are preserved among the objects found in the queen's grave, *viz.*, two thills for sledges and two wooden posts terminating in animal heads. They all have a common character of design and execution, artistically of the highest individual quality, but minor differences show that they probably were made at somewhat different stages in the artist's career. He was a pupil of the other masters at Oseberg, his technique of carving being exactly the same as that of his nearest predecessors and all the

single forms and motives he disposes of being borrowed from their style. He does not seem to have been influenced by classical taste in the same direct way as was the Academist, nor does he imitate distinctly classical compositions. All he knew he had learned at Oseberg, where he found before him both the refined and noble form of the late Vendel style and the first rude attempts of a more plastic decoration after Carolingian models. He had that rare gift of combining these different elements into a new and personal style. He is much more of a sculptor than a draughtsman, giving the decorative effect exclusively by a very strong modelling of the ornaments. But at the same time he rejects none of the current motives of the school, and he is very careful about a most correct composition of the design. In every respect he is distinguished as the skilled master of his art.

The earliest work preserved from his hand is a carved wooden post terminating in an animal head, which is illustrated here (fig. 12). The work has not the perfect sureness of composition, and also in other respects it indicates the young artist who has not yet attained his full development. But the bold modelling is prominent. The decoration is composed of conventional animals and birds, all of them very fantastic and arranged in curiously distorted positions. The carving is executed in very high relief, each motive giving the impression of a figure modelled in full roundness and only attached to the panel. The illustration here will give an idea of the general character of the work, though details are not very clear in the photograph, as the ornaments are painted black, and the effect is not improved by the lavish application of small silver rivets. These rivets are placed without any regard to the carvings, and often a rivet covers delicate details of the ornamental figures. Apparently the wood sculptor had nothing to do with this part of the decoration.



Fig. 12. -Animal-headed post.

In the thills for the sledges we see the Baroque Master at his highest perfection. The thill itself has been changed into a more artistic form as compared with an earlier specimen carved by the Acadamist. The bifurcating part of the thill which was attached to the sledge is much more elongated, of slender and rounded shape, and the thill is elegantly curved, rising from the sledge. The photograph illustrated here (fig. 13) represents about half of the thill, the lower part being thicker and sculptured all over with very rich decorations, while the slender part of it is plain with only an elevated central rib along the ridge and small isolated ornaments at regular intervals. In a masterly way the decoration is designed and modelled so as to form an organic and inseparable part of the object. The work as a whole gives the impression of self-command and moderation, in spite of its exorbitant richness and energy.

Every detail is consciously subservient to the whole composition, though the details as well may claim our attention. In both the thills the execution of the carvings is fully equal to the design, and the work is carried out with the most minute exactness. The ornament is composed of animal figures arranged in oval medallion frames, a motive used already by the older artists of the school, but inspired with new life by the Baroque Master. As is seen in the photograph (fig. 14) showing a small section of the second thill, which is more fragmentary than the one first illustrated, the oval frames are lower than the animal figures, and these are modelled as a rounded boss filling the space within the medallion. The head and the legs of each figure are extended outwards over the frame in opposite directions, the heads from both sides of the thill being arranged in pairs along the central rib and united by small decorative loops over the ridge. A peculiar tension of the ornament is obtained by the straight neck and limbs of each figure stretching out diagonally from the panel.

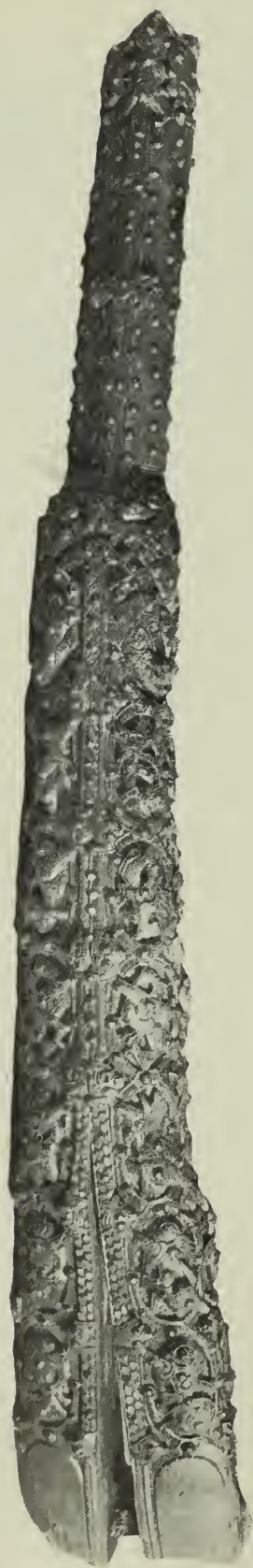


Fig. 13.—One half of the thill of a sledge.



Fig. 14.—Small section of another thill of a sledge.

The interlaced animal figure has thus the appearance of being strained and swelling like a tightened knot. The more we study these remarkable carvings, the more they are felt as composed of living elastic forms. They are essentially sculpturesque works of art.

Certainly this master was a most highly gifted artist, one of those rare men of genius who possess the power of creating their own style. He was trained in all forms of decoration as used by the preceding generation at Oseberg, familiar with their experiments of assimilating motives borrowed from classical art, and it is evident that he had also some personal knowledge of the contemporary style of Western Europe. In some places he introduces animal figures which are clearly meant to represent griffons and well designed too, being the very first appearance of this form in Scandinavian ornamentation. But the artistic effect of his work is remarkably free from the direct influence of predecessors or foreign models. Maybe he got impulses from several parts, from the curious and grotesque forms of the Northern-Carlovingian style, from the perfect and life-like modelling of classical reliefs, or from the attempts of a bolder modelling which we have found already in some earlier works from Oseberg, *e.g.* in the decoration of the ship. He might learn from others every single form of which he composed his decorations, and the first attempts at inventing a new style had been made before him, but he was the one eminent individual capable of concentrating all the separate elements of decoration as the means to create a new and perfect style. It is not likely that many artists of such uncommon talents were living at that same time in the Northern countries. We have very good reason to believe that the Baroque Master of Oseberg was the original creator of the new style which begun towards the middle of the 9th century.

The last work of the Baroque Master is a wooden post

terminating in an animal head, unfortunately much damaged. It had been broken and repaired before it was placed in the grave, and the restoration of it is specially difficult owing to the deep and delicate carvings. The illustration (fig. 15) showing part of the post, is photographed from a copy in wood carved under the



Fig. 15.—Part of an animal-headed post. From a wood model made under the direction of Professor Gustafson.

personal control of Professor Gustafson. It is the richest and finest piece of wood-carving we possess of all the queen's collection. The post is covered all over with the most florid ornamentation, the pattern being perhaps designed in rather too minute proportions, and the details are not as perfectly correct as in the other works of this artist. But the total effect is splendid. On the

animal head the relief is dense, and does not even interfere with the impression of the large modelled form, though the decoration fills every inch of the surface from the neck to the nose-tip. The surface of the post itself is divided into oval panels, the frames of which are carved in very high relief, and each of them composed of two slender animal figures. The back-ground under the panels is treated as an independent interlaced pattern of small animal figures. Here is seen also a quite unique refinement of the art of wood-carving. Small openings are cut at the base of the larger oval figures so as to let the light through in places and thus giving unexpected glimpses of the deepest part of the ornaments. The high oval figures then look as if they were freely attached to the post only, and not carved out of the same piece of wood. The master here shows himself as a virtuoso of his art, perhaps a little too much so.

But the same sure hand is felt here as in the preceding works by the Baroque Master. Every detail is designed after conscious deliberation, and executed with the utmost attention. This is the place to mention a peculiarity common to all the wood-carvings of Oseberg which is best understood now that we are acquainted with a number of different works of this school. As seen in the photograph here, the surfaces of the ornamental figures are carved with miniature patterns of cuts and lines slightly incised. It may be remarked, by the way, that an ordinary knife was the only tool used in making all the carvings, and the said small patterns are all very simple and purely technical, though they show considerable variation and contribute, in a high degree, to the rich effect of the decoration. In the wood-carving this technique played the same part as the chiseling and punching of metal ornaments. The wood-carvers of Oseberg were very careful about this part of their work, and the special treatment of the surfaces is often carried out with high taste. Among the older artists the

Academist is, also in this respect, the most particular and minute carver; the Master of the Ship shows less variety and does not possess that unfailing exactness in every detail. A somewhat inferior artist, who made the animal-headed post with Northern-Carlovingian ornaments, treats the surfaces much coarser and in a rather careless manner. In his early works the Baroque Master works much on the same line as the Master of the Ship, treating the surface of his ornaments with rather plain and broad patterns. Later on he gave to this side of his art closer attention, as seen in the thills, and in the last animal-headed post, every part of the surface of which is worked out with the richest variation and shows unparalleled skill in wood-carving. Each separate part of the surface is treated individually with the utmost care, the miniature cuts and lines are clean and sharp, the hand of the artist never failing throughout the work, nor his patience.

This intimate study of details, of which a short glimpse only can be given here, is indispensable to the full appreciation of Queen Ása's artists. It is certain also that extensive works requiring very long time were carved all through by one hand, certainly by the sculptor personally. This conclusion, of course, bears only on the finishing treatment of the decoration, the sole part of the work now to be studied. But the same artist must have been both the composer and the executant of the design, which was first drawn in fine lines on the plain block of wood, then worked out in relief and finished by minute patterns of the surface. The artist himself must have been in it at all stages of the work, and the technique of the carving is stamped by his personal taste as much as is the composition of the ornament. These considerations are also important to forming a just estimation of the Baroque Master. He was the great innovator of his art, creating his own original style, and at the same time he personally carried out extensive

works in every detail with infinite care and exactness. He possessed that fervent and patient energy which is part of the highest genius. He is the skilled and trained master, also in the minor abilities which have nothing to do with the lasting value of his work. Unsurpassed in technical refinement, he possesses all the current forms and motives of ornaments as perfectly as any academist. He represents the highest achievement of the Norse decorative art during the 9th century.

But there is nothing new under the sun. Beside the Baroque Master we meet, in the younger generation at Oseberg, another gifted sculptor, who is curiously modern in his neglect of correct design. He deserves the name of an Impressionist. Only one work of his was found, the frame of the fourth sledge, which is richly carved all over. The side panels are divided by narrow rails into small rhomboidal compartments (fig. 16), the bottom under the rails being filled with a dense and continuous animal-pattern. The upper edge of the sides is carved as a raised and rounded frieze composed of animal forms in high relief. The corner posts have animal decorations combined with round medallions and terminate in free animal heads strongly modelled. It is at once evident that the whole decoration is intended for an exaggerated effect of the relief, and this effect is attained by more drastic means than is ever the case with the Baroque Master. It looks as if the Impressionist aimed at very definite artistic objects, and well knew how to produce the impression he wanted. Certainly his sledge's frame is a most splendid piece of decorative art, and one of those which most attract the admiration of visitors to Queen Ása's collection.

But we are the more surprised that in all this decoration, so exceedingly rich and florid, there is not found one intelligible ornamental figure. The total impression is that of the common animal ornaments of the school which, in all the other works we have seen, were com-

posed of distinct figures, each of them provided with body, head and extremities. Of course the forms are purely conventional, often very fantastic, with no resemblance to real living animals, but undoubtedly the forms

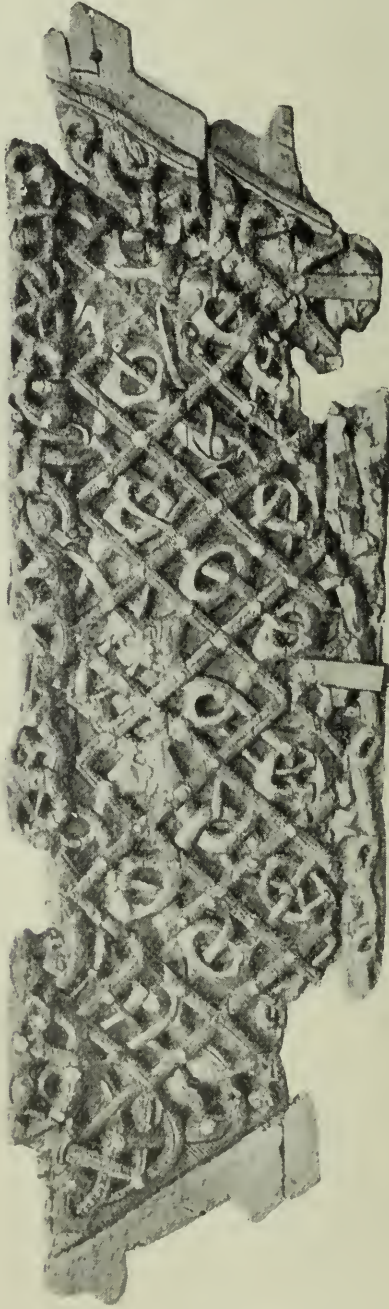


Fig. 16.—Frame of the fourth sledge.

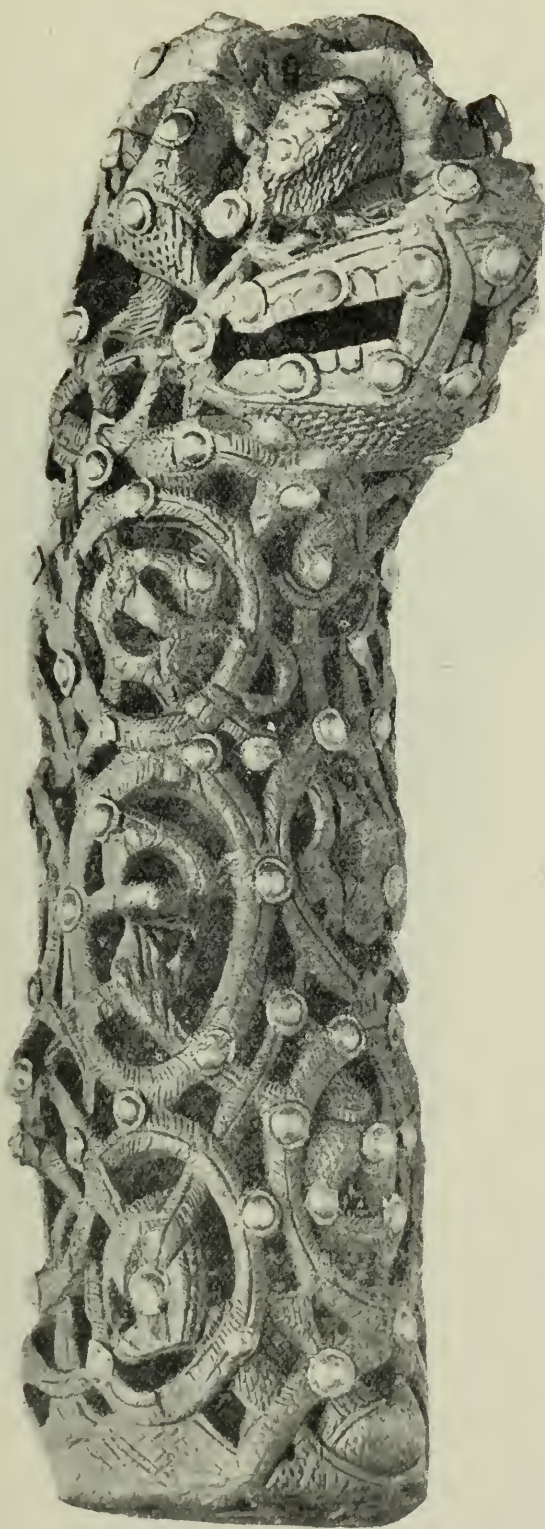


Fig. 17.—Animal-headed post of the fourth sledge.

were understood to represent animal forms, both by the artist himself and by his public, and even now a student with some experience is able to make out the meaning of them. In the frame of the 4th sledge the correct design of the motives is utterly neglected. We may trace here endless animal figures with numbers of legs and continuing with no distinct termination all through the pattern.



Fig. 18.—Animal head of the fourth sledge.

Small animal heads are placed *ad libitum* in some places, but without any organic connection with the figures. This artist either was ignorant of the rules so strictly observed by his predecessors and contemporaries, or he wilfully despised such inferior details as a correct drawing.

In all cases it may be said that he works in the Impressionist manner, going in for a certain general effect of

the work without caring at all for the details of the composition. From a technical point of view also his carvings are rather careless and by far not on a level with



Fig. 19.—Section of decorated sledge.

other works in the collection. But in spite of all, he is not a bad artist. His work possesses much decorative energy, and these astonishing unintelligible ornaments

are still attractive because they have sprung from a genuine artistic temperament. The animal heads terminating the corner-posts are modelled with a peculiar ferocious fantasy, and certainly of high value as works of art (figs. 17 and 18).

The last wood-carver we meet in the find is represented by a decorated sledge and the corresponding frame, both decorated with animal motives in high relief and partly combined with medallion frames. Details of his ornaments, of which two illustrations are given (figs.



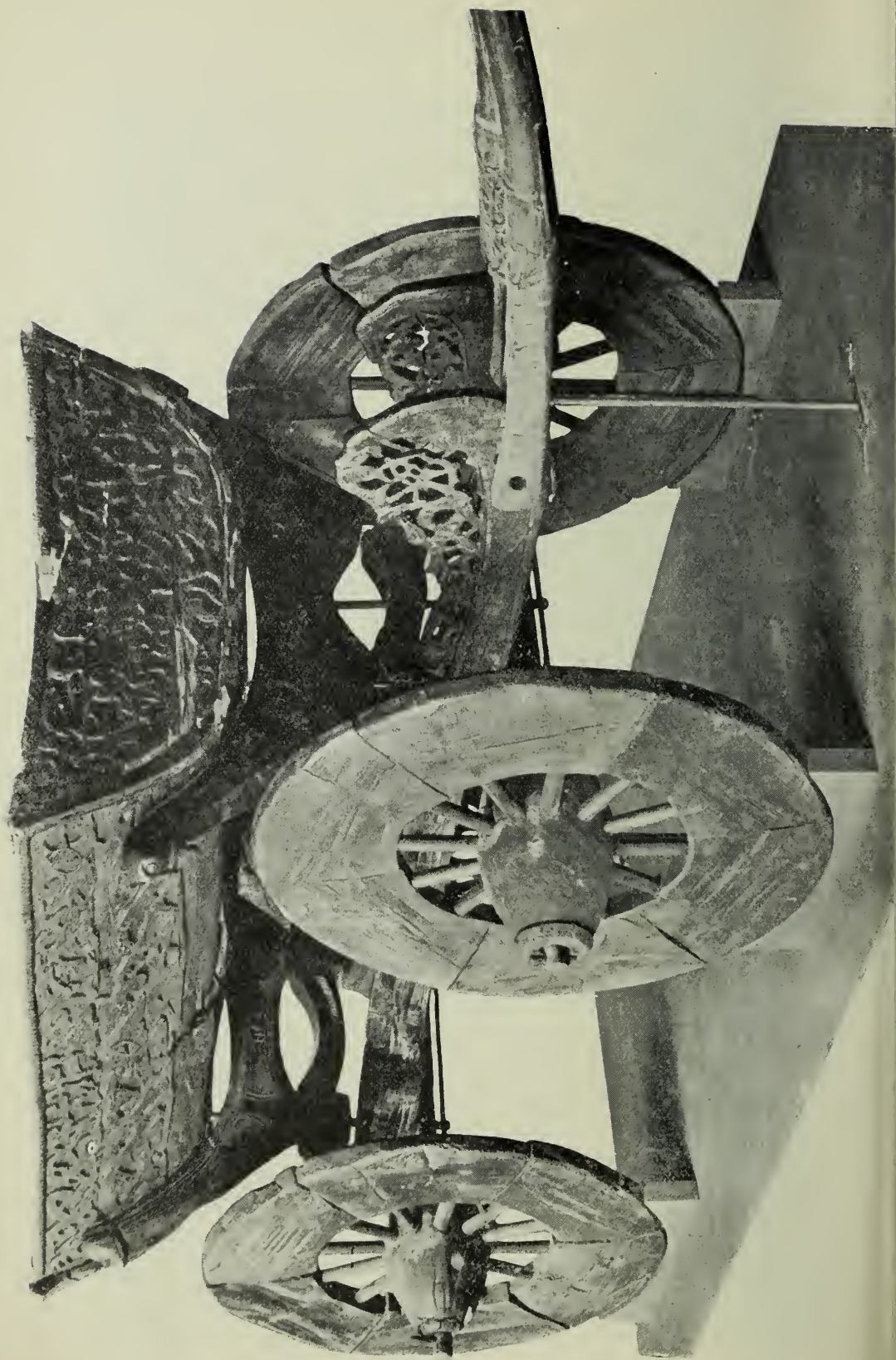
Fig. 20.—Decorated sledge.

19 and 20), show that he knew the new style created by the Baroque Master, though he was also a diligent student of the older traditions. None of the other artists has made use of so many different forms of details, and none of them was less capable of inventing a really good composition. His work is of much archæological interest as a perfect repertory of all the ornamental motives of the school. He is deficient in design, and his modelling of the carvings has no energy. The technique is good, though far from being excellent. As an

artist he may be characterised as an eclectic, who believed it to be the secret of his art to collect the largest possible store of single ornamental motives. He is absorbed by the study of details so much that he forgets the impression of the whole work. For our study he is important as being in striking contrast to the Impressionist, but he may only claim a very modest place among Queen Ása's artists.

We have now reviewed all the wood-carvers represented in the queen's grave, but still one most remarkable object is left. This is the large, four-wheeled carriage found in the ship (fig. 21). It is large and high, of imposing aspect, but at the same time very clumsy and unpractical. A carriage of the Viking period is in itself a great surprise, as roads were then absolutely unknown in Norway. At least the Oseberg carriage was impossible for travelling purposes, the construction being so unsound that it would break at the first hill on the way.

The problems connected with this carriage have been copiously treated in a paper by Professor *A. W. Brøgger*, read before the Scientific Academy of Oslo (Videnskapsakademiet) on May 3, 1918. It was shewn by Professor Brøgger that the carriage was not built for ordinary practical use. It was destined exclusively for certain divine ceremonies, and accordingly the carvings of the carriage are not common ornaments, being partly figure compositions illustrating old myths or legends. But even excepting these, which are unique among all the carvings of the find, the decoration of the carriage does not correspond to the usual style of Oseberg. The design is clumsy and somewhat awkward, and some details as well as the ornamental composition remind one of much earlier works of Scandinavian art belonging to the style of the 7th cent. It seems most likely that the decorator of the carriage was trying to imitate the forms and patterns of that style so much older than his



own time. In all ages conservatism has prevailed in everything connected with sacred rites, and in this case it probably was commanded that the carriage should be made as a copy of an ancient and venerable model. As the Viking artists had certainly no idea of different styles in the modern meaning of the word, this essay of archaism was not successful, the carvings of the carriage showing no decided style at all. Some features of it may be identified with forms from an earlier period, while here and there appear details borrowed from the older masters of Oseberg. Certain peculiarities lead to the conclusion that the carriage was, perhaps, decorated by the Master of the Ship.

The historical interest of the carriage is prominent, and, besides, it is very striking as a work of art. It is a proof of what could be attained by Queen Ása's artists even outside the limits of common decorative work. This huge and strange carriage, as illustrated in the photograph, with human faces modelled in full roundness, with representations from ancient tragic legends, the sides crowded with wild and dreadful monsters, will attract even a modern eye by a kind of magic fascination. In spite of evident ornamental defects the carriage still imparts something of that mysterious impression inherent in divine and sacred objects. Notwithstanding its defective form, we are still impressed by the feelings which inspired the artist in his work. It was no everyday task to decorate the vehicle destined to carry the deity in person on the most solemn occasion of the year.

A coincidence of happy circumstances, beyond all expectation, preserved to our days part of Queen Ása's collection, a representation of Norwegian art of the early Viking period. We may be sure also that the queen's collection was not at that time regarded as composed of mediocre or indifferent productions. This

court, so eminently interested in decorative art, must have been a meeting place of the best talents, and a centre of artistic activity. The sculptors, as well as the poets, resorted to the prince, who was known to give most liberal awards, and Queen Ása certainly had to be very generous to call and to keep in her service artists so highly gifted as the Academist, the Master of the Ship, and the Baroque Master. Her collection represents the climax of Scandinavian art at that time.

In our present state of knowledge Oseberg may be regarded also as perhaps the most important centre of art in all Western and Northern Europe. Through Byzantine influence during the Carolingian period, the art of Western Europe stored the rich inheritance of classical motives, and important works of this style were produced in the early 9th century. They show an art refined by the experience of so many generations, enriched by long traditions, and full of taste in the combination of all conventional motives, the acanthus foliage, the vine, the lions and griffons, etc., which are as old as decorative art itself. At Oseberg we meet artists speaking, so to say, a barbarous but original tongue of their own. They were highly trained in the treatment of a special animal ornamentation, which had developed in Scandinavia during the 7th and 8th centuries, and in full contrast to this sure and graceful style they are trying in a very clumsy manner to imitate the figure decorations in high relief they had seen for the first time in Carolingian art. The essay is made individually by the different masters. The Academist only accepted certain features of classical form which did not hurt the taste of the older native school. The Master of the Ship, in a native manner recalling peasant art, boldly attacked the task of modelling classical lions. The Baroque Master was equal to the new problem and became the virtuoso of a decoration in very high relief, but his motives show scarcely any direct imitation of

classical forms. His younger contemporary, the Impressionist, is entirely fascinated by the new style, giving up all care for the design and concentrating his whole effort on the vigorous modelling of the carvings.

