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OF THE

Viking Club.

(Hon. Editor)

F. T. NORRIS.

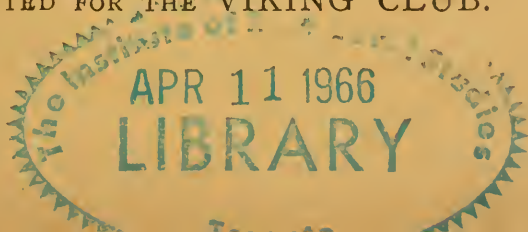
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LONDON :

PRINTED FOR THE VIKING CLUB.



VIKING CLUB,

OR, SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH.

(Founded in 1892 as the Orkney, Shetland, and Northern Society.)

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THE Club is founded as a Society for all interested in the North and its literature and antiquities.

The Subscription is 10/- a year, including copy of *Saga-Book*.

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

TO 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 Club.

ENLISTING NEW MEMBERS.—The working expenses of the Club 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 Club to the Honorary Treasurer.

The proposed means by which the Club aims at promoting 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 *Proceedings* or *Saga-Book* of the Club, including Papers read, and other communications of interest;
- (3) Formation of a library of books, MSS., maps, &c., relating to Northern history and antiquities;
- (4) Encouraging the transcription and publication of original documents relating to Northern history, &c.;
- (5) Exhibitions of Northern antiquities;
- (6) Social Gatherings, Concerts, &c.

Meetings are held from November to June, in the King's Weigh House Rooms, Thomas Street, Grosvenor Square, W.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART II.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY.

THE following additional gifts have been made to the Library :—

GIVEN BY

MISS E. BARMBY.

"Gísli Súrsson : A Drama." By Miss B. H. Barmby. (Archibald Constable and Co.)

THE PUBLISHERS.

"Roslyn's Raid and other Tales." By Miss B. M. Barmby. (Duckworth and Co.)

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.

"Pilgrimage to the Saga-steads of Iceland." By W. G. Collingwood, M.A., and Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

THE AUTHOR.

"The Ancient Model of a Boat and Warrior Crew from Roos Carrs near Withernsea." By Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., Curator, Hull Museum. Reprinted from the *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* for 1901.

REV. J. SEPHTON.

Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

MR. A. F. MAJOR.

"Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance and Folklore. No. 12, The Edda—I. The Divine Mythology of the North." By Winifred Faraday, M.A. (D. Nutt.)

THE AUTHOR.

"Shetlandsøerne Stedname." By J. Jakobsen.

H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

"Chronicon Scotorum." Rolls Publications.

"The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill." Rolls Publications.

"The Annals of Loch Cé." 2 vols.

"Brut of Tywysogion."

"Annales Cambriæ."

"The Annals of Ulster." 3 vols.

"The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." 2 vols.

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THORESBY SOCIETY.

The Society's Publications, bound, viz.:—Vol. i., Leeds Registers, 1572-1612; Vol. ii., Miscellanea; Vol. iii., Leeds Registers, 1612-1639; Vol. iv., Miscellanea; Vol. v., Adel Registers, 1606-1812; Vol. vi., Calverley Charters; Vol. vii., Leeds Registers, 1639-1667; Vol. viii., Kirkstall Abbey Coucher Book; Vol. ix., Miscellanea; Vol. x., Leeds Registers, 1667-1695.

Plan of Leeds, date 1806.

Atkinson's "Ralph Thoresby, his Town and Times," 2 vols.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

"Studies in History and Jurisprudence." By James Bryce, D.C.L. (Clarendon Press: 2 vols.)

"Kiartan the Iclander: a Tragedy." By Newman Howard. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

"The Passing of Scyld and other Poems." By E. E. Kellett. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

"Toscanelli and Columbus." By Henry Vignaud. (Sands & Co.)

"Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland: A Folklore Sketch." By W. G. Wood-Martin. Vols. i. and ii. (Longmans & Co.)

"The Story of Lost England." By E. Wilson. (Geo. Newnes, Ltd.)

"The French Stonehenge." By T. Cato Worsfold. (Bemrose & Sons, Ltd.)

Journal of the County Kildare Archæological Society.

Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, part iv.

Journal of the Architectural, Archæological and Historical Society for County and City of Chester and North Wales.

Journal of Yorkshire Archæological Society, part lxxv.

Smithsonian Institution Report.

Bulletin of Bureau of American Ethnology.

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PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members in the past year are:—

- "Outer Isles." By A. Goodrich-Freer. (Archibald Constable & Co.)
- "Viking Relics." By Joseph Anderson, LL.D. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. x.
- "Rune-marked Relics." Ibid, vol. xiii.
- "Notes on the Earl's Bú (or Bordland) at Orphir, Orkney, called Orfjara in the Sagas, and on the Remains of the Round Church there." By A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot. Paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
- "A Germanic Amber Tale in Ancient Hellenic Garb"; "Old Norse Descriptions in Homer"; and "A Prehistoric Sun-Chariot in Denmark," in the Berlin *Zeitgeist*. "The Divine Descent of Edward VII. from Woden," in the literary gazette of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*. Forthcoming publication: An article on "Fire-Burial and the Sigurd Saga" ("Feuer-Bestattung und die Sigurd Sage.") By Dr. Karl Blind.
- "The Lake Counties." (Dent's County Guides.) By W. G. Collingwood. (Dent & Co.)
- "Lower Wharfedale." By Harry Speight. (Elliot Stock.)
- "The Danish Attack on Bedford in 921." Paper read by Mr. A. R. Goddard before the Bedford Arts Club, and reproduced in the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* on March 28th, 1903.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1902.

[The Hon. Editor will be glad if Vikings generally will help to make the Bibliography as complete as possible by intimating to him the appearance of articles in local newspapers, magazines, etc., suitable for notice, or forwarding cuttings of the same. Communications should be sent to Park House, 21, Aubert Park, Highbury.]

THE following list of Danish archæological publications in 1902, contributed by Mr. Hans Kjær, is not pretended to be complete. It comprises most of the new learned works on archæology, from prehistoric times up to the early Middle Ages, and also some popular works of interest and foreign works referring to Denmark. Literature in modern Icelandic is not included. Prices approximately reduced from Danish money.

GENERAL.

No large works issued.

ICELAND.

T. Thoroddsen: Geological Map of Iceland. 10 kr. (11s.). Copenhagen, 1901.

- Kr. Kålund: "Om Handskrifterne af Sturlunga Saga og dennes enkelte Bestanddele." (On the MS. of the "Sturlunga Saga" and their separate parts.) *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1901. 41 pp.
- W. Sorensen: "Vor Stenalderes Tvedeling; Sporgsmaalets Historie og endelige Afgørelse." (Bisection of our Stone Age: history of the inquiry and its final settlement.) *Tidsskriftet Tilskueren*, 1901. (Complementary to the work "Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark.")
- L. Zinck: "Det nord-europaiske Dysseterritoriums Stengrave og Dyssernes Udbredelse i Europa." (The distribution of North European diss or stone graves.) Résumé in French. Copenhagen, 1901. 244 pp. 3 kr. (3s. 4d.)

IRON AGE.

- Hans Kjær: "To nye Mosefund fra Jernalderen." Illus. (Two new marsh-finds belonging to the Iron Age. Finds from steads where small battles occurred in 5th and 6th centuries before Christ. *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1901. 29 pp.)
- B. Salin: "De nordiske Guldbrakteaterne"; några Bidrag till Kannedommen om Brakteaternes Utbredning och kulturhistoriska Betydelse. (Norse gold bracteates—a contribution to the knowledge of the distribution and historical meaning of bracteates.) *Antikv. Tidsskrift för Sverige*, 1899.

MIDDLE AGE.

- J. Mestorf: "Ueber Danewerk und Haithaby (Hedeby)" (Dannevirke and Heathby). *Mitth. des antrop. Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein*, 1900. (German translation of a Danish work which will shortly appear.)
- Ivar Hertzssprung: "Et Par sonderjydske Træskærerarbejder fra det 13. Arhundrede." Illus. *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldkyn.*, 1901. 26 pp. (South Jutish wood-carvings of the thirteenth century.)

RUNIC MONUMENTS.

- Axel Olrik: "Nordiske Runeværker (Anmeldelse)." (*Letterstedske Nordiske Tidsskrift*, 1901.)
- George Stephens: "The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, now first collected and deciphered." Edited after his death by Sven Söderberg. Vol. iv. Lund, 1901. (Vols. i.-iii. were published in 1866-84.)
- L. F. A. Wimmer: "De danske Runemindesmarker undersøgte og tolkede." Vol. ii. "Runestenene i Jylland og paa ferne, ondtagen Bornholm." Copenhagen, 1901. Folio, 510 pp. 50 kr. (£2 16s.) (Danish Runic monuments enumerated and translated. Rune stones in Jutland and on the islands, excluding Bornholm.)
- L. F. A. Wimmer: "Runemindesmærkerne i Sønderjylland som Vidnesbyrd om Landets Nationalitet." In "Haandbog i det nordslesvigske Sporgsmaals Historie." Copenhagen, 1901. (Runic memorials in South Jutland a witness to the nationality of the folk.) Price of the "Haandbog," 694 pp., 20 kr. (£1 2s.).

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

- Jakob Jakobsen : "Shetlandsoernes Stednavne." (Shetland Stead-names). *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1991. 204 pp.
- J. A. Jorgensen : "Bornholms Historie," i-ii., of which Vol. i., "Oldtiden og senere Tid til 1660." The author took part in a series of researches on Bornholm.
- C. A. Markham : "The Stone Crosses of the County of Northampton." London, 1901.
- "Laxdæla Saga." Translated from the Icelandic by Muriel A. C. Press. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "The Discoveries of the Norsemen in America, with special relation to their Cartographical Representation." By Joseph Fischer, S.J. (Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.)
- "Northern Hero Legends." By Dr. Otto L. Jiriczek. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "Kiartan the Iclander : a Tragedy." By Newman Howard. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "The Passing of Scyld and other Poems." By E. E. Kellett. (J. M. Dent & Co.)
- "A Hero King : A Romance of the Days of Alfred the Great." By Miss Pollard. (S. W. Partridge & Co.)
- Rev. Charles Plummer's Ford Lectures for 1901, "The Life and Times of Alfred the Great." (Clarendon Press and Henry Frowde)
- "Across Iceland." By W. Bisiker, F.R.G.S. (Arnold.)
- "The Edda. 2. The Heroic Mythology of the North." By Winifred Faraday, M.A. (David Nutt.)

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

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

TENTH SESSION, 1902.

MEETING, JANUARY 17TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Miss Eleanor Hull, Hon. Sec. Irish Texts Society, read a paper on "Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature," which is reproduced, with discussion, in this issue.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 14TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, Hon. District Secretary for Somersetshire, contributed a paper on "Havelok the Dane," which, with the discussion, is held over for reproduction in a future issue.

MEETING, MARCH 14TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. J. Gray, B.Sc., Member of the Anthropological Institute, read a paper on "Anthropological Evidence of the Relations between the Races of Britain and Scandinavia," which, with the discussion thereon, is reproduced in this issue.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 18TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 18th, 1902, at 8 p.m. The

Report of the Council, and the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1901, were laid before the meeting. A revised Law Book, providing among other changes for an alteration in the title and nomenclature of the Club, was submitted and adopted, and the Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., then read a paper on "The Earl's Bú and Round Church of Orphir, Orkney," which is reproduced in this issue.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 21ST, 1902.

The Annual Dinner was held on Monday, April 21st, 1902, at 7-30 p.m., at the Florence Hotel, Rupert Street, W., when the following were present:—Mr. G. M. Atkinson (President) in the Chair; Mr. E. Warburg (Vice-President) in the Vice-chair; Mrs. Atkinson, Mrs. and Miss Warburg, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Miss Parsons and friend, Mr. W. V. M. Popham, Mr. and Mrs. Newmarch, Mr. Kirby, Miss Leslie, Mr. Du Boulay, Mr. A. F. Major, Miss Grön, Dr. Stefánsson, Mr. Prior, Miss Hull, Mr. Raymond Tucker, Dr. Pernet, and Mr. W. Mansell Stevens. Colonel Hobart, Mr. F. T. Norris, and Mr. J. Cathcart Wason, M.P., were unable to attend. After the dinner, Miss Alfhild Grön sang several Norwegian songs, accompanied by Mr. W. Mansell Stevens, who also played several pianoforte solos. Mr. Du Boulay likewise contributed several violin solos.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 7TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. Magnus Spence, Hon. District Secretary for Deerness, Orkney, contributed a paper on "Maeshowe and the Standing Stones of Stenness: their Age and Purpose," in connection with which Mr. A. L. Lewis exhibited and

described a series of lantern slide views of stone circles, etc., many of them specially taken by Mr. Lewis and exhibited for the first time. Mr. Spence's paper (which was fully illustrated in the series of views shown by Mr. Lewis), with the discussion thereon, is reserved for issue on a future occasion.

MEETING, DECEMBER 5TH, 1902.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., in the absence of the author, Mr. George Marwick, read a paper on the "Orkneyan Tradition of the Translation of the Relics of St. Magnus from Birsay to St. Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall," with additions, the result of the reader's own researches into the subject. Mr. A. C. Reid contributed a paper on "Early English Settlers in Cheshire." Both papers, with discussions, are reserved for future reproduction.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

THE District Secretary for the Lake Counties (Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A.) writes :—

RUNIC TYMPANUM AT PENNINGTON, FURNESS.

A VERY interesting discovery was made in March, 1902, by Dr. T. K. Fell, of Barrow-in-Furness, in a district which is rich in Viking place-names, but had not previously yielded any monuments referring to the Scandinavian settlement. While investigating the local history, he was told by the Rev. T. Edge Wright of an old sculptured stone built into an outhouse at Loppergarth (Leper-garth, traditionally the site of a leper hospital), and he recognised runes upon the border of the design, which was evidently a tympanum from some “Norman” church door. It is known that a church of St. Leonard existed here in the twelfth century, and there can be little doubt that this stone has come from it. Dr. Fell sent me a photograph, and Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A.Scot., supplemented it with rubbings, tracings, and a cast very carefully made, a photograph of which was given in *The Reliquary* for July, 1902, p. 201.

These do not, however, completely represent the forms, for the natural cracks of weathered cleavage have to be eliminated. My drawing from the stone, after careful examination, is given on the following woodcut :—

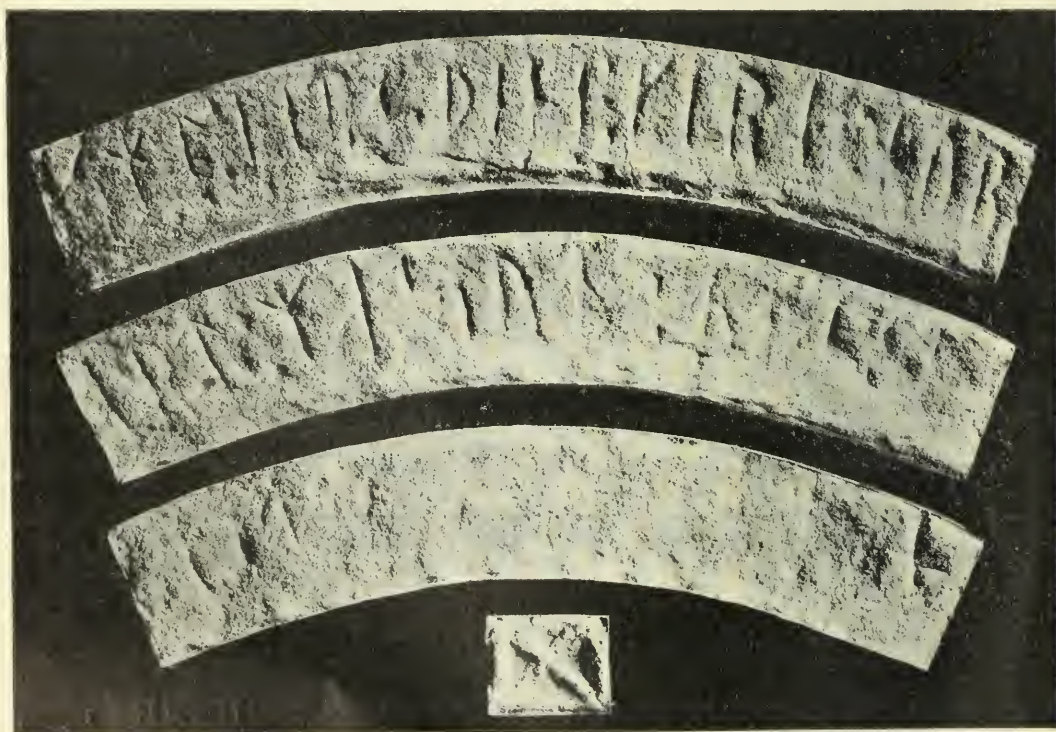


There are eight words in all :—

(KA)MIAL : (S?)ETI : ThESA : KIRK : HUBERT :
M(E ?)SUN : V(A ?)N : M . . .



SCULPTURED AND INSCRIBED TYMPANUM AT LOPPERGARTH.
(Reproduced from the "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.")



RUNIC INSCRIPTION AROUND TYMPANUM AT LOPPERGARTH.
(Reproduced from the "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.")

The church is known to have been built by Gamel de Pennington about the middle of the twelfth century, and Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon suggests that the first part of the inscription might read, "Gamel founded this church," the *mial* being for *mel*, as NURVIAK for *Norveg* in the Jellinge stone, and the first rune of the next word being for the short S of late runes, making SETI (*setti*), the usual word for establishing a church.

The next three words Mr. Magnússon thinks might mean, "Hubert the mason wrought . . .", VAN standing for *vann*, but of this he is doubtful. Dr. Fell of Barrow also suggested the words, "Hubert and "mason" independently.

In any case, we have here Scandinavian runes and Scandinavian words, representing the tongue understood of the people in Furness in the middle of the twelfth century—a fact of the highest interest in connection with other evidences of Viking settlement.

THE DANISH CAMP AND TOWTOP KIRK.

Last year I mentioned some sites which might be dwellings of the Viking Age. One of them, called the Danish Camp at Gosforth, was dug into in the early summer of 1902 by Dr. Parker, F.S.A.Scot., who invited me to assist. We found the square building to be an ancient dwelling, with a fire on a cobble-paved hearth, and some scraps of pottery which proved it to be post-Viking; but of the small triple rampart we were not able to say more than that it might have been strengthened with a stockade to serve as a garth, and that such garths are not yet distinguished into periods and purposes.

Towtop Kirk, above Stangarth, Bampton, Westmorland, is a ring-fence enclosing two hut-circles, and a later "peat-scale" built upon one of them. The fence here, though single, is low and small, as at the Danish Camp; it was found, when I joined Miss Noble of Beckfoot, Bampton, in digging out the place, to be without a ditch,

and merely made of earth and stones shovelled up from the ground. There was a cross about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter incised on one of the stones which had served to build either the huts or the peat-scale, or both, but no other relics. It had been vaguely guessed that this was the seat of some Viking (?) named "Tow," or that *Kirk* meant a sacred place; but the site is evidently one of many post-Roman hill farms, and it cannot be identified with the Vikings. Still, the negative evidence is worth a brief note, while waiting for the complete survey of pre-Norman earthworks which is so desirable as a help to the study of the Viking Age.

SOME "ARKS" AND "ERGS."

The old idea that *ark* or *erg* in place-names meant *hörgr*, "shrine," was conclusively upset by Dr. H. Colley March, F.S.A., in *Trans. Lanc. and Chesh. Antiq. Soc.*, 1890. He showed that these were from the Viking word *erg* or *ærg*, meaning the same as *sæter* or *sel*, and equivalent to the Gaelic *airidh*, "summer pasture," and he gave among his instances four well-known places near Kendal—Mansergh, Mozergh, Skelsmergh, and Sizergh. I suppose the first is the "bondman's sæter," like Manheimar and Mansfell (above Hvamm) in Iceland; the second is from *mosi*, "mossland, moor," like Mosfell in Iceland, and Mosser (formerly Mosergh or Mosargh) in Cumberland; the third was anciently Skelsmersherk or Skelsmeresergh (twelfth century), which is the "sæter by the mere of the scale"; and the last was written Sigaritherge in the time of Richard I., which may be Sigrid's dairy-farm, or possibly Sigurd's.

Some other instances may be worth putting down for the sake of the illustration they give to life in these parts soon after the Viking settlement.

Ninesergh, near Levens, must have been the sæter of Ninian, on the analogy of Ninekirks (Brougham) and Ninewells (Brampton). The name perhaps imported

from Galloway, as the eleventh and twelfth century people in this neighbourhood seem to have been connected with Galloway families.

Langley Park (West Cumberland) was anciently Langliferga, and similar forms. Now Langlíf was a Viking name in the twelfth century ("Sturlunga Saga," vii., 22). Some namesake of Earl Harald Maddadarson's daughter was either owner or dairymaid of this sæter.

Stephney, near Godderthwaite, Beckermeth, was Staven-erge; the name Stephen reappears in Stephangarthes ("Coucher Book of Furness Abbey") and Kirkby Stephen, called, not from the dedication of the church, but from a pre-Norman lord.

Crocherk, in South Cumberland, was mentioned about Henry II., and seems to mean the *erg* of the crook or cross; possibly connected with the Crochbeege given by Gunhilda de Boyville to Holme Cultram Abbey, and perhaps the present Crosby Thwaite near Ulpha.

Pavey Ark, the precipice near Langdale pikes, was formerly explained as "the altar of the Lurking Fiend" (*paufi*, a late Icelandic word). But it must be the dairy-cot of Pavia. We find Pavy-fields on the Solway, named from Pavia, the widow of Robert de Grinsdale, *temp.* Henry I.

Arklid, at the foot of Coniston Water, is the *hlíd* or fellside of the *erg*; and Little Arrow, at Coniston, formerly Little Ayrey, is like Airey Force, Ullswater, a survival of the alternative form of the word, such as is seen in Orkney and Shetland and North Scotland (Askary, Halsary, Blingery). To the Gaelic *airidh* an even nearer form may be Arrad, close to Ulverston, in which, perhaps, the *d* comes down from the age before the consonant was aspirated away, as we know the Norse wrote Kjarval for Cearbhall (not pronouncing the name Carroll).

Summerhills, satters and seats, sels and sails, are common in the district, and show how pastoral was the life of the Vikings when once they had settled the dales of the Lake Counties.

The Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (Mr. Hans Kjær, M.A.) writes as follows :—

THE DANISH NATIONAL MUSEUM.

THE investigation of the whole field of archæological research in Denmark is conducted under the close supervision of the National Museum. Each investigation in the country is carried out, so to speak, by the Museum itself, or under its control. Some remarks on its position may therefore be appropriate.

The National Museum of Denmark in its present form was founded in 1892, but in reality is of much older date. It contains Denmark's most important historical and archæological collections: the Danish collection, the ethnographic collection, and an antique collection. The Danish collection was formerly called the Royal Museum for Northern Antiquities, and was founded in 1807 by R. Nyerup. The collection contains things from the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as from mediæval and modern times. C. J. Thomsen managed it from 1816-65, when the Museum grew to great extent, and got a scientific basis through that scientist's celebrated division of ancient time into the three periods, in which either stone, bronze or iron was the most important material of human use. From 1865 the collection was under the control of J. J. A. Worsaae (who died in 1885), who is also well known in England, and who rendered the greatest services to Danish knowledge of ancient times. The ethnographic and antique collections were both founded by Thomsen in 1849 and 1851. The ethnographic section contains things from those races outside Europe which have not yet been influenced by European or classical civilisation. The antique collection includes the peoples of the classical countries—Egypt, Babylonia, Persia and Phœnicia, Greeks, Etruscans and Romans. Further, a collection of coins and medals and another of comparative studies containing objects, originals or copies, from other European countries, and amongst others a small

collection of things from English prehistoric times to supply the other Museums. In 1892 all these Museums were united under one administration as a National Museum, which also received the supervision of the antiquarian monuments of Denmark, and the charge of their preservation. Dr. Sophus Müller was appointed chief of the prehistoric department of the Danish collection, as well as the ethnographic and antique collections, under whose guidance the labours of the Museum have been extended and consolidated in every direction. This is especially so in recent years, when a great many scientific explorations and excavations have been carried out by the officials of the Museum. The collections have, further, been thoroughly rearranged, and to a great extent supplied with descriptive labels, besides which the times in which they are open, free, for the public, have been greatly extended. Catalogues exist in Danish and German. The annual increments to the Danish collection may be estimated at about 2,500 to 3,000 objects from the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages. The objects are now placed in about 85 rooms, having about 210 windows besides about 27 rooms used as offices, archive room and stores. But space is already too small, and only by the economical use of the available space has it been possible, as yet, to make room for the additions. The collections are placed in the Prince's Palace, originally built as a royal residence. The number of visitors has in the last few years been between 90,000 and 105,000, but greatest in the summer of 1899, when a big lock-out caused a large number of working men to pay a visit. Further, admittance is often given outside the official hours. Moreover, in ten Danish provincial towns, especially the cathedral towns, exist local museums, which are managed by local men under the control of the National Museum.

THE STONE AGE IN DENMARK.

One of the most important works carried out under the direction of Dr. Sophus Müller has been the systematic in-

vestigation of some of the principal "kitchen-middens," etc. It was long recognized that the so-called Palæolithic Age, as known from the French cave discoveries and river gravel, has left only a few and uncertain traces in Denmark, almost all our Stone Age objects being neolithic. It is now thought that the Stone Age commenced here about 3000 B.C. and ended about 1200 B.C. It must therefore be expected that civilisation was different at the beginning of this long period—about 1,800 years—than at its close. So far back as 40 years ago, J. J. A. Worsaae asserted that he could distinguish such a difference. In the kitchen-middens, the great refuse heaps with remains from the dwelling places of the people of the Stone Age, he thought that one could see the traces of an earlier period; while the fine, often polished, objects of flint, and the ornamented earthen vessels, which were found in the large grave chambers made of huge stones, the dolmens and cromlechs, represented the civilisation of the later period. In opposition, Japetus Steenstrup thought that the kitchen-middens and the stone graves represented each the two sides of the same culture. The basis of this discussion was, nevertheless, too narrow to make a final decision of the important question of the division in two parts of the Danish Stone Age. The struggle was revived in 1890 between Sophus Müller, who agreed with Worsaae, and L. Zinck, who in all essentials took the views of Steenstrup.

No final settlement of the dispute was reached. But the divergence of views had one other and most important result. Perceiving that the existing materials were both too insignificant and too ancient to decide the issue, Dr. Sophus Müller started the whole movement over again on a new base. It was due to his efforts that, in the year 1893, these seven men of science—E. Rostrup (a botanist), Herluf Winge (a zoologist), K. T. V. Steenstrup (a geologist), C. G. Johs. Petersen (a biologist), and, besides himself, two more archæologists, A. P. Madsen and Carl Neergaard, decided, with the financial aid of the National

Museum, to thoroughly investigate every single object of antiquity in a number of unexplored big refuse heaps—the so-called “Kjökkenmøddinger” or kitchen-middens.

A most valuable and successful collaboration between archæologist and naturalist now commenced. Throughout the following five years (1893-1898) the afore-named scientists met every summer at the various refuse heaps, and took part personally in the work, while, at the same time, every effort and every expense in time and money was made by the Museum to carry through the plan of the work, by thorough investigations both in the field and in the Museum itself, where the collected material was examined. In the working of one single heap alone (that at Ertebølle, Jutland)—the biggest of them all—the officials and scientific staff of the Museum were employed for 216 days, besides six workmen from the neighbourhood who were continually employed on the same heap day after day during the whole time. Each year detailed reports were made to the Museum, accompanied by numerous plans and photographs.

The investigations embraced refuse heaps situated in eight different places, in both Sealand and Jutland. The greater portions of each single heap was examined, but only in those cases where they had been previously undisturbed. The examined places were such as would seem to be the most suited for investigation, and would afford us the best obtainable samples from both the eastern and western parts of the country. They all belonged, as was later on shown, to different periods of the Stone Age. The undertaking was a very large one, but the results fulfilled expectations. A great number of antiquities was procured; from the Ertebølle heap alone 8,600 stone objects (mostly flint, 560 samples of charcoal, and more than 20,000 bones of different animals). The whole of the material, having undergone a preliminary treatment in the National Museum, was divided among the scientists according to their different qualifications, only the purely archæological matter being relegated to the Museum for

treatment. A particularly important work was done by the zoologist, Dr. H. Winge.

These seven men of science meeting year by year at the works in the field furnished a good proof of their lively interest in the task in hand. The now published large and most handsome work¹ which lays the foundation of the study of this portion of our remote past bears distinct testimony to the affection with which each man carried through his special task. It may be safely said that without this close co-operation no good result would ever have been obtained. Archæology alone was not able to make sufficient use of the varied material.

AGE OF THE KITCHEN-MIDDENS.

The main results produced by the investigations are shortly as follow:—The refuse heaps belong to two different periods of the Stone Age. Oldest among them all is the large Ertebølle heap (length 100 m., by 15.20 m. broad, with a thickness of up to 2 m.). About contemporary with this heap, but in all probability a little later, are five heaps scattered in different places in Denmark. In these were found primitive instruments, made mostly of flint, and of forms similar to those known from other discoveries, and attributed by archæologists to the Old (but not palæolithic) Stone Age. Implements belonging to a later period were very scarce, and were always, as might be expected, found in the upper layers of the heaps. The earthen vessels, which were mostly large and heavy, were fragile and clumsy, and without any ornaments. No trace of a cultivated plant was ever found. Among the shells of the testaceous animals (oysters, mussels, snails) which had served as food, and which formed the bulk of

¹ "Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark, undersøgte for Nationalmuseet." By A. P. Madsen, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, C. G. Johs, Petersen, E. Rostrup, K. T. V. Steenstrup and Herluf Winge. Pub. at the cost of the Carlsberg Fund. pp. 196, large 4to, with many phototype and copper-plate diagrams and illustrations in text. Copenhagen. Price 27s.

the heap, was found a number of bones, all belonging to wild animals, such as deer, roe, wild boar, birds and fishes; the only domesticated animal which seems to have been known to man in the older Stone Age is the dog, which was large and stout and rather like a wolf. It was a period when man made his living mainly by hunting and fishing, using primitive instruments of stone, bone, hart's horn, wood and earthenware, and without any knowledge of the first conditions of human progress and culture. They seem to have lived chiefly as nomads, and only in places, where the natural conditions were particularly favourable, did they stay for any long space of time.

In but three of the examined heaps—two in Jutland and one in Sealand—were the circumstances different. In these were found polished instruments of the many varied types and forms previously associated with the big stone-graves, cromlechs and dolmens. The earthen vessels, of which some shards were found, were generally ornamented. Here also was found a number of bones, but mostly those of domestic animals, oxen, sheep and pigs; and, finally, there was found unquestionable evidence of corn-raising, in the form of charred grain, worked up in the earthen vessels. In the making of the clay vessels grain had got into the material, and being burned together with it, left their impression undamaged in the clay.¹ The leading species were barley and wheat. The meaning of this is that Denmark, as early as the neo-neolithic Stone Age, was inhabited by an agricultural, cattle-raising and settled people. There is now no doubt of the existence in the Stone Age of an older and a later period, nor of the above-named marked difference in culture between these two periods. The early refuse heaps are all situated close to the sea, whereas the later heaps generally are found to be away from the coast, further up in the interior of the country. The people spread from the open coasts, and the forests were felled to make room for agriculture.

¹ A treatise on this subject going back to the remotest times is in preparation by Dr. G. Saraüw.

The remains of the later Stone Age are met with in a few other places besides the above named. They are, on the whole, smaller and less conspicuous than the remains from the older period. The light-coloured shells of the molluscs are no longer predominant. The strata are dark-coloured, at times almost black, on account of the numerous intermingled organic remains. This explains the fact of their being unnoticed for so long—as is still the case with the homesteads of the Bronze Age, and, partly, of the Iron Age. During the whole of the Stone Age the oak was the common tree. The birch, the elm, and the ash appear less frequent; the beech and the conifers only singly. Added to this, the work gives an abundance of minute details: as to the working of flint and bone, of the application of particular instruments, of fauna and flora, of geological and biological facts. One single instance may suffice: in the book are pointed out the bones of not less than 72 unnamed species of vertebral animals.

The text book on the refuse heaps in Denmark is richly embellished with illustrations. I shall here merely mention that in the double plates are shown long sections through the heaps, lengthwise and crosswise, obtained by placing photo-prints together of numerous photographs taken successively. The book, written in Danish, contains also a résumé in French. The whole undertaking reflects the greatest credit on the men of science who carried it out. Science has, by their successful collaboration, gained an abundance of particulars regarding the conditions of life in those ancient times when man for the first time set foot on the green and fragrant plains of Denmark.

“NORSE LANGUAGE AND NATIONALITY IN IRELAND.”

According to a suggestion of the Hon. Editor of the Viking Club, I have pleasure to refer to a work that was mentioned in the literary list for 1900, but which there was no opportunity to include in my previous notice. The work in question is that by Mr. Alexander Bugge,

on the "Norse Language and Nationality in Ireland" ("Annals of Northern Archæology and History," 1900, pp. 279-332). The object of the essay is to find out when and in what degree the fusion of the two races, the Northmen and the Irish, who were strangers to each other at the first, took place, and how long the Northern nationality and language lasted. I intend in the following to give the outlines of this interesting essay, though I am forced almost everywhere to omit the numerous illustrating examples and proofs from chronicles and documents on which the results are founded. So early as the year 850, nearly the whole of Ireland had through the Viking raids come into touch with the Northmen. A Norse-Irish mixed population (Gall-Gaedhel) was being created, which must have lived chiefly in Galloway and the Hebrides. In the Isle of Man is to be found a great many Runic inscriptions in Northern tongue, but they are often raised over men with Irish or Celtic names. In this way, from about 850 onward, the Northmen and the Irish must have begun to influence each other, and to have become partly merged together. Soon after this period one hears also about weddings between Northern chieftains and Irish princesses. Among the landtakers who went to Iceland between 870 and 900 are many of whom it is mentioned that they came from the British Isles, and especially the Sudereys (Sodor and Man) and Ireland. Many of these men bore Irish names, and there were among them several Christians. In the Irish "Annals" Northmen appear frequently with Irish names, and at the same time the Northmen and the Irish are represented as undertaking warlike expeditions together. During the tenth century the union between the two races becomes still closer. Christianity spread steadily amongst the Northmen, and Irish names and surnames become much more common. Even in the family of the Dublin kings such appear: Godfred (who died in 934) had a son named Lachtin (died 974); and just as such names about that time became spread among the upper classes, they were most likely

adopted by the lower ones. Towards the end of the tenth century a crisis took place. With the defeats of Tara and Glenmana, the Northmen appear to have all at once lost the hope of conquering the whole of Ireland, and to be able to keep themselves apart from the original inhabitants. Christianity advanced more and more, and the strange sight is witnessed of Northern chieftains taking service under Irish kings. A few years after the battle of Tara, King Maelsechlainn removed the sacred ring of Thor from Dublin, and in 1000 the sacred grove of Thor was destroyed.

From that time and onward it must be assumed that the Northmen in Ireland, as a rule, were baptised. At the same time, mixed marriages were very common, and many children of these unions understood, no doubt, both the Northern and Irish language. From this, however, one must not assume that they also acquired the Irish civilisation. It seems, however, that they at least strove to this end, for in the first half of the eleventh century Northmen attended several of the Irish monastic schools, viz., Clonmacnois. Furthermore, those who assert different opinions, and lay stress on the difference between the Irish and the Norse elements—viz., Craigie and others—are strongly combatted by Dr. Bugge, and it appears to me quite correctly, who emphasises specially the proofs from the old trustworthy “Fragments of Annals,” which describe events long before the battle of Clontarf (1014), and which teem with intimate details of Northern affairs, viz., particulars of the siege of Chester by the Danes and Norwegians (909), and the cruise of the sons of Lodbrok to Spain and Africa, as well as the expedition of Olaf Hvide to Norway (871). With Iceland there was no specially close connection. The Icelandic Sagas give but little information about either English or Irish affairs. Here the quickly developed difference in the language may have been a contributing cause.

After the year 1014 the Northmen in Ireland ceased to receive help from the North; from that time onward they

no longer play a dominating part, and even the kingdom of Dublin fell more than once under Irish overlordship, in like manner as it happened to those of Limerick and Waterford. With that it followed as well that the social connection between the two sections of the population became more and more close. About that period very many Irish bear Northern names—Amhlaib (Olav), Sictric (Sigtryg), Imhar (Ivar), Raghnaid (Ragnvald), and as a matter of fact the Irish ceased to look on the Northmen as foreigners. Now it became possible for an Irish poet to call upon King Ragnvald Gudrodsson of Man (1188-1226), who was Irish only on his mother's side, to come to Ireland and reconquer the regal power in Dublin. In the Northern royal families Irish names became ever more common; but, nevertheless, the Northmen continued up till the time of the English conquest, and a good while after it, to regard themselves as Northmen in language and nationality. It seems also that they in some way felt themselves closer related to the Anglo-Saxons than to the Irish, from whom they were also separated by acknowledging the Archbishop of Canterbury as their spiritual lord. With reference to this point, it is very instructive that when the king of Dublin, Aaskell, had to fly the country in 1170, he sought and procured help from the Sudereys, the Isle of Man, and even from Norway itself. He must, consequently, have still looked upon himself as a Norwegian, and his kinsmen in the old country must have reckoned him to be a compatriot. Regarding the language at that time, information is forthcoming, even though actual written memorials do not exist. Sufficient evidence is available from the place-names. When the English came in 1170, the Ostmen still had their own names for a great many localities different from those used by the Irish. After the English conquest, the Northmen in Dublin were allotted their own part of the town to reside in, and in this case there is hardly any question of compulsion, for the arrangement was rather an advantage than otherwise; and, moreover,

it seems that the English, on their side, regarded to some degree the Northmen as their countrymen. It took a long time, till perhaps near the fourteenth century, before they merged with the others into one nation. In connection with this point Dr. Bugge draws attention to the fact that, in spite of the want of a marked feeling of nationality, the blending of people and languages in the Middle Ages progressed altogether more slowly than at the present time. The places where the nationality of the Northmen preserved itself the longest were Dublin and Waterford. In the latter town Ostmen are still mentioned in 1292, and even at the beginning of the fourteenth century there is proof that the Northmen still really regarded themselves as a separate nationality. This is shown from an interesting document dated February 25th, 1311. The language disappeared a little earlier. About the year 1250 the Northern tongue was still spoken, but the following fifty years became the time of transition and blending.

In his essay Dr. Bugge attempts to show that the Irish and the Northmen began to influence each other from the tenth century onward. "It is likely," he says, "that Irish culture in the Viking Age influenced the Northmen in Ireland and in the Hebrides, and that its influence spread thence to Iceland, and also to Norway, Sweden and Denmark." The colony of the Northmen in Ireland had a marvellous duration of life. For more than 300 years, in spite of close and continued connection with the Irish, it had retained its political independence, its distinct nationality and language, and even later than this time, when it had ceased to exist as a separate kingdom, the people continued to look on themselves as a separate people. "Up to the year 1300 one can still speak of Northmen in Ireland."

Even if historical evidence is not forthcoming to such an extent as could be desired, it seems more than likely that Dr. Bugge must be correct in his conclusions.

FIND OF AN IMAGE OF THE SUN.

As during last year (1902) several important discoveries of antiquities have been made by the Danish National Museum, and among these at least one of which the members of the Viking Club are sure to want an early account, I intend in this year's report to keep chiefly to this subject. This, which is the most interesting find that has been reported for several years in this country, was made in the autumn. A representation of the sun was found, being the first visible proof of the worship of the sun in such bygone times as the older Bronze Age. The discovery has naturally evoked much and deserved notice, both in Denmark and beyond the borders of the country; and a publication dealing with it may be expected to appear shortly, perhaps before the next *Saga-Book* is published. The sun's presentment in question consists of a sun-dial, a horse that draws it, presumably with a kind of bridle, and the elements of a carriage with six wheels, on which the dial and the horse are placed. The whole thing is 13½ in. broad and 8 in. high. The sun-dial is arched on both sides, and is formed by two large bronze plates, like those so well-known from women's belts from the Bronze Age. The edges of these plates are joined together by a skilfully moulded border, and one of the plates is covered with a gold plate (worth £4 10s. in intrinsic value). Both plates are covered with ornaments, punched on, of the usual type of those of the older Bronze Age. The gold plate is pressed down into these ornaments, so that they are visible through the gold. The horse is an equally striking work, and it is the first clear sign of the power of the folk of the Bronze Age to undertake round-plastic work. It would have been difficult previous to this find to believe it possible for the people of the Northern Bronze Age to produce such a splendid piece of work. The horse is thoroughly characteristic and evident. The mane and some part of the harness are shown by the ornaments in the bronze. The horse has now a very short tail, but it is very plain that it was

originally longer; but whether the missing part was a piece of metal, or perhaps, possibly, horsehair, is uncertain. In front of the neck is a small ring, a similar one being seen on the foremost part of the sun-image, facing the horse. These two rings have, without doubt, been united to each other by a string, by which the horse dragged the sun after it. The sun and horse were then placed on a kind of conveyance, very simply made, with six wheels, each with four spokes. That objects of worship—there being no doubt about the sun-image being such a one—were sometimes placed on wheels, is amongst other things known from a series of Central European finds which exist. Perhaps the small image of the sun might be an imitation of a larger one, and which, in order to make an impression, had to be seen, and therefore was driven through the fields and villages.

The sun-image was found in a turf moor at Trundholm, in the north-west of Seeland, in peaty soil, in the middle of a large plain. It was much broken, and the bits scattered about. All the parts were lying near the surface, about as deep down as a plough would enter the soil. Nearly all the gold was torn off and smashed. Taking everything into consideration, there cannot be any doubt that the sun-image was placed where it was found as a votive offering to the gods, like many other objects from the same and a later period, and probably, just like many of these, it was broken to pieces beforehand, for what had to be of use to the gods alone must be made unfit for man. The image was found by a workman belonging to the forestry department, who attached little importance to his find. His superior in charge, P. West, when he saw the broken pieces, realised their value and importance, and communicated with the National Museum. To the latter alone therefore is it owing that one of the most precious relics of antiquity, next to the famous golden horns, was preserved for archæology, and his name should not be forgotten when the find is mentioned. Immediately on the receipt of his communication, Dr. Sophus Müller

repaired to the spot, and at once made a close inspection of the site of the discovery and its surroundings, but only a few additional pieces of the gold rewarded his search. The fragments, superficially restored, were exhibited for a short time to the public, who repaired to the Museum in crowds. They were then completely restored, and two months afterwards the sun-image was shown at the first meeting in the winter session of the Society of Antiquarians, Dr. Sophus Müller giving an interesting lecture on its significance. When the printed report appears, I shall give a picture of it, and sum up Dr. Muller's essay. This may, however, be certainly affirmed: the sun-image is an idol, a real object of worship, and nothing similar has been found in Europe from so early a period (1200 B.C.). It is the sun, the sacred and worshipped sun, represented as drawn in his chariot athwart the heavens.

In this manner men imagined and worshipped the highest deity. It was the sundial itself which was the god, or the power inherent in the god. Nothing similar to it is known. In Egypt and in Mesopotamia, where the sun was worshipped from the earliest times, the sundial may, in fact, be seen; but a personal deity was implied at the same time, so far as one can trace back, and represented also usually in human shape together with it. Our sun-image is a memory of earlier childish conceptions, living on longer in the remote North than in the home of civilisation in the South. It has, as a matter of fact, always been stated that the Bronze Age of the North had a worship of the sun, but little proof existed to support this idea. Our figure brings proof of this, and as a matter of fact also the first quite indisputable evidence of religious conceptions in the earlier era of prehistoric times. Now one has a footing, from which further steps in various directions may soon be taken.

The Danish sun-image is the most ancient object of its kind which is as yet known. But it is likely to be shown in course of time that such primitive attempts to express the movement of the sun were made elsewhere in Europe

in pretty much the same way. At the same time there may possibly have been personal gods. The possibility exists, and in any case such gods were known here at the period when the great cultural wave of Roman civilisation swept over the North at the beginning of the Iron Age. They are visible on the Gundestrup silver bowl (see *Saga-Book*, vol. iii., 1902, pp. 88-89, fig. 5). It is only towards the close of the most ancient period that the gods known from the Sagas, Odin and Thor, Frigga and Freya, appear. Now the sungod is known as well, which, just as in the South, is imagined as driving across the heavens in his chariot.

FIND OF OBJECTS OF THE STONE AGE AND BRONZE
VOTIVE OFFERINGS ON THE ISLAND OF MÖEN.

Mention may also be made of a series of discoveries which although hardly coming near the sun-image in importance, nevertheless are conspicuous or have special characteristics which make them interesting. For instance, at Mandemark on the isle of Möen (south of Seeland) a number of interesting objects have been dug up. During the work of clearing away the stones on a plot of land, the workmen came across a large erect stone. About one Danish yard under the surface, close to the stone, an earthen vessel was found, which was, however, so disintegrated that it was only possible to preserve a small part of it. In that vessel two very large buckles of bronze were found, likewise eight open bronze arm-rings or bracelets of a uniform pattern and size. One buckle only was entire; of the other only about half remained. Near the site of the same large stone, but only half a yard deep in the earth, was likewise found a very large and fine unused axe made of flint. It belongs to a period several centuries earlier than that of the bronze objects, and must have been placed by itself.

Two different votive discoveries are likely to be here presented, votive gifts to the gods, to procure a favour or to receive immunity from evil. Similar finds are known,

belonging to both earlier and later times, and from all parts of the country, and they are found deposited near to a large stone. Such votive offerings as a rule comprise several objects of the same kind. Besides the peculiarity of two votive gifts being found on the same spot, there is the further one that none of the bronze things were wrought in Denmark. The buckles are very large, each of them formerly consisted of two big bronze spirals, four to five inches broad each, a middle piece about the same size, and a pin. All the bronze objects were made in Southern Germany or Hungary, and belong to the period between 1000 and 1200 B.C.

FIND OF A TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY HOARD OF GERMAN VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

Soon after this discovery, the attention of antiquarians was again directed to the little island by the announcement of the find of various objects, chiefly flints, at a place where a dolmen formerly stood. When the case was closer investigated, it was found that only part of the bottom layer of this great stone chamber yet remained. Though earlier excavations doubtless had been made on the spot, altogether seven flint axes, all of the thick-necked shape common to the dolmens, and a couple of flint chisels, besides a bone chisel, were unearthed. No fewer than 35 flint flakes (knives) were also dug out, but these are certainly of common occurrence in other stone chambers of similar kind, being the most common grave-finds generally met with ; further, a small battle-axe made of sandstone, so tiny that perhaps it may be said to be a symbolic axe, besides parts, bigger or smaller, of various earthen vessels, all richly ornamented. In addition, a variety of fragments of bone objects, a ring, stilettos, etc., were taken out, and last, but not least, several partly dissolved amber pearls. Taken as a whole, the discovery gave the impression that the dolmen had been used only for a certain limited period towards the close of the Earlier Stone Age.

RICH STORE OF GRAVE-GOODS FOUND AT ROESKILDE.

It luckily happens but rarely nowadays in Denmark that the larger or more valuable stone memorials are removed; but, on the other hand, the more numerous smaller tumuli are very often fated to disappear. In the course of this year (1902) some indifferently preserved gravehills have unfortunately had to make way for progressive agriculture. That any person should out of sheer curiosity open a mound is, however, something unheard of. To one of these memorials that fell a sacrifice last year, near Roeskilde, Seeland, I shall refer. The mound had originally been of imposing dimensions, about eight feet high. The farmer who owned the land on which it was situated commenced to dig into the sides, and came first upon a row of sandstone blocks a little way inside the foot of the gravehill; on making further progress he came upon the grave over which the mound had been reared. It was a large heap of stones about six feet high, and at the bottom of it the sepulchral cist was found, in which were found a fine, well-preserved bronze sword, besides two gold rings of quite thin threads rolled up in spirals (the value of the whole £3 6s.). In other parts of the mound some urns were found embedded in the mould, to the number of twelve to fourteen, in which some burnt bones and small objects of bronze, viz., a small knife, two miniature swords only a few centimetres long, five small flat razors, three fragments of sickles for harvest use, two tweezers (for the toilet), pins, puncheons, and buttons. The whole of the objects were later on forwarded by the owner to the National Museum.

GOLD RINGS FROM GUDME, FYEN.

The greater number of the objects which appear in the course of time—for each year apparently the number increases—are drawn from graves; a small number of the stone objects result mainly from casual finds in field or moorland. On the other hand, specially valuable things,

which may be assumed to have been purposely placed in the ground, hidden till later and perhaps more peaceful times, or sacrificed to the gods, have also been unearthed. One particularly valuable discovery hails from Gudme, in the southern part of the island of Fyen. One forenoon the local landowner came across a lad who was busy harrowing, and observing that the harrow needed clearing of roots, etc., gathered in its progress, ordered their removal. In doing so it was found out that a number of heavy gold rings hanging in a cluster were entangled with the teeth. Notwithstanding their having been dragged along the earth with the harrow, none of them, strange to say, had, on examination, suffered any damage. The find was eventually found to consist of six gold rings, or rather heavy gold bars rolled in spiral shape. The biggest and heaviest was bent together in the shape of a single almost closed ring, of about the width of an ordinary bracelet. The other rings hung on to this one. Two of them were oblong, about as big as the mounting of a sword-sheath. Between these two rings was another one, the size of a finger ring, and from this another quite similar, and in this yet a third. The whole was joined together in such a way that only by force could the different parts be separated.

The weight in full was 605 grammes, and as the gold was mixed with some silver the value amounted to about 1,210 kroner (£67). The find belongs to the period 500-800 A.D., the so-called post-Roman period of the Iron Age. The Museum was already in possession of a number of similar finds from the same period, the majority being smaller, but some are bigger. The special shape, with the many rings joined together, makes this find one of the most singular of its kind. The rings were obviously used as coins.

FIND OF GOLD RINGS, COINS, ETC., AT AARS, JUTLAND.

Of a similar nature, but the objects fewer in number and of less value, is a find made at Aars in North Jutland. It

consists of several different pieces, found singly on the surface, but nearly all on the same spot. First occurred two gold rings, intended for currency; one was rather heavy, 4.2 cm. in diameter, too small to be intended for a bracelet, but too large to be a finger ring. The smaller ring might, on the other hand, have been used as a finger ring. Later on two gold coins were forwarded; one was a *solidus*, coined for the Emperor Valentinian III. (425-455) in Constantinople; the other being a barbarous imitation of the coins of the same Emperor. It was fitted with a ring, and had been regarded and worn as an ornament, like the well-known bracteats. A real bracteate was also sent in in the end by the same finder, as well as a tiny golden currency ring. The bracteate is coined on the one side, and has a much-defaced animal figure on it. The intrinsic value of the whole find was about 300 kroner (£17). The two first rings were thrown up by the plough through a chance-made deeper furrow than usual. The turn of the share disclosed the two rings shining brightly as if laid in their position the day before. These objects are reckoned to belong to the post-Roman period, and, like the Gudme rings, are thought to have been sacrificial offerings.

Besides these, numerous minor finds of objects in the precious metals or of bronze have been reported. In addition, a number of local investigations have been made, partly at the request of private landowners and partly sequential operations. To mention these in detail would carry us too far on the present occasion. I prefer to close now with an *au revoir*.

PALNATOKI IN WALES.

By A. G. MOFFAT, M.A.

IT may not be out of place to start this paper with some account of the life of Palnatoki, who lived about the years 930 to 990, and in his time was one of Denmark's mighty men. The name Toki or Tuki is frequent in old Swedish and Danish records. Saxo and other writers mention several persons of the name. Three runic stones in Sweden record the burial places of members of the family, two of whom died in Greece, and one of whom it is recorded that he was killed in England, and that he was a right good man. Several runic stones in Denmark also commemorate warlike Tukis, but the most remarkable men of that name are the family that lived in the Island of Funen.

Toki of Funen had, by his wife Thorvør, two sons, Aki and Palne. Aki became a man of great note, so much so that King Harold Bluetooth became jealous of his power, and by the king's order Aki was slain about the year 950. Palne took to wife Ingebiargar, and they had a son who afterwards became the renowned Palnatoki. This son, who must have been about eighteen or twenty years of age when Aki was slain, did not forget the death of his uncle Aki—in fact, according to Norse traditions, it was his duty to avenge his kinsman's death, and in due course that duty was fulfilled, as I shall presently narrate.

Palnatoki grew up a comely youth, gifted with great strength, and skilled in all the accomplishments of the day. He was a great archer, and there are tales told of

him that recall to mind Egil the Archer, Will Cloudesly, William Tell, and others to the same effect. In due time Palnatoki acquired wealth and land in Funen; a man matured early in those days. He was an out-and-out heathen, a follower of Thor and Odin. About the year 956 he made an expedition to England, and, after various harryings along the coast, he arrived in South Wales, to what are described as the lands of Earl Stefnir.

The title "earl" and the name Stefnir would indicate that he was the chief of a Norse colony in Wales. This earl was well up in years, and his foster-son, Biørn, thought it better to come to terms with Palnatoki rather than fight. It was not an uncommon thing for newcomers from Scandinavia to attack earlier colonists for the land that they might be in possession of. Biørn therefore proposed that Palnatoki should marry Oløf, a daughter of Earl Stefnir, whereby he obtained the title of earl, and one half the dominions of Earl Stefnir, with an understanding that he should have the whole dominion after the death of his father-in-law. To this Palnatoki agreed, and settled down for the winter in South Wales. It is said of him that he soon tired of a settled life, so he used to live alternately in Wales and in Funen, committing the government of his Welsh estates to the care of Biørn, surnamed the Welshman, doubtless because he had been born in Wales.

Palnatoki and Oløf had a son who was named Aki, and it was not long afterwards that, being in Funen, Palnatoki fell in with Salmaesu, who had born a child to King Harold Bluetooth. This child, called Sweinn, Palnatoki fostered, and brought up with Aki, his own son. The years rolled on, and Sweinn came to manhood, when Palnatoki, no doubt bearing his revenge duty in mind, with cunning counsel set Sweinn on to interview his father, King Harold, and to reveal himself as his son. He obtained ships and men from the King, but under the direction of Palnatoki they were utilised for making raids on the surrounding country. This occurred two or three

years running, until heathendom—of which Palnatoki and Sweinn were leading figures—was overpowered, and Sweinn had to take to flight, which he did by fitting out an expedition against the Western lands, namely, England. But with his few ships and men he soon saw that it would be a matter of difficulty to carve out for himself a kingdom anywhere in the Danelag, where the first comers were too strongly consolidated for any fresh plunderer to make headway. His first voyages, therefore, were not made on the well-known eastern coast of England, but on the southern and western coasts of the island. This was between the years 980 to 988, during which time the Scandinavian Sagas and chronicles tell of numerous raids on the coast of Dorset, Devon, and the Saxon coasts of the Bristol Channel. It is more especially said that Sweinn settled in Wales, where his foster-father Palnatoki had married, and that he and his men fraternised with the Welsh in their forays against the common enemy, the Anglo-Saxon. We read in the “Annals of Ulster” and in the “Annales Cambriæ” that from 979 to 987 frequent raids were made by Norsemen from the Hebrides and Man on the west coasts of Wales, and it is recorded in the Norse Sagas that Sweinn met with much fighting and lost many men, on one occasion he and all his men being taken prisoners by a certain mighty Earl. Among Sweinn’s men was an Icelander named Thorwald Kodranson, surnamed the Far Traveller, who had been instrumental in freeing the son of this Earl from Danish captivity some time before, so had his liberty now offered him as a return, but he declined to leave Sweinn and his comrades in their need, which resulted eventually in their being all set free on their consenting to go away peaceably. This particular fight shows fighting between Norwegians and Danish Vikings. Sweinn was known as Sweinn Forkbeard, from the way he wore his beard.

About the year 985 Sweinn and Palnatoki made another raid on King Harold Bluetooth, the father of Sweinn, during which, on one occasion, Palnatoki, when alone,

succeeded in killing Harold by an arrow-shot, thus, after some thirty years, fulfilling his blood-feud. Palnatoki saw to Sweinn being proclaimed king, and then he returned to Wales, where—his father-in-law being now dead—he took all Stefnir's dominions into his possession. In 988 he was present at the *arvöl*, or inheritance feast, given by Sweinn in memory of Harold Bluetooth, and it is recorded that one half of Palnatoki's men were Danes and the other half were Welsh. At this *arvöl*, Palnatoki publicly proclaimed himself to be the killer of King Harold, and immediately returned to Wales. Two years after occurred the death of Oløf, Palnatoki's wife, and Wales then became distasteful to him. He raided during several summers on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. In these raids he got much wealth, with which he retired to the island of Funen; but it was not long before his active spirit brought him to be the chief of Jomsburg, and a lawgiver to that community of sea-robbers, although his death occurred shortly afterwards. Biørn, the Welshman, ruled the Welsh possessions for him, and eventually fought with Palnatoki's grandson, Vagn,¹ at the great fight of Hiorungavagr, when Earl Hacon broke once and for all the power of the Jomsvikings. Both Biørn (then an old man) and Vagn escaped death by their brave demeanour whilst awaiting execution, and Biørn returned to Wales.

The "Saxon Chronicle" records the fact that a Count Palling or Pallig, who was doubtless a son of Palnatoki, married Gunhilda, a daughter of King Harold, consequently a sister of Sweinn. He and his wife embraced Christianity, and landing in England were received by King Athelred with great respect. Large presents of money and land—mostly in the West of England, Worcester and Hereford—were made by the king to this Palling, who appears to have supported sometimes one and sometimes another of the parties at that time contending in England, and about 1001 he is stated to have

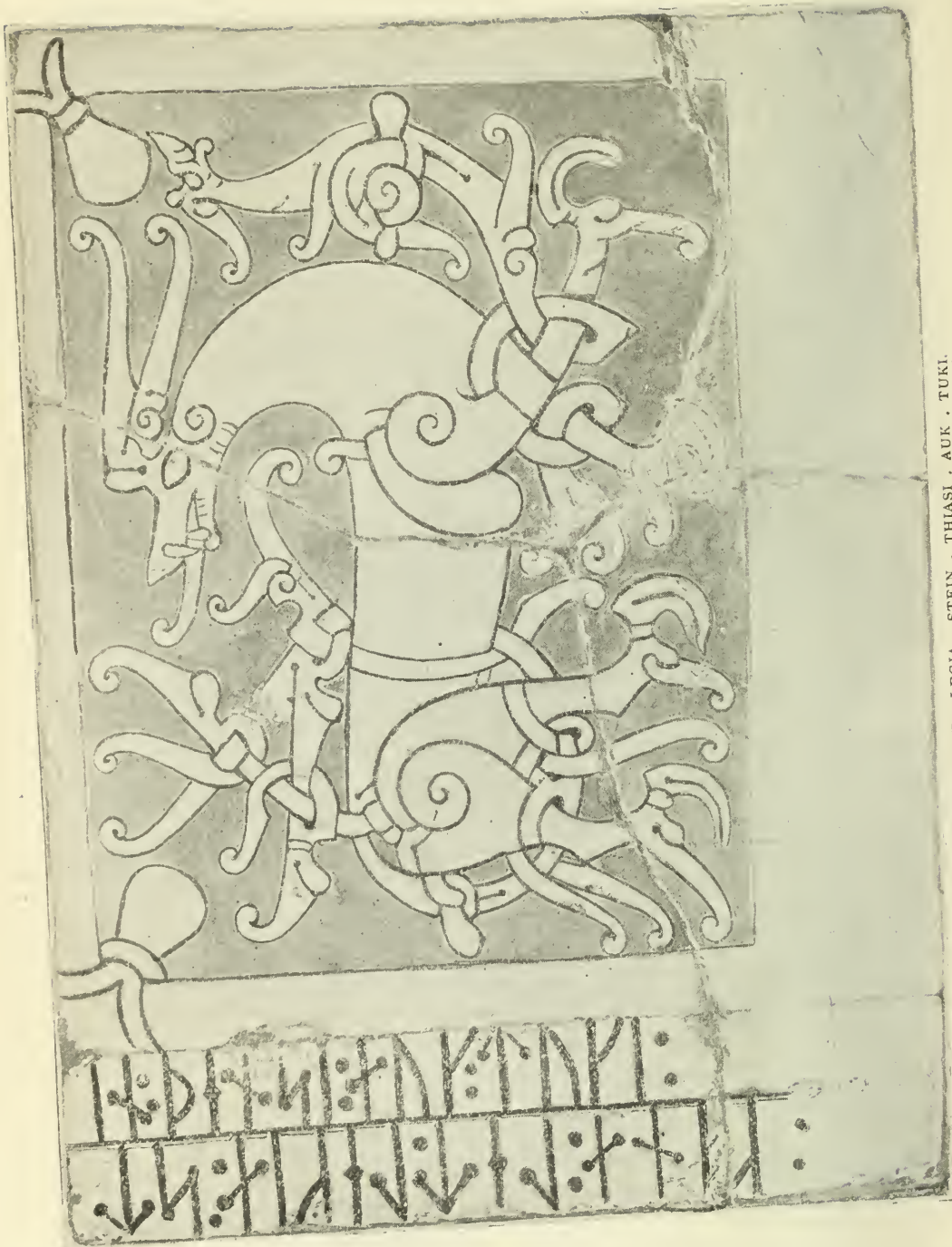
¹ The name Vagn would appear to be Welsh = Vaughan = little.

been particularly busy in the Bristol Channel assisting the Danes. In the Bristol Channel he always found men and ships to carry out raids on the coasts of Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset.¹ It was in the next year, 1002, that he became a surety to King Athelred for the good behaviour of the Danes; but at heart Athelred hated all Danes, and brought about the massacre of St. Bride's night, 14th November, 1002, in which Count Palling and his wife were slain. The result of this massacre was the eventual invasion of England by King Sweinn in revenge for the death of his sister and her husband, his foster-brother.

There is no documentary evidence, deeds of gift, etc., to show the possessions of the Tokis in the West of England, and to illustrate their power, ranging from 1000 to 1060. In August, 1852, a headstone was dug up on the site of the churchyard of old St. Paul's Cathedral, London. This stone,² which is reproduced on the next page, mentions the name of Tuki. The "Promptorium Parvulorum," on page 492, also gives in East Anglia the name of Paulinus Thoke, sometimes written Toke, as the owner of a portion of the vill of Marham. As to the meaning of Palne, it is one of the few words commencing with the letter P in old Scandinavian records. It is mostly associated with the Tukis, and is thought by Munch to be of Keltic or Wendish origin. It equates itself with Pal, or Paul, which in Welsh is Pewlin, and in Saxon Palling or Pallig. It is worthy of special note how near in sound the Saxon is to the Welsh. Tuke, or Toke, the family name, Munch thinks is derived from a Norse word—*tokr*, *tukr*=mad. It became in course of time Tokig, Tukig, Tyge (Tycho

¹ It is worthy of particular note that he could always find men and ships in the Bristol Channel, just the place where one might expect that he—a son of Palnatoki—would be able to muster them, and not from the Saxons, which is pretty certain.

² Found during the excavations for building Messrs. Cook's new warehouses on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, 1852. Notice of the find is in the *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 28th, 1852; *Morning Chronicle*, Sep. 18th, 1852; *Journal of the Society of Antiquaries*, Jan. 20th, 1853; *Archæological Journal*, Feb. 1853, vol. x.



KONA . LET . LEGIA . STEIN . THIASI . AUK . TUKI .
(Kona . let . raise . stone . this . and . Tuki .)
THE CHURCHILL MUSEUM, LONDON .

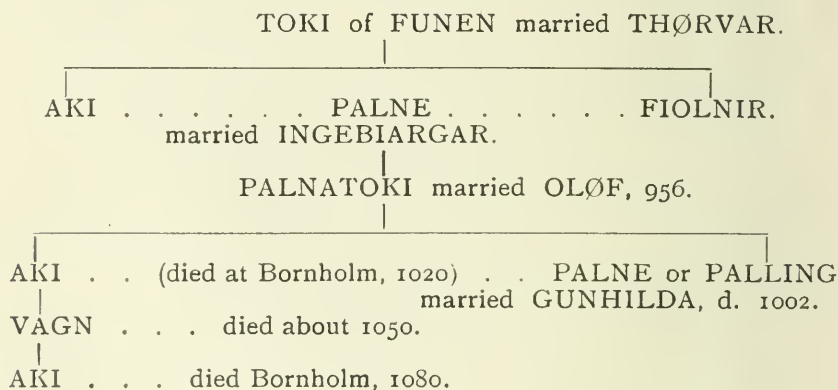
Brahe, the astronomer), Tuke and Duke. There was an early abbot of Gloucester called Thokig, who may have been one of the family now under review.

And now comes the question, where in South Wales were the possessions of Earl Stefnir, and where did Palnatoki hold sway? To answer this, I refer to the "History of Pembrokeshire," by Dr. H. Owen, on page 388 of which is an account of what can be told of Peuliniog, a lost commot of Cantref Gwaerthaf. Shortly, it is surmised to have included the parishes of Llandissilio yn Nyfed, Llan y Cefn, Egremont, Castell Dwyran, and Llanfalteg,¹ of which the second is now wholly in Dungleddy, Pembrokeshire, the third wholly in Derllys, Carmarthenshire, and the others divided between the two. Peuliniog means something belonging to Paul, and Dr. Owen writes that it must mean the land of Paulinus. He refers to the early inscribed stone that was found at Llandyssilio, with the inscription, "Clotorigi—Filii—Paulini—Marini—Latio," but cannot identify the Paulinus in question. John Rhys reads this inscription to mean: "[The monument] of Clotorigi, the son of Paulinus, the gift of Marinus," but says that he does not quite guarantee this reading. He further states "that Clotorigi is expressed in Teutonic by Hlodericus, which is the same as the Norse Hlødwer." I venture to submit that this inscription may mean: "Of Hlødwer, the son of Paul of the Sea (Viking), the resting-place," and that here at Llandyssilio we have a record of the burying-place of a son of Palnatoki—the very place where one might expect such, if we look upon this lost commot as being the possessions of Palnatoki, Pal = Pewlin, or Peulin. Near Castell Henry there is marked a place called Polltax Inn, but the old name of this was Paltox, which seems to me to be a suggestion of the time when Palnatoki ruled close by. Stefnir, or Stefan, was the name of Palnatoki's father-in-law, and to the east of the ground pointed out we find a little fishing village called Llandstefan.

¹ Llanfalteg = Llanfallig?

We read in an account of the antiquities of the village of Pendine that at one time a little valley there was washed by the sea, and that it was called the Duke's Bottom, the word "bottom" in Pembrokeshire, as in other parts of England, signifying a valley (from the word *votn*). There the remains of a galley were dug up about 100 years ago, and there were evidences that the place was used for mooring vessels in. This was doubtless anterior to an upheaval of the coast-line some 900 years ago, when floods and sand storms played havoc with the configuration of the shores there. Tuke, as I mentioned before, has become Duke, and this may be the very port that Palnatoki was accustomed to use for his long ships. Here is also a village called Landawke, for which no Welsh meaning can be given. May it not cover the name of the son of Palnatoki called Aki, modern Danish Aage, the father of Vagn?

The following is a pedigree of the Tokis:—



I have shown you how Palnatoki and Sweinn settled for some time in Wales, and by the way I may mention there does not appear to be any doubt but what it was Sweinn Forkbeard that gave the name to Swansea. I have equated Palne, Paul, Pewlin, Peuliniog, Palling, and shown you how the Toki who was buried in London had his last rest in the churchyard of the saint whose name was akin to his own, and I do not think that there remains aught else for me to add, excepting that I have only strung

together a lot of information culled from old history in Saga and records, Scandinavian and Saxon, any of which books are at the disposal of members who may desire to go more fully into the matter. It was interesting reading for me in spare time, and I hope that this recital may be of some interest also to others.

BOOKS REFERRED TO.

- "Olaf Tryggwasson's Saga." Northern Library.
 - "Jomsvikinger's Saga." Petersens, Lund., 1879.
 - "Kristni's Saga."
 - "Thorvald Vidførle's Saga." Ex. Le. Magn, Fafniæ, 1778.
 - "Normannerne." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1876.
 - "Venderne og de Danske." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1900.
 - Munch, "Saml. og Afhandler." G. Storm. Christiania, 1876.
 - "Danske Erobering af England, etc." Worsaae. Copenhagen, 1863.
 - "Danmark's Histori." Petersen, Copenhagen, 1854.
 - "Anglo-Saxon Charters." Thorpe.
 - "History of Pembrokeshire." F. Owen. London, 1892.
 - "Gloucester City Records." Stevenson. Gloucester, 1893.
 - "British Family Names." Barber. London, 1894.
 - "Christian Names." Yonge. London, 1863.
 - "Antiquities of Laugharne." Curtis. London, 18—.
 - "Antiquités du Nord." Copenhagen, 1852.
-

In the discussion which followed the reading, Mr. Thomas Stevens asked if there was any authority for Palnatoki's doings, apart from what appeared in the "Jomsviking Saga," and gave the principal points of the story of Palnatoki and Vagn Akeson as it appears in that Saga.

Mr. F. T. Norris observed that the paper was a valuable contribution to Viking literature. He should like to point out the connection of the important persons mentioned in the paper with the Thames. Gunhilda is represented by Gunnersbury, which pairs also with Gunnerslake in Pembrokeshire, Palnatoki by a neighbouring lordship called Pallenswick, the local brook called Bollingbrook with Bolingbroke, the first syllable of Pimlico (Pimleakhoe) with Pem-brokeshire, and the Carews of that Welsh shire

have their collaterals in the Carews at Carshalton. It is also curious that John Horne Tooke lies buried at Ealing.

Pastor A. V. Storm said that he was much interested in the connections between Palnatoki and Bretland, and to find that it was possible to localise them as Mr. Moffat had done. He then referred to some discrepancies between the accounts of Palnatoki given in the "*Jomsvikinga Saga*" and by Saxo Grammaticus, and quoted the account of the arvel-ale held in honour of Jarl Strut-Harald. It would be observed that the loss of a Welshman counted nothing with the Scandinavian Saga-teller, and it was Biorn Bretski who rescued his compatriot's body. The meaning of Toki, "stupid," still prevailed in Sweden. With reference to Mr. Moffat's mention of the discovery, many years ago, of an old ship in South Wales, supposed to be a Roman galley, he quite agreed that it had been the fashion to ascribe all such discovered objects to the Romans, and the possibility of a Scandinavian origin had not had due weight. Many families in Denmark had traced their descent to Palnatoki—among others, Bishop Absalon.

Mr. A. F. Major said that Mr. Moffat had added an interesting chapter to the hitherto unwritten history of the Viking settlement in Britain. His identification of the site of Palnatoki's holding was ingenious, and he had made out a good case in its favour, though from the nature of the evidence he could not conclusively prove his point. He hoped Mr. Moffat would continue his work in South Wales, and add to the evidence he was accumulating of the important position held by the Scandinavian settlement in the district in very early times.

Mr. C. Watson said that he was much interested in the theories of his friend Mr. Moffat, though he thought at present he had quite failed to prove any of the points he advanced. He had not shown that the Vikings settled in Wales in early times, nor had he shown that the general belief that the Romans had penetrated to the district was wrong. Further, he had failed to show that Sweyn was

the founder of Swansea, and gave his name to the town.

The Lecturer, in reply to Mr. Stevens, gave as his principal authorities for Palnatoki's history, the "Joms-vikinga Saga," "Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga," "Kristni Saga," the "Saga of Erik Vidforla," and Haigh's "Anglo-Saxon Sagas." He claimed to have shown that Palnatoki could not find a place for a settlement in the east of England, and that he worked round till he came to South Wales, and reached the lands held by Jarl Stefuir, a Norse colony. Llanstephan was undoubtedly originally Land Stephan, just as Llandoc was Land Auk. He quite admitted that there were Roman remains in South Wales—for instance, the great quadrilateral of Cardiff, Caerphilly. Jarlsness was, he believed, to be identified with Garness, near Pendine. The existence of a Scandinavian colony in close contact with a Celtic element had, he believed, caused many of the features which puzzled students of this district. In support of this theory he might quote Professor Steynstrup.

The Chairman, in conclusion, said he should like to see the dragon ornament found in both Scandinavian and Celtic work elucidated. It occurred on the runic stone found in St. Paul's Churchyard, and the interlaced ornament found so commonly in Celtic MSS. seemed to be the outgrowth of the spiral coils of the dragon. With regard to the reported discovery of an ancient boat in South Wales, he mentioned a boat said to have been found in the Thames, and referred to the well-known Nydam boat found in Denmark, as showing that such discoveries were quite possible.

THE ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR;
OR,
THE EARL'S BÚ AND KIRK IN ÖR-FJARA.¹

THE Round Church of Orphir stands in the parish churchyard, situated on the lands of the present Bú of Orphir, in Orkney. This Bú was one of the bordlands, or guest quarters, and formed part of the landed estate of the old Norse earldom of Orkney. The "Orkneyinga Saga" mentions that early in the twelfth century the Earls of Orkney occasionally lived at their Bú, or house, in Ör-fjara, to which a splendid church was attached. Ör-fjara has been identified with the modern Orphir. Adjoining the Round Church are the foundations of extensive buildings, which stand in relation to that church in exactly the same way as did the Earl's Bú to its church as described in the Saga. As the "Round" is undoubtedly one of those twelfth century churches built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there can be little doubt that it and the Earl's Church are one and the same.

However, as Professor P. A. Munch has located the site elsewhere in the parish of Orphir, we are obliged to go somewhat minutely into the subject in order to prove the identity of the site. We must examine Saga references; the history of Orkneyan place-names, and of those in Orphir in particular; the Earls' estates in Orphir, and throughout Orkney; and the derivation and original location of Ör-fjara—this is exceedingly puzzling, as the name

¹ The authors and works referred to in this paper will be found in the Bibliography at the end. References to the years 1503, 1595, 1627 and 1642 will be found under *Rentals*.

has evidently been shifted, at some remote period, from the original site, to the district now called Orphir, which latter it will be proved is the Ör-fjara of the Saga, and the place from which the present parish took its name. This paper will conclude with a description of the ruins of the Earl's Bú and Church, and a proposal for their preservation.

SAGA REFERENCES.

Before quoting the "Orkneyinga Saga," it will be as well to explain that this name is modern, the old name being "Jarla-Sögur," or Earl's Sagas, and then "Jarla-Saga," taken from one of its component parts. These parts are:—(1) The Origin of the Norwegian Empire, chaps. 1-3; (2) Jarla-Sögur, chaps. 4-38; (3) St. Magnús' Saga, chaps. 39-55; (4) Miracle Book of St. Magnús, chap. 60; (5) Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn Ásleif's son, chaps. 56-59 and 61-118; and (6) Addenda, only found in "Flatey Book."

Ör-fjara is mentioned only in the Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn. Mr. Vigfússon says that this Saga is the principal and most interesting part of the whole complex work, being the last manifestation of the Viking spirit, and Sveinn the last of the great Vikings of old. A complete copy of the original Saga does not now exist. The whole, however, is found in "Flatey Book," cut up into five sections and chronologically distributed into the lives of the kings. The text is imperfect, and the scribe of "Flatey Book" knew nothing of Orkney geography. Besides "Flatey Book," several vellum fragments of the original Saga are preserved. There is a Danish translation of the whole Saga which supplies lost sentences skipped in "Flatey Book," and gives means of mending false readings. Magnus Olafsson's "Icelandic Glossary," collected in 1630-36 and edited by Ole Worm as "Lexicon Runicum," contains upwards of a hundred references from Jarla-Saga. The "Orkneyinga Saga" differs from Icelandic Sagas in its vivid pictures of the Viking Age, and the almost complete absence of the law element.

A full description of the Saga will be found in Mr. Vigfússon's introduction to the Rolls edition of the text of the "Orkneyinga Saga," and in his prolegomena to "Sturlunga Saga." The "Flatey Book" text has been translated by Mr. Jón A. Hjaltalin and Mr. Gilbert Goudie, edited with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson. The text of the Rolls edition of the "Orkneyinga Saga," edited by Mr. Gudbrand Vigfússon, is compiled from the "Flatey Book" and the above-mentioned vellum fragments, etc., more than one-third and less than one-half being founded on these fragments, and the remainder on the "Flatey Book." It has been translated by Sir George Dasent, with an introduction on place-names. The introduction does not, however, contain any original research; it is compiled from Professor Munch's work on Saga names, and from other writers, and is badly arranged. As an instance of this may be mentioned the subject of the present paper, viz., Ör-fjara. Sir George Dasent, in accordance with Professor Munch, locates the site of the Earl's palace at Swanbister, and, on the authority of Mr. George Petrie, identifies the ruins of the Round Church as those of the Earl's Church, in ignorance of the fact (although he visited Orphir) that the two places are a mile apart, and not adjoining each other as described in the Saga. Dasent's rendering of place-names in his translation is also unsatisfactory. In some cases he translates the name, in others gives the text name, in others the modern name, which he sometimes questionably identifies with the old, and in others a semi-translation added to the modern name, *e.g.*, in *Skalp-eið*, he identifies *skalp* with the modern Scapa, to which he adds *neck*, the translation of *eið*, making Scapa-neck; whereas Scapa, or Scalpa as it is sometimes spelt, is really the complete old name; *eið* as a termination becoming *a*. Compare Brae (the contracted form of Brai-ai) = Breið-eið, in Shetland.¹

Under the date of 1127-8 the Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr

¹ Jakob Jakobsen, "Dialect and Place-names of Shetland," p. 85. Lerwick, 1897.

and Sveinn relates¹: "It happened in the days of the brothers, Earl Haraldr and Páll, that they were to keep the Yule feast in Örfjara, at the *bú* of Earl Haraldr, and he was to provide the food on behalf of both. He had there great preparation and work. The sisters were there, Frakökk² and Helga, the Earl's mother, and sat in the little room at their sewing. Then Earl Haraldr came into the room, and the sisters sat on the *daïs*, and a new-sewn linen garment lay between them, white as driven snow. The Earl took up the garment, and saw that it was in many places sewn with gold. He asked, 'Who owns this treasure?' Frakökk says, 'It is meant for thy brother Páll.' The Earl says, 'Why take you such great pains in making him a garment? You do not take so much trouble in making clothes for me.'" The Earl was newly out of bed, and was only in a shirt and linen breeches, and had thrown a cloak over his shoulders. He threw off the cloak and unfolded the linen garment. His mother caught hold of it, and asked him not to be envious though his brother had good clothes. The Earl snatched it from her, and prepared to put it on. Then they pulled off their head-dresses, and tore their hair, and said it would cost his life if he put on the garment. They both then wept bitterly. The Earl nevertheless put it on, and let it fall down over him. But as soon as the garment fell round his body a shiver came over his skin, and quickly great pain followed. And from this the Earl took to his bed and lay a short while ere he died. His friends thought this a great loss. But at once after the death of Earl Haraldr, his brother, Earl Páll, took all the realm (earldom) with the consent of all *bændr* (*bóndis*) in Orkneyjar."

Under the date 1136³ the Saga of Earl Rögnvaldr and Sveinn gives an account of the great Yule feast which Earl

¹ O. S. R., chap. 58. Translation by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., for this paper.

² Frakörk ("Flateybook").

³ O. S. R., chaps. 69-70. Translation by Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., for this paper.

Páll prepared at his Bú, which is called Örfura (Jorfiara, "Flatey Book"); thither he asked many high-born men, including Valþjófr, Ólaf's son from Stronsay. The Saga goes on to relate how Valþjófr and his crew were all lost in the West Firth the day before Yule, and how his father, Ólaf, was burned in his house at Duncansby the second night before Yule, in the absence of his wife Ásleif and his sons Gunni and Sveinn, afterwards called Ásleifarson. Sveinn returned home on the eve of Yule, and at once fared to Stroma, which he reached in the night, and from thence he went to Skalp-eið, and so on to Örfura, which he apparently reached on the first day of Yule.

"There he was welcomed; men took him to Eyvindr Melbrigðason, Sveinn's kinsman. Eyvindr brought Sveinn before Earl Páll, and the Earl greeted Sveinn well and asked him for news, but Sveinn tells the death of his father, and what had happened. The Earl regretted this, and said it was a great loss to himself. He invited Sveinn to stay with him, and said he would do him great honour. Sveinn thanked the Earl kindly for his invitation, and said he would accept it.

"After that men went to evensong. There were large farm buildings (*húsa-bær*) there, and they stood on sloping ground [here leaves are wanting in the "Codex," and the text of the rest of chap. 70 is from the "Flateybook"], and there was a slope¹ at the back of the houses. And when one came on the brow of the slope, Örríðafjörðr was above it (*i.e.*, on the other side beyond); in it lies Damisey. There was a castle in the island guarded by a man called Blánn, son of Thorsteinn of Flyðrunes. There, in Ör-fjara, was a large drinking-hall (*drykkju-skáli*), and there was a door, near the east gable, on the southern side wall, and a splendid church stood before the hall door, and one descended (in going) from the hall to the church. But as one entered the hall, a large slab was to the left, and inside many large ale-casks, and facing the out-door was a room. When men

¹ *Brekka*, an oblong, rising hillside.

came from evensong they were shown their seats. The Earl made Sveinn Ásleifarson sit next to him on the inside, while Sveinn Breastrope sat next to him on the outside, and next to him Jón, the kinsman of Sveinn Breastrope. When the tables were cleared away, the men came who told of the drowning of Valþjófr Ólafsson, and the Earl thought it great news. Then the Earl commanded that no one should worry Sveinn Ásleifarson during Yule, and said he would even then have care enough. In the evening when men had drunk, the Earl and most of the men went to sleep. But Sveinn Breastrope went out, and sat out (performing wizardry) all night, as was his habit. During the night men rose and went to church and heard prayers, and after high mass they sat down to table. Eyvindr Melbrigðason had most of the management of the feast, with the Earl, and did not sit down. The waiting-men and the candle-bearers stood before the Earl's table, but Eyvindr filled the cup of each of the namesakes. Then Sveinn Breastrope thought Eyvindr poured more in his cup, and would not take it before Sveinn Ásleifarson had drunk off his cup, and said Sveinn was a poor drinker. There had long been coldness between Sveinn Breastrope and Ólafr Hrólfsson, and also between the namesakes since Sveinn Ásleifarson grew up. After drinking for a while they went to nones. When they came in (*i.e.*, back from church) healths were drunk and horns drained. Then Sveinn Breastrope wanted to change horns with his namesake because it was a little horn. Eyvindr thrust a large horn into the hand of Sveinn Ásleifarson, and he offered that to his namesake. Then Sveinn Breastrope grew angry, and muttered to himself so that some men, including the Earl, heard him: 'Sveinn will be Sveinn's bane, and Sveinn must be Sveinn's bane.' This was hushed up. Now they drank up to evensong. When the Earl went out, Sveinn Ásleifarson walked before him, but Sveinn Breastrope remained sitting and drinking. When they got to the ale-room, Eyvindr came after them, and took Sveinn aside to talk. He asked: 'Did you hear

what your namesake said when you offered him the horn? 'No,' he answered. Eyvindr repeated the words, and said the devil must have put these words into his mouth during the night. 'He means to slay thee, but thou shouldst be beforehand and slay him.' Eyvindr handed him an axe, and told him to stand in the shade by the slab, and aim the blow at Sveinn in front if Jón walked first, but aim at his namesake behind if Jón walked behind him. The Earl went to church, and no one observed Eyvindr and Sveinn. Sveinn Breastrope and Jón walked out a little after the Jarl. Sveinn Breastrope had a sword in his hand, for he always carried a sword, though others did not, and Jón walked first. There was a gleam of light on the out-door, but the weather was thick. When Sveinn Breastrope came to the out-door, Sveinn Ásleifarson smote him on the forehead; he stumbled at the blow, but did not fall. When he pulled himself up again he saw a man standing at the door, and thought he had wounded him. He drew his sword, smote him on the head, and cleft it down to the shoulders. The blow hit his kinsman Jón, and they both fell there. Then Eyvindr came up, and took Sveinn Ásleifarson into the room facing the out-door, and he was there pulled out through a skjá-window.¹ There Magnús Eyvindarson had a horse ready saddled, and took him away behind the bæ and on to Örríðafjörðr. Then they took ship, and Magnús brought Sveinn to Damisey, to the castle there, and Blánn took him next morning north to Egilsey to Vilhjálmr, bishop."

It is said of Sveinn Breastrope that "he was one of the Earl's bodyguard (*hirðmaðr*), and well honoured of him; he was ever on Viking voyages in the summer, but the winters he spent with Earl Páll. Sveinn was a strong man, swarthy and rather unlucky-looking; he was a believer in the old faith, and had always had sittings out at night [to follow his black arts]. He was one of the Earl's forecastle men."²

¹ *Skjá(r)* is a transparent membrane stretched across a window, and used instead of glass.

² O. S. R. Tr., chap. 68. Dasent's translation of vellum fragment revised.

The next and last notice of Ör-fjara in the Saga is in chap. 103, A.D. 1154, when Earl Rögnvaldr fled to his bú in Ör-fjara. In 1263, King Hákonr, on his return from his ill-fated expedition to Scotland, came into Rögnvaldsvoe.¹ "After All Saints' Day the King let his ship sail out to Meðal-landz-höfn [now Midland Haven], but he stayed that day in Rögnvaldsey, and fared thence to Kirkjuvágr. After that each captain looked after his ship. Some were laid up in Meðal-landz-höfn, but some further in by Skalp-eið. King Hákon rode out to Meðal-landz-höfn on Saturday before Martinmas, it was in the eve of the Mass. He was then very ill; that night he was on board his ship. Next morning he let Mass be sung for him on land [at the Earl's Round Church?]. After that he settled about his ship, where she should be laid up, and bade men bestow great pains in caring for the ship. After that he fared into Skalp-eið and so to Kirkwall; he went to the bishop's house (*garðr*) with all his train," and there he died.

ORKNEYAN PLACE-NAMES.

In order to help us in locating the site of the Earl's Bú and Church in the parish of Orphir, let us first glance briefly at the history of these islands and their place-names. Before the advent of the Northmen in Orkney in the eighth century, these islands must have had a considerable population of Picts and Culdees, which we gather from the remains of 70 or more brochs or round towers, sculptured stones, bells, and other relics. It appears to be tolerably certain that these pre-Norse inhabitants and their Christianity never entirely died out in the islands, as is witnessed by the preservation of a few ecclesiastical place-names and the dedications of some of their chapels.

In Saga-times there was practically a common language to Norway, Iceland, Orkney and Shetland, with local variations, and the kindred Anglo-Saxon was intelligible

¹ "Hákonar Saga," Rolls edition, translated by Dasent. Revised.

to the Northmen.¹ Icelandic of the present day remains substantially the same, while Norwegian has changed considerably. As Orkney and Shetland formed a Norwegian earldom, and maintained official and commercial intercourse with Norway, its language, with local peculiarities, probably corresponded nearly with that of Norway. Official documents were in Norwegian, but it is possible that the dialect differed from Norwegian as much as Faroese now does from Danish.

The advent of the Scottish lines of Earls in the thirteenth century, and the transference of the islands to Scotland in 1468, ended in the extinction of the last shred of the native tongue in the eighteenth century. However, the local idiom retains a host of Norse words, many of which are of Old Norse and Icelandic origin and meaning. We should therefore expect to find Orkney place-names of Pictish (?), Icelandic, Old Norse, Norwegian, Scottish and English origin successively; the Icelandic being modified by the Norwegian, and that again by Scotch and English. Names have been transferred from one place to another by abode-shifting. Old names have been glossed with later spellings to suit erroneous ideas of etymology, and new names have been given in our own day, and spelt in a way to mislead philologists.

To treat of place-names it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the locality, its history, records, folklore, and folk-pronunciation. Folk-pronunciation frequently preserves the old name, which has been modified by fashion and the influence of the official class, usually ferrylopers or foreigners.

We have no record of the political districts into which Orkney was divided. The Saga only mentions the Al-thing. In Shetland, in 1575, there were numerous local courts held throughout the islands, and one head court called the Law-ting, the successor of the Al-Thing.² The same must have been the case in Orkney. Christ-

¹ "Snorra Edda," ii., p. 12 (A. M. ed., 1852); also "Saga of Haraldr Harðreða," chap. 98.

² Balfour.

ianity was nominally adopted by the Northmen in Orkney at the end of the tenth century. We do not know when ecclesiastical parishes were formed, nor do we know whether existing civil districts were adopted for that purpose. There is no specific mention in the Saga of an ecclesiastical or civil district. Byrgis-hérað¹ does not necessarily refer to a civil district, as *hérað* is used for any district, valley, or country, bordered by mountains, or within the same river basin.

The *tún* is the unit of Orkney topography. Captain Thomas was of opinion that the *pet* and *fotir* and *dún* of the Pict, and the *baile* of the *Papar* or Culdees, were destroyed or occupied by the Scandinavian desolators, when the *pet* and *baile*, the enclosed lands of the Pict and the Culdee, became the *tún* of the Vikings, the rough wall surrounding it was the *tún-garðr*, and the *sleibh*, the hill side, was the *brekka*, *mýrr* and *fell* of the Northmen. There is still shown, in nearly every *tún* in Orkney, the traditional site of a chapel and graveyard, probably of Culdee origin. *Tún*, which is the Icelandic and common Teutonic word for an enclosure, is sometimes used in Orkney for a single farm, but generally for a small group of farms; *rúm*, the Icelandic for a *place*, is used in Orkney for a single farm. Quoy=Ice., *kví*, an enclosure, is used in Orkney for an enclosure in the common. Originally each *tún* was enclosed by a wall; but latterly many were contiguous, and only divided by a recognised boundary line, and the only wall they had was that which divided them from the common or hill pasture. The *tún* side of the hill-dyke, or wall, was called the inside, and the common side the outside. The original *tún*, by enlargement, and subdivision through udal inheritance, became a group of farms. The site of the original *tún*, however, remained the principal farm, the *Bú* or Head *Bú* of the enlarged *tún*. Many *Bús* mentioned in 1503 are now called Halls, e.g., the *Bús* of Clestron, Rendall and Tankerness are now the Halls of these places.

¹ O. S. R.

PARISH OF ORPHIR.

It is noticeable in the names of parishes in Orkney that they are mainly taken from the dedication of the church, or the name of the *tún* or district in which the church is situated. The parish of Orphir consists of a group of *túns*, or districts, and *rúms*, or single detached farms, which we find enumerated in 1627 as follows:—Houbuster, Groundwater, Tuskebuster, *rúm* of Naversdaill, Kerbuster, *rúm* of Smogro, Swanbuster, Orphar, Midland, Howtoun, *rúm* of Orakirk, Kowbuster (Orakirk and Kowbuster now form Peterton), and Claistraine be-south and be-north the burn. And so they remain to this day.

In the case of the parish of Orphir, the name is taken from the *tún*, Orphir, in which the church is built. The dedication of the church is lost, unless we can accept the solitary evidence of an invitation by Mr. William Honyman of Graemsay to Mr. Robert Moncrieff of Houton, dated July 4th, 1757, to attend the funeral of his wife, Mary Græme, from the dwelling-house of Claistrone to "St. Nicolas' Church, Orphir."

EARLS' ESTATE IN ORPHIR.

The three contiguous *túns* of Orphair, Midland and Howth (also called Houton), and the quoy of Orakirk, lying end on along the coast from east to west, formed one of the landed estates of the earldom of Orkney, and were described in 1503 and 1595 as skatt-free bordlands, or guest-quarters of the old earldom, *i.e.*, the Norse Earldom before it was sold to the Scottish Crown in 1471 by Earl William St. Clair, the last of the Norse Earls.

Midland, in 1502, included the farms of Grindala, Sowrpow, Swarthbak (Swartabreck in 1595 and after), Møssaquoy, Myre (Over Myre in 1614), and Feaw (now Fea, pronounced Fee-a). There is the site of a chapel at the head of the Hope o' Myre. Howth is mentioned in 1503, when it is said that it was so entered in the old parchment rental, *i.e.*, Earl William St. Clair's Rental of

MAP OF THE PARISH OF ORPHIR IN 1813

COMPILED BY AW JOHNSTON FROM THE PLAN OF THE
DIVISION OF THE COMMUNITY AS COPIED BY THE
LATE JAMES JOHNSTON OF COUBISTER

ADDITIONAL NAMES FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY 1882

MARKED (—) NAMES ADDED BY AW JOHNSTON [—]

BOUNDARIES (HILL DYKES) BETWEEN COMMUNITY & TUNS

ARABLE & PASTURE MARKED [—]

BOUNDARIES BETWEEN TUNS MARKED [—]

NEW ROADS MARKED [—] OLD KIRK ROAD (MASEY GATE) [—]

SWEIN'S FLIGHT TO DAMSEY SUPPOSED TRACK [—]

BOUNDARY OF PARISH [—]

HILL TOPS @ HEIGHT IN FEET FROM ORDNANCE

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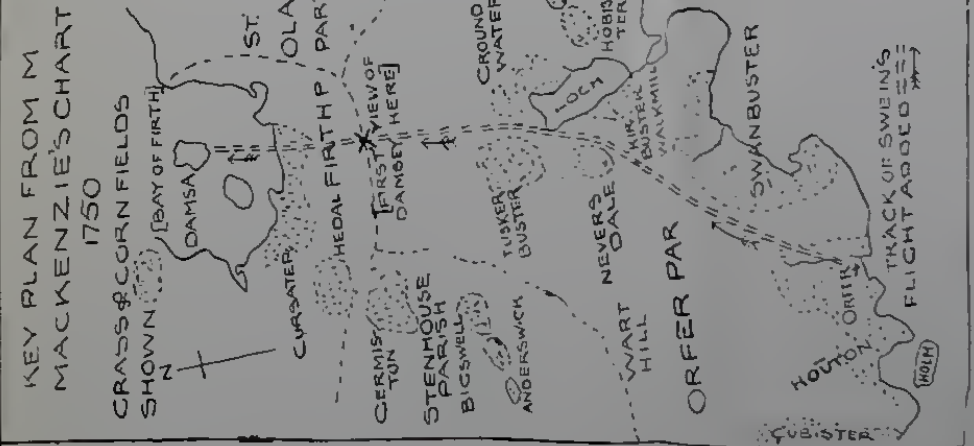
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STENNESS PARISH

FIRTH PARISH

ST OLA
PARISH





the old Norse Earldom. In 1627, and in the charters, we find Howton (now Houton, pronounced Hoo-ton) mentioned, including Howth. In a charter of 1662 the following places in "Houthton" are mentioned—Houth *alias* Fleck, Estaquoy, Newhouse (pronounced News), and Quarrelhouse, *i.e.*, quarry house. There is the site of a chapel near the Head of Houton. Orakirk, in 1503, is described as a quoy, and a half-penny land. There is the site of a chapel here. The *tún* of Orphair in 1503 comprised the Bull (called the Bow in 1642) of Orphair, with Carling-skerry (now called the Barrel of Butter, probably because it paid a rent of a barrel of oil), and a group of surrounding farms called the threepenny-land of Orphair. (Penny-land is an old denomination of land-value for purposes of taxation.) These farms were:—Banks, Grega (later Crega, now Creya), Hangbak or Hangabak (pronounced Hannabak) and Grynd, Scalebuster (Skobuster and Skegiebister in the charters) and Gyre (Gera in 1595, now Gear, pronounced Geer), Quoy (now Nurquoy) and Gossaquoy, Wyndbrek, Crowell (now Croval), Ingsetter or Inksetter, Orquill, Myir or Myre (afterwards Nether Myre) and Quoyclerks. The parish church and churchyard are situated on the lands of the Bú in this *tún*. The Round Church stands in the churchyard, and the foundations of the old Bú are to the north, outside the yard. There is the site of a chapel, called Harproo, at the head of the Hope o' the Bú.

The Bú of Orphir is the principal and original farm in the *tún* of that name. The surrounding farms tell their later and subsidiary origin by their names, *e.g.*, Grind, the Icelandic for a gate, in the enclosing wall; Gyre, Gera, or Gear=Ice., *geiri*, a gore or strip of outlying grass—it was on the border of the common; Quoy and Gossaquoy, both on the border of the common; Ingsetter=Ice., *eng-sætr*, meadow pasture; Myre=Ice., *mýrr*, a swamp; Orquill=Ice., *ár-gill*, Old Norse, *or-gill*, a stream glen; etc.

The old earldom estate of Orphir, Midland and Houton, was a compact district by itself, separated from Swan-

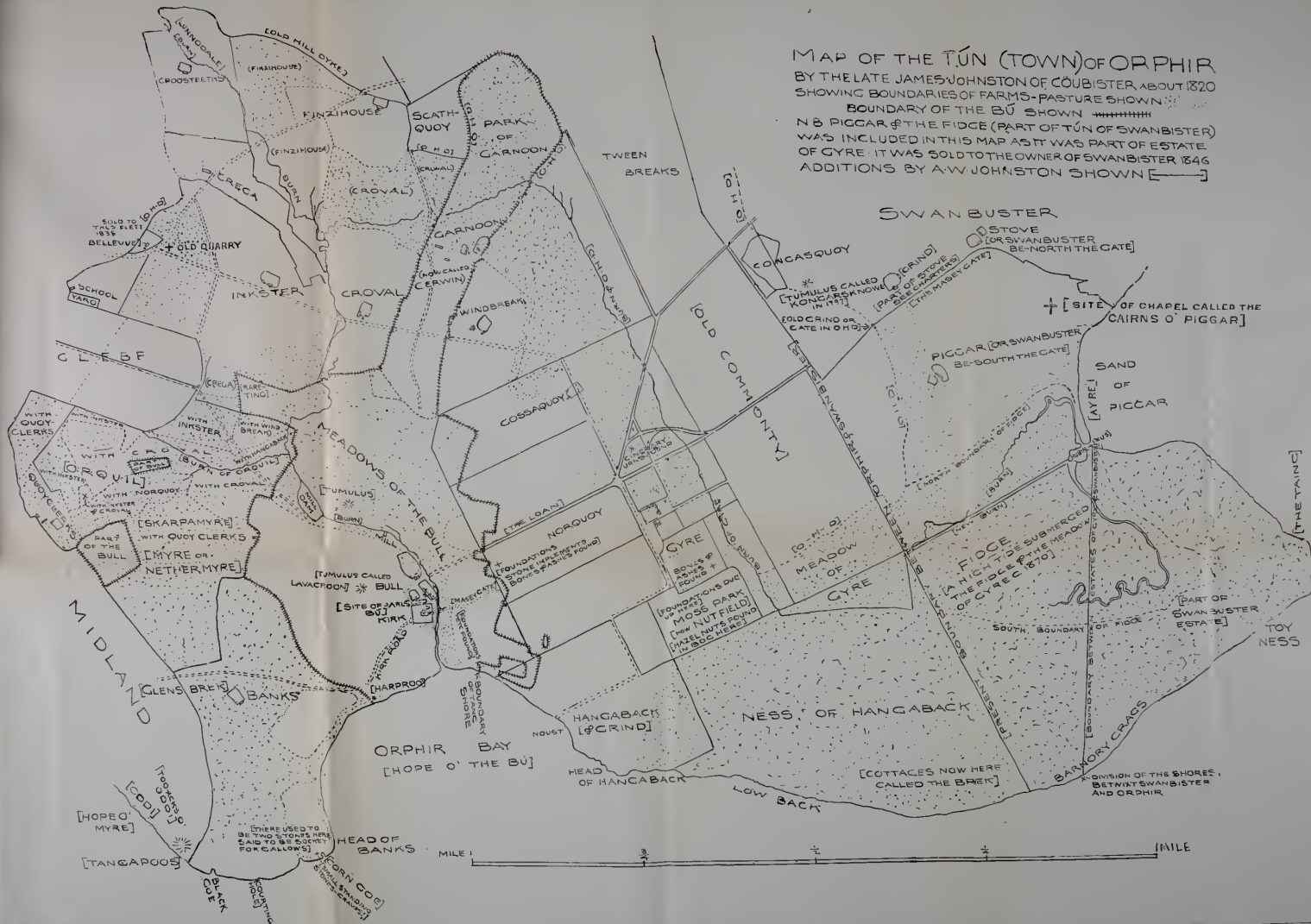
bister on the east by a tongue of the common, and by a large tract of rough, uncultivated land, and the Fidge of Piggar, stretching from the common down to the coast. From the name Grind, near Hangabak, which means a gate in the enclosing wall, there is presumptive evidence that the common at one time extended right down to the coast. There is also evidence that the common behind Houton likewise extended along the hill top down to the coast, dividing the estate on the north-west from Peterton. We gather this from the fact that Orakirk, which is situated on the shore to the north of Houton, was quoyland, *i.e.*, an enclosure from the common, and the place between it and Houton was called Mid-quoy. That Orakirk is an old quoy is evident from its *penny-land* valuation. The early date of this valuation is lost in antiquity. Later quoyes are not so valued. The whole estate was bounded on the north and east by the common, from which it was separated by a wall, and on the south by the sea. There are no walls separating the three *tíns* from each other—merely recognised boundaries; a burn between Houton and Midland, and the ridge of a brek between Midland and Orphir. It formed an ideal estate. Midland with the only haven in that part of the mainland, and Orphir with broadlands for farming, extensive meadows, hill pasture, peat ground, and a good freshwater stream. Sheltered by hills on the north (including the indispensable ward or beacon hill), facing the south, and with a safe, land-locked sea in front, stocked with salmon-trout and other fish. Kerling-skerry, belonging to the Bú, used to be noted as a place for seal-hunting.

EARLS' RESIDENCES IN ORKNEY.

It will be to the point to compare a list of the Earls' bús and residences mentioned in the Saga with a list of bús, bulls or bows, and bordlands of the earldom enumerated in the Rentals of the Earldom in 1503 and 1595. With regard to bordlands, Captain F. W. L. Thomas writes: "The Earls of Orkney must from an early period

BY THE LATE JAMES JOHNSTON OF COUBISTER ABOUT 1820
SHOWING BOUNDARIES OF FARMS - PASTURE SHOWN

BOUNDARY OF THE BU SHOWN
N B PICCAR & THE FIDGE (PART OF TUN OF SWANBISTER)
WAS INCLUDED IN THIS MAP AS IT WAS PART OF ESTATE
OF GYRE - IT WAS SOLD TO THE OWNER OF SWANBISTER 1846
ADDITIONS BY A.W. JOHNSTON SHOWN



have had mensal farms, and these are marked in the Old Rental as 'bordland,' *borðland*—literally, table-land; thus the Bul, *Ból*, N. of Orfer, where the Earl usually dwelt,¹ was bordland." Colonel David Balfour writes: "Bordland, N., *bord, mensa, cibus*, the guest-quarters of the King or Jarl, and therefore exempt from skatt." We find the Earl of Orkney faring about the islands in 1137 collecting his land rents, when he would undoubtedly have resided at his bú and bordlands.² As the islands were frequently divided among several Earls at the same time, in accordance with udal succession, they must have had their separate headquarters, using their existing bú and bordlands for that purpose.

<i>From the Rentals, 1503, 1595, and Modern Records. Bús, bordlands, and Residences of the Earldom.</i>	<i>From the "Orkneyinga Saga," eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bús and Residences of the Earls.</i>
Earl's Palace, Birsá. Not mentioned in the Rentals as the whole of Birsá was church land in 1503.	Earl Thorfinnr the Great (d. 1064), after his pilgrimage to Rome, resided almost always at Byrgis-hérað, where he built Christ Church (chap. 37). Earl Páll II. at Byrgis-hérað, 1137 (chap. 60). Earl Rögnvaldr II. at Byrgis-hérað, 1155 (chap. 108).
Kirkwall Castle. Mentioned in charters of earldom.	Earl Rögnvaldr I. (d. 1046) at Kirkju-vágr, 1046 (chap. 34).
Burray; Bú of.	
Burwick in South Ronaldsey.	
Hoy, and its Bú.	
Orphair; Bú of Orphair, Midland, Houton and Orakirk.	Earl Haraldr, who lived mostly in Caithness, died at his bú in Örfjara, 1127 (chap. 58). Earl Páll II. lived at his bú in Örfjara, 1136-37 (chaps. 69-71). Earl Rögnvaldr II. at his bú in Örfjara, 1154 (chap. 103). Earl Haraldr Maddadson in hiding at the Earl's Bú in Or-fjara, 1154 (chap. 103).

¹ The only Earls mentioned as being at Örfjara, Páll, Rögnvaldr, and Haraldr Maddadson.

² O. S. R., chap. 71.

<i>From the Rentals, 1503, 1595, and Modern Records, Bús, bordlands, and Residences of the Earldom.</i>	<i>From the "Orkneyinga Saga," eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bús and Residences of the Earls.</i>
Sandwick—Netherlyking. Westrey — Swartmeill, Wasbuster, and Bú of Rapness. Sandey ;—Gryndleith, Bús of Brugh, Halkisness, Tofts, Walls, Lopness, and Tressness. Stronsey ;—Holland, and possibly Clestrain and Musbuster, as they paid no skatt. Papa Stronsey, paid no skatt. Knarstane, in St. Ola, is described in the Rental, 1503, as <i>pro rege</i>, <i>i.e.</i>, king's land, forming part of the landed estate of the earldom, paying rent and skatt, and is not described as bordland.	Earl Rögnvaldr II. at Hreppis-ness in 1155 (chap. 107). ? Earl Rögnvaldr I. in 1036 fared first to those bús which his father Brúsa had owned (chap. 26). We are told (chap. 22) that Earl Brúsa had the northernmost part of the islands. Earl Rögnvaldr I. killed at Papey in litlu, where he had gone for his Yule malt, 1046 (chap. 34). Earl Rögnvaldr II. in 1136-38 had a bú called Knarrar-staðir (chap. 81). This is supposed to be the modern Knarstane, near Scalpa, in St. Ola.

BÚ AND BULL.

With regard to the words Bú and Bull, the Saga mentions the *bú* in *Ör-fjara*, and the *bú* called *Ör-fjara*. The Rental of 1503 mentions the *bull* of *Orphair*. In one instance in 1503 the spelling *bow* is used, viz., the *bow* of Burray. In the Rental of 1642 the spelling *bow* is used throughout. *Būe* is the form used in M. Mackenzie's charts, 1750, and *Bu'* is now adopted by the Ordnance Survey. The pronunciation is uniformly *boo*, and appears always to have been so. The question is whether *bull*, *bow* or *bu* are derived from O.N. *ból* or *bú*. The Saga always uses the word *bú*, and this, although a generic name, has become attached to place-names in Orkney. However, *bú* is still used in Orkney as a sort of generic name: it is always the *bú* of such and such a place, in exactly the same way as used in the Saga. *Ból* is still

used in Orkney, as in Iceland, for a pen for cattle. Before the commons of Orkney were divided among the landowners, and when cattle pastured promiscuously, each house took its turn to send a person to *ból* the cattle for the night. This was regulated by the *ból*-pins, two small pieces of wood tied together by a string, and passed on from house to house.¹ *Ból* in place-names in Orkney appears in the termination "bister" = *bólstaðir*.

The *ll* in *bull* appears to be a Scottish addition. In illustration of the Scottish influence on Orkney place-names, so far as the letter *l* is concerned, take *vágr*, pronounced *vœ* in Orkney; in Scotch this becomes *waw*, then *wall*, as in *vágur*, *wawis*, *walls*, and *Kirkju-vágr*, *Kirkwaw*, *Kirkwall*. The true words are preserved in the folk-pronunciation *waas* and *Kirkwaa*. In the case of *Hrólfsey* the *l* has been absorbed in the foregoing long vowel, and we now have *Rousey*. In the same way as the Scotch pronounce gold *gowd*, by a mistaken contra-analogy we occasionally find *fold* for *fowd* (i.e., *foged*).² *Boll*, a seed-pod, becomes *bow*, where, as in many Scotch words, the *ll* is changed into *w*.³ And by a contra-analogy the Orkney *búi* becomes *bull*. This Icelandic *búi* is still in use in some Scotch place-names, meaning a house or village, e.g., the Bow of Fife, the Boo of Ballingshaw, etc.⁴

It has now been shown that Örfjara of the Saga is represented by the modern Orphir; that the parish of Orphir takes its name from the *tún* of Orphir, in which the present church is situated; that the *tún* of Orphir takes its name from the *Bú* of Orphir; that the *Bú* of Orphir is described in 1503 as *bordland* of the old Norse earldom; that the modern name Bu', Bow or Bull is a corruption of the O.N. *búi*; that the ruins of the old *Bú* and Round Church of Orphir correspond exactly with the Earl's *Bú* and Church as described in the Saga, and that they are one and the same.

¹ Statement by Mr. Joshua Hay, Windbrek, Orphir, and others. See also s.v. *Buil*, Edmondston, and Shirreff, app. pp. 2, 44.

² Munch.

³ Jamieson's Scotch Dict., s.v. *Bow*.

⁴ Ibid, s.v. *Boo*.

SUPPOSED SITE OF THE EARL'S BÚ AT SWANBISTER, ETC.

Mr. Francis Liddell, in 1797, suggested that the Earl's Palace stood at Oback in Orphir parish, as answering to the Saga description. Possibly he was misled by a tradition which says that the Earl of Caithness was slain at Oback after the battle of Summerdale in 1529.¹ Mr. Liddell suggests that an ancient circular tower, about 180 feet in circumference, at Swanbister, was probably the residence of Sveinn Breastrope. This, however, is the ruins of one of the many pre-Norse broughs in Orkney and Shetland. From measurements taken in 1879 and 1901 by the writer, the internal diameter of this brough is about 30 feet, which, with the 12 feet thick walls, gives a circumference of about 170 feet. Somehow or other, after this suggestion by Mr. Liddell, *Sveinn* got locally mixed up with the *Earl*, and in a MS. map of Swanbister in 1847 we find the brough marked as the "ruins of Earl Sweyn's Castle." The transition from Earl Sweyn's Castle to Earl's Palace was then an easy one. Already in 1842 the minister of the parish mentions the "Earl's Palace" at Swanbister.² In the advertisement of the sale of the estate of Swanbister in 1844, it is stated as an attractive feature of the property that it was "in ancient days the residence of the Norwegian Earls of Orkney, the remains of whose palace are yet in existence."

We are therefore not surprised to find Professor P. A. Munch writing in 1845-49 that the inhabitants still show the ground of the Earl's seat at Swanbister. As a matter of fact there are no local traditions now, no more than there were in 1758,³ as to the Earl's Palace. The brough at Swanbister is called by the people the hillock of Breckney, from the name of the old neighbouring farm.

Professor Munch located Ör-fjara at Swanbister primarily because he found a large flat tract of land there which was

¹ Peace's "Handbook to Orkney."

² N. S. A., Orphir. ³ Pope.

sometimes submerged by the sea, and *ör-fjara*, or its derivative *örfyri*, he says, was anciently used of a considerable extent of flat land covered at flood and dry at ebb, and in proof refers to two islands in Norway, now called Offersö, but anciently Orfyris-ey, both landfast during ebb. But, as will be shown later on, *ör-fjara*, or its derivative *örfiri*, is solely applicable to the reef or neck of land which connects a tidal island to the mainland. The only similar names Professor Munch can give are those of two such islands. The proper designation for a low ebbing shore is *út-firi*. The place at Swanbister referred to by Prof. Munch is called the Fidge of Piggar, from O.N. *fit*=low-lying meadow beside water, which exactly describes the place. Swanbister is described in the Rental of 1503 as udal land paying skatt. It is not mentioned as having formed part of the old earldom landed estate, and it was completely separated from the Earl's estate in Orphir. Professor Munch found that the site of the brough, in relation to the adjoining site of a chapel, did not correspond with the Saga description, and there was no room for a chapel between the brough and the sea, so he accordingly accepted the site of the chapel as that of the church mentioned in the Saga, and placed the palace in imagination to the north, suggesting that the brough might have been one of the outbuildings. The brough is marked in the Ordnance map, "Earl's Palace, site of." Professor Munch says that Orphir seems in former times to have been the common name of the whole coast from Houton to Waulkmill, but quotes no authority. It has already been shown that Orphir, excluding the parish name, is alone applicable to the *tún* of that name (in which the Bú and Round Church are situated), the inhabitants of which are still spoken of by their neighbouring parishioners as the "Orphir folk." At most the name could only have included the Earl's estate of Orphir, Midland and Houton, to which latter is attached a tidal island, an *örfiris-ey*, to which we must look for the origin of the name. Although Professor Munch visited Orphir, and

consulted the Rentals, he makes no mention of the Round Church, or the Bú of Orphir, bordland of the old earldom.

ÖR-FJARA : ORIGINAL LOCATION AND DERIVATION.

The following remarks are mainly founded on a correspondence with Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon of Cambridge and Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Ör-fjara, derivative *örfiri*, Icelandic, neuter, is solely applicable to the reef or neck of land connecting a tidal island (*örfiris-ey*) to the mainland. It is derived from *ör*=out of, a negative prefix, and *fjara*=(1) low water, the opposite of high water, *flóð*; (2) foreshore, or the part of the beach dry only at low water and covered at high water. Örfirisey would thus mean "out of ebb island," *i.e.*, showing above the water-line at ebb-tide. There is no difficulty in the way of the term Ör-tjara extending from the appendage to the adjacent parts of the mainland. The Holm of Houton must therefore be the original Örfirisey, and the adjoining land Ör-tjara. But how came the name to be restricted or transferred to the present Bú and *tún* of Orphir—the Bú of Saga times—and the name Örfirisey discarded? There are two solutions:—(1) The whole district of the Earl's estate from Houton to Orphir may have been originally called Ör-fjara, and the name afterwards restricted to the Earl's Bú; or (2) Houton, adjoining the tidal island, may have been the original Ör-fjara, and the Earl's Bú first erected there, and afterwards shifted to its present site, taking the name with it. In either of these cases, when the name got attached to the abode, and people no longer understood the exact meaning of Örfirisey—which must have got lost very early in Orkney, considering that the same took place in Iceland—the term Örfirisey became meaningless to people, and Hólmr took its place. Örfirisey, just outside Reykjavík, has for a long time gone under the name of Effersey, as though it were named after some person called Effer, which shows how utterly unconscious the Icelanders

themselves became of the sense of the old name. Even this island figured for a time as Hólmr. Professor Mac-kinnon, of Edinburgh University, writes that there are nine or ten Örfiriseys in the Hebrides, where the name is changed in Gaelic to Orasa, the *f* and second *r* being discarded, *f* aspirated and *r* merged in *s*. The name on the maps appears wrongly as Oronsay. There is also an island Orfasey at the south of Yell in Shetland. Orfiriseyjar occurs in the "Diplomatarium Islandicum," I., 597. In Norway, Orfyrisey occurs in the Middle Ages, and Offersö in three places in modern Norway.

Houton is probably the Icelandic Há-tún, or *high-tún*, which is descriptive of the place as it lies on the hill side. This name is found in many places in Iceland, but is not recorded in any Saga relating to Norway. It is a curious fact that almost all the Há-túns in Iceland are small tenements within or on the land of a manorial or main estate, and what seems tolerably certain is, that when the manorial abode was erected, Há-tún, even if it was the older abode, became the inferior house, and remained so ever after.

Even Midland is not void of significance. From the name of one of its farms, Myre, (Ice., *mýrr*, a swamp,) which is still descriptive of the place, it would be unsuitable for farming purposes, and Midland would be an appropriate name for this unprofitable land which divided the *búi* from its *Há-tún* or *out-búi*. The Norse term *meðalland* could only be given to a place which lay between two localities that had distinct names. Midland is mentioned as early as 1263, when King Hakon was there, so that we may be quite certain that at that time, and in 1136, Örfjara was solely applicable to the Earl's *Búi*. Another important inference that may be drawn is that Midland implies a connected district of three places. This may either refer to the Earl's three farms, or to the tripartition and re-naming of the original district of Örfjara, or to the middle place between the original Örfjara and the shifted abode of the Earl.

SUPPOSED TRACK OF SVEINN'S FLIGHT FROM ÖR-FJARA
TO DAMSEY.

The Saga, before relating the murder and Sveinn's flight, appropriately describes the relative position of the house and church, and the island of Damsey to which Sveinn fled, all of which are brought into the story. It says behind the houses there was a *brekka*, a slope, or *leiti*, an elevation on the horizon hiding the view, from which



DAMSEY AND ÜRRIÐAFJÖRÐR.

From the slack between hills of Lyradale and Keely-lang.

Damsey could be seen, the inference being that this elevation was on the road by which Sveinn fled. Professor Munch says that it could only refer to the Ward Hill, but that Damsey could not be seen from it, as the Keely-lang hills intervened. The Ward Hill is the highest hill on the mainland, and is a *fjall*, and not a mere *brekka* or *leiti*. The straight track from Orphir to Firth, by which pedestrians still go, is through the moor, and after a long, tedious ascent, the slak or hollow between the hills of

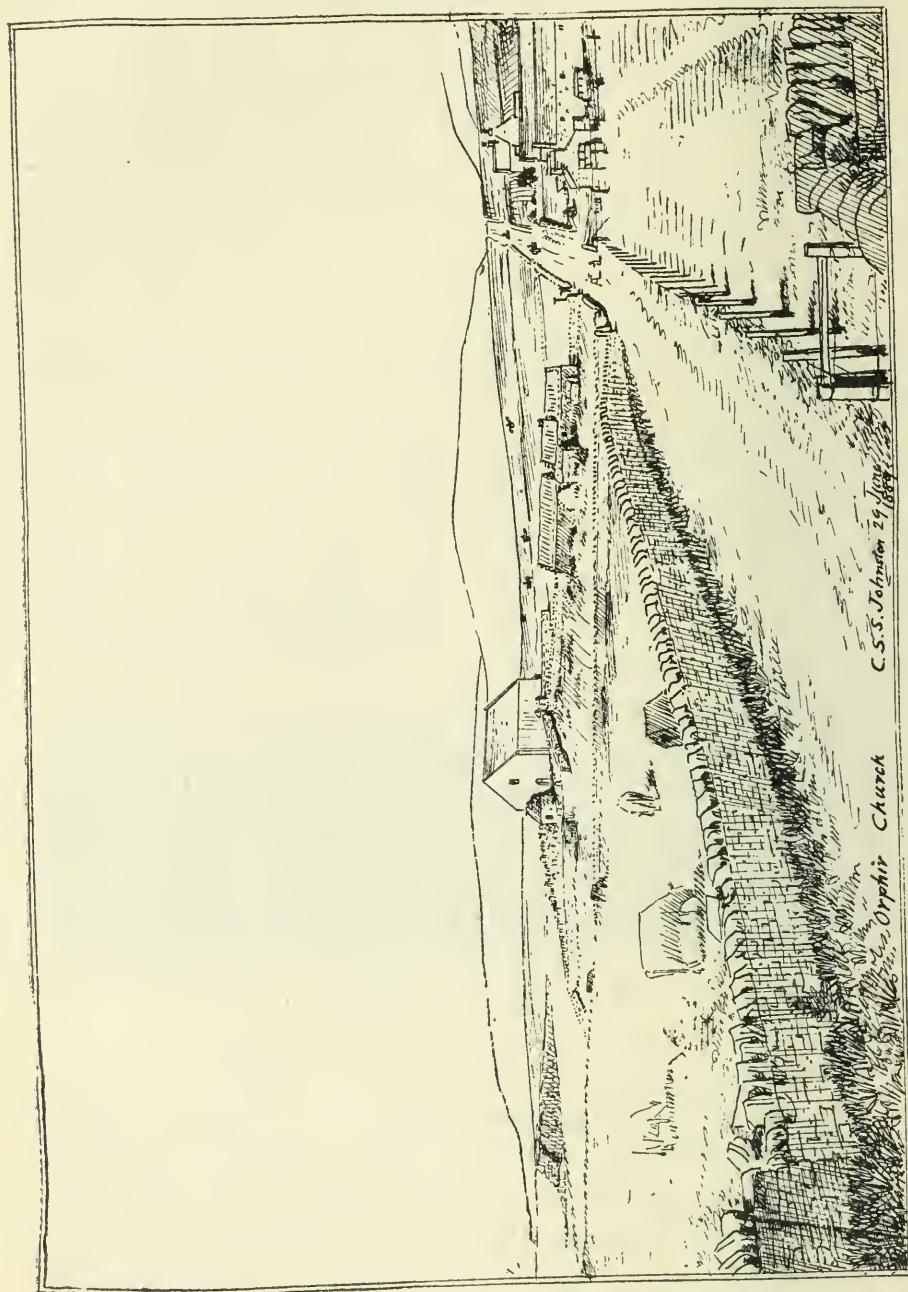
Lyradale and Keely-lang is reached, when the Bay of Firth (Örriðafjörður) and Damsey suddenly break into view. The complete change of scene is striking. This can only be the elevation mentioned in the Saga, and it is the hill which Professor Munch said prevented Damsey from being seen from the Ward Hill. No one acquainted with the locality would ever think of going to Firth by way of the top of the Ward Hill, or expect to get a view of Damsey from it. The slak mentioned is the nearest point to Orphir from which Damsey can be seen, and it is on the direct and shortest route to Firth by which a fugitive would go.

THE BÚ AND ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR.

Let the derivation and original site of the name Ör-fjara be what they may, we have at any rate located the Earl's Bú and Church in Ör-fjara, at the present Bú and Round Church of Orphir. We will now examine the objects of interest in the immediate locality, and the ruins.

Near the shore, at the head of the Hope o' the Bú, the ruins of the Bú and Round Church stand on the crown of a very slight rising ground, at the foot of the south-east declivity of Midland Hill. At the east end of the site and of the ruins the ground slopes down abruptly to the stream. The Saga says the houses stood on a *hallendi*, a slope or declivity, which either refers to the declivity of Midland Hill or to the rising ground on which the ruins stand.

The present Bú house stands to the north of the old site, and was built in the middle of last century. Before that, the Bú was divided into three farms, with three cottages which stood end on from north to south along the east side of the present path from the public road to the churchyard gate, and named respectively the Nether, Muckle, and Synde Húses. The old church road, called the Masey Gate or Mass Road, went along the north and south sides of the yard wall, the north road going between the yard and the south end of the Synde Hús. There is a



THE ROUND CHURCH FROM N.E. IN 1889.
 Showing remains of old houses of the Bū on the North now demolished. From a sketch by C. S. S. Johnston.

place at the shore called the Kirkyard or Harproo, supposed to be the site of a chapel and graveyard, where bones and large stones have been turned up. To the west of the present Bú there is a tumulus called Lavacroon. There is a large tumulus in the meadow to the north which was opened by Mr. Kemp, a former tenant, and a chamber now lies exposed, consisting of four side stones and a bottom stone, about two feet square and deep. There is a tumulus in Swanbister, at Congasquoy, called Congarsknowe, near the route of the old King's Highroad. Did King Hákonr rest here on his ride from Kirkwall to Midland and back? The brough at Swanbister has already been noticed. On the Head of Banks, the west headland of the Hope o' the Bú, there were formerly stones in the ground which tradition said were the sockets of the gallows,¹ and there are small headstones near the edge of the cliff, as though marking graves.

At the crown of the brek behind Gyre a number of chambered cinerary urns containing bones and ashes have been found, the last one by the writer. Foundations, bones and ashes were turned up last century at the bottom of the field west of Gyre, in the field immediately to the east of the Bú burn, opposite the church,² and to the west of the churchyard. The previous parish church was built in 1705 (as mentioned in the O. S. A. Appendix, and as seen on the lintel of old door now forming the sill of a window in the present church). This church stood immediately to the south of the present church and the Round Church. It was repaired in 1756,³ and an aisle or jamb added on the north side for the Honyman family. At this time Mr. Pope states that part (two-thirds mentioned in O. S. A.) of the Round House, called the Gerthouse of Orphir, was taken down to repair the parish church. He also states that large and deep foundations were found underground in the Bú lands near the church. The old church was pulled down in 1829, and the present

¹ From Mr. Wm. Inkster, Quoyclerks, Orphir.

² Mr. Archer Kemp, Orphir.

³ Session Records.

one built immediately to the north, with its eastern end standing on the western half of the foundations of the Round Church. The relative positions of the 1705 and 1829 churches have been misunderstood by Sir Henry Dryden, Dr. Joseph Anderson, and others founding on them. Sir Henry noted foundations to the south of the present church, but was not aware that they were those of the previous church. Mr. George Petrie states, in 1861, that the immediate neighbourhood of the Girth House abounded with numerous traces of ancient buildings, believed to be the remains of the Earl's Palace ; and that during excavations made in 1859, close to the outside of the churchyard wall, great quantities of bones of various domestic animals were found, amongst them jaw-bones of dogs and cats in great abundance. From the Session Records we find that in 1741-48 the Round House was used as a store for lime for repairs to the parish church. It was afterwards turned into a mason's shed by the local gravestone cutters.

The site of the Round Church and the old *Bú* is covered with *débris*, about five feet deep, above the clay, on which latter the foundations are built.

Some years ago the writer pointed out to the Rev. W. Caskey, incumbent of the parish, the spot where the Earl's *Bú* would have stood in relation to the Round Church in accordance with the description in the *Saga*. At that time there were no indications of any ruins, and the locality of previous excavations was unknown. In 1899 Mr. Caskey informed the writer that Mr. James Flett, Mossaquoy, the gravedigger, had come across the foundations of a wall in digging two graves at the north-west corner of the churchyard, the wall lying from east to west. As this would correspond with the south wall of the Earl's *Bú*, the writer obtained the co-operation of Mr. Robert Flett of Bellevue, the Hon. District Secretary of the Viking Club, who made two further excavations to the eastward in line with the supposed wall, with the result that it was again struck.

CARL'S BÚ & ROUND CHURCH.
ORPHIR, ORKNEY
PLAN & SECTIONS FROM EXCAVATIONS & MEASUREMENTS MADE
1899-1901

APPROXIMATE POSITION FROM PLAN &
DESCRIPTION BY THE LATE JAMES JOHNSTON
PARISH CHURCH BUILT 1705
REPAIRED & A JAMB OR AISLE
ADDED ON THE NORTH FOR THE
HONYMAN FAMILY IN 1756 WHEN
TWO-THIRDS OF THE ROUND CHURCH
PULLED DOWN AND USED

HALCRO &
JOHNSTON
OF COUBISTER

MONUMENT
OF HOUTON

FORTESCUE

TABLET
1829

CELL OF WINDOW FORMED
OF LINTOL OF DOOR OF
PREVIOUS CHURCH
WITH DATE 1705

PARISH CHURCH BUILT 1829
AND OLD CHURCH PULLED
DOWN

GRAVES

FOUNDATIONS
-- TRACED

GRAVES

MODERN WALL

MODERN WALL

FACE

FACE CONE

FACE CONE

LOOSE STONES

LOOSE STONES
FALLING DOWN

FOUNDATION
OF OLD
CHURCH
WALL

LOOSE STONES
FALLING DOWN

SECTION C-D
DOORWAY

SECTION E-F

SECTION G-H

SECTION I-K

SECTION ON LINE A-B

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 FEET



A survey of the site and measurements of the church were at the same time made by Mr. C. S. S. Johnston, architect, Edinburgh. In the autumn of 1900 Mr. Robert Flett and the writer, who was appointed honorary architect to the Kirk Session, continued a series of excavations eastward, and traced the wall to its eastern extremity, opposite the Round Church. In the autumn of 1901 Mr. Flett and the writer made further excavations at that part where the doorway would be in accordance with the Saga account, with the result that such an opening was found.

The north wall of the Earl's Bú, so far as excavated, measures about 136 feet in length. The western extremity has not been traced; it must finish at the west end of churchyard, as no trace could be obtained outside, unless it has been trenched up. Beginning at the west, there is a continuous length of about 104 feet of dry-built, random coursed wall, 4 feet thick, without footings or scarcement. This terminates eastward at the supposed doorway opposite the church. It was not possible to excavate immediately east of this to find the other jamb of the opening, owing to the present church road wall. But 6-ft. 4½-in. to the east of this was found the return wall of another building in the same frontage line. This latter building has walls 4 feet thick, but built with mortar, and therefore probably of later date.

The jamb of the opening showed no signs of any door frame or fastening. In a line with the jamb of the door, on its north side, and standing on end, was found part of a large flat stone 5 inches thick. Is this the large flat stone mentioned in the Saga? The bottom of the foundation of this wall is level with that of the Round Church. In the doorway, alongside of the stone on end, was another large flat stone, from 4½-in. to 5-in. thick, and 2-ft. 4-in. above the foundation level, which may have been the threshold of the door, or a portion broken off the stone on end.

If it was the threshold, then the floor of the Bú must have been at least 2-ft. 4-in. above that of the church,

which would accord with the Saga statement that one went down from the Bú to the church. As the bed of the foundation of the cross wall to the west of the doorway



ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR : VIEW OF ARCHWAY TO APSE FROM WEST.

is about level with the flat stone in doorway, probably this was the floor level, and the intervening space between the stone on end and the cross wall would be the ale-room



mentioned in the Saga. If the stone on end is in its original position, then the fact that its lower portion (which is below the flat stone) is irregular, shows that it was probably the socket underground. The fact that the wall above this level has fallen down, and is entire below, also appears to show that the lower portion was the foundation below ground. All along the north side of the



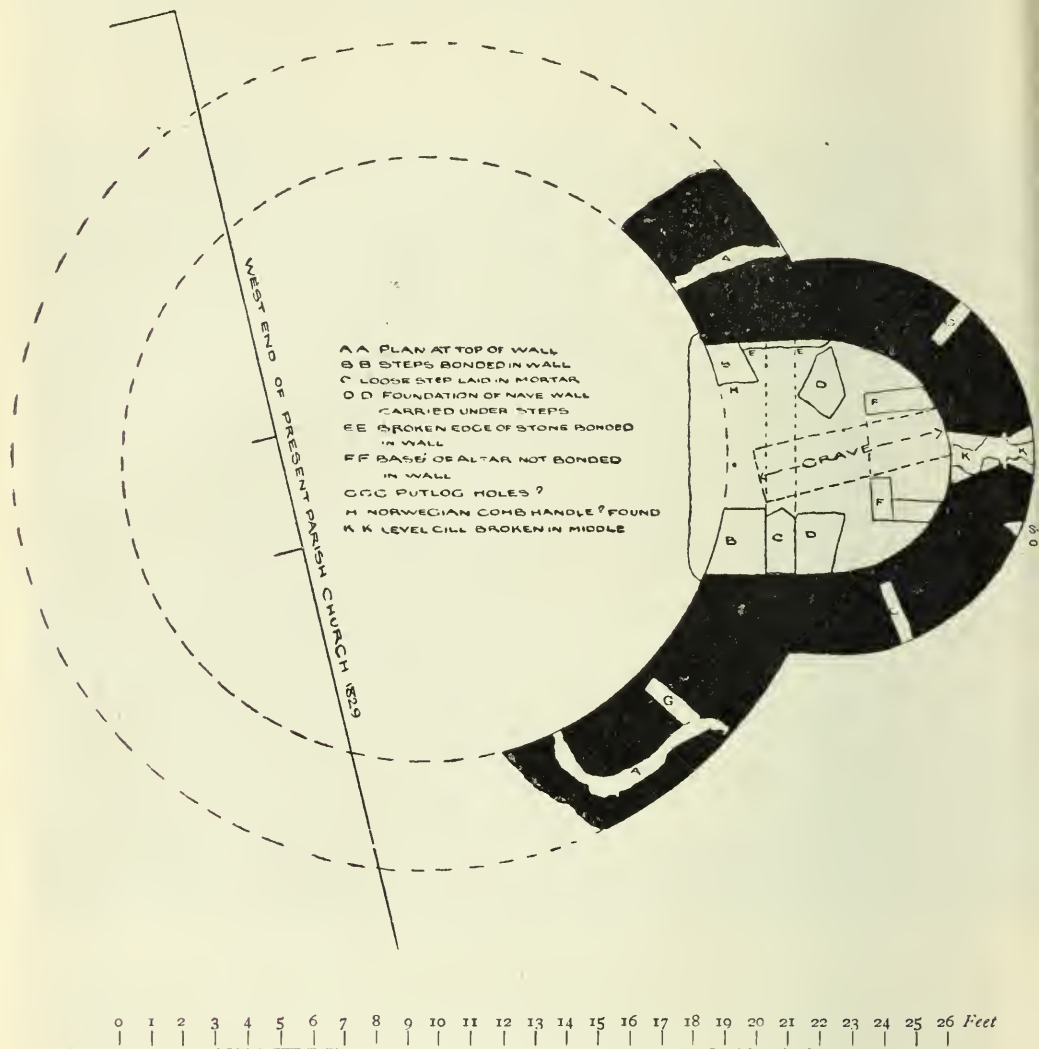
ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR: VIEW OF APSE, FROM SOUTH-EAST.

wall the stones have fallen down inwards, and are mixed up with quantities of bones, ashes and oyster shells. The only article found was a round handle of deerhorn or bone.

Up till 1829, as already noticed, the old church road ran along outside the north wall of churchyard, passing over the entire length of the wall now excavated. Excavations were made at the Round Church in 1900, by the

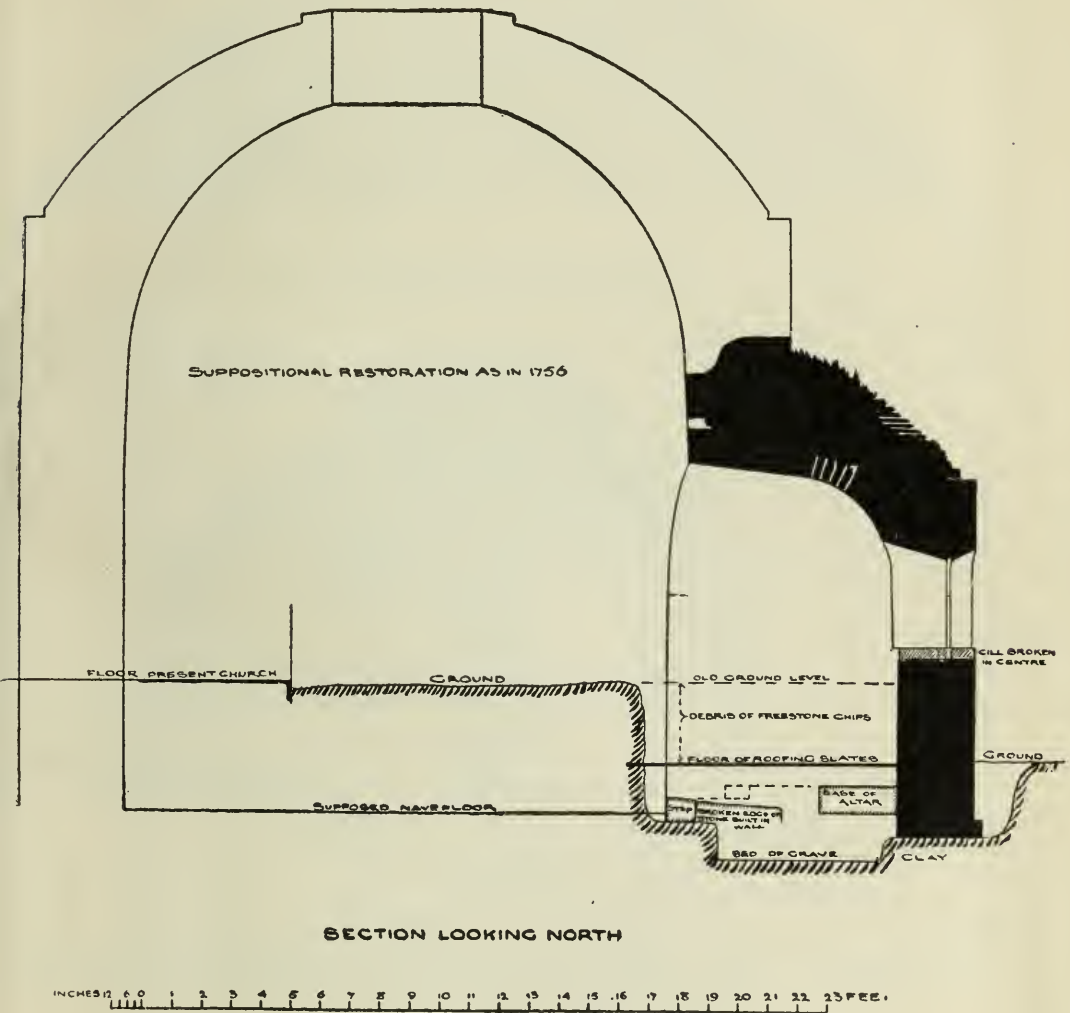
writer, when the débris in the interior of the apse was cleared out.