The wood carvings from Oseberg no doubt look grotesque and barbarous when compared with classical art, even as represented by the late works of the Carlov-ingian period. It requires much patient study to understand the value of the Viking ornaments, and this art never attained the perfect and lasting harmony created by the ancient Greeks. But the court of Oseberg, as far as we know, was the one place in Europe at that time where highly gifted artists were wrestling with the fundamental problems of art as if the beauty of expressive forms had to be created there and then for the first time. New conceptions were produced by impulses received from classical art, and the queen's artists strove to obtain a similar artistic effect within the limits of their own decorative school; the decorations they created still possess that immediate attraction peculiar to works of genius and of individual art.

The collection found at Oseberg covers the first half of the 9th century, and no other part of the history of art in Norway is more interesting. It is a period of transition, when the old style of the Migration period was dissolved and broken to give place for the first vehement outburst of the Viking spirit. This vigorous art, as we see it in the works from Oseberg, perfectly illustrates the contemporary Norse history. This is the age of the first Viking expeditions, and the character of the period has found its full expression in the wild and voracious monsters carved on the wooden posts and also in the concentrated effect of the highly modelled decorations.

Nowhere else we have evidence of a similar production of works of art as at Oseberg. Certainly the first artists of Scandinavia gathered here, and we may be

sure that the most important works were made for Queen Ása and that the new Viking style was created at her court. She must have had a very strong fancy for these things to have such marvels made for her, and in such numbers. Circumstances more fortunate than might ever have been expected, have preserved for us part of the queen's collection, and these works once buried in her grave, now give to Queen Ása a most important, or indeed, a unique place in the history of art in Norway.

THE NORSE DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

THE EYKTARSTAÐR PROBLEM.

By M. M. MJELDE.

(Read December 5th, 1922).

WHAT induced me to study the *eyktarstaðr* problem in one of the Wineland sagas, was Mr. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy's *The Norse Discoverers of America*, which gives an English translation of the sagas about the Norse discoveries of North America and an analysis of their contents. The author has clearly proved, by comparing the descriptions in the sagas with the actual conditions on the American coast, and with the descriptions of later discoverers of the regions in question, that the Norsemen were much farther south than has generally been believed by his predecessors. He placed Wineland in the neighbourhood of New York, thus rejecting the results come to by Dr. Gustav Storm, the Norwegian historian, who placed Wineland in Nova Scotia, and others who placed it still further north, for instance in the St. Lawrence River and Bay. By solving the *eyktarstaðr* problem in the way I propose to do, all those theories about Wineland in Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence basin, or further North, must be given up entirely, and Wineland has to be placed even farther south than New York. I am glad that, in this way, I have maintained the theory of Mr. Gathorne-Hardy that Wineland was wrongly placed too far North by his predecessors, and I am also glad that he accepts my theory which places Wineland

NOTE.—Mr. Mjelde's historical sketch of the Norse discovery of America is omitted.

further South than even he has dared to do in the absence of the astronomical proof which I think I have discovered after his book was published.

In the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason¹ the location of Leif Eiriksson's camp is described thus: "Meira var þar jafndægri en á Grœnlandi eða Islandi; sól hafði þar eyktarstað ok dagmálastað um skamdegi," which means:

"The (twenty-four hour) day was there more equally divided [*i.e.*, day and night were of more equal duration] than in Greenland or Iceland, and the sun was there in eykt-position and day-meal (breakfast) -position at winter solstice."

This astronomical observation by Leif Eiriksson has already been used as a basis for attempts to determine the geographical latitude in which the discoverer of Wineland found himself at the time. Very different results have, however, been arrived at owing to the different interpretation of the words *Eykt* and *Eyktarstaðr*.

The word *eykt* still survives in Norway in the form of *økt* and is everywhere used in the sense of a certain number of hours. In the country districts, *e.g.*, my birthplace in Hordaland, the period is reckoned at four hours—for instance, from 12 noon till 4 p.m., or from 4 p.m. till 8 p.m. The word *økt* is also still used in modern Norwegian military service regulations; it means a period of a few hours' duration, though the number of hours is not the same in all cases. The word *økt* is also employed in the sense of a *point of time*, for instance, 4 p.m.

In country districts in Norway the word *eyktarstaðr* has also been used up to quite recent times as signifying the particular point on the horizon above which the sun stood at the moment of *økt*, that is to say, at the commencement of an *økt*-period.

¹ *Flateyjarbok*, I., 539.

After the introduction of Christianity in Iceland, the Norwegian word *eykt* came after a time to be used synonymously with the latin *nones*. *Eykt* and *nones* are, as a matter of fact, repeatedly used in the Icelandic laws as words of identical meaning. The ON *nón* is derived from the Latin *nona hora*, the ninth hour, that is to say, 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the commencement of the day at the equinoxes being at 6 o'clock in the morning.

I will now refer to some attempts by scholars to use certain numbers of hours to determine the exact latitude of Leif's camp, in spite of the fact that the old Norsemen had not and could not have had any exact idea of exact hours.

On the assumption that *eyktarstaðr* was at 3 in the afternoon and *dagmálastaðr* at 9 in the morning, the Icelandic scholar Arngrímr Jónsson, and after him, Torfæus interpreted the paragraph in Flateyjarbók to the effect that in Wineland the sun at winter solstice remained for about 6 hours above the horizon. In that case Leif's camp should have been in about 59° latitude. But as the descriptions in the sagas of the place in other respects render it impossible for the camp to have been situated so far north—only one degree south of the southermost point of Greenland—that is to say, in the barren and infertile Labrador, this theory had to be abandoned. Torfæus then advanced another explanation. In the old Church law of Iceland he found the following definition of *eykt*: “þá er eykð er útsuðrs-átt er deild i þriðjunga, ok hefir sól gengna tvá hluti en einn ógenginn,” that is: “It is *eykt* when the southwest átt being divided in thirds, the sun has traversed two-thirds, and one-third remains.” By southwest átt Torfæus understood the quadrant between south and west. The time occupied by the sun in moving from south to west was, according to his idea, always 6 hours, and two-thirds thereof being 4 hours, *eyktarstaðr*

should be at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and *dagmál-astaðr* at 8 in the morning; thus the length of the day at Leif's camp at winter solstice should be about 8 hours. This fits in with a latitude of 49° , that is to say, Newfoundland or the corresponding coast of Canada. But this was also too far north, as wild vine is not found in Newfoundland at all, and in Canada does not grow north of the 47th degree. This theory therefore also had to be abandoned.

A new explanation was found by the Icelandic judge Páll Vídalín and Bishop Finn Jónsson, which agreed better with the saga description of climate and vegetation. They started from Snorri Sturlason's report of the seasons, in which it says: "The autumn lasts from (autumnal) equinox until the sun sets in *eyktarstaðr*. They took it that Snorri's indication of the commencement of winter coincided with the beginning of winter according to the Icelandic calendar, which states that winter begins in the week prior to the 18th October. Consequently, it was investigated at what hour the sun set at Snorri's place of domicile, Reykholt near Borgarfjörð, on the 17th October,¹ and the hour was found to be 4-30 p.m. From this it was concluded that *eyktarstaðr* corresponded to 4.30 p.m., and that consequently *dagmálastaðr* was 7.30 a.m. Further, the conclusion was drawn that the shortest day in Leif's Wineland was 9 hours. From this duration of the day at winter solstice the geographical latitude was calculated to be $41^{\circ}24'$. This latitude is that of the coast of Rhode Island. The theories of the nine-hour day and Rhode Island were apparently supported by discoveries there of an inscription and an old stone building which were supposed to be connected with the stay of the Norwegians there. The inscription, according to Dr. Gustav Storm, turned out to be a common Indian pictorial one, and the stone structure a wind-mill of the

¹ Probably new style

year 1670. Further, the saga description of nature and scenery does not seem to indicate Rhode Island at all.

It is apparent from what I have already explained that the fault of all these theories is a two-fold one. In the first place we have the mistaken assumption that the Norsemen in those ancient days had the same exact idea of time as we have now. This they could not have had for the simple reason that they had no clocks or watches. Secondly, we find the mistaken idea that if one knows the exact hour at a certain spot on a certain day when the sun is in a certain position, then that hour will be the same all the year round and the same in all latitudes. The fact is the hour for a certain position of the sun varies according to latitude and season.

All that Leif Eiriksson knew with certainty was the bearing used in Iceland for determining *eykt*. It is probable that he used this angle for his observation of the sun in Wineland. If we know, or can draw our conclusion as to the size of this angle, then we can easily fix, not the exact latitude in which he found himself, but the latitude south of which he would have to be in order to make the observation of the sun on the shortest day of the year as described in the saga. In other words, one can fix a northern limit for his Wineland.

The first person to whom this idea occurred was a Norwegian, Geelmuyden, professor of astronomy at the University of Christiania. His explanation is contained in Professor Gustav Storm's well-known book, *Studies on the Wineland Voyages*. Professor Geelmuyden's idea was that in this case we have to do, not with a point of time or an interval of time, but with a point of azimuth or solar bearing. This idea is undoubtedly quite correct in principle; but Professor Geelmuyden, in my opinion, has in practice erred in his determination of the size of the angle in question.

His basis for determination of the angle is the point

mentioned in the Icelandic law, which he translates as follows: "*Eykt* is the point of time, when, the south-west (útsuðrsátt) being divided into thirds, the sun has traversed two-thirds and one-third remains." While this translation is correct, I will try to prove that what he adds on his own account is incorrect, viz.: "Útsuðrsátt being the octant of the horizon that has the south-west midward, accordingly between $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S.S.W. and $67\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W.S.W. azimuth, *eyktarstad* will be in the direction of $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ plus two-thirds. $45^{\circ} = 52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ from south to west." From this azimuth of $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ he computes the northern latitude of Wineland as $49^{\circ}55'$ or about 50° .

In my opinion it is unlikely that Leif Eiriksson and his contemporaries in the year 1,000 used such an involved method. Nor can it be admitted that south-west is an octant. Professor Geelmuyden has given no reasons why just the octant should be chosen. Nor is it likely that the Icelandic law meant an octant.

The reason why the church gave a definition to *eykt* was that a holy day should be reckoned as commencing by *eykt*-time the previous day. The ordinary people needed a simple practical rule for determining *eykt*. But to divide the circle into eight and, in fact, sixteen parts and take two-thirds of one of the eight parts and add one-sixteenth part in order to arrive at the *eykt*-angle of $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ would be far too complicated a method for people who worked in the open country and had to undertake this elaborate observation of the sun in order to find out when they should cease work and commence the holy day at the right moment.

It was much more reasonable to base the bearing of the sun on the *quadrant between south and west* in which S.W. is also midward. To find two-thirds of the quadrant between south and west is very simple, either by eye-measurement in the open country or by drawing a circle; in the latter case the span of the compass (*i.e.*,

the radius) is used in determining the point which is two-thirds of a quadrant from the south point to the west point.

Correctly interpreted, the Icelandic Church Law's direction about two-thirds of south-west *átt* means nothing but two-thirds of the quadrant between south and west. In this sense Torfæus, who was the first person to deal with the question, understood it, with this error, however, that he spoke about a *time* of six hours, that is an hour-angle of 90° , between south and west, whereas he should have confined himself entirely to an *azimuth* of 90° .

Torfæus' interpretation of the south-west *átt*, or the south-west horizon, as being the *quadrant horizon between south and west* also conforms with a mode of speech employed to this day by Norwegian sailors, fishermen and peasants, who say that in the winter the sun sets in the south-west, or south-west horizon, meaning that the sun sets somewhere between south and west. Correspondingly they say that the sun, in the summer sets in the north-west, or north-west horizon, meaning thereby that it sets somewhere between north and west. It would never occur to any of them in this connection to consider S.W. *átt* and N.W. *átt* as the octant between S.S.W.-W.S.W. and N.N.W.-W.N.W. respectively. It would be entirely wrong, having regard to the fact that the sun at the autumnal equinox sets in the west and in the course of the winter, up to winter solstice, sets further and further south. At the Polar circle the points where it sets are divided over the whole quadrant between west and south.

The way of speaking of S.W. and N.W. as whole quadrants has no doubt descended from the old days when one was not so mathematically exact either in regard to time or direction. The Danish naval officer Hovgaard, who wrote *Voyages of the Norsemen to America*, calls attention to the old custom of indicating

a direction as a *quadrant*, "thus, a southerly direction might mean anything from S.W. to S.E." of which he gives a few examples, which might be added to.

A regulation as to *nones* in the old Gulating law of Norway seems to form a parallel to the regulation in the Icelandic Church law. The Gulating law (Olaf and Magnus) says about Sunday observation: "but the Saturday before shall be hallowed at nones, *when one-third of the day remains.*" By "day" hardly anything other than the afternoon or the quadrant between W. and S. can be meant. "The one-third" that "remains" corresponds to the expression in the Icelandic law about one-third of south-west that remains when the sun has traversed two-thirds of S.W. As I will show later on, the sun's position in two-thirds of the S.W. quadrant in latitudes of mid-Iceland and mid-Norway corresponds to about 4 p.m. during the greater part of the summer, spring and autumn. And even to this day in Western Norway, and also in other parts of the country, *non* is considered as 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

As two-thirds of a quadrant equals 60° , and four hours are one-sixth of the 24, we are in this matter dealing with a *six-fold division of the circle*. This division of the circle is the simplest one of all, as only the radius opening of the compass is required for marking the points. It recurs in all divisions of time from of old: the 12 months of the year, the 24 hours of the day, the six days in which God created the world and man toils in the week. Vigfusson also speaks of the original Icelandic month being divided into six pentads instead of weeks. The six-fold division of the time and the circle was extended to most parts of the world. It is reasonable to assume that the old Norsemen believed that a six-fold division of the horizon, or two-thirds of the quadrant, corresponded to a similar division of the day of 24 hours, *eykt* equalling four hours, because at

so high a latitude as mid-Norway and mid-Iceland the sun, with its low altitude even at noon, follows the bend of the horizon to a considerable extent from sunrise till sunset. As a matter of fact the sixfold division of the horizon corresponds *roughly to the six-fold division of the day of 24 hours during the greater part of the summer and autumn in the latitudes of central Norway and central Iceland.* Thus an eykt-angle of 60° corresponds to 4 p.m.

I will not go into the details of my calculations of the hour corresponding to 60° eykt-angle in the various seasons, and will only state this as the result: by using 60° bearing of the sun (either from north or south, according to circumstances) in 65° latitude we obtain times so close to 4 and 8 that in the old days, without clocks, one would hardly notice the variation in point of time for this bearing during the different seasons. From the spring, right through the summer till the autumn, we thus get, with 60° bearing, times always closely approaching 4 or 8, that is, times which correspond to a six-fold division of the 24 hours. No wonder that in Norway they have this division of the 24 hours. In Hordaland it was, in my youth, the custom to rise at 4 a.m. and have a snack, work till 8 a.m. and have breakfast, work again till 12 and have dinner, then work till 4 p.m. and have non-meal, and then continue to work till 8 p.m., when supper was served. This old Norwegian way of dividing the 24 hours is no doubt the origin of the four-hour watches at sea; for the Norwegians were in the old days first among the seafaring nations of northern Europe. But this division of the day in the northern countries originated most certainly from the use of an eykt-angle of 60° .

I will, however, give another and still more decisive proof of the eykt-angle being 60° . Snorri, as already mentioned, says "autumn lasts from the (autumnal)

equinox till the sun sets in eyktarstaðr." Further, we have according to the ancient Icelandic calendar the fact—also previously alluded to—that winter begins in the week prior to 18th October. In view of the interpretation of *eyktarstaðr* formerly prevailing, it has been maintained that the statement by Snorri and that given in the calendar were not in agreement in regard to the date. I will show that it is, when we use an eykt-bearing of 60° . With 65° north latitude, 60° azimuth from south to west, and with 0° altitude of the sun (sun setting on horizon), I have calculated the south declination of the sun to be about $12^{\circ}12'$. This declination corresponds to 26th October, as may be ascertained from any modern nautical almanac. It should be assumed that Snorri saw the sun setting behind some hill or mountain and did not see it set on the horizon of the sea, and in consequence he saw the sun disappear in S. 60° W. a couple of days before 26th October, say 24th October. It should also be observed that the Icelandic almanac in Snorri's day was of the old Julian style, which was abolished in Iceland in the year 1700, when the new Gregorian style was introduced. The old style is now 33 days behind the new style, and in Snorri's time the old style was seven days behind the new one. We must therefore subtract 7 days from our 24th October to get Snorri's date, which thus will be 17th October. But his 17th October for the commencement of the winter is in the week *prior* to 18th October, and thus fulfils the Icelandic calendar's determination of the beginning of winter. Complete agreement exists therefore between Snorri and the calendar in their statements as to the commencement of winter, provided that in regard to Snorri's statement we reckon with an eykt-angle of 60° as the point of sunset. But if we base the calculation on Geelmuyden's eykt-azimuth of $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ we arrive at 3rd or 1st November new style, and 7 days deducted from 1st November gives 25th October of the

Icelandic calendar in Snorri's time, and this date is a whole week on the wrong side of 18th October. From these results it must be concluded that 60° is the correct eykt-angle, while Geelmuyden's $52\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ must be wrong.

It was a very common practice in former days to fix the calendar and the seasons by sunset and sunrise on certain days. These days were as a rule celebrated as solar feasts. Ari, in *Ynglinga Saga*, refers to the sacrificial feasts at the beginning of winter and summer. Frazer's *Golden Bough* refers to the kindred Celtic solar feast of Halloween (October 31st) and Beltane (May Day). "These days," he says, "coincide with none of the four great hinges on which the solar year revolves, to wit, the solstices and the equinoxes. Nor do they agree with the principal seasons of the agricultural year, the sowing in the spring and the reaping in the autumn."

But I say that they do correspond to sunrise and sunset over marks *representing the six-fold division of the circle*. In mid-Iceland, as I have just shown, sunrise and sunset over these marks correspond to the beginning of winter in mid-October, which is over a month after Equinox. And Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, who has taken an interest in my studies of the eyktarstaðr problem, has furnished me with the information based on his own calculations that an azimuth of $S.60^\circ W.$ for sunset in latitude 53° (Central Ireland) gives approximately Halloween and May Day, nor is the result far off in the Highlands of Scotland (latitude 56° or 57°). It is quite remarkable how inexplicable things hitherto as regards the beginning of seasons, solar feasts, and holy hours of the day, fit in with a solar bearing of 60° .¹

With all the facts and probabilities mentioned, I think there can be no doubt that the *dagmálastaðr* and

¹ Mr. Mjelde's theory as to how *eykt* became synonymous with *nones* is omitted.

the *eyktarstaðr* in which Leif Eiriksson observed the sun on the shortest day of the year in Wineland were the points on the horizon which lay respectively 60° east and west of south.

Using this azimuth of 60° , 0° altitude of sun and with maximum south declination $23^{\circ}34'$ on the shortest day in the year 1000 I get a northern latitude of $36^{\circ}54'$, or about 37° latitude, as the *most northerly* point at which Leif Eiriksson could make his observation on that day. In this latitude, or farther south, his Wineland must have been situated.

South of 37° latitude (the northern limit for Wineland according to Leif's observation of the sun with 60° azimuth) lies Cheasapeake Bay, where the approach and topography generally seem, in my opinion, to fit in well with the description of the saga. The description of the climate also fits well in with the mild climate of Virginia, where Cheasapeake Bay is situated. Also the statements in the saga of the later expeditions to Wineland by Karlsefni fit in with the topography, botany and climate on the long stretch so far south on the American coast.

I have submitted my calculations and line of argument to Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, who has accepted my view and has even called it "epoch-making" in the study of the Wineland voyages.

[NOTE.—Mr. Mjelde concluded his paper with a suggestion that the reason why former writers placed Wineland so far north was because they believed that the Northmen were unable to sail so far south as the saga description of the climate and vegetation indicated. In refutation of this he cites the Norse voyages of the ninth century to France, Portugal, Africa, the Mediterranean, Italy, etc., and in the year 1000 they sailed direct from Norway across the North Atlantic, without touching Iceland or the Faroe Islands, a distance of 1,500 nautical miles.]

PSYCHOLOGY IN THE ICELANDIC SAGAS.

By GEO. AINSLIE HIGHT.

(Read February 6th, 1923).

THE modern reader of the sagas is at first often repelled by their subjects, by the bloodthirsty character of their heroes, the over-crowding of the scene with actors, and by the sameness of the incidents. The first was due to social conditions; the second would not be felt by people who had an extraordinary interest in and memory for personages and names and family connections; while the third is explained by the limited conditions of Icelandic life. The student soon realizes that the monotonous succession of raids and vendettas and law-suits are but the vehicle for a psychology as profound and as true to nature as can be found in any literature. The secret of the Icelanders' almost unrivalled art of story-telling lies in its unerring representation of the heart of man. For this reason it is impossible to view the saga as having grown out of Irish legend. The Irish stories have a charm quite their own; but it is not a human charm. The storyteller of Erin lives in the supernatural; his humanity is lost in visions of fairies and goblins and swan-maidens and enchanted islands. The Icelanders, on the contrary, is intensely and entirely, sometimes even brutally human. He tells of noble characters and he tells of mean ones with the same aloofness, leaving them to speak for themselves through their actions, but nowhere does he give a type of nobleness or of meanness. The strongest fail and the most depraved are capable of acts

of signal virtue, just as we find in actual life. Even his ghosts are only eccentric human beings; they fight and wrestle, slay and are slain, and commit depredations like other Icelanders, but form no organic part of the story.

Very noticeable is the consummate skill with which the Icelandic saga-writer conceals his art. The sagas must be studied closely and thoughtfully if their hidden beauties are to be discerned; an act here, a word there, will often reveal to the attentive reader the whole secret of a situation, and nothing is superfluous. *Grettis-saga* abounds in such subtle hints, of which a fine example occurs in the beginning of Chap. XX., just after the incident with the berserks. On the return of the *bóndi* Grettir, who has in his absence saved the lives and honour of the whole household, behaves with even more than his usual churlishness towards the mistress of the house, and roughly forbids the servants from going out to welcome their master, as if he took a fiendish pleasure in giving him a fright. We are left to discover for ourselves his true motive, which is simply a desire to leave husband and wife to meet alone after the awful experiences of the days before. The delicacy and tactfulness shown by Grettir on this occasion shed a new and quite unexpected light upon the character of the rugged hero. The *ars celare artem* is carried to such a pitch in the sagas as almost to become a mannerism, and not unfrequently leads to obscurity in the text. I have in my Biographical Dictionary, which I hope soon to publish, under the heading of Bolli Thorleiksson given a tentative explanation of a treacherous act on the part of an honourable man which is the decisive moment in all the rest of the story, but which seems to us utterly inexplicable. Whether my account be the true one or not, one thing is certain—the author of the story knew very well what he was doing, and mystifies our minds of deliberate purpose. It must not be taken as a mark of weakness

or of text corruption; on the contrary, such superficially apparent contradictions are rather a mark of genuineness.

But it is, above all, in depicting the female character that the Icelander excels. Every conceivable variety of woman is represented in the sagas. We have types of female constancy in Audr, the wife of Gísli, and in Helga the Fair; we have the heroic self-sacrificing woman who endures agony in silence in order to avoid bloodshed—Audr, the wife Thórarinn svarti¹; the professional victimiser of men, indifferent to everything so long as she can entice flies into her web—Hallgerdr langbrók; strong, masterful wives who rule their weaker husbands—Bjargey, the wife of Hávard halti, Thorbjörg, the wife of Vermund mjóvi, Jórunn, the wife of Höskuld in *Laxdæla saga*; vindictive furies—Thurídr, the mother of Hall and Bardi in, in *Laxdæla* and *Víga-Styrs sagas*, Gunnhildr, the wife of Eirík blóðöx, and in her later life, Thorgerdr Egilsdóttir; vixenish witches—Katla in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Kerling in *Thorskrfdinga saga*; wantons—Thórdís Súrsdóttir, Ásgerdr Thorkel's wife, both in *Gísli saga*; the independent daughter of a careless father—Jófrídr, daughter of Gunnar Hlífason²; the grand lady who travels in state and exacts respect from all around her—Audr en djúpúdgá; the theatrical sensation-monger—Thorgerdr, the widow of Vigfús.³ But however we classify, each has an individuality of her own, quite distinct from all others. A very interesting figure is Melkorka, the Irish princess, slave and mistress of the weak-minded Höskuld in the *Laxdæla saga*. She is not lacking in either spirit or ability, but is crushed by the circumstances of her lot; her whole life centres round her showy and characterless son Ólaf, aptly named “pái,” the Peacock. Every other heroine of the sagas pales

¹ *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 18.

² *Hænsa-Thóris saga*, ch. 17.

³ *Eyrbygg. saga*, ch. 27.

before Gudrún Ósvífrsdóttir, the heroine of the *Laxdæla saga*, one of the most splendid creatures of fiction in any literature. Her dominating passion is the desire for power, the most human of all motives, but her means of attaining it are characteristically feminine. Clever, imaginative, courageous to recklessness, cool-headed, untroubled by any moral scruples, she pursues her end with a directness and certainty before which obstacles and difficulties are simply non-existent. Characteristic is her first marriage; here, at fifteen, she seems to have reached the summit of her hopes, for she is allowed to do whatever she likes. But to rule over a fool is not what she wants, and she casts him off in scorn. Her end as a pious recluse is a master-touch of irony, absolutely true to reality; it is always the strong character, not the weakling, who in the end turns to mysticism and religious contemplation. A complete contrast to Gudrún is her rival Hrefna Ásgeirsdóttir, and the contrast is no less in the treatment of her by the saga-writer. Whereas Gudrún dominates the entire saga, Hrefna is only indicated by a few touches, but these so skilful that her character stands out with unusual vividness. She is a perfect type of innocence and gentleness, a bright ray amidst the dark intrigues of her surroundings.

The position of women in Iceland was altogether very curious. Regarding her marriage a girl was not even consulted, unless as a special favour, or in deference to her domineering character; she generally accepted her father's choice without demur, even when the man was distasteful to her, as Thorgerdr marries Ólaf pái, whom she despises as illegitimate, and Helga the Fair marries Hrafn in the *Gunnlaugs saga*. The proceeding of obtaining a wife was not very romantic; courting in any form was considered insulting, and if a man composed love-ditties she or her mother could have him driven from the country. Yet her influence in the household

after she was married, and the respect in which she was held, were as great as ever they were in ancient Sparta, and their married life seems to have been generally happy. Instances of unfaithful wives, though they occur, are not very common.

To turn from the false and turgid psychology of our schools to an Icelandic saga is like passing from a murky swamp to broad open fields and sunshine. More particular remarks on individual characters will be found in the Biographical Dictionary; many of those which I have here brought forward as illustrations merely pass over the scene for the sake of some particular dramatic effect, and then disappear to return no more. One remarkable trait in a race so fierce and headstrong as that of the saga-Icelanders is their responsiveness to suggestion. It is noticeable both in the men and in the women, but more especially in those of strong and resolute character—another instance of the Iclander's close contact with nature and reality. We constantly hear of a man being persuaded to an act which is against his will, and which he knows to be prejudicial to his own interests, merely because some person, his inferior in every respect, insists upon his doing it. Thus Björn Hitdœlakappi, against his better judgment, yielding to the importunity of his false friend Thórdr, goes to stay with him,¹ with disastrous consequences. Gunnarr Hlifarson's consent to the marriage of his daughter Thurídr to Hersteinn was wrung from him by methods which would have determined a modern Englishman irrevocably to refuse it.² In the same saga Thórdr gellir fully realises the impropriety, indeed the illegality, of giving away his foster-daughter while her father is there, but on being pressed agrees to do it.³ Numberless more cases could be cited, but these may suffice.

¹ *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 11.

² *Hænsa-Thor. saga*, ch. 11.

Hænsa-Thor. saga, ch. 12.

Of the convincing, life-like reality of the portraits it is unnecessary to speak; they are never overdrawn, unless it be intentionally, for caricature, as with Gísli Thorsteinsson in the *Grettis saga*.¹ When the same personage occurs in different sagas the character is always maintained, as with Gest Oddleifsson, Snorri godi, the foster-brothers Thorgeirr and Thormódr. Steinþórr of Eyrr in the *Hávards saga* may not be the same person as in the *Eyrbyggja saga*, but one is plainly copied from the other; it is the same character of dull, though not ignoble, propriety that appears in each.

Before concluding I should like to say one word on the interest—or absence of interest—in northern literature in this country. An English boy on leaving school knows all about Zeus and Poseidon, but what can he tell you of Odin and Thor? I am fully sensible of the beauty of Greek literature; but I say that *our own* ancient tradition is as worthy of study as that of ancient Greece, and is in some respects—not of course in all—superior to it. Let anyone who thinks this assertion exaggerated compare for example Brynhild and Sigurd of the Edda with Homer's Athene and Odysseus, and ask himself which are the nobler creations. There is no Brynhild in the Homeric Olympus; she could not have breathed in that atmosphere.

¹ ch. 59.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS TO THEIR SCANDINAVIAN INVADERS.

By MARGARET ASHDOWN, M.A.

(Read January 8th, 1924).

THE subject of this paper was suggested by a paragraph in a paper on "*The Early Historians of Norway*," read to this Society by the late Professor Ker. The paragraph runs as follows: "In King Alfred's notice of Ohtere there is nothing of internal Norwegian politics, nothing of the debate between the new monarchy and the old country families which led, among other things, to the settlement of Iceland in King Alfred's own life-time. The king may not have known about these things; certainly his North Atlantic geography is defective. But he knew well enough the piratical and warlike habits of the Northmen, yet of these there is hardly a trace in this context. King Alfred had pierced the barrier of fear and prejudice which hid the truth of Norway from the people whom the Northmen plundered." ¹

The passage opens up a rich field of enquiry and speculation. How far, for instance, was the King's admirable impartiality a reflexion of the mind of his subjects, and how far must it be attributed to his own unusual breadth of view and scientific interest? From this starting point other questions suggest themselves. Is there any evidence to show that national animosity had obscured in the Anglo-Saxons a sense of their kin-

¹ *Saga-Book* of the Viking Club, vi. 239.

ship with the enemy? Did the Anglo-Saxons discriminate between the different Scandinavian peoples,² and was their attitude to the country from which any particular marauding host set out necessarily a hostile one? Did they recognize that in some cases at least the marauders, if policy required, were repudiated by the ruler of the mother country?³

It is to these and kindred questions that the following paper attempts to suggest answers as far as the scanty available material allows. For scanty the material is, when one comes to consider, not questions of demonstrable facts, but of an attitude of mind, and any attempt to deal with so vague and elusive a subject calls for an apology.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has, of course, been used as a basis throughout, yet the nature of the annals, especially for the earlier years of the Danish invasions, makes them less valuable for the present purpose than as a record of events.

It is obviously tempting to interpret the lack of comment upon the nation's sufferings, and the absence of abuse of the enemy in the *Chronicle* of the ninth and early tenth centuries, as an indication of the people's heroic self-control and its magnanimous temper, as contrasted with the weakened *morale* of a later period. And such an interpretation may well be the right one. Every reader must be impressed by the splendid terseness of annal 878, which describes the lowest point in the fortunes of Wessex. "In this year, at mid-winter,

² It is not, fortunately, within the scope of this paper to consider the controversial question of the relative importance of the separate Scandinavian nations in the various Viking attacks.

³ From continental history we have the case of Horik's relations with the Emperor in 836. Horik had sent an embassy to the Emperor at Cologne. Meanwhile, Frisia had been attacked by Vikings, the Danish emissaries were suspected of connivance, and were put to death. Horik sent a protest to the Emperor and disclaimed all responsibility for the raids, and soon after sent word to the Emperor that he had seized and put to death the leaders of the marauding bands. v. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup. *Normannerne*. II., 45, 152.

after Twelfth Night, the host slipped away secretly to Chippenham, and seized the land of Wessex and occupied it, and drove many of the folk overseas, and conquered and reduced the greater part of the remainder, all save Alfred, and he with a little band made his way with difficulty along by the woods and in the moorland fastnesses, . . . and, the following Easter, Alfred, with a little band, made a stronghold at Aethelney, and from this stronghold continued to wage war against the host."⁴ Compare with this passage the lament of the *Chronicle* of the days of Ethelred the Unready. "Then was there gathered an immense force of the folk of Devon and Somerset, and they assembled at Pinhoe, and as soon as battle was joined, the English force gave way, and they (the Danes) wrought great slaughter there, and then rode over the land, and each journey was worse than the last, and they brought great booty with them to the ships and turned thence to the Isle of Wight, and went wherever they would, and nothing withstood them, and no fleet durst approach them on sea, nor any land force, however far inland they went. Then was it lamentable in every way, because they never ceased from their evil deeds."⁵

⁴ Her hiene bestæl se here on midne winter ofer twelftan niht to Cippanhamme. and geridon Wesseaxna lond. and gesæton. and micel þæs folces ofer sæ adræfdon. and þæs opres þone mæstan dæl hie geridon. and him to gecirdon buton þam cyninge Ælfred. and he lytele werede uniepelice æfter wudum fór. and on morsæstenum . . . and þæs on Easton worhte Ælfred cyning lytle werede geweorc æt Æþelinga eigge. and of þam geweorce was winnende wiþ þone here. *A. S. Chronicle. Annal 878 A.*

⁵ Þa gesomnode man þær ormæte fyrde of Defenisces folces. and Sumorsætisces. and hi ða tosomne comon æt Peonno. and sona swa hi togædere fengon. þa beah seo Englisce fyrd. and hi þær mycel wæl ofslogon. and ridan þa ofer þæt land. and wæs æfre heora æfttra syð wyrse þonne se ærra. and mid him þa mycele herehuðe to scipon bröhton. and þanon wendon in Wihtland. and þær him ferdon onbuton swa swa hi sylf woldon. and him nan þing ne wið stod. ne him to ne dorste sciphære on sæ. ne landfyrd. ne eodon hi swa feor up. Wæs hit þa on ælce wisan hefigtyma. forðam þe hi næfre heora yfeles geswicon. *Annal 1001. E.*

The change of tone is striking, and corresponds to a difference in ruler and people at the two periods. Yet can the *Chronicle* be used as a proof of this change of attitude? May not a change in the conception of annalistic writing also have taken place, allowing in the later period the expression of national feeling not necessarily absent in the earlier?

In any case the impression produced by the *Chronicle* needs to be checked and re-inforced from other quarters, and something may be added by a study of contemporary English laws, charters, homilies, letters and lives, while special interest attaches to the two Anglo-Saxon poems, the popular "*Battle of Brunanburh*," and the more heroic "*Battle of Maldon*," which reflect the mind of the nation in victory and defeat.

It must be added that certain sources have been used, such as the later Chronicles, which are recognised as of doubtful authority for matters of fact, yet their embroidery or distortion does not necessarily disqualify them for the present purpose.

Before attempting to deal with the main questions already suggested, it may be useful to notice one point of general interest in the tradition of the Scandinavian invasions of England, viz., the recurrence of the motive of personal revenge. The outstanding example is the story of Ragnar Lodbrok's death at the hands of Ella of Northumberland, and its relation to the great invasion of 866, undertaken by Ragnar's sons to avenge their father's death.

The story comes to us from Scandinavian sources,* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* knows nothing of it. The entry under the year 866 is laconic and quite non-committal. "In the same year came a great host to England, and took up winter quarters in East Anglia and there provided themselves with horses, and they

* For a discussion of the traditions connected with Ragnar Lodbrok and his sons, see Steenstrup's *Normannerne*. I., 81-127.

(the East Anglians) came to terms with them.”⁷ But if the *Chronicle* shews no knowledge of the revenge motif in its Norse form, another version, not in this case connected with the bloodfeud and quite distinct in setting, is found in England in the shape of Gaimar’s curious story of Beorn Butsecarl, who called in the “great army,” in order to wreak vengeance on King Osbryht, Ella’s predecessor in Northumbria, who had dishonoured Beorn’s wife.⁸

Turning to a later period, it is easy to attribute the increased violence of Swegn’s attacks after the Massacre of St. Bryce to his fury at Ethelred’s treachery towards the Danes in England, yet William of Malmesbury, who may be drawing upon genuine tradition, states that Swegn’s sister Gunnhild, wife of Earl Pallig, was among the massacred, and that Swegn was actuated by a desire to avenge his sister’s death.⁹

Another instance can be cited. Of Thurkel’s arrival in 1009 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* only relates, “When this naval campaign had thus been brought to an end there arrived at Sandwich, just after Lammas-

⁷ þy ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angelcynnes lond. ond wintersetl namon on Eastenglum. ond þær ge horsude wurdon ond hie him friþ namon. *Annal* 866. *A*.

Cf. the following annal. “Her for se here of Eastenglum ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforwic ceastre on Norþhymbre. ond þær wæs micel ungeþwærnes þære þeode betweox him selfum. ond hie hæfdun hiera cyning aworpenne. Osbryht. ond ungecyndne cyning underfengon. Ællan. ond hie late on geare to þam gecirdon. þær hie wiþ þone here winnende wærun. *Annal* 867. *A*.

⁸ Donc tint conseil od son linage;
A els se clamat del huntage.
Coment li reis laueit mene,
Lur ad tut dit e conte:
Puis lur ad dit kil sen irrat,
Sil þous, les Daneis amerrat.
La son quer nert mes lie,
Desci kil seit del rei venge.

Lestorie des Engles, ed. J. Duffus Hardy and C. T. Martin. Rolls Series. I., 2689-2696. See H. Matter. *Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance*, pp. 280 ff. *Ang. Forsch.*, 58. 1922.

⁹ ultionem præcipue Gunhildis sororis intendens animo . . . Eam cum ceteris Danis infaustus furor Edrici decapitari iusserat. *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. ed. W. Stubbs. Rolls Series. I., 267.

tide, that vast enemy host which we call Thurkel's army,"¹⁰ but the *Encomium Emmae* states that Thurkel came to England to avenge a slain brother.¹¹ Moreover, Florence of Worcester mentions the arrival in the following year of Hemming,¹² who, if a passage in the *Knytlingasaga* refers to the same persons, was Thurkel's brother,¹³ and presumably his associate in this act of vengeance. The interest is heightened if we dare to assume that the slain brother was Sigvaldi, the famous Jomsviking.¹⁴

Too much stress must not be laid on accounts which in no case contemporary, and may have originated from the desire of later chroniclers to explain facts picturesquely after the events. Yet the application of the ideas of the bloodfeud to the relation between English and Scandinavian suggests that the struggle did not necessarily involve national feeling, or indeed any feeling which might not have arisen between persons brought into collision within a single clan or nation, a consideration which serves to introduce the question already formulated: "Were the Anglo-Saxon people conscious of kinship with the people that invaded them?"

I know of no direct answer, nor is any clear light

¹⁰ Ða þeos scyppfyrd þus geendod wæs. þa com sona æfter lafmæssan se ungemætlica unfrið here. þe we heiton Ðurkilles here. to Sandwic. *Annal 1009 C.*

¹¹ fratrem suum inibi interfectum ulcisceretur. *Encomium Emmae.* Pertz. XIX., 512.

¹² Danicus comes Turkillus sua cum classe ad Angliam venit: exinde, mense Augusto, alia classis Danorum innumerabilis, cui praeerant duces Hemingus et Eglafus, ad Tenedland insulam applicuit. *Flor. Wig. Chron. ex Chron.* ed. B. Thorpe, 1848, I., 160-1.

¹³ Knuti konúgi fylgðu margir höfðingjar til Englands; . . . þar voru ok þeir broeðr, synir Strútharaldsjarls, Hemingr ok þorkell háfi, ok margir höfðingjar aðrir. *Knytlingasaga* c. 8. *Fornmanna Sögur*, XI., 187.

¹⁴ On this point see *Crawford Charters*, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, 1895, p. 139 ff., and cf., *Gunnlaugssaga Ormstungu*, K. 15 (10) ed. F. Jonsson, 1916. "Ok i þann tíma var mikill herr danskra manna vestr þar ok var sa hofdingi firi er Hemingr hiet son Strut-Haralldz ialls ok brodir Siguallda i(arls)."

thrown by indirect evidence. If it could be shewn that the Anglo-Saxons, without being conscious of their common origin, were able to enter into friendly relations with the Scandinavians in a way which was not possible with non-related peoples, a step would have been taken towards a solution. This is suggested by Green in his comparison of the conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons with the Scandinavian invasions. "The strife," he writes, "between Briton and Englishman was in fact a strife between men of different races, while the strife between Northman and Englishman was a strife between men whose race was the same. . . . the Northman was little more than an Englishman bringing back to an England which had drifted far from its origin, the barbaric life of its earliest forefathers. Nowhere throughout Europe was the fight so fierce, because nowhere else were the fighters men of one blood and one speech. But just for this reason the union of the combatants was nowhere so peaceful or so complete."¹⁵

Yet the comparison has to be approached with great caution, since our knowledge of the details of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain is exceedingly slight, and what we do know of the circumstances of the two invasions suggests conditions so different as to render comparison dangerous. Moreover, the relations of Scandinavians and Celts in Ireland were not so unlike those of Scandinavians and Saxons in England as to allow us to attribute all the ease with which one people amalgamated with the other to a common Germanic origin. Green, indeed, suggests another factor. "Moreover, their national temper helped on the process of assimilation. Even in France, where difference of language and difference of custom seemed to interpose an impassable barrier between the Northman settled in Normandy and his neighbours, he was fast

¹⁵ J. R. Green. *History of the English People*. 1881. I., 87-88.

becoming a Frenchman.”¹⁶ So Steenstrup, contrasting the attitude of the Franks to their Magyar and to their Scandinavian enemies, describes them as soon discovering “that with the Norsemen there could be woven social ties of every kind and that this people was very susceptible to all spiritual influences, as well as having a high grade of culture, although of a peculiar kind.”¹⁷

Thus full allowance must certainly be made for the unusual adaptability of the Scandinavian people. Nevertheless one cannot escape the fact that the two peoples, Saxons and Scandinavians, had a common inheritance in tradition and language, and, once intercourse had been established, could hardly have failed to recognise it.

The question of common tradition is an alluring one. If only we knew, for instance, whether the poem of *Beowulf* was popular among the English during the 9th and 10th centuries, and what they thought of its Danish connections, we might be on the way to solving the question of whether the sharing of traditions helped to bring the two peoples together.

With regard to language, it has to be remembered that, while the mere fact of borrowing is little to the present purpose, the fact that the Scandinavian settlers and English inhabitants were evidently able partially to understand each other, as the occasional substitution of native sounds in borrowed words suggests,¹⁸ must have been a constant reminder of their common origin.

Before passing to the next question, something must be said about intermarriage, although the tendency to

¹⁶ Ibid , 88.

¹⁷ “Med Ungarerne kunde der, kort sagt, ikke være noget som helst Samkve af fredelig Natur; mod dem gjalt kun Modstand og Udryddelse, medens Frankerne snart lærte, at der med Normannerne kunde knyttes sociale Forbindelser af enhver Art, og at dette Folk var meget modtageligt for alle aandelige Paavirkninger, ligesom det havde en høj Grad af Kultur, om end af en særegen Art.” Steenstrup *Normannerne*. II., 351.

¹⁸ See E. Björkman. *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*. Part I. Introduction.

intermarry is, obviously, no conclusive proof of consciousness of racial unity.

It would be interesting to know whether the presence of Scandinavian women in the invading hosts was the exception or the rule. There is good evidence that they were to be found on the Continent and in Ireland,¹⁹ and from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* it is clear that Hastings' host and the "great host," which came to England in 893 included both women and children.²⁰ Yet the number of Scandinavian women among the settlers must have been comparatively small, and we should expect to find either a forcible carrying off of Anglo-Saxon women by the invaders,²¹ or voluntary intercourse.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no general statement on the subject of intermarriage, though it records the diplomatic marriage of Aethelstan's sister to Sihtric of Northumberland in 925.²² Later chronicles, however, refer not infrequently to intermarriage. So William of Malmesbury describes the Massacre of St. Bryce as "a lamentable sight to see, when each was compelled to betray his dearest guests, whom the closest bonds of affinity had rendered yet more dear."²³ John of Wallingford, in a different spirit, comments on the destruction by the English of "those women of their own nation, who had given themselves to the lusts (of the Danes), and the children that had sprung from that

¹⁹ See Steenstrup. *Normannerne*, I., 270 ff.

²⁰ þa foron hie (*the English*) to ond gefliemdon þone here. ond þæt geweorc abraecon. ond genamon eal þæt þær binnan wæs. ge on feo. ge on wifum. ge eac on bearum. *Annal 894, A.* So the Chronicle records that before the host made its lightning march across England to Chester, "befæston hira wif ond hira scipu ond hira feoh on Eastenglum." *ibid.*

²¹ cf., Roger of Wendover's story of the nuns of Coldingham. *Chronica*. ed. H. O. Coxe, vol., I., 300-2.

²² Her Æþelstan cyning ond Sihtric Norðhymbra cyng heo gesæmnodon æt Tameweorðpige. iii., Kt, Februarius. ond Æþelstan his sweostor him forgeaf. *Annal 925, D.*

²³ ubi fuit videre miseriam, dum quisque carissimos hospites, quos etiam arctissima necessitudo dulciores effecerat, cogeritur prodere. *De Gestis. Reg., Angl.* Rolls Series, I., 191.

foul adultery.”²⁴ Florence of Worcester explains the flight of certain Anglian leaders in the reign of Ethelred the Unready on the ground that “they were Danes on the paternal side.”²⁵

Intermarriage, then, would seem to have been frequent, a fact which would sort well with the sense of kinship between the two peoples, but cannot be said to prove its existence.

The next question which presents itself is really two-fold, viz., whether the Anglo-Saxons differentiated between the Scandinavian countries from which their invaders came, and whether they differentiated between the mother country and the separate viking hordes that issued from her.

The first of these questions leads to such dangerously controversial ground that I intend to avoid it. The second, although any decisive answer seems impossible, can be more easily discussed, and evidence bearing on this second question has often some relation to the first.

It is important to bear in mind the difference between the earlier and later inroads, formulated in Freeman’s well-known distinction between the period of plunder, the period of settlement, and the period of conquest.²⁶ One might look for a different attitude on the part of the Anglo-Saxons in each case. If Queen Elizabeth in the 16th century could disclaim responsibility for the English adventurers who “singd the King of Spain’s beard,” much more could the rulers of the, as yet, imperfectly organised Scandinavian kingdoms refuse to be held responsible for all the viking expeditions that set out from their shores, and the Anglo-Saxons may have recognised this. When, on the other hand, the

²⁴ipsas mulieres suas, quæ luxuriæ eorum consenserant, et pueros, qui ex foeditate adulterii nati erant. Gale. *Hist. Brit.* . . . *Script.*, 1691, III. p. 547

²⁵sed cum proelium essent commissuri, duces exercitus . . . quia ex paterno genere Danici fuerunt, suis insidiantes, auctores fugæ primitus extiterunt. Flor. Wig., *Chron. ex Chron.* ed. Thorpe I., 151.

²⁶E. A. Freeman. *Norman Conquest.* 3rd edition. 1877. I., 12.

King of Denmark himself issued forth to conquer England, the position was obviously changed, and at this last stage one might expect a clearer issue. Norway was the enemy of Denmark, and "the majesty of Denmark" itself was ready to fall upon England. Yet new circumstances had arisen in England itself, fusion between settlers and original inhabitants was in progress, and positions of responsibility were held by Danes or half-Danes, so that the issue was obscured again.

All that the records, English or Scandinavian, can offer is a number of instances in which Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons are found in friendly relations, while the main body of the two peoples, or some parts of them, still maintain an attitude of hostility.

As a rule such intercourse is not viewed as evidence of treachery or intrigue, although occasionally, as one would expect, some weak king or rebel among the Anglo-Saxons by forming an alliance with Scandinavians in England, wins the scorn of the English Chronicler, witness Ceolwulf of Mercia in 874,²⁷ or the rebel Aethelwold in 991;²⁸ the *Chronicle* of Ethelred's reign, moreover, records an extraordinary series of acts of treachery on the part first of Aelfric and later of Eadric Streona.

English records offer no example of friendly intercourse between an English king and a king of the Scandinavian mainland. For this we must turn to the questionable authority of the Sagas, which record the curious story of the relations between Aethelstan and Harold the Fair-haired that led to Aethelstan's fostering of Hakon the Good,²⁹ and Olaf Tryggvason's friendship with Ethelred the Unready.³⁰ To these stories

²⁷ hie sealdon anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercra rice to haldanne. *Annal* 874. A.

²⁸ *Annals* 901, 905. A.

²⁹ *Heimshr.*, ed. F. Jonsson 1893-1900. *Har. Hlaf.* K. 38-40.

³⁰ See, *e.g.*, *Olaf Tryggvasons Saga*, c. 65, ed. P. A. Munch, 1853.

may be added the story of how the Kingdom of York was handed over to Erik Bloodaxe,³¹ and of St. Olaf's siege of London, which the Danes were holding against Ethelred, in the days before Olaf laid claim to Norway.³²

From the sagas come two instances of Icelanders, taking service with English kings, while the latter were engaged in hostilities against a section of the Scandinavian people, and however doubtful the details and chronology may be in each case, the stories are worth recalling. More attention has been given to the story of Egil and his brother Thorolf, who did such notable service for Aethelstan at Vinheith, against a confederacy that included the famous Anlaf Cuaran,³³ but the English scenes from the *Gunnlaugs Saga* are no less interesting. "When spring came, Gunnlaug asked the king's leave to depart. He answered, "It does not become you to leave me, in view of the danger which is threatening even now in England." Gunnlaug answered, "As you will, lord. Give me leave to depart in the summer, if the Danes come not."³⁴ The threatened invasion, according to the Saga, was that planned by Canute, with a view to claiming the kingdom won by Swegn, his father.³⁵

One curious story from the Sagas may be mentioned before turning to the more sober English records. It comes from the *Knyttlingasaga* (a poor enough

³¹ *Egilssaga*. Aldn. Saga-Bibl. 3. 1924. ed. F. Jónsson., LIX., 6.

³² *Heimskv. Ólaf. Helg. K.* 12-13.

³³ *Egilss.* L-LV.

³⁴ Um vǫrit þad G(unnlaugr) konunginn sér orlofs til brottferdar. hann svarar. Ei samir þer nu at fara fra mer til sliks ofridar sem nu horfir her i Einglandi þar sem þu ert minn hirdmadr. G(unnlaugr) svarar þier skulut rada herra ok gef mer orlof at sumri til brotferdar ef Danir koma eigi." *Gunnlaugs Saga*, 15 (10).