The existing ruins consist of one-third of the eastern portion of the wall of the round nave, in which is a semi-circular archway without cap. The arch is continued



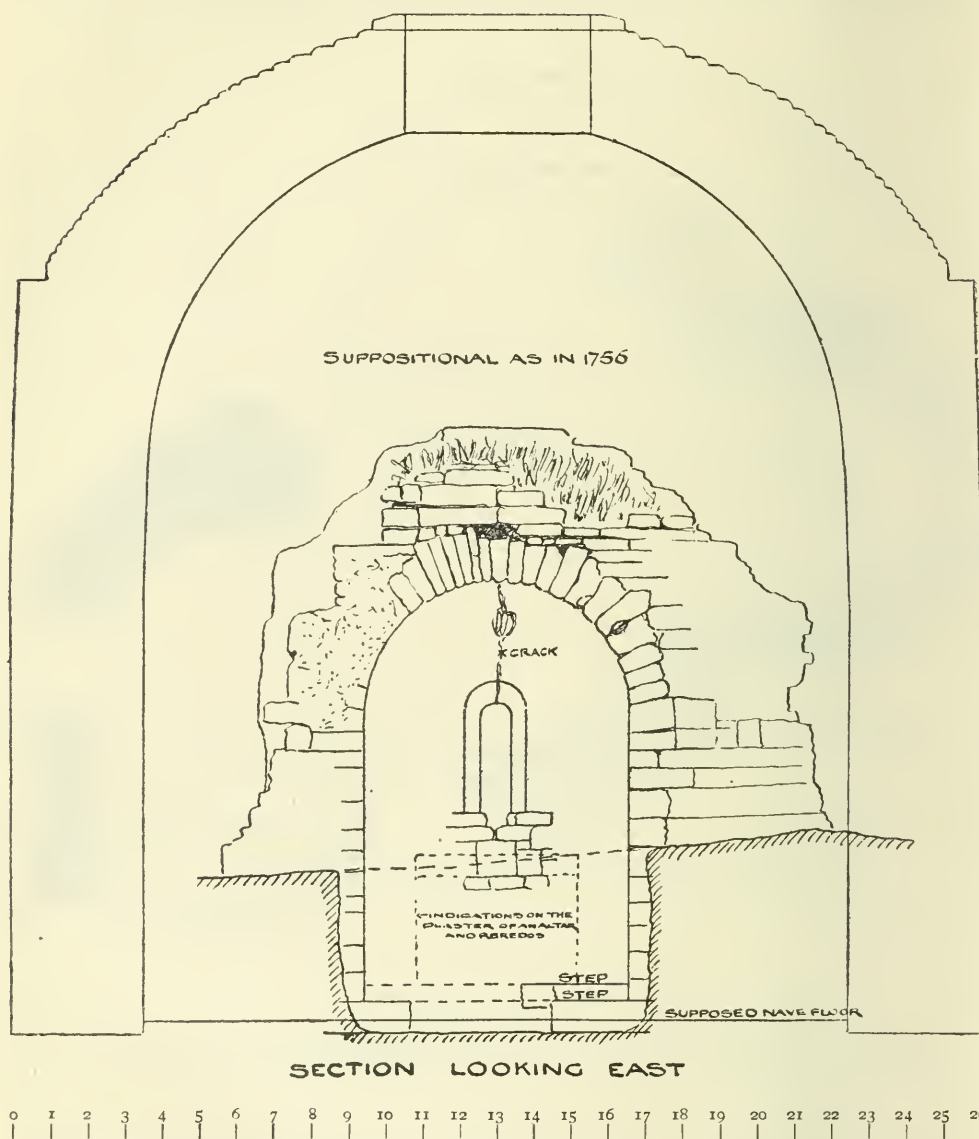
eastward as a plain vault, without ribs, to the half round apse, which is horseshoe in plan, owing to the north and south walls converging towards the archway. The apse, at its centre, projects half its width beyond the outer face of the nave wall over. There is a narrow window with

round arch and inner and outer splayed jambs and grooves for glass. The springing of the arch is level with the springing of the vault. The sill goes level through from outside to inside in one stone. Sir Henry Dryden shows an outer sill higher than the inner one; this was probably



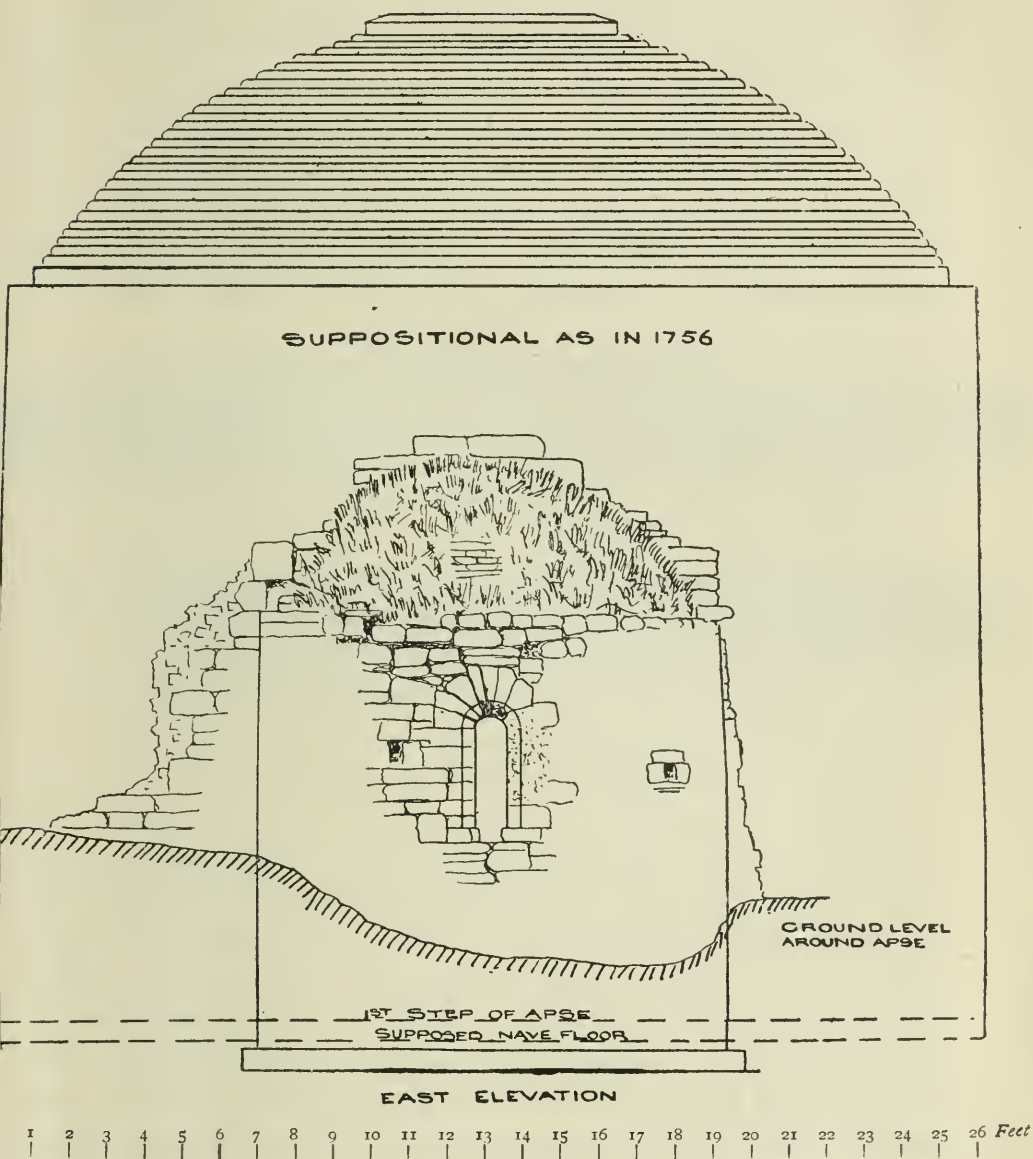
some loose stones built in when it was used as a shed. The window is a little to the north of the centre of the east end of the apse. Outside, the apse wall is carried up higher than the springing of the vault, and without projecting eaves, and finishes with a regular ledge, or table,

as though for a wood plate to carry wood rafters, but there are no indications on the nave wall of a raking roof. Under the grass turf, with which the vault is covered, are level courses of flat slabs of free and whin-stone, laid in



mortar. The wall of apse has one footing or scarcement outside, but none inside. It batters slightly outside, but is perpendicular inside up to a little below the vault, when it inclines slightly inwards. The same occurs in

the nave wall, but none of the vaulting is left in the latter case. The walls are very irregularly built, and consist of an outer casing of random square-coursed masonry of yellow Orphir free-stone, and an inner casing of same



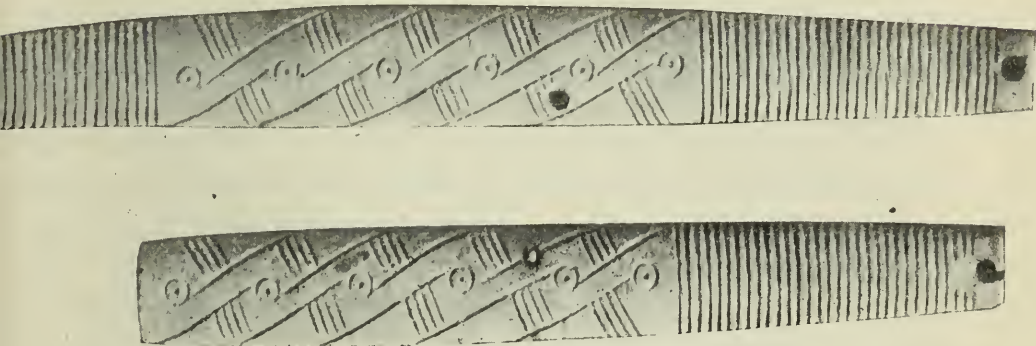
description, but of whin-stone as well as free-stone. The middle is filled with rubble concrete, in which shell-sand is used. The interior faces of the walls are all plastered over, which appears to be original, especially to cover

the rough vaulting. The outside appears to have been plastered, from patches still left. The bonding of the masonry, as will be seen from the photographs, is extremely badly done, and the preservation of the building is solely due to the very strong mortar used. Mr. Petrie's illustration shows the nave wall-head level with that of the apse, whereas the nave wall rises above the apse roof. The crown of the vault is cracked right through from the archway to the head of the window, and the upper portion of the south wall of apse has fallen slightly inwards, and the masonry is disjointed. The long exposure of the roof to the weather, and to the action of the grass roots, has no doubt resulted in this dilapidation.

There is a step at the entrance to apse, following the curve of the nave, and built into the jambs of the archway. Further in there is a second step, straight across, but not built into the wall. The foundation of nave wall is carried across the apse, under the steps. The base of altar is not built into the wall. There are indications on the plaster of the east wall of the altar and reredos. The altar, like the window, is a little to the north of the centre of the apse. Two burials were found, evidently of recent date, as the steps, foundations, and centre of altar were removed, and not replaced. The second burial had been in a coffin, the marks of which were apparent, and the remains of the first burial were found in the earth above the step level. Above the burials was found a rough floor of roof slates, with remains of lime, which was probably the floor when the church was used as a lime store. The débris above this consisted of chips of free-stone, left by the gravestone cutters. The only relics found were the two sides of the handle of what appears to be a Norwegian comb, with incised ornamentation, and a radiating slate, as though intended for a circular roof.

From the remaining one-third of the nave wall it is calculated, and tested, that the nave must have been 19 feet in diameter inside. The apse is, at the floor level, 7-ft. 2-in. wide at the entrance, increasing to 7-ft. 6-in.

at the diameter from north to south ; 7-ft. 1-in. long from east to inner curve of nave wall, which coincides with apex of archway, and 7-ft. 9-in. from east to a straight line drawn between the two angles of archway. The apse walls inside are perpendicular up to 5-ft. 1-in. above the first step level, the same height as the window-sill, after which they incline inwards 1½-in. in the remaining 2-ft. 8-in. up to the springing of vault. So that the width of the apse is 7-ft. 3-in. at the springing of the vault, and the width of the archway at its springing 7-ft. 1½-in. The archway is 6-ft. 10-in. from the first step to the springing of the arch, and 4-ft. 6-in. from springing to apse, includ-



BONE HANDLE (REAL SIZE) OF A SUPPOSED NORWEGIAN COMB.

Found at first step of Apse of Round Church.

ing a stilt of 11-in. The first curved step is 10-in. high. The second straight step is 2-ft. east of angles of archway, with a rise of 5-in. and a tread of 10-in. The base of altar stands 3-ft. 2-in. east of second step, and is 3-ft. 11-in. wide in front, and 4-ft. 3-in. at back, projecting 2-ft. 9-in. from centre of east wall, and 1-ft. 11½-in. at the ends. The part that is left is level with the top of the second step, about 4-ft. 8-in. below the window-sill. The indications of the altar on the plaster measure 3-ft. high, with a further 6-in., probably a reredos. The bed of the grave was only 15-in. below bed of first step, and 10-in. below bed of foundation of east wall. The rough slate floor was 14-in. above the first step, with three feet deep

of free-stone chips above it. There were no indications of the original paving, which was probably clay or plaster.

The walls of apse are 2-ft. 8-in. thick. The window is 10-in. wide, the outer and inner jambs splay to 1-ft. 7-in. wide. The sill, which is broken, goes level through from inside to outside. The height from sill to springing of arch, which is level with the springing of the vault, is 2-ft. 7½-in. and 2-ft. 11-in. to apex of arch, which has been slightly flattened by the crack through vault. The window-sill is 5-ft. 1-in. above first step, and 6-ft. 5-in. above foundations of east wall. From sill to eaves of wall outside is 5-ft. 8-in. The east wall outside is perpendicular, but the north and south walls batter 1½ to 2-in. The ledge along eaves is 6-in. by 4-in. high. The level roofing slabs are about 2-in. thick.

The greatest width of apse outside is 12-ft. 5¼-in. at its north to south diameter, at window-sill level, and 12-ft. 3½-in. at junction with nave, the curve of wall being continued. The nave wall is perpendicular inside up to 11-ft. above first step, after which it inclines inwards 1½-in. in the remaining 3-ft. 6-in. of height. The south wall is 3-ft. 6½-in. thick, and perpendicular outside, while the north wall is 3-ft. 9-in. at base, battering on the outside to 3-ft. 7-in. at 11-ft. above apse step.

The late Sir Henry Dryden, who measured the church in 1855, was of opinion that the apse vault was originally probably a solid stone roof outside. He understood Mr. Pope's reference to a cupola over the nave to be a conical wood roof. Since then, however, we have Bishop Pococke's statement that the nave was vaulted over, which shows that Mr. Pope meant by a cupola a vaulted dome in the ordinary sense of the word. Sir Henry found a stone lying down which appeared to be a stoup, but this has now disappeared. In the Edinburgh Museum there is a stone, presented by the late Colonel David Balfour, found at the church; it is circular, 4½-in. diameter, ¾-in. thick, with a square hole in the centre, the use of which

is not known. Sir Daniel Wilson was of opinion that the Round Church answered in description to the small circular beehive houses familiar to Irish antiquaries and believed to have been the abodes of ecclesiastics. But Dr. Joseph Anderson states that there is no analogy whatever between the architectural features of Orphir and those dry-built beehive houses, nor has it any resemblance to the earlier oratories and chapels of the Western Isles.

From the foregoing measurements, and notes of the building at the time it was destroyed, it will be evident that the nave was vaulted over in the same way as the apse, and the vault probably started at the highest portion of the interior of the wall now remaining over the apex of the archway. As in the apse, the outer face of the wall would have risen some feet higher, to take the thrust of the vault. We are told by Mr. Pope and Bishop Pococke that there was a hole in the centre of the nave vault, which, with the east window, were the only lights to the church. Mr. Pope says, "The cupola with the open for the light was of an elegant cast, and the light was all from the open."

The thickness of the nave wall is the same as that of the Temple Church, London, and the "Round" recently discovered at Clerkenwell. The height of perpendicular wall above the ground, as given by Pope, 61 for 16, Pococke 15, and Liddell 20 feet, is useless, as the level of ground in relation to the floor is not stated, and we do not know what it was. The unreliability of their measurements is apparent when we find that the easily accessible diameter is given as 22, 20 and 18 feet respectively. The vaults may have been covered with a wood and slate roof, as in the Danish Round Churches, which may account for the regular ledge along outer eaves of apse, and the finding of a radiating slate, in which case there would have been a wooden lantern to nave. But as there are no traces on the nave wall of a raking roof to the apse, it is therefore more probable that the existing horizontal slabs and mortar were the original outer covering, and the

nave roofed in the same way. The absence of any traces of a raking roof may be accounted for by the complete disappearance of the plaster. When viewed by Mr. Pope, in 1758, there is no doubt it had no wooden roof over the vaults, and his statement that some people thought that the church had been built upon the model of the Pantheon seems to indicate that the roof showed a spherical dome outside.

With regard to the subject of Round Churches and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it is one so extensive and debateable that it must be left alone in this paper. There are no examples in Scotland or Ireland. In England we have Cambridge, 1101; Northampton, c. 1115; Maplestead, 1118; Temple Church, London, 1185; church in Ludlow Castle; the one recently discovered in Clerkenwell, and the Knights Templars' Church at Dover, besides others destroyed.

In Sweden and Denmark there are numerous examples, some of which were for defensive purposes. There are the remains of one only in Norway. With regard to the founder of the Round Church of Orphir, Mr. Pope states in 1758 that some thought it had been built by Earl Hakon after his return from Jerusalem, and adds that "Hakon, it seemed, chused Orphir for his seat." Dr. Joseph Anderson states that Hakon "had his residence at Orphir," and that "he seems to have resided" there, and probably built the church. The late Mr. B. H. Hossack, in his recent work, "Kirkwall in the Orkneys," apparently founding on Dr. Anderson, states that Hakon built the church. Thus the surmise of one writer becomes the fact of another.

All these statements as to Hákonr living in Orphir are mere inferences. We have no proof that Earl Hákonr was ever even in Orphir. We may, however, infer that he probably visited Orphir, among his other bús, when on circuit collecting his rents and taxes. We are not told where Hákonr lived, and merely know that he died *in the isles*. All we know is that Earl Páll was living in Orphir

in 1136, when the church was first mentioned, and that his father, Earl Hákonr, was the first and only Earl before that time who visited Jerusalem. If Earl Hákonr built the church, he must have done so after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, between a few winters after he murdered his cousin Earl and Saint Magnús in 1116, and c. 1123 when he died.

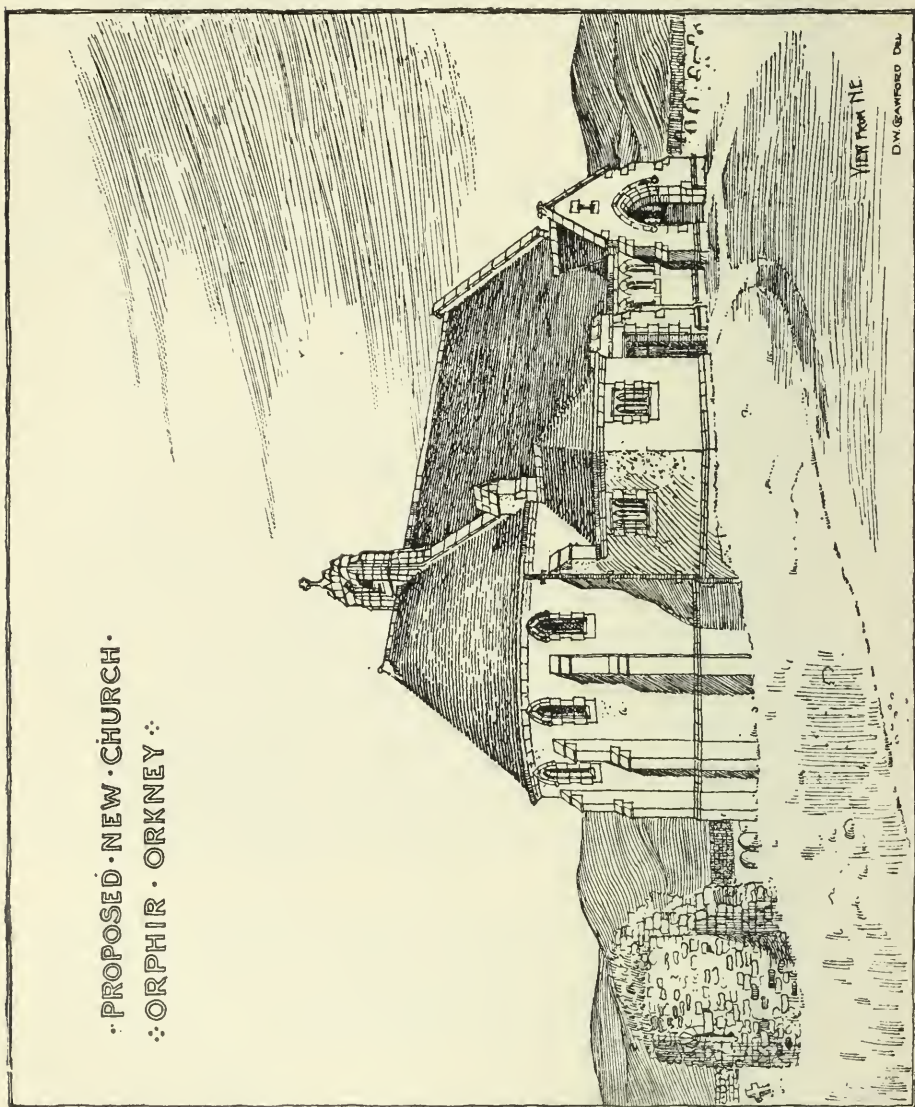
The church was so small, merely a private chapel, that it could scarcely have been used long, if ever, as a parish church. There is no record of its ever having had a western extension. It must have been in disuse long before the Reformation. The rectory of Orphir was an important benefice, the incumbent being the Cantor or Precentor, and a Canon of St. Magnus' Cathedral, in Catholic and Episcopal Church times. In the Kirk Session Records, 1741-48, it is called the Round House; Mr. Pope speaks of it, in 1758, as the Round House, called the Gerth-House of Orphir. It is not known by either of these names now, being usually called the *Bell-hús*, probably a corruption of the Icelandic *Bæn-hús*, or prayer-house, also the Quire (pronounced *wheer*).¹ Gerth-House is undoubtedly from the Icelandic *garðr*, a yard; and *kirkju-garðr* is the Icelandic for a churchyard.

The last question to be considered is the further excavation and preservation of the Bú and Round Church. The writer hopes to continue excavations at the site of the Bú from year to year.

As to the Round Church, we shall be safe in following the opinion of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., architect to Westminster Abbey, who states that this is a subject for repair, not restoration. The building has long been abandoned, and is far gone in ruin. A restoration would make more new work than old remains, and the old would have to be doctored a good deal to make it part of a building to be used. Mr. Micklethwaite also approves of the writer's suggestion to excavate the whole site, and expose the foundations of the nave, and preserve the

¹ Miss Margaret Finlay, Midland. Orphir.

whole ruin as an ancient monument. For this purpose the present barn of a parish church would have to be taken down, and a new one built farther westward, clear of the foundations of the Round Church. But as the



ground is so limited, the east end of the new church would have to stand close to the west end of the Round nave. A design for the new church has been prepared, so that if the Round Church were to be restored in one's mind's eye, the vision of the new and old together would



WEST ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION

SUPPOSITIONAL
ROUND CHURCH IN 1736



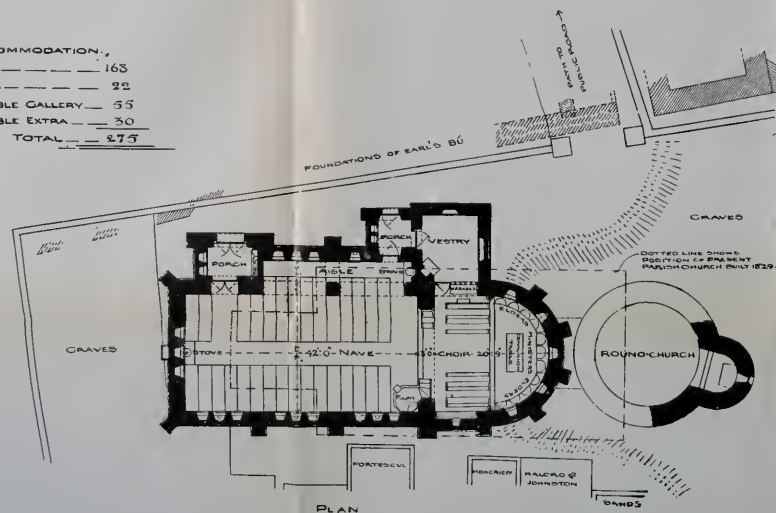
EAST ELEVATION



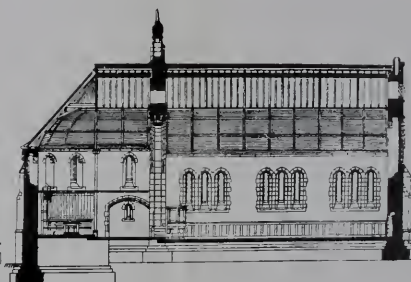
NORTH ELEVATION

FEET 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

ACCOMMODATION.
NAVE ——— 163
CHOIR ——— 22
POSSIBLE GALLERY — 33
POSSIBLE EXTRA — 30
TOTAL — 273



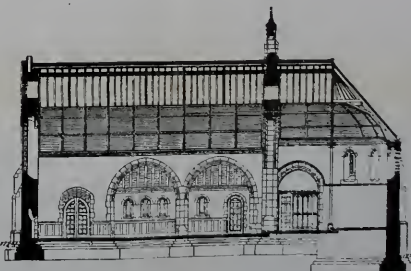
CROSS SECTION WEST BAY NAVE
LOOKING EAST



LONG SECTION LOOKING SOUTH



SECTION NAVE LOOKING WEST



LONG SECTION LOOKING NORTH



not be incongruous. With this object in view, and as it best suits the available site, it is proposed to make the axis of the new church radiate from the centre of the Round nave, and having a semicircular east end of the same external diameter. All that is now wanted is the money with which to clear away the present church, build a new one, and excavate and preserve the ruins of the old Round Church of Orphir.

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- Besides numerous other works, maps, etc., having references of little interest.
- The writer is much indebted for information and assistance to—
- Mr G. M. Atkinson, President Viking Club.
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- Dr. J. G. Garson, M.D.

Mr. Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. President Viking Club.

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Mr. C. S. S. Johnston, Edinburgh.

Mr. James Johnston of Coubister.

Professor Kornerup, Denmark.

Professor D. Mackinnon, Edinburgh University.

The Rev. Father McSwurney.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, Vice-President Viking Club.

Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., Westminster.

Professor F. York Powell, Oxford.

Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

The Rev. Pastor A. V. Storm.

Dr. R. Norris Wolfenden.

And for assistance and local folklore, place-names, etc., to Messrs. S. Bews; Daniel Budge; Edward Clouston; James Flett, who first discovered the wall of the Bú; W. Inkster, Registrar; Archer Kemp; the late Morrison Snody; T. Tait; W. Tait; Miss Margaret Finlay; Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Hay; the late Mrs. W. Halcro; Mrs. W. Hay, Nealand; Misses Margaret and Jessie Inkster; Mrs. W. Corsie; and Mrs. Ritchie, Toogill.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. E. W. Hudson said that the archæology of Mr. Johnston's paper was somewhat hard to follow, but the architectural part was most interesting. He was glad to hear Mr. Johnston's tribute to the work of Sir Henry Dryden. Mr. Johnston ascribed the church of Orphir to the twelfth century. In the interesting round church discovered at Clerkenwell, the thickness of the walls corresponded very closely with that of the church at Orphir, but the date was somewhat later. He should like some further information as to the groove for glass said to be in the window, as he thought this was an unusual feature at that date; also as to the window being north of the axis of the church, which he did not understand. The masonry was very rude, and differed in that respect from the fine ashlar work at Clerkenwell. He suggested that the church might have been covered by a dome roof, like the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. He asked, further, as to the proportions of Swein's castle.

Dr. Jón Stefánsson said he was glad to be back in England, and to be present to hear Mr. Johnston's paper.

He wished he had been prepared as to the place-names, of which he had many in his collection. Dr. Jakobsen's new work on Shetland place-names would, he hoped, be available for reference before long. It was a very important work, giving a complete list of the names which had appeared in previous publications by Dr. Jakobsen. It was true that names from the Orkneys were not there, but they were in many cases very similar to the names in the Shetlands.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood said that he was not prepared to discuss what the lecturer had said, at least till he had had an opportunity of studying it in print, but he complimented Mr. Johnston on his excavations, and the work he had already done. As regards the identification of the site of the Earl's Palace, he thought the lecturer had made out a strong case, and he would not like to be in Professor Munch's shoes in the controversy. He hoped Mr. Johnston would carry out his work to the end, and would be able to preserve it.

Pastor A. V. Storm said that he had been in a round church in Zealand, set up by an uncle of Bishop Absalon. It was built of granite, and had now been restored, and is used as the parish church. The roof, which was in the shape of a bishop's mitre, was of later date than the church. He was sorry he could not give details for comparison with the church at Orphir, but he thought this further instance of a round church in a Scandinavian land was worth mentioning.

The President remarked on the Round Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which some thought to be the origin of round churches. Mr. Theodore Bent, however, in his book on the ruins of Zimbabwe, mentioned round buildings, which would carry the origin further back. He also mentioned crescent-shaped temples.

The Lecturer, in reply to Mr. E. W. Hudson, said that there was certainly a groove for glass in the window of the church at Orphir. Swein's castle at Swanbister was a broch of the usual type and dimensions, 30-ft. diameter inside, with 12-ft. thick dry-built walls.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

OF THE

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RACES OF BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA.

By J. GRAY, B.Sc.,
Fellow of the Anthropological Institute.

THE subject of this paper is treated under the following four headings :—

I.—*Methods of Physical Anthropology* :—
Pigmentation—Measurements.

II.—*The Living Populations of Britain and Scandinavia* :—
North Germany the centre of the blonde race—
British Isles very much darker than North Germany—
Types found on east coast of Scotland—Change in the
percentage of types as we go west—Types found in
Scandinavia.

III.—*The Prehistoric Populations of Britain and Scandinavia* :—
Neolithic type of Britain has disappeared—The
aboriginal types in Scandinavia probably blonde—
Their dimensions—Results confirmed by the observa-
tions in Scotland.

Bronze Age Types.—In Britain four types : 162, 155,
150 and 145—In Scandinavia, second and fourth types
present, first and third absent.

Iron Age Types.—Reversion to Stone Age types in
Scandinavia.

IV.—*Origins* :—

164 type in Britain is inland, and therefore probably
early—Is dark, and therefore could not have come
through Scandinavia—Is tall and broad headed, there-

fore allied to Adriatic type—Anthropology points to S.E. Europe—Archæology says metals first introduced to Britain by sea route. This route is marked with dolmens, which go as far as Scandinavia, hence 7 per cent. of type in Sweden prior to Scandinavian Bronze Age—Copper known in Egypt from 7000 to 6000 B.C., and bronze in Crete 2800 B.C.

Name of race—May be guessed from place-names : Pictones—Elba—Albion.

155 *type* : also early, but blonde, and therefore mostly came through Scandinavia. Appeared for first time in Scandinavia in Bronze Age, and disappeared in Iron Age. Crossed to Britain for tin. Archæology says bronze (fully developed) came from Danube to Scandinavia about 1000 to 800 B.C. Hallstadt, a Mycenæan colony on the Danube, very advanced in bronze work. Danubian tribes or Danes gave names to rivers on east coast of Britain, and in Cornwall and Wales.

150 *type* : the aboriginal blonde Teuton or Finn came over with 155 men to Britain in Bronze Age. Stature, 5 ft. 8 in.—not so tall as 164 men.

145 *type* probably came from the Danube with 155 men.

I.—Methods of Physical Anthropology.

It is a matter of every-day observation that children, in a marked degree, inherit the more obvious physical characteristics of their parents. Children of blonde or fair parents are, in the great majority of cases, blonde, and to the same extent the children of brunëtte or dark parents are brunette. Children of tall parents are on the average tall, and of short parents short. Not only in the more obvious characteristics do descendants resemble their ancestors, but in the dimensions, such as those of the head, whose variations can only be measured by delicate instruments. It is on such inheritance that the permanence of species and varieties of living beings depends. If we had to deal merely with pure varieties or races of mankind the laws of inheritance would be comparatively simple. The average pigmentation or dimensions of generation after generation would remain for vast ages

the same. Slow changes doubtless would be produced by a change of environment, but these changes are so slow that the habitat and migrations of a race may be traced by its physique for thousands of years before the dawn of history. Even in a pure race there will always be variations on each side of the average physique, but the number of persons possessing these deviations from the normal, decrease according to a well-known law, and finally disappear as the deviations increase.

The mean dimensions are the most frequent in a single pure race, the average individual is therefore the typical individual of the race. The race is completely specified by stating the physical characteristics of the average individual. For example, if the colours of the hair and eyes, the length and breadth of the head, and the stature of the average individual of two races are given, we can say with a great amount of certainty that these races are the same or that they are different. Of course the greater the number of individuals from which the average is obtained, the more certain are our conclusions.

The law of inheritance becomes more complicated when two or more races, living side by side, intermix and marry together. But investigation, as far as it has gone, appears to show that the average characteristics of each component race tend to preserve their pre-eminent frequency for an immense number of generations; though it is only reasonable to suppose that intermixture for a sufficient length of time will ultimately produce a single homogeneous intermediate race.

The frequency curves of most living populations show two or more peaks. And the abscissæ of these peaks may be fairly taken to represent the normal or average characteristics of the component races.

That, briefly, is the method which has been employed in this paper to investigate the relations between the races of Britain and Scandinavia, and to arrive at some conclusions as to their origins. It must not be forgotten, however, that the conclusions can only at present be

looked upon as tentative on account of the paucity of the statistics, *i.e.*, these conclusions may or may not have to be modified at a future date when further material is available. Nevertheless, the chances are against any modification being necessary.

As to the physical characteristics which are most convenient to observe, and useful for carrying out an ethnic analysis of a people, pigmentation, or the colour of the hair and eyes, takes a first place. It is easily and quickly noted, and on that account statistics of large numbers of people can be obtained. Continental Governments, by instructing school teachers to fill up the necessary forms, have obtained pigmentation statistics of over ten million school children. Our own Government, backward as ever in assisting any science whose objects are not obviously utilitarian, has done nothing to promote or assist a pigmentation survey of the school children of the British Isles. The only district in the British Isles where a complete pigmentation survey has been carried out is in East Aberdeenshire, where statistics of the whole of the school children have been collected by my friend Mr. Tocher and myself.

Measurements, though they take longer time, and consequently are not usually carried out on so large a scale as observations on the hair and eye colours, are much more precise. The usual dimensions measured are the length and breadth of the head and the stature. Many other dimensions are sometimes measured by anthropologists, but such measurements are better suited for the laboratory than the field, where the aim should be to measure the largest possible number of persons rather than to measure many dimensions of a few individuals.

It is useful also to collect statistics of the profile of the nose, which in certain races is very characteristic.

The method of classifying and analysing statistics to obtain results useful for the solution of race problems has already been explained. Equipped with this method of ethnic analysis we pass on to the investigation of

II.—*The Living Populations of Britain and Scandinavia.*

The most striking physical characteristic of the inhabitants of North Germany is their pigmentation. In Schleswig-Holstein and Lüneburg, the most northerly provinces of the German Empire, there is a larger percentage of people with fair hair than in any other inhabited section of the earth's surface. In these districts about 83 per cent. of the children have fair hair, and 50 per cent. light eyes. In moving south, east, or west, from this centre of bloneness, the percentage of dark people increases. We, unfortunately, have not anything like complete pigmentation statistics for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but there is reason to believe that the people in these countries are also slightly darker than in the North German provinces; but, nevertheless, there is a high percentage of bloneness all around the shores of the Baltic, if we except the Lapps at its northern end.

This extreme bloneness of the people of North Germany is by no means a recent phenomenon. The earliest Greek and Roman writers describe the inhabitants of North Europe as blonde. There is every reason to believe that blonde people have lived in North Germany since the Ice Age. At any rate, it is significant that the present blonde districts lie roughly around the margin of the last big ice sheet—the great Baltic glacier which covered the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula.

It is well known that an Arctic climate has the effect of bleaching the hair of animals such as the fox and the hare. It is natural, therefore, to assume that it had the same effect on men (even though primarily of Southern origin and dark), after they had lived for ages on the margin of the Baltic glacier.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that the blonde races at present to be found among the peoples of Europe represent the aboriginal inhabitants of North Germany. And the fact that the blonde type still forms from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population would seem to imply that there has been little admixture with foreign races in these countries.

This blonde race is usually called the Teutonic race, but there is strong reason for believing that it is identical with the southern or true Finns. In Northern Finland there is a strong admixture of a short, dark, broad-headed race—the Lapps—which is the very antithesis of the race we have been discussing; but in South Finland we have the tall, blonde, narrow-headed race, corresponding closely with the so-called Teutonic type.

A comparison of the pigmentation of the British Isles with that of North Germany is of especial interest, on account of the popular belief that a very large element of the population of England, and to a less extent of Scotland, is Anglo-Saxon. Now, the Angles came from this very district of Schleswig-Holstein which, as we have seen, has been the focus of the blonde type from time immemorial. If we have a large Anglo-Saxon element in our population, then we should have a very high percentage of the blonde type, especially on our eastern and southern coasts.

We do, indeed, find a larger percentage of the blonde type in districts where history records the occurrence of Anglo-Saxon and Norse invasions; but when we come to estimate the percentage of the blonde type, and compare it with that in Germany, we are surprised to find that it is very much smaller than the common belief about our Anglo-Saxon origin would lead us to expect. For example: on the east coast of Aberdeenshire, only 25 per cent. of the school children have fair hair, as compared with 82 per cent. in Schleswig-Holstein. East Anglia may have a slightly larger percentage, but, judging from Dr. Beddoe's statistics, it is not very much greater.

Now these facts imply that England was inhabited by a very dark population at the time of the invasion of the blonde Anglo-Saxons, and also that the percentage of Anglo-Saxons who settled in England was comparatively small. At least, it is quite incorrect to say that the Anglo-Saxon element is predominant in the present population of England. I hope to show further on that other races

have come to us by way of North Germany, but these were not of the pure blonde Teutonic type.

Before proceeding further with our ethnic analysis we shall have to call in the aid of measurements. A few years ago a considerable number of the peasantry of East Aberdeenshire were measured by my friend Mr. Tocher and myself. When the measurements were analysed we found that four racial elements existed in the population. The two most numerous elements had head-breadths of 150 mm. and 155 mm. The average height of both these races was about 5 ft. 8 in.; the first showed very marked blonde tendencies, and the second a very slight tendency to blundeness. The two least numerous racial elements had head-breadths of 161 mm. and 145 mm. The former had a marked brunette tendency, and the latter was on the blonde side of the average.

In order to determine which of these races were the most recent arrivals in the country another series of measurements were carried out about forty miles inland, in the extreme west of Aberdeenshire, the theory being that the percentage of the most recent elements added to the population would decrease as we moved further from the sea coast, and that the percentage of the more primitive elements would increase.

As a matter of fact we found the same elements in the population, but in very different proportions. The 161 type increased from 14 to 50 per cent.; the 155 type decreased from 44 per cent. to 35; the 150 type decreased from 28 to 12, and the 145 type from 14 to 2. In West Aberdeenshire the 150 type still showed a decided blonde tendency; and the 161 type a decided brunette tendency; the 155 and 145 types had however changed their tendencies from blonde to brunette.

The conclusions to which these investigations pointed were that the most primitive element in the population was a race over 5 ft. 9 in. in average height, with dark hair, and a head whose average dimensions were about 161 mm. broad and 200 mm. long. The other three

elements were all indicated as more recent settlers, and as probably the descendants of immigrants from the opposite continent of Scandinavia and North Germany. The persistent blonde tendency of the 150 mm. type pointed strongly to this being the aboriginal Teutonic or Finnic element. The variable pigmentation of the 155 and 145 mm. elements made it doubtful whether or not these came to us from Teutonic lands. The decided brunette tendency of the primitive type made it highly improbable that it came to us from any of the blonde North European countries.

In the hope of throwing some further light on these questions, I have recently made an analysis of some of the published measurements of prehistoric skulls found in the British Isles and Scandinavia. The results are given in the annexed table, and the results of the analysis appear to me to confirm and elucidate in a remarkable manner the conclusions indicated by the measurements of the living population.

		Skulls.		Heads.		Cephalic Index.	Britain, per cent.	Scan- dinavia, per cent.
		B	L	B	L			
STONE AGE—								
Group I...	..	141	197	149	207	72	100	..
„ II.	..	132	183	140	193	72.5	..	52
„ III.	..	142	186	150	196	76.5	..	41
„ IV.	..	155	184	163	194	84	..	7
BRONZE AGE—								
Group IV.'	..	156	185	164	195	84.1	32	..
„ V.	..	137	183	145	193	75	13	81
„ VI.	..	146	184	154	194	79.5	..	19
„ VI.'	..	148	187	156	197	79	31	..
„ III.'	..	142	184	150	194	77.4	24	..
IRON AGE—								
Group II.'	..	134	184	142	194	73.2	..	86
„ III."	..	144	187	152	197	77.1	..	14

III.—*The Prehistoric Populations of Britain and Scandinavia.*

The earliest inhabitants of the British Isles, of whom we have any trace, were the men of the neolithic or late stone age. Their most marked characteristic was the extreme length of their head, which was at the same time narrow (149 mm.). They were short in stature, and they appear to have all belonged to a single racial type. Whence they came to the British Isles is a question by no means settled as yet among anthropologists; and whither they have gone is equally a mystery, for exceedingly few of their representatives are found in the present population. No corresponding type is found among the people of the Stone Age in Sweden.

The skulls of the Stone Age in Sweden sort themselves into three distinct groups, having breadths respectively of 140, 150, and 163 mm. The last two we can identify with two of the races found in the East of Scotland. The 150 mm. men we have concluded from our studies on the living populations were the aboriginal blonde inhabitants of North Germany, and the study of the skulls of the earliest inhabitants of Sweden completely confirms this conclusion. The smaller 140 mm. men I have not found, except in the smallest number, in the British Isles.

In the Bronze Age, in Sweden, a complete change takes place in the racial types. This does not necessarily imply that the aboriginal inhabitants were exterminated, because we must not forget we are dealing with a comparatively small number of skulls which do not represent the whole population of the country. But these skulls were found associated with articles of prehistoric bronze, and may therefore be taken to represent the races that introduced bronze into Sweden.

The conclusion to be drawn appears to be inevitable. Bronze was introduced into Sweden by a foreign race or races. Now archæologists tell us that bronze was introduced into Sweden about 800 to 1000 B.C. from the

valley of the Danube. There was a famous prehistoric settlement of skilled bronze workers at Hallstadt, in Upper Austria. These people also are credited with the discovery, at a later stage of their history, of the manufacture of iron. Is it rash to assume that the pioneer metal workers of the Danube are the people whose typical measurements are revealed to us by these Bronze Age skulls of Sweden?

Now it is an interesting fact, for the inhabitants of this country at least, that one of these two Danubian races forms about 50 per cent. of the living population of Great Britain. We saw that this 155 type formed 44 per cent. of the population of East Aberdeenshire, and from other measurements I have made since I am convinced that in many districts of England it exists in a much higher percentage.

In the Iron Age in Sweden there appears to have been an almost complete reversion to the Stone Age types, which would appear to indicate that almost the whole of the Bronze Age invaders of Sweden passed over into the British Isles. The slight blonde tendency of the 155 mm. men in Aberdeenshire may be accounted for by a certain admixture with the blonde Teutons in passing through North Germany.

IV.—*Origins.*

Man has in all ages felt an irresistible impulse to trace his origin from some distinguished ancestor. The savage races find satisfaction for this impulse in tracing back the origin of themselves and their kindred to some totem animal; more advanced races prided themselves in their descent from some mythical heroes; modern millionaires rely on the genealogists of the British Museum; while modern scientific men, not content with anything less than certainty, have employed all the resources of such sciences as philology, archæology, and, lastly, anthropometry, in the attempt to get a correct solution of this interesting problem.

The outcome of the labours of philologists was the Aryan theory. Similarity of language was tacitly assumed to mean similarity of race. This is now recognised by most people as an almost self-evident fallacy. Any number of instances might be found in history where races have changed their language, under the influence of a conquering people, or for other well-known reasons. The ethnological theory of European races evolved by philologists, asked us to believe that all the peoples of Europe were of the same race, because they all spoke languages having a common origin. The place of origin of this Aryan race was somewhere in Central Asia; the British Isles were inhabited by the Celtic and Teutonic branches of the Aryan race, and Scandinavia by a pure Teutonic race.

This theory of the origin of the races in the countries we have been studying is still to be found in our school books, though I hope I have convinced you by some of the facts and arguments that I have placed before you in this paper that anthropology has rendered this theory untenable.

I do not wish, however, to play the thankless part of a scientific iconoclast without at least offering in exchange for the old philological theory something which would fit in better with the data of anthropometry. I propose, therefore, to take the leading racial elements of the people of Britain and Scandinavia, and make some attempt to trace their origin and their migrations.

162 type.—Taking first the race characterised by a head breadth of 161 to 163 mm., an average stature of 5 ft. 9 in., and black hair. This race, as far as measurements are available, forms the predominant element of the Gaelic-speaking people of Scotland and Ireland, and is also found in a somewhat attenuated condition in the South of England, from Cornwall to Sussex. In Scandinavia this type is found only on the west coast of Norway. We have to go a long way before we find elsewhere in Europe a whole people with similar characteristics. The inhabitants of North Europe are tall, but they are blonde,

and have narrow heads ; inhabitants of South Europe are dark, but they are also narrow headed and short in stature ; the inhabitants of the Alpine region in Central Europe are broad headed, but have very short heads and short stature. The race which most nearly corresponds to the type we are considering is to be found in South-East Europe, extending from the northern extremity of the Adriatic to the Tyrol. This race is tall, dark, and broad headed. It has been named by Deniker, the French anthropologist, the Adriatic type.

Is there any reason for supposing that a race of this type migrated from the South-East of Europe into the British Isles, and introduced the knowledge of metals ? The distribution of the rude stone monuments known as dolmens, menhirs, etc., strongly supports this thesis. The map shows that the distribution of dolmens corresponds very closely with the distribution of the Adriatic race.

Copper was known in Egypt 6000 to 7000 B.C., and bronze about 3000 B.C. Coffey has shown that, preceding the Bronze Age, there was certainly a copper age, in Ireland at least, if not in England. Montelius, the celebrated Swedish archæologist, has established the fact that metals were first introduced into the British Isles from the East Mediterranean by the sea route ; and that metals first reached Scandinavia from Britain.

All this evidence seems to make it clear that our tall broad-headed dark race, following the track of the dolmens, introduced first copper, and perhaps later bronze, into Britain and Scandinavia. This theory fits in remarkably well with the anthropological data that have been given in this paper.

As to the name by which this race was known, we may guess at it by looking for some of our old tribal names along their track. On the North Adriatic, in Roman times, we had the Piceni, in West France the Pictones, names which suggest the well-known Picti or Picts of ancient Britain.

155 mm. type.—The 155 mm. type, as we have already

shown, came from the valley of the Danube through North Germany to the British Isles. There are no dolmens along their overland route. The similarity of Denmark to Danube suggests that the name of this race contained the common root. It is remarkable also that most of the names of the large rivers on the east of England and Scotland contain this root, as Thames, Don, Tyne, Tweed, Tay, Dee.

The 155 mm. men might be called Danes, except for the reason that probably they do not form the bulk of the population of Denmark at the present time. No doubt the Tuatha-de-Danaan was the name by which they were known in Ireland. We may for the present call them the Danubian race.

150 mm.—It is unnecessary to say much more than has already been said about the origin of the 150 mm. blonde race. They were undoubtedly one of the aboriginal races of North Europe, having come there at the end of the Ice Age. Their dimensions correspond very closely with the dark narrow-headed race found in the South of Europe and North of Africa, represented by the Berber tribes. It is supposed, therefore, that in palæolithic times a part of this race migrated into North Europe, where in the course of ages the Arctic climate evolved the great differences which now exist between them and their southern relatives.

The Celts.—We hear nowadays a great deal about the Celtic element in the British Isles. To which of our racial types do they belong? The Greeks applied the name *Keltoi* to the blonde inhabitants of North Europe, and evidently, according to the Greek view, the Celts belonged to the Teutonic type. The Romans subdivided the blondes into the *Germani*, lying furthest north, and the *Celtae*, lying nearer to the dark races of middle and South Europe. Some of the Roman writers describe the latter as reddish rather than pure blonde. Now red hair is generally found in great abundance on the line of contact of a dark and a blonde race. The Romans, then, evidently under-

stood the Celts to be a mixture of the blonde Teutonic race with the darker races of middle Europe.

This, I have no doubt, is the true ethnological meaning of the Celt—a mixed people with the Teutonic race as the predominant element. It is the philologists who are responsible for the misapplication of the term in the British Isles. The majority of the “so-called Celts” in the British Isles really belong to our tall, dark, broad-headed Pictish race. But because they happen to speak a language which philologists have called Celtic, the Picts, a race coming originally from the opposite side of Europe from the habitat of the true Celts, have been thus misnamed.

It has been shown by Schliemann and his successors that European civilisation took its rise in the East Mediterranean district, among a people known by the name of Mycenæans, or Ægeans. There is strong reason for believing that the predominant race among this people was the Adriatic or Pictish race, which we have traced from the Levant to the British Isles. Many traces of the Mycenæan civilisation have been found in the British Isles. For example, the spiral ornament which played a prominent part in Mycenæan art is to be found at New Grange in Ireland. The chambered tombs of the Mycenæans, as represented by the Treasury of Atreus, is almost exactly reproduced in the chambered cairn at Maeshowe in Orkney.

Before finishing this rather lengthy paper, I shall say only a very few words about that remarkable people from whom the Viking Club has taken its name. We have seen that even in the Stone Age in Sweden our Pictish type formed 7 per cent. of the population. In Norway the percentage was much higher, and at the present time a great part of the west coast of Norway is inhabited by this broad-headed type. This, I believe, is the district from which the Vikings are supposed to have started to make their raids on the British coasts. The Vikings, therefore, were not Teutons, but Picts, who went over from Britain





to Norway in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, and the Viking invasion of Britain is a parallel to the fortunately more peaceful invasion of England by the Americans which is said to be taking place at the present time; a mere return of the race to its old haunts, with its pigmentation no doubt considerably reduced by ages of contact with the fair Teuton.

The population of Britain, according to the views enunciated in this paper, may be roughly estimated as consisting of 50 per cent. of the Danubian race; 30 per cent. Picts; 10 per cent. Teutons or Anglo-Saxon; and 10 per cent. of other races (Mediterranean, Alpine, etc.).

In Scandinavia the Teutonic race is still predominant, except in Norway, where the Pictish or Viking type must form a pretty large percentage of the population.

In this paper I have gone back to the original data, some of these only recently published in Retzin's magnificent work on prehistoric Swedish skulls; I have endeavoured to draw the correct conclusions from these data, but I ought perhaps to say that many of these conclusions are not those currently accepted by anthropologists at the present time. They are open therefore to criticism.

If the views given in this paper are right, the British people have no reason to be ashamed of their origins. For the two principal ethnic elements in our population represent races that formed the vanguard of European progress, and the third is derived from the great Teuton fighting race, which has supplied us with our Nelsons, our Wellingtons, and our Roberts.

In the discussion which followed the reading, Dr. J. G. Garson said that, in the first place, he was not able to accept the statement as to animals blanching in the Arctic regions from the effects of the snow or of cold. It was a purely protective change in most instances—a means of enabling the animal to evade its enemies more easily.

The grouse, which was white in winter, becomes brown as the landscape changes. There are many examples of this kind of protective mimicry to be seen in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. He could not quite follow Mr. Gray in his way of treating populations. Mr. Gray appears to base his racial types on the proportion of the breadth to the length of the skull, and then to proceed to trace the distribution of the types. But the variations in the proportions of the skull are very considerable, and often most marked in the purest races. This had been brought out by certain recent researches, which have upset many previous ideas of the homogeneity of pure races and the heterogeneity of mixed. Mr. Gray's theory of the races in Scotland will be more easy to follow and criticise when one can read his paper in print, but he appears to refer his *tall* dolichocephalic race back to the Stone Age. This was possible, but they came to England and Scotland at a later period. It is doubtful if they were the dolmen-builders, as the dolmens were probably earlier, and probably belong to the Stone Age. The tall dark race and the round barrow people came later. There had been a mixture of these races subsequently. The *short* dolichocephalic race had been traced to Orkney, Arran, and other islands off the Scottish coast. These he considered to be the Polished Stone Age people. Mr. Gray's theories tend very much to confuse previous ideas on the subject, but if there was found to be good reason for them, earlier ideas must be modified with advancing knowledge.

Mr. A. L. Lewis felt that Mr. Gray had raised so many points, and made so many new departures, that it was impossible to deal with his paper offhand. He was not, however, satisfied, with the lecturer's racial map of the British Isles, which makes Cumberland and Lincolnshire peopled by the same type. We have to take into account three populations, viz., one with light hair and light eyes, one with dark hair and dark eyes, and one with dark hair and light eyes. Dr. Beddow's statistics, compiled forty

years ago, when the populations were less mixed than at present, showed that Lincolnshire was largely peopled by the first-named type, only 29 per cent. of the people having dark eyes, and 46 per cent. dark hair; while in Cumberland the same percentage of dark eyes (29) was accompanied by 80 per cent. of dark hair, showing that the third type he had mentioned was largely predominant in Cumberland. This was what might be expected from the history of the two districts, for he (Mr. Lewis) considered his third type to be distinctly Celtic. As regards dolmens he thought that we could not assume that they all belonged to the same age, or to the same race. The idea of a chambered tomb, from which the dolmen seemed to be developed, was natural, and was found as far off as in Japan. He himself thought that the Norwegian broad-headed people were a fair race.

The President said he objected to the terms "blonde" and "brunette," and preferred to keep to "light" and "dark." Questions of colour were very difficult to settle, as it was hard to fix any standard, or to keep to one in different climates. It was very difficult to fix a typical racial colour for the skin. The question of the identity of the Danes with the Tuatha-de-Danaan was a very apocryphal one. There were many circular earthworks in Ireland popularly ascribed to the Danes, but he believed there was nothing similar found elsewhere in undoubted Danish settlements. He had always thought Dr. Beddoe's racial map rather unsatisfactory. For instance, he made the population of Kent dark, instead of light, as they apparently are. The spiral ornament at New Grange was of a purely Egyptian character; but the spiral was very commonly found, and would naturally be suggested by the snail and various shell-fish. On behalf of the Club he thanked Mr. Gray for his interesting paper.

The Lecturer, in reply, said he quite recognised the variations that occur in races, even in pure races, but they follow the binomial law of deviations from the average. The broad-headed race certainly came to Sweden during

the Stone Age, which lasted longer in that country than in Britain. As to dolmens not being racial, he thought that their distribution negatived this. For instance, they are found to follow the coast line, which an invading race would first occupy. The strange inland peoples did not build them. As regards the identification of the Tuatha-de-Danaan, he understood that old Irish chroniclers described them as a fair race, which supported the theory of their affinity with the Danes.

IRISH EPISODES IN ICELANDIC LITERATURE.

BY ELEANOR HULL.

THE history of the Norsemen in these islands ought to be of the deepest interest for the peoples from whom they sprang, if for no other reason than because our history carries the records of the North back for nigh a hundred years beyond the historic memorials of their own countries. The authentic chronicles of Norway proper begin with the reign of Harold Fairhair, who became sole King of Norway in 872. Earlier than this, myth and legend usher in the dawn of history; but nearly a century before this date the doings of the Norsemen in Britain are mentioned in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," and detailed at large in the ancient annals of Ireland. The first notice of the descent of Norse ships upon the coasts of Britain is chronicled in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" under the year 787, the first entry in the Irish annals is at 795. Thus during nearly a hundred years, while Northern history is as yet forced to be content with the records of a dim and uncertain mythology, England and Ireland have preserved for her the records of her race, so far at least as the West is concerned. We are not to suppose that these records merely detail the raids and settlements of a few isolated wanderers from the home-country, whose history has no importance in its bearing upon the lands from which they came. Kingdoms could not be founded, wars made, and distant countries settled, without some

reference to the Motherland, and it is by this reflex means that we are able to discern something of the condition of things in the land that sent them forth.

It has been the fashion to treat the Irish records as either too meagre or too uncertain to be used as reliable history. There is no better method of testing them than by studying this period of the Scandinavian invasions. We have in the Northern literature (chiefly the literature of Iceland for the earlier period), casual allusions to things and persons that have a connection with the Western Isles and Ireland. The "*Landnámabók*" and the romantic sagas refer from time to time to events and persons who are either Irish or who have visited that Ultima Thule of the Norseman's desire. Now, if we can find that even in this early epoch, when the West of Europe was not yet making history, the annals of Ireland confirm these allusions, and even expand and throw light upon them; the veracity of both these sets of records, absolutely independent as they are in their origin, is impressed upon us. Let us compare, before passing to the stories from the Sagas, a few of the statements regarding Ireland made in that most interesting and important of all the Icelandic records, the "*Landnámabók*." The opening passage reads as follows:—

When Iceland was discovered and peopled from Norway, Adrian was Pope of Rome, and after him, John, he who was eighth in the Apostolic seat of that name; Louis, son of Louis, was Emperor North of the Alps, and Leo and his son Alexander over Constantinople. Harold Fairhair [*Harfagr*] was then King over Norway, and Eric, son of Sigmund, in Sweden, and his son Bjorn and Gorm the Old in Denmark, and Alfred the Great in England, and afterward Edward, his son; and Kjarval in Dublin, and Earl Sigurd the Mighty in Orkney.

Here we have the mention of a King named Kiarval reigning in Dublin as the contemporary of Alfred the Great in England, and Harold Fairhair in Norway. Now, do we, from the Irish records, know anything of this Kiarval or Cearbhall, mentioned by the compiler of "*Landnámabók*"? We do, as a matter of fact, know a great deal; nor are we surprised, as we read his history,

that the power and fame of this minor prince should have eclipsed, in the minds of the Norsemen of his day, that of the Supreme King of Ireland. For, indeed, Cearbhall was a formidable foe to the Norsemen, and many a good fight he fought with them. He was Prince of Leinster or Ossory, and through his own exertions he made his state for the time being an important factor in the kingdom. The name "Dublin" became well known to the Norsemen as the chief seat of the Norse dominion in Ireland, as, indeed, the centre whence at various times a wide Norse kingdom was ruled. Though the name is not Norse but Irish (*dubh*=black, *linn*=a pool), it was under the Norsemen's rule that the Ath Cliath began to be called Dublin.

Had we been dependent for the history of Kiarval on the general annals of Ireland, our information about him and his doings would have merely consisted of the bare chronicle of battles, which is usually all that these annals afford. As it happens, however, we have a singularly full record of the career of this Prince in a fragment of the annals of the kingdom of Ossory, written some time after the death of Kiarval, and detailing his career with great fullness.¹ This bit of history, unfortunately only a broken fragment of the whole, gives a most detailed and interesting record of events in Leinster during Kiarval's conflict with the Norsemen, and throws a number of interesting side-lights on the condition of things at this period, and on such important personages as, for instance, Olaf the White, Norse King of Dublin, and Malachi I., Supreme King of Ireland. It is much to be hoped that future researches will bring to light the missing portions of this useful bit of contemporary history.

Kiarval of Ossory was closely connected, by a double marriage, with the reigning King of Ireland. This King, Maelsechlainn (anglicised for faltering English tongues into Malachi I.), was one of the greatest overkings who

¹ "Fragments of Annals," edited by J. O'Donovan. Published by the Irish Archæological Society.

ever reigned in Ireland. Had these two brave men united instead of dividing their forces the Norsemen might have been for a second time driven back from the shores of Ireland. Unfortunately, they followed the usual Irish plan of fighting against each other, instead of uniting their power against the common enemy, and for the first time we find an Irish Prince employing the aid of the Danes against the Norwegian invaders, a custom destined to be frequently followed by later Princes. In his youth, and while his family-connection still held him in friendship with the Irish monarch, he drove back an advance of the Norsemen under a leader called Rudolph. He was himself taken prisoner in the skirmish, but escaped, and then called upon the Danes, under their powerful Chief Horm (or Orm), and with their aid inflicted a signal defeat on the Norsemen in County Tipperary. The account of this battle, and of the addresses delivered by Kiarval and Orm on the eve of the fray to their forces, is very full and interesting, but it need not detain us here.

The middle of Kiarval's career is occupied by quarrels with Malachi, to whom his people had appealed on account of the heavy taxes imposed upon them by their Prince; but towards the middle of Malachi's reign a peace was patched up between them in order to resist a formidable combination of Northern princes, who threatened to unseat Malachi from his position as Supreme King of Ireland. We read of several more defeats inflicted by Kiarval on the Northern foe, but the glory of his reign was clouded and his valour tarnished by his inveterate habit of drunkenness. Twice on the eve of battle Kiarval was incapable of leading his forces. The first time he entirely shirked the combat. The cause is not explained, save by the kindly euphemism that he was "bewitched," and unable to shake off the malign influences of the evil spirits. But the second time, at the battle of Achadh-mic-Earclaidhe (860) near Kilkenny, we are plainly told that he was intoxicated, and that it was only

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after the most urgent efforts of his warriors that he could be aroused to lead the army. The career of this vigorous Prince closes in silence. It may either be that the vice to which he was addicted brought him to a dishonoured grave, or that he died during the forty years' pause which ensued on the death of Ivar and Olaf the White, Norse Kings of Dublin, and the departure of the widow of Olaf and her train of followers from Ireland.¹

The history of Olaf the White, founder of the Norse kingdom of Dublin (853), must now occupy our attention. Let us again turn to the "*Landnámabók*." We read as follows (omitting his genealogy, which is given differently in the "*Landnámabók*" and in the "*Laxdæla Saga*," and differently again in the Irish "*Fragments of Annals*." To reconcile or discuss these genealogies would be out of place here):—

Olaf the White was the name of a war-lord. . . . He harried in the west-viking, and conquered Dublin in Ireland and Dublinshire, and was made king over it. He married Aud the Deep-minded, daughter of Ketil Flatnose. Thorstein the Red was their son. Olaf fell in battle in Ireland, and Aud and Thorstein went thence to Sodor (*i.e.*, the Hebrides).

The passage finishes with an account of her journey, first to Caithness, where she stayed for some time, and thence to the Faroe Isles and Iceland. She married members of her numerous family at each place where she stopped, and her descendants became progenitors of several of the most powerful clans of Iceland. This account is confirmed and its details much expanded in the interesting account of Aud, or Unn, given in the opening chapters of the "*Laxdæla Saga*." There is a touch of splendour in the death of this old woman, found "sitting up against her pillow, dead," on the day after the great wedding feast prepared by her own hands for her beloved grand-child.

It is not in our province to go into the history of Aud. She is not mentioned by name in the Irish annals, where it

¹ Ivar died 872-3, and Olaf either died or left Ireland about the same time.

is repeatedly asserted that Olaf was married to a daughter of Aedh, son of Flann, the mortal enemy of Malachi I. and his successor to the throne of Tara. It would seem that Olaf had two wives, at least, one an Irish woman and one Norse, and that the daughter of Ketil Flatnóse was not recognized in Ireland. It is just possible that Aud was that neglected wife about whom Olaf had a mortal quarrel with his (supposed) younger brother Oislé. This young prince, described in the "Fragments of Annals" as the favourite of his father, and the bravest and best of his family, was slain by Olaf's own hand at a peaceful meeting, in consequence of Oislé's reproaches to his elder brother that he had neglected his wife. Oislé said: "If you don't want your wife, or look after her, why not give her to me?" Olaf's response was a blow that struck him dead. If this is so, it sheds a new light upon the stern and self-restrained character of this remarkable woman.¹

To return to Olaf's (or Amhlaibh's) history. He landed in Ireland in 853, during the period of rapid advance made by the Northmen on all the coasts of Britain just before the reign of Alfred the Great. Olaf seems to have been sent to the rescue of his countrymen against the Danes, who, under Orm, were making inroads on the possessions of Gall and Gael alike on the Eastern coasts of Ireland. It was the policy of the leaders of the Norsemen at this time to excite discontent among the Irish with their own princes, and thus gain their support. Many of these levies of malcontents threw off Christianity and became, on joining the Norse forces, more virulent and rapacious than their allies, not only against their countrymen, but against the sanctuaries of the Christian religion. The career of Olaf is not very clearly traced in the Irish annals; at one time he unites with Kiarval against Malachi, at another with his father-in-law, Aedh, son of Flann, the enemy and successor of Malachi.

We read of his plundering in various districts, and of

¹ She is here called " Daughter of Cinaedh " or Kenneth.

the three leaders sacking the tumuli of the Boyne; of his retreat into Pictland, and of his before-mentioned murder of his youngest brother in peaceful meeting. In 867 he returned to devastate Armagh, in a great fray in which he is said to have taken 1,000 prisoners. In 869 Dumbarton was besieged for four months by Olaf and Ivar, and taken; in 870 they return to Dublin with 200 ships and a large number of captives, Saxons, Britons, and Picts. They kill the King of Leinster, and raid right up to the north of Armagh, where the hitherto impregnable fort of Dunseverick falls into their hands.

Ivar, called in the "*Chronicon Scotorum*" King of the Gall and all Hibernia, and in the "*Annals of Ulster*" King of the Gall of all Britain, died in 872, and Olaf henceforth drops out of the history. Had the "*Land-námabók*" not given us the information that Olaf "fell in battle in Ireland," we should have imagined that he had returned to Scotland and died there, but this seems decisive. It seems improbable, in spite of the reiterated assertions of "*The Fragments of Annals*," that Olaf, Ivar and Oislé were brothers, that they belonged either to the same family or the same race. From a consideration of the whole story it would seem more likely that Olaf the White, whose name is Norse, came to Ireland to endeavour to reconstruct the Norse kingdom, so skillfully built up by his predecessor, Turgesius (or Thorgils), threatened alike by the Irish Gael and by the Danish descents on the Northern and Eastern coasts. Ivar, on the contrary, was almost certainly a son of Ragnar Lodbrog, a Dane whose family were at this time forming the important Danish kingdom of Northumberland, with which kingdom the Danish sovereignty of Dublin became from this time united. The chronicles are, however, not clear on this point, and we find Olaf on several occasions joining his forces to those of Ivar, who reigned from Dublin over the Danes. The Danish kingdom was weakened after the death of these princes owing to the dissensions between Ivar's sons, and a long pause ensued,

during which the Irish were comparatively free from invasion from without.

It would be very tempting to linger over other Irish details from the "*Landnámabók*," particularly the account of the Irish thralls taken to Iceland by settlers from Ireland. The communication was constant between Iceland, the Orkneys and Hebrides, and the coasts of Ireland. Some went as raiders, some as settlers, such kingdoms as that which Olaf the White ruled over having begun in irregular raids and isolated settlements. Steenstrup points out that the Viking raids in Ireland were sporadic between 795 and 820, but that between 820 and 835 they made a systematic reconnaissance of the whole coast to find the spots most favourable for settlements. Their chief strongholds became the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, where they built forts, and which seem to have been ruled by separate chiefs. We must not, however, imagine that, with the settlement of a few cities and the building of a few forts, raiding came to an end. Up to the twelfth century, even later than the conquest of Strongbow and the Normans, we hear of Viking raids in the west. The attempt of Swein Asleifsson to take Dublin was made as late at 1171. So long as there were centres of Norse influence other Norsemen were attracted thitherwards; they came as frequently to raid upon their own settlers as upon the common Irish foe.

The only other matter in the "*Landnámabók*" which we can touch on here, is that it was the settlers from Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland who brought Christianity with them to Iceland. For instance, a man named Orlyg, who had been brought up in the Hebrides by a Bishop of the famous name of Patrick, conceived a desire to go to Iceland. The Bishop equipped him with a supply of ecclesiastical materials—wood to build a church, a plenarium, an iron bell, a golden penny, and consecrated earth to be put under the corner pillars. He was to build a church and dedicate it to St. Columba.

These settlers named their first landing-place Patricks-firth, and on their "land-take" they built a church, and they and their descendants are said to have believed in Columba; that is, they retained their Gaelic form of Christianity. In this, I am sorry to say, they were not generally followed by their compatriots. Generally they lapsed after one, or at most two, generations into paganism. This happened also in the case of the Gall-Gael of Ireland, the children of the mixed marriages between the Irish and Northmen, and the Irish annals say that, "though the Northmen were bad to the churches, the Gall-Gael who had renounced their baptism were far worse, in whatever part of Erin they chanced to be."¹

The story to which I wish now to direct your attention will illustrate for us the condition of those unfortunate maidens of good birth who were stolen from their Irish homes and sold as slaves abroad. It is the tale of an Irish princess. It is taken from the "*Laxdæla Saga*," one of the finest and most literary of the Sagas, and the episode took place in the tenth century.

To begin the story in the matter-of-fact fashion of the Sagas, "Hoskuld was the name of a man." He was one of the bodyguard of King Hacon, and stayed each year, turn and turn about, at Hacon's Court, in Norway, and at his own home in Iceland. He was a man of good position, and held in much esteem, both in Norway and in Iceland. He was wedded to a handsome, proud, and extremely clever woman, named Jorunn, who, the Saga says, was "wise and well up in things, and of manifold knowledge, though rather high-tempered at most times." Hoskuld and she loved each other well, though in their daily ways they made no show of their love. Now, there came a time when the King, attended by his followers, went eastward to a meeting, at which matters of international policy were discussed and settled between Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Hoskuld, who had become a great chief, and who at the

¹ "*Fragments of Annals*," p. 139.

time was staying with his kinsmen in Norway, joined the gathering as one of the bodyguard of the King. While there he purchased a female slave from a Russian merchant, a poor and ill-clad woman, whom, however, the owner refused to part with except at a higher price than the rest, although, he added, the woman had one great drawback, which was that she was dumb. He had tried in many ways to get a word out of her, but could never get her to talk, and he felt sure that she had not the power of speech. Hoskuld, no wise daunted by this, weighed out the money, and took her away. He gave her good clothes, and everyone was surprised to see how fair and noble she looked in the handsome array. This poor bond slave, sold in open market in Central Europe, was, as Hoskuld learned long afterwards, the daughter of Myrkiartan, a king in Ireland, who had been taken prisoner of war when only fifteen years old and separated from home and protectors. We need not follow Hoskuld's return to Iceland with his beautiful slave, or the jealousy of Jorunn, his wife, who treated the poor girl with disdain, but appears to have been too proud actually to ill-treat her. The desolate girl, either because she could speak no language but her native tongue, or from pride and despair, kept up the illusion that she was deaf and dumb. Neither kind nor unkind treatment could force her to open her lips; only it was remarked by everybody that she bore herself as one of distinguished birth, and that, in spite of her want of speech, she was no fool.

There came a time when Melkorka, for this was the name of the woman, had a son, a very beautiful boy, who at two years old could run about and talk like boys of four. He was named Olaf. Early one morning, as Hoskuld had gone out to look about the manor, the weather being fine, and the sun as yet little risen in the sky, but brightly shining, it happened that he heard some voice of people talking; so he went down to where a little brook ran past the homefield slope, and he saw two people there, whom he recognised as the boy Olaf and his

mother, and he discovered for the first time that she was not speechless, for she was talking a great deal to her son. It was Irish that she was talking. Then Hoskuld went to her and asked her her name, and said it was useless for her to try to hide it any longer. So they sat down together on the brink of the field, and she told him her birth and history, and that her name was Melkorka. Hoskuld said she had kept silence far too long about so noble a descent. After this he let Melkorka go away, and made a dwelling for her up in Salmon-river-dale, a place afterwards called Melkorkastad, and there Olaf grew up into a noble youth, far superior to other men, both on account of his beauty and courtesy. Among the things his mother taught him was a perfect knowledge of her mother-tongue, which was destined to stand him in good stead in later days.

We pass quickly over the period of Olaf's youth. At seven years old he was taken in fosterage by a wealthy childless man, a friend of Hoskuld's, who bound himself to leave Olaf all his money. At the age of twelve he already began to ride to the annual Thing-meeting, though men from other parts considered it a great errand to go, and they wondered at the splendid way he was made. So handsome and distinguished was he even then, and so particular about his war-gear and raiment, that his father playfully nicknamed him the Peacock, and this name stuck to him, so that he is known in Icelandic story as Olaf "Pá," or the Peacock. There came a time when Olaf was a man of eighteen winters, and then Melkorka told him she had all along set her heart on his going back to Ireland, to find out her relatives there. She even determined, partly to spite Hoskuld, whom she had never forgiven for having bought her as a slave, but chiefly in order to raise money for her son's journey, to marry a man who had long wanted to wed her, but for whom she had no affection. He gladly provided all that Olaf needed in return for the hand of Melkorka, and Olaf made him ready to go. Before he left, his mother gave

him a great gold finger-ring, saying, "This gift my father gave me for a teething-gift, and I know he will recognise it." She also put into his hands a knife and belt and bade him give them to her old foster-nurse. "I am sure," she said, "they will not doubt these tokens." And still further Melkorka spake: "I have fitted you out for home as best I know how, and taught you to speak Irish, so that it will make no difference to you where you come on shore in Ireland." After that they parted. There arose forthwith a fair wind when Olaf got on board, and they sailed straightway out to sea. It was in the year 955 that Olaf Peacock paid his first visit to Ireland. They reached its shores in a thick fog, which had, indeed, pursued them all the voyage, and often caused them "seabewilderment." When the fog lifted they found themselves in a desolate part of the coast, far from any town; but it was not long before the news of the drifting in of a Norwegian vessel spread, and the people of the neighbourhood came swarming down to the shore. According to what seems to have been a well-known Irish law, they demanded that the Icelanders should give up their goods, which were regarded by them as flotsam and their lawful prize. Here Olaf's knowledge of Irish stood him in good stead, for he answered them in their own tongue that such laws held good only for those who had no interpreter with them, but that they were come not to harry, but as peaceful men. The Irish, not satisfied with this, raised a great war-cry, and waded out to try to drag the ship in shore; but Olaf bade his followers quickly don their war-gear, and before the Irish, discomfited by the unexpected depth of the pool in which the vessel lay, could reach her, the crew were ranged in order of battle from stem to stern; and so thick they stood, that shield overlapped shield all around the ship, and at the lower end of every shield a spear-point was thrust out. Olaf, clad in gold-inlaid helmet and coat of mail, girt with sword and spear, and carrying his chased shield before him, walked forward to the prow, and so threatening did all

things look that fear shot through the hearts of the Irish, and they thought that it would not be so easy a matter as they had imagined to master the booty. They changed their mind, and now thought it was but the herald of one of those warlike incursions of which they had had such frequent and terrible experience. They turned back, and sent with all haste to the king or chief, who happened to be feasting in the neighbourhood. This king, who speedily rode down with a large company of followers, looking a party of the bravest, proved to be Myrkiartan, Olaf's grandfather. He was a valiant-looking prince, and they must have made a brave sight as the two companies, Icelanders and Irish, stood opposite to each other, one on the ship and the other on shore, divided only by a narrow strip of shallow water. After some indifferent conversation, the king asked searchingly about Olaf's kindred, for he found that this man was of haughty bearing, and would not answer any further than the king asked. Then Olaf told his story, and claimed kinship with the king. When the king hesitated, though he admitted that it was clearly seen that Olaf was a high-born man, and "that he spoke the best of Irish," Olaf, at the end of a long and frank speech, produced the ring given to him by his mother. The king took the ring and looked at it, and his face grew wondrous red, and then he said, "True enough are the tokens, and none the less notable that you have so many of your mother's family features, and that by them alone you might be easily recognised ; and because of these things I will in sooth, Olaf, acknowledge your kinship, and ask you to my Court with all your following ; but the honour of you all will depend on what worth as a man I find you to be, when I try you more." After that the king ordered riding-horses to be given them, and appointed men to look after the ship, while the king and his grandson rode to Dublin.

Let me finish this tale by the account of Olaf's meeting with his mother's foster-mother.

People thought it to be great news that with the king

should be travelling the son of his daughter, who had been carried off in war long ago, when she was only fifteen winters old. But most startled of all at these tidings was the foster-mother of Melkorka, who had been bed-ridden, both from heavy sickness and old age; yet without even a staff to support her she walked to meet Olaf. The king said to Olaf, "Here is come Melkorka's foster-mother, and she will wish to know all you can tell her about your mother's life." Olaf took her in his arms and set the old woman on his knee, and told her all the news, and put into her hands the knife and belt, and the aged woman recognised the gifts, and wept for joy. "It was easy to see," she said, "that Melkorka's son was one of high mettle, and no wonder, seeing what stock he came of."

Olaf stayed all the winter with the king, and grew to be such a favourite with him that he offered him the succession to the kingdom, instead of his own sons, and prayed him to stay with him for ever. This offer Olaf refused publicly at the law-gathering of the people, saying that he must return to the North, for his mother would have little delight in her life if he went not back again. He had, he said, no just claim to the kingdom and "it was better to gain swift honour than lasting shame." So Olaf bade a loving farewell to the king, who saw him off, and gave him a spear chased in gold and a gold-bedecked sword, and much money besides. The welcome made to Olaf on his arrival in Iceland by his mother, and her eagerness to hear news of home, is very prettily described; her only regret being that Olaf had not brought back with him her aged foster-mother, whose coming would have rejoiced her lonely heart and life. When Olaf told her that he had asked to bring her, but that they would not allow her to go: "That may be so," she said; but it was plain to be seen that she took this much to heart.

I hope that I have not exhausted your patience with this long story; but it has in it so many details that let one

behind the scenes into the private life of a remote period ; it sets before us so clearly the manner of intercourse between the two countries, and, moreover, it is so intimate and human a tale, that it seemed worth while to give it in full. The rest of this interesting Saga, indeed the main theme of it, relates the adventures of Olaf's favourite son, whom he called by the Irish name of Kiartan, a boy who inherited the good looks and high spirit of his father, and who seems to have made no small stir in his day and generation in the social life of Iceland and Norway. His story, however, lies outside the scope of this paper.

The interesting question for Irishmen is, who was this Myrkiartan who holds so large a place in the Icelandic story? If a difference of ten or twelve years between the supposed date of Olaf's return to Ireland in the "*Laxdæla Saga*," and the actual date given in the Irish annals be not too great a variation to invalidate our conclusions (and we find that some slight difference of date does constantly exist, not only between Norse, or Icelandic, and Irish annals, but even between Irish and Anglo-Saxon, or Welsh, or even between the various Irish annals themselves), I think there can be little doubt who is the Irish counterpart of the Icelandic Myrkiartan. He was, we believe, the famous Irish chieftain known as Muircheartach (Murtough) of the Leather Cloaks, son of that Niall Glundubh who was king of Ireland for the brief period of three years (914-917), and who fell in the battle of Kilmoshog with the Danes. Murtough was Lord or Prince of Aileach, in North Londonderry, and the massive outworks of his fort remain to this day. The great tribes of Cinel Conall and Cinel Eoghan were under his authority. He lived between forty and fifty years later than the period of Irish history with which we last dealt: during the fresh outbreak of Northern incursion after the forty years' rest and cessation. Unlike his predecessors, who, shut up in their northern fortress, took little part in the Danish wars,

Murtough devoted his whole life to repelling the invaders, and his career is a brilliant series of victories over the foreign foe. If his daughter had been carried off by the Northmen and sold as a slave girl in foreign lands, his revenge is easily accounted for. It is plain from the "Laxdæla" story that Myrkiartan is not monarch of Ireland, but a prince of some considerable power, living on the seashore, and at some distance from Dublin. It is also likely that the voyagers would first reach the north coast of Ireland, driven about as they were in a thick fog. All this coincides with the position of Aileach, on the north coast of Ireland.

The chief of the Danes of Dublin was, during the first part of his reign, Godfrey, son of Ivar, who was elected king in 919, and, later, his sons, Olaf and Blacaire. Both these princes plundered in the north of Ireland, and were met, with varying success, in several battles by Murtough. On one occasion (937) he was taken prisoner to their ships; but was ransomed. Once he pursued the enemy to the gates of Dublin, and ravaged their country. In 939 he penetrated with a fleet to the Hebrides, "after gaining victory and triumph." It was his final exploit that gained him his soubriquet, Murtough "of the Leather Cloaks." Determined, in spite of the retired position of his kingdom, to make his name known and his power felt throughout Ireland, he decided, on his return from the Hebrides, to celebrate his "victory and triumph" by one of those circuits of the whole country occasionally made by aspiring princes as a token of their paramount authority. He called the clans of Conall and Owen together, and chose out of them 1,000 picked men to be his bodyguard. Then, in the depth of the winter of 930, with snow lying thick upon the earth, he set forth from Aileach, and in the course of several months he made a complete circuit or visitation of Ireland, everywhere demanding the submission of the kings and chiefs. From every kingdom he brought with him hostages to Aileach, including Sitric, a prince of the Northmen, as

representing the Danish kingdom of Dublin. The chief bard of Murtough, Cormacan by name, accompanied him on this journey, and wrote a poem on their return describing the incidents of this remarkable tour.¹ It agrees at all points with the notices in the annals. The hostages were kept a year at Aileach, and were there hospitably treated and royally feasted, being attended by Murtough's own wife. They were then sent to the supreme monarch of Tara, Donnchadh, as a mark of respect by his powerful underling. The leather cloaks are said by the poet to have been worn as a protection against the cold, and used as tents or coverings at night. In the moment of battle they were flung aside as incumbrances.

I believe that it was this powerful prince who was the grandfather of Olaf Pá. He fell at Ath Ferdia (Ardee) in battle with his old foe, Blacaire, son of Godfrey, Lord of the Gall of Dublin, in 941.

We now come to what is incontestably the finest piece of writing bearing upon Ireland in all the Sagas; indeed, one of the most dramatic episodes in the northern stories upon any subject—I mean the account of the Battle of Clontarf. We are fortunate in possessing the history of this important battle from both the Irish and the Norse side: the spirited description in the “Wars of the Gael with the Gaill” supplying us with a large number of romantic incidents relating chiefly to the leaders who fought under the banner of the Irish king Brian, and the “Njal's Saga” giving us a stirring account of the raising of the foreign bands who came to the help of Sitric, the Norse King of Dublin. The story is probably familiar to everyone here, but it may be of interest to read it from the Norse side alone, in order to understand for how much of it we are indebted to the Northern chroniclers,

¹ This poem, “The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill,” which is still extant, was written after the hostages were sent to Tara, and before the death of Murtough in 941. It has been edited by J. O'Donovan, and published by the Irish Archæological Society, 1841.

and in what light they viewed a struggle which both nations have recorded as a turning-point in the history of the Danish invasions of these isles, and have thought worthy of commemorating in song and story. It was from the tales of the fight told by those Norsemen who escaped the destruction of that fatal day to their comrades at home that the "Brian's Saga" grew up. If it ever existed as a separate and complete story, as Vigfússon thinks, it is unfortunately lost, but parts of it are incorporated in "Thorstein Sidu-Hall's Son's Saga," and the whole story is added in an abridged shape to "Njal's Saga."

The story, as told in "Njal's Saga," divides itself into four distinct and very dramatic scenes—(1) The arrival of Sitric in the Orkneys to ask for succour from Sigurd the Earl; (2) his visit to the two Viking leaders, Ospak and Brodir, lying with their thirty vessels off the Isle of Man; (3) the incidents of the actual battle; and (4) the weird portents that accompanied the battle, and which were seen not only in the Orkneys and the north of Scotland, but away in the distant isles of Faroe and of Iceland.

It is plain that the Norse chroniclers considered the Battle of Clontarf to have been one of the most disastrous days in the chequered history of their race. There is no event in their annals of which the record is so bathed in gloom. Signs and portents everywhere throughout the Norse world prognosticated failure; Woden himself appearing for the last time in their extremity to his old worshippers, now fast forsaking him for a newer faith, and riding up to the fierce wife of Sitric on an apple-grey horse to converse long with her. The answer of the sorcerer, to whom the apostate Brodir appealed on the eve of the battle, declares that "if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall, but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him." And Brodir, choosing the least evil of the two, decided to fight on the Friday. That it was a day of terrible slaughter to the Irish I do not deny; the good and power-

ful King Brian, whose courage and administrative ability had so nearly saved and united Ireland, fell last of almost all his race; Morrough his son, Turlogh his grandson, a mere boy of fifteen, as well as his ally, Mailmora King of Leinster, were slain, and on the Irish side, as on the Norse, a terrible havoc was made in the ranks of the contending forces. Yet from this time forward we hear little of disputes with the Danes, who seem to have gradually merged themselves into the population, and are found in several instances, up even to the time of the Norman invasion, or later, allying themselves to princes of the North and West, and joining in their wars. In the South they seem to have lived quietly as traders and merchants, taking henceforth little interest in political affairs, and making no other great effort for supremacy: when the Norman invaders appeared, they united with the Irish against them. The thoughts of the Northmen were indeed turned elsewhere. The Danish conquest of England by Sweyn, in the very year of the Battle of Clontarf, and his aim of uniting into a great empire the Scandinavian countries and earldoms, with England for its head, gave rise to other schemes of ambition and conquest.

But to return to the Saga of Brian Borioimhe, or Brian of the Tributes.

We are at the Orkneys on Christmas Day. The Yule log is blazing, and Earl Sigurd is presiding at a splendid feast. A man named Gunnar is relating to the assembled party the terrible tragedy of the burning of Njal and his family, which had only recently taken place in Iceland. Gunnar himself had had a hand in the dastardly plot, and to save himself he is giving a garbled version of the tale. We seem to see the scene. The long hall, with its double row of pillars, and the fire blazing in the centre; the spread tables, the couches along the sides where the guests sat in order of precedence, the raised daïs where the chief gathered his special friends and where the minstrels stood. The Irish banqueting-hall and the hall of a Norse or Icelandic chief were identical

in plan and construction: we have only to recall the descriptions of the Mead-Court, or banqueting-hall, of Tara to have an exact idea of the dwelling of an earl of the Orkneys; either the Norsemen adopted the Irish plan of building, or they taught it to us. Most probably the Irish were the learners. While Gunnar is in the middle of his story, two other Icelanders, but now landed, come up to the door. They have been close friends of the house of Njal, and their anger is aroused as they stand for a moment outside, arrested by the voice of Gunnar, telling his false version of the tale. With the swift vengeance characteristic of the Northman, Kari draws his sword, and rushing into the hall with a wild snatch of song upon his lips, the head of the lying story-teller is severed in an instant by one sharp blow, and spins off on to the board before the king and earls, who are bathed in his blood. "This is a bold fellow," exclaims King Sitric, "who dealt his stroke so stoutly, and never thought of it twice!" And Earl Sigurd, in spite of his anger, is forced to exclaim, "There is no man like Kari for dash and daring."

King Sitric seems to have only arrived from Ireland shortly before this bloody interruption took place. He was seated in the place of honour beside the Earl. Sitric was the son of Anlaf Curan, or Olaf o' the Sandal. His mother's fame is yet better known: she was that famous, or infamous, Kormlöd, or Gormlaith, whose monstrous capacity for marriage-making makes her the scoff and scorn of saga and story, whether Norse or Irish. the Saga sums her up in a few words. "She was the fairest of women," it says, "and best gifted in everything that was not in her own power, but it was the talk of men that she did all things ill over which she had any power," *i.e.*, she had the best gifts by nature, but out of her own will she did nothing but what was bad. Already she had been married to two husbands, Malachi II., King of Ireland, and Brian himself, both of whom had repudiated her, before she married Sitric's father. "So grim had

she got against King Brian after their parting," says the Saga, "that she would gladly have had him dead." It was her hate of her former husband that had sent Sitric to the Orkneys to ask for aid to crush him. Yet Brian's goodness of heart was known and recognised even in the far North. "He was the best-natured of all kings," they said there of him; "thrice would he forgive all out-laws the same offence before he had them judged by the law, and from this it might be seen what a king he must have been." Such clemency would certainly appear strange to the fierce natures of the North. But in spite of their personal regard for him, the bait of the fair Kormlöd's hand and the promise of Brian's kingdom, if he should fall, proved too strong a temptation to Earl Sigurd, and he gave his word to go. "Then King Sitric fared south to Ireland, and told his mother, Kormlöd, that the earl had undertaken to come, also what he had pledged himself to grant him. She showed herself well pleased at that, but said they must gather a greater force still. Sitric asked whence it was to be looked for? She said there were two Vikings lying off the west of the Isle of Man, that they had thirty ships, and were men of such hardihood that nothing could withstand them. The name of one is Ospak, and of the other Brodir. Haste thou to find them, and spare nothing to get them into thy quarrel, whatever price they ask." The price they asked was exactly that asked by Earl Sigurd—"the crown of Brian, and the hand of the fair Kormlöd." The moment is a perplexing one; but, remembering his mother's commands, Sitric hastens to make the promise, only promising that they should keep the terms so secret that Sigurd should hear nothing about them. They, like Earl Sigurd, pledged themselves to arrive in Dublin on Palm Sunday, and Sitric returned home well satisfied. But hardly had he left, when a fierce quarrel arose between the two Viking brothers. It would seem that the conference had been between Brodir and Sitric only, and that Ospak had not been informed of the pact until after

Sitric had left. Then he roundly said that he would not go. Nothing would induce him to fight against so good a king as Brian. Rather would he become a Christian and join his forces to those of the Irish king. Ospak, though a heathen, is said to have been the wisest of all men. Brodir, on the contrary, bears an ugly character. He had been a Christian, and had been consecrated a deacon, but, in the forcible words of the Saga, he had become "God's dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and was of all men most skilled in sorcery." He was a terror even to his own people. "He wore a magic coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was tall and strong, and his hair was black. He wore his locks so long that he tucked them into his belt." Fearful dreams beset him from night to night. A great din passed over the ship, so that they all woke, getting hastily into their clothes. A shower of boiling blood poured over them, so that though they covered themselves with their shields, many were scalded, and on every ship one man died. They slept that day, but next night there was again a din, so that they all sprang up. Swords leaped out of their sheaths, and axes and spears flew about in the air and fought. The weapons pressed them so hard that they had to shield themselves, but still many were wounded, and out of every ship a man died. The third night ravens flew at them, with claws and beaks hard as of iron, and again a man died in each ship. The next morning Brodir sought Ospak to tell him what he had seen, and ask him the meaning of it. Ospak feared to tell him till night fell, for it was a custom with Brodir never to kill a man by night. When the moment of safety arrived he made this foreboding: "Whereas blood rained on you, many men's blood shall be shed, yours and others. But when ye heard a great din, then ye must have been shown the crack of doom, and ye shall all die speedily; when weapons fought against you, that must forbode a battle; but when ravens overpowered you, that marks the devils in which ye put faith, and who will drag you all down to

the pains of hell." Brodir was so wrath that he could not answer a word, but he moored his vessels that night, so that next morning he should bear down and slay them all. But Ospak saw through the plan, and that night he slipped quietly away to Ireland with his men, made his way to King Brian at his palace at Kincora, became a Christian, was baptised, and united his force to Brian's, finding ample opportunity to avenge himself on his apostate brother at the Battle of Clontarf, an opportunity of which he availed himself to the full by inflicting on him a barbarous and horrible death.

All being prepared, the forces on both sides gather to Dublin by Palm Sunday, but owing to the omens the Norsemen refused to fight before Good Friday. King Brian was too conscientious a churchman himself to fight on a fast-day, so his bodyguard made a ring around him with their shields locked together, at a little distance from the host. In the excitement of the battle, however, they would seem to have left him, for at the moment of his death his bodyguard are found chasing the enemy, leaving only a remnant of their number to defend the old king, while one lad alone was inside the tent with the praying sovereign, when Brodir broke in and ruthlessly felled the helpless and defenceless old man to the ground. In the Saga account there is some confusion of names and persons, as was only natural in a tale written down some time afterwards, and at a distance from the events. The incidents agree admirably, but the names of the actors have been confused, and the same action is in "Thorstein Sidu-Hall's Son's Saga" sometimes ascribed to a different person to the author of the deed in "Brian's Saga." This would go to show that the two existing Northern accounts are not mere copies of each other, but independent reports of the battle. Mahon, the courageous elder brother of Brian, who had shared all his earlier wars, but who had been basely assassinated many years before, is represented as taking an active part in the battle. He is called Wolf the Quarrelsome, "the greatest champion and

warrior," and is represented as having had a fierce conflict with Brodir. Each army was drawn up in three divisions, led on the one side by King Sitric, with Brodir on the wings and Earl Sigurd in the centre; and on the other side by Brian's brother, with Ospak on the wings, and Kerthialfad and Brian's foster-son in the centre. The banners were carried before Sigurd on the Norse side, and Kerthialfad on the Irish side. This is the Norse account of the disposition of the forces. The Irish account is a little different:—Brian's army in the van, the Dal-Cais, under Morrough and Turlogh; (2) Munster troops, under a grandson of the King of the Decies; (3) Connaught troops, under Maelruanaidh; (4) Danish auxiliaries; (5) Meath troops, under Malachi II., but an "evil understanding" lay between him and the foreigners.

We must imagine the battle as taking place on the northern side of the river Liffey, in what was then open or wooded country—on each side, east and west, of the present Sackville or O'Connell Street. One single bridge crossed the Liffey, a little above the present Four-Courts. The Irish forces, gathering from inland, took up their position on the hilly ground extending north and west from about O'Connell Bridge to the Phoenix Park, while their opponents, landing from the bay, occupied the low ground near the River Tolka, and stretching towards Clontarf. The chief fighting took place opposite the Danish fortress, which stood on the site of the present Dublin Castle, and around whose walls the old city lay. One interested and divided spectator watched the fight from the walls with secret sympathy for the Irish enemy. This was Sitric's wife, who was also Brian's daughter, an Irishwoman, married to the chief of her country's foes. "It seems to me," she laughed bitterly, as the rout of the Norsemen became more and more complete, "that the foreigners are making fast for their inheritance—the sea. I wonder are they cattle, driven by the heat? But if they are, they wait not to be milked." The answer of her husband was a brutal blow upon the mouth.

Two dramatic incidents break the course of the narrative. The first is the taking of the raven banner of the foreigners. This banner, under which the Orkneyingers fought, had a curious history. We learn in the "Orkneyinga Saga" that it had been made for and given to Earl Sigurd by his Irish mother, Edna, or Eithne, daughter of Kiarval (the Cearbhall or Carrol of whom we have already spoken), who had married Hlödver, Sigurd's father. Eithne was one of a large family of girls, four of whom married Icelandic suitors in the Western Isles. Their names were Eithne, Fridgerd, Rafata, and Kormlöd. This Irish lady had a reputation for superior knowledge gained by means of witchcraft. However this may have been, she was a woman of spirit; for we are told that on one occasion, when her young son came to ask her advice as to the wisdom of going to battle against a far superior force of Scottish soldiers, she replied scornfully, "Had I known that thou hadst a desire to live for ever, I should have kept thee safely rolled up in my woolbag; fate rules life, *but not when a man stands at the helm*; better it is to die with honour than to live with shame. Take thou this banner that I have made for thee with all my cunning; I ween it will bring victory to those before whom it is borne, but death to him who carries it." The banner was worked with elaborate needlework, wrought with wonderful skill. It was made in the shape of a raven, and when the wind blew out the banner, it was as though the raven spread his wings for flight. This banner, though it brought victory to the army, as Eithne had foretold, became noted for the ill-luck that attended the standard-bearers, so that it became difficult to get men to carry a banner that meant certain death. In the Battle of Clontarf, one standard-bearer after another had fallen; at last Sigurd called on Thorstein, son of Sidu-Hall, to lift the banner. He was in the act of obeying, when one Asmund the White called out to him, "Do not bear the banner; for all who carry it get death." "Hrafn the Red," called

out Earl Sigurd, "bear thou the banner." "Bear thine own devil thyself," was the rough reply. Then the earl said, "'Tis fittest the beggar should bear the bag, and he took down the banner from the staff and wrapped it round himself under his cloak. It was but a little after that Asmund the White was slain, and the earl fell, pierced through with a spear.

The other incident also concerns Thorstein Sidu-Hall's son, the brave Iclander who had accompanied Sigurd. After the death of Sigurd the Norse host broke out into indiscriminate flight. Thorstein, with some few men, took their stand by the side of Tomar wood, refusing to fly. At last all turned and fled save Thorstein alone. He stood still to tie his shoe-string. An Irish leader, coming up at the moment, asked him why he had not escaped with the others. "Because I am an Iclander," said Thorstein, "and were I to run ever so fast I could not get home to-night." The Irish leader was so struck by his coolness and courage that he liberated Thorstein, who remained in Ireland in the household of the Irish king when all his fellows returned home.

All through the north of Europe the tidings of the great battle flew; everywhere it was looked upon as one of the most severe checks sustained by the Norsemen in Western Europe. The "Darradar-Liod," or "Lay of the Darts," is probably familiar to you. Gray's version, however, gives but a faint idea of the fury and force of the original song of the Valkyries. It stands alone among the Eddic lays, but in the "Njal's Saga" it has been incorporated with some additions into the story, and a confusion as to the name is visible. The appropriate title of Darrador-Liod, "Lay of the Darts," has been lost sight of, and the legend is invented that it was one Daurrud who saw the Valkyries weaving the woof of war, and heard them sing the lay.

We now come to a very interesting Saga, "the most primitive piece of Icelandic prose," says Vigfússon, "that has come down to us." This oldest piece of Icelandic

prose bears an Irish name, and relates the love-story of a bard, or skald, whose very commonest thoughts seem to have flowed forth in poetry. There are more songs in this Saga than in any other of the whole series: it is full of, almost choked with, verse. Some of the professional skalds laboured out a verse or two when some public event demanded it in much the same fashion as our Poet-Laureate does at present and with a result just as little satisfactory from the standpoint of poetry. But this was not the way with our poet, whose Irish ancestors' blood poured fast through his veins, turning his impetuous speech into song, and filling his brief story with some eighty-five verses or poems, of which sixty-five are by Cormac himself. Cormac, or Kormak, was indeed a famous skald; there is an impetuosity, a fire, a passion in his verse that assimilates it much more closely to the literature of the country of his paternal descent than to the colder, more restrained poetry of the North. "The wine of Odin," the "drink of the gods," the magic divine gift of poetry, as it poured itself forth in Cormac's rugged but burning stanzas, must sometimes have astonished his hearers, accustomed to the more artificial strains of the Court poets. Cormac was one of the poets of King Harald Greyfell, of Norway, who reigned from 960-965, and he is also named among the poets of Earl Sigurd of Hladir, who died 962, and on whom he wrote a panegyric called the "Sigurd's Drapa," of which only some fragments are preserved. He was named after his grandfather, of whom we know that he was a great man under Harald Fairhair, and was flourishing about 900. It shows how much more often intermarriages must have occurred than are noted, that there is no hint given in the Saga of Irish birth or descent, although in this particular instance the name itself identifies the Irish blood beyond possibility of question. The name of Cormac has ever been a famous one in Ireland, from the time of Cormac-mac-Airt, who was, as the "Annals of Clonmacnois" happily put it, "absolutely the best king

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that ever reigned in Ireland before himself " downwards. The modern MacCormacs may look back to an illustrious ancestry, beginning with the half-mythical son of King Conor (Conchobhar) of the early romances, and including the great King-Bishop of Cashel in the tenth century. The name was continued in the family of our Northern skald.

There is something thoroughly foreign to the North, not only in Cormac's character, but in his appearance. He was black-haired and black-eyed, with a curly lock on his forehead. The fair Icelandic girls used to scoff at him for his dark eyes. Some thought them ugly, some handsome; but, as he says himself, he had "tricks of the tongue to beguile them"—the persuasive, flattering tongue of his Irish ancestors. His temper was more Irish even than his appearance; the quick retort, the reckless, impulsive, perverse habit of mind, the gay and flashing fancy, the illogical, yet always faithful soul. He was always missing his chances—great skald and good lover as he was; but in the moment of action some slight, real or fancied, was haunting his brain, and hindering him from seizing the fortunate moment. When he ought to be up and doing he was sulking at home, filling up his time by building a wall, or driving the cattle to the mountains; when the opportunity was past, no sword was sharp enough, no horse swift enough to avenge himself upon his rival. He would not accept the easier rules of the duel; the hard and fast rules of the professional combatant in the holmgang were not too severe for his spirit; untrained swordsman as he was, he would allow himself no advantage even in the fight with the renowned combatant, "Holmgang," or "Fighting" Bersi; he scoffed at the tales of charmed swords and spell-woven grounds which should bring luck to his adversary and ill to himself. There is something exceedingly lovable in the child-like, wilful nature of this youth, and in his unswerving fidelity to the lady of his heart. Vigfússon hardly does justice to this Saga when he says, "It is a rough, coarse

story of rough, coarse life." It is indeed a primitive tale, with a rough practical joke played here and there; but there is hardly a word to be omitted on account of its coarseness, and there is, on the other hand, a vigour and reality in the characters that more than atones for any defects of polish.

The Saga tells the love-story of Cormac for the fickle beauty, Steingerd, a lady who after being betrothed to Cormac ultimately married his rival, Fighting Bersi, and as soon as misfortune overtook him, forsook him for the Tinker Thorvald, of whom the Saga says that he was "a wealthy man, a smith and a skald, but a mean-spirited man for all that; her folk were for it, and she said nothing against it, and she was wed to him in the very same summer in which she left Bersi." It was said of Cormac that he never made a single verse without some mention of his lady in it: in his verses she is likened to every lovely and precious thing. She is the young fir of the forest, enwreathed in gold; like the goddess of Baldur she glistens; she is the nymph of the ale-cup; she is the tree of his treasure and longing; she is the trim, rosy elf of the shuttle. He weaves a hundred pretty conceits about her person and her ways.

To give a specimen of the Saga, let us take the first meeting of Cormac with Steingerd at the house of her father, where Cormac, who was shepherding on the fell, had taken refuge for the night.¹ He was seated with the other men of the household at the large fire lighted in the hall. Steingerd, then a mere girl, had all a young girl's curiosity to see the stranger; and though when her maid suggested that they should look at the guests she protested that there was no need, she yet slipped away to the door, stepped on to the threshold, and peered

¹ For all the quotations from this Saga I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, who placed in my hand a translation of the Saga prepared by himself and Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., for publication. The work has since appeared under the title, "The Life and Death of Cormac the Skald."

cautiously at the guests across the gate. Now there was a gap between the bottom of the wicket and the ground, and Cormac espied her feet as she swung them backwards and forwards beneath the gate, and he straightway made a song—

At the door of my soul she is standing,
So sweet in the gleam of her garment :
Her footfall awakens a fury,
A fierceness of love that I knew not.
Those feet of a wench in her wimple,
Their weird is my sorrow and troubling,
—Or naught may my knowledge avail me—
Both now and for aye to endure.

Then Steingerd felt that she was seen, and she drew back shyly into a corner of the door where the doorpost was adorned with a massive figure of the mythical king Hagbard carved in wood, and from under the old king's beard the charming young face peeped forth, catching as it did so, the full glare of the firelight. "Cormac," said Tosti, "seest eyes out yonder by that head of Hagbard?" And Cormac answered in song¹—

The moon of her brow, it is beaming,
'Neath the bright-litten heaven of her forehead :
So she gleams in her white robe, and gazes
With a glance that is keen as the falcon's ;
But the star that is shining upon me
What spell shall it work by its witchcraft ?
Ah, that moon of her brow shall be mighty
With mischief to her—and to me.

"She is fairly staring at thee," said Tosti, the foreman ; and Cormac throws off a couple more songs by way of reply. By this time the girls had gathered courage and stepped into the hall. They sat down in a corner and whispered observations to each other in perhaps not too polite a fashion about the looks of the visitors. "He is

The tragic story of Hagbard and Signe, so appropriate here, is told in "Saxo Grammaticus," Book vii., 230-237, pp. 277-285. Translation published by the Folklore Society.

black and ugly," said the maid ; but Steingerd said, No ; he was handsome and everyway as pleasing as could be. "There is only one blemish," she said, "that his hair is tufted on his forehead." "Black are his eyes, sister," said the maid, "and that becomes him not." And Cormac, sitting down below at the fire, hears all these remarks, and turns them into half-comic, playful verse.

This is Cormac's first meeting with the faithless fair one, who is the theme of all his songs, the centre of all his thoughts. Whether tossing on the tempestuous sea or herding the flocks at home ; whether at the feast or the combat ; whether away in Norway at the royal court, or at home in Iceland, the faithful poet-lover ever has a sweet verse ready-woven in honour of his lady. His mates mocked his passion for the shallow woman who spurned him, and who preferred the comfort that riches bring as wife of the craven tinker to the genius and steadfastness of the thriftless young skald ; but still it was his proudest boast that it was not often that he forgot her. "It always comes down to that," as his brother Thorgils once said, when, on the eve of a great battle (it was fought by Harald Greyfell in Ireland) Cormac was, as usual, conning verses to his lady.

Once in life, and once to die, Cormac visited the birth-place of his ancestors ; for, as was meet, the bard of Irish blood fell in Ireland ; the only one of the famous Icelandic skalds whom we know to have been buried in these islands, save Hallfred, whose tomb was in Iona.

It was on his way back from his first visit to Ireland, the one made in the train and under the banner of the king, that Cormac sang his most beautiful poem, the famous "Song of the Surf." It grew out of a question, as most of Cormac's songs did. Thorgils, his brother and companion, noticed that in all their wanderings with Harald Greyfell, Cormac slept but little, and he asks him why this is. This was the lovely answering song—

THE SONG OF THE SURF.

Surf on a rock-bound shore of the sea-king's blue domain—
Look how it lashes the crags, hark how it thunders again!
But all the din of the isles that the Delver heaves in foam
In the draught of the undertow glides out to the sea-gods' home.
Now which of us two should rest? Is it thou, with thy heart at ease?
Or I, that am surf on the shore in the tumult of angry seas?
Drawn, if I sleep, to her that shines with the ocean-gleam,
Dashed, when I wake, to woe, for the want of my glittering dream.

We hasten on to the death of Cormac. The time came when he realised that Steingerd was lost to him for good and all, lost by her own will: for all she can find to say when the husband himself bids her go with Cormac, he having fairly won her by rescuing her from pirates while her noble Tinker skulked in the ship's hold, is that "*she would not change knives.*" "So Cormac concluded that this was not to be. 'Evil beings,' he said, 'ill luck,' had parted them long ago." He bade her be gone with her Tinker, while he himself took to the wandering, wild life of a Sea-Viking, the usual resort of discontented spirits in his age. The brothers went wayfaring round about Ireland, Wales, England, and Scotland, those fertile lands that attracted so much of the Vikings' attention; and they were reckoned to be the most famous of men. They are said to have built the Castle of Scarborough, but whether in the spot which now bears that name we cannot undertake to say. They made raids into Scotland, and achieved many great feats, and led a mighty host; but in all the host none was like Cormac for strength and courage.

But to return to the death of Cormac. The story goes that once after a battle he was driving the flying foe before him when the rest of his host had gone back aboard ship. Out of the woods came a fierce Scot, or Irishman, "as monstrous big as an idol," and a terrible struggle began between them. Cormac felt for his sword, but it had slipped out of its sheath, and though he succeeded in striking a furious blow which killed the giant, his adversary caught at him in a death-grip, which

crushed his ribs. They fell together, the giant uppermost, and so hidden was he under the mass of the Irishman that his men sought far and near before they found him. He was carried to the ship, and he died singing.¹

The stories I have told you are only specimens of the incidents in Northern literature which throw light upon the habits and life of that period when the North and the West—Iceland, and the Western Isles and Ireland—were closely intermingled. There are many others just as interesting, just as enlightening as regards the social and spiritual life of both countries. I could tell you of King Magnus Barelegs of Norway, who, for love of Ireland, wore the saffron shirt and plaid even in his own country, and got the nickname "Barelegs" for his pains; the king who could not tear himself away from Ireland for all the attractions of the ladies of Nidaros; whose last song was in praise of an Irish girl, and who died, killed in an Irish-laid ambush, in County Down. It is a tribute both to his love of Ireland and to the love of the people for him, that he is buried close to St. Patrick's tomb in Downpatrick.

I could tell you of Harald Gilli, Magnus Barelegs' Irish-born Irish-bred son, who ran a race for the honour of old Ireland with a Norwegian prince and won, though the prince rode on his swiftest racer and Harald ran afoot. This Irish Norwegian, one of the Gall-Gael, afterwards became King of Norway, though he spoke so little Norse along with his native Irish that his subjects were forced to hide their laughter at his mistakes. I could tell you of amusing errors made between the two peoples in trying to understand each other's tongue; this was, of course, only when they had failed to learn it by means of what have been called the best dictionaries, the mouths

¹ There is another Northern poet who seems to resemble Cormac in personal characteristics as well as in his passionate and faithful disposition. This was Thormod Coalbrow, skald to St. Olaf. He was dark-haired, left-handed, and had an impediment in his speech. He was devoted to St. Olaf, and fell with him at Sticklestad. See "*Corp. Poet. Bor.*," ii., p. 173-174.

of their wives and sweethearts. Or I might tell of King Olaf Tryggvasson, who admired so much the sagacity of the Irish sheep-dogs, and who seems still more to have admired the beauty of the Irish women, for he married an Irish wife, Gyda, sister of Kvaran (Kieran, or Curan?), an Irish king. Norse names are still a memory in many a place around the Irish coasts and in the terminations of three of the provinces of the days when the Norseman was a settler in the land; Norse blood runs in the veins of many an Irishman. I think the most interesting piece of history as yet unwritten is the story of the mingling of these two nations, "the Gall and the Gael."

In the discussion which followed the reading of the above paper, Mr. F. T. Norris, in thanking Miss Hull for her paper, remarked that it opened up for consideration a very important factor in the colonisation of Iceland. The introduction of a Celtic element into the island was largely due to the number of Irish slaves brought over, of which the Sagas make mention; in part it was also attributable to the Norse-Irish alliance. He should think the former the more potent factor, and a parallel thus be set up between Iceland and ancient Rome. He did not think Miss Hull gave sufficient importance to Norse influence in Ireland, for the Danish forms of the names of the five provinces showed the extent of their overlordship, while the Norse nomenclature of the principal harbours around the coast showed that coast and inland both had passed under their sway. The apparent quiescence of the Northmen after the battle of Clontarf could be explained by events which were taking place out of Ireland at the time.

Pastor A. V. Storm asked the lecturer what was the Irish origin of the name "Njal." In connection with this paper on Iceland he drew the attention of members to the recent proclamation issued by the Danish king allowing the Minister for Iceland to live in the island. This was the last of many measures in recent years restoring to

Iceland something of her ancient liberty, and would no doubt be welcomed in the island, and give fresh vigour to the national life.

Mr. J. Gray said he had been very much interested in the paper. The early emigration from Norway into Ireland was very remarkable, though the presence of a Norse element in Ireland was now forgotten. But the Scandinavians were the blondest race in Europe, while the Irish and Celto-British races were dark, as we saw from "Kormak's Saga." Therefore the percentage of blonde people found in various parts of Ireland would give some idea of the extent of the Norse element. Statistics show that blonde people are found in Limerick, Dublin, and the north-east of Ireland, also in the Hebrides, but not on the east coast of Scotland. The latter point was somewhat curious, when we consider the geographical position of the two countries. These studies throw some light on the origin of the population in those parts.

Mr. Maurice Dodd, of the Irish Texts Society, referred to the battle of Clontarf, and the confusion as to the names of the chieftains who took part in it. But he thought they could be satisfactorily explained. Kerthialfad in the Icelandic Sagas corresponds with Morrogh, Brian's son, who led the centre of Brian's army. The Icelandic story of Kerthialfad giving quarter to Thorstein, Hall o' Side's son, was in favour of this theory, as only some chieftain in some such position as that of the king's son would have exercised this prerogative.

The President said the battle of Clontarf was exceedingly interesting. According to a paper by Sir Samuel Fergusson, it was fought in what is now the centre of Dublin. The influence that the tide going out had on the fight had been confirmed in a very remarkable way by modern calculations as to the hour of high water on the day of the battle, and he should like the lecturer's opinion as to whether, as some say, the Danes rallied after their first flight, won the battle, and killed the Irish king, Brian Boromhe. The fact of there being two cathedrals in

Dublin, one Danish, Christ Church Cathedral, and the other Gaelic, St. Patrick's, showed the dual nature of the old population. The light the Sagas gave us on the importation of slaves into Iceland was very important. He should like to know more about the pillared houses mentioned by the lecturer, and where they originated. The mixture of blood in Ireland was unquestionable, and he had noticed evident traces of it at Cork and Waterford.

The Lecturer, in reply, pointed out a parallel between the three churches in Dublin which were considered Danish and three at Bristol. The question of the actual issue of the battle of Clontarf was doubtful, but it was clear that after the battle the Danes never had the same grip of the country as before. There were descriptions in Irish story of the banqueting-hall of the kings at Tara which corresponded very closely with the descriptions of the great halls in the Sagas. She would like to point out the curious fact that three of the names of the provinces of Ireland were Irish with Norse terminations.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

THE *Dorset County Chronicle* of March 18th, 1903, contained an account of "The Danish Borough of Wareham, Dorset," by Mr. Edwin Sloper.

At the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on Jan. 29th, 1903, Mr. J. P. Rylands exhibited a gold ring of the Viking period, which was found at Oxford.

THE author of "Kiartan the Iclander," reviewed on p. 127 of the last *Saga-Book*, has received a banknote of £100 from an anonymous giver signing himself "An Admirer North of the Tweed."

"ROSLYN'S RAID" and other Tales, by the late Miss B. M. Barmby, has been forwarded by the publishers, Messrs. Duckworth & Co., too late for review in present issue.

"THE Life and Death of Cormac the Skald" has been the object of numerous eulogistic reviews, due credit being always accorded to the serious and scholarly efforts of the authors.

THE Dannevirke, the ancient great border defence between Denmark and "Saxland," is to be the object of regular investigation this year by a party of antiquaries and archæologists under the leadership of Prof. Sophus Müller, the Director of the Copenhagen Museum.

Punch, of May 21st, 1902, in the course of a mock trial of Mr. John Singer Sargent, R.A., for his launching into Norwegian landscape painting, humorously cites, as a witness for the defence, "Mr. Olaf Trygvason, Secretary of the Viking Club." The allusion is evidence that the work of the Club has attracted notice in one influential quarter at least.

By a slip of the pen in the Viking Notes in the last *Saga-Book* on the identification of Ultima Thule (p. 121), Pomona is mentioned as one of the Shetlands, whereas it is another name for the "Mainland" of Orkney. The argument is not affected by the inaccuracy. In the first review on p. 124, 36th line, "Solway Firth" should also be read "Moray Firth."

AN inquiry has been addressed to me, what were the old names of the four districts—Gulathing, Frostathing, etc.—into which Norway was divided? Was it *soknir*, as in Iceland? The answer is that the earlier terms were *herad* and *fylki*. In the independent period before Harald Härfagra, the head of each *herad* or *fylki* bore the title of king, and was military leader, pontiff and judge. Between 863 and 900 Harald Härfagra deposed, expelled, or slew these, and set up the feudal system, with Jarls over each district.

AN unexpected but justifiable recognition of the heroic standard of Viking warfare is furnished by an allusion made by Mr. Gibson Bowles, M.P., in a letter to the *Times* on the Venezuelan affair. He said:—"That we should conduct warlike operations on the seas in alliance with Germany, whose traditions are rather those of the Vandals than the Vikings, is a danger in itself." This is decidedly different from the current view, or at least the view of the books of instruction for the young, in which the behaviour of the Vikings is usually represented as synonymous with all that is execrable.

"NINE Men's Morris," the old Viking game described by Mr. A. R. Goddard, M.A., in vol. ii., part iii., p. 377, was the subject of an article by "Spinx" (Mr. Henry E. Dudeney) in the *Despatch* of December 14th. This article is obviously a re-hash of Mr. Goddard's paper, and while gratification may be felt at the spread of interest in the subjects dealt with in the *Saga-Book*, it is more accordant with journalistic etiquette to acknowledge the source of information, when so extensively drawn upon as in this case, instead of setting out the matters as the result of the personal knowledge and research of the writer.

I THINK it right to record the fact that numerous flattering appreciations have reached me with regard to the contents of the last and the foregoing *Saga-Books*. The credit for this result rests, of course, in the first place, with the many able readers and contributors of papers, who furnish gratuitously materials for its pages, and, in the second, with the general body of the members, whose increasing support provides the pecuniary sinews whereby effect can be given to the objects of the Club. In the measure of the increase of the interest in the work of the Club of individual Vikings will the value of the *Saga-Book* be enhanced, and I should particularly welcome more local co-operation from members from the remoter districts throughout the length and breadth of the three kingdoms.

ACCORDING to the opinion of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, given at the yearly dinner of the London Forfarshire Association, the population of that shire of Scotland consists of "a Saxon element, in a large measure a Scandinavian element, which was one of the best, and they had just enough of Keltic element to give them vivacity and spirit." With regard to the tongue of Strathmore and the Home of Mearns, it was pure Doric, and always fell gladly on his ears, for he had a great detestation of the anglicisation of the language of his country. One cannot but feel sympathy with the wish to uphold the vigorous Lowland folkspeech, but the old and baseless claim of a monopoly of "vivacity and spirit" for the Keltic race has apparently not yet been demolished even by Mr. Andrew Lang's caustic commentary quoted in the last *Saga-Book*.

IT is useful to call attention to the new departure made in the last *Saga-Book* by the District Secretary for the Lake Districts. Mr. Collingwood has turned his attention to the work of searching out and investigating the steads of Norse settlements. Other districts offer equally valuable oppor-

tunities for research, especially those remote from the larger towns. But both those near big cities and in remote districts would yield valuable information if systematically undertaken, especially with the assistance of the spade. Researches to identify the courses of the several Viking invasions, sites of battles, etc., should afford valuable corroboration of historical records. United efforts of local Vikings might be more useful than individual efforts, and I venture to throw out these suggestions as preliminaries to such action. It is worthy of record that Mr. Goddard also has just broken ground in this direction.

THE survival of the Vikings in Normandy, as attested by the blue eyes and light hair of a large number of the population, is a matter of observation by every observant traveller. The survival of the Viking spirit and traditions has not hitherto been so clearly attested as by the following interesting address of "Le Souvenir Normand," a peace society, forwarded to King Edward VII. :—

To his Majesty Edward VII.

With the deepest joy the Souvenir Normand respectfully begs your Majesty to accept its greetings from the banks of the Seine, the river whence your glorious ancestor William, of the stock of Viking Rollo, set out to found the great British Empire under Norman kings. We thank providence for the happy tokens of your Royal efforts to bring about an understanding between the two Normandies to secure the peace of the world through the Normans. May God preserve your Majesty; may God grant long life and prosperity to the King and Queen of England and to the English Normandy.

THE *Nation* (New York) of June 5th, 1902, p. 444, has the following interesting note :—"Some years ago Prof. S. Bugge read a paper before the Academy of Sciences in Christiania relating to a lost Runic inscription, of which there now is merely a paper copy extant, taken early in the last century, and in which Prof. Bugge had found a verse containing reference to an expedition to Vinland. Since that time energetic search has been made in the district of Ringerike, on the farm where the stone originally belonged—but in vain. Prof. Bugge has now published his interpretation of this inscription as a part of his serial publication of Norwegian runic inscriptions. It is of interest not only as the only contemporary record of the Vinland voyage—the Icelandic Sagas being 300 years younger than the occurrence chronicled—but also because it must refer to an expedition of which there is no record left in the Sagas, showing that the intercourse was more active than is known from written sources."

THE following has appeared in one of the dailies :—

"Mr. Bosshard, the well-known Swiss archæologist, who has been carrying on excavations in the village of Choex, Canton of Valais, has discovered a beautiful Druidical altar, entirely made of marble. The altar, facing towards the east, is at the extremity of a large underground amphitheatre, where the crowd collected to view the human sacrifices. In the centre is situated a huge stone statue of the god Thor, which is reached by a stone staircase. It was from the foot of this statue that the priests dealt out justice and taught the people. On each side of the god Thor there are four other statues in stone, representing minor divinities.

The amphitheatre is surrounded by chambers cut into the solid rocks, where the prisoners of war were confined prior to the sacrifice. Facing the stone slab is an immense fireplace, having closing doors and able to contain ten persons at a time. It was here that the priests burnt their victims."

The choice part of this bit of highly imaginative Malapropism is that the Druids did not worship the god Thor, while the details suggest the accessories of an ordinary Roman amphitheatre rather than a place of religious celebrations.

It must be hailed as a healthy token of the re-quickening of the national life that the Admiralty have so far freed themselves from classical influence as to name one of His Majesty's ships *Odin*. This is undoubtedly a better title than such outlandish words as *Bellerophon*, *Arethusa*, etc., which honest Jack may be pardoned for invariably mispronouncing. They can now, having broken the ice, go safely forward into other ventures. We have already the *Thunderer* as the name of one of the ships of national defence—why not *Thor* himself? Although we have allowed the German Emperor to outpace us by appropriating *Ægir*, the god of the sea, as the name of an Imperial war vessel, there is no reason why we also should not have our *Ægir*, as also a *Regin* or a *Reginwalda*—"ruler of the waves." *Tyr* and *Heimdall* would follow in natural sequence. The days of sailing ships are past, but the graceful and beauteous *Freya* might still perhaps find a fitting embodiment in one of the fleetest cruiser class; while *Surtur*, the fire-god, should surely not be denied a chance of reckoning with the nation's foes in the day of strife. When my Lords of the Admiralty have completed these important changes, a course of lectures at the Viking Club might further enlarge their innovative resources.

THE following extract is taken from "Ancient Fife, seen through its Place-Names," by L. Macbean, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Jan., 1903. "Norse names:—Of Norsemen, one Otter gave his name to Pittotter and Otterston, and both Carriston (anciently Karrelstoun) and Crail (anciently Corell) are framed from the Norse Carrel. But in spite of their repeated attempts to invade Fife, we have few remains of the Norse Vikings in our place-names. In North Fife we have the Normans' Law, and, in the west, Fordell—that is, the foredale. As might be expected, we have a few Norse words by the sea. 'Hope,' the Norse for an anchorage, we have in St. Margaret's Hope and in Lerhope. The Firths of Tay and Forth are but the Norse 'fjord'; the Isle of May is the Norse 'ma-ey,' the isle of gannets or gulls; and the Vows Rocks, near Kirkcaldy, are from the Norse 'voe,' a little bay inside a reef. But Fife cannot show one Norse name for any of the many bays and promontories around her coast. In place of the Norse 'wick' we have the Welsh 'cwr' or Gaelic 'curr' in Pettycur, and in place of 'cape' we have the Gaelic 'rudha' in Raddon Point near Largs. We have, however, 'ness' for headland in Fife Ness." This list is interesting, but it is very far from exhaustive.

THE Danes in Pembrokeshire have been the subject of several communications to *Notes and Queries*. "W. R. P.," one of the notists, says (under date August 16th, p. 132):—



CORRECTION.

SAGA BOOK OF THE VIKING CLUB.

VOL. III. PART II.

The note on page 275, beginning "In a subsequent letter, &c.," should be read after the last note on page 281.

"Judging from the many place-names found in Pembroke of Scandinavian origin, both inland and along the south and west coast to St. David's Head, there seems every likelihood that a flourishing Danish or Norwegian colony existed here in the tenth century. Names like Colby, Ramsey, Gateholm Island, Caldý Island, Tenby, Sageston (Sagatun?), Jordestun, Hasguard (Asgard, Aysgarth?), Reynalton, Upton, Freytrop (Freythorp?), Hubberston, Herbrandston and Haraldston all give proof of a settlement. In the 'Saga of the Jomsvikingar' is mentioned a certain Beorn or Bjorn the Briton, who may have had his stronghold in Pembroke or Glamorgan, which also abounds in Danish names on the coast, as well as the two leading Welsh ports, while Carmarthen has no coast towns to speak of, and hardly any Northern names."

And "H. V." adds:—

"The Norse (not Danes) settled in this county, as witness the many Norse place-names of the islands and along the sea coast and the fiords of Milford Haven. There were Norse settlements at Lower Fishguard (in Kemes), Langum, and Angle, which survive in part to this day."

If "H. V." means that the external appearance of the above-cited stead-names indicates a Norse rather than a Danish origin, it is difficult to agree with him, as they are as much Danish as Norse (*cf.* Koldby, Jordlose, Aastrup, many fjords and holms, etc., in Denmark.). The field open for research here is well known, and it remains for some of our local Vikings to undertake the work on the lines which Mr. A. Moffat so usefully follows in Glamorganshire.

IN a subsequent letter my correspondent allowed the strength of the arguments in favour of the Belgian theory, but yet thought there was

something to be said for another view—namely, that before the *Belgic* invasions there was an immigration of *round-headed*, fair, big folk who brought in the *Bronze Age*. The dark *Silurian* type, of course, were the *Neolithic people*, and they certainly inhabited the south-west, and they worked the tin in Cornwall. But at a very early period they were broken in upon by the fair, big tribes who made the Bronze Age tumuli, and these appear in many parts of Britain. So that I fancy it is impossible to say that in any given part the people were exclusively dark. Take the ethnology of Ireland, for instance, and see how, at a very early date, there were all sorts of complexions.

Then, did the Phœnicians trade with Cornwall? See Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 46, 47, which I think our artist must have followed, or some similar authority. Rhys makes out that the Phœnicians only came to Kent, and never got face to face with the Silures, but dealt with the tribes who had imported tin by overland traffic. These Kentish folk might well have been quite fair, and perhaps in painting them so the artist had a notion of insisting on this view of the trade. I admit that the subject is most complicated, and that there are many views. But this makes me less able to come down upon anyone. Have you seen Elton's "Origins of English History," chaps. vi. and vii.? It is full of interesting hints on the subject, which is terribly hypothetical—too much so for me to pin my faith to any general statement.

My answer to these points are that the "all sorts of complexions" are of relatively modern creation—*i.e.*, since the Norse invasion, or at least subsequent to Tacitus (the Sagas always represent the native Irish as having black traits); and that, in my view, the evidence from prehistoric remains is too speculative, at present, to attach much value to it; and

that the Phœnician and Phokean navigators are unlikely to have passed up the Channel to unmineralised Kent when they could have more easily landed and certainly found what they required in Cornwall.

"*Was ist des deutschen Vaterland?*" a well-known German patriotic song-writer asks, and gives the answer, after several essays—"Es ist wo die deutsche Zunge klinkt." Mr. Poultney Bigelow, however, without exactly referring to this song, gives in a daily newspaper a different answer. He says:—

"What is the German nation? Is it unity of language, or unity of speech, or unity of domestic institutions and traditions, or unity of police administration? Germany is not one in language, nor is she one in race, nor in religion, nor in her institutions. At her eastern end is a fragment of a Slav nation, immediately recognisable by its features as being different in race. It is safe to say that the Pole is more different from the German in language, race, traditions and religion than is the Englishman or the Dutchman. Within an hour by rail from the capital of Saxony I have come across Germans whose home language was Slav, some Poles, others Czech—loyal subjects of the Emperor William, yet speaking a language he cannot understand. From Berlin the railway can take you in a couple of hours to the Spreewald, where on Sundays the preacher addresses his congregation in Wendish, and appeals to a set of traditions wholly strange to a man of Middle Germany. Westward of Berlin lies Mecklenburg, whose people have a language of Anglo-Saxon roots, but who are scarcely intelligible to their fellow-Germans of Bavaria. The ordinary educated German requires a glossary in order to read the '*Platt Deutsch*' stories of Fritz Reuter. Indeed, the language of this part of Germany appeals almost as much to an Englishman or a Dutchman as to an academically trained German of Hanover or Munich. Compare now the Germans of the Danube country with those living along the valleys running up into the Alps, and you will be struck by differences in their physical appearance, so marked as to make you wonder that they claim a common ancestry; and, again, in the highlands of Bavaria there are Germans who not only speak a dialect unintelligible to a man from the Baltic, but who differ in outward features from the Germans along the Elbe and the North Sea. In this Alpine Germany we see plainly the effects of much past intercourse with Italy—over the mountain passes; all the way from Ulm to Vienna and beyond there is strong evidence of contact with Hungary and the Orient through the Valley of the Danube."

After this he launches into an instructive comparison:—

"The German of Hamburg or Stettin looks like the twin brother of a typical Englishman, and both are obviously related to Scandinavia. Fair hair, blue eyes, and a certain well-known expression common to the North Sea littoral, speak of race affinity in spite of political frontiers. There is more kinship between a large section of Germany and a large section of Great Britain than between Bavaria and North Germany. It is safe to say that a large section of Eastern and Northern France is more closely related in blood to a large section of Germany than to the France of Avignon or Toulouse."

This is an unconscious confirmation, with a difference, of Cæsar's division of Gaul into *Gallia Belgica* (German) and *Gallia Celtica* (French):—

"The population bordering on the North Sea, whether Danish, Dutch, German, British, or French, has a racial affinity which is most striking to a yachtsman who leisurely picks up successive harbours. He would scarce know that he was in a foreign country, if it were not for the strange uniforms and unfriendly Custom-houses."

He then alludes to the effects of the Gothic conquest of Spain :—

“ Even in Spain the traveller is struck by the Germanic or Gothic appearance of some sections, in spite of the difference in language and political institutions. On the other hand, in some so-called German sections of Switzerland he discovers a type that is essentially Roman, as, for instance, in the Upper Rhine Valley near Ragatz.”

He might have added that in Northern Italy the population still bears traces of the German Longobards' conquest, of which the late General Garibaldi, with his pronounced Teutonic personal appearance and name, was a striking example. By the way, the declared approximation of the purest Teutonic types to the Scandinavian model is noteworthy.

THE review of “ Galloway Gossip Eighty Years Ago ” in the last *Saga-Book* (p. 124) has called forth the following courteous letter from the author, Dr. R. De Bruce Trotter, L.F.P.S.G., L.R.C.P. :—

“ The review of ‘ Galloway Gossip ’ is one of the best I have seen, and it is evidently written by one who thoroughly understands his subject, and I am much gratified to find that in many respects his views accord with mine. I must acknowledge that I have read little on ethnological and philological subjects, and have simply put down the traditions of the district and the results of my own observation, trusting that they might in the future furnish data for those who make a special study of such things. What I have tried most is to be accurate, as far as I could. The reviewer rather misapprehends me when he thinks that I pass off the language of the book as the ancient language of the Aboriginal Pict, which, of course, it is not, as that was, in my opinion, probably Cymric, and later was a variety of Scottish Gaelic. What I intended to convey was that it was the language of the representatives of the Aboriginal Pict now. I cannot agree with the reviewer that Scotch is a dialect of English or Anglo-Saxon : first, because the term ‘ Anglo-Saxon ’ is an acknowledged misnomer ; and second, because it is now generally recognised that vernacular Scotch is a much older language than English, and that the various vernacular dialects of England are all more or less gross corruptions of the language of the ancient Angles, of which vernacular Scotch and Geordic (*i.e.*, Northumbrian) are the purest existing representatives. The Saxon element is nowhere, except where its words and construction concur with those of the Scandinavian group of languages, of which Anglian, obviously, was one ; and literary English is the most corrupt of the lot, its grammatical construction being based on that of Latin—a Keltic language—and a mass of incongruities and exceptions. If your reviewer would look over a Welsh or Gaelic dictionary and grammar, he would be astonished to find what a large amount of so-called Anglo-Saxon words are really of Keltic origin, or that very many words in the Teutonic and Keltic language are similar. I think he would also, on looking carefully at the people of this county, be much struck with the very small proportion of the Saxon element that exists in it. In Galloway we never see a person of the Saxon type, and Teutons were there known as ‘ Inglis,’ but never as ‘ Sassenach,’ while there is abundant evidence of Anglian and Norse settlements all over the district, and a considerable proportion of the personal names of the Gaelic families are of undoubted Norse origin. In several districts the people are

still called Fingalls, or Fair Strangers, *i.e.*, Norsemen, and a common name is McKinnel, *i.e.*, MacFhionghall—that is, the son of the Norseman. Another common name is McDouall, *i.e.*, McDhughall—*i.e.*, son of the Dark Stranger, or Dane.”

This letter bristles with contentious points, which would require a lengthy note to deal with. To take some of the principal: that the term “Anglo-Saxon is an acknowledged misnomer” is unsound, however regarded, for, in the first place, it was in use in Saxon times, and, secondly, modern English is certainly the survival of the Anglian and Saxon tongues, plus Norse additions. That Scotch is an older language than English is likewise absurd, seeing that both were introduced by one and the same Teutonic settlers. That Anglo-Saxon contains any considerable quantity of Welsh or Gaelic words is likewise unprovable, while the greater proportion of those now in use are recent loan words: and that the grammatical construction of English is based on that of an inflected language such as Latin is obviously impossible. As to “Saxon” or “*assenach*” never being mentioned in Galloway, this may or may not be; but why does Scott put in the mouth of Rhoderick Dhu the apostrophisation, “Bold Saxon”? Also, why is the well-known pass into the Highlands called “the Trossachs”? These contentious points apart, it is gratifying to learn the confirmation of history that “Anglian and Norse settlements are all over the district,” and that the Norse traces are strong. Such a result is certainly to be expected from the centuries-long resettlement and overlordship of Galloway by these two races.

My remarks on p. 119 of the last *Saga-Book* on the absurdity of the artist of the fresco in the Royal Exchange, “Phœnicians trading with the Ancient Britons,” representing the latter with the fair characteristics of Anglo-Saxons, instead of with the swart and tawny traits of the ancient Britons, has called forth a mild protest from an esteemed Viking, who asks: “Were the Britons ‘swart and tawny’? I hae ma doots.” In view of the eminence of the questioner and the many-sided bearings of the subject, I have deemed it worth while to set out the arguments in favour of my assertions *seriatim*, and reproduce them here as follows:—

My contention that the ancient Britons were swart and tawny is based on the following considerations:—1. It must be admitted as a self-evident proposition that the ancient Britons cannot have been physically differentiated from their kindred and parent stock on the European continent. Among these no fair-haired, blue-eyed folk are found, but they are uniformly swart-haired and tawny—*ergo*, such were the ancient Britons. By “parent stock” I mean the genuine Gauls or Ibero-Gauls of the centre and south of France and of Spain—not, of course, the mixed population of Northern France. 2. Written evidence is extant of at least two most competent and impartial witnesses of the characteristics of the Britons when first they came prominently under European influence. I allude to Julius Cæsar who first conquered these islands, and Tacitus, who accompanied Julius Agricola in his more complete subjugation of the country. The latter, in his book on the “Manners and Customs of the Germans,” shows himself specially fitted to discriminate racial characteristics.

Julius Cæsar, who had previously had an intimate acquaintance with the various populations of Gaul and Germany, thus writes of the population of Britain when he landed (bk. v., ch. v.):—

(a) "The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those who call themselves the *natives of the country* ;

(b) "but the sea-coasts by the Belgic Gauls, that came thither either to plunder or invade the island, and who, having ended their wars, settled there and began to cultivate the earth, *and for the generality retain their ancient names*. The country is well peopled and has plenty of building, much after the same fashion with the Gauls . . . the most civilised among them are the people of Cantiam, *whose country lies almost altogether on the sea-coast*, and their customs are much the same as those of Gaul. . . . 'The inland people seldom trouble themselves with agriculture, live on milk and flesh, are clad with skins, and paint their bodies blue with woad. . . . Ten or a dozen have one wife in common . . . and parents often lie with their own issue. . . .'

This description, it will be noted, marks off two strongly differentiated peoples in possession of Britain in Cæsar's day.

Now for Tacitus's evidence, given about 100 years later, and he prefaces his observations by these significant remarks:—"The situation and inhabitants of Britain have been described by many writers, and I shall not add to the number with a view of vying with them in accuracy and ingenuity, but because it was first thoroughly subdued in the period of the present history. *The circumstances which, while yet unascertained, they embellished with their eloquence, I shall simply relate from the evidence of real discoveries.*" He then goes on to say:—

"Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether indigenous or emigrant, is a question involved in the obscurity usual amongst barbarians. *Their temperament of body is various, whence deductions are formed of their different origin.*

"There the ruddy hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a *German derivation*. *The swarthy complexion and curled hair* of the Silures, together with their situation opposite to *Spain*, renders it probable that a *colony of the ancient Iberi* possessed themselves of that territory. . . . They who are nearest Gaul resemble the inhabitants of that country. . . . On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coasts. The sacred rites of these people are discernible among the Britons, and the language of the two nations do not greatly differ. . . ."

This evidence confirms the previous as to the existence of two races—one sea-coast from Gaul and the other inland; also a third, the non-mention of which by Cæsar, *if it was in existence in his day*, being accounted for probably by his not having penetrated the island so far (and Tacitus observes later that Julius Cæsar's campaign consisted merely in terrifying the inhabitants *and taking possession of the shore*).

The differing characteristics of the two races mentioned also tally; but the accounts do not agree in one important point:—Cæsar says the sea-coast folk were Belgic Gauls (*ergo*, Germans); Tacitus says they were Gauls, and "the language of the two races do not greatly differ," which would give colour to the supposition that they spoke the language of the majority of the Gauls—*ergo*, Gaelic). It is, perhaps, not necessary to make this

inference, but it is open to be made, and is made by many. My answer to this would be that if the sea-coast Belgic Britons had lost their German tongue in the interval of 100 years between Cæsar's landing and Julius Agricola's and Tacitus's arrival, they must have become confounded with the mass of the Britons in the meanwhile, as a result perhaps of the Roman invasion and more or less continuous occupation. In Cæsar's day, however, the Belgic Gauls, as did the Belgic Britons, spoke a German tongue, and this is in evidence from Cæsar himself. Describing Gaul (and be it observed he uses the term loosely, and politically rather than racially) and its inhabitants, he says (bk. i., ch. i.) :—

“Gaul is divided into three parts, each inhabited by peoples of *different language, laws, and customs* : the Belgæ, Aquitaini, and Celtæ, as they call themselves, but *we the Gauls*. . . .”

[Here it is verbally admitted that three racially distinct peoples are described by one common cognomen. The admission is important, as it explains many after-references, not only of Cæsar, but of other writers.]

To identify the Belgæ further, which is our leading interest, Cæsar later says :—

“Cæsar . . . was informed by the [Celtic Gaulic] ambassadors that the Belgæ were originally descended from the Germans, who, tempted by the plenty of the land, had crossed the Rhine, *expelled* the natives [Gauls], and taken possession of their country. That these were the only people who, during the dreadful inundations of the Teutons and Cimbers, had maintained their ground, while the rest of Gaul was overrun by the barbarians, the memory of which success inspired them with extraordinary courage. . . .” (p. 31).