³⁵ The position of Icelanders in the Viking period was apparently exceptional and for this reason the instances cited above are perhaps of doubtful value for the present purpose. An Icelandic, it appears, could pass in safety from court to court, and could ignore politics. The story of Auðun and his bear, though of a later period, affords a good illustration. (*Haralds Hæraðsa Saga*, see Wimmer. *Oldnordisk Læsebog*, 54-9).

authority, it must be confessed), and is one of several stories intended to explain Godwin's rise from obscurity to power. Ulf, Canute's commander-in-chief, has lost his way in a wood after pursuing the routed English at the close of a Danish victory. He meets a herdsboy and asks him the way to the Danish ships, concealing his rank but admitting that he is one of Canute's men. The boy replies that the Danes have hardly deserved well of the English, yet "You seem to me a man worth knowing, and not, I suspect, the man you give yourself out to be."³⁶ So Godwine takes Ulf to his parents, where he is well received. It is agreed that Godwine shall accompany Ulf as guide, and when the time for departure comes, the boy's parents ask Ulf to treat him well, since he will find little favour with the English after shewing help to a Dane. Ulf fulfils his obligations and through him Godwine wins the favour of Canute. So runs the story, and there is nothing incredible in its details, but its authority is not of the best. It is the only story known to me of an Anglo-Saxon in the service of a Scandinavian lord,³⁷ though during the Danish rule in England one would expect such instances to be common.

From the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the evidence is of a different kind. Here we meet with Scandinavians, at first in opposition to an English king, accepting him as lord, and in some cases fighting for him against their countrymen. The motive may differ in different cases, now mere expediency, now the desire to serve under the lord most worthy of service.

The story of Thurecytel, who submitted to Edward in 915, suggests that the feelings of the English king in

³⁶ Ekki veit ek, segir sveinninn. at þér Danir megit vænta af oss liðsinnis, ok hafi þér Danir heldr til annars gjort . . . en svá lízt mér á þik, sem gott mannkaup muui í þér vera, ok ætla ek þik annan mann, enn þú segir. *Fornmanna Sögur.*, XI., 191-2.

³⁷ The forced submission of English towns and shires to Swegn and to Canute are, of course, a different matter. *A.S.C., Annals 1013*, etc.

such a case may have been mixed. It seems that Edward found him something of an embarrassment, for two years later it is recorded that Thurcytel crossed to France, no doubt on a Viking expedition, with Edward's blessing, and help.³⁸ It is a pity that the *Chronicle* tells us so little, for the brief notices of Thurcytel are intriguing.

We can only conjecture motives in this case, but it is clear that the fame of a great man could break the ties of nationality, as in the earlier Heroic Age. William of Malmesbury's statement about Edgar, who was notoriously well-disposed to Scandinavians, that "His fame flying from lip to lip, foreigners, Saxons, Flemings and even Danes, often sailed hither, and were on terms of intimacy with Edgar,"³⁹ suggests conditions similar to those of the Heroic Age, when Hrolf Kraki's fame was so great that "all the greatest champions wished to be with him, and to serve none other, because he was much more bountiful than any other king."⁴⁰

Most striking are the instances of Scandinavians actually serving in the cause of an English king. So Edward the Elder, by a bold stroke of policy, garrisoned the newly-won town of Nottingham "with both Englishmen and Danes."⁴¹ A century later, we find that the fiercest resistance to Swegen's attacks seems to have come from Ulfcytel, who had some kind of command in East Anglia, and was undoubtedly a Dane by

³⁸ Ond þurcytel eorl hine gesohte him to hlaforde. *Annal* 918. *A.* ond þy ilcan geare fôr þurcytel eorl ofer sæ on Froncland. mid þam mannum þe him gelæstan woldon. mid Eaweardes cynges fripe ond fultume. *Annal* 920. *A.*

³⁹ Unde factum est, ut, fama ejus per ora omnium volitante, alienigenæ, Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etiam Dani, huc frequenter annavigirent, Edgardo familiaris effecti. *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Rolls Series, I., 165.

⁴⁰ at allir enir mestu kappar vildu með honum vera ok engum öðrum þjóna, því hann var miklu mildari at fé enn nokkurir konungar aðrir. *Fornaldars.* *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, XXIII.

⁴¹ þa for he þonan to Snotingaham ond gefor þa burg, ond het hie gebetan ond gesetan. ægher ge mid Engliscum mannum, ge mid Deniscum. *Annal* 922. *A.*

origin.⁴² In the same reign Thurkel the Tall, who had come in 1009 with the host "which we call Thurkel's host," is found in London four years later, in alliance with King Ethelred. When in the same year London, like the rest of England, submitted to Swegn, Ethelred took refuge with Thurkel in his fleet on the Thames, so that, as Freeman describes it dramatically, "the monarchy of Cerdic . . . was now confined to the decks of forty-five Scandinavian warships."⁴³

The story of Thurkel is a significant one.⁴⁴ It seems probable that he accepted Christianity during his stay in England, perhaps under the influence of St. Alphege. Swegn, his first master, had adopted Christianity, repudiated it, and accepted it again. If Thurkel's own Christianity meant anything at all, he may well have considered Swegn as no better than a pagan at any stage of his career. It is highly probable that Thurkel's adherence to Ethelred was the direct result of his acceptance of Christianity. Thurkel's later support of Canute does not contradict this, for Canute earned the title of a Christian king in a sense which Swegn never dreamed of.

Here, then, is an issue clearer than that of race or nationality. The terms Norsemen or Danes on the one hand and Anglo-Saxons on the other are less significant than the terms heathen and Christian. It is not that the mere occurrence of any of these terms in the early records is of great importance. The term "hæþenan" occurs many times in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but side by side with it are found the terms "wicingas," "æscmen," while the term "cristenan" to dis-

⁴² Of Ulfcytel's stand against the Danes in 1004 the Chronicle writes, "ðær wærð East Engla folces seo yld ofslagen. Ac gif þæt fulle mægen þær wære, ne eodan hi næfre eft to scipon. swa hi sylfe sædon." *Annal 1004. E.* Cf. Solus ex omnibus comes Orientalium Anglorum Ulkillus et tunc impigre contra invasores restitit. W. of Malmsbury. *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Rolls Series, I., 190.

⁴³ Freeman. *Norman Conquest*, 3rd ed. I., 361.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 666, ff.

tinguish the English from the pagan Scandinavian is used, as far as I am aware, only once.⁴⁵ Yet the gulf between Christian and pagan constitutes one of the most important factors in the story of the invasions, and it is necessary to consider from a few of the many possible angles what part religion played in the relations of the Anglo-Saxons and their invaders.

As one would expect, the Anglo-Saxons shared with their fellow-sufferers on the mainland the belief that the descent of the Vikings was the "Scourge of God." Important attacks were preceded by portents and prophecies. In the year 793 one of the *Chronicles* reports: "In this year terrible portents passed over Northumbria, and pitifully alarmed the people, to wit, great flashes of lightning; and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air, upon which signs there soon followed a great dearth, and a little after this, in the same year, on January 18th, an onslaught of heathen men laid low God's church on the isle of Lindisfarne."⁴⁶ Similarly the renewed attacks early in the reign of Ethelred the Unready are said to have been heralded by prophecies of the punishment to fall on the betrayers of Edward the Martyr. So St. Dunstan, addressing the newly-crowned Ethelred, is made to declare, "the sin of thy abandoned mother, and of the accomplices of her base design shall not be washed out except by much blood of the wretched inhabitants." "Nor was it long after that," adds the chronicler, William of Malmesbury, "that is, in his (Ethelred's) third year, that seven pirate vessels came to Southampton."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See Glossary, Earle & Plummer. *Two Saxon Chrons.* 1892. Vol. I.

⁴⁶ Her wæron reðe foreberna cumene ofer Norðanhymbra land. ond þæt folc earmlice bregdon; þæt wæron ormete ligræscas. ond wæron geseowene fyrene dracan on þam lyfte fleogende. þam tacnum sona fyligde mycel hunger. ond litel æfter þam þæs ilcan gearesæ. on vi: Ið. Ianf. earmlice heðenra manna hergung adiligode Godes cyrican. in Lindisfarena ee. *Annal 793. E.*

⁴⁷ non delebitur peccatum ignominiosæ matris tuæ, et peccatum virorum qui interfuerunt consilio illius nequam, nisi multo sanguine

Naturally the moral of these disasters was drawn again and again. Alcuin's epistles dealing with the sack of Lindisfarne are in this spirit. "Fear," he writes to Ethelred of Northumbria, "the scourge which has fallen upon the Church of St. Cuthbert, a place surely the most sacred, and for long, through the favour of many saints, the most secure, now indeed lamentably laid waste by heathen men. The man who is not thereby moved to fear, and does not himself repent and mourn before God for the prosperity of his fatherland, has a heart of stone in place of a heart of flesh."⁴⁸

The theme is taken up by the homilists. The famous *Sermo Lupi* need not be quoted, but another homily of the Wulfstan collection attributes the nation's misfortunes to its neglect of Sunday observance.⁴⁹ The laws adopt the same tone. There exists an enactment of Ethelred's reign, with the heading, "This was decreed when the great army landed," in which a three days' fast is enjoined, and various acts of penitence "in order that Almighty God may have mercy upon us, and grant that we may overcome our foes."⁵⁰

The agitation revealed in such calls to repentance is not difficult to understand, for it seems clear that the collapse of Christianity presented itself as a very real possibility to many people in England during the 9th *miserorum provincialium . . . Nec multo post, id est, anno ejus tertio venerunt Hamtonam, portum juxta Wintoniam, septem naves piratarum.*" *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* Roll's Series. I., 186.

⁴⁸ *Timete flagellum, quod venit super ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti, locum scilicet sanctissimum et multorum sanctorum suffragiis diu tutissimum, nunc vero miserabiliter a paganis devastatum. Quid hoc non timet et se ipsum non corrigit et pro suae patriae prosperitate non plangit ad Deum, carneum non habet cor sed lapidum. Alcuini Epistolæ. Bibl. Res. Germ., vi., 1873, p. 189.*

⁴⁹ and ic sênde ofer eow þa þeode eow to hergianne and eower land to awestenne, þe ge heora spræca ne cunnan, forþan þe ge ne healdað sunnandæges freols, and forþan þe ge ne forseoð and mine beboda noldon healdon. *Wulfstan.* ed. Napier. LVII. 295-6.

⁵⁰ Ðis man gerædde, ða se micle here com to lande. . . . wið ðam þe us God ælmihtig gemiltsige and us geunne þæt we ure fund ofercuman mótan. Liebermann. *Gesetze.* I., 262.

and 10th centuries. This raises the further question. "How firmly was Christianity rooted in England before the coming of the pagan Scandinavians?" It is, indeed, often hard to say, when pagan customs are denounced during the Viking period, whether such customs are looked upon as survivals of Anglo-Saxon paganism,⁵¹ or as having been introduced by the pagan invaders. Perhaps the truth lies somewhere halfway.

In any case the fear of Pagan influence was present, and reveals itself not only in laws and homilies, but also, it may be, in the insertion in a number of Charters of such a modifying clause as "so long as Christianity remains among the English in Britain." As far as I am aware, such a phrase does not occur before the date of the attack on Lindisfarne.⁵² The two examples in the 8th century charters can both be placed after the year 793, and the panic of the first Viking descent upon English monasteries might well give birth, without closer contact, to the fear of the subversal of the English Church.

During the 10th and 11th centuries such phrases do not occur, but it must be remembered that during the long period of peace the fear may have died away, and moreover, by the end of the century, Christianity was beginning to make its way even into the Scandinavian countries.⁵³

⁵¹ cf. Bede. *Hist. Ecc.* III. And against what is the stricture in the Canons of Ælfric directed? (Thorpe's *Ancient Laws*, 1840, 448). "þænne ge (the priests) þæto (to a wake) gelaðode sýn. þonne forþode ge þa hæðenan sangas þæra læwedra manna." Have the lays of Ingeld and others to which Alcuin objected, lingered on to this late period, or are we here dealing with a new stock of heathen lays introduced by the Scandinavians?

⁵² See Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 272, 289. For the 9th century see e.g., Birch, 428, 468, 488, 519, 539. cf. Duke Alfred's Will (871-889). Kemble *Cod. Dipl.*, CCCXVII. "ða hwile ðe fulwiht sio on Angelcynnes ealonde" and in the *Codex Aureus Inscriptio* "ða hwile þe fulwiht stondað mote." In the Latin Charters (e.g., Birch 289) "quamdiu fides catholica in gente Anglorum perseveret," or a similar phrase is used.

⁵³ Yet the denunciation of heathen customs is found repeatedly in the laws of Ethelred the Unready.

The phrase may of course be a mere empty formula, part of the conventional phraseology of the Anglo-Saxon charters, and certainly without support proves nothing. Nevertheless, the fact that such a phrase takes the place of the words "in perpetuum" or "perhenniter" in the earlier charters may be significant.

On what grounds, then, was the fear of the collapse of Christianity in England based? There seems to be no evidence that the Scandinavian pagans wished to proselytize, nor need we accept the assumptions of later chroniclers that the Vikings were actively hostile to Christianity, or to the learning and enlightenment that went with it. The more materialistic explanation that the religious houses were the greatest storehouses of treasure, were unprotected and were often to be found on the coast, seems enough.

Yet if the Scandinavians did not proselytize, there seems to be good evidence that a considerable number of Anglo-Saxons lapsed into paganism, whether into actual *æsir*-worship or only into pagan customs and the practice of sorcery and witchcraft, is not apparent.

Definite instances of desertion to paganism are not to be found in the English annals, as they are, for instance, in the Irish, and it seems unlikely that the worship of Thor and Odin found much footing among the Anglo-Saxons; it was probably weak among the invaders themselves. The homily in the Wulfstan collection, "*De Falsis Deis*," refers to Jove, whose name was Thor among some peoples, "him the Danish folk love most of all and in their error worship most zealously," and to Mercury, "and his other name is Odin according to the Danes."⁵⁴ Yet this homily suggests no fear that

⁵⁴and he hatte þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; þone denisca leoda lufjað swyðost and on heora gedwylde weorðjaþ geornost . . . and he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on denisce wisan. *Wulfstan* ed. Napier, XVIII., pp. 106-107.

Thor- and Odin-worship would infect the Anglo-Saxon people, and it was probably heathendom as defined in the latter part of the following passage from the laws of Canute that constituted the real menace in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Heathendom is "for a man to worship heathen gods, and sun or moon, fire or flood, springs or stones, or any kind of trees, or to be addicted to witchcraft, or to compass any deed of murder in any wise, either as an act of sacrifice or through fear, or to perform any follies of this kind."⁵⁵

A few scraps of evidence on this point have survived apart from that of the laws, with their denunciation of witchcraft and heathen rites connected with wells and springs. It is not easy, here as elsewhere, to prove a definite allusion to Scandinavian heathendom, but a clear reference to Scandinavian influence is preserved in one of the *Junius MSS.* in a vernacular letter from one brother to another. The customs denounced seem trivial enough, but must have stood for the general acceptance of pagan habits and standards. "I tell thee moreover, brother Edward, now that thou hast opened the matter with me, that ye (*the original here changes to the plural*) do ill to leave English customs which your forefathers held, and to love the customs of heathen men." The writer goes on to inveigh against the fashion of bared necks and blinded eyes "after the Danish manner," and concludes, "I say no more concerning this shameful guise, save what the books tell us, 'Let him be accursed who conforms his life to the cus-

⁵⁵ Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man deofolgyld weorðige, þæt is þæt man weorpige hæðene godas ond sunnan opþe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæter-willas opþe stanas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa, oððon wiccecræft lufige oððon morðweorc gefremme on ænige wisan, oððon on blote oððon fyrhte, oððon swylcra gedwimera ænig þincg dreoge. Liebermann. *Gesetze*, I., 312. The clause in Alfred's laws "se ðe godgeldum onsecge ofer God anne, swelte se deaðe" (*ibid.* 38) may apply not to *æsir*-worship, even if it does refer to Scandinavian rites, but to witchcraft and the forbidden practices.

toms of heathen men, and thereby dishonours his own kin.' ”⁵⁶

Yet, natural as this attitude is, we, from our point of vantage, can see that the Anglo-Saxon pessimists had taken too little account of two things, the decay of paganism among the invaders themselves, and their capacity for receiving new ideas.

The picture of the conversion of the Scandinavians in England is naturally chequered. I know of no cases of *prime-signing* in the English annals, but baptism was in some cases clearly diplomatic. Curious blendings of Christianity and Paganism were to be found, no doubt, and are typified by one of the “St. Peter” coins, struck according to Keary “at York during the Danish occupation,” which is stamped with Thor’s Hammer.⁵⁷ Yet if the acceptance of Christianity was sometimes a matter of expediency, the effect may have been in some cases unexpectedly lasting, witness the story of Anlaf Cuaran, who probably accepted baptism to win the favour of King Edmund, but volun-

⁵⁶ Ic secge eac ðê, brøðor Eádweard, nû ðû nû þyses bæde, þæt gê dôð unrīhtlice, þæt gê ðā engliscan þeawas. forlætað þe eowre sæderas heoldon and hæðenra manna þeawas lufiað þe eow ðæs līfes ne-unnon and mid ðām geswutelīað þæt gê forséoð eower cynn, and eowre ylðran mid þām unþeawum þonne gê him on teónan tysliað eow on denisc ábleredum hneccan and áblendum éagum. Ne secge ic nā mære embe ðā sceandlīcan tyslunge buton þæt ús secgað bēc, þæt sê beó âmánsuðod þe hæðenra manna þeawas hylt on his life and his ágen cynn unwurpað mid þām. *Englische Studien*. VIII., 62.

Probably what the *Chronicle* calls King Edgar’s “one misdeed” was the introduction of Scandinavian fashions of this kind, certainly not of “heathendom” in the more exact sense of the word.

Ane misdæda he dyde
þeah to swiðe
þæt he ælþeodige
unsida lufode
ond hæþene þeawas
innan þysan lande
gebrohite to fæste. *Annal 958. E.*

William of Malmesbury adds rather unfairly that as a result the English “a Danis potationem discerent.” *De Ges Reg. Ang.* I., 165.

⁵⁷ See C. F. Keary, *Cat. of English Coins in the Brit. Mus., Anglo-Saxon Series*, I, 240 and Plate XXX.

tarily ended his adventurous life among the monks of Iona.⁵⁸ It is certainly significant that by the tenth century the Scandinavians in England could give to the English Church three such notable churchmen as Odo of Canterbury, and Oswald and Osbryht of York.⁵⁹

Once the barrier of religion was broken down, the relations between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian could be of the most cordial kind. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records Olaf Tryggvason's confirmation in England, "King Anlaf was led with great honour to Andover, and king Ethelred received him at the Bishop's hands, and gave him noble gifts, and Anlaf then promised, and also performed it, that he would never again come to England with hostile intent."⁶⁰ This is confirmed by the shorter and longer sagas of Olaf Tryggvason, and Snorri records how Olaf sailed to England one autumn "and lay in a certain haven, and behaved peaceably, because England was Christian and he was Christian also."⁶¹

The English Church was called upon to provide teachers for the Christianizing of Norway. There seems no reason to doubt Snorri's statement, that when Hakon the Good returned to Norway as king, as soon as "he considered himself to have won a strong enough backing from certain of the great men to support Christianity, he sent to England for a bishop and

⁵⁸ Chron. *Annal* 943, A, and note on Olaf Cuaran in J. H. Todd's *Gaedhil and Gaill*, 280-7.

⁵⁹ See interesting note in W. H. Stevenson's *Asser.*, 1904, p. 334.

⁶⁰ ond hi þa læddan Anlaf mid mycclum wurðscipe to þam cyng to Andeferan. ond se cyng Æðelred his anfeng æt bisceopes handa. ond him cynelice gifode. ond him þa Anlaf behet. swa he hit eac gelæste þæt he næfre eft to Angel cynne mid unfriðe comon nolde. *Annal* 994, E.

Is it not unduly cynical to suggest that if Olaf had not, about this time, won his kingdom in Norway, he would not have fulfilled his promise so honourably?

⁶¹ "lá þar i hofn einni, fór þá með friði, þvíat England var kristit ok hann var ok kristinn." *Heimsk.*, *Óláfss. Tryggv.*, K. 32. ed. F. Jónsson.

other learned men,"⁶² and the assistance given by the English Church to Olaf Tryggvason is still better authenticated. The connection seems to have continued into the reign of St. Olaf, but was broken by his enmity with Canute.⁶³

Significant, too, is the early recognition in England of the canonization of St. Olaf. In 1055 we hear of a church dedicated to St. Olaf, but this is in a Scandinavian area,⁶⁴ and it is of far more interest that the earliest instance of an office for St. Olaf's day is to be found in the *Leofric Missal*, which affords good evidence for the general acceptance of the cult in England.⁶⁵

If one must attempt to sum up the scattered and inconclusive evidence, it may be reduced, perhaps, to this, that however much the fusion of Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons was facilitated by their essential kinship, the fact that the Scandinavians when they invaded England were peculiarly open to adopt the religion and culture of the people they invaded was a more important factor still. The acquiescence of the English in the rule of Canute, though partly due to national exhaustion, is hardly conceivable had Canute not adopted the definitely Christian attitude which caused Archbishop Fulbert of Chartres, to whom Canute sent generous gifts for the building of his great Cathedral, to marvel at the religious spirit of one "whom we had heard spoken of as king of a pagan people."⁶⁶

⁶² En er Hákon konungr þóttisk fengit hafa styrk af nokkurum ríkismonnum at halda upp kristninni, þá sendi hann til Englandz eptir byskupi ok oðrum kennimönnum. *Heimsk. Hásk. Góð. K.* 13.

⁶³ See *Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske*. A. Taranger. 142 ff.

⁶⁴ He (Siward) ligeð æt Galmahó on þam mynstre þe he sylf let timbrian ond halgian on godes ond Olaf's naman. *Annal 1055. D.*

⁶⁵ See *Leofric Missal*. ed. F. E. Warren, 1883, p. 272.

⁶⁶ te, quem paganorum principem audieramus. Migne's *Patrol. CXLII.* 235. *S. Fulberti Epistolæ.* LXIX., cf. W. of Malmsbury, *De Gest. Reg. Ang.* (Rolls Series). I., p. 226.

One thing must be said in conclusion. If the story of the Danish Invasions is followed through the later Chronicles, it seems possible to trace a growing tendency to emphasize the feeling of animosity towards the invaders. The expression of such a feeling is not, of course, entirely a question of date. While the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of Alfred's reign is almost free from comment on events, the apparently authentic parts of Asser's *Life* contains such phrases as "the pagan army of hateful memory," and "they took to flight like women,"⁶⁷ yet such phrases are rare, and the courage of the enemy is also recorded.

The later versions of the death of St. Edmund offer one of the best examples of the embroidering of an account of Danish atrocities.⁶⁸ The simple annal of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* might apply as well to death in battle as to martyrdom through heathen violence.⁶⁹ Yet the episode has been turned into one of the darkest blots upon the Viking record.

The excited records of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the reign of Ethelred ring far more with helpless fury at the mismanagement of English affairs than with animosity towards the enemy,⁷⁰ while the poems of *Brunanburh* and *Maldon* show surprisingly little of this spirit. There is more than enough in *Brunanburh* of exultation over a defeated enemy, but only the words, "the hated people"⁷¹ suggest personal or national hate. The spirit of *Maldon* is very close to the spirit of the *Chronicle* of the same period, but raised to a more heroic level, and, although it certainly expres-

⁶⁷ *exosæ memoriæ paganorum exercitus*. Stevenson's *Asser*. 1904, p. 26. *Muliebriter fugam arripiunt*. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁸ See *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi*, ed. Lord Francis Hervey, 1907, where the different accounts of St. Edmund are collected.

⁶⁹ *þy wintra Eadmund cyning him wið feaht ond þa Deniscan sigenamon. ond þone cyning ofslogon. ond þæt lond all geeodon.* *Annal* 870. *A*.

⁷⁰ e.g., *Annals* 1001, 1009. *E*.

⁷¹ *aþum þeodum.* *Brunanburh*, l., 22.

ses no love of the "hateful strangers," "the wolves of slaughter,"⁷² its dominant note is one of indignation against those of the English who were false to country and lord.

Such an attitude, not unworthy of the Heroic Age itself, leaves room for the generous recognition of quality wherever it is to be found. "Two crews," writes the *Chronicle* in 882, "gave themselves up, and they were much damaged and had suffered heavily before they gave themselves up."⁷³ And in describing the martyrdom of St. Alphege the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is impressive in its fairness, and its readiness to admit an excuse if one can be found. "(The Danes) were moreover very drunk, because wine had been brought from the South. Then they took the bishop, led him to their 'husting' on the Sunday in the Easter octave, and there stoned him with stones and the heads of oxen, and one of them smote him on the head with an axehead, so that with the blow he sank down and his holy blood fell on the earth."⁷⁴

It is an attitude which made possible an apparently sudden and also a lasting amalgamation when the immediate causes of enmity were removed.

⁷² laðe gystas. *Maldon*. l., 86. wælwulfas, *ibid.* l., 96.

⁷³ tuegen scipheras him on hond eodon, ond þa wæron miclum forslægene ond forwundode ær hie on hond eodon. *Annal* 882. A.

⁷⁴ wæron hi eac swyðe druncene. forþam þær wæs gebroht win supan. Genamon þa þonne bisceop. leaddon hine to heora hustinga on þone Sunnan efen. octabas Paschæ. ond hine þa þær oftorfodon mid banum. ond mid hryðera heafdum. ond sloh him þa an heora mid anre æxeýre on þet heafod. þet he mid þam dynte niðer asah. ond his halige blod on ða eorþan. feoll. *Annal* 1012. E.

SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENTS IN ESTONIAN FOLKLORE.

BY DR. OSKAR PH. KALLAS,
The Estonian Minister in London.