“The Belgæ had seized the third part of Gaul. . . .”

“The Gauls are divided from the Aquitaini by the river Garumna [Garonne], and from the Belgæ by the Matrona [Marne] and the Sequana [Seine]. The Belgæ are the most warlike of the three, because they are the greatest strangers to the culture of the province, hold no communications with merchants, and are situated next the Germans beyond the Rhine.”

“The Atuaci [Belgæ in Douay] were descended from Teutons and Cimbers, who when they took their journey into Italy left 6,000 men to guard that side of the Rhine, who eventually settled in that country [Douay] . . . making a jest of us [Romans] by way of ridicule, saying : ‘By what hands or strength such little men as we (for the Romans are of small stature in respect of the Gauls) [note observation above anent Roman use of the term Gauls] should be able to bring a tower of such prodigious weight to the walls.’”

These several quotations are, I think, conclusive that the Belgæ were Germans and spoke a German tongue, and were moreover of such great stature as the Germans are always described by the Romans to be—*ergo*, they were not a mixed Teuto-Celtic people at that time (whatever Belgium or the old Belgic provinces of France have become since), as some have felt disposed to conclude. That they were fairly unmixed in Britain is inferable from the fact that their characteristics were such as to differentiate them from the natives in the eyes of both Cæsar and Tacitus, while the statement of Cæsar that “for the generality they retain their ancient names,” shows that they spoke a different tongue. Indeed, in Cæsar's day their leaders' names and town names in Belgic Britain and in Belgic Gaul

are often identical, as are also many tribal names (witness to the latter the Cauçi, the Menapii, the Pemanni, &c.).

It is pertinent to cite here from Henry Morley's "English Writers," that in Cymry the words *belg*, *belgiad*, *belgwys*, mean a ravager, a Belgian; ravagers, Belgians. Also that the name of the Regni, a people of what is now Sussex, implies in Cymry "cursed"—very proper terms for the Celtic native Britons to give to the Belgic invaders both of Britain and of Gaul. I may add that Wright, in "Celt, Roman and Saxon," and Morley (vol. i.), strongly support the German origin of the Belgæ, while in the Sagas, whenever the personal characteristics of the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain or Ireland are described, they are always stated to be dark—witness Kormak the Skald, etc.

With regard to the Silures, Brigantes, and other inland Britons, Prof. Boyd Dawkins, "Early Races in Britain," identifies them with the Iberi and Briganti of Spain, and describes them as a small dark race. In his description of a "tall, fair, Celtic" stock, however, I believe he is making a confusion with the Belgæ described above by Cæsar (or with some later English or Danish infusion), as the latter nowhere alludes to anyone being "tall and fair," except his Belgic Gauls and the Germans. In short, Cæsar's words are very definite as to the distinction existing between the two races for he says, "But the Germans are *mightily* distinguished from the Gauls." The only ground, therefore, for the justification of the representation of "fair-haired, blue-eyed, native Britons" trafficking with the Phœnicians is in the supposition that the latter landed at a pre-Roman Belgian coast settlement, the strongest argument against which is, however, the early date of the traffic in tin with Britain—500 B.C.—which must have been a date long before the advent of the Belgians to the shores of Britain. One last point, and that modern, tends in favour of my contention, viz., the modern remnants of the early Cornish Britons (as also the remnants of the aboriginal Welsh, Irish, and Scotch Gaels) are still distinguished by their dark traits and relatively small stature.

DEATH-ROLL.

THE regretted death of Major A. E. Baldwin, one of the recent recruits to our ranks, has to be reported. His demise took place on the 26th May, 1902.

THE writer of the "Viking Age," the "Land of the Midnight Sun," the "Land of the Long Night," and other works, "forthfared" on April 30th, 1903. M. Paul Belloni du Chaillu was of French extraction, and a man of singularly wide sympathies and attainments. He was thus able to find interest in such unlike subjects as the history of the aboriginals of Africa and that of the peoples of the frozen North. He will ever be gratefully remembered for his contributions to Viking lore.

REVIEWS.

TRACES OF THE ELDER FAITHS OF IRELAND: A FOLKLORE SKETCH. A Handbook of Irish pre-Christian Traditions. By W. G. WOOD-MARTIN, M.R.I.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 2 vols. Price 30s. net.

DESPITE its undue length, this work is an interesting and invaluable contribution to Irish folklore, history, kinlore, etc., for the writer is fully abreast with the latest advances of science and research in palæontology, geology, kinlore, folklore, archæology, etc., and brings them to bear on the past and present of Ireland and its inhabitants. At the outset, and very properly, he scouts as unworthy of attention the early romantic and monkish accounts of the origin of the Irish peoples, and prefers to go back so nearly to "the beginning of all things" as science permits, tracing man and his civilisation in Ireland from the earliest cave-dweller upward through the ages to modern times.

The early and even late Irish were, as is well known, not exactly lovable creatures. They were cannibals well into the historical period, while promiscuity, incest and polyandry were features of their marriage customs. The author finds a parallel only of their character and customs in such people as the South Sea Islanders. In mental environment, he says, "the Celtic mind is essentially Eastern in character, and legends still current illustrate this. . . . There is considerable similarity between folklore current in the East and that still existing amongst a large portion of the population of Ireland, more especially in remote localities" Irish art, also, he considers to be exotic, while Irish literature is "mere protoplasm," and it is difficult to discover an Irish MS. that, to the ordinary nineteenth century reader, does not appear extremely childish. The survival of Gaelic, according to the author, is impossible.

The native Irish apart, the population of modern Ireland, according to the author, is compounded of Daues, Saxons, and Anglo-Normans. The influence of these several alien factors on the race is repeatedly alluded to, but not concretely and separately set forth. Incidental evidence of the Old Norse connection with Ireland is shown by the similarity with Odinic sacrificial ritual of the ceremonies connected with ancient Irish cairn burials; in the likeness between the Irish and the Icelandic cursing rounds; and the curious correspondence between the Irish *Bav* (three goddesses ruling over battle and slaughter) and the Valkyries. Other interesting matters treated of are Runes and Oghams, the origin of the latter being thrown back to about the third century; the extinct Irish wolfhound, of which mention is made in the Sagas; Irish folklore regarding iron; and Irish underground houses, in one of which, according to "Landnámabók," Hjørleif, when vikingfaring in Ireland, slew a man.

The work may be regarded as exhaustive of Irish folklore and traditions, and, moreover, has the merit of tracing these to their earliest uprisings, and attempting to explain their creation. Such a process is of value in the general study of folklore, and those interested, consequently, in any one department or the whole, as well as in comparative mythology, will find

these volumes of extreme utility. To those interested in tracing the social and other effects of the Northmen's connection with Ireland, the work offers much material, but it will have to be dug out at the expenditure of some exertion.

F. T. N.

THE DISCOVERIES OF THE NORSEMEN IN AMERICA, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO THEIR EARLY CARTOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION. By JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J., Professor of Geography, Jesuit College, Feldkirch, Austria. Translated from the German by BASIL H. SOULSBY, B.A., Superintendent of the Map Room, British Museum, Hon. Sec. of the Hakluyt Society. London: Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, 1903. 8s. *net*.

WE owe a debt of gratitude to both the translator and publishers of this valuable work, which gives a fairly exhaustive survey of what is known concerning the discovery of Greenland and of the mainland of America by the Norsemen, together with many important early maps bearing on the subject, some of them only recently discovered. The account of the Norse colonies in Greenland is very full, and includes a description of the remains discovered by the Danish expeditions under Captain Bruun,¹ which have so largely contributed to the settlement of the long-disputed question of the exact position of the eastern and western colony, and have confirmed in so many particulars the accounts given in the Sagas. The author also deals fully with the discovery of America, and the various voyages thither of which we have record, as well as with the crop of legends and surmises which have grown up about it. As regards the vexed question whether there was anything in the nature of a permanent settlement in Vinland, we think he is too hasty in accepting the theory that the absence of any positive evidence decides this question in the negative. It would have been an advantage to us if he had given us his reasons for considering that De Costa and Gelëich have finally dealt with Professor Eben Horsford's labours on this point, which are familiar to members of this Club through the efforts of our Vice-President, Miss Cornelia Horsford, to follow up and complete her father's work.² The author in his preface gives us reason to suppose that Professor Gelëich is not an unbiassed enquirer, while he himself bears witness to Professor Horsford's care in examining his evidence and rejecting such as was unsound. Whether we accept Professor Horsford's identification of the sites mentioned in the Sagas or not, it seems an indisputable fact that, in a locality which would correspond very closely with the accounts given in the Sagas, he found remains of unknown origin, unlike anything which is ascribed to the Red Indians, while there is nothing in their character to preclude the theory that they were originally the work of the Norse settlers in Greenland. True, there is no positive evidence to prove this connection; but, as far as we know, no other plausible explanation of them has been advanced at present. On this point, therefore, we prefer to keep an open mind, until the question of the origin of the remains pointed out by Professor Horsford is decided, and we should like to know the author's reasons for accepting unhesitatingly

¹ Compare *Saga-Book*, vol. i., p. 281. ² Compare *Saga-Book*, vol. ii., pp. 7, 134.

the adverse opinion. We observe that in his Bibliography the author only mentions one work of Professor Horsford's, so he is possibly not fully aware of the extent of his labours. As regards the question of how far any attempts at a permanent colonisation of Vinland were made, or were successful, the author contents himself with pointing out that there is no authentic record of any such attempt subsequent to the unsuccessful endeavour of Thorfinn Karlsefni to settle in the country about the year 1006. In the absence of any positive evidence, he comes to the conclusion that the continent of America was not colonised by the Norsemen. He admits, however, the authenticity of the record in the "*Icelandic Annals*," which tells that in 1121 "Bishop Eric set out from Greenland in quest of Wineland." In our view the probabilities are that, in the 115 years that elapsed between the two events above recorded, some of the Greenland settlers tried to follow in Karlsefni's footsteps, and the voyage of the Bishop affords a presumption that such attempts had not only been made, but had achieved, or were believed to have achieved, some measure of success. Otherwise it is difficult to find a motive for the Bishop's journey. The colonists of Greenland, as the author tells us, explored both coasts of that country to the north, and reached also the islands in Baffin's Bay, and were bent on discovering if any part of the country was habitable besides the parts they had settled. It seems, therefore, very unlikely that their enterprise should stop short at this, and that they made no further attempt to reach the fertile lands which had been discovered to the south-west, in spite of their reported wealth in timber and other products which were unattainable in Greenland.¹ The accounts given of the newly-found country had at once won for it the name of "Wineland the Good," and therefore Karlsefni's experiences with the Skraelings were hardly likely to absolutely deter others from trying their luck, especially as his expedition failed far more on account of internal dissension than on account of the hostility of the natives. The Bishop, again, is hardly likely to have left his see on a mere voyage of discovery, nor is it easy to imagine that he would quit the isolated district under his charge merely in order to try and evangelise the native inhabitants of the new country. But the knowledge, or the belief, that earlier settlers in Greenland had succeeded in establishing in Vinland communities which needed his ministrations, at once supplies an adequate motive for his journey. Further than this it is impossible to go at present, but, in our opinion, these considerations are sufficient to show that the question of the colonisation of any part of North America by the Norsemen is one which must be held as still open, at any rate in the present state of our knowledge.

A. F. M.

OUTER ISLES. By A. GOODRICH-FREER. With Illustrations by ALLAN BARAUD. *Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.*

MISS GOODRICH-FREER's description of the Outer Hebrides may fairly claim to be exhaustive, and teems with matter of interest, as well to the

¹ Compare Viking Notes, p. 273.

archæologist and folklorist, the anthropologist, the botanist, and the philologist, as to the politician and political economist. Even the ordinary tourist may well be tempted to follow in her footsteps, though he must not hope for such a welcome as these islands, for many good and sufficient reasons, extended to the gifted writer of this volume. It is a fascinating book, and full of interest to the descendants of the Vikings, who for so many years cruised and raided and fought and reigned in the island-studded seas among which Miss Goodrich-Freer has wandered. Their deeds and the lingering memories of them are for the most part summed up in the chapter on "The Norsemen in the Hebrides," with which Miss Goodrich-Freer delighted the members of the Viking Club at a meeting in November, 1897. But though we are fortunate in having this recorded in the *Saga-Book*, vol. ii., part i., p. 50, the whole atmosphere of the book, and the references to the Norse period which are scattered through it, adds much to the value of the record the writer has already given us.

A. F. M.

POPULAR STUDIES IN MYTHOLOGY, ROMANCE AND FOLKLORE. No. 13, THE EDDA.—2. THE HEROIC MYTHOLOGY OF THE NORTH. By WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. *London: David Nutt. Price 6d.*

THIS number of Mr. Nutt's useful series of studies completes Miss Faraday's review of the Eddaic Mythology, the first part of which was noticed in the last number of the *Saga-Book*. Besides the stories actually included in the Edda, Miss Faraday includes other kindred stories and lays, such as the "Story of the Everlasting Fight" and of "The Sword of Angantyr," without which her study of the subject would not have been complete. In addition to summarising the various songs and stories, the author briefly remarks on the existence and relationship of the different versions of the tales, Norse, Anglo-Saxon, German, etc., and on the motives of the tales themselves. Altogether, her work forms a very useful handbook alike for the student and the general reader, though we think the note on "Wagner and the Volsung Cycle," on page 55, eulogising the way in which the German poet-musician has handled the Norse legends, is misleading. To our mind, in mingling together the Asgard myth and the Volsung tale, Wagner has robbed the former of dignity and involved the latter in confusion, though we admit the beauty of many of the scenes he has introduced into his Trilogy.

A. F. M.

THE PASSING OF SCYLD AND OTHER POEMS. By E. E. KELLETT. *London: J. M. Dent & Co.*

THIS volume bears witness to the growing interest in the Sagas and hero-tales of our race, that have been too long neglected in favour of the myths and legends of Greece and Rome. It shows also how deeply we are saturated with classical literature, for though the matter is from the shores of the Baltic and North Sea, the manner in which it is told wakes memories of the singers who have found their theme on the vine-clad coasts of Italy or the sunny isles of Greece. Mr. Kellett, indeed, in his introductory

verses, shows himself conscious that he has failed to recall the spirit of the skalds of the North who had drunk of Odin's mead. Yet we think much of his failure in this respect is due to the metre in which he has for the most part chosen to express himself—blank verse, studied in the school of Tennyson and Sir Lewis Morris. In the few rhyming metres to be found in the volume, the author comes much nearer to the spirit of the originals, and we could wish he had looked for his model to the greater Morris who sang of the Lovers of Gudrun and of Sigurd the Volsung, rather than to the graceful author of the Epic of Hades. To our mind, however, his failure is also due to his constant endeavour to embroider the rugged simplicity of the originals with details that fail to harmonise, or to use them to point a moral in the modern manner. In "The Holy Hill," for instance, he converts the original phrase in "Eyrbyggja," which says that Thorolf believed that he and his race died into the hill, into the material statement that they were buried in the hill. Thorolf, as a matter of fact, was not buried on Helgafell, and, as we read the Saga, it was held far too holy a place to be used as a burying-ground. The dying into the hill was a spiritual belief entirely. Then the introduction of the Gods of Valhalla and the Choosers of the Slain into the scene in the mountain, when the shepherd saw it opened for the reception of Thorstein Codbiter, is quite out of keeping with the spirit of the original. The story of Helgafell may testify to the waning power of the Asa faith, but not in the sense in which Mr. Kellett has interpreted it. In "Norna Gest" the author is much happier. The idea of identifying Norna Gest with Odin is ingenious, and to some extent borne out by other tales of late appearances of Odin. But it will not altogether bear working out, and at any rate the author should not allow his hearers to suppose, as he does in his introductory note, that he got it out of the Saga. On the whole, we think Mr. Kellett has succeeded best in his most ambitious flight, his attempt to re-tell in blank verse "The Story of Helgi." The fire and beauty of the Eddaic Lays of Helgi Hundingsbane assert themselves even through the blank verse in which the author has clothed them. But why did Mr. Kellett substitute for the haunting beauty of the closing scenes, where Helgi, returned from the dead, tells Sigrun that it is her tears and laments that will not let him rest in the grave, the commonplace tale that he returned from the world of the dead to fetch her to join him? No doubt we may be thought hypercritical, but to our mind such departures from the original are not only unscholarly and likely to mislead readers unacquainted with the original legends, but are in the truest sense of the word inartistic. Nevertheless, so far as Mr. Kellett has only endeavoured to produce a graceful volume of verse upon themes drawn from the Eddas and Sagas, he has achieved a very fair measure of success.

A. F. M.

NORTHERN HERO LEGENDS. By DR. OTTO L. JIRICZEK. Translated by M. BENTINCK SMITH. *London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1902. 1s. net.*

THIS is a useful little book, though its scope is somewhat more limited than would appear from the English title. The translator's rendering of

the word "Deutsche" by Northern, though she justifies it in her preface, cannot be commended, in view of the author's explanation that he has excluded from his sketch all "purely Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse Sagas which were not cultivated in Upper Germany." "Teutonic," instead of "Northern," would have been a better title for a work which takes no account of "Beowulf," "Havelok," or the "Helgi," "Hervara," and "Amloða" Sagas. Nearly half the book is devoted to the "Saga of the Niblungs," the other Sagas treated being the "Cycle of Dietrich von Bern," the "Ermanarich Saga," the "Waldere Saga," the "Ortnit-Wolfdietrich Saga," "King Rother," the "Wêland" Saga," and the "Saga of Hilde and Gudrun." These are all dealt with very fully. Besides giving us abstracts and comparisons of the various versions of the different Sagas, the author examines into their probable origin and development, and their historical bearing, tracing also their after-history in legend and popular song. He omits, however, to notice the occurrence of the story of the Everlasting Fight from the Hilde Saga as an episode in an Icelandic folk-tale. We are not prepared to accept all his views. He lays, we think, far too much stress on the theory that some of these Sagas sprang out of nature-myths, and in his account of the historical aspect of these Sagas, does not sufficiently allow for the fragmentary character of the remains that have reached us. Thus he recognises that it was among the Anglo-Saxons that the old heroic songs were first fully developed; he points out that a reference to Sigmund and Fitela (Sinfjötli) in Beowulf proves the survival of a purer form of the Saga among the Anglo-Saxons than in Norse tradition; yet he quite ignores the possibility of this and other Sagas having developed in England, where they perhaps even originated, and having spread thence to the Continent. Yet, knowing as we do how scanty are the remains of Anglo-Saxon poetry which have reached us, compared to what must have once existed, this is a by no means impossible theory, even if we are not prepared to go as far as Mr. D. H. Haigh, who, in his "Anglo-Saxon Sagas," builds up, with great ingenuity, largely on the evidence of English place-names, an elaborate theory that this and other Sagas of which there are traces in Anglo-Saxon literature are mainly historical, and deal with events in England in the fifth and sixth centuries. The author adopts the usual theory that the Saga on its historical side rests on the history of the Burgundians, and of the Huns under Attila in the fifth century. This theory, however, is based mainly on the late version of the Saga given in the Nibelunglied, and it is at least arguable that the historical likeness in question is a purely literary development of the original Saga. But these points are never likely to be definitely settled, unless in the improbable event of the discovery of some of the lost versions of the Saga, which certainly were once in existence among our kinsmen on the Continent, as well as in our own island. We have left ourselves no space for dealing with the remainder of the book, but it can be confidently commended both to students and scholars.

A. F. M.

LAXDÆLA SAGA. The Laxdale Saga, translated from the Icelandic by MURIEL A. C. PRESS. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1899. 1s. 6d. net.

ENGLISH readers have waited long for a translation of "Laxdæla," and Messrs. Dent deserve thanks for at length giving them one in a form that renders it readily accessible to everyone. It would have been more useful, however, had it been accompanied by a prefatory notice giving some account of the Saga and its literary history. The brief note appended to it by Mr. I. Gollancz, the learned editor of the series in which it appears, is all too short, and we should have welcomed a dissertation of his upon the Saga. We have one other great fault to find—namely, the absence of an Index, without which no edition of a Saga should be permitted to appear. The number of similar names that appear in a Saga of any length is bewildering, even to those familiar with Scandinavian studies, and we think it to some extent accounts for the want of appreciation of the glorious literature of old Iceland which is too prevalent in this country. An Index therefore is really a necessity to such a volume as this. Apart from this, the translation is greatly to be praised, being at once accurate and rendered in readable English. We doubt whether it is altogether wise to try and reproduce in English the meaning of the Icelandic place-names, though we admit there is in many cases a strong temptation to do so; but it is impossible to carry out the process completely, and the mixture of Icelandic and English names is, on the whole, detrimental to the atmosphere of the Saga. Those who are ignorant of the "Laxdæla," or only know it through William Morris's fine poem, "The Lovers of Gudrun" in "The Earthly Paradise," or the later play on the same subject by Mr. Newman Howard, "Kiartan the Iclander,"¹ are advised to take the opportunity of reading the original from which these are taken. It has many striking episodes, besides the one handled by the poet and the dramatist referred to; and, though it fails to reach the dramatic heights attained by "Njala," it is full of interest, and throws much vivid light on the life of the North in the Viking Age, not only in Iceland itself, but in Norway, Ireland, and other adjoining lands. It would be worth reading were it only for the strange story of the Irish princess carried off and sold into slavery, and of the journey that her child, the thrall-born son of an Icelandic settler, made to find his grandfather, the Irish king Myrkjartan.

A. F. M.

THE LETTER AND CHART OF TOSCANELLI ON THE ROUTE TO THE INDIES BY WAY OF THE WEST, SENT IN 1474 TO THE PORTUGUESE FERNAM MARTINS, AND LATER ON TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. A Critical Study of the Authenticity and Value of these Documents, and the Sources of the Cosmographical Ideas of Columbus. By HENRY VIGNAUD. London: Sands & Co.

THE above title sets forth the scope of this elaborate and scholarly work, in which the author comes to the conclusion that the letter and map in question

¹ See *Saga-Book*, vol. iii., part i., p. 127.

are forgeries, and that the story is true which tells how Columbus learned the existence of land to the west from a pilot who had been blown there by easterly gales, and who died in Columbus's house in Madeira before he could make the discovery generally known. It is an extraordinary thing that in this volume of 360 odd pages we have been unable to discover the faintest allusion to the fact that the Norsemen had discovered the continent of America some 500 years before Columbus sailed on his adventurous voyage, and that possibly some knowledge of their discoveries may have reached him.

A. F. M.

LOST ENGLAND: THE STORY OF OUR SUBMERGED COAST. By BECKLY WILLSON. *London: George Newnes, Ltd.*

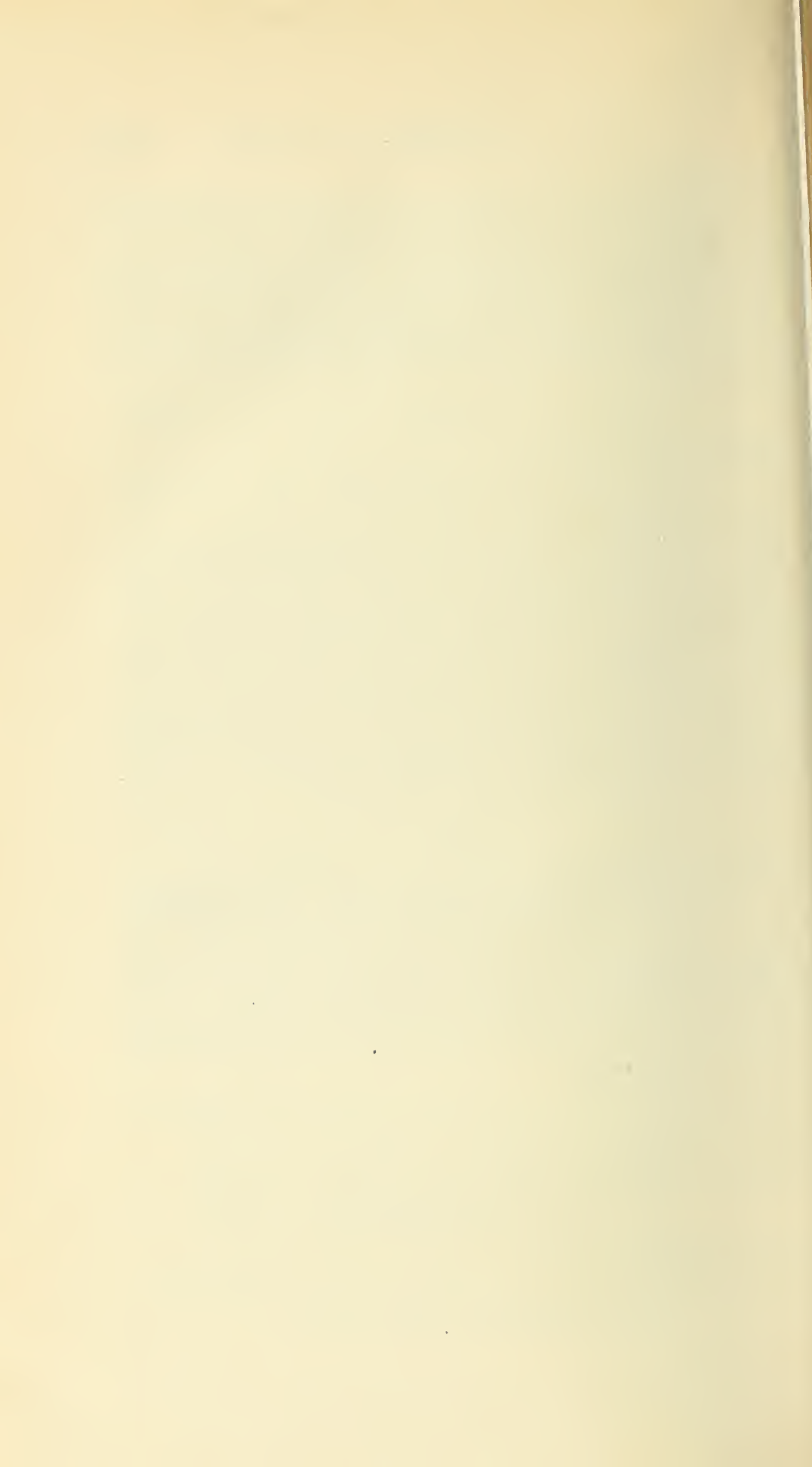
THE identification of famous historical towns and sites is one of the earnest labours of all lovers of history, but the impossibility of doing this where the localities are situated on our coasts is shown by this volume, which discloses the fact that the whole coast of Great Britain has been denuded to the extent of hundreds of square miles, and to such an extent that identification of scores of towns and innumerable historical sites is now wholly impossible. The enumeration of the localities of the greatest of these depredations of the sea, the descriptions of the former conditions from the most ancient documents, etc., form a mass of interesting reading that will enthrall the reader, if, as not infrequently happens, it does not also inform him with regard to such sites as he is specially interested in. Numerous plans and illustrations embellish the text.

F. T. N.

THE FRENCH STONEHENGE. An Account of the principal Megalithic Remains in the Morbihan Archipelago. By T. CATO WORSFOLD, F.R. Hist. Soc., F.R.S., etc. *London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd.*

THE mystery of the builders of Stonehenge is paralleled by that of the builders of the French Stonehenge in the Morbihan district of France. Those interested will find all about them detailed in this book, except, perhaps, the exact identification of the builders. The work is embellished with a number of illustrations and plans, and is well worth perusal and its place on the library shelf.

F. T. N.



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By ALBANY F. MAJOR,

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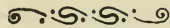
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A. LESLIE, Hon. Convener.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART III.

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 Reprinted from the Year Books of the Bergen Museum.

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- "Thalassographical and Thalassological Notes on the North Sea." By Chevalier Wm. Paget Jarvis, late Conservator, Royal Industrial Museum, Turin.

MISS M. BARMBY.

- "Gísli Súrsson." By Miss B. H. Barmby. Translated into Icelandic by Matthias Jochúmsón.
 "Poems." By Miss B. H. Barmby.
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- "A Viking Philosopher, A. S. Nordenskiöld." By F. A. Bather.
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 Photograph of a Quern and Knocking Stone.

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 "Pen and Pencil Sketches of Farøe and Iceland." By A. J. Symington.

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- "The Story of the Laxdalers." Done into English by Robert Proctor.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

- "The Grand Duchy of Finland." By the Author of "A Visit to the Russians in Central Asia." (T. Fisher Unwin.)
 "Popular Tales from the Norse." By Sir George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L., etc. New Edition, with a Memoir by A. I. Dasent. (David Douglas.)
 "Northern Mythology." By Professor D. Kauffmann. Translated by M. Steele Smith. (J. M. Dent & Co.)

- "Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English." By Erik Björkman, Ph.D. (Max Niemeyer.)
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PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A.:—

"For King or Empress." Nelsons. 3s. 6d.

"Gerald the Sheriff." Serial for *Young England*. A story introducing Magnus Barefoot and his victory in Anglesea and subsequent campaigns.

"A Prince of Cornwall." Warnes. In the press. A story of the date of Ina of Wessex, introducing the Danish Settlements in South Wales.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.:—

Papers in *The Reliquary* on pre-Norman Crosses at Kendal, Lancaster, Hornby, and Melling.

History of Lancashire, an Introduction to Deacon's *Bluebook* of Lancashire.

Article in the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society on a Sculptured Cross-base at Tullie House, Carlisle (of Viking Age).

By A. R. GODDARD, B.A.:—

Article on the Bedfordshire Earthworks in the *Victoria County History*.

By GILBERT GOUDIE, F.S.A.Scot.:—

"The Celtic and Scandinavian Antiquities of Shetland." Illustrated. Blackwood.

"Aus England's hohem Norden" ("From England's High North"), by Karl Blind, is the title of an essay in the Literary Gazette of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, in which there are references to the good work done by the London Viking Club as regards research in the archæology of the several branches of the great Germanic (Scandinavian and Teutonic) stock.

GENERAL.

"Mimir." Icelandic Institutions, with Addresses. Copenhagen: Martins Trielsen.

"Antikvar-Katalog (Nr. 13) over Litteratur vedrørende Island og Grønland." København: Herrn. H. G. Lynge & Søn. (Publishers' catalogue.)

"A Fair-haired Race in Ancient Egypt," by Dr. Karl Blind, in August number of *New Liberal Review* (1903).

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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

ELEVENTH SESSION, 1903.

OLD YULE MEETING, JANUARY 9TH, 1903.

A SOCIAL gathering was held on Friday, January 9th, 1903, at 8 p.m., at the King's Weigh House, which was attended by about fifty members and friends. In the course of the evening an abridgement of the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby's play, "Gísli Súrsson," founded on the Icelandic Gísla Saga, was read with the following cast:—

Thorkel Súrsson	{ (<i>a gentleman of Deersfrith,</i> <i>Hawkdale, West Iceland</i>) }	COL. HOBART
Gísli Súrsson (<i>his brother</i>)		ALBANY F. MAJOR
Thorgrim Vestein	{ (<i>their friends and foster-brothers</i>) }	F. T. NORRIS DR. G. PERNET
Bork (<i>Thorgrim's brother</i>)		F. T. NORRIS
Eyjolf (<i>Thorgrim's cousin</i>)		CHARLES H. F. MAJOR
Helgi (<i>Vestein's son</i>)		DR. G. PERNET
Asgerd (<i>Thorkel's wife</i>)		MISS ELEANOR HULL
Gudrid	{ (<i>Gísli's kinswoman and adopted</i> <i>daughter</i>) }	MRS. MARGIT MAJOR
Aud (<i>Gísli's wife and Vestein's sister</i>)		MISS AMY LESLIE

The overture and musical Interludes between the Acts and Scenes, selected from the works of Edward Grieg and Ole Olsen, were played by Mrs. Margit Major.

MEETING, JANUARY 23RD, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for East Anglia, read a paper on "The Saga of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," with original ballads founded on the

Saga, and also two ballads founded on "Njal's Saga." A brief discussion followed, in which Dr. J. Lawrence, Mr. A. F. Major, and the President took part.

Mr. A. R. Goddard, M.A., read a paper on "Some Account of a Danish Camp on the Ouse with a 'hithe' or 'naust,'" which with the discussion thereon is reproduced in this issue.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 20TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. W. F. Kirby, Vice-President, on "The Oriental Character of the Hávamál," was read, in the unavoidable absence of the author on account of sickness, by the Hon. Secretary, in which Mr. Kirby drew attention to the familiarity of the Norsemen with North and South Russia and Byzantium, through which they came in touch with the Eastern nations, so that even if the story of the march of Odin and the Æsir from Asia to Scandinavia be mythical, we need not be surprised to find Oriental features in their literature. He compared the extensive collection of proverbs in the Elder Edda, known as the "Hávamál," to such Eastern books as the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Proverbs of Ahikar, etc., and was inclined to think that the idea of the Hávamál was taken from the latter, pointing out that this book of Ahikar, or Heykar, the vizier of Sennacherib, and the instruction he gave to his nephew Nadar, is extant in Slavonic and Greek, as well as in Arabic, Syriac, Æthiopic and Armenian, and must therefore have been well known to people in Eastern Europe with whom the Vikings came in contact. Mr. Kirby called attention to some of the principal resemblances between the Hávamál and such Oriental collections of proverbs, both in framework and in substance, but admitted that the points of divergence were also very numerous, and concluded with a detailed account and analysis of the Hávamál and of Odin's Rune Song, which sometimes is printed as a part of it. With

regard to this latter, he referred to the probability that the magical effect of such spells depended not so much on the words themselves as on some secret attached to the use of them, just as the effect of the Indian Mantras is understood to depend on the intonation. He pointed out that another Eddaic poem, the "Incantation of Grôa," likewise consisted of a list of magical songs, to be used as a protection by a traveller on a perilous journey. The paper was briefly discussed by the President, and Mr. A. F. Major, who explained, on the lecturer's behalf, that, owing to illness, he had not been able to develop his subject so fully as he had hoped. The meeting concluded with a general discussion on Northern subjects, in which many of those present took part.

MEETING, MARCH 20TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

Dr. J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lon., read a paper on "Metres in the Sæmundar Edda," which is held over for reproduction when the paper has been completed. In the discussion which followed, the President, Messrs. A. F. Major, F. T. Norris, A. W. Johnston, W. F. Kirby, and the lecturer took part.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 24TH, 1903.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 24th, 1903, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1902 were presented to the meeting and unanimously adopted, and the Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were elected.

A paper on "Orkney Folklore," by Mr. George Marwick, Hon. District Secretary for Orkney (Sandwick), and Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., was then read by Mr. Johnston, who also laid before the meeting a proposal

for a survey of Orkney place-names, which he suggested the Club should set on foot. In the discussion which followed, Dr. J. G. Garson, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, and the lecturer took part.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 27TH, 1903.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly, W., on Monday, April 27th, 1903, at 7-30 p.m., when the following were present:—Dr. J. G. Garson, President, in the Chair, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, in the Vice-Chair, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., and Mrs. Wason, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Miss Leslie, Mr. and Mrs. Macintosh, Mr. and Miss Rücker, Miss Higford and friend, Mr. and Miss Warburg and friend, the Rev. Pastor Birgh, Mr. Gosselin-Grimshawe, Col. Hobart, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Mr. and Mrs. Newman, Mrs. Hawkins and friends, Mr. Otto Hagborg, Miss Tora Hwaas, Miss Beales, Mr. W. F. Downing, Dr. and Mrs. Pernet, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Miss Parsons, Mr. W. Mansell Stevens, Mr. H. Lloyd, Miss Atkinson, Mr. Dudley Dines, Mr. E. Swain, M. J. P. Emslie, and Mr. F. T. Norris. Mr. A. F. Major and Mrs. Major were unable to be present. The dinner was followed by a selection of vocal and instrumental music by members and friends, including pianoforte solos by Mr. Mansell Stevens and Miss Tora Hwaas, and songs by Dr. Pernet and Mr. A. W. Johnston.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1903.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Dr. Karl Blind, Vice-President, read a paper on the "Discovery of a Pre-Historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark" which is reproduced in the present issue. A brief discussion followed, in which Col. Hobart, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. A. R. Goddard, the President, and the lecturer took part.

MEETING, DECEMBER 18TH, 1903.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

"The Lay of Thrym," translated from "Thrymskviða," by the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby, was read, and is reproduced in this issue.

Mr. R. L. Bremner read a paper on "Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde," which is also reproduced. A brief discussion followed, in which Mr. E. Sloper, Mr. F. T. Norris, Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Mr. W. F. Kirby, the President, and the Lecturer took part.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Hon. District Secretary for the Lake District, exhibited a drawing of the Scandinavian sculpture of the Viking Age from a stone slab at Iona, and the Viking sword recently discovered at Workington in Cumberland, and gave his reasons for supposing that the latter came from a pagan burial. Both exhibits are described in his district report.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

THE District Secretary for the Lake Counties (Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A.) writes :—

GOSPATRIC'S CUMBERLAND CHARTER.

WE have had very little documentary evidence of the Northmen in the Lake Counties, but at last history seems to be coming into touch with archæology. A newly found charter, some fifty years older than any yet known, gives us the names of eleventh-century landowners in Cumberland, and they turn out to be exactly what we should expect, assuming the Norse settlement for a fact.

This charter or writ was discovered lately at Lowther Castle, and has been printed in full, with translation and notes, by the Rev. James Wilson in the *Scottish Historical Review* (No. I.) It raises many points of interest, but for our purpose its chief value is in giving particulars of language and life in the dark period 1067-1092, from which it is believed to date.

It is not, like the Pennington tympanum, in Norse, but in North-English, then the language of the upper classes in Northumbria and the Lowlands of Scotland. Norse appears, from the tympanum mentioned, to have been the vernacular of Furness, and the Dolfin runes, if genuine, show that it was the vernacular of the land of Carlisle well into the twelfth century. But Gospatric, though of Gaelic descent and Cymric name (*gwas-Patric* being the Strathclyde and Cumbrian equivalent for *gille-Patric*), was an English Earl, and the great majority of his people talked English.

The object of the document is to state the succession of one Thorfyinn to lands held by his father Thore ; the *e*

must be meant to be pronounced, and Thore must stand for Thori(r). Thorfynn Mac Thore is the form of the name; showing that this Northman was not a settler from Scandinavia, but from Ireland or the South-isles. Mr. Wilson notes that "mac" for son is extremely rare in local evidences, though Gospatric Mapbennoc is mentioned in the Pipe Roll of 1158. This, however, is the Welsh (Cumbric) form: mac Cristin for mac-gille-Christ (afterwards Christian) is a Gaelic-Norse instance from the Isle of Man.

Earl Gospatric desires that Thorfynn and his men "be as free as Melmor (Maelmuire?) and Thore (Thorir) and Sygulf were in Eadread's days," and "as geld free as I am and in like manner as Walltheof (Gospatric's son "Waldeve"?) and Wygande (perhaps owner of Wiggonby) and Wyberth and Gamell and Kunyth (Kenneth?)"—these being apparently contemporaries and connections of the Earl: also that he enjoy soc and sac, etc., over the lands given to his father in Moryn's days. These lands were Cartheu (Cardew) and Combeðeyfoch (Cumdivock) in the district of Dalston, which was afterwards forfeited by Hervey son of Morin.

The *cru*x of the charter is the phrase "Gospatric greets all . . . that dwell on all the lands of the *Cumbrian*"—"on eallan þam landann þeo weoron Coṃbres"; from which it has been supposed that somebody called Commbere owned the land afterwards known as Cumberland, because Commbres appears to be genitive singular. The Rev. J. Wilson boldly translates "all the lands of the Cumbrians"; but I venture to suggest that this document was addressed to the inhabitants of the district of Dalston, and that Moryn, in whose family was a Hervey, was the "Cumbrian" who had held the lands, part of which were given to Thorir and now confirmed to Thorfinn. We find the name Thorir in Thursby, formerly supposed to be connected with some imaginary temple of Thor; and Thorfinn became the legendary giant of the same neighbourhood, with a haunted howe near Thursby.

In this charter we get very near to the actual Norse settlement of this bit of Cumberland. That elsewhere the settlement had begun earlier is shown by the use of *Alnerdall* (Allerdale) with the Norse genitive in *-er* from the name of the river Alne or Ellen, and the Norse *dall* (dalr), as well as the forms *Caldebek* (Caldbeck) and *bek Troyte* (Troutbeck?) along with *Shauk*, *Wafyr* (Waver) and *Pollwathoen* (Wathenpol, Wampool). That three out of six river or valley names are distinctly Scandinavian *temp.* William I. proves that the Viking settlement in general had long since taken effect.

THE WORKINGTON SWORD.

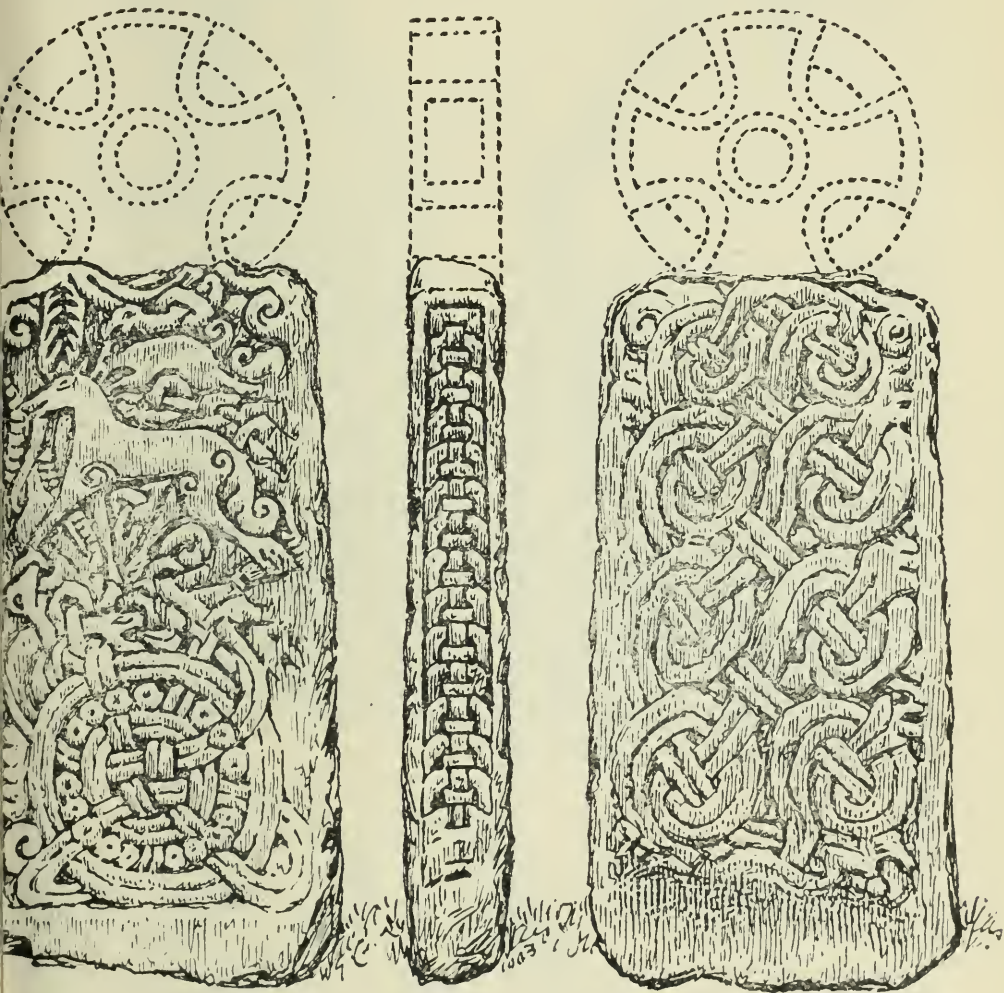
While making a road last winter about 80 yards north of the Derwent, on a gravel ridge called Oysterbanks, a sword was found by the labourers. It passed into the possession of the Rev. C. T. Phillips, vicar of West Seaton, on whose land the discovery was made; but no further information about the circumstances of the find is available.

The sword was broken, and one part was bent up, just as Viking swords have been found in burial places: for example, that from the Hesket Tumulus, now in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, on the guard of which interlaced patterns can still be seen. This Workington sword is too rusted for any of the workmanship to be visible; but it seems as though it had been broken and bent *in its scabbard*, for the mountings and tip of the sheath can be traced by thickenings in the mass of rusted iron. The ridge of the blade is also distinguishable in the concave side of the bent part. An example of a sword bent up in its sheath is given in Du Chaillu's "Viking Age," i., p. 37.

The pommel, tang and guard still remain pretty complete and continuous with the blade. The pommel is of the large size, $2\frac{3}{4}$ by 2 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and dome-shaped. The guard is straight, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and has on one side the remains of a knob or button such as Viking swords often carry. The total length of the sword, if nothing is

lost, would have been $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its weight is 3 lb. 4 oz. The blade is 2 inches by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the guard.

Oysterbanks, where the sword was found, is the continuation of a ridge on which stands the early Norman ruin of Burrow Walls, built on a Roman site. It is opposite the pre-Norman site of St. Michael's Church,



VIKING-AGE CROSS AT LANCASTER.

containing interlaced monuments of the middle and later pre-Norman period. Derwentmouth was the port from which the Lindisfarne monks embarked with the body of St. Cuthbert, to escape from the Danes, between 870 and 880 A.D., and must always have been one of the chief harbours of the coast.

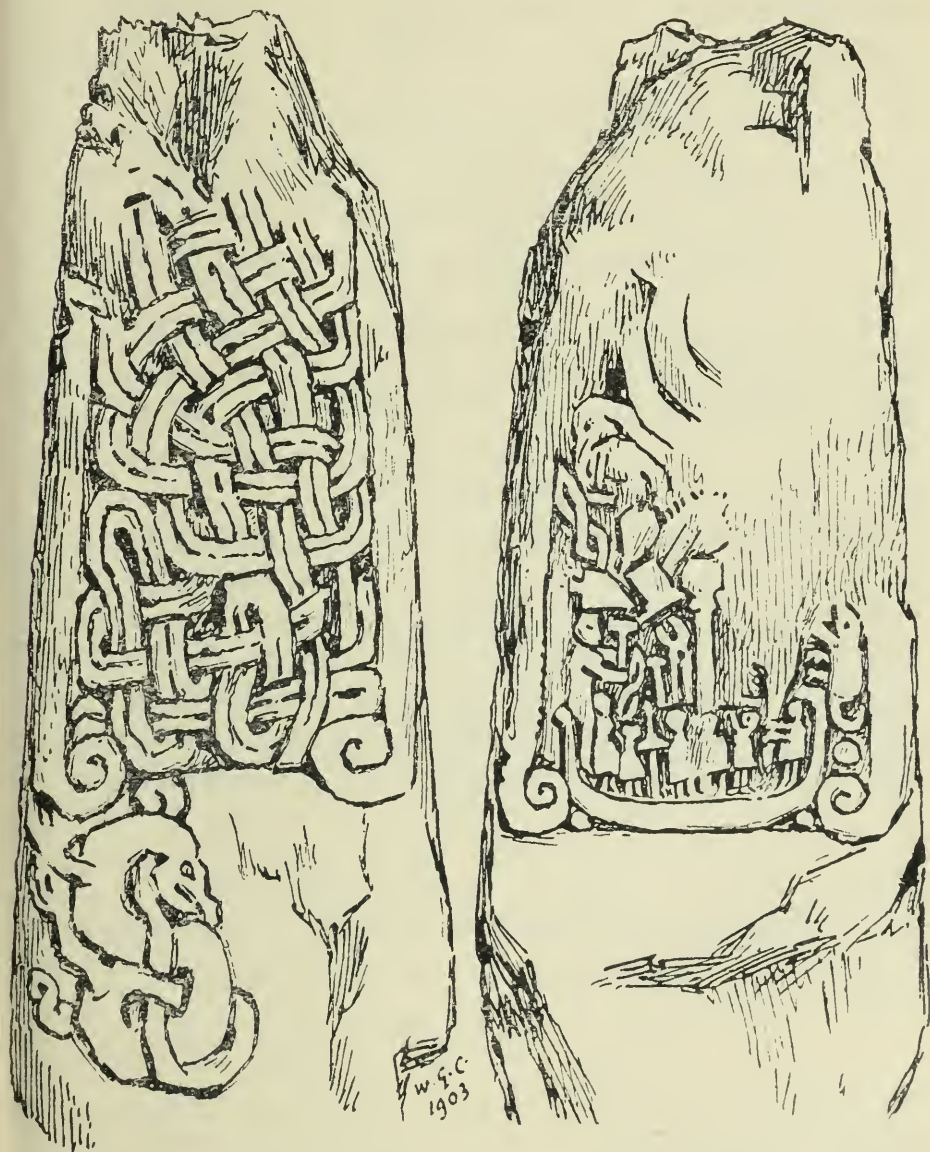
VIKING-AGE CROSS AT LANCASTER.

During recent alterations at Lancaster Parish Church a number of valuable and interesting pieces of pre-Norman sculpture have been recovered from the old walls. I have described the whole series in *The Reliquary* for October, 1903, but notice here one piece in particular which is evidently a grave-monument to a Christian Northman of the tenth or eleventh century. The wheel-head of the original cross has been broken off, but the whole of the shaft remains, 3 feet high, maximum thickness $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and maximum breadth 1 foot 7 inches. One side shows at the top the favourite device of the Hart and Hound with irregular worm-twists around them; and below, a great interlaced wheel-pattern, the strands of which terminate in snake-heads. The peculiarity of this ornament is that the space between the outer and inner rings is filled with a row of ringlets or pierced discs, exactly like the fragment at Melling in Lonsdale. The general design of this wheel is similar to that of the Aspatria standing cross, and (as Mr. Romilly Allen remarks) analogues occur at Kirk Braddan (Isle of Man), and Forres (Elginshire), all of the Viking period. The edge has an adaptation of the chain-plait used in the famous cross at Gosforth (Cumberland), and the back has a rudely symmetrical dragonesque interlacement.

VIKING-AGE CROSS AT IONA.

In September, during a visit to Iona, among the many relics of Celtic art I noticed one slab with the familiar motives of Viking-Age ornament. It was in the Chapel of St. Oran, and I found that the side exposed to view had been drawn by Drummond in the "Monuments of Iona"; it bears an irregular interlacing very similar in character to work in the Isle of Man and in the Lake Counties. With permission from Mr. Ritchie I turned the slab and drew the other side. This seems to be highly interesting, and I understand that it has not been published.

The lower part of the picture is filled with a large ship, in which six little figures are apparently acting as crew, one seeming to manage the sail. To the spectator's left is a much larger figure, that of a smith with hammer and



REVERSE OF VIKING-AGE CROSS-SHAFT AT IONA.

tongs forging a sword. The hammer and tongs are twice again repeated. Above him is a great dragon-monster, and on the spectator's right is a little quadruped which,—

if this be another instance of the Sigurd legend which Mr. Kermode has already illustrated in the *Saga-Book* (Vol. i., p. 351) from the Isle of Man, and is also well known on the Halton Cross, near Lancaster,—might be the Otter of the legend. The whole is rudely drawn, and executed in the “hacked” work of the later Viking-Age crosses, extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona, though strikingly similar to the Manx carvings. The ship, as in later monuments of chiefs here buried, suggests the sea-king; and the Sigurd story, if it be rightly interpreted, would be the pre-heraldic hieroglyph for one of the Manx line, descended from the hero. Godred, king of Man, was buried at Iona in the twelfth century, at which time this carving is possibly to be dated. The edges of the shaft bear a defaced key-pattern. The stone, of some kind of slate, measures about 3 feet 6 inches in length by about 3 inches in thickness; it is 16 inches broad at the lower part, tapering to 14 inches at the top.

Since my visit Mr. Ritchie has put this stone under cover in the Cathedral, so that its rather frail work is now safe from the weather. Little as I love “restoration,” I cannot help feeling that the roof to the church was a real necessity, and I believe that future ages will thank us for housing the more delicate of these decaying monuments, even at the expense of sentiment and picturesqueness.

The District Secretary for East Anglia (Rev. W. C. Green, M.A.) writes:—

EAST ANGLIAN RIDDLES.

OF diggings and discoveries just hereabouts I can report nothing Scandinavian. Now and then one meets with words or phrases that can be illustrated from Northern languages. Of Odin’s cow-riddle some two years ago I gave the form current in East Anglia. Curious riddles not unfrequently come before me: our Suffolk riddles are

all Samsonian, descriptive; never questions Why or What?
Propounded by a choir boy:—

Tall as a tree,
Holler as a drum,
Cock up its tail,
Away it run.

A pump.

There was an old man went over the Wash,
Grey grizzled was his horse;
Bent saddle was his bow: [? Bent was his saddle bow]
I've told you three times, and now you don't know.

"Give it up?" "Was" was the man's name.

A foolish riddle: but several on this model are current. One remarkable thing is that this puzzle should meet one here inland: where I doubt if a boy in the parish knows what the Wash is.

WORDLORE.

I heard quite lately this proverb about fish-eating making one thirsty:

"Fish will swim, dead or alive."

Many persons hereabouts say "acrost, allust." The *t* in the first adverb presents little difficulty. *þvert* and *athwart* are similar from stem *þver*. But "always" into "allust" is odd. Our villagers use the verb "to drive" = "to delay, put off;" e.g., "I cannot do it now, I must *drive* it." We do indeed talk of putting a task *behind* us by completion; but *driving* it before us is curious. Though all our northern languages have "drive," or cognates, I cannot find that any thus use it. Have any other English provinces this use?

FYLGJA AND FETCHES.

Lately my attention has been called to the *fylgja* of the Sagas: "a follower," "an attendant spirit" (female always). The Scotch equivalent is given as "fetch." Whether *Vigfússon* means to imply that the word "fetch" is actually cognate with or a corruption of *fylgja*, I do not

know: it does not seem likely that it is so. Nor am I sure that the Scotch "fetch" was always female. Men death-doomed or "fey" saw their *fylgja* following them. A very remarkable passage about a *fylgia*, or *fylgju-kona*, is in the Saga of the poet Hallfred (which I have lately translated). On his voyage to Iceland Hallfred is mortally injured by the ship's boom falling upon him. When he was near his death, "they saw a woman coming after the ship: she was tall, and wore a coat of mail; she walked on the billows as if on land. Hallfred looked at her, and saw that she was his following-spirit. He said, 'I renounce all fellowship with thee.' She said to his brother, 'Wilt thou, Thorvald, receive me?' He said he would not. Then said Hallfred the younger, 'I will receive thee.' Upon this she vanished." Note: the form is seen by all, but only known by Hallfred. The Icelandic *fylgia* in some ways resembles the Latin *Genius*, described by Horace as *naturae deus humanae mortalis in unum-quodque caput*. Only Hallfred's "follower" apparently could renew its lease of life, if accepted by one of his kin. When reading Plato's "Crito" a while ago, it struck me that Socrates' dream two days before his death presents to us something like a *fylgja*: "A certain woman approached me, fair and goodly of form, clad in white raiment." Several editors suppose Socrates saw in her ἡ εἰμαρμένη, that is, Fate. But I think the idea is rather of an attendant spirit or angel attached to Socrates. She says to him, "On the third day thou wilt come to deep-soiled Phthia": quoting from Homer nearly the words of Achilles resolved to set sail for home. And surely Phthia is meant to suggest to Socrates home. Some editors think it was to suggest to him *phthisis*, "corruption or perishing." One editor says that ἐρίβωλον confirms this: that Socrates "found comfort in this word." I cannot exactly see what comfort was conveyed to a man of Socrates' opinion about immortality by "corruption in the cloddy earth." Achilles uses the word of the rich fruitful soil of his home. Something of a parallel there is in King

Arthur's summons by the queens to the deep-meadowed happy valley of Avilion. Socrates looks upon Phthia as a home: death as a homeward voyage across the bar. And, to return to the Icelandic Skald, Hallfred says in his death-verse that he is content to die: "May God fix whither my soul shall pass!"

The District Secretary for Nesting, Shetland (Mr. J. Spence) writes:—

OLD NORSE WORDS IN SHETLAND.

I AM sorry I have nothing of interest to communicate to you. Last year, during Christmas holidays, I compiled two lists of old Norse words still lingering in these Islands. The first list is a collection of collective nouns, expressive of indefinite quantity or measure. The second list consists of adjectival terms. These you may think worth inserting in the *Saga-Book*, for, with hundreds of other old Norse words, they will be utterly lost when the Shetlanders of my generation have gone.

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF INDEFINITE QUANTITY OR MEASURE.

An *aer* o' *tæ* (tea)—a *blink* o' sleep—a *bane* o' fish—a *baet* o' gloy—a *baand* o' pi ticks—a *brook* o' waar—a *boal* o' reek a *bing* o' möld—a *coom* o' mael (meal) a *krummok* o' 'oo'—a *caw* o' sheep—a *crö* o' plants—a *coos* o' sillicks—a *corn* o' milk—a *caavie* o' saith fools (fowls) — a *dwaam* o' sleep—a *daagin* o' rain—a *flooin* o' butter—a *faem* o' mael—a *giopen* o' taties—a *hair* o' 'oo' — a *hurd* o' bursten — a *hush* o' wind — a *kitchen* o' fish—a *klamp* o' poans—a *klaw* o' taek—a *krub* o' kail plants—a *klivgang* o' horses—a *knokin* o' bere—a *knuk* o' 'oo'—a *kirvie* o' floss—a *kipok* o' haddocks—a *lyte* o' blaand a *life* o' sheep—a *lag'd* o' 'oo'—a *lauchter* o' chickens—a *lisk* o' hay—a *laemin* o' 'oo' — a *mirge* o' bairns—a *moorcavie* o' snaw a *nirl* o' caald — a *nip* o' cloot—a *nirt* o' flesh — a *neist* o' fire—an *ootburd* o' peats—an *orm* o' sillicks—an *ort* o' grices — a *foortin* o' kitchen (a small quantity of seasoning) a *plag* o' claes (clothes)—a *pukle* o' corn—a *pirr* o' wind a *peag* o' kail — a *packie* o' tows — a *rönne* o' stanes — a *roog* o' peats—a *rudge* o' rocks—a *sud* o' tea — a *syb* o' milk—a *sloo* o' poans—a *skuar* o' flesh—a *skurok* o' tobacco—a *stroal* o' herring — a *spleet* o' wid (wood)—a *sluag* o' bairns—a *skrive* o' fleas—a *suknie* o' kirk folk — a *stied* o' sillocks — a *stick* o' claes—a *saetm* o' sids—a *skrae* o' youngsters—a *stjuch* o' reek—a *skurt* o' hay—a *strinklin* o' corn—a *tudd* o' wind—a *tuet* o' 'oo'—a *tip* o' milk—a *tint* o' fat—a *tack* o' land—a *windlin* o' strae—a *yink* o' sheep—a *yadder* o' mör faels—a *yark* o' drink.

Printed in the *Shetland Times* in 1902:—

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF PERSONAL APPEARANCE, CARRIAGE,
WALK, ETC.

- Illhoited*.—Having an awkward, slouching gait.
Illvuxin.—Dressed in a slovenly, untidy manner.
Ootavid.—Out of date, old fashioned.
Auldfaarin.—Old looking.
Oyndalie.—Having an angry look.
Sloomid.—A slinking, cunning look.
Droopinslöbie.—One that thrusts out the lips, to look sullen.
Mooljaped.—Having thick, outstanding lips.
Dölhoited.—One having a woebegone appearance.
Trollhoited.—Troll-like in walk and gesture.
Truliyet.—Troll-like, particularly in dress.
Turmjulet.—One that moils or toils in the earth.
Dratset.—A person who appears to drag their legs in walking.
Trullaskud.—Troll or witch-like in behaviour.
Hjonik.—A wizened hag, witch-like.
Hjukfinnie.—Applied to a person that appears enveloped in mystery.
Nyeaff.—A diminutive conceited person.
Fædmel.—A corpulent female.
Maerdel.—A very big woman.
Prunk.—Neatly dressed.
Dooce.—Decently dressed, befitting one's station.
Gaasie.—A person having a noble bearing.
Pjakie.—A Pjakie bodie, of small stature, Pecht like.
Maegsie.—Applied to a lad with large hands.
Knabsie.—Half-grown youth, well-grown for age.
Hunkset or *Hulkin*.—A big, stout, clumsy fellow.
Drjultie.—One that drags his legs in walking.
Flaemster.—Easily excited, always in a hurry.
Boosom.—A good housekeeper, a *housevirdin*.
Vixter.—Applied to a person overgrown for their age.
Trussievag'l.—A person that always appears slovenly dressed.
Glinkit.—Light-headed, unstable, giddy.
Flinkit.—Syn. with the above.
Oovyelt.—One that gives way to fits of merriment.
Feespin.—Moving about quickly, hopping like a bird.
Graam.—Eager to grasp or gather, to enjoy.
Kibbie.—Quick in one's movements.
Aaber.—Greedy, grasping.
Ijeltifoo.—A fit of merriment.
Druilment.—Ill temper.
Vaukie.—Well pleased.
Fjerkin.—Active and energetic.
Hyealisom.—Kind and motherly.

WORDS DESCRIPTIVE OF PHYSICAL CONDITION.

- Ootmaagit*.—Worn out with toil, exhausted.
Disjasket.—Having the appearance of fatigue and weariness.
Pjaagit.—Worn out with hard toil.
Daesket.—Stupid, lacking intelligence.
Ramished.—Chiefly applied to a child wakening up out of sorts, peevish, ill-tempered.
Vimmerin.—Trembling.
Oorin-Oorik.—One that lingers behind.
Feerdie.—Nimble, able to carry a burden.
Yasp.—Clever in movement, nimble and active.
Valskit.—One that uses wrongly applied words.
Fjavalis.—Handless.
Neebin.—Having a drooping sleepy appearance.
Dybin.—Loitering behind, staying out late.
Coorin.—See *Neebin*.
Doverin.—To speak indistinctly.
Vyanvordind.—Worn out, exhausted.
Doited.—Having a senile appearance, old fashioned.
Dotterified.—Old and behind the times.
Depooperit.—Showing visible marks of decay.
Kannie.—Handy, having constructive ability.
Ljamse.—See *Fjavalis*.

WORDS HAVING REFERENCE TO MENTAL EMOTIONS, PARTICULARLY EXPRESSIVE OF AN ILL-PLEASED MOOD.

- Daamished*.—Being annoyed.
Turrin.—Out of temper.
Uplopin.—Easily made angry.
Truitsket.—Wearing a sulky face.
Illovakit.—Ready to do injury in a small way.
Illovakidid.—Unattractive, not helpful.
Illovakit.—Snappish and churlish.
Frumps or Dorts.—Pettish.
Rampaagin.—Scolding with a loud voice.
Pyten.—One that bites, or uses biting words.
Pleepsit.—A person that is always complaining.
Tilsom.—Unsteady, uncertain temper.
Frumskit.—See *Frumps* or *Dorts*.
Dröbie.—Applied to a person that walks with head bowed, a muttering person.
Whiddie.—Ready to take offence.

WORDS RELATING TO HABIT OR CHARACTERISTIC, ETC.

- Feek*.—Occupied with little things.
Filsket.—Full of fun.
Halligat.—Giddy, liable to fits of wild frolic.
Hjims'd.—Trow-like.
Slip-me-laaber.—Untrustworthy.

Spjea.—One that acts the fool.

Pernikity.—Parsimonious, unkind, prim

Moniment.—Addicted to foolish mirth.

Flaatoos.—One that exaggerates, a braggard.

Rödastub.—Figuratively applied to a lazy person.

Funglifoo.—Openhanded, liberal, see *Sonsie*.

Browden.—Pert or forward.

Klookie.—Tricky, one who can quickly devise a plan.

Klipit.—See *Pernikity*.

Inbiggit.—A person of a revengeful nature

Rödie.—A person given to exaggeration.

Wanless.—Having no one, friendless.

Craemin.—Complaining.

Aitacast.—One cast out from society.

Döless.—A lazy do nothing fellow.

Hubbavet.—A weak-minded person who submits to be knocked about by others.

Watterweek.—Frail and tender eyed.

Yidderbiter.—One that says bitter and spiteful things

Aetercap.—A carping ill-natured backbiter.

Sonsie.—One that delights in abundance, a cheerful giver.

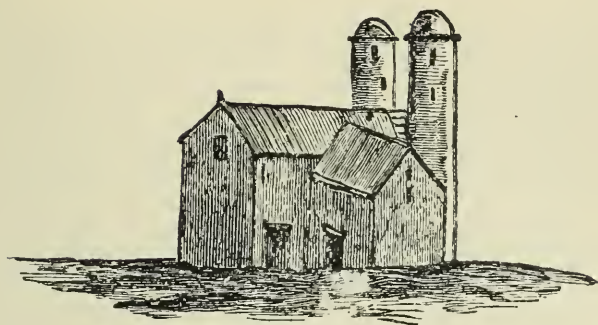
[Mr. Spence intended to enlarge and revise these lists of words, but we regret to say that owing to his being prostrate by severe illness he is unable to accomplish this. Students of the Old Norse will find it extremely interesting to trace the derivations of the striking words and phrases he has given.]

The District Secretary for Deerness (Mr. M. Spence) writes as follows:—

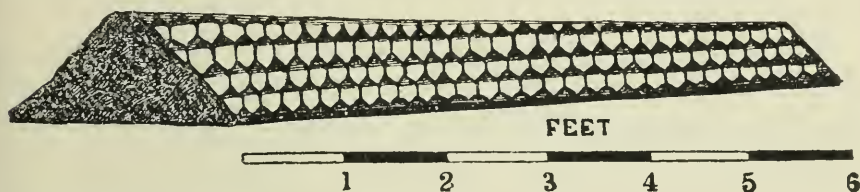
DEERNESS KIRK.

LOW, in his tour through Orkney and Zetland, in 1774, says that the Deerness Church is the most remarkable country kirk in these isles. He says (p. 53) as follows:—

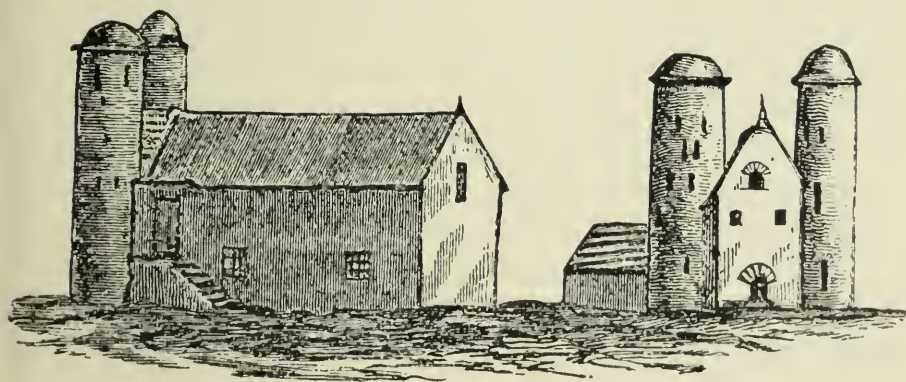
“The Church of Deerness is very remarkable, and part of it looks to be pretty ancient; the east end consists of a vault which crosses the breadth of the inside, and at each side of this is erected a small steeple. Through the vault or quire one enters the steeple on his right hand, and by a turnpike stair goes to a small apartment or vestry built between the steeples. From this last apartment he enters the second tower, which, or both probably, have had bells; these are now gone, said to have been carried away by Cromwell’s soldiers. Tradition is not clear (and there are no records) who was the builder of the church. The steeples are said to be monumental, and placed over a lady’s two sons buried there, but whether this is so or not is hard to determine. As this is the most remarkable country kirk in these isles, I have added a sketch of it as follows:—



In the churchyard I observed a coffin-shaped stone without any inscription, the shape of a triangular prism, one side plain, the others cut into such figures as the Heralds call *vairy*. Tradition is silent to whom it belonged, but there is another of the same dimensions, and carved with the same figures; the latter goes by the name of the Queen of Morocco's gravestone, anent whose arrival and death they here tell us a long apocryphal story not worth repeating. See the figures.



So far as I have been able to gather information from the inhabitants of the district, a tradition regarding the twin towers exists, which seems to be pretty generally known by the older and more intelligent natives.



From the woodcut of the church one can surmise that it and the twin towers do not form a uniform building.

The towers are more elaborate, more finished and more expensively got up than the crude, ill-planned, badly-lit and exceedingly primitive church. This church stood near the middle of the churchyard before it was enlarged, and about 40 feet east of the present one, which, being built in 1796, has now stood for more than a century. Had the twin towers formed part of the original plan, the entrance to the gallery would probably have passed through it, and not by an outside stone stair, as was the case. The predecessor of the present gravedigger told me he recently found the base of these towers when clearing the ground for graves. A secure foundation had been made amidst the sand with rounded shore stones, which had, at the depth of several feet, been so laid as to form a rough but firm basement, on which they were built.

At Sandside, where the present farmsteading stands, near the sea, there lived one known by tradition as Lady Howitt, who had evidently a residence there. A stone was recently taken from the court entrance to her house with the date 1678 on it, which is probably that of the building. Tradition says it was never properly finished, and that at her removal to Westray the wood of the roof, etc., was conveyed to some farm in Shapinsay. This lady had two sons, who were out in a boat one day, when both were drowned, a little south-east of the church. This bay, which is adjacent to Sandside Bay, was thereafter called Howitt or Howan Bay, and is known as such to this day. The sad event, as one may imagine, caused a broken-hearted mother, whose sorrow was irrepressible, to commemorate their sudden and mournful fate by building the twin towers on the end of the church, then extant. These towers were unfortunately destroyed when the present church was built, in 1796. One would like to know more about the building and the bells, which Low thinks were placed on the towers, and why they were not preserved, and one of them erected in the belfrey of the present church.

MOUND-DIGGINGS AT ST. MARY'S, HOLM.

Mr. Grahme, of Grahmeshall, the proprietor of most of the parish of Holm, has been doing good work on his own estate in opening up mounds in a systematic and intelligent manner. It is very gratifying to see the proprietor taking a special interest in this class of work, and searching out, mainly with his own hands, and deciphering the purpose of these historic remains. Near the village of St. Mary's, Holm, he laid bare the remains of an interesting broch, with surrounding walls 6 feet in height, and, inside, a well 8 or 9 feet in depth, with steps leading down to the water. He also cut across a mound on the farm of Gorn, and laid bare a stone cist of slightly over 5 feet in length. We hope Mr. Grahme's example will be followed by other proprietors.

PICT'S HOUSE.

The farm of Kirbuster, in Birsay, is beautifully situated, as it curves around the head of Kirbuster Loch, where its shore is lapped by limpid waters. Near the farmstead runs the Burn of Kirbuster, the largest and the only one in Orkney to which one is tempted to apply the name river. Why this district—for other three or four small farms in addition constitute the district—should have been designated by this name, so redolent of savoury incense and so suggestive of stoles, crosiers, and images, is not now known, as all trace of the kirk has disappeared into the shades of oblivion. An artificial mound of considerable dimensions is situated on the very shore of this loch. It might have been more correct to say that the mound claims to belong as much to the loch as to the land. Its junction with the land is flat, and only slightly more elevated than the surface of the water, and at one time it may have been entirely submerged. The farmer of Kirbuster, through mere curiosity, rather than the promptings of any antiquarian instinct, set to work to open this mound. After some quarrying had been made in a haphazard manner, someone set to work more systematically,

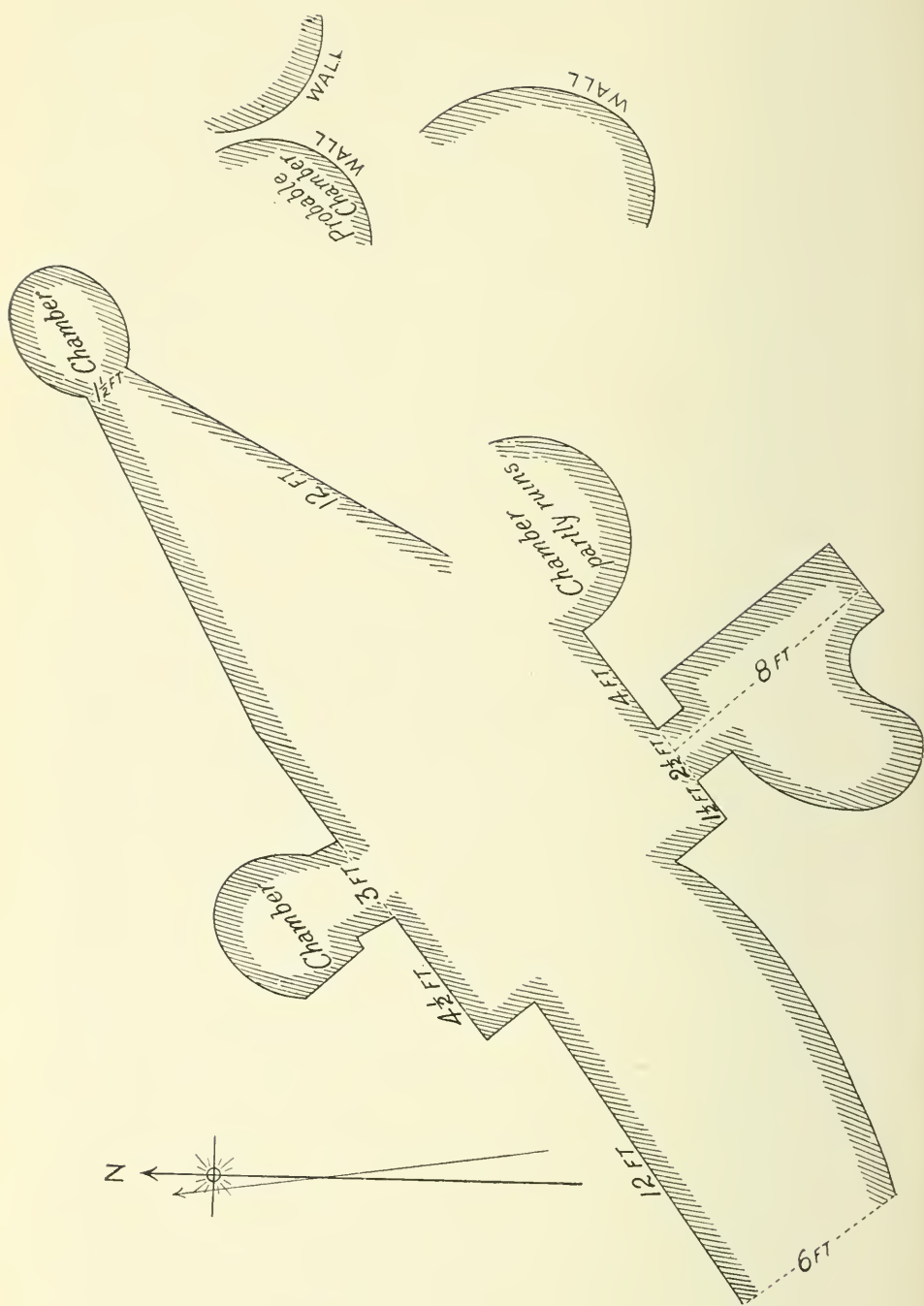


FIG. I — PLAN OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

and laid bare a central passage of considerable dimensions, with several side chambers. The pity is that the whole was not more carefully excavated, so that we might have known exactly of what the whole structure consisted. I have no doubt it would have proved one of the most interesting Picts' Houses in Orkney. The only remains of the utensils of the inhabitants were one almost complete stone lamp, and a piece of another. The far-

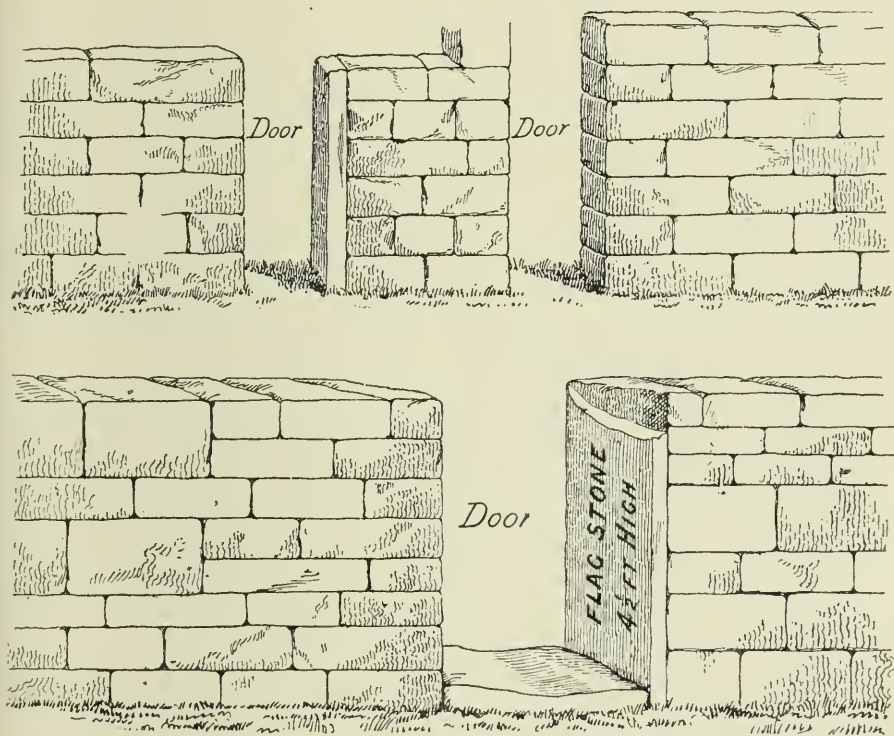


FIG. 2.—WALLS OF CHAMBER OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

mer told me he had found a more complete one than either of these. The main room—shall I call it rather the central court—from which most of the chambers were entered, ran in a north-east and south-west direction, and extended in length to over 32 feet. The breadth varied from 12 feet to about 8 feet. During September, 1900, I twice visited the ruin, and took these measurements, which I trust may be of some little interest. A ground plan of the structure, so far as opened, is shown above.

The District Secretary for Bergen and the West Coast of Norway (Mr. Haakon Schetelig) writes:—

STONE-AGE DISCOVERIES ON JÆDEREN.

WITH regard to the Stone-age period in Western Norway the most interesting discovery for some years has been the finding of two new dwelling-places on Jæderen. This part of the country being especially rich in dwelling-places dating from this period, has furnished our museums with copious collections of characteristic implements, and the diggings of Professor Gustafson have yielded results of the greatest importance (See Bergen Museum "Aarbog," 1898, N. I.). All the places hitherto known belong to a relatively late part of the Scandinavian Stone-age, no traces having, up to date, been found belonging to a period corresponding to the Danish "kitchen-middens," except a few single objects of forms well known in those Danish finds, but nearly unique in Norway. A few years ago it was announced by the Keeper of the Stavanger Museum that he had discovered, in two different places, refuse-heaps consisting chiefly of oyster shells, which he thought likely to date from the most distant part of the Neolithic period. His archæological conclusions have been published in the Stavanger Museum's "Aarsberetning" for 1900, with drawings of some of the antiquities found in one of the heaps. Later on the places were examined by a geological expert, Mr. Øien, who has since published a carefully collected list of all the animals recognised from the bones, etc., picked up in the places ("Kristiania Videnskabselskabs Skrifter," I., 1903, Nr. 7). *A priori* he regards these dwelling-places as contemporary with the "kitchen-middens" of Denmark. It must, however, be noted that none of the antiquities found, being only some few pieces of flint roughly chipped, prove any relationship to the early Danish flint-implements. The character of the heaps themselves seems also—to conclude from the descriptions—to have been more like the later neolithic dwelling-places of Denmark, as the organic

remains, shells, bones, etc., were mixed with a considerable quantity of dark mud (compare "*Affalddynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark*," p. 135 ss.). The most important discovery made by Mr. Øien is the finding of domestic animals (pigs) in both the places which he examined. It is a settled fact that the people of Denmark, during the period of the "kitchen-middens," had no domestic animals except dogs, while large quantities of bones of oxen, sheep, pigs, etc., have been found in dwelling-places dating from the later parts of the Neolithic period. After all, I am sure that the two new-discovered refuse-heaps on Jæderen must have been formed at some time during the late Scandinavian Stone-age, and that we have still to wait for the first finding of a real "kitchen-midden" in Norway.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS AT MINDE, NEAR BERGEN.

It may be noticed here that some years ago there was discovered at the railway-station at Minde, close to Bergen, the scattered remains of a small dwelling-place which no doubt belongs to a very early part of the Stone-age. No shells, bones, or other organic refuse were observed, and even the stone-objects found were very few; the place seems to have been inhabited only for a short time by a no means considerable lot of people. We have reason to believe that this find represents one of the first settlements on the western coast of Norway.

RUNIC FINDS.

The most noteworthy antiquity of the year is a stone with a runic inscription in very old characters found by Mr. Heiberg at Amle, in Sogn. Mr. Heiberg, a gentleman distinguished for his exceptional interest in antiquarian and historical research, discovered the stone by accident while digging in his own garden. It is a very large and heavy slab; the inscription running along the one edge of the surface is 1.2 m. long, and consists of 15 runes, the

first of which is so much damaged as to make the reading difficult. Professor Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, has deciphered the inscription thus:

(i u) R h a i w i d a R t h a r.

The first word he conjectures to be a man's name, originally of the same meaning as the English *yeo*. The next two words offer no difficulties, as they also appear on other runic monuments; they mean, "buried here." Consequently the stone had its place in connection with a grave; probably it was hidden in the interior of a tumulus. The place of finding had already long ago been disturbed to such an extent that no traces of the grave, or tumulus, could now be recognized on the spot.

As the formula of this inscription has been found in exactly the same form in places very distant from each other, Professor Bugge concludes that the runes were not carved by the inhabitants themselves in the different parts of the country; we should then have found many variations between those of one place and another. The said uniformity can only be explained by supposing that there were professional rune-writers, travelling over the country and inscribing stones on demand in many different localities. As most of our oldest runic monuments have been found in the districts along the coast, the rune-writers probably travelled by sea from one fjord to another. The new inscription must date from about 600 A.D.

VIKING GRAVE-GOODS FOUND AT EID.

No especially remarkable discoveries relating to the later times of the heathen period have been made this year in Western Norway. Mention ought to be made, however, of a small group of very rich graves dating from the Viking-age, found at Eid, in Nordfjord. They will, I think, afford some interesting chronological details, but the results have not yet been completely prepared for publication.

The District Secretary for Norway (Professor Alexander Bugge, Ph.D.) writes :—

FIND OF A BURIED VIKING SHIP, TONSBURG.

DURING the past year several important archæological discoveries have been made in Norway. The most noteworthy is that of a new Viking ship, which was discovered in a grave-mound on the promontory of Slagen, near Tonsberg. Next year the ship will be dug out with the financial help of the Government, and before that time nothing can be said as to the age and state of preservation of the ship.

RUNIC REMAINS OF NORSE VOYAGES TO GREENLAND.

It may also interest English readers to know that traces of the ancient Norsemen have probably been discovered by the last *Fram* Expedition, under Mr. Sverdrup, in the Polar regions of North America. It is well known that Greenland was discovered about 985, and afterwards colonised by the Norwegians and Icelanders. The ancient Norwegian settlements were—as are the Danish ones in our days—situated on the western coast of Greenland, and had about 10,000 inhabitants. Each summer the ancient Greenlanders sailed to the north-western coast of the country for the purpose of whale and seal hunting. A poem, of which a portion still exists, tells of the dangerous voyages to these northern latitudes, and is called “*Norðrsetadrápa*” (from *Norðrseta*, *i.e.*, “the Northern seats,” the name of the whaling grounds). On the island of Kingiktorsoák, in Baffin’s Bay, 72° 55′ 20″ N. lat., there was found a stone with a runic inscription (probably from the 14th century) as follows :—“Erling Sighvatsson, Bjarne Thorsson, and Endride Oddsson, the Saturday before *gagndagr* [*i.e.*, the 25th April] erected these sea-marks.” There are also traces of expeditions further north. The most important of these was made in the year 1265 or 1266, and is mentioned in the Icelandic manuscript “*Hauksbók*.” The Greenland clergymen who

made this voyage seem to have crossed Baffin's Bay and reached the numerous islands behind Lancaster Sound and Jones Sound.

FIND OF A PICT'S HOUSE-LIKE STRUCTURE IN GREENLAND.

It is in these regions that the *Iram* Expedition believes it has discovered traces of the Norsemen. Mr. Schei, the geologist of the expedition, and amanuensis at the University of Christiania, who has informed me of this, has done me the favour of writing to me about his discoveries, and has given me permission to translate his words. He says :—" Absolutely certain traces of the Norsemen we did not find. In the western part of Jones Sound, at Björneborg, however, we discovered two low, tower-like buildings, about 1.5 m. high, and circular, with a diameter of about 1.5 m., closed, but hollow, and built of flat stones very regularly. They were not Eskimo-huts or meat-graves, and the building was too regular and careful to have been built by Eskimos.

FIND OF ARTIFICIALLY BUILT DUCK NESTS IN GREENLAND.

At St. Helena, a small rock-island in the western corner of Jones Sound, where the eider duck breeds, we also discovered artificial nests for these birds ; on the flat sand, or stone-bank, which marked an earlier strand-line, two parallel flag-stones were erected, and a third one behind to serve as shelter, and sometimes even a fourth stone as roof. I have not heard that the Eskimos erect such nests ; they usually never think of the following day, to say nothing of the next year. But in northern Norway and in Iceland they are well known up to the present day. American whale-hunters are said once to have been far west in Jones Sound ; but this is very uncertain, and it is not very likely that such people have done this thing. The nests must have been erected by people who used to come here every year.

EXTREME POINT REACHED BY THE NORSEMEN.

It may also be remembered that Nares mentions two curious sea-marks at the top of Washington Irving Island, about $79^{\circ} 32'$ N. lat. and $73^{\circ} 15'$ W. lat., in Kane Basin, which do not seem to be of any use to the Eskimos. When we add to this that Washington Irving Island and the western part of Jones Sound are situated at the end of waters open every year and easily approachable, where there are especially good whale-grounds, the best in these waters, I do not hesitate to say that this is the extreme point which the ancient Norsemen reached."

So far, Mr. Schei's observations, which seem to me to be of great importance, and to prove that the Norwegian settlers of Greenland in ancient times reached nearly as far North as their modern descendants.

READING OF MAESHOWE RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Among papers published in Norway during the last year I may mention "Tre Orknöiske Runeindskrifter" (Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandlinger, 1903, No. 10) by Magnus Olsen, M.A., in which the author gives a reading of three of the inscriptions (xxii., xviii., and xvi.) in the grave-mound of Maeshowe, near Stennes, on the Mainland of Orkney. The inscriptions xviii. and xvi. are especially interesting. Mr. Olsen proves that they are in verse, and reads them thus :—

(xviii.) *þessar rúnar
væist sú maðr
er rýnstr er
fyrir vestan haf,*

(xvi.) *með þeirri óksi,
er átti Gaukr
Trandils sonr
fyrir sunnan land.*

"These runes wrote the man, who was the most expert in rune-lore west of the sea, with the axe that Gauk Trandilsson at the southern country [*i.e.*, the southern part of Iceland] owned."

This Gauk Trandilsson is also mentioned in Njál's Saga (ch. 26), as a foster-brother of the powerful Icelandic chieftain Asgrim Ellidagrimsson (960-980). Mr. Olsen, in his interesting paper, also points out a connection between the Maeshowe inscriptions and the celebrated Rök inscription at Østergötland, in Sweden, the longest and most interesting Runic inscription from the Viking ages.

The District Secretary for Somersetshire (Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.A.) writes :—

BATTLEFIELD OF BRUNANBURH.

ON November 25th, 1903, the ancient chapel of St. Catherine, standing within ancient entrenchments on the summit of Milton Hill, near Milton Abbey, Dorset, was reopened, after careful and happily conservative restoration, which was much needed. The chapel has an interest of its own to the Club, as it is connected closely with one of the most decisive battles between the Saxon and Northern invaders, that of Brunanburh. According to the "Egil's Saga," a contingent of Norsemen, under the leadership of the Iclander Egil and his brother, fought on the side of Athelstan against the Danes and Scots in this battle, the English victory being in a great measure due to their valour.

The tradition of the chapel is that, while encamped in the entrenchments previous to the battle, Athelstan had a revelation of coming victory, and on his return from Brunanburh commemorated the vision by the founding of the chapel on the spot where the supernatural encouragement had been vouchsafed to him. At the same time he is said to have founded Milton Abbey itself as a thankoffering.

Probable sites of the battlefield of Brunanburh are many, and among them Leland locates the field on "Brunedown," between Colyton and Axminster, in this district, giving a very detailed account of the losses on

either side. But wherever the actual scene of the battle may have been, there is no reason to doubt that on his victorious return to Wessex, Athelstan may well have marked the starting-point of his march against the invaders by building the little chapel which is now preserved for still longer commemoration of ancient troubles. The building, which has been restored to some extent in the Perpendicular period, still has its remains of very rough early Norman, or perhaps Saxon, work, which may again be a restoration of the original building. The preservation of the chapel is decidedly a matter for congratulation.

THE DANISH CAMP ON THE OUSE, NEAR BEDFORD.

By A. R. GODDARD, B.A.

I.

TO appreciate the good reasons there are for connecting the camp at Willington, or, as Domesday calls it, *Welitone*, with the attack of the East Anglian Danes on Bedford in 921, it will be necessary to recall the course of events. Forty-three years had passed since Alfred's great victory at Ethandune, and the Frith of Wedmore which followed had cut the country into two parts by a line drawn up the rivers Thames, Lea, and Ouse, and along the straight Roman road of Watling Street. All on the south and west of this boundary belonged to Alfred and his English, who were now being knit together into a strong and progressive nation; and all on the north and east to the Danes of the Danelagh. So long as King Alfred lived, this frontier was mutually respected; but when his son, Edward the Elder, came to the throne in 901, the new king's cousin, Ethelwald, stirred up the Danes of Northumbria and East Anglia against him, and led them in a dashing raid over into Mercia. When they were driven back, Edward, in his turn, swept through their country as far as the Fenland and the Cambridgeshire dykes, now for the first time named in history. The years that followed were full of strife, but the king, supported by his vigorous sister, Ethelfleda, gradually advanced eastwards and northwards, securing his hold by fortresses at salient points, until he felt himself able to aim at the recovery of all East Anglia.

At that time Bedford was the most important frontier town on the north-east angle of the English territory, but as it stood altogether on the north side of the Ouse, it was wholly in Danish hands. In 915 the Danish jarl Thurketyl, with all the haullds or higher yeomen and almost all the chief townsmen, sought King Edward for their lord, and four years later he took possession of the town and confirmed his hold by adding a new quarter to it on his own side of the river. Foreseeing trouble, Thurketyl obtained permission to withdraw with his men into France. In 921 the Danes of East Anglia and Huntingdon, mustering at their stronghold in the latter place, set off up the Ouse, in the hope, as the Chronicle tells us, "that by battle and war they might get more of the land again." In trying to follow on their trail, we shall be in full cry on a scent which has been cold for a thousand years; but it is surprising how many helps there are to lead us on to something like certainty. We have the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which says to us: "See! the rascals went here, and there, and here!" We have the labours of distinguished students of the records and remains of the early Norsemen, which supply much useful guidance to any scout who would fare on the Viking spoor; and we have sundry entrenchments and place-names to give us the print of their hoof on the ground of their ancient haunts.

From Huntingdon, then, in the summer of the year 921, the Danish *skiphere* or ship-host set out up the river, and we next hear of them at Tempsford—the *Tamiseforde* of Domesday—where they "wrought a work" and thoroughly settled themselves, making it their new headquarters in place of Huntingdon. Even the name lingers on in its Danish form, for "Temps" is the Saga name for Thames.¹ At this place there is a very strong little encampment, one of the few held by all our earthwork authorities to be undoubtedly of Danish origin. It is planted

¹*Jomsvikinga Saga*; Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," II., p. 480; *Olaf's Saga*; Ibid, p. 484. *Knyttlinga Saga*; Ibid, II., p. 489.

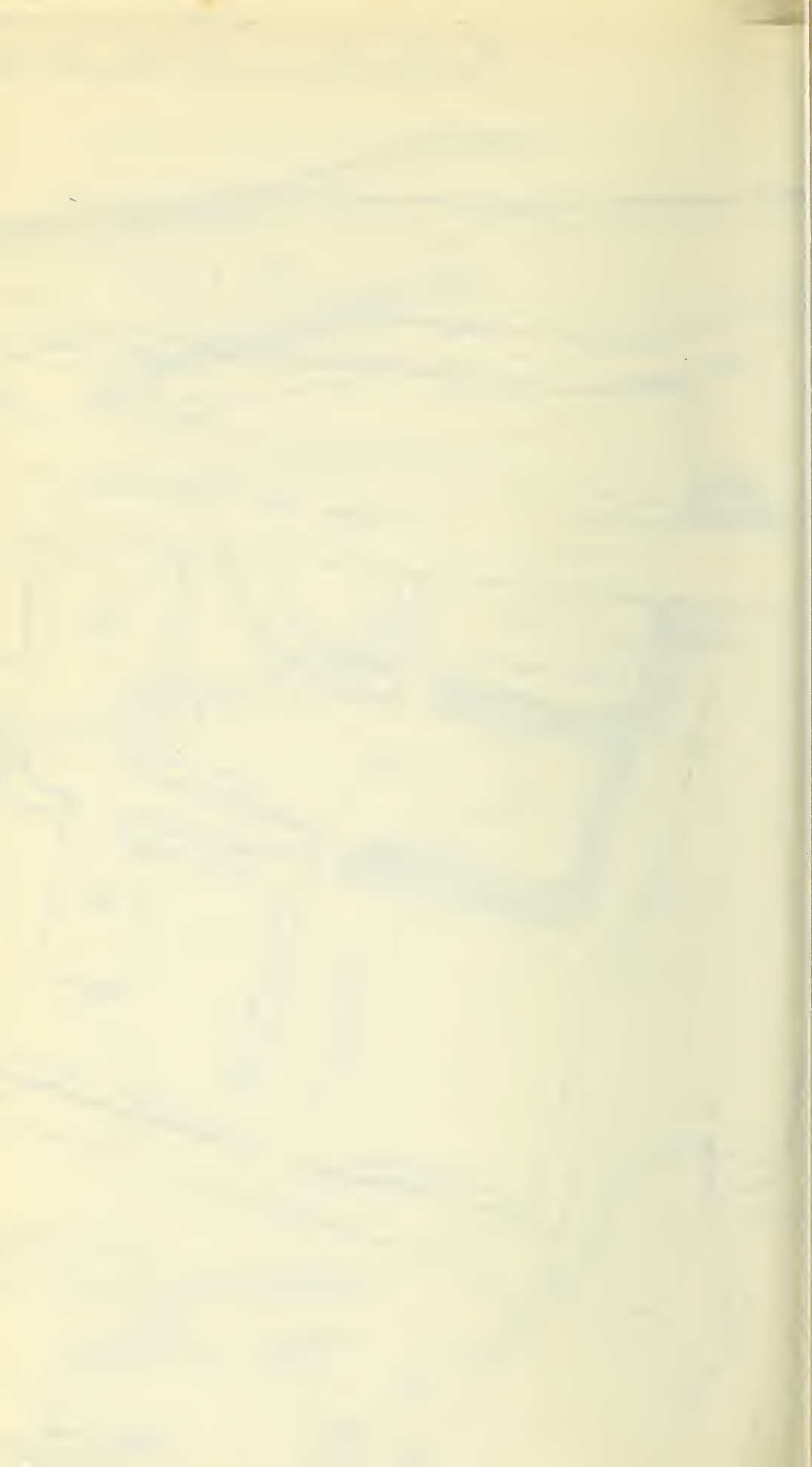
down near the junction of the Ivel and the Ouse, and is oblong in shape, 120 feet by 84 feet, with great ramparts and ditches, and a small mound commanding the entrance towards the Ivel.

II.

Four miles from Tempsford, also on the south side of the Ouse, and about halfway to Bedford, stands the Willington camp. It is locally known as "The Warren." The rabbits are the only inhabitants of many a deserted stronghold. The name "Coneygear," found in various places, is a sign of their presence, and also of the local ignorance as to the previous inhabitants.

There is a record of an Edwardian castle at Willington, and these earthworks have been supposed to mark its position, but this can hardly have been. The church, with 13th century detail discovered during recent restoration, stands nearly half a mile distant, adjoining the remains of an old manor-house built by the Gostwicks in Henry VIII.'s time, now turned into a farmhouse. Mediæval manor-houses generally did for former castles, what later farmhouses have done for them—occupy their sites, and incorporate their ruins; often, as here, arm-in-arm with the church. Moreover, these banks and ditches by the river side are earthworks pure and simple, with no likeness to the plan of anything Edwardian.

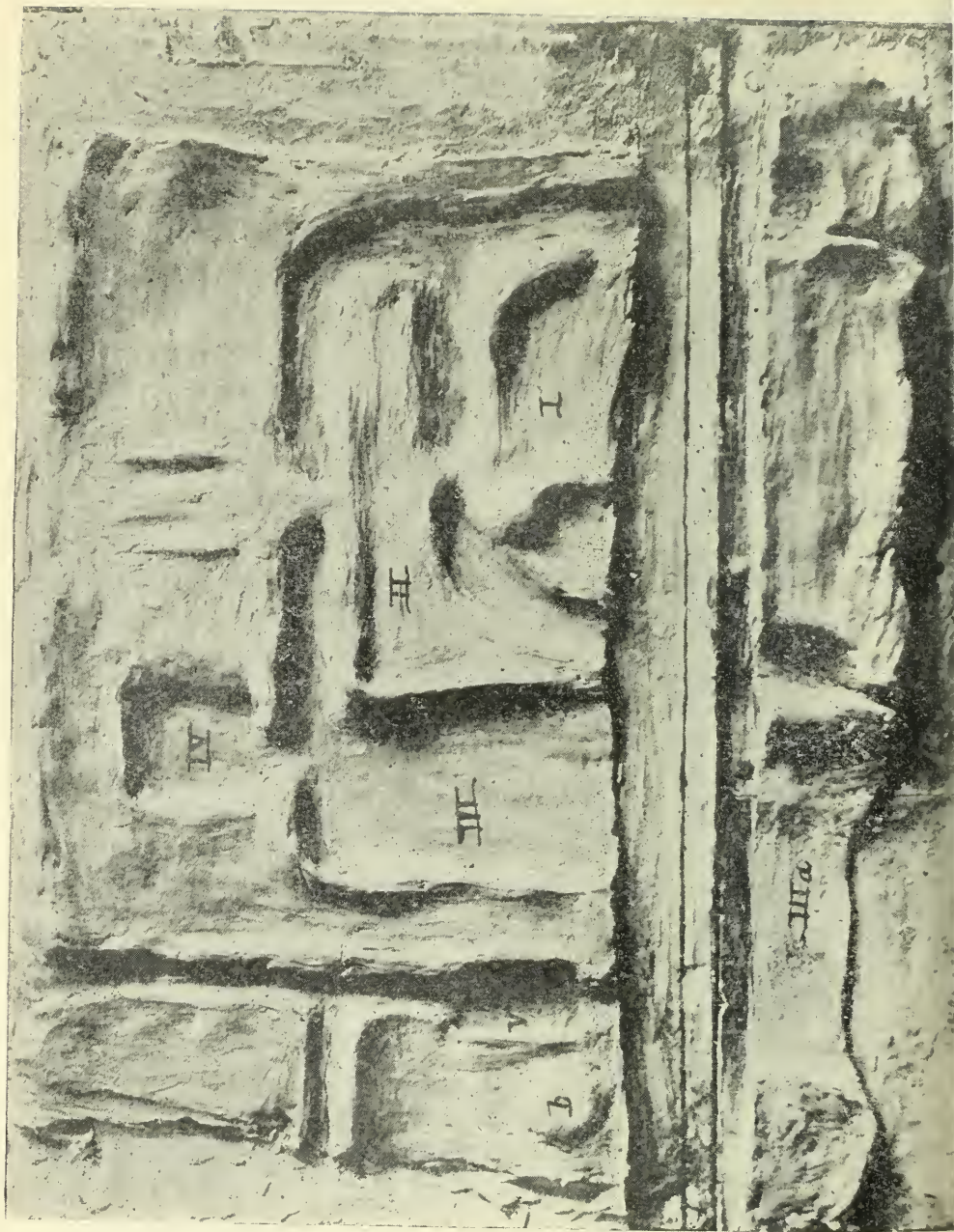
The general scheme of the work can easily be traced. The ramparts and moats are bold and fine, but are all shaped out of level ground, with no large conical or rounded mound such as so often formed the central arx of the stronghold of lord or baron, even in the same county. There are here an inner ward, an outer ward, and a large exterior enclosure. The camp had its back to the river, but how it was finished on that side we cannot tell, as forty years ago the London and North-Western Railway ran its line right through it. Each ward had its rampart and fosse, and the entrances to both are clearly marked. That to the inner ward was commanded by a



small mound, the site, no doubt, of a stockaded tower. The whole work was surrounded by an exterior line of entrenchment, of which much remains, although a modern road now takes up most of the south fosse, and a hedge grows on the rampart side. When all the ramparts were stockaded, and the moats full of water, the position was a formidable one.

It will be asked: "What is there about the place to suggest that the Northmen had anything to do with it?" The answer will be found in several details which would not suit the work of any other period, nor any other people. The south fosse of the outer ward, for the most part about 35 to 40 feet across, turns at a right angle to proceed towards the water, when it alters its character altogether, and is no longer a fosse, but a broad shallow sinking, 6 feet deep below the top of its banks, and measuring 68 feet across at the higher end, and 110 feet across where it is interrupted by the railway embankment. Its length to this point is 170 feet. It shelves down towards the river all the way, and on the other side of the rail broadens out to a width of 230 feet. Here it is cut through the original bank of the river, which is composed of a hard compact gravel, and which stands some 10 or 12 feet above the water level. The moat ends, which also appear on this side of the rail, are not thus carried through, but are stopped before they reach the river, having only narrow runnels in communication with it. There can be no doubt that the broad shallow cutting, opening on to the river at a right angle, was intended for a harbour. Even now the water makes a little bay of its own at the mouth, and the Rev. A. Orlebar, the vicar of Willington, states that before the railway was made the water invaded the whole area of the harbour, which was in great request when frosts made skating possible.

There are two other features which would be natural adjuncts of a Norse or Danish water-burg. About 60 feet to the east of the harbour, the main exterior moat, here about 20 feet wide, runs down parallel with it towards the



river. Near the railway bank at the foot it is shaped into an oblong cutting, 6 feet deep, 72 feet long, and 35 feet wide, out of which the moat continues, as before, towards the water. This oblong has two shelving entrances at the north ends of its long sides, some 18 feet wide; in a line with which a similar gap appears in the near side of the harbour. This singular cutting has all the appearance of having been one of those "nausts," or ship-sheds, which figure so often in the Sagas. In Mr. Thorstein Erlingsson's "Ruins of the Saga Time,"¹ he gives full descriptions and plans of the remains of several "nausts" examined and excavated by him during his tour in Iceland in 1895. The Flókanaust, especially, is full of interest, as dating from the expedition of Hrafn-Flóki, who wintered on the shore of the Vatnsfjörð in 865, and who gave the island its name. It was for a single ship, measuring about 70 feet by 26 feet, and was dished out in much the same way as this oblong hollow at Willington. Its end was open to the fjörð, and its outer wall was of turf; its inner wall, adjoining the foundation of Flóki's *skali*, was of turf and stone. The lateral entrances in the Willington example seem to suggest that ships may have been drawn across the short intervening space from the harbour and here docked, perhaps for repair. Rollers for the purpose of placing under ships when they were to be thus dragged over land were commonly carried by the Vikings, and the Lodbroka Saga tells of a fatal accident that once happened during the process.² These nausts were often roofed over, but probably this was not the case here, as the camp was only a brief resting-place for the invaders, and that during summer.

To the east of the naust an additional court has been added outside the exterior ditch, of which part of the bank and trenching remains, but part has been ploughed out in the adjoining field. Close to the naust, in touch with its eastern entrance, there is the base of another mound,

¹ Published by the Viking Club, 1899.

² "Viking Age," II., p. 149.

25 feet across by 3 feet high, which may have been the site of a wooden shed for the use of the repairers.

The other feature referred to occurs at the head of the harbour, where the ramparts are pierced for entrance into a depression of a similar kind but larger, which measures 110 feet by 60 feet. Its bottom is slightly above that of the harbour, and its east and south sides are clearly defined, but the west is shelving and irregular. This place was probably some kind of additional dock.

III.

Oman, in his "Art of War," thus summarises the methods of the Danes in their expeditions¹:—"Their base of operations was, of course, their fleet, and such expeditions always ended in a swift return to their boats. As a rule their method was to work up some great stream. . . . When they got to the point where it was no longer navigable, or where a fortified city stretching across both banks made further progress impossible, they would moor their ships, or draw them ashore. They would then protect them with a stockade, leave part of their force as a garrison to guard it, and undertake circular raids with the rest. On the approach of a superior force they were accustomed in their earlier days to hurry back to their vessels, drop down stream, and escape to sea."

There are not many entrenchments in England which can be definitely said to be of Danish origin, and even of these, such as the works at Beamfleet and Shoebury, but little is now left, beyond portions of their outer rampart and fosse. Nor do we find much to help us in the foreign chroniclers. There are, however, a few quotations which bear on the subject. "After their wont," says one writer, speaking of the Danes on the Dyle, "they fortified themselves with timber and banks of earth."² The same authority records that "a *palatium* of huge size, with seaward defences, provided them a stronghold secure against an enemy."² Giraldus tells us that the

¹ *Ib.*, p. 97.

² "Regino," 891 and 881, Oman's "Art of War."

Danes incastellated Ireland in suitable places, "whence the endless trenches, very deep and round, and for the most part triple."¹ The description of Jomsburg in the Jomsvikinga Saga is also much to the purpose. Fifty years later than these events on the English Ouse, Palnatoke established himself on the Isle of Wollin in Pomerania, or Vendland, as the old Norse writers call it. There, to quote the Saga, "he had a large and strong seaburg made. He also had a harbour made within the burg, in which 300 long ships could lie at the same time, all being locked in the burg." The description ends: "the burgs thus built are called seaburgs, and so the harbour came to be within it."² In a fine map of Pomerania, dated 1784, there is a site in this island marked Danneberg,³ and it is interesting to find that Dr. Steenstrup has recently examined and identified the remains of this old seaburg at the rear of the island, although, like the Isle of Thanet, it is an island no more.⁴

IV.

It must be remembered that in former times, as is shown by the alluvium which covers the flat valley of the Ouse at this point, the river must have been a wide lagoon right up to Bedford, in places half a mile in width. The maps of the geological survey show the old confines of the river very clearly, and in flood times the water spreads itself out over the valley to the full extent of its ancient boundaries, as, for instance, in 1885, 1894, and nearly so in 1903.

The evidence, therefore, of the Saxon Chronicle for the course of this Danish raid, and of the remains themselves, all goes to establish the conviction that in these Willington earthworks we have what is left of a Danish waterburg, which once gave shelter to a squadron of

¹ "Topographica Hibernica Gir. Camb." Rolls Series, v. 138.

² "Viking Age," II., p. 162.

³ "Atlas Universel." Venise, 1784. Pl. 44.

⁴ Steenstrup, "Venderne og de Danske," pp. 47-52.

their ships, while their fighting men, with their brynjas and battle-axes, crossed over the river that they might march to the attack of Bedford. If so, we should find further traces of them on the other side where the action was fought. Immediately opposite Willington, on a height overlooking the northern bank of the river, is the small but well-known encampment in Renhold parish. It is circular in form, with a great rampart enclosing an area only 120 feet in diameter, and with a ditch 50 feet wide, and formerly much deeper, but largely filled up within recent years. It is too small to have been one of the old tribal strongholds, and too strong to have been anything but a military work. As the fight took place between this place and Bedford, along the north side of the river, this outpost may very well have been the work of the Danes at this time, by which they secured their passage of the river. It will be of interest to make a conjecture as to their numbers. This was not one of their great oversea expeditions, but a movement of the local forces of the East Anglian Northmen. They must also have left a portion of their strength at Tempsford. It may be that the dimensions of the harbour can help us here. Taking the Gokstad ship as an average unit, there was room in the harbour for between 25 to 30 ships, without taking the docks into account. Allowing a crew of between 80 to 100 men for each ship, this would give us a force of between 2,000 and 2,500. Of these, some would remain behind to guard the ships, and as they were routed by the burghers of a single town, with such local levies as they could draw upon, it is possible that our guess may not be very wide of the mark.

Notice should here be taken of the place-names. Renhold appears in early mediæval records as Ronhale, or Ranhale. In a charter of Warden Abbey it appears as Ravenshold. The adjoining parish is Ravensden or Ravenstone. Neither place is directly named in Domesday, but there was a Rauan, or Raven, a man of "Ulmar [or Hjalmar] of Eaton," at Beeston, about six miles dis-

tant to the south-east. Mr. Collingwood points out in the SAGA-BOOK for 1902 the prevalence of these Raven place-names in our Scandinavian districts, just as there are Hrafnснаust and Hrafnseyri in Iceland, named after the settler. Romantic associations touching the Raven-standards must give place to something more real.

Now to end our history. Crossing the water, after detaching garrison-guards for both their posts, the Danish force marched on the north side of the river with their faces for Bedford. They never reached the town, for the burghers felt themselves strong enough to take the offensive, and out they go to meet the enemy. There is evidence that the shock of battle took place about a mile from the town. The end was disastrous for the Northmen, who were utterly routed with heavy slaughter. Leland mentions the discovery of skeletons on this side of the town, which he supposes were the dead buried during the siege of Bedford castle in 1224. But, as further skeletons, lying east and west, and with Saxon swords and spear heads beside them, were turned up in the same place about six years ago, during the levelling of the ground for the new Russell Park, it is more likely that all these were the remains of the English slain in this fight, three centuries earlier. A mile on the Bedford side of the Renhold fort there is a large howe, known as Risinghoe, and close to it a small bridge crosses a now narrow stream, which the natives always call "Bloody Battle" bridge. Leland and other writers have considered the mound to be part of a castle, and speak of earthworks near it. Certainly, it might have formed the "hold" of one of the early manorial works with moated mounds which are found in various parts of the country, as at Cainhoe and Totternhoe; but all traces of the entrenchment lines at Risinghoe have long since vanished, and there is no sign of a moat about the mound. It has now, at any rate, much more the appearance of a barrow, and even the name suggests that it may have been the *haugr*, of Hrisingr, perhaps one of the Danish leaders

slain in the fight. Excavation only can settle the point.¹

To conclude. It may be asked if the camp at Willington really belonged to the story of this campaign, why is there no reference to the place in the Chronicle? A sufficient answer is prompted by what we know of the course of the operations. As already stated, it seems probable that the Danes, after their manner, left their ships under guard, safely "locked in the harbour," and then crossed the river to make their attack on foot. After the rout, their numbers thinned by the slaughter of the battle and flight, they must have felt that their station was too near the redoubtable Bedford to be held with safety, and remembering the capture of their fleets at Beamfleet and Hertford, only six and twenty years before, would retire with all haste upon their base at Tempsford. Here, a few weeks later, a strong English force did attack them, wiping them out, and destroying their station. It follows that Willington was only briefly occupied, and, not having been the scene of fighting, was not referred to in the history of the war.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the above paper, Mr. F. T. Norris said that he was disposed to support Mr. Goddard's theory of the Danish origin of the camp he described on account of its general similarity in site and details to another camp on the banks of the Roding at Barking, which also, he had grounds for supposing, had its naust and arrangements for safely securing a fleet. As regards the etymology of "Willington," he suggested that the first syllable might be from the root we find in A.S. *wealhstow*, field of the slain.

Mr. A. F. Major, in expressing his appreciation of the paper, said he was doubtful whether such an elaborate camp as that described by Mr. Goddard would have been

¹ As this paper goes to press the Risinghoe is being tunnelled to set the doubt at rest.

thrown up for so purely temporary an occupation as the argument seemed to require. Could such extensive works have been planned and carried out in the short space of time which the Danish campaign in 921, described by Mr. Goddard, apparently occupied?

Colonel Hobart said he thought the title of the lecture should have indicated which Ouse was referred to, as he had come in the full expectation of hearing about the Yorkshire Ouse. He would like very much to see a map of the district showing the course of the Ouse to the sea. He also wished to know whether the naust was a dry dock into which the ships would have to be dragged, or whether the river flowed freely into it.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson wanted to know how the earthworks were made, whether they were merely banks of earth thrown up, or were built upon a central core. A work that was supposed to be a Danish camp still existed round the Bishop's Palace at Fulham. There was formerly a small harbour there, and remains of it were still in existence, though the County Council had almost improved it away. It would be worth while comparing these works with those described by Mr. Goddard. He also commented on the shape of the earthworks and the circular mounds described by Mr. Goddard, whose structure should be examined and compared with that of other circular works.

The lecturer, in reply, said that the harbour was cut right through the river bank, and both it and the ditches round the camp were full of water before the process of silting up, and, finally, the making of the railway cut them off from the river. As to the size of the place, it was not, after all, so very big, and an army of 2,000 or 3,000 men would throw it up in a comparatively short time. The ground was all much on a level, and the harbour originally would not have been more than some three or four feet deep:

SOME NOTES ON THE NORSEMEN IN ARGYLLSHIRE AND ON THE CLYDE.

BY R. L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L.

IT was one of the curious intuitions of Thomas Carlyle that the highlanders of Scotland were a "Norse breed," although he candidly admitted: "I have never got anyone to agree with me." Although the ethnology of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of Alban and their share in the production of the Celtic breed, or, more accurately, of the Gaelic division of the Celtic breed as contrasted with the Brythonic division, are still subjects of discussion, there are some recent developments of Celtic research, which afford an interesting corroboration of Carlyle's theory as far as the West Highlands are concerned.

That Orkney and Shetland and the north-east coast of Scotland were and are Norse to the backbone everyone is prepared to admit; but that the Norsemen had lasting settlements on the west coast is still quite astonishing to the man in the street. Anyone who is in the least degree familiar with either Irish Annals or the Northern Sagas is, of course, well aware how close the connection was in Viking days between Scandinavia and the Hebrides. But it is surprising even to the student of the fascinating literature of the Northlands to find that the traces are so numerous and so manifest as they are.

The Norsemen occupied our Western Islands and loch-riven coast-line, roughly speaking, for a period of 500 years, say from 800 to 1300 A.D.; but it has hardly been realised that during the greater part of that time (888 to 1263, when the battle of Largs was fought) the kings of

Norway were the sovereign masters of our whole western border; and it is only now that Celtic scholarship has begun to discover the remarkable number of place-names and folk-names of Scandinavian origin that crowd the maps and parish registers of the West Highlands, and tell, more eloquently than any history, how strong the Norse contribution has been to the ethnology of these fair firths and islands.

Pinkerton (one of the historians of Scotland) maintained, a century ago, that the Picts were of Gothic or Teutonic origin, and came over from Norway about 300 B.C. John Hill Burton, who wrote before the more recent philological developments, also maintains that "it is certain that droves of them" (*i.e.*, Scando-Gothic searovers) "came over centuries before the Hengest and Horsa of the stories, if they were not indeed the actual large-boned, red-haired men whom Agricola described to his son-in-law" ("History," *i.*, p. 302). It is certain that Tacitus and his observant father-in-law and authority Agricola were convinced that the Caledonians were of Gothic or Teutonic origin. Stephens, in his monumental work on the Old Northern runic stones, after recording the various settlements of "military barbarians" introduced by the Roman Emperors into Britain for political reasons in the third and fourth centuries, adds:

But, besides all these, there were from an early period local settlements of Scando-Teutonic origin. Not to speak of the far older Belgæ spoken of by Cæsar as early as the end of the second century and beginning of the third, the various barbarian tribes or bands known under the mythic name Saxons (as all Europeans are called Franks in the East) had become so harassing to the Roman power in Britain . . . that a Roman "Count of the Saxon shore" was nominated in each land to control them.¹

THE OSSIANIC CYCLE.

The whole question, moreover, of the Norse element in the ancient Ossianic literature, both Erse and Gaelic, is one which deserves to be more fully studied than it seems to have been hitherto. As all who have read the

¹ Introd., pp. 61, 62.

admirable collections of West Highland folk tales and poems made by the late Mr. J. F. Campbell of Islay, and more recently by Lord Archibald Campbell, are aware, the "Ossianic Cycle," as it is called, is full of references to Lochlann and its folk, "The King of Lochlann" and his son and daughter are characters almost as familiar as the fairy godmother or the enchanted prince of our childhood's fairy tales.

Fingal, the great Ossianic hero (who is never called Fingal, but always Fionn, in the genuine traditions) is represented as the leader of a band of warriors called the Feinne, and in many of the poems and tales of the Ossianic cycle, as we have them, Fionn and the Feinne are the champions of their country against the Lochlannaigh, "the men of the King of Lochlan." In the Irish Saga, Fionn's country is, as it seems really to have been, Eirinn. In the Gaelic versions of Macpherson and his school his principal home is Morvern, in Argyllshire; but the Morvern of which Fingal was king does not appear elsewhere in Gaelic literature or tradition.

Now the date of the quasi-historic Fionn can be approximately settled.¹ Most of the incidents in the Irish versions of the Fionn saga-cycle occur in the reign of Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and in the reign of his son Cairbre. Cormac's reign lasted from 227 to 268 A.D., and the battle of Gabhra, which finally put an end to the power of the Feinne, took place in Cairbre's reign, 283 A.D. If, therefore, we could assume that the legends have come down to us *in their original forms*, it would clearly follow that there had been repeated Norse invasions immediately after the Roman occupation at the latest, and possibly long before it. Unfortunately, however, this is a quite impossible assumption. Even the earliest manuscripts we have (dating perhaps from 800 to

¹ I am aware that Prof. Zimmer places Fionn in the eleventh century, but the balance of authority seems to be against his theory. See Maclean, "Lit. of the Celts," p. 179; and also Mr. David Nutt in "Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," vol. ii. (1890), p. 426.

900 A.D.) are apparently redactions from much earlier forms, and what is true of the manuscript materials is, of course, more emphatically true of the mass of traditional lore that is still floating about the West Highland sheilings, passed on orally from one generation to another for over one thousand five hundred years.

The view of modern Celtic scholarship appears to be that the Norse element in the Ossianic cycle is of comparatively late growth—an accretion of the tenth and eleventh centuries, in fact—and that the old Celtic heroes, Fionn, Ossian, Dermid, Oscar, and the rest—all really of much earlier date—are introduced and the incidents of their careers so altered and adapted as to present them as the national, or rather racial, defenders of Erin and Alban against the Viking raiders of the eighth and ninth centuries. That this is true of some of the ballads and tales there can be no doubt; but the question still remains pertinent whether the existence of a Scandinavian occupation in the first century of our era and of constant intercommunication between the Lochlanners and the men of Alban and Erin in those subhistorical times would not sufficiently account for the greater part of the Scandinavian element in these early Celtic sagas. The question is one for thoroughly equipped Celtic scholars; but one cannot help thinking that the ever-growing mass of cumulative evidence of a deeper and closer racial affinity between Norseman and Celt than historians like Skene were at all inclined to admit may at least clear up much that is obscure in the legendary and romantic history of the Sudreyar. Thus, to quote the most recent historian of the Outer Isles, Mr. W. C. Mackenzie:—

It is tolerably clear that the Saxon confederation which gave so much trouble to the Roman arms in Britain included the Scandinavians. According to Boece, the Danes were in Scotland at the time of Agricola. The Danish historian, Saxo Grammaticus, tells us of incursions by the Norsemen to these Islands long before the eighth century, which is the period usually assigned to the first appearance of the Scandinavians on our coasts. Irish tradition relates that, centuries prior to the commencement of the Christian era, the Hebrides were ruled by the Fomorians or

sea-kings, who are generally believed to have been Scandinavian rovers, although, from some accounts, they might have been Phœnicians. We read of a great expedition to Ireland under the two Fomorian Chiefs, "Balor of the Evil Eye, King of the Islands," and "Tudech son of De-Domnand," who collected all the men and ships lying from Scandinavia westwards, so that they formed an unbroken bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the north-west coast of Erinn. This expedition, we are told, ended in the defeat of the Fomorians at the great battle of Moytura. We may believe as much or as little of this as we choose, but the tradition tends to confirm the belief that the Hebrides were overrun by Scandinavian pirates at a period *long anterior to the eighth century*.¹

Among the many casual side-proofs of the antiquity of the Norse element in our Caledonian population, one is afforded by the "Lodbrokar Qviða," the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrog, where the hero twice (strophes 25 and 27) speaks of Odin under the name of Vithris, and we know that the worship of the god Vetres was noted by the Romans as localised in the northern parts of Britain.²

In the "Prehistoric Remains of Caithness," by Samuel Laing, M.P., F.G.S., with "Notes on the Human Remains" by Professor Huxley, the evidence of the "barrows" is summed up thus (pp. 133, 136):

Dr. Thurnam has adduced a good many reasons for believing that the Belgic element intruded upon a pre-existing dolichocephalic (*i.e.*, long-headed) Iberian population; but I think it probable that this (*i.e.*, the Belgic) element hardly reached Ireland at all, and extended but little into Scotland.³ However, if this were the case, and no other elements entered into the population, the tall fair red-haired man and blue-eyed dolicephali, who are, and appear always to have been, so numerous among the Irish and Scotch, could not be accounted for. But their existence becomes intelligible at once if we suppose that, long before the well-known Norse and Danish invasions, a stream of Scandinavians had set into Scotland and formed a large part of our primitive population. And there can be no difficulty in admitting this hypothesis when we recollect that the Orkneys and the Hebrides have been in comparatively late historical times, Norwegian possessions.

¹ Mackenzie's "Hist. of Outer Hebrides," pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.

² Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 399, quoted by Burton, "Hist," i., p. 222, *note*.

³ See Dr. Bryce's conclusions from the study of the megalithic cairns of Arran and Kintyre, where the remains and pottery are distinctly Iberian. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scot.*, vol. xii. p. 74, etc., and vol. xiii. p. 36, etc. 3rd series.

This conclusion of ethnological science singularly reinforces Pinkerton's view that the Picts were a Gothic people, and is itself, as we shall see, strongly supported by the new science of comparative philology.

RACIAL MOVEMENTS.

Let me try in a few rapid sentences to sketch the racial movements in Scotland about the time of the Vikings, say 800 A.D. Scotland was not then a united kingdom, and its modern name had not been invented. It was called Alban, and Scotia up to the tenth century meant Ireland, the land of the Scots. The Gaelic name for Ireland, however, was Erin. Alban was, in fact, broken up into four kingdoms. By far the largest of these was (1) the Kingdom of the Picts, which extended over the whole of Alban north of the Forth. Next, and much smaller in extent, but *facile princeps* in point of culture and civilisation, came (2) the Kingdom of the Scots, who had some three centuries before (498) begun to come over as colonists from Ireland, and had acquired an independent monarchy in 575 A.D. They possessed the whole of what is now called Argyllshire,¹ including Kintyre, Arran, Bute, Jura, Islay, half of Mull and Iona. This Scotie kingdom was called Dalriàda and its capital was Dunstaffnage near Oban.

The third kingdom was (3) the Kingdom of the Britons of Strathclyde, known later as the Cumbrian kingdom. Its capital was the strong natural fortress of Alclutha (Alcluith, Alclyd), which is still called "Dumbarton" (*i.e.*, Dun Breatan, the fort of the Britons). This kingdom extended from the Clyde estuary southward, embracing Ayrshire, Dumfries and Galloway, and Cumberland, and included one important section of the Welsh or Cymric or Brittonic race, which, so far as language goes, is now confined to Wales. "Dr. Beddoe

¹ Subsequently the whole mainland coast from the Mull of Kintyre to Loch Broom was called Oirir-Gaethil, which means "the coast lands of the Gael," and is the origin of the name "Argyll." The Norse name for Oirir-Gaethil was Dalir.

regards the tall hillmen of Galloway and upper Strathclyde as the best representatives of the Brittonic race, Wales itself being very much mixed in blood.”¹ The fourth kingdom was (4) the Kingdom of the Angles of Bernicia, which extended from the Firth of Forth southwards to the Humber. About 650 the Angles of Bernicia obtained under Oswiu (Skene, “Celt. Scot.,” vol. i., pp. 256 *et seq.*) dominion over the Britons, the Scots, and the Southern Picts, which lasted in the case of the Picts for more than a century. About 30 years, however, after Oswiu’s victory the Scots and the Britons appear to have recovered their independence and waged many wars among themselves. By-and-by, the Scots of Dalriada became gradually more powerful and spread steadily eastward, and finally (whether by conquest or intermarriage is not fully known) the King of the Scots, Kenneth McAlpin, obtained the throne of the Picts also (844 A.D.).² As we shall see, the Norsemen in all probability took an important part in this remarkable revolution, and thus contributed to the ultimate unification of Scotland as a single monarchy. A century later (945) King Eadmund of England overran Cumbria, and ceded it to Malcolm, King of the Scots, on condition that he should be his ally on sea and land. In the end of the tenth century (Skene, “Celt. Scot.,” vol. i., p. 398) the name of Scotia did come to denote the middle part of Alban. But it was not until after the Norse Kingdom of the Isles had been ended by the battle of Largs, in 1263, that the word Scotland was adopted as the name of the united kingdom of Alexander III.

Now while these movements were going on, what of the Norsemen?

THE VIKING PERIOD.

The history of their dominion in the isles and on the western mainland began with a number of isolated

¹ Dr. Macbain in Skene’s “Highlanders of Scotland,” ed. 1902, Excursus, p. 391.

² Skene, “Celtic Scotland,” vol. i., p. 309.

descents, and our ordinary history-books teem with phrases like, "hordes of Danish pirates," who slaughtered monks and robbed churches and were in a word fiends in human shape. Much wiser and saner are the words of John Hill Burton, the historian, who says :

The Vikings have been assailed in history by many names partaking of a vituperative character—as marauders, pirates, sea-robbers and the like. To these terms there would be no objection but for the element of confusion with the fashions and speech of modern times apt to attend on the use of such words. A Norse rover, and a pirate of last century hung in chains at Rotherhithe, are as different beings as an Oriental monarch who levies contributions on all strangers coming within his power is different from a London footpad. The one is acting up to the principle of the government of his State—not a good principle, it may be—and takes his place as a statesman with a policy ; the other is at variance with the institutions of the State, and amenable to its vengeance.¹

The real secret of the "vituperation" of which Burton speaks is a simple one. The churches were then, as they still are in the country districts of Ireland, the chief, if not the only, repositories of material wealth. Garnished with the gold and silver contributed by, or wrung from, the poverty-stricken populations around them, they were naturally the first object of the Norsemen's attack. Secondly, the churches were the only seats of learning. The only men who could write were monks and abbots and their pupils. The tradition, therefore, of the Norseman's character and visits fell to be recorded by those who hated him most. Here are two highly-coloured specimens of the Celtic records. After describing the many atrocities of "this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people," the writer goes on : "in short until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field, or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount or enumerate or to relate what the Gaedhil, all without distinction, suffered from them, whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young—indignity, outrage, injury and oppression." A little further on this impartial historian lets himself go in this fashion :

¹ "History of Scotland," vol. i., pp. 313. 314.

In a word, although there were an hundred hard steeled iron heads on one neck and an hundred sharp, ready, cool, never-rusting, brazen tongues in each head and an hundred garrulous, loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount or narrate, or enumerate or tell what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble of hardship, of injury, and of oppression, in every house from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people. . . .¹

The literary gift is clearly almost as dangerous as a "horde of piratical Danes!" Prejudice is strong and ecclesiastical hate is peculiarly bitter, and the wonder is, not that the pirate bold and free of that early day who burned Iona and sacked the monasteries should have been almost forgotten even by his children; but that, despite the obloquy of monkish chroniclers, there should still rise so clear before us, if we take the trouble to look for it, the manlike figure of the Norse rover, with his clear blue eye and steady arm, the love of song and of fighting in his heart, and a deep passion for two things: beauty and freedom. That the Celtic maiden loved him is as certain as that the monks abhorred him; else we had never had so great a wealth of folk-names and other traces of him in the land of the Gael. But this is a digression.

In 795 the Ulster Annals announce the ravaging of all the islands (*i.e.*, the Sudreys) by the Norsemen, and the Inisfallen Annals specify I Colmkill,² or Iona, as one scene of their devastation. In 802 Iona is burnt, and in 806 comes the pathetic entry: "The family (or community) of Iona massacred by the foreigners to the number of 68." Another account gives the number of the murdered monks as 48. Apparently 64 were left alive ("Orig. Paroch."). There is no doubt that the wholesale destruction of the monasteries and manuscripts, admittedly carried out by the Northmen

¹ "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," pp. 43, 51, 53.

² *i.e.*, Columcille's I. Columba is still in Gaelic Columcille, *i.e.*, Colum of the cell or church (Latin cella). Iona is a ghost-word, a misreading of Ioua, the "Ioua insula" of Adamnan.

in Erinn and Alban, did much to retard the progress of what is called civilisation, and probably, next to the burning of the library at Alexandria, the massacre of Iona was the worst misfortune the world of letters has ever been called upon to endure. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of Celtic learning, then and since, for the whole Western world.¹ In an age of darkness Ireland was the bearer of many torches, and Iona, her fairest daughter, more than any other, stood for all that was luminous and spiritual, pure and unworldly. The missionaries of Iona left their mark upon almost every corner of Europe, and some of her most precious manuscripts rest to this day in European libraries. If the rough hand of our Gothic forefathers had spared Iona we should have forgiven them much; but Iona went the way of Armagh, Clonmacnois, Lindisfarne and a hundred less notable centres of learning. Doubtless the very clash of Gael and Gall was one prime cause of the marvellous spread of learning in North-western Europe which ultimately gave us the Sagas of Iceland as well as the Sagas of Ireland and the Hebrides, for letters have always flourished best in stirring times; doubtless also the infusion of Norse blood into our Celtic population was an enormous gain. But that the early Western civilisation should have been so heedlessly attacked and all but dashed into ruin must be a keen regret even to those of us who have little love for monks and masses.

Slowly but surely, however, time brought its revenge. The Christian monk was stronger in his weakness than the muscular Viking, and long afterwards Iona became the holy place where Norse kings and warriors, who had turned from Odin to the White Christ, desired that their bones should rest. The tourist who visits Iona to-day

¹ The venerable copy of Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba," dated before 713 A.D., was found first in the Monastery of Reichenau about 1640, when it was transcribed, and again lost until 1799, when it was re-discovered in the town library of Schaffhausen.

will stand beside more tombs of noble Northmen and Skotar-Vikings on that tiny little island than elsewhere in all Scotland or England. This massacre of 806 was by no means the only blow that the Northmen struck at the sanctuary founded by the stalwart Saint Columba 200 years before. In 825 Blathmac McFlainn obtained the crown of martyrdom at their hands. He was killed as he stood before the altar, and refused to tell where the monks had hidden the treasures of their house—the silver shrines which the invaders coveted (An. Ult.).

In 829 the Abbot Diarmid carried the relics of St. Columba to Alban, and two years later to Erinn. This hasty flight with the relics, significant of the dread in which the Northmen were held, had twice to be repeated—in 849 and 878—for the same reason. The tale of Iona's woes was not yet exhausted. In 986, on Christmas Eve, the Abbot and fifteen of the clergy were slain "by the Danes" ("An. Ult."). And in the following year the chronicler notes with grim delight that 360 of the Danes who had celebrated Yule in this sacrilegious fashion were slaughtered "by a miracle of God and St. Columba" ("Orig. Paroch.")

Once more Iona figures in the Sagas, and that is in the year 1093, when Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, visited "eyin helga," "the holy island," on his first expedition to the Sudreys. It is said that he guaranteed to the inhabitants peace and security, and Snorre adds that "King Magnus opened the little 'Kolumba Kirkio' and went therein; but directly locked the door again, and said that no one should dare to enter; and since that time the church has never been opened" (Magnus Barefoot's Saga, quoted in "Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ," p. 232, Worsaae, "Danes," p. 276). Iona was just on the border line between the Nordreyar and Sudreyar and was included, like part of the adjacent and much larger island of Mull, sometimes among the one group and sometimes among the other (ibid).

Isolated descents of the Northmen, then, occurred during

the fifty years following 780. Between 830 and 840 they began to make settlements in Ireland, and this process of settlement was largely helped by the coming of a notable viking-jarl, known to the Irish chroniclers as Turgesius (probably Thorkel) who seems to have had a more statesmanlike conception of the Northmen's destiny in these parts, and of how it was to be attained, than most of his west-faring brothers. He was slain in 845, and from a number of curious coincidences it has been conjectured that he was none other than the half-mythical Ragnar Lodbrok, but this is far from being proved. There is reason to believe, however, that Kenneth mac Alpin, the first king of Scotie blood to attain the throne of the Picts, entered into alliance with Thorkel and other Norse leaders for the advancement of his plans (Skene, "*Celt. Scot.*," i., pp. 307-309). At all events, in 837 or 838 a fleet of three score and five Norse and Danish war-ships arrived at Dublin and afterwards plundered Leinster. It is then said, in the "*Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill*," p. 13, that the Dalriadans met them in another battle, in which Ewan, son of Angus, then King of Dalriada, was slain. It is clear that this is the same battle that is spoken of in the *Annals of Ulster* as "A battle between the foreigners and the men of Fortrenn [Pictland] in which Ewan, son of Angus . . . and others almost innumerable, fell." That this fierce slaughter of the Picts in 839 gave Kenneth mac Alpin his great opportunity is made clear by the *Chronicle of Huntingdon*. Whether or not he allied himself with Thorkel's countrymen in this way, he undoubtedly did so in another, viz., by giving one of his daughters in marriage to a powerful viking-jarl, Olaf the White, afterwards Norse King of Dublin from 853 to 872 (Skene, "*Celt. Scot.*," i., p. 313).

From 838 to 845 our western coasts were swarming with thousands of viking-warriors, and presently there uprose this kingdom of Dublin, one of the most important settlements "west-over-sea." About the same time began

THE NORSE KINGDOM OF THE ISLES.

Although the Sagas are rather contradictory, it would appear that the whole of the Western Isles had been subdued and their government fairly well consolidated by the time of Harald Hairfair, chiefly by Ketil Flatnose, who, according to Heimskringla, was about 870 sent west-over-sea by Harald Hairfair as his lieutenant in these parts. According to the Laxdæla, however, Ketil left Norway of his own accord and settled with much honour in the Hebrides, *where he had been a-viking in the days of his youth*. Ketil Flatnose was himself a notable man, and in these earlier days had given in marriage the most notable of his daughters,¹ variously called "Aud," "Audun," and "Unn," "the Deep-minded" or "the Very Wealthy," to Olaf the White, afterwards King of Dublin. Their son was Thorstein the Red, who, though he died in his early prime,² lived long enough to make his mark broad and deep on the history of North-east Alban. It would be a most interesting piece of work to write the Saga of Olaf the White and his kindred; but in this paper one must be content to refer very briefly to his appearances in Alban.

In 865 or 866 Olaf undertook an important expedition thither. Entering the country probably by the Clyde fjord, the Norsemen of Dublin laid waste Pictland not for the first time, and took a great quantity of booty and many hostages. Skene conjectures that on the death of his father-in-law, Kenneth mac Alpin, in 860, Olaf the White had claimed to have right through his wife to the lordship of certain lands in Alban, and that his claims had been ignored or rejected by his brothers-in-law, Donald and Constantin, who successively held the monarchy after their father. At all events we are told that the Norsemen "carried off with them many hostages

¹ Miss Eleanor Hull, in her most interesting paper in last SAGA-BOOK, surmises that Olaf had two wives at least. I am satisfied that he had *three* wives at least, one Scotie, one Norse, and one Irish.

² He had a daughter of marriageable age (see Laxdæla).

as pledges for tribute, and they were paid tribute for a long time after."¹

This last item of information is given under the date 869, which, if it stood alone, would indicate that Olaf's invasion of Fortrenn lasted three years, or that repeated invasions were made. But we know that in 866 there was fought the battle of York, when Ella, King of the North Saxons, fell; and we also know that the leader of the Northmen who fought against him was Ivar, Ragnar Lodbrog's son. Now, Olaf and Ivar had been closely associated in certain Irish forays; they are described in one place as two kings of the Norsemen, and in another as brothers, which may mean kinsmen.² It is probable, therefore, that Olaf's army was placed at Ivar's disposal in Northumbria to avenge the murder of Lodbrog by the defeat and death of Ella, his murderer. This Northumbrian expedition would fill up the interval from 866 to 869.

In 870 Olaf the White was on the Clyde again with his Norsemen, accompanied this time by Ivar. They laid siege to the strong natural fortress of Dumbarton Rock (Alclyd or Alclutha), and, having reduced the garrison to famine by a close investment of four months' duration and by intercepting their water supply, succeeded in destroying the citadel of the Britons. They carried off an immense quantity of booty and a great number of men, Angles, Britons, and Picts. The expedition returned to Ireland in 871 with two hundred ships laden with prisoners, and that is the last appearance of Olaf in Alban.³

Skene, in his early and now superseded work, "The Highlanders of Scotland," argued that the inhabitants

¹ MacFirbis's transcription of Fragments—"Chron. of Picts and Scots," p. 405.

² Olaf was also related to Ragnar Lodbrok, being grandson of Thora his granddaughter.