(Read March 4th, 1924).

I FEEL honoured that I have been entrusted with the task of talking to you about the Scandinavian elements in Estonian Folklore, and am grateful for the privilege of mentioning the name of my country and its spiritual life to the Viking Society for Northern Research. It is less the feeling that a guest is always best entertained when he has the opportunity of talking about himself, than the feeling that here is an occasion to explain the circumstances of our life to Western-European people, the more or less one-sided connections with whom, we are always eager to make more reciprocal.

I do not suppose it is necessary to tell a "Viking Society" where and what is Scandinavia, but I am afraid that the "Northern" in the title of your Society means nothing more to you than Scandinavia, or possibly also Finland, and does not include, for instance, Estonia. Consequently, I shall have to say some introductory words about the Estonians so that you can better understand the subject of this evening.

We count ourselves as also of the North and not the East, if by North—as opposed to the East—is meant a special kind of feeling and thought, certain common ideals, and a peculiar psychology, not dependent on the different languages. And with the North, Scandinavia, we were in olden times bound also politically. The Danes brought us Christianity before the German Knights of the Sword, and with the name of our capital, Tallinn (Reval in German), which means "The

Danish Castle," there are many recollections for us and the Danes, for instance, their holy flag the Dannebrog, which falling from heaven in Tallinn decided the victory of Waldemar Seier.

Previous to the 200 years of the Russian Czarist time, we were a part of Sweden, and our University, founded in 1632 by Gustavus Adolphus, reminds us even to-day of the "good old Swedish times," a period which is impressed on the minds of our people as being a brief breathing space in the course of suffocating centuries. Only since we have regained our full independence do our people regard their lot as better than in the good old Swedish times.

But, I notice, that I am going too much into the present, and not into the past where it was my intention to lead you; because Folklore ordinarily means past time. Folklore may be called already the first words created by every nation. All the folksongs, riddles, and especially the magic formulae have been attributed to old primitive times, although, as I am going to show you, many so-called pagan beliefs have little to do with the pagans, and the word primitive has often been applied to quite modern ideas.

The metric form of our Estonian folksongs can be traced back more than one thousand years, but even now the folksong has not yet quite disappeared in Estonia.

Folklore, the more or less self-created culture of a nation, has a tendency to disappear when the more international school and manufactory culture penetrates into the life. The riddle or the proverb is superseded by newspaper anecdotes, the fairy-tale by the modern novel, the bagpipes by the gramophone, and the folk-dress by the manufactured article.

The Estonians have passed through such a phase during the last two or three generations, but in some frontier parts of our country, which for historical

reasons remained without any school culture, the folk-song, for instance, continues to form an important part of the spiritual life. Even the art of improvisation has not died out. Miko Ode, a songstress still alive, sang for the folklorist Dr. J. Hurt no less than 20,720 lines.

A nation needs spiritual food, and if this be not forthcoming, *e.g.* from the school or the church, the nation has to create it from within. And so, in former times, we created our folklore, which embraces really all the features of our life.

Our folklore has been very diligently collected, especially during the last two generations. It may be said, in passing, that we got the first incentive to collect our songs from a British source, via Germany. Ossian's songs (Macpherson) drew the attention of the German poet, Herder, to folksongs, and Estonia followed his example. The Finns, who had already started to collect folklore (Porthan), gained new stimulus from Ossian's songs.

We have repaid our debt, in part, as Longfellow in his "*Hiawatha*" used the metre of the old Finnish songs in the national epic "*Kalevala*."

When I say, we, I mean the Finns and the Estonians. The Finns are nearly related to us, and as in folklore, we have to be regarded, more or less, as one area.

Together with the Finns we possess, and I think I am not exaggerating, the largest folklore collections in the world—our nearest competitors being our neighbours, the Latvians and the Lithuanians—comprising with all their variants over 30,000 melodies, 55,000 tales, 125,000 riddles, 135,000 superstitions, 215,000 proverbs and nearly 200,000 songs with about four million lines (most of which are 8-syllable trochaic lines), etc., etc.

What is Scandinavian in Estonian folklore, I have been asked to tell you. I am afraid I am not able to give you an exact answer, and can only draw rough outlines.

The reasons for this lie with both sides, ourselves and the Scandinavians.

We have, it is true, very complete collections; scientifically, however, they have not been explored deeply enough yet.

Scientific research could only start with these collections—before this time only dilettantish attempts were possible—and the collections are not very old.

University Chairs for folklore were established in 1908 in Helsinki=Helsingfors (now there are three), and for our part, we were only able to follow the Finnish example in 1918, establishing two similar chairs in our University.

Scientific research work is now possible, in principle, although it is at present hindered by very prosaic circumstances. The Estonian collections are nearly all unprinted. It is a question of money only. Before the war the printing was started, and now the war is over, we have to pay our war-loans.

As I have said, we can hardly speak of a purely Estonian folklore. With our cousins, the Finns, we must still ascertain what is theirs, what ours, and what is common. It may be of interest for you to hear that, although as nations we have been separated at least fifteen centuries, we have exchanged folklore, and especially our songs, up to recent centuries, not to say recent years.

Some songs were spread by word of mouth from estate to estate, from village to village, starting from Estonia and ending at the Arctic coasts, and the most lively place of exchange of the songs was in the environs of the late Petrograd, now Leningrad, where the Russians are new comers and where some years ago I found people still speaking only Finnish. The Russians built Petersburg, on the site of about 50 Finnish villages, the Finnish names of which,

Korpisaari, Hirvisaari and others, have not yet been forgotten.

So our songs wandered, and in Karelia, which is situated between Russia and Finland, were mingled with songs coming from Finland and developed into greater units.

You see, roughly speaking, the folklore area of the Finns and Estonians is common.

To continue: are the Scandinavians able to say exactly what is their folklore? I think this question also has not been decided yet. What is here Low-German, the predecessors of the Saxon settlers in Britain, what German or what Gothic? We have met all these national groups.

In our country we have about 7,000 Swedish inhabitants from olden times, with whom we have had close relations. It has not yet been decided whether they have come from Scandinavia or are an independent Teutonic offshoot. And where is the original home of the Scandinavians?

There is the other difficulty. I think, for the beginning, it would be wiser not to speak definitely about special Scandinavian elements in Estonian folklore, but better about the Teutonic contacts with the Finno-Estonian folklore, to which in some respects can be included also Lapponian folklore: and as folklore, especially for olden times, means really the culture of a nation, I am impliedly speaking also about the cultural contacts between these national groups.

To get a true perspective about these contacts, we have to go back to the past.

We are helped here by the old chronicles and sources of history. When these sources become sagas and tales, we have to resort to archæology, and when finally archæology leaves us in the lurch our ultimate refuge becomes comparative philology.

We learn that we Estonians occupied our present

sites on the shore of the Baltic already some time before Christ. Our roots go back to the Ural Mountains, not to Asia, the valleys of the middle Volga, where even up to the present national groups with languages akin to ours are groping for their national awakening.

As regards our language, we are, according to the latest explorations, neither Mongols nor Aryans—both have claimed us—but an independent group, called the Finno-Ugric group, which is very near to the Aryan family of languages.

Our culture is so intermingled with the culture of the Aryan, especially the Teutonic nations, that it would be difficult to draw a definite dividing line, if such a division in cultural questions is possible at all: the international stream of culture washes many coasts, takes from many sources and waters many lands.

And lastly, our race. This question must also be treated cautiously. Language and race do not always coincide: Prussia, the stronghold of Germanism, is only partly German; North Russia likewise only partly Russian. Arctic Lapps speak a language akin to Finnish. Scandinavian Normans speak French, and many coloured peoples English. The races are confusedly mixed with each other. In our case, we are a north-European race, intermingled with other races, or have become such a race.

Already in prehistoric times we had contacts with Aryan nations. Moving away from the Urals in the direction of the Baltic, one branch, the Hungarians, turned to the South. For many centuries, on our way to the Baltic, we had contacts with a Gothic national group, in which certain scientists see the predecessors of the Scandinavians. The famous Danish philologist, Wilhelm Thomsen, gives a very interesting explanation about this, based on old Teutonic borrowed words retained in our and other languages of the Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian, etc.).

More light is gradually being thrown on the piracy, commerce, struggles and peaceful exchanges between ourselves and the Danes; and also the Swedes.

Through our country lay one of the ways of the Vikings to the future Russia and to Byzantium; in 862 was formed the nucleus of the later Russia, and I am afraid that the honour of having done this must be attributed to the Scandinavians, although we, in our fairy tales, claim as our countrymen the first Russian rulers, the three brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truwor.

A remark in passing: In our language the Swedes are still called "Roots," which word has been identified with the word Rus (Russia), and recalls the times when men from Roslagen in Scandinavia (Roots) founded a new "Scandinavia," the later Russian Empire.

In 1187, Sigtuna in Sweden was destroyed by Estonian pirates (a name which to some extent comes under the term "Vikings"), and the Swedes for their part did not forget to return this visit and others.

Lastly, full in the light of history comes the time when the German Knights of the Sword (mostly Saxons) came to our country, about the beginning of the 13th century, where Germans have remained up to the present, forming about 1.7 per cent. of the population.

You see, wave after wave of Teutonic peoples passed over us, each leaving deposits behind. All these cultural layers have to be uncovered one by one, and then we may approach nearer to what was originally.

In most cases, not in all, we, Estonians and Finns, were the receivers; our culture was lower than that of the Aryan nations, and we took or borrowed what we needed: culture words, costumes, beliefs, etc., and developed and bound them with our former creations. Just as a good modern novel is translated into different languages, so an interesting fairy-tale was spread

abroad in the neighbourhood by word of mouth, notwithstanding language barriers.

Gods also were appropriated from neighbours. Yet, thirty years ago, I met a pious man in the Russian Government of Witebsk, in his heart still half a pagan, officially a Roman Catholic, who borrowed from his Greek-Orthodox neighbour the image of a Greek-Orthodox Saint. "I was told this God is very helpful, so I am going to try if it will be useful to keep him and other Russian Gods." (Note the plural).

With time the Aryan nations came under new cultural influences—I may mention Athens, Jerusalem, Rome—and forgot more and more their old Gods and heroes, etc., who had to make way for a new God and new ideals.

We, Estonians and Finns, were denied progressive Western-European culture for a much longer period. We had to be satisfied with the heredity of former centuries. What we had received in olden times from the Aryans we kept faithfully in our memory and developed. So we have preserved from the traditions of the Teutonic nations also much that the latter themselves have forgotten.

Naturally, now that nearly 100 per cent. of our people can read and write, we are no longer able to play this part.

This may be deplored by the true folklorist, but can only be gratifying to friends of cultural development.

Permit me now to illustrate with a few examples, what we have got from the Teutonic nations, especially the Scandinavians.

I will start with the happy family festival of the Estonians, the wedding. On my native island, Saaremaa (Oesel), while I was still in my childhood, the wedding festival was kept up for a week, with bagpipes, songs and ceremonies. Tens of thousands of song lines are devoted to the nuptials.

The late Leopold von Schröder, member of the Vienna Academy, the well-known Indologist, whom I had the chance to admire as my liberal-minded teacher in our University, tries to show in his exploration "*Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten 1888*," the important part played by the Estonians in the preservation of the old Teutonic wedding ceremonies. The abduction and buying of women, the going round begging of the brides, their hiding, flying and veiling, ceremonies which have existed and been forgotten by the Germans and the Scandinavians, continue to live in our wedding ceremonies or wedding songs. He finds parallelisms even in the old Indian ceremonies.

As regards the Indian beliefs, Professor Otto Donner, from Helsinki, the father of the present Finnish Minister in London, already in 1863 compared them with Finnish traditions.

The results of their explorations may be partly modified since the new Finno-Estonian materials make possible a more perfect method of exploration, but in any case to Donner and Schröder remains the merit of having been among the first scientists to direct attention to the importance of the comparison of the Aryan and Finno-Ugric areas of folklore.

The newer methods of exploration of Finno-Estonian folklore were created and developed particularly by two professors of the Helsinki University, Julius and Kaarle Krohn, father and son.

The latter has also specially explored the Teutonic elements in Finno-Estonian folklore, and I venture to direct the attention of those interested to his explorations, part of which have been printed also in German and Swedish.

Allow me in the following to give some quotations from the results of Kaarle Krohn's explorations.

Of the religion which existed in Scandinavia before the Eddas (before the 9th century), Finno-Estonian

mythology gives a very distinct picture, corresponding with the most reliable Teutonic testimonials.

A great number of the lower mythological beings in Estonia and Finland are of Teutonic origin; take for example the well-known house-ghost "tomte" in Sweden; or "skratt," a kind of dragon, or his colleague "Bara," the Estonian "Paar" who brought riches also to Estonian collectors of wealth; or the wicked waterman "Näcken," or from later times the calumniator "diabolos," whose Estonian name "jeevel" we children on the island of Saaremaa used so often to employ in ignorance of his bad occupation as head of all evil spirits, or of his name having come to us from the Swedish "Djävul."

Of the higher gods I mention, for instance, Thor and Freyr. The aid of Thor as Taara was invoked by my countrymen, the inhabitants of the island of Saaremaa, when they had to struggle against the German Knights of the Sword in the 13th century, and their Taarapita (help Thor) reminds one of the battle-cry of the Normans, Turaie.

Thor's memory lives in many of our names, possibly also in the name of our University town Tartu=Dorpat, one explanation of which is the "Lowland of Thor."

Thor's day (Thursday) was until recent times a special day on the Island of Saaremaa, when work was concluded earlier, etc.

Our veneration of the dead, or ancestor worship, has been influenced by Teutonic nations, and such words as hell, the Gothic wainags (dead), etc., survive in Finnish and Estonian.

Not only does Scandinavian mythology before the time of the Vikings find supplementary material in our traditions, but the religious and poetical products of the time of the Vikings also find their parallels.

I call special attention to the death of the northern god Balder, which has supplied the theme for many

Finnish songs (about Lemminkäinen). But Professor Kaarle Krohn attributes all these songs and also the heathen Balder to Christian sources.

The richest materials are to be found in our traditions of the spiritual life in the Teutonic middle-ages. A whole cycle of songs about Christ has been preserved on the Finno-Estonian Russian frontier, by the Karelians and Setus, *i.e.*, Greek Orthodox Finns and Estonians.

It is a strange route that these Christian songs and legends have taken. They were created in Roman Catholic Germany and Roman Catholic Sweden, and wandered to the Roman Catholic Estonians and Finns, and farther to our Greek Orthodox countrymen on the Russian frontier. Under the influence of the Lutheran Reformation, they were forgotten in Germany and Sweden, and also in Lutheran Estonia and Finland—we became Lutheranised during Luther's time—and in the end were collected from the illiterate Greek Orthodox Karelians and Setus during the last two generations and written down.

The latter had not only kept them, but had also developed and partly paganised them. Although they were nominally Christians, they were never taught the Christian dogmas in their mother-tongue and clung more or less to their old faith. Even in the Finnish national epic, the "Kalevala," some of these Christian songs have been interspersed as old pagan songs.

Also the old Finnish magical songs, which had been taken for emanations of Finnish Shamanism, some thousands of years ago, under the fire of exploration were revealed to be products of mediæval Roman Catholicism. Magical formulae from Scandinavia received a poetical form in Finland. Christian names, such as Maria, and St. George, etc., were replaced by old Finnish pagan names, but their deeds to some extent remained.

A question which involuntarily arises is that : neither in the epic nor in the magic songs of the Finno-Estonian Area can be found a case where a heathen myth was transformed into a Christian legend. But contrary transformations have been many. The magic poetry of the Finns germinates from Teutonic-catholic seeds; the Estonian and Latvian magical songs show the same sources; in Russian magical formulae also is the Roman Catholic influence evident. Why not ask : what is the case with German and Scandinavian magical formulae ? Are they really heathen traditions ? Did they also spring from Christian sources ? I take only the so-called heathen Merseburgian magical formulae (Merseburger Zaubersprüche) known in Germany, England, Scandinavia, Estonia and Finland. In the light of Finnish exploration, they have lost their heathen character. (K. Krohn).

I promised to give some examples about Teutonic-Finno-Estonian contacts. I have done so. Many more could be given, but I think I have to finish. It would be very interesting to talk, for instance, about the fairy-tales, the birds of passage in different countries, only seldom the heritage of one nation. Our fairy-tales could probably help to determine the age of the formation of the German-Scandinavian fairy-tales; for instance, our tales about animals are often from an older form than the corresponding animal epics of the Teutonic middle ages.

Even such cameo poetry as exists in our riddles and proverbs has a certain Teutonic influence : the Finnish riddles and proverbs suggest Scandinavian sources, and the Estonian riddles and proverbs have a connection with the German originals.

But now I have really finished.

I have only very briefly touched upon the riches which have been preserved in our folklore, which awaits printing and further exploration. I mainly intended

to direct your attention to the significance which our folklore has for the Teutonic nations, especially the Scandinavians, and indirectly also for the English and American nations in so far as they are descended from the Saxons and Scandinavians, when they want to trace the original form of their own past spiritual life, called folklore.

Here is much work to be done. A modern motto, "Co-operation," has helped us a great deal in our economic life. What do you think about a co-operation in the spiritual area of life, for example, between the Teutonic and Finno-Estonian folklorists?

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SWEDISH KINGDOM.¹

BY PROFESSOR BIRGER NERMAN.

(Read April 16th, 1924).

THE generally accepted idea regarding the establishment of the Swedish realm is the following :

Towards the middle of the first thousand years after Christ there existed a fairly large and united realm of Svear (Swedes), with its centre around lake Mälaren, and comprising at least the present provinces of Uppland, Södermanland, Västmanland, Dalarna (Dalecarlia) and districts on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Farther south there were several independent states, of which the most prominent were Västergötland, Östergötland (the latter is sometimes reckoned as part of Västergötland), the islands of Öland and Gotland. The inhabitants of these southern districts usually go under the joint name of Götar, and all these districts seem to be generally regarded as having formed some kind of state federation. Even before the sixth century A.D. wars were waged between Svear and Götar, but about A.D. 500 these struggles increased in severity, and during the first part of the sixth century the Svear conquered district after district of the territories of the Götar, which led to the complete establishment of the Swedish realm, about the middle of the sixth century.

It has long been known that the Swedish realm came into existence owing to the conquest of the southern parts of the Scandinavian peninsula by the Swedes; the name Sweden tells us as much. But it was long before any very clear knowledge was obtained as to how and

¹ See the author's greater work: *Det svenska rikets uppkomst*, Stockholm, 1925.



when this took place. It is during the last twenty years that students have gone deeper into the question, and given us the above account of the establishment of the Swedish realm. It is, above all, to the late Dr. Knut Stjerna that credit is due for having drawn the outlines of the conquest, mainly in his paper *Swedes and Geats during the Migration Period* (*Svear och Götar under folkvandringstiden: Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, xii, 1905). Stjerna's paper gave us only a first sketch; he unfortunately never had an opportunity to state his evidence more fully. This evidence was mainly archæological.

Stjerna's article abounds in brilliant observations and ingenious deductions, and no doubt contains much that will prove of lasting value. A detailed investigation of the archæological material has convinced me, however, that it is not safe to venture on historical conclusions as bold as his, upon archæological evidence alone. The archæological material justifies one in drawing certain general historical conclusions, but we cannot dogmatize as to the sequence of political events which led to the founding of the Swedish realm. With regard to many large districts the material is still too scanty for any deductions to be drawn. It is only for Gotland, and, possibly, Öland, too, that the archæological material is rich enough to afford any contributions towards attaining this end. I am, therefore, of opinion that, as yet, it is only on a few points that archæology can help us to solve the problem in question.

However, there is another means of drawing the outline of the foundation of the Swedish realm, a means which, at the time Stjerna wrote his article, existed, or at any rate was employed, only to an inconsiderable degree. Stjerna drew his deductions at a time when the literary sources dealing with Northern Antiquity were but slightly esteemed, and when most of these sources, the Scandinavian especially, were regarded as value-

less, or almost so, for historical research. Of late years opinion has veered round in this estimate of the literary sources, and in particular of the Northern Sagas, as historical documents. Sources which, till quite lately, were disregarded, now stand forth as weighty documents. It is, to a great extent, the light thrown by archæology on statements respecting graves and burial customs, which has brought about this revaluation.

I consider the time is ripe to allow these sources to add their testimony to the account of the founding of the Swedish realm; believing as I do that in them lie concealed the leading historical features of the creation of Sweden as a political entity. But I think that the archæological material should be used wherever feasible, and it is quite clear, too, that the firmest ground is secured where the literary material is supported by archæological finds.

In a larger treatise, which I hope to be able to publish soon, I have brought together the testimony given jointly by the literary sources and the archæological material bearing on the founding of the Swedish realm. Here I shall attempt to sketch the picture of the process as conjured up from these two sources.¹

It is to be understood that the following account is grounded on the historical chronology which I have compiled on a combined historical and archæological basis in a series of previously published papers.²

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When, about A.D. 500, we begin to obtain a richer fund of information than before respecting Scandi-

¹ I have thought it better not to burden this condensed account with many references to literary works; my larger work will be amply supplied with testimony.

² Special reference is made to the following of my works, viz.: *Vilka konungar ligga i Uppsala högar?* Upsala, 1913; *Svärges äldsta konungalängder som källa för svensk historia*, Upsala, 1914; *Ottar Vendelkråka och Ottarshögen i Vendel* (in *Upplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift*, Vol 7, 1917); *Ynglingasagan i arkeologisk belvisning* (in *Fornvännen*, 1917); *Kung Aene och hans död på Agnefit* (in *Fornvännen*, 1919); *Den svenska Ynglingaättens gravar* (in *Rig*, 1919).

navia, we find the present territory of Sweden divided into a number of independent states. This we learn from three non-Scandinavian sources, two from the sixth century and one from about A.D. 700. These sources are the only ones hitherto used in outlining the formation of the Swedish realm, although they have not been used to the degree that was possible.

The Greek writer Procopios, who compiled an historical work¹ about A.D. 550, states that the island of Thule, by which he means the Scandinavian peninsula, was inhabited by thirteen populous tribes, each under its own king, and of these tribes he mentions one, *gautoi*, the Götar, clearly referring to the Västgötar. Procopios distinctly states that he himself has spoken to, and made enquiries of, persons from Thule "who have come to us from there." Even if the figure thirteen naturally is approximate, the testimony that several states existed on the island of Thule is of great importance. Of these states, several must belong to the eastern part of the Scandinavian peninsula.

Simultaneously with Procopios, Jordanes the Goth wrote his celebrated history of the Goths, *De origine actibusque getarum*.² Jordanes in this work supplies a good deal of information about the peoples of the North, and this information is based on a now lost history of the Gothic people, written some decades earlier by Cassiodorus, the Chancellor of Theodoric the Great. Cassiodorus, in his turn, had obtained most of his information respecting Scandinavia from Northmen whom he had encountered in Italy. Jordanes enumerates about twenty-five *nationes* on the island of *Scandia*. It has been possible to identify many of these, and it has become evident that they could not all represent independent states. In general it has been found diffi-

¹ J. Haury's Edition, Leipzig, 1905, *et seq.* (Teubner Series).

² Th. Mommsen's Edition in *Monumenta Germaniæ historica, Auctores antiquissimi* V:I., Berlin, 1882, p. 58, *et seq.*

cult to reconstruct the political geography of the island of Scandia on the basis of Jordanes' statements, but I believe that, in certain cases, one can venture to draw more definite conclusions.

For example, it is clear from Jordanes' account that the Svear had constituted themselves into a large, united realm. This is shown, *inter alia*, by the fact that while Jordanes speaks of several *nationes* in both the present Götaland (southern Sweden) and Norway, he knows from the central parts of the present Sweden of no other people than the Svear. He mentions them twice, under the designations *suehans* and *suetidi*, but he says nothing, for example, of Upplanders, Södermanlanders, Västmanlanders. Jordanes states that the Romans, through other intermediate people, obtain from the Svear furs celebrated for their fine colour. As it was naturally northern Scandinavia, above all, which had a supply of fur-bearing animals, the statement goes to show that the Svear controlled the trading in large tracts of Norrland (northern Sweden). But the fact that they controlled the trade in large sections of Norrland is probably evidence that at least a part of this territory belonged to the Swedish realm. It is, further, stated by Jordanes that the Västgötar, who by him are called *gauthigoth*, formed a powerful state; he mentions particularly that they are a very warlike race. In Västergötland he knows of no special tribes, and we can also deduce from other matters in Jordanes' work that the present Västergötland formed at that time one undivided realm. Most probably the Västergötland of that day was larger than the present province. Dalsland at least must have belonged to it, a probability suggested by the fact that inhabitants of this district are not specially mentioned, whereas tribes in adjacent districts are enumerated. Possibly there is a passage in Jordanes which may lead us to think that southern Bohuslän belonged to the Västgöta state. Of *nationes*

in the present Götaland we can also mention *ostrogothæ*, the Östgötar, and *vagoth* assuredly the Gutar (the inhabitants of Gotland). We are given no information as to their political position.