³ At a much later date Dumbarton Rock was again the object of a fierce attack by a Norse expedition, but this time it proved too strong for the enemy. This was in 931 A.D. ("Chron. Picts and Scots," p. 407).

of the Western Islands and Man from about 844, the date of the Scotie conquest, were a separate and independent race of Celtic and Pictish origin known as the Gall-gael, who had a monarchy with its seat in the Isle of Man until 1034, after which Kings of the Isles are not called Kings of the Gall-gael. It is now agreed, however, that the Gall-gael or Skotar-Viking, as the Sagas call them, were none other than the turbulent Scotie population of Kintyre and upper Argyll, the Sudreyar proper and Gallo-way with a large infusion of equally turbulent Norse blood derived from the early settlements and inter-marriage of Norsemen among them. The rancour of the monkish historians is particularly vitriolic when they have to refer to the Gall-gael. They describe them to us as sons of perdition who had renounced their baptism and were more diabolic in their wickedness and cruelty than the pagan Gall themselves.

The lordship of the Isles was, therefore, no sinecure, and from the time of Ketil Flatnef it seems to have been held first by the Danes of Limerick. The first "Kings of the Gall-gael" or "Kings of Man and the Isles" were thus direct descendants of Ivar Beinlaus, the son of Ragnar Lodbrok, and close comrade of Olaf the White, King of Dublin. Their chief seat was the Isle of Man, and among them were Arailt (Harald), Ivar's grandson (perhaps the Orree or Gorree of Manx tradition (?)); Magnus mac Arailt (the *rex plurimarum insularum* who was one of the eight princes that rowed King Edgar of England on the Dee); Godfrey mac Arailt; Ragnall mac Godfrey and Svein mac Kenneth, and nephew of Ragnall, whose reign brings us down to 1034.

From the first, the kingdom of the Gall-gael was supposed to be tributary to the Kings of Norway, and from early times a casualty or tribute of 10 marks of gold was paid them by each king on his accession. The times were out of joint, however, and it is probable that the allegiance of the Kings of the Isles was often merely nominal. Now and then, moreover, unattached Viking fleets put in an

appearance, and their captains assumed for a time the practical sovereignty of wide districts. Olaf Trygvason's visit to Man about 988 was one example. Moreover, at one time the Norwegians, at another the Danes, were masters; and at first it is difficult to unravel from the Annals the precise relation in which the two warlike branches of the family stood to each other at any given time. A bold attempt to wrench back the mastership of the Isles from the sons of Ivar was made by Sigurd the Stout, Norse Jarl of Orkney, about 1000 A.D., and he placed Gilli, styled Jarl of the Sudreys, as his lieutenant over them. They were almost immediately recovered, however, by Kenneth, brother of Ragnall, then King of Man and the Isles, and on Ragnall's death in 1004 Kenneth's son Suibne (Svein) reigned for 30 years as the last "King of the Gall-gael." After that date we read of "Kings of Man and the Isles," but not of "Kings of the Gall-gael." His death occurred in 1034, in which year Thorfinn, Jarl of Orkney, again recovered the sovereignty of the Isles for the Orkney earls. Before that, however, in 1014, was fought the memorable battle of Clontarf, in which the flower of the Norse and Danish population and of the Gall-gael of Argyll and the Isles perished. Among those who fell was Jarl Sigurd the Stout. He left three sons by his first wife: Sumarlidi, Brusi and Einar, and, by his second marriage with the daughter of Malcolm, King of the Scots, Thorfinn, then a boy of five years ("Ork. Saga," Anderson, p. xxix. *et seq.*). How Thorfinn, when he came to manhood, became ruler not only of the whole of the Sudreyar, but of Orkney and Shetland, and, on the mainland, of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and certainly part of Moray, is told in the Orkneyinga Saga and the Saga of Olaf the Saint. The stirring life of this the mightiest Jarl of the Sudreys was full of bold adventures, and terminated in 1064.

It was under him that the Norse dominion in Scotland attained its greatest extent and importance. The Sagas clearly show that throughout his career Thorfinn con-

sistently acknowledged the overlordship of the reigning King of Norway ; so that for the greater part of thirty years, 1034 to 1064, there was no one who had a better right to be called King of Scotland than the King of Norway.¹ Almost contemporaneously with the death of Thorfinn, Malcolm Ceanmor, the son of Duncan, began his reign over Scotia, as the greater part of Alban was now called, and, though the Norse Earldom of Orkney continued, the Earldom of the Sudreys apparently passed out of the grasp of Thorfinn's successors.

Between 1064 and 1077 there are few references to this Earldom in the Sagas, and we are dependent for its history upon the the Chronicle of Man. It must be remembered that the Kingdom of Man still existed, and when Thorfinn's powerful hold upon it was removed, it naturally recovered its independence. At the battle of Stamford Bridge (1066) among the most important allies of Harald Hardrada of Norway and Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, was Goddard, son of Sigtrygg, King of Man and the Isles. The greater part of Goddard's Sudreyan contingent and fleet, however, was destroyed by the English King Harold, and the small remnant that returned brought with it to Man Olaf, Harald Hardrada's son, and one Godred Crovan, son of Harold the Black of Iceland. Godred Crovan, while enjoying the hospitality of his namesake, seems to have enjoyed his leisure in making plans for his host's destruction. Or it may be that they parted in some quarrel, as to which history is silent ; but at all events a few years later, when Goddard, son of Sigtrygg, died, Godred Crovan came from Norway with a great fleet, and after two unsuccessful attempts defeated Goddard's son and successor, Fingall, and obtained possession of Man about 1071. The Chronicles of Man record that Godred Crovan brought Dublin and a great

¹ In 1040, in a great battle at Torfness (probably Burghead), Thorfinn had defeated a great host brought against him by Duncan, partly, it may be, assisted by the treachery of Macbeth ; and, during the long minority of Duncan's children, Macbeth reigned over the central part of Scotland only.

part of Leinster under his sway, and it is certain that he appointed his son Lagman as his lieutenant over the Sudreys. To make these conquests effectual probably took some years of hard work. He reigned sixteen years, according to the Chronicle of Man, and was succeeded on his death in Islay (about 1087) by his son Lagman.¹ Lagman then ruled the Isles for seven years, when, in a fit of remorse for his cruel treatment of his brother Harald, he abdicated, and, setting out on a "Jorsala-faring" pilgrimage, died at Jerusalem about 1095.

Early in the year 1093 King Magnus of Norway resolved upon and carried out his first great expedition west-over-sea. Nothing like so great a hosting had been heard of in the Isles since Harald Hairfair subdued them more than two centuries before. How he successfully invested the Orkneys, Lewis, Skye, Uist, Mull, Tiree, Islay, Man and Anglesea, burning, slaughtering, and pillaging, is fully described in his own and the Orkneyinga Saga, and his name in its Gaelic form of Manus still haunts the west coast as a name of might and terror in the folk-tales and chants of the island ceilidhs. According to the Sagas, this invasion took place while Lagman was guardian of the Nordereys, and they state that Lagman was hunted from island to island until at last he was captured. The story of the Manx Chronicle that Lagman thereafter went a-pilgriming is not inconsistent with this. It is stated that, after subduing the Sudreys and Man, Magnus went to Anglesea and fought a battle against two Norman Earls, Hugh the Stout (Earl of Chester), and Hugh the Bold (Earl of Salop), in which the latter was slain and the British (*i.e.*, the Norman-Welsh) forces were put to flight. We know from the Saxon Chronicle that this Earl Hugh was slain in Anglesey by Vikings in 1098, which helps to prove that the affair of Anglesey belongs to King Magnus's second expedition.

On the other hand, the Norse Sagas state that King

¹ Lagman, or Lagmund, in its modern form of Lamont, is still a well-known Argyllshire name. Compare Ardlamont, a district on Loch Fyne.

Magnus of Norway on his return from this expedition came to terms with King Malcolm of Scotland as to the right of the Norwegians to all the islands "between which and the mainland he could pass in a helm-carrying¹ vessel" ("Ork. Saga," p. 56). Now Malcolm Canmore died in 1093, and Dr. Joseph Anderson and others have tried to get over the difficulty by suggesting that the treaty may have been entered into between Magnus and Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother, after Malcolm's death. Donald Bane was rival of Edgar, Malcolm's son, and several writers suggest that it was in order to secure Magnus's help against Edgar, who actually succeeded, that Donald Bane came to terms with Magnus. Munch, with greater probability, suggests that the Saga writer was misled by the surname of Edgar mac Malcolm, and so called him Malcolm. These hypotheses are, however, inconsistent with a well-known historical reference to the treaty between Magnus and Malcolm seventy years later. Hakon, in reply to the embassy which Alexander II. of Scotland sent to ask if he would give up the territories in the Sudreys unjustly wrested by Magnus from Malcolm, answered that Malcolm and Magnus had settled the boundaries of the Norse possessions in Scotland, and added, with perfect truth, that the King of Scotland had no sort of right to them at the time Magnus won them from Godred Crovan (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," i., pp. 442, 443, note).

It is now recognised that Magnus made not one but three expeditions west-over-sea, in 1093, 1098, and 1103 respectively.² The first and second have been confounded by the sagamen, and it is not possible to disentangle the events of each with certainty. Quite clearly, however, this treaty with Malcolm belongs to the first. According to the Orkneyinga Saga, messengers came from Malcolm to him as he was cruising northward, to ask for peace. They said the King of Scotland was willing to give him

¹ Or in a vessel "with its rudder shipped." (So William Morris and Magnusson and Dr. Joseph Anderson.)

² Train, "Hist. of Man," vol. i, p. 83; Skene, *loc. cit.*; Anderson, "Ork. Saga," pp. 55, 56, note.

all the islands lying west of Scotland between which and the mainland he could pass in a rudder-carrying vessel. If, as we may conjecture, Magnus's enormous flotilla had made its appearance in the Clyde fjord and was lying in Rothesay Bay or Brodick Bay, there were the best of reasons for this precautionary act of goodwill on Malcolm's part. He was on the point of starting on his great expedition against William Rufus of England, in which he met his death in November, 1093 (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," p. 431, note). It was therefore most important that his western borders should not be menaced by Magnus's formidable armament in his absence. Thereupon, says the Orkneyinga Saga, Magnus landed in Satiri (*i.e.*, Kintyre) and had a boat drawn across the isthmus at Tarbert, Loch Fyne, he himself holding the rudder; so that by this device he secured for the Norse the whole of Kintyre, "which is better than the best island of the Sudreyar, except Man." On returning home from the Sudreys after the first expedition, Magnus introduced the dress of the natives, which he had himself adopted, and was ever after called Magnus Berfaettr (*i.e.*, Barefoot or Barelegs). Unfortunately he appointed a man called Ingemund, of dissolute character, as his deputy governor of the Isles. Instead of making Man or Il (Islay) his headquarters, Ingemund settled in the Lewis, and summoned all the chieftains of the Isles to assemble there and acknowledge his lordship. The chiefs duly assembled, but, on hearing of the licentious behaviour and outrages of himself and his companions, they surrounded his house by night and burned or slew Ingemund and all his retinue. While this rebellion was taking place in the Nordereys a similar revolt was going on in the Isle of Man. There the Norwegian lieutenant, Jarl Ottar, had for some reason incurred the illwill of the inhabitants of the southern half of the island, and, a civil war arising between North and South, the issue was a fierce fight, in which Jarl Ottar fell.

These things may well have been the cause of Magnus's

second great expedition west-over-sea. At all events, coming south with an enormous fleet—160 ships—he ravaged, burned, and devastated the Isles with such unexampled fury that the inhabitants, who long ere this were to a very large extent of Norse blood themselves, were driven from the Isles into Argyll and other parts of the mainland. Proceeding southwards without apparently encountering serious opposition anywhere, Magnus re-visited Man, and found the corpses of those who fell in the battle with Jarl Ottar lying unburied, and the survivors in such a miserable state that, in contrast to his treatment of the other islands, he spent some little time in improving their “housing conditions,” or rather in compelling them to build houses for themselves. Then, we may suppose, occurred the invasion of Anglesea and the conflict with the Norman Earls, to which allusion has been made.

Magnus thereafter cast covetous eyes upon Erin. In 1103, the Annals of Ulster inform us, he was again in western waters with a great fleet. He made peace for one year with Ireland, but, landing in Ulster with a small force in August, 1104 (So Skene, “C. S.”), he was attacked and killed.

His successor on the Norwegian throne was Sigurd Jorsalafarer, and during his reign the Northern Sagas tell us very little about the Sudreys. It is interesting to remember, however, that Magnus left behind him a little boy, Harald, surnamed Gillichrist, whose mother was a native of the Isles, and who, when he grew up and had successfully come through the hot-iron ordeal, became King of Norway under the name of Harald Gilli (“Ork. Saga,” cap. lvi., etc.).

That the Sudreyar remained tributary to Norway during the next 150 years, however, scarcely admits of doubt. The earldom of Orkney did so in the North; while the kingdom of Man on the South, which probably included Galloway and the Sudreyar proper, also reverted, after a brief interval, to its Norse line of underkings. The

Manx Chronicle says that, as Olaf, the third son of Godred Crovan, who was still in minority, had betaken himself to the Court of Henry I. of England, where he was being educated, the leading men of the Isles sent a legation to Myrkiartan (Muirceartach O'Brien), King of Dublin, asking him to appoint a regent. He nominated a young kinsman, Donald McTeig, as governor; but Donald having proved as tyrannical and criminal a ruler as Ingemund, the Islesmen, gathering their forces in the third year of his reign, expelled him from the Sudreys, and on his arrival in Ireland he was imprisoned by Myrkiartan.

The Islesmen then sent for Olaf, Godred's son, who from his small stature and florid complexion was variously known as Olaf Klining, Olaf Bitling, and Olaf the Red; and he reigned from 1113¹ to 1153 as King of Man and the Isles. These forty years were years of peace. Olaf was himself of a pacific disposition and kept on good terms with the Kings of Scotland and Ireland and with the local princes of Galloway and Argyll. He married Elfrica, daughter of Fergus, lord of Galloway, and granddaughter of his early friend, Henry I. of England. By her he had one son, Godred. He had also several illegitimate sons, Ronald, Lagman and Harald, and many daughters, among them Ragnhild, whom the Manx Chronicle calls Ayla. Her hand he gave in marriage to a man who was yet to make a notable name in the history of Argyll and the Isles, Somerled or Sumarlidi, afterwards lord of Argyll, the progenitor of the great Clan Macdonald, the chiefs of which were to be Lords of the Isles for 200 years after the Norwegian cession of the Sudreys to the Scottish Crown.

Somerled's name is thoroughly Norse, but the fact that his father's (Gillibríde) and grandfather's (Gilli Adomnan) are as thoroughly Gaelic, is another proof of the constant intermarriage of the Scotie and Norse popula-

¹ The Chronicle of Man gives 1102 as the first year of his reign; but this is quite clearly erroneous, and in fact the chronology of this particular chronicle in the form in which we have it is hopelessly muddled for this period.

tion. The tradition is that Somerled's immediate ancestors had held wide possessions in Argyll, but had been driven out by the Norwegians, and it is highly probable that this took place during Magnus's great invasion. An unsuccessful attempt was apparently made by Gillibrìde with some 400 or 500 Irishmen from Fermanagh, whither they had fled, to regain his lands; but presently we find young Somerled himself collecting a number of men of Morven, and by degrees recovering his patrimony, until at length he became known to history as the Mormaer or regulus of Argyll. It was to this rising man that Olaf Bitling, King of Man and the Isles, married his daughter, an alliance which was undoubtedly of the greatest assistance to Somerled, and of serious consequence in the future history of the Norwegian occupation.

Throughout his reign, Olaf quietly pursued the wise policy of cultivating the friendship of all the men of the day who might do him harm if they would. His friend and patron, Henry I. of England, having died, it is related that he took a voyage to Norway to pay the tribute or "casualty" of 10 marks of gold, due on his succession, to the Norwegian monarch, and to do homage to him as overlord. Arrived at Trondhjem, he was so well received by the three sons of Harald Gilli that he remained there for some time, and left his son Godred to be educated at the Norwegian Court. Before leaving he was formally crowned King of the Isles, and was treated with every mark of respect.

On his return to Man, he found a conspiracy on foot. The three sons of his brother Harald, who had been long before so cruelly mutilated by Lagman, appeared on the scene with the demand that Olaf should give them a share in the kingdom of the Isles. Olaf promised to consider the claim, but at the meeting at which he had announced that his decision should be given he was assassinated by Reginald, one of his nephews, and so, unhappily, ended his long and peaceful reign at the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1153 (Munch, "Chron. of Man,"

p. 9). The murderers were permitted to divide the island among themselves, and immediately set forth with a fleet to subdue, if possible, the province of Galloway. In this ambitious attempt, however, they were frustrated, and Fergus, the veteran lord of Galloway, sent to Norway for his grandson Godred, the rightful heir of Olaf. He arrived in the Orkneys in the autumn of 1154 with five ships, and was hailed with joy by the princes of the Isles, who unanimously accepted him as king.

Meantime King David of Scotland had died in the same year as Olaf Bitling (1153), and the coronation at Scone of his grandson Malcolm, a boy of twelve, was viewed with disfavour by his Gaelic subjects, to whose ancient laws of inheritance the succession of a grandson was a novelty. Somerled of Argyll was quick to take advantage of the situation. His sister's husband, Malcolm Mac Eth, was the heir to the forfeited earldom and estates of Moray, and had been imprisoned by King David in 1137. Somerled, with his nephews, the sons of Malcolm Mac Eth, and a great force invaded the realm at various points. Whether he had the help of Fergus, lord of Galloway, is not clear, but one of his nephews, Donald, was captured in Galloway by the King's army and imprisoned along with his father in Marchmont Castle at Roxburgh. Somerled, however, maintained the conflict for three years until, in 1157, Malcolm Mac Eth was set at liberty and given a province.

Meanwhile the young Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, had been three years on the throne of Man; had made a successful incursion into Ireland, and, according to the Chronicle of Man, had been chosen King of Dublin. Elated with his success, he grew overbearing and tyrannical and dispossessed and degraded some of his leading men. Amongst these was one Thorfinn, son of Ottar, who carried his story to the powerful Somerled and invited him to place his eldest son, Dubhgal, on the throne of Man and the Isles. To this Somerled willingly agreed, and his young son, escorted by Thorfinn, made a progress

through the islands and was acknowledged by most of the chiefs. One of these, however, Paul Balkason of Skye, doubtful of the legality of these proceedings, hastened to the Isle of Man and informed Godred, who, thoroughly alarmed, prepared without delay to oppose his nephew. He collected a fleet and sailed northwards, only to find that Somerled was ready for him with a fleet of 80 sail. A great sea fight followed on the night of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1156, in which many fell on both sides, and in the morning a compromise was agreed to, whereby the Kingdom of the Isles was divided between the claimants. This was not, however, the end of the matter; for two years later we find Somerled invading Man with a fleet of 53 ships, when, after defeating Godred, he plundered the whole island and departed. Godred fled for assistance to Norway, where he might naturally have expected to get it; but he seems to have stayed in Norway for six years. He returned in 1164, just four days after his brother Ranald had got himself, not without some bloodshed and treachery, declared King. Godred, landing with his Norwegian reinforcements, promptly put an end to Ranald's triumph, mutilating him in the fierce manner of these stormy times. His tyranny was by this time forgotten and he was welcomed home.

The doughty Somerled was almost at this moment engaged in the final battle-work of his stirring life. With an enormous force and 160 ships, collected partly from Ireland, partly from the Isles, he sailed round the Mull of Kintyre and up the Firth of Clyde to Greenock. What provoked this invasion we do not know certainly, but there is reason to believe that Malcolm, and still more his nobles, had grown jealous of the ever-growing power and influence of this half-Norse lord of Argyll, and were arranging a great expedition to compass his overthrow, when he, ever ready, took the offensive.¹ What we do

¹ See MS. history of the Macdonalds, written in Gaelic in the reign of Charles II., trans. in "*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*," p. 284.

know is that Somerled paid for this bold challenge with his life, being slain in a fierce battle at Renfrew, according to Fordun and the Chronicle de Mailros. According to the MS. referred to, however, he was assassinated by a kinsman in his tent the night before the battle. His forces in any case were routed and scattered. The young king does not seem to have followed up the victory, and, as he himself died two years later, Somerled's possessions in Argyll and the Sudreys remained in the hands of his sons. The brief reference to the mighty Somerled in the Orkneyinga Saga is interesting. He is there called "Sumarlidi höld who had possessions in Dalir on Skotland's Fjord." His wife was Ragnhild, daughter of Olaf Bitling, King of the Sudreyar. Their sons "were King Dufgall, Rögnvald and Engull" (the last being the Norse form of Angus). "They were called the Dalverja family."

The division of the Isles between Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, and Dubhgal, Somerled's son, seems to have been arranged so that Godred retained Man and the Nordreys, while Dubhgal got the islands south of Ardnamurchan Point. On his father's death, however (1164), Dubhgal succeeded to the estates on the mainland, and Ranald took the lordship of the Isles (Skene, "Celt. Scot.," iii., p. 35).

Godred, like his predecessors, held his royal dignity for a long term. On his death, in 1187, after a reign of 35 years, his son Ranald succeeded, and thus there were two Rögnvalds, Kings of the Isles, reigning simultaneously. Skene has translated a most interesting Irish poem, evidently written by a wandering skald, in which both are referred to in terms of high praise ("Celt. Scot.," vol. iii., p. 410). It is evident from this poem that Arran was part of the domain of the Norse Rögnvald (Godred's son); probably Bute was included among the islands of the "Dalverian" Rögnvald (Somerled's son).

The former reigned as King of Man and the Isles for thirty-eight troublous years. His troubles included

a little war in Ulster (1205); an unexpected visit from King John of England (1210), who was very disagreeable, taking hostages and pillaging the island; occasional battles with the Dalverian family, and, above all, a series of bitter conflicts and abortive reconciliations with a younger brother, Olaf the Black, who actually usurped the throne on more than one occasion. In 1223 he had to make terms with Olaf, one of whose allies, another Paul Balkason of Skye, blinded and mutilated his son Godred, and finally he was dethroned in 1226 and assassinated in 1228-29 ("Chron. Man," Munch, p. 18).

Olaf the Black with his friend Paul Balkason paid a visit to the Norwegian Court next year (1230) for the purpose of paying the usual tribute or casualty of 10 golden marks and acknowledging the overlordship of the reigning king, Hakon Hakonson, by whom he was well received. Hakon had just conferred the title of King of the Isles on one Hakon Ospak and despatched him with a large force to subdue certain Lords or Kings of the Isles who had ceased to pay tribute. This clearly refers to the Argyll family, the sons of Somerled. Olaf the Black made haste to join him, and succeeded in overtaking him in the Sound of Islay, where a sea battle was fought. Then proceeding to the Clyde with their united fleet of eighty vessels, they conquered Arran (McArthur), attacked the Castle of Rothesay, and took it after a desperate siege of three days. The defenders poured down boiling pitch and lead upon the invading force. Olaf built wooden sheds to protect his men, who succeeded in undermining the walls of the fortress, but with the loss of 390 of their number. Among the killed were Ospak, and Svein Svart, a warrior of note; the former was mortally wounded by a stone thrown from the walls, and was buried in Iona.¹ Olaf, hearing that Allan, Lord of Galloway, was lying off the Mull of Kintyre with a fleet of 150 sail, ready to intercept him, made straight for the Isle of Man, and having given his nephew, God-

¹ Flatey-book; Johnstone's "Anecdotes of Olaf the Black," p. 17.

red Don (Hakon's Saga and Chron. Man) the right to rule a part of the Isles, he reigned in Man till his death (1237). Of Godred Don all that we know is that he killed Paul Balkason, and was himself assassinated in the Lewis in 1233.

On Olaf the Black's death, his son Harald, aged fourteen, succeeded to the throne and made a progress through the Isles, being everywhere welcomed. He refused, however, at first, to go to Norway to pay the usual homage, and it was not until the King Hakon deputed two noblemen to expel him and collect the revenues that he listened to counsels of prudence, and in 1240 sailed to Norway, where he stayed at Court for two years. He came home with a formal charter, confirming him and his heirs and successors for ever in the dominion of all the islands which his predecessors, Godred,¹ Reginald and Olaf, had possessed. Henry, King of England, invited Harald to his Court and gave him knighthood, as he had done in the case of his father; and thereupon Hakon of Norway, thinking it wise, probably, to thirl the allegiance of his vassal more firmly to himself, not only gave him a second invitation to visit Norway, but conferred on him the hand of his daughter Cecilia in marriage. The wedding was celebrated with great splendour, and the royal pair set forth on their voyage from Bergen with a numerous retinue; but, unfortunately, they perished in a storm off the coast of Rathlin (?) ("fines Radlandiæ," "Chron. Man").

Ronald, brother of Harald, succeeded him, but was murdered on May 30th, 1249, after a reign of 24 days. Thereupon Harald, son of Godred Don, assumed the sovereignty in Man, although the rightful heir was Magnus, the third son of Olaf the Black, and brother of the last two kings; Magnus, however, was in a distant part of the Hebrides, and was, besides, married to the

¹ The terms of this charter, going back no further than Godred, Olaf Bitling's son, would seem to recognise the right of the Somerled family to the other isles.

daughter of John, a great grandson of Somerled, who, according to the Chronicle of Man, was at this time the Dalverian Lord of the Sudreys proper, and, as his subsequent action showed, was ambitious to be recognized as Lord of all the Isles.

Alexander II. of Scotland thought this a fitting time to intervene in the polity of these outlying realms. All the rest of Scotland was now under one monarch. Even wild Galloway had been subdued, and geographically there only remained the Norse fringe on the west and north to complete the political unit. Alexander's first step had been to make overtures to Hakon of Norway. To him he sent two bishops to treat for the cession of the Hebrides, which, he maintained, had been wrested from the Scottish kingdom by Magnus Barefoot. Hakon, as we know, denied the premises, and repudiated the conclusion. Then Alexander proposed to buy them; but to this no answer was returned. Things had now reached a crisis. Alexander set on foot a great expedition to the west, and having collected a large army, and brought it into Argyll, sent to Donald,¹ one of the Somerled family, demanding the surrender of Cairnburgh in the Treshinish Isles, and three other castles. The demand was refused, and, undeterred by visions of evil omen, King Alexander proceeded with his enterprise until he was suddenly overtaken with mortal sickness and died on the Island of Kerrera. He was buried at Melrose, July 8th, 1249, and his son Alexander III., then a boy of eight years, reigned in his stead. The attack upon the Sudreys was abandoned for the time, and in 1256 Magnus Olaf's son was duly confirmed King of Man and the Isles by Hakon the Old of Norway. The end of the Norse domination was, however, at hand.

In 1262 Alexander III. came of age, and announced that he intended to carry out his father's purpose, and bring the Hebrides within the Scottish realm. Hakon, on hearing this, and learning that hostilities had already

¹ "Collectanea," p. 288; Johnstone's Account of Haco's Expedition, p. 9.

been begun in the Northern Isles by the Earl of Ross, resolved to meet and crush his foe. Early in 1263 he began his preparations, and in July sailed with upwards of 120 ships and anchored off Orkney. On August 10th he sailed round Cape Wrath and anchored again off Raasay, where he was joined by Magnus, King of Man, and other Norwegian barons and by Dugall, Lord of the Isles of the Somerled family. These contingents increased his fleet to more than 200 ships. Magnus and Dugall he despatched with a force to Kintyre; another fleet of 15 ships he sent to Bute, while he himself proceeded with his main force to Gigha. Dunaverty Castle in Kintyre, and Rothesay Castle in Bute were successfully besieged, and thereupon Hakon's great flotilla entered the Firth of Clyde and anchored in Kilbrannan Sound. At this point Alexander, who was stationed in force on the Ayrshire coast, offered to cede the whole of the Hebrides to Norway, retaining only Arran, Bute and the Cumbraes.

There is some reason to doubt the genuine character of this proposal, which was probably made in order to delay the expedition. It was now September, and bad weather in the Firth of Clyde was a serious matter even for ships of war in those days. In any case nothing came of the proposal, Hakon being determined to keep a good grip on all his ancestral possessions. At last the negotiations were broken off, and a fleet of 60 ships, under the leadership of the Somerled family,¹ was sent up Loch Long, the country about which was ravaged. The invaders then drew their vessels across the Tarbet isthmus from Arrochar, and launched them again on the beautiful waters of Loch Lomond (Lokulofni), the islands and shores of which were at that time populous, and there they also made much havoc. It may be that this event gave Loch Long its name. It means the "loch of ships," and the Norsemen called it Skipafjord, which is an exact equivalent. Meantime the main

¹ So Skene.

fleet had moved up the firth to the Cumbrae Islands, with a view to invade the Ayrshire coast. The spot was well chosen; but the fates were now against the Norsemen. A tremendous gale swept the Firth. Ten ships were wrecked in Loch Long; Ivar Holm, a staunch old comrade of King Hakon, met his death. Many other war galleys were driven ashore near Largs, and their occupants were at once attacked and slain. Simultaneously, the main body of the Scottish army was seen moving along the heights behind Largs, and soon the bloody battle of Largs, begun in this rough and scrambling fashion, had been fought to its unhappy conclusion.

The Norwegian and the Scottish accounts do not agree either as to the details or as to the main result of the battle. The former do not at all admit defeat, and make out that the sole cause of their retirement was that the "tempest magic-raised" proved too much for them. The Scottish historians, on the other hand, maintain that a crushing defeat was inflicted on the Norsemen, who undoubtedly suffered an enormous loss, variously estimated¹ at from 16,000 to 24,000 men, while the defenders' is placed at 5,000. It must suffice here to say that the Norwegians obtained a truce of five days, in which to bury their dead, and then Hakon, setting sail, anchored in Lamlash harbour to repair the fragments of his broken fleet. The old king had already lost his nephew and the flower of his warriors. Now Magnus, King of Man, went home. Dugall and Allan of Argyll bade him farewell at the Calf of Mull, and then, as we all know, he sailed northward, reached Orkney on October 29th, and died on December 15th, 1263, like the true old Viking that he was, listening to the Sagas of his forbears.

The following year Magnus of Man did homage to Alexander III. In July, 1266, the final treaty between the two kingdoms of Norway and Scotland was signed, whereby for the sum of 4,000 marks down, and an annual payment of 100 marks, the Isle of Man and all the

¹ Either figure must be a gross exaggeration.

Sudreys were ceded to the Scottish Crown, saving always the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Trondhjem over them.

It is not, however, to be supposed that this political event, albeit of the highest importance, made any appreciable change in the racial situation. For four long centuries the population had been steadily assimilating Norse blood, Norse laws and customs, Norse speech and lore. These things are not much affected by the signature of a treaty, and as a matter of fact our West Coast to-day, six and a half centuries after this particular treaty was signed, is still saturated with the traditions and characteristics of the northern Fjord-land it so much resembles.

Now I come to the last point of this paper which is to enumerate some of the abundant local traces of Norse influence in the folk-names and place-names of the southern West Coast of Scotland.

I.—FOLK-NAMES.¹

Among the Norse proper-names more or less frequently recurring in the West Coast population to this day are the following:—

NORSE ORIGINAL.	DERIVATIVE.
<i>Asketill.</i>	McAskill.
<i>Eystein</i> or <i>Oistin.</i>	('Uisdean,) Hutcheon, McCutcheon, Mac-Huiston, Macquisten, [Hutcheson, Houston, Austin (?).] §
[<i>Guthröð.</i>	(Goddard,) Godfrey, [Guthrie.] §
<i>Guthorm.</i>	McCodrum.
<i>Harald.</i>	(Arailt, MacArailt,) McRaild.
<i>Ivar.</i>	McIver.
<i>Kol</i> or <i>Kali.</i>	McColl, McCall, Coulson. ²
<i>Hjalmund.</i>	McCalman, McCalmont.
<i>Hromundr.</i>	McCrimmon.
<i>Lagmundr.</i>	Lamont, Lamond, McClymont (?)
<i>Ljotr, Ljot.</i>	McLeod.
<i>Manus.</i>	(Manus,) McManus.
<i>Nikolas.</i>	Nicol, Nicolson (a Skye family for centuries), Macnicol.
<i>Olaf, Ola.</i>	Aulay, McAulay.

¹ Cf. "Scandinavian Topographical and Personal Nomenclature in the British Isles." Rev. E. McClure. SAGA-BOOK, Vol. I., Part III., pp. 268-271.

² Dr. Macbain derives McColl, etc., from "col," high.

NORSE ORIGINAL.

DERIVATIVE.

Svein, Sven.

MacSwan (a Skye name), Swanson, possibly Macqueen (but probably = MacCuinn = son of Conn).

[*Thorbjörn.*

Thorburn, Thurburn.] §

Thorkell.

Torquil, McCorkle.

Thorketil.

McCorquodale, McCorkindale.

[*Thorstein.*

Thurston, possibly Hourston.] §

Rögnvald.

Ranald, Clanranald, Ronald.

§ Names enclosed in square brackets are not distinctively West Highland.

In the case of other folk-names having their counterpart in both Gaelic or Erse and Old-Norse it is a question to which language the name originally belonged ; *e.g.* :—

Njall and Neill.

Njal was quite a common Icelandic name, but may have been borrowed from the royal Irish race of Hy-Neill, or O'Neill, for whom the chroniclers claim a great antiquity. Hence : Neilson, Nelson, Macneil.

Thormod or Tormodr and Dermot or Diarmid.

Whence : McDermid, McDermot and (according to Macbain) Norman. Diarmid appears in the Ossianic Cycle as the lover of Graine.

Finnleikr and Fionnla or Fionnlagh.

Whence Finlay, Finlayson, Findlay and Mackinlay.

Kormakr and Cormac or Corbmac.

Here the balance of probability is in favour of the Irish origin of the name. There reigned in Ireland Cormac, son of Art, son of "Conn of the Hundred Battles" (circ. 227 to 266) and there died in Ireland in 496 a St. Cormac who was the successor of St. Patrick in the Archbishopric of Armagh. These are, of course, much earlier dates than that of the first historical appearance of the name in Scandinavia ("The Life and Death of Cormac the Skald," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., 1902 ; introd. vii., pp. 9-10). Hence the modern McCormack and McCormick.

Kjarval and Cearbhall.

Whence Carroll.

Kjartan and Muirceartach (Norsed, Myrkiartan).

Whence perhaps McCartney, McCarthy.

On whatever side they originated, all these names are evidences of the frequent intermarriages that we know occurred between men and women of the two races. Probably most of these marriages were between men of Norse blood and women of the Celtic breed, and hence the appearance of Irish or Scotie names in Norway and Iceland during the heroic period. But the early existence of these interchangeable names may very well be another indication of the prehistoric racial movement and fusion of the two breeds for which there seem to be so many other converging lines of evidence.

Before leaving the subject of West Coast folk-names, it is worth observing that there is a third class of names which, no less clearly than those referred to, shows the iron mark that the Northern Teutons made upon the folk among whom they had settled. The Northern rovers, as is well known, received among the Scotie peoples the generic name of "Gall" or "strangers," and a clear distinction was made between *Dubh-gaill*, "the black strangers," and *Fionn-gaill* "the white strangers." These names have long been supposed to denote the Danes and Norwegians respectively: and various reasons for this application, none of them very conclusive, have been suggested. The best, probably, is that the Danes wore black clothing (see Train, "Hist. of Isle of Man," vol. ii., p. 86).

From *Dubh-gaill*, "the black stranger," "the Dane," which appears as a personal name in 912 A.D. (Macbain, "Dict.," p. 359) we have Dugald, Dougall, Macdougall, Macdowell, etc.

From *Fionn-gaill*, "the white stranger," "the Norseman," we have a tenth century personal name; Fiongall, but

the name is now obsolete.¹ Hence, perhaps Mackinnell, a Galloway name = McFhiongall, according to Dr. Bruce Trotter (SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part ii., p. 278). Another derivation would be MacCinel, son of the Clan; compare Cinel Loarn, Cinel Gabhran, etc., but the former is probably the right one.

From *Lochlan*, *Lochlannaigh*, another regular Gaelic name for Norway and Norseman, we get Lachlan, Lauchlan, Loughlin, Maclachlan, McLaughlin, etc.²

From *Sumarlidi*, "the summer wanderers," a Norse euphemism for the men who went a-viking, we get "Somerled," ("Somhairle" still in Gaelic) once a mighty name on the West Coast (Somerled, the great ancestor of the Lords of the Isles). The name also survives as Sorley and MacSorley.

From *Gall-gaedheal*, i.e., the Celto Norseman or Skotar Viking, we get Galloway, which is both a personal and a place-name.

It is worthy of note that the old Norse contributions to modern Gaelic speech are by no means limited to place and folk-names; but that Gaelic is enriched to a quite appreciable extent by borrowings from the tongue of the Vikings. Dr. Macbain, the author of the first philological Gaelic Dictionary (pub. 1896) says, p. xix.: "The contributions from the Norse mostly belong to the sea; in fact *most of the Gaelic shipping terms are Norse*." Among many other words so derived are the Gaelic "traill," a slave; "nabuidh," a neighbour; "sgillinn," a penny; "mod," court of justice, meeting; "gadhar," a greyhound (*gagarr*, dog, Kuno Meyer); "mal," rent; "gleadhraich," noise (*gledir*).³

¹ N.B.—Fingal, the Ossianic hero, is an invention of Macpherson. The real hero of the older Ossianic cycle was "Finn" or "Fionn" and his warriors were in Gaelic "Fiann," plur. "Fianna" (collective, "Feinne").

² "'Lochlan' evidently means 'Fjord-land,'" Macbain. *Lochlannaigh* are distinguished from the Danars in the "Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," MS. L. Todd's, Rolls Ed., p. xxxi. n. 2.

³ Magnus Maclean, "Lit. of the Celts," p. 211.

II.—PLACE-NAMES AND OTHER TRACES.

In the modern advancement of philological research it is become possible to appreciate with much greater exactitude than of old the value of place and folk names as clues and indications of history where written history fails. In the Lewis it has been calculated the place-names are about four Norse to one Gaelic; in Skye as three to two; in Barvas as twenty-seven to one; in Uig as thirty-five to four. Even in the Southern Isles, the Sudreyar proper, there is a very considerable proportion of Norse place-names. In Islay there is one Norse to two Gaelic; in Kintyre one to four; in Arran and the Isle of Man one to eight. Jura has a very few.¹ Some of these are given in a paper read before the Viking Club by Miss A. Goodrich-Freer on "The Norsemen in the Hebrides."²

JURA.

Jura shows few place-names. The word itself is derived from Dyr-ey, "deer-island." There is an old name in the Annals of Ulster, 678, Doirad Eilinn, which Skene supposes to be Jura. So eminent an authority as Professor Mackinnon, however, is satisfied that the Norse etymology is the true one. "Dyr" reappears in Ben Diurinis on Loch Etive, Duirinish in Skye and Durness in Sutherland, all of which are in the Highlands pronounced exactly as in Jura. Other Norse names are Lussa=lax-a or salmon-river, and Asdale=askr-dal, "the ash-tree glen." If Glen Ullibh is not Ulf's dal it should be. On the south-east coast we have Sannaig=Sandvik and Crackaig=Krag-vik, while Bladda, one of the Small Isles, is clearly, like Pladda in the Clyde and Fladda near Mull, simply "Flat-ey" or flat island.

ISLAY.

Islay was, according to Camden the historian, next to Man, the favourite royal seat of the Norwegian lords

¹ Mackenzie's op. cit., pp. xxx., xxxiii.; Magnus Maclean's "Literature of the Celts," p. 211; Johnstone's "Place-Names of Scotland," p. lxvi.

² SAGA-BOOK of Viking Club, vol. ii., part i., January, 1898, p. 51.

of the Isles, and we naturally find more Norse names there than in Jura. The original spelling is *Ile*. The Sagas call it *Il*. Loch Gruinart is an illustration of a very interesting corruption common to the whole west coast. It would be strange if the men of the Norse fjords had left no memory of the name which must have struck them as most applicable to the west coast, riven as it is by fjords of unmistakable quality. As a matter of fact they have. Only the Gaelic speech, having an objection to prefixes in *f*, has softened the word into *ard* or *ort* or *art*. Gruinart clearly means "the green fjord." Other instances of the same thing, though not in Islay, are Snizort (Snae's fjord) in Skye, Enard (eyin-fjord), Knoydart (Knut's fjord), Moydart, etc. The fjord sound is better preserved in Broadford (Skye) and Melfort (Argyll).

The straits between the Rhinns of Islay and Orsay (a Norse name) are called Caolas-nan-Gall, the Kyles of the Norseman. Loch Gorm is probably Norse. The Norse *bolstadr*, a place which in Shetland becomes "buster" and "bister," and in the North Isles "bost" and "bust," is softened in Islay to the termination "bus," and of names ending in "bus" there are at least twenty-five—*e.g.*, Cragabus, Kinnabus, Lyrabus, Coulabus, and Robolls, Grobolls, Nereabols. In the last case we have the form *Nerrabollsadh* so late as 1588 ("Orig. Paroch," vol. ii., part ii., p. 833), and *Scarabus* appears as "Scarabolsy" in 1562. At the point of the Mull of Oa there is one of those "duns," dotted all over the West coast, which are still locally known as "Norwegian castles" or "Danish castles." Oa = N., hoe or headland. There is another at Trudernish, which is identical with Trotternish in Skye. The name is Old Norse, and is supposed to mean "enchanted cape," Icelandic *trudra*, "a juggler," and *naes*, "a cape." The Scandinavian connection with *Il* is very old. The *Lodbrokarkviða* speaks of the hero slaying Auru Konungr there about 850. The late Mr. J. F. Campbell mentions that two brooches of a peculiar form were in his possession, which were found in an old

grave in Islay, and adds that similar brooches are commonly found in Denmark ("Popular Tales of the West Highlands," vol. i., lxxiii.).

ARGYLLSHIRE.

The present county of Argyll, though the second in size among the counties of Scotland, is very much reduced from the original limits of the Oirir Gaedheal, which stretched to Loch Broom on the north. It includes, besides the islands referred to (to mention only those whose names are wholly or partly Norse), Canna, Coll, Gometra (Godmadrey), Ulva, Staffa, Oronsay (=Orfris-ey, "ebb-tide-island"); Gigha (in its oldest form "Gud-ey," Hakon's Saga) I conjecture is "Gyda's isle"; Shuna, Eriska, Kerrera, Seil, Easdale (=Fos-dal), Lunga, Torsay, and Scarba. Among other place-names certainly or probably Norse are Knapdale, Ormsary (=Orm's "airidh" or saeter), Skipness, and, among the rivers, Talla (I conjecture Hjalli aa: compare Talladale = Hjalli's dal), Aray, and Inveraray (from ey-ri, Icel, "gravelly bank or spit of land").

Dunstaffnage (1322, Ard-Stofniche; c. 1375, Dunstaff-ynch) is pretty plainly Stafr-naes.¹ Skipness goes through the same evolution, being anciently Schyph-inche (1262). So also Craignish is Craginche in 1431, Kreigenes in 1640.

Dunolly seems as plainly as possible Dun Ola, *i.e.*, Olaf's fort. The earliest forms of the name, however—Duin Onlaig 698, and again in 714; Duin Onlaigh, 701 A.D. (Ann. of Ulster)—make this derivation extremely doubtful.

The names Otter and Lamont linger about Lochfyne-side, and in Kintyre we have Sunadale, Torrisdale, Saddell (formerly Sagadul), Rhonadale, Ifferdale (evidently Ivardal), Ugadale, Glen Luss-a, High Smerby, Low Smerby, Askomill, Stafnish, Sanda and many others.

The hill-names in Argyll, on the other hand, are Celtic.

¹ Professor Mackinnon points out that there are no basaltic rocks at Dunstaffnage to explain the name as in Staffa.

Other traces are plentiful. At Craignish there lingers the tradition of a battle between a party of Norwegians (Lochlannaigh) who landed on the lower end of the promontory. The inhabitants fled to the gorge or deep glen at the upper end. There they rallied at the call of a young man who slew Olaf, the leader of the Norsemen, and drove them back. The natives buried Olaf, and his burial mound is called Dun-an-Amhlaidh to this day ("Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," vol. i., p. 11). A similar event is connected with a little round hill, Tom-a-Chorrachasiach, near the head of Loch Eck, where the grave of a prince of Norway or Denmark of gigantic stature is pointed out. He is called Corrachasachmor mac Righ Lochlan, *i.e.*, the great Corrachasach, son of the King of Lochlan.

Another tradition lingers of a great fight between the Norsemen and the natives at the head of Glen Finnart near Loch Eck, where the former were defeated with great slaughter. The place is still called the Field of Shells, from the number of drinking-shells belonging to the slain invaders; and the tale probably dates back to Hakon's invasion in 1263, when part of his forces were sent up to Loch Long ("Gazetteer," 1847, vol. i., 428).

A knoll is also pointed out on the isthmus between Loch Long and Loch Lomond near Tarbet where a similar fight took place.

In the Benderloch district, famous in the Ossianic Saga as the home of the sons of Uisnach, beside the vitrified fort of Beregonium, locally known as Dun-mac-Sniachain, an old folk-tale tells how an invading King of Lochlan set on foot a series of famous sports, which ended in a fight, wherein the King of Erin and Conall from Lismore, and all the Norsemen save five, were slain ("Waifs," vol. ii., p. 391).

THE CLYDE.

Among the Clyde islands, Pladda and Ailsa are Norse. The Norse name for Holy Island was Melansey (prob-

ably the Isle of St. Molios, or the black isle). The Cumbraes were called by them Kumreyar (*i.e.*, isles of Cimbri or Britons). Further up the river the termination of Greenock and Gourock may be the Icelandic vagr=vik.

In Glasgow itself, Sandyford, formerly a separate village, is supposed by Dr. Hately Waddell to be Norse, and Gorbals, an ancient burgh now incorporated in the city, is supposed by Sir Herbert Maxwell to be derived from gorr balkr, "built-walls, breastwork." Eaglesham, a village ten miles south, is possibly Egil's ham: the oldest form (1158) is Egilsham.

On the Ayrshire side of the Clyde fjord, Ayr itself is probably ey-ri, "a gravelly tongue of land," and Fairlie is very likely faer-lei. "sheep-meadow."

BUTE.

Bute, as we have seen, had frequent associations with the Norsemen. The name Rothesay, which originally referred to the moat-surrounded castle alone, is in its oldest form (1321) Rothersay, which might be Hrothgar's ey (Roger's isle). Etterick Bay, on the west, is certainly a vik, perhaps "Otter vik." Ardroscaidale is partly Norse; so is Ardscaipsie. Kerry-lamont is also mixed Celtic and Norse, and means "Lagmund's quarter." Ascog, like Port Askaig in Islay, is askr, "ash," and aig for vik or bay (form, 1503, Ascok).

Now in the last place we come to the queen of the Clyde Islands:—

ARRAN.

Worsaae, speaking of the Clyde Islands, Arran, Bute and Cumbrae, says that the Norse invaders do not appear to have had permanent settlements upon them; "at all events Norwegian names of places have disappeared from them" ("Danes and Norwegians," p. 277). This last statement is not correct. Recent scholarship calculates that the proportion of Norse to Gaelic place-names in Arran is as one to eight. Among the most obvious

examples are Brodick, anciently Brathwik, Bradewik, or Broad-bay, Goat-fell or fjeld, Scordale, Glenashdale, Sannox = sand-vik, Glaister and Lochranza (Locheransay in 1452.¹ I would venture to suggest as clearly Norse: Kiscadale, (Keskedel); Pladda; Iorsa, a stream; Thundergay; Ormidale; Merkland; Glen Sherrraig (spelled Sherwik, 1590, "Orig. Paroch.," vol. ii., Part I., p. 248), and Glen Scorrodale.

The Isle of Arran furnishes more than one of the Ossianic traditions of the Norse invasions. One of these is a Gaelic poem of the Ossianic cycle which has been chanted for centuries at the fireside throughout the Islands. It celebrates a supposed victory of Fionn, the Celtic hero, over Manus (*i.e.*, Magnus), King of Lochlann. The place was long identified by a cairn known as Aran. The poem relates that Magnus, who is called "great Magnus of the successful ships," having been captured by Fionn, is given his liberty in return for his pledge that he will go away and never come back. As he sails away, however, his men persuade him to break his oath and return. Fionn sends a messenger to Manus "of the victorious pursuits and exploits," as he lands, demanding: "Where are thy solemn oaths, thou man that up-holdest faith with but thy left hand?" With fierce scorn Magnus replies: "I left them on the dew of the grass, in yonder meadow to the south-west." Then comes a spirited account of the battle, in which Magnus and all his men, except those who surrender, are slain. Probably this is one instance of the intermingling of ancient and modern legend, and Manus, King of Lochlann, is Magnus Barefoot (1097).

In Mauchrie Moor, near the farm of Tormore, there is a group of stone circles, about which another Norse tradition

¹ Maxwell, "Land Names," p. 115, derives from "raithan" genitive of "raith," Gaelic for fern—the use of *z* to represent the old Scots consonantal *y*, having, as in Cadzow, Menzies, etc., confused the pronunciation. This, however, does not consist with the 1452 spelling. The Norse etymology suggested by Dr. Macbain, viz. :—*reynis-aa*, "rowan tree river," is undoubtedly the true one.

lingers. It is said that Fionn and his Fianna were one day hunting the boar in the neighbourhood when a fleet of Norse galleys was observed sailing into Machrie Bay. At once Fionn and his comrades made for the beach, and, attacking the invaders, drove them back to their ships. Some of them escaped for the time, but were pursued across the island and slain near Dunfinn (*i.e.*, Fingal's fort).

It is possible that the stone circles of Tormore imply a more permanent settlement of Norsemen than this story indicates, and that they were, as in other districts where stone circles occur, the meeting-place of the Law Thing or local Council. At all events, the name Tormore, which is supposed to be the Gaelic (*torr mor*), the "big hill" or "mound," is of doubtful application; for, as McArthur, the author of the "Antiquities of Arran," says: "Neither hill or mountain ridge breaks the monotony of the dreary expanse of moss and peat-bog" (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 19 *et seq.*, 38). He suggests that in former days some gigantic tumulus may have reared its head on the spot; and from the ruthless manner in which some of these ancient monuments have been destroyed to furnish material for dykes and cottages and even schools in Arran (*op. cit.*, p. 11) this theory is only too plausible. It is so far supported by the existence of the usual "Tor beg" or "little hill" to the southward, where the ruins of an ancient cairn, 350 feet in circumference, are to be seen (McArthur, p. 13). But for this, one might conjecture that Tormore is a corruption of *Thor modr*.¹

Among the many antique objects found in Arran—not a few of them dating back to the pre-historic times of the Iberian occupation—a piece of gold was discovered in a cist about forty years ago which Dr. Wilson identified as one of the "bright rings" frequently mentioned by Northern skalds ("Archæology," p. 322, quoted by McArthur, p. 90).

¹ McArthur (p. 123) thinks the "ting" in Whiting Bay to be the Norse "thing."

Now I have given you only some fragments and specimens from a great museum ; but enough, perhaps, to show that we are not utterly without traces and relics of our kinsmen among the beautiful fjelds and fjords of our Western Coast.¹

¹ The writer wishes to acknowledge the invaluable help he has received from Professor MacKinnon, the well-known occupant of the Chair of Celtic Literature in Edinburgh University, who kindly made many corrections and suggestions with reference to the place-names.

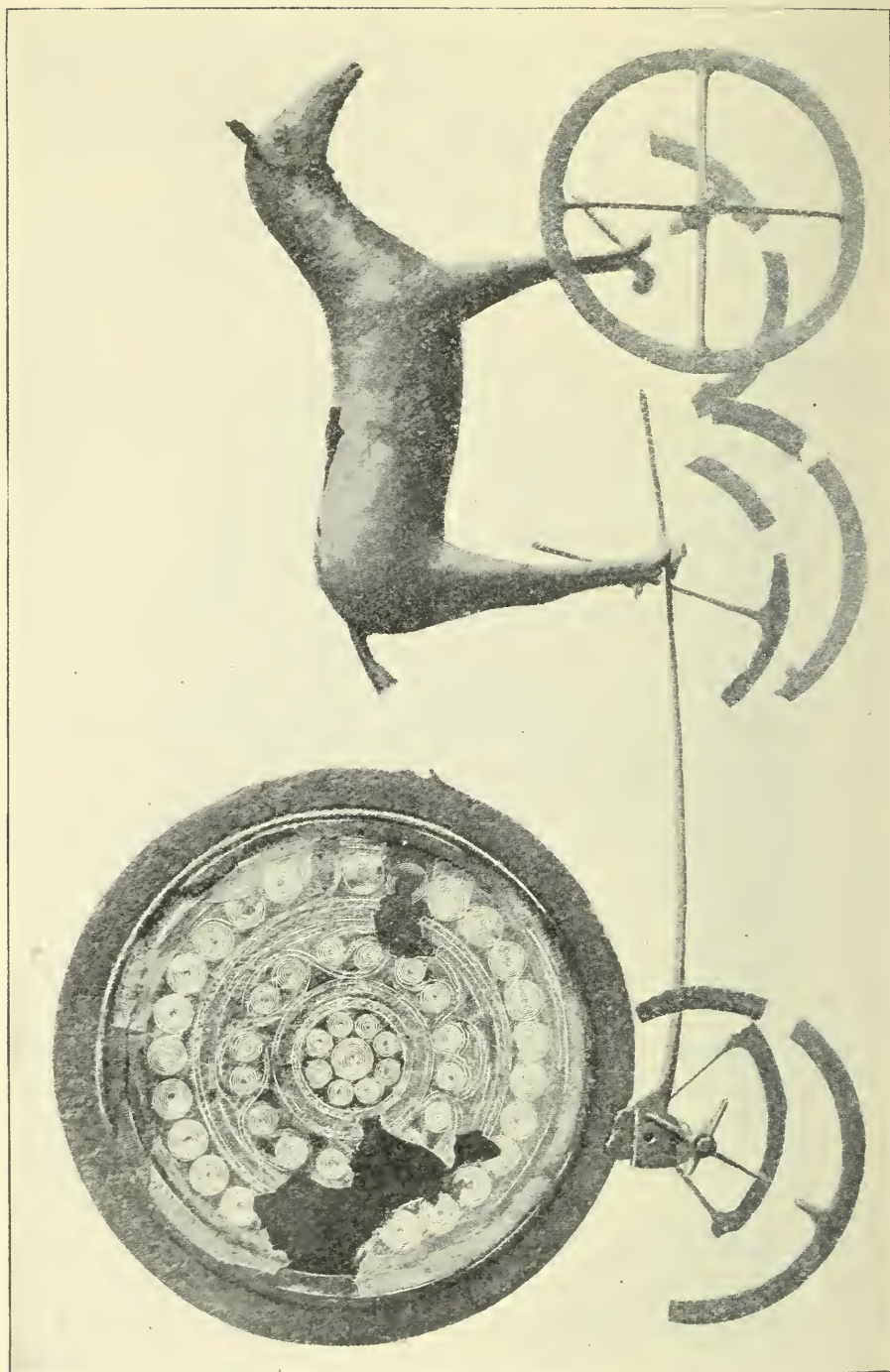
A PRE-HISTORIC SUN-CHARIOT IN DENMARK.¹

By KARL BLIND.

ONE of the most extraordinary discoveries, bearing upon the grand Odin creed of the Teutonic and Scandinavian forefathers of the Germans, the English, therefore also of the majority of the people of the United States of America, has recently been made in the Trundholm Moor of the Danish island of Seeland. When a part of that moor was ploughed, a very remarkable thing was found. It was the representation of a small Sun-chariot—evidently an image of a sacred character—such as is usually held to refer, pre-eminently, to solar worship among the ancient Greeks.

On its being unearthed from the high vegetable growth which had been forming during thousands of years, and under which it lay, six inches deep, the chariot was seen to be broken in pieces. It is believed that this points to an ancient sacrificial custom in the North. The car, which is now in the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen, is made of bronze. It rests on three, partly damaged, pairs of wheels. In front, there is the image of a horse; and behind the horse, that of a sun-disc: both also of bronze. The sun-disc is covered with thin gold on one side, and with beautifully elaborated designs. The cord connecting the steed with the disc is missing; but below his neck, as well as on the rim of the Sun-disc, there are loopholes for slipping reins through. On both sides of the image of the heavenly orb rich circular and spiral ornaments

¹ The greater part of this lecture appeared in *The Westminster Review* of November last, and is reproduced with the editor's kind permission.



(Reproduced with the kind permission of Dr. Sophus Müller, the Director of the National Museum at Copenhagen, from "Nordiske Fortidsminder.")

are inlaid. This ornamentation is different on the two sides; two plates or shields being placed together. It has first been worked out with a graver, and then a thin plate of gold has been pressed in. A metal band on the rim keeps it firm.

The whole is artistically finished to a wonderful degree, considering its antiquity in the High North, and also well preserved with remarkable freshness. Our hon. Secretary, Mr. Albany Major, and Mrs. Major, have seen this little Sun-chariot in the Museum at Copenhagen, and I am informed also by this friend of ours that the chariot is still in good condition. The Sundisc is oval in form, thirteen and a half inches long; eight inches in width. The tail of the horse is evidently broken off, and has not been found. It was not docked, as it might seem now. Probably there was formerly an appendage of real horse-hair, which was inserted in the hole now seen there. There are six wheels for the disc and the horse, all broken, with the exception of one.

"This work," says a Copenhagen report, "had probably been made in the country where it has been found, or at any rate in that region where there was once a population of the same common culture and mode of life—namely, in southern Scandinavia and in the most northern German lands. The difficult metal work is excellent, the ornamentation perfect. There is scarcely any such round figure in Europe from more ancient times, or even from the same time, that is better than this horse. Outside Greece, nothing can compare with it by a long way."

Danish archæologists conclude that the work belongs to the older Bronze Age, and that it may—at least, according to their estimate—be about 3,000 years old: a point that may be left for further elucidation. Like similar holy relics of the Scandinavian North, this Sun-chariot is thought to have been purposely broken into pieces as a sacrifice to the Gods, and to have thus been placed far away into the marshy ground of what is now the Trundholm Moor. It is a custom traceable as far as Egypt in

ancient burial rites, when a thing was thus broken for a dead person's use in a future world.

In the North they seem to have now and then broken very valuable things by way of an offering to the Deities. In the same manner, as you will remember, it was ordained in the fire-burial of Odin, that "the dead should be burnt, and that every thing that had been their own should be carried to the grave." Odin said "that every one should go up to Walhalla with as many riches as would be heaped upon his pyre, and that he should enjoy in Walhalla also those things which he had hidden in the earth." Rather a waste of nice things, I should say.

The Odin who gave that law—I will remark in passing—was not the God of that name, not the Allfather, the pervading Spirit of the World, the Ruler of Battles and progenitor of the charming Water-Nixes, but a warrior-chieftain, a conqueror of Scandinavia, who bore the same divine name. He himself at his death—which proves that he was a human being—was cremated, after he had marked himself with a spear, so as not to die a "straw-death." This fire burial was in accordance with his own law, and his funeral is said, in the old Norse sources, to have been a most splendid one. Probably many valuable things then went the same wasteful way. However, in later times, the Vikings often enough recouped themselves for such losses on foreign coasts, where they landed as somewhat unwelcome sea-side visitors.

But this only by the way to explain the lavish and extravagant sacrificial custom in question. In the present case we find that curious custom in the breaking up of a remarkable work of art.

Considering the artistic merits of this Sun-chariot, we may certainly feel surprised to meet with so fine a specimen in high northern antiquity. When I speak of great artistic merits, I must of course add that the horse bears the strong trace of archaic, primitive treatment, at any rate in his head. That head does not come up to what we would expect now in the picture or sculpture of

a horse. Yet, otherwise, the animal is well done ; better certainly than, for instance, the image of a stag, found at Mykenê—or Mycene—which you may see in the book of my old friend, Dr. Schliemann.

The ornamentation is pressed in, or punched in, on the Sun-disc, and has very elaborate involutions. It reminds us indeed, to some extent, of the similar ornamentation found at Mykenê, Tiryns, and Troy. These were, originally, not Hellenic, but Thrakian (Thracian) settlements and strongholds. Now, the Thrakians were kindred to the great Germanic stock—to the Scandinavians and the Teutons ; and the line of their tribal connections can be traced from Eastern Europe and Asia Minor up to the North. That is an opinion held and acknowledged since the time of Jornandes, the Gothic historian, who was himself of that race. It is an opinion—or rather a clear historical fact—proved by many learned men in Germany, in Sweden, in England, since the Middle Ages down to our days. I will only mention here Thurmayr, the historian ; Fischart, the great scholar and humorist, who was a kind of German Rabelais ; Rudbeck, the Swedish historian ; Voss, the excellent translator of Homer and other classic works into German ; and in England, George Rawlinson, the Editor of “ Herodotus.” These all identify the great Thrakian race with the Germanic stock ; and that Thrakian, Getic, Gothic race extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic, where this Sun-chariot has been found.

Now, a Norse tradition—which, like all such tribal traditions, is no doubt very much mixed with myths and fables, but in which yet a kernel of truth is often contained—makes the conquering Asic race, which immigrated into Scandinavia, come up from the shores of the Black Sea ; nay, literally from Thrace. And historically, we certainly find Aspurgians, that is, Asic burghers, Asmans (Asic men), and other tribes in whose names a Germanic root is clearly contained, dwelling near the shores of the Black Sea in most ancient times.

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There are those, I know, who think that the course of migrations has always been from the East to the West. Numerous instances to the contrary might easily be given. Historically, it is also provable that not a few Thrakian tribes first went eastward from Europe into Asia Minor, then back again from Asia Minor into Europe.

It is further recorded from classic antiquity that there was some "sacred road," or commercial route, from a northern, Scythian, region, down to the Adriatic Gulf, on which amber was carried from the Baltic and the German Ocean to the South. Therefore, also, there was similar trade communication by return.

All this might make us ask whether there has been, perhaps, some early artistic connection even between the South and the North. On the other hand, the place where this Sun-chariot was embedded, seems to point to a time of which there is certainly no record yet of such communication. Herodotos, in the fifth century before our era, did not even know of, or rather doubted, the existence of a sea in the North of Europe. He was not aware of the Baltic. For the first time, so far as records go, Pytheas, the great Greek mathematician, astronomer, and traveller, whose voyage I have formerly treated on in a lecture to the Viking Club,¹ mentions a sea in those quarters, where he found Germanic tribes: Teutons and Goths. It was the Baltic. Pytheas lived in the third century before our era. Unfortunately, his book is lost. We have only stray passages from it, quoted by other classic authors, such as Strabon and Pliny.

I had to go into all this, because it bears upon the question as to the origin of the ancient work of art found in Seeland. But so far as we can see, it must be held to be of native northern origin. In fact, as is stated by a distinguished Danish archæologist, Dr. Sophus Müller, the Director of the National Museum at Copenhagen, many objects of a similar style have been found in that northern part of the isle of Seeland, where this Sun-

¹ SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II., p. 198.

chariot was discovered in the neighbourhood of the town of Nykjobing. This gives us a very high idea of the development of art in the North at such early times.

Allow me to mention that our friend, Mrs. Warburg, whose relative is also a Danish archæologist, has been kind enough to lend me a recent work, the "*Nordiske Fortidsminder*," in which there is a photographic reproduction of the Sun-chariot. Those present may see it afterwards on this table.

After this discussion of the possible or probable origin of the curious work of art, I now come to another important point. Before doing so, I may mention that I restrict myself, to-day, to the Germanic aspect of the case; leaving out any comparison with Sun-chariots in Hellenic antiquity, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere.

Here I must, first of all, say this. As yet, I have not met with any detailed reference, in connection with this matchless find, to the ancient cult which prevailed of yore among the Scandinavian, Teutonic, and the kindred Anglo-Saxon tribes. So it will be well to state at once that Sun-worship was one of the most notable and most largely developed traits of the Asa creed held in common by them all. The numerous traces of that worship are still amply extant in the ancient literature, the sagas, tales, and folk-customs of the several branches of the great Germanic stock. It may even be asserted that the solar cult was most firmly rooted in the North of Europe, where the sun mostly has a beneficent effect. In the South, where Helios often appears as the far-striking Bringer of Death, Sickness, and Agricultural Ruin, the veneration of the Sun has been less universal or unconditional.

Already, from the fragments which have come down to us about the voyage of Pytheas to the High North, we know that the Sun was a deity in the eyes of the people of the farthestmost Thule which he discovered. "The barbarians"—he wrote, in a passage preserved from his lost book—"were in the habit of pointing out

to us the sleeping-place of the Sun." In the fourth century before our era, about the time of the death of Alexander the Great, Pytheas, starting from Massilia (Marseilles), where there was a Hellenic colony, visited Britain, went through the German Ocean, and round the Skager Rack into the Baltic, where he met, as I said, with Teutons and Goths; then along the Norwegian coast, apparently up to Shetland and the Orkneys—perhaps even as far as Iceland.

After him, Cæsar, though having scant information about the religion of the Germans, mentions their Sun-worship. In Tacitus' "Annals" we hear how Boiocal—a German chieftain whose people lived between the Rhine and the Ems—raising his eyes to the sun, invoked the whole starry host like deities, with whom he conversed. If we turn to the numberless tales about the Teutonic Sun-Goddess and Venus, Freia-Holda, whose worship was one of the most widely distributed, and very difficult to eradicate, or to the legal customs of German antiquity, such as "sun-fiefs," "sun-oaths," and so forth, or to the many German children's rimes and ditties in which the Sun plays a wonderfully large part, the subject becomes positively overwhelming.

Without entering into this mass of evidence as to the Teutonic and Scandinavian solar cult, I will now quote a Norse source, in which there is a clear record of a Sun-chariot having formed part of the creed of the ancient Germanic race.

It is to be found in the "Younger Edda" (Gylfaginnîg, "Gylfi's Infatuation," 11). There we learn how the Gods, when fashioning the Universe, took the Moon and the Sun, who were brother and sister, "set them up in Heaven, and made Sun *drive the horses that draw the car of the Sun*, whom the Gods had created, to light up the world, from sparks that flew out of Muspelheim." (Muspelheim is the Region of Fire, by the junction of which with Niflheim, the Region of Darkness and Icy Cold, the World was supposed to have arisen.) In this myth, by

the by, a kind of combined Vulcanic and Neptunistic theory of the world's origin is contained in poetic guise. The names of the steeds that draw the Chariot of the Sun are also mentioned in the Edda. They are, quite in keeping with their task, called: Arwakr (Early-Awake) and Alswidr (All-Swift), or, according to another explanation: "All-Scorcher," "All-burner" (from the verb "svidha," which may be compared with: to sweat, to be hot).

In the poetic lays of the Elder Edda, referring to the Divine Asa-Circle, we see, in the "Song of the Prophetess" (Völuspâ), how—

The Sun from the south,
The Moon's companion,
With her right hand held
The heavenly horses.

In "Odin's Raven Song" we read how the Day, typified as a God—and called the Son of Delling, that is Dayspring—drives the Sun in his own chariot:—

There the son of Delling
Urged on his steed
Adorned with
Precious stones.
Over Mannheim shone
The Horse's mane;
The dwarf Dvalin's Deluder
He drew in his chariot.

Mannheim signifies the World, Man's Home. The Dwarf Dvalin's Deluder is, in the rich poetical imagery of the North, the Sun. That may be seen from the "Song of Alwiss" (All-Knowing), where the various designations of the Sun are given, which are in use among the different beings of the Universe—namely, among the human race, the Deities, the Dwarfs, the Giants, the Elves, and the Sons of the Aesir, or Gods. This difference of language or designation we also find among the ancient Greeks. The name of Dvalin is probably to be explained as the sleeper, the dreamer. The Sun deludes, outwits, gets the better, over him, with her awakening power.

The Sun was of the female sex among the Northmen, even as among the Germans. Still, in Gothic speech, and even as late as in Hans Sachs, there is also a Sun of the male gender, together with a female one. In the Middle Ages there is, in German literature, alternately a male and a female sex attributed to the Sun. No doubt this will explain that in the Edda we hear of a daughter of the Sun.

It was said in the North that at the Doom of the Gods, at the final conflagration and destruction of the world, the terrible wolf Fenrir—the offspring of the evil Loki—starting from the Lower Depths of the Earth, will swallow up the Sun. But then, another Earth will arise from the Ocean, beauteously green; and a new Sun will come up—for, as it is said in the “Song of Wafthrudnir,” (47)—

A daughter shall be born
By the radiant Goddess,
Ere Fenrir shall have swallowed her.
The Maid shall ride,
After the fall of the Gods,
Again on her Mother’s course.

In other words: the new Sun, too, will *drive the steeds in her chariot*. The birth of that daughter evidently points to the existence, at one time, of a male Sun-God.

The Sun-wheel appears in the name of the Norse Yule-feast. “Yule” is linguistically connected with the Anglo-Saxon “hveol,” the English “wheel,” the Danish “hjul.” In the North, one of the names for the Sun was: “the Beautiful Wheel.” In Germany, in Mecklenburg, Christmas gifts, supposed by children to be clapped down by divine hands, are still called “Jul-Klapp.” In other words, the Sun-carriage has brought the Christmas presents.

Before there was a Christmas in German and Scandinavian lands, there was a winter-solstice feast among our common forefathers. At German summer and winter solstice festivals, which are clear survivals from the heathen Wodan creed, young fellows in the south still

are in the habit of rolling wheels—wound round with straw, tarred, and set on fire—down the hills, calling out a verse in memory of their sweethearts. This fiery worship is undoubtedly a relic of the cult of the Sun-Goddess and Goddess of Love, Freia, “whose name,” as the prose Edda says, “it is good to invoke in love affairs.”

So the Sun-chariot, its horse, and its wheels, and even a Sun-daughter, are fully testified to in Germanic mythology, north and south.

It would not be difficult, in addition, to show that the tale of the Sun-daughters, the Heliades, must actually have come to the Greeks from the coasts of the Baltic. As this bears strongly upon the subject at issue—namely, the prevalence of Sun-worship in the North—I will indicate a few points.

It was from the Baltic that, in pre-historic times, in grey antiquity, amber was exported over land to Greece and Italy. Schliemann's discoveries have proved it. Even the chemical test applied to the amber found in the pre-historic castles of Greece shows that it was of Baltic origin. There is, chemically, a great difference in the amber of various regions. Now, the classic story, it will be remembered, is, that after Phaëthon had been thrown from the Sun-chariot which he had audaciously presumed to guide, in the place of his father Helios, his death was wept by his sisters, the Heliades, or Sun-daughters. They were changed into trees, and their tears then hardened into amber. In poetical guise, this tale contains the true statement of facts of natural history. It shows the origin of amber from the resin of trees. When forests, producing such resin, were submerged by great floods, the resin, through the action of the water, became globular, round like tear drops. In such myths, often a sound kernel of natural history or science is contained.

But is it not remarkable that in the Hellenic legend about the produce of the North, which was so largely imported into Greece, we should meet with Sun-daughters from the same Kimmerian quarter?

The Greeks, who borrowed so much from foreign (Thracian, Egyptian, Phœnikian, and other) mythologies, evidently localised, according to their custom, an amber tale, that had been brought from the North, in Mediterranean quarters. But already in antiquity it was observed by critical writers—for instance, by Pliny, in his “Natural History”—that this localisation, in the Heliades story, is quite at variance with geography and with the places where amber is found.

The Greeks erroneously spoke of the river Rodanos, Rhodanos, or Eridanos, in connection with the tale about the Heliades. They placed that river in Iberia—that is, Spain; sometimes wrongly asserting even, according to Pliny, that both this Iberian Rhodanos, or Eridanos, and the river called by the Romans the Padus, or Po, discharged themselves by one common mouth on the shores of the Adriatic. Pliny adds: “They (the Greeks) may be all the more easily forgiven for knowing nothing about amber, as they are so very ignorant of geography.” This, I must say, was rather too harsh a judgment of Pliny, considering the voyage of Pytheas.

At the Rhodanos, or Eridanos, in Mediterranean quarters, whether in Spain or Italy, no amber was found. But there was actually a river Rhadan, or Radan—a confluent of the Vistula, near the Baltic; and there amber was largely found and exported to the south, even as from the shores of the German Ocean. According to Greek custom, which is observed even to-day, the Hellenic ending “os” was, of course, given to that northern river. “Gladstone,” for instance, in modern Greek, is called “Gladstonios,” or “Gladstonos.” So the Rhadan, or Radan, in northern Germany, became Rhadanos, or Rhodanos, and, by another misunderstanding, Eridanus.

From those northern quarters—Pliny and other writers state—“the Germans imported amber into Pannonia” (the present Hungary), “whence it became more generally known through the Greeks and other people dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic.” “It is evident”—

Pliny says, who refers to the story of Phaëthon and his amber-weeping sisters—"that this is the cause why the fable was connected with the Po."

From Pliny we learn that Aischylos gives the river, near which amber was found, the name, not of Eridanos, but of Rhadanos, though placing it in Iberia; and that Euripides and Apollonius also give it the same name, but with equal want of geographical knowledge, as they thought that both the Rhadanos and the Po were jointly flowing into the Adriatic. Who can doubt, then, that the fabled Greek Rhadan(os)=Eridan(os) was the really existent Radan river near the Baltic, from whence amber came into Greece?

Even Herodotos had already heard of "a river called Eridan(os) by the barbarians, which discharges itself *towards the North*, from which amber is said to come." These are his own words. The very doubt he expresses proves that this report, which he would fain disbelieve, was correct; for he says that, "though I made careful inquiry, I was not able to hear from any man who had himself seen it, that there is a sea on that part of Europe"!

But *we* know well enough that it was simply the misfortune of Herodotos not to have met such a traveller. There is certainly such a sea into which rivers discharge themselves on the northern part of Europe. It is the Baltic, near which the Radan flows; and this river was the manifest prototype of the Hellenic Rhadan(os) or Eridan(os) name. From that sea, as well as from the neighbouring German Ocean, the material so much prized by the Greeks and Romans was carried through Central Europe to the South.

The last ring of the logical chain, or geographical proof, is thus formed. No doubt, the Hellenes, great and masterly adapters of foreign myths as they were, expanded and beautified the tale about the Sun-chariot and the Sun-daughters, which they had evidently received through men connected with the amber trade from the North.

Here I will only rapidly say, in a few words, that the Greek tale about the golden-haired, foam-born Aphrodite (not to be confounded with the later, dark image which arose in Cyprus from the Ashtoreth cult in Asia Minor) also points to a northern origin. Did not that Goddess float through the sea-waves from a region in the North, beyond the confines of Hellas, at last only landing on the southern island? The figures of Ganymede, of Niobe, of Kerberos, to mention but a few, came from the country of the Thrakians, who manifestly were kindred to the Germanic stock. The chief sanctuary of Ar(es) was declared by the Greeks to have stood not in Hellas, but in the North, in Thrace. His name has his counterpart in the Teutonic war-god Er, from whom, in Bavaria, Tuesday (the day of Tiu, the Anglo-Saxon war-god, the Norse Tyr) is still named in folk-speech to this very day. It is called, in Bavaria, "Ertag." I only give these few examples for those who might, at a first glance, have been startled by a reference of the Heliades' tale to a northern origin.

However, the very representation of a Sun-chariot has now been discovered in the Danish island. And this, together with the passages quoted from the Norse Scriptures, certainly goes far to show that in times far beyond historical ken there was a remarkable Sun-worship in the High North. Religious or poetical notions, which a great many only know from Greek sources, were actually most fully developed among Germanic races in grey antiquity—so much so that the myth of the Sun-daughters in Hellas may truly be said to point to the amber-producing North, where a Sun-daughter was fabled to exist, and where a Sun-car, with its steed, and with the image of the solar disc, has at last come to light.

THE SAGA OF HAVELOK THE DANE.¹

BY REV. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.

TO deal with the ancient history of Havelok the Dane at all exhaustively would be beyond the powers of the writer, even if time would allow such an effort; and he would only attempt to point out some aspects of the legend as we have it now in its various versions, which at least he has not seen noticed elsewhere, and which would perhaps tend to show that it retains some features of construction and nomenclature which render it more especially interesting to those who seek for the links between ourselves and the early North.

Being, as it is, a story of a dispossessed heir, who rises from a menial position in a foreign land to the full recovery of his own throne, the legend, romance, or history, as it may be claimed to be, has, of course, its parallels and close likenesses in the romantic literature of other lands, whether of the most remote Aryan ages or of to-day. It may also find likenesses and close parallels in the pages of actual history in every century, and these do but grow more numerous as we pass from the time of the modern great monarchies to the days when every forest or fen or river-bounded tract of land had its own king, and—almost as a natural complement to the Court, and centre of policy and intrigue—its own “pretender” of some older line waiting for his turn to come. Eadwine of Northumbria and Olaf the Saint of Norway are cases in point, if there is need to bring forward examples from the many that will occur at once.

It would not seem necessary, therefore, to seek very far into antiquity for the origin of such a story as

¹ Read at the meeting on February 14th, 1902.

that of Havelok. It is one for which materials have always abounded, and probably will always abound afresh. What would seem to be more to the point would be to search for any possible link which may connect it with some definite time and place, if the names of the heroes commemorated are so lost that history does not record them. "Havelok" stands in a somewhat exceptional position in this respect, as from the first his history is localised at a town which is, comparatively speaking, modern. Practically speaking, the whole story is that of the foundation of our Grimsby, at the mouth of the Humber, and its interest is but heightened to a Northern student when it is found that, alike in the "Saga of Hakon the Good" and in the "Havelok" poem, the origin of this town is claimed for Northern settlers. The Hakon Saga says that it was named by the followers of the sons of Lodbrok, and Havelok is the royal fosterson of Grim the Dane, who settled in the place which still keeps his name.

We have no Northern version of the story of Havelok, however, and his name is unknown to the Norse or Danish records. His "Saga," as I may call it, seems to belong entirely to our island, and to have here originated. It was popular from very early days, the first written version dating from the first half of the twelfth century; and it lasted as a popular fireside tale till Camden's day, though, according to him, it had then sunk to a position which rendered it hardly worth the notice of a serious historian. He did notice it, however, for in his day, as in ours, the truth of the story of the origin of Grimsby is there an article of faith which he could hardly pass over without some remark. The town itself has several variants of its own legend which will remain to be noticed.

Two full poetic versions of the story of Havelok remain to us. One, the earlier, is in Norman-French, and dates from the early twelfth century; the other, perhaps two centuries later, in English. Besides these two full

versions, there are many summaries of the story existing, the whole of which may be found in the edition of the poem by Professor Skeat for the Early English Text Society. It would be impossible to go into the whole of these, and it will be enough to refer to the book in question, and to collate from them where necessary. No two of the versions agree in details, some of the variances being important, but the general outline of the story is the same. Given that, it may be possible to make use of the different versions to some effect.

Havelok, son of a Danish king, who is slain by an usurper, is saved by one Grim, who sails with him to England, the prince being a child at the time. Grim founds Grimsby, and prospers exceedingly as a fisher. Havelok is brought up as a fisher with his fosterfather, and becomes the most goodly and strong man in Lindsey. At full age he seeks service at the court of the king of Lindsey, at Lincoln, becoming the palace porter, or scullion, under the name of Curan. At this time the king of Lincoln has in his charge Goldburg, the daughter of his sister and the king of a southward kingdom, holding her realm until he can marry her to the fairest and most goodly man he can find. Havelok's feats of stone-putting bring him to the notice of the king, who concludes that he can carry out his sister's injunctions and retain the kingdom at once by marrying the princess to the scullion. This he accordingly does, by compulsion, the princess being comforted by a vision which tells her of the royal birth of her husband. Together Havelok and his wife go to Grimsby, and there learn that he is heir to Denmark. Grim is dead, but with his three sons they set out, and are met in Denmark by an earl, who recognizes Havelok, and gives his party lodging at his steward's. Here, during the following night, they are attacked by a crowd, and Havelok beats them off. Next day he proves his descent by unmistakable tokens, and at the head of a good force marches against the usurper

and defeats him, the usurper losing his life. Then he sails to England to win the throne for his wife from her uncle, and defeats and slays him also. They then rule at Lincoln in his stead.

So far the common groundwork of all the versions. With the exceptions of the names of Grim, Havelok, and Goldburg, the names of the various characters in the story are seldom twice alike; but it is noticeable that the oldest version, the Norman-French, retains names of evident Northern origin, which the English version has lost. If there has been any actual foundation in fact for the story, one would expect such names, as carrying out the Danish colouring.

But this earliest Norman version also commences with a notice of the origin of the poem, which is most valuable, being a statement of the source whence the poet gained it: "Qe un Lai en firent li Breton." The legend therefore has been preserved by the Welsh, and, as in the case of the Arthur legends, has been worked up by the Norman poet. And in fact one does find marked traces of this Welsh origin of the poem both in names and in places scattered among the versions, and noticeably in the earliest.

We have thus a legend preserved by the Welsh, dealing with the Dane, and localised in the extreme east of England; a somewhat anomalous collocation which has its interest, and possibly definite meaning. There was a time in our history when Saxon, Dane, and Welshman met in a yet uncertain strife for mastership of the land, and princes of either race held rule in petty kingdoms, side by side.

Taking the first section of the story, and looking into the versions of the parentage of Havelok and his early misfortunes, we find the name of his father given in the Norman as Gunter, and in the English poem as Birka-beyn. The former is repeated in Peter of Langtoft, Ralf de Boun giving the latter. A further somewhat

extended prose summary of the story gives the name as "Kirkeban," and a second chronicle of about the same date, 1366, repeats this. It would seem possible that the actual name of the Danish king in the original story (whether of fact or fable) was *Gunnar*, and that his cognomen was "*Kirkebane*"—"the bane of the church"—and this is carried out by a statement made in the English version that he had been a terrible harrier of the Christians. The variant "*Birkabeyn*" is curious, and cannot but remind one that at the approximate date of the versions which give it, the last serious news from Norway had probably been of the revolt of the "*Birkebeiners*." This may have caused the variation. But in any case, the name is good Scandinavian. That of *Havelok* himself is sufficiently so in form, but I do not think that it occurs elsewhere. It does, however, remain as a well-known and honoured Lincolnshire patronymic.

Gunnar Kirkeban, then, *Havelok*'s father, is defeated and slain by an usurper, and here the Welsh origin of the story comes out strongly, with a strange addition. The Norman story, followed by Gaimar, says that the invader and usurper was no other than Arthur of Britain himself, with a subordinate leader, of the entirely Scandinavian name of *Hodulf*, who acts as the tenant for Arthur of the usurped Danish throne. The English poem does not mention this, being content to introduce a dishonest regent instead of a conqueror; but the version which claims to represent the original Welsh has evidently kept the very Welsh mention of Arthur, and probably has also preserved the name of the actual leader of the expedition correctly. Of course the claim for Arthur that he conquered Denmark is old, and generally scouted as impossible. But is it not possible that this half-forgotten story may record the actual expedition which started the claim? There were Danish settlements in Wales, on the Severn Sea, till A.D. 795, and Danish settlements on the Northumbrian coasts from time immemorial, probably. If a Scandinavian leader gathered

a force on our shores, possibly after wintering there, including a Welsh contingent from his neighbours, and made a successful raid thence into Denmark, it would be enough to be remembered and set to the credit of the mighty king, that once a force of Britons were victorious in Denmark. On the other hand, there may be grounds in this statement for thinking that the Story of Havelok is actually Scandinavian in origin, and has been learnt by the Welsh from the settlers on their coasts. If so, they have cymricised it slightly, so to speak.

After the death of his father, the rescue of Havelok from the usurper is most picturesque, but unfortunately does not afford any definite assistance toward elucidation of the origin of the story. According to the various versions, he is given by the usurper to Grim, in a sack, to be drowned; found wandering as a fugitive with his mother near Grim's house; picked up afloat on the Grimsby coast in an open boat by Grim (a sort of memory of the time-honoured Scaef of our ancestors), this last being one of the local variants of the town itself. Grim, the rescuer, is in the first place a thrall, or a steward, or a merchant; but, after his arrival at Grimsby, invariably becomes a fisher: and, as his son, Havelok is brought up, and to his trade.

The name of the mother of Havelok is given once, as "Eleyrn." The names of the family of Grim are given also, and are apparently original in one or two cases—possibly in more, as I cannot identify Celtic derivations. "Robert, who was red," "William, Wendut hight," and "Hugh Raven" are the three sons of the fisher. His "cousin," or son-in-law, is Aunger, which can hardly be anything but Arngeir; his wife is either Leve, or Saburc, and his daughters, Gunhild, Levive, and Kelloc. The names of Northern origin are evident, but it is worth notice that the two decidedly curious (Celtic (?)) forms, Saburc and Kelloc, occur in the Norman version. The English poem also gives the names of the two sisters of Havelok, slain by the usurper, as Swanborough and Elfled, the Northern

form being again evident. It is possible that, occurring as they do in the English poem only, the first names of the sons of Grim are insertions for the sake of detail, being of current English form, while the epithet "red," applied to Robert, sends us to the original "Radbard," and "Raven" is an actual original. "Wendut" is not evident in origin or meaning. Those of the relative of Grim, and of his wife and daughters are essential to the story, as they, after the death of Grim, make known the parentage of the hero. Their archaic forms would be thus accountable as derived from the original, unaltered save by translation.

Turning from the fortunes of Havelok to the somewhat parallel case of the princess who was to become his wife, we find at once a very suggestive record. The king, her uncle, under a bewildering variety of names, according to all the versions reigned at Lincoln. His kingdom extended from Lindsey to Rutland, and that of her father from Holland (Lincs) to Colchester. Gaimar adds that the king of Lindsey was a Briton, while his brother-in-law, of Norfolk, the father of the princess, was a Dane. Here we meet again with the strange mixture of Welsh and Dane in the east of England, already mentioned as characteristic of the origin of the story, in detail. There is no historic objection to such a mixture of reigning lines at an early date, for the Saxon Penda and the British Cadwalla were equally powerful at one period, and in alliance, at a time when the Jutish origin of the Kentish settlers was yet fresh in the minds of men. Norfolk also undoubtedly had its very early colonies from the North, whether we seek for evidence of their existence in the conquests of Ivar "the Boneless," as recorded in the Sagas, or in the existing dialect and physique of the people. We may notice at once, as somewhat more than a coincidence perhaps, that the hapless princess is kept a prisoner by her uncle at *Dover*, while he holds the kingdom which is hers, Dover being the capital of the old Jutish land of Kent. The English poems and

versions have assigned various Saxon names to these two kings, apparently with the hope of placing them in the known historic lines, and have occasionally tried to identify them yet further with known events, with confusing and evidently mistaken results. It seems that only the Norman direct version can give any clue to the originals of the names therefor.

Here the name of the Lincoln British king is Alsi, which may be Celtic in form, and that of the Danish Norfolk sovereign, Ekenbright, which seems like a perversion of a Northern name. The name of the sister of Alsi, the mother of the princess, is Orewen, which in its termination is Celtic, at least, and seems like a feminine form of *Yeuin*, our modern Owen, with the old pronunciation, "Urwen," transliterated. In the case of the name of the princess herself, however, the Norman poet has evidently taken a liberty. In every other version the names of hero and heroine remain unaltered as Havelok and Goldburg, the latter somewhat varying in spelling only. In this one case the name Goldburg is replaced by the decidedly French "Argentille." It would seem that the hard ending of the insular name was too much for the Norman tongue, and the poet had to alter it for his own comfort and that of his hearers. Possibly one may see in the sort of apposition of "Or" and "Argent" in the name of mother and daughter the ingenuity of the writer who wanted to translate "the golden burgh" and yet to avoid clashing with the name already used. "Argentille" is a pretty way out of the difficulty of "La ville d'or," through "Orville" perhaps.

To this British Court, with its Welsh king and Dano-Welsh princess, comes Havelok, and is hired by the cook, who clothes him gaily, as porter, or scullion, he giving his name as "Curan." This name is from the Norman again, and the poet translates it as "A scullion" for the benefit of his hearers. Professor Skeat has tentatively derived this from a doubtful Gaelic source, but dubiously.

Enquiry as to what the word might mean in Welsh, however, elicited at once from a Celtic neighbour of my own, that an existing term "*Cwran*" might be applied to anything that was a wonder, or remarkable. It would seem, therefor, that the simplest explanation of the name is the best, Havelok being decidedly "*Curan*" in every way. This is almost certainly, therefor, a pretty clear token that the Norman is close to the original Welsh version.

I may pass over the marriage of the hero to the heroine, with its marvellous dreams, and its mediævalised marriage, and come to the reception of the hero in Denmark. He lands, and is at once received by "*Sigar l'estal*" in the Norman, and by "*Earl Ubbe*" in the English poems. Again, the earlier direct version preserves an actual name, Sigurd, almost exactly. The English version has apparently substituted the well-known and feared name of the mighty Jarl of the Raven banner as a familiar Danish name to every hearer. By this Jarl the party is lodged with "*Bernard the Brun*," which seems to be much like an English rendering of Biorn. This is carried out by a dream of the princess which relates a fight between Havelok and his fosterbrothers, and various beasts, including a bear. In confirmation of this dream, the party is attacked by a crowd, variously numbered, and for reasons differing in the versions, but according to the English poem, led by one "*Griffen Gall*"—unmistakably Griffin of Wales. But for the many Welsh remnants in the Norman, one might have wondered how he reached Denmark, but here it seems that the English poem has also harked back direct to the original; probable Danish, and certainly Welsh names occurring together in this episode. Havelok and his brothers are hard pressed, and retreat to a tower, whence he hurls coping stones on his enemies, according to the French version. There will be more to say of these stones shortly. Then follow the recognition of the heir by the tokens of ring and horn, and the march against the usurper, who, of course,

is defeated and slain. The more simple Norman version is content to kill Hodulf in battle, while the English adds details of flaying alive, and subsequent drawing and quartering meted out to him. It would be interesting to know if the original carved the traitor into the blood eagle, and it may be suspected that this is the English version of that execution, which the more courtly Norman omitted. Then is the return to England. The Norman gives the landing at Carleflure, and the Durham MS. at Tetford. There is a great battle, after which, it being indecisive, the princess suggests staying up the dead, that the host may seem no less in the morning. The ruse is successful, and Alsi and his men sue for peace. The king has been sorely wounded by Havelok after an encounter with Jarl Sigar, and dies shortly, according to the Norman, and is burnt according to the English. It is worth notice here that Alsi's chief supporters in this battle, according to the English version, are Earls Gunter, and Reyner of Chester. Both are forms of Northern names, and the poet has borrowed Gunter from the earlier versions, in which it is the name of Havelok's father. The Earl of Chester at Lincoln, with a Norse name, is characteristic again of the mixed origin of the Saga, reminding one of the unholy alliance of Penda of Mercia and Cadwalla, in a way.

So far the old story, and it remains to notice the living links with the Grimsby of to-day. First of these, of course, is the tenacity of the ancient tradition in forms underived from either of these poems as to detail. Next is the use to-day of the ancient seal of the borough, whose device includes Grim as the central figure, and Havelok and Goldburg on either side of him. They are named, and Havelok bears the ring and Danish axe. The material is brass, and the workmanship and lettering of a type not later than 1300. It can hardly, therefor, have been adopted on account of the popularity of the poems, but refers to the original legend equally with them. So late as 1825 the stones said to have been hurled from the

tower were shown at Grimsby, one in the churchyard, and the other at Wellowgate. I have been unable to find that they still remain, but it is likely that the wonderful growth of the town has hidden them. A similar stone still remains in Louth, twenty miles to the south, and is believed to be of the same formation, which is certainly not English. It is said to be as old as the town. I would suggest that all three have been "high seat-pillars" or their bases, brought by the earliest Northern colonists. In this connection it may be worth noting that some fields in Conisholme parish, south of Grimsby, bear the name of "East Hordaland" in an existing charter of Edw. III. "Carleflure," as the modern Carlton, and Tetford still bear the traces of a forgotten Danish raid or invasion. The former, some five miles from the coast, on a river now shrunken, has its camp of the East Anglian Danish type, with a well-preserved causeway to the channel where the ships might lie. At Tetford are seven barrows which hold forgotten dead from some unusually fierce fight.

Professor Skeat has endeavoured to fix the date at which Havelok possibly lived, but avowedly with little success. He cannot place him in any list of known events, but would refer him to a date not later than the sixth century.

Taking the legend as I have from an entirely different standpoint, perhaps it may not seem presumptuous to suggest, in the difficulty, a new departure. It seems evident that we have in "Havelok" a story of Dano-Welsh origin, not so far removed from its original that mediævalisation has hidden its salient points. It is a tale of England, but the Saxon element, in the earliest version, is entirely absent, while the Dane and Briton keep their place. It would seem, therefore, to be a traditional Welsh record of actual historic events which occurred in the first unrecorded days of the invasion from North and East which followed the retreat of Rome from our shores, when the British princelings yet held

their own for a time throughout the land. Havelok may be contemporaneous with Hengist, or earlier, but an actual leader of a Danish force, and holder of a throne at Lincoln and in Norfolk, after expulsion of the British prince who held the one, and had regained the other. He may have been a leader of the historic Jutes, and the ancient camps of the Lincolnshire coast may well be his, and his men and Alsi's lie at Tetford. And Grim, his fosterfather, in the old Northern way, who takes to the craft of the fisher in England, is surely drawn from life, and may without doubt be held as the actual founder of the great fishers' town we know. Beyond this, no date can well be assigned. That the tale belongs distinctly and solely to our island seems to prove that it is not old, as Sagas go; but whether the Danes taught it to the Welsh, or whether it is an actual memory of British history may be conjecture. That the hero is a Dane, and that his fortunes involve a British defeat, would go far to show that, as preserved by Britons, it is a record of fact, and not a mere invention, or echo of far more ancient legend.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. F. T. Norris said the Club were under an obligation to Mr. Whistler for bringing the subject of the Havelok Saga before them. The theme is a distinctly Norse one, with Norse characters and incidents in the main, plus, possibly, some added extraneous local colour. He was not, however, of the opinion that Mr. Whistler had been quite happy in treating his subject. Havelok Cuaran was undoubtedly the great Norse king of Dublin, Olaf Cuaran, whose remarkable career had been the inspiration of so many mediæval romances, including the Hamlet Saga. The changes of the name of Olaf were certainly remarkable. Starting with the Norse form of Olaf, this was converted in the version of the Irish annalists into Amlaiebh; the Saxon Chronicle, becoming aware of the name through the descents of the Ostmen from Ireland (the Gall-gael) on the north-western coast of England, rendered it Anlaf,

a form which had been a standing puzzle to a certain class of antiquaries. The Norman-French romancers of two centuries later converted it into Hamlet and Havelok. Full details of the permutations of this name, as also the incidents of the career of this remarkable personage, were given by Mr. Collingwood in past issues of the *SAGA-BOOK*,¹ and also by Mr. Gollancz in his "Hamlet Saga." The contention of Mr. Whistler that the saga and plot must be placed in an earlier period of the Saxons' relation to Britain was untenable in view of the obviously Norse and contemporary Saxon character of the names of all the *dramatis personæ* and of the local names. Witness: Hodulf = Athulf = Ethelwulf; Ekenbright = Erckenbrecht; Reynar = Ragnar [Lodbrog]; Gunter = Guthram = Gunnar; Arthur = Ottar; Alsi = Ulfsig; Curan = [Olaf] Cuaran, well known in Irish Annals; Bernard le Brun = Biorn the Fair; Saburc = Sigborg; Leve = Leof, etc. Grimsby, with its Norse *by*-ending, also carried the tale into the Danish period, and the approximate date of the foundation of which was well known.² The segregation of the incidents of the Havelok Saga around any point on the East Anglian coast strengthened rather than weakened the Norse interpretation, as it rested upon the easily supposed correlation of Norse operations in the north-east of England (Humber to the Firth of Forth), the north-west of England up to the Clyde, and Ireland, of which abundant historical evidence exists. Despite these objections, Mr. Norris was of opinion that Mr. Whistler had done a distinct service in bringing this subject forward.

The President said he was very grateful to Mr. Whistler for his paper, which presented many obviously interesting points. He was not prepared to accept Olaf Cuaran as Celtic, whatever elements the second element in his name presented. He should like some further particulars as to the story of the stones mentioned by Mr. Whistler. Were they stone weapons? Tetford, mentioned in the

¹ Vol. II., p. 313.

² After the first recorded descent of the Norsemen.

paper, was a very curious place of great antiquity, and it was remarkable that the flint industry still survives near it, and the fashioning of stone weapons has been carried on there from primeval times.

Colonel Hobart called attention to Mr. Whistler's book "Havelok the Dane," which he had read with much pleasure and profit. Though it only appeared in the modest form of a story for boys, it had a distinct historical and scientific value.

Mr. A. F. Major asked to be allowed, in Mr. Whistler's name, to thank the meeting for the reception given to the paper, and, as far as he was able, to answer the remarks upon it. He was glad Colonel Hobart had called attention to the value of Mr. Whistler's stories founded on old English history. As regards the stones, he believed, in the extant poems and stories of Havelok, they were only huge blocks of stone which Havelok hurled down on his opponents; what they may have been in the original Saga it is of course impossible to say. With regard to Mr. Norris's criticisms, he was sure that he spoke for Mr. Whistler, as well as for himself, when he expressed the greatest regard for Mr. Gollancz's opinion on any literary subject. But while admitting the great force of the parallel he had drawn between the Amloða and Havelok stories, and their apparent connection with King Olaf Cuaran, yet Mr. Whistler had drawn attention to peculiarities in the Havelok tale which suggested very strongly that that story had a historical basis, whatever accretions it might have received from floating traditions. Its localisation at Grimsby was certainly very ancient, and the traditions and remarkable seal of the town seemed to show that this was something more than an idle tale: but if the date of the foundation of the town were well known, as Mr. Norris alleged, this would have an important bearing on the discussion, and he hoped Mr. Norris would give the date and the authority for it. The fact that the name Havelock had survived as a patronymic was against the supposition that it was merely a name in a popular tale,

originating in a Welsh corruption of the form Amlaidh. The localisation at Grimsby again seemed to militate against the identification of Havelok Curan with Anlaf Cuaran, and Mr. Whistler's suggestion as to the origin of the name Curan was in any case worthy of consideration. It seemed possible that the elements before us were fourfold, a historical, though unrecorded Havelok, as suggested by Mr. Whistler, his Saga, the Amloða Saga, and the historical Anlaf or Olaf Cuaran. The exact relationship of the elements in such a problem could not be determined easily, if at all, but he thought Mr. Whistler had shown that there were elements in the Havelok story which were not to be reconciled with the theory that it was only another version of the Amloða Saga, or a mediæval legend relating to King Olaf Cuaran. We had no record in our history of the settlement of our forefathers on the east coast, yet it was certain that that coast, from its geographical position and its character, a fertile and comparatively flat country, penetrated by many broad estuaries and tidal rivers, must have invited their incursions at a very early period. Indeed, from the name of "Saxon Shore," given to it in the Roman time, we know that their raids upon it began even before the Romans had left the island, and it is probable that settlements had already been established there.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood sends the following remarks:—
As I was unable to hear this most interesting paper read, the Editor has kindly allowed me to see it in proof, and to join, though belated, in the discussion. I think that much new matter has come to light since Prof. Skeat edited "Havelok" for the E.E.T.S., and that the views put forth in Mr. Gollancz's "Hamlet in Iceland" are worth consideration, as well as various modern studies of the cycle of non-Scandinavian Sagas based on events of the Viking Age. Among these are the Norman French versions of "King William the Wanderer," which I hope some day soon to lay before the Club as an example of wild romance, intro-

ducing true touches of actual eleventh-century life in the north of Britain, where the mixture of Scandinavian with Gaelic and Cymric folk and folklore produced a number of legends, still farther obscured by the fact that they were told afresh by Norman poets, but always bearing traces of their origin. I do not think the older critics were right in referring these to the sixth century; all the conditions for producing them were present in the tenth and eleventh. At the later period Danes and Norse, Anglians and Welsh (Cumbri), Picts of the North, and Gaelic Scots of the West were all in close connection by neighbourhood, commerce, and intermarriage, in spite of wars and jealousies. The focus of this mingled life and consequently prolific thought was Cumberland, where in the Gosforth cross and other such monuments we have the earliest, and almost the only, art illustrators of the new Scandinavian mythology, which, in its literary aspect, is the Edda. Most of these Norman legends come from Welsh (Cymric) sources, and point to the great Northern Welsh (Cumbrian) nation, about which we know so little, but can infer so much. I take it that "Havelok" and its cycle were the Cumbrian traditions of events that occurred in and around Cumberland in this Viking Age. Havelok Curan himself has been identified by most of the modern writers with Olaf or Anlaf Cuaran ("of the brogues"), a Viking adventurer, king of York, king of Dublin, connected by birth and marriage with several Celtic royalties, and dying at last in Iona—a personage romantic enough to adorn any tale. The name Haveloc seems to me to be French for Amhlaibh (*mh* pronounced as *u*), which was Gaelic for Analaf. The aspirate in French was always negligible; the final *c*, as anyone familiar with proper names in the hands of Norman scribes can tell, might be miswritten; and you have "Hamlet"; or retaining the *c*, something very like king "Aveling" of Ravenglass. Olaf Cuaran's true story is, of course, wildly distorted, the geography confused, and the legend overlaid with scraps of folklore from many sources; but I think we can see how his

personality remained interesting to his Cumbrian neighbours, whose Welsh songs and sagas by the twelfth century had grown into a sort of epic, fortunately collected by the Norman antiquaries of the day. With regard to details, Mr. Whistler's suggestion about "Birkabeyn" seems convincing. Hodulf I believe to be the Anglian prince who occurs in other stories of the group; Wendut might possibly be "Wendwood," and the original germ of my King William the Wanderer. Saburc seems to be good Anglian, and Kelloc some compound of the common Scandinavian Ketil, Kel. Dover, in these French and English sagas, is used, with Bristol, as a well-known name for any seaport stronghold. There were several historic Arthurs not far from this period, but I have not my "Four Masters" at hand.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler writes in reply:—While thanking the members who have been so good as to add very materially to the interest of the Havelok question by their remarks on the somewhat tentative paper which Mr. Major was most kind to read for me in full appreciation of the criticism which might ensue, I am allowed the usual privilege of the last word for the present.

The identification of the Havelok Saga with the story of Olaf Cuaran is no doubt fascinating, but I am strongly of opinion that the ancient and still existing close localisation of the Saga militates very materially against that theory. The actual and permanent connection of a romantic Saga with an existing place is, in itself, so valuable that its consideration should certainly be given precedence to theory based on similarities of name and incident in legendary history equally strongly localised elsewhere.

I would suggest in this connection that it is quite possible that, while the mediæval poets, in searching for a nickname under which the hero of the more ancient saga may pass during his servitude, might have actually borrowed that of Olaf Cuaran, as one already known to their hearers

as likely and appropriate for a wandering prince at the later date which the Olaf theory would assign to the poem, the actual meaning of the name "of the brogues" would hardly be forgotten, at least in Danish Lindsey, and it has no meaning at all to be deduced from the story. But if I am right in my Welsh derivation, the meaning would well be forgotten, but is of immense value in itself. The mediæval poet mistranslated it.

The transition of the hero's name itself from Olaf to Havelok requires the addition of the hard *k* to the former, which is almost prohibitory. The common script confusion of *c* and *t* in the MSS. will not account for it, as the name is oral, and still remains in the well-known and honoured *Lincolnshire* patronymic of Havelock, the family which has always been proud to trace descent from the hero.

I am quite prepared to admit a Norse equally with a Danish origin for the story: the mediæval chroniclers, and therefore still more likely the gleemen, making little or no distinction between the two branches of the Northern invading hosts. But I would submit that the early nomenclature of Norway and Denmark is so practically indistinguishable that it is hard to draw any safe inference from the forms given in the poem. The identifications by Mr. Norris of others of the names with more modern Anglo-Saxon forms are ingenious, and fully worth consideration, but at the date of the committal of the Saga to writing these later forms were still in use and well known. No similar corruptions occur in the contemporary chroniclers, and whatever changes have taken place in the names of the Saga must needs refer to an extremely old oral original, dating from beyond known use.

Except that Grimsby was in existence in the time of Cnut, I am unable to do more than refer the date of its foundation to legend. The ancient "Stones" were always held to be blocks of hewn stone from the tower, hurled by the hero at his enemies.

THE NORSEMEN IN UIST FOLKLORE.¹

BY REV. ALLAN McDONALD.

STORY-TELLING has not by any means died out in Uist, nor are all the story-tellers old men. Many of the younger men tell their tales with a grace and flow of language and a fulness of incident that are not surpassed by many of the older reciters. Such tales, however, as appear from their style to have been the studied composition of bards, and for the perfect recital of which one would require to know not only the incidents of the tale but the very words are now being shorn of their embellishments of literary style and given in plain, homely, colloquial language which is, however, grammatically accurate, elegant and telling. Versified tales or ballads are still chaunted, though the tendency to recite instead of chaunting is marked. The number of such antique lays is lessening fast. Probably there are not more than twenty that can be recited in any fulness at this date in South Uist. I speak of Fingalian or Ossianic ballads. I have heard fourteen recited or chaunted, and it is pleasant to note that a few at least of the reciters were young. As such pieces require a greater effort of memory than prose tales and the young generation are made to clog their memories with fragments of English poetry in which they find little interest or pleasure their abused memories become unfitted to retain the ballads of their own tongue.

Judging from my own experience there is as much matter again in the way of Gaelic tales to be had in Uist as there is in John Campbell of Islay's four printed

¹ Read at the meeting on January 26th, 1900.

volumes. Some men whom I have met are able to recite from twenty to fifty tales, varying in the time of telling from half an hour to two hours.

No tales are more popular in Uist than those that tell of Fionn Mac Cumhal and the warriors of the Feinn. With all their wild extravagance they are held to be truer than all other tales. One narrator says bluntly that the tales of the Feinn are as true as truth, while other tales are only the inventions of a woman who had to tell a long tale to save her life, and who scrupled not under the circumstances to string together any romantic incident that occurred to her without the least regard to historical truth. It is satisfactory to know that most references to the Norsemen occur not in the unscrupulous lady's romances, but in the more honourable oral record of the Fenian heroes.

For the appearance at least of order it may be as well to glance at the popular Fenian story first and then at other less prominent folk tales and note down what refers to the Norsemen.

The Norsemen had invaded and seized the Hebrides.

One of the kings of Ireland, for Ireland was made up of five kingdoms then, was vexed that the men of Lochlin had seized the islands which by right were his own. He sent fleet after fleet to dislodge them, but his efforts met with little success. As soon as a ship was seen to be approaching from the Sea of Ireland, (the sea between Barra and Ireland is so called), a beacon light was set up on every high point of land by the Lochlinners and the alarm was spread at once, and their galleys issuing forth from every bay gathered together and met the enemy. The Irish king was frequently worsted and was sinking into despondency. His man of counsel—there was no parliament then, adds the narrator—told him to be of good heart, and although he was unable to drive them out of the Hebrides just now that a time would yet come when they could be driven away, if the king would approve of the plan this counsellor had to suggest. The

king told him to speak on. The advice he gave was that the king should have every man in Ireland who was six foot high brought together, and that when brought together that the tallest women in Ireland should be given them as wives, and that no objections to their marriages on the ground of either kinship or willingness were to be listened to. Only nine nines of such men were to be found, and eighty-one wives were provided for them. These men were to avoid all common work and live by the chase. In time their descendants would form a body of stalwart men fit in size and strength and numbers to contend with the men of Lochlin. The Fenians achieved the task assigned to them, but an ungrateful king, who feared that they might turn their power against himself, as there were now no enemy to fight with, banished them from Ireland to Scotland, where they led a life of hardship and hunger until the advent upon the scene of Fionn Mac Cumhal with his dog Bran and his sword Macaluin. During his time there were frequent incursions of the Norsemen and many a stiffly contested field. There is a ballad named "The wrathful battle of the Feinn" which illustrates this. The reciter preludes the ballad thus. The Feinn were very unsuccessful in the chase. The game was hidden from them by spells. When these were broken the hunt was more than ordinarily successful. Fionn, however, neglected to hold the drinking festival that was customary on such occasions, and two of his warriors resented this so much that they left the camp of Fionn for a year and a day and transferred their services to the king of Lochlin. The queen of Lochlin conceived a passion for one of them whose name was Ailltidh, and they fled together to the camp of Fionn. It was to avenge this wrong that Erragan, king of Lochlin, fought this battle with the Feinn.

Subjoined is a literal translation of the ballad—too literal for elegance; and it is to be hoped that the length of it will not be too great a trespass on your forbearance.

A day that Patrick was in his court,
 No psalms on his mind, but a-drinking,
 He went forth to the house of Ossian, son of Fionn,
 Whose speech was music to him.

Patrick.

All hail to thee, aged worthy one!
 I've come around to see thee,
 Strong warrior of fairest form
 That hast never grudged another what thou hast.

The tale I would have from thee,
 Grandson of Cumhal of the hard swords,
 The most closely-contested fight the Feinn was in
 Since first a fierce Fian was begotten.

Ossian.

'Tis I that have the proof of that for thee,
 Tall Patrick of the pretty psalms,
 The closest contest the heroes were in
 Since first a Fian was begotten.

Fionn neglected to make a feast
 In Albin in the time of the warriors;
 While a band of the Feinn were up Drim-derg
 Their anger and fury arose.

Moróran.

"And if thou hast neglected us in the matter of the
 drinking feast,"
 Said Moróran with sweet voice,
 "I and fair young Ailltidh
 Will turn our backs for a year to the hall of Fionn."

They quickly took their departure,
 And their swords and shields to the ships.
 To the king of Lochlin with the glossy bridles
 A year's service - to the king
 Gave those two of fairest form.

The king over Lochlin in that very hour
 Was one who won the victory in every field,
 Erragan, son of Annir of the ships,
 O king! but his blade and his hand were good.

The queen of Lochlin of brown shields
 Gave deep, full-deep love, but not aright,
 To joyous Ailltidh of deep-red locks,
 And she went away with him in deceit.

She went away with him from the bed of the king.
 That is the deed for which blood will be shed.

Lochlin's king gathered his host,
A hard-set fleet that grew with readiness.
In the one hour there arose with him
The nine kings and other peoples.

For the realm of the Fians
They departed over the sea.
They pitched their camp thickly
Near the fort where Fionn abode.

A herald came forth with a message,
A weighty tale that tried us sorely—
To fight a close, stern battle with Fionn
On the glen to the north.

Fionn would give them a great tribute—
To the host that came to us,
To Lochlin's king with his time-honoured weapons,
Even that would he give and his own wife.

The counsel that Fionn approved
As well as all the chiefs of the Feinn
Was to give, if accepted from them, the king's daughter
To the king of Lochlin of the keen weapons.

We sent the king's daughter,
Whose skin was the whitest, whose eye the bluest,
And there went to attend her one hundred horses,
The best that ever stood on moor.

When she came down to the beach
She left the horses behind her.
She advanced a step towards them,
And two apples of gold in her right hand.

Earragan.

"Thy tidings from the camp of Fionn
Give us, fair one of the tresses;
Lovely maiden of the musical lips,
What is the end of thy coming?"

King's daughter.

If thy wife did amiss by thee
And played a deed so wrong,
Give friendship and fellowship to Fionn
So that thou may'st have me thereby.

That thou may'st have, and 100 horses,
The best that ever stood on moor,
And 100 riders to mount them
With their raiment of gold shining prettily.

That thou may'st have, and 100 cups
That would of clear water make wine,
And whoever should drink a draught from them
His hurt would not become greater.

That thou may'st have, and 100 sons of kings
That would win tribute from savage hosts.
That thou may'st have, and 100 belts,
And whom they girdle will not die.

They will heal affliction and exhaustion,
The pretty jewels that give forth their virtues free.

That thou may'st have, and 100 ships
That would rend the waves on the wild seas;
And thou may'st have 100 good hawks
That will have luck with every kind of bird.

That thou may'st have, and 100 flocks,
And a glen-full of choicest kine,
And if that sufficeth not
Take with thee thy wife and depart.

Earragan. I will make no peace with Ailltidh the fresh,
Nor with the chiefs of the Feinn ever
Until I bring Fionn himself beneath my sway,
And take the spoil with me to the beach.

King's daughter. Thou hast not brought of power with thee
Across the sea, methinks,
As will bring Fionn beneath thy sway
Or take the spoil to the beach.

Earragan. And thou wilt not go away, fair one of the tresses,
Lovely maiden of the musical lips;
The jewels thou may'st have free,
But stay to be my bride.

King's daughter. And I will not stay, choice of warriors,
Since I can win neither your respect nor your anger,
And since I cannot earn for my king
A peace freely given to the army of Fionn.

She turned her back upon them
And rode smoothly on her course.
Many a banner was being raised up,
And the Feinn went quickly into their armour.

Seven score of the goodly men of Fionn,
And Ailltidh himself first—
These fell by the hand of Erragan in the attack
Before the Feinn were massed.

Fionn.

Fionn, yon prince of virtues, spoke
While he looked at the host of Innisfail,
"Who will join in conflict with Erragan
Lest we allow him to despise us?"

Goll.

Goll had the answering of that—
The warrior who was hard to exhaust,
"I will join with Erragan in conflict.
Leave us to our feats of strength."

Fionn.

"Take with thee Ossian and the brown-haired Diarmid,
The bending Fergus and the son of Leigh,
To guard thee from the blows of the warrior,
And place two on each side as a shield.

And take with thee the other manly band
That would refuse to take a step backward.
Place that at thy right shoulder
From the race of Cumhal with their feats of strength."

'Twas eight days without rest
That we were ever forcing back the host.
The head of the king of Lochlin with its brown shields
Goll gained on the ninth day.

There escaped not from the edge of weapons
In the conflict from the multitude of tribes—
There escaped not home a man
Either of king or people of Lochlin.

In a prose story Erragan is represented as being invulnerable to every weapon but the spear of Goll. Before the battle a soothsayer reminded him of this, and told him that the Lochlinners would be victorious as long as he contrived to avoid the spear of Goll. To insure his own life and to insure victory for his people he had a large boulder hollowed out and he hid himself in the cavity. From time to time he aimed an arrow at the enemy through an aperture bored through the side of the stone. His people were driven back by the Feinn, and Erragan was left behind among the enemy in his

place of concealment. At short intervals one of the Feinn was observed to fall mortally wounded by an arrow which seemed to be aimed by an invisible hand. Goll was perplexed. Passing near the boulder he observed the aperture and thrust his spear into it. When he drew it out it was red with the blood of Erragan.

Ailltidh's flight with the faithless queen of Lochlin is believed popularly to have been a historical fact. It was said that there was a great sea storm on the night of their flight, and that the waves rose so high that a great part of the northern end of South Uist was submerged, and a great many houses destroyed by the tide. The shingle on the beach at Kilbride, on the south end of Uist, was thrown up by the sea on this same night.

As it would be tedious to give any more of the ballads in full, and as the one given above affords a fair illustration of their form and language, it will suffice for the purposes of this paper to summarise a few of the others. In the "Lay of the Banners" the king of Lochlin, on invading Ireland, boasts that :

" A third of the host that I have with me here
You never had in Erin."

Fergus the herald says in reply :

" Though thou thinkest little of the scanty Feinn,
Thou wilt take thy best spring backwards
From their grey blades before evening,
Or thou wilt work thine own harm."

In this battle there fell seven battalions of choice men and nine sons of Magnus the Red.

" Mac Cumhal and his hot-blooded host—
Like the glowing fire in their fury
Was the stroke of each warrior of them in the conflict
As long as a Lochlinner faced them."

But no enemy caused so much terror to the Feinn as Gonn, son of the Red, as may be seen from the lay named after him. The argument of the poem is as fol-

lows. The king of Lochlin bore a deep grudge to the Feinn, and he resolved to destroy them root and branch. For this purpose he selected the most stalwart and dexterous youth in his kingdom and had him trained in every feat and trick of arms, so as to be more than a match for the best warrior of the Feinn in the day of trial. This chosen hero was Red, the son of Dreathon. No one in Lochlin equalled him in strength and dexterity. When all was in readiness the king attacked the Feinn. Goll, the champion of the Feinn, met the Red in combat and slew him. The Red had a young son at home in Lochlin. The king took him to himself. This was Gonn, son of the Red. When he grew to manhood he was stronger far than the Red himself. He was told how his father was slain. He vowed to avenge his father's death, and to leave not one alive of the Feinn.

The ballad says :

“He came to avenge his father's death in all fairness upon the nobles and goodly men of the Feinn. He had a blade of venom to hack bodies with, and he dealt deep wounds. He could leap to the clouds above us, and he performed wild feats in the firmament, and yet no lovelier eye ever glanced at the sun than Gonn of the keen-edged weapons. His cheek was purple red, his eye large and blue. His hair was golden yellow in pretty ringlets. He told Fergus the herald that he sought the heads of Fionn and Goll and Diarmad and the heads of Clan Morna all, or that Erin from wave to wave should bend to his yoke, or that a combat with 500 heroes should be given him on the morrow.

“‘We will quickly curb his madness,’ said five hundred of the Feinn; but it was no cause of joy for them to join in strife with him. Filled with battle madness he drew his father's sword. He gave a wild mad swoop like a hawk in a flock of birds. Many a skull changed its look, many a head was here and there, and Gonn was trimming his shield, shouting for further combat. Seven score of the choicest Fians went to the encounter, but

it fared sorely with them. The seven score fell, and the Feinn raised a bitter cry. Fionn called upon Goll for help, and in spite of a private grudge with Fionn, he went forth readily to meet Gonn. His cheek whitened and reddened as they began. There was fury and anger on the brows of the two heroes. In their ardour they made the hill quake. For eleven days sons and wives were sad till Gonn the high-spirited fell by the hand of Goll. The Feinn raised a shout of joy such as they never raised before when they saw the proud Gonn at the feet of Goll." Ossian adds at the end of the lay :

" I would pledge thee my word, Patrick,
That the Feinn were never in the like fear
From any one man."

Another lay tells how Fionn one night discovered the track of a giant in his camp and followed it in the snow. When Fionn came near the giant he asked him his name. The giant answered him with contempt, and hurled his great spear with such force at him that it went down seven feet into the ground. Fionn thrust a dagger into the giant's heart. As he was dying he told Fionn that he was Sithean, son of the king of Beirbh, and that he was the chief of the 700 hounds. (" Beirbh," which frequently occurs in Tales, is supposed to be Bergen.)

Other lays still in vogue having reference to Lochlin are the "Lay of the Smithy," the "Lay of the Muiliartach"—a hideous hag, the wife of the Song-Smith of Lochlin and the nurse of the king of Lochlin, and the "Lay of Magnus"; but as all of them have been translated already it is needless to refer to them here. The "Lay of the Great Fool"—proverbially the best of all lays—is beginning to fall into disuse, and I have not yet met any reciter who could give it in full. The Great Fool was wedded to Gilbhinn the Young, and in a prose tale I find that she was the daughter of the king of Lochlin, while he is the son of the king of Erin. The scene of the lay of the Great Fool is in Lochlin. It also has been previously translated.

PART II.

In prose recitals we find Lochlin nearly as often referred to as in the metrical tales. It is my intention to note down a few such references. The title of one of the prose tales is "The Red-lipped Maiden." She was the daughter of the Lord of the Well. (The word which I am translating Lord means "long-haired" in Gaelic.) The well from which he took his title is in Uist. He and the Lord of the Island had been at war, and Murchadh, son of Brian, sent a nobleman from Erin to arrange the terms of peace. This noble held his lands free for his services in protecting his country. The terms of peace were arranged so satisfactorily that the Lord of the Well wished to give his daughter's hand to the Irish noble. When Dìreach (the Erect or Straight-minded)—such was his name—saw the maiden he was struck by her exceeding beauty, and resolved to take her with him, but not to gaze upon her again until he should present her to Murchadh, his worldly king, for whom he thought she would make a fitting queen. He took with him from Uist to attend her four guarding maidens. Before she became the bride of Murchadh she was taken away by the three Harpers of the Red Hall in Lochlin during the night. Dìreach set out in pursuit; but they had put off from the beach. He had to go back for his water head-gear. He then renewed the pursuit; but the Harpers reached Lochlin before him. He went up to the Red Hall, and heard that there was going to be a great wedding feast for the Great Harper and the Red-lipped Maiden. She had asked the feast to be put off for one day more, so that plenty of fish and game might be provided for the guests. The Harpers went away to hunt and to fish. Before doing so they locked the Red-lipped Maiden in a chamber with seven locks and seven quivering locks. Dìreach failed to find out the place of her imprisonment but he discovered Sorcha (Bright), the mother of the Harpers. He procured an intoxicating draught and gave it to Sorcha, and then found out the secret from her.

The first dash that he made at the door shivered the seven locks, and the next dash that he made shivered the seven quivering locks, and the Red-lipped Maiden sprang up on the tip of his shoulder. He brought her to where the long boat of the Harpers was beached, and putting maiden Red-lips on board he pushed out from the shore. The Harpers, who were fishing with three rods, cast their lines into the departing boat and their hooks got fixed in the sheet, and they began to drag the boat back to shore. Dìreach always had with him the Lorg-chroiseach (cross-stick) and he smote their rods but in vain. Maiden Red-lips said, "Though they have magic power over the boat's tackle, they have none over her timbers. Let them have the sheet." He cut it off with his cross-stick, and before the Harpers could disentangle their hooks, he and Red-lips were well out to sea. The Harpers gave up their fishing and went home to the Red Hall in anger and disgust and gave three horrible screams, so horrible that every pregnant woman lost her child and every mare its foal throughout Lochlin. Dìreach brought Red-lips safely back to Erin, where she wedded Murchadh, son of Brian, in Cathair-nam-Manach (The Town-of-the-Monks).

In the version of the tale that relates how the Great Fool, son of the king of Erin, won the hand of Gilbhin the Young, daughter of the king of Lochlin, we find that the Irish prince was sent one night, after slaying a number of warriors, by order of the king to seek lodging in the house of the "Tamhuisg" or dwarfs. There were eighteen score and eighteen of them under the one roof. The Great Fool thinking that though their number was great their strength was little entered their abode with a light heart. When he came in they all stood up and laughed. They closed the door and put a fastening upon it that they called "*droll*." The Great Fool put two "*drolls*" upon it. The Great Fool asked why they laughed when he came in. "Not for a year and a day," said they, "have we seen a man standing before us, whose flesh could afford a morsel, and whose blood a sip to us

all round till you came inside the door." "Speak of that good time when you have had it," replied he, as he seized the one with the biggest head and thinnest legs by the shanks, and he did not leave a head on a neck. He dragged them outside and he made three heaps of them upon the dunghill—a heap of heads, a heap of bodies, and a heap of clothing. Then he heard music that was a temptation and so dangerous that it would send speared men and women in travail to sleep. This was a messenger from the king with dainty food for the dwarfs, for killing the Great Fool. The king had made so sure of this. The name of the dainty food was Pronn-ceud. The Fool seized the harp and smote the Harper on the head and slew him. He then killed all the others that had come with him.

On the evening of a second day's combat a man stood on the summit and battlement of the town and told the Fool to go and find a lodging with the three Clip-Scissors. He thought since their number was small that they could not do him much harm. He went to their abode, and "blest" on entering. Those before him "blest" kindly in return, and said that if he were sent to them for harm to himself his coming would be to his good. "Our mother," they said, "is of Erin."

After various adventures that he had to go through in fulfilling a task which he had been obliged to perform before a spell put upon him by the king could be raised, he returned once more and asked for the daughter of the king or for combat. The king himself went to battle with him. They fought with such violence that they cast showers of fire from their weapons and showers of their flesh and blood into the air and firmament (a word "bailceabh," pronounced "balkyu," evidently an adaptation of "welkin," is here used). They threw away their swords. They took to prime wrestling. The king of Lochlin lay beneath the Great Fool's knee. "Son-in-law," said the king, "let me rise: and a worthy son-in-law you are." Gilbhin the Young was brought out of the locked chamber and she wedded the Great Fool.

MAGNUS IN HIS YOUTH.

There is quite a different vein of romance in the two tales of Magnus which follow from that which runs in the ordinary tales. Is it possible that these tales are assimilations to Norse originals? Some member of the Viking Club may be able to throw light on the subject.

The "History of Mànus" was proverbially the standard of all histories, and at one time such a history must have been easily had. One reciter who proposed to give me the "History of Mànus," and prefaced his tale with the proverb "Gach eachdraidh gu eachdraidh Mhànuis," *i.e.*, "Every history to the standard of the History of Mànus," gave me instead a hash-up of a story from the "Arabian Nights," quite un-Celtic in character, where the name of the chief actor was Mànus. The reciter was illiterate, and never heard of the "Arabian Nights," but he had a mind that could appreciate a good tale wherever he might hear one. (In passing I may observe that I have met with three tales from the "Arabian Nights" in Uist, told by men who could neither read nor write, nor speak English.)

There was a king. A son was born to him. He was named Mànus. The king was for putting his son to a nurse. He found a nurse too. The first time the nurse gave breast to him he took off her breast right from the shoulder. And every nurse to whom he was sent he did likewise by her. There was a man on the king's own land called the Black Champion. The king came to him one day. He told him about the child. The Champion said that he would find him a nurse. He took the child with him and brought him to his own wife. The first time she gave him her breast he took it off right from the shoulder. The Champion was now as badly off as ever. He then got a lump of fat. He put the lump of fat into the child's mouth. He tied a cord to the piece of fat, and fastened the cord to the child's big toe. When

the lump of fat would be going down the child's throat and he would be like to choke he would kick out his feet and draw up the morsel from his throat. The child was kept alive thus.

One day the slender woman of the green coat came to the house. She asked what kind of child that was that he was bringing up so. He told her that he was a king's son, but did not tell that his name was Mànus. "I will give breast to him," said she. "If you do I will be very glad," said he. She took the child and put him on her knee. She gave him her right breast. The first time he drew from her breast she went into a cloud (swooned). She wakened up and turned upon her left side and gave the child her left breast. He sucked heartily. "I will take him with me," said she, "and I will give him breast for seven years. I will then come back to you." She came. The Black Champion was in his house. He saw the slender woman of the green coat coming and a half grown boy with her. He asked "Is this the king's son?" She said he was. "I will now go to his own home with him," said she. The Black Champion went with her. When they were over near the king's house she grasped the child and sprang to the highest peak of the castle. The Black Champion hurried round to catch her. In going round he met a heap of stones. She hurled the child down. He fell right into the heap of stones. "What made you do that?" said the Black Champion to her. "There is no hardship or danger that he will not come out of as safely as from this," said she. The boy was safe and sound. She then went off, and there was no tale of her. The Black Champion took the boy. He led him in to the king by the hand. He left him with the king. The Black Champion went home.

Mànus was growing up a strong lad till he was eighteen years of age. He was going round his father's house. He saw two long-haired women coming to him. He went up to speak to them. One seized him and thrust him

down into a bank of gravel up to the two shoulders. She put spells and crosses upon him that he should find out who the woman was that gave him breast for seven years.

His father could not tell him. The Black Champion could not tell him. The Champion went away with him. They sought everywhere, but nowhere found the slender woman of the green coat. They were one day walking by the sea. They met an old man, and they saw an island out from them. The old man told them that nobody lived in it but three women, and that nobody could cross over to them as there was a monster in the Sound. The monster would leave nothing that it did not drink up, whether boat or man crossing to the island. The Black Champion sprang across the Sound. Månus did likewise. They walked up through the island. They saw a house and went into it. There were two young maidens and an old woman in it. The old woman rose up and rushed up to Månus and kissed him. She told him that she had given him breast for seven years. He and the Black Champion stayed a year and a day in the island. The Champion asked one day if they ever did any tillage. "No," said they. "Though we should do so, there is a wicked monster in the Sound that would drink up the horses and the plough." "We will try, however," said Månus. The Champion went to the wood and cut down timber. They made a plough, and it was laige and strong enough. The frame was of alder and the coulter of holly. They got a pair of horses and began to plough. The monster perceived them. She came to the beach and moved up close to them. She drew in her breath and sucked the plough and horses into her mouth. As the plough was so big it stuck cross-wise in her stomach and killed her. They pulled the plough out of her gullet and began to plough again. They raised such a crop as was never raised in the island before. They made ready to go back to their own country. The old woman was not willing that they should go. Prophets

and wizards had said that the monster could never be killed till one came whose name was Mànus. "You are right enough on that score. This is Mànus," said the Black Champion. "The monster is dead now, and we will be going home now. We are a long way from it just now." They went off. The Black Champion to his own home and Mànus to his father's house.

(The abrupt style of the foregoing narrative is easily explained. The story-teller has a slight impediment in his speech, and in consequence of this defect he is given to express himself in short jerky sentences.)

Mànus, the son of the king of Lochlin, is also the hero of a tale known as "The Quest of the Fleece of the Venomous Bennocht" ("Bennocht" may mean "the horned creature.")

The king of Lochlin married. A male child was born to him, but the mother died. He married again. Mànus was the name of the first boy that he had; and he had but one other son and he was Eochaidh. The name of the second wife was Daughter of Ski-skiarlan. The queen disliked Mànus, as he was not her own son. He must be sent away from his father's house. The king was not willing to agree to this, but he feared to go against the queen, and Mànus was sent away. His father sent a ship and crew with him to the Rough End or Head of Lochlin—a district full of wild beasts. A house was built for Mànus here. He improved his condition by degrees; and he destroyed as many of the wild beasts as he could. There were lions there too, and he one day caught a whelp. He trained it carefully, and wherever he went the whelp went with him and helped him greatly. There were animals there too called "The Knife-Eared Sheep." Mànus made pins of wood and fixed them in the ground, and the sheep would be coming down in the night time and lying down on the pins. He caught many of them. These sheep had good wool. He kept the wool till the ships came. He then sold the wool, and was making money in this fashion. Three times

he went to his father's house, but his step-mother never relented in her hatred of him, and the third time he came she bound him under spells to fetch her the Fleece of the Venomous Bennocht from Corcaidh the Red, the son of the King of the Great World. He never halted till he reached the kingdom of the Great World. He climbed up, and there met him a tall man. "Good be to you, son of the king of Lochlin! 'Tis long since you were destined to be seen here. Tell me your errand." "I have come in quest of the fleece of the venomous Bennocht," said MÀNUS. "Many a man came in quest of that same that did not get it, and I fear it may be so with you. If ever you get it it will be thus. A company of soldiers keeps guard over it, and the Bennocht is kept in a locked-up house. If you be a good soldier you may kill the guard. Find a horse then and have it shod with playing shoes—four stone weight in each. Mount the horse and ride on with speed to the door. If the horse smite the door with his two hooves and make a little opening thrust in that creature that you have got with you (MÀNUS had the lion's whelp with him) and you may get what you are seeking." Twice the horse stood still as he reached the door. But MÀNUS gave the horse a stoup of wine and a wheaten loaf, and combed it with the grain and against the grain. The third time the horse smote the door and made an opening in it. The whelp went in and was there for seven days and seven nights. At the end of seven days the whelp and the venomous Bennocht came out and fought with each other in the open. The whelp fell mortally wounded. The Bennocht in contempt defiled the dying whelp, but as he was passing by the head of the whelp the whelp gave a spring and seized his tail and tore it off. The Bennocht fell dead. MÀNUS's Counsellor stood by. "I knew this," said he. "There was no way of killing the Bennocht until the three white hairs in his tail should be plucked." The Bennocht was flayed, and MÀNUS took the fleece with him across to Lochlin. His step-mother, Ski-skiarlan's

daughter, whom he had placed under a spell at parting, had fallen down by the side of the house a heap of bones. Mànus was telling his father the adventures he had gone through in quest of the fleece, and as he went on with his narrative word by word she was gathering herself together. When he finished his story she stood before him alive and sound. He struck her across the face with the fleece and she fell back dead. Mànus went back to the Rough End of Lochlin to fetch his wife and children. He came back to his father's house and made Eochaidh marry; and all of them were happy together.

If you be all yawning or asleep by this time the weary reader may stop. If not he may use his own discretion as to whether he read or not the short story which concludes this paper.

The king of Lochlin's daughter was in the habit of coming to Scotland every year to set fire to it. She came in a glass apparatus. She used to send word beforehand that she was coming. Yet the people of Scotland were unable to keep her from doing harm. They were very anxious to catch her, but she was too wily for them. After every other plan had been tried in vain it was agreed upon that eighteen pipers should be got together, and that every two of them should face each other, and that the nine couples should stand around so as to form a circle. They were all to play the same tune together, and as the tune was being played each piper was to keep moving round—always facing his partner, so as to make one large circle, formed of nine smaller moving circles. The sight and sound would surely attract the king of Lochlin's daughter. The sight and sound did attract her, and she was seen in her glass gear hovering right overhead, evidently listening to the pipes and gazing at the strange sight beneath. She also began to go round and round. This made her dizzy, and she fell in her glass gear right into the middle of the pipers and was dashed to pieces. The woods of Scotland were safe ever after.

A LIST OF NON-GAELIC PLACE-NAMES IN THE ISLAND
OF MINGULAY, NEAR BARRA-HEAD.

The Gaelic spelling of Mingulay would be Miodhulaidh, and it might well be the "Middle Isle."

Híarigeo.

Iskir.

Gist ("g" hard).

Lámarigeo.

Sūnadu (ū like "oo").

Söälum (an island).

Annalip ("—lip"), pronounced like Scotch "lip"—a compromise between "lip" and "lup."

Brándalip.

Söälip.

Clet Iuglais.

Hōnna (like o in tone), or Sōnna or Tōnna.

Gūārsay (u=oo), not an island.

Cātārsay (not an island).

Sōwseret.

Kiasigeo. (There is an Island Kiasamul.)

Lianamul (an island).

Aoinig (pronounced French, ú-neek).

Bilacrek.

Sūnāgir (u=oo).

Arnimul (an island).

Gōnnamul (like o in bone), an islet.

Ho-isp.

Bennish, or Bannish (a point).

Háishigeo (the ai diphthong).

Gí-i-nish (a point), ("g" hard, i=ee).

Gí-rum (an island).

Lū-ar (u=oo), a small islet.

Hemmish, or Semmish, or Temmish.

Skipisdal.

Grän.

Shēh-i-geo.

Tremmis-geo.

Yōh-ri.

Bili-bibish (all i's=ee).

Hō-ā-ret, or Tó-ā-ret, or Só-ā-ret (*cf.* Sow-sēret or Sows-aret).

Enn-yir, or Án-yir (the landing place).

Hílibrick.

Suinlish.

Gūnarsay (*cf.* Catarsay and Guarsay), not an island.

Lāikigeo (diphthong).

Cāhās-dal.

Rów-rye (ow like in down), or Trow-rye, or Srow-rye.

Clet Annsa.

Hechcla, or Hecla (a hill).

Alävi.

Sheōw-a-dal.

Grēotas.

Sūinsibost.

Orācri.

Háwshŭm, or Sáwshŭm, or Táwshŭm.

Ugráiny.

Líanacui.

This list might be increased.



STONE CIRCLES AND OTHER RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.¹

BY A. L. LEWIS.

PART I.

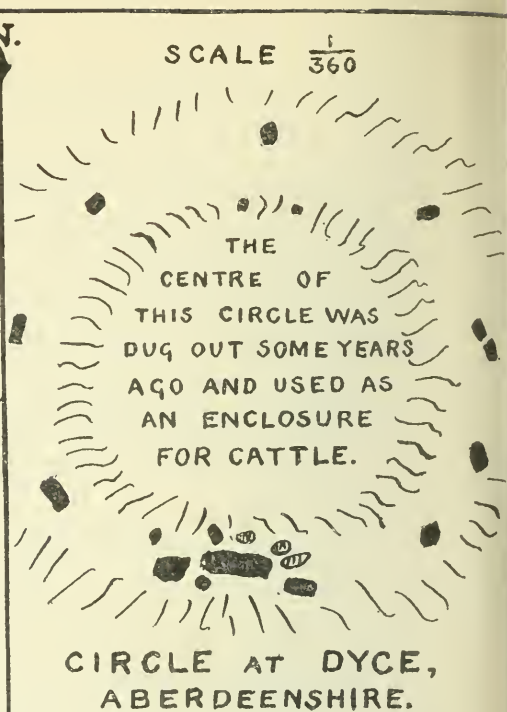
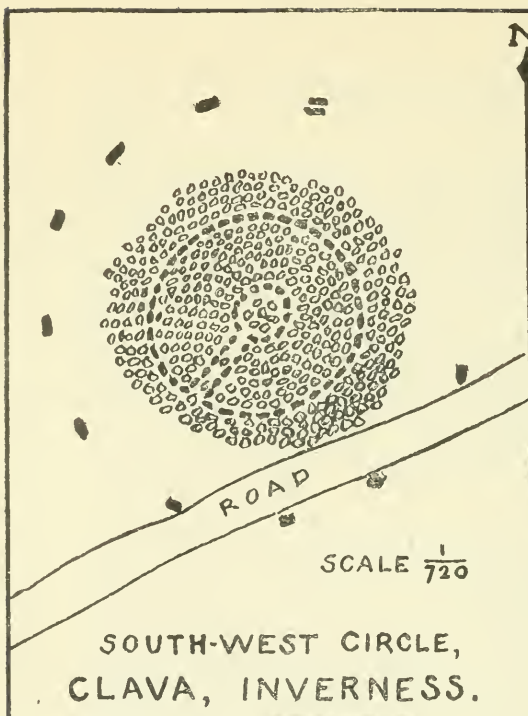
THE author exhibited and described a number of lantern slides of views and plans of stone circles, etc. Beginning at Stonehenge, of which he exhibited four slides, he pointed out the two stones which fell at the end of the nineteenth century, and the tallest stone of all, which, after being in a leaning position for several centuries, was restored to its original upright condition in 1901. The leaning position of this stone was attributed to reckless digging by the Duke of Buckingham in 1620, but Mr. Lewis showed copies of old drawings which proved that the stone was leaning before 1588, so that the fall of the central trilithon had certainly occurred before that, though how long before was still uncertain. He directed special attention to the single stone, called the Friar's Heel, standing outside the circles, and marking approximately the point at which those standing inside the circles saw the sun rise on Midsummer day, and remarked that, even if this stone were not there, the circles and the earthworks connected with them were so arranged as to direct attention to that particular quarter. Sir Norman Lockyer thought, from astronomical calculations based on the direction of the avenue of earth banks leading from Stonehenge to and beyond the "Friar's Heel," that the circles were constructed about 1600 B.C., and Mr. Gowland, who had superintended the re-erection

¹ Read at the meeting on November 7th, 1902.

of the leaning stone, arrived at a very similar conclusion from the remains found by him during that operation ; but the lecturer pointed out that no circle, except Stonehenge, possessed transverse stones connecting the tops of the uprights, or exhibited so much work on the stones themselves, and suggested that these differences indicated a later date, and that the present ruin was probably that of a reconstruction of an earlier group which stood on the same spot.

About twenty miles north from Stonehenge is the village of Avebury, which, unhappily, occupies the site, and is mostly built with the stones of the grandest collection of circles that ever existed. Of the few stones remaining, Mr. Lewis exhibited four views. This monument consisted, firstly, of a roughly circular bank of earth as large as a railway embankment, inside it a deep and broad ditch, and inside that a ring, 1,100 or 1,200 feet in diameter, composed of one hundred enormous stones ; inside this great circle were two double concentric circles, each about 300 feet in diameter. There was a shrine in the middle of the northern inner circles consisting of three huge stones, forming three sides of a square, the open side of which was to the north-east, in the direction of the mid-summer sunrise. From the circles two avenues, each more than a mile long, stretched to the south-east and south-west respectively, and between them, a mile due south from the circles, was Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Europe. A view of this was thrown on the screen. There is no record of interments being found inside the circles at Avebury, though there have been plenty outside.

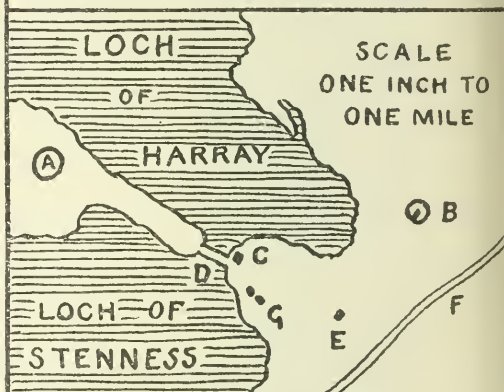
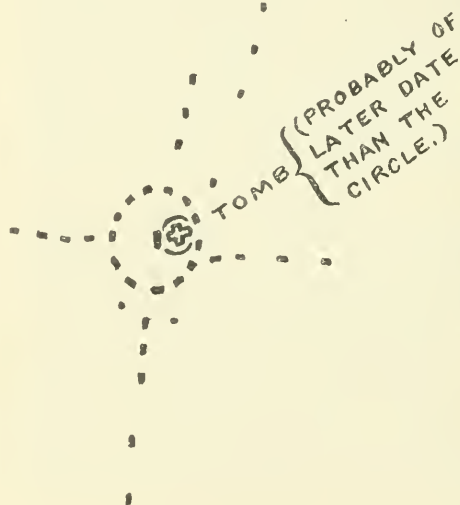
The circle which least remotely resembles Avebury is Arborlow, in Derbyshire. Like Avebury, it is surrounded by a high embankment with a deep ditch inside, but there is only one circle of stones, all fallen flat, except one, which is leaning. As at Avebury, so at Arborlow, there was, near the centre of the circle, a "cove," or shrine, of three stones forming three sides of a square, the open



CIRCLE
AND
LINES
AT
CALLERNISH.

SCALE $\frac{1}{1250}$

(THE STONES
SLIGHTLY
LARGER.)



- A. RING OF BROGAR.
- B. MAESHOWE.
- C. WATCH-STONE
- D. BRIDGE OF BROGAR.
- E. BARNHOUSE STONE.
- F. ROAD FROM KIRKWALL
TO STROMNESS.
- G. REMAINS OF STENNESS
CIRCLE.

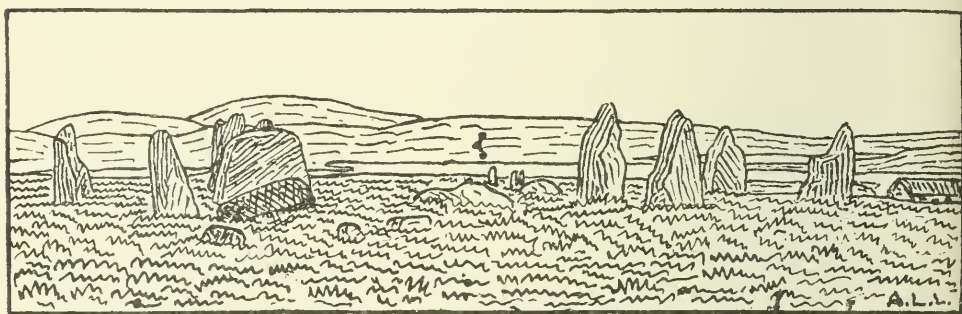
FIG. I.

side of which faced north of east—perhaps to the rising sun at Beltane, or Mayday. Here also, as at Avebury, it seems certain that the structure was not made for a place of burial, for, though recent excavations have unearthed a skeleton, it was obviously of much later date than the circle itself. Part of the embankment was formed into a tumulus for burial, apparently in the bronze age, but that was no part of the original plan. Five views of this circle were shown.

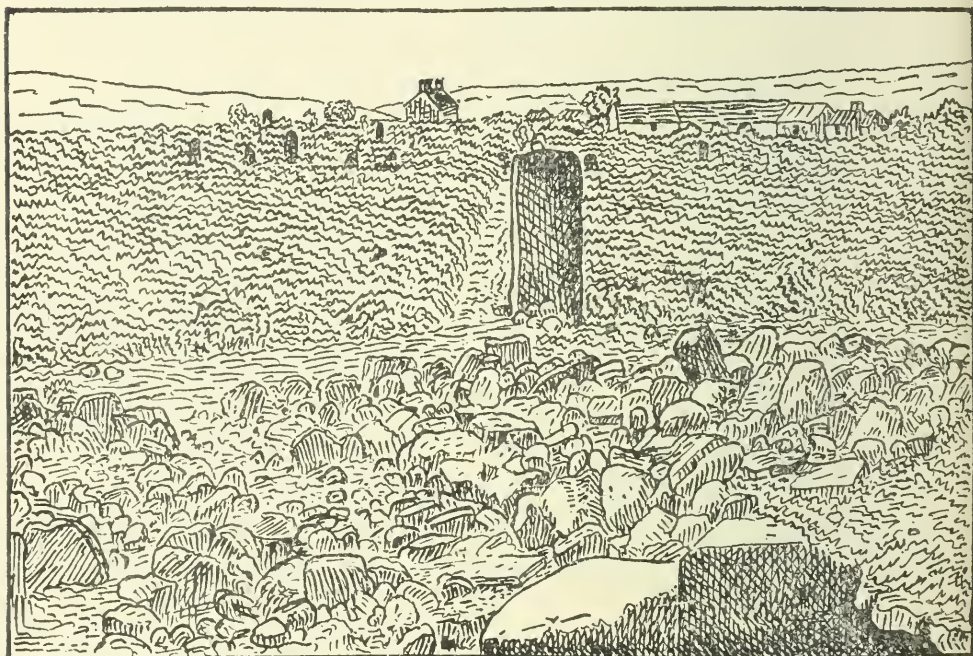
Passing by the Rollrich circle in Oxfordshire (a single circle with an outlying stone to the north-east, but without ditch or embankment), Mr. Lewis exhibited a plan and view of the circles at Stanton Drew, near Bristol, which, he said, ranked next in order of importance to Avebury and Stonehenge. There are three circles, a separate “cove” or shrine of three stones, and some outlying stones; these are so arranged that one of the outlying stones is in a straight line with the centres of the south-western and great circles, and that the “cove” is in a straight line in another direction from the centres of the north-eastern and great circles. What is still more remarkable is that the distances between the circles, “cove,” and stone taken along these lines are in fixed proportions (allowing only six inches in every hundred feet for errors of workmanship. Thus the length of the straight line from the centre of the “cove” through that of the great circle to the centre of the north-eastern circle is 14 diameters of the north-eastern circle; the length of the straight line from the centre of the great circle to the single stone, called “Hautville’s Quoit,” is 19 diameters of the north-eastern circle, or 5 diameters of the great circle; while the length of the straight line from the centre of the south-western circle through that of the great circle to “Hautville’s Quoit” is 7 diameters of the great circle. The diameter of the north-eastern circle is the same as that of the outer circle at Stonehenge—100 of an ancient foot of about $11\frac{2}{3}$ inches, or 97 English feet. The diameter of the south-western circle is 150, and that of the



CIRCLE AND LINES AT CALLERNISH, FROM S. E.



CIRCLE NEAR CALLERNISH.



VIEW FROM TOP OF N.E. CAIRN CLAVA INVERNESS

great circle 380, of the same feet. The diameters of the great circle and north-eastern circle are therefore in the proportion of 19 to 5, and the number 19 may refer to the metonic cycle of 19 years, the period in which the sun and stars come round to the same relative position in the heavens, and may therefore indicate that the Stanton Drew monument was the circular temple of Apollo, described by Hecataeus as existing in an island over against Gaul in the fourth, or perhaps in the sixth, century B.C.

After mentioning some small circles in Dorsetshire, Mr. Lewis exhibited eight slides of circles and other remains on Dartmoor, pointing out that the "stone rows"—single or double lines of stones extending for considerable distances over the moor—were practically confined to Dartmoor, as they did not really resemble the lines and avenues of stones found elsewhere, with which they were frequently compared. The Scorhill circle had an outstanding stone to the north-east, and the hill called Thornworthy Tor was in the same direction from the Fernworthy circle, and these probably fulfilled the same function as the "Friar's Heel" at Stonehenge. The Fernworthy circle had been recently explored, but no burials had been found in it, so it was obviously not a sepulchral monument.

Mr. Lewis then spoke of the three circles called the "Hurlers," near Liskeard, in Cornwall, and exhibited nine views of remains on Bodmin moors. Amongst these were five circles which appeared to have been arranged in lines with one another, and with the three principal hills on the moors, which were also the highest hills in Cornwall. The distances between these circles were also in certain proportions to each other, and to the diameters of the circles themselves; and, difficult though it might be to believe that the builders of these rude monuments had planned and measured the distances over such rough country, it seemed still more difficult to believe that the coincidences which undoubtedly existed were purely accidental, especially in view of the similar coincidences pointed out at Stanton Drew and elsewhere.

Six slides of circles and other remains in the Land's-End district were the next to be exhibited, the most curious of which was the "Men-an-tol," or holed stone—a standing stone with a hole about two feet in diameter through it, through which people quite recently crawled nine times to obtain relief from rheumatism, rickets, etc. It was probably surrounded by a circle of small standing stones, as some still remain *in situ*.

There are some not very large circles in Wales and Shropshire, and some in Cumberland, and a view of one of the latter, near Keswick, was shown; it is about the size of Stonehenge, but the stones are much smaller, though larger than those of the circles in Cornwall. The most interesting feature in the view was the apparently triple summit of Blencathra mountain, situated to the north-east of the circle, just as the triple summit of "Brown Willy" in Cornwall appeared to the east of the Stannon circle on Bodmin moor. The Swinside circle in Cumberland has recently been dug over, and found not to have been a place of burial.

From Cumberland to the west coast of Scotland is not a great distance, and four views of small circles in Arran, and one of a double circle in the island of Lewis were exhibited. These seemed to have been chiefly tombs, though one in Arran had been found to be non-sepulchral, and the highest hills in the island, nearly 3,000 feet high, were prominent to the north-east of it.

The most important circle on the west coast of Scotland is at Callernish, on the west side of the island of Lewis, shown in Figures 1 and 2. It consists of a circle 42 feet in diameter, from which radiate single lines, east, west, and south, and two lines in a direction a little east of north. The tallest stone (17 feet high) is in the centre of the circle, and it has been found that on looking at it from the south along the top of the southern line the eye is directed to the pole-star. The western of the two northern lines is 294 feet long from the centre stone—that is just seven diameters of the circle; there

is a tomb inside the circle, most likely of a later date than the circle itself, and the eastern of the two northern lines may have been set up when the tomb was made, as it has rather a secondary appearance. After the tomb was made the place was deserted, and five feet of peat grew up around the stones; this was cleared away nearly fifty years ago, but the point to which it grew is still clearly shown on the stones. Here also is a triple hill to the north-east.

Mr. Lewis then exhibited seven slides (Fig. 1) representing Stenness, Brogar, and Maeshow, in Orkney, in illustration of the following paper by Mr. Magnus Spence, and pointed out another group of three hills to the north-east of the Ring of Brogar. One of the slides showed the watchstone in line with the door of Maeshow's central chamber (Fig. 5). He also said there was no evidence that Maeshow had been intended or used as a tomb, and that it rather resembled some of the ancient dwellings in the island of Lewis.

PART II.

Returning from Orkney by the east coast, Inverness and Aberdeen are the first places of importance arrived at, and these cities are the centres of two large and interesting groups of circles, both of which are different, not only from the other, but from all others. The Inverness type consists of a large cairn containing a chamber, which was originally roofed by courses of stones getting smaller and smaller, till the top could be closed by a single stone. This cairn opened by a passage in a southerly direction, and was surrounded by a close circle of smallish stones as a retaining wall, outside which was an open ring of large stones, of which the highest was usually at the south-west. When the smaller stones of the cairn have been taken away the larger stones which formed the foundation of the chamber and cairn present the appearance of two concentric inner circles. There have been perhaps forty such circles in the Inverness district, and none anywhere else, unless indeed New Grange, in Ireland, which is very

much larger, but not unlike in plan, be classed with them. The Aberdeen type has a small cist, covered by a slight tumulus, in the middle of an open circle of large stones ; its distinguishing feature is a long stone, commonly called the "altar-stone" (though it could never have been used as an altar), standing on its edge, almost always at the south, and filling up the space between the two tallest stones of the circle. There have been perhaps fifty circles of this type in the Aberdeen district, and none anywhere

(From the Journal of the Anthropological Institute.)



FIG. 3.—ARBORLOW, FROM THE TUMULUS, LOOKING S.W.



FIG. 4.—ARBORLOW, LOOKING S.E. TO THE TUMULUS.

else. All the circles of these types were obviously constructed for sepulchral purposes, but their construction is also suitable for rites and ceremonies, which would probably be in the direction of ancestor-worship. Two hundred years ago there was a local tradition, running back as far as the memory of man, that the Aberdeen circles had been places of worship in heathen times. Besides the circles of these types there are some small single circles both in the Inverness and Aberdeen districts. Four slides illustrating

the peculiarities of these circles were exhibited (see Fig. 1).

The south-east of Scotland once possessed many rude stone monuments, but Sir James Young Simpson, as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, had to lament forty years ago that they had nearly all been destroyed, so the next two slides depicted the great menhir, or standing stone, in Rudston churchyard (Yorkshire). This is the tallest in Britain—more than 25 feet above ground, and nobody knows how many more than 16 feet below ground—over forty feet of length in all.

The Rudston menhir stands in the churchyard, at the north-east of the church; and, at Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, the parish church stands on the line from the “cove” or shrine to the centres of the great and north-eastern circles (see Part I.). Here then are two instances of Christian churches being placed in direct connection with the monuments of an earlier religion, and in such a manner as to occupy the ground and the attention previously devoted to the older cult.

It has been remarked that, if a line be drawn from the mouth of the Humber to Southampton, all the rude stone monuments in the country will be found to the west of that line, except a small group in the east of Kent, and a view of the best known of these—Kit’s Coty House—was exhibited. As in so many other cases, the purpose of this monument is much disputed; some think it to be the last remains of a great tomb-chamber, which would have had a passage leading to it, and have been covered with a great mound like that of Maeshowe. Mr. Lewis, however, considered it to be a “cove,” or shrine of three stones, such as they had seen at Avebury and elsewhere, with the addition of a cover; like that at Stanton Drew, it faces south-east to the rising sun in winter, and the covering would therefore be useful in bad weather.

The last slide exhibited was a photographic view of a trilithon in the island of Tonga in the Pacific. This erection had often been spoken of as resembling Stonehenge; but the picture showed that the points of differ-

ence were more numerous than those of resemblance ; and this, Mr. Lewis said, was found on investigation to be the case with regard to all the monuments in which a resemblance to Stonehenge had been traced, whether among the Khasias in the north of India, or in the Balearic Islands, or in Tripoli. Stonehenge therefore remained unique, not only in Great Britain, but, so far as was known, in the whole world.

In conclusion, Mr. Lewis said, they had seen that the circles differed very much one from the other in size,



FIG. 5.

arrangement, and possibly in age. Some were constructed primarily as tombs, since the burial cists and chambers were in the middle of them, and formed an essential part of their plan ; but there were others, and those the largest, in which no burials, or only later, and, so to speak, accidental interments, had existed ; and these, by their relation to outstanding stones, or to other circles, or to adjacent hills, or by some internal arrangement or other, seemed to indicate some sort of observance of the sun, or the pole-star, or it might have been of the "great bear," by directing attention to the east, or to the north, or to some point of the horizon between east and north. Rude as these structures appeared to be, some of them seemed to have been carefully measured in definite proportions.

MAESHOW AND THE STANDING STONES, STENNESS:

THEIR AGE AND PURPOSE.¹

By M. SPENCE.

BY far the most interesting group of stone circles in Scotland is that of Stenness, Orkney. In Great Britain it is only surpassed in grandeur and magnificence by Stonehenge; but this may only be apparent, for, if the group which retains most of its original alignments and the characteristics by which the purpose of its erection can be made out deserves the name, then the Stenness group claims the first place.

Many and diverse theories have been entertained regarding their origin and purpose, but as time passes there seems a more general consensus of opinion that the circles, and some at least of the monoliths were erected for astronomical purposes, and of these sun worship was the chief. The circles of Stenness stand on an undulating moorland, between the lochs of Stenness and Harray. The parish of Stenness derives its name from these stones, which stand to-day as they stood in the ninth century, when the Norsemen found them, and called them the Steins on the Ness (Stenness), as this parish is so characteristically designated.

These grey sentinels of a period long prior to the raiding incursions of the Norsemen stand on a slightly rising ground, with a view of the horizon less interrupted by hills than that of any other low level site on the Mainland of Orkney. The writer has been engaged in a

¹ Read at the meeting on November 7th, 1902.

series of observations extending over a period of twelve years, which may with advantage be offered to the consideration and discussion of those interested in the subject. These observations have only been made as opportunity offered, and as the investigations naturally developed. Encouraged, however, by the work Sir N. Lockyer has undertaken in regard to the astronomical theory of Stonehenge, which was published in *Nature*, November 21st, 1901, and finding that his calculations agree pretty closely with those made by the writer in June, 1899, it seems opportune to make the results known.

We are not here concerned with the different theories which have been supported by various archæologists regarding the origin of these megalithic remains; we shall only give a few of the statements regarding the astronomical theory which historians have recorded. To prove that the Norsemen found these circles when they took possession of the Orkneys we need only state that, in the Orkneyinga Saga, it is related that after a battle fought in Stenness between Havard and his nephew it was suggested that the parish should no longer be named Stenness, but Havardsteiger. This took place in 970.

Boethius, the historian, about the end of the fifteenth century, in his life of Maimus, observed that the people called these huge stones, drawn together in the form of circles, the ancient temples of the gods.

Professor Gorden of Aberdeen, in 1692, describes the circles of standing stones, and goes on to state what was known about them. "They are generally regarded by the people as places of pagan worship."

Sheriff Brand, the historian of Orkney, says in 1701: "Many of the people do say that the larger was the circle of the sun, and the smaller that of the moon, and were worshipped by the pagan inhabitants of these isles. They are thought to be high places of pagan idolatry, whereon sacrifices were offered." He also says: "Almost every family had a brownie or evil spirit, which served them; to whom they gave sacrifices for his services, as when

they churned they took a part and sprinkled every corner of the house, for the brownie's use. When they brewed they had a stone with a hole in which they poured some wort for a sacrifice. When not sacrificed to, the ale fell dead." All these minor brownies have disappeared in place-names ; but, strange to say, the only place where we know the name to have a permanent hold is the slope immediately adjoining the standing stones, and the farmer of Brodgar speaks of it to this day as Brownie ; showing that the sacrifices here were of a more imposing and popular nature than the less known family brownies.

There are two circles, the larger called the Brodgar and the smaller the Stenness circle. The Brodgar circle has a diameter of 366ft., surrounded by a large ditch 29ft. wide and 9ft. deep, with two bridge passages facing each other in a N.W. and S.E. direction. The circle stands 14ft. from the edge of the trench. The stones stand at various distances apart. Some are 22ft., others $19\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and a few are only 12ft. It is not possible, without considerable excavation, to number them correctly, as only sixteen remain in position, and a few are prostrate ; but taking the average distance as $19\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and the diameter as 330ft., it gives us about fifty-two stones, which correspond to the weeks in the year. An immense amount of soil must have been removed from this huge trench. There is no evidence that it has been used inside for levelling purposes. No doubt the whole was carried off to form those beautiful mounds in the immediate vicinity.

The second megalithic circle, Stenness, stands about seventy chains to the S.E. of the Brodgar one. It consists of two standing stones 18ft. in height. There is a third lying prostrate, but shorter and heavier. Two stumps are still *in loco*. There is a trench surrounding the circle, but almost obliterated on the south side, which has induced some antiquarians to call it a crescent. Near this, in a N.E. direction, stood the famous perforated

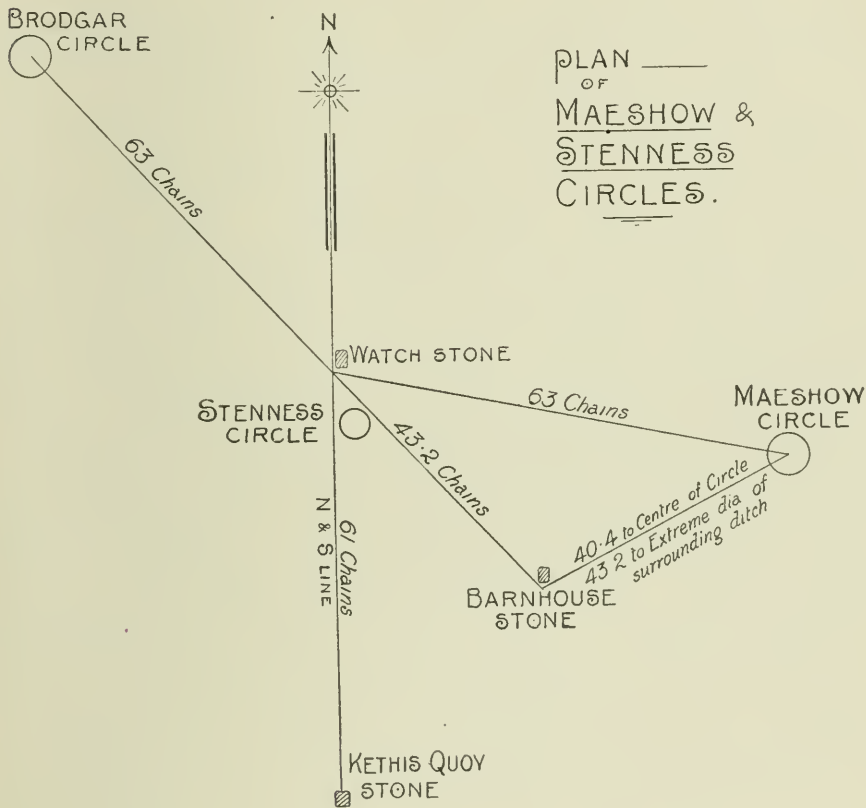
Stone of Odin, whilst to the N.W. stands the Watchstone, sixty-three chains from the larger circle. It stands 18ft. above ground. Another solitary monolith—the Barnhouse Stone—stands 43.2 chains to the S.E. of the Watchstone, and both, with the centre of the larger circle, form an alignment pointing to sunset about the Beltane feast, and to the rising sun at the winter solstice. Then, in a line directly south of the Watchstone—61 chains—a monolith was recently found embedded in 5ft. of moss, with socket underneath. This formed an important N. and S. alignment.

Maeshow, a chambered mound which has always been regarded as sepulchral, intrudes itself where one would hardly expect it in this investigation. No archæologist would ever have thought of associating it so closely with the circles as to connect them for time and purpose. But they are bound by indissoluble links, which no one can examine without observing that the plan of the circles and Maeshow have been carefully arranged for a special purpose.

Maeshow stands in the immediate neighbourhood of these circles. It is a large chambered mound, built of carefully selected stones of massive proportions. The chamber is 15ft. by 15ft. by 15ft., and has four large stones set up, one in each corner, to act as buttresses for the gradually contracted roof, which, like many constructions of the same age, had the walls drawn in beehive shape to an opening small enough for a single stone to cover. On each of three sides there is a carefully built recess about 3ft. above ground, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The entrance, which is on the S.W. side and on the level of the floor, leads through a passage 54ft. long. The inner part of this passage is lined and covered with three huge stones of dimensions equal to the largest of those forming the circles. About a third of the way through the passage there is a suitable niche for closing the hove against intruders, with a recess for the large stone which was no doubt used—a pretty satisfactory proof that

Maeshow was originally built to enable the occupants to safely fortify themselves against intruders, and not for sepulchral purposes, as many would have us believe.

Maeshow is a huge mound 100ft. in diameter, 36ft. high, and is evidently placed on an artificial platform of the debris removed from the immense ditch which surrounds it. This ditch is 26ft. in width, and, although almost filled up now, must have been once of consider-



able depth. There is a simple earthwork of divots and stones rising in some instances to 4 or 5 ft.

The situation of Maeshow is exceedingly swampy, but this difficulty has been overcome by raising the enclosed space above the swamp by artificial means. This has been done to the extent of 5 or 6ft. The diameter of the enclosed space, including ditch, is 290ft. Now a very important question arises here. Why was this naturally

swampy spot chosen for one of the most important chambered mounds in Western Europe, when hundreds of suitable sites could be found within half a mile of its position? The answer must be that the intended alignments, with the other circles and monoliths, allowed of no other site, without disarranging the symmetry of the whole structural plan for observational purposes. The long passage of Maeshow is contracted at the outer doorway to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. When an observer takes up a position at the innermost part of the chamber, beside the central cell, and looks out through the passage, his view is very limited. In the centre of this view stands the monolith of Barnhouse—a stone 13 ft. by 4 ft. This stone stands 40.4 chains from the position the observer occupies at the inner cell of Maeshow. This important alignment points to the solstitial summer sunrise as it occurred when Maeshow was built, and within $1\frac{1}{2}$ deg. of the present sunrise. Now it is a fact, although not a well-known one, that owing to secular changes in the earth's movements, as pointed out by Sir William Hamilton in his "Natural Philosophy," and Sir Norman Lockyer in his "Dawn of Astronomy," the sun does not rise exactly relatively to alignments on land as it did centuries ago. The present solstitial sunrise is S. of its former position. In other words, it rose seven thousand years ago 3 deg. 32 min. N. of where it rises now. Then, assuming that this important alignment was originally planned by sun-worshippers to point to the rising sun on midsummer morning, it must now point slightly to the N. of that position. This is exactly what we find it does. On the morning of the 23rd June, 1899—the first clear morning after the solstitial sunrise—two friends and the writer erected a pole on the centre of the mound of Maeshow, which was also that of the chamber, and placed two more in line with Barnhouse stone, and we chose our position to wait the sunrise, about 30 chains from Maeshow, near the Turmiston Burn, where the pole on Maeshow stood partly above the

horizon. When the first tip of the sun appeared above the horizon the angle it made with the Maeshow alignment, as measured with a sextant, was 1 deg. $4\frac{1}{2}$ min. It has been objected that the temple-builders would have erected their alignments to correspond with the sunrise on the true horizon, and not on the visible one. But even were their astronomical knowledge and powers of computations developed to the necessary extent, surely the moment of actual sunrise was the time which would appeal most forcibly to their intellectual conceptions. The actual angle of 1 deg. $4\frac{1}{2}$ min., as worked out by Professor Pirie, Aberdeen, who has taken much interest in this theory, gives the age of Maeshow and neighbouring circles as 915 B.C. This, then, is the date as correctly as the instruments at our disposal could reckon it, when these temples were erected by the Orcadian sun-worshippers. The angle made between the alignment and the half risen sun was 1 deg. 50 min., giving the age 2900 B.C., which throws the date too far into the Stone Age to be worthy of any serious attention.

We need not trouble ourselves here about this difficulty, that most archæologists have assigned Maeshow to the Stone Period and the circles to the Bronze Age, for these clear and unmistakable alignments leave us no option but to assign them to the same age. Too much, we think, has been made of the sweeping classifications which embrace all chambered mounds, whether of the Bronze or Stone Ages, in the category of burial chambers. Surely a chamber of this type, unrivalled for its magnificence, and having characteristics quite its own, as in its unique cells, the magnitude of its area, the amplitude and beauty of the carefully selected stones with which it is built and chiefly from the absence of grave-goods, leaves us a free hand to suggest that the primary object the builders had in view was to build a magnificent temple for Sun-worship, although they may have had a secondary, viz., sepulture.

The summer solstitial sunrise alignment points in the

opposite direction to a well-marked feature in the Hoy Hills, where the sun sets a few weeks—two or three—before the winter solstitial sunset. This spot, if viewed from the Watchstone, gives the exact position of the winter solstitial sunset.

Some remarkable coincidences take place in the various measurements of this group:—

The distance from nearer circumference of larger			
circle to Watchstone is	...	...	63 chains.
From Watchstone to centre of Maeshow	...	...	63 "
From Watchstone to Barnhouse Stone	...	...	43.2 "
From Barnhouse Stone to outer circumference of			
circle round Maeshow	...	...	43 2 "
From Barnhouse Stone to centre of Maeshow	...	...	40 4 "

Who this race of people was who had so far advanced in domestic and religious life as to unite their communal interests in rearing a magnificent temple to those powers which resuscitated vegetable life, ameliorated the rigours of a severe climate, fructified the products of the earth, and vivified all nature we know not. The massive blocks that form the circles reared their heads, and the polished buttressed walls of Maeshow were finished in prehistoric architectural beauty, long ere the prows of Cæsar's ships touched the British strand; yea, long ere the City of Rome had developed beyond a village of huts. Who they were we may never be able to discover; an extinct race, an extinct religion, a state of society and a class of enterprises which the world saw once, but will never see again. They were a race whose annals have been long since irretrievably lost. These men lived in aggregates and worked in unison, inspired by the same religious beliefs in erecting these megalithic temples which have stood through long ages, and have hitherto been little more than phantoms which few archæologists understood. Dr. Ferguson says: "It seems inconceivable that a few shepherds scattered over the Wiltshire downs could have required a temple five times the area of St. Peter's at Rome." Temples are not, however, built according to the number

of worshippers, nor according to the wealth of the age in which they are built, but according to the religious zeal and fervour of the worshippers. It is said, with no doubt some truth, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Could it be otherwise with man during the period of primitive civilisation? It is not likely. The man of thirty centuries ago lived in abodes almost underground, clad in the skin of the chase, inured to the hardships of the nomadic life of a huntsman, with no other pursuits than his daily wants necessitated.

One star—the Pole Star—apparently is immovable. To it he sets up a stone in alignment with one of the other monoliths—the Watchstone. The moon in her varied phases exercises an unaccountable control over the ever-changing sea in all her different moods. To her he erects a temple—the smaller circle. The sun rising every morning, out of the depths of the ocean, riding in his chariot drawn by his fiery steeds, adorned with beautiful gems, whose sparkling splendour shimmers over the world, is their chief object of adoration. The two solstitial periods are watched for with fervid interest when sacrifices are offered up on the Sun altar of Maeshow to intercede with the fire-god to renew his course in the heavens once more. Notwithstanding the fact that it is nearly 3000 years since this system in all its fulness was systematically symbolised in Orkney, it became engrafted in the habits, customs, and worship of the people to such an extent that many of them survive to the present day. A few of these are our Yule feasts, Christmas log, midsummer bonfires, Hallow E'en superstitious rites, and boar's head dinner, which was symbolic of the sun surrounded with his bristling beams. Our Christmas times, with all their hallowed associations and religious sentiment, have the same origin.

THE LAY OF THRYM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE OLD ICELANDIC BY
BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY.

WROTH was then Wing-Thor when he awoke
And found himself of his hammer bereft.
His beard he shook, and his locks he tossed,
And the Son of Earth groped round and round.
This was the word that first he spoke :
“ Hearken now, Loki, what now I tell,
Which no one knows, nor on earth below,
Nor in upper heaven. The God’s hammer is stolen ! ”

Then to fair Freyja’s bower they went,
And this was the word that first he spoke :
“ Wilt thou lend me, Freyja, thy feather-fell
That I my hammer may find again ? ”

“ Ay, I would give it thee were it of gold,
And ay would grant it thee were it of silver ! ”

Then flew Loki, the feather-fell rustled,
Till forth he came from the garth of the Gods,
And in he came to the Giant-land.
Thrym sat on a howe, the Lord of Giants,
Golden bands for his greyhounds plaiting,
And clipping even the manes of his mares.
This was the word that first he spoke :
“ How is’t with the Gods, how is’t with the elves ?
Why com’st thou alone into Giant-land ? ”

“’Tis ill with the Gods, ’tis ill with the elves,
Hast thou not hidden the Thunderer’s hammer?”

“I have hidden the Thunderer’s hammer
Eight miles deep down under the earth.
Never a man shall gain it back
Except he bring me Freyja to wife!”

Then flew Loki, the feather-fell rustled,
Till forth he came from the Giant-land,
And in he came to the garth of the Gods.
Thor he met amidst of the court,—
This was the word that first he spoke :
“Hast thou tidings to pay thy toil?
Speak out thy news where aloft thou flyest,
For he who speaks sitting oft halts in his story,
And he who speaks lying oft stoops to a lie.”

“I have tidings to pay my toil,
Thrym has thy hammer, the Lord of Giants,
Never a man shall gain it back
Except he bring him Freyja to wife.”

Then to fair Freyja’s bower they went,—
This was the word that first he spoke :
“Make ready, Freyja, thy bridal veil,
We two must drive into Giant-land.”

Wroth was Freyja and breathed such rage
That all the hall of the Gods was shaken,
That the mighty necklace Brising shivered :
“Wondrous mad for a husband I were,
If I drove with thee into Giant-land.”

Straight were the Gods at the moot assembled,
And the Goddesses all in council together.
The mighty Gods debated on this,
How should the Thunderer’s hammer be won?

Then spake Heimdall, the whitest of Gods—
He knew the future like other Wanes—
“Let us bind on Thor the bridal veil,
Set on him the mighty necklace Brising,
Let us hang at his belt the dangling keys,
And women’s weeds cast over his knee,
And clasp on his breast the jewels broad,
And deck his head with a maiden’s hood.”

Then spake Thor, the mighty God:
“The Gods will give me a craven’s name
If I am bound with the bridal veil.”

Then spake Loki, Laufey’s son:
“Be silent, Thor! nor speak on this wise.
The Giants will make their home in Asgard,
Except thou win back thy hammer again.”

They bound on Thor the bridal veil,
Laid on him the mighty necklace Brising,
They hung at his belt the dangling keys,
And women’s weeds cast over his knee,
They clasped on his breast the jewels broad,
And decked his head with a maiden’s hood.

Then spake Loki, Laufey’s son:
“I will go with thee to be thy bridesmaid,
We two must drive into Giant-land.”

Quickly the goats were homeward driven,
Yoked were they hastily, well could they run;
The rocks were rent, earth broke into flame,
Drove Odin’s son into Giant-land.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
“Rise up now, Giants! and strew the benches.
Now shall ye bring me Freyja to wife,
The daughter of Njord out of Noatun.

Here in the garth go the golden-horned kine,
Coal-black oxen, the joy of the Giant;
Heaps of treasure I own, and jewels,
Freyja alone was lacking to me."

They came full early at eventide,
And before the Giants the ale was borne.
One whole ox Thor devoured, eight salmon,
All the dainties the women should eat,
Three gallons of mead Sif's husband¹ did drink.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
"When saw'st thou a bride eat more eagerly?
I saw never a bride eat more heartily,
Nor a maiden drink so deep of mead!"

In readiness sat the cunning bridesmaid,—
Thus she answered the Giant's speech:
"For eight days Freyja might not eat,
So great was her longing for Giant-land."

Thrym stooped 'neath the veil, he was fain to kiss her,
But he started back to the end of the hall:
"Why gleam so fiercely the eyes of Freyja?
Fire methinks from her eyes is flashing!"

In readiness sat the cunning bridesmaid,—
Thus she answered the Giant's speech:
"For eight nights Freyja might not sleep,
So great was her longing for Giant-land."

In came the Giants' ancient sister,
Boldly begging the bridal fee:
"Take from thine arms the rings so red,
If thou wilt ever win my love,
My love and eke my favour!"

¹ Sif's husband, *i.e.*, Thor.

Then spake Thrym, the Lord of Giants:
"Bear in the hammer to hallow the bride;
Mjöllnir shall lie on the maiden's knee,
Var shall hallow our hands in wedlock."

The heart of the Thunderer laughed in his breast
As his hammer hard he felt with his hand.
Thrym slew he first, the Lord of Giants,
Then all the race of the Giants he smote.

He slew the Giants' ancient sister,
Her who had begged for the bridal fee;
Blows she got for her shilling fee,
And hammer strokes for her heaps of rings.

So came Odin's son by his hammer again.

SURVEY OF ORKNEYAN PLACE-NAMES.

By A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.

IT has been proposed to make a collection of Orkneyan place-names from records and present use, and to compile at the same time a description of the localities, and gather together such other information as will be useful in arriving at their derivation, meaning, and correct spelling. Existing place-names are of Pictish, Culdee, Norse, Scottish or English origin. They are variously derived from surnames, antiquities, mounds, standing-stones, brochs, superstitions, churches, natural features or surroundings. It is therefore indispensable in arriving at the derivation and meaning of names, to examine the history, records, folklore, antiquities, and all natural features of the localities where the names occur, with their surroundings.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

Records.—Sagas, Peterkin's "Rentals of the Bishopric and Earldom," estate and other charters and rent rolls, books, State records, charts, ordnance maps, etc.

Folk-names and pronunciation.—So far as language is concerned, there are two classes in Orkney, one speaking the dialect and English, and the other speaking English but with an imperfect knowledge of the dialect. Many place-names are corruptly spelt, from a mistaken Scottish interpretation, and are so pronounced by the English speaking class, whereas they are more correctly rendered in the dialect. When we remember that the dialect still

preserves and uses, with their original meanings, a host of words of the extinct Norse tongue, it is to be expected that it would also and more tenaciously preserve and use the old form of stereotyped and now meaningless place-names. The dialect folk in conversing with the English speaking class suit their language as much as possible to the latter, using even the corrupted Scottish pronunciation of place-names. The reason for this being partly to make themselves understood, but chiefly owing to their strong aversion to use words and names which might be thought uncouth, and so be laughed at. The result is that the English speaking class are more or less totally ignorant of the genuine dialect and folk place-names and their pronunciation, and what information they have is usually perverted and worse than useless. *Bays* are usually called "hopes" in the dialect, whereas on the maps they are "bays," and are so called by the other class. *Kirkju-vágr*, probably of old pronounced *Kirkju-vaa* (*vágr* pronounced *vaa* as in Faroe) is so pronounced (*Kirkwaa*) in the dialect of to-day; whereas it was first spelt by the Scotch "Kirkwaw," then by a mistaken analogy "Kirkwall," and so it is spelt and pronounced by the other class to this day. *Woodwick* is so spelt and pronounced by the English speaking class, while in the dialect it is *Withik*, in accordance with the original old Norse form *Viði-vík* or wide-wick.

It will therefore be evident that folk-names and pronunciation are the more correct and should be carefully collected.

Natural features.—These should be carefully described, as place-names are largely descriptive of the locality.

Minor objects.—Names of all minor objects, such as burns, bridges, fields, etc., should be taken down, as it is frequently possible to locate old names whose sites are now forgotten. Before the commons were divided, and farms enclosed, and when cattle pastured promiscuously and unherded over the commons, and over the toon-lands after harvest, every hillock, hollow, strip of

pasture and natural shelter had a name, so that people could tell each other exactly where their cattle were. These names are descriptive of the places and are therefore highly useful in a study of the principal place-names. Moreover, as the use for these names now no longer exists, it is important that they should be placed on record before they are entirely forgotten and lost.

Districts.—Names of islands, parishes, toons, and other districts and groups of islands must be noted. We have no record of the ancient political districts into which Orkney was divided. The Saga only mentions the Al-Thing, or general parliament. In Shetland, in 1575, there were numerous local courts held in their respective districts throughout the islands, each district embracing several parishes, and one head court called the Law-Ting, the successor of the Al-Thing. The same must also have been the case in Orkney. Christianity was nominally adopted by the Northmen in Orkney at the end of the tenth century. We do not know when ecclesiastical parishes were formed, nor do we know whether existing civil districts were adopted for that purpose. There is no specific mention in the Saga of an ecclesiastical or civil district. As regards the names of modern parishes, it is noticeable that they are mainly derived from the dedication of the church or from the name of the toon in which the church is situated. Parishes consist of groups of toons, and the toon is thus the unit of Orkney topography.

Hills, etc.—Names of hills, slaks, shoulders of hills, ridges, brekks, hammars, dales, gills, peat-ground, mosses, moors, hollows, cups, holes, caves, mounds, hillocks, gayres or pastures.

Agriculture.—Names of farms, fields, meadows, fidges, pastures, yards, croos, pens, beuls, commons, quoys, houses, and steadings.

Roads, fences, etc.—Names of roads, tracks, highways, hill and peat roads, bridges, gates, grinds, slaps, old dykes and garths.

Antiquities.—Names of standing-stones, stone circles,

stones with traditions, brochs or round towers, Picts' houses, mounds, sites of old houses, buildings and foundations, places where bones and ashes have been dug up and stone and other implements found, sites of chapels and traditional burying-grounds, sites of Johnsmass bonfires, places where new year and Kirk football were played, nicknames of parishes, toons and households, fairy rings and knowes, and old quarries.

Fresh water.—Names of lochs, shuns, islands in lochs and objects on same, burns, springs, wells, etc.

Coastline.—Names of cliffs, heads, rocks in sea, natural arches, points, taings, nesses, holmes, gills, bays, hopes, hubbins, wicks, gyoies, voes, caves, helliers, ingoes (caves), ayres, beeches, tang shores, ebbs, crag seats, skerries, "hens and chickens," small inland seas, euses or oyces, aiths or isthmuses, piers, nausts, etc.

Sea-names.—Names of flows, sounds, roosts, tideways, fishing grounds, and their land-marks and meiths.

Modern names.—Special note should be made of new or modern names, and their intended meaning. Such names are frequently spelt in an unusual manner and might easily be mistaken for old names. *E.g.*, Neland, in Orphir, was given within living memory, meaning "New-land."

Folklore.—Oral and recorded traditions, customs, superstitions and all folklore connected with places should be noted, as many names may be explained thereby. Folk meanings attached to names should be noted; however far-fetched they may appear, they at least are folklore.

COLLECTION AND COLLECTORS.

As the dialect-speaking folk use the oldest forms of place-names and pronunciation, it will be evident that they would be the best collectors. Another reason for this is the aversion of the folk to give information to others than themselves. As regards the dislike to divulge traditions and so-called superstitions from fear of ridicule, it should be remembered that such folklore preserves

information of the greatest scientific value to anthropology, ethnology, and philology. There is no more reason why such a valuable and time-honoured heritage should not be observed and openly acknowledged in the North, similarly as such customs are practised and cherished by the most cultured and educated people all the world over.

RETURNS.

Names and information collected should be entered on forms for the purpose as appended.

PUBLICATION.

The results of the returns, with derivations by experts, to be hereafter published.

SURVEY OF ORKNEY PLACE-NAMES.

The Council have appointed Messrs. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot., W. P. Drever, J. G. Moodie Heddle, Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, A. W. Johnston, F.S.A. Scot., J. Johnston, Duncan J. Robertson, Magnus Spence, and W. G. T. Watt, F.S.A. Scot., a committee to report on a scheme for the survey of Orkney place-names prepared by A. W. Johnston (see p. 459 of this number). The committee sent individual reports approving of the scheme, which the Council thereupon remitted to the committee, with full power to have the survey carried out. Colonel Johnston, R.E., Director-General of the Ordnance Survey Department, has intimated that his department cordially welcome the assistance offered by the Club in collecting the names, and has consented to place copies of the Ordnance Survey maps at the disposal of the Club, so that they may be deposited in suitable districts for the purpose of locating the names. The first meeting of the committee was held at Daisy Bank, Kirkwall, the residence of Mr. Cursiter, on October 14th, when Messrs. Cursiter and Spence were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman and joint Hon. Secs. of the committee.

[FORM A FOR PARISHES.]

Parish of _____

Name of Parish, Island in which it is situated, and other District.

	Ordnance Map Name.	Folk-name and Pronunciation.	Saga.	Peterkin's Rentals.	Charters, Rent-rolls, Books, etc.
Name of Parish ..					
Name of Island ..					
Name of District..					
Give names, folk pronunciation,* and natural features of any of the following places situated in the old commons of the Parish, and not included in the returns of toons and farms:—					
Hills ..	Meadows ..	..	Roads ..	..	..
Slaks ..	Mosses ..	..	Gates, grinds, slaps ..	..	..
Shoulders ..	Peat ground ..	..	Bridges ..	..	..
Ridges ..	Hollows or cups ..	..	Masey gates or church roads ..	..	..
Hillocks ..	Caves ..	..	Burns ..	..	..
Brekks ..	Quarries ..	..	Wells ..	..	..
Mounds ..	Market stances ..	..	Lochs, shuns, islands in same ..	..	..
Fairy rings ..	Sites of old houses ..	..	Antiquities, brochs, standing stones ..	..	..
Dales ..	Pens or beuls ..	..	Chapels and graveyards ..	..	..
Gills ..	Croos ..	..	Coastline, heads, etc. ..	..	..
Pastures ..	New Year football ground ..	..	Adjacent sea (see List B Form B)	..	..

* See A, Form B.



VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

ATTENTION should be called to the fact that the paragraph on p. 275 of last SAGA-BOOK, beginning "In a subsequent letter" and ending with "required in Cornwall," was misplaced, and should be read after the last note on p. 281.

I AM asked whether Uig in Skye, on Loch Snizort, is the equivalent of Wick. It is the Norse Wick in Gaelic spelling. Snizort is also Norse, being Snaesfjord. Further evidence of Norse influence in Gaelic districts of Scotland is given in Mr. Bremner's paper in this issue.

It is suggested that an explanation of the map facing p. 230 of last issue is required. It is as follows:—The shading marked *a* shows the distribution of the Adriatic race; the shading marked *d* shows the distribution of dolmens; and the solid black on the map shows where the two kinds of shading overlap.

I AM asked whether there is anything trustworthy known as to Thingwall in the Wirral. "Thinger is the old county vernacular, not Thingwall. There is a Cross Hill close by." In answer, reference should be made to the paper "Vikings in Lakeland," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., on p. 182 of Vol. I. of SAGA-BOOK, and to the notes on the Wirral in his District Report, Vol. II., p. 139.

"W. R. P.," the writer in *Notes and Queries* on the Danes in Pembrokeshire, alluded to in Viking Notes in the last SAGA-BOOK (p. 274), is, I learn, a member of the Viking Club. I am glad to be able to withdraw Mr. W. R. Prior from his obscurity, because it shows that Vikings are laudably bestirring themselves to uphold the aims of the Club in many unsuspected quarters.

AN excellent feature at the Croydon Public Library is the series of "Library Talks" held during the winter months in order to popularise certain sections of the literature in the library. The library has a very fair selection of books dealing with Northern literature and antiquities which was the subject of a lecture entitled "Records of our Viking Forefathers," given last October by Mr. A. F. Major, our Hon. Secretary.

THE following newspaper extract is interesting:—

"What is supposed to be the grave of men who fell either at the battle of Clontarf, between the Irish and the Danes in the eleventh century, or in the great battle fought between the English and King Rhoderick O'Connor of Ireland in

the twelfth century, has been discovered at Glasnevin, near Dublin. The skeletons were huddled together as if the bodies had been hastily buried in the pit. Some of the skeletons measured seven feet in length."

MOMBASA, British East Africa, would seem a spot unlikely to yield records of Scandinavian myths. Yet in the *African Standard* published there a series of articles entitled "A Cycle of Scandinavian Myths" has been appearing. The contributor is a Mr. Alexander Grant, who seeks to unfold before the scattered units of the Empire in British East Africa the mysteries of the olden time lore of their race, and who, from the sympathetic way in which he deals with his theme, should certainly be speedily enrolled in the Viking fellowship.

THE Hon. Treasurer desires it to be known that correction is required in his paper on p. 199, SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Part II., where for "The north wall of the Earl's Bú" should be read "The south wall," etc. To the list of those to whom the writer was indebted for information (p. 214) should also be added the name of J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall, who supplied notes as to the "grey stane," "round building" near same, stone cist at Hamiscue in Tuskerbuster, and cist opened at Greenigoe, all on the map of Orphir parish facing p. 184.

THE Viking Club lent its models of Norwegian boats built on the lines of the Gokstad ship to the Shipping Exhibition held in the autumn at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. The exhibition also included a small model and a drawing of the Gokstad ship (restored), lent by our Hon. Secretary, and four large photographs of the same vessel lent by the Consul for Sweden and Norway. In the section for modern pictures there was an oil-painting, "The Burning of Hakon Haki," by W. J. Laidley, lent by the artist. In connection with the above exhibition, Mr. A. F. Major gave an address on "Viking Ships" at the Gallery in October.

OUR Hon. District Secretary for Norway, Dr. Alexander Bugge, has been appointed Professor of History at the University of Kristiania in succession to the late Professor Gustav Storm. It cannot often be that both father and son are Professors at the same University at the same time, but in the case of our distinguished members, Professor Sophus Bugge and his son, the honour is fully deserved. Professor Alexander's studies of the trade between Norway and the British Isles and of "The Norse Language and Nationality in Ireland," noticed in the last number of the SAGA-BOOK, pp. 150-154, should make his appointment of special interest to all students of the early history of these islands.

I HAVE received from the Icelandic Literary Society a prospectus of the Society's operations and publications, which I commend to Vikings wishful of acquiring cheap editions of Icelandic Sagas and other literature. The Society was founded so far back as 1816, and has its seats at Reykjavik and in Copenhagen. Its work is an eminently useful one, and as member-

ship is open to everyone and the subscription only 6s. 7d. a year, for which the members receive the publications of the Society for each year—about sixty sheets of printed matter—there are sufficient inducements to seek membership. Those desiring admission should forward their applications to the President, Mr. O. Halldorsson, 24, Kronprinsessegade, Copenhagen.

POLITICS are supposed to be eschewed in the SAGA-BOOK, but it is permissible to record that the threatened encroachment of Russia on the independence of Norway which is now alarming that nation, according to a recent communication to the *Morning Post*, is leading to the satisfactory result of causing Norwegians to direct greater attention to the study of the English tongue and to cultivate closer relations with this country. The object is, of course, ultimately to find help from this country in their time of need, should it ever occur—which we trust will never be withheld. Meanwhile Norwegians and Scandinavians generally should not be forgetful of the teaching of the old saw about the bundle of sticks, and secure that added strength which a closer understanding and union with their brethren in Sweden and Denmark would afford.

"LE Souvenir Normand," alluded to in the last SAGA-BOOK (p. 273), has come actively to the fore in the past year in holding a meeting at Hastings to celebrate the exploits of that great Gallo-Viking, William the Norman, otherwise William the Bastard, who overthrew Harold on the fateful field of Hastings, or Senlac, and inflicted that blow to Englishry and to English and Norse institutions, literature, and speech from which it suffers to the present day. Centuries have been required to undo in part the burdens laid by this Continental influence on our national development, and we are hardly even now wholly freed from them. Our mother-tongue will in all likelihood never recover the beauty of its earlier Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norse form; but while it is grievous that so much has been lost, the duty lies heavy on all to "strengthen that which remains."

DR. GEORGE PERNET writes me as under:—

In Fitzgerald's "Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām" (Golden Treasury Series, 1900, p. 64) the following note occurs:—

"Apropos of Omar's Red Roses in stanza xix., I am reminded of an old English superstition, that our Anemone Pulsatilla, or purple 'Pasque Flower' (which grows plentifully about the Fleam Dyke, near Cambridge) grows only where Danish blood has been spilt."

The stanza runs:

"I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled;
That every Hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head."

It would be interesting to learn how widespread is this superstition.

THE production of Henrik Ibsen's "Hærmændene paa Helgeland" under the title of "The Vikings," at the Imperial Theatre, under the

management of Miss Ellen Terry, in the spring of 1903, was looked forward to with great interest by lovers of the old Norse literature. At last, we thought, a play of the Viking times would be produced on the English stage with some approach to historical accuracy. The result, we regret to say, was a grievous disappointment. Those of us especially who went to see the production in the company of Scandinavian friends must have felt thoroughly ashamed of the British theatre. In these days of elaborate and accurate staging of plays it was astonishing to find in a theatre managed by one of our leading actresses a stage-management that was not merely odd in its effects, but showed an utter ignorance of the materials that exist for reproducing on the stage with almost absolute fidelity the life of the period in which the poet has placed his drama.

A VIKING forwards me the following interesting note:—

In his "Early Kings of Norway" Carlyle derives Tooley from Saint Olave. The passage runs: "Speaking of the London Olaf Churches, I should have added that from one of these the thrice-famous Tooley Street gets its name, where those three tailors, addressing Parliament and the Universe, sublimely styled themselves 'We, the people of England.' Saint Olave Street, Saint Oley Street, Stoolley Street, Tooley Street—such are the metamorphoses of human fame in the world!" In connection with this a passage from one of Edward Fitzgerald's letters to Carlyle may be alluded to, viz.: "We have a Saint Olave's Priory on the River Waveney; the people call it 'Saint Tuler's.' I wonder if an old gentleman of Ipswich be of that King's blood? An inscription there runs—

'In peaceful silence let great Tooley rest,
Whose charitable deeds bespeak him best.'

—"More Letters of Edward Fitzgerald." 1901. p. 175.

FOLLOWERS of the destructive school of criticism have of late striven to prove that the myths and legends of the Asa-faith, in the form in which they have reached us, are borrowed almost entirely from classical and Christian sources. That these myths had grown up around a religious system of great age could not be doubted, but as all documentary evidence on the subject is undoubtedly later than the Christian era, it seems difficult if not impossible to trace back any distinctive doctrine to pre-Christian times. We understand, however, that Mr. A. F. Major has for some years been working at a clue which will, he considers, enable him to trace back such cardinal features of the religious system of the Eddas as the doctrine of Ragnarøk and the Valhalla myth, in their essence, at any rate, to pre-Christian and pre-Roman times, and to show that the system of naming the days of the week after their chief gods, in force among almost all the Gothic races, was not copied from the planetary system adopted by the Romans. Mr. Major hopes to lay the result of his studies before the Club at one of our meetings in the session of 1904-5.

THE long overlordship of Essex by the Danes, from Guthram's conquest until Swain, Earl of Essex, went over to William the Bastard, is attested by many extant landmarks. Knud the Great is immortalised at Cnewdon, where his church still stands a witness to his rule. Danebury and its

earthworks commemorate them, as does Rayleigh with its fortifications, Beamfleet with the recovered relics of Hasting's (Hæstan's or Eystein's) slaughtered shiphære, and other survivals. Warley has its memories of folkfights and battles. Along Thames shore, and up the Roding and the Lea inland, their footmarks are graven deep in burgs and tofts, thorps and holms. The great Danish waterburg at Barking is still a lasting mark of their warfare; but, higher up the Roding, Ongar possibly bears witness to their powers as settlers, being cognate with anger in Stavanger, while beyond this northwards—five miles—in Fyfield parish is Clatterfoot End, a small township whose name reveals its Norse origin: *Klettr*=rock, hill. In modern English this word is an absurdity, but in its Norse meaning it fits exactly local circumstances (compare kernfoot, moorfoot, hillfoot, etc.). The district, like many others, maybe, received a concrete body of Danish settlers, who gave the names to the physical features of the landscape in their Scandinavian mother-tongue.

THAT no dark race can beget a fair offspring and *vice versâ* is an axiom of kinlore. Where decided aberrations from the racial standard occur, cross-breeding is always to be inferred. An illustration of this is afforded by the reported occurrence of a Scandinavian-like folk among the Arabs of Aboukir, Egypt. Antiquaries who have been apprised of this fact have wandered far afield for an explanation, some tracing them to Ægean invaders, others to the Greeks of the Ptolemaic days, and still others to a Turkish admixture. A recent writer in the *Morning Post* suggests, with a certain probability, a Northern origin. He says: "There is a strain of Northern blood among these fisher people; many are light haired, and blue or grey eyes are common among them, while their skins are occasionally almost Scandinavian in their fairness." He adds: "With a deplorable lack of imagination natives bluntly state that these fair people date from the beginning of the century, when Napoleon's forces garrisoned Aboukir among other places." What is further scientifically interesting is, however, how long such isolated and unsupported strains will last in the midst of their constantly encroaching alien environments. Also what mental perturbations will be occasioned in future ages among craniologists intent upon investigating the racial origin of the Arabs of Aboukir!

AN interesting paper by Dr. Fell was recently read before the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club on the Pile of Fotheray, in the course of the tracing of the history of which the etymology of the name came under review. The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his "Words and Places," regarded both Furness (anciently Fudernes) and Fotheray as Norse donations, and signifying respectively fireness and fire island, in allusion to beacons which were probably lighted for the guidance of Norse seafarers. An alternative explanation offered by Mr. Harper Gaythorpe bears marks of greater probability. To quote his own words:—"Recent research had shown that the Norse-Icelandic-Viking names are formed from nouns, not verbs, and that, as the old Norse often called islands from the crop they bore, Fodr-ey (pronounced Fotheray), hay island, was the old Norse fodr (English fodder), and with the analogies Fotheringay (hayfield enclosure), and

Fotherby, in Lincolnshire, the question has been most pertinently asked, 'Why should we invent a beacon and a word to explain "Fotheray"?' Many names in the immediate neighbourhood are farming names, and the custom of pasturing on islands was common in Furness, as it is in Iceland now, so that Fodder Island is quite natural, and in line with place-names of the locality. Also in this sense it can be put into Norse without violence to grammar."

MR. A. C. NICHOLSON, the District Secretary for Wirral, writes asking for information regarding the Hwiccas, the first English settlers in the lower Severn valley. The information desired is the meaning of their name, whence they sprang on the European Continent, date of their settlement on Severn, and particulars of subsequent history. Support is sought apparently for the theory that these folk were of Norse origin, and represented an earlier race of Norse settlers than the first hitherto historically reported. Bede makes reference to the Wicci as inhabiting an island which was their "province." This province is, however, by the context, shown to be the Isle of Wight. According to Bede also, some confusion in the attributed origin of the Saxons, Angles, and Danes existed even in his day. The priest Egbert, he says, intended to preach to those nations who had not heard the Gospel, "many of which nations he knew there were in Germany (from whom the Angles or Saxons, who now inhabit Britain, are known to have derived their origin: for which reason they are still corruptly called Germans by the neighbouring nation of the Britons). Such are the Frisons, the Rugins, the Danes, the Huns, the Ancient Saxons, and the Boructuars (or Bructers)." Thorpe's "Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici" gives several references, in which the diocese of Worcester seems indicated, and in which the forms "Wigorneceaster" (Worcester, ? derivation), "Wicton," and "Wiccisca" (Wickishmen) occur. This section of research has been hitherto unworked, and may, possibly, yield unlooked-for results. Contributions to the subject should be sent to Mr. A. C. Reid, C.E., Mr. A. G. Moffat, M.A., or to Mr. Nicholson.

BOTH the utterance and the meaning of the term "Viking" have been the subjects of more than one allusion. At a recent meeting of the Club Dr. Lawrence developed a well-ordered defence in favour of *wicinga* = "warrior," from the verb *wig*, "to war." In the *Times* recently Dr. Karl Blind argued on the well-known lines that *vik* = "bay" and *ing* = "sib" or "family." Mr. Lars A. Havstad, writing from Christiania, says that Northern "historians now often prefer to interpret the word as signifying a man from the old Norwegian landscape of 'Viken' (the wick *par excellence*), which included the land around the Christiania Fjord from the Skien Fjord to Gothenburg (the present Swedish Skagerack province of Bohuslan, belonging to Norway until 1660). The country took the name of the great gulf between the ramifications of the Scandinavian peninsula. Viken has always, down to the present times, been an important—generally the most important—shipping and seafaring district of the northern countries. The two sea-going Viking ships till now found in Scandinavia (including

Denmark) were both exhumed in this landscape. A third was discovered there—near Tonsberg, in Vestfold—last autumn, and will be exhumed when the season turns sufficiently dry. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expressly mention 'Vestfoldings'—from Vestfold, the still used name of the district of Viken lying between the Skien and the Drammen Fjords—as forming part of the number of Vikings who descended upon the English coasts at the end of the eighth century." The parallel between Vestfoldings and Vik-ings would appear to strengthen a topographical origin for the latter name.

It is worth observing, in connection with Mr. Kjær's description of the sun-god chariot found in Seeland in the last issue of the *SAGA-BOOK* (p. 155) and Dr. Blind's paper on the same subject in the present issue (p. 381), that Mr. Reginald A. Smith read a paper before the Society of Antiquaries in December, dealing with sun-discs in general. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides of the Seeland find and also of a bronze sun-disc found in Ireland, which has been in the Dublin Museum since 1854. The latter corresponded with the former in all details but that of size, being only $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter as against the 6 inches of the former. Its votive purpose was shown by its being cleanly broken. To bring out the likeness more clearly, a picture was thrown on the screen representing the Irish disc mounted on a wheeled frame and drawn by a horse. Mr. Smith then dealt with the ornamentation of the discs—concentric circles, and spirals resembling those found at Mycenæ—and said that the former were frequent in Irish art during the Bronze period. Other examples of what were probably, though not certainly, sun-discs in the National Collection were described and illustrated, and it was pointed out that rude spirals of a similar kind were found in Ireland, Britain, and Sweden. From the discovery of the sun-chariot in Seeland, and of this disc, the significance of which was made clear by the Danish find, it seemed evident that the same religious ideas prevailed in Ireland and Denmark 3000 years ago. The use of bronze in Ireland began earlier than it did in Scandinavia, which perhaps received this particular form of sun-worship from Ireland.

A REVIEW by "K. S." of Mr. H. Bradley's "The Making of English," appearing in the *Daily Chronicle* recently, has the following interesting observations:—

"Dr. Bradley makes very strongly, with respect to the history of English, a point which the schools have long overlooked. The conquests and settlements of the Danes and Northmen, which fill so large a place in the annals of England from the ninth to the eleventh century, were of vast importance in bringing new words and ridding us of case-endings:—

"What we are accustomed to regard as the history of England during these centuries is little more than the history of *English* England; the larger portion of England, which was under Scandinavian rule, had no chroniclers [except in some of the sagas]. Of the Danish dynasty which reigned at York we know hardly more than the names of the Kings; and the history of Danish East Anglia and Mercia is even more obscure. It is only by the indirect

evidence of place-names and modern dialects that we learn that in some districts of England the population must have been at one time far more largely Scandinavian than English, and that important Scandinavian settlements existed in almost every county north of the Thames. In 1017 Cnut, of Denmark, conquered the throne of England, and his strong rule gave to the country a degree of political unity such as it had never had before. Under succeeding Kings—even under the Englishman Edward the Confessor—the highest official posts in the kingdom continued to be held by men of Danish origin.'

"Even Dr. Bradley underestimates the consequence. It is not by scores that Scandinavian dialect words in the North may be numbered, but by many thousands."

A SOCIETY has been formed for the recording and preservation of Ancient Defensive Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures, membership of which is commended to Vikings generally. A provisional scheme of operations was prepared by the committee appointed at the Congress of the Archæological Societies in July, 1901. The committee suggest that secretaries of the various archæological societies, and other gentlemen likely to be interested in the subject, should be pressed to prepare schedules of the works in their respective districts, in the hope that lists may be eventually published. The list should be confined to defensive works, omitting burial barrows and boundary banks. Though record should be made of any "finds" indicative of period of use of the forts, no effort need be made to assign a definite period of construction, excepting in those cases in which the age is beyond question—*e.g.*, camps and fortified settlements of undoubted Roman origin, or enclosures of proved Neolithic, Bronze, or Iron Age. The committee now consists of the following members:—Professor Boyd Dawkins and Professor B. C. A. Windle, Mr. W. J. Andrew, Mr. I. Chalkley Gould (the well-known earthworks expert), Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. A. R. Goddard (a member of the Viking Club), Mr. J. Horace Round, and Mr. W. M. Trapp. It is hoped that other gentlemen willing to work towards the object in view will join the committee. The committee ventures to hope that the issue of the provisional scheme will enlist the earnest co-operation of archæologists and observers in all parts of the country, and thus serve towards the preservation from mutilation or destruction of these priceless relics which no laws protect. Those wishful of working in this department should communicate with Mr. I. Chalkley Gould, Trapp's Hill, Loughton, Essex.

THE *Budstikke*, published in Copenhagen as the organ of the "Society for Germanic Philology" (Selskab for Germansk Filologi), urges in its first number, which appeared in October last, the adoption of the term "Gothic" instead of "Teutonic" or "Germanic" as a convenient and comprehensive designation for the great family of nations to which Scandinavians, Germans, and English alike belong. "Teutonic," as it points out, is of purely scientific origin, while "Germanic" was first used among Celts and Romans and other foreign nations and adopted from them. Both terms, we may add, are too closely identified with one branch of the race to be satisfactory as inclusive terms for all the kindred peoples,

and on all these grounds a substitute for them is wanted. The *Budstikke* shows that the use of "Goth," as a general name for Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Germans, dates from a very early time, the period immediately following the folk-wanderings, and is due to the Scandinavians. Though originally a tribe-name, the leading part which the Goths played in the great migrations spread it far and wide, so that it became a generic term, and was applied to every branch of the race, so that both by origin and use in early times it has a far stronger claim upon us than the terms which have superseded it. We have long been dissatisfied with the use of the words "Teutonic" or "Germanic," and have independently come to the same conclusion as the *Budstikke*, namely, that the word "Gothic" appeared to have the best claim to adoption as a comprehensive generic name for the races in question. If the members of the Viking Club and of the "Selskab for Germansk Filologi" take the same view, and will give effect to it whenever they have to use a race-name for the stock from which they spring, we may hope to see "Teutonic" and "Germanic" ultimately restricted to their proper sphere.

IN a letter since addressed to me, accompanying a number of copies of the *Budstikke*, the editor, Mr. Gudmund Schütte, M.A., makes the following apposite quotation from the Fornaldar Saga: "The origin of all sayings in the Northern tongue was that that tongue came hither into the North which we call the Northern, and it embraced Saxland, Denmark and Sweden, Norway and some parts of England; and those lands were called Godlands and the folk Godthiod." He also calls my attention to various articles in the *Budstikke*, such as that suggesting English as a world-language; a Gothic Anthology, which the Selskab for Germansk Philologi proposes to issue in English, and another in Danish and German; also to a review of the "Verner-Book," one of the publications of the Society, dealing with a biography of Karl Verner, and to an illustrated notice of our esteemed fellow-member Professor Sophus Bugge. These various matters reveal the fact that the aims of both the Society and its organ are closely akin with those of the Viking Club and the SAGA-BOOK, and indeed, the editor says: "Vi gaar direkte ind for en kultural Union mellem England og Skandinavien." On these grounds the attitude of Vikings cannot but be sympathetic towards the Society, its organ, and its aims.

A PRAISEWORTHY new literary venture, the first number of which has just seen the light, is *Mimir: Icelandic Institutions and Addresses*. It is a yearly publication, whose objects are pithily set forth in its prefatory note as follows:—

1. To facilitate research in the territory which it attempts to cover by making the labourers in the same domain known to one another, that the work of each may be rendered available to all.
2. To inform the people of Iceland, on the one hand, of the wide and encouraging interest taken by the learned of other nations in their early literature and history, and of the valuable results of that interest.
3. To bring the foreign student of Old Northern letters, on the other hand, into nearer relations with the only region in which the Old Northern language is still a living speech, in which the Sagas are still household reading, and the sense and

sentiment of the ancient poems are still felt, while in other Germanic lands the classics of the earlier periods (Beowulf and the Canterbury Tales, the Nibelungen Lays and the epic story of Parsifal) have become works no longer understood of the people. 4. To promote the proper development, already happily begun, of that little nationality and fragment of the old Teuton world, which has kept itself alive, against innumerable obstacles, on the border of the Arctic seas.

Necessarily incomplete as a first issue, it is intended to give subsequent yearly volumes of *Mimir* a broader bibliographical character, by including the titles of all important works produced by the writers cited, and in general by reproducing them more fully and exactly. To attain the desired completeness, additions and corrections, changes of address and other proper information is solicited, and should be sent before June 1st, 1904, to "Mimir," Lungo il Mugnone, 11, Florence, Italy. The plan of this publication, so far as writers and books are concerned, is that attempted in the "Bibliography" in the SAGA-BOOK, to which it is a valuable adjunct, and generally the scope and aims of this publication will commend themselves to all members of the Viking Club. It is to be observed that the Club and many of its members are duly chronicled, the former having a mede of praise accorded to it by its description as an "active organisation."

FROM far Rangitikei, New Zealand, a Viking sends the following communication, accompanying a printed extract and a photo of the skulls kept in Hythe Church crypt:—

"Among some old Scandinavian relics I found the enclosed photo and account of a great Viking battle, which I have much pleasure in presenting to the Club, if it is of any use to your Editor."

The printed extract, apparently from a guide book, is as follows:—

"THE CRYPT, HYTHE.

"The following account of the Human Bones deposited in this Charnal House is supposed to be the only genuine description, being extracted from a very ancient History of Britain:—

"'A.D. 843, in the Reign of Ethelwolf, the Danes landed on the coast of Kent, near to the town of Hyta, and proceeded as far as Canterbury, great part of which they burnt; at length Gustavus (then Governor of Kent) raised a considerable force, with which he opposed their progress; and after an engagement, in which the Danes were defeated, pursued them to their shipping on the sea coast, where they made a most obstinate resistance. The Britons, however, were victorious, but the slaughter was prodigious, there being not less than THIRTY THOUSAND left dead. After the battle, the Britons wearied with fatigue, returned to their homes, leaving the slain on the field of battle, where being exposed to the different changes of the weather, the flesh rotted from the bones, which were afterwards collected and piled in heaps by the inhabitants, who in time, removed them into a vault in one of the churches of Hyta, now called Hythe.'"

Needless to say, this quotation of a bit of pseudo-history is a mass of nonsense, the collocation of English, Britons, and Danes, Ethelwolf and Gustavus being sufficiently grotesque. As to the origin of the skulls, the most prosaic and probable is that they are the relics of the inmates of the

monkery, of which Hythe Church is itself a remainder, with additions drawn from several dismantled churches and churchyards in the neighbourhood. Apart from this and supplementary evidence, fancy may optionally place them in the Romano British-Saxon, the Saxo-Danish, the Saxo-Norman, or the English period with almost equal probability.

A VIKING, Mr. L. Tegner, forwards me from Japan the following translation of a notice which appeared in a Scandinavian newspaper on the olden time Danish colony in the Strand, London :—

The large alterations and pulling down of old houses, which is now taking place, in order to construct and make way for new streets, which are to connect the traffic between Holborn and Strand, have given rise to the discussion of the origin of the Danish Settlement near London at the time of the Vikings. The London County Council have decided to name one of the new proposed streets "Aldwych," after the name of the Danish camp or settlement, which existed on about this spot and just outside London's walls, which reached to Temple Bar. Mr. Gomme, well known as an author on London's topography, has given a good description of the Aldwich settlement which existed. At the present day we have the Church of "St. Clement's Dane," in the centre of the Strand, which reminds us of the Viking seafarers' saint who was much celebrated in the North (Scandinavia) where several churches still exist bearing St. Clement's name, for instance, in Aarhus, Jutland. At this church in the Strand King Knud the Great's son, Harald Harefoot, was buried, which proves that at that date many Danes had settled near their church, and to-day the little churchyard no longer exists, having some years since been converted into a part of the street. Many skeletons were re-interred on that occasion, but, unfortunately, no search or inquiry as to dates or origin was made to show to what period they dated. Tradition offers very little to go upon, except the name of this church, but such names as "Aldwych," Wych Street, and Danes' Inn, remain as vague memories of the Viking period. Nothing certain can be ascertained as to the date or cause of this settlement, but in all probability its origin was in Alfred the Great's grant to his Danish captains who obtained the right to settle here as traders, but history is absolutely silent upon this point. One may obtain a little light on this question when considering the settlements at Rochester in Kent and in Dublin, where the fuller data corresponds with London's. There is a district at Rochester, Boley Hill, which is not only distinct from the borough and town of Rochester, but is under a separate jurisdiction independent of the Mayor or the town. The oldest records show that even in Henry VI.'s time the older customs were continued, and the settlement held its own councils and made its separate proclamations under a special tree in their settlement quite independent of the city or its councillors. In Dublin there are also proofs of an early colony, here the Danes and Norsemen (Norwegians) created a district of their own east of and just outside the city, called "Stein" or "Staine," on a small point of land where the river Dodder joins the Liffey. This is the same as in the London case where on the Thames at the spot where

the Fleet joins the river a small tongue of land was also occupied as a settlement. An obelisk existed in the Dublin settlement up to the 17th century, standing in the centre of the settlement or colony as a mark or place of assembly, and in 1685 a large mound called "Thingmotha" was discovered showing that the Norsemen held their great gatherings periodically at this place, and where councils, games, law meetings, etc., were held and continued in even much later times. Many similarities exist to-day connecting the old site with the past in the case of the Strand colony, and it is known that it maintained its independence up to 1300 A.D., quite distinct from the City of London on the one side and Westminster on the other, and its central meeting-place was marked by a stone cross which stood exactly opposite Somerset House. The dues to the Crown were paid annually at this stone cross in Edward I.'s reign, when councils sat under open sky, and the dues for a piece or parcel of land were six horse shoes paid yearly at the Stone Cross, and which to-day is replaced and represented by the dues paid yearly of a similar kind by the Corporation of the City of London on the occasion of each election of a Mayor. It also appears that the settlement of "Aldwic" or "Aldwych" was wholly Danish, and was specially granted to the Danes, and that they had securely and finally settled themselves as subjects in the time of the Stuarts. There is, therefore, special reason to retain these old names in the City of London by perpetuating "Aldwych," which will recall the fact that the City's great traffic is over a former Viking settlement and site, in the midst of what is now the mightiest city in the world.

IN connection with the above, it may be interesting to place Mr. Gomme's words textually on record. He said:—

"Wych Street, particularly, was historically extremely interesting. The earliest documents alluded to a place called Aldwych, which had a wide street, practically occupying the site of the present Drury Lane. The district had its own church, its stocks and its pound; and what did that indicate? It indicated that there was a Danish settlement just outside the walls of London, which had everything complete for self-government. This view was confirmed when they came down a little later in history, because they found that in the reign of Edward I. there was a court of justice held in the Strand at a huge monolith, which stood immediately opposite the site of Somerset House. The court was held in the open air, and the only possible explanation of such an extraordinary thing was that it was carried on traditionally from a preceding state of things, and they found that this open-air court of justice existed in the Danish settlements of Dublin and Rochester. He was glad to say the name of Aldwych would be preserved, and, further, in the name of Kingsway they would record that great king in English history—Alfred. As the result of the creation of the Borough Councils, also, topographical changes had been brought about. They had lost the name of St. Olave, but had had restored to them the name of Stepney."

St. Olaf is of course disguised in Tooley Street, which quarter also contained a Danish settlement, while other remains of the Danish over-

lordship are numerous throughout London, as witness the noteworthy one of the runic gravestone in the Guildhall.

THE life-work of the late William Morris, who has done so much to familiarise the English-speaking nations with the glorious literature and legends of the North, has been the subject of study by the Reading Circle of the Polytechnic in Regent Street during the past winter. The address in the series dealing with "The Norse Sagas" was given by our Hon. Secretary. As the great poet was one of our Hon. Vice-Presidents, it was specially fitting that it should fall to a member of the Club to call attention to the splendid work he did for all lovers of the North both as a poet, as a translator in conjunction with another of our Vice-Presidents, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, of the ancient sagas, and as himself a writer of modern sagas of the olden time. Mr. Magnússon accompanied the poet on the two visits he paid to Iceland, and we extract from a letter he wrote to the Hon. Secretary in connection with the address referred to some of his reminiscences, which we are glad to put on record in the SAGA-BOOK :—

"We (William Morris and the writer) travelled together in Iceland in 1871 for seven weeks, if I remember rightly, and had a delightful time of it. We went over the districts which were the scenes of the old legislative activity of the freest people in Europe, Thingvellir; of the dramas in which the actors of *Njála* took such striking parts; the countrysides where Grettir frightened the strong and flogged the weak, where Skallagrim and Egill swayed men with sultanic power, and Helga the Fair filled woody glens and verdant water-banks with erotic romances, as well as her cousin Kiartan. We traversed the *goðorð* of Snorri and the localities of Gudrun's youthful love-conquests and old age reclusiveness; walked across the ill-famed Thrall's Scree on the outermost face of Buland's head, east of Fróðá, an almost precipitous headland with a murderously narrow bridle-path, of little over one foot in width, across. As Morris walked on my arm here the muscles of his arm bespoke the nervousness with which the dizziness of the situation affected his whole sensitive frame. And never did I see Morris more hilariously happy than when, the overhanging precipice past, he flung himself down in a grassy dell and ordered the guides to unload and bring out some refreshments.

"It was wonderful to see how deeply natural sceneries could affect him. One day, as we rode along the northern slope of Swanfirth (*Alptafjörðr*), coming round an intervening headland the head of the bay came full in view, and the whole of the water was one white sheet made up of thickly crowded together moulting swans. Never having been interfered with since the land was first discovered, in this asylum of convalescence, the beautiful birds gave no signs of fright. The whole scene was so idyllic: the water was waveless, as are the waters of all the inner inlets of Broadfirth, the slopes of the horseshoe-formed valley were green down to the foreshore, and Morris was positively entranced. And I never heard such a volley of *idiomatic* English issue from any man's mouth in my life as that which overwhelmed the sportsman of the party coming up at a gallop and crying out: 'Oh, that I now had my rifle, should I not make an execution among them.' Morris's language, you understand, is as unrepeatable as the tone of almost pitying indignation in his voice is inimitable.

"What was so delightful in Morris was the virgin freshness of his mind, and the springy responsiveness of his nature to the various phenomena which down valley or up mountain presented themselves to the view. The azure blue veil over

distant mountain views under certain atmospheric conditions was a source of great delight to his, I might say, 'colour-hungry' eye. Once in our journey he became, even for him, unusually excited with delight. We were riding, late at night, on the north-western side of Snæfellsjökul, between precipitously rising masses of conglomerate rocks and the sea, deriving no benefit from the light of the moon, just lately risen in the east. Coming past a break in the rocks cut through them by a rock-slip from the upper heights a view of the top of the Jökul was obtained, and there shone out in vivid brilliancy the moon-lit ice-peak floating on the surface, as it were, of the deep ocean of darkness at the bottom of which we were riding. The scene was so strange. We saw no moon ourselves, for she had not risen above the intervening mountains; and for aught we could tell the light might be a flame of some magic origin. Morris gazed enchanted for a long while at this unwonted phenomenon and often returned to it again in conversation.

"We, he and I, were the cooks of the expedition—our party consisted of four souls—he, of course, overcook, and I assistant. It was one of his hobbies to cook, and he would often assert that cooking was the only art he understood. Some of his ideas were certainly, as we thought, at the end of a long day's ride, very brilliant. Golden plover, stewed in sherry, milk and biscuit-dust, you may imagine brought forth at dinner enthusiastic panegyrics on the hapless pilgrim, who through the density of preraphaelitic fogs in the south had lost his career in life, but happily lived long enough to find it in the rarefied fogless atmosphere of Icelandic wildernesses. There was just one drawback to his artistic cuisinage. The poet was nervous and restless, and, while frying fish in the finest butter obtainable, would be poking his spoon at it in the pan with the result that it came all broken upon the table, *i.e.*, the lid of the box which did the service of a table on the occasion. This the 'particular' member of the party did not like. In reality the fish was all the better for it. When I volunteered one day to gratify the 'particular' member by a promise that I should do the fish to his satisfaction, and actually brought the pieces up in the nicest unbroken fashion possible, the chef de la cuisine was good-natured enough to rise, whiskey-tumbler in hand, make a chivalrous bow to the ouster, and, with the gladiatorial exclamation, '*Cestus artemque repono,*' to quaff the bumper.

"No man could enjoy more than he did to be made good-humoured fun of; naturally, for he was always making fun of himself and of everybody round; but it was so delightfully fresh and stingless. In everything he said there was the breath of nobility of soul and pureness of heart. Hastier of temper, I think, than any man I have known, the thunder was all over in a moment and the sky brighter and more smiling again than ever. Even this was to me only a lovable feature in his character. But I must close, though I could go on for a long while yet."

A SAD loss has been suffered by Northern antiquities by the total destruction of the famous church of Borgund, the most remarkable of the few wooden structures of Norway in the Middle Ages which have survived to our day. The church, says the *Times*, was plundered during the night, and afterwards set on fire and burned to the ground. None of the antiquities contained in it were saved. The church of Borgund stood as nearly as possible in the centre of Norway, on the left hand of the main road from Christiania to Bergen over Valdres. Until last generation it continued to be used for the parish. Under pressure from the antiquarian world, the Norwegian Government helped the inhabitants to build themselves another church, also of wood, so that the *stav-kirke* should be preserved as a precious treasure; at the same time some modern structures,

which stood dangerously near to it, were cleared away. It was placed under the protection of the "Society for the Preservation of Ancient Norwegian Monuments." Although it is usual to speak of Borgund as the oldest existing church of mediæval Norway, this is not strictly correct, for the latest consensus of architectural experts has decided that the curious little church of Urnes (or Oddnes), on the Lyster Fjord, is the most ancient surviving specimen of Gothic wood-building. Parts of Urnes appear to date from 1090, but comparatively little of this church remains intact, and still less of that of Vaage in the Gudbrandsdal. Neither of these is very attractive to the ordinary sightseer, while each is really too ancient to exhibit the extraordinary style at its perfection. What is called the blossoming period of the *stavbygning* lasted for a hundred years, from about 1150 to 1250, and of this period by far the best preserved and purest specimen was the church of Borgund. It is, however, an error to suppose that Norway contains no other examples of this extraordinary class of national architecture. Scattered over the surface of Norway there are eight or nine other three-naved wooden churches of the twelfth century. It is a misfortune that the church of Borgund was never moved from its place, as has several times been suggested. Twenty years ago it was represented that special means should be taken to preserve the precious relics. It was proposed that, where it was possible, the best of these churches should be removed to the enclosures of museums. In fact, in 1884, this was done in the case of three small *stav-kirker*; that of Gol in Hallingdal was shifted bodily to Christiania, that of Fortun to Bergen, and that of Holtaalen in Guldal to Trondhjem. There was thus one specimen of the ancient architecture in each of the three principal cities of Norway. It was proposed to move Borgund also, but this was a more serious business, and the priceless monument was unhappily left in place, only to be the victim of a shocking act of vandalism. The wooden churches of Norway, of which Borgund was the most exquisite example, dated from the conversion of King Olaf to Christianity, and represented the original architectural type of Scandinavia. At first they were quite simple, without interior elaboration; at the close of the eleventh century a more elaborate taste introduced the nave flanked by aisles. The form of the building preserved, to a very curious degree, its connection with that of the ancient vessels of the Viking period, and, although it was evidently derived from archaic Anglo-Saxon and Irish ecclesiastical art, it was so deeply modified by native ideas and traditions that it presented a definitely Norwegian character. It was in this that the rare value of Borgund consisted. This was a fragment, quite uninjured and almost untouched, of the heroic and fabulous history of the country; its priests had been eye-witnesses of deeds so ancient that the record of them goes back to saga and runic stave. It had no windows, only here and there round holes to let in the light. Its outer arcades, with their quaint high balustrades, its semi-circular line of apse, its fantastic gables and peaked cylindrical roofs, its corner-pieces adorned with protruding dragons' heads and carved cornices extravagantly silhouetted, produced an effect that was rather displeasing than picturesque. As one descended the Leirdal towards nightfall, along the stream that passes south-westward through a naked

treeless valley, often ravaged by landslips, and approached Husum and the turn of the great dale to the westward, it gave the traveller an almost sinister impression to see this little black church, with its quaint flounced skirts and its dragon-heads against the sky, solitary there and unexplained, a gratuitous and inconsequent relic of a civilization which had passed away before our Wars of the Roses were over.

DEATH-ROLL.

HISTORICAL and Northern studies in Norway have sustained a great loss by the death of Professor Gustav Storm, who died at the beginning of 1903. His chief works were on "Snorre and his Sources," and investigations into the discovery of North America by the Norsemen.

REVIEWS.¹

COLL AND TIRRE : Their Prehistoric Forts and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, with Notes of the Ancient Remains in the Treshnish Isles. By ERSKINE BEVERIDGE. *Edinburgh : William Brown, Princes Street. Price 25s. net.*

THIS superb book aims, as its title implies, to enumerate and investigate the origin of the various "duns," or hill forts or dwellings, and other ancient remains met with on the islands named, a district hitherto unworked by antiquaries. Brochs, from the AS. *borh* or Norse *borg*, whose building is placed between the beginning of the Christian era and the twelfth century, are excluded from review, or only incidentally mentioned or discriminated. Of course, many so-called "duns" have only a slender right to that title, but out of 69 remains of this kind which exist on these islands, nine in Coll and three in Tyree are to be regarded as unsatisfactory, while two out of the total of twelve have not been thoroughly examined. The date of the construction of the duns, it is held, ranges from the thirteenth century back to a little before the Christian era. But several appear to be of mediæval date, and one of these, on an island in Loch Caravat, is built with mortar, undoubted evidence of late construction. It is noteworthy that in some cases the naming of these forts is bilingual, showing Keltic and Norse influence, as Dun Boraige Mor and Dun Boraige Beg (big dun broch and little dun broch) and similar instances are found in Skye and Lewis (*i.e.*, Dun Borge). An important contribution to the elucidation of the builders of the earth-houses or underground dwellings is probably the citation of Eskimo or Labrador examples of like kind (the igloshuak), the smallness of the dimensions of which perfectly suit the stature of that diminutive folk. The admission of an Eskimo contribution to the early populations of these islands might afford valuable suggestions towards the solution of many knotty ethnological and other problems. An entire chapter is devoted to tracing the Norse influence on the Hebrides in general and these islands in particular, and although the material is admitted to be limited, the result is far from presenting an incomplete picture of their former active dominations. The work has been printed in a limited edition, of which only a few copies are now on sale.

F. T. N.

PLACE-NAMES OF SCOTLAND. By J. B. JOHNSTON, B.D. Second Edition. *Edinburgh : David Douglas.*

THE above is the second edition of what is a very useful work, notwithstanding several obvious defects and peculiarities. It is a compilation and attempted elucidation of Celtic, Norse, English, Roman, Norman,

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 36, Margaretta Terrace, Chelsea, S W., who will quote prices.

ecclesiastical and modern place-names found in Scotland, and when so comprehensive a subject is attempted to be treated in a single volume it is bound to disclose defects, from the sheer extent of the subject. The defect which readiest strikes the eye is the disproportionate space allotted to the Gaelic section contrasted with that of the English and Norse—wholly out of keeping with its contribution either to the population or the historical record of Scotland. This is the more remarkable, as the writer confesses Gaelic is bound to disappear. "It has," he says, "been retreating up the glens since the days of foreign [*sic*] Saxon Queen Margaret, and is destined to retreat further still, till finally, at no distant future—*e' eu, fugaces!*—it must give up the ghost, even as Cornish has already done." That this fact should not have had its effect in inducing a more liberal treatment of the names of the preponderating Anglian, Saxon and Norse populations, which have made Scotland what it has been and is, is sufficiently remarkable. The conquests by the Anglian kingdoms of Northumbria and Deira of Galloway up to the Clyde, and of the east coast up to the Firth and beyond, in the sixth century and onwards, and the Norse conquests of the same districts right up to the Solway Firth, and from Caithness, Sutherlandshire, Argyllshire, southward and westward, must have left many traces which are now possibly obscured by Celtic overlays or modern substitutions, and of these remains the work offers little information. Even where explanations of Norse or Anglian names are attempted, the results are in many cases singularly lame. Two instances, taken at random, may be cited:—

"WANLOCK WATER and WANLOCKHEAD (Sanquhar). Can this mean 'stream like a woman's ringlet,' or 'curl'? (O.E. *locc*, Icel. *lokk-r*). Cf. WANDEL. To the east lies Midlock Water."

"VIDLEN (Shetland). Icel. *vid-r*, Dan. and Sw. *vid*, 'wide'; *-lin* may be N. *lund*, 'a grove,' or *lan*, 'sheltered.'"

That a place-name could be formed of two adjectives, "wide" and "sheltered," as suggested in the latter case, or that serious Norsemen or Anglo-Saxons could perpetrate such a name as "stream like a woman's curl," are too grotesque for anything. The attempted derivations of the Gaelic names require the revision of a competent Gaelic scholar. Notwithstanding its obvious defects, the work presents, however, much valuable material, especially for re-elucidation, and the author has also been at the pains in numerous cases to cite old documents in support of his renderings. Moreover, many contributors have seconded his efforts, the Norse section in particular, showing, in parts, the labour of a writer fairly abreast with his subject. The work extends to 419 pages, of which the alphabetical list comprises 303 pages, which is evidence of the extent of treatment of the subject. There is also a supplementary short index.

F. T. N.

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH. By ERIK BJÖRKMAN.
Halle-am-Soale: Max Niemeyer.

THE influence of Scandinavian on the English language during the last centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule has never been adequately treated until now

in a full and scientific treatise by the above author. We still require a book which deals with the whole subject—the influence of the Northern branches of the Teutonic race on their brothers of the South. It is a difficult question; where we have a family likeness it is hard to distinguish between inherited traits and the resemblances which come through association. But it is a question of supreme importance and interest. It is not merely the old ties of common origin and a common language and mythology which draw us to our Northern neighbours, but it is the bond renewed in the Middle Ages which has established a spirit of sympathy and swift comprehension between us and them. Is it due to this renewal of our kinship that a spirit of freedom and enterprise, prompt action and clearness of aim, has shown itself in our history and is felt in our language? The history of the invasions of the Northmen is told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles; in the brilliant accounts of Snorri, and in occasional incidents, in the Icelandic Sagas. It falls into three periods. The first commencing in 787, when the hated warships of the Vikings, with their square-rigged sails, were spied by the subjects of King Offa. They were from Hordaland, in Norway, only three in number, but more were to come. Renewed attacks followed, sometimes with long intervals between, till in 865-70 the Scandinavians had conquered Northumbria, East Anglia, and the seven Danish Boroughs. They had now come to settle, and the second period had begun. This is occupied with the wars of Ælfred and Æthelred; the treaty of Wedmore, by which East Anglia and parts of Mercia were resigned to the Danes; and with the brief supremacy of Wessex under Edward and his successors over the whole country and its English and Scandinavian inhabitants. The third period lasts from the first invasion of Swegen in 991 till the Norman Conquest, after which we hear little of the Danes in England as a separate race. This history may be told in another fashion by its effects on our English language. As at first between conquered and conquerors there was only bitter hatred and disunion, so the Northern language shows itself as a foreign idiom. In old English times only about 150 words were borrowed, and these indicate relations of enmity. Thus *lið*, meaning fleet, *rán* or plunder, *barða*, a beaked ship, are associated with the Danes. Later on the borrowings suggest more peaceful intercourse and a more intimate blending of the languages; *þegen*, thence; *þegg*, they, are words of every-day use. Scandinavian proper names, such as Hakon, Harold, Swegen, show that intermarriage had taken place; indeed, this was bound to follow settlement. But it was naturally some time after the period when warfare had ceased that the true blending of the languages was begun. During early days, of which the surviving literature is mainly West Saxon and Southern, the dialects least influenced by Scandinavian, the evidence is hard to trace. For these reasons the Author has chosen the period of Middle English, after 1150, as offering the best material for the study of Scandinavian influence. It is a period when the speeches were amalgamated, but had not become merged as in modern times. The influence of Old Norse has affected English in several ways. Doubtless one of the greatest, but the most difficult to trace, was on the

grammatical structure. Two nations who speak related languages would find that they understood each other more easily if they discarded inflectional syllables and spoke to each other in the language of common roots. Hence, probably the rapid decay of inflection in the Northern counties compared with a much slower progress in the South. There are few words which show grammatical inflections borrowed from Old Norse. M.E. *hager* = "apt" shows the old nom. ending $r < R < z$, which is preserved in O.N. *hagr*. "Scant," "thwart." "wight" = nimble, keep the neuter adjectival ending *t*. Influence on the vocabulary is very strong, and of a varying nature. We may have an Old Norse word translated into its Old English equivalent. as *hēafdesman* = "chieftain," O.N. *höfuðsmaðr*; O.E. *hāmsōkn* = "an attack," O.N. *heimsókn*; O.E. *rēdesman* = "counsellor," O.N. *ráðamaðr*. Sometimes the borrowed words are peculiar to Old Norse. N.E. *taken*, *rugged*, *husting* = "an assembly," O.N. *húsping*; O.E. *husbonda*, O.N. *húsboði* = "house master." A native word is sometimes replaced by its foreign equivalent: M.E. *Odin* for native "Woden," M.E. *Thuresdag* for O.E. *Thunresdag*. This brings us to the most important part of the book—the tests by which we may recognise Scandinavian loan words. The best criterion is in the phonetic changes which each language has undergone from primitive Teutonic times. The sound *au* became in O.E. *ēa*, which developed into M.E. *ē*; in O.N. the diphthong remained: hence we know that M.E. *loupen* = "leap," *gowk* = "a cuckoo," *raup* = "red," are to be derived not from O.E. *hlēapau*, *gēac*, *rēad*, but from O.N. *hlaupa*, *gaukr*, *rauðr*. *K* and *sk* became palatal before palatal vowels, and were pronounced *tch*, *sh*, in M.E., so that "kettle," "kirk" (compare "church"), "sky," "skin," "scatter" (compare "shatter"), "bask," are Scandinavian forms. Another interesting point is discussed. From what parts of the North did these invaders come? By the English chroniclers they are all alike called Danes, but we know well from Scandinavian sources that many exiles and adventurers from Norway and Iceland came to seek the "islands of the Westmen." Until the beginning of the Viking period in 700 the North Teutonic branch formed one people; after that begin differences of dialect and habitation. The East Scandinavians occupied Sweden, Denmark, the Faroe Isles, and colonies in Finland and Russia. The West Scandinavians settled in Norway, Iceland, the Orkneys, and Shetland. Various small differences in pronunciation have crept into English, and show that the Vikings were not all Danes. M.E. *bole* = a "bull" comes from W. Scand. *boli*, not E. Scand. *bul*: *clet* = a "rock" from W. Scand. *klettr*, not E. Scand. *klinter*. With the last word, however, compare Scotch *clent*, the E. Scand. form. As far as we can judge, the Danes settled in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, while the Norwegians showed preference for the lands beyond the Humber and the North Western counties. The method pursued in this book is quite admirable. The appreciation of difficulties and the careful separation of indisputable and doubtful words make us rely on the author.

O. B.

NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY. By Professor D. F. KAUFFMANN. Translated by M. STEELE SMITH. *London: J. M. Dent & Co.* 1s.

THIS little book, in the compass of barely a hundred pages, gives a full and comprehensive outline of what we know of the worship and mythology of our forefathers, as practised among the various kindred nations into which the race was divided, whether on the mainland of Europe, or in these islands, or by the wild Northern seas. The work is, of course, based mainly upon Grimm's "Teutonic Mythology," with such additions as the labours and discoveries of later years require, and we have discovered no omissions of any importance in it. As well as is possible in the space he allows himself, the author points out the necessity of distinguishing between the beliefs and worship of the people, so far as we can gather them from records handed down to us almost entirely by those who were believers no longer, and the myths and stories of the gods, preserved by the singers and saga-tellers of Scandinavia, which form to us the most precious relics of the faith our fathers held. In his section on "The Worship of the Gods" he has gathered together what little is known of the rites of the temples, with their sacrifices and oracles, while the volume opens with a useful sketch of the introduction of Christianity among the various tribes that had followed the faith of Odin and the Æsir. The account of the various gods whose record has reached us, with the legends attaching to them, occupies the greater part of the book. We cannot, however, accept the author's conclusion in his section on "The Number of the Gods," which is as follows:—

"In Germany we have a record, dating from the time immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity, of the three ancient gods under the names Woden, Thuner, and Saxnot; they are the heathen idols to be renounced by the convert at baptism. Assuredly the formula of renunciation would have included other gods if such had existed among the people. It seems that only the three ancient gods were essential to the faith of the heathen Teutons, and that to them alone were worship and sacrifice offered; it cannot, however, now be determined under what name a particular god was worshipped by a particular tribe."

Clearly, we think, in the "Abrenuntiatio" alluded to the three gods mentioned stand for all the others. They were doubtless the most important, and we may observe that in the actual formula Thuner stands first and Woden second; but the supposition that such a formula must have included every known god seems to us absurd, and we think that the existence of other worshipped gods is certainly not negated by the use of this formula. That a triad of gods should be named is only what we should expect from the occurrence of similar instances elsewhere, as in the oath-formula in Iceland: "So help me Frey, Niord, and the Almighty As"; or the remarkable incantation which the Rev. R. M. Heanley found in use in Lincolnshire in 1858 or 1859, which, beginning with the Christian Trinity, ends up with an invocation to God, Wod, and Lok.¹ Temples also seem to have been frequently dedicated to a triad of divinities, as the temple at Upsala, described by Adam of Bremen as containing images of Thor, Woden, and Frey. The extent to which actual worship was offered

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part i., p. 53.

to the various gods recognised undoubtedly differed at different times and places and with different individuals, but to our mind there can be no doubt that its range was wider than Professor Kauffmann allows.

A. F. M.

GISLI SÚRSSON: A DRAMA. Ballads and Poems of the old Norse Days, and some Translations. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY, with a Preface by F. YORK POWELL, Reg. Prof. Mod. Hist., Oxford. *Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.*

THE receipt of a translation into Icelandic of Miss Beatrice Barmby's play, founded on the Saga of Gisli, has served to remind us that, when the original appeared in 1900, we had not started these reviews in the *SAGA-BOOK*, and have consequently never noticed the volume. We are glad to take this opportunity of repairing the omission, though we hope there are not many of our members who are unacquainted with Miss Barmby's poems. Those at any rate who were present in January, 1903, when a reading of her play, with musical illustrations, was given at one of the meetings of the Viking Club, can hardly have failed to perceive in it a drama of great power and beauty, though we are conscious how greatly it suffered by the process of compression into the compass of an hour and by the absence of any accessories. The excision of the weird, poetic soliloquy that occupies Act iii. Scene ii. of the play was especially to be regretted, both for its own sake and for its importance with regard to the Saga, typifying as it seems to us the mystical, poetic strain in Gisli's nature as there depicted. Whether the play will ever find its way to the stage is doubtful. It is most dramatic, and any actor or actress might be proud to undertake the representation of the leading characters. But in spite of Professor York Powell's opinion that it "was meant for acting, and is evidentlyactable," we doubt whether the central scene of the slaying of Thorgrim could be represented on the stage, and the scenes would require much skilful rearrangement to adapt them to the modern stage, though not more so than the plays of Shakespeare. But we should much like to see the experiment tried. In the hands of a capable manager it might prove a great success. It is certainly a striking proof of the success of the play, as a dramatisation of a Saga, that a modern Icelandic playwright should have translated it. There could be no better evidence of Miss Barmby's skill and success in handling the Saga. Of the other poems in the volume founded on Icelandic themes, the ballads have the true ballad ring, and the author was evidently as well versed in the old ballad minstrelsy of the English and Scotch Border as in the Icelandic Sagas, that in many ways are akin to those ballads, and deal with a period that has much in common with the wild moss-trooping days. Not less to be commended are the translations from the old Norse, which will give some flavour of the originals to those who cannot read them for themselves. This volume is certainly one which all who love the old Norse life and literature should make a point of possessing.

A. F. M.

GISLI SÚRSSON. Sjónarleikur : einnig nokkur kvæði. Höfundur : BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. MATTHIAS JOCHUMSSON, islenzkaði. Utgefendur : MABEL BARMBY og M. JOCHUMSSON. *Akureyri* : 1903. Gisli Súrsson. A Drama : also some Poems. Authoress : B. H. BARMBY. Translator : M. JOCHUMSSON. Editors : MABEL BARMBY & M. JOCHUMSSON.

No greater honour could be rendered to this drama in the land where its scene was laid than this translation by the poet, who is easily *facile princeps* of living Icelandic authors. In an interesting preface the translator has given some slight hints of the great difficulties to be overcome in turning English blank verse into Icelandic prose, and how admiration for a dramatic masterpiece that might serve as a model for his countrymen in similar work impelled him to his self-imposed task. He could not with the best will in the world write in the perfect prose of the twelfth and thirteenth century, nor could he use modern Icelandic prose. He therefore decided to let the dramatis personæ speak as nearly as he dared in the language of their own time, keeping in mind all the time the necessity of being understood by the Icelanders of the twentieth century. It would be too much to say that he has threaded his way between Scylla and Charybdis successfully everywhere, but, on the whole, his translation reads so well that it has found favour with modern readers. It was no doubt inevitable that something of the evanescent spirit of poetry should vanish in the process of rendering verse by prose, even when done by a poet. On the other hand, the play may have gained by the strong and virile Saga prose of the translator, as the authoress herself seemed to think. Mr. Jochumsson gives a short sketch of her life and some quotations as a sample of the high praise accorded to this work, so fresh and new of its kind, in the most authoritative quarters. In a beautiful sonnet he welcomes her to his own country, to inspire his countrymen to new deeds, as her Florentine namesake inspired the greatest of Italians. The great names of Iceland, Sturla, Egil Skallagrimsson, Ari the Wise, do homage to her. Mr. Jochumsson has also printed an Icelandic version of an unfinished sonnet, "To Iceland," by the authoress, the last six lines of which were added by her sister, Miss Mabel Barmby, and a translation of three of her ballads. That of "Bolli and Gudrun" is an excellent rendering of the terse and pregnant lines of the original. Mr. Jochumsson hopes that other Sagas may be dramatised in due course. "Sword and Crozier," by Indriði Einarsson, based on the Sturlunga Saga, has followed closely on the heels of "Gisli," and it is a drama easier to stage than its predecessor. Perhaps a whole school of historical dramatists may spring up from these beginnings, and then the Sagas will begin to take their due place in literature.

J. S.

POEMS. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. *Westminster : Archibald Constable & Co.*

THIS volume of miscellaneous poems, selected from the manuscripts left by Miss Barmby, contains some echoes from her studies in Northern literature, though all her important original work in this line was

given to the world in the volume noticed above. The translation of *Þrymskviða*, which appears on page 454 of this number of the *SAGA-BOOK*, should also have appeared in that volume, but was not quite completed. With it should be compared "Thord of Haffsgaard" in the volume under review, translated from a Danish ballad of the sixteenth century. This is a rendering of the Icelandic Lay, in which the actors are reduced from their divine proportions to an earthly scale, and all the incidents of the myth undergo a similar process of belittling. Other poems of interest are translations from the modern Icelandic and Swedish and the section called "Ballads and Romances," containing poems founded on the cycle of Dietrich of Bern. There is much of beauty and interest in Miss Barmby's miscellaneous poems also, but we must not linger over these.

A. F. M.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH NATION. By the VENERABLE BEDE. *London: Dent & Co. Price 1s. 6d.*

THE ecclesiastical history of Bede is known to the student, especially of church lore, but it is not so generally read as it deserves to be by the ordinary reader or those interested in special branches of historical research. For many matters concerning the history of the Anglo-Saxon, the British, Pictish and Irish nations, it is, however, our only source, and for social details of the period it is a perfect storehouse to the patient investigator. Messrs. Dent & Co. have done a service therefore in placing a cheap edition of this work, as also of the *Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, at the disposition of the general reader. The work is lacking of an index.

F. T. N.

EDMONSTON'S FLORA OF SHETLAND: Comprehending a List of the prevalent Wild-flowers, Horse-tails, Club-mosses, and Ferns of the Shetland Isles. Second Edition. Natural classification. Edited and revised by C. F. ARGYLL-SAXBY, F.S.Sc.Lond., with a Biographical Sketch of the Life of Thomas Edmonston, by Mrs. J. N. E. SAXBY. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. Price 2s.

THE above is a revision of the well-known work of Edmonston's of the common wild-flowers of Shetland carried out on the lines of their natural classification, and will prove valuable to all interested in the treecraft of the British Isles. The work is the outcome of the labours of a son of one of our Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. N. E. Saxby, who has herself collaborated in its production, and sympathy will be extended to the author because of the breakdown of his health resulting from overdevotion to his task. Although his first literary venture, the author has carried out his work well, and Shetlanders in particular owe to him a debt of gratitude.

F. T. N.

POPULAR TALES FROM THE NORSE. By SIR GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L., etc. New Edition, with a Memoir by ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT. *Edinburgh: David Douglas.*

THE value of this work is too well known to render any lengthy notice of it necessary in these pages. There is ample room for a new edition, as it is now some fifteen years since the last appeared. The memoir of the author by his son adds to the value and interest of the book, which many of our readers will doubtless be glad to possess.

A. F. M.

THE STORY OF THE LAXDALERS. Done into English by ROBERT PROCTOR. *London: Charles Whittingham & Co.*

SINCE its publication this work has acquired a melancholy interest by reason of the untimely death of its author, who was lost while climbing alone among the Alps in August last. Like many a Viking wanderer in the days of old, no man knows how he perished, or where his body lies. May the snows rest lightly upon him! In our last number we had also to review a translation of the "Laxdæla Saga" by Mrs. M. A. C. Press, and we could wish that students would rather turn their attention to Sagas not yet translated, than vie with each other in offering us rival versions. The field of the untranslated Sagas is wide enough, but we hope it may some day be the work of the Viking Club to cover it systematically. As in the version we noticed last year so in this translation, we have to lament the absence of an account of the Saga and its literary history and of any index of any kind. These omissions are the more surprising, as the translation is produced with every sign of care. On the other hand, it includes the interesting "Tale of Bolli," which was omitted by Mrs. Press, and is well worth including with the Saga, to which it forms an adjunct. As regards the translation itself, we fear it will not do much to remove the prejudice against Sagas among the general reader. Mr. Proctor has studied in the school of William Morris, and has as far as possible Englished the Icelandic idioms in phrases as closely akin as the language will allow. The result is no doubt very near the original, and to some of us not unpleasing, but we think that, as in the case of William Morris's later translations, the effort after antique simplicity is overdone, and, however faithful it may be, not many will find it readable. Of the two we think Mrs. Press's version will be generally preferred, though Mr. Proctor's is the more scholarly and accurate, and is a better representation of the Saga.

A. F. M.

ROSSLYN'S RAID AND OTHER TALES. By BEATRICE HELEN BARMBY. *London: Duckworth & Co. 1s. 6d.*

THIS volume of short stories by the authoress of "Gisli Súrsson" shows her genius in a new light, and increases our regret at the too early death of a writer of such brilliant promise. The tales in it, three in number, show how versatile was her talent. The first, which gives its name to the book, is a spirited story of the Scottish Border in the days of Queen

Elizabeth, and shows that the writer must have steeped herself in Border literature. The second is a brilliant study of the life of the ancient Chaldæa and Assyria. The atmosphere of the far-away place and time is reproduced with a vividness that is almost startling. The third is a story of Iceland in days later than the Saga-time, when in the popular imagination the wild interior wastes were the haunt of outlaws, whose hands were against all men, and who had few of the human features remaining that appear in the great outlaws of the earlier historic time. Many such tales are to be found in Icelandic folklore. They are interesting as showing how the older Sagas suffered a degradation on the lips of popular story-tellers, though doubtless there was also an element of truth in them. As Grettir and Gisli, when outlawed, took to the wastes and waged war upon their foes, so in later days of smaller men, those who had sinned against the law found a refuge in the wild places of the land, and continued to prey upon the society that had driven them out. In all these tales Miss Barmby shows that in spirit at any rate she was a true daughter of the Vikings. They are told with a vigour and virility that is remarkable, and the details of the fighting, especially in "Rosslyn's Raid," are not only realistic, but ring true.

A. F. M.

CHILDREN OF ODIN. By E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A. *London: Horace Marshall & Son.* 1s.

THIS little volume is the fourth of a series of "Romance Readers" appearing under the editorship of Miss C. L. Thompson, designed, as we learn from the preface, to provide children in all grades of schools with simple reading books, which shall also be an introduction to the great literatures of the world. The number before us, containing a varied selection of stories from the Norse mythology, tales from the Icelandic Sagas, samples of folklore, etc., etc., is well designed to awaken an interest in Northern literature, though the number of folk and fairy tales in the volume is, we think, unduly large, and a few more tales from the Icelandic Sagas might have been substituted for some of these. We would also suggest to the editor that a reference to the authorities for the various readings would be of the greatest value to teachers, or students, whose interest is kindled sufficiently to make them desirous of drinking more deeply of the literature they are here invited merely to taste of. The author's introductory sketch of the pre-history of the North is well adapted for children, though we are sorry he should fall into the ancient error of representing all races that were unacquainted with Roman civilization as "savages"; and he might, in a book written primarily for English children, have enforced the lesson that we are never tired of teaching, that the dwellers in these islands have for the most part as much right to call themselves children of Odin as the dwellers in the Scandinavian lands. The attempt to give an idea of the proper pronunciation of old Norse names is on the whole successfully carried out, but we cannot understand why, in a language which has preserved the ancient sounds of *th*, *T* should be substituted for the former sound in such words as *Thrym*, *Thrudvang*, *Thjassi*, which are here written *Trym*, *Trudvang*,

Tjasse respectively. The book is copiously illustrated, but we cannot regard this as a merit, for the artist, whose name is not given, has evidently little acquaintance with Northern literature, and has read the letterpress very hurriedly and carelessly. Possibly children, who are not Norse scholars, may be imposed upon by the beardless striplings who stand for Thor of the red beard, and the Sea-king Ragnar Lodbrog at the date of his wooing of Aslaug; but even they will decline to accept the scrubby little handmaiden on page 49 as the giant maiden Gerd, who "shone with so much beauty that the whole world was made light"; while sharp children will doubtless wonder why a fairy prince, described in the story as having a son seven years old, should be pictured on page 155 as a boy of fourteen or fifteen. But such blemishes detract little from the real value of the book, which we hope our readers will do their best to recommend, as an excellent way of inducing children to enter on the paths we would have them tread.

A. F. M.

THE GRAND DUCHY OF FINLAND. By the Author of "A Visit to the Russians in Central Asia." *London: T. Fisher Unwin.*

It is difficult to classify this book. It is neither history, nor a descriptive account of the country, nor a guide-book, though it partakes of the nature of all three. The opening statement that it was "in substance read at a meeting of a literary society" may partly explain this, though it would have been well if the author had revised and rearranged it before giving it the dignity of a separate publication. The sketch of the early history of the Northern lands and of the religion of the Scandinavian races is decidedly crude. We should like to know the writer's authority for the statement that the myth of Balder is a Finnish story. The book, however, may serve to give the reader some idea of the leading incidents in the history of Finland, and will not lessen the indignation with which every lover of Northern liberty watches the spectacle of Finnish freedom slowly ground down to the dust under the yoke of Muscovite tyranny.

A. F. M.

THE TREASURE OF DON ANDRES. A Shetland Romance of the Spanish Armada. By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. *Lerwick: Thomas Mathewson. 6s.*

This is a story of adventure on the Spanish Main, which centres round the historical fact that in the wild flight of the relics of the defeated Armada a Spanish galleon was wrecked upon Fair Island. The author has plenty of imagination, but lacks the art of telling his tale convincingly.

A. F. M.

SOME SHETLAND FOLK. First Group. By J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A. *Lerwick: Thomas Mathewson. 1s. 6d.*

MR. HALDANE BURGESS succeeds better with his sketches of modern Shetland life and character than with his mediæval romance. His "Shetland Folk" will be specially interesting to natives of the "Old Rock."

A. F. M.

LAUDER AND LAUDERDALE. By A. THOMSON, F.S.A.Scot. *Galashiels : Craighead Brothers, Ladhope Vale.*

THIS work is an eminently disappointing one. Ostensibly a thoughtful and scholarly history of an interesting district of lowland Scotland, it is, in actuality, a farrago of wild nonsense. The author goes back to the earliest times, and in a certain piecemeal fashion makes his history up to the present, but a specimen of his method and matter at the outset is shown by his description of the first Kelts of Scotland as migrants from Central Germany, "a tall, fair race, with yellow hair and blue eyes." On the other hand, in the words of the author, "centuries passed before the Teuton, with low stature, long head, and dark eyes, interfered with the native breed, and sent forth a posterity of 'developed mongrels' [*sic*], of whom some remain to the present the passive representatives and type." He then goes on to say: "Even to the end of the *tenth* century all Scotland might be said to be purely Celtic." After these two quotations, it will be seen that it is impossible to take the author as either a serious student or a competent observer. A great part of the book is taken up with biographical notices, interspersed with gossipy paragraphs on various matters which may prove of interest to a certain class of readers not addicted to critical literature. The book is well printed, and has numerous illustrations.

F. T. N.

KAREN, a Swedish Idyll. By FRANCES HARIOTT WOOD. *London : James Blackwood & Co.*

THIS is a pretty little story of Swedish peasant life in the neighbourhood of the great copper mines of Falun seventy years ago. Old Swedish customs and superstitions, legends and folklore, play a great part in the story, though we fancy the authoress is responsible for some of the stories introduced. "The Stockholm Candle" is quite in the spirit of Hans Andersen. The book is worth perusal, though the story is slight, for the writer has evidently made a careful study both of the life she depicts and of the legendary lore interwoven with the story, and her reproduction of them is both faithful and natural.

A. F. M.

RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR REVIEW.

THE GODS ARE JUST. By the late Miss Beatrice Helen Barmby. *London : Duckworth & Co. 6s.*

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By Gilbert Goudie. *Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons.*

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SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH.

THE CLUB is founded as a Society for all interested in the North and its literature and antiquities.

The Subscription is 10/- a year, and the Entrance Fee 11/-, or £10 for Life Membership. The *Saga-Book (Proceedings)* and occasional extra publications are issued gratis to Members.

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

TO 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 Club.

ENLISTING NEW MEMBERS.—The working expenses of the Club 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 requested to introduce new Members, and to forward the names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Club to the Assistant Secretary, J. Relf, 28, Pitcairn Road, Mitcham, Surrey.

The proposed means by which the Club aims at promoting its objects are, briefly, by :—

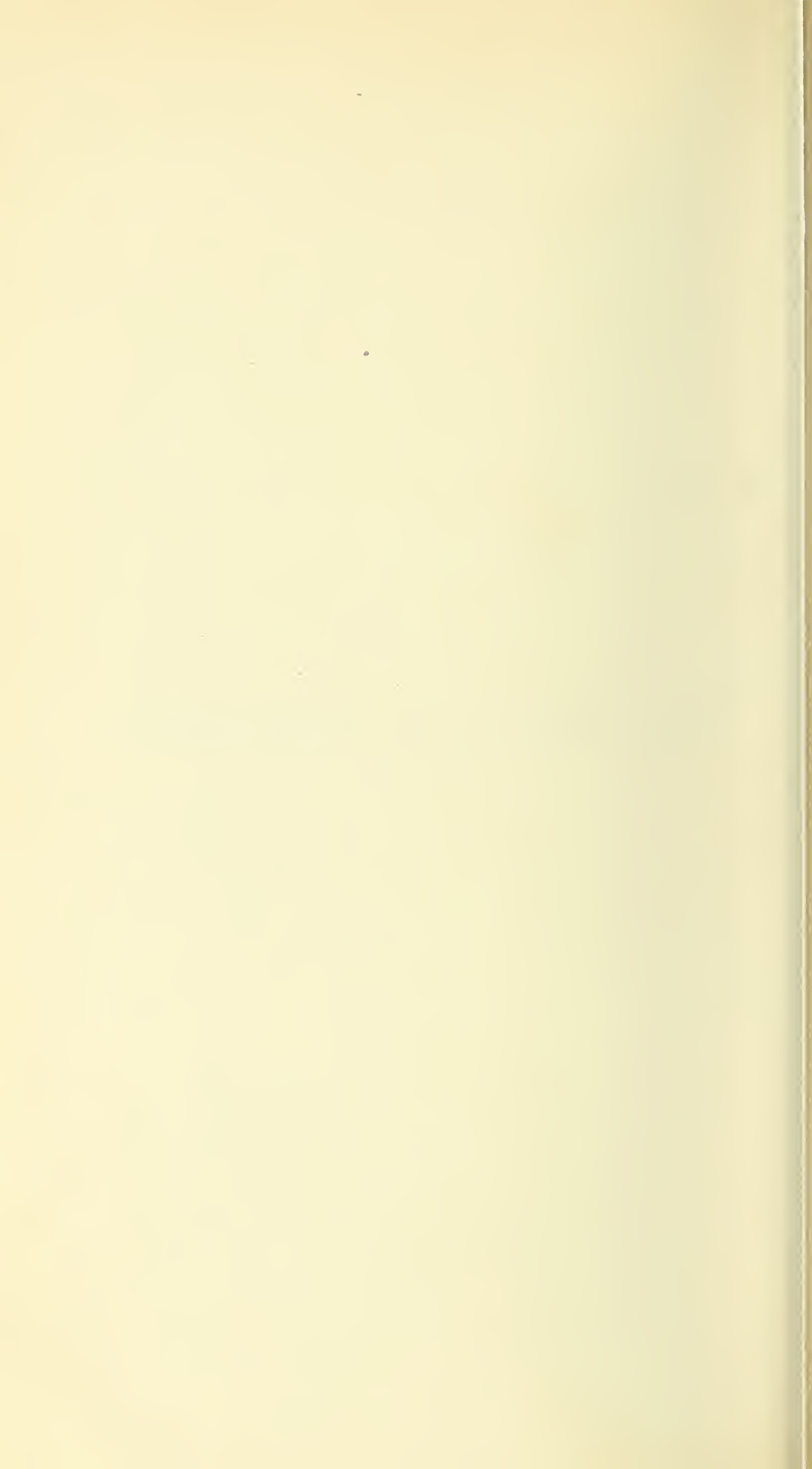
- (1) Meetings for the discussion of Papers on Northern history, literature, music, art, archæology, language, folklore, and anthropology ;
- (2) Publication of the *Proceedings*, the *Saga-Book* of the Club ;
- (3) Formation of a Library of Books, MSS., maps, etc., relating to Northern History and Antiquities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

Meetings are held from November to April, in the King's Weigh House Rooms, Thomas Street, Grosvenor Square, W. The Annual Dinner takes place in June, and occasional summer visits are made to places of Northern interest.



Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. IV.



Saga=Book

OF THE

Viking Club,

OR

SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

FOUNDED IN 1892 AS

THE ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

VOL. IV.

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FROM
JANUARY, 1904, TO DECEMBER, 1905, REPRINTS OF
PAPERS, REPORTS OF DISTRICT
SECRETARIES, Etc.



LONDON :

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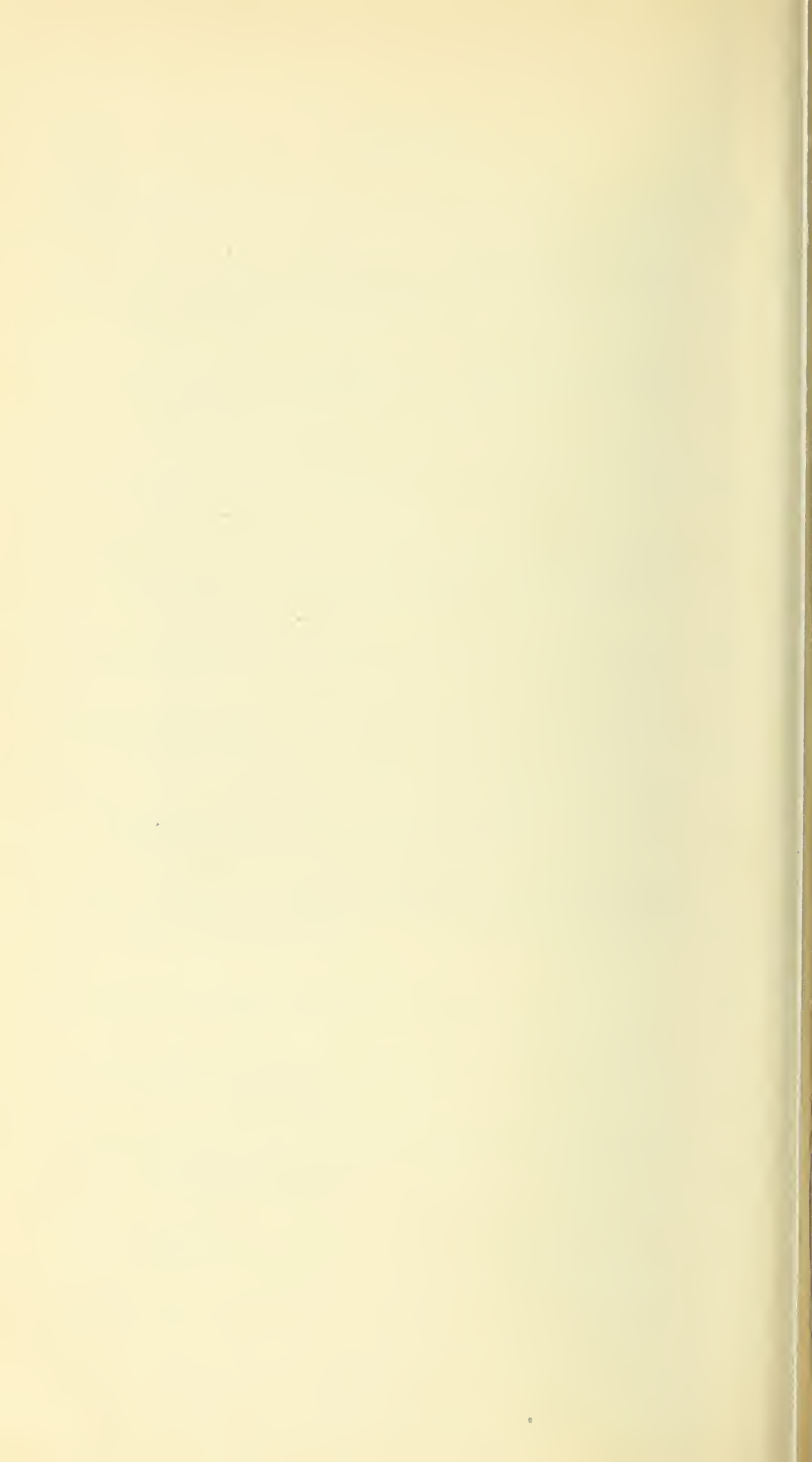
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ERRATA.

Page 23, line 11. For "Nicholson" *read* "Nicolson."

Page 127, line 14. For "1851" *read* "851."

Pages 147 and 148, lines 20 and 9. For "Colly" *read* "Colley."

Page 151. Add the following at the foot of the page after "over-"—

"lap, when the symbols of the Norse mythology were "

Page 153, line 1. For "harmonized" *read* "homologized."

Pages 155, 156 lines 33, 35, and 1. For "Hatton's Cross" *read* "Halton Cross."

Page 252, line 18. For "Haken" *read* "Hakon."

Page 252, line 20. For "of Halogaland" *read* "or Halogaland."

SAGA-BOOK
OF THE
VIKING CLUB.



LONDON :
PRINTED FOR THE VIKING CLUB.

THE AUTHOR.

- "A Ramble round Thetford." Reprinted from *The Antiquary*.
 "Portuguese Parallels to the Clydeside Discoveries, 1903." Reprinted from the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1904.
 "Extracts from the oldest Registers of the Parish of Syderstone, Norfolk." Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society*.
 By the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.

OTHER ADDITIONS.

- "Singoalla. A Mediæval Legend." By Viktor Rydberg. Translated from the Swedish by Josef Fredbärj. (The Walter Scott Publishing Company.)
 "Scottish Fairy and Folk Tales." Edited by Sir George Douglas, Bart. (The Walter Scott Publishing Company.)
 "The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America." By Francis E. Sandbach, B.A., Ph.D. (David Nutt.)
 "Traces of the Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man." By P. M. C. Kermodé, F.S.A.Scot. (Bemrose & Sons.)
 "English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times." By J. F. Payne, M.D. (Clarendon Press.)
 "The Annals of Scottish Natural History." April, 1904.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[The Hon. Editors will be glad if Vikings generally will help to make the Bibliography as complete as possible by sending word of any books or articles in local newspapers, magazines, etc., suitable for notice, or forwarding cuttings of the same. Communications should be addressed to Albany F. Major, "Bifrøst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon.]

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A.:—

- "A Prince of Cornwall: A Story of Glastonbury and the West in the Days of Ina of Wessex." Warne.

By P. M. C. KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot.:—

- "Traces of the Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man." Bemrose.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.:—

- "King William the Wanderer: An old British Saga from old French Versions." Brown, Langham & Co.

- "A Hebridean Pilgrimage." Article in *The Reliquary*, October, 1904.

By ALEXANDER BUGGE:—

- "Vikingerne: Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." *Kjøbenhavn-Kristiania*.

By REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.:—

"Tree and Pillar Worship." Article in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, 1903.

"A Ramble round Thetford." Article in *The Antiquary*, 1903.

By JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D.:—

"Jónas Hallgrímsson et ses Travaux Zoologiques." Paris.

"Tilraunin Danakonunga til að selja Ísland." Article in *Tímarit hins Íslenska Bókmenntafélags*.

"The Constitutional Struggle in Iceland." Articles in *Verdens Gang*, Christiania; *Aftonbladet*, Stockholm; *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin; and *The Times*, London.

FORTHCOMING.

By Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.A.:—

"A King's Comrade." A story with the martyrdom of Ethelbert of East Anglia by Offa's Queen, Cynethryth, as the central incident, and also introducing the first landing of Vikings in England.

Edited by ALBANY F. MAJOR and E. E. SPEIGHT, F.R.G.S.:—

"Stories from the Northern Sagas." Revised and enlarged edition, with illustrations by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., and R. Morton Nance.

By JÓN STEFÁNSSON, Ph.D.:—

"Scandinavian Britain."

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

"The Nibelungenlied and Gudrun in England and America." By Francis E. Sandbach, B.A., Ph.D. (David Nutt.)

"English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times." By Joseph Frank Payne, M.D.Oxon. (Clarendon Press)

"Landnám i Norge: en Utsigt over Bosætningens Historie." By Dr. Andr. M. Hansen. Kristiania.

"La Saga de Fridthjof le Fort traduite de l'ancien Islandais. Précédée d'une Étude sur la Saga de Fridthjof et accompagnée d'un Commentaire et d'une Notice sur les *Rimur*." By Félix Wagner, Docteur en Philologie Germanique. Louvain.

Articles by GUDMUND SCHÜRTE:—

"Über die alte politische Geographie der nicht-klassischen Völker Europas" in *Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach und Altertumskunde*, 1903. Strassburg.

"Anganty-Kvadets Geografi" in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 1904. Lund.

"Om Racenavnet og Racetanken" in *Norden*, 1904. Copenhagen.

Articles by

Miss B. S. PHILPOTTS on "Surt," and by
KNUT STJERNA on "Vendel och Vendelkråka"
in *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 1904. Lund.

*SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.**From Honorary Members—*

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REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

TWELFTH SESSION, 1904.

MEETING, JANUARY 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his inaugural address on "Research," which is printed on another page. The address was followed by a conversazione, at which Mr. E. Swain showed some Norwegian woven work and carvings, and various members and friends played and sang.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 12TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L., on "Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation," was read, and is reproduced in this issue, together with the discussion thereon.

A paper by the Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S., on "The Place-Name Wetwang," was also read, and is included in this number.

MEETING, MARCH 11TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A paper by Mr. E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S., on "Traces of Danish Conquest and Settlement in Cambridgeshire," was read.

A paper by Mr. M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A., Scot., on "Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney," was also read.

Both papers, with the discussion upon them, are printed in this number.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 15TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 15th, 1904, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1904 were presented to the meeting and unanimously adopted, and are printed on pages 12-17. The Officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

Dr. J. Lawrence then read Part II. of his paper on "Metres in the Sæmundar Edda," which was followed by a discussion, in which the following took part: Messrs. G. M. Atkinson, A. F. Major, J. P. Emslie, the President and the Lecturer.

The complete paper is unavoidably held over till the next SAGA-BOOK.

ANNUAL DINNER, APRIL 18TH.

The Annual Dinner was held at the Inns of Court Hotel on Monday, 18th April, 1904, at 7-30 p.m., the following being present:—Dr. J. G. Garson, President, in chair; Vice-Chairmen, Messrs. G. M. Atkinson and E. M. Warburg, Vice-Presidents; the Lady Abinger and Friend, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., and Mrs. Wason, Mrs. Garson, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, Mr. G. Goudie, Vice-President, Miss Müller, Miss Leslie, Mr. and Miss Rücker, Mr. A. W. Johnston, Mr. Leveson Scarth and Miss Scarth, Mr. Ingram Moar, Mr. Alfred Noyes, the Hon. Mrs. Randolph Clay, Dr. and Mrs. Pernet, Mr. Otto Hagborg, Mrs. and Miss Warburg, Mrs. Atkinson, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, Mr. Brækstad, Vice-President, and Mrs. Brækstad, Miss Olive Bray, Mr. and Mrs. Major, Miss Ragnhild Lunde, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. E. Sloper, Dr. Laughton, Miss M. Hodgson, Mr. F. W. Downing, Mr. D'Arcy, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, and Mr. J. P. Emslie.

The dinner was followed by an entertainment, at which the following assisted:—Mrs. A. F. Major and Mr. Man-

sell Stevens (piano), Miss Ragnhild Lunde (Norwegian songs), Mr. Robert Dennant (baritone), Mr. Charles Bulwar (conjurer).

VISIT TO CAMBRIDGE, MAY 28TH.

On Saturday, May 28th, 1904, a party of about fifty members and friends visited Cambridge under the direction of Mr. E. Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. The party was received on arrival by the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, Mr. J. E. Foster, Hon. Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Miss Foster, and other members of the Society. Under the guidance of Mr. Conybeare, who kindly acted as cicerone to the party, visits were paid to the FitzWilliam Museum and the Museum of Local and General Archæology, where the Curator, Baron von Hügel, exhibited the fine collection of Saxon and other antiquities. A visit was then paid to St. Benet's Church, where Mr. Conybeare drew attention to certain features of the building which probably dated back to pre-Norman times, and read a paper on the "Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." The University Library was next visited, where Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, Vice-President, exhibited some rare manuscripts of the Sagas, early printed Sagas, and other treasures of the library, and gave a brief discourse on Danish and other Scandinavian palæography. Luncheon was served in the Common Room of St. John's College, by permission of the Master and Fellows of the College. In the afternoon visits were paid to King's College Chapel, Trinity College Library, the bridges and backs of the Colleges, and other features of interest. By the kind invitation of Mr. and the Misses Foster, members had tea in their charming garden, secluded in the very heart of the town. After tea Mr. E. Sloper read a paper on the Danish settlement at Cambridge.

The paper read by the Rev. Mr. Conybeare is included in this issue. Mr. Sloper's paper will appear in a future number.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 18TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "Ship-building and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," which is reproduced in the present issue.

VISIT TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
DECEMBER 10TH.

On Saturday, December 10th, 1904, a special visit to the British Museum was paid by members of the Club and friends to the number of nearly fifty, under arrangements made by Mr. Edwin Sloper, F.G.S., Excursion Secretary. After assembling in the Great Hall the Coin Room was first visited, where Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., exhibited and described the coins in the collection likely to be of special interest to members of the Club, such as coins struck in England by the Danish kings of Northumbria, in imitation of Anglo-Saxon coins, as well as other English coins of the Viking Age. The Gold Ornament Room and the Anglo-Saxon Room were afterwards visited, and Mr. Reginald A. Smith, B.A., exhibited and remarked upon the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery of the Viking Age in the collection, and other relics of the period, including the fine collection of Scandinavian swords found in the Thames.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING,
DECEMBER 10TH.

DR. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

A Special General Meeting was held in the King's Weigh House Rooms, on December 16th, 1904, at 8 p.m., when the following resolutions were passed:—

- (a) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11/- be charged from January 1st, 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have

paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to this Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re-election, resume and complete same.

- (b) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in the name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.
- (c) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convener shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.
- (d) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A., Vice-President, then read a paper on "King William the Wanderer," which is reproduced in this issue.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1903 the work of the Club included:—The holding of seven Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; a visit to Lambeth Palace Library, etc.; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and Museum; the appointment of District Secretaries and a Committee for the Survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

The following Meetings were held and Papers read during the year 1903:—

January 9th.—Old Yule Meeting. Reading of the late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby's Play, "Gísli Súrsson," founded on the Icelandic "Gisla Saga."

January 23rd.—"The Saga of Gunnlaug Ormstunga," with original ballads founded on the Saga. Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for East Anglia.

"Some Account of a Danish Camp on the Ouse (Bedfordshire), with a hithe or naust." A. R. Goddard, M.A.

February 22nd.—"The Oriental Character of the Havamal." W. F. Kirby, Vice-President.

March 20th.—"Metres in the Sæmundar Edda." J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

April 24th.—"Orkney Folklore." George Marwick, Hon. District Secretary for Sandwick, Orkney, and A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., Hon. Treasurer, etc.

November 20th.—"Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark." Dr. Karl Blind, Vice-President.

December 18th.—"Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde." R. L. Bremner, M.A., B.L.

"The Lay of Thrym," translated from "Þrymskviða." The late Miss Beatrice H. Barmby.

SUMMER VISITS.

Special notice will be sent to Members of such visits as may be arranged.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner was held on Monday, April 27th, 1903, at the Criterion Restaurant, and was attended by forty Members and friends. The chair was taken by Dr. J. G. Garson, President; and Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, acted as Vice-Chairman. The

dinner was followed by a selection of vocal and instrumental music, contributed by Miss Tora Hwaas (Swedish Folk Melodies), Dr Pernet (songs), Mr. A. W. Johnston (Orkney songs), and Mr. W. Mansell Stevens (pianoforte solos).

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1902 has been issued to all Members for 1902 and to Members elected in 1903.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April, to Members who have paid their subscription.

A Prospectus will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with the Hon. Secretary.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

BOOK AGENCY.

The Book Agency for the sale (to Members) of new works on Northern subjects has proved useful and profitable, and is now fully established. Printed lists of works will be issued periodically.

The Council have arranged with Mr. Francis Edwards, Bookseller, 83, High Street, Marylebone, London, W., to supply Members with works out of print and general literature.

HONORARY DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

The following have been appointed Honorary District Secretaries for the districts named:—

Aberdeen—Archer Irvine-Fortescue.

Iceland—Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Norway—Miss M. Rohrweger.

„ Haakon Schetelig.

Orkney—Rev. Alex. Goodfellow.

Shetland—Thomas Mathewson.

SURVEY OF ORKNEY PLACE-NAMES.

The Council appointed a Committee of Members to consider a proposal made by Mr. A. W. Johnston for the survey and collection of Orkney place-names. The Committee met in Orkney in October, and approved the scheme. The Ordnance Survey Department have placed copies of their maps at the disposal of the Committee. Printed forms for collection will be supplied by the Club. Committee:—*Chairman* : J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A.Scot., Kirkwall. *Vice-Chairman* : Magnus Spence, Deerness, Orkney. *Members* : W. P. Drever, J. G. Moodie Heddle, of Cletts; Dr. J. Jakobsen, A. W. Johnston, J. Johnston, of Coubister; Duncan J. Robertson, W. G. T. Watt, of Breckness.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1903 the Club has not lost any Members, while fifty-one Subscribing, five Honorary and two Honorary Corresponding Members, and five Honorary District Secretaries, a total of sixty-three Members, have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with two Societies.

The issue of the Prospectus in 1903, costing £30 12s. 1d., resulted in a gain of fifty-one new Members, contributing £36 10s. in subscriptions and £39 3s. for back works, or a clear surplus of £45 os. 11d., while providing a permanent revenue of £25 10s. in annual subscriptions.

The following is an analysis of the present Membership of the Club:—

<i>Elected.</i>	<i>Non-Subscribing Members (Honorary Members and Hon District Secretaries).</i>			<i>Subscribing Members.</i>		<i>Societies Exchanging Proceedings.</i>
1892	...	12	...	4	...	—
1893	...	9	...	4	...	—
1894	...	4	...	29	...	—
1895	...	3	...	7	...	—
1896	...	2	...	3	...	—
1897	...	2	...	5	...	—
1898	...	2	...	5	...	—
1899	...	1	...	4	...	—
1900	...	3	...	2	...	—
1901	...	2	...	14	...	3
1902	...	2	...	40	...	2
1903	...	12	...	51	...	2
1904	...	0	...	2	...	2
		—		—		—
		54		170		9
	TOTAL	...	...	233		

There are twenty-seven Hon. District Secretaries, fourteen of whom are non-subscribers, seven Honorary Members are regular subscribers, so that there are 177 subscribing Members in all, two of whom have compounded for life.