The third source which provides us with important information about the peoples in Sweden circa A.D. 500 is the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*,¹ written circa A.D. 700, but based on Northern traditions from the sixth century. In *Beowulf* there are mentioned three independent peoples which must have belonged to Sweden: *swēon*, *gēatas* and *wylfingas*. *Swēon* are the Svear. As we know, there have been hot disputes respecting the identity of the *gēatas*, which linguistically means Götar. The designation has been applied by some to the Götar and by others to the Jutes. The advocates of the Götar-theory have sought for the Geatas in larger or smaller districts of the present Götaland. It has usually been assumed that the Geatas can most closely be identified as the Västgötar, although, according to some investigators, Östergötland at least is also to be reckoned as belonging to their territory. Stjerna, however, held that Öland was their chief place of habitation. The supporters of the Jute-theory have looked for the Geatas sometimes in the whole of Jutland, and at others in certain sections of it. As far as I can see, the Geatas must be taken to mean the Västgötar and none but them. I cannot, however, formulate the reasons for this assumption of mine here, but shall content myself with stating one reason which proves that we must look for the Geatas in Västergötland—a reason which has to my knowledge only been mentioned by Chambers.² To me, this reason by itself is decisive. Lengthy wars between Svear and Geatas are mentioned in *Beowulf*. The sites of certain battles are mentioned, but they cannot be identified. It is stated, however,

¹ Wyatt—Chambers' Edition, Cambridge, 1914.

² R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf—An Introduction*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 342.

that King Onela of the Svear fought against his nephew Eadgils, who had fled to the Geatas and obtained assistance from them. But the same battles are mentioned in Snorre Sturleson's *Ynglingasaga*¹ and *Edda*,² and in these writings there is given the remarkable information that Ale (=Onela) the Upplander (whose homeland, the Swedish Uppland, has been confounded with the Norwegian Oplandene) and Adils (=Eadgils) fought *on the ice of Lake Vänern*. This shows conclusively that it was between Svear and Västgötar that the struggles in question took place. That Östergötland did not belong to the realm of the Geatas is proved, in my opinion, by the fact that it must be the Östgötar who are designated by the third tribal name, *wylfingas*. This is really the name of a royal house, although, as in some other instances in *Beowulf*, it has been transferred to the people over which the family ruled. The same family is referred to several times in Northern sources under the name of *Ylfingar*, and, in two instances, members of this family, Hjorvard Ylfing and his son, Hjormund Ylfing, have been located in Östergötland—e.g., in the Icelandic *Sogubrot af fornkonungum í Dana ok Svía veldi*.³

Beowulf gives us detailed Geatish traditions. As in these the Geatas have nothing to do with any other peoples than the Svear, the Ylfingar, the Danes, and the Raumar in south-east Norway (*heaðo-rēamas*), these peoples appear to have been the nearest neighbours of the Västgötar. Under these circumstances it is possible that the whole of Bohuslän belonged to Västergötland. Southwards, on the other hand, the country of the Västgötar cannot have extended far past the present

¹ Finnur Jónsson's Edition of *Heimskringla*, Copenhagen, 1893-1901 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, No. 23), I., p. 56.

² Finnur Jónsson's Edition, Copenhagen, 1900, p. 108.

³ C. af Petersen's and E. Olson's Edition, Copenhagen, 1919 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, No. 46:1.), p. 13.

Västergötland. Scania naturally belonged to Denmark, and the same holds good of the greater part of Halland. It is possible, as some have assumed, that northern Halland, which, linguistically, belongs to Västergötland, formed part of the Västgöta kingdom.

Beowulf tells us nothing of the political condition in the south-east part of the present Sweden.

We learn from *Beowulf*, on the other hand, that the political situation in the country underwent a change during the sixth century. The narrative tells, as before mentioned, of long drawn-out wars between the Svear and the Geatas, and the poem contains evidence that the wars ended with the downfall of the Geat kingdom. The events, it is true, are not brought down as far as to this catastrophe, but the annihilation of the realm is foretold twice in plain words. "Every man of this tribe shall wander without right to a country," it is said in one place (v. 2886 *et seq.*), and in the other (v. 3019) it is said that the Svear will invade the home of the Geatas, whose women shall "tread foreign soil." And it is added (v. 3029 *et seq.*) concerning the one who last prophesies, that "not very falsely did he speak of fate and words"—the poet, consequently, knowing that the prophesy has been fulfilled. That the downfall of the Geat kingdom is mentioned in *Beowulf* was emphatically pointed out by Stjerna. But, as has been mentioned above, Stjerna identified the Geatas with the Ölanders.

The downfall of the Västgöta realm, according to the information obtained from *Beowulf*, must be dated between the years A.D. 550-575. It is clearly during the reign of the Swedish king Adils that the Svear conquered the Västgöta realm. Adils appears in Northern writings as a very mighty king, but the conquest of the Västgöta kingdom is not mentioned in them.

About the same time, or a little earlier, perhaps.

another territory, the island of Gotland, was incorporated with the Swedish realm.¹

The Swedish *Guta Saga*² states that there once arose a surplus of population on Gotland, and that therefore one-third of the inhabitants were forced by lot to leave the country. Those who in this way were doomed to emigrate objected, however, and withdrew to the Torsburg, the largest so-called bygdeborg in Gotland and the whole of Scandinavia. Being driven away from there, they crossed over to the island of Fårö (at the north point of Gotland), thence across the Baltic to Dagö (off the coast of Esthonia), later, via the Düna river through Russia and, finally, down to Greece, where they were allowed to settle. After narrating these events and the customs of heathen worship, the Saga goes on to say that many kings fought against Gotland while it was heathen, but that the Gutar were always victorious. Finally, however, the Gutar concluded a peace with the Swedish king—his name is not mentioned—and of their own will submitted to his rule and agreed to pay tribute to him.

It is known that Gotland formed part of the Swedish kingdom during the Viking Age. The Saga, on the other hand, makes out that the above events took place after the erection of the Torsburg, *i.e.*, after about 400 A.D., at which time the 'bygdeborgar' first began to be constructed (from the Torsburg there is a find, a solidus, from the 5th or 6th century after Christ). It would thus be at some time during the period 400-800 that the events described in the *Guta Saga* took place.

The archæological material on Gotland from this period points to extremely remarkable conditions which support the statements made in the *Guta Saga*.

¹ I have written fully on this matter in my work: *En utvandring från Gotland och öns införlivande med sveaväldet* (= *Kunglig Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar*, III. 1:4, 1923).

² H. Pipping's Edition of *Gutalag och Gutasaga*, Copenhagen, 1905-1907 (= *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*), p. 62, *et seq.*

Whereas there is an abundance of grave-finds from the greater part of the fifth century, a perfectly catastrophic decrease suddenly occurs towards the year 500 A.D. The number of known grave-finds from the period 475-550 A.D. are not more than one-fourth of those from the period 400-475 A.D. If we count finds which have been investigated by experts, or which otherwise show reliable combinations, there are not more than about thirty-five grave-finds for the period 475-550 A.D., as compared with about one hundred and forty from the period 400-475 A.D. As the burial customs are exactly the same during the two periods, this decrease can only be attributed to a great emigration. Furthermore, about 475 A.D. we find influences from Gotland types in the East Baltic countries and Western Russia. It is therefore evident that towards the year 500 A.D., a great emigration took place eastward from Gotland.—About 550 A.D. the grave-finds begin gradually to increase in number. But a remarkable circumstance is now noticeable. Stjerna had stated that, about the year 500, in certain districts of south-eastern Sweden, on the island of Öland, for instance, and about 550 A.D. in others, on Gotland, for example, the old world of antiquities disappears and a wholly new one makes its entry, one which has its prototypes in Svealand and Norrland. For certain districts, Östergötland, for instance, the material is still too unimportant to allow any deduction to be drawn. As regards Öland, disturbances in the archaeological material appears to set in about 500 A.D., and a series of new types makes its appearance during the next hundred years, but certain archaeological conditions point decidedly against the Svear having caused the changes, and the fresh types point in various directions. But as regards Gotland, Stjerna's theory is, in its main features, evidently right; a detailed examination of the material here confirms to a great extent the correctness of his opinions. The old world of

antiquities disappears almost entirely on Gotland, and the new types, which make their appearance about 550 A.D., have their prototypes in part on the Continent—a fact which was overlooked by Stjerna—and in part, and evidently principally, in Svealand, Norrland, and possibly western Finland, *i.e.*, in the old Swedish realm. Such an archæological influence of the Swedish districts on Gotland cannot be established for any other period during the Iron Age. It is, no doubt, risky to draw any conclusions of an historical nature from this circumstance alone, but if we combine the archæological proofs with the evidence of the Guta Saga regarding the incorporation of the island with the Swedish realm, I think it safe to conclude that Gotland was joined to the Swedish kingdom about 550 A.D. Mose likely the island was conquered by the Svear, and did not, as intimated in the Guta Saga, join the realm of the Svear of its own accord.

During the sixth century, therefore, the Svear made two very important conquests, that of the Västgöta kingdom, and of Gotland.

Stjerna has pointed out that the gold-finds in Sweden from the years 400-550 are to a great extent localized in the present Götaland, and are much scarcer in Svealand. He looks for the explanation in the fact that the Götar were in close connection with the Germanic peoples on the Continent, and that they took part in the latter's victorious onslaught on the Roman Empire, and received a share of the gold treasures that the Germans exacted from the Romans. The Svear, on the other hand, Stjerna thinks, remained more isolated. But it was precisely this treasure accumulated by the Götar which, according to Stjerna, tempted the poorer Svear, and the riches of the Götar thus proved to be the reason why the Svear attacked their southern neighbours. Assuredly Stjerna was quite correct in this brilliant interpretation of the archæological material.

According to the *Ynglingasaga* and *Historia Norwegiæ*,¹ written in Snorre's time, and, like the *Ynglingasaga*, founded on the epic *Ynglingatal*, Adils was succeeded by his son Osten, and the latter by his son Yngvar. Very little is known of the fortunes of the Swedish realm during their days. Östen appears to have been killed through his house being set on fire by Götar, but of which branch is uncertain.

According to the same sources, Yngvar was followed by Bröt-Anund; he lived during the first part of the seventh century. With him there apparently began a period of peace, the longest enjoyed by the Swedish kingdom for many a day. Anund appears in the *Ynglingasaga* as an organizer, who lays land under plough and builds roads. It was, of course, very natural that, after the long wars and conquests of the sixth century, a wise king should pursue a peaceful policy, the conquered territories having to be consolidated, and the organization of the whole country strengthened.

According to the sources before-mentioned, Anund was succeeded by his son Ingjald. The latter endeavoured to continue the work of unification begun by his father, and, as we know, he did so very thoroughly. The *Ynglingsaga* informs us that, at this time, there were still a number of minor kings within the Swedish realm, with the Upsala king as overlord. Ingjald wished to get rid of them, and to that end invited them to his father's "funeral-ale," where they were burnt to death in their lodgings.

From Snorre's description an idea is gained of the extent of the Swedish kingdom during Ingjald's reign. Snorre says that Ingjald sent messengers over *the whole of Svitjod*, and invited kings and jarls and other prominent men. To the funeral feast there came the

¹ G. Storm's Edition in *Monumenta Historica Norvegiæ*, Christiania 1880, p. 101, *et seq.*

kings of Fjädrundaland (= western Uppland and part of Västmanland), Attundaland (south-eastern Uppland), Nerike and Västergötland. The king of Södermanland, who was also invited, did not attend. Snorre's account gives us decidedly the impression that Uppland, Västmanland, Södermanland and Nerike formed part of the Swedish kingdom. The king of Västergötland, being Ingjald's father-in-law, had a special reason to come to the "funeral-ale," but Snorre does not distinguish between him and the other kings, which induces us to believe that Västergötland was then included in the Swedish realm.

We thus find that the Swedish realm, in the middle of the seventh century after Christ, comprised Svealand and Västergötland. This agrees very well with the result we arrived at above, viz., that the Västgöta kingdom as early as about 550-575 A.D. had come under the sway of the Swedish kings. That Gotland is not mentioned is due to the fact that this island had not any king, such rulers, as far as we know, never having existed in Gotland.

As already mentioned, the king of Södermanland, Granmar, did not come to the funeral. He tried to hold his own against Ingjald, and succeeded, too, in keeping his territory outside the unified kingdom created by the latter, until, finally, he was surprised and burned to death in his house by Ingjald, who afterwards took possession of his kingdom.

Snorre states that king Granmar received assistance from his father-in-law, king Høgne of Östergötland. This information is of great interest. It proves that Östergötland, as late as about the middle of the seventh century, was still an independent kingdom. We have also seen that the king of Östergötland was not mentioned among the kings invited to Anund's funeral-feast. Snorre states further that Ingjald and Høgne remained enemies after the death of Granmar, and adds

that Høgne kept his kingdom against Ingjald until his own death.

Ingjald could not, however, maintain his dominion. The *Ynglingasaga* and *Historia Norwegiæ* state that Ivar Vidfadme attacked him, and that, in order not to fall into the latter's hands, Ingjald perished by burning his own house over his head. The same information is found in the Icelandic *Hervararsaga*.¹ In the *Ynglingasaga*, Ivar is stated to have come from Scania; another Icelandic source, the before-mentioned *Sögubrot*, also gives Scania as his place of origin. Ivar conquered, not merely the kingdom of Ingjald; the *Ynglingasaga*, *Hervararsaga* and *Sögubrot* all state that he also acquired Denmark west of the Sound. According to these accounts, he thus established a great Danish-Swedish realm, and became, so to say, the first king of the Northern Union. As is stated by the sources, his power even extended beyond the confines of Scandinavian countries.

There is no reason, as far as I know, to doubt the testimony of the Sagas that Ivar vanquished Ingjald and founded a great kingdom. It is true that several of these sources are based on the same traditions, but it is important to note that the *Sögubrot* relation must be independent of the others. The very title 'Vidfadme' (wide-reaching) speaks for the truth of Ivar having established a large kingdom. And the stage-setting of the Sagas is in reality very probable. We must keep in mind that Ingjald attempted to extend his kingdom southwards. He waged war against the king of Östergötland, who, however, managed to hold his own against him. But it is unlikely that Östergötland, unaided, could have resisted Ingjald, and it was only natural that king Høgne should look for assistance to southern neighbours. There may possibly have existed

¹ S. Bugge's Edition (in *Nordiske Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*. Christiania, 1864-1873), p. 290, *et seq.*

independent territories between Høgne's and Ivar's kingdoms, but Ivar was evidently the most powerful ruler in the south, and there is nothing to gainsay the possibility of Ivar having ruled over Blekinge, Ö and, and parts of Småland, besides Scania. It was also to Ivar's interest to counter the attempts of Ingjald to extend his kingdom southward. There probably existed, consequently, actual political reasons for Ivar's decision to attack Ingjald, besides the purely personal one mentioned in the *Ynglingasaga*, viz., that Ingjald's daughter, Asa, had been the cause of the death of Ivar's father, Halvdan. On the attack proving successful, it is quite conceivable that Ivar founded a large Danish-Swedish realm.

According to the sources, Ivar reigned a long time; he died towards the end of the seventh century. The *Sögubrot* and the *Hervararsaga* both state that his extensive kingdom fell to pieces on his death, but they also inform us that it was re-established by his young nephew, Harald Hildetand. It is assumed that it was a really unified kingdom, as the *Sögubrot* informs us that Harald appointed kings and jarls, who paid tribute to him, and that there was no king in Denmark or Svitjod who did not do so.

Harald, too, reigned a long time. He fell in the celebrated battle of Bråvalla Moor in Östergötland, which was fought somewhat before 750 A.D. This battle is mentioned in many places in the old Northern literature. According to the *Sögubrot*, Harald in his old age placed his kinsman Ring as king at Upsala to rule over Svealand and Västergötland; he himself ruled over Denmark and Östergötland. Saxo, too, in his famous Danish Chronicle,¹ states that Harald's kinsman, Ring, became king of Sweden with the old king's consent. According to the *Sögubrot*, the battle of Bråvalla was a put-up fight: the old king challenging

his kinsman to a great battle in order to have an opportunity to die fighting. Saxo is aware of this reason for the battle, but mentions, too, that enmity had arisen between Harald and Ring. However, the hostile forces met in Östergötland, and in the battle which ensued Harald met his death and Ring was victorious. On the death of Harald the sovereignty over his dominions was assumed by Ring, but here the sources become extremely vague.

It is quite clear that the events in connection with the battle of Bråvalla were of greater significance than that an aged king, in order to fall fighting, challenged his kinsman and tributary king to a great battle. Saxo, naturally, is correct in his second assumption, that hostility had broken out between Harald and Ring. I believe that the true facts can be made out behind the tales of the Sagas. I should like to draw attention to the fact that Svealand-Västergötland are placed in opposition to Denmark-Östergötland, and I think that the background of reality was that the former realm, the old seventh-century Swedish kingdom, separated from Harald's dominions and attacked the over-king. The great battle of Bråvalla decided the issue between the two states, and the Svear were victorious.

The battle of Bråvalla had great political consequences. It was through this victory that the Svear, for the first time, were able to extend their rule over Östergötland. But most likely territories south of it now also fell into their hands—Småland, Öland and Blekinge. At all events, they did so shortly afterwards, during the latter part of the eighth century, for when we come to about 800 A.D. the Swedish realm is one united dominion.

There exists clear proof of this. On the occasion of St. Ansgarius' visit to Sweden, about 830 A.D., there existed only one united kingdom. From a somewhat

later year, we have a most remarkable piece of evidence as to the extent of the Swedish kingdom.

Alfred the Great, the English king, who died in the year 900, translated into Anglo-Saxon the history of the world by Orosius, written in the fifth century.¹ In a supplement to the translation he gives us some information about a voyage in the Baltic Sea, undertaken, during the second half of the ninth century, by a man named Wulfstan, who told the king of his adventures. The voyage was from Hedeby to the trading port of Truso at the mouth of the Vistula. "On the starboard side," said Wulfstan, "he had the land of the Wends, and on the larboard Langeland, Låland, Falster and Scania, and all these lands belong to Denmark. Later we had on the larboard side the land of the Burgunds (=the island of Bornholm), and the Burgunds have their own king. Still later, after the land of the Burgunds, we had to larboard the lands called Blekinge, Möre, Öland and Gotland, and these lands belong to the Svear."

Thus we see that during the latter half of the ninth century the founding of the Swedish kingdom is completed.

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The Swedish realm which existed as a unified state at the beginning of the Viking Age was, naturally, not a state in the modern sense of the term; it was much more loosely built up. The unity was indicated chiefly by there being only one king. The different territories had in common that they paid tribute to the king. Furthermore, they were united by their joint military organization under the king's command. Possibly there also existed a certain uniformity in respect of religion. But in other matters the various sections possessed decided independence. Each territory had still its own laws.

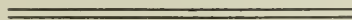
¹ *King Alfred's Orosius*, I., edited by H. Sweet, London, 1883 (= *Early Engl. Text Society*, No. 79), p. 19, *et seq.*

It was not until well into the Middle Ages that Sweden obtained a code of law common to the whole country, and it was by this event that the country may be said to have first come into being as a state in the modern sense of the word, with a real inner unity. The Sweden which we find at the beginning of the Viking period is, however, in certain respects a unit, and one is therefore justified in saying that the establishment of the Swedish kingdom was complete by that time.

* * *

I have here briefly allowed the literary sources of information to give their testimony as to the origin of the Swedish realm. The sources do not contradict one another. On the contrary, they agree very well, as we have seen, and confirm and amplify one another. The picture they give of the unification of the Swedish kingdom is certainly extremely schematic, but still, it is distinct and connected. The very fact that the sources agree so very well, and really give a continuous picture of events, speaks highly, in my opinion, for the truth, in the main, of the story they tell.

We have seen that the archæological material also on certain points furnishes very important contributions to the problem under consideration. We can hardly expect to discover any new literary material of importance. The archæological material, however, grows year by year, and we may feel assured that a fuller collection of archæological material will make an important contribution to a more intimate knowledge of the origin of the Swedish kingdom.



ARTHUR AND ATHELSTAN.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

(Read December 2nd. 1924).

OBITER dicta come home to roost, and hence this essay. Years ago I wrote a little book about Scandinavian Britain, and now I am told that I said therein, "Arthurian tales contain many motives of the Viking Age, and confuse the ancient Celtic mythology with waifs and strays from ninth and tenth century history, and from the folk-lore of the Norse." What, I am asked, does this mean?

If the question has not been answered already by someone else, I should like to answer it thus:—

The Arthur of the *Historia Brittonum*, attributed to Nennius and dated somewhere round about the year 800, is a very different person from the Arthur of the romances. The first stage of the romances in any completed form is the story told by Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1147, who claimed that he was translating an old Welsh book. There were other Welsh (and no doubt Breton) stories current; scraps of them have been collected, *e.g.*, by Sir John Rhys, in well-known works; but these are not trustworthily dated. The most complete are the Arthurian parts of the *Mabinogion*, and even there we find traces of comparatively recent incidents. In "the Dream of Rhonabwy" it is impossible not to see a reflection of Brunanburh, told as of the battle of Mount Badon. Owen and his Ravens surely mean king Owen of Cumbria, who historically led the viking settlers of Cumberland to the great battle. In "The Lady of the Fountain" Owen's Ravens appear again, "and

wherever he went with these he was victorious." In "Rhonabwy" it is told that the Saxons tried to put off the battle, and Arthur took counsel with the men of Norway and Denmark about it; and this is parallel to the incident in Egil's Saga when Athelstan puts off the battle in the same way, sending offers of tribute, which the Welsh story amplified into "four-and-twenty asses with their burdens of gold and silver . . . bringing tribute to Arthur." It is obvious that the events and details of Brunanburh, already partly forgotten, were worked up into a professed account of Mount Badon, to give reality and local colour to a shadowy tradition. And it is further arguable that the story of Brunanburh came to the Welsh through sources like those which brought it to Iceland. It was a very great event, paralleled in British history only by the legendary battle of Mount Badon, Arthur's crowning victory; and naturally the legends coalesced. But this helps us to date the origin of the Mabinogion story. It is of the age following the Viking wars, late tenth century at earliest. It contains nothing of earlier British Arthurian legend beyond what is related by Nennius.

Now Geoffrey of Monmouth had his old Welsh book given him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. We propose to show that it was certainly old, but not more than about 150 years old. The story Geoffrey tells is parallel to events which occurred down to about 950, and it must have been considerably later than that date when incidents—too fresh in mind in the middle of the tenth century—could be used as matter of romance. The incidents are given in his chapters of the ninth and tenth books, running on to the end of chapter 2 of the eleventh: Bohn's English translation is generally available.

The first (Book ix., chap. 1, 2) tells how the Saxons, at the beginning of Arthur's reign, had subdued all Britain from the Humber to Caithness; which is true

of the Vikings in Athelstan's day, but not of the Saxons in Arthur's. Arthur marches north, and defeats Colgrin and his Saxons, Scots and Picts, by the river Duglas, and then besieges York. Colgrin's brother, Baldulph, comes from the sea-coast to the rescue, but is repulsed by Arthur's captain, Cador duke of Cornwall, and then Baldulph bethinks him of a trick. He disguises himself as a harper, and so passes through Arthur's camp and is dragged up with a rope let down by his friends from the city walls: and once safe in York his allies, under Duke Cheldric, arrive from overseas and raise the siege. Now, there was no York when Arthur is said to have lived: that is a matter of archæology. The Roman town was destroyed. After 500 a few Angles settled and farmed in the outskirts, but the town did not grow up until St. Paulinus had planted a church there, a hundred years later. Moreover, it was Athelstan who took York after the death of Sigtrygg O'Ivar (927), and pretty certainly passed through it in 934 and 937 on the way to Scotland and Brunanburh respectively: and it was on the last of these occasions that Olaf Cuaran, according to William of Malmesbury (ii., 6), played this same trick of entering the enemy camp disguised as a harper. When Athelstan returned to York, on one occasion at least, he is said to have stayed at the city and made gifts to the churches, founding the hospital of St. Peter: Arthur too is represented as holding his Christmas there and rebuilding churches (Geoffrey, ix., 8). The whole of this first episode of the earliest form of the Arthurian epic is a version of Athelstan's history; or rather it is built up out of materials from the doings of the tenth century, not from any real tradition of the fifth and sixth.

The next event in Geoffrey's book (ix., chap. 3) is Arthur's expedition to relieve Lincoln, which was besieged by the pagans. He drove them off to the wood of Celidon. That is the Cat Coit Celidon of

Nennius, which in this account is identified with Lincolnshire, not Caledonia; but as the old Celtic root *cald* seems to have meant simply wood (I suppose Welsh *celli*), the word Celidon might have been used of any forest. In this wood the pagans took refuge. Arthur had trees cut down and made into a fence around them, and in three days they were forced to surrender. Now a parallel exists in the fighting in the wood told in the "Three Fragments" (quoted by Steenstrup, *Nordm.* iii., 36) and attributed to the time of Sigtrygg O'Ivar, and there dated to 911 but not localized; how the Saxon (English) king bade his men cut down the trees with their swords and axes, until they got at the Vikings and slew them.

Geoffrey continues: The Saxons who were spared, on surrendering, promised to go back to Germany, but sailed round the coast to Totness, and devastated the country as far as the Severn Sea. Then they marched upon Bath, and the great battle followed, in which Arthur carried his shield Priwen with the picture of Mary, Mother of God, painted upon it, and Caliburn, the sword made in the isle of Avallon, and his lance Ron, and signally defeated the pagans in the battle of Mount Badon. Already *Badonis mons* had been identified with Bath, an equation which modern philology forbids. But all this story is taken from a much later campaign. In 875 the Danes, under Guthorm, wintered at Cambridge; next year they sailed round to Poole harbour, and seized the 'castle' of Wareham. King Alfred bought peace, and the Danes swore on the holy ring that they would depart. "Notwithstanding," says the *Saxon Chronicle*, "that part of the army which was horsed stole away by night from the fortress [of Wareham] to Exeter." Alfred pursued them and again received their oaths and hostages that they would keep the peace: but in 878 they overran Wessex, "and many of the people they drove beyond sea, and of the

remainder the greater part they subdued and forced to obey them, except King Alfred," who established himself at Athelney and finally overcame the heathen in the famous battle of Ethandune. It is impossible not to see in Geoffrey's account an attempt to write a story around the bare tradition of Mount Badon, using the ninth century history to fill out the details. The names are changed, and that shows the definite intention of the Welsh story-teller to use known facts without giving himself away. For Wareham he writes Totnes, for Ethandune he writes Bath; for Guthorm and the Danes he puts Colgrin and the Saxons; and for Alfred, Arthur. Indeed, we can perhaps find the armour of Arthur in the Viking Age; for William of Malmesbury tells how Athelstan owned the sword of Constantine the Great, with his name in golden letters, and one of the nails of the Crucifixion set in its pommel; and the spear of Charlemagne, said to have been the very spear with which Longinus pierced the side of Christ. Such detail seem to be used in the story of Excalibur and the mystic Lance of the legends.