The ordinary income and expenditure of the Club is therefore estimated as follows:—

<i>INCOME.</i>			<i>EXPENDITURE.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Subscriptions, 175 at 10/-	87	10 0	Working Expenses	36	0 0
Interest on Compounded			Printing <i>Saga-Book</i>	71	0 0
Subscription & Reserve	1	0 0			
Gifts	5	10 0			
Interest on Bank A/c.					
Sale of Back Works	13	0 0			
Profit on Book Sales					
New Subscriptions					
	£107	0 0		£107	0 0

The Council would impress upon Members the importance of enlisting more Members. An increase of Members, while not materially augmenting the working expenses of the Club, would provide funds for enlarging the publications. Names and addresses of others interested in the work of the Club, and printed lists of Members of other Societies, should be sent to the Hon. Convener.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1903, is appended.

The Club Banking Account has been transferred to the Birkbeck Bank, in order to obtain 2 % allowed on current account when not drawn below £100.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1904.

Adopted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 15th, 1904.

ACCOUNT OF THE FUNDS OF THE VIKING CLUB. FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

To Balance from 1902—Bank		£	s.	d.	By Working Expenses:—	£	s.	d.
"	Cash in hand	...	...	...	Bank Books and Cheques	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	Bank Charges	...	...	...
"	Subscriptions, 1899 (1)	...	...	...	Commission to Trade for Collecting Subscriptions	...	...	...
"	" 1900 (1)	...	...	...	Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery	...	...	...
"	" 1901 (1)	...	...	...	Postage, etc.:—	...	...	...
"	" 1902 (8)	...	...	...	Hon. Treasurer and Librarian	...	...	...
"	" 1903 (138)	...	...	...	Editor	...	...	...
"	" 1904 (49)	...	...	...	" Convener	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	" Sec., 1902 and 1903	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	Assistant Sec.	...	...	...
"	Gifts	...	...	...	Fire Insurance Premium	...	...	...
"	"	...	...	...	Assistant Secretary's Honorarium	...	...	...
"	Interest Deposit Account, Feb. 20th—March 31st	...	...	...	Rent of Rooms, Nov., 1901—May, 1903	...	...	...
"	Compounded Subscription (1)	...	...	...	Refreshments at Meetings	...	...	...
"	Subscription in Advance to Publications Account...	...	...	...	Library, Catalogue Outfit...	...	...	...
"	Sale of <i>Saga-Books</i>	...	...	...	" Purchase of Books	...	...	...
"	Subscriptions to Translation Series, Vol. I. (6)	...	...	...	Translation Series, Vol. I., for Subscribers	...	...	...
"	Reprints from <i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. III., Part II.	...	...	...	Expenses Annual Dinner, including Printing, etc.	...	...	...
"	Annual Dinner, Sale of Tickets (43)	...	...	...	<i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. II., Part III., Engraving	...	...	...
"	Sale of Books	...	...	...	" Vol. III., Part II., Printing, Illustrating, and Posting	...	...	...
"	Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer	...	...	...	Reprints from <i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. III., Part II.	...	...	...
					Purchase of Books for Sale	...	...	...
					Prospectus (13,100 copies), Printing	...	...	...
					Postage and Addressing	...	...	...
					Balance in Bank, Current Account	...	...	...
					" Deposit	...	...	...
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A. W. JOHNSTON, Hon. Treasurer.

The Books of the Club have been examined and found correct, February, 1904.

W. V. M. POPHAM, }
J. STIRLING ROSS, } Hon. Auditors.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1903.

<i>LIABILITIES.</i>	£	s.	d.
To <i>Saga-Book</i> , Vol. III., Part III., Printing, Illustrating, Postage, and Reprints	71	0	0
" "Thing-Steads," Printing and Illustrating (Horsford Fund)	47	6	0
" "Saga Studies" (Major Fund)	5	0	0
" Purchase of Books for Sale	1	10	0
" Rent of Rooms, November—December, 1903	1	0	0
" Compounded Subscriptions (2)	20	0	0
" Subscriptions and Gifts for 1904 paid in 1903	27	11	8
" Subscription in advance to Publication Account	0	12	6
" Cash advanced by Hon. Treasurer	4	18	8
" Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1903, of which for :—			
Library, Museum, Stationery, Blocks, etc....	£162	15	0
Books for Sale in Stock	6	6	11
<i>Saga-Books</i> in Stock	239	0	0
Balance to 1904	8	8	1
	416	10	0
	£595	8	10

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

REPORTS OF DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

ENGLAND.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

THE Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson, District Secretary, Horncastle, sends us, with the kind permission of the author, the following outline of a paper read by the Rev. Alfred Hunt, M.A., Vicar of Welton by Lincoln, before the British Association at Cambridge in August last on:—

BRUNANBURH: IDENTIFICATION OF THIS BATTLE SITE IN
NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE.

NO modern historian of repute is able to name the site of this famous battle of the tenth century—fought between the Saxon king Athelstan on the one hand and Anlaff the Dane and Constantine, King of Scotland, on the other—though most are agreed as to the importance and greatness of the battle. The numbers engaged are supposed to have been over 120,000, and the result of the battle was to raise England in the councils of Europe to a position never reached before. The present paper suggests reasons for the belief that this battlefield is to be found in North Lincolnshire, at the hamlet of Burnham, in the parish of Thornton Curtis, within four miles of the Humber.

Geographical considerations send us at once to the river Humber and district in search of the lost site, while many of the old writers agree in saying that Anlaff entered the mouth of the Humber, and that the battle was fought near by, though silent as to where Anlaff landed and encamped. Now, as is evident from the form of the river Humber, this landing must be placed between Spurn

Head and the junction of the Ouse and the Trent, either on the Lincolnshire or Yorkshire side; and it is probable, from the statements regarding the number of Anlaff's vessels (615) and troops, that he divided his forces, sending a portion against the Saxon outpost at Brough (the Roman Petuaria), on the Yorkshire side, and also effecting a landing at Barrow Haven, a tidal and navigable stream on the Lincolnshire coast.

At Barrow Haven there are extensive earthworks of the usual Danish form of construction for an entrenched position, covering an area of eight acres, and locally called Barrow Castles. It is suggested that these were thrown up by Anlaff on landing. South of Barrow Castles, and four miles away, is the hamlet of Burnham, believed by the writer to be the true site of the Battle of Brunanburh.

At Burnham extensive lines of entrenchments, covering over sixty-four acres, of a totally different character from those at Barrow, are still to be seen, while local tradition has always said this was a great battlefield. There is a perennial stream at the rear of the camp, which was the only surface-spring known for seven miles across the Lincolnshire Wolds. In Domesday Survey this hamlet is entered as Brune in the parish of Thornton Curtis, while in the "Welsh Chronicle of the Princes" and in the "Annales Cambriæ" the battle is called the Battle at Brune. Adding to this name the possessive termination, *an*, together with the Anglo-Saxon "burh" (camp or earthwork), we at once have the long-lost word Brun-an-burh.

From this camp, burh, or earthwork the two main Saxon roads from the west and south of England, called Ermine Street and Fosse Way, are available for Athelstan's support. At Castlethorpe, a few miles south-west, and near the present town of Glamford Brigg, which commands the only place of crossing the river Ancholme, are extensive earthworks of a similar nature to those at Burnham. Here was discovered, in 1884, a Danish raft, constructed like the famous Gokstad boat, or Viking ship.

The best geographical description of the land and place

of battle is given in "Egil's Saga." This tells us Athelstan came northwards to repel the invasion by the Humber; that the battle took place by Vin-heath, or Vinwood; and that the land sloped towards the north. North of the heath stood a town occupied by Anlaff and Constantine. South of the heath was another town, to which Athelstan came, and to which he returned after the battle.

All these conditions are fulfilled in the case of Burnham. The town in the north is Barrow, that in the south Glamford Brigg; the ground slopes north from Burnham; there is still one field of Vin or Whin left; while the whole of the south and west of England would be open for the arrival of Athelstan's supporters.

The battle was a final struggle for supremacy between the North and South, resulting in favour of the South.

EAST ANGLIA.

The Rev. W. C. Green, M.A., District Secretary, writes:—

I CAN only give a few notes this time, more or less Vikingian in character.

BOASTING MATCHES.

Mann - jafnaðr, "comparisons, boasting matches." Those who have read the Saga of King Sigurd, who travelled to Jerusalem, will recollect how he and his brother Eystein had a dialogue, comparing their respective exploits in war and peace. The match ended in both becoming angry: neither thought himself beaten.

But it is curious that such boasting matches appear to have been the practice in other lands. A short time ago, in a note of Professor Kirkpatrick on Psalm cxxvii. 5, "They shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate," I read this: "Professor Bevan suggests that the allusion may be to 'boasting

matches,' like the *Mufachara* of the Arabs. Even in times of peace it was a common occurrence in Arab society for poets to engage in such rivalries. In such contests the strength of a family would naturally form an important element."

I think that the Psalmist most likely means (as Dr. Kirkpatrick says) that a father of stalwart sons runs no risk of being wronged by powerful enemies through the maladministration of justice: but it is interesting to know that there was in the East something corresponding to the *Mann-jafnaðr* of the North.

INVULNERABILITY.

One reads of Berserks and the like, upon whom weapons would not bite. Swords in those days, say some, were of poor, ill-tempered metal, and not keen. Very likely. But legends of men with bodies that could not be wounded are found long before the Saga period, and in other lands. Ovid (in "Metam." xii. 84) tells of Cynus, whom Achilles could not wound:

His spear steel-pointed all in vain he shot
He smote the breast with shock, but pierced it not.

And again, when Cæneus is assailed by the Centaurs:

No blood they draw; Cæneus, unpierced by all,
Unwounded siands; their weapons blunted fall.

PICTURE-WRITING.

A girl in a neighbouring village, some sixty years since, having received a letter from a swain asking her to walk out with him o' Sundays, being a slow penwoman, enclosed in an envelope a straight little stick and a wisp from a sheep's fleece, meaning: "I wool."

A proverb told me by a farmeress here a few months ago: "Dream of eggs, sign of anger." Why?

SOMERSETSHIRE.

The Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., District Secretary, writes :—

BATTLE BURIAL, PROBABLY OF DANES.

IN the course of opening out a new heading for the quarry close under the ancient hillfort near Combwich, on the Parrett, presumably built to guard the ford once existing there, a further disinterment of skeletons was necessarily made. It may be remembered ¹ that this site is claimed by Dr. Clifford and his adherents as the most probable location of the battle of "Kynwich castle," where Hubba was defeated and slain by Alfred's Devon levies. Some seven skeletons in all were uncovered and, as in cases already reported, the evidence of battlefield burial was well marked. The interments are in long shallow trenches, and the bodies have been carelessly, and apparently hastily, thrown in. They overlap here and there, and are occasionally reversed. One or two of the crania bore evident proof of the cause of death, the temporal bone in one case being gashed by some heavy weapon, either sword or seax, wielded from behind and by a left-handed man; in another case an arrow had perforated the base of the occipital bone while the man must have been retreating uphill. The local tradition of a rout of the Danes here, which bears out the statements of the chroniclers, would therefore seem to be correct. No wargear is found with the slain. Probably they were stripped by the victorious Saxons, or else by their own reserves, who are recorded to have "held the field," though they were too late to prevent the disaster. The soil, however, is not of a nature to preserve metal. The skeletons are all of well developed and most muscular men, several being over six feet in height. In two cases the skulls were of extreme thickness, and I should be glad to know if this peculiarity has been re-

¹ SAGA-BOOK, vol. ii., part ii., pp. 165-166, 174-175.

corded in the case of Danish interments of similar date elsewhere.

LATE USE OF RUNES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Although unconnected with this district, I should like to draw the attention of the members to what I think is an unnoticed statement of some interest in Gibson's notes on Cumberland, in his edition of "*Camden's Britannia*" (Page 843, ed. 1695, folio).

In discussing the inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross he prints in full a letter on the subject from Dr. William Nicholson, written in 1695. The writer, after giving his own translation of the runes, adds as an instance of the persistence of superstitions derived from their "Danish" pagan ancestors among the Borderers, that

A Gentleman in the Neighbourhood showed me a Book of Spells and Magical Receipts taken (two or three days before) in the Pocket of one of our Moss-troopers. Wherein, among many other Conjuring Feats, was prescribed a certain remedy for an Ague, by applying a few barbarous characters to the body of the person distempered. These, methought, were very near akin to Wormius's RAMRUNER, which he says differ wholly in figure and shape from the common Runae.¹

He then adds a quotation or two from Wormius, on the use of Ramruner, and concludes—

I shall not trouble you with a draught of the spell, because I have not yet had the opportunity of learning if it may not be an ordinary one, and to be met with in Paracelsus or Cornelius Agrippa, and among others of the same nature.

This omission is greatly to be lamented. It is far more probable, as indeed the writer would seem to think, that the mossrooper used an ancient and traditional copy of actual runes, than that he had transcribed from the classical writers mentioned. If so, the letter is a valuable proof of the persistence of written runes, among other "Danish" superstitions, at a far later date than one has imagined possible, at least in England; though perhaps there is

¹ Olaus Wormius, "*Fasti Danici*," lib. i., cap. i.

no reason why we should not have used them in the Norse-settled counties contemporaneously with the manufacture of the Runic stave calendars of Scandinavia.

SHETLAND.

UNST.

Mrs. Jessie M. E. Saxby, Vice-President, District Secretary, Baltasound, sends the following report on:—

SACRED SITES IN A SHETLAND ISLE.¹

TRADITION has it that there were at one time about twenty kirks in the Isle of Unst. This island is about fourteen miles long, and about seven miles broad at its widest. For centuries its population has been sparse. The people were poor, the isles insignificant; superstitious rites and beliefs held sway over the natives. They hated alien races, and had good reason to suspect later teachers than their heathen ancestors. The neighbouring Isles of Yell and Fetlar are said to have been as well supplied with kirks as Unst. We speak of those three as the "North Isles." If the mainland and its adjacent isles are also crowded with kirks I do not know. But it is evident that ancient usages, language, superstitions and beliefs lingered longer in our North Isles than elsewhere. It is also plain that contact with other folk was not so continuous, and did not influence our part of Shetland so much as it did the rest of the isles.

People have a careless way of interpreting folklore. I have always doubted the assertion that there were "twenty Christian chapels in Unst," and I think recent investigation bears me out in this. I discussed these interesting themes with our local antiquary, Mr. Andrew Anderson, and Mr. John Fraser, an Orcadian, whose keen observation and patient research have been rewarded by valuable discoveries here and elsewhere. Our frequent and ardent exchange of ideas led us to decide that we

¹ We have just learned that this Report has also been sent to *The Antiquary*, where it appears as an article in the number for April, 1905.—ED.

would make pilgrimage to the reputed kirk "steedes" (sites), and gather such fragments of folklore and other remains as might yet be found in these localities.

It is true that many had been before us to those sacred "steedes"; some in search of buried treasure, others to grab such relics as report had it were there; many to appropriate stones for building purposes. But, as far as I can ascertain, only a very few had made careful observations for the pious purpose of preserving for the future those remains of a buried past. Indeed, such learned men as visited these sites seem to have set the worst example of any, for they excavated and turned over cairns and standing-stanes, kirks and brochs, and replaced nothing, nor took any steps to preserve the ruins. I cannot ascertain that any person has prosecuted such research with patient intelligence, and given the result to the world in a permanent conclusive form. I speak of what has to do with Unst only. And now to return to our kirks. I append the notes Mr. Fraser made on the spot, supplemented by those of Mr. Anderson, who helped me to finish the circuit after our Orcadian coadjutor was obliged to leave. Interspersed with these notes are a few of my own independent observations.

I.—BARTLE'S KIRK, NORWICK.

Most northerly known in Shetland, situated on slope of hill, amid cultivated land. Foundation, owing to running down of soil, many feet below surface. Four upright stones at site, probably Norse. No well-dressed stones in neighbourhood, only a few stones from Braewick about. Braewick stone is a fine sandstone of a slatey nature, much valued for "sharpening-stones," etc. It is easily worked and shaped. There is a stone basin, supposed to be a baptismal font, built in yard dyke. Basin two and a half feet long, oval, scolloped out, about a foot in depth, and two feet long, by fifteen inches wide. Another stone basin, supposed for holy water, is shown. It is broken, and was used for a pig's trough.

A "holy well" existed twenty yards below site of chapel. It is now filled up, as dangerous for children. There were steps down it. Many stone relics were found here, such as handle of what appears to be a stone axe; a stone with incised hole and rough moulding; a square clibber-stone dish, circular inside, nearly complete. There was also found a lump of clay with clear impression of man's naked feet, short and broad. This clay model was covered with a flat stone, and had an upright stone at end to protect clay from pressure. There is no clay in the soil, so that used for this purpose must have been brought there. The folk surmised this was the footprint of some holy man.

About fifty yards from chapel an empty kist was found, formed of four stone slabs, short and deep, as Norse kists are. Bones and ashes were found at some depth below foundation of chapel. No trace of Christian burial. A family named Henderson live in the cottage adjoining, and being very intelligent people, they have preserved such relics as they found. Some of these were purloined from the old man by a laird.

II.—KIRK O' VIRSE, NORWICK.

The foundation is clearly traceable in the burying-ground, which the people still use. Walls of surrounding cottages contain large numbers of well-dressed stones from Braewick, which is a place at some distance from Virse. There are a number of crosses in the burying-ground. One good specimen with incised crosses, one with raised cross; all of very ancient type. Several fine ones have disappeared, been stolen. One antiquarian thief was caught in the act, and compelled to bring back the stone. Minute bits of broken pottery and burnt bones have been found at a depth below site of chapel as well as elsewhere in the enclosure. Outline of ancient circular wall can be traced in part. Kirk o' Virse was in use long after Bartle's Kirk was in ruins.

III.—KIRK O' BODEN, HAROLD SWICK.

Burying-ground is still in use. Foundation of chapel quite distinct. One old tombstone inside chapel walls was uncovered by Mr. Fraser. This stone seems to have escaped observation previously. The lower end is broken, but otherwise the stone is intact, and the raised carving is clear and beautifully formed. There are two angel-figures, each having a hand outstretched with a scroll, and these nearly meet over what seems a cherub of the usual type—infant head, with wings attached. There is a large lying tombstone in the graveyard, raised from the ground on freestone pedestals. It is engraved with what we conjectured was a coat of arms. St. Andrew's cross in right panel. There is a lengthy inscription in raised letters, but not decipherable. Below the inscription death's head, crossbones, and hour-glass quite distinct. This is the reputed grave of a laird, who was cursed by a widow he had evicted. She prayed that his name might perish, and grass never grow on his grave. Though the stone is raised from the surface of the tomb no grass grows beneath. The man's name is lost.

IV.—CROSS KIRK, CLIBBERSWICK.

This chapel was in use one hundred and twenty years ago. Foundation of chapel still distinct. Long a place of pilgrimage. Coins found quite lately in the wall. No trace of burial near the surface. I think that examination of the steede might well reward the investigator. Not far from Cross Kirk is Crusgeo,¹ where Mr. Fraser found what (for lack of a more descriptive term) he called a Viking cup.² Later research rewarded us with interesting remnants, such as burnt bones (human and animal), scraps of pottery, and human bones, that had *not* been subjected to fire. We found no shell-fish or fish-bones,

¹ Crusgeo. So pronounced, but evidently a corruption of "Cross-geo."

² See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., pp. 21, 22.

as are usually found in ancient middens here. There is a circular steede near the brow of the cliff at Crusgeo.

V.—KIRKHOOL, BALTASOUND.

There is nothing here to indicate that a chapel ever existed. The name only tells that some sort of holy place was there, but of what age it is impossible to guess. Kirkhool is situated at the head of the Voe terminating Baltasound, amid crofts, etc., and the whole neighbourhood has been so long under cultivation, the stones removed for building with, and tradition suppressed, that we can only say the name implies that a kirk, or temple, was on, or near, the knowe ("hool" means "knowe").

VI.—KIRK O' BALIASTAE, SCRAEFIELD.

This kirk was in use as late as 1822, but when it was first built is another story. The building is of different periods. In Hibbert's admirable book on his visit to Shetland he says, "I arrived on the Sabbath morning, the natives of the vale were all in motion on the way to the kirk of Baliastae." He attended the service, and describes at length what he calls "the convulsive fits to which the religious congregations of Shetland are subject."

This kirk, like others, had a saint's name. One authority gives one list of saints to whom the Unst kirks were dedicated, and another wiseacre gives a different list. The Protestants who quietly possessed themselves of the Shetland kirks would doubtless ban the saint's name, and so it would be lost. Perhaps a correct list could be got from Norway, as Shetland was long, ecclesiastically, under the bishops of that country.

No ancient relics have been found in this kirk or kirk-yard, but close by, at the Ha' o' Scraefield, there existed, till a few years ago, the site of an ancient lawting (Hibbert saw it). The three concentric circles, the tumulus in the centre, the burned bones found under debris, clearly show this to have been one of the important

temples of heathen times, of which Hibbert correctly says: "These sites of ground were intended for popular juridical assemblies . . . religious rites were also mingled with the duties of legislation." No vestige of the lawting is left now: of late years the stones were taken for building.

The folk say that there was another kirk at Baliastae. Some curious little chambers were accidentally found some years ago in that neighbourhood, but no examination was made. There is a croft there called Broch, which indicates that there was a broch near, but I can hear of no tradition connected with it.

VII.—KIRK O' SANDWICK.

Traces of foundation of reputed chapel on shore beside the sands. The spot is called Milya-skera. Encroachments of the sea on loose soil has removed most of the foundation. West end remaining. Lot of ashes under foundation. Further north along shore is the steede of a house, with a midden beside it. These were disclosed by the great tidal wave and tempest of February, 1900. Midden is rich in animal and fish bones, ashes and shells. Two coins and a comb of ancient pattern were found in the midden, but we could not trace who has these now. Tradition says that the kirk o' Sandwick was carried one dark night across the bay to where the later kirk stands.

VIII.—OUR LADY'S KIRK.

North of Sandwick, and surrounded by a burying-ground, still in use. The walls of the chapel are very thick, at west end about five feet thick. The chapel is narrow, and most disproportionally long; in fact, it seems to have been twice added to in length, and I think these more recent portions have been added *after* the kirk became a ruin, and were utilised as family burying-places. Bruces of Mooness (of hated memory) are buried in east end of chapel. A lying tombstone, supported on four pieces of freestone, is there, and is known as

"Bruce's tombstone." There is a coat of arms engraved on the stone, with inscription in raised letters, visible but illegible. With little trouble this might be restored enough to be read, I think. There is another large lying tombstone on the south side of the chapel, inscription entirely effaced. Four, and possibly more, "keel-shaped" lying stones are in the burying-ground. They are about five feet long. No similar stones are found in other Unst kirkyards, except one I found at Virse. No inscriptions have ever been on these "keeled" stones, and tradition says they were there in the time of the Vikings. Many crosses by our Lady's chapel are like those known as the Norwick crosses.

IX.—GLITNA KIRK.

At side of new road north of East Uyeasound. This foundation is much more square than any other we saw, and encloses larger space. Tradition says the building was never completed. The Catholics possessed themselves of a trow-hoose (temple of Thor?), and commenced to build a kirk on the steede; but what they built one day was thrown down by invisible agency during the night. There is no trace of burying-ground within the steede. Remains of broken urns, with ashes and burnt bones, were found close by when the new road was constructed. There is the site of an ancient circular enclosure to the west of the kirk, as if it had surrounded the spot at one time. The road may have cut into the circle. It is matter for regret that local authorities never interest themselves in such finds, and so permit history, writ on stones, to be lost.

X.—KIRK O' WICK, LUND.

I remember this kirk being called St. Ole's Kirk. No pre-Christian relics found here, as far as we can ascertain. The place belonged to successive lairds, who, taking no interest in such things themselves, selfishly prevented more intelligent persons from investigating. Kirk o'

Wick now belongs to a different sort of folk, and I hope their love of all that pertains to our country's old story will lead them to search for relics of the past. The story is told that a laird of Lund, annoyed at people crossing his land *en route* to church, dressed up a half-witted servant to personate Satan, and sent him into the chapel during service. Amid excitement, hysterics, etc., all rushed from the spot save the clergyman, who cursed the laird after the manner of his kind in those days. The curse was to extend to the ninth generation. No service was held in Kirk o' Wick after that day. The laird's family is extinct. While it lasted it "carried the curse." The burying-ground here is in use.

The sites of two imposing brochs are not far distant from the spot, and might tell a tale, if opened.

XI.—KIRK O' COLVIDALE.

Foundation still visible, but no tradition obtainable. Circular steedes in vicinity, and some upright stones.

XII.—DA KIRKHOO, GUNYESTER.

Stance of building not now known, only conjectured, but circular steede not far from knowe.

XIII.—THE KIRK AT UNDERHOO, AND KIRKAMIRE, WESTING.

Below house. House supposed to be built on chapel stance. Crossbister is between the Gunyester chapel and chapel at Underhoo. From Crossbister both were visible. On this spot the people crossed themselves.

XIV.—KIRKABY, NEWGORD, WESTING.

The enclosure is still called the kirkyard. The foundation of building stands east and west. Steede surrounded by traces of a circular wall, and some upright stones about two feet in height. We found these were sunk possibly many feet below the surface. The prejudices of individuals prevent (in many cases) examination.

XV.—KIRKAKNOWE, NEWGORD.

Above the beach. Stance of chapel about one hundred yards below a house on the knowe, and near an old mill. Traces of foundation found when delving, and this confirmed tradition. This kirk was always referred to by fishermen as the "boun-hoose,"¹ a sea-term for house of prayer. There are remains of an old building on the sloping bank at Taftens. The stones very large. Apparently there had been two circular enclosures. Traces of ashes under foundations. Some ancient dishes (stone) were found about two hundred yards north-east some years ago when the road was constructed.

XVI.—KIRKAMOOL, CLIFF.

This is a pretty sequestered spot on east side of a lake, and is pointed out as the site of a long-forgotten kirk. There are slight indications of a circular wall, enclosing as much land as we found within the foundations of other kirkyards, but there is nothing to show that any chapel stood in the centre, and no excavations have been made which might throw light on the subject.

Across a tiny ravine rises a bold bluff, called the Mool, and on its summit we found evidence that a circular wall, possibly a broch, had existed there. In very early times this district seems to have been well peopled. The land is fertile, the little vales sheltered and picturesque. Until thirty-five years ago it was the abode of a dozen families. Now it is given up to sheep.

XVII.—KIRKARIG, BURRAFIRTH.

Three or four stones by the roadside mark this spot. Tradition says a kirk was there, but no relic has been found to confirm the statement. On the brow of an adjacent cliff stands the Broch of Burrafirth. Its outline is well defined. Careful delving might well reward the explorer. That this was an important broch I think we

¹ "Boon" = prayer, A.S. and N.

may believe, since it gave its name to the fiord over whose turbulent waters it frowned.

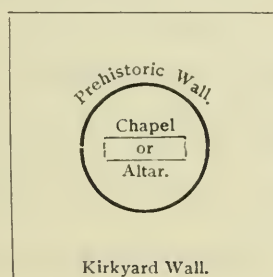
OTHER POSSIBLE SITES.

I think there must be some sacred steedes at Skau which would complete the circle of our island kirks, but as yet I cannot hear of any in that district, which has been almost depopulated for many years.

There are other places in Unst which were undoubtedly burying-places, where burned bones and funeral urns have been found, but these spots were never known as kirks.

The kirks that were usurped by the so-called Reformed Church lost their saints. St. Bartle's, Our Lady's, and Cross Kirk probably remained in possession of the Catholics till the fathers in charge died, for there was no violent transfer in Shetland, as in Scotland. Thus the three kirks in Unst that do not seem to have been occupied by Protestants have retained their patrons' names, and are so styled by some old folk.

We noted that all the authentic kirk foundations stood with the gables east and west, after the usual fashion, and that all the earlier yard-walls were circular. Thus there stood an oblong within a circle, which again was enclosed at a later date by a square. It is said the



burnt bones and pottery found in such places have been discovered only inside the chapels, or with debris displaced from them, and much below their foundations. Certainly *our* small finds were so. I fancy the astute Catholic fathers, finding that the people clung to their

ancient beliefs and usage with a tenacity beyond the power of priests to shake, or superficial conversion to alter, judged it politic to graft the new faith on the old. So they built their Christian kirks amid the ruins of heathen temples. They identified the great Yule festival with the Mass of Christ. They adopted the sun-worshipper's obeisance towards the east as one of their own religious acts. They consecrated the spots which the people held sacred, and they buried the baptised dead beside the cremated ashes of their ancestors.

In consequence of such clever policy time would obliterate all the old associations with those places. As the older language became merged in the new; as the Christian faith spread, and paganism passed away, the memory of the heathen gods, with all their savage rites, became superseded altogether. But superstition—as immortal as the soul of man—transferred a great many of the old observances to the new creed, and kept the old sacred sites sacred still. The Church had, as we have seen, helped in this. Thus the holy term “kirk” was applied to all such spots, whether there had been a chapel there or not.

Everywhere one finds the steedes of circular walls. All such places were regarded as “trowie”—associated with the mysteries of the spirit-world. They were haunted, or holy, or horrible, or health-giving—Helyabrün, Crusahiel, Wullvershool, etc., names linked with the unseen and the unknown. I cannot help thinking that many of the twenty chapels of Unst were never chapels at all, but Troll-haunted Temples, and that the few authentic kirks were built on the sites of some of these.

PRE-NORSE CHRISTIANITY.

The finding of a few Ogham stones in Shetland has led some persons to assert confidently that there was a Celtic-Christian Church in our isles prior to their invasion and settlement by the Vikings. One swallow does not make a summer. One flower gathered in a place where no botanist would expect such a blossom to be at

home does not prove that plant a native of the spot. A few isolated memorial stones, engraved in a manner common to Celt and Scandinavian alike, do not give sufficient data for asserting that our isles were Celtic-Christian before the Norsemen came, though it is likely that a few individual Christians may have found a refuge and a rest in the south isles of our group. It would be a delightful surprise to find that the cross was in Unst before Thor's hammer. Possibly excavations might unearth an Ogham in Unst, which would add a much-desired link to a chain I have striven to weave regarding the prehistoric race that once peopled our isles; but one would like to be satisfied that the few Oghams found elsewhere in Shetland have not been brought from Orkney. Meanwhile all research that has been made has shown cremated remains below the foundations of almost all our chapels, etc., which seems conclusive evidence that a heathen creed immediately preceded that of the Norse Roman Catholics.

If the builders of our brochs, the mighty men who raised our standing-stanes, were ever a Christian people, some more evidence must be forthcoming before we can accept the statement as fact.

ORKNEY.

SOUTH RONALDSHAY.

The Rev. Alexander Goodfellow, District Secretary, writes:—

DURING the last two years three things of some antiquarian interest have been found here.

UNDERGROUND DWELLING.

First, at a place in the South Parish, generally known as the "Cairns o' the Bu'," or occasionally the "Cairns o' Flaws," an underground house with passage, to all appearance like a Pict's house, or a weem, has been dis-

covered. The situation is on a rising slope, with a beautiful outlook towards the east, or German Ocean, where, in the olden days, the sea-robbers might have been sighted at a long distance, and the people on the shore be prepared for any attack. Although the contour of the cairns might have suggested something important to the observant eye, yet no one ever suspected that there were buildings underneath. Farmers, when ploughing near the spot, have at different times come across stones, bones, shells, etc., but the cairns was supposed to refer only to a gathered heap of stones, and not to any built walls. It looks as if there has been a subterranean passage in connection with Windwick Bay, which is not far away. The part of the building opened up was the passage, the walls of which were built mostly with stones taken from the quarry of Oback, near by, while large boulders brought from the shore were laid across, as cover or roof stones for the passage. Each of these boulders (there were three whole, one broken, and probably more) were fully 5 feet in length, and about 2 feet in breadth and thickness. One wonders by what means such stones had been brought up there. The walls themselves were well built, being 6 feet deep, while the width of the passage was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There were dividing stones to strengthen the structure, as well as to indicate chambers beyond. Across the passage was a wall, apparently a terminal wall, but on examination we came to the conclusion that the end had not yet been reached. Nothing very special was picked up during the partial excavation beyond two pieces of human bones, a boar's tusk, a deer's horn, a stone scraper, and shells. To open up the place fully men and money would be required, and as the tenant of the ground was unwilling to leave the hole open, it was filled up again.

STONE IMPLEMENT.

Second, an old shore stone was found in the quarry of Oback, that has all the appearance of being what is called

a stone breaker. In shape it is like a skull, or helmet, and weighs about 40 lbs., and in circumference it measures 34 inches. To antiquarians this stone must be of some value, seeing where it was got. Oback quarry is beside Oback burn, and in direct line with the cairns. The stones for building the cairns had been taken from this quarry. This must have been a long time ago, from 1,000 to 2,000 years. Lately, when some men were digging for stones at this place, they were under the impression that this was virgin soil, but afterwards they discovered from certain marks that the ground had been previously opened, in fact, they were reopening an old quarry. Beneath 5 or 6 feet of earth they came to the rock, and lying there was this boulder, which must have been brought from the shore, as there was no other stone like it near at hand. From its shape and size, as well as from its position when found, along with certain marks on it, the workmen were forced to conclude that this was a stone used for breaking the rock, namely, a stone hammer. Most likely the people who had built the cairns had used it for that purpose, and after their work was done left it lying on the face of the rock as found.

CREMATION MOUND.

Third, another thing of interest has been the discovery of a cremation mound on the Nave Hill of the Red Head at Sandwick. The word "Nave" is said to be from the Icelandic "nef," meaning a nose, while in Faröese it refers to a long jutting-out headland. In Unst the word "niv" is used, and the Scotch "nieve" is applied to the hand or fist. Sometimes the people use "niv" instead of "nave." No one had ventured to disturb this mound, so far as known, until recently some lads removed the turf and stones and dug into the heart of it, and were rewarded by finding a small stone cist at the east side of the mound, which was 2 feet 9 inches long, and 18 inches wide, while inside of the cist was an urn. As the lads were inexperienced in such work the urn was care-

lessly broken, but a fragment has been preserved which shows that it belongs to an early period. And in the same mound were found three large stones, rough and unhewn, as if taken from the shore, standing stones, 5 feet in height, most likely meant to be memorial stones in honour of the dead. Roughly speaking, the mound was 60 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in diameter. No bones were found, but burnt stones and very black earth were plentiful. There is another somewhat similar mound with a cairn of stones not far away, while in the same district there are eight or nine mounds of a smaller size, like "fairy knowes," or may be "barrows"—burial places to all appearance. Some of these are oblong, and measure 15 feet by 5 feet. One cannot tell how they came to be in this part of the island, unless they have been connected with the old Pictish castle, the ruins of which are not far away. There is also a big standing-stone in the district. Formerly a Popish chapel, called Halyrude, was in existence here. In fact the whole surroundings are full of historic interest.

FARÖE.

Dr. Jakob Jakobsen, Ph.D., District Secretary, sends the following :—

REMARKS UPON FARÖESE LITERATURE AND HISTORY.

IT goes without saying that in the case of a little group of islands, which in the year 1800 had only about 5,000 inhabitants altogether, and in the centuries immediately preceding still fewer, we can only in a very limited sense speak of its history and literature. Add to this the scantiness and incompleteness of sources for a history, at any rate when one is outside purely administrative affairs; and further, that with regard to those affairs and persons to whom *oral* tradition in Faröe clings most

closely, there is often an entire lack of written records. Apart from the short history of the old time, it is really not till after the Reformation that there can be any question of a continuous historical tradition: the period covered by the Middle Ages is to a very great extent shrouded in darkness.

The greatest part of what one can call the history of Farøe in a proper sense only consists of a recital of certain administrative measures which have taken effect and been abrogated again in the lapse of years, and of a longer series of names of magistrates about whom there is little or nothing beyond to relate. But, as a kind of flesh and blood about the dry skeleton, there gather a multitude of old folk-tales and stories about persons who in one or another way have stamped themselves or made an impression on the events which are related.

Of any really connected history with a claim to any great general interest there can thus, in the case of Farøe, be no mention; but still there are a few short periods, or rather a few considerable personages appearing in these periods, that gather, or tend to gather about them, more than a mere local interest. Thus, especially, the ancient period of the islands, with the two chief figures known from the *Færeyingasaga*, Sigmund Brestesson and Thrond of Gata (about the year 1000); later on (in the sixteenth century) the sea-captain and adventurer Magnus Heinesen, who for a time put an end to the ravages of sea-rovers among the Farøes, and finally (about 1800) the free-trade agitator and satirist Poul Nolsö.

THE SAGA PERIOD.

The history of the old time, the *Færeyingasaga*, which belongs to the old Icelandic Saga literature, has not survived as an independent whole, but only as a series of sections scattered in Olaf Tryggvason's and Olaf the Saint's Sagas. These sections concerning the Farøes were

collected and edited by Professor C. C. Rafn in the year 1832. Many circumstances—as, for instance, the fact that the fragments, when put together, form a particularly well rounded off whole, and that there is a reference plainly made in some passages to a “Færeyingasaga”—suggest that there originally was such an independent Saga, which was introduced in sections into the two above-named King’s Sagas, and has since been lost. (The Færeyingasaga thus divided up is most fully contained in the great Icelandic vellum MS., “Flatey Book.”)

That the Færeyingasaga, though the subject must be due to stories from the islands, yet in the form in which we have it was not written with the pen in the islands themselves, appears for one thing from a confusion between two islands of a very different natural character (Great Dimun and Skuø), a confusion of which no Faröese would be guilty. The description of Skuø in the Saga, in the account of how the chieftain Øssur was attacked and overcome by Sigmund Brestesson, suits rather Dimun, which is approachable only with great difficulty. Skuø was the island of Sigmund’s birth, and here was his farm. The Færeyingasaga is a particularly well-told, clear and entertaining saga. It begins with the colonisation of the islands by the Northmen in the ninth century ; but its real pith is the conflict between the shrewd Thrond and the warlike Sigmund for the overlordship of the islands. In spite of the fact that Sigmund gets support, first from Hacon Jarl and afterwards from King Olaf Tryggvason, by the promise to hold the islands as a fief from Norway, yet Thrond, by his cunning, succeeded in holding his own, and raised higher both his own lordship and—at any rate with partial success—the independent position of the islands ; only on the question of the introduction of Christianity was he obliged to give way in face of Sigmund. After the slaying of Sigmund, King Olaf the Saint seeks to make the Faröes a skatland (tributary) of Norway, but without result. The first two ships with his deputies were lost, never being heard of again ;

the third deputy was killed at a Thing in Thorshavn, and the saga allows it faintly to be seen that this was due to Thrond's design. Not till after Thrond's death (about 1035) did Leif Øssursson take the islands in fief from King Magnus the Good, and herewith the saga ends.

LATER PERIODS.

Magnus (Mogens) Heinesen, beheaded 1589, is known for one thing from Mogens Frii's historical romance of that name, and from Troels Lund's historical study, which gives a living picture of him. Poul Nolso has been described by the author of this article in the "*Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift*," Sixth Series, Part III. Many other men could easily be named who have been of great importance to the Faröese community, alike material and spiritual, especially in the last century and a half, but the interest attached to them is far more local than in the cases named above.

INFLUENCE OF ICELANDIC SAGAS.

In the old time the Faröes stood in close communication with the surrounding world, especially with the motherland Norway, as well as with the Shetland Isles and Iceland; ¹ the life of the Viking Age preserved the connection; but when this died away there set in greater stagnation—the islands' remote situation compelled the little community dwelling there to live its own life. Yet there is much evidence of the intercourse continuing in the Middle Ages between the Faröes and the lands lying about them, not only trade connections (between the Faröes and Norway, especially Bergen), but also marriage connections and intellectual intercourse, in which last the Faröes must be the side that specially benefited. Many old documents bear witness to the Norse-Faröese marriage

¹ In the saga literature the settlement of Icelanders in the Faröes is sometimes mentioned, for instance, that of the famous lady Droplaug with her little son Herjolf at the end of the tenth century, from the Droplaugs-sons' Saga.

connections. The many Faröese lays still preserved (by word of mouth) dealing with subjects from Icelandic sagas, such as the lays about Gunnar of Hlíðarendi ("Gunnar's last fight," Njal's Saga), about Kjartan Olafsson (Laxdæla Saga), about Tormann the Skald, that is Olaf the Saint's Court-skald, Thormod Kolbrunarskald ("Thormod's Journey to Greenland": Fostbræðrasaga) and others, together with the many lays founded on subjects from the romantic sagas, bear witness to the intercourse with Iceland. Part of the Faröese songs are prefaced with words such as: "*Ein er ríman (søgan) úr Íslandi komin* (or *Frøði er komið frá Íslandi*) *skrivað í bók so breiða*," that is, "A poem, or story, is come from Iceland, written in a book so broad." The expression "Book so broad" (book of great bulk) cannot well refer here to anything but old Icelandic saga-manuscripts, vellum manuscripts, which have reached the Faröes, and to whose contents part of the Faröese songs may be referred back. The words "*En vise er kommen fra Island*" (A poem is come from Iceland) need not therefore be taken quite literally, but mean in all likelihood merely that the subject itself, the subject of the song, is Icelandic, so much the more as in place of the word "vise" (poem) there sometimes stands "saga," or "tale." In all likelihood it points also to the old saga-manuscripts, when in the Faröese song, prefaced in the above-mentioned way, about Saint Olaf and the Trolls in Hornelen, it is said, "Have you heard of the king who stands written of in a book?"¹ That Tormod the Skald's

¹ There are still a few old phrases used in Faröe, which bear witness to a far greater knowledge of Icelandic saga literature in former times than is the case now-a-days. Of a person with a weird staring look which makes one uneasy, it is said: "He (she) has eyes like Glaam" (*hatta hevir eyguni sum í Glámi*). The Glaam here used as a comparison is only an empty name now-a-days in Faröe; but the person is evidently no other than the ghost, or rather vampire, *Glámr*, mentioned in Grettis saga, with whom Grettir wrestled. The sight of Glaam's wide open and horribly staring eyes, as he was lying on the ground vanquished, was so terrible that—according to the account in the saga—this was the only thing that

journey to Greenland has been sung in the Faröes, and the lay about him so well preserved, ought to be looked at in connection with an old Faröese story, according to which the Northmen, when in old days they made trading voyages to Greenland, used to put into one of the two Faröese harbours, either Vaag in Bordø (North Islands), or Vaag in Suderø. This gave the Faröese an interest in everything that concerned the old Icelandic colony in Greenland, which afterwards was so unhappily ruined. In view of the thorough agreement between the Faröese lay and the account in the Icelandic *Fostbræðrasaga*, the former clearly relies upon the latter. A recollection of the old journeys to Vinland (America) is contained in the lay of “Finnur hin fríði” (Finn the Fair), which in other points cannot be verified by historical methods. In this lay journeys out and back between Ireland and Vinland are mentioned.¹

NORWEGIAN LITERARY INFLUENCE.

As the song dance and lays originally came to the Faröes from Norway, it is easily understood that various

during the whole of Grettir's life had given him a fright. After this struggle with the vampire, Grettir had always visions, and was afraid in the dark. The Faröese phrase quoted is no doubt very old; it cannot originate from the reading of any printed Grettis saga—in this respect the printed editions are too young, and Faröe people's knowledge at present of the old Icelandic saga literature, or their present interest in it, are too slight—nor is it likely to originate from any lay. There is no *old* Gretti's lay preserved in Faröe, and the quite young ditty about Grettir, composed about 1850 by the manager of the trade-monopoly, Jacob Nolsø (a younger brother of Poul Nolsø), must be disregarded in this connection. Although the “troll” with whom Grettir wrestles is mentioned here, he is not called by any name, and is not described.

In the North Isles of Faröe some old ruins of houses go by the name of *Íslendingabúðir* or *Íslendingatoftir* (“the Icelanders' booths or tofts”).

¹ The journeys here talked of between Ireland and Vinland are, perhaps, not altogether groundless. In the Icelandic “*Landnámabok*” there is mentioned a “Whitemansland,” also called “Ireland the Greater,” lying out west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good: “it is said to be six days sailing westward from Ireland.”

Faröese lays deal with subjects specially Norse, not to speak of the many romantic poems that have wandered from the south, which have come to the Faröes through Norway as a channel and in a Norse form. The best known of these is certainly the cycle of lays about Sigurd Fafnisbane, and next to this that about Karl the Great and his twelve peers. The kings Olaf Tryggvason and Olaf the Saint appear in many Faröese lays, and especially in the character of exterminators of trolls; anything really historical about them is not found in the lays; they stand out as half mythical persons. The lay of Erling the bonder at Jadar ("Edlindur bóndi á Jaðri") deals with the famous Erling Skialgsson from Olaf the Saint's Saga, but does not come from the saga, since it gives traditions which are not found in the latter. The lays of "Hermund the Evil" and "Margrete of Nordness" go back to Norse ditties on the same subjects. In many Faröese lays—for the most part mythical—to which no parallels are to be had, and which thus escape comparison, the action is placed in Norway.

That a theme treated of in a Faröese lay is peculiarly Norwegian does not, however, by any means exclude the possibility, or probability, that it was taken from Iceland. Two chief currents cross each other at the Faröes in the Middle Ages, one Norwegian and one Icelandic; and since the latter occupies itself to such a high degree with Norwegian subjects, and exercises besides a great influence through its rich written literature, the Faröese in this way often receive Norwegian traditions (and to some extent Danish also) in an Icelandic mould. The ditty about St. Olaf and the Hornelen trolls ("Troðlini í Hodnalondun") begins, although the theme is very peculiarly Norse, with the words: "A ditty (or tale) is come from Iceland," etc. Olaf's fights with the trolls are certainly mentioned in Icelandic sagas, but without any close local connections; but there is found a Norwegian legend about St. Olaf's fight with trolls linked to the mountain (cape) Hornelen, the *Hodnaland* of the Faröese

lay. A ditty from Denmark on the same subject is also known ("Troldene i Hornelumme"), which is certainly Norwegian in origin. No Icelandic ditty on this theme is known. Nevertheless since the Faröese ditties in all the various versions begin with remarks on its descent from Iceland, there may have been a corresponding Icelandic ditty; but the commencing words may also, and with much likelihood, refer to the bare fact that the Icelandic saga about Olaf the Saint was well known in the Faröes in the Middle Ages (*cf.* the expression about Olaf: "The king who stands written of in a book," just cited in the Faröese ditty above named). In the Faröese lay about "Geyti (Hemingur) Áslaksson," which contains a variant of the Palnatoke legend, and whose action takes place in Norway, King Harald Hardrada appears. The theme is dealt with in the "thattr" about Heming Aslaksson in the Icelandic collection of sagas, "Flatey Book," and also in a Norwegian folk-song about "Hemingen"; but the Faröese lay stands considerably nearer to the Icelandic tale than does the Norwegian. The Faröese lay, "The Jomsvikings" (or in Faröese, "Jómsvikingarnir"), treating of the fight in Hjorungavaag, agrees closely (though with some distortions of names) with the Icelandic Jomsvikingasaga.

The existence of an Icelandic saga parallel to a Faröese lay is not always decisive, however, as to the origin of the Faröese lay in question. As there is still a considerable number of Norwegian ballads unpublished, while very many have undoubtedly been lost, whereas comparatively few old Icelandic sagas have been lost and all the known sagas are published, a comparison between the Faröese lays and the Icelandic sagas is far more easily instituted than a comparison between Faröese and Norwegian lays. Often an old Faröese lay must be considered to have originated in a fusion of various traditions come from various parts. "Sniolvs kvæði," one of the longest Faröese lays (in several parts), and the lay about "Ásmundur Aðalsson," both have paral-

lels in Icelandic sagas, the saga of "Asmund Kappabani" and that of "Asmund, King of the Huns," respectively ; but there are discrepancies which make one suppose that the Faröese lays do not originate solely, or direct, from the said Icelandic sagas. A tale corresponding to the saga of Asmund Kappabani is told by the ancient Danish historiographer, Saxo Grammaticus, and the same subject is found dealt with in ancient German heroic legends (about Hildebrand and Hadubrand). The chief motive is the hero fighting and killing his half-brother without knowing him ; in the Faröese lay ("Sniolvs kvæði") it is the father who kills the son. British influence can be traced in the lays about "Bevus," corresponding to the English lay, "Sir Bevis of Hampton," and also to the Icelandic "Béfus rímur." Some lays belonging to the Arthurian cycle, or traces of some of these lays, are also found in Faröe),¹ but they have come through various channels.

NATIVE TRADITIONS.

Of old lays which handle specially Faröese subjects there is only a single one in Faröese, "Sigmund's kvæði," that is to say, the *older* Sigmund's lay (a subject from the *Færeyingasaga*), and even then that contains scarcely anything wholly derived from native tradition ; here again the Icelandic saga-writing exercises its mighty influence. A couple of incidents—the mentioning of, first, the priest Thangbrand's mission to Iceland and the Faröes (*Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*), and, second (in a single copy), of a certain Harald, named in "Flatey Book," but elsewhere unknown, as a companion of Sigmund on the latter's expedition against the chieftain Øssur, go to show that the author of the lay had saga manuscripts before him. The lay, however, avoids

¹ There is a confusion between the names *Atli*, *Artala* and *Artan*. *Atli* is "Attila" and *Artan* must be "Artus." *Artala* seems to be a welding together of the two names.

the shifting of places of which *Færeyingasaga* is guilty. When the action in "*Finnboga Ríma*" (the song of *Finnbogi*), a lay originating in the *Saga of Finnbugi the Strong*, is placed in *Sandø* among the *Faröes*, where *Finnbugi's* opponent, *Alf the Bonder*, is said to live (in *Skopum*), there is a confusion of places, since *Alf*, according to the *saga* from which the lay takes its material, lived at the island of *Sandø*, lying off the coast of *Halogaland* in *Norway*. This *Norwegian Sandø* has, by a misapprehension, been understood by the *Faröese* to mean their own native *Sandø*, and the action of the lay has been changed to the *Faröes*. When the chief persons in the *Færeyingasaga* are left out of account, all the heroes of *Faröese* lays are drawn from outside the boundaries of the islands.

DANISH LITERARY INFLUENCE.

Of the *Faröese* lays which deal with *Danish* subjects the greater part, especially the older ones, may be taken to have come through *Norway*. Not till modern times does a more direct intercourse with *Denmark* occur. The lays framed on *Danish* subjects are, taken on the average, younger than those framed on *Norwegian* and *Icelandic* (*Faröese*) subjects, the first few dating from the time immediately after the close of the *Middle Ages*. Their form of speech is generally younger, and besprinkled with *Danish* ways of expression; sometimes the form of speech is half *Danish* and half *Faröese*. Some of these songs treat of famous historical persons, for instance, the lays about *King Waldemar* and *Tova* ("*Valdimann og Tóva*"), and about *Queen Dagmar* ("*Frú Dagmoy*"). I disregard here the many folk-songs, in exclusively *Danish* speech, which have maintained themselves in the *Faröes*, and which for the most part spring from, or are affected by, printed sources (*Anders Sørensen Vedel*, *Peder Syv*).

LATER ICELANDIC AND OTHER INFLUENCES.

So late as the sixteenth century have the Faröes been under a strong Icelandic influence. The long religious poem, "Ljómur," composed by Iceland's last Roman Catholic Bishop, Jón Arason of Hólar (in thirty-eight ten-line verses), was transplanted to the Faröes, where it has maintained itself to the present day through oral tradition, and under the circumstances in a particularly well preserved shape.¹ With regard to this poem a superstition prevailed in the Faröes that one who knew the poem should always omit a verse thereof, if he communicated it to another, otherwise he would meet with disaster (perish at sea). This led to the poem becoming fragmentary. So much the more remarkable is it that, in spite of this, in the nineteenth century one has been able to get the whole collected except about two verses. The fact is also of interest in a linguistic sense, in that it shows that the Faröese must have stood a great deal closer to the Icelandic in the sixteenth century than now; such a complete oral appropriation of so extensive an Icelandic poem in the Faröes would in any other case have been unthinkable.² With the commencement of modern times, however, the Icelandic influence on the Faröes decreases more and more in contrast with that coming from Norway and Denmark, which is supported

¹ The best preserved Faröese version, published in "Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," Copenhagen, 1869, has thirty-five verses.

² In passing it may be observed that the characteristic Icelandic "Rime-Literature" (narrative poems), which blossomed in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, have also left their trace in the Faröes, although there is now-a-days only a little of this remaining. As an example the Faröese, or Icelandic-Faröese, Rime "Korald's Kvæði" (the lay of Konrad, the Emperor's son), improperly called "kvad" (lay), may be cited. It has the Icelandic "Rimur's" own ways of representation and of paraphrasing designations, and the same metre (a sort of end-rhyme metre, *runhenda*), which distinguishes a number of younger Icelandic Rimur. There are some Icelandic "Konráðs Rimur" about Konrad, the Emperor's son, preserved, but the Faröese version cannot spring from these.

by a regular trading connection with those lands. After the Reformation Danish became predominant as the official speech in the islands, especially as the church-speech, and as the speech in which religious instruction was given. There is no mention of any regular Faröese system of parish schools until far on in the nineteenth century; a Latin school, however, existed in Thorshavn down to 1804. A proof of the strong intellectual influence from Norway, even in the eighteenth century, is the fact that several poems by the Norwegian folk-poet, Peter Dass (published after his death, in 1708), were so widely spread, and took root so firmly in the Faröes, that there are still to be found a number of Faröese who know great portions of "Nordland's Trumpet" and several of Dass's scriptural songs by heart, mostly from oral tradition. Of modern Danish poetry, from the Reformation to our day, Thomas Kingo's hymns alone can be said to have become in the same way the spiritual possession of the Faröese people. The greatest part of the Faröese folktales are in their present shape fairly young, the majority being of Danish and Norwegian origin. Not till 1814, with the separation of Norway from Denmark and its union with Sweden, does the influence from Norway fall wholly into the shade before that of Denmark, by reason of the political conditions and the closer connection of the Faröes with Denmark.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

In a *political* respect the Faröes consisted from the first of a single law-district, that is to say, were ruled by one Lawman, who was chief officer of the islands and president of the Lawthing or Assembly of Laws, which was held in Thorshavn in Strømo.¹ The Lawman again was under a royal Sheriff. The islands were a part of Norway until 1709, when the Danish-Norwegian

¹Thorshavn is mentioned as the meeting-place of the Lawthing as early as in Færeyingasaga.

king, Frederick IV., placed them under the county of Sealand (Denmark). Not till 1816 were the institutions of Lawman and Assembly of Laws given up and the islands made into a separate district in the Danish kingdom. They shared in the constitution of 1849, and have since sent two members to the Danish Parliament, to the Folkething and Landsting respectively. In 1852 the Farøese Lawthing was re-established, but in another shape than before, as a District Council with enlarged powers, among others with the initiative in proposing laws for the islands.

In an ecclesiastical aspect the Farøes were until the Reformation a bishopric, under the see of the Archbishop of Thronthjem (the bishops had their seat at Kirkebø in Strømø), and later on a deanery. Among the bishops only Erlend (at the close of the thirteenth century), founder of the never completed stone cathedral at Kirkebø, need be mentioned.

MONOPOLY OF TRADE.

The most important points in the history of the islands in modern times are the years when the trade passes from one hand to another as a monopoly, most frequently burdensome. Throughout the Middle Ages the trade had been free, although it had fallen more and more into the hands of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen. In the latter half of the sixteenth century it became a monopoly, first of two Copenhagen and afterwards of a Hamburg merchant, and it was in succeeding ages in the hands of merchants, now of Copenhagen, now of Hamburg or Bergen.

For a short series of years (about 1580) the Farøese Magnus Heinesen had the privilege of trade, and the right to fit out a ship as a man-of-war, in order to rid the Farøese seaways of pirates. About his exploits in battle against the pirates there are still legends. Magnus Heinesen soon lost his privilege, being accused of various irregularities; a short time after he was imprisoned in

Copenhagen for piracy (the capture of an English merchant ship), and was beheaded in 1589; but the year after he was honourably acquitted, the sentence was annulled, and Heinesen's corpse was honourably buried. In the seventeenth century the trade was carried on, first by the so-called Icelandic Company in Copenhagen, and next by the royal Secretary of State, Christoph von Gabel, who received the islands in fee, and after him by his son Frederik von Gabel, until 1709, when the trade became a royal monopoly. As such it continued for about a century and a half.

POUL NOLSØ AND FREE TRADE.

In 1804 the Faröese shipmaster, Poul Nolsø, raised a strong agitation for free trade, as the only means of placing the islands upon something of an economic footing; but in this he found but slight support among the population, which, although it lived under very burdensome conditions, was yet fearful of a new state of things. The local authorities placed all possible hindrances in his way; amongst other things an action for smuggling was brought against him. It may be observed here that the leading officials themselves at this very time carried on a smuggling trade. As a sort of revenge, Nolsø composed his satire, "*Fugla kvæði*," "*The Lay of the Birds*," in which he represented the officials in the likeness of birds of prey (the Administrator of Trade is, for instance, a raven); the birds of prey persecute the small birds (the common people), as whose protector the oyster-catcher (Nolsø himself) comes forward. On Nolsø's early death in 1809—he was lost at sea—everything returned to the old grooves. The monopoly lasted thus until 1856, when the trade at last became free.

RESULTS OF FREE TRADE.

After the introduction of free trade the little Faröese community, hitherto so shut off and oppressed, came into full contact with the surrounding world. One trading

place after another rose up, one fishing ship after another was built, and a new period begins whose chief characteristics are the quickly advancing material and economic development of the islands. The population grew in maturity and fitness for self-government. But one thing which could not be avoided was that the new ideas which came from outside and set a new impression on the way of life and mode of thought of the population, worked the undoing of the existing individualistic Faröese culture. Men began to lose interest in and to forget the traditions handed down through the centuries. Intellectual life in the Faröes before the free trade period was to a very great extent maintained by the so-called "Kvældsæder," evening seats or evening gatherings, which took place in the winter, when folk, after the close of the day's work, gathered together in their houses. Here were revived the old legends and stories which had been handed down from the elder generations orally through centuries—legends and stories concerning the history of the Faröes and life in the islands in earlier times. The elders took turns to narrate, and the youth listened. Here, likewise, Faröese lays and Danish folk-songs, handed down orally through the centuries, were sung, and thus it came about that it was not exclusively the old mediæval "song-dances," still linked to them, which preserved the native lays from oblivion. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Faröese public culture and intellectual life was then in the main dependent on and maintained by these winter-evening gatherings. When we look at the question apart from religious instruction, we see that here youth received its special culture. But when the many trading-steads arose in the several districts (before 1856 there were only four trading-places in all in the Faröes, and before 1836 only a single one, namely Thorshavn) gatherings in the warehouses began to displace as a means of recreation the "Kvældsæder," until these latter altogether disappeared, and therewith the special life linked to them—a very grievous exchange. The handing down of earlier tradition, once so rich, is

now but a shadow of what it used to be. The lays are even now frequently sung for dances; but half of them are known to the younger generation, taken on the average, scarcely much more than by name, and some have quite died out.¹

SATIRE AND MODERN LAYS.

In connection herewith must be named a characteristic local form of poetical composition: satirical and mocking songs, the so-called "Táttar," in lay-form, and generally with a refrain.² These, which take for their target people in some comic situation or other, are sung pretty generally to dances, and have not seldom occasioned poetic quarrels. This form of poetry still puts forth constantly new shoots. A younger contemporary of P. Nolsø, namely, Jens Christian Djurhuus, has with great success composed lays in the style of the old hero-songs, on subjects from the *Færeyingasaga*.

WORK OF RECORDING.

The special recording of Faröese lays did not begin till 1781. It was the son of a Faröese priest, Jens Christian Svabo, who made the beginning. Afterwards many continued the work in the nineteenth century, among them specially two Faröese farmers, Johannes Klementsén of Sandø and Hans Hansen of Fuglø, and the work was brought to a conclusion by Dean V. U. Hammershaimb. The whole of the vast material in a transcript made by Svend Grundtvig and Jørgen Bloch is now preserved in the Great Royal Library in Copenhagen. The recording of legends was not commenced

¹ I speak here of the specially Faröese lays, folk-songs in Faröese speech; because, as already hinted, a number of Danish folk-songs are also sung by the Faröe people as accompaniment to their dances, and these, at all events in the Northern islands, have been far better preserved than the Faröese. The Southern islands are, at the present day, the special home of the Faröese lays proper, but here also they are being driven out.

² To these belongs the "Fugla-kvæði" mentioned above.

till the nineteenth century, when it was undertaken by a clergyman (J. H. Schröter). The collecting of legends was continued by Dean Hammershaimb, who is also the real founder of modern Faröese prose literature. By the side of the old traditional composition of satirical songs a Faröese poetry of modern make has now sprung up among the latest generation. It consists mainly of lyrical poems, songs and hymns. There are also dramatic experiments, built partly on local themes. For the rest, the Faröese speech has been used in the local press side by side with Danish for about fifteen years, and has been thereby developed for journalistic use.

NORWAY.

Mr. Haakon Schetelig, District Secretary, Bergen, writes :—

THE SHIP FIND IN SLAGEN.

AMONG the archæological novelties of this year in Norway, one discovery has been of such great importance, and has taken so predominant a part of the public interest, that all others must be put aside as common and indifferent compared with it. The discovery of the new Viking ship in Slagen, close to the old town of Tønsberg, is really one of those rare and lucky incidents by which our knowledge of the old times gets a larger addition than by years of difficult and assiduous researches. Though this find, as belonging to the eastern part of Norway, is not within the district of which I have been especially appointed Secretary, I have been exhorted by the Hon. Editor of the SAGA BOOK to give a short account of this exceedingly interesting find. During eight weeks I worked in the digging as the assistant of Professor Gustafson, the special excavation of the ship itself having begun just before my arrival, and being finished the same day I left the place. Consequently I was able to study from personal observation the arrangement of the grave,

its furniture, and the ship itself; but, as I have not at present the opportunity of giving a more precise description of the archæological results, I must content myself with relating the general features of the excavation and of the find.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DISCOVERY.

On the ground of the farm Oseberg there was in earlier times a very large mound, situated close to the little brook which runs past the church at Slagen to the bay of Traela, east of Tønsberg. Though it is now at a distance of about 3 km. from the sea, old people of the parish always told, as a tradition from their forefathers, that a ship had once been buried in the said mound, and that traces were still to be seen of the channel through which the ship had been taken up from the sea. I heard of this tradition from Doctor Grimsgaard of Aasgaardstrand, whose father was for a long time the clergyman of Slagen. During the nineteenth century the mound, used for supplying earth to the churchyard, had been diminished by about one-half of its height, and had consequently totally lost the appearance of a funeral monument. But during the work of digging and transporting the earth the peasants often observed that the ground had on this spot another consistency than elsewhere, the mound being throughout composed of regular strata of sods, and that it consequently must have been artificially built. As is common in such cases, rumours about hidden treasure were not missing, and some years ago they induced a peasant of the neighbourhood to buy the ground, with the special purpose of digging up what might be resting in the interior of the mound.

During his digging in October last year he soon met with the top of a mast, and by following it downwards made his way to the centre of the grave, just at the same place where other robbers, many hundred years ago, had broken the roof of the grave-chamber. The trench, made in a hurry, being not very large, he could see only a little of the larger oaken planks forming the roof, and a small

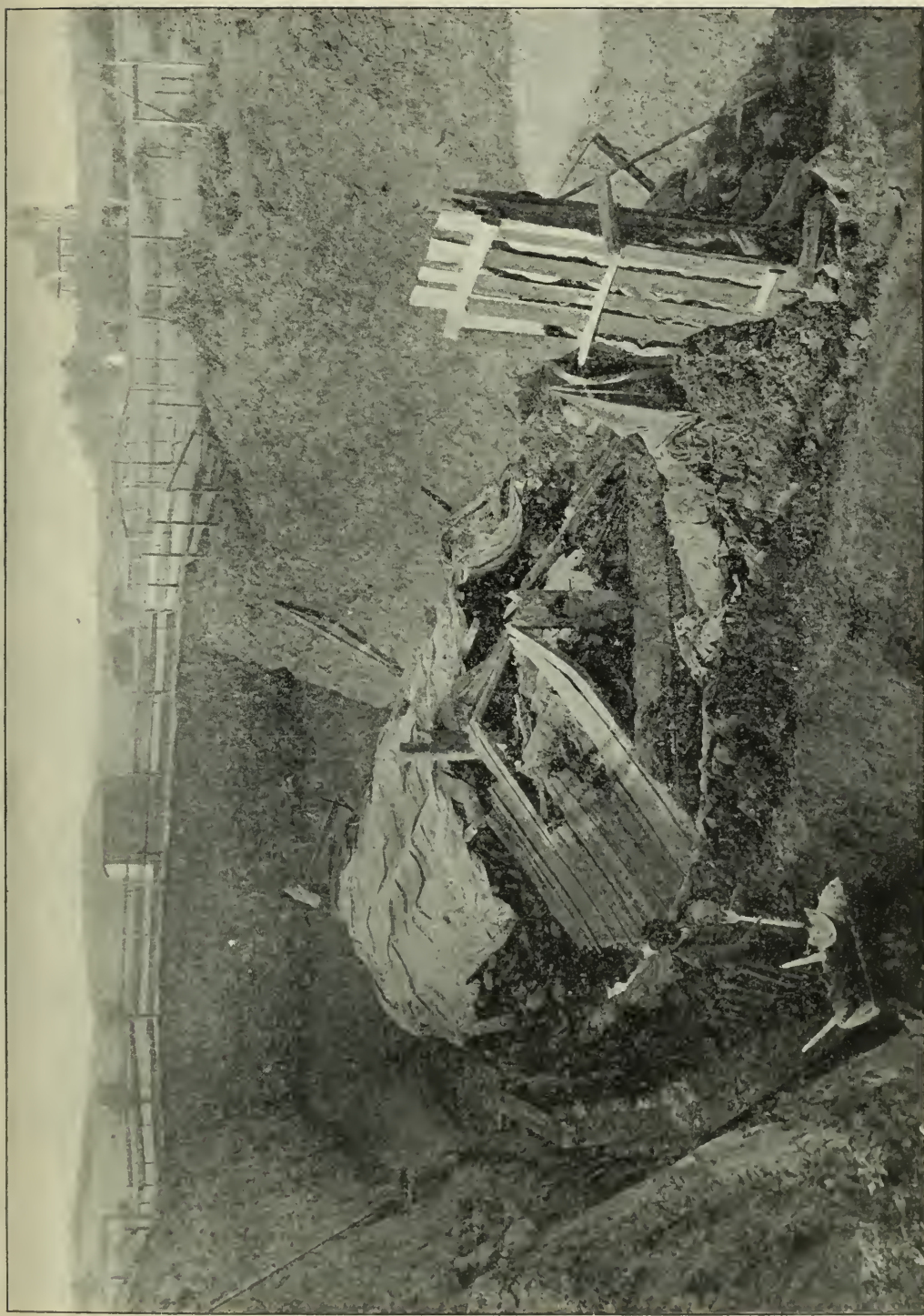
part of the bottom of the ship ; he found, too, some fragments of carved wooden objects, but of course could understand nothing of it, especially as the interior of the mound seemed to be full of water, welling forth from the sides and the bottom of the trench. He then sent for Mr. G. Gustafson, Professor of Archæology at the University of Christiania.

The season being already far advanced no systematic digging could be begun that year, and an arrangement was made with the farmer, not without many difficulties, as the laws of Norway in such cases give a very unsatisfactory protection to the interests of science and national history. At last it was agreed that a complete excavation should take place the next summer, to be executed by the Professor of the University under the authority of the Government.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION.

The mere technical part of the work was not without its interest, as unusually large quantities of earth had to be removed, the drainage to be regulated, and a supply of water to be procured for keeping the ancient wood moist, so that it should not crack and be warped by drying. The skilful solution of these questions does great honour to Professor Gustafson and his engineer assistant. The grave had its place in a natural recess of the clay soil, which had been for a thousand years full of water, a circumstance especially favourable to the preservation of the wood. The summer being very hot the water had to be kept there as long as possible, and by a clever arrangement it could be let off in portions whenever it became necessary for the progress of the excavation. Fresh water for sprinkling over the wood was procured through a conduit from the brook ; the sprinkling was required several times a day, in spite of the excavated parts being always covered with moss and cloths.

As to the digging, a trench was made corresponding to the supposed dimensions of the ship, and it turned

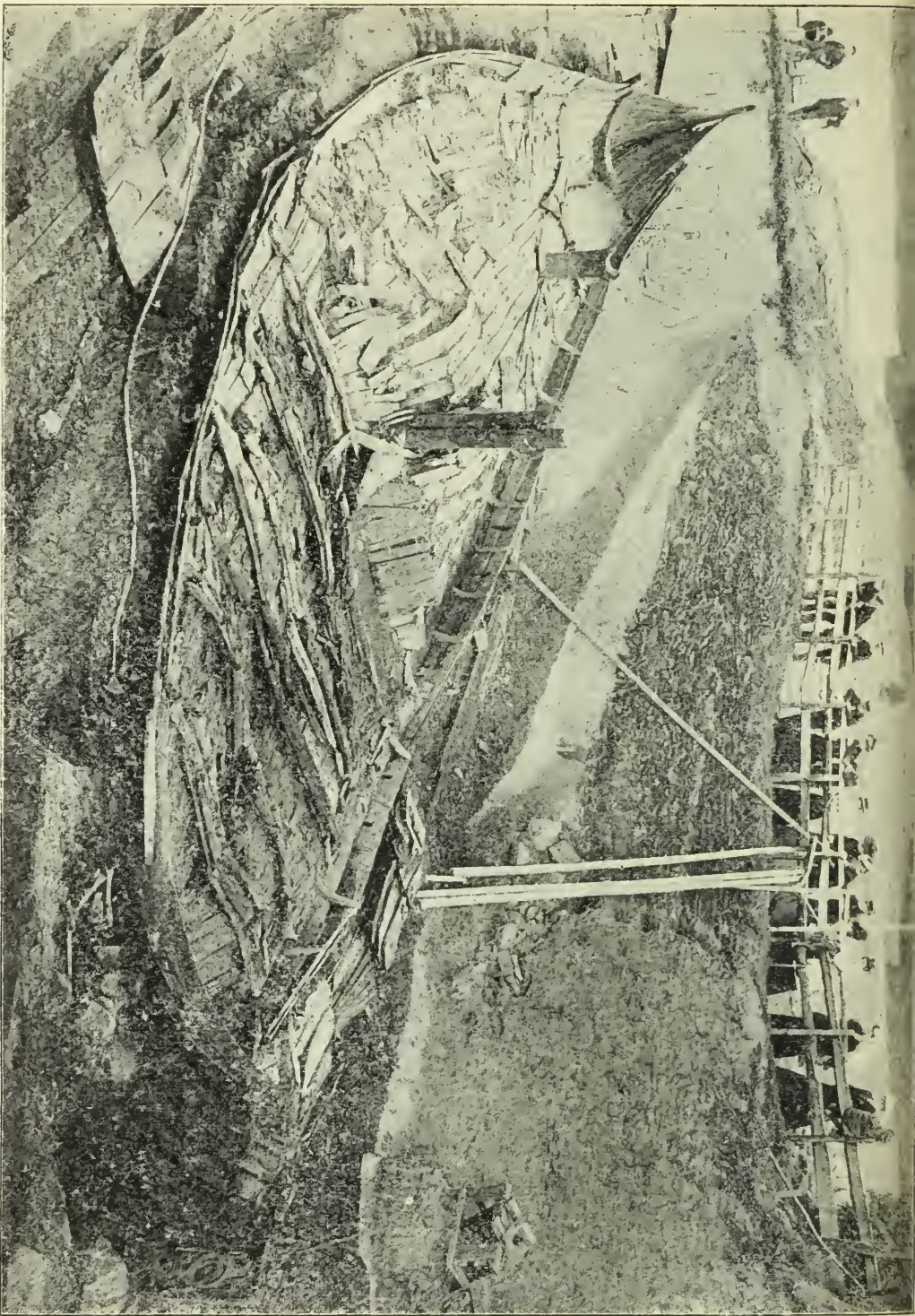


From a photograph by

THE SLAGEN SHIP.

1.—Partially excavated, showing the Grave-chamber. (Looking forward.)

[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.



From a photograph by]

THE SLAGEN SHIP.

[Joh. Henriksen, Tjomsberg.

out to be as accurate as possible; no addition to it was required throughout the digging, and the space in the bottom of the trench was just as large as was necessary for completing the excavation. Very rarely is an archæologist allowed to enjoy so complete a verification of his presumptions, and the work as a whole exceeded all expectations.

CONDITION AND CONTENTS OF THE GRAVE.

The contents of the grave were without exception found in an astonishing state of preservation. When uncovered the wood had not only preserved its form, but had a quite fresh looking colour, which, however, soon darkened through the influence of air and daylight. The grass and other small plants, which had come here accidentally so long ago during the building of the mound, were found green and undisturbed, and a botanist could make a good collection of them for his herbarium. Some young branches of alder were taken up from the bottom of the ship, where they had been exposed to no pressure, with their leaves green and slightly curled as when still living. In such conditions of course not a piece of the things which had once come into the mound was missing through decomposition; but, in spite of this, the ship and its furniture were greatly damaged, in consequence partly of the strange arrangement of the grave, partly of a robbery executed probably at some time during the Viking age.

The arrangement of the grave was as follows: a ship, a little more than 21 m. long, had been placed upon the untouched clay soil, its sides being supported by a quantity of clay filled in under it after it had been brought to the spot. Behind the mast a chamber had been constructed of large oaken planks, the top of the roof being supported by two perpendicular beams, very solid, and resting upon the keel of the ship. Outside the chamber the whole of the ship was filled with innumerable objects: kitchen utensils, instruments of weaving, four sledges, a

large carriage, 28 oars, other large pieces of wood belonging to the outfit of the ship, etc. The whole grave, with the ship and all the other things, had then been covered with heaps of heavy and sharp-edged stones, thrown together without any care for the objects, and consequently most of them had been broken and damaged. The ship had been much deformed too by the pressure of the mound bending outwards the sides of the fore and hind-parts. The middle of the ship, protected against direct pressure by the solid chamber, had gone through a transformation still worse, as the clay soil, giving way to the pressure on all sides around the chamber, found here an open space not yet filled. The keel and the bottom of the ship, which could by themselves offer little resistance to such forces, were broken and pressed upwards against the roof of the chamber. This process probably began a short time after the funeral, it being certain at least that it was rather advanced at the time when the robbers broke into the grave. It was seen that they had at first made a hole in the roof close to the mast, as large as would give convenient passage for one man only, and then, probably finding the bottom already pressed up to such a height as to make it difficult to move under the roof, they had cut off the tops of nearly all the planks on both sides of the ridge. The chamber, however, must have been in some degree more accessible at that time than now; for instance, a chest, which it was now impossible to see, and far less to touch without removing a large part of the roof, had been broken and emptied by the robbers. Another chest placed close to the left side of the chamber was found unbroken and still having its contents—several instruments for women's work—in a wonderful state of preservation. We may conclude consequently that at the sides of the chamber the bottom had already at the time of the robbery been pressed close to the roof, thus preserving many objects from the fury of the plundering.

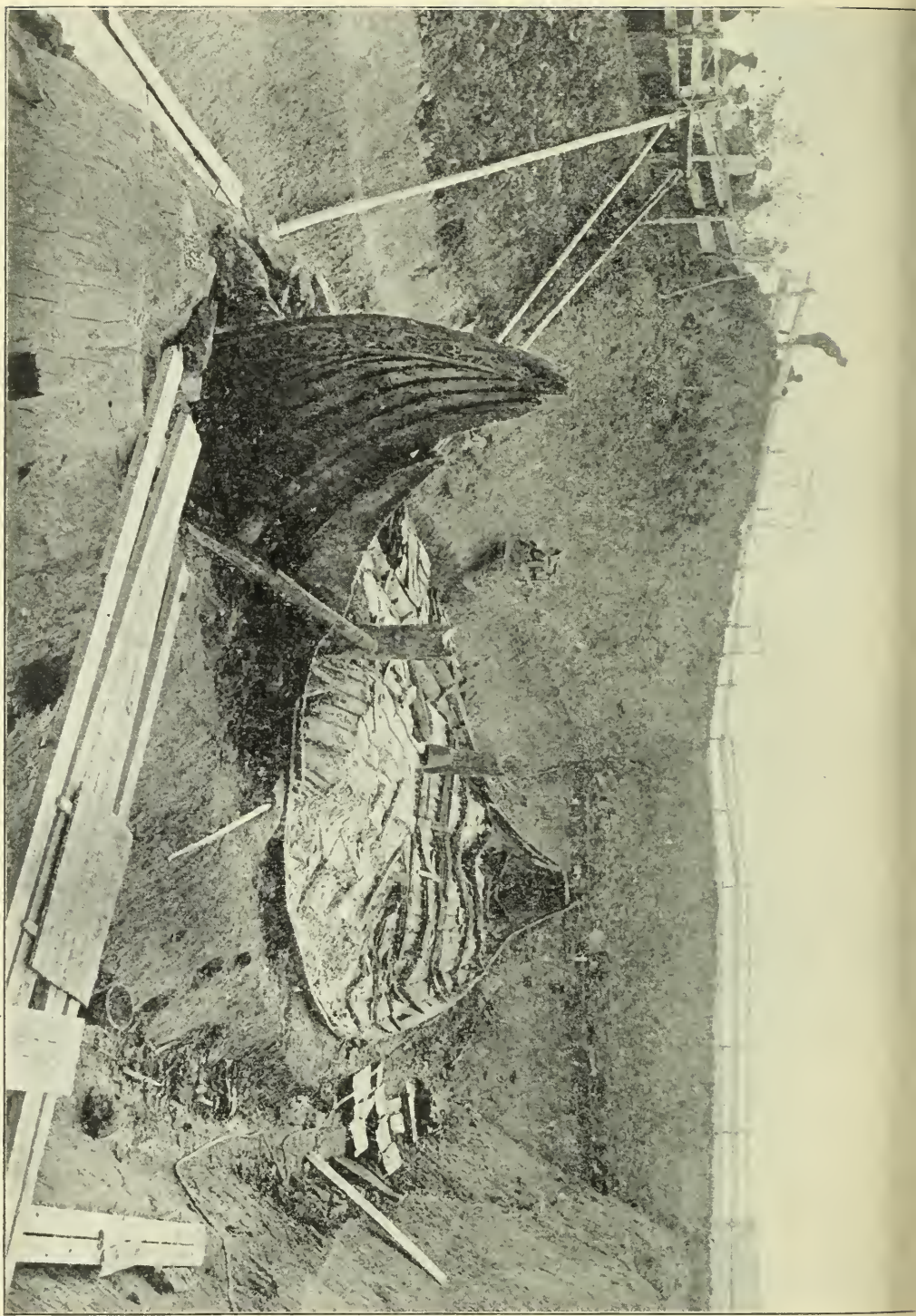


From a photograph by]

THE SLAGEN SHIP.

3.—Looking forward from port quarter.

[Joh. Henriksen, Tønsberg.



From a photograph by]

THE SLAGEN SHIP.

[Joh. Henriksen, Tonsberg.

Looking forward from the starboard quarter.

RESULTS OF THE EARLIER PLUNDERING.

The chief part of the furniture of the grave, having its place in the central part of the chamber, had been taken up and ransacked in the broad trench opened on this occasion through the mound. The bottom of this trench could now be distinguished by heaps of fragments and broken objects of the most various kinds, stretching downwards from the southern slope of the mound, touching the prow, the top of which has probably been cut off by the robbers, and from there in the direction of the centre of the mound straight towards the mast and the chamber. Fortunately its level is a little higher than the fore-part of the ship, which has in this way escaped devastation. The robbers seem to have worked in a great hurry and to have revelled in the destruction of all objects which they thought of no value; even some human bones, belonging to two persons, probably both females, were found among the other wreckage in the trench, the skulls knocked to pieces, and several of the other bones broken.

Naturally this part of the find has furnished no complete and instructive object, but some of the fragments found here have good carved ornament, and some others give informations which will be found remarkable, even compared with the untouched contents of the rest of the ship. These things, too, will always deserve study, as the only remains of the central part of the grave containing the person in whose honour a sacrifice so immensely expensive was made.

HUMAN AND ANIMAL REMAINS.

The somewhat surprising circumstance of finding in one grave the remains of two persons buried is most likely explained by supposing that its chief occupant, no doubt a lady belonging to the highest class of society, was accompanied by her female servant. The same thing has been observed in other graves, for instance, in the remarkable find from *Donnes* in *Nordland*, where of two skeletons found, the one had its place in the hind-

part of the ship, the other outside, close to the stern ; here also it was certainly a woman's grave.

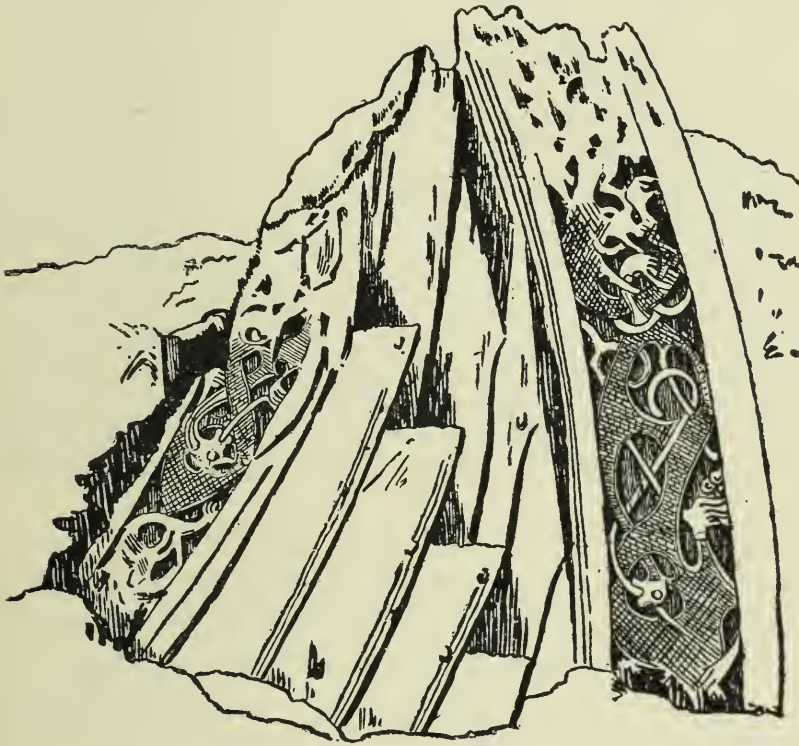
More common is the occurrence of beasts in graves from the Viking age, though none of them, except in the case of the Gokstad ship, has in this respect been so richly supplied as the ship in Slagen. In the hind-part, close to the stern, was found a young ox, placed upon a broad oaken plank ; in the fore-part, ten horses, four dogs, and the cut-off head of an old ox, the last-mentioned carelessly placed in a richly-decorated bed belonging to the furniture of the ship ; finally, three more horses were discovered outside on both sides of the prow. The horses and the dogs all had their heads cut off. Around the legs of the horses were found the ropes used for binding them when they were slain, so well preserved that they could still be unknotted ; the dogs were provided with iron chains fastened to broad iron collars.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

As remarked above, I have not the opportunity of giving a detailed description of the find until the report of the University has appeared. I can only mention that many of the objects, such as the sledges and the carriage, are quite new discoveries, showing forms and constructions seen by no human eye for the last thousand years, or which afford the explanation of old riddles which have hitherto puzzled the astuteness of archæologists. The most important point, however, about the find is the carved ornamentation, appearing on such a scale and with such refinement as no one would have dared to expect at that remote time. We have here an ornamentation not only excelling in fine and decorative patterns, but also in technical ability of carving never surpassed and rarely reached in the decorations of the *stav-kirke*.

As mentioned above, the ship was too much broken to be moved complete ; it has now been taken up in pieces, and it is doubtful whether it will be possible to restore it to the original form. It was, however, measured and drawings made of it, while still *in situ*, by marine engi-

neers in State employment, placed at the Professor's disposal by the Government. Through this very carefully executed work we have exact knowledge of all the principal points respecting the ship. It was a little shorter than the Gokstad ship, nearly of the same breadth as that, but much lower above the water-line. It has consequently not been a ship meant for the open sea, and, though it is provided with a mast, it was no doubt intended principally for rowing, and not for sailing, as the



port-holes for the oars have no shutters. After all it must be regarded as a very large boat, broad and open, built for short journeys in the calm waters of the Christiania-fjord. Its elegant lines and rich decoration will be seen from the illustrations from photographs, taken the day when the excavation was completed, showing the ship cleared of all its contents. Such a ship could be built only for a person of the highest rank, perhaps for the personal use of a queen. The above figure shows on a large scale part of the carving on one of the stems.

Many things indicate that it was already an old ship at the time of its interment, and that it had been for a long time not much used, a circumstance which is easily explained with a luxurious vessel of this sort.

FIND OF PART OF A SHIP IN RYFYLKE.

From Western Norway I will mention a find giving a useful supplement to our knowledge about the ships of the Viking age, namely, the stern of a ship, which has probably been about 20 m. long, found at Søndena in Ryfylke. The piece is 4.10 m. long, and has a broad and highly pointed termination. That this form was common in the Viking age may be concluded from some simple drawings scratched on the boards of the ship of Slagen, and representing ships with sterns of the same characteristic form; it recalls, too, some of the boats still used in Western Norway. I think, then, that the stems of the Gokstad ship have been wrongly restored in the drawing in Nicolaysen's book, and that they originally were shaped somewhat in the same way as the new-found piece from Ryfylke. An account of it has been published by Mr. Hilliesen in the "Stavanger Museum's Aarsberetning, 1903."

The piece was found together with a fragment of the prow, showing a similar form, during the digging for the construction of a road. It rested upon the original clay soil and was covered with a stratum of moss 40 cm. thick. Mr. Hilliesen supposes that it was brought here by a flood of water, which is consequently supposed to have flooded a shipbuilder's yard somewhere in the neighbourhood, as the stem has no traces of ever having been actually attached to the ship's sides.

DENMARK.

Mr. H. A. Kjær, District Secretary, writes:—

My Report for this year will take the shape of remarks on some of the most interesting finds, not from sepulchral

tombs, belonging to the Bronze Age, which have been received in the last few years by the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen. A selection of these finds has been exhibited recently. It consisted almost entirely of objects deposited in the ground as votive offerings or deposits, and formed a remarkable series; it also bore witness to the fact that we in Denmark are yet very far from the time when the earth will have surrendered completely the objects which in days gone by have been committed to it. These somewhat considerable finds bear for the most part the peculiarities of the older groups of finds in the Museum; out of about fifty finds made during the last ten years, not less than thirty-five date from the latest period of the Bronze Age. Most of these finds have come from Jutland, from its northern districts especially, and from Zealand, while Lolland-Falster during these years has only yielded a single noteworthy find, two great trumpets (Lurer) from Radbjerg Moss. The following are the most noteworthy of the finds, either for their intrinsic value, or for their relationship to other finds and the new light they throw on them.

HORNBÆK AND MØNSTED FINDS.

A plantation at Hornbæk, Zealand, yielded a foundry-find, consisting of cast objects that had been broken or were imperfect, obviously arranged with a view to their being melted up. This was dug up at a slight depth below the surface on the inner side of one of the encircling stones of a little Stone Age barrow. It consisted of celts, knives, fragments of arm and neck-rings, etc., eighteen pieces in all, and on the whole of a typical kind. Very peculiar is a find from Mønsted, in Viborg county, Jütland, a little socketed celt of bronze, brought to light from a depth of about 0.30 meter, in a little sand-bank. Inside the celt had been placed eighteen small fragments of gold, including four spirals from gold arm rings. Over them, upon the celt, a cover of some perishable matter had evidently been placed, held fast by a little

pin or peg stuck through a little hole bored in the side of the celt. The find may be compared most nearly with a small series of finds in the National Museum, each consisting of a little bronze box, with two or more payment-rings made of a thin golden wire. These finds come down from the second of the four periods of the Bronze Age; the new find, which shows the custom when no longer in its purity, is a little younger, about from the third period.

RYE AND VALSØMAGLE FINDS.

Two very characteristic and remarkable finds proceeded from Rye, near Høng, and Valsømagle, near Ringsted, both in Zealand, the first consisting solely of ornaments and other objects belonging to the equipment of a woman: three collars, three large belt-plates, and twenty-one arm and finger-rings, etc., making up in all about three complete sets; the other find was composed exclusively of objects which belong to a man. The find at Rye was made at no great depth in a gravel bank. Many of the objects are especially fine and beautiful, others are of slighter and not such careful work. Of its kind the find is the biggest hitherto known (about 40 pieces in all). But it has suffered no little, and is thus somewhat inferior to the remarkable objects in the find from Valsømagle, which include a sword, two spear heads, and two axes, the one big and very beautiful, the other one smaller, almost of palstave shape. This find was made near a large stone, not more than 85 meters from the place where an older find, almost similar, now in the Museum, was made, though the objects in the latter case were not of the same finished beauty. The sword and one of the spearheads, two weapons which, apart from the decoration, were elegantly and beautifully shaped, are ornamented on unusually fine elegant lines, the spearhead even with small figures of fishes. Moreover, all the objects are in such a remarkably fine state of preservation that they can vie with all the best from the Classical countries of the Mediterranean.

They are perhaps the most beautiful of all among the remains of Denmark's Bronze Age.

SERUP FIND.

Brief mention must be made of a find of eleven flat axes (celts) and three sickle-blades from Serup, 7 kilm. N.W. from Silkeborg, which were brought to light at the foot of a bank near a streamlet.

DEPOSIT FIND AT ALLESTRUP.

Next must be mentioned several finds of neck-rings from the Bronze Age, both of earlier and later date, which occur in pairs of a similar kind, one of those groups of finds about which it was first maintained, by Dr. Sophus Müller in particular, that they must be deposits made from religious motives. This series now numbers not less than thirty-three finds. A new one, of no less than three pairs of rings, has occurred under specially remarkable circumstances at Allestrup, in Aalborg county, Jütland. In a little marsh, which is filled up with stumps and trunks of acicular trees, lay a fir-trunk, across one of the large roots of a fir-stump that had grown on the spot, and just in the angle between the trunk and the branch stood the six rings arranged on edge, two and two. The interpretation of such rings as votive gifts must win substantial support from this. Over the whole there was a layer of turf one meter thick.

DEPOSIT FINDS AT SJØRUP AND ØLSTED.

Finally three finds of substantially the same kind, from the latest period of the Bronze Age, must be recorded, occurring at Sjørup in Viborg county, Ølsted in Zealand, and Budsene in Møen. The find from Sjørup is the biggest, but consisted of objects of smaller artistic value, two so-called "hanging vessels," two neck-rings, buckles, arm-rings, etc., all deposited in the vessels, which were placed with their mouths together, surrounded by the neck-

rings. These things stood at the bottom of a little moss surrounded by banks. The layer of moss over them is of a dry form, not produced in water. The conditions also answered to what may be supposed to have been the case in our great moss-finds from the Iron Age. The Ølsted find consisted of objects very finely executed and decorated, a hanging vessel, a great belt ornament, two buckles, shaped like spectacles $\bigcirc\sim\bigcirc$, and an arm-ring. The things were deposited in a clay vessel, one meter deep in the earth, beside a great stone.

SACRIFICIAL FIND AT MØEN.

The most interesting find of all is, however, the Møen find from Budsene, west of the Klinteskov, and near the Baltic. Thirty years ago a little winding watercourse was replaced by a straight ditch. While this was being dug part of a log of wood was found, containing within it some bones of animals. Last summer the ditch had to be cleaned out, and during this work they struck upon the log again, but found in it this time, besides the bones of animals, some beautiful bronze things: a "hanging vessel," wherein were deposited three spiral arm-rings, entangled in each other, covered first with a great convex belt-ornament, and over that with another smaller vessel, which was turned bottom up, so that the whole was almost spherical. The bones of animals were mostly those of oxen (three full-grown and two calves); some of sheep (two and one lamb), and a few of swine and horses. None of them bore marks of gnawing by dogs or beasts of prey. The bronze goods, as well as the animals' bones, were found inside the log, which was of alder wood, open above and below like a barrel. It was set round with stones, and was fully two-thirds of a meter broad, and half a meter high, though, since the uppermost part of it had already rotted away, the original height was probably a little more. This log had been in old days sunk through the layer of soil and a layer of clay, together about two-thirds of a meter deep, down to the

surface of a layer of dense, waterbearing quicksand, so that water could collect inside it. The water was unusually rich in mineral salts. The antiquities are reported by the finder to have stood about midway down in the log, and the whole dates from the period B.C. 600-400.

The animals' bones and bronze objects can scarcely be explained in any other way than as a sacrificial deposit, with its two characteristic features, the sacrifice of animals and the votive gift, the same combination that is so well known from the Classic soil as well as from our own less remote antiquity. Moreover, the fact that only the skeleton and selected parts of the animal were offered up answers also to the universal practice. For these there was space in the log of wood. The remaining parts were used for the sacrificial meal. That they bore no trace of burning, in opposition to the practice elsewhere, could also be reconciled with accounts we have of German offerings.

That the horse was known in the Bronze Age has indeed been long admitted ; the latest instance is its appearance drawing the sun-disc¹ ; nevertheless, its bones are very rare. A couple of teeth were found in the well-known Maglehøj-find, together with the rest of a "wizard's" equipment, weasel-bones, rowan-twigs, etc. In the neighbourhood of the trumpets from Radbjerg Moss, in Falster, mentioned above, among the bones of other domesticated animals, horse-bones were also picked up, though these lay so near the surface that hitherto antiquaries have omitted to take them into account. The find from Budsene has increased the probability of these horse-bones also dating from days of old. In Skaane a horse's skull has been found with a flint dagger embedded in the middle of its forehead. This animal was apparently not slain in the chase, but slaughtered, sacrificed, and must most likely be referred not to the Stone Age, but to a later period, maybe the Bronze Age itself. In several ritual and ceremonial uses the employment of

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., p. 381.

flint was continued, without doubt, long after the Stone Age had ended, both within and without Europe. Everything points directly to the fact that the horse in the Bronze Age was a new and much valued domestic animal. In later antiquity it was certainly also the animal most esteemed and most generally used for sacrifices. Very much of the material which would enable us to draw a comparison between the practice in the Bronze Age and later periods is still lacking, even though one thing or another points to some continuity between the different periods of antiquity. Yet it is strange to find in a scholiast to Adam of Bremen a statement that there was a spring at the temple of the gods at Upsala, where the offerings of the heathen were made. Besides this, the sacrifice of horses is already known as extending over the whole cycle of Indo-European culture, from India, over Asia Minor, and through the Classical folk to the Germans; in some places it stood in connection with sun-worship.

Now whether the Budsene find can be explained precisely in this direction must remain for the present uncertain. That it is a votive and sacrificial find may be regarded as certain, but in that case it may be possible to conjecture, with regard to a great number of other deposits in fields and turf-mosses, that religious motives may have been contributory to the act of laying them away in the earth. It seems possible that the vast majority of these finds are in reality memorials of religious practices among our Bronze Age folk.

RESEARCH.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

By J. G. GARSON, M.D., President.

WHEN contemplating as to what subject I should address you upon this evening, it occurred to me that I could not select a more suitable or appropriate topic than "Research," which may truly be denominated the life-blood of any society having for its aim scientific work of a serious and solid character. I need hardly detain you to explain that by Research I mean the carrying out of investigations on a particular subject with the object of advancing our knowledge of that subject beyond the limits of what was previously known respecting it, just as the geographer does who makes an expedition into a hitherto unknown, or but partially explored country, for the purpose of ascertaining what information he can respecting it, and so advancing the boundary of knowledge with regard to that part of the world.

The analogy between the geographical exploration of a country and the investigation of an anthropological or a biological subject is really closer than may at first sight appear, notwithstanding that the former involves miles of travel, whereas the latter is conducted in the quietude of the laboratory or the study, and the requirements of the one may be used to illustrate those of the other. In the first place, it is essential to success that the Geographer and the Investigator should each be a thorough and exact observer and recorder of everything

that is to be seen or learned while conducting his own particular research. This means that, before they can profitably start on their investigations, each has to prepare himself for his work by previous general, as well as special, training in his particular science. Without this training a man cannot observe aright, or narrate, in a competent manner, the most salient phenomena observable in the course of an investigation or a journey. He requires to serve an apprenticeship, or, in other words, to discipline and educate his mind to the work, a process which requires time and application just as much as the acquisition of a foreign language does. Therefore the geographer must, amongst other things, learn surveying, mapping, and the use of the various instruments required in topography and geodesy, while the anthropologist requires to make himself familiar with the structural and comparative morphology and the embryological development of vertebrate animals, as well as with that of man, his physiology, teratology, pathology, and likewise his handiwork. But before starting on any special quest, each has to mature plans on which to pursue his research. The geographer has to make himself acquainted with the characteristics of the country adjacent to that unknown territory into which he is about to penetrate, so as to enable him, as far as he can, to prepare for the work before him and, to equip his expedition in the best possible manner, he must be able to take advantage of whatever information there may exist to assist him. So the anthropologist or biologist has to make himself acquainted with what is already known of the subject he proposes to investigate up to the frontier beyond which he intends to pursue his investigations, and he has to determine the general principles on which his investigations are to be conducted. Once started on their work, there will be ample opportunities for each to prove his capabilities to meet new and unforeseen experiences by modifying and adapting his plans and procedure to circumstances as they may arise. Indeed his ultimate success in wresting from Nature some new secret

will materially depend upon his skill and ingenuity in this respect.

But research does not end with massing together a large number of accurately made observations and descriptions, or records of experiments from which every source of error has as far as possible been eliminated. These are undoubtedly of the utmost value, and constitute the data from which the completed investigation must be ultimately constructed. Nevertheless they are, for the most part, but little more than the raw materials upon which the investigator must work, notwithstanding the vast amount of labour, time, and money which in many cases it is necessary to expend in procuring them. They have to be critically examined and analysed, and their meaning has to be reasoned out by a well-balanced and discerning mind. Thought and reflection upon the observations are as requisite in scientific research to determine their true significance, and the inferences which may rightly be drawn from them, as accuracy is in making and recording the observations themselves; and this concentration of the mind on the work in hand must be exercised by the investigator throughout the whole course of his research. To embark upon scientific research with any hope of success, therefore, requires much general and special training, as I have previously insisted, and high qualifications which can only be gained by diligent and prolonged study, as the skilled investigator is never born such, but has to work his way to eminence through college and laboratory. These statements apply not only to investigations and investigators in one branch of science, but in all, because, although the number of branches into which Natural Science has become specialised is great, and each has its own particular or specialised method of procedure, the underlying principles on which investigations are conducted are essentially the same in all, however divergent the appliances and special processes used in each may be.

It is only when research is conducted on the lines indicated that we can expect solid progress to be made in the

advancement of scientific knowledge, and the position attained by the investigator will materially depend on the closeness with which he adheres to scientific methods, his powers of improving his armament for observation, and the mental capability which he is able to bring to bear generally upon his work. Preconceived ideas must ever be rigidly and severely excluded from the mind of the investigator, as they have no place in research.

From what I have said it will be obvious that, for anyone to propose to take up research, without possessing previous training in science and scientific methods of work and thought, is to attempt the impossible, and can only end in failure and disappointment. I am constrained to allude to this, because I have known most estimable persons who sometimes, after years of successful engagement in business or other avocation, finding themselves in the position of having more leisure than formerly, and being interested in some field of science, have made attempts to pursue investigations therein. These, when brought forward, after an immense amount of labour has been spent on their production, have, to put it in the mildest form, not met with the success which their authors anticipated. The reason for this is often attributed to the "jealousy of a professional clique," or some similar cause, whereas the unhappy result has entirely arisen from defective methods being employed in the observations, absence of controls to eliminate error, defects in appreciation of the relative significance of phenomena observed, disregard of the general and well-established principles or natural laws dominant throughout the science, unjustifiable deductions and conclusions the result of imperfect knowledge of the subject, and not unfrequently because the so-called investigation has been taken up with a view to *prove* some theory entertained by the author, or to *disprove* the conclusions legitimately arrived at by some other person, but which do not fall in with the preconceived ideas on the subject of the would-be critic—in a word, absence of scientific methods of research, a defect readily

detected by the properly trained expert in science. It may be asked, Is there not a place in the workshop of science for such a man where his energy may be utilised? or must he be content ever to remain only an interested listener and reader of the works of others? Most assuredly room can be found for him in the temple of Athene, provided he will not endeavour to emulate Icarus, but will set aside all preconceived ideas, be content to begin work in the proper way, and to limit his attempts to what is within the reach of his attainment, relying on the fact that his power of doing good work will increase with his progress in knowledge. To this end he will do best for himself to seek and follow the guidance and direction of some experienced friend, who is willing to start him on the way. And although it may be galling to him to feel that his progress is but slow, and that he can do but little at first, he should remember that "discretion is the better part of valour," and that by curbing his own impetuosity he will save himself much useless waste of energy, as well as the bitterness of disappointment. It is as true in research, as in progression, that every one of us has to creep first before we can walk, and walk before we can run.

There is perhaps less need for me to indicate the means by which the young man who has already acquired some scientific training and knowledge should proceed to qualify himself for research work, as the training of promising students willing to take it up is now a recognised part of the business of our Universities, colleges, higher technical schools, and other institutions for the higher education of men and women. But, as one who has been engaged in research for more than a quarter of a century, I would like to counsel my young friend, as I have done my older one, not to attempt a *magnum opus* till he is equal to the task, and has gained some experience. If he can have the benefit of working under and in association with an experienced investigator, who will assign to him some part to do in a research which the

former is conducting, and will supervise his work, he will find that he cannot fit himself for future independent investigation under better or more favourable auspices. But if he has to begin the work by himself, let him do so by endeavouring to clear up some limited and, as far as can be foreseen, circumscribed question, by the examination or preparation of a number of specimens, tabulating as he goes along very thoroughly and carefully the exact conditions which obtain in each instance, or by making a series of carefully designed experiments, noting very exactly the phenomena observable at each stage, and testing the accuracy of the results in every way he can think of. If, without reference to his just completed observations, he will again repeat the experiments, or the examination of his specimens, and, having done so, compare the records of his two sets of observations, he will probably find so many discrepancies, the result of inaccurate work on each occasion, as will astonish him, but certainly teach him an impressive lesson, which will amply repay him in more ways than one for the extra time he has had to spend upon the work, as well as render more reliable the deductions and conclusions he will come to from the corrected data he will thus be able to obtain. In his work let him avoid hurry, always a fruitful source of errors both of omission as well as of commission, and let him ponder much and often on his observations and what they teach him before committing himself, so that the conclusions he arrives at may be the associated work of the several parts of his brain which preside over the functions of his mind, of his eye, and of his hand. *A propos* of this, I may state, incidentally, that, when undertaking an anthropological investigation on a series of skulls of any race, I have always derived the greatest assistance in the work, if, in addition to employing the ordinary methods of craniological research, I place the specimens in front of me, so that they may be continually before my eyes for several days—in fact until I have become thoroughly familiar with each one individually, and can appreciate and deter-

mine the various points and the relative importance of the different morphological characters they present, just as if they were so many persons in the flesh. The use of control experiments, made under a series of varying conditions, is extremely valuable in every research, and not only enables the investigator to arrive at a better understanding of the nature of the phenomena presented to him, and the proper conclusions he should arrive at, but may enable him successfully to defend these conclusions, if subsequently called in question, or assailed by some one else.

The importance of research to scientific societies can readily be appreciated, because it is the source from which the most important communications for their meetings and publications are derived. Every society, therefore, endeavours to foster and encourage it, as far as its circumstances will permit, and very properly assigns to it a high place. Indeed to include among its members as many investigators as it can secure, so that its meetings may be made attractive, the pages of its publications may be enriched by their labours, and a certain amount of prestige may thus be gained for the society by its being the channel through which important discoveries and advances of knowledge are set forth to the world, is a laudable ambition for any society to have.

But the number of persons in any country who are able and competent to undertake research must, for reasons previously stated, ever be limited, and therefore too few to maintain a flourishing society in each of the different branches of science, while the cost of publishing their productions is often very considerable. It is consequently found that the best practical method in which a society can support and encourage research is to enlarge its membership as much as it can, and thereby increase the funds at its disposal for the publication of research work, by electing as many persons as possible who take an interest in the department of science which it is its special object to promote, and who desire, by associating themselves with others more skilled in the science in which they are inter-

ested than themselves, to extend and improve their own knowledge of it. In order to attract persons to become members many societies, in return for a small subscription, besides holding meetings for the reading and discussing of papers of a heavier nature, from time to time, secure the services of capable exponents to give lectures of a more popular character ; other societies give facilities to their members to take part in field work ; while as many as are able to do so support libraries, for the purpose of placing within the reach of the members books of reference and of study and the publications of other kindred societies.

Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, proffered in every case in return for a very small sum, we have to deplore the fact that scientific societies are not supported in the good work they are doing to the extent they should be by the general public in this country, and the facilities they offer for the extension and improvement of knowledge are not adequately taken advantage of. A gross lack of interest and an appalling amount of ignorance in all scientific matters exists, and unfortunately pervades all classes of the community. The injurious effects which this state of affairs is producing on the country have been and are constantly being pointed out by men of the highest eminence and authority in science, with as yet apparently but little result, unless the demand for "technical education," now on the lips of so many people as a panacea for all our shortcomings, and which in its true sense is more or less synonymous with instruction in scientific methods of work, may be regarded as a promise of better things in future and, when it becomes developed, may awaken in coming generations more interest in science and the work of scientific societies. In the meantime our own society is doing the best it can for its members as far as its means will permit, and it is ever ready to do more as it has the opportunity. Those who attend our regular meetings and who read our publications have provided for them much interesting and instructive information regard-

ing the inhabitants past and present of the northern portions of this kingdom and of Northern Europe, their literature, history, antiquities, and folklore. Some of these communications are of the highest order and importance, while the variety of topics which come before us tend to diffuse more general information than is to be obtained in a society more exclusively confining itself to a single branch of science. To those who can claim the northern counties of the Empire as their birthplace, the topics dealt with in this society should especially appeal, and I in turn would specially appeal to them to support it and the work it is doing by becoming members.

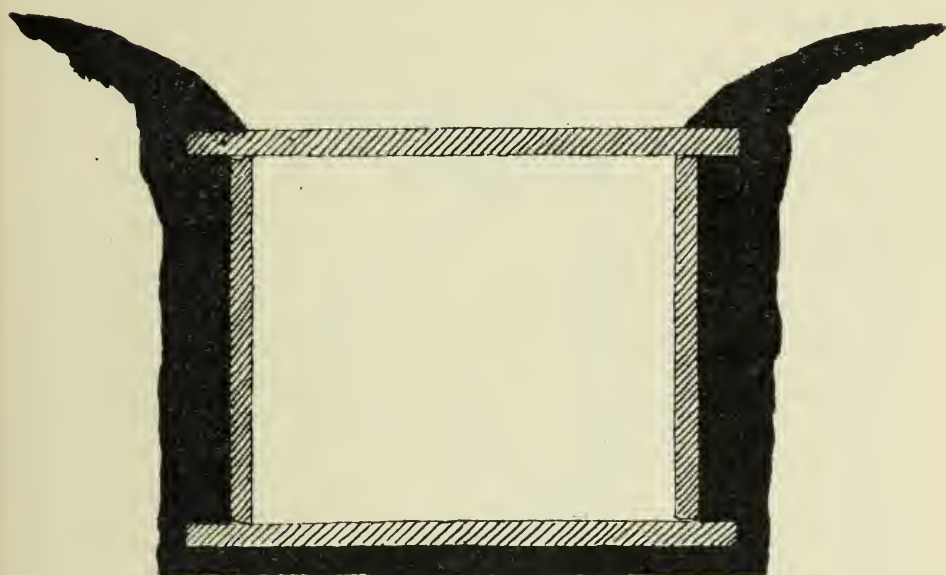
SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES FROM ORKNEY.

By M. M. CHARLESON, F.S.A.Scot.

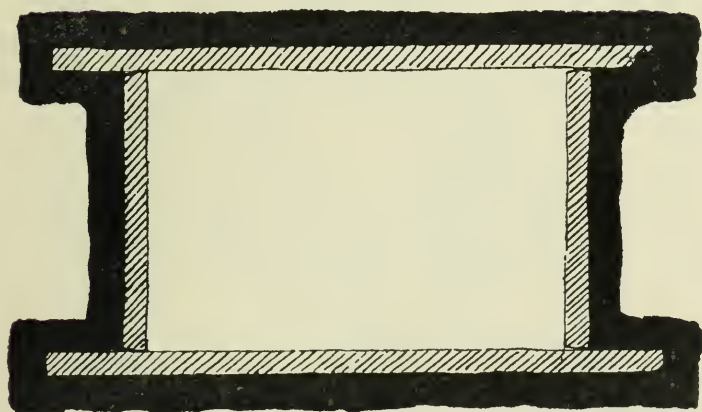
IT goes without saying that the Orkney Islands present a fine field for the anthropologist, but up to the present time, so far as I know, comparatively little has been done in this area for the science. Hitherto investigation has been confined more or less to the acquisition of industrial relics of the primitive inhabitants of the group, little or no attention having been paid to the discovery of osseous remains, which, if we are to take recent finds as a criterion, must have been plentiful. From my own experience it would not be difficult to point to instances in which valuable material from an anthropological point of view has been entirely disregarded, and that too by investigators of whom one would have expected better things. One can only regret also the wanton destruction of human remains found in tumuli and elsewhere by the agriculturist, who, bent on levelling his land and removing obstructions met with in course of ploughing, has cast aside many relics of great value to the science. In this way the area has to a considerable extent been denuded of valuable material, but, nevertheless, its attractions are still great, and its productiveness beyond question.

Grave mounds are very numerous in the islands, but on the whole they are small, and probably an exhaustive examination of them might not prove as interesting as one would imagine. I have come to this conclusion from the fact that, having a few years ago opened a number of barrows in the parish of Birsay, they were

Cist found on Farm of Hindatoun Grimestoun.
Harray Orkney Islands



• Section •



• Plan •

Scale of 0 1 2 feet.

C. F. Ellison
Liverpool. 1902

FIG. I.—CIST AT HARRAY.

found to contain only deposits of incinerated bones with cairns over them or in small cists. Not one of those examined revealed an unburnt burial. The only feature of more than passing interest was the presence in one of the cairns of a rude stone implement, examples of which have been frequently found in the islands, generally on the surface of the ground. This implement runs from 10 or more inches in length, 3 to 4 inches in breadth, and 1 to 2 inches in thickness, the ends being rounded. Hitherto the period to which this implement may belong has been matter for conjecture, but the discovery to which I have alluded would seem to show that it was either contemporaneous with or anterior to the time when burial by cremation was in vogue; in other words, the implement found in the Birsay mound may have been used by the people who erected the barrow, or it was picked up as an ordinary stone, and thrown in along with the debris over the deposit of burnt bones. Here and there, however, throughout the group, burial mounds of considerable size are met with, and these are generally found to be more productive than the smaller variety. About a year ago I investigated a burial in Harray, which consisted of a large cist (Fig. 1), the axis of which ran S.E. and N.W., and which measured 33 inches in length, 22 inches in width, and $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth. When opened, some time before I had an opportunity of examining it, the cist was found to contain a human skeleton in good preservation; but careless handling and subsequent exposure reduced the remains to the very dilapidated state in which I found them. One half of the skull, however, was intact (Fig. 2) and this was submitted to Professor Alexander McAlister, Cambridge, who gave it as his opinion that the cranium was that of a male of advanced age, but its fragmentary state precluded his giving measurements. The index of the skull vault, however, was considered to be about 80, warranting the conclusion that the cranium was referable to the second immigration. The theory of course is, that the early inhabitants of the islands were

of two distinct races, using stone and bronze implements respectively. The skulls of the earlier race, so far as examined, would seem to be dolichocephalic, and those of the later or bronze age people, to which, according to

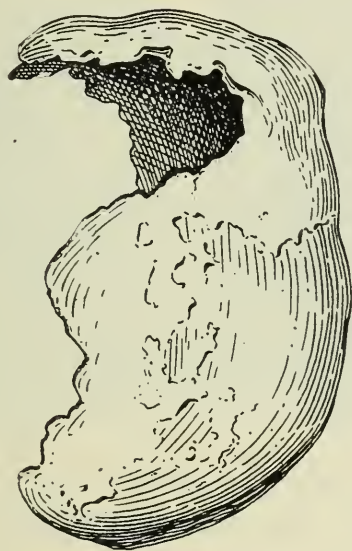


FIG. 2.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

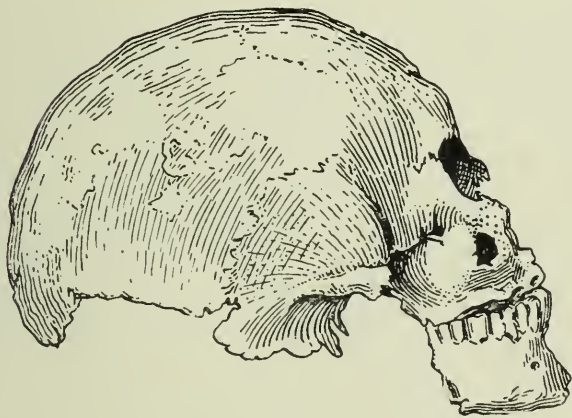


FIG. 2a.—NORMA LATERALIS.

Professor McAlister, the Harray skull belongs, brachycephalic. In this case the only industrial relic accompanying the remains was a whorl (Fig. 3), probably of bone, which lay at the feet of the skeleton. This is the first time, so far as I know, that a whorl has been found

in Orkney in association with a burial, indeed at the present moment I should say the first instance in Scotland in which such a discovery has been made. It has, however,

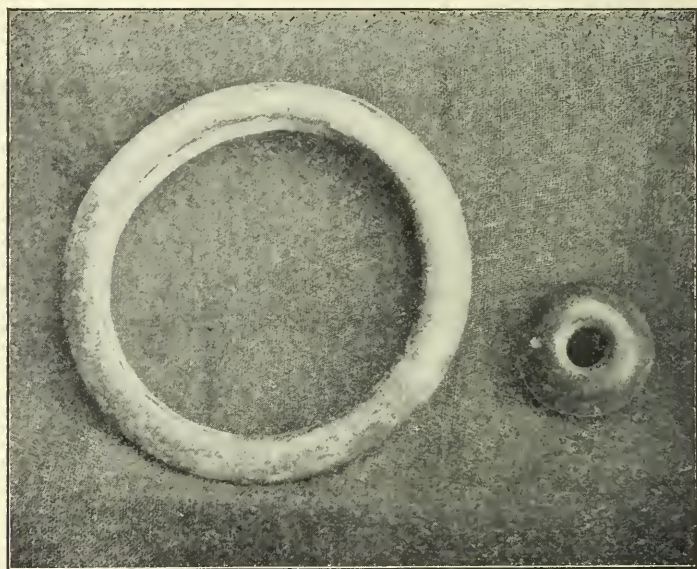


FIG. 3.—BONE WHORL.



FIG. 4.—STEATITE WHORL INSCRIBED WITH RUNES.

been found with a burial at Weaverthorpe,¹ in England, where a barrow, examined by Canon Greenwell, was



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—BONE ARMLET AND AMBER WHORL.

found to contain a portion of one made out of clay. A whorl is certainly not an object which one would expect

¹ "British Barrows," pp. 116, 196.

to find in association with a male skeleton, and this circumstance only tends to make the discovery more unique.

An equally interesting discovery in the matter of grave-goods was investigated by me in the course of last summer. A large mound in a neighbouring island was opened by



FIG. 7.—BOWL-SHAPED BROOCH.

a farmer, who decided to settle the question whether or not the mound, which he knew to be artificial, contained anything valuable. Unfortunately, I did not hear of the



FIG. 8.—OUTER SHELL OF BROOCH.

excavation while it was being carried out, but I afterwards obtained a general description of the burial, and a view of the grave-goods which accompanied it, and which are of a highly interesting character. The burial was after cremation, and the deposit of bones was found about the

centre of the mound, along with two fine bowl-shaped brooches of Viking type (Fig. 7), a bone armlet (Fig. 5), an amber whorl (Fig. 6), and a portion of a bronze pin. When found the brooches were 9 inches apart, and the other objects were in close proximity to them. In size



FIG. 9.—INNER SHELL OF BROOCH.

and ornamentation the brooches are practically identical, and there can be no doubt that they belonged to one individual, whose body was consumed on the funeral pyre.

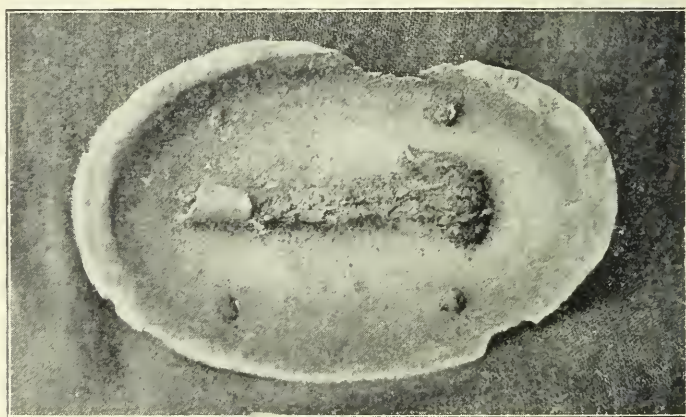


FIG. 10.—THE SAME: UNDER SURFACE.

Each brooch, which is convex externally and concave internally, measures 4 inches in length, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height in the centre. The body of the brooch is double, consisting of an outer and finely-decorated shell of brass openwork (Fig. 8), placed over

an inner shell of brass, which is plain (Fig. 9), and no doubt originally highly polished on the upper surface, so that the polished surface would appear through the openwork above it. The upper shell is divided into four diamond-shaped spaces, bordered by unpierced bands, which have a slight lineal ornamentation. The angles of each diamond-shaped space have knobs pierced in four places. Each space is pierced throughout, the ornamentation consisting of combinations of straight lines. The border of the inner shell again is spaced and ornamented with alternating crosses and combinations of straight lines. Only one of the brooches had the pin, which is of iron, intact, and seems to have been fastened in much the same way as the modern brooch, a brass catch projecting from the concavity of the shell to receive the point of the pin. (Fig. 10.) Adhering to the pin one could distinctly see a fragment of cloth, which, on examination, I took to be linen, the texture being extremely fine. These brooches are really very fine, and, when in use, must have gone far to enhance the appearance of their owner, who, there can be no doubt, was a woman. In the words of Dr. Anderson, "As the sword is the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the man, the brooch is also the most characteristic object among the grave-goods of the woman. The brooch, which is constantly found in these interments in Norway, is a most peculiar ornament. It is always of brass, massive, oval, and bowl-shaped in form, and is distinguished from all other brooches that are known, not only of this, but of every other area and every other time, by the fact that it is an article of personal adornment, which (though as capable of being used singly as any other form of fibula might be) is almost never found singly, but constantly occurs in pairs, the one being usually an almost exact duplicate of the other. This singular type of brooch is the special ornament of the female dress which prevailed in Norway during the last three centuries of their heathen period. It differs entirely from the types

that preceded it and succeeded it; and it differs as completely from the types of the later iron age in all other European countries."¹ The bone armlet which accompanied the burial is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in inner diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It is well made, and when polished would make a very presentable ornament. The amber whorl is very pretty, in fact the finest I have seen, and measures 1 inch in diameter, being fully $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. I would not say, however, that it is the most interesting specimen I have met with, as I possess a steatite whorl (Fig. 4) with an inscription in runes, which read—"RIST RUNAR"; meaning, "cut the runes," the name of the artist not being decipherable. I do not know whether or not this whorl was found in association with a burial, and refer to it on this occasion merely for comparative purposes.

Ancient inhabited sites have not unfrequently given us human crania, but they have not necessarily any connection with the sites, which may have been, and in many cases were, used as places of interment, the mounds covering the ruins being as serviceable for sepulture as any which could have been raised for the purpose. In this connection I examined in 1898 an ancient inhabited site on the West Mainland, near which a human cranium (Fig. 11) in good preservation was found. There was nothing, however, in the circumstances attending the discovery of the skull which would necessarily associate it with the building brought to light; but that it was of considerable antiquity I have no doubt. The cranium was subsequently submitted to Mr. James Simpson, New University, Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—The cranium is that of a man well advanced in years, for the sutures are almost entirely obliterated. The teeth, except the right first bicuspid, the crown of which is flat and well worn, are absent. The glabella-occipital length is 192 mm., and the basi-bregmatic height 139 mm., giving a vertical index of 72.4. The

¹ "Scotland in Pagan Times—The Iron Age," p. 34.

greatest parieto-squamous breadth is 149 mm., so that the cephalic index is 77.6, bringing the skull under the mesati-cephalic group. The horizontal circumference is 550 mm., and the cubical capacity 1,660 c.c. The supraciliary ridges are very prominent, and one thing is worthy of

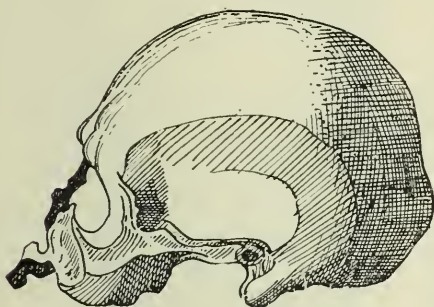


FIG. 11.—NORMA LATERALIS.

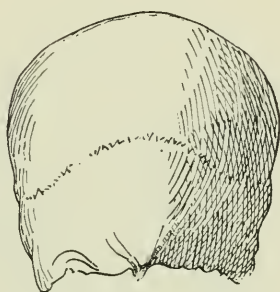


FIG. 11a.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

note, that in the premaxillary region of the left alveolar border there is a cup-shaped depression, the dimensions of which are 11 mm. antero-posteriorly, and 15 mm. transversely, and from a surgical point of view the question arises as to the cause of this depression, which rather suggests the theory that it may have been the result of

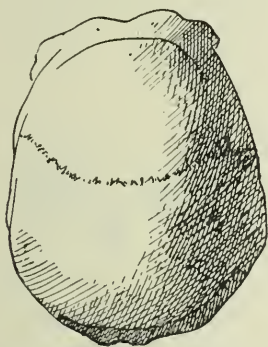


FIG. 11b.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

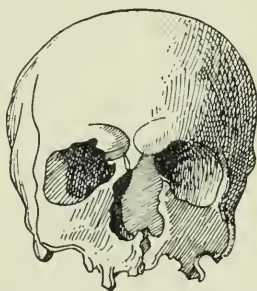


FIG. 11c.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

an abscess. In every respect the specimen resembles the typical Scandinavian form.

Some time after the discovery of the skull another cranium (Fig. 12), in capital preservation, was found at the same site, and submitted to me for examination. I

forwarded the skull to Professor McAlister, who favoured me with the following report thereon:—A strongly-built



FIG. 12.—NORMA LATERALIS

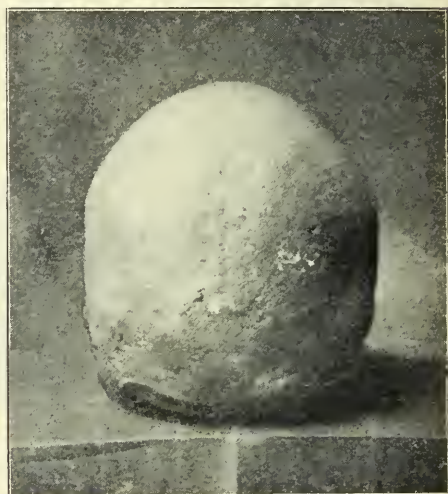


FIG. 12a.—NORMA OCCIPITALIS.

male skull, longheaded (index $\frac{\text{breadth} \times 100}{\text{length}}$ 70.19). In this it agrees with the older Orcadian skulls described by Garson,¹ and differs from the later ones, which are broader. The

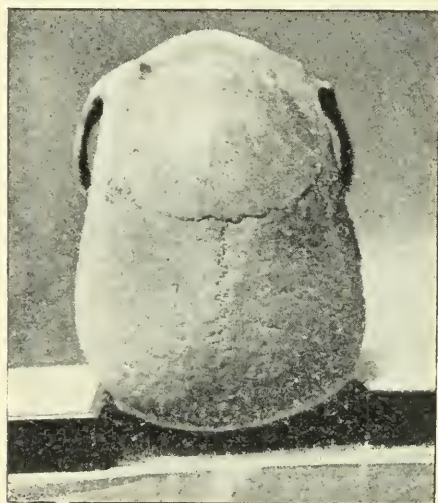


FIG. 12b.—NORMA VERTICALIS.



FIG. 12c.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

circumference is 550, a measure increased by the thickness of the bone and prominence of the muscular crests, but

¹*Jour. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1883, p. 54.

fairly agreeing with Garson's measures. In capacity it is decidedly small, being 1,390 ccm., while the smallest of Garson's males is 1,440. It is thus a mesocephalic skull. In height it exceeds its breadth, so the height index ($\frac{h \times 100}{\text{length}}$) is 73.7. In this respect it differs from Garson's skulls, but agrees with some long barrow skulls from other parts of the kingdom. The brows are unusually projecting, which makes the forehead look lower than it really is. This is due to an enormous frontal sinus (the air space over the nose): the orbits are rugged-bordered, low-browed, the transverse length exceeding the width ($\frac{w \times 100}{l}$) = 80.49. In this it also agrees with Garson's dolichocephalic older skulls. The nose is shorter and wider than usual, its index ($\frac{w \times 100}{h}$) being 57.14. All the other skulls from Orkney or Shetland hitherto described are a little higher and a little narrower, and so have a lower nasal index. I have, however, got some North Hebridean skulls which resemble it in this respect. The face is uncommonly wide and flat. This somewhat Mongoloid appearance of some of the long skulls from Orkney was noted by Garson.¹ Here, as in his specimens, the two zygomatic arches stand out from the sides of the skull, so that when the head is held out at arm's length a clear space appears between these arches and the side of the skull. This great interzygomatic width, together with the shortness of the face, gives a low superior facial index, but this is always a variable character. The palatine arch is wide, and the teeth moderately large, but when compared with the size of the skull they are not at all disproportional. The length of the five hinder teeth, when compared with the length of the basinasal line (Flower's dental index), gives an index of 37.5, which is well within the microdental class. The palatine index ($\frac{\text{palatine width} \times 100}{\text{palatine length}}$) is 115, comparable with that in Garson's specimens. Altogether it is a typical specimen of a strong male skull of the older type.

In the summer of 1902 my attention was called to the

¹ *Ibid*, p. 73.

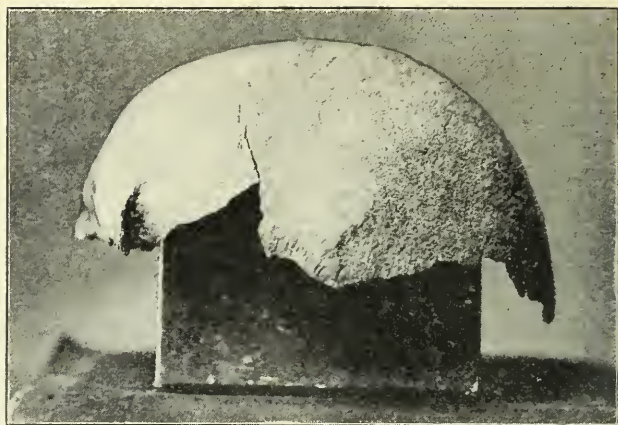


FIG. 13.—NORMA LATERALIS.

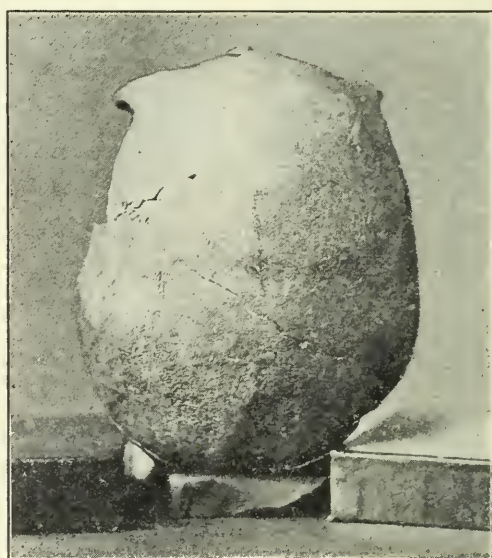


FIG. 13a.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

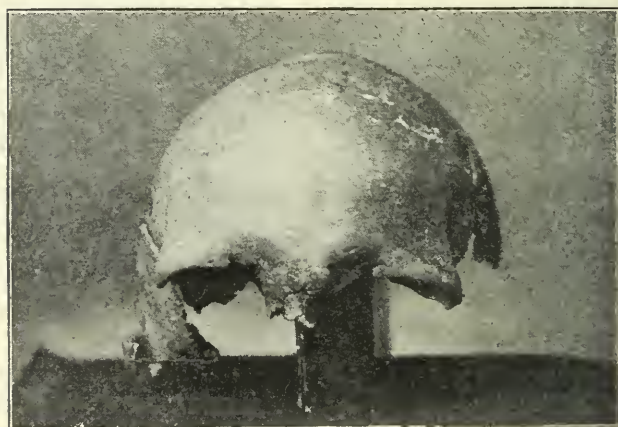


FIG. 13b.—NORMA FRONTALIS.

discovery of an ancient inhabited site in the parish of Stenness. After investigation, I found that the building brought to light, being in a very dilapidated state, did not present any features of special interest, but I ascertained that immediately above it, about 2 feet from the surface of the ground, an unburnt burial had been brought to light. Unfortunately, however, the cranium (Fig. 13) and long-bones had not been so carefully handled as their fragile state demanded, and, consequently, the skull and other parts of the skeleton had received injuries which would render a full description impossible. I forwarded the cranium and long-bones, however, to Professor McAlister, who subsequently sent me the following report:—The specimen is a very broken thin calvaria, probably of a female, with an index of about 76. Skulls of this index are generally supposed to belong to the second race. The fragments of the long-bones are too imperfect to help us accurately to deduce the stature. As near as can be estimated, the femur, which is most complete, probably belonged to a person of 5 feet 2 inches. It looks as if it belonged to the skull submitted, but it is so much weather-worn that it is impossible to be definite. Along with the skeleton was found a large bronze pin (Fig. 14), which must originally have measured at least $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, but which is now only $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the point having been broken off by the finder, who, I understand, wished to ascertain the metal of which the ornament was constructed, hoping, no doubt, that it would be of more valuable material than bronze. The ring through the top of the pin was also broken when I got the pin, but it was whole when found. The head of the pin is flat and cut into facets. For about three-quarters of its length the pin is round, but towards the point it has been flattened out.

In 1901 I discovered in the parish of Firth a chambered mound situated on the brow of Kewing Hill, and known in the neighbourhood as the "Fairy Knowe." The mound was found to contain a rectangular chamber, the extreme

length of which was 11 feet 10 inches ; the greatest width, 5 feet 8 inches, and the greatest height, 7 feet 2 inches. The walls converged towards the top, while, branching off them, on a level with the floor, were four lateral cells, built on the same principle as the main chamber. The cells averaged 6 feet in height and 5 feet in length, with the exception of one, which proved to be 11 feet long. The



FIG. 14.—BRONZE PIN.

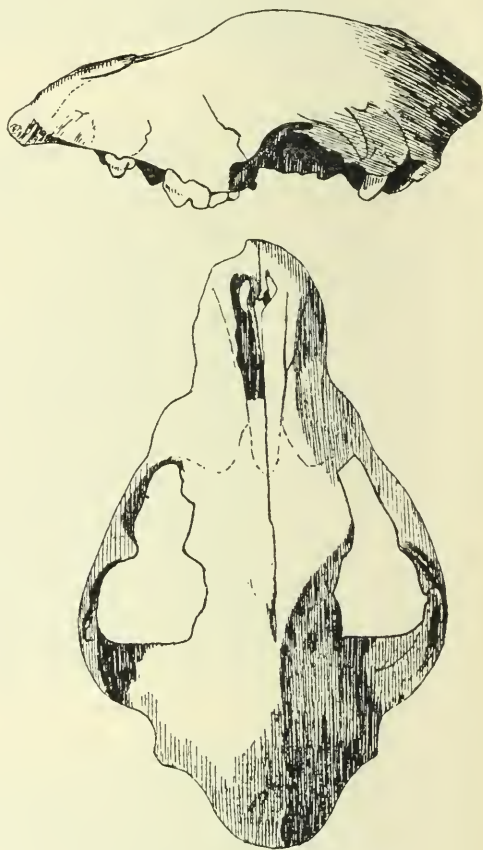


FIG. 15.—SKULL OF A DOG.

entrance passage, which pointed due east, was on a level with the floor of the main chamber, and measured 11 feet in length, 2 feet in height and 2 feet 3 inches in breadth.

In carrying out the excavation nothing of any consequence was discovered until I reached a point about a foot from the floor. Here I found a deposit of a somewhat fatty, unctuous appearance, in removing which I

discovered two dozen skulls of the dog (Fig. 15), several human long-bones, and five human skulls, only two of which, however, could be preserved. In clearing out the cells, also, two other human skulls were found,

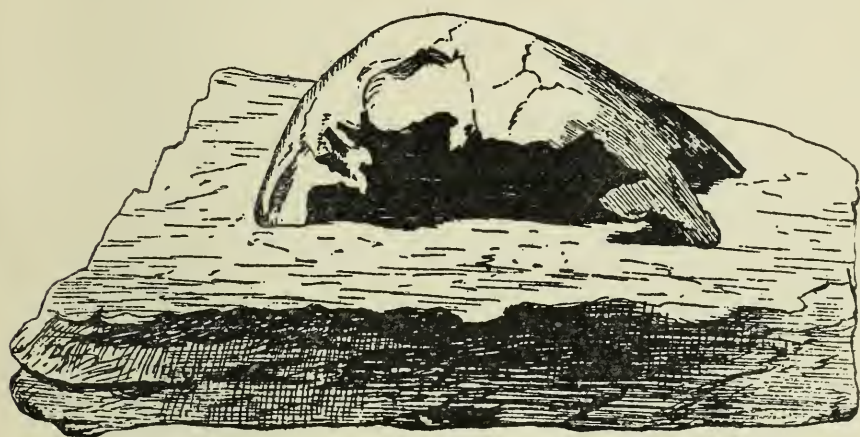


FIG. 16.—SKULL FOUND IN RECESS.

one of them on a slab (Fig. 16) in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, while another human skull was found embedded in the clay which filled the entrance passage. The human crania, unfortunately, were much



17a.—NORMA LATERALIS.

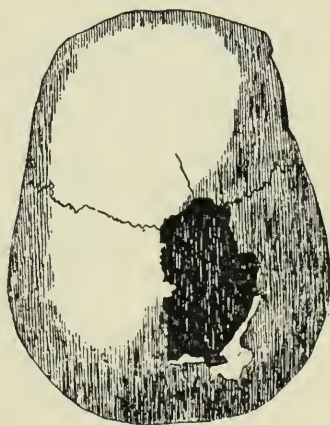


FIG. 17b.—NORMA VERTICALIS.

decomposed, but I forwarded them to Sir William Turner, some time Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, who reported as follows:—

The human remains consisted of five calvariæ and

portions of three thigh bones. They were from persons in the later stage of life, as the cranial sutures were in process of obliteration, and in two specimens they were almost completely ossified. I cannot speak definitely of the sex, though two were in all probability males. In No. 1 the orbito-nasal region of the frontal bone was absent, but the parietals and occipital bone, as far as the inion and superior curved line, were preserved. The actual length was 179 mm., but if the glabella had been present a somewhat longer diameter would have been obtained. The parietal breadth in the squamous region was 145 mm., which probably represented the widest diameter of the cranium: the length-breadth index, calculated from these dimensions, would be 81, but the absence of the orbito-nasal region, by subtracting from the length, gave a higher index than if the frontal had been entire. No. 2 (Fig. 17) consisted of the frontal and parietal bones, along with the occipital squama, for a short distance below the inion and superior curved lines. The calvaria was sufficiently preserved to enable me to measure the length, 187 mm., and the breadth in the squamous-parietal, 142 mm., from which a length-breadth index 75.9 was calculated. The glabella and supra-orbital ridges were moderately projecting; the forehead was a little retreating; the vortex was not ridged or highly arched; the post-parietal region was flattened obliquely downwards and backwards; the occipital squama projected behind the lambdoidal suture. The skull was apparently that of a man. No. 3 consisted of portions only of the frontal and two parietal bones, so that neither the length nor the breadth could be measured. The vortex tended to be ridged in the sagittal region. Nos. 4 and 5 were more imperfect even than No. 3, but from the character of the glabella and supra-orbital ridge in No. 5 it is probable that the skull was that of a man.

It is much to be regretted that the skulls were so very imperfect, as the opportunities of studying human remains from chambered cairns have been so few that we

do not possess sufficient data to enable us to generalise as to the cranial characters of the builders. Only No. 2 was sufficiently preserved to enable the arc of the skull to be seen and the cephalic index taken, which was approximately dolichocephalic.

The portions of the thigh bones which reached me consisted of the head, the neck, trochanters and upper fourth of the shaft of two left femora, and of the middle two-thirds of the shaft of a right femur. The upper part of the shaft was somewhat flattened on its anterior surface, and approximated to the condition known as platymery. One specimen was smaller in dimensions than the others, and was probably a female. In the largest specimen the gluteal ridge was raised into a trochanter tertius.

The chambered cairn in question presented no features of special importance beyond being a well-preserved example of a class which, strictly speaking, is peculiar to Orkney, and which is well illustrated by the cairns at Maeshowe in the parish of Stenness, Quoyness in Elsness, in the Island of Sanday, and Quanterness, near Kirkwall, but the contents were unusual in two particulars. It is certainly unusual to find so many skulls of the dog in association with human remains. Their presence in similar circumstances has been noted elsewhere, but I am not aware of any case in which so many have been found associated with human remains. One can only speculate, of course, as to the reason which induced the people who made the interment to bury the dog along with a human being. May it have been that they entertained the belief that the dog would be serviceable to the deceased in the after life? The other feature of importance lay in the fact that one of the skulls, as I have said, was found on a slab in a small recess near the entrance to the largest cell, viz., that branching off the west side of the main chamber. This recess measured 10 inches long, 6 inches broad, and 6 inches high, and the slab with the skull, which lay on its side, fitted into it. I could come to no other conclusion than that the skull was *in situ*, and had

not drifted into that position subsequent to the interment. The head, therefore, must have been squeezed into that position when the interment was made, or else decapitated and placed in the position in which I found it.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Mr. J. Gray said that the number of skulls referred to by Mr. Charleson in his paper was so small that no definite conclusions can be drawn from them. We may hazard the supposition that they show that the races we find associated with relics of the bronze age had reached Orkney. If this may be admitted the fact is very interesting, because the bronze age people are supposed to have come from the South, and their remains are found in connection with chambered tombs. Such tombs were not, he believed, found in Scandinavia, but they occur down the west coast of Scotland, also in Wiltshire and Cornwall, as well as in prehistoric Greece. They may therefore indicate the line of migration followed by this race on its way from the eastern Mediterranean to Orkney. The race was brachycephalic, which would agree in the main with the evidence of the skulls referred to by the lecturer. The ornaments found were interesting, but appeared of somewhat later date than the bronze age, as they were of the same type as the ornaments of the early iron age from Hallstatt. He hoped the paper would be printed, as it contained much valuable evidence which ought to be placed on record.

Dr. J. G. Garson said that his name had been quoted so often in the course of the paper that he felt he would be expected to say something by way of comment upon it. He would point out that interments after cremation occur in the later round barrows, and that those barrows are often found in groups, one of them perhaps being larger than the others. The interment in them consists of a small square chamber, in which are deposited the cremated remains, portions of bone sometimes remaining, but never

sufficient for anthropological purposes. As Mr. Gray remarked, the skulls in the older pre-cremation barrows are brachycephalic, and found associated with bronze implements. The bronze age people in Orkney undoubtedly came from the south, and therefore the bronze age in Orkney was later than in England. The bronze brooch mentioned in the paper certainly belonged to the iron age, as suggested by Mr. Gray. The skull shown in No. 11 was a bronze age type, and a very early one. It has very heavy and prominent brow ridges, but the long narrow form of the head pointed to admixture with the neolithic race. On the other hand, some of the characteristics it presents show it to be later than its general form would imply. In being a very heavy skull, it resembled one that he had seen from near Kirkwall, in which this characteristic also occurs. No. 13 was also of the bronze age from Orkney. The last set of specimens from the chambered cairn show a mixture of races, the skulls being of a recent type. In Dr. Garson's view the chambered cairn of Maeshowe was most probably of a neolithic date, and may be earlier than the other chambered cairns mentioned in the paper. The two races, characteristic of the neolithic and bronze ages respectively, were very distinct in the early part of the bronze period.

ON THE PLACE-NAME WETWANG.

BY THE REV. E. MAULE COLE, M.A., F.G.S.

THERE is a village on the Yorkshire Wolds, in the East Riding, which bears this unique name, and of which I have been the Vicar for nearly forty years. No remark is more common from those who come across it than "What a strange name! What does it mean?" Yes, there is an instinct in men's minds, whether learned or unlearned, that there must somehow have been a reason for a name in the first instance, though in the lapse of ages that reason may be unknown at the present day.

Enquiries frequently addressed to me caused me to investigate the matter, and the result is embodied in what follows. If I cannot succeed in carrying the suffrages of the members of the Viking Club, I can at least invite their criticism.

By way of introduction let me observe that, though the name of Wetwang is, or rather was till late years, an unknown quantity, it is mentioned in Domesday as a manor belonging to the Archbishops of York, containing $13\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of taxable land. At an early date, probably in the twelfth century, the Church and certain lands were given to found a prebend in York Minster; the name is incised on one of the stalls in the choir, and there is still a Canon of Wetwang. Next, let me say what the word is not, before I give my reasons for what it is.

Of course it is a compound word, Wet and Wang. Wang means a field in Norse and in Anglo-Saxon. No

one will dispute this. But what is Wet? One of my critics suggests "Wheat." He says:

I am of opinion, drawn from the abundance of place and personal names associated with "wheat," that this grain was in old times cultivated more largely than generally admitted. In the case of "Wetwang," a place in intimate touch with the levels of Holderness, where wheat is known to have been grown at the Domesday Survey time, it might record a rare or isolated instance of a wheat crop being produced.

My answer to this is that the Wolds are not Holderness. In the latter the soil consists of a stiff clay (boulder clay), which produces excellent crops of wheat, but on the latter there are only a few inches of soil, lying on a hard substratum of chalk rock, which, as in the case of the South Downs and Wiltshire, provide only a meagre pasturage for sheep.

In an interesting report of the manor of Wetwang, presented to Lord Bathurst by his steward in the early part of the eighteenth century, occurs this passage: "Sheep pastures and corn (*i.e.*, spring-corn) are the only product of the place; little or no wheat, the land not being strong enough for that grain." Still, some wheat was grown, but it was sown with rye, and produced a curious compound known in the vernacular as "mashelson," as appears from an overseer's book in 1730. After the Enclosure Act of 1806, turnips were introduced, and the land is now capable of producing a fairly good wheat crop. But if, say in 1750, no wheat could be grown, is it likely that it was so conspicuous here, some 900 years before, that our ancestors, with less appliances, gave the place the name of "Wheat-wang"? To me it seems absurd, and probably to my readers.

I have now to meet another criticism, though happily the occasion for it has passed. I was explaining my views as to the origin of the name "Wetwang" at a meeting of the Yorkshire Dialect Society at York, and had to leave in a hurry to catch my train, when, as I understood afterwards, Professor Skeat, the greatest liv-

ing authority on Anglo-Saxon, and the author of that grand work, "The Etymological Dictionary of the English Language," jumped up and said, "Wet's wet, and Wang's a field, and there you are." A leader in the *Yorkshire Post* expressed the opinion that this was rather a summary method of disposing of the question, and thought that something more might be said on the subject. The fact is the Professor was looking at it with an Anglo-Saxon eye, and I with a Norse eye, and the result was a squint! However, I think that we both see straight now.

I pointed out to him in correspondence that Wetwang was about the last place to be called "wet." It is situated on a ridge of chalk, some 50 feet above the dale bottoms on either side. The rainfall, which is comparatively small, is immediately absorbed by the porous chalk, and there is no wet place about it. To quote again from the agent's report to Lord Bathurst:—

Water is here much wanted. There is a pond in ye Town supply'd only by rainwater, wch in dry Summers affords none, and then the Inhabitants are obliged to drive their Cattle three miles for water.

The Professor was courteous enough to say that he was unaware of the peculiarity of the place, and that, if it would be any satisfaction to me, he was ready to accept my derivation of the name.

What then is that derivation?

It must be observed, first, that the majority of place-names in this locality are distinctly of Scandinavian origin, which is not to be wondered at, when we consider that East Yorkshire was a Danish settlement, and was subsequently exposed to raids of the Vikings, many of whom came to stay. The terminals, "thorpe," "by," "wyke," and "ness," are very frequent on the Yorkshire coast; there are as many as 17 nabs, or nesses, and 16 wykes, or wicks. In the East Riding alone there are 55 townships ending in thorpe, and 35 in by. "Thorpe" in the East Riding is always pronounced "thrup." One naturally therefore turns to Norse for an explanation

of such a unique name as "Wetwang," and what do we find? The actual word itself! Not two words, a substantive with a qualifying adjective, as "a fine day," but a veritable compound, used as a single word, such as "drawing-room."

This compounded single word was in use in Iceland a thousand years ago. Let me direct the attention of your readers to Cleasby's Icelandic Dictionary, edited by Vigfusson (1869), and there, on page 721, under the heading of "Vætt-vanгр, or Vétт-vanгр," they will find the authority on which I based my derivation over twenty-five years ago. I quote from a paper of mine written then :

The former part of the word is from the Icelandic vætti = witness, testimony, or va'ttr = a witness. There is little doubt about this, because the whole word is found in Iceland, as a law term = the place of summons. If an offence or assault had been committed, neighbours were summoned to try the case ; they were called "vettvangs-buar," "neighbours to the place of action," to be summoned as "buar." The place itself was called "vettvang" = the space within a bowshot from the place all around.

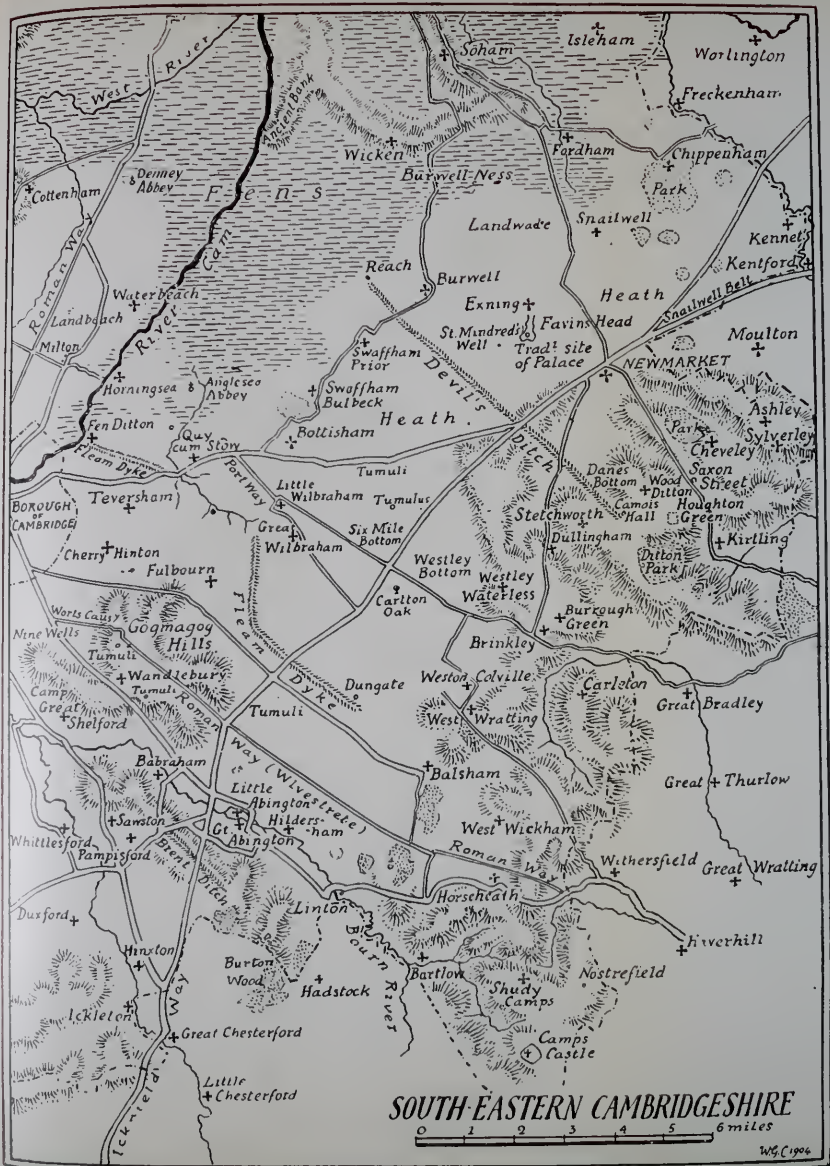
As an ordinary word, the Icelandic "búi" means a dweller or inhabitant, as in our neighbour ; but as a law term it means a neighbour acting as juror. Commonly five jurors were considered sufficient to decide the question, but in grave cases nine were summoned. Their verdict (kridr) was called "búa-krida."

This ancient trial by *neighbour verdict* is the undoubted origin of our Trial by Jury. It is not to be attributed to Alfred the Great or William the Conqueror. Its source is Norse, not Saxon. Though it died out in the mother country, Norway, it found a home in Iceland for 400 years, while the Icelandic Commonwealth lasted, till 1275 A.D. ; and, from the Danelagh in England, it spread over the whole country, so that now it is the cherished inheritance of the English nation.

The name "Wetwang" is a standing memorial of the fact.

[There can be little doubt of the accuracy of the derivation suggested for this curious place-name by the author of the paper, but it is not clear how a term, which in Iceland shifted about on each fresh occasion when a

summons was issued, became localized in East Yorkshire at one particular spot. Was it selected for any reason as the general place for issuing summonses in the district? or does the name commemorate the fact that it was the place of summons on some special and well-remembered occasion? The author is unable to throw any light on these points.—ED.]



TRACES OF DANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY E. HAILSTONE, F.R.HIST.S.

THE few following remarks are offered with the greatest diffidence in the hope of helping to construct one more rung in the ladder by means of which we may ascend in the direction of that special branch of knowledge to which the Viking Club aspires. They are purposely confined to the county of Cambridge, and more particularly to the eastern side of it, so as to form a limit, within which, as the region of my birthplace, my antiquarian studies have been directed for some considerable period.

At the outset our subject may be divided roughly into two parts: (I.) That of invasion, and (II.) that of settlement. It is perhaps convenient to touch very briefly on the first point, confining ourselves to acknowledged and well-known facts, with their dates appended.

The historical Danish invasions of England cover, it is stated, a period extending from 790 to 1013 A.D., but it has often been supposed, and apparently with good reason, that their commencement may be considerably antedated as far as regards East Anglia.

However that may be, in 866 A.D. we find Danes landing in East Anglia; in 870 A.D. took place the death of King Edmund; the great abbeys of Peterborough, Crowland, and Ely were wrapt in flames, the monasteries of Soham

and Thorney did not escape, when their defenceless inhabitants were slaughtered; in 875 A.D. the town of Cambridge became the headquarters of the invading army, and during the subsequent fifty years, says Lysons, in his history of the county, was frequently one of its principal military posts; in 991 A.D. took place the celebrated battle of Maldon, noticeable for us as being the date when Ealdorman Brihtnoth, as a consideration for the right of burial in Ely, if he should fall therein, bestowed on the monks certain manors, not capital, but in demesne—that is being held in farm under the king—viz., Fulbourn and Teversham, including Westley, as well as those of Impington, Pampeworth=Papworth, Triplow and Hardwick; in 994 A.D. the first Danegeld was imposed; in 1010 A.D. further ravages were committed by an invading army, and though the men of Cambridgeshire valiantly defended themselves, they were eventually overpowered, and the heathen conquerors, besides setting fire to the town of Cambridge, burnt to the ground the manor houses belonging to the abbey of Crowland in Cottenham, Oakington, and Dry Drayton. The Danish army, we are told, then betook themselves to their fleet, but, while halting at the village of Balsham, the story runs that the inhabitants were all slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, with the exception of one man, who gallantly defended himself against all comers on the step of the church tower then standing; lastly, in 1013 A.D., occurred Sweyn's great invasion, and in 1016 A.D., by King Canute's victory at Ashdon,¹ England became finally subjugated to the Danish Crown.

The question then arises, What traces, if any, have we left now of these Danes in Cambridgeshire? We naturally turn our attention to names of places and persons. The former are of two kinds: (I.) Dis-

¹ "Inne Eastanglen . . . æt thære dun the man hæet Assandun" (Sax. Chr.)—or most probably Ashingdon, near Canewdon (Cnutsdon), where a church stands erected as a memorial after the victory. But see Author's reply to discussion, pp. 124-5.—ED.

tracts answering for the most part to our names of parishes, and (II.) those of various tracts or landmarks contained within those parishes. Probably in most, if not in all, cases parish names are anterior in date. If it be true, as has been sometimes stated, that the convertibility of the vowels *e* and *a* in a name of Anglo-Saxon etymology bears evidence of both Saxon and Danish pronunciation, then in Cambridgeshire we must remember the convertible forms of Errington and Arrington, Ermingford and Armingford, Berton and Barton, Bergham and Barham, Berghei and Barway, Berklowe and Bartlow, Belesham and Balsham, Bernwell and Barnwell, Esselie and Ashley, Sexton and Saxton or Saxon Street, Herleton and Harleton, Herdeleston and Harston, Herdewick and Hardwick, Heselingfield and Haslingfield, Kirtling and Cartelage or Catlage, and Merc or March in the isle of Ely.

Two entire parish names, however, possibly show Scandinavian forms, viz., Toftes and Stow Quy¹ or Stow-cum-Quy. Of these, Toftes, surviving in the modern Toft, once formed a district taken together with Hardwick, the two names at the time of Domesday Book being often interchanged. Here were lands charged with peculiar customary payments relating to the royal bakery, being mixed up in a certain way with those of the neighbouring parish of Cumberton, where was once a maze, as at Saffron Walden in Essex. There is still a region here which goes under the peculiar name of Cumberton Offal, just as we find Offal end in Haslingfield near by. Duxford, formerly Dokesworth, now divided into two parishes, seems connected with the personal name of Tochi, to which we shall again refer. As to Quy, we have two spellings, viz., Coweye and Quoy; the latter, coming down as such to the eighteenth century, and quite in accordance with modern pronunciation, indicates, it may be, a Scandinavian form, "quoy" meaning an

¹ Heordewic, p. 594, Thorpe, "*Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.*" ?=*Heord*, treasure, treasury; *wic*, fenced town; hence treasury-town.—ED.

enclosure. Attention should be given to the fact that in the earliest times there was no parish church there, but only a free chapel, now long since destroyed, connected with the mother church of Stow, later on written indiscriminately as Stow Quy or Stow-cum-Quy. On the other hand, in Domesday Book the name of Stow does not appear, but Coei or Quy, then as now, is applied to the whole region. This tends to show that by tradition Quy is the earlier and pre-Norman name of a certain settlement which at the time of the Norman Conquest lay in the hands of the two monasteries of Ely and Ramsey, together with a small portion in the hands of the Crown. The Ramsey lands run into Bottisham, the Crown lands into Wilbraham.

Next, as to places lying *within* parishes. We have "holmes" in Quy (the seat of the principal manor is called Holme Hall), as well as in Bottisham and Wilbraham,¹ and it may be reasonably suspected that many "hams" in Cambridgeshire are but corruptions of "holmes," as for instance in the case of Bottisham, and notably in that of Soham and Fordham. In the last there is no trace at any time of more than one parish having existed, and yet in various documents we read of Fordham Magna, as if there once was more than one *ham* or *holme*. Again, from Fordham there runs a road westward to a spot called Burwell "ness," or corruptly nest, a significant name, while on the other side lies Wicken, or Wykes, which may or may not be Scandinavian in form. Nearer Cambridge we come to Denny (= ? Dane-eye), whatever the suffix may mean, situated in a district called Beach, now comprising Utbeach or Landbeach and Waterbeach, Denny being in name opposed to Anglesey, the Angles' ey, in the parish of Bottisham.

Worthy of more special notice is the term "Bottom," of which there are three in Cambridgeshire, two of these lying in Westley. Westley itself, from evidence in the

¹ Wilburgeham, see D. B. and Kemble, "Cod. Dipl." IV. 299.

survey of the county, made within a short time after that of Domesday Book, was the western "ley," or "meadow land," carved off from the more important settlement of Burgh,¹ now Burgh Green. These two "bottoms" are called Westley Bottom and Six Mile Bottom, partly in the same parish and with a few houses assigned to it lying in Bottisham and Wilbraham. It is somewhat uncertain whether Six Mile Bottom did not include land lying in the parishes of Wilbraham,² Wrattling,² Brinkley, and Carlton. The boundaries of Westley at the junction of the above-mentioned parishes have been in dispute. Anyway, Carlton oak, within our memory, stood conspicuous for miles as a landmark, and Brinkley Manor appears in Domesday Book under the heading of Carlton, which latter again runs in confusion in the Domesday and early surveys with Weston, now Weston Colville.

To whatever etymology Six Mile Bottom is referred,³ the mention is significant of the Norse coin *ores* as a render in money or kind, one *ore* being equivalent to 16 denarii. They occur in Domesday Book under the mention of lands situated in Cambridge, Balsham, Pampisford, Babraham, and Ickleton,⁴ and nowhere else in the county except in Morden and in Wilbraham,⁵ where, on the king's manor, two "*ores*" are reckoned as "toll." Toll for what? Was it for the right of passing through the Fleam Ditch at the gap now called Dungate?

Lastly, in the parish of Wood Ditton there is a tract of land, adjacent to the Devil's Dyke, called Danes Bottom, being so marked on the Ordnance map of 1836. In the same parish also lies Houghton Green, in our boyhood pronounced Hawton or Horton, with a few houses on it lying adjacent to Ditton Green. The name is perhaps suggestive of a Scandinavian "*Há-tún*," con-

¹ Burgestede, p. 596, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi. Sax."

² Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," p. 597; Carletune, Wilburgeham, Wrættincge.

³ See p. 120. ⁴ Iclelینگtune, p. 598, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

⁵ Wilburgeham, *Ibid*, 597.

sisting of small tenements within or on the land of a manorial, or main estate.

Before reverting to a further consideration of these "bottoms" we would call attention in passing to what has been supposed to indicate Danish traditions in architecture, viz., the round church towers of Cambridgeshire. These are, or were, in Snailwell, Bartlow, Westley, and Burwell St. Andrew. The two last are now non-existent. Westley tower partially fell, and was then entirely pulled down; the entire church of Burwell Andrew, being in ruins in the eighteenth century, shared the same fate. We may add, that, while digging in the gardens of Anglesey Abbey in 1860, foundations were revealed of what appeared to be a round tower; we merely advert to the fact without drawing any conclusions whatever therefrom.

Now as to Danish settlements, in connection with the above-mentioned "bottoms" we may glean some light from the survey of Domesday Book, as well as from the subsequent ones of the county and of the Ely lands which followed within a short time after and, in connection with them, from certain allusions to be found in the "*Historia Eliensis*." The surveys show clearly that all these lands were at one time in the possession of the monastery of Ely.

The space at our disposal does not admit of proof of the figures given below in this paper, but elsewhere we are prepared to fully prove the results of our interpretation of the above-mentioned Inquisitions. On this point therefore we crave a certain amount of indulgence.

Now in these surveys we find some unusual features with reference to the number of carucæ, indicating land under plough, or capable of being considered as such. We find also, then and subsequently, in Balsham and Wratting, Ely lands taken together in an unusual manner, while in Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton there are as regards them many difficulties of interpretation that have to be overcome. Most remarkable is the case of the

king's farm in Wood Ditton, once the property of the monastery of Ely, in which, besides the tenants' carucæ there given, there are "wanting, and that might be made," 13 or 11,¹ a far larger number than occurs anywhere else in Cambridgeshire. Again, observe that these Ely lands, on which we have reason to suspect that Danes were settled, are situated at the ends of the Fleam and Devil's Dykes, as if there was some connection between these Danes and the ward of the above-mentioned earthworks.

Firstly, as to the Fleam Dyke, the Ely lands in Westley, Fulbourn, and Teversham are grouped together in such a way as to form two manors—that is to say, as regards military service, two knights' fees, equal in area to 15 hides or 2,160 acres, exclusive of waste land and roadways. Again, Westley manor is specially described as a demesne vill of the abbot, and the lands are held in demesne farm of the king. So also in Fulbourn the lands are held "ad firmam," that is to say, of the king. Adjoined to the 3 hides of Westley is a tract of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, while in demesne of Fulbourn, and not in it, are $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides, thus making 6 hides to be added to Westley.

The account of Horningsey Manor, including Fen Ditton and Eye, in the "*Historia Eliensis*," is also very interesting. The upshot of it is as follows. Before the irruption of the heathens, that is to say, Danes or Northmen, a monastery of considerable note existed there under royal patronage. What is now called Biggin Abbey is probably its site. At the death of Cenwold the priest, who presided over its inmates, King Athelstan appointed Herolf the priest to rule in his stead. This monarch must, we think, be taken to mean Guthrum, who was baptised under the name of Athelstan, and who died in 890 A.D. In Cenwold's time, says the history, these heathens flocked to the monastery to baptism, and then the owners of the land, presumably under the king's direction, bestowed it upon the religious house. Reading between the lines

¹ The numbers 13 and 11 are both correct, the jurors in their verdict having regard to Ashley Manor from two different points of view.

we imagine that, in reality, the Danes flocked thither, or were settled down, for the main purpose of defending that end of the Fleam Dyke, just as we find them at the other end in Fulbourn and Westley, and in like manner at Wood Ditton, adjacent to the Devil's Ditch. At the northern end of the latter, in Reach and Burwell, in King Edward's time, we find a property extending across the boundary of the two hundreds of Staine and Staplehoe, always taken together, held by one Turcus¹ (?=Thorkil) under the convent of Ramsey, which in turn held of the Crown. Yet this land later on seems to have reverted to the fee of Ely.

In Fulbourn, at the time of the Conquest, the land of the lord's home farm on the Ely estate *might* consist of 3 carucæ, *i.e.*, probably 3 large carucæ of 3 hides in area, but for valuation none was reckoned ("nulla ibi habetur"), a phrase peculiar to this estate in the Cambridgeshire survey, while, as we have said, besides the tenants' carucæ, there were within the lordship, but not in Fulbourn, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hides in area, which we take to have lain in Westley, or in Six Mile Bottom.

Now what is the case with reference to Snailwell, Cheveley, and Wood Ditton. Snailwell Manor was also in demesne farm of the king, with its tenants' carucæ wanting at the time of the Domesday survey. Its wood, "ad clausuram," or Snailwell Belt, as the Ordnance map terms it, was connected in customary payments with the adjacent wood of the king's manor in Cheveley. Fulbourn and Teversham, we have said, were given to the monastery of Ely by Duke, or Ealdorman, Brihtnoth, just before the battle of Maldon, on condition of his burial at Ely. Westley, if not included in this gift, for there is some obscurity, had in some way or another become its property, possibly in small parcels, while Brihtnoth's wife, Ælfleda, gave Wood Ditton, together with $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides in area situated in Cheveley, but Ealdorman Brihtnoth's sister had in Ditton a life interest. Yet we

¹? Torgils or Torgisl.—ED.

have no very clear idea of the extent of the Wood Ditton and Cheveley Ely lands until the time of King Canute, whose charter, whether genuine or not, is of peculiar interest. Its date is 1022 A.D. By its tenor the king, instigated no less by his affection for the monastery than by the prayers of its then abbot, Leofric, and those of Ælfwin, Bishop of East Anglia, exchanged his "villa," or manor, or estate, of Ditton with that of Cheveley: so that, as Domesday Book subsequently states, the church of Ely, in the time of King Edward, held that part of Ditton, which is arable and woodland, consisting of 15 hides in area. The signatories to this document are the king and queen, and the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, and then, at the head of bishops and abbots, earls, monks, and sheriffs, come in the words, "Ego Gerbrandus Roscylde Parochiæ Danorum gente confirmavi"—"I, Gerbrand, Bishop of Roskilde, have confirmed the gift on behalf of, or by, the people of the Danish parish."

Here then we see, like as at Horningsey and Westley, Fulbourn and Teversham, Danes had been converted and formed into a settlement, the name of which now survives in "Danes Bottom." Looking at Domesday Book and the county survey, we find by calculation that the whole hundred of Cheveley consisted in wood and arable and meadow of an area of 75 hides, divided into the manors of Alberic de Vere in Silverley, Ashley, and Saxton, of the Countess Judith in Kirtling, of the King in Cheveley, of Earl Alan in Ditton and Cheveley, besides the king's property in Ditton, once belonging to the church and Ely, and now held in farm of the king by William de Nivers. These Ely lands, like those of Snailwell, had been bestowed on Archbishop Stigand, and again passed from him into the hands of the Crown. In subsequent times, taking Ditton as a whole, we find an absorption of the hamlet of Saxton, or Saxon, Street, being part of the manor of Saxton, and the two manors of Ditton held of the fee of Camoys. The seat of the paramount manor is now by corruption called "Canvas Hall," while that

of the manor of Thos. de Valoynes is called "Church Hall." Significant is the fact that in the parish there is but one church, that of the Valence Manor. We should expect, as is the case elsewhere in Cambridgeshire, two churches, one on each manor, but as far as we know there is no trace of there having been more than one. Possibly a reference to the registers of Norwich, in which diocese Ditton was, may throw more light on this point.

From the large number of carucæ wanting on the tenants' lands in the royal manor, and which might be supplied ("possunt fieri"), we should be inclined to conclude that a considerable number of Danes had left the manor, having perhaps returned to their own country with Gerbrand of Roskyld, who, as Gams informs us, presided over that diocese from about 1010 or 1020 up to about 1030 A.D., when he died. In working out the areas from the figures given in Domesday Book as to hides, carucæ, and values, we think it more than probable that on the manor of Ditton Camoys we may reckon 6 hides in area, a figure which strangely accords with a similar calculation in the case of Westley and Six Mile Bottom, thus perhaps helping to account for the etymology of the latter name. Space does not avail for presenting the details of our calculation, so that we are compelled to ask for forbearance and a certain modicum of faith in its correctness. As to the woodland in Cheveley hundred, accounted for in Domesday Book, we see a strong probability that the "park of wild beasts," mentioned under Kirtling Manor, may be referred to the Ditton Park wood of our own days, as distinguished from the Hall wood which belonged presumably to the Manor of Ditton Valence.

Now, it may be asked, can we find any trace existing in racial animosity in our own times of a former separate settlement of Danes? In connection with this we may here be permitted to state the following circumstances pointing in that direction. When at School at Wood Ditton, from 1854 to 1857, we remember one day the great

excitement caused by the finding of a supposed offspring of a "man of the woods" in Ditton Park wood. This boy had been seen for some little time before his final capture. He was an idiot, who had subsisted for some time on hazel nuts and other similar food, but nothing could be discovered as to his parentage up to the time of his death, which took place shortly afterwards in the workhouse of the Newmarket Union, whither in due course he had been conveyed. Again, in our boyhood at Bottisham an old soldier named William Mansfield used to tell of the annual games of camping, which he well remembered, when, as he said, the Bottisham players always delighted to play off old scores on the men of the woodlands, meaning thereby the team gathered from the adjacent villages of Borough Green, Westley, Wratting, and Carlton. Further, at Hadstock in Essex, on the borders of Cambridgeshire, we remember about thirty years ago being shown on the outside of the church door sundry nails, which, we were told, once fastened the skin of a Dane; and, again, the tradition is still extant that the *anemone pulsatilla*, so commonly found on the Cambridgeshire dykes, grows only *where Danish blood has been spilt*. Richardson, who lived in the Eastern Counties, refers to this in a note to Omar Khayyám, quatrain xix.:

I sometimes think that never blows so red
The Rose as where some buried Cæsar bled;
That every Hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in her lap from some once lovely head.¹

There is thus some evidence of a survival of Anglo-Saxon hatred of a conquering race of fierce instincts, settled apparently in these woodland parishes, and known perhaps as the "men of the woods."

Next as to personal names, possibly traceable to a Scandinavian source. In default of a thorough examination of parish registers our list is a most meagre one, but yet, as far as it goes, suggestive. From the "Historia

¹ See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iii., part iii., p. 467.

"Eliensis" we have in Fordham, Snailwell, and Beach, those of Grim, Oskitel, Omund, Simund, and Oslac; from Domesday Book, Turkell in Burwell, Anschetil in Barham and Crauden, Tochi in Weston and Wratting, Thurstan in Camps, Torchil in Kennet; from the Feet of Fines, Aki in Haslingfield¹; while from the other sources up to 1851 A.D., and therefore antecedent to much migration of families, Burling (? Scandinavian) in Burwell, Bottisham, and Wood Ditton; Oslar in Stetchworth; Hacon, Hammond, and Bottom in Newmarket; Danby in Kirtling and Wood Ditton; Palmby in Swaffham; Kettle in Bottisham; Jarvis and Simonds in Wood Ditton; Sagers and Ison in Bottisham, the last on the supposition that the suffix "son" ranks as evidence, and no doubt many more might be added to the above. Furthermore, in the "*Historia Eliensis*" Edric is called *Ædricus Dacus*, and the country of the Danes Danubia, thereby indicating a supposition in the author's mind of the ancestors of that race having originally proceeded north-westward from the shores of the Danube.

We leave out of the question any conclusions drawn from anthropological sources, for, so far as we are aware, we have no very reliable statistics on which to found an opinion.

In conclusion, we have attempted to present some few details gained from certain landmarks, as well as place and personal names, bearing on Danes in Cambridgeshire, and with this we leave to wiser heads and the onward march of knowledge a further development of our subject.

In the discussion which followed Mr. E. Sloper said he was of opinion that a large number of the names quoted by the author were of Saxon origin. The old Celtic word "dene" really meant forest, and survives in

¹In D.B. Barenton "*Achi hō Heraldī*" answers to *Inq. Com. Cant.* "*Achillus danaus.*"

nearly the whole of the forest lands of England as well as on a large portion of the Continent. In Anglo-Saxon it seems to have been adopted as "denu," which some etymologists had given as equivalent to the word valley. This appeared to him to be erroneous, the correct term in English for expressing valley being "bottom." It will be readily seen from this how the term Danes-bottom has arisen. Caution was therefore necessary in jumping to the conclusion that such places had anything to do with the Danes who emanated from Denmark, *i.e.*, from the "dene" or forest land. The question of Danish settlements was a very interesting one, and he thought a visit to Cambridge by the Viking Club would be advantageous and instructive. There was no doubt in his mind that the modern town of Cambridge, on the southern side of the river Cam, stood upon the camp of the Danes, which they ditched and walled, as at Wareham, Southampton, Southwark, and many other places.

Mr. E. M. Warburg said that the word "bottom" was not Danish. The nearest tongue in which such a word was found was the Swedish.¹ The Danish equivalent would be "bund." "Toft" was undoubtedly Danish.

Mr. J. Gray thought the personal names given by Mr. Hailstone could not be taken as any evidence of Danish settlement. There were no surnames used in England till the time of Edward I. The remains found showed, however, that there had been settlers belonging to a long-headed race in Cambridgeshire, who might perhaps be Danes.

Mr. F. T. Norris did not agree with the previous speaker as to the late date of the introduction of surnames, as they were found in Anglo-Saxon deeds long before the Norman invasion. He likewise took exception to the statement that Danish names meant nothing. The first occurrence of Danish personal names in the Anglo-

¹In Swed., *botten*; Icel., *botn*; Dutch, *boden*. The form *bytn* also apparently survives in A.S. documents. See p. 494, Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax.," quoted below.—ED.

Saxon Chronicle corresponded with well-known historical events, and it was not only fairly inferable, but also could be proved by documentary evidence, that many modern surnames were direct survivals and descendants from such personal names. It was the same, but in a more special degree, with topographical names, and he thought that great importance was to be attached to identification in any district of Danish names as evidence of former Danish settlement. With regard to the word "Dane" as a suffix, it undoubtedly does occur in many place-names, but a careful distinction should be drawn between it and *den* and *dun*. *Den* or *dean* stands for *dale* or *dell*, and *dun* for *down* (not to be confounded with Gaelic *dun*, fort). In Anglo-Saxon writings the distinction is generally clear. To quote, for example, from the will of Colwin:—

. . . Thanon . . . on them wege middan on thære *denæ* bytnan the liggeth uit on Woddes geat . . . thenne up ofer tha *dune*.¹

Those responsible for the modern spelling of place-names on our maps had not always observed this distinction. In general, when the particle was found in a dale near a river, it might be equated with *den* and not *Dane*, as witness Denham and Dipden Hill, both in the valley of the Washbourn, near Uxbridge, Middlesex. In this connection he was afraid he must dissent from another speaker, who offered the suggestion that there was a Celtic word *den*, with the meaning of "forest"; while, if there were, certainly such a name could not have survived in so English a district as East Anglia. He approved of the majority of Mr. Hailstone's derivations, but Six Mile Bottom was nothing but a six-mile stretch of river marsh, usually dry in summer, but covered with water in the winter, and the term "bottom" was in general use. It was noteworthy that the German equivalent, *boden*, had the supplementary meaning of *ground*, and the Black Grounds, as an appella-

¹ Thorpe, "Dip. Ang. Aevi Sax."

tion, was as common as the Bottoms.¹ On the racial question, he thought the present condition of the population of a district could not be taken as a sample of its former condition, as the migration into this country at various periods since the Norman invasion of Bretons, Flemings, and Huguenots,² and in later periods, especially since the building of railways, of Irish and Welsh farm labourers, together with the migration of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish rural populations to the United States, Australia, etc., since the passing of the Corn Laws, had to a large extent modified the earlier Saxon and Danish population bases. The deterioration of the Englishry of the big towns in recent years, through intermarriages with the swarms of nondescript aliens who had been attracted thither, had also been pointed out by Dr. Beddoes and many other observers. For these reasons recent indiscriminate craniological or other sampling of skulls of living individuals in any part of the United Kingdom, as attempted by some persons, was, in his opinion, wholly valueless as showing the condition of the population in the Saxon and Danish periods. Similarly, chronological or other evidence from ancient skulls, unilluminated by historical data, was, in his opinion, of small value.

The President said that he regretted the absence of the author, whose paper raised many very interesting points. A number of the old coins and measures mentioned, such as ores, hides, etc., were very curious, and a study of them threw a light on the history of the times from which they dated. The last speaker had raised the question of whether we could see in a mixed population traces of their origin. Undoubtedly this was possible, because the way in which crossing among races takes place is on definite

¹ Compare Higginbottom, Rombottom, Itchenbottom (corrupted to Hitchingbottom), Longbottom, etc., all but the last appended to river names.—ED.

² The presence of so-called "Romano-British" types in the Eastern Counties at the present time is due to the Huguenots, of whom there were settlements at Norwich, Colchester, Maldon, Ipswich, etc.—ED.

and known lines. It is always possible to trace backwards the presence of earlier races. Cambridgeshire shows a very great mixture of races, one evidence of which was the number of different types that are to be seen in the town on market days.

In reply, Mr. Hailstone writes:—

We can find no early trace of the name Six Mile Bottom. That it was so styled from being six miles from Newmarket is perhaps possible, as a place of call by carriers along the high road, or pilgrims to Newmarket race meetings. In this case it must be subsequent to the thirteenth century. The new English dictionary informs us that bottom means a valley.¹ The configuration of the ground as shown in the maps hardly accounts for more than one bottom, whence we must suppose that Westley Bottom applies to that part situate in Westley, while Six Mile Bottom to that in Wilbraham and Bottisham. The farm in Wratting, close by, is called the "Valley" farm. It is by no means clear why in all Cambridgeshire we should only find the word Bottom applied to the above-mentioned sites, viz., in Ditton, Wilbraham, and Westley. That it is so is in favour of thinking the term an early one, handed down by local tradition, given to land in the hands of a distinct nationality from that of the surrounding country. If this is so the evidence seems to be in favour of this land having been occupied by Danes and attributed to them, even in Anglo-Saxon times, and we still think that in the case of Wood Ditton this view is supported by the valley being called Danes Bottom.

Since the above paper was written we have found, in the "Catalogue of Antient Deeds" (Record Series) of the time of Edward III., a tract of land in Haslingfield named *Danelond towards Holegateweye*. Is not this another evidence of land allotted to Danes at some period?

¹ See footnote, p. 119.—ED.

As to Quoy (now Quy), the fact that the name is so spelt in Bottisham parish register, taken with the traditional pronunciation Quoy, tends to show that possibly this was the original form of the word. Prof. Skeat tells us that Coeia of Domesday Book means cow-island, and that "Norman popular etymology" accounts for the *Qu*. The island no doubt accounts for the name of the Ely Manor, viz., Holme Hall in Quy. Domesday Book, in the whole parish, knows only of Coeia, but the Inq. C.C., of Choeie et Stoua. Now, the *parish* church lies in Stow, to which the owners of the Ramsey and Holme Hall Manors presented alternately, the free chapel in Quy being in the hands of the Lord of the Manor of Holme Hall, and we have in the catalogue of the Feet of Fines mention in more than one instance of both Stow and Quy *juxta Anglesey*. May we then be forgiven for assuming that the Anglo-Saxon name of Stow was applied not only to what is now called Stow End, but also to Quy, while Quy, or Quoy, as a name, is of a different origin incorporated with the former, and becoming in Anglo-Saxon, together with its Holme, Coeia, with the meaning of fold, or pen-island? If this could once be proved we might go on to establish a similar origin to such cases as Coefen, perhaps Hoefen, Cow Common, Cowbridge, in Cambridge, Quy, Rampton, and Swaffham respectively. As a modern surname Coe and Penfold are well known, both occurring in Cambridgeshire, particularly the former, but we do not meet with a Mr. Horse, Sheep, or Cow. Before leaving the subject we would call special attention to the repeated mention in documents of the name Stow-quy, as distinguished from Stow-cum-Quy, which is more rarely used.

Again, as to the importance or otherwise of surnames, although until Edward I.'s time they were not general, we find plenty of instances of such in the Cambridgeshire Domesday Book and nearly contemporary inquisitions, and though most people in a dependent condition, as even now in many cases, were generally called by their

Christian names, it by no means follows that there were not in existence many surnames handed down by tradition, though unrecorded.

Whether the site of the battle of Assandun is to be located at Ashingdon by Canewdon in Essex, or at Ashdon by Bartlow and Camps on the borders of Cambridgeshire, is perhaps still a moot point. The account of Thomas, the monk of Ely, in the "*Liber Eliensis*," points strongly to the latter place, for the following reasons, which are here briefly stated, mostly, we believe, for the first time:—

I. The writer in this portion of the book devotes his attention to events which more immediately concern the church of *Ely*, while giving a history of its temporalities.

II. Ednoth, Bishop of Lincoln, and Wlsi, Abbot of Ely, acted, we are told, so to speak, as chaplains to the forces, proceeding towards Ashdon to pray for the soldiers. Note, Bartlow was in the then diocese of Lincoln, and afterwards in that of Ely. The brethren of Ely were of the party, carrying with them the relics of the church, and soon after, it is stated, those of *Wendreda the Virgin* were stolen and lost.

III. Just previous to the notice of the battle, the church of Ely, we are told, acquired possession of 19 hides in area, lying in Stretley (and Pampisford), Cadenho, and the two Lintons, including Hadstock by Ashdon.

IV. The relics were presumably conveyed to lands belonging to the church on which its tenants lived.

V. The acquisition of property in Fambridge,¹ not far from Ashingdon, is not mentioned in the history until *after* the notice of the battle.

VI. Bartlow church has a *round* tower. As a place-name it lies partly in Cambridgeshire and partly in Ashdon, Essex. The Essex portion of lands paid tithes to Bartlow church in Cambridgeshire, and the whole is hidated in *Magna Camps* (*cf.* the Barnwell Register).

VII. In Domesday Book the names of Nostrefield,

¹ Fambridge is about 9 miles from Canewdon.—ED.

Cadenho, Bartlow, and Hadstock do not occur, though the details of hides in figures are found under the names of Camps, Linton, Pampisford, Horseheath, and Hildersham.

VIII. In the Inq. temp. John, noted in the "Liber Rubeus," the amount of hides enumerated by the "Liber Eliensis" are accounted for *exactly* under Linton and Dilinton (= ? Duo Linton).

IX. Nostrefield, now called a hamlet of Shudy Camps, in etymology may be conjectured to be a shortening of "Paternoster" field, *i.e.*, a battle field, where people were made "to say their prayers," or (?) where the above-mentioned ecclesiastics prayed for the soldiery; but of course it may be said that Nostrefield might stand for the site of an earlier battle.

X. The author mentions the fact that Wulstan, Archbishop of York, who was deputed to dedicate the church built by King Canute and Earl Thorkill, paid *quodam tempore* a visit to Ely in order to pray there, and that on the occasion a miracle was performed. This may indicate that the Archbishop had been previously staying in the vicinity.

XI. As in modern times, the name of a battle may cover places lying near by, particularly in this case where the forces engaged were numerous.

For the above reasons, we are inclined to believe that it is Bartlow church which commemorates the battle of Ashdon, or Assandun, and the "mons" which the writer of the "Liber Eliensis" mentions, and which he assumes to be well known, is one or more of the Bartlow hills lying in the parish of Ashdon. The word "mons," used as an adjunct to a place-name, occurs in English as mount or mound—*e.g.*, Mount Bures, Theydon Mount, by Theydon Bois in Essex.¹

¹ Walton's, a manor in Ashdon parish. Holders, T.R.E., Oslac, Alwin, and Orderic; D.B., Tihel, Brito and Alb. de Ver. Named Steuitune and Stauintun, now Stevington End, or Stenton End: perhaps anciently a distinct village. The inhabitants support their own poor and keep their

Our thanks are due to Mr. W. G. Collingwood for his kind help in preparing the map which accompanies this paper, and which, we are quite sure, will greatly add to any value it may possess.

accounts distinct from the rest of Ashdon, and, though they apply on all necessary occasions to the Justices of Essex and to the Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford, yet usually resort to Bartlow Church, to which they pay churchwarden's rates and are generally reckoned to be in the spiritual jurisdiction of that parish. The place is also named Bartlow End.—See Wright's "Essex," vol. ii.

THE DANES IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. W. E. CONYBEARE, M.A.

THE Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that in the year 875 "Three [Danish] kings, Guthrum and Oscytel and Anwynd,¹ fared unto Grantebrycge² with a great host, and sat them down there one year." All the other early chroniclers repeat the statement. This occupation of Cambridge was evidently felt an important development in the sanguinary drama of the Viking attacks upon England. It marked the subjection to their influence of a new district, hitherto unreached, and henceforward to be theirs almost continuously.

For over forty years (ever since 832) the Northmen had made England the special object of their raids. At first these were intermittent, mere plundering "summer-leads"; but in 851 they for the first time wintered in the land, and after 860 they never left it. Their object now was not merely plunder, but settlement. Starting from the Humber they made their desolating way to and fro throughout the land. York fell, and Nottingham, and Crowland, and Peterborough and Ely. The Kings of Northumbria and East Anglia were slain, the King of Mercia fled to Rome, and the heroic resistance of Wessex, under Ethelred and Alfred, barely sufficed to expel the invaders who swarmed across her borders. This was in 872, and on their retirement they shared up amongst their leaders the country north of Thames; one division of the host lording it in Northumbria, and another, under

¹ This name is also spelt in the early chroniclers Annuth, Hammond, Asmund, and Osmund.

² Also found as Grantanbrycge, Grantabric, and Grantabryge.

the kings above-named, overawing East Anglia and Mercia from their strategic position at Cambridge.

The draining of the fenland makes it hard to-day to realise how important of old that position was. Here and here alone was it possible for an army to cross the river, whose banks along its entire course, from the Hertfordshire uplands to the sea, were on one side, or both, too swampy for the passage of troops. At Cambridge alone the firm ground reached both sides of the petty stream, and here accordingly was, from the earliest ages, the recognised crossing-place, to which a British track-way and a Roman street successively ran, as the modern roads run still, from either side. To hold this passage was to be able to prevent any foe from passing the river line without a wide detour southwards.¹ And thus we find successive conquerors, Romans, English, Danes, and Normans, occupying the rising ground, which on the western bank of the Cam slopes steeply upward from the passage.

The Romans placed there a small fortified town (probably on the site of an earlier British village), which at some time between the date of Bede, who speaks of it as still "a waste chester," and that of Egbert, who had a mint in the place, became an English settlement. The centre of this town marked the intersection of two Roman roads, the "Via Devana," running from east to west, and the "Akeman Street," from north to south. (Like nearly all other names by which Roman roads are now known in England, these designations were imposed by antiquarians, and have no ancient authority.) The former still remains in use; the latter is now repre-

¹ King John, whom the occupation of Cambridge by the Barons checked in his march from the Eastern Counties upon the Midland, tried to pass to the northwards, but could find no passage till he reached the sea, and was driven to that disastrous march across the sands of the Wash, which lost him his last army. Charles I., when wishing to pass in the other direction, tried going southward, but found the distance too great and was fain to retreat at Oxford.

sented by a parallel track nearer the river, but its ancient course was still traceable within the last century. The square of the Roman rampart was also traceable, though obliterated at several points, even then, by buildings, and by the remains of the Cromwellian fortifications crossing and recrossing it. From these, however, it was clearly distinguishable. This Roman town appears to be that called in the *Notitia Camboritum*; but the name has probably no etymological connection, in spite of the similarity of sound, with *Cambridge*.¹

Here, then, these three Viking leaders established themselves. The traditions embodied in the "Chronicle of Crowland" record all three as concerned in the sack of that famous abbey (870,) and mention Oscytel as the actual slayer of the Abbot "at the very altar." Of him and Anwynd we hear no more, but Guthrum lived to be the most renowned of all the Danish chieftains—the momentary conqueror of Wessex itself, the convert and godson of Alfred, the concluder of the Peace of Wedmore, the ruler of the Danelagh till his death. What they exactly did at Cambridge is largely conjectural. Gaimar declares that they only besieged the town.

Counsel they took that they should to Granta-bridge and beset the city. So did they: quickly from Repton led they their great host. Almost a year endured the siege; like fools they left it in the end; much they lost and little gained. Then away they rode by stealth, straight to Wareham.

If this is true, then the theory that the Danish host encamped on the site of modern Cambridge (a peninsula surrounded on three sides by the Cam and *east* of that river), and protected their camp by a ditch across the isthmus (used afterwards by Henry III., and since known as "the King's Ditch"), may be true also. But Gaimar

¹*Cam* may be a British name for the river, and *Camboritum*=*Cam-Rhydd* (*i.e.*, the ford of the Cam). But in mediæval times the place is always known as Granta-bridge, and Professor Skeats thinks that *Cambridge* is a sixteenth century derivative from *Camboritum*, the name *Cam* for the stream being subsequently evolved from *Cam-bridge*.

stands alone; all the other chroniclers speaking only of an *occupation* of the town. This would presumably involve (like the Norman occupation afterwards) an expulsion of the English inhabitants, whose settlement on the lower ground across the river may perhaps account for the Saxon tower of St. Benet's Church.

The termination of this first Danish occupation of Cambridge by a stealthy and swift march straight on Wareham is recorded by all the chroniclers. That so distant an objective should have been chosen seems at first puzzling. But it was evidently part of a deep laid plan of campaign (which all but proved successful) for the final destruction of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy by the subjugation of Wessex. By seizing Wareham, and thus securing Poole Harbour, the three kings hoped to co-operate with the great Viking fleet already on its way to that port. Nothing but Alfred's extraordinary vigour and celerity foiled the plot, and enabled him to drive them from Wareham before the fleet arrived and, when it did arrive, to crush it in the great sea-fight off Swanage—the first triumph of the English navy. The host from Cambridge, however, remained a thorn in his side. For two years they successfully maintained themselves in Exeter (which they had captured by treachery), and then once more “stole away” to take part in that mid-winter invasion which overran the whole of his kingdom, and drove him to seek refuge in the marshes of Athelney. This was in 878. The next year saw him finally victorious at Ethandune, and Guthrum turned from a treacherous heathen foe to a loyal Christian friend, who for the rest of his life never failed his royal godfather in aiding to keep the peace made by the Treaty of Wedmore.

By that treaty the Northern and Eastern districts of England were made over to the Danes, the boundary line being the River Lea to its source, and north of that the Watling Street. Beyond this line all was under Danish law, and much of the soil under actual Danish ownership.

Cambridge became a Danish centre, and the neighbourhood was occupied by Danish warriors, under something very like a feudal tenure. When in the next generation Edward the Elder, the worthy son of the great Alfred, completed his father's life-work by reconquering the Danelagh, we read that (in 921)

all the host amongst the East Anglians swore to be at one with King Edward, that they would all that he would, and would hold peace toward all to whom the King should grant his peace both by land and sea. And in especial did the host which owed fealty to Cambridge choose him to Father and to Lord, and thereto sware oaths even as he bade them.

It was out of the district thus "commended" to him (to use a phrase of later date) that Edward formed his new county of Cambridge. The inhabitants became noted for their military prowess against later Scandinavian invaders, and at the fatal battle of Ringmere (1010) were the only troops in the English army to stand fast against the Danish onset. This brought upon the district a harrying, ferocious even beyond the Danish wont, in which its villages were destroyed far and wide, and Cambridge itself was sacked and burnt.

The town, however, must have speedily risen again from its ashes, and doubtless shared in the prosperity which Canute's special favour for the monks of Ely would bring to the Cam valley. In Domesday we find that in the reign of Edward the Confessor it had consisted of 400 dwelling-houses ("masuræ"), divided into ten wards, each under a "lawman," a name which shows that the organisation of the town was still predominantly Danish. The Norman Conquest, however, brought the place to desolation. When Domesday was compiled (1086) nearly a quarter of the town was in ruins, the inhabitants had been driven across the river, new Cambridge had begun to arise, the lawmen were no more, and all that was distinctively Danish in the town and its municipal officers had come to an end for ever.

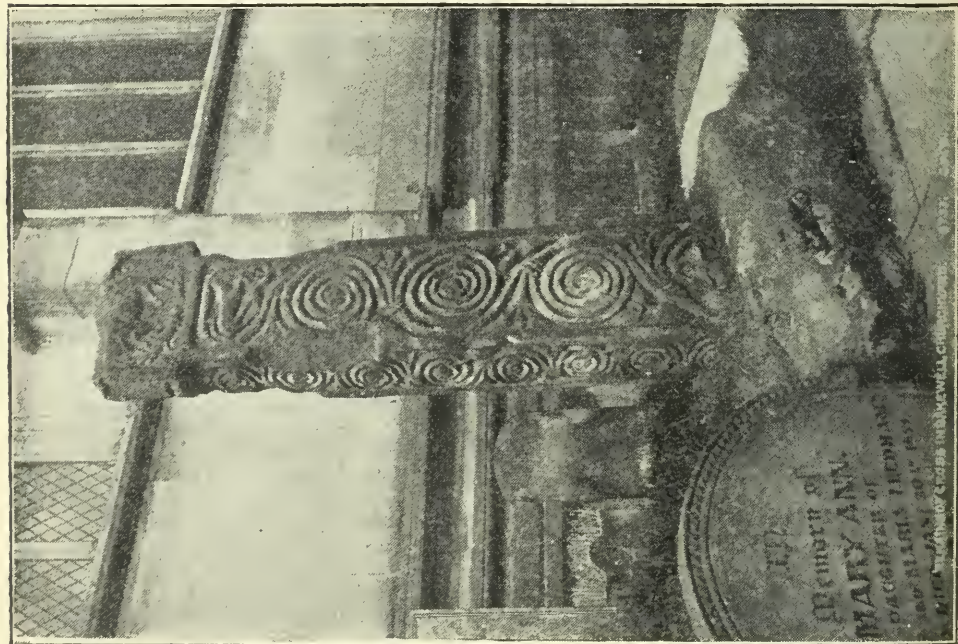


FIG. 1.—CROSS AT BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).



FIG. 2.—CROSS AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE (SOUTH-EAST SIDE).

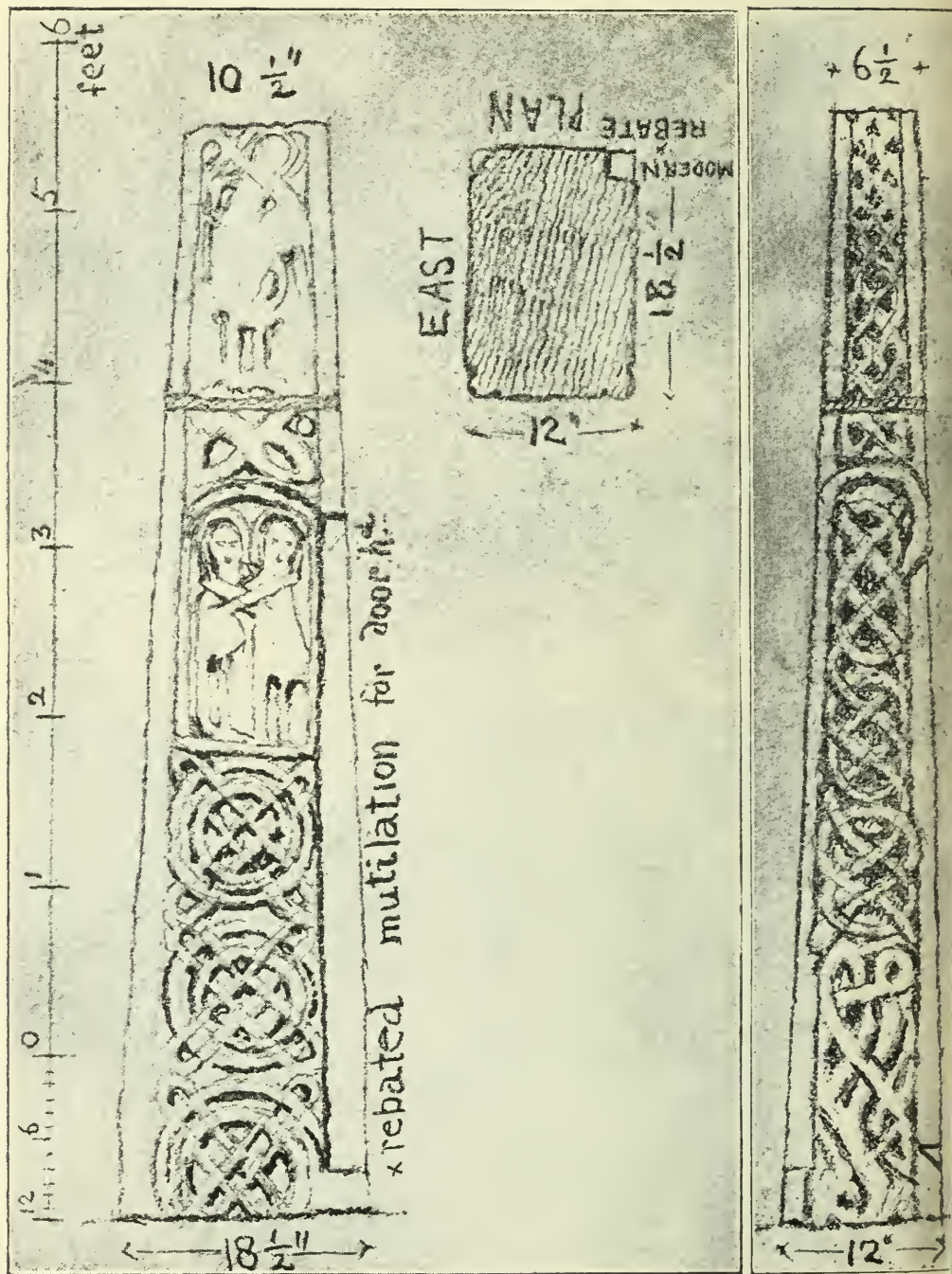
SCANDINAVIAN *MOTIFS* IN ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN ORNAMENTATION.

BY REV. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., D.LITT.,
F.R.HIST.S., F.R.S L.

THE study of *origins* has always appeared to me one of the most fascinating of human pursuits, and one, moreover, which, while it throws light upon the past, has a direct present interest as a guide and stimulus to effort, and as a means of securing progress in the right direction. We are all of us familiar with the general outlines and characteristics of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, whether in architecture or the arts, particularly those of sculpture and illumination. Whence was it derived? From what sources must its inspiration be sought? In a general way, I suppose we should answer, From Byzantine and Saracenic sources; and some might add, from Late-Celtic, through its derivatives in Christianised Ireland.

These are perfectly correct answers as far as they go. But the object of this paper is to show that more of it owes its origin to Scandinavian and later "Viking" *motifs* than we should at first sight be prepared to admit, and that these may be carried back to the art of Halstatt and La Tène, and perhaps to earlier days still.

Speaking broadly, what are the main characteristics of the art under consideration? It would be impossible and inadvisable within the limits of this paper to specify individually the examples of the art of our Anglo-Saxon and Norman forefathers which have come down to us, though examples will be mentioned as we proceed. All



West face.

South face.

FIG. 3.—CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.

(From the Journal of the British Archaeological Association.)

that we can attempt, from a rapid survey of the field, is to form a general idea of the *motifs* of ornamentation employed by them, and to seek, if possible, to throw some further light upon their origin. The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons has been lately dealt with in a manner

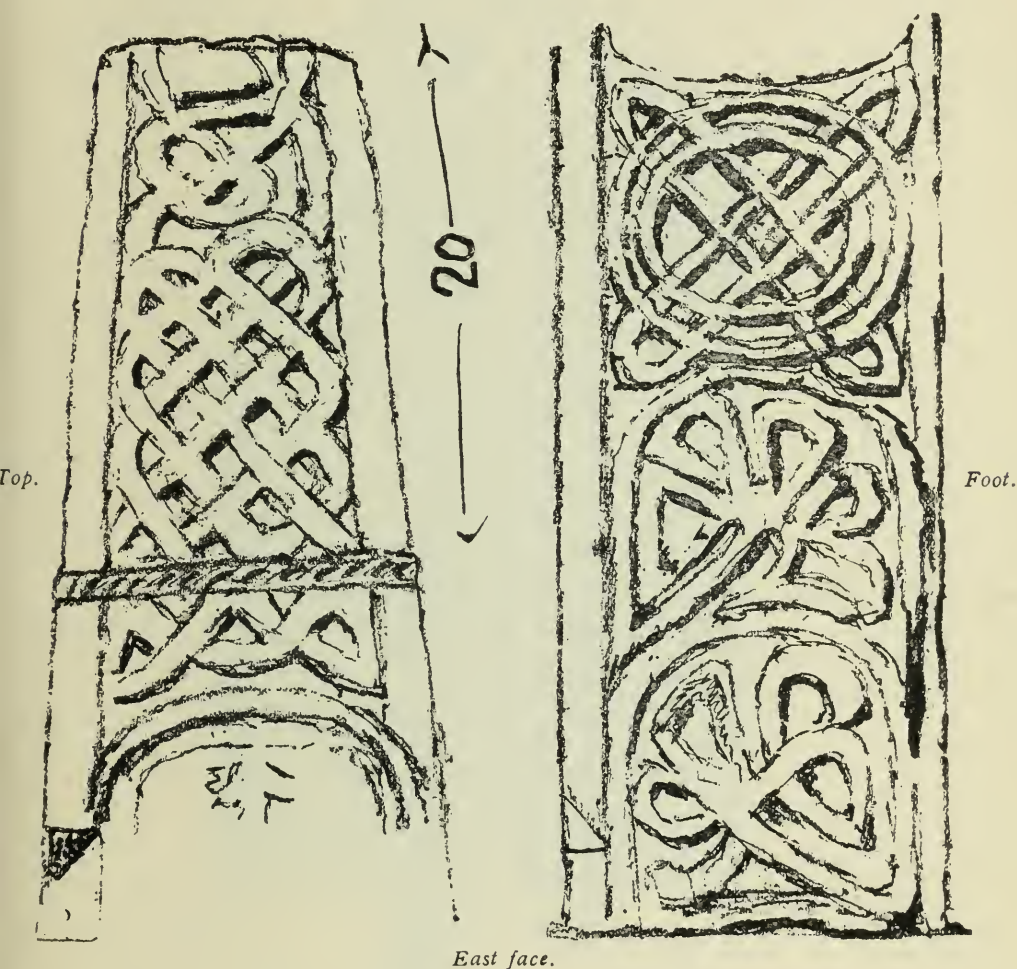


FIG. 4 —CROSS AT HOPE, DERBYSHIRE.

(From *Journal of British Archaeological Association.*)

both interesting and exhaustive by Professor Baldwin Brown, of Edinburgh,¹ and he promises a further treatise on what may, perhaps, be more properly called their art. This latter includes everything artistic in stone, in manu-

¹ "The Arts in Early England." 2 vols. Murray, 1903.



FIG. 5 —HIGH CROSS AT DURROW.

(By kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

scripts, and in metal-work. Their architecture, grand in its simplicity, did not lend itself readily to the lighter forms of ornament.

Norman ornamentation is found in architecture, as well as in art, not only on the façades of churches and cathedrals, but in the details of the buildings, in pier, in capital, in arch, on the pillars and in the tympana of doorways, in corbels and on fonts; here the art of the



FIG. 6.—FONT AT DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

(By kind permission of the Rev. Canon Greenwell.)

sculptor finds its richest and most luxuriant expression. In the art of illumination and metal-work they did not excel.

Leaving these two latter arts, therefore, on one side for the present, except so far as they serve for illustration, the most characteristic examples of ornamentation with which we shall deal are to be found in the stone-work

of both Anglo-Saxons and Normans; of the former, in those pre-Norman crosses, of which so many beautiful examples are to be met with, and in one or two fonts, of which those at Bridekirk and Deerhurst are the most striking specimens; and of the latter, in those various details of buildings, including fonts, already mentioned.

Taking these into consideration in one large view, the

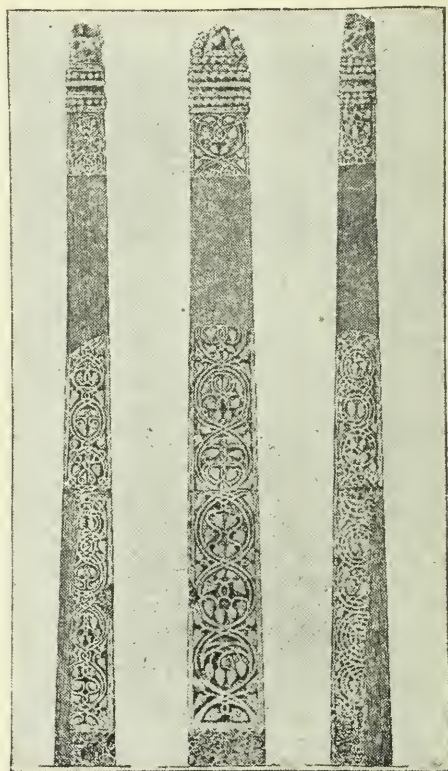


FIG. 7.—ACCA'S CROSS, HEXHAM.

(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

most characteristic ornamentation we perceive is a series of variously interlacing patterns in scroll or cable-work and spirals, along with rude sculptures of men and animals, and grotesques.

Have we any reason for seeking the origin of this mode of ornamentation in Scandinavia? As is well known, the Normans were largely of Norse blood and of Norse

descent, while for more than two centuries the coasts of our own islands were exposed to the ravages of Norse invaders, the Vikings and Berserkers from heathen Norway and Sweden and Denmark, who overran the country, established themselves in East Anglia, Northumbria, and great part of Mercia, forming the Danelagh, and finally placed themselves, in the persons of Knut and his sons, upon the throne of Alfred. At the same time they established their dominion over Western Scotland, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and Eastern Ireland. Surely it is no matter for surprise if they should have impressed their ideas upon the people they conquered, and transmitted them to their descendants, the Normans, who thus brought with them a second wave of influence at the Conquest. The wonder would be were it otherwise! On the other hand, these, no doubt, were also influenced by the peoples whose lands they overran and conquered.

Passing by for the moment the "Celtic interlacing, often more distressing than a Chinese puzzle, and in some instances barbarous in the extreme," which is to be seen on Irish and pre-Norman crosses, and in Irish manuscripts, such as the Books of Kells, and of Armagh, and in the Lindisfarne manuscript of the Gospels, as being a distinct Christian derivation from Late-Celtic art, the question before us is whether we can derive the writhing serpent and animal forms, or the animal attacked by plaited thong or twisted fibre, which penetrated all the art of our Saxon and Norman forefathers, and of which examples too numerous to mention have come down to us, from distinct and definite Scandinavian sources. The question is an important one, and all the more interesting to us as members of the Viking Club, because attempts have been made to answer it in the contrary sense.

Professor Hans Hildebrand, for example, traces the development of patterns from lion-forms to the twisted snake ornament, and speaks of the latter as being Scandinavian copies or adaptations of the Roman design of two lions couchant, and says, "It is quite possible that

the peculiar interlacings of Scandinavian ornament may have been the result of copying imperfectly lion and bird forms," in much the same way as we can trace on British coins the gradual degradation of the chariot and horses of the Macedonian stater to meaningless circles and dots. (*Vide infra.*) And he continues :

They were never intended for snake-forms, as many of them have legs and feet, and snakes were unknown in the North. When the Gothlandic artist had reduced his lion forms to snakes, he carried his work to the verge of monotony with interminable interlacings.

This work, so characteristic of Saxon and Norman ornament, Professor Hildebrand, it will be seen, acknowledges to be Scandinavian, but he denies its originality, and reduces it to a mere degradation of classic models. In this we are persuaded that he is at fault. Whether snakes were as unknown in the North as they were, after St. Patrick's days, in Ireland, there is no doubt whatever that the snake or dragon played a very large part in Norse mythology (*vide infra*), and it is from this source, and not from degraded classic models, that I would derive the Scandinavian snake-forms, which were brought over-sea by the Vikings, and adopted by Saxon and Norman artists. That is to say, the original home of this style of ornament is to be sought in the North.

In this connection we must not forget that the first Saxon invaders came from the same district, and, as being themselves Vikings of the first flight, brought with them a style of ornament already largely penetrated with the same idea. As Mr. John Ward says :

After the age of the Constantines, the intercourse of the Germanic peoples with the Romans was broken, owing to the invasion of the Huns, and for long after they were left to themselves . . . and enabled to develop their national art on the foundation of Roman culture, substituting their own emblems, and thus the Hunnic invasion of the Roman Empire was the indirect means of giving to Northern Europe a distinct national style of art.¹

¹ "Principles of Historic Ornament."

The early Pagan Anglo-Saxons have left us no memorials of their art beyond what may be gathered from the bracteates, fibulæ, and other jewellery deposited in their graves. In these we see patterns composed of corrupted animal forms, or rather of interlacing animal forms, much debased, in which the snake or dragon largely predominates. Among the pagan Anglo-Saxons cremation long remained a formal rite, and it is precisely in cases of urn-burial that objects betraying Scandinavian influence are most commonly found. From the specimens which have come down to us we can quite well understand how it was that the later Anglo-Saxons became celebrated throughout Europe for the beauty of their jewellery, and that this fame was not undeserved it is sufficient to point to the "Alfred Jewel," now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Anglo-Saxon fibulæ are unapproachable; many of them are extremely tasteful in design and decoration, and give evidence of most careful workmanship.

Surely this is also proof of a high degree of civilisation, which some have too lightly denied to our Saxon forefathers. It may not have been according to our standards, but wherever a taste for true ornament, particularly in gold-work and jewellery, has been developed, there barbarism has emerged, or is emerging, into civilisation.¹

¹ "Though Rome was the undisputed mistress of Europe in all that concerns the arts of building, this was not the case in the domain of ornament and decoration. In the decorative arts barbarism is least barbaric, *i.e.*, the connotation of 'rude' or 'clumsy,' which clings to the adjective, does not apply when the reference is to a piece of gold-work or painted enrichment. Such a thing wrought by Saxon smith or Irish monk may be as tasteful and delicate as if it had been worked at Byzantium itself. It is barbaric only in the sense that it is non-classical. When the countrymen of Polybius or Cæsar noted the shape and enrichment of the arms of the Gallic warrior, and his taste in the adornment of his person or his steed, they had before them evidence of an artistic skill that, within certain well-defined limits, equalled that of the Greek or Roman craftsman.

"The opening of innumerable sepulchres of Celt and Teuton and Scandinavian has enabled archæologists to recover sufficient remains of this pre-Roman decorative art of Central and North-Western Europe to show that, in the main, its productions possess a family likeness, and may, as a

The same thing is seen in Ireland, where the most beautiful examples of the goldsmith's art testify to the real status of the people from very early times.

To mention only some of the Anglo-Saxon examples. There are the fine bronze parcel-gilt cruciform fibulæ from Sleaford, in Lincolnshire, bearing the *swastika* in the centre—here a true mark of Scandinavian origin. There is the equally fine gold annular fibula, set with garnets, and adorned with interlaced cable-work, from Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and there is the cloisonné jewellery, a purely Northern art, though derived from the East, modified by the Etruscans, and carried along the ancient trade-routes by the amber merchants on their return journeys in prehistoric times, which entirely superseded the Roman art of enamelling. This has been described as the first æsthetic manifestation of the Gothic nations, and this art was apparently localised in Kent by the first Saxon invaders. The highest type of cloisonné jewellery is to be seen on a fibula found at Kingston, adorned with dragons and grotesque animals, and this is a sure indication of Gothic workmanship. As Baron de Baye says :

Time produced its inevitable effect, and types were modified by contact with other peoples, and much was borrowed to increase artistic resource. Anglo-Saxon art, particularly goldsmith's work, is deeply penetrated by the influence of Scandinavia, and thence a new art was developed.¹

There is no doubt some truth in Miss Stokes' remark as to the Byzantine origin of much of the interlaced patterns and knot-work seen on pre-Norman crosses, and on Norman fonts and tympana, as well as in Irish MSS. and in the Saxon Gospels of Lindisfarne (derived from Irish sources), which have been transmitted to us from

mass, be opposed to those of the classical peoples. As a whole, it is opposed to classical art in its essentially decorative character.

"To diversify a surface is the first instinct of the barbaric artist, to turn nature to an artistic purpose that of the classical." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 38, 39.

¹ "Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons," p. 10.

the early Christian centuries in these islands. Her words are :

Interlaced patterns and knot-work, strongly resembling Irish designs, are commonly met with at Ravenna, in the older churches of Lombardy, and at Sant. Abbondio at Como, and not unfrequently appear in Byzantine MSS., while in the carvings on the Syrian churches of the second and third centuries, as well as the early churches of Georgia, such interlaced ornament is constantly used.¹

With this harmonises what Sir Coutts Lindsay says as to the earliest form of Christian church in the West :

The basilica seems to have taken its perfect form at once. Some of the most beautiful in Italy were the work of Lombard architects,² who, it is worthy of remark, have suppressed the passion for exuberant grotesque imagery in which they usually indulge so freely ; and similarly in England, the churches built during the Heptarchy, and indeed, as late as the Norman conquest, in the style commonly, but erroneously, styled "Saxon" seem all to have been basilicas—*more Romano* ; the proper Lombard architecture was first introduced by the Normans.³

This was written sixty years ago, and since then we have learnt that we have no remains of churches built "during the Heptarchy." The first Saxon churches were of wood, of which we have one most interesting, though late, relic in the little wooden church at Greenstead, in Essex, and the earliest remains of a Saxon stone church are to be seen in Benedict Biscop's church at Monk Wearmouth, A.D. 680, while the great majority of the Saxon churches, or churches containing Saxon workmanship still remaining, of which Mr. Brown enumerates nearly 200, date from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.⁴

But the basilican style, *i.e.*, the church with simple nave, either with or without aisles, and with apsidal or square termination to the choir, modified by the addition of a tower at the west end, a Saxon improvement derived from the Austrasian architecture of the later Carolingian empire, continued right through the Norman period until

¹ "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 33.

² *i.e.*, Gothic.

³ "Sketches of Christian Art," vol. i., p. 216.

⁴ "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 272, *seq.*

the square termination to the choir, in place of the apse, finally triumphed with the Early English style.¹ Whence architecture was derived, thence, doubtless, ornament would be derived also, and the basilican style of architecture introduced by the first Christian builders would no doubt bring with it Byzantine *motifs* in ornament.²

But having conceded this much, we revert to our original theme, and maintain that all these interminable interlacings and knot-work, and writhing animals, and wriggling snakes, and grotesque forms derive their ultimate

¹ "In any case, whether the rectangular presbytery be a natural growth or an importation from Ireland it is no criterion of date or period, as it occurs in the indubitably early Escomb, and in the certainly late Repton and Boarhunt. So with the apsidal presbytery. The early Kentish group and Brixworth exhibit the apse, but so also do Worth and Wing, which are late. No chronological or geographical principle is involved in the presence or absence of an apse. . . . Taking the comparatively few Saxon churches of which the Eastern termination is assured, we can count a score of square ends to set against ten apses." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 280, 281.

² "To the influence of the Lombard-Byzantine art may be attributed the perfection of design and execution found in the earliest specimens of stone crosses mainly existing in the north of England, and this is due to the fact that they are the work of the Italian artists brought over by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. The characteristics of that work are interlaced patterns of the Byzantine type, and bands of conventional foliage, which are purely Byzantine. The earliest is that at Bewcastle, A.D. 670, and the masterly design of its conventionalised vine-foliage, and the dignity of pose and effective drapery of the figures, give a high idea of the powers of the sculptor. To a later generation belongs the sepulchral cross of Acca (740), Bishop of Hexham, preserved in the Cathedral library at Durham. Here the interlacing scrolls are designed with even greater decorative skill than in the earlier examples, and prove that the school founded in the first instance by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors at Hexham rivalled and even surpassed its masters." This was in all probability due to the native strain of Scandinavian art-motif in the north. Later on, with the arrival of the Norsemen, the influence of this Scandinavian art-motif becomes more marked and more direct. "It is then that the stories from the Edda," adapted to Christian symbolism, "appear on the crosses, of which that at Gosforth (Cumberland) is the most notable instance." See Barnard's "Companion to English History" (Middle Ages), pp. 330, 331.

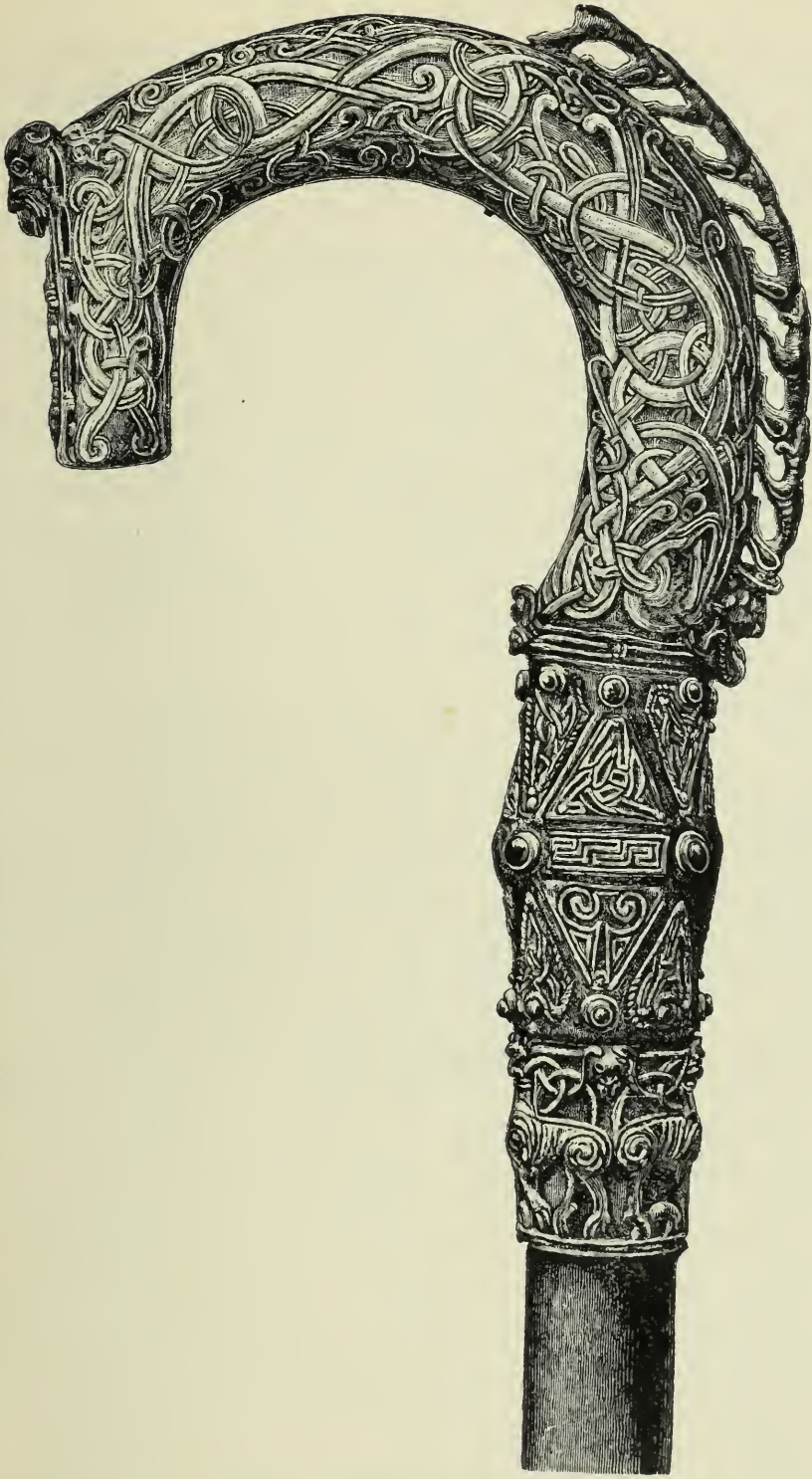


FIG. 8.—CLONMACNOIS CROZIER.

(By kind permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

source from the pre-Christian Northern art of Scandinavia and the Gothic peoples, blended, no doubt, with *motifs* drawn from Christianised Ireland, which were derived from the Bronze Age, as exhibited in the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Tène. These very Byzantine interlacings and twistings and grotesques are themselves, in the first instance, of Gothic origin, and were imposed upon the art of the decaying empire by the northern invaders. They are themselves the outcome of Scandinavian *motifs*, and in the re-conquest of the north by the artists and architects of the Carolingian empire, they were merely returning to the lands of their birth, where they were met by the advancing waves of a fresh invasion of barbaric art in the wake of the Viking incursions, and were thus re-invigorated and restored to something of their pristine excellence.

Dr. Haddon, in his book on the "Evolution of Art," has shown once for all that the origin of all ornament must be sought in the everyday life of the primitive peoples. Thus the ornamentation on Norman capitals is seen on primitive axe heads and spear heads. It is seen to-day on these same articles as used by savage races, and is derived from the imitative representation of binding. This same ornament appears in Neolithic pottery of all ages. In this way the billet-ends, for example, on the Norman capitals of Peterborough Cathedral ascend in a straight line to the Neolithic age of the Scandinavian forefathers of the Norman builders. In the same way, the ornament to be seen on the pottery and other articles from the Terre Mare of Northern Italy and Switzerland is an imitation of the wattle-work of their inhabitants.

So we may conclude that the special ornament which characterises the Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of which we are treating in this paper is derived in the first instance from the basket-work and withy-band of the early Scandinavians. These people, from whose loins sprang the first Gothic invaders of the Roman Empire and the later Viking brood, were adepts in the art of basket-weaving,

as is proved by their monuments. Wattle-work and the use of the withy-band was also familiar to them. The pliant bark of birch and the willow-twigg were ever at hand. The Norwegian still makes hinges for his gates and doors out of twisted fibre. The Viking sea-rover spoke of "the rudder withy." The original device of this pattern is formed of a withy wound upon itself.

This device, wrongly called "the rope pattern," gained such an ascendancy over the Northern mind that in later times it was employed as a symbol, and became the *triskele*, or "triquetral knot," the well-known Saxon emblem of the Holy Trinity. Like the cross, however, it had its origin, as we see, in Pagan antiquity; it is the same thing as the reefing knot, which was carved on Roman altars, and has been found on the monuments of the Hittites. This only shows that the same ideas occur to all nations at the same stage of culture and using the same or corresponding materials. For the source of its use in England we look to the Scandinavian North.

Dr. Colly March, in his "Meaning of Ornament," even derives the spiral and the guilloche from this basket-work pattern, and, if so, we have here not only the origin of the interlacings and twistings of the so-called rope-pattern, but also of the spirals of Late-Celtic and Irish art, including the splendid divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern of the Irish MSS. But this was probably not universally the case, and these latter may have been evolved naturally from the simple spiral.

The patterns which Miss Stokes enumerates as being characteristic of Irish MSS., and which appear also in rich profusion in the Lindisfarne (Saxon) Gospels, are, to take the linear designs: the divergent spiral or trumpet-pattern; the triquetra; interlaced bands; knot-work; eight varieties of gammadion; and chevron and rectilinear patterns. Of these, every one are, in this case, directly traceable to Late-Celtic origin, modified and re-introduced as a result of the Viking invasions, and the first four are distinctly derived from the basket-work or

withy-band pattern; the last two from the binding pattern, as old as Neolithic days. Of the natural forms treated in Irish MSS., the reptiles and bird and animal forms are, as clearly, of northern origin, although, like the conventional foliage and fishes, they may have reached the Irish scribes through Christianised Romanesque sources.¹

With regard to the circles which appear on some Saxon and Norman monuments, Dr. Colly March would derive them from the spiral, and says "the sequence is one of decadence," "spirals are never evolved from circles," while the intermediate stage has been called by Dr. Montelius "the bastard spiral." This statement must, however, be modified in the light of later research, for it is well known that circles are among the oldest form of ornament, and are characteristic of the Neolithic stage of culture, as witness the cup-and-ring marks found on the rocks all the world over; and among the natives of Central Australia Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have marked the actual evolution of the circle into the spiral, the circle being the older and original form of ornament, and the spiral being formed by the joining together of unfinished circles. However this may be, the spiral seems to have been indigenous to, and of independent origin in, Northern Europe, and to have no direct connection with the magnificent spiral ornamentation of ancient Egypt and of the Mycenaean age of the Greek world. This latter, like the triquetral knot of the Hittites, was probably equally

¹ "The designs that prevailed in Ireland at the time of the introduction of Christianity can only be studied on her bronzes, and on the walls of such monuments as her tumuli, like New Grange and Douth. They consist of spirals, zigzags, lozenges, circles, dots, etc., such as are common to all primitive peoples. In addition to these, we have the divergent spiral or trumpet pattern, which design seems peculiar to the late-Celtic inhabitants of these Islands. . . . Interlacings (knotted animal and vegetable forms) are always confined to Christian antiquities in Ireland, and were introduced with Christianity." "Early Christian Art in Ireland," p. 31.

derived from the basket pattern of the pre-historic peoples.¹

In his new work entitled "Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa," the first part of which is all that has yet been published, Dr. Oscar Montelius opens up a comparatively unexplored field of research, in which he shows how the old Neolithic types of ornamentation are carried on into the Bronze Age, and these into the earliest Mycenaean and Etruscan art, and compares these latter with the earlier or contemporary or later products of Egypt, Assyria, Middle Europe, and Scandinavia. In the text, and in the copious illustrations which adorn it, we can trace the spread and modification of the older types, and note how, for example, the horizontal lines on Later Bronze celts are derived from the thong-bindings of the Neolithic and Earlier Bronze forms; and how the swastika, the spiral, and the cup-and-ring ornament

¹ Some indeed would see in the spiral ornament which appears on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, and which is so characteristic of the Irish MSS., and manuscripts derived from them, such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, evidence of direct descent from Mycenaean ornamentation, and, therefore, it may be added, from Egyptian, which is older than the Mycenaean, and, in all probability, the source of it. For example, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in describing Mr. Arthur Evans' "Cretan Exhibition" at Burlington House in the *Cornhill Magazine* for March, 1903, writes thus:—

Moreover, on Knossian walls and ceilings there was much decoration of a purely geometrical character wherever spiral motives attained great perfection. High up on the south wall (*i.e.*, at Burlington House) is hung the finest of these wall-patterns, one that would be most welcome in a stately modern room. It seems that very many centuries ago our islands indirectly derived their first knowledge of spiral decoration from its use in the Egean. For it has been shown how Egean art-motives passed into Northern Europe by the great Baltic trade-routes which the southern taste for amber had called into being. From Scandinavia and Denmark they reached Ireland, and from Ireland, England, to meet these similar traditions carried by western Kelts along other routes from the same original source. The spirals, therefore, on the Saxon font at Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, are descended in lineal succession from spirals on the walls at Knossus.

There is a great deal to be said for this view; but we may still include the spiral as among the Scandinavian *motifs* treated of in this paper, even though it were not indigenous to Scandinavia, but derived. Its use by Anglo-Saxons, as by Irish, springs from Scandinavia.

are universal—these latter probably indigenous to many independent peoples, but borne onward in ever-widening embrace through the influence of migrations, of commerce, of religion, and of art. This great work should be in the hands of every student of the subject.

It now falls to us to connect the interlacing and twisting patterns, derived from the basket-work and withy-band, with the writhing snake-forms so characteristic of Saxon and Norman art, and those with Scandinavia. "It is evident," says Dr. Colly March, "that the withy skeuomorph, the Scandinavian worm-knot, established itself as a necessity of the mind before those men who were dominated by it had discarded a covering of skins for cloth, because its type is antagonistic to the regular intersection and stepped designs of textile fabrics, and there is no trace of it on their pottery."

Here Dr. Colly March identifies the withy skeuomorph, or pattern, with the Scandinavian worm-knot, and takes it for granted that the latter is an ornament indigenous to Scandinavia, and must therefore have been brought over-sea from the Gothic fatherland to the lands overrun by the Saxon and Norman invaders. He continues:—

Weaving and metal work were probably introduced together, but for a while the use of metal only increased the number of twisted things. Gold, being eminently pliable and ductile, lent itself at once to the delicate filagree of which so much ancient gold-work consists. It is noticeable that "wire," "wicker," "withy," are all from the root *WI*, to plait, and "wire" originally signified filagree or ornaments of twisted filaments of metal; and as the simplest manner of ending a wire is to coil the end, the earliest filagree work was preponderantly spiral. Thus the way was prepared for the serpent-skeuomorph of the Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples.

But if Dr. Hildebrand is right in saying that, because snakes were unknown in Scandinavia, the writhing snake-forms of Scandinavian art must be derived from debased and broken-down animal forms, such as lions rampant or couchant, and so on, there is nothing to account for the prevalence, one might say the universality, of this form of ornament in Scandinavia, and in lands influenced

by Scandinavian art. The twisted, intertwining wire may have suggested the serpentine form, but does not explain why the animal forms should have been broken down in that particular way, nor why it should have become so marked a characteristic of Scandinavian ornamentation as it undoubtedly is. As a matter of fact, the serpent of the north is symbolic of the sea, the all-embracing ocean which encircles the earth as the serpent enwraps its prey, an idea as old as Homer, who speaks of “the all-embracing Okeanos.” This serpent emblem, so far from being derived by Gothic artists from broken-down classic animal forms, is indigenous to Scandinavian mythology, and hence we argue that the partiality for this form of ornament, accompanied by grotesques, displayed by Anglo-Saxon and Norman artists, is due to Scandinavian influence, and that these, with the interlacing and intertwining so-called rope, or cable-work, into which serpentine and animal and human forms all broke down, are purely Scandinavian *motifs*, modified after the introduction of Christianity, by the Late-Celtic influences transmitted through Irish artists, themselves deeply influenced by ideas derived from Scandinavia.

The “worm” or dragon-serpent is found long ago on prehistoric rock sculptures, and is to be seen on King Gorm’s stone in Denmark, where also the stag appears broken down into the prevailing interlacing pattern, and as Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, is strangled by the “laidly worm” of Scandinavia.¹ The dominance of this idea of the serpent as symbolical of the sea is shown, for example, by the Saxon place-names for promontories, such as “The Worm’s Head,” in the peninsula of Gower, near Swansea, and the Great and Little Orme’s Head in Carnarvonshire.

This idea of the all-embracing ocean dragon-serpent lent itself easily to Christianised symbolism, and thus the explanation of its prevalence in the lands colonised by the Norsemen must be sought in the Pagan-Christian over-

¹ See footnote, p. 167—ED.



being harmonized with those of the Christian faith. The story of Sigurd and Fafnir tells how the latter, in the shape of a dragon, took possession of and guarded the "shining hoard" hanging on the branches of the sacred tree, and how he was slain by the sword of Sigurd.

This legend is continually referred to by Cormac, the Irish-Scandinavian Saga-poet or skald of the tenth century, and by the poets of the Eddas, and forms one of the most beautiful portions of the Nibelungen Lied. Indeed, the imperial city of Worms, the city of Brunhild and Sigurd, derives its name from the Lind-worm, the Dragon Fafnir, slain by the latter. Cormac's most impassioned addresses to his false love Steingerd are evoked by the sight of her golden tresses, which hang over her shoulders like the golden hoard on the dragon-guarded tree:—

"A stranger was I when I sought her
Sweet stem with the dragon's hoard shining—
With gold like the sea dazzle gleaming—
The girl I shall never forget."

And again, referring to the tenacity with which Thorvald the Tinker guarded her, Cormac sings:—

"There's one they call Wielder of Thunder
I would were as chill and as cold,
But he leaves not the side of his lady,
As the lind-worm forsakes not its gold."

Besides Fafnir there are two other serpents in the Norse mythology, one called Jormungandr, already referred to, the emblem of the sea, and Nidhogg, the serpent that gnaws at the roots of the world-ash, Yggdrasil. Jormungandr is the world-snake (Midgardsorm), who at the last will rise from the sea, where he lies coiled round the world, to slay and be slain by Thor. The dragon's writhing in the waves is one of the tokens to herald Ragnarok, the Day of Doom, when Fenrir the Wolf, bound long before by Tyr's help, will be freed, and will swallow the sun and Odin, and the battle of Jormungandr with Thor is

the fiercest combat of that day. "Then comes the glorious son of Hlodyn, Odin's son goes to meet the serpent," says Völuspa.

In the story of Yggdrasil's Ash, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Nidhogg, we have one of the most interesting survivals of Tree-worship, as I have shown elsewhere. The snake and the tree are familiar in most mythologies, though the snake is usually, like Fafnir, the protector, and not the destroyer. Jörmungandr and Nidhogg bring in other elements in being examples of the destroying dragon rather than of the treasure-guardian. Again, in the story of Loki there is the poisonous serpent fastened over his face so that the poison dropped down, which shows that the serpent *per se* was not so unfamiliar to the North as to necessitate the explanation put forward by Dr. Hildebrand for its universal prevalence. In all these examples we have the relics or survivals of primitive nature worship, combined with later attempts to account for tempests and earthquakes and other abnormal phenomena on mythological principles. For example, we are told that when the poison dropped on Loki he struggled so hard that all the earth shook, and the narrator naïvely adds, "These are called earthquakes now."

The same ideas are to be found in the earliest and greatest of the Old English poems, the epic of Beowulf. This poem has a partly mythical and partly historical basis. The mythical Saga of the conquest over Grendel, and the slaughter of the dragon by Beowa, represents the constant struggle of the Germanic coast tribes with the storms of the North Sea. The legendary element does not concern us. The poem tells how Beowulf sails from Sweden to rid Heorot, the hall of Hrothgar, king in Jutland, from the scourge of the mere-fiend Grendel. Beowulf wrestles with the monster, who is slain.

These things are of course all very familiar to students of Norse mythology, but, if we bear them in mind, we shall the more readily understand how naturally they lent themselves to the purposes of Christian adaptation, and hence

to Christian art in the North, and wherever the influence of that art extended. How easily could the early Christian preachers adapt the stories of Jormungandr and Nidhogg to "the Dragon, that old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan," transmitted to the Christian religion from the Hebrew mythology. Like them, he is a destroying monster, the sovereign of the kingdom of darkness, but holding the earth enwrapped in his baneful coils; like the former, he waits to devour the sun, *i.e.*, the powers of light and goodness; like the latter, he gnaws at the Tree of Life, and brings death in his train. Like Fafnir, on the other hand, he guards the "shining hoard." To his wiles Adam indeed succumbed, but a greater than Sigurd has destroyed him, through whose might every Christian warrior may also overcome. The details of the legends, the filling in of the mythological data, are no doubt different, for the one is derived from primitive animism, through an Oriental Semitic environment, the other through a northern Aryan one, but the similarities are sufficient for the one to be merged in the other without difficulty.

Thus it follows that those *motifs* which we have shown to be specially characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and Norman art are in all probability derived from Scandinavia, and are the survivals and adaptations of Christianised pagan ideas.

By the fourteenth century the legend of Sigurd and Fafnir had been consciously thus adapted in Scandinavia, as it had been long before unconsciously, wherever Scandinavian influence was felt. On the wooden portals of churches, on pillars, on fonts, and on crosses the dragon Fafnir, slain by the sword of Sigurd, is to be seen in Sweden and Norway, and in England, as at Hatton's Cross, Lancaster. Fafnir, it is true, passes into a maze of beautiful scroll-work, and at Hatton's Cross there is nothing left of him but a twisted knot.

So the animal fades away, and the ghost alone remains in what to ordinary eyes is only an entwisted fibre, as, for

instance in the detail on Hatton's Cross ; that on a stone coffin in Cambridge Castle ; on the Saxon fonts at Deerhurst (Fig. 6), and Bridekirk (Fig. 10), and on many a Norman font, of which those at Tofttrees (Fig. 11), Shernborne, Burnham Deepdale (Fig. 12), Ingoldisthorpe



FIG. 10.—FONT AT BRIDEKIRK, CUMBERLAND.

(By kind permission of Mr. Henry Frowde.)

(Fig. 13), and Sculthorpe (Figs. 14 and 15), in North-west Norfolk, are among the most perfect examples.

As we study these and other monuments we see, as Mr. Haddon says, that "the result was enrichment and not degradation." The best illustrations of this, because

capable of the highest and most minute development owing to the material on which the art is displayed, are found in the Irish manuscripts ; but nothing more minute or more beautiful in stonework can be imagined than the



FIG. II.—TOFTTREES FONT.

designs on the Saxon and Norman monuments mentioned above.

To pass to the details of architectural ornament. The tympana of Norman doorways and Romanesque corbels usually consisted of masks or grotesque figures, animals,



FIG. 12.—BURNHAM DEEPDALE FONT (WEST SIDE).



FIG. 13.—INGOLDISTHORPE FONT.



FIG. 14.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

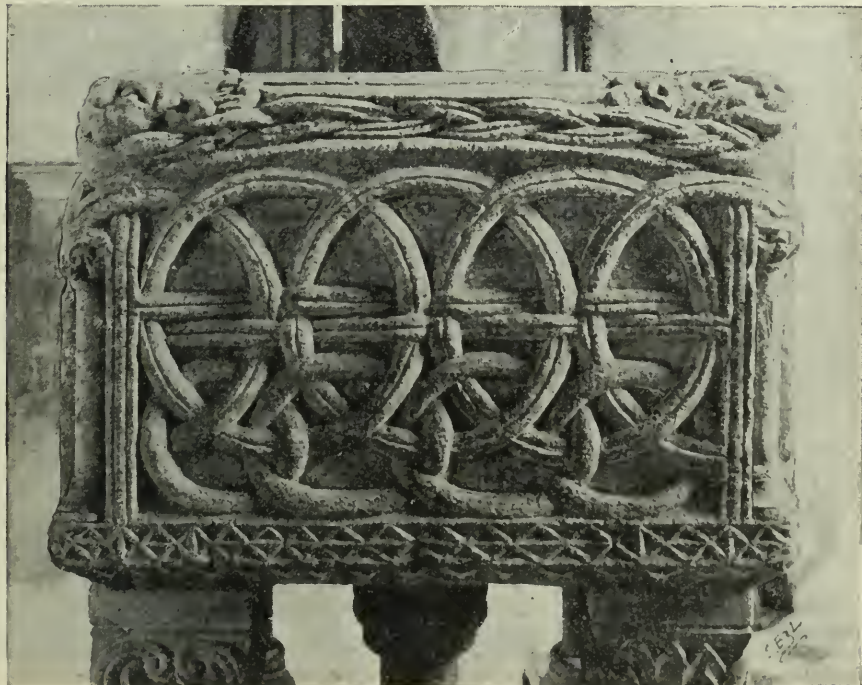


FIG. 15.—SCULTHORPE FONT.

dragons, or twisted snakes.¹ Now, although it is true that Romanesque architecture, and especially its decorative ornamentation, was never quite free from Byzantine and Saracenic influences, and was of itself an incongruous mixture, out of which, when the pointed arch of the Saracens was adopted, and the ornamentation modified accordingly, the new Gothic style arose, yet here again the dominant influence of Scandinavian *motifs saute aux yeux*. These forms of decoration were used also in the capitals and cornices, both in the Romanesque transitional and Gothic periods; and in Lombardic Gothic architecture grotesque forms were much used as sculptural decorations. In Scandinavia and in Ireland this kind of ornament assumed the forms of snakes, and of the interlacings developed from them.

To show the connection of this Scandinavian school of ornament with the Late-Celtic art of Halstatt and La Tène, we must remember that in both, and especially in La Tène, which was the later and more important of these two main sources of our knowledge of prehistoric Late-Celtic art, there are to be found the usual sacred decorations, sun and moon signs, wheel crosses, half

¹ Examples of corbels will occur to everyone who knows anything of Norman architecture. The remaining examples of Norman Tympana in England have been collected in a series of magnificent photographs, and published in a book, with Introduction, by Mr. Chas. E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A., of Aldermaston Court, Reading.

These number no less than 200, of which, by the kind permission of the author, we are permitted to reproduce three examples, specially illustrative of the subject of this paper.

As will be seen by all into whose hands this fine work comes, Norman Tympana are peculiar to no particular districts, but are to be found in all parts of England.

Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., has also made a special study of the subject, and his paper on the Norman Tympana of Derbyshire, with illustrations, will be found in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. lvi., pp. 241-270.

In vol. lvii., p. 170, of the same publication, there is an account of a lecture given by Mr. Keyser before the Association on the subject, which he has since developed in the book above mentioned.



FIG. 16.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.
(By kind permission of Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A.)

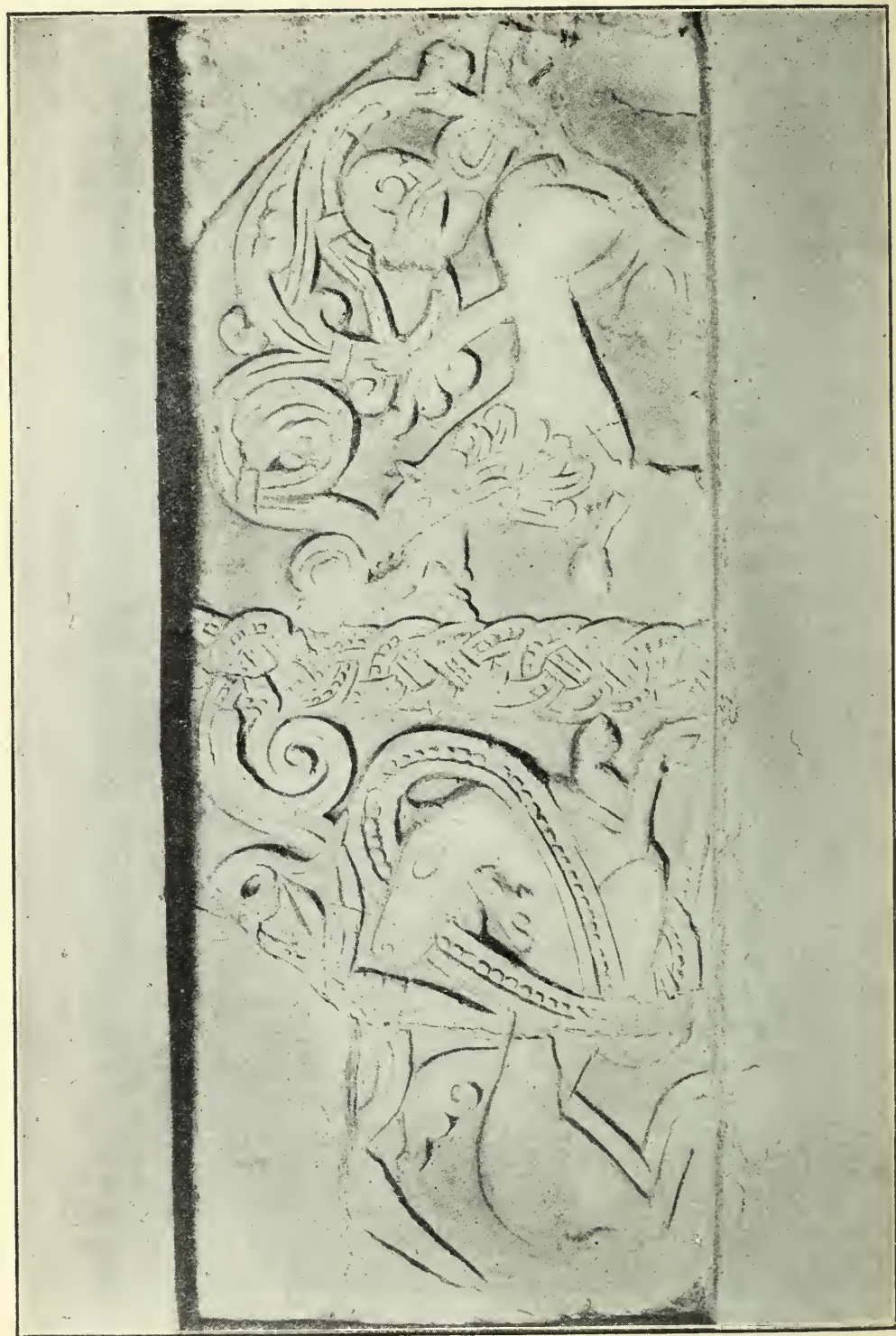


FIG. 17.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.

moons, the sacred ship, the swastika, triskelé, etc., and also crude representations of men and animals, all of them symbolic, and all of them characteristic of the Scandinavian ornamentation both of Pagan and Christian times. Now, although we have some reason to believe that this style of art was indigenous to the North, and that it was derived thence by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, yet it is not impossible that it may have been largely helped in its progress by the cognate art of the Celts.

Inter-communication between the Greeks and Etruscans and the peoples of Central Europe is proved by the coins, vases, and objects of personal ornament, and by the imitations of Greek and Macedonian coins found in great quantities in Middle and Western Europe, and in Britain, that belong to the Late-Celtic period. This particular culture wave, which may very possibly, as we have admitted above, have introduced to the western and northern peoples the use of the spiral, which is so marked a feature of Egyptian and Mycenaean ornamentation, if it did not bring with it the beginnings (as Dr. Ward is inclined to believe), yet conduced largely to the development, of that method of ornamentation which we have had under consideration in this paper. And it is this art, enriched from many sources, and modified in the process, which in later centuries manifested itself in the peculiar Celtic and Runic twistings and interlacings that are so common to Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman phases of decorative art, and which was practised¹ so largely from the first to the twelfth

¹ "The intercourse thus carried on along various routes has been established by discoveries of Etruscan bronzes in Central Europe, but its most striking result is in the sphere of numismatics. A coinage of gold pieces, based on Greek patterns, was in use among the Gallic and British tribes long before the Roman period, and is a proof of their openness to Mediterranean influences. The characteristic tendencies of barbaric art show themselves in the gradual degeneration of the type in successive issues, till all resemblance to nature is lost, and what was once on the Greek coin, a horseman or a helmeted head, becomes on that of Gaul or Britain a mere decorative play of lines. . . . The resemblance between the

centuries of our era. As we study its progress all along the line we see more and more reason to agree with Dr. Ward, when he says: "In the development of nearly all historic art the religious aspirations of man were the chief factors."

I have not dwelt much in this paper upon the direct influence on Anglo-Saxon and Norman art of the Viking invasions, for the reason that the origin of the larger part of the Scandinavian *motifs* which I detect in that art date from times previous to the Viking period. Mr. Baldwin Brown¹ divides the Saxon era into two epochs, in the first of which there was a mixture of Roman and Celtic influences, modified, but only slightly, if at all, by native Teutonic traditions. I think we have seen sufficient cause for the opinion that these native Teutonic traditions played a larger part in Anglo-Saxon art than he is willing to allow, and that they were themselves derived from and modified by Scandinavian influences. Of the art of this epoch few specimens survive, but these few are sufficient to bear out our contention. Professor Brown himself says:

The Scandinavian *motifs* were there, ingrained in the hearts of the people, living in their mythology and folklore, and only waiting to be called forth. This call came during the second epoch, that of the Viking invasions, and though it is a question whether we can point to any architectural feature for which such a derivation can reasonably be claimed, yet in decorative art the influence of the Northmen may be detected, or at any rate discussed.

This is no doubt a very guarded statement, but it refers only to the direct influence of the Viking invaders themselves. That direct influence may, however, be clearly seen in the crosses and other monuments referred to above;

different manifestations of this barbaric art among Scandinavians, Teutons, Gauls, or Irish does not preclude the existence of differences that open up questions, no less difficult than interesting, about the early intercourse of these peoples and their reciprocal influence in the sphere of culture." Baldwin Brown, "The Arts in Early England," vol. i., pp. 40, 41.

¹ "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., pp. 35, 36.

but its indirect influence in calling out the latent artistic instincts of the people, which, as we have seen, were predominantly Scandinavian, is undoubted. In two instances, however, Professor Brown detects a distinct and direct influence on the details of Anglo-Saxon architecture belonging to the Viking period, and with these examples we will conclude:—

"The most advanced feature of the Saxon church at Deerhurst, one that occurs also in the tower, is the square-sectioned hood-mould which we find over the wide arch leading towards the apse. This, like the hood-moulds in the tower, springs from projecting corbels in the shape of animals' heads. Such carved grotesques suggest a Scandinavian influence that might easily have been exercised in this period, and this suggestion is borne out by the appearance at a later date of similar sculptured heads on the Norman church at Kilpeck in Herefordshire, in proximity to ornamental pilasters carved with intertwined serpents of a pronounced Scandinavian type."¹

These words are to be noted, but they deal only with two concrete examples, which are possibly due to direct Viking influence. Our contention throughout this paper, and we trust it has been made good, has been that Scandinavian *motifs* are to be sought as the inspiration of Anglo-Saxon and Norman ornamentation, and that such search is neither futile nor in vain.²

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE PAPER.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4. These are good examples of pre-Norman Crosses from Derbyshire, and a full description of them will be found in an inter-

¹ "The Arts in Early England," vol. ii., p. 302.

² This "Viking" art *par excellence* is marked by the absence of the Byzantine scroll-work, by the peculiar forms of interlacing which we have so fully described and accounted for, and by the characteristic dragon-monsters. These latter appear in all their magnificence upon the font at Bridekirk, referred to above, which, although it probably belongs to the twelfth century, yet, like many of the examples we have mentioned, must be assigned to the direct influence of the Viking age, and may, as such, be added to the two examples which are all that Mr. Brown allows as belonging to, or drawing their inspiration from, that period.

esting paper by Mr. Chas. Lynam, F.S.A., in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. LVI., pp. 305-314. The Crosses at Eyam and Bakewell exhibit the spiral form of ornamentation, and the Cross at Hope shows interlaced knot-work and foliage, with concentric circles intersected with diagonal bands.

Fig. 5. This is a fine example of one of the Irish so-called High Crosses, and shows interlacing ornament, with ecclesiastical figures in the panels.

Figs. 6 and 7. The font at Deerhurst exhibits a series of spirals in small panels. Acca's Cross, now at Durham, is fully described in the text, and shows the influence of Scandinavian art on the Byzantine motifs introduced by Wilfrid's Italian sculptors.

Fig. 8 This is one of the finest as well as the best preserved Irish croziers in existence, that of the Abbots of Clonmacnois, and is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. On it we observe a series of intricate interlacings and in the first panel a triquetral knot.

Fig. 10. This is an example of a late survival of the Northern school of sculpture, and belongs probably to the 12th century. On it we see the dragon-monsters so characteristic of "Viking" art, and, as Dr. Geo. Stephens says, "A strange intermixture of Old-Northern and Scandinavian and Old-English staves and bind-runes." The lower panel shows "Richard," the sculptor, at work. If he was the Richard who was Master of the Works to Bishop Pudsey, the date is 1150-1170.

Figs. 11-15. These five illustrations give a good idea of the ornamentation to be seen on a remarkable series of Norman fonts still existing in North-west Norfolk. They are only a selection out of nearly a dozen examples. The font at Burnham shows on three sides a representation of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar, and on the remaining side, that reproduced here, foliage like that on the tympana. Lions, with interlacing tails, run round the top edge of the font. The font at Toftrees is perhaps the finest example shown, with its intricate patterns of cable-work, and its grotesques. Similar patterns are seen on the fonts at Shernborne and Sculthorpe, which latter contains, on the East side, the representation of the Magi bringing their offerings to the infant Saviour. The character of this mode of decorative ornamentation has been sufficiently discussed in the text, and need not be further entered upon here; but an interesting question arises as to how it is that so many specimens of this style should remain in an outlying corner of Norfolk. Were they peculiar to this district, or is it possible that they were equally numerous in other parts and have survived here owing to the comparative isolation of the county, and the fact that it seems to have escaped the ravages of the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries? The fact remains, that in seeking for illustrations to my paper, I had no less than a dozen examples to select from in this particular district, while only Deerhurst and Bridekirk (Figs. 6 and 10) could be found in the rest of England! This is not, of course, to say that other examples do not exist elsewhere, but none, I am persuaded, that would so fully answer my purpose. I am hoping to publish a complete monograph on all these

fonts shortly, with illustrations, in the *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*.

Figs. 9, 16 and 17. These are taken from Mr. Keyser's recently published and most valuable monograph on the remaining Norman Tympana in England, and are thus described by the author :

Fig. 9. "London: Guildhall Library. Stone dug up in St. Paul's Churchyard. A stag with serpents twined round it, possibly typifying virtue hampered by the vices. On one side is an inscription in Runes, to the effect that Konal and Tuki caused this stone to be laid. It is nearly square with tassels in the corners, and is of pre-Norman date." In the text Mr. Keyser says: "On the stone in the Guildhall Library is a large stag with a serpent coiled round and round its body, the intention being apparently to demonstrate the constant difficulties with which a virtuous man has to contend through the allurements and entanglements of the vices inherent to our nature. (On the Norman font at Melbury Bubb, Dorset, is a stag with other animals, all having serpents similarly twined about them.)" The author may be right in his allegorical interpretation, but I think the mythological idea is the older, and that in this stone we have an interesting reminiscence of Eikthyrnir, the sun-stag of Freya, strangled by the dragon-serpent of Scandinavia.¹

Fig. 16. "Lathbury Church, Bucks. Let into the arch below the roodloft staircase—the tree of spiritual life and knowledge, with a lion on one side and (?) a horse on the other." The author's description in the text is as follows: "An early example, with a conventional tree having a beaded guilloche pattern for a stem, with quite different foliage on the right and left; a lion is devouring a shoot on the right, while another animal, perhaps a horse, is biting through a beaded branch, encircling its head and shoulders on the left."

Fig. 17. "Ridlington Church, Rutland. Over the vestry door, interior, at the west end of the south aisle—two animals, a lion and a griffin, and below them an eight-spoked wheel within a circle. Above the lion is some lettering, perhaps the name 'John.' A band of the guilloche ornament runs round the tympanum." "This represents," says the author in the text, "the eternal conflict between good and evil."

I had hoped to include an illustration of a page from the Book of Durrow, from Miss M. Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, but this I have not been able to do. It offers a fine example of the so-called trumpet pattern or divergent spiral. To judge, however, of these patterns in all their beauty they must be seen in their original colours, of which a specimen is given in Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 547.

In bringing these notes, and with them this paper, to a conclusion, I desire once more to express my grateful acknowledgments to all those who have made it possible to render the paper more attractive than, from the nature of the subject, it would otherwise be, by allowing me the use of many of the illustrations. The source of each is mentioned in its place.

¹Eikthyrnir may possibly be a sun-stag, though the account of him in the Eddas gives no evidence of this, but we know of no authority for connecting him with Freya, nor for a myth in which he appears as attacked by a serpent.—ED.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper Mr. G. M. Atkinson said that the old proverb, "Nothing comes from nothing," held good in ornamentation as in other things, and he did not quite agree with the theories of the writer of the paper as to the origin of certain forms of ornament. It was almost impossible to say definitely where any form of art arose. People talked as if Keltic art began in Ireland, and gave Ireland all the credit of it, but the art of the Kelts began and existed long before their migrations brought them into Ireland. The origin of ornament was always traceable, generally to some simple source, such as the plaiting of straw by savages, in which many forms of ornament had originated. He did not agree as to the Norse origin ascribed by Mr. Astley to certain ornaments in the illuminated MSS. The Durham Book forms of ornament could be traced back as far as Egypt and Nineveh. He himself had studied various forms of serpent ornamentation, and had found, to take one instance, namely, the caduceus, the winged rod, with serpents twined round it, that the wings originally belonged to the serpent. The Alfred Jewel he believed to be Byzantine work. The oldest Celtic enamels he knew that show the trumpet pattern were on some horse trappings. He thought there was no doubt that the basilica form of church was the earliest. He could not agree to the author's theory as to the origin of the rope ornament, for he had found that that form of ornament came from Egyptian Propylæon pillars. The spiral forms which were found in so much early ornament, in his view, were all traceable to a very simple source in nature, the snail and shells. Theories as to the origin of certain forms were liable to be upset by the discovery of similar forms elsewhere: for instance, at Kilpeck there occurred in the tympana ornament exactly comparable with some to be seen at Ely. Whence did the likeness come? He should be glad to know Mr. Astley's authority for the statement that the Bewcastle Cross was the work of Italian

artificers. Dr. Montelius, in his paper on the route of the amber trade from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, shows how easy it was to establish an intercourse between distant peoples.

Dr. J. G. Garson said that he agreed with what the last speaker said as to going to Ireland for the development of Keltic art. The Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland. They may have developed special forms of it there, but the art dates back before they came. The subject of Crosses had been very fully dealt with in a monograph published in "*Archæologia*," by General Pitt-Rivers, "*On the Evolution of the Cross*." After referring to the course taken by Viking invasions, the speaker endorsed the statement made in the paper that the Normans would bring over into England from Normandy forms of art which had been brought there originally by their forefathers, and which had become modified by contact with that of the other races in France. Dr. Garson asked if there were any instances of undoubted Anglo-Saxon cremation. Cremation was a bronze age rite, and, as far as he knew, was not practised by the Anglo-Saxon invaders, though the Romans cremated their dead. As regards ornament on neolithic pottery, to the best of his knowledge, neolithic pottery was not ornamented, or at any rate was only incised with simple lines, not even forming a pattern. Neolithic urns found in this country usually had no true base, their under surface being rounded. The art of weaving is found to have existed in neolithic times, long before there is any trace of metal-work. It was very probable that there had been an adaptation of Scandinavian ornamentation in churches built in the Norman period, and he incidentally mentioned the church of Barfriston, near Dover, as being a very beautifully ornamented specimen of Norman work well worth a visit. He was doubtful, however, whether we ought to follow the author of the paper in seeing actual Scandinavian motifs at work in such cases, to the extent that he invites us to do.

In reply, Dr. Astley writes :—

I have carefully read the remarks made by Mr. Atkinson and Dr. Garson, and can only say that, so far as they are criticisms, they appear to be based on a misapprehension of the drift of the paper, for many of the opinions expressed are those which I have put forth: *e.g.*, with regard to Ireland, I distinctly say that its art is not indigenous, and I derive its Christianised art from Pagan sources of the Late-Celtic period, and those from Hålstadt and La Tène, as well as from the Bronze Age of New Grange; but here also there is a Scandinavian admixture. The rope ornament is no doubt found in Egypt, as are also spirals, but neither the one nor the other “came from” Egypt to the lands of the North. I cannot agree that the spiral ornament is due to the snail shell. With regard to the tympana at Kilpeck and Ely, the ornament in both cases was probably derived from an identical source. In my paper I enlarge on the facilities of intercourse due to commercial necessities. For the authority as to Bewcastle Cross, see page 144, Note 2. So far Mr. Atkinson. Now as to Dr. Garson. I have carefully expressed the opinion that the “Keltic people brought their arts with them into Ireland,” but these were modified by later Scandinavian influence, as in England. With respect to the Normans, I am glad that Dr. Garson finds himself in agreement with the statements contained in the paper. For the fact of Pagan Anglo-Saxon cremation, I would refer him to “Life in Early Britain,” by Dr. Windle, page 179; “Celt. Roman and Saxon,” by Thos. Wright, pages 401 *seq.*, 421. In a *seventh-century* Pagan Anglo-Saxon cemetery, excavated by Dr. Jessopp in 1891 at Castleacre, Norfolk, “a large number of more or less perfect sepulchral urns of rude workmanship, containing charred human bones and crudely wrought ornaments, were unearthed.”

KING WILLIAM THE WANDERER.

By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A

THIS old romance ought to have an especial interest for the Viking Club for two reasons: first, because it is one of the sagas of the Viking Age in Britain, and, second, because it gives us accounts of life and manners in the two great Viking colonies of Caithness and Galloway at a time when there is hardly any other information on the subject. These accounts are slight and indirect; the story is fantastic; its date and authorship unknown; but still it has all the value of a novel dealing with the world as the writer knew it.

The volume recently published¹ is a translation, with very little in the way of note or comment, from two Norman-French poems of the twelfth century. These poems were published by Francisque Michel in the third volume of his "Chroniques Anglo-Normands."² He described one of the poems as copied from a manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century, a small folio vellum in the Bibliothèque du Roy (Nationale) at Paris, (No. 198, Notre Dame, with 483 leaves,) written in two columns, this piece standing first of eighty-two pieces of verse. The poem is anonymous, in Alexandrine verses, rhymed in quatrains, and running to more than 900 lines. It tells the story crisply, though sometimes rather baldly, but with much reality and dignity. The other poem is described as in MS. No. 6,987

¹ "King William the Wanderer; an old British Saga from old French Versions"; by W. G. Collingwood. (London: S. S. Brown Langham & Co., 1904.)

² Rouen, Ed. Frère. 1840.

of the same library, a large vellum folio of 346 leaves, in fourteenth century writing, in two, three, or four columns, containing thirty-four pieces of prose and verse, of which this is the twelfth, beginning on fol. 240 *verso*, col. 2. It is in octosyllabic rhymed couplets, running to about 3,300 lines. The author gives his name, Chrestien, twice at the beginning of the story, and says at the end that he got the tale from Roger "li cointes" (*the charming*):—

La matere si me conta

J. [Un] miens compains, Rogiers li cointes,
Qui de moult prodome est acointes.

The tale is interspersed with reflections, diffuse and weakly told, with a trick of repetition in slightly different phrases. Chrestien, whom Francisque Michel identifies with the well-known Chrestien de Troyes, the most famous French poet of the twelfth century, and author of the Arthurian tales known as "Le Chevalier au Lion" and "Erec," and part author of "Le Conte del Graal," here insists that he is not inventing a romance, but only versifying history. He does not say, like the poet of the other version, that his King William was also Duke of Normandy; but he declares that anyone who searches the history of England will find this tale, "which compels belief because it is pleasant and true," at a place called St. Esmoing:—

Qui les estoires d'Engleterre
Vauroit bien cerkier et enquerre,
Une, qui molt bien fait à croire
Por çou que plaisans est et voire,
On trouveroit à Saint-Esmoing.
Se nus en demande tesmoing
Là le voise querre, s'il veut.

If, as I suppose, St. Esmoing is the Norman way of writing Bury St. Edmunds, he must be referring to a book in the great English abbey at the shrine of St. Edmund the Martyr.

We know that legends from Britain supplied plenty of subjects for mediæval French poetry, though it has been debated by scholars how much Chrestien de Troyes was indebted in this way. (Some notes on the views of Prof. Foerster and M. Gaston Paris are given by Mr. Alfred Nutt in his popular edition of the *Mabinogion*.) Even if the Lays of Marie de France and other Arthurian stories came from Brittany, there are several which must have been originally English or British. Geoffrey Gaimar, who wrote between 1141 and 1151, introduced into his Norman-French rhyming chronicle the old English saga of Buern Buzecarle, which professes to tell how and why the Danes invaded Northumbria in 866. A long story of Berne the Huntsman and Lothbrok (our old friend Ragnar) is given in Roger of Wendover's early thirteenth century "*Flowers of History*," and supplies a widely differing variant of this popular tale, just as we have two legends of King William. Gaimar also tells the tale of Havelok, which reappears in a French poem founded upon his version; though the thirteenth century English poem of Havelok the Dane is again a variant, independently derived from the native saga. "*Horn*" also is found in various forms; the fourteenth century "*Child Horn*" and "*Maiden Rimmild*"¹ differs from "*King Horn*,"² which occurs in French versions, one of which tells us that the Norman poet who wrote it was named Thomas, and lived under Richard Cœur de Lion. Other scraps of sagas appear to be embodied in Henry of Huntingdon's "*History*" (published about 1135), such as the death of Earl Siward and the deeds of Earl Tosti (book vi.).

Now these, omitting the Arthurian cycle, are all Northumbrian or Cumbrian tales. They deal with the clash of interests between Anglian, Briton, and Scandinavian in the Viking Age. They are the product, like the vast quantities of monumental sculpture still awaiting re-

¹ Ritson's "*Metrical Romances*."

² Ed. J. R. Lumby, E.E.T.S., vol. xiv.

search and classification, of the busy tenth and eleventh centuries in what is now the North of England. The Norman Conquest closed that period and Norman culture almost wiped it out; but, just as the carved stones are being recovered, one by one, from the foundations of Norman buildings, so the literature of the age may be quarried out of the remains of Norman poets and chroniclers.

In my translation of King William, which is simply literary, I have combined the two versions, using the liberty of taking from either what seemed most to my purpose; which was to tell the old romance in a readable way. At the same time I have added nothing. The plot, the character drawing, the pathos and the humour are all in the originals.

King William himself is, of course, imaginary. There was no pre-Norman king of that name, which seems to have come in with the Conqueror, or a little earlier with Edward the Confessor's Norman favourites. But it soon became common. In "Havelok" one of the sons of Grim of Grimsby, who fostered Havelok Cuheran, was "William, Wendut hight"; William *Wendwood* or *Wendout*, the Wanderer. So early "Wandering Willie" became a stock figure in folklore. The character of the king might have been more or less modelled on that of Edward himself, saintly and pious, and in youth a wanderer; married to a beautiful and pious girl, and having no children. The example may have made the story credible, though the allusion was disguised to suit the times, by giving the Norman name to the hero. But kings in disguise, and in exile, or on pilgrimage, are plentiful in our early history.

He is warned by a vision to forsake all for twenty-four years; and after the vision has come for the third time he obeys it—or partly obeys, for his queen, Gratiana, insists upon going with him. There is a story in *Wendover* (*sub anno* 604) of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice, similarly warned and similarly half-obeying. He too

fled to a wood by the seashore, but there he was killed with his wife and sons. Gibbon's "variant" may be read in the "Decline and Fall," chapter xlv., with Gibbon's weak sarcasms on the pious king; but the legend may be one of the sources of our story.

After the flight the servants of the household ransack the palace, an incident essential to the plot, and not likely to be the invention of the French poet. In the eleventh century, and among people who knew the Viking Age at first hand, this custom of *Polotasvarf* would be familiar. Modern English readers have the word from Kingsley's "Hereward," where it is used as equivalent to loot, or booty; but it was properly the "palace-scouring" of the Warengs, who had the right of pillaging when the Greek Emperor died; an Oriental custom, I imagine, brought north from Byzantium.

The king and queen find shelter easily in the forest, and when they come out after a month's wandering it is at Gernemue, *i.e.*, Yarmouth, in Norfolk.¹ Here the queen bears twins, and in her hunger begs for one of them to eat. The king offers to cut her a slice of his thigh, like Brian in the story of King Cadwalla at Garnareia (Guernsey) in Geoffrey of Monmouth ("Hist. Brit.," xii., chap. iv.). This might suggest a Celtic origin for the episode, but the hungering of a mother for her baby is also told among the Norse, though of a *huldre* or mountain-fairy married to a human husband.²

Yarmouth was already something of a port. While the adventurers are there in the cave, chapmen arrive in a ship; half merchants, half pirates, like the regular Norse rovers of the Viking Age. They carry off the queen with violence; and yet the writer does not represent them as wholly wicked, for, though one of them plays the bully throughout, the skipper tosses a purse of gold to the poor belaboured king.

¹ See, for examples, "The Chronicles of the Mayors, etc., of London," ed. H. T. Riley, 1863, *sub. ann.* 1256, 1259, 1265.

² See Mr. W. A. Craigie's "Scandinavian Folk-Lore," p. 168.

These rovers sail away north and, not being acquainted with the coast, arrive at a bad port. This is called Sorlinc or Surclin, evidently the miswritten name of some place up the east coast of Scotland. Struthlinn, the "river-pool," on the Toe (Tay) is mentioned in the so-called Prophecy of St. Berchan, written about 1094-1097, and nearly contemporary with the original of our story of King William. This name, with *c* for *t*, a frequent error in black-letter, and with the *ru* transposed to suit Norman ideas of euphony, would make Surclin. The name Struthlinn was also Gaelic for Stirling, which may have suggested the variant form of Sorlinc. The Lord of Sorlinc is described as less than an earl, by name Glioalis, Cleoalis, or Gliolas, obviously a French attempt at giving one of the many Gaelic names in "Gille," which came into fashion in the middle of the tenth century. The name Gilechrist or Gilleandres might easily have been corrupted into the French form, just as Lincoln became Nicole, a word which occurs in this story. The Gaelic *maormor* is shown in a very favourable light, both as the rescuer of the captive lady and later as her wooer and nominal husband. This seems to me one of the curious and interesting points in our tale—the way in which aliens and enemies are treated with the "*Humani nihil a me alienum puto*" of the Classic. It cannot be foisted on the original by the courteous Frenchman; the attitude is part of the plot, and seems to show far more kindly commixture of races than the bald monkish chronicles record.

Meanwhile at Yarmouth the twin babies are also lost to the king. A wolf carries off one, and he is rescued by a second company of chapmen, who also find the other, not knowing that the two are brothers. These chapmen sail home to Catanasse, Catanaise, or Catenaise, obviously Caithness (Catenesse in Reginald of Durham), where they live with their own people as merchants dealing chiefly in furs, not without business in the way of money-lending. They are Christians, and have the boys baptised, one as Lovel, Louvet, Loviax, or Loviaus, because he was

rescued from the wolf, and the other as Marins (Marinus), because they had found him in a boat on the sea. These are, of course, translations of the names to show their meaning. In the Celto-Norse colony of Caithness one would have been Ulf or Faolan, and the other perhaps Sæmund or something like Muirceartach; and the parallel names of (Olaf) Feilan and Kjartan (Muircheartach) might have been used in my translation, if it had not seemed simpler to call one Wolfling and the other Seaborn. The Caithness merchants who adopt them are Foukiers, Fokiers, Fouquiers, or Foucher (*i.e.*, Folkwar, found a little later in Cumberland as Fulcher) and Gonselins or Gosselins, who are kind foster-fathers until the boys refuse to learn a trade, when they are sent out into the world to shift for themselves.

They wander through the forest of Caithness, slay the earl's deer, and are brought before him by a blustering but venal forester, who speaks as a heathen of "the God in whom he believes." The earl receives them kindly, brings them up like gentlefolk, and eventually makes them his knights. Their chief business then is to fight the men of the lady of Sorlinc, their own mother, though they did not know her, who, having succeeded to the lands of old Glioalis after a nominal marriage, refuses to marry the earl of Caithness.

This earl is drawn as a very great lord, courteous to his equals, dignified toward inferiors, ambitious and grasping, but kindly to his young guests; with a great retinue and army, a great hunter and warrior, but in the end owing some sort of homage to the King of England. This last touch is a recollection of the Commendation of 924; the forest laws were already working under Edward the Confessor; there is nothing here but what a writer of the later half of the eleventh century might set down, but he must have had considerable knowledge of the North to treat it, as he does, with more than conventional description. I cannot help thinking that he had in mind the great earl of Caithness, Thorfinn, who plays so large

a part in the Orkneyinga Saga, and corresponds so closely to the character here portrayed. Everything in the story suggests a well thought-out romance, describing the earlier half of the eleventh century, and written towards the close of the century; and Earl Thorfinn's rule covers a long period down to his death in 1064. He was a very well-known person in the North; but who would expect an English story-teller to know much about him, or the Caithness colony?—unless the Englishman was a Northumbrian, and more in touch with the North than we sometimes imagine was possible.

What happened to King William after losing wife and children at Yarmouth is differently told in the two French versions. The one makes him go into hermitage, and a good deal later to another coast, and thence to Spain. Chrestien represents him as meeting a third party of chapmen, who take him to Galinde or Gavaide. No doubt the unfamiliarity of the place to a Frenchman suggested Spain as a likely refuge; but in Galinde or Gavaide the scribe has certainly been trying to write one and the same name. Anyone who reads black-letter MSS. knows how easily Galinde might be written for Galuide; and Galuide or Galuaide are French forms of Gallovidia or Gallweithia, the Latinised name of Galloway. Here there was another Viking colony in the eleventh century; indeed Earl Thorfinn is said to have spent much time in "Gallgedlar, where Scotland and England meet," which Skene thought, criticising Dr. Anderson's note to the place in the Orkneyinga Saga, to mean Galloway.

When King William met the Galloway merchants, after wandering across the country, he prayed help "for love of the true God," and it is added that they believed on Him, as though it were by no means certain beforehand. The Galloway Norse were somewhat newly Christianised in the earlier half of the eleventh century, and here again we have evidence of knowledge on the part of the author. Very kindly and human is the portrait of King William's new protector, the merchant and shipowner, who sends

his cargoes of Galloway nags to England, Flanders, and France, and trades in grain, alum, wax, embroideries, and all manner of luxuries. Under him the king is set first to feed hens and skin eels, and gradually rises to be the trusted steward. After a while he is sent as agent to distant ports, and at last becomes his employer's partner.

It should not be ungrateful to us English, as a nation of chapmen, going in ships to the ends of the earth, and still hoping that our dealings are found just by men and pleasing to God, to find that one of our most ancient tales has for its hero a royal and saintly tradesman, true to his employer, courteous to his customers, but in no wise to be cheated, "for he knew what everything was worth, asked the right price, and got it." And if corroboration is needed, we have only to turn to the life of St. Godric, as told by Wendover, for the picture of a pious merchant, painted with curious realism—"plaisans et voire."

No name is given to the good merchant of Galloway, but the skipper of his ship, in which King William sails for Bristol (or Dover, as the variant has it), is Terfès, Tressès, or Tiesses; the confusion between *f* and *s* accounts for the difference of spelling, and the original name may well have been Tjörvi (Torfi).

So they come to Bristot or Bistot (Bristow, Bristol), where they land their Galloway nags and other cargo at the harbour and go up to the great fair. King William's nephew, who rules in his absence, meets him, and takes to him on account of the resemblance, as he supposes, to the lost king. Here too the incident of the *polotasvarf* turns up again; a young man who found the king's hunting-horn appears, and sells the old horn for the big price of five shillings. The young king is so pressing in his friendship that King William is glad to escape unnoticed, and puts out to sea again for the return voyage.

Then a storm rises, one of those southerly gales which blow for three days, with the wind veering into the north. The ship is driven up the west coast of Scotland, some-

times so near the crags that they fear their yards will be broken on the rocks. At last, and quite naturally and possibly, they are becalmed on the north-east coast, off the harbour of Sorlinc.

The lady, once queen of England, comes aboard to "take weel of the wares," sees the horn, claims her ring from King William's hand, invites him up to the castle, entertains him royally, but always with her veil on. Gradually he comes to be sure that it is she, but still he cannot hope that she is still his own. They go hunting, and the story comes out as they ride together; it is all delightfully told. Then he rides after the stag; crosses the river which parts Sorlinc and Caithness, and is set upon by two knights. In danger of his life he remembers that the four and twenty years are past, and he may speak. He finds his sons again in his enemies, and they learn that the Cruel Lady is their mother. They take him to the earl, who does not (as one might expect) seize him as hostage, but owns the superior state of the King of England, as defined by the Commendation, and accompanies him to Sorlinc and thence home.

This rough sketch of the action, from which all the picturesque detail is omitted, shows how many varied scenes and situations are included in the story, and how the plot touches so many points of interest in connection with the Viking Age. If Chrestien de Troyes wrote his French version in the twelfth century, it must have been in the eleventh, or at least very early in the twelfth, that the English original was composed. It could hardly have been earlier than the Conquest, because of the name William, and the references to settled commercial life in Caithness and Galloway, though the period is thrown vaguely back into "the good old days," which have always existed in imagination—indeed in this very tale Master Gonselin talks of them with regret, just as an old man might in this twentieth century. That the story was English, rather than Cumbrian-British, seems to be indicated by its distinctly English tone, as in the superiority,

just mentioned, of the King of England over the minor rulers of the North. But it must have been composed by a Northumbrian, even if the book in which it was written was found at Bury St. Edmunds; by a Northumbrian in touch with Scandinavian traders and travellers, if not by one who knew personally the scenes he described, and himself perhaps Danish or Norse in parentage. It is not a tradition, but a composition, embodying motives from folk-lore, and woven into a carefully elaborated plot. It differs in its more artificial construction from an Icelandic saga, but the resemblances are greater than the differences; it is the same literary growth on our own soil.

That there must have been saga-tellers and even story-writers in the highly cultivated Anglo-Scandinavian Northumbria of the eleventh century might have been inferred; but here we seem to see it proved. And yet who would have expected a complete novel of almost modern type, and a sympathetic picture of the Viking Age sea-rovers?

NOTES ON SHIPBUILDING AND NAUTICAL TERMS OF OLD IN THE NORTH.

By EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.

SHIPBUILDING is a term which, historically translated, means: the solution of the problem; how to turn the surface of water into a thoroughfare for man. In order to obtain as clear a view as the hazy outlook permits, of some, at least, of the experiences which brought man, through a very long and painful process, to the solution of this problem, we must go all the way back to the remote period of the stone age.