Then Geoffrey (ix., chap. 6) tells us of Arthur's campaign in Scotland. He marches on Alclud (Dumbarton) and attacks the Scots and Picts in Mureif (Moray). The enemy takes refuge on the island of Loch Lomond, where Arthur besieges them with his fleet of boats. Meanwhile Guillamurius, king of Ireland, comes over with a great army; Arthur turns against them and overcomes them; and then marches through Scotland, giving no quarter to any but the clergy, who beg him to spare their unfortunate nation. Arthur desists, and in the next chapter (ix., 7) we have a bit of natural history and geography as it was understood in the earlier middle ages, concerning lakes in Scotland and Wales. It is after these events that Arthur goes to York for his Christmas, as already told.

This story is not far to seek. It is pieced together

from Athelstan's campaigns of 934 and 937. In the first he invaded Cumbria and Strathclyde, of which the old capital was Alclyde (Dumbarton), and then pushed on through Scotland to Dunnotar Castle in Kincardineshire. The Welsh author identified 'Linnuis,' the region of one of Arthur's battles, with Lennox; nowadays, as the oldest forms of Lennox are Lemnaigh and Levenach, we could not accept this localization. Indeed, we do not need to trouble ourselves with a British (Cymric) king's attacks on Scots at Loch Lomond, because about A.D. 500 the Scots were hardly beginning their settlement of Argyll. They may by then have seized Dunadd, but it is a far cry to Loch Lomond. There may have been some later fighting between the first Scots and the Cymru of Strathclyde which suggested the episode; for many waifs and strays of legend are gathered up with the general cycle of Arthur. But the localization of Arthurian legend in Strathclyde and Perthshire seems to have been a later growth, like the localization of the same stories in Northumberland, Cumberland and the north generally, when the romances had become common property and every region claimed its share of heroic associations.

The other part of this campaign as told by Geoffrey is certainly adapted from the story of Brunanburh. King Guillamurius of Ireland is suggested by Olaf Skotakonungr, who came over the sea to join the Picts, Scots, Cumbri and Viking settlers of the north and was overthrown by Athelstan at Brunanburh in the Northwest. The two historical campaigns were so closely allied in circumstances that it is no wonder if they were confused and treated as one by Southerners after a generation or two—that is to say, by the author of Geoffrey's Welsh book, writing late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century. But again we see a definite attempt to use the details and colour in a historical picture, and to cover the inventor's tracks by

changing the name from Olaf to Guillamurius, Gilla-muire.

When Geoffrey's Arthur had conquered and spared Scotland, and all Britain was under his authority, he divided the north between three subject-kings; Lot was made ruler of Loudonesia (Lothian); Augusel or Angusel, previously king of Scots, was restored to his throne; and Urian, brother of those two kings, was made king of Mureif (Moray). After settling these affairs, Arthur married Guanhumara (Guenevere by the aspiration of the *m* in the older form of the name). In this partition of the north we can see the actual history of Athelstan, who left Alban to Constantine and Cumbria to Owen's son Duvenald (the Dunmail of Cumberland tradition); and Northumbria, which then included Lothian and until a little while earlier had been held by Sigtrygg, now dead, was very soon afterwards held as a kingdom by a series of Viking chiefs—Olaf Guthferthsson, Olaf Cuaran Sigtryggsson and Eirík Haraldsson. The Angusel of Geoffrey's authority, king Anguish of Ireland and Scotland in the later Arthurian romances, must mean Angus, which was the name of kings in Alban earlier than Constantine. Urian seems to be adapted from the name of a famous early king of Cymru, father of the earlier Owen. But both these names, Angus and Urian (Urbgen) are much later than the periods assigned to Arthur: and yet, from this artificial connexion with his legend as told in Geoffrey's book, the medieval romancers get their king Urien, father of Sir Owen, or Uwaine, and king Anguish. 'King Lot' is a more complicated affair.

Geoffrey's account of Lot is that he was nephew of Sichelin (or rather Sichelm, for Sighelm) king of the Norse—in the sixth century!—and right heir to the throne of Norway, which had been usurped by Riculf. Lot married Arthur's sister, by whom he had two sons, Walgan and Modred. When Arthur had settled him-

self in Britain and conquered Ireland and Iceland (whatever Iceland may be interpreted to mean in this connexion) he received the submission of Doldavius, king of Gothland and Gunfasius, king of the Orkneys, and sailed to Norway, fought and slew Riculf, and set Lot on the throne there. After this, Lot is no longer named as king of Lothian, but of Norway (Geoffrey, ix., 9-11). Walgan and sent into the service of the Pope, and reappears with honour in Arthur's continental campaigns: he fell at last in the battle against Modred just before the last great and fatal day of Camlann (called by Geoffrey the river Cambula). Modred, when king Arthur was abroad, married Guanhumara, usurped the crown, fought Arthur on his return, and fell, as Arthur also, in the final battle. It is obvious that all this Norwegian history is out of place in the early sixth century. It may be, as archæological evidence suggests, that the Angles came from Norway, but they did not come until near the close of Arthur's supposed period, and then in small groups, settling in isolated holdings up the rivers of Yorkshire. King Ida at Bamborough, and the formation of any military power with which the Angles could have fought the Britons of the north, date considerably later than Arthur. Whence then did the Welsh story teller get his Lot of Norway and Lothian, and the later romances their connexion of Lot's family with Orkney?

There is no doubt much purely Welsh folklore mixed up with the story of Arthur's sisters, Morgan la Fée and Morgawse, and many details may be independent of the Viking Age history which has been blended with them. But there still remains a curious parallel, or series of parallels, between what we may accept as the fact of the tenth century and the fictions of Arthurian legend. Two elements especially are worth noting, which we may call the Orkney motive and the nephew (Modred) motive.

The Orkney motive comes into history a little later than Athelstan. Northumbria and Lothian came under the power of Eirík Haraldsson in 946, and after vicissitudes he was expelled, probably killed in the battle of Stainmoor, in 954. He came from Orkney. He had a beautiful and dangerous witch-wife, Gunnhild. Her daughter, as baneful as herself, was the wife of Ljótr, earl of Orkney and Caithness. Of course, popular etymology in ancient times made Lot the eponymus of Lothian; but no early history tells of a Lot of Lothian. The name was, in Norman French, Loot, Looth (the *th* as *t*), and the *o* therefore long. Sir John Rhys argued (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 125) that it represented old Celtic Lôdens, the Llûd of the silver hand of Welsh mythology, king Lud of London; but there is nothing in all this to connect with Lot of Orkney, whereas the Norse Ljót was earl of Orkney, and had a baneful wife, and through his father-in-law Eirík was very closely connected with Northumbria and Lothian. It seems that the Welsh story-teller used this bit of detail, as he used others of the age, to give body to his historical romance; and the connexion, once accepted, suggested Arthur's Norwegian adventures. Eirík, of course, was the rightful heir, expelled from Norway but reinstated in a kingdom in England.

The nephew motive seems to relate to Athelstan. In the older form, Geoffrey's Modred was simply Arthur's nephew, who finally became his enemy through ambition to rule in his stead. In Athelstan's history there was his nephew by marriage, step-son to his sister, who had married Sigtrygg O'Ivar; and because he was not allowed to take the crown of Northumbria, Athelstan's chief enemy. It was he who engineered the great combination that tried to overthrow the English power at Brunanburh; and he, Olaf Cuaran, did eventually gain for a while the crown he sought. Something of this romantic story of Olaf Cuaran seems to lie at the

back of the matured Arthurian legend, altered and varied, but showing once more how the legend was woven together of many strands, of which the strongest and most continuous were the Viking Age incidents.

A question must have arisen by now—"Why should an English king sit to a Welsh artist for the Cymric national hero? Were not the races too hostile?" They were hostile, but not inimical. Asser's *Life of Alfred*, however spurious, shows that the ideal of English character was not unrecognised by a Welshman: and many more instances could be given. A race-war among kindred races cannot be kept up; it is as immoral and impossible as a class-war. And in the realms of art it is still more unthinkable. We have to understand the position of a Cymric artist, somewhere about the year 1000, acquainted with the bare outline given by Nennius and ambitious of filling his canvas. What Arthur was believed to have done in his day, Alfred and Athelstan did over again, and on a greater scale. For the most part, the Welsh had common cause with them against the Vikings, and it is a curious fact that by the twelfth century Athelstan was looked back upon as one of the heroes. Caradoc of Llancarvan could say that he was "the worthiest Prince of the Saxon blood that ever reigned." It was true that he once entered Wales and demanded tribute, but he was very easy about the payment, and "King Ethelstane was no less terrible abroad than he was awed and feared at home; the kings of France and Norway sending him very great and costly presents, to obtain his favour and to gain his good will." His birth was romantic: the legend is given by William of Malmesbury. His life was uniformly successful. His character was generous, and his connexions widespread and magnificent; and his death was childless. He was what Arthur, as national hero, ought to have been. No wonder he was the model from which Arthur was painted.

After the chapters we have gone through, Geoffrey proceeds with Arthur's campaigns in France and elsewhere on the continent. Here we lose the thread of British history in the Viking Age, and the sources must be looked for elsewhere; but in a general way the whole series of adventures may have been suggested by Athelstan's foreign connexions. His sisters, beside the one who married king Sigtrygg, were the wives of no less personages than Charles, king of France; Hugo, count of Paris; Otho, emperor of Germany; Louis, duke of Aquitaine; and another prince of central Europe unnamed. This is enough to start imagination on a foreign tour with Arthur-Athelstan as the leader. On the way there was the adventure with the giant of Mont St. Michel, a common motive in folklore, possibly Welsh; but for a Norse parallel we have the story of Thorvald in the *Fljótsdæla saga*, and it is a frequent motive of old Norse ballads.

One more incident of Geoffrey's may be noticed as clearly taken from Viking history. In his chapter on Careticus, fifth king after Arthur, he tells of Gormund, king of the Africans, who came from Ireland to help the Saxons, and besieged Cirencester. The story is a travesty of the capture of Cirencester by Guthorm in 879-880, the same Guthorm whose raid on Devonshire had already been used to adorn Arthur's second triumph. "Africans" can only mean that the Welsh were reporting from the Norse tradition, for the black men, Danes, Dubhgall, may have been confused with *blámenn*, which also means negroes. In the Mabino-gion also the distinction of black Danes and white Norse is mentioned.

Here we come to the end of Geoffrey's history of Arthur, so far as it is traceably founded on events of the Viking Age. His Welsh book ends with Athelstan: "The Saxons managed affairs with more prudence [than Britons]; maintained peace and concord among

themselves [compared with the Welsh]; tilled their grounds, rebuilt their cities and towns, and so throwing off the dominion of the Britons, bore sway over all Loegria under their leader Athelstan."

But what about a real Arthur?

Nennius tells a plain tale which might very well have been the tradition current, less than 300 years after the events, of a leader named Arthur [*i.e.*, with the Roman or Roman-Celtic name of Artorius], who fought the Saxons in twelve battles and kept the tide back. He beat them on the river Glein, four times on the Dubglas in the district of Linnuis, again on the river Bassas. His seventh battle was in the wood of Celidon, "*id est* Cat Coit Celidon." Then at Castle Guinnion, when he wore the picture of the Virgin Mary [on the shield] on his shoulders. The ninth battle was at the Urbs Legionis [Henry of Huntingdon seems to have read *Urbs Leogis*]. The tenth on the shore of the river Tribuit; the next on the mount Agned, and the twelfth 'in monte Badonis.' And in all battles he was conqueror. But the heathen sought help from Germany, and increased and prevailed until the time of Ida, first king in Bernicia. That is all: but later Welsh notices, of the tenth century, add dates: 516 for the battle of Badon, and 537 for the battle of Cam Lann, in which Arthur and Medraut fought. Other mentions seem to be later still, and add only scraps of folklore. The main story for which we have to find a place is the first, that of Nennius.

The place, we have seen, cannot be in the north, nor in the west. But the map of early cemeteries and remains given by Mr. Thurlow Leeds, in his *Archæology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, seems to hint the regions where the events attributed to Arthur were possible. South of the Thames valley, where settlements of Saxons were being formed, and some at any rate peacefully, as shown by the evidence of the village

recently explored in Berkshire, a little south of Abingdon; west of Kent; north and west of the Sussex and South Hampshire coast, there is a blank space, marked only with barrow interments of men killed in fight on Salisbury Down, and weapons found near Winchester. In that area the Roman-British civilization had been strong, a hundred years before Arthur's time; it is mainly upland country, and dotted over with forts already ancient history to Arthur. That perhaps was the area he defended. And if we do not venture to identify sites, it is because there is a Place-name Society, and it will be their business, when all records are searched, and philology has done its best, to tell us how far the names of the twelve battles can be found in that region. Place-names are doing much to lift a corner of the veil which hangs over the scenes of our earliest history. Perhaps, after an age of credulity, another of scepticism, and a third of pseudo-science which has failed to explain him as a sun-myth or a culture-hero, archæology and philology may give us back a real Arthur.

THE TRANSITION FROM NORSE TO LOWLAND SCOTCH IN SHETLAND, 1600-1850.

A STUDY IN THE DECAY OF ONE LANGUAGE
AND ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE LANGUAGE
THAT SUPPLANTED IT.

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(Read April 27th, 1926).

1. The dialect of the Shetland Isles forms the northernmost branch of Lowland Scotch in A. J. Ellis's *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. Its grammar is in the main Scotch, but with a few Norse forms; its accent is West Norwegian; its phonology a mixture of the two.¹ In its phraseology the Norse element would seem to be the dominant one; but yielding slowly to Lowland and Standard English. In its vocabulary it is part Norse and part Lowland Scotch (and English), with less important other elements.² I shall below come back to the question of the relative proportion of the main elements. On the semantic side, Norse and Scotch uses are found side by side in well-nigh every sentence spoken; its compound words very frequently combine one stem from the one language with one from the other. This unusual example of mixed speech, with its exceedingly irregular forms, is the outgrowth of the complete union of two languages, of which the one which yielded its place was the speech of the majority, the one which displaced it was the speech of the smaller number, mainly the official class and the clergy. The basic Norse population, in passing during the centuries from Norse to Scotch, adapted the new words learned to their own native ways of pronouncing; and in the course of time large bodies of Scotch words, in the resulting mixed dialect, were not only

pronounced after the Norse manner, but were perhaps given Norse suffixes also, or employed in ways strange to Scotch, but ways which the words had had in the native Norse. And similarly with loans on the other side. The Scotch settlers and officials, few at first, more numerous later, found in Shetland a dialect which they did not understand, and which they had to learn, one whose nouns, and adjectives, and verbs, they took up into their own speech, adapting them to their own manner of pronouncing. And certain other national factors must, perhaps, also be reckoned with. The variety of pronunciations of the same word is, apparently, nowhere in English-speaking countries, so great as in the Orkney-Shetland variety. At the present time Standard English is slowly but surely displacing the dialect, as the form of speech that all strive to acquire.

2. The historical background of these things may briefly be summarized as follows. The Norsemen first visited the islands probably about 750 A.D.; their first permanent settlements were made probably about 790 or 800. Neither the *i*-umlaut of the Norse words in the dialect, nor the lake and river names (not to speak of the place-names) offer any evidence of settlement earlier than that. However, before the Norse occupation, Picts, and Gaels, and Irish priests, had been there; but upon the coming of the Vikings the peaceful priests withdrew, returning, we assume, to Ireland. The Picts and Gaels had come from Scotland, and some of them also from Wales it would seem; of these, too, many may have withdrawn. But many also remained; and the evidence indicates these were not exterminated by the Norse; they merged gradually into the new population. And so there came about a certain racial mixture already from the beginning of the Norse occupation. The evidences of Pictish nationality especially, are to be seen in certain lake and river names, and in a small group of words in the Shetland dialect.³ Shetland and Orkney (which also had

been settled by the Norsemen at the same time), were politically a part of Norway as late as 1468. In that year the two were temporarily handed over to Scotland as a pledge of the dowry of Princess Margaret, upon her marriage to James III. of Scotland. This contract was made by King Christian I. of Denmark-Norway, Norway having become united with Denmark in 1387. Thus with 1468 Scotch rule takes its beginning; but in Orkney especially there had been some Scotch immigration long before then.

In nationality, then, Shetland had been Norwegian for well on toward 700 years. But it continued to be acknowledged as Norwegian territory for 200 years after 1468; for Scotch rule was clearly understood to be merely a temporary arrangement, and the islands were in time to be returned to Norway. It was expressly stipulated in the contract that there were to be no changes made on the part of Scotland in the laws and institutions of the Shetland-Orkney Earldom. On three different occasions after 1468 the Kings of Denmark-Norway offered to pay the sum necessary to release the islands; and as late as 1667 the right of Norway was recognized by Scotland in a document that also bears the signature of the King of England and of the King of France. But that is the last we hear of it. And we may perhaps set down 1667 as the date in which Shetland-Orkney passed definitely and permanently into Scottish hands. And down to about this time also, as I shall indicate below, Shetland was linguistically almost purely Norse; from then on it becomes more and more rapidly Lowland Scotch.⁴

3. As late as the end of the XVIth century, we may safely assume, Scottish settlement of Shetland had hardly begun. We learn, *e.g.*, that in 1593 Rev. Magnus Manson, who had been appointed minister in Unst, one of the northern isles, was obliged to go to Norway to learn the Norwegian language, or perfect

himself in it, as his congregation "understood no other language."⁵ And Arthur Edmondston, in his *View of the Ancient and Present State of the Zetland Islands*, Edinburgh, 1809, illustrates how around the year 1600 the Scotch seem to know very little about Shetland. In the last decades of the XVIIth century, however, this has changed. The Scotch population now no longer consist merely of the Great Fowd, the lairds, and the ministers sent there by the home church; there is something like a definite immigration of settlers, and a systematic effort on the part of Scotland to make the islands Scotch. But the change from one language to another must have been a slow process in that period under conditions as they were in Shetland at that time. Orkney was nearer, and in Orkney it began earlier and went faster.⁶ Of Orkney, Mathew Mackaile, of Aberdeen, writes in the last half of the seventeenth century,⁷ in *A Short Relation of the Most Considerable Things in Orkney*: "It is very probable that the inhabitants of the Orcades of old did only speak Noords, or rude Danish; but now there are only three or four parishes (especially upon the Mainland or Pomona) wherein that language is spoken, and that chiefly when they are at their own houses; but all speak the Scots language, as the rest of the commons do" (p. 453 in Barry: *History of the Orkney Islands*). As late as the last half of the XVIIth century, then, there were those in several places in Mainland, Orkney, who spoke Norse, when among themselves. And Rev. John Brand wrote, in 1701, in his *Description of Orkney and Shetland*, that Norse was not extinct yet in Orkney, "though there be far more of it in Zetland."

As far as Shetland is concerned, then, Edmondston is no doubt about correct in the general facts, when he writes, in 1809, that "the Old Norse has long been wearing out, and the change appears to have begun in the southern extremity"; and he adds that thirty years

ago several individuals could speak it fluently in Unst, Around 1850 the last persons lived who could speak Norse (or "Norn," as there called), so runs the report from different parts of Shetland. The last one who is actually named as speaking Norse is Walter Sutherland in Skaw, Unst; he died *ca.* 1850.⁸ But the process itself, the steps by which the linguistic interchange came about, is left very vague by all such information. We can get a better idea of it from the published dictionary of the Norse element, and from the literary fragments that have been preserved.

I shall now pass to these.

4. On page xix. of the introduction to his *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Språk på Shetland*, J. Jakobsen informs us that his dictionary contains some over ten thousand words of Norse origin. Jakobsen's studies were carried on in the isles during the years 1893-95, and the first three parts of his work were published respectively in 1908, 1909, and 1912. The fourth part, much the largest, was issued in 1921; in all it makes a volume of 1107 pages. The dictionary does not claim to present the "Norn" element in the dialect of Shetland as it is spoken to-day; for the author informs us that only about half of this number is in *general* use now, and he includes also words from the literary fragments that have been preserved. In his estimate of about half of the ten thousand he eliminates: (1) those words which remain in certain regions only, and (2) antiquated words which are known, and in part used among old persons. But for our purpose those of the first group, being living words, should be included; and also many of the second group belong to the dialect of the present. If we assume that the number of such obsolete and obsolescent words was about 2,000 in 1893-95, which is my estimate after an examination of a part of the material, this would leave 8,000 words. It was observed by Jakobsen that since 1895 the number

of Norn words no longer understood and used has been rapidly increasing. For the present generation then the number of Norn words in living use is considerably less than ten thousand; and also for the year 1850, when Norn definitely disappeared as a spoken language, the number of such words in the Shetland dialect must have been considerably larger than ten thousand. Possibly about 12,000.

What the total word-stock of the Shetlands is I do not know. However, on the basis of the evidence I have, I would estimate the number to be about 16,000. About the year 1900, therefore, the Norse element on the one hand, and the Scotch and other elements on the other about balance. But in 1850 the number of English-Scottish words was not so large as now, and the Norse element was much larger; presumably the ratio was about as 5 to 12. This conclusion may be regarded as borne out, perhaps, by the number of words in Thos. Edmondston's *Etymological Dictionary of the Dialect of Shetland and Orkney*, 1866 (in which there is but little from Orkney). This work contains *ca.* 3,400 words, of which the Scotch element makes up *ca.* one-third. It may be assumed that Edmondston's dictionary is equally incomplete for both elements, the Scotch and the Norse.

The Shetland dialect might be thought to be one of poverty in words, if we were to judge it merely from Edmondston's dictionary, and many readers would at once draw that conclusion. But Jakobsen's dictionary shows the Shetland dialect to be moderately rich lexicographically. Linguists and dialect students would, no doubt, expect a larger estimate. However, in view of facts to be brought out below, and in view also of the limited scope of occupations in Shetland—they are fishermen, sheep-raisers, and workers in woollen mills—I feel the estimate should be made so low.⁹

5. Sub-dialects and lexicographical differentiation.

The Shetland dialect has been divided into 16 local forms or sub-dialects, the basis of this division being certain rather prominent differences of pronunciation, as between the conservative west and the more uniform and modernised south and east, between the outlying islands and the different sections of the Mainland. Some of these differences of pronunciation are, however, rather minor, and one could perhaps, just as well divide into 12 varieties, it seems to me. The dialectal differentiation in Shetland is more significant, perhaps, in the vocabulary. In this respect the conditions for the rise of numerous local differences were present here in a greater degree than in most countries. The important factors were those of isolation, and the difficulties of communication between the islands, and even between the north, the west, and the south of the Mainland.

And it is likely that through the greater part of the Middle-Age period, and down into the XVIIth century, each island or district was more or less an independent unit, the people living by their own work, and supplying with their own hands the material needs of food and clothing. Thus as late as Brand's time (1710)¹⁰ the shoes of the fishermen and peasantry were home-made, a kind of shaped skin that was strapped on to the foot. The needs for communicating with or trading with the people of other islands were not many. In such a case numerous differences in the use of the words may arise in the course of time; and the loss of old words, and the adoption of new words, or the coining of new terms, may be very unequal in the different parts. In illustration of this I shall cite the good example of the different terms used for the dyke or gate-way which leads from the sheepfold, or *krø*.¹¹ In Northmavine one says *retta-dyke*, the first element being from O.N. *réttr*, 'sheep-fold'; in the island of Yell it is *stillyers-dyke*, the first part being O.N. *stillr*, 'trap.' In Fetlar one

says *rekster-dyke*, using the O.N. *rekster*, a 'driving'; but in Unst the word is *soadin-dyke*, from the Shetland vb. *soad*, which is O.N. *sæta*, 'to waylay.' In place of 'dyke' as the second component, they employ the word *stjaagi* in Foula, from O.N. *stjaki*, 'pole,' and the word there becomes *krø-stjaggi*; in the central sub-dialects of Mainland one says *stuggi-dyke*, or *krø-stuggi*, the new element being from O.N. *stuka*, 'sleeve.' Thus seven Norse words and the English 'dyke' appear in the various formations; in two of them both component parts are Norse. Are we to regard these different uses in the different islands as due, perhaps, to differences in the speech of the original settlers, pointing to different parts of southern Norway? In most cases I think not; at any rate, I shall leave this question in abeyance here.

The local variations mentioned may be just as striking in the most intimate words of the dialect, those that belong to the occupations of the day, terms for utensils and the parts of these, for animals and for the different parts of their bodies, and similarly of course with other words. Such local variations may often be due to differences in the local specialisation of terms. By this I mean, *e.g.*, the use of different words for the same animal, or of different forms of the same word, as a more specialised definition, thus the single term taking the place here of a compound, or an adjective plus a noun, as usually. So an animal will have a different name for the different stages of its growth, as when the gray cod or *sed* in its first year is generally called *selek*, but in Foula it used to be called *mort*; and as when in Dunrossness the *sed* of two years is named *waelshi pultek*, but in Unst is called *hol-pultek*. It is clear that the great wealth of vocabulary is in no small part due to just this specialisation.

6. Variety of specialised terms. This specialisation here referred to seems peculiarly characteristic of the

Shetlands; thus the gray-cod has twelve names, and the ordinary cod has ten; other fish too will have several names, but none quite so many. And it is quite the same in other classes of words. I shall illustrate this by the Shetlandic equivalents for the word 'tail.'¹² Here the whole variety of names is likely to be current in the same region. The O.N. *hali* is a long tail, applied particularly to a cow's tail (as in south-western Norway); *tagl* is the word for a horse's tail (as in western Norway and elsewhere); *skauf* is the bushy tail of a dog or a fox, and for this *skott* may also be used; *derrell* is a sheep's tail; *rovi* or *rovak* is the tail of the cow and also of the dog-fish; *vel* and *stert* are both used for the bird's tail (as in south-western Norway in the case of both); *spord* is the tail of a fish, but in taboo-talk in Aithstthing this is the general term for tail.¹³ Thus there are nine words in regular and general use for tail, one of which serves for all as a taboo-term.

7. The Norn of Shetland of about the year 1700. I shall now try briefly to analyse the language of the literary fragments that have been preserved from about or earlier than 1750; they should reveal to us just about when the native dialect began to decay, and what the first steps in that decay were. After that I shall attempt to trace the progressive disintegration of Norse, until it died out as a spoken language.

The material we have for the time mentioned is (1st) *The Ballad of Hildina*, (2) some bits of poetry, riddles, and proverbs, (3) the *Lord's Prayer*. The Ballad of Hildina was first printed by George Barry in his *History of the Orkney Islands* (2nd ed. London, 1808, pp. 489-495). The ballad was recited to George Low in Foula in 1774, and embodied by him in his report of his *Tour Through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland*, published (not until) 1879 at Kirkwall, Scotland. A study of it with special reference to its phonology, was published by the Norwegian Scientific Society in 1900.¹⁴

In its vocabulary the Hildina is almost entirely Norse. There are 35 stanzas of four verses each, and a total of *ca.* 500 words; of these 7 words with 12 occurrences are Scotch, counting for the Scotch also the hybrids—*ca.* 2½% of the total. Of these only 3 are regular loan-words, namely the two vbs., *aska*, the conjunction *yift*, 'if.' and the preposition *to*. The occurrence of the preposition is rather surprising, and I suspect that the reciter of the ballad said *te* (*ti* or *tə*),¹⁵ which the writer copied as English 'to.' In the four hybrids a Norse word has been influenced in form or meaning by a Scotch word; these are: *friende*, and *ufriend*, O.N. *frændi*, Eng. 'friend'; and the noun *glasbury*, 'castle of glass,' in which the last part shows Eng. influence; finally the vb. *tinka* may have its vowel *i* from Scotch, or is perhaps the Sco. *tink*. It is to be added that the native *till* and *spira* are also used by the side of *to* and *aska*.

In its grammar the Hildina is Norse, but it shows a stage when the forms are breaking down. The definite article is everywhere the Norse post-positive article (*Jarlin*, *eullingin*, *fruen*, *koningn*, *vadlin*, etc.). The case-endings of nouns are fairly well preserved (gen. sg. *-ar*, gen. pl. *-a*, wk. dat. sg. masc. *frinda*), as also those of the pronouns (*ednar*, etc.), the pprtc. ending *-inn* remains as *-in*, wk. fem. nouns end in *-a*. The infinitive ending of vbs. is *-a* (cf. also the borrowed vb. *aska*); similarly the 3d pres. of strong vbs. shows leveling under *-er*, *genger*, but *stiendi* (*stendr*) once.¹⁶ Elsewhere there is much uncertainty, as e.g., *-inn*, *-in*, is written *-in*, *-en*, and *-on*.¹⁷ I cannot take time to illustrate these things in detail, however.

8. The Hildina ballad was copied down from the lips of an old man, William Henry, a farmer of Guttorm, Island of Foula, in 1774.¹⁸ He learned it in childhood, and it may be assumed that he was born about 1700. But the ballad cannot, of course, be taken as

representing spoken Norn of 1700. Its language is probably, however, the language of the generation of his parents. As other things bear out this conclusion, we shall not be wrong, I think, if we conclude that the ballad represents the dialect as spoken about 1660-75. That would be about two generations after the time that Rev. Magnus was obliged to go to Norway to learn Norse, for his congregation understood no other language. The Norn dialect of about 1660-75 then was grammatically a pure Norse; but it had taken over from Scotch a few nouns and vbs., and of other words at any rate the conjunction *yift*, while the influence was beginning to show itself in the meanings and forms of occasional other words, and in a certain irregularity in the inflectional endings. The phonological irregularities that we witness are, however, not due to any special extent to Scotch influence, but are mainly developments within Shetland Norn itself (many of them are paralleled by developments or tendencies at the time in the closely related dialects of the Faroes, and of south-western Norway).

9. There are next a few fragments that apparently belong to about 1750. They are: (1) some lines about a boy who had been to Caithness; (2) the Conningsburgh phrase, and (3) a nursery rhyme. These three read in order:

1. De vare gue ti,
when sone min guid to Kadanæs:
hän cän ca' rossa mare
hän cän ca' big bere
hän cän ca' eld fire
hän cän ca' klovandi taings.¹⁹

2. Myrk in e Liora, Luce in e Liunga, Tim in e Guest'in
e geungnä.²⁰

3. Byun vil ikka teea
tan an leggen
slogan veggen
byun vil ikka teea.²¹

The first is from Unst, the chief of the northern islands; the second is from Cunningsburgh, Mainland, that part of the Mainland where Norn maintained itself longest; and the third again is from Unst. The first, which is in prose, shows the retention of the introductory pronoun *de* (O.N. *þat*), the possessive *min*, the pers. pron. *han*, and the post-position of the possessive (*sone min*); further, the pret. *var*, 'was,' Norse *var*. The 3rd selection shows the suffixal def. art. still in use, and the infinitive of verbs as still ending in *-a*. The fragments contain only two prepositions, *to* and *i* (*vare* equals *var i*), of which the latter is Norse. The pronunciation is clearly a very open *i*; cf. the writing with *e* in all instances in the Conningsburgh phrase.

The grammar of the two fragments is still almost entirely Norse. The vocabulary now definitely shows a growing Scotch element, but the words are still almost only verbs and nouns. And it would seem that the commonest vbs. are establishing themselves rather more easily than the nouns, as here the two vbs. *geng*, and *ca'*. The vocabulary continues to be overwhelmingly Norse. The fragments are too short to give much information about what the condition is at this time in regard to the prepositions. We learn something, however, concerning the question of the break-down of endings if we take into account also the Conningsburgh phrase; but this phrase is metrical²² and alliterative, and its final syllables are no safe test as to what the spoken language was in these respects. *Ljora* shows correctly the dat. ending *-a*, but *liunga* should be *ljung* (or *liunge*); its *-a* is clearly due to that of the preceding *ljora*; and so with *geungna*.²³ Finally the adv. *ikka* was without doubt pronounced *ikke* at the time; it has received its *-a* by influence of the following *teea*. This same kind of assimilation of forms in verse is again seen in line .2, where we have *tan an* for *ta'n i*, and in the third line, with its *slogan veggen* for *slo* (= *slaa 'n i veggen*).²⁴

10. *Low's list of Shetland words.* *The Lord's Prayer*, 1774.²³ Of the first of these I shall speak very briefly. We observed in the first of the three fragments considered above that the boy who had been to Caithness had there learned the Scotch words for *rossa*, namely *mare*; *big*, namely *bere* ('barley'); *eld*, namely *fire*, and *klovandi*, i.e., *taings*. Such everyday English-Scotch terms as 'mare,' 'fire,' 'bere,' etc., had before that been unknown there. In 1784 Low took down, while in Foula, a list of Norn dialect words. This list is of exceeding interest, even though the information accompanying it is not as full as we could wish. We learn from it that in Foula such nouns as *fisk*, *sheug* (sea), *sildin* (herring), *berg* (rock), *bodin*, and *knorrin* (boat), *mostin* (mast), *ednin* (eagle), *kurin* (cow), *fir* (sheep), *hessin* (horse), *heosa* (ladle), and a number of other of the commonest terms still had their Norn names. It would seem that words for the boat and its parts, the sea, and what is connected with it, the various kinds of fishes, birds, and animals, and the names denoting utensils and wearing apparel, were still Norse. But we are left in uncertainty in this case as to whether or not the Norse terms were the only ones used. Low does not inform us whether the corresponding Scotch words were not also, to some extent at least, used in Foula.

The Lord's Prayer reads as follows, in the language of the time :

Fy vor o er i chimeri. Halaght vara nam dit. La konungdum din cumma. La vill din vera guerde i vrildin senda eri chimeri. Gav wus dagh u dagloght brau. Forgive sindorwara sin vi forgiwa gem ao sinda gainst wus. Lia wus eke o vera tempa, but delivra wus fro adlu illu for do i ir Konungdum, u puri, u glori, Amen.

We are here again a step farther on in the change to Scotch; of 43 different words six are English-Scotch. These are the nouns *puri*, and *glori*, the vbs. *delivra*,

and *forgiva*, the conjunction *but*, and the preposition *gainst*. Further the Norse *vilya*, which was still *villya* in the Hildina, and is in the Orkney form of the Lord's Prayer *veya*, has here become *vill* by influence of the Eng. 'will,' and the O.N. *heilagt* appears as *halaght* by influence of the Sco. 'haly.' The noun *nam* is clearly Norse *namn*, pronounced *nam* before the consonant *d* of *dit*; on the other hand *forgive* is the Engl. 'forgive,' not Norse *fyrirgeva*. Attention may further be called to the fact that the nouns are given the def. form by the use of the suffixal article *that*, the infinitive ends in *-a*, and that the order of words is Norse. Even here then we have grammatically a language that is Norse. But the fusion between the two languages is now so intimate that the Scotch pronunciation of words has influenced the corresponding Norse word in several instances, while Scotch semantic influence upon Norse words, observed already in the Hildina, is seen in additional instances here. It is also not without interest that the Prayer uses the nouns *glori* and *puri* instead of the Norse *mátt* (*magt*) and *heiður* (*sæmd*, *æra*). It is apparent that the tendency to use the Scotch terms in the case of abstracts has set in, while for concrete nouns the native Norse prevail in most cases, or is still in common use by the side of the borrowed Scotch (or Engl.) word in, what from now on is, an increasing number of words. It is also of considerable interest that the pronouns, and the possessive adjectives, are Norse, and mainly also the prepositions. The evidence here then contradicts the opinion sometimes expressed that in mixed languages the language that prevails established itself as early in the form words and the particles as in nouns and endings. In Shetland Norn these two classes of words are not borrowed to any conspicuous extent until the time has come when the very grammar is changing from Norse to Scotch form.

II. As representatives of the Norn dialectal element

after this change had come about we may take now a number of very much distorted poetic fragments, bits of ballads, nursery rhymes, seaman's songs, etc., which have been copied down within the last sixty years, and some as recently as *ca.* 30 years ago. Some of these probably belong to the beginning and the first half of the XIXth century in practically the form in which we have them. They show a language in which the old endings are now and then preserved and understood, elsewhere changed beyond recognition, with extensive levellings under certain vowels or certain combinations of vowel and consonants that are characteristic of the particular fragment, or in some cases also, perhaps, of certain regions. Some of the best are :

To lag de kjøren (O.N. *laga kýrnar*), 'to move the cows.'

Fo me a dek (O.N. *fá mér einn drykk*), 'give me a drink.'

Mæter to de bjadni (O.N. *mátr til barnsins*, or *fyrir barnit*), 'food for the child.'

Others have a more purely Norse form : *oba dona* (O.N. *opna dýrnar*); *kwarna farna* (O.N. *hvar fær du?*); and *spongna ligere glegan* (O.N. *spónninn liggr i glygginum*).²⁶ In the last of these the def. article (-inn, -in) has become -an, -na, but the forms are evidently understood as definite. In the line : *to lag de køren*, the suffixal article has become petrified and has no meaning to the speaker, hence the Engl. article *de* before the noun. In such examples as *oba dona*, and *kwarna farna*, the meaning was understood, but the endings in themselves have no longer any meaning to the speaker, and we have, further, throughout, that vocalic assimilation so characteristic of all the fragments in the last stages of the decay of the ancient Norn in Shetland. Of the utter disintegration of inflexional endings, with levelling under -a, the following is a good example :

Skekla komena rina tuna
swarta hæsta blæita bruna,
fom'ena hala and
*fom'ena bjadnis a kwara hala.*²⁷

This bogy-rime was related to J. Jakobsen by an old woman in Foula; she understood clearly the meaning, and gave Mr. Jakobsen a translation of it. Observe the almost universal levelling under *-a* and *-ena*, everywhere in fact except in the noun *bjadnis* (O.N. *börn* + the English plural ending *-s*). Levelling under *-a* is, however, not here a regular process of an especially frequent noun ending establishing itself in classes of words and in cases where it did not belong, nor is there such levelling in the verbs. It is merely a generalising of a few prevailing final sounds in such rhymes and other fragments in a period when the feeling for the correct inflexional endings had been utterly lost. A good example is the following fragment of a conversation :

Kwarna farna ?

farna sikena droka.

farna radna sikena droka ?

i.e., *hvert ertu farenn ? farenn at sôkja einn drykk. farenn upp a þakit at sôkja drykk.*²⁸

Similar in form is 'The Faire Song,' from an old legend about a man who, riding past a mound, hears some words spoken to him from the mound :

Hðredu, hðredu, ria,

ria, ria, ræn,

sina divla dona vivila,

koþera jüdla

*honjdena bradna.*²⁹

The first two verses are quite clear. The third and fourth seem to be : *si henna Divla (at) buyn ha falle i koparkjedla*, that is, 'say to Divla, that her child has fallen into the copper kettle.'

There is a more recent variant that reads :

Trira rara gonga,

tell to divla

at fivla is fa'en i de fire

and is brunt her.

Another variant reads :

Du at rides de røð

and rins de grey,

tell tun Tivla,

at nuna nivla

is vâlna vâtna.

It is impossible to get any meaning out of the last two lines.³⁰

12. I have in this brief account of the gradual decay of the Norse language in the Shetlands taken into account only the Norse population and the Norn dialect. A complete view cannot be had of course without seeing also the other side, namely the Scotch as spoken through the same period. But I shall have to leave this out of consideration at present. It is clear that the Scotch who first came there to settle had to learn Norse; practical considerations necessitated that. It is clear also that from the beginning of the XVIIth century at least some of the Norse natives were beginning to speak, after a fashion, Lowland Scotch; it was of course especially the young. Thus through the XVIIth c. and perhaps as late as the middle of the XVIIIth c. a considerable part of both nationalities were bilingual. Then this bilingual element increases rapidly among the Norse, and decreases among the Scotch. It is apparent that from the beginning of the XVIIIth c. practically all could speak Lowland Scotch, but the Norse spoke it only when necessity arose. As late as the period from 1750-1775 they learned Norn as the mother tongue. On the other the Scotch language in the islands early took over large bodies of words from the Norse. The court records and the deeds of the time are full of Norse words. I shall merely refer to Gilbert Goudie's "Notice of Ancient Legal Documents Preserved among the Public Records of Shetland," *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scotl.*, 1882, pp. 181-203, and the list of Norse words there given; and the "Minutes of a District Court held at Sumburgh in Dunrossness, in August 5th-7th, 1602," printed pp. 178-189 of Rev. John Mill's *Diary of Shetland*, 1740-1803. The rather rapid and general change over to Scotch in the XVIIIth c. was due in particular to the English schools which were established in Shetland after the visit there of Brand in 1701.

The generation of those born in the two decades before 1775 was the first among the population at large to learn Scotch as the language of childhood.³¹

NOTES.

1. The survival of Old Norse forms in its "Norn" words is dealt with by J. Jakobsen in *Det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, Copenhagen, 1897 (pp. 196), on pages 100-114; the phonology is treated, somewhat more fully, pp. 115-146, on the basis of the material that Dr. Jakobsen had in 1895-96, when this work (his doctorate thesis) was written. I shall below refer to this as *N.Sp.*

2. For the dialect as a whole, though this work is very incomplete, there is Thos. Edmonston's *An Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, London, 1866. There is now also the Shetland glossary by James Angus, which, however, I have not yet received. For the Norse element we have the monumental *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, 1898-1921, pp. xlviii. + 1032 + xvii. + x. An eminently scholarly work. There is also much material in *Old-Lore Miscellany*, London, 1907-1914, publication of *The Viking Society for Northern Research* (abbr. *O.L.M.*); I shall mention especially Jessie M. E. Saxby's articles on "Shetland Phrase and Idiom," and "Food of the Shetlanders Langsyne."

3. As to Pictish names see J. Jakobsen's "*Shetlandsøernes Stednavne*," pp. 213-254 (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1901).

4. For the main historical facts I will refer here to the *Diplomatarium Orcadense et Hialtlandense*, I, Introduction, by A. W. Johnston, 1913, with table of documents and dates. (Published as *Orkney and Shetland Records*, I. xi.). Reference may also be made to *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xvi. (1882), pp. 181-191; J. Jakobson's *N.Sp.*, Indledning, pp. 1-15; and *Orkney and Shetland*, by J. G. F. Moodie Heddle and T. Mainland, Cambridge, 1920, pp. 167 (*Cambridge County Geographies*).

5. *O.L.M.*, VII., p. 151. According to Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Lerwick, Shetland, who is a descendant, Rev. Magnus Norsk was vicar of Yell in 1590, and his full name was Magnus Manson.

6. Nevertheless there are numerous O.N. words in regular use still in Orkney, which are rarely used or are obsolete in Shetland. It may be noted here, too, that Lerwick, the present capital of Shetland was founded and settled by the Scotch in the last three decades of the seventeenth century.

7. Date "1666 at the latest," Mr. A. W. Johnston kindly informs me.

8. *N.Sp.*, p. 10.

9. J. Jakobsen published in 1897 a little volume entitled *The Dialect and Place-names of Shetland*, Lerwick, in which there is much valuable material on the vocabulary, the numerous words for animals, according to their age, etc., and on the local differences in the vocabulary.

10. J. Brand: *Description of Orkney and Zetland, Pightland-Firth and Caithness*, 1701.

11. From *N.Sp.*; also in *Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*.

12. See *N.Sp.*, p. 49; Aasen *Norsk Ordbog*, and Ross: *Norsk Ordbok*, *tillæg til Aasen*.

13. *Etymologisk Ordbog* under *spord*.

14. *Hildinakvadet, med utgreiding um det norske maal paa Shetland i eldre tid*. Av Marius Hægstad. Pp. 98, and facsimile.

15. Which would then rather be O.N. *til*, with loss of final *l* (just as in West Norwegian dialects).

16. But cf. the 3 pres. *askar* (as *kalla-kallar*).

17. Variant writings for a mid vowel.

18. *Etymologisk Ordbog*, p. xiii.

19. *N.Sp.*, p. 8. The meaning is:

It was a good time,
when my son went to Caithness:
he can call rossa mare,
he can call big bere,
he can call eld fire,
he can call klovondi taings.

(bere = barley; taings = tongs).

20. *N.Sp.*, 155. From Low. Also printed in *Hildinakvadet* (see Note 14). The meaning is: "'Tis dark through the louver, but light through the heath; 'tis time for the guest to be gone."

21. From *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*. There is a later variant in *N.Sp.*, p. 149. The lines say:

The child will not be quiet:
take him by the leg,
strike him 'gainst the wall,
if the child will not be quiet.

22. See above §9, 2.

23. *Geungna* would seem to be O.N. *gengenn*, but the *n* of *-na* may in such a case be due to the *n* of the preceding syllable, so that the line would be: 'det er tid at gjesten gaar, or 'det er tid for gjesten at gaa'.

24. With its *g* from *veggen*; but the *-an* is clearly *han*.

25. Printed in Barry, l.c., p. 487, and in *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198. The list of words printed in Low, l.c., p. 106 was first published in Barry, pp. 488-489. See also *Hildinakvadet*, l.c.

26. The expressions are given by JJ., in *N.Sp.*, and in *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*. Other fragments, much distorted, are given in *N.Sp.*

27. *N.Sp.*, p. 19, and in *The Dialect and Place-Names of Shetland*, p. 52. A bogie has come riding into our yard on a black horse with a white spot on its forehead: it has fifteen tails and fifteen children on each tail.

28. *N.Sp.*, p. 154.

29. This and variants, *N.Sp.*, pp. 153-154.

30. I add the following riddle or "goadik" from Unst which was told to Jakobsen by John Irvine of Lerwick, during the former's studies there in 1893-95 (DP-NS., p. 53) :

Fira honga, fira gonga,
fira staad upo skø;
twa veestra väig a bee,
and ane comes atta driljandi.

The form given in *N.Sp.*, p. 17, is as follows :

Føre honge føre gonge,
føre stad upo skø,
twa vistra vegebi,
and en comes ate driljandi.

The riddle may be translated : "Four are hanging, four are walking, four point skywards ; two show the way to the yard, and one comes shaking behind." (bee = O.N. *bær*).

A remarkable instance of preservation of the O.N. endings is seen in the following proverb, given by James Angus, Lerwick : Guyt a taka gamla manna rō, "(it is) well to take old men's advice." Rō = O.N. *ráð*.

31. See above, §4, on Norse and Scottish in the present dialect.

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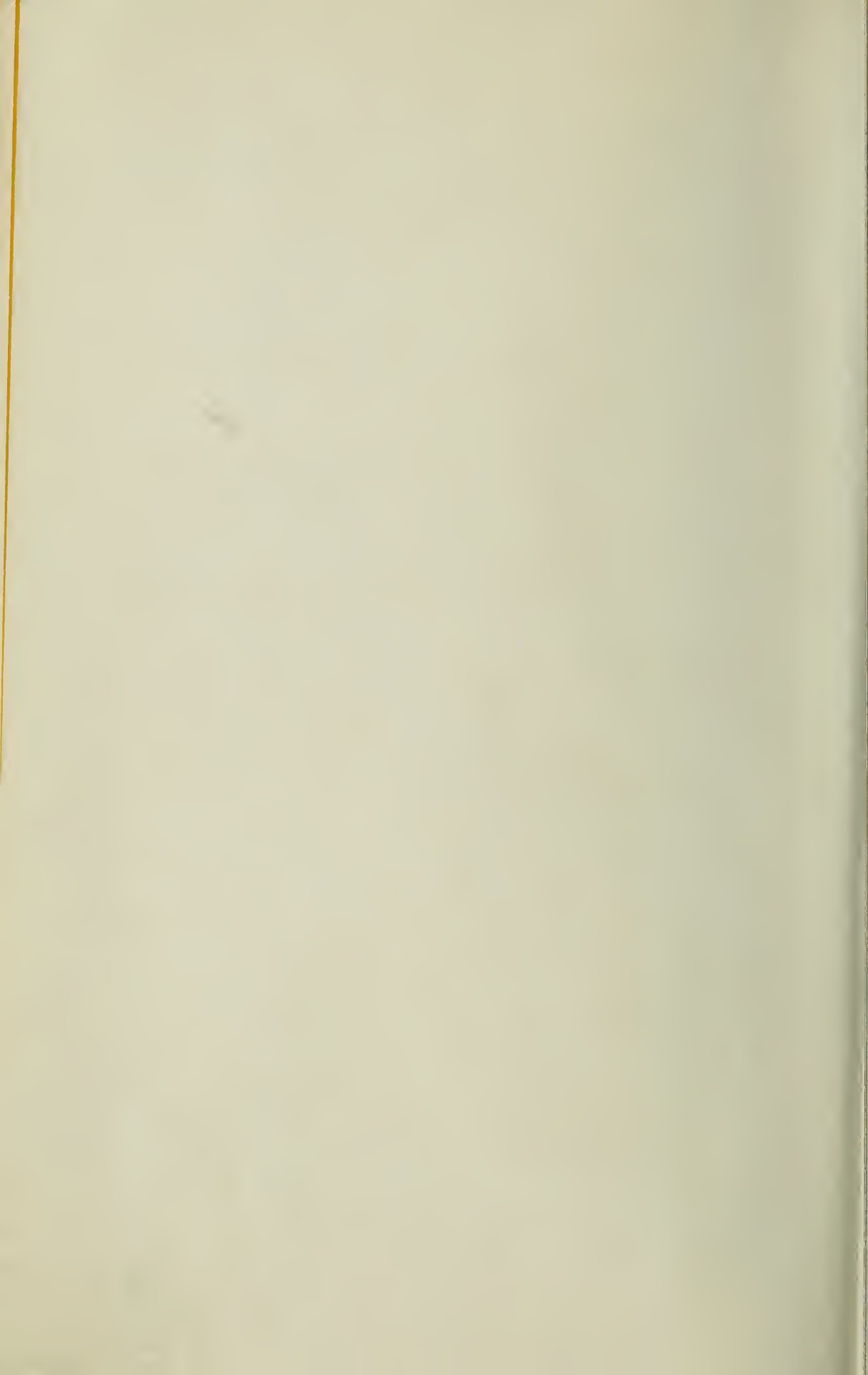
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Bankers—

LLOYDS BANK, LIMITED, 38A, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W. 1.

Accountants—Messrs. CASSLETON ELLIOTT & Co.

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