The child of nature, that we are self-conceitedly in the habit of calling the savage of the stone age, was, for all his savagery, especially considering his extremely limited opportunities, hardly a less deft scholar at the school of Necessity, the Mother of Invention, than at any time has been his descendant, the man of the bronze, iron, steel, and steam ages. At any rate, to the stone-age man is honour due for having made the discovery which I, at least, have no hesitation in describing as the everlasting mother of all inventions that have borne, or ever are likely to bear, on the practical purposes of human life. Like so many other discoveries, this one also arose out of antecedent causes, which originated in the conflict of man with the conditions of his environment. His life was one of ceaseless battle for existence. By a sad necessity, a pitiless law of life, he was obliged to maintain his own existence by the destruction of the existence of other living things. His self-chosen enemies were the poor

animals whose fatality it was to rejoice in life within his environment. Some were too strong for him to fight at close quarters, others too swift for him to get to close quarters with. In both cases he had to improve upon his disabilities by the artificial means to which he gave a name that, probably, had a meaning similar to that originally implied in the word weapon, which possibly may be radically related to the Sanskrit root *vaṣ*, to strew, to sow. If the stone-age man was able to form a collective term for the means of attack at his disposal, some term indicative of throwing was the most natural to employ, for most of his weapons, the bow, the sling, even the club, etc., were calculated for the action of throwing. Among the objects most eminently suitable for this purpose that his environment supplied him with none, probably, was more common or more readily at hand than the stone.

Of all the kinds of stone that man made use of for weapon, evidently the flint was the one to which he gave his most intelligent attention. This is amply proved by the fact that the flint industry, that is to say, the manufacture of a great variety of objects of flint usefully answering a corresponding variety of practical purposes, was really the one universal industry of the stone age.¹ All the stones that man made use of fell into two groups: the brakeable and the flakeable, the latter peculiarity being the exclusive property of the flint. He had been making use of the flint as weapon for no great length of time when he observed, not only that it did flake, but also that its flakeability had something interestingly curious about it. By knocking two nodules of flint together in

¹ I may mention that in Norwegian dialects the root *flin*- in "flin-t," the raw material, seems to assume the syncopated form *flī*, whenever the manufacture of the raw material is in question. We have thus: "Flī," f., a thin chip, a plate; "flī," n., implements, tools; "flī," vv., to manipulate, to make by hand, put to rights, put in order, ornament, adorn. I mention this, because, in my opinion, we have the same stem to deal with in the common modern Scandinavian term "flī-d," "flī-t" = industry, originally flint-industry, M.H.G. "vli-z," O.H.G. "fli-z," mod. H.G. "fleiss."

a particular manner, he observed that one or both would flake in converging planes. Two such planes would sometimes meet in so acute an angle as to leave the line where they met as sharp as that of a razor's edge. No doubt our rash, unwary savage cut himself in the course of his first inexperienced handling of his new curiosity. The first cut was pregnant with progressive evolution.

The savage had, ages before this, ascertained the fact that the material objects he was thrown into contact with and was in the habit of handling, fell into two classes: the hard and the not hard. He was intelligent enough to conclude that his flesh was cut by the flint, not only because to his startled mind it was miraculously endowed with sharpness, and pre-eminently suitable for wounding and killing, but especially because the material it was made of was evidently much harder than the substance of which his own flesh was tissue together. This set him thinking, and he was led to the further conclusion that, as the sharp flint had cut his flesh, so, probably, it would cut to pieces any material composed of a substance softer than that of which itself consisted, and thus might be turned to other uses than the invaluable one of shedding life-blood and causing death.

He put his theory to practical test; he tried his flint on a piece of bone, horn, or green wood, and found that what he had imagined came true. As he went on experimenting with the new wonder he realized with delight that in his manipulating hand it lent itself to fashioning certain forms and figures, which from life and nature were reflected in the mirror of his imitative mind. I am not romancing, I am stating a plain fact, when I say that now the primitive savage had come upon the most epoch-making technical discovery that man ever made. He had discovered the *EDGE*; that no less astoundingly simple than almost magically effective agent for good and evil in the practical affairs of life. For on the edge, ever since its discovery, has depended, and probably will depend to the end of time, the whole artistic and artificial

environment of human existence, in all its infinitely varied complexity. Look wherever we may upon the artificial surroundings of our life, their direct or indirect descent from the edge is a fact that stares any observant beholder in the face. By this discovery was broken down a wall that for untold ages had dammed up a stagnant, unprogressive past, and through the breach were let loose all the potentialities of the future civilization of mankind. It was entirely owing to the discovery of the edge that man was enabled in the course of time to invent the art of shipbuilding.

Directly, however, the discovery of the edge was not inductive to the invention of this great art. The experiences that, step by step, led primitive man to the conception of that invention proceeded from causes probably in the main independent of the agency of the edge, but intimately and vitally associated with the alimentary conditions of his environment—with his struggle for existence. By briefly surveying this environment we shall be able the more clearly to realize the under-current causation which ultimately brought reasoning man to the solution of the problem before him.

The stone-age man, generally speaking, was confined to a narrow strip of land, bounded in front of him by waters—rivers, lakes, straits, or open ocean—and in his rear by primeval woods standing deep in matted impenetrable jungle. He was ignorant of the kindly bounteousness of cultivated earth. He knew nothing of the sources of sweet nurture and comfort supplied by domestic animals; of these latter he knew only the dog, an invaluable ally on account of its capacity for hunting. In these circumstances he had to devote his whole energy to the pursuits of hunting, to fishing from bank and shore, and to the catch of what marine mollusks and crustacea the ebb-tide left within his reach in shallow foreshore waters. In proportion as man multiplied the supplies of his very limited dominion were bound to diminish. With his weapons,

the club, the spear, and above all the stone, and the hunting dogs, he destroyed the land animals, or frightened them away; fishing and the catch of crustacea were mostly confined to the warm season; clearing the ebb-shallows of mollusks was, in each case, only a matter of time. When one haunt was exhausted of supplies to such an extent that the community was reduced to short commons, the only chance of avoiding the impending famine was for the tribe to break up and thread its way along the water until a virgin tract was reached, where a halt was made, and a new temporary abode selected, or, which comes to the same thing, a certain spot was fixed upon where, it was agreed, the community should consume in common the proceeds of the hunter's and the fisherman's daily toil. This was a matter of necessity in a communistic society. The provider of food must know for certain where to take the proceeds of each day's labour; the whole community must be witness to the equal distribution of those proceeds among all its members. This process of intermittent migration is very clearly illustrated by the "*køkkenmøddinge*"—huge offal-heaps—in Denmark, which contain the remnants of the meals of the early stone-age folk, and are found at considerable, but varying, distances along the seashore. Here are found heaped together prodigious quantities of shells, bones of fish, and of a large variety of wild mammals, such as bear, wild boar, red-deer, roe, beaver, seal, urochs, fox, wolf, lynx, marten, etc., besides charcoal remains and rudely flaked objects of flint. In these heaps are stored, if I may be allowed the expression, the archives of the earliest history of man in the North.

Now we have seen enough of the environment of primitive man to come to the conclusion that existence within it must have been one of a very precarious character. Seasons then, as now, were good, bad, or indifferent. But a bad season then was an infinitely more serious matter than a bad season is now; and the stone-age man must, at times, have experienced famines so appalling that we

can form no adequate idea of their destructiveness. We can easily imagine how, in hard and hungry seasons, he must have taken desperately to heart the limitations of his capacities. The uninhabited river-bank, or island shore, opposite the one he himself was occupying, with the sources of livelihood running dry, he knew would in all probability supply him with means for saving the lives of his starving relatives and dependents. In spite of all the incentives wherewith self-preservation, cupidity, and the delights of the chase stimulated his mind, he was in most cases effectively debarred from the objects of his yearning by intervening waters. Here he stood helpless, face to face with a problem, probably the most hopeless of solution of all that presented themselves to primitive man. By what means could man turn the surface of the waters into a thoroughfare?

The myriads of water-fowl the savage saw swimming over the waters in front of him had solved the problem to perfection, and could go in quest of their food where-soever it suited them, while he, helpless and hunger-stricken, could only stand by the water's edge and gaze. No matter to what pitch of perfection he carried his expertness in swimming, he could only swim in, not on, the water; across it he could carry or convey nothing of any bulk, least of all anything with a tendency to sink; besides, he was prevented from deriving full advantage of his mastery in swimming by changing temperatures, insidious under-currents, rapids, water-enemies, etc. The solution of this tremendous problem must have exercised the searching mind of man for a very long time. Ultimately his intelligent observation of certain manifestations within his own environment opened to him the path by which he was enabled to surmount the stupendous difficulty he was coping with.

To the sea-shore he roamed along, winds and ocean currents would carry logs of wood, trunks of trees; the river, along the bank of which he fished, bore down, when in flood, similar materials from unknown hinterlands.

The children of nature are sportive and venturesome above all things. Merely for the fun of the thing the stone-age man must have mounted many a log that he found drifted into shallow water. He could not fail to observe that the larger it was the less tendency it had to sink under the weight of his body. It stands to reason that this kind of acquaintance with the floating properties of tree-trunks led to tying two or more together. On the top of them, so joined together, man could take up a position dry-shod and dry-skinned. The dream of long ages was realized ; the formidable problem was solved, provisionally at all events—the first RAFT carried man on the water. The invention was rude and very imperfect, because it was, except in the most favourable circumstances, beyond the control of man, being otherwise wholly subject to that of wind and current. Yet by a punting pole and roughly-fashioned paddle he could—weather and current permitting—take the raft out to sea for fishing purposes further than he could get by any other means. On lakes and languid streams it could, probably, be paddled to advantage, thus facilitating, in a manner heretofore unknown, the migratory efforts of primitive man.

Through a long course of observation it became evident to the primitive natural philosopher that a trunk that had lost some of its inside substance floated more lightly on the water than one wholly solid. With the experience thus gained of floating logs, it was but natural that this ardent observer should reason to himself somehow to this effect : Since hollow trunks float more lightly on the water than solid ones, they must do it because they have lost the inside substance, while the others retain theirs ; if, then, I can manage to hollow one by removing from it the greater part of its inside wood, will it float with me if I put myself in the hollow of it ? He set about the experiment. He now had the edge to fall back upon ; he wielded his flint-axe and other edged flint implements. The texture of the wood was very destructive of the sharp-

ness of the edge, and wasteful of the implements. But he called to his aid an effective agent to lighten and quicken his work. He set fire to the inside of the trunk, and kept it burning under proper control until the tree was hollowed to his satisfaction. The charred masses he scooped out with his flint-axe. Both ends were rounded off on the pattern of the breast of the bird that swims. The builder now launched his craft, stepped inside it, and it floated, with the joyfully surprised maker on board. The dark problem of ages was solved; the surface of the water was turned into a thoroughfare for man. An era of vastly increased happiness was inaugurated. The unknown day when this craft was launched for the first time was the birthday of the great art of SHIPBUILDING.

From the raft our ship-builder took with him the paddle, and adjusted it to the proportions and properties of the new craft, which yielded to this means of propulsion as ready an obedience as the raft had yielded a cumbrously reluctant one, or none at all. The first product, then, of the new invention was a monoxylous craft. I have presumed all along that the invention dates from the stone age. It is a fact, however, that with none of the monoxyla which Scandinavian bogs and lakes have given up have there been found objects hailing from the manufactories of the stone age. This evidence, besides being negative, loses a good deal of the importance one might be inclined to attach to it, when we consider that, firstly, the stone-age populations crossed water too broad to make it at all likely that the transit took place by means of rafts; secondly, that the charred insides of some monoxyla bear witness to their having been hollowed out by means of fire, a device for which there could have been no need in a metallic age; thirdly, that the "køkkenmøddinge" contain remains of fish which only live in deep water, consequently further out at sea than rafts can be supposed to have been taken; fourthly, that canoes of this description have been found in the lake dwellings at Robenhausen in Switzerland which, un-

doubtedly, are of the stone age; and, fifthly, that in Scotland one monoxylon with a stone-wedge within it has been found. On this evidence, partly inferential, partly positive, it seems quite safe to conclude that the stone-age man was actually the first boat-builder.

This monoxylous family of craft must have been in general vogue for a very long time, and in certain localities people must have taken a very rigid conservative fancy to it. This is to be inferred from the fact that, even up to the present, stray specimens of it are found still alive. On the inland waters of Wärend, in Sörmland, in Sweden, and on the Orkdale river in the countryside of Rennebo, in Norway, these cranky craft still do ferry service, as they did thousands of years ago. They are called: in Norway "ege," in Sweden "eka" and "ekestock," both forms being derived from the old Scandinavian "eikja," oakie, a feminine derivative of "eik," oak. The name points clearly to the fact that, originally, monoxylous canoes were made out of oak-trunks, the obvious reason being that the oak-trunk was the thickest to be found in the wood, and, consequently, when hollowed out, made the most capacious hull. On the evidence of this name I think we are warranted in concluding that it was in an oak-growing country that shipbuilding originated. That the name "oakie" should stick to the craft even when it was made of other kinds of wood was but natural. In the North, Denmark, which was densely wooded in the stone period, was probably the country where "oakies" were first made.¹

¹ The existence of the "eikja" goes back even to mythic times, as we learn from "Hárbarðsljóð," v. 7, where, in charge of Odin, it figures as a ferry-boat belonging to Hildolf of Ráðseyjarsund. In Norwegian Laws it only does ferry service; cf. Frostapings lög xiii. 10. Sigvat's much-abused "eikju-karfi," Heimskringla, Olafs saga helga, ch. 91 (F. Jónsson's ed.), was also a river-boat, and evidently the same as, or at least very similar to, the "eikja." Sigvat's experience of it dates from 1018. In 1177 King Sverrir ferried his men across the river Orka in Rennabú by means of "eikjur." Monoxyla, not only in the North, but wherever we find them mentioned elsewhere (see below), are in most cases river-ferries.

In connection with this family of craft I must call attention to an exceedingly old name for ship which is found, and that rarely, only in poetry and in one compound proper name from mythic times. This name is "nór." About its meaning there can be no doubt. Thiodolf from Hvin, a Norwegian poet of the ninth century, uses the word in his *Ynglingatal* to effect a *kenning*, or poetical periphrase, for a house, which he calls "brand-nór," or "hearth-fire's ship."¹ In the poetical glossary of the younger Edda it is also entered among the appellatives for ship.² But it is in its mythic setting that it demands particular attention.

In the morning of time there befell a feud between Odin's divine tribe, the Æsir, and the people whom our mythographers call Vanir, and frequently designate as the *wise* Vanir. The feud came ultimately to an end, and both sides exchanged hostages to ensure a lasting peace. The Vanir gave to the Æsir him who was called Niord (Njörðr); he was admitted to divine honours by the Æsir, with whom he remained for good. He was worshipped as the Lord ruling the course of the winds, having in his power to still the sea and to control fire. It was profitable to make vows to him for sea-faring and fishing; and he was so wealthy and so gainsome of riches that he would bestow lands or loose wealth on those who approached him with vows to that end. He abode at the place called NÓA-TÚN, the town of ships³

It seems clear that the "nóar," from which Niord's residence derived its name, were the ships he brought with him from his people, who were a sea-faring and trading community, but whose locality is as yet uncertain. In the dialect, then, of the Vanir, the name for a ship was "nór." Now, it is obvious that this form is closely related to Greek "*ναῦς*," Latin "*navis*." But a still closer

¹ It is a *kenning* of the same type as "*arin-kjóll*," *navis foci*, "*knörr legvers*," *navis lecti*, "*nökkvi toptar*," *navis parietum*, etc.

² Snorri's Edda I. 581¹¹.

³ *Völuspá* 23, 24, *Skirnismál* 17, 18; Snorri's Edda I. 92^{10,16}.

affinity presents itself in the Irish "noe," "noi," one of the oldest words for ship in the Irish language, as an Irish scholar at Cambridge informs me. The word occurs several times in the oldest tractates of the ancient Laws of Ireland, the *Senchus Mór*, and the *Lebar Aicle*. What sort of a craft it was does not appear with full certainty; it might be monoxylous, or of the currach or coracle type. Now, considering the great age which, no doubt rightly, is claimed by Irish scholars for the Brehon Laws, I think we must take it, if not for granted, at least as very probable, that this *nór* of the Vanir-dialect is a Celtic loan-word of a very high antiquity. If such should be the case, it follows that the Vanir must have been closer neighbours of the *continental* (or the Irish?) Celts than the Odinic community; if, indeed, they were not a Celtic tribe. Properly speaking, in the North this word is an exclusively Norwegian term, which migrated, of course, from Norway to Iceland with other ancestral traditions. No trace of the word is found in Denmark or Sweden. I am inclined to think that Niord's "*nóar*" were monoxylous craft. This I infer from the fact that in the Norwegian "*landsmål*," rural speech, the word "*no*" or "*nu*" signifies a mug, or small vessel made out of a solid piece of wood, and that in Iceland "*nói*" in the peasant speech, means a wooden vessel in which liquid food is doled out to children.

The son of Niord was Frey, the dispenser of rain and sunshine, and therewithal of the fertility of the earth, "and it is well to make vows to him for plenteous seasons and peace; he also rules man's luck in gaining wealth."¹ Frey, too, is lord of a famous ship called "*Skíðblaðnir*." The name is composed of *skíð*, possibly the stem of "*skíðe*" (German *scheide*, English *sheath*, a case, covering, *fourreau*), and "*blaðnir*" from "*blað*," blade—but in the sense of thin leaf, folium, lamina, anything that is distinguished by great thinness, and some width,—and *nir*, a suffix indicative of

¹ Snorri's Edda, I. 96¹⁻⁶.

the thing signified by the term it is attached to being prominently present, so that "blaðnir" should mean: "that is of (many) leaves." Thus "Skíðblaðnir" should mean the boat sheathed or covered with many patches. The mythographers describe the craft as the bravest of all ships. It was so big that all the gods could be accommodated on board it with all their war-like equipment; when the sail was hoisted a fair wind sprang up; bearing it wheresoever it was required to go. But the most striking peculiarity about it was that it could be folded up like a piece of cloth and put into a knapsack.¹ Here, of course, we see mythic folklore once more at work on its labour of love: the illogical hyperbole. The size is an absurd sort of exaggeration. That ships in the North were provided with mast and sail in the early mythic times of Frey we may fairly doubt, and mast and sail could not very reasonably be supposed to go into a knapsack. A wind blowing up when up goes the sail on board is a well-known legend of nautical witchcraft possessed by the Finns of northern Halogaland in Norway. But the statement that the boat could be folded up seems to be the one point in the myth which can stand examination. It seems to class "Skíðblaðnir" with craft of the coracle type, and the name itself seems even to point in the same direction. We have then, it would seem, in Frey's "Skíðblaðnir" a sea-going craft, while in his father's boats we, apparently, had only the river ferry-type.

References to monoxylous craft used outside the North for the navigation of rivers and for crossing inlets of the sea, or for coastal navigation, are very numerous. Already as early as 401 B.C. Xenophon made acquaintance with the Mossynoikoi on the Black Sea, who, apparently, knew only the use of "one-beam" canoes ("an-byme scip," as the Anglo-Saxons translated monoxylon). These Mossynoikoi lived in wooden towers, *μόσσυν*, apparently a sort of habitation similar to the pile-dwellings of

¹ Snorri's Edda I. 138²¹—140¹.

the lakes on the Continent in the stone age, and to those of the Veneti as described by Cæsar, as well as to the cran-noge, lake and foreshore dwellings, in ancient Ireland. The canoes of the Mossynoikoi carried only three men on board.¹ Polybius refers to monoxyla on the Rhone when Hannibal crossed that river B.C. 218.² Arrian mentions them in use in great number on the Ister about 336 B.C.³ The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean, or Red Sea, in the second century of our era, refers to monoxyla as employed in fishing and transport service along the coasts of those waters.⁴ Isidore, reviewing the evolution of shipbuilding, says: "Rafts were the first and the most ancient kind of craft joined together of rough logs and timber. After its fashion were made the ships which were called log-ships, *naves ratariaë*." He also mentions the "*naves litorariaë*," bank-boats, and "*naves caudicaë*," stock-boats, being hollowed out of one single "*caudex*," and capable of carrying from four to ten persons.⁵ A large number of Byzantine writers, from the fifth down to the twelfth century, refer to monoxylous water conveyances, and particularly in connection with the many rivers traversing the continental dominions of the Eastern Emperors and their Northern neighbours.

Thus far the one-beam craft has chiefly been the object of our attention. But another family or type of floating craft in the North comes into existence, if not as early as the one-beam boat, at any rate at a very early period. This is the kind of craft which in the literature goes under the name of "*húð-keipr*," or hide-boat, a name which the Icelanders, on coming into contact with the Esquimaux of Greenland and North America, gave to their kaiaks, made of some sort of inner framework with skins, sewed together, stretched over them for a cover-

¹ ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραῖα ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας. Anab. V. 4, 11.

² Polyb. Hist. ed. Hultsch III. 42, 2 ; 43, 3.

³ Arr. I. 3.

⁴ Plin. VI. 26. Periplus, ed. Fabricius, § 15, 60.

⁵ Isid. Etymologiae, lib. xix. 1.

ing. We come across the object and the name in only three late Sagas, that of Eric the Red (ch. 3), of Thorfinn Karlsefni (ch. 9, 10), and of the Flóamenn (ch. 23). The only instance of boat-building of this description by Scandinavians is that recorded by the last mentioned saga of Thorgils, the stepson of Thorgrim Scarry-Bone, who, having lost his own boat in Greenland, made a "húðkeipr" in order to maintain himself and his company alive by fishing. But this is an isolated case in exceptional circumstances, and represents only Esquimaux tradition. In Scandinavia this sort of boat-building, to judge from the literature on record, is utterly unknown in historical times. True, there is a case mentioned, which shows that on the Scandinavian continent boat-making of this kind must have been known; that case, however, is not Scandinavian, but Lap. Snorri says that when Sigurd Wretched Deacon spent in northern Halogaland the winter of 1138-39, he had two cutters built for himself by Laps, "and they were sinew-bound and no nails therein, withes serving for knees; twelve men rowed aside on each of them. These cutters were so swift that no ship might overtake them."¹ Evidently we have here a survival of an ancient tradition, which among the non-Finnish Scandinavians had passed into total oblivion in historical times; for speech survivals exist which suffice to prove that once upon a time it was a general fashion of shipbuilding in Scandinavia first to put together the wooden or wattled framework of the boat, and then to cover it with skins sewed together. Moreover, this method of boat-making must have been in vogue at least before the culture of a metallic age had taught man the full use of THE NAIL. This I shall now endeavour to make plain.

In the rich vocabulary relating to Northern ship-building we meet with two standing technical terms of especial interest, which at first sight seem as strange as, on closer examination, they become not only natural, but clearly

¹ *Heimskringla* (ed. F. Jónsson) III., 358¹⁸—359².

and convincingly illustrative of a method of ship-building which must have been universal before the era of nail manufacture began in the North. These terms are “súð” and “saumr.”

“Súð” signifies the line that is formed by the overlapping of any two planks, or boards, nailed or riveted together through the laps, no matter what purpose such planks or boards may serve. But specially is it applied to what in boat-building is known as the clincher-build, the clench, or strake-lap. In seamen’s language “súð” becomes a collective term, meaning all the clincher-joined strakes of a boat, or what English boat-builders call the “skin,” or “case” of it. Lastly, “súð” is used, in a restricted sense, to signify ship, but mostly as first or second element in compound proper names, as “Súða-vík,” Ships’-wick, “Bækisúð” Beech-hull, name of a special ship. So much for the application of the term. But what is the original sense of it? Etymologically “súð” covers the Latin *sut-* in “sutura” from “suo,” “suere” to sew, exactly as “húð” covers *cut-* in “cutis,” skin, hide; obviously its original meaning is “suture,” a sewed together jointure.

The correctness of this interpretation is clearly borne out by the boat-building term “saum-för” (now “saum-far”), seam-fare, seam-line, which takes off exactly the special sense of “súð,” strake-lap, adduced above. “Saum-för” is clearly a gloss on “súð,” made when its primitive meaning, suture, was becoming obsolete and obscure to the living generation.

“Saumr” is the standing collective term for all the varieties of nails which are required for the building of a ship. Etymologically it corresponds exactly to the English word *seam*, and, in its general acceptance, means exactly the same: a sewed jointure. But in the technical application here in question it means *sewing material*. It is an interesting fact that, in the commercial language of the Scandinavians, including that of the Icelanders, all nails of any size, at least up to six inches

long, go to this day under the collective denomination of "saumr" (Norwegian saum, Danish, Swedish, s m).

The facts I have now drawn attention to obviously warrant the deduction that there was a time when boats in the North generally had round their frame a covering, consisting of a material that could be sewed together; that material could only be *skin*. Only on this supposition is it possible to account for the use of the technical ship-building terms we are here dealing with. Now we have the testimony of Roman writers to the effect that in the first century of our era the Britanni, Celts of Britain, did their sea-faring in wicker-vessels, which they did round with a covering of ox-hides.¹ The words "s  " and "saumr" prove clearly, though indirectly, that the same description of Scandinavian ship-building, at a certain early period, would have been a correct one. I think we are warranted in assigning that period to some time on the other side of the nearer limit of the stone age. With the metallic age, and not before, the manufacture of nails came in, and the nail evidently effected a revolution in the method of ship-building, in that the sewed-together ox-hide covering of the frame of ships gave place to nail-joined, board-strake covering of the same, and wind-dried sinews of large animals, the old sewing material, to rivets and driven nails. Now, whatever name the manufacturers gave to their nails and nail-produce, the ship-building industry, realizing that the nail answered in an eminently suitable manner the purpose of the old material in joining, or sewing together, water-tightly the overlapping edges of the wooden board-covering of a boat's frame, gave to the new rivetting material the name of the old sewing one. The transference of the name of the old to the new binding material was, really, a most natural one: what were nails after all but disjointed stitches, effecting the same thing

¹ Vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Pliny, Hist. Nat., IV. 30. Etiam nunc Britannico oceano vitiles corio circumsutæ fiunt. VII. 57.

as connected thread-stitches, namely the tight jointure of things otherwise disjointed.

The hide-bound family of craft goes, therefore, I think we may safely assume, back to the stone age. If "Skíð-blaðnir" could be classed with this family, it would be the earliest specimen of it mentioned in Northern literature. But on that point nothing can be positively asserted. No ancient specimens of this craft have been found, or are likely to be discovered, on account of the perishable material the covering was made of, and the slender scantling of the framework. But I think I can make it probable that the principle on which the building of this skin-covered craft proceeded was perpetuated in the further evolution of ship-building, at any rate during the iron age, and is really the principle of naval construction to this day.

But I have not stated yet expressly on what principle these craft were made. Northern sources afford us no information. Whether the oldest Celtic literature does so, or not, I am unable to say. But we have an excellent Roman writer who gives us a sufficiently explicit hint of the method of their construction. In his first Spanish campaign during the civil war, Cæsar was brought to very great straits on the bank of the river Sicoris, which, on account of want of boats, he could not cross, and thus was foiled for a time in effecting an important strategic movement. So, in his own words, "he ordered the soldiers to make boats of the build that British usage had taught him in former years. *First*, the keel and the ribs were made of light timber: the rest of the body of the boats was woven together of osiers and covered by hides."¹ To this description Lucanus supplies a valuable addition in his "Pharsalia": "First," he says, "the white willow is

¹Imperat militibus Cæsar, ut naves faciant, cuius generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniae docuerat. Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur. Cæs. Bell. Civil., I. 54.

woven together into a little craft by soaked osiers, and then, clothed in the hide of a felled young bullock, it swims out on the swollen river obedient to the passenger. Thus sails the Venetian on the sluggish Po and the Briton over the broad ocean.”¹ Here, then, it is clear that the construction of the coracle type of boat was effected by two operations. First, by putting together of the wooden frame, strengthened by plaited wicker-work, which constituted the form of the craft; secondly, when this was done, by adjusting the water-tight outer case, consisting of neats’ leather.

That monoxyla were propelled by means of a paddle, single or double-bladed, is certain. At Viborg, in Jutland, there is exhibited a specimen of this craft, with the double-bladed paddle, some three feet in length, belonging to it, both having been found together in a bog some sixty years ago. As to the coracle, it is a paddled craft to this day. This was obviously the most natural method of propulsion for an utterly untrained navigator to hit upon. When he was on board his craft he wanted to propel it towards the goal he had chosen; he must therefore face the prow of it, in order to be able to exercise proper command over its gyrations and to correct deviations caused by winds and currents. But long experience of paddling must have exercised his faculty of observation in many ways. In the nature of man there is hidden an impulse which constantly urges him on to throw into locomotion, artificial locomotion especially, as much speed as is consistent with feasibility and prudence. To reach a given goal in the quickest way, *i.e.*, by the least loss of time, has all through its history been the tendency of man’s sea-faring activity.

The primitive paddler was probably quite as impulsive

¹Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
Navigat oceano. *Pharsalia*, IV. 130-136.

as any of us, perhaps a good deal more so. He could not have failed to observe in the long run that it was impossible to put the same strength into a paddle stroke, which was produced by one arm pulling the paddle-blade towards the person, while the other arm guided the handle in a direction opposite to that of the blade, as would be put into it, if it were produced by the united strength of both arms, aided by the muscular force of the whole body, properly poised. Until a mode of propulsion on this principle was adopted, there was no art of *rowing*, in the proper sense, yet known. The introduction of that reform into nautical practice, however, must have been a very slow process, because it depended on auxiliary inventions, which were far from obvious. Rowing involved the invention of the thole-pin, "keipr," against which the oar could be pulled. That invention again necessitated the contrivance of the oar-strap, "hamla," to keep the oar in its place against the thole-pin, and to enable the rowers to back-water when necessary.

But abandoning paddling for rowing meant really that the propelling force on board turned blind, in that the rowers had to occupy on the benches a position the reverse of that of the paddlers, and thus turned their back upon their own goal. This had to be remedied, and an eye had to be provided for the craft gone blind; a man was told off to take in hand the steering; he was provided for the purpose with a steering oar; and a loop, through which the handle of that oar was taken, was fixed to the gunwale of the craft at a suitable distance from the stern, on the right-hand side. Out of this primitive steering contrivance grew the steering apparatus, fixed to the right-hand side buttock of boats, which we find in the Viking ships that have been unearthed in Norway, and to which I shall allude again. In that position the rudder remained, according to the authority of Jal ("Archéologie navale") till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Nicholaysen, the able Norwegian antiquary, has found no instance of a rudder hinged on the stern-post earlier

than that of the dragon-ship seal of Bergen of 1299. The earliest instance of rudder so fitted in England seems to be that of the man-of-war "La Félipe," built for Edward III. at Lynn, 1336. In the seal of Dover dating from 1335 the rudder is in the old position; but that may simply be a matter of sphragistic tradition.

When rowing at length had been mastered, all the main difficulties of the problem, "how to make a high-way of the surface of the water," had been solved. There remained, of course, the crowning accomplishment: the mast and the sail. But the inventor rested for a long time on his oars before reaching that climax.

I may remark here that in the old language of Scandinavia the terms for mast are "vöndr," a wand, "viða," pole of wood, "viðr," "tré," tree, and most commonly, "sigla," perhaps, the bendable, pliable thing; all names apparently indicative of the bending effect the wind-weighted sail has upon the pole it is attached to. But "mast(r)" is a term utterly foreign to the Scandinavian idioms, never occurring in any song, saga, or law-code of the old time. It is confined to the West Germanic idioms, O.H.G., M.H.G., L.G., Du, and A.S. The commercial predominance of the Hansa in the Baltic from the middle of the twelfth century probably brought the term to the North, where it is now in universal use, even in Iceland, though the purists are endeavouring to keep "sigla" alive.

What "segl" *may* mean originally is very doubtful. It is a common Teutonic word, and may possibly, as a philologist has suggested, be radically allied to Latin "*sec*" in "secare," with a primitive meaning of "the cut out piece" (of cloth). If it could be connected with the old Scandinavian stem, *sig*, in "segi," "sigi," a strip, a torn out piece, it would mean collectively the thing made of strips or sections of skin, which presumably was the material out of which sails were made in the North before the culture of flax was known.

Passing now over to the consideration of the strake-built boat, I take the earliest type of it to be represented by

the rock-carvings of Sweden and Norway. The shape, as well as the size of the originals copied here preclude their having been monoxylous or of the coracle kind. On board some of the craft there are shown as many as thirty rowers, or presumably such.

A point that strikes at first sight is the fact that the ships are represented *in groups*. This seems to show that we have not to do with the work of artists merely amusing themselves by practising naval drawing; we seem to have before us representations of fleets, or, in other words, records of *events*, of naval actions, *history* written in picture language.

These carvings present to us two distinct types of craft: one with stem and stern-posts raised to an abnormal height, taking, at some distance from the gunwale, an inward bend, and terminating in an outward turn, meant, perhaps, for some animal's head; the other distinguished by the absence of any prominently high stem and stern-posts. Some of the boats of the former type look as if they had two keels; the lower of the two extends beyond the upper or inner at both ends, and takes an upward bend clear above the water-line, and sometimes as high as the stem and stern-posts of the inner boat. We may perhaps here have to deal with a protective outer case and a ramming arrangement. This is rendered probable by the fact that, exceptionally, the prolonged lower keel takes a downward bend into the water at one end of the boat. Exclusively with this type goes an object which seems roughly to resemble the form of a pair of bellows standing on the pipe end; on the larger boats two of these objects are seen placed where, roughly, the length of the craft divides by three. An almost identical object may be observed on an Egyptian boat (sixth dynasty), copied from a carving on the walls of the tomb of Api at Saggâra,¹ apparently connected with the apparatus for steering. No other objects of attributive nature are shown in connection with these

¹ G. Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," 1901, p. 393.

rock-carved ships: no oars, rudders, row-locks, masts, or sails.

These carvings show not only two types of ships, but also two types of men: the one somewhat stout and stunted of leg, the other tall, slender, in a tight vest and trousers. The former is mostly associated with rural scenes, ploughing and the like¹; the latter principally with the high-prow ships. One is tempted to see in this type the *miles braccatus* of Gaul.

Archæologists are mostly agreed that these carvings probably date from the bronze age. They represent a weapon, the sword, which did not yet exist in the stone age, and in a form not used in the iron age, but quite typical for the bronze age. The originals copied by the rock-carver must have been without a guard, but two-edged, and rather broader about the middle than up by the grip; these are the typical peculiarities by which the sword of the bronze age distinguishes itself from the guard-hilted, one-edged, mostly straight-bladed sword of the iron age.

Opinions are divided as to the nationality of the type of the high stem and stern-posts—the other, of which a whole fleet, apparently drawn up in line of battle, is seen on a rock-face at Tegneby, Bohuslän, Sweden, seems a genuine Northern type. From the fact that Phenician ships, as represented on ancient coins of Tyre and Sidon, show a striking similarity to the former type, some archæologists have concluded that Phenicians once upon a time established themselves on the Baltic. Professor Montelius discountenances the idea on the ground that the bronze culture found its way up to the North overland from the shores of the Mediterranean, particularly the Adriatic.

But perhaps the culture of bronze found its way north

¹I exclude from this type the nine oddities by which one boat is manned, five of which seem to be engaged in the act of fanning. They seem to have an air of magic about them. All, but the excessively thickset animal-headed foreman, seem to be meant for females.

both by land and sea. We do not know how the ships were built which brought Pytheas of Marseilles up to the Baltic and Norway in the fourth century B.C. But his journey was undertaken in the interest of the commercial community of Marseilles,¹ who must have learnt from somewhere that the Baltic trade was worth the cost of such an expedition; that means that, before the days of Pytheas, Gauls and Scandinavians met on trading terms presumably on the Baltic shores.

Here I should like to draw attention to Cæsar's highly interesting account of the most advanced people he came in contact with in Gaul—the Veneti, whose chief city was Dariorigum, now Vannes, in Morbihan. First he describes their towns and habitations. This was about the manner in which their towns were situated:

They were placed at the outermost edge of tongues of land and nesses, and neither was there access to them on foot when the flood-tide had arisen, which happens twice in the space of every twelve (twenty-four) hours, nor by ships, since with the tide ebbing they might come to grief on the shallows.²

About the sea power of these people Cæsar says:

This state exercises by far the most extensive influence of any throughout the whole sea-board of these regions, both because the Veneti have a large number of ships in which they are in the habit of sailing to Britain, and because they excel all the rest as to knowledge and skill in matters nautical, and because, in consequence of the great violence of the vast and open sea with harbours few and far between which they control themselves, they hold as tributaries almost all those who resort to making use of this water-way.³

¹ Elton, "Origins of Engl. History," p. 12 ff.

² *Erant eius modi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent cum ex alto se æstus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum xii spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente æstu naves in vadis afflictarentur.* Cæsar, B.G. III. 12.

³ *Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu rerum nauticarum ceteros antecedunt et in magno impetu maris vasti atque aperti, paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales.* l.c. III. 8.

Lastly, he gives the following account of their ships :—

For their ships were built and fitted out in this way : their keels were somewhat flatter than those of our own ships, that they might the more easily encounter shallows and the ebbing of the tide ; the prows, being *very much raised and the sterns in a like manner*, were adapted to heavy seas and high gales ; the ships were wholly made of oak, so as to be able to bear any strain and buffeting ; the thwarts were made of planks a foot broad, and were fastened by iron bolts an inch thick ; the anchors were attached by iron chains instead of cables ; for sails they had skins and soft-tanned thin leather, either because of want of flax and ignorance of the use of it, or, which is more probable, because they thought ordinary sails could not stand the great tempests of the ocean and the stress of high winds, nor could such heavy ships be quite conveniently manœuvred by means of them.¹

This, then, is the state of things on the western coast of France in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. This eminence in ship-building and sea-power must have been attained by a very long process of evolution. Improvement in ship-building invariably means extension of sea-voyaging. It stands to reason that the Veneti must have known how to thread their way along the shores of their own continent practically to any distance to which prospect of commercial gain was ready to pilot them, seeing that from the Bay of Morbihan (which presumably was their chief base) they were in the habit of sailing over to Britain across the northern waters of the broad and boisterous Bay of Biscay. In view of the impetus given to commercial enterprise by

¹Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armatæque erant : Carinæ aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent ; proræ admodum erectæ atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatæ ; naves totæ factæ ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam ; transtra ex pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus, confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine ; anchoræ pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctæ ; pelles pro velis alutæque tenuiter confectæ, hæc sive propter inopiam lini atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. l.c. III. 13.

the journey of Pytheas to the amber-bearing tracts of the coasts of the North Sea, to the Baltic, and further up to Norway, I do not see what cogent reasons can be urged against the assumption that the Veneti may have been in communication with the North even for a very long time previous to their disastrous acquaintance with the ruthless conqueror of Gaul. The peculiarity in the build of their ships which he considered so noteworthy, the *proæ admodum erectæ atque item puppes*, is just the most striking feature of the rock-carved vessels. As hinted above, the opinion prevails among Northern archæologists that the high-posted, rock-carved ships must be foreign. Considering the information supplied by Cæsar, and the evidence of probability at present available, the Veneti seem to possess as good a title to them as any other foreigner.

By way of digression I feel tempted to ask:—Is it at all likely that the Veneti have anything to do with the Vanir of Northern mythology? To this no positive answer can be given at present. The stems of the two names are identical. I have shown already that probably the rock-carvings represent sea-fights, and two types of men, as well as two types of ships. According to *Völuspá*, 23, 24, the *casus belli* between Odin's folk, the *Æsir*, and the Vanir was "afráð," vectigal, tribute. On the stone of Tjängvide, in Gotland, we find on the lower panel represented, as I think, a foreign ship,¹ with stem and stern posts enormously high; on the upper, Odin, seated on Sleipnir with his right arm raised for a throw (of a spear); this seems to remind one of: "Odin hurled, into the host he shot," that being his answer to the question of paying the "afráð." Freyja, Niord's daughter, was a sacrificial priestess, "hofgyðja" (among the Vanir), and the first to teach among the *Æsir* enchant-

¹ The whole sail is covered with network. Does that, by chance, represent a sail of skin on to which, in the form of a net, are stitched cords for the purpose of giving additional strength to a material that never could have served its purpose very effectively?

ments after the wont of the Vanir. With this may be compared the following from Pomponius Mela:—

Sena in the British sea, opposite to the shores of the Ossismii, is famous for the oracle of a Gallic divinity, the priestesses of which, sacred to a perpetual state of virginity, are said to be *nine in number*. They are called *Gallicenæ*, and are supposed to be endowed with singular genius; to put in commotion sea and winds by means of incantations; and to change themselves into whatever animal they please; and to cure disorders that to others are incurable; and to know and to predict things yet to come; but that they only devote themselves to sea-faring people and those who have journeyed solely for the purpose of consulting them.¹

It seems clear that this “Gallicum numen” must have been a guardian divinity of the interests of sailors (*navigantes*), to whom only the wizard “antistites” of its oracle were “devotæ.” By their “carmina” these priestesses controlled wind and sea, the empire of the divinity they served. We have seen above (page 191) that NIORD, the god the Æsir adopted from the Vanir, was worshipped as the swayer of wind and sea, and as the propitious dispenser of favours to sailors and fishermen. In their functions, therefore, Niord and the “numen” here in question would seem to cover each other. This is not all: Niord had *nine* daughters who were skilled in runes, *i.e.*, in magic: “*Hér ’ro rúnar, er ristit hafa Njarðar dætr nio.*” “Here are runes written in by daughters nine of Niord,” *Sólarljóð*, 79. The relation between Niord’s and Ægir’s, obviously late, nine daughters cannot be discussed here. The shape-changing power recalls strikingly not only Odin’s skill in that respect

¹ Sena in Britannico mari, Ossismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cuius antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur. *Gallicenas* vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus; seque in quæ velint animalia vertere, sanare quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et prædicare, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent, profectis.—Chorogr. iii. 6.

“Ossismii” was the name of the people who occupied territory north-west of that which in Cæsar’s time was held by the Veneti. “Galli Senas vocant” is a conjectural reading adopted by some editors without MS. authority.

(taught him by Freyja, who first introduced among the Æsir the science of wizardry),¹ but especially the sorcery of the Finns up in northernmost Norway, with whom shape-changing was a speciality of magic. Are we to take it that *gall* in "Gallicenæ" is allied to or identical with the Celt. stem *gal* in "galô,"² I call; Ir. "gall," cygnus, whooping swan; Cymr. "galw," vocare; Bret. "galvaden," cri d'appel; "gàlu," appel.³ If so, are we not warranted in assuming that the common Teutonic stem *gal-* (Scand. "gala," cantare; "galdr," carmen, incantatio) is a very ancient Celtic immigrant, like, *e.g.*, *rik*, *rig*, *reich*. As to "cen-a," is that a term of Vulgar Latin formed from the stem of Celt.-Ir. "can-im," I sing, in analogy with the classical *cen* in "tibi-cen"? If so, "cenæ" would mean "cantantes," or "cantatrices," presumably of that which *gall-* in Galli implied=incantatio, "Gallicenæ" therefore=carminum, incantationum cantatrices?

I have to content myself at present with thus far drawing attention to these points.

The earliest *literary* account of Northern ships, so far as I know, was penned in Rome, probably in the course of the latter half of the first century of our era. In the 44th chapter of his "Germania" Tacitus (ob. A.D. 108), passing from the account of the various nations who inhabited the southern littoral of the Baltic, goes on to that of the states of the Suiones "in the very ocean." "Besides in men and arms," he says, "they are powerful in fleets. The build of the ships differs (from that of Roman ships) in this, that at either end there is a prow so shaped as always to be ready for landing; they neither make use of sails nor adjust the oars in a row to the sides; as in certain river boats, the rowing is loose and changes either way as necessity demands."⁴

¹ Ynglinga Saga, Heimskringla (F. Jónsson), ch. 4.

² W. Stokes, "Urkeltischer Sprachschatz," p. 107.

³ Victor Henry, "Dict. étymologique du Breton moderne."

⁴ Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in oceano, præter viros armaque classibus valent. Forma navium eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper

The Suionum civitates, say the commentators of Tacitus, probably truly, are the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the time of Tacitus the ships of these people, then, had two prows, but no stern. The real meaning of Tacitus' statement that both stems were equally suited for landing must be that the ships were not steered by a rudder, but were kept in their course by means of paddling, and this Tacitus himself proves by his description of the "*remigium solutum et mutabile ut res poscit hinc vel illinc*," and by adding that it is a method of rowing followed on certain river-boats. When the course of ships of this description was reversed there was no need for turning round the craft; the only thing that turned round were the paddling crew on their seats. It was but natural that such ships should carry no sail, and Tacitus' description of the "*remigium*" proves that his statement in respect of the sail is perfectly true; for without a rudder the sail is impossible. Here the steering was done by the paddlers themselves, who had their eyes constantly fixed on their goal, and plied their paddles accordingly. The expression "*classibus valent*" clearly indicates that Tacitus was thinking of war vessels, and seems to preclude the idea that he had monoxylous craft in his mind; nor, if that had been the case, is it likely that he would have omitted to mention the fact, seeing that he evidently had his eye on the points

adpulsui frontem agit, nec velis ministrant, nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt; solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium.

It is not quite obvious what the exact meaning may be of one or two points in this statement. "*Solutum remigium*" seems to be explained by "*nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt*," which points to the ships as unprovided with both row-locks and oar-straps; hence the rowing was free-handed, the oar being independent of any attachment to the gunwale. This, I think, is tolerably certain. But "*mutabile hinc vel illinc*" can mean either: changeable "from side to side," according as gyrations should call for correction, or: "in this or that direction," when reversion of course was in question, or, it may mean both. Perhaps the second sense has most in its favour. Cf. "*mille naves sufficere visæ . . . plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent.*" Tacitus, Ann. II. 6.

wherein the build of the "naves Suionum" differed from that of Roman ships. It seems therefore safe to assume that he himself thought he was describing strake-built vessels. These ships, being war vessels, would be too broad for a single row of paddlers, seated in the middle of the thwarts, to ply each his double-bladed paddle on either side of the boat, an arrangement which would have made a sea-battle next to impossible. Therefore, I take it, the paddlers were seated along either side, each with a one-bladed paddle, leaving the middle of the boat free for the fighters to move in. As yet, then, rowing, rudder, mast, and sail would seem to have been unknown in the North.

From the time of Tacitus till the rise of Icelandic literature, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, I am not aware that anything in the way of real description in writing exists relating to the construction of Northern ships.

But chance has favoured us at different dates in modern times with finds of remains of boats built during the long period that intervenes between Tacitus and the literary era of the North, and these finds give us the best information possible about the state of naval architecture at the time from which they date.

Leaving out of account the many instances of discoveries of faint traces of buried ships which have been made in various localities about Scandinavia, I shall confine myself to the finds of Nydam, Tune, and Gokstad. A new ship-find at Tönsberg, on the Christiania fjord, I must leave out of account, as it still awaits description.

In the year 1859 the oldest naval relic in the North was found in the peat bog of Nydam, near Flensburg, in the Duchy of Sleswick. It was only a part of an oar, the remaining fragment of which was discovered in 1862. In the following year, on August 7th, some remains of a boat were dug out, and on October 18th that year the famous Nydam boat of oak was discovered, and on October 29th a boat of fir was dug up on the same site.

The first of these three boats was in a very bad state of preservation. But from the fragments obtained of it, it could be concluded that the build of it was executed on the same principle as that of the other two.

The fir boat was fairly preserved, but in pieces, which were secured from their bed and placed on dry land, covered over with peat, in order to protect the soaked timber against the effects of the air until the restoration of the oaken boat should be completed.

In the meantime, however, the war broke out ; the German victors left the relic to take care of itself, and what with exposure "to weather and the Vandalism of strangers," the invaluable find has been irretrievably destroyed. This boat was built on the same principle as the oak boat in all essential particulars but one: the keel plank, fifty-one feet four inches long, terminated at either end in a kind of pointed spur, slightly bent upwards, and stretching out about five feet beyond the point where stem and stern-posts were joined to the keel. On account of its slight upward turn from the horizontal line of the keel this spur would always be below water, the deeper the more heavily laden the boat happened to be. This is a most interesting characteristic. It is possible that it may betray traditional connection with the somewhat similar arrangement which we noticed in one type of the rock-carved ships ; and it seems to be removed beyond doubt that this spur was intended for the purpose of ramming an antagonist somewhere between waterline and garboard-strakes. Thus this boat, which now exists only in the careful drawings of Professor Engelhardt, stands a unique witness to the fact that, even in the early younger iron age, the idea of disabling a hostile ship by means of ramming had entered into the science of naval warfare.

The oak boat, which is known as *the* Nydam boat, was discovered on the same site as the preceding, and close to it. Both rested at the bottom of the bog, beneath a peat soil of from 4 to 7 feet thick. All the iron details had been utterly dissolved by the water, but clear indi-

cations were obtained of the manner in, and the extent to, which iron had been employed in the building of the craft. By the dissolution of the iron and other fastenings the strakes had fallen out flat on the bottom, the stem and stern-posts likewise, and the ribs lay about in various positions. The boat had been deliberately sunk, as large holes were found cut through the strakes on one side below the water-line. It was complete, and had only to be put together again; and so reconstructed by an expert Copenhagen restorer of antiquities, Mr. Stephensen, it may now be seen in the Museum at Kiel.

It is a boat of $45\frac{3}{4}$ feet of straight keel, and $69\frac{1}{2}$ feet from stem to stern between the points where gunwale and posts meet. The keel plank is 2 feet in width, but there is next to *no external keel*. Five clinker-worked strakes on either side, each 15 to 20 inches broad, secured to each other by burred iron nails, formed the hull of the craft, which at its widest is $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet. The depth of the vessel amidships is 4 feet 1 inch, rising at fore and aft posts to 6 feet 10 inches. In form the stem and the stern of this boat are *identical*. It has 14 oars aside, abnormally short for the size of the vessel, the longest 11 feet, and row-locks, with oar-straps attached, had been secured to the top of the gunwale by means of bast-ropes; an arrangement which must have made rowing both a weak and an interrupted performance. Being a rowing boat she was provided with a rudder, in the shape of a broad-bladed (18in.) oar, 9 feet 7 inches long. The ribs or frames are made of one piece of wood, naturally grown so bent or crooked as to serve their purpose. They must have been very difficult to procure, and very costly, to judge by the experience of modern ship-builders, who find pieces of naturally-grown wood suitable for knees about the most expensive articles in a wooden ship.

Beneath every rib there are left standing in each plank two knobs, of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, with a hole drilled through them, and through the ribs, right over these knobs, are run corresponding holes from side to side;

by a bast-rope run through these holes the strakes were fastened to the ribs. To this and other peculiarities about this boat I shall revert presently. Nothing in or about the boat was found indicative of mast or sailing apparatus.

In close proximity to this Nydam boat was found a hoard of Roman coins, 34 in number, minted between A.D. 69 and 217. How long it took the last dated coin to travel from the Roman mint to Nydam bog it is impossible to say. Guesses as to the age from which the boat may date assign it to the third, at the latest to the fourth, century of our era.

Points particularly noticeable about this craft are:

- (a) The almost total absence of external keel.
- (b) The identical formation of stem and stern.
- (c) The shortness of the oars.
- (d) The arrangement of the row-locks.
- (e) The mode of attaching the strakes to the ribs.

This is the earliest extant specimen of a strake-built, iron-riveted, floating craft in the North. Between the building of it and the date of Tacitus' description of the ships of the Suiones there lies a period of time, possibly not exceeding 250 years. Like those ships this is distinguished by not being a sailing craft. The absence of external keel (a) I take to be a traditional family feature come down from the coracle ancestor. The identity in form of stem and stern (b) shows that as yet the old form of the paddled ships of the Suiones was traditionally maintained, although rowing had now been invented. That the art of rowing was still in its infancy is evidenced by the fact that (c) the oars are so abnormally short in proportion to the size of the boat; also by the row-lock arrangement (d). The row-lock rises, like a short bent horn, from a block of wood, which, fitted lengthwise to the top of the gunwale, is tied to it at either end by a bast-rope, holes being made through the gunwale for the purpose. No matter how tightly this row-lock block was fixed, it was bound, under rowing, to slide on its gunwale

base in answer to the impact of the oar stroke, and to wear out its bast fastening in a short time.

Why the row-lock block should not have been secured firmly by means of iron nails or bolts to the gunwale seems, at first sight, so strange as to defy explanation. But when a vessel has two prows and no stern, properly speaking, strange things must happen in the transit of one mode of propulsion into another. I have explained above (page 209) that when the course of a paddled ship had to be reversed there was no need for any turning round of the craft, since her fore and aft were prows of identical form; only the paddlers turned round on their seats. Here is a boat of the same construction. Traditional custom is often strong out of all proportion to its reasonableness or expediency. Might not, therefore, the row-lock arrangement mean this, that when the boat's course was reversed, instead of turning her round by means of the short oars and the slight help of the rudder-oar, which, in so heavy a ship would have been somewhat of a time-losing process, the rowers simply turned round on their benches, undid the row-lock block, and reversed its position? This is Professor Engelhardt's theory also, I observe, although he arrives at it from a standpoint different from mine.

But perhaps the most interesting feature about this most remarkable of all boats is (*e*) the mode in which the strakes are attached to the frame timbers, the ribs, as described above. On this peculiarity Professor Engelhardt remarks:

This is again a fact highly surprising in a nation familiar with the use of iron, and able to work it so well as their damascene swords prove that they could. At the same time, it is possible that a loose connection between the framework and the planking of the boat served to give more elasticity to the sides, and that boats built in this manner went through the surf and great waves more easily than those more strongly built.

This I beg leave to doubt. Here again I think we have to deal with traditional custom modified by the con-

ditions of a new building material. In a boat built wholly of wood the strake covering answers the purpose and takes over the function of the hide-covering of the earlier coracle. For I take it for granted that the coracle was the immediate ancestor of the strake-built craft. We have seen above (page 198) how coracles were built: the framework being first finished and the hide cover put on afterwards. On the same principle, and by the same process of construction, the Nydam boat was evidently put together, as is proved by the fact that the above-mentioned knobs on the inside of the strakes, with holes made through them, correspond exactly with the lateral perforations of the ribs; those perforations must have been made *before* the strakes were fitted to their position. What happened was obviously this: to the keel were first fitted the stem and stern-posts; then the ribs were adjusted at their fixed intervals, next came the planks on which, where the perforated knobs were to be left standing when the rest of each plank was cut down to its regulated thinness, were made marks showing the distances of the ribs that this or that plank would cover, as well as the distances between the holes made through the ribs up from the bottom to the top. As the hide in the coracle was secured by means of sewing material to the frame-timbers to prevent its slipping about, so the wooden strakes were secured to the in-timbers by means of bast-ropes, to prevent them bulging out under weight-pressure, and breaking away from the rivets or disturbing the water-tightness of their jointures. I will finally remark that the price of iron at the time may have had most to do with the use of the old binding material, the bast, where, to us, at this time, it seems obvious that iron bolts should have been used in preference.

By a wide jump we come from the Nydam boat to the ship unearthed at the manor of "Haugen i Tune, near Sarpsborg, on the river Glommen, south-eastern Norway, in 1867." In respect of straight keel, this is a boat by about 4 feet smaller than the Nydam craft and, like it,

is built of oak strakes, but some details are made of other kinds of wood. The clincher-joined strakes are secured to the ribs by the same means and contrivance as in the Nydam boat, with the exception, however, that the topmost planks are fixed by wooden nails to the knees inside. It differs from the Sleswick boat further in being a sailing boat, consequently having external keel and higher free-board, 12 strakes forming the hull of it. So here we have the first specimen of a sailing craft in the North. That it was a rowing boat as well goes without saying, but how the rowing apparatus was contrived could not be ascertained on account of the decayed state of the wood-work.

A much better preserved find was the longship discovered in 1880, near the manor of Gokstad in Sandefjord, Southern Norway. This is an oak-built war-galley with upwards of 65 feet of straight keel and 77 feet from stem to stern, width amidships $16\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and depth at the same point $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, rising to $8\frac{1}{2}$ at either stem. The hull counts 16 strakes aside, each 7 to 9 inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, all clincher-worked by means of burred iron rivets. It had 16 oars aboard, varying in length, the longest measuring some 17 feet. But for the purpose of rowing, instead of row-locks adjusted to the top of the gunwale, it provides oar-holes through the fourteenth strake, each with a slit in its aft-side for the blade of the oar to pass through in being run out or drawn in. These oar-holes, moreover, were provided with shutters, working on a pin, and fitted with a catch, by which they could be closed when the oars were not in use.

In common with the Tune boats, this one also has its strakes tied to the ribs by means of the knob arrangement described in the Nydam boat; only, in the choice of the lashing material there is a new departure, in that, instead of bast, withes from roots of trees are employed. So that still as late as about 900 the old tradition from coracle antiquity lives on, regarding and treating the

straked hull as the wooden "hide," the waterproof covering of the all-important framework, the ribs, tie-beams, knees, etc.

A striking novelty in the Norwegian boats is the change of the position of the rudder from loose to fixed. Of this the Gokstad boat gives the best illustration. On the right-hand side buttock of the boat there are fixed two wooden cushions or blocks, one up by the railing, the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet lower down; the topmost presents a flat surface, with a semi-cylindric perpendicular incision; the bottommost ends in a cone-formed top. A line drawn from the surface of one block to that of the other would run parallel with a line drawn perpendicularly on the keel of the craft, and that is the line the rudder occupies. For at the top its neck goes through a loop or grummet drawn through two holes, made at either side of the semi-cylindric incision in the top block, and running right through the railing, while through a hole in the rudder blade, exactly corresponding with one made through the conical block and the board of the ship, a cord with a knot at its further end was drawn which secured the rudder blade firmly to the cone. On the top of this cone, in obedience to the tiller, which fitted into a hole in the neck at right angle with the plane of the blade, the rudder moved easily, putting the ship on a starboard tack when the helmsman drew the tiller to him, and on a tack to port when he reversed the movement.

A feature quite new in the Gokstad ship is the introduction of the "dead-wood," a block which, fitted to the obtuse angle where the stem and stern-posts meet the keel, is both lashed and fastened by two rows of nails to either. This is the earliest instance I know of the use of this standing feature of the architecture of wooden ships even to this day (the lashing, of course, excepted).

Caulking was done even in the days when the Nydam boat was built; it then consisted of wool mixed up with

some sticky substance not otherwise specified. In the boat of Tune the caulking is effected by loose ox hair, while in the Gokstad boat this hair is spun and twisted into a three-stranded cord, which, no doubt, was saturated with tar before being used.

By this time,—indeed a very considerable time before,—the art of ship-building in the North, from a very humble beginning, had reached such a state of consummation that practically the world's "wayless waters" had now been turned into waterways; what still was lacking was but improvement in detail on a safe and secured basis; for even the very important adoption of the bowsprit and the jib, together with the mainsail, was, I have no doubt, suggested by the varied experience obtained through the manœuvring of the square sail for the purpose of catching side winds, beating.

We may very well allow the Gokstad ship the honour to stand as a general type for the Scandinavian ships as we know them from the Sagas. On passing now over to the names of their various kinds and some of the terms connected with them, I will wind up this portion of my paper by adding that in building a ship, in historical times, three chief classes of smiths or ship-wrights seem to have been employed: the *head-smith* (*höfuð-smiðr*), the *stem-smith* (*stafna-smiðr*),¹ the constructor of the framework, and the *strake-smith* (*filungr*, cf. *fjöl*, a board). There were, besides, *joiners* ("sumir et fella"), *carpenters* ("sumir at telgja"), *black-smiths* or *nail-makers* ("sumir saum at slá"), and lastly the unskilled *workmen* ("sumir til at flytja við").

The ships themselves may, not inconveniently, be classified according to the various purposes they were built for, which after all comes to much the same as grouping them according to size. We get thus the *boat class* proper, comprising the smallest craft; the *ship of burden class*,

¹ The story of Thorberg Shavehew (Saga of Olaf Tryggvisson, Snorri, ch. 88) makes it clear that the *stafna-smiðr* occupied an inferior position to the *höfuðsmiðr*.

including ocean-going merchantmen ; and the *navy class*, the warships.

To the boat class “bátr” belong the various open rowing boats, whose size attains, however, considerable dimensions in the largest of them ; the size here is determined by the number of oars : four-oarer, “ferærðr” ; six-oarer, “sexæringr” ; eight-oarer, “áttæringr” ; twelve-oarer, “tólfæringr.” But lesser boats than four-oarers, of course, there were..

The after-boat, “eftirbátr,” or cock-boat, was naturally a very small craft ; it went also under the name of “skipsbátr,” ship’s-boat. Whether it had any typical form of its own cannot, that I am aware, be ascertained. A very old name for a boat is “beit” ; it is the genuine old Scandinavian term, while “bátr” is an Anglo-Saxon very early loan-word.

The craft that goes under the name of “ferja,” also “róðrarferja” seems to have belonged to what I call the boat group. It is mentioned as doing not only the ordinary service of a rowing boat, but also that of a transport and victualling craft, which, for such a service, must have been of considerable size. “Róðrarferja,” rowing ferry, distinguishes a ferry, so-called, from a river-ferry, not, as might be supposed, from a “sailing ferry,” which is never mentioned.

The “kœna” was of old probably, as even now it is, a very tiny craft. The word is formally related to Icelandic “kane,” a small wooden vessel, Norwegian “kane,” a wooden bowl with ears, even as “hœna,” hen, is to “hane,” a cock.

“Karfi” is one of those objects which, from small beginnings, develop into something more considerable in course of time. It is taken by some antiquaries to be a foreign importation, from Latin “carabus,” which in its turn was borrowed from Greek “κάραβος,” a sea-crab, a boat. Isidor¹ describes the “carabus” as a small wicker-boat covered with raw hide. Similar names

¹ Etymol. XIX., c. i. 26.

for, apparently, the same object are found in Finn. "karpa," basket, little boat; "karvas"; Quenic. "karvas"; Russ. "karbas"; Lapp. "garbe," "garbas," and V. Gay¹ mentions "corbe," as the name of fishing-boats in the Low-Countries. Surely the similarity of these forms to Scand. "karfa," Swed. "korg," Dan. "kurv," Germ. "korb," Lat. "corbis," a basket, is not altogether accidental. Once upon a time the northern "karfi" must have been a term for a very small crank vessel. In the compound "eikjufarfi" the second element is really a sort of translation or interpretation of the first, which we have already seen (page 190), was a tiny monoxylous sort of ferry boat; so that the "karfi," as to size and quality, was looked upon as but another edition, as it were, of "eikja." Sigvat, Olaf the Holy's marshal, was highly disgusted with the "karfi" as a river ferry, calling it "a cranky karfi," a "hlægiskip," ridiculous tub; had never seen a worse one, "sákat ek verra."² The main peculiarity of this craft is taken off very tellingly in the compound "karfa-fótr,"³ the tottering foot of one reeling from drunkenness. The vast geographical spread of this name for a small crank boat points to its having been, once upon a time, a coracle in universal use throughout the continent of Europe.

But in Norway, at any rate, the "karfi" also attained dimensions which placed it in class with the largest boats, or even with the lesser sea-going ships. Mention is made of "karfar" with from six to sixteen oars aboard.⁴

"Nökkvi" (A.S. *naca*, O.H.G. *nahho*, M.H.G. *nache*, Germ. *nachen*, Fr. *accon*) occurs chiefly as a boat with one man on board, and connected with trolls and giants. The author of Balder's myth⁵ calls "Hringhorni" the ship of this god, a "nökkvi," adding that it was the

¹ Gloss. archéol.

² *Heimskringla* (F. Jónsson) II. ch. 91.

³ *Ib.* ch. 83.

⁴ *Egils Saga* (F. Jónsson) p. 200, 113; *Grett. S.* (1859) p. 36; *Heimskr.* II. 77, 128.

⁵ *Snorres Edda* I., 176.

largest of ships. This type of ship has been dead for ages, and the fantastic records of it belong to folklore literature. It plays really no particular role in Northern shipping tradition, and of its build no description is given.

"Barki" occurs once or twice, and is described by Snorri as a foreign ship's boat. The Latin name, "barca," seems to be mentioned for the first time by Paulinus Nolanus, about A.D. 400 (Kluge). The craft is defined by Isidore¹ as a small ship's boat. Supposed to be of Celtic origin, and certainly occurs both early and frequently in Irish records.

Next in size above the boat class of floating craft was probably the "byrðingr," ship of burthen, frequently doing the service of a transport boat, "vista-byrðingr" (victualling boat). In dealing with Asbiorn Sealsbane's ship of this description, Snorri says that it was "haf-fœranda skip," a ship that could be used as an ocean-going craft, implying that there were such "byrðingar" as were not ocean-going. This particular one was a sailing ship, and had a striped sail and all rigging carefully found.² One portion of Harald Sigurdsson's fleet of well-nigh 240 sail, going to England, consisted of "vistabyrðingar."³ But generally these boats were used in home waters for coastal service.

"Skúta" is a very frequently mentioned craft, which was both a rowing and a sailing vessel, and when it was exclusively propelled by oars was called "róðrarskúta." It was clearly, as a type of ship, a good deal smaller than the "snekkja," as we learn from Egil's Saga: Egil and his men pushed the "skúta" into the shallow sound, but there the "snekkjur" could not float.⁴ It seems to have been used chiefly in home waters for coasting service. It was frequently used for warlike purposes, but does not seem, however, to have been exactly classed as a longship. Its size varied a good deal, for there are

¹ Etymol. XIX., c. i, 19.

² Heimskr. II. 244.

³ Ib. III. 193.

⁴ F. Jónsson's ed. p. 196.

skútur mentioned with ten or twelve, and others with fifteen oars aside, this being, I think, the largest mentioned. What distinguished this craft from the larger boats was mainly the proportion between length and width of hull. As the name indicates, it was built for speed, for "skúta" is radically allied to "skjótr," swift, "skjóta," to shoot, to pass swiftly. The name is still common in all the Scandinavian languages (Swed. *skuta*, Icel. *skúta*, Norw. *skuta*, Dan. *skude*), and means everywhere a small decked vessel. Kluge maintains Engl. "skute" (obs.), Dutch "schuit," Germ. "schüte" are all derived from the Scandinavian form; and the same would apply to O. Fr. "escute."

The regular ocean-going ship was the "knörr," both in the capacity of merchantman and of a man-of-war. Prominent mention of these ships is made even as early as the reign of Harald Fairhair. His court poet, Hornklofi, calls the ships that were engaged in the great sea-battle of Hafursfiord, 872 "knerrir," adding that they were adorned with yawning heads and graven "prow-plates." Most probably he himself was present at the battle, and, at any rate, his poem is an original contemporary document, and therefore a good vouch for the early existence of this kind of ship in the North. The name would seem to be a genuine Scandinavian one and the A.S. "cneor" a loan-word from the North. This also seems borne out by Ordericus Vitalis, who in his ecclesiastical history, under 1095, has a story to tell of "quatuor naves magnæ quas Canardos vocant" coming "*de Northvegia in Angliam*." This evidently means that the subjects of "vocant" are Norwegians, as well as those who repeat the Norwegian name of the ship; and no Scandinavian name for a ship, but "knörr," could in Latin assume the form of "canardus." This was essentially a sailing ship, though, no doubt, oars could be used on them in case of need. It must be presumed that of this type were the ocean-going ships which so frequently are mentioned as awaiting fair wind in harbour, often for a long time,

before it was found practicable to put to sea. Of this type must have been the "haf-skip," ocean-going ships, of which we hear so often, the name implying that they were distinct from home-waters' ships. The distinguishing feature about their build was that they were broader and of a higher free-board than any other class of the larger ships. This becomes evident from the description of the "Long Worm," Olaf Tryggvisson's great war-galley, to which I shall revert below.

Coming to the warships proper, the "langskip," we have only to deal with two types, the "snekkja" and the "skeið," the latter of which, under conditions to which I shall refer later, could be a "dreki," dragon. Generally, I think we may take it, the longship was a craft built for propulsion with oars. A naval expedition is always "rowed," "róa leiðangr," never "sailed." This is a stereotyped phrase in the old laws of Norway, and can only mean that, when it came into existence, the propelling force on board men-of-war was confined to rowers. This changed in course of time so far that warships made use of sails as well as oars. Being built for speed and for the accommodation on board of as many fighting men as possible, the main characteristic of these ships, the *length*, is naturally accounted for; and there seems to be no urgent reason for the supposition that we have here to deal with an imitation of the "navis longa" of the Romans. As the longship was propelled with only one row of oars, its free-board was much less than that of ocean-going vessels. The biggest longship ever built in Norway up to A.D. 1000, the "Long Worm," was "high of bulwark," *i.e.*, unusually so, "and," Snorri adds, "the bulwarks were as high as in a ship built for sailing the main," which clearly indicates that longships of lesser size fell short of that standard of free-board. They were not ocean-going craft, they were built principally for duty on the island-sheltered seas of the Scandinavian coasts and the comparatively quiet waters of the Baltic. During the colonisation of Iceland

not a single longship is mentioned as crossing the "Iceland main."

Of the longships the "snekkia" (O.Sw. *snækkia*, mod. Sw. *snäcka*, Dan. *snække*, A.S. *snacca*) is the smallest, being most frequently mentioned as a "tvítugsessa," twenty-bencher, *i.e.*, a craft of forty oars all told. Exceptionally, however, the number of benches ran up to thirty, as in the case of Tryggvissón's war-galley the "Crane." This was, perhaps, a specially Swedish type of warship, as may be inferred from the fact that, in the old Swedish laws, it seems to be the standing term for a man-of-war, while "skeið" and "dreki" are never mentioned. Perhaps, too, the name is purely Swedish, "snäcka" being a Swedish term for various kinds of shells. It is noticeable that the type of warships used by the Wends is generally called "snekkja" or "Vinda snekkja." With 660 such the Wendish duke Ratibor made a raid on Kings' Rock, now Kongälf, in 1135, each "snekkja" carrying 44 men and two horses, which probably indicates a size corresponding to "tvítugsessa." In course of time, it would seem, this type of ship developed into an ocean-going size. It became known to Frenchmen, who gave the name of it the form of "esneke," "esneque" (besides the Latinized *isnechia*, *ilnechia*, *hilmachia*). A passage from Bishop Jacques de Vitry's "Historia Orientalis," relating to the siege of Acre in 1191, is instructive:—

When few days had gone by there came Danes, Normans, Francs, Scots and other people . . . in welcome (?) ships which are called Necchiæ.¹

where *necchiæ* is evidently a Frenchman's rendering of "snekkjur." If critics are right in changing *iocundæ* into *rotundæ*, which is doubtful, then the adjective would be indicative of the "snekkja" having evolved, in the twelfth century, into a ship of burden.

The typical longship was the "skeið." It is generally

¹ Diebus paucis evolutis venerunt Daci, Normanni, Franci, Scoti, et ceteræ gentes . . . navibus iocundis quæ Necchiæ dicuntur." Martene, "Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum," Tom. III. col. 283.

referred to as a twenty or thirty bencher. The great "skeið" belonging to the magnate of Sole, Erling Skjalgsson, told up two-and-thirty benches. If Olaf Tryggvisson's famous warship, the "Long Worm," was a "skeið"—I don't know what else it could have been—then that is the largest specimen of the pure *skeið*-type known, counting four-and-thirty benches. As to the meaning of this term, which in A.S. meets us in the form of "scegð," in Russian in that of "skedii,"¹ and which some linguists derive from Greek *σχεδία*, raft, float, I am inclined to derive it from "skíð," a thin board of wood. "Skeið," in the sense of wooden spoon, a ladle, must, at any rate, be derivable from "skíð." I am disinclined to think that "skeið" in the sense of ship can have a different origin. The original sense then should have been the boarded, the straked craft.

As to the "dreki," dragon, the question is: Was it a special type of warship or merely a "skeið" with a dragon's head fitted to the prow, and a dragon's tail to the stern? Before answering the question definitely let us see how the "dreki" stands in relation to time. In the course of the winter A.D. 868 Snorri states that Harald Fairhair "let build a great dragon-ship (*dreka mikinn*), and fit it out in the noblest fashion." It is a remarkable thing that this, the first *great* dragon mentioned in Northern history, and built by the greatest lord on record in the North, is left undescribed altogether. This is the more striking when we compare the graphic accounts given of *all* the other dragon ships mentioned by the old historians. No less surprising is the fact that this alleged great dragon of Fairhair produces no imitation at all. For one hundred and thirty years after 868 there is no mention of a dragon ship; and when the dragon type of ship comes into vogue, the primary pattern of the much admired innovation comes from a magnate in Halogaland, Raud the Strong. It is perfectly clear that the Halogaland dragon took Olaf Tryggvisson and the

¹ Nestor, Schlösser, IV. 17, 28, quoted by J. Fritzner.

people of Norway by admiring surprise, for after the fashion of the "Short Worm," as Olaf called the dragon, he let build the "Long Worm," which in turn became the pattern of King Harald Sigurdsson's greatest warship, and King Eystein Magnusson's as well. I think it is also possible that the greatest of all dragons on record, Knut the Great's, of sixty oars a-side, was built on the pattern of the "Long Worm," which, on the occasion of the battle of Svold, filled his father with such awe and admiration. Of course, it goes without saying that Fairhair had a flagship of his own in his sea-battles. Hornklofi's song, too, on the battle of Hafrsfirth, bears witness to the warships having been provided with yawning heads, "gín-andi haufuð," but these were "knerrir" not "dragons."

But the description of Raud's dragon seems to show that the tradition regarded this ship as a new discovery in naval architecture :

Raud had a great dragon, "dreka mikinn," and gold adorned head(s) thereon, and that ship counted up thirty benches and was big in proportion. . . . Then King Olaf took the dragon which Raud had owned and steered it himself, for it was by much a bigger and braver ship than the "Crane."¹ Fore there was a dragon-head and aft a "crook," and forth from it a tail-fin, and either bow and all the stem was inlaid with gold. This ship he called the "Worm," for when the sail was up it showed as if it were the wings of the dragon. This was the fairest ship in all Norway. . . . (The "Long Worm") was a dragon, and built after the pattern of the "Worm" which the King had taken in Halogaland.²

There seems to be little doubt that we have here to deal with what the old historians regard as the *first* dragon known to tradition in the North.

Returning to the above question, I believe the difference between a "skeið" and a "dragon" was, in the main, only decorative. When the allies, before the battle of Svold, stand gazing admiringly at Olaf Tryggvisson's fleet sailing up, the "skeið" of Erling Skjalgsson passes by, and Svein Twibeard, himself an old Viking, says: "Now Olaf Tryggvisson is afraid since he dares not sail

¹ Which, however, had an equal number of berths or benches.

² Heimskringla, I. pp. 396, 401, 414.

with the head up on his dragon.”¹ This shows that when there were no decorative appointments to go by, even an experienced eye could not, at a distance, tell a “skeið” from a “dragon.”² But when to a *skeið*-built ship were adjusted the head and tail of a flying dragon, the craft was a dragon-ship proper, presenting that “*prora admodum erecta atque item puppis*” which Cæsar was so struck by in the ships of the Veneti.

Now I think it must be admitted that the historical evidence is altogether in favour of the dragon-type of ship hailing from Halogaland. But where did the Halogalanders get it from? Neither Greeks, Romans, nor Britons had dragon-ships of their own, that I am aware. Was the invention native to Halogaland, or—my query will sound wild—did the Veneti in far distant prehistoric times know that commercial gold-mine, the Lofoten fishery of Halogaland? If so, the Halogaland dragon-type of ship is self-explained. That no tradition should exist pointing to any such connection is but natural: Cæsar had the Veneti sold by auction 56 B.C., and their state was wiped out for ever.

Dragon-ships are mentioned, after the days of Olaf Tryggvisson, as flag-ships of Harald Hadrada, of thirty-five oars a-side, exquisitely fitted out both as to hull and rigging; figurehead, bows and tail astern lavishly gilt. His grandson, King Magnus Barefoot, had a stately dragon in his Western warfare. His son again, King Eystein, built one on the pattern of “the Long Worm.” The last ship of the type mentioned in Saga was the “Dragon” of Hakon the Old, King of Norway, 1217-1263. Olaf the Holy built two ships, which are mentioned as of the dragon type, but did not adorn them with figure-

¹ *Heimskringla*, I. pp. 435-6.

² It should not, however, be overlooked that the change which Thorberg Shavehew made in the top-strake of the “Long Worm” is most naturally explained as having had for object a closer approach to the gunwale outline (in relation to the waterline) of the “Short Worm.” The object was, in my opinion, to diminish the curve of the gunwale line between prow and stern-quarter, and make it more parallel with the water line.

heads of the heathenish monster; one, which he called "Carl's-head," "Karlshöfði," he adorned with the head of a king, which he had carved himself; the other, called the "Bison," "Vísundr," was provided with the head of that animal, all gilt. Both ships were of the largest type of "skeið."

In the reign of Olaf the Holy we meet for the first time with the term "búza" connected with the building of warships. In 1026 Thorir Hound of Birchisle, in Halogaland, made ready for a voyage to Biarmaland, and, according to Snorri, launched for the purpose a great "longship-búza," which carried on board well-nigh 80 men. The reading here of the "Flatey-book" is "longship" simply, which I think is the sounder of the two. As in the case of Fairhair's dragon, I think we have in Snorri's text to deal with a case of anticipation. In the winter of 1061-2 King Harald Hardrada had built in the dock-yard at Niðarós a longship which

was a *búzu*-ship. This ship was shaped after the size of the "Long Worm," wrought in every way in a most exquisite manner, there being a dragon-head afore and a crook astern, and all the bows were gold-adorned; it told up five-and-thirty benches, and was big in proportion and most fair withal.

The historian means to indicate by the term *buss*-(ship) that here there was built a longship of a new type for the first time in Norway. Ships of "buss" type were very common about the Mediterranean, not as ships of war, but of burden, and the name occurs in a great variety of forms: *buza*, *burcia*, *bussa*, *bucca*, *bucea*, *butz*, all, seemingly, indicative of capacity and breadth. King Harald, who served on board the Byzantine fleet for some years, must have become familiar with these ships, and have concluded that it would be advantageous to adapt the type to the longship-model of the North. The name doubtless came with him and his company, probably for the first time, to the North in 1044. After 1062 the buss-built ship became pretty common in the North.

Another foreign word for a ship—a war-ship—namely,

“galeið,” I am inclined to think came to the North at the same time; it occurs mostly as the name of the men-of-war of which the Byzantine fleet was composed, and “fara á galeiðr,” to go on board the galleys, was equivalent to taking service in the Emperor’s navy.¹ Generally the word is derived from γαλέα, Latin *galea*; but perhaps (τά χελάνδια is the real original of the Norse form, they being *the* important warships of the fleet.

The vocabulary relating to objects connected with ships is very rich; but for want of space I cannot attempt here to give more than merely a limited selection of such terms. The keel, “kjölr,” of large ships was laid down on slips, “bakkastokkar”; to the keel were joined stem-post, “fram-stafn,” and stern-post, “skut-stafn,” as well as the inside frame-work, the ribs, “inn-viðir,” “reng,” “statumina.” When the skeleton was finished, the case or shell was adjusted, consisting of as many strakes as the type of ship required; this was called “bera borði.” The lowest strake was the “kjölsýja,” the board “sewed” to the keel, the next strake above it was “aurboard,” gravelboard (Engl. *gar-board*, *ground-strake*, *sand-strake*); the fifth strake was called “hrefni,” of uncertain etymology, and the topmost strake was the “sólborð,” lit. sunboard, answering to the “saxboard” in English boats. All Northern ships in saga times were clincher-built. A strake was a “saum-för,” seampath; every strake-lap a “sýja,” or “súð,” suture (*cf.* súð above, page 196), or else “skör,” from *skara*, to overlap. To secure watertightness every strake-lap was caulked either with loose hair mixed with some viscous matter, perhaps most commonly tar, or with twisted thread of wool or hair steeped in similar substance, “síð-þráðr.” This was done apparently at the same time that the strakes were riveted home with the “saumr,” or, strictly speaking, “hnoð-saumr,” nails, secured on the inside by means of “ró,” washer or burr. The strength of the hull, “húfr,” was secured by beams, “biti,” “slá,” and by knees, “kné,” “krapti” or

¹ Heimsk. iii. 77.

“kraptr” and “krappi” (in krappa-rúm) as well as by the gunwale, “borð,” “borð-stokkr,” “há-stokkr” (thole-stock), to the top of which were adjusted at proper distances the tholes “háir” (sing. hár) with the “hamla,” oar-strap, drawn through a hole in them, attached. Between the tholes, withinboard, were the seats of the rowers, “há-setar” (thole-sitters), called “rúm,” “sess,” “sess-pilja,” “þopta” (thwart) according to the various descriptions of the craft. When, as was the case with warships, the thwart did not go right across the ship, but was cut short at either board, leaving a piece of bench large enough to accommodate one rower, each “rúm” fell naturally into two half-rooms, “hálf-rými.” When, sometimes, there is talk of several men being told off for each “hálf-rými,” the statement evidently refers to an arrangement of relief-hands.

Propulsion, we know, was effected by oar, “ár,” and sail, “segl”; the oar consisted of “blað,” “árar-blað,” blade, and the “hlumr,” loom; when the boat was provided with tholes the oar moved in the oar-loop, but otherwise in the “háborá,” oar-hole, which has been mentioned already (page 216); “ára-burðr” meant about the same as “stroke” in boat-racing language, and “ára-lag” mode, style of rowing; “árar-or ára-tog,” pull; “ljósta árum í sjó” (smite oars into the sea) = to make a start; “halda upp árum,” lay on, rest on the oars, etc., etc. The contrivances in connection with the sail were much more complicated and elaborate. There was first of all the mast, with which I have partly dealt above (page 201). Apparently the masts of the saga time were pole-masts only. The mast stood in a “stallr,” step, or chock, in a block fitted to the keelson a little further to the fore than amidships, and was no doubt secured to a cross beam above to prevent it from slipping about. It is not clear what exactly took place when the mast was taken down in the larger ships. To steady it in its position a tackle was stretched from the top of it to the stem-post, called “stag,” and stays, similarly fixed from either side,

“höfuðbenda,” arrested it from swaying too much from side to side; the top was called “húnn,” a knop, and was sometimes gilt; below it was the “hún-bora,” perforation, through which was drawn the “drag-reip,” halyard, by means of which the sail-yard, “rá,” was hoisted. This latter again was secured to the mast by means of a wooden parrel, “rakki,” which must have been so contrived that it could be disengaged from the mast when need required, as otherwise yard and sail would cause an apparently insurmountable entanglement when the mast was raised and lowered.

The sail was a square-sail, apparently a good deal wider down below than at the yard, and, of course, much wider than the breadth of the ship. For the purpose of spreading it to full advantage to the wind use was made of the “beiti-áss,” tacking boom, which we know from the *Ynglinga Saga* (ch. 51) reached so far beyond the gunwale that it could knock a man over-board from a boat sailing too close past. To either end of this boom, when called into use, were attached the clews, “kló, klær” of the sail. The ropes, called “ak-taumar” (from *aka*, to drive, as a sledge, and *taumr*, rein), braces, were lines which were attached to the ends of the “beiti-áss,” or the clews of the sail, as the case might be, and were made fast in the stern quarter of the craft. By means of those lines the square sail was close-hauled, so as to catch a side-wind to the best advantage. The utmost close-hauling effected by these lines was called “at aka segli at endilöngu skipi,” to haul the sail in parallel with the length line of the ship. It is a mistake to suppose that these braces were attached to the sail-yard, as is proved by this statement of the *Laxdæla* (ch. 18): “Thorarinn steered, and had the ‘ak-taumar’ across his shoulders, because the boat was blocked with goods; it was mostly laden with furniture, and so the cargo rose high.” Thorarinn wanted to keep the “ak-taumar” above the bulk of the lading, so as not to knock over any article of it. But if he had made them fast in the ordinary way they would,

coming from the nether limit of the sail, have had to pass right through the piled up lumber on board. If they had come from the sail-yard mast-high the reason given for Thorarin's management of them would have been absurd.

It seems probable that two "skaut-reip," sheets, that went with a sail were the same lines as the "ak-taumar," but were called "skaut-reip" on occasions when the use of the "beiti-áss" was dispensed with. The sail itself, "segl," "váð," was made of homespun until civilization brought in the cultivation of flax, or the knowledge of foreign-made sail-cloth. It was strengthened by a hem of rope called "lík," or "lík-sími," leeches, leech-lines, and was often striped in various colours, "stafat," "stafat vendi," sometimes embroidered, "sett skriptum," or decked with pall, "sett pellum." Of terms relating to the service at the sail we may mention: to hoist sail, "draga segl"; hoist top-high, "draga segl við hún"; set sail, "setja upp"; unfurl, "vinda segl"; to reef a sail, "hefla," a reef being "hefill"; to furl sail, "hlaða seglum"; strike sail, "láta ofan segl." Sailing by side-wind, tacking, "beita," required a special manipulation of the sail by means of the "ak-taumar."

The direction was regulated by means of the rudder, "styri," "stjórn," the lower, broader part of which was the "stjórnar-blað"; above came the stock or neck, "stýris-hnakki," held by the rudder-loop, "stýri-hamla," and terminating in the head "stýris-knappr"; into the neck was stuck the tiller, "hjálmvölr," "hjálmunvölr," "stjórn-völr," "stjórnar-völr." The place for the rudder was the right-hand side buttock, or quarter of the vessel, whence that same side of the vessel was called "stjórn-borði," rudder side; within-board was the seat of the helmsman, "stjórnar-maðr," at whose back was the staying-board, "höfðafjöl"; to steer was called "at sitja við stjórn," or simply "stýra." From the term "stjórn-borði" (Engl. *starboard*, French *estribord*, *stribord*, mod. *tribord*) came the phrase "á stjórn," short for "á stjórnborða," to starboard.

The opposite side of the ship was called “bak-borði,” lar-board, but French *bâ-bord*; the phrase “á bakborða” = Eng. “to port.” I am inclined to think that *lar-* in “lar-board” may be etymologically connected with Swed.-Dan. *lår-* in “låring,” the buttock of a boat’s stern.

Finally, a few words on the sections or divisions of which particularly the warships consisted. In Scandinavia sea-fights were the order of the day, and of decisive battles the record lies with actions at sea. On going into action, “búast till bardaga,” the word of command to the crews was “to break up their weapons,” “brjóta upp vapn sín.” Every rower had his weapons in a chest under his seat, “sess-þilja,” and those who were not rowers had theirs similarly kept in special lockers. The action began by the ships of the opposing fleets being lashed, “tengd,” together, so the fighting resembled an engagement on land. The prow, “stafn,” with its quarter deck, “rausn,” forming the fore-castle, was, in every warship, the most important spot, from the tactical point of view. It was the part most exposed to attack, for, if boarding, “uppganga,” was to be attempted with a chance of success, the prow-men, fore-castle dwellers, “stafn-búar,” men of approved strength and valour, must first be cleared out of the way, lest the boarding party should be exposed to front and flank attack at one and the same time. Where the quarter deck ended began the main-deck, “þiljur” (þilja), a good deal lower in the ship than the former, and ran all the way aft to the poop. In shallow ships this deck was so low that the space under it could only be utilized for storage of ship’s necessities. Hence every warship carried an awning or tilt “tjald,” which served for protection against cold, rain, and snow, and which could be speedily removed in case of need, “svipta tjöldum,” “reka af sèr tjöld.”

Aft there rose above the deck the poop, “lyfting,” where the commander had his station, “staða,” and sleeping accommodation, “hvíla”; it seems to have been open at the top, and provided with a poop-awning, “lyftingar-

tjald." Here, it seems, was placed the commander's high-seat, "hásæti." Immediately in front of the poop was the section or division of the ship called fore-room, "fyrir-rúm," down to which the captain had to step on leaving the poop. Here was placed the high-seat chest, "hásætis-kista," the arsenal of the ship. As the weapons of the warriors on board gave out, or became useless, especially the swords, the stores of this chest were drawn upon for fresh supplies. In this "room" were stationed the men who stood highest in social rank, ready, in case of need, to form an emergency guard, "skjald-borg," around their chief. Next in front of this division was that called the "krappa-rúm," or main-hold, occupied by the "private" soldiers, a company mostly made up of the rowers. The name of this space can have nothing to do with "krappr," narrow, cramped; on the contrary, it was the widest portion of the ship, and derived its name from the many strong knees, "krappi" (accidentally not on record in old writers, but common all over Iceland), which here were adjusted to the ship's sides, this being the portion of the craft on which fell the force of the strain in heavy weather and rough sea.

The foremost "room" on the main deck was that which went under the name of "söx," and seems to have been between the line where the ship began to taper towards the stem and the afore-mentioned "rausn." The occupants were, perhaps, the "fram-byggjar," who are distinguished from the "stafn-búar," but seem to have been chosen for their station because they came nearest to the latter in high martial qualities. Besides the "rooms" here mentioned we hear of bailing-rooms, "austr-rúm," sometimes two on the same ship, one aft, the other fore, and Grettir's Saga (ch. 17) gives us a good insight into the water-tightness of the ships of old and the manner of bailing.

It goes without saying, that a people so devoted to ships and life on the water, would be rich in terms expressive of their experiences in water-travel; of these we

must confine ourselves to only a few. Of course the cardinal points of the compass had their names long before load-stone or compass were known to these seafarers. But for the octant points, when speaking of the weather (veðr=wind) the Norwegian race had technical terms quite peculiarly their own, terms which the Icelanders took with them to their island and used as they had been used in the land of their forefathers, without troubling themselves with what logic had to say to the propriety of the use. Thus, because their forefathers in the old country said they sailed west, when they sailed from Norway to any point of land within the geographical complex now known as Great Britain and Ireland, the Icelandic descendants must needs use the same term when stating that they went from Iceland itself to any such point. "West I fared o'er sea" (*vestr fórk of ver*) says Egil, when he sails from Iceland having York in Northumberland for his ultimate goal.¹ Thorodd "Skattkaupandi" went on a trading voyage from Broadfirth in Iceland *west* to Ireland, to Dublin.² Illustrations of this kind are endless.

For an inhabitant of the western coast of Norway winds blowing from N.E. and S.E. blew over land, those from N.W. and S.W. up from the sea. They were therefore called respectively "landnyrðingr," "landsynningr," "útnyrðingr," "útsynningr." Not only are these winds invariably called by these names even when they happen to be blowing in mid-ocean, but they are called by these names still, all over Iceland, regardless of the fact that to the island no wind can come but across the sea. The sea was "sjór," "sær," but the ocean was "haf"=upheaval; that this was the idea which the term "haf" was originally meant to express, is obvious when we consider what must be the idea underlying the phrase: "sjór í miðjum hlíðum," sea mid-way up mountain, a nautical term indicative of a ship being at such a distance out in the offing that the intervening sea-upheaval hides from

¹ Egils Saga (F. Jónsson's ed.), 350.

² Eyrbyggja, p. 49.

sight the lower half of the mountains of the land in view.

How the old seafarers found their way there and back over vast oceans we know not fully. The sun by day, when seen, and stars, when showing, by night, undoubtedly were the principal guides. But how, after a period of fog or such thick weather as obscured the heavenly luminaries for days and nights together, they could ascertain their position, and keep on their course, and arrive where they intended, we know not. The loadstone, "leiðarsteinn," was unknown to Norsemen during the period of their greatest discoveries of lands over-sea; and yet we hear of very few cases that can be regarded as at all historical of these mariners losing their bearings. Whether the idea of the earth as a *ball*, "jarðar-böllr,"¹ was present to the mind of the *early* Norse discoverers cannot be positively asserted, though the term haf=spherical convexity, as indicated above, would seem to favour that theory. The confidential converse held by the early Norse discoverers with nature, in order to find their way over the ocean, is tellingly illustrated by the following passage from Landnáma-bók, directing how to keep the ocean course from Norway to Greenland:—

From the Hern-isles in Norway people have to sail ever west to Hvarf [Cape Farewell] in Greenland; in such a case the course is to the north of Shetland so, that it be just descried when the out-look at sea is very clear; but to the south of the Faroes so, that sea be midway up mountain slopes; but so to the south of Iceland that they have thereof [the flight of] fowl and [the swim of] whale.²

But I am out-running my space, and must now wind up.

The season of seafaring was the spring and summer. Before or about equinoxial autumn the Vikings, when not engaged too far away, returned home from their

¹ Rímbyggla, p. 440.

² "Af Hernum af Noregi skal sigla iammann vestr til Hvarfs á Grænlandi : ok er þa siglt fyrir nordann Hialltland sva at þui at eins se þat at allgod se siovar sýn : en fyrir svnnan Færeyiar sva at sior er i midium hlidum : en sva fyrir sunnan Island at þeir hafa af fvgf ok hval." Hauksbók, p. 4.

exploits and brought their ships to the roller, “ráða skipi til hlunns,” and into their winter station, the boat-house, “naust” (= *nóa-uist*, *no-uist*, *no-u’st*, *naust*, cf. *forvista—forusta?* or, *naustibulum?*), which also means a ship-building yard. Their winter passed in idleness and drink. Spring again clothed “South-lands” and “West-lands” in sunny loveliness. The sun-awakened *furor Normanorum* finished the picture of the flowery season!

Finally, I desire to tender my cordial gratitude above all to Professor W. Ridgway for advice and suggestions most generously vouchsafed. My sincere thanks are also due to my kind chief, Mr. F. Jenkinson, Librarian, and to my colleague, Mr. J. Francis, for help ever ready in dealing with doubtful points in the English translation of the classical quotations. To Mr. E. J. Worman, M.A., is due the credit of the translation “buffeting” for “contumelia” (page 205).

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITORS.

ON p. 475 of the last SAGA-BOOK, line 6, for "Mr. L. Tegner forwards me from Japan" read "Captain L. F. Tegnér forwards me from New Zealand."

ON p. 315 of the last SAGA-BOOK, under the heading "Mound-Diggings at St. Mary's, Holm," for "Grahme of Grahmeshall" read "Græme of Græmeshall"; also "Græme" for "Grahme" in line 14.

THE Board of Education have recommended that a book of tales from the Northern Sagas should be included in the course of readers on various subjects which schools are advised to adopt. This is a welcome proof that it is at last beginning to be recognised that English children ought to have some knowledge of the early records of their forefathers.

WITH a view to promoting friendly intercourse between the two Societies, the Yorkshire Dialect Society has invited a member of the Viking Club to read a paper to them on some subject of mutual interest. At the request of the Council Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, has, accordingly, undertaken to read a paper on Yorkshire Place-Names at the Yorkshire Dialect Society's meeting at Holmfirth in May.

DR. JÓN STEFÁNSSON'S Icelandic-English Dictionary will probably go to the press during the current year, and will be published by the Clarendon Press. In addition to the features mentioned in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pp. 117, 118, Dr. Stefánsson has devoted much attention to the history of loan-words in Icelandic, and will show in the case of all such words the circumstances which led to their introduction, and the time at which they first appear.

IN our last issue (Vol. III., pp. 478-480) we gave a description of the old *stav-kirke* of Borgund, in Norway, reported to have been destroyed by fire. We learn that the church burnt down was the one at Borgund, near Aalesund, an eleventh-century building (restored) containing interesting antiquities, but not of such extreme value to lovers of the past as the more famous *stav-kirke* in Lærdal, which is one of the few remaining examples of a unique style of building.

WITH reference to the footnote on p. 336 of the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., Mr. A. R. Goddard informs us that when the cutting into the Risinghoe, situated near the Ouse between Bedford and Willington Camp, had got in about 12 feet, and was touching burnt charcoal in places, the owner had it filled in to save further expense. The construction of the mound showed

bonding layers of clay, alternating with the hard gravel and stuff of the local subsoil. It cut like a cheese, hard and firm. Mr. Goddard hopes that at some future date another attempt will be made to solve the problem whether this mound is a burial howe, or part of the works of a vanished castle, or fortified manor.

AN interesting paper on "Bodiam Castle," by a Viking, Mr. Harold Sands, M.I.M.E., appeared in Vol. XLVI. of the *Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*, in which the author suggests that a depression in front of the castle gateway, extending to the bank of the river Rother, is probably the remains of a harbour. The castle only dates from 1386, but the supposed harbour, now dry, appears to resemble the "naust" at Willington, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., pp. 327-337. Mr. Sands thinks it was originally protected by an outer line of fortification, which would make the likeness still greater. The sea-burghs of the Vikings may quite conceivably have left their mark on mediæval architecture in strongholds commanding navigable waters.

ANOTHER publication which has had considerable local success, "The Witch of Knaresbro': an Historical Romance," is, we understand, by a member, Miss Frances E. Foster. Though the story belongs to the period of the Wars of the Roses, traditions of the period before the Conquest play no small part in it. We congratulate the authoress on the success of her first work, though from the Viking point of view we much doubt whether such definite traditions of Anglo-Saxon and Norse heathendom can have lingered so late as she represents, even in the person of one who, as the witch of Knaresbro', was specially versed in ancient lore.

AT a visit paid by the German Society of Anthropologists to the Historical Museum at Stockholm last summer, Professor von Förster, an oculist, expressed the opinion, with reference to some fine gold and silver filigree work exhibited, that the fixing of the little grains of metal could not have been done with the naked eye. This led to the Museum authorities producing a piece of rock-crystal discovered at Wisby in 1877. The crystal was about two inches in diameter, half-spherical in shape, with the side underneath slightly convex, and was capable of magnifying objects to twice their natural size. It was found with two small folding scales and a set of weights, such as were used in the time of the Vikings for weighing gold and silver, and it is suggested that it may have been used as a magnifying glass by a worker in metal.

IN the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., p. 272, we had to call attention to the use made by Mr. Henry E. Dudeney, without any acknowledgment, of Mr. A. R. Goddard's article on "Nine Men's Morris: an Old Viking Game," in Vol. II., Part III. The same gentleman has utilised Mr. Goddard's article again in *The World and His Wife*, where he introduces Nine Men's Morris and the facts about it which he has culled from Mr. Goddard's article into a column headed: "New Games and

Puzzles." The italics are ours. Gratifying as it is both to the author of the article and to the editors of the *SAGA-BOOK* to see the value attached to it by Mr. Dudeney, we regret that he did not feel called on to follow the usual journalistic practice and own his indebtedness both to our columns and to Mr. Goddard.

WE are glad to learn that the ship discovered near Tønsberg, in Norway, has finally been acquired by the State. It is proposed to build in Christiania a Viking Hall, in which this vessel and the Gokstad ship may be worthily housed, with the relics discovered with them. They could not be in better care than that of Professor G. Gustafson, under whose superintendence the splendid collection in the Museum of Antiquities at the University of Christiania has been so arranged that the extent, value, and relationship of the various finds can readily be seen. The re-arrangement in a new and more spacious building has enabled the curators to display many objects formerly stored away, and it is now clear that in relics of the Viking Age this collection is relatively as rich as is that in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen in relics of the Stone and Bronze Ages.

MR. HARPER GAYTHORPE commences a paper on "Barrow Harbour in 1737," read to the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (Barrow-in-Furness), by calling attention to names in the neighbourhood which point to an origin from Norse or Celto-Norse colonists, such as Cowp Scar near Piel, Hilps Fiord, Fowder Island, Calvac End near Biggar, Doufa Haw, and others. Mr. Gaythorpe asks: "As Barra Head and Hedden Haw are at the head of Barrow Harbour, may not Fowder Island, or the Pile of Fowdray, be so called because it is the island at the foot of the harbour, just in the same way as we have Waterhead and Waterfoot at the head and foot of our lakes?" He does not say whether he has reason now to doubt or reject his previously suggested derivation from Old Norse "fóðr," "fodder,"¹ which looks to us far more likely.

MR. J. J. HALDANE BURGESS has strongly advocated in the *Aberdeen Free Press* the establishment of an Icelandic chair, or lectureship, in Scotland. As Mr. Burgess points out, Scotland has not failed to recognise her debt to the past, as far as the Celtic section of the nation is concerned, and the study of Gaelic is duly recognised by her Universities. But the Norse element has been at least as important a factor in the making of Scotland. Remains of the old Norse speech linger in abundance in Orkney and Shetland, and there is little doubt that linguistic researches in Caithness and various districts on the coast would be rewarded by the discovery of similar, if less extensive, remains on the Scottish mainland. In spite of the claims of Edinburgh to be the seat of such a chair, and of the fact that the first College at Edinburgh was founded by a bishop of the old Norse province of Orkney and Shetland in 1558, Mr. Burgess thinks that Aberdeen University would be the most fitting place for an Icelandic lectureship.

¹ See *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., p. 469.

THE Committee for the Survey of Orkneyan Place-Names have distributed among various collectors through the Islands the collecting-forms prepared by Mr. A. W. Johnston, and printed in the last SAGA-BOOK. In an accompanying memorandum the Committee reproduce the greater part of the statement drawn up by Mr. Johnston as to the sources whence information may be looked for, the scope of the enquiry, etc. They ask for the assistance of "all who can help in examining title-deeds for old names and spellings that may have undergone change or become obsolete; in arriving at the folk-pronunciation, which is not always the same as that apparently conveyed by the written or printed name; and in describing the places, as descriptions will often throw light on their meaning and, through their meaning, on their derivation." The Committee have been supplied by the Treasury with three sets of six-inch Ordnance maps as working tools, and hope to obtain collectors in every parish. We gratefully acknowledge the help given by the Treasury, and are glad to have had such a recognition of the value of the work proposed. If it is carried out as ably as it has been started, the results cannot fail to have great importance.

The Annals of Scottish Natural History for April, 1904, contain interesting articles on "Whaling in Shetland," by R. C. Haldane, and "On the Whale Fishery from Scotland, with some Account of the Changes in that Industry and of the Species Hunted," by Thomas Southwell, F.Z.S. In the course of the latter article Mr. Southwell discusses Ohthere's statement to King Alfred in his account of his voyage to Biarmaland, that "in his own country [Halogaland] is the best whale-hunting; they are eight and forty ells and the longest fifty ells long." In the writer's view the size of these whales, from 96 to 100 feet long, would seem to indicate that they were Fin-whales of the largest kind, but he thinks it probable that they were in reality the Atlantic Right Whale, a much less formidable animal than the fierce and active Finners. In this he is no doubt correct. Modern whalers were unable to tackle the Finner till the invention of the bomb-harpoon fired from a gun, and it is hardly probable that the Norsemen in the Viking Age could have succeeded in overcoming them. Accounts in the Sagas are confined, as far as we know, to incidents connected with whales drifted ashore and the actual chase and killing of whales is not described. The number also contains an account of a Rorqual killed in shallow water in the Firth of Forth, and an interesting article on "Sule Skerry, Orkney, and its Bird-life," continued from the January issue.

ANY attempt to tighten the bonds between us and our Scandinavian kinsmen has such a claim on our sympathy that we are glad to call attention to the "Visits to Denmark" organised by Miss F. M. Butlin, of Old Headington, Oxford, though their object is to study the modern rather than the ancient life of Denmark. Miss Butlin has sent the following note about these visits:—

The first "Visit to Denmark" took place in August, 1902. As it was a success, the visits have been continued, until they seem likely to become an institution. Their main features are lectures in English, by Danish authorities, on the chief characteristics of Danish life and thought; visits, in connection with these lectures, to the most characteristic institutions; and, on the social side, the opportunities afforded to the Danes and English of making each other's acquaintance on the basis of their mutual interest in Scandinavian or English literature, the drama, education, social reform or, it may be, housewifery.

English people, as a rule, do not take much interest in the Danes until they find themselves in Denmark. Then they seem to realise that they are among cousins, their cousinly interest is aroused, and they see that this nation, with a history so different from their own, has something to teach as well as learn from them; while, for instance, the English are ahead in the art of politics and self-government, the Danes have passed them in not a few of the reforms to which both nations are feeling their way. The effect of the High School system of education, and the co-operative system of agriculture, may be seen in a comparatively prosperous and enlightened peasantry, while an honest attempt has been made to care for the aged poor by homes and pensions. The opportunities afforded by these visits of understanding Danish institutions, and of coming in contact with public men in Denmark, are unique. Last year a party of Dutch joined in the visit, this year parties are expected from Norway and Sweden as well, while the organisers hope soon to make a descent upon some other country still further North.

WITH regard to the meaning of the term "Viking," Dr. Karl Blind has pointed out that in the last issue of the SAGA-BOOK (p. 470) the quotation from a letter, written by Mr. Lars A. Havstað, of Christiania, on the subject, left out the introductory words. As the omission might lead to the inference that Mr. Havstad held an opinion opposed to that of Dr. Karl Blind, we subjoin the missing words. They show that the Norwegian writer holds the same view. His letter, addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, began as follows:—

After reading the interesting letter of Dr. Karl Blind in your issue of January 27, *elucidating* the meaning of the word "Viking," I wish to add to these informations that the historians now often prefer to interpret the word as signifying a man from the old Norwegian landscape of Viken—the Wick *par excellence*.

Karl Blind remarks that "this fact is well known to all who have studied the question, and that from the great Wick, or Gulf, of the Scandinavian peninsula a mass of Vikings (or Wickings, as the late Professor York Powell preferred to write the word) naturally came."

As to the alternative derivation from "wig," Karl Blind says:—

The Gothic word "weigan," "weihan," Anglo-Saxon "wig" (to war), Old German "wigan" (warrior), has given rise to many personal Teutonic names, such as Weigand, Wigand, Hartwig, Hedwig, Helwig, and various others still in use to-day, while in the North similar names occur. But in spite of this, and though the "Wickings" were, of course, warriors, I rather believe that their name comes from the Teutonic (Germanic and Scandinavian) word, which means a bay in Germany as well as in the North. They were eminently men lying in a creek of the sea, from which they, off and on, rowed forth for a raid.

ON the subject of a generic term for the ancient Germanic race and its various branches, discussed in the last issue of the SAGA-BOOK (pp. 472, 473), Karl Blind says:—

The proposed substitution of "Gothic" for the general term "Germanic," which includes Teutons, Danes, and Scandinavians, does not seem to me useful. Tacitus, in his "Germania," includes the Scandinavian "Sviones" (Swedes) among the Germanic tribes. Ptolemaios, the Greek geographer, in the second century of our era, already calls the sea—across which, in later times, Angles, Saxons, Rugians, Hunes, and other German tribes, as well as Norwegians and Danes, were to come to this country—the German Ocean ("Okeanos Germanikos"). The English fishermen of the East coast still call it so. I found this to be the case, last year, from numerous personal inquiries at Lowestoft, Yarmouth, and elsewhere. Ptolemaios also mentions a clearly "German," Teutonic, tribe as settled even in the neighbourhood of Dublin. As regards modern usage, in a recent letter to the *Times* (April 14th, 1905), Björnsterne Björnson speaks of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes as "nine millions of the *Teutonic* race." Before him the word has been similarly used by Scandinavian writers. Either "Germanic" or "Teutonic" will, therefore, do as a common name for the whole stock, south and north; Gothic, or Getic, remaining as a tribal name for what was once a large and noble eastern section of the race, which reached from the Black Sea to the Baltic, and then spread to the south and west, as far as Italy and Spain, but finally disappeared. So let us not disturb a very ancient terminology which embraces the several branches of our common stock.

ON the other side, we have received from Mr. Gudmund Schütte, who raised this question in the last SAGA-BOOK, a further batch of papers and pamphlets, several of them bearing on the proposed adoption of the term "Gothic" as a race-name for the folk of the Germanic, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon lands alike. In an accompanying letter Mr. Schütte says:—

The author of the first fundamental thesaurus of our race, the eminent English scientist, G. Hickes, used with exact definition the term Gothic, and he did so through no innovation, but adopting it from Icelandic scientists as Arngrim Jonas, who, again, was no innovator, but the professed continuer of the old Icelandic tradition from the *Snorra Edda*, etc. So I urge that Gothic not only ought to be, but also *used* to be, the true English name for our race.

Mr. Schütte further asks if we can tell him who introduced the word "Teutonic" into English as a general race-name. We shall be glad if any Vikings can help us to answer this query.

IN a later letter, Mr. Schütte calls attention to the last sentence of King Alfred's translation of Orosius, where the king apparently uses the term Goth as a race-name for such various tribes as "Alans, Suevi and Vandals." The original and translation, as quoted by Mr. Schütte, run as follows:—

Interea gentes Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorum Gallias invadunt. Honoriaci cunctas gentes, quae per Gallias vagabantur, Hispaniarum provincias immittunt.

Sifan sæton þa Gotan þær on lande, sume be þæs caseres villan, sume his unvillan, sume hi foron on Ispanie & þær gesæton, sume on Affrice.

Among modern scholars who have given the weight of their authority to the word "Gothic," Mr. Schütte mentions, besides G. Hickes in England, in Holland Junius, in Iceland Arngrímr Jónsson, in Sweden Job. Ihre, in Denmark Rasmus Rask and Niels Matthias Petersen; while Vilhelm Thomsen and Karl Verner also used the term in their earlier books.

ON the whole the evidence seems to show that, in old days, if the kindred races had any general term by which they called themselves it was probably "Goth," while "German" was the name given them by outsiders. Modern use has not been unvarying, but German has been most in vogue at any rate during the last generation. Our own view is that this is hardly a question to be decided by an appeal to the historic use of either term. If it were, ought we not rather to consider by what generic name our forefathers called themselves, than what name was given them by the classical writers to whom they were more or less known? Nor to our mind does the modern use of the geographical term, "German Ocean" for "North Sea" carry much weight. The term "Germanic" has, of course, behind it the weight of long prescription, and is of course in very general use, though, as Mr. Schütte shows, "Gothic" has behind it the authority of many eminent scholars. If it is to be superseded by "Gothic," or any other designation, it will be because the word "Germanic" is not found sufficiently comprehensive, or sufficiently neutral, to satisfy all the various kindred folk for whom one all-embracing race-name is required. "Gothic" has at least one advantage, that it is now extinct as a separate national name, and its use cannot therefore give rise to any national jealousy.

OTHER papers in the budget sent us by Mr. Gudmund Schütte deal with "English as a Source of new Danish Words," "A new Auxiliary Terminology of Science," and "The Irish National Movement." There are also interesting articles on the political geography of the non-classical peoples in ancient times, and on the geography of the Lay of Angantyr, which are the fruit of much careful research, and full of ingenious suggestions.

AMONG the papers read at the meeting of the British Association in Cambridge in 1904 was one by the Rev. Alfred Hunt on the site of the battle of Brunanburh, which is noticed under our District Reports. Another interesting paper was one by Professor Valdemar Schmidt on "The Latest Discoveries in Prehistoric Science in Denmark." This dealt chiefly with pre-Viking periods, but some account of it may not be altogether out of place. According to a report in *The Times* of August 24th, Professor Schmidt, in the course of his paper, pointed out that the oldest period of the Danish Stone Age, only recently discovered, was earlier in time than the "kitchen-middens" and much anterior to the dolmens, from which the bulk of the well-known Danish flint implements had been derived. In a peat-bog in Western Zealand, near a small harbour called Mullerey, not far from the Great Belt, were found many objects of stone and wood of a primitive order, evidently from an early part of the

Stone Age. A careful study of these objects and of their position in the bog proved that the prehistoric inhabitants who left or dropped those implements must have been dwellers on rafts in the middle of a lake. It was indeed a "lake-dwelling," but not on piles like the lake-dwellings of Switzerland and Northern Italy, for in this case the dwelling of the early inhabitants floated on the surface of the water. It has also been discovered during the last few years from examination of a large quantity of earthen vessels, or bits of broken pottery, found in the prehistoric tombs and on the sites of old dwellings, what kinds of grain of corn, wheat, and barley were in common use in the different prehistoric periods of Denmark. Again, special study has been devoted lately to the distribution of tumuli in different parts of Denmark. Archæological maps have been made in the last few years of a great part of the country, and all tumuli, all burial and dwelling places, and all localities in which prehistoric implements have been found are marked on these maps. The Director of the Prehistoric Museum of Copenhagen, Dr. Sophus Müller, who has been the leader in this cartography, has recently stated that the tumuli always followed ancient roads through the country, and that lines of tumuli always led towards the fords of the larger rivers, and avoided the swampy ground. It was to be supposed that the people who were buried in the tumuli had dwelt near their graves, and traces of such dwelling-places had been found at some few places. Much of this information has, of course, already been anticipated in the reports of our Scandinavian District Secretaries.

DEATH-ROLL.

MR. STEPHEN A. MARSHALL.

MR. Stephen Albert Marshall, of Skelwith Fold, Ambleside, who died on February 9th, 1904, was born in 1842, in which year his father, Mr. Henry C. Marshall, was Mayor of Leeds. His mother was a daughter of Lord Monteagle, who, as Mr. Spring Rice, was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1835-39. After leaving Cambridge Mr. Marshall joined his father at the Holbeck Mills, and remained there until the firm was wound up sixteen or seventeen years ago. He then built his house at Ambleside, became a magistrate for Lancashire, and an active member of the Lancashire County Council. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

PROFESSOR F. YORK POWELL.

The study of old Icelandic literature in this country has suffered a grievous loss by the too-early death of Frederick York Powell, in May, 1904. Devoted to history from his school days and of widely catholic tastes, the old Scandinavian and Icelandic history, as depicted in the Sagas, claimed perhaps his chief affection. His most important work in this direction was, perhaps, that done in conjunction with Dr. Gudbrand

Vigfusson, who warmly acknowledges the invaluable help he gave to the preparation of the important Prolegomena to the "Sturlunga Saga" (Clarendon Press, 1878), and jointly with whom he edited the monumental "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" (Clarendon Press, 1883). He also published alone "The Tale of Thronð of Gate," a translation of the "Færeyinga Saga" (Vol. II. of the Northern Library. David Nutt, 1896). Among lesser contributions to the same study may be mentioned the article on "Icelandic Language, Literature, and History" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," an introduction to Mr. O. Elton's translation of the first nine books of "Saxo Grammaticus" (Folklore Society, 1894), containing an exhaustive analysis of Saga folklore as illustrated in that volume, and an article on "Saga Growth" in *Folklore* of the same year. He was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1894, and at the time of his death was President of the Folklore Society. Although he never gave the Viking Club his support as a member, yet, when the Club was reconstituted on its present lines, he delivered an Inaugural Address on "Some Literary and Historical Aspects of Old Northern Literature" at the opening meeting on January 12th, 1904. It is to be regretted that this address has not been preserved. We are glad to learn that it is proposed to publish through the Clarendon Press a selection of Professor York Powell's contributions to various periodicals and other miscellaneous writings.

PROFESSOR WILLARD FISKE.

By the death of Professor Willard Fiske, at Frankfort, on September 17th, 1904, Iceland loses a staunch friend and Icelandic literature a devoted and generous student. Professor Fiske was born at Ellisburgh in New York State on November 11th, 1831. From his early years he was attracted by the Scandinavian tongues, and besides studying under Professor Rafn at Copenhagen he became for two years a scholar at the University of Upsala. Besides many articles on Iceland and Icelandic subjects he compiled three lists of "Books Printed in Iceland, 1578-1844," as a supplement to the British Museum Catalogue (1886-1890), and at the time of his death a work on "The Game of Chess in the Land and Literature of Iceland" had just been sent to the press. In 1903 he issued "Mímir," a Handbook of Icelandic Institutions and addresses of Icelandic scholars, which was noticed in the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., pp. 473-4. He was at one time Librarian at Cornell University, besides holding the Chair of North-European languages there from its foundation in 1868 till his retirement in 1883. His latter years he spent in Italy at Florence. He had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902. His affection for Iceland, which led him to visit the island in 1878 and 1879, survived to the last, and he made various bequests to her in his will. His collections of Petrarch Literature and Icelandic and old Scandinavian History and Literature were left to Cornell Library, but his other books to the Icelandic National Library at Reykjavik, while the National Gallery and Museum at Reykjavik received his twelve best pictures and various antique objects of interest.

Further, he left 12,000 dollars to the Governor General of Iceland, the interest on which is to be applied towards the benefit of the inhabitants of Grimsey, whose isolated lot is vividly sketched in the pages of "*Mímir*." The bulk of his estate, estimated at some half-million dollars, he left to the Library of Cornell University for the purpose of increasing and providing a librarian for the Dante and Petrarch collections he had bestowed upon the Library; providing a librarian for the Icelandic collection, who must be an Icelandic; and publishing an annual volume on Icelandic and Scandinavian matters.

EDWIN SLOPER, F.G.S.

It is with great regret that we have to record the loss of our Excursion Secretary, Mr. Edwin Sloper, who was found dead in bed on February 7th, 1905, while on a visit to Taunton. Death was due to heart disease. Though Mr. Sloper was a comparatively recent member, he had taken such a keen interest in the proceedings of the Club from the time he joined that he will be greatly missed. His loss will be especially felt by his colleagues on the Council, as he was a constant attendant at its meetings, and gave much valued help and advice. He was more especially interested in all that bore upon the period of the Danish invasions of and Danish domination in this country, and his hope that the Viking Club would in course of time find opportunity to visit various sites connected with that period, such as Wareham, bore fruit in the highly successful visit to Cambridge last summer, which owed its success entirely to his energy and organising skill. None who saw him on that occasion or at the equally successful visit to the British Museum last December could imagine that he would be called away so soon. It is a great source of regret to us that he was not spared to write the paper on "*The Danish Period in English History*," which he was to have read us in March. He had spent much time and trouble on collecting material for it, and, though apparently he had not commenced to write it, his various notes on the subject have been placed at our disposal by his representatives, and it may be possible to make some use of them in a future issue, together with the paper he read at Cambridge last year. Among his other interests he had an intimate knowledge of the history of Somersetshire, having formerly resided at Taunton, and took great interest in the Society of Somerset men in London.

REVIEWS.¹

THE CELTIC AND SCANDINAVIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SHETLAND. By GILBERT GOUDIE. *Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

THIS book shows how the work of an archæologist and antiquary, usefully and judiciously directed, dealing with miscellaneous subjects as the opportunity and convenience present themselves, in the end results in the production of a comprehensive, co-herent, and trustworthy history of the district of his researches. The author deals with (1) the Pagan Period in the Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages; (2) the Celtic Christian Period; and (3) the Scandinavian Era.

So far as the book is a record of finds and excavations, it calls for no criticism beyond praise for the thorough and scientific manner in which the work has been done.

The literary studies of the Scandinavian Era are particularly instructive, dealing with the mortgage of the Islands by Denmark to Scotland, the maintenance of the local government and laws until 1611, and the transition to Scottish county government. The charter of confirmation of lands in Shetland, granted by the King of Denmark in 1662, and the Treaty of Breda, which declared the imprescribability of the mortgage of the Islands, are very interesting from a legal and international point of view. With regard to the "Country Acts" passed by the Sheriff Courts of Orkney and Shetland after 1611 (p. 236), it should be pointed out that the Scottish Privy Council abolished the *foreign laws* of these Islands in 1611, and at the same time a Royal Proclamation granted a Commission to the Sheriffs and Commissioners in Orkney and Shetland, authorising them amongst other duties

to make, prescribe, and set down acts, statutes, and ordinances for restraining of the bypast enormities and insolencies within the saidis boundis, and for retaining and keeping of the inhabitants thair of under his Majesty's obedience . . . and to convocate and assemble the haill inhabitants within the saidis boundis, to concur and assist thame in everything which may forder his Majesty's authority and service . . . and for this effect to fence and hald sheriff and justice-courts.²

This is also mentioned in the preamble to the Acts. The "Country Acts" were thus in no way a continuation of the powers of the defunct Lawting, but the outcome of a Royal Commission. It was needful that special by-laws should be framed to regulate local customs upon the abolition of the *foreign laws*. It must also be remembered that Orkney and Shetland, together with Kirkcudbright, were the only complete counties which were stewartries, and the bishopric of Orkney was a regality. Regalities and stewartries possessed exceptional powers, much

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 36, Margareta Terrace, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

² Peterkin's "Notes on Orkney," App., pp. 63-67.

more extensive than those of an ordinary county. Lords of regality could appoint baillies during pleasure, for life, and heritable. There were heritable baileries in Orkney.

The author has done valuable work in unearthing the Shetland Rentals, or skatt-rolls, and other papers in the Register House, Edinburgh, and in private Charter Chests.

From the extracts given it can be seen that a careful examination of the originals will enable us to explain many puzzles in the incidence of taxation, and in the butter and cloth currencies in Orkney and Shetland hitherto inexplicable. The earliest Shetland Rental will before long be issued by the Viking Club. At present there is not a single example in print, while Orkney is well represented.

"Stembord," p. 238, occurs in 1576 as "stembirth."¹ It is from old Norse *Stefna* or *Stemna*, a meeting, and *Boð*, a bidding, hence "Stemnu-boð," a summons to a meeting.²

The illustration of a *tuskar*, or peat cutter, p. 289, is apparently a Shetland variety, without the usual foot-piece for digging it into the ground.

The reason why the Shetland benefices were vicarages, and only half the corn tithe drawn by the vicars (p. 162), is explained on pp. 179, 180, where it is mentioned that the bishop drew the other half of the corn tithe, and was consequently rector. The tithe of the Shetland benefices formed part of the revenue of the bishopric of Orkney.

The author, p. 296, supports the theory of Hibbert and others regarding the "skat-hald," or Commonly, *i.e.*, common pasture, *viz.*, because the name implies a skat-holding, therefore skat was a tax paid to the Crown for the use of the commonly or skathald by the udal or occupied lands, and not a tax for the support of the government.

King Harald Fairhair of Norway assessed the udal lands of his kingdom with skat, or land tax.³ Skat was collected by his Earls, who retained one-third for the support of their government, with the exception of the Earl of Orkney and Shetland, who retained the whole of the skat collected in the Islands because they lay so open to war.⁴ That skat was in practice treated as a tax solely on land under tillage is further shown by the fact that, under the native government of Orkney in 1500, so long as skat-paying udal lands were *lay*, *i.e.*, laid down in pasture, they were exempt from skat, as were also lands rendered useless by being blown over with sand.⁵ The suggestion that the commons were vested in the Crown, and that the latter was entitled to skatt or tribute from the udallers for their use of the commons, is disproved on p. 296, where the immemorial right of udal lands to foreshore and commonly is shown, and this has been consistently

¹ Balfour's "Oppressions in Orkney and Zetland," p. 53 and gloss., s.v. stembod.

² Cleasby's *Icl. Dict.*

³ *Heimskringla Saga Library*, vol. iii., p. 96.

⁴ *Ib.*, vol. iv., p. 168. *Orkneyinga Saga*, translated by Hjaltalin and Goudie, p. 2. N.B.—This is the *Flateyjarbok* text, with the exception of the first four chapters, and half of the fifth, which are apparently taken from *St. Olaf's Saga* (*Heimskringla*). The statement that the Earl of Orkney did not pay skat is not found in the *Orkney Saga*.

⁵ Peterkin's *Rentals of Orkney*, No. 1.

maintained in the law courts. It is recorded as a grievance in 1575 that the Scottish Earl attempted to appropriate the commonty.¹

An examination of the various skats will show that they were for the support of the government, *e.g.*, *Leunger*, a war contribution; *Forcop*, the Lawman's fee; *Wattle*, board and lodging of the Foud. Mr. Goudie is the first to clear up the true meaning and derivation of *Wattle*, p. 181.

We find in 1576 that *skathald* is explained as being equivalent to skatland, and to parish or inhabited district; "nichtbouris that dwellis within ane scathald."² The explanation, therefore, appears to be that in 1576 the term "skathald" applied to an inhabited district of skat-paying udal land, including its exclusive "hagi," or common pasture, and that in recent times the name has become restricted to the hagi or pasture alone. That the modern skathald is the old hagi is proved by the survival of the term *Hog-leave*, or liberty to use another skathald, while riding the marches of a skathald is called *hagri*, or "to ride de hagri."³

An examination of the Shetland and Orkney rentals or skatt-rolls shows that the udal lands in Shetland were, for the assessment of skatt, valued at their purchase price (at time of valuation) in pure silver marks, and hence called mark-lands. These mark-lands were again, for letting purposes, at a later date, valued in pennies representing their actual rent, hence the description of mark-lands of from one to twelve pennies. The penny originally was the currency value of a fixed amount of butter and cloth representing the rent. In later times the current market value of the butter and cloth was charged, but the quantity remained the same. In Orkney skatt was assessed on the ounce-land (= 18 penny-lands, probably Anglo-Saxon pennies), which probably was the original weight of silver paid as skatt. For purposes of rent, the ounce-lands and penny-lands were valued at their purchase price in pure silver marks, the same valuation as that upon which Shetland skatt was assessed.

The whole scope of the work, comprehending almost everything that can be said about Shetland, is such that no one who takes the slightest interest in the Islands can possibly get along without the book, while it will prove invaluable and indispensable to the student of Northern antiquities.

It is not generally known that Mr. Goudie is solely responsible for the publication of the translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, which was edited with an introduction by Dr. Joseph Anderson, and translated by Mr. Jón A. Hjaltalin and Mr. Goudie from Jonæus' Edition of the Flateyjarbok text.

A. W. J.

¹ Balfour's "Oppressions," p. 6. *Proce.*, S. A. Scot, April, 1883, p. 257.

² Balfour's "Oppressions," pp. 46, 47, 49, 88. Skathald is probably derived from Norse *Skatt*, and *Hald*, a holding, *i.e.*, a holding paying skat, *cf.* Norwegian "Skatte-gaard," a farm liable to pay tax. It is explained, in the glossary to Balfour's "Oppressions," as a district containing several tuns or rooms, with an exclusive hagi, and a share in the moar of the herad.

³ Jakobsen's Shetland Dialect, 1897, pp. 108, 109. See also English Dialect Dict. for other references.

VIKINGERNE. Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv. Af ALEXANDER BUGGE.
København: Gyldendalske Boghandel; Kristiania: Nordisk Forlag.

IN this charmingly written book Professor A. Bugge has undertaken to exhibit, as it were, eight pictures or illustrations of the life of the ancient Vikings, in as many chapters. These chapters deal respectively with (1) the Northern nations in their first appearance on the scene; (2) Woman in the Viking age; (3) Childhood and old age; (4) Life in a Viking settlement. Norwegians and Danes in Ireland; (5) Viking-time memorials from the Isle of Man; (6) The focuses of culture in ancient times; (7) The culture of the Viking age; (8) View of life and state of civilization during the transition from the Viking times to the Middle Ages.

Each illustration presents itself in the form of a sketch, rather than a finished picture, for the execution of which the materials at hand are insufficient, and frequently of doubtful import and value. As the Professor's object is to present illustrations of a by-gone time, it follows that he refrains from subjecting to any elaborate, critical scrutiny the historical or philological materials he makes use of. But his treatment of them is generally so clear and lucid that the reader feels thankful for being spared the trouble of following the zigzaggy road of argumentative criticism, and allowed the treat of enjoying without a hitch the Professor's picture gallery, set forth as it is in a style which is at once noble, elevated and animated by poetical enthusiasm. Professor Bugge's natural descriptions of Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Seeland in Denmark, made with a view to showing the determinant influence that beautiful natural environment is calculated to exercise upon the life of man, are striking illustrations of the attractive qualities we notice in his manner of writing.

One quality about this book—a quality we heartily welcome—is the ungrudging and what we consider the just meed of appreciation bestowed on the Danes of old as a people of culture. The Professor's language may, perhaps, to some seem hyperbolic, but in substance we must regard it as warranted both by *Beowulf* and every other tradition relating to ancient Denmark. It is not always that we see Norwegian historians so utterly exempt from bias in relation to Denmark as Professor Bugge proves himself to be. Of Sweden, as the home of centres of primitive culture, Professor Bugge is equally justly appreciative.

But when he declares:—"Denmark and Sweden possess, what Norway has not, places and tracts which, right from the earliest times have been, and for ever will continue to be, the spiritual 'focus' (Midipunkt) of 'their' land, as even they still are the 'centre' of the state and the political life" (translation literal)—we are inclined to dispute the point. True, Stockholm lies in the same tract as did the centre of primitive culture among the "Svíar," the island and city of "Birka"; Copenhagen lies on the eastern coast of the same island in which was situated, in the morning of time, the famed palace of "Heorot," as well as that of "Hleiðr." But we are strongly inclined to think that the influence of the imperious *Hansa* has a good deal more to do with these two centres of state and political life in the North than any traditional

descent from the primitive centres. Of course, with Upsala the case is different.

As to Norway, we are not quite prepared to assent to the assertion that it had no centres of culture of old. What about the temple of Mærin up at the head of the bay of Thrandheim? It seems to have been from of old the central temple for all the eight ancient kingdoms of Thrandheim. As late as Olaf Tryggvison's days it seems to have still preserved a sacerdotal constitution on the ancient duodecimal arrangement of Asgarth. Only on that assumption does it become clear how radically correct, from his own point of view, was Olaf Tryggvison's threat to put to death *twelve* of the "most excellent" men of Thrandheim, when the question of destroying the Mærin cult had become a burning one. A great centre of any cult is always a centre of culture. Moreover, we have the magnate Ölvir of Eggja's word for it, that the Mærin "was a great capital, the houses large, and a great settlement of dwellings all round." It was probably owing to its out-of-the-way geographical position that neither Harald Fairhair nor any other of the pagan rulers of Norway established their residence there. The resistance this temple organisation offered to Haken the Good and the two Olaves bears witness to its traditional solidity.

Again, what about the "Holyland" of Halogaland, where shipping and nautical art stood higher than in any other part of Norway, a country from where the type of dragon-ship was introduced into Southern Norway,¹ a country where the art of beating or tacking the wind seems to have been first mastered in the North; for that must be the real meaning of the often repeated statement that Halogalanders had wind at will as soon as they hoisted sail on board? What does it mean that the people of this country were the greatest wizards of the North? It means, of course, that in certain matters they were in possession of knowledge of and intuition into certain secrets of nature which to heathen ignorance appeared miraculous, to Christian prejudice diabolic. We are inclined to think that that gold mine, the fishery of Lofoten, may have been the means of putting Halogaland in commercial relationship with the outer world at an exceedingly early age, though we cannot enter upon any argumentative justification of our opinion on that matter. Even the name Bjarkey, the Emporium-island, bears witness to that island having been, at a very remote period, a commercial centre in Halogaland. Other centres of culture, for some time at least, might be mentioned, such as Skíringsalr, Túsberg, and perhaps others. But it is true, Norway never had one central station for the national culture as had Denmark and Sweden, because to no locality specially had from time immemorial been linked the traditions of any native family which had succeeded in imposing its authority upon the whole people. The family that ultimately so succeeded was, after all, a foreign one which, strange to say, never found a fixed abode in Norway; Hlaðir, Niðarós, Björgvin, Sarpsborg, Konungahella, Oslo, all served in turn as temporary centres of what culture there allied itself to the race of Harald Lúfa, up to, and some time beyond, the end of the Viking-age.

¹ See "Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North," p. 227.

Carping critics will, no doubt, find fault with Professor Bugge for taking for granted what, as yet, is a *res sub judice*, namely, the *Western*, notably the *Celtic*, influence on Northern culture. But on that subject the last word has not yet been spoken, and we can afford to await further developments.

Ei. M.

LA SAGA DE FRIDTHJOF LE FORT: traduite de l'ancien Islandais. Par FÉLIX WAGNER, Docteur en philologie Germanique. Louvain: Charles Peeters.

In this translation, with its introductory matter and notes, the author's "aim has been to raise in some sort a corner of the veil which still hides from the French public the manifestations of that intense life revealed by the literary monuments of ancient Iceland." "Fridthjof's Saga" (says Dr. Wagner) has enjoyed an exceptional popularity, increased by the poem founded upon it by Bishop Tegnér (1825). But Tegnér's Fridthjof is no longer the Fridthjof of the old time. For the true Fridthjof we must read the old Saga.

Was there a true Fridthjof? Dr. Wagner answers affirmatively. Though the story is "thoroughly and purely poetic," he thinks it built in large measure on real facts. And any way, there remains undiminished "the literary and æsthetic value of the Saga as a picture of ideas, manners, and life in the North a thousand years ago."

Fridthjof lived (Dr. Wagner concludes) about the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. The Saga received its present form not later than the middle of the thirteenth century. But the strophes, or verses, in it are earlier; they are quite unlike the productions of the Court skalds, which a profusion of metaphors and tropes, enigmatical figures, obscurity, *kennings* without taste or poetry, have rendered a gibberish (*galimatias*) unreadable and unintelligible. The "Fridthjof Saga" verses are in simple, strong, clear, natural language: and in metre like the oldest Icelandic verse (*fornyrðislag*).

Dr. Wagner is of opinion that many of the primitive Sagas, especially those mythological and heroic, passed through three successive phases of development and transformation: old popular poetry, the dissolution of that into prose, and the decomposition of this prose again into rhymes. Thus many appear as a paraphrase of old songs, with some parts of the old songs repeated textually, and intercalated in some episodes. In this "Fridthjof Saga" the verses are an integral part of the narrative; could not be spared. *E.g.*, in the chapter about the storm about half is verse, and you could not omit it without spoiling the whole. Dr. Wagner claims for the Saga "unity of action, clear narrative, without interruption or digression, simple, clear, natural, energetic style."

On a French translation of Icelandic it is hard for an Englishman to pass judgment: only Frenchmen can know what is to their taste. But to me the translation appears good, clear, readable.

The notes are very good and very full. One might perhaps say fuller than are needed for the understanding of the story, or for the instruction

of those who, whether from originals or translations, possess a fair knowledge of Norse literature. But our translator tells us that for the great mass of French readers the old civilization of the North is still a *terra incognita*. They will find in Dr. Wagner an excellent guide.

W. C. G.

UDAL LAW IN THE ORKNEYS AND ZETLAND (Green's "Encyclopædia of the Law of Scotland"). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1900.*

UDAL LAW AND THE FORESHORE (*The Juridical Review*, June, 1904). By W. P. DREVER, Solicitor, Kirkwall. Reprint. *Edinburgh and London: William Green & Sons.*

THESE articles form the first genuine contributions to a study of the Law and Government of Orkney and Shetland.

It is to be sincerely hoped that the author will follow up the subject, and compile a complete history and digest. For this purpose there is a vast mass of most interesting and fascinating material available and waiting to be unearthed. All authorities on the subject must be carefully tested, and rejected where proof is wanting: *e.g.*, Balfour's assertion, for which no authority is quoted ('Oppressions,' xxviii.) that the *jus comitatus*, conveyed to the Crown of Scotland in 1471, included the landskyld or rent of "certain quoys and other lands added by odallers to their holdings, but not by odal-raed." On reference to the Earldom Rental of 1500 (Peterkin's "Rentals," No. 1), the oldest one extant, which enumerates the Earldom lands of 1471, it will be found that udal quoys paid no rent to the Earl, and that only those quoys paid rent to the Earl which belonged to, or had been purchased by, him.

Böl (Isl., misfortune), cited by Balfour, should read *ból*, used for a house in Norway, but in Orkney and Iceland meaning a pen for cattle. The correct word is *Bú*, as used in the Orkneyinga Saga for the Earl's house, and as maintained by constant local pronunciation to the present day. The *bishopric* also included the skatts of churchlands, and of some of the Earldom and udal lands. It should also be noted that the Bishopric [*i.e.*, the landed estate] in 1490, and again in 1612, was erected into a Regality with separate courts and judges of its own. The Orkney and Shetland parliaments and laws, which were confirmed by the Scottish Parliament, were finally abolished (illegally it may be) in 1611, by Act of Secret Council, and the Islands then brought under the Common Law of Scotland.

The so-called Lawting or Country Acts of Orkney and Shetland, which were enacted by the local Sheriff and Justice Courts, 1611 *et seq.*, were merely by-laws for carrying the Scottish Law into effect, and for regulating the surviving native, or consuetudinary law, and were passed in accordance with a Royal Commission issued in 1611.

Cess, or landtax, was first exacted from Orkney and Shetland in 1597 (not 1667), in common with the other Crown lands throughout Scotland. It was levied on the native valuation of *pennyland* in Orkney, and *markland*

in Shetland. A temporary valuation of Orkney and Shetland was made in 1649 (*Act Parl.*), at £90,980, so that landtax might be levied on the Islands at the same rate as on the Scottish Counties. One-third of this was by custom apportioned to Shetland. The Orkney valuation was completed in 1653, but that of Shetland was never made, and landtax continued to be levied on the *markland*.¹

The first petition to exempt the Islands from taxation was made by the uddallers in 1633, and another in 1639 (*Act Parl.*). It was

cravit be the uddallers of Orkney and Zetland quha hes thir mony ages conforme to the Dens law possesst thair land for payment of scatt and teiud that no man be interponit betwixt his Majesty and thame to molest thame, but that they remain his Majesty's immediate vassals for payment of scatt and other dewties conforme to thair rentalls ay and quhill his Majestie conforme thair richts to the lawes of this Kingdom.

The relations between the insular courts and those of Norway, which continued after the transference of the Islands to Scotland, should be dealt with. So late as 1662 the King of Denmark granted a charter of confirmation of the sale of lands in Shetland.

Mr. Drever's articles will be indispensable to the local lawyer and antiquary, and consequently it is important that they should be issued as a separate work, treating the whole subject fully, a task for which he is eminently qualified.

A. W. J.

ENGLISH MEDICINE IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES. By DR. JOSEPH FREDERICK PAYNE. (The Fitzpatrick Lectures for 1903.) *Clarendon Press*, 8s. 6d. net.

That the first lectures of a series intended to further the study of the history of medicine should have been devoted to the discussion of the medical writings of our own forefathers is a matter of entire congratulation. As Dr. Payne himself says, the early knowledge existing in our own land has been too entirely neglected, and it will come as a surprise to most of us to learn from him that, after the classic Greek and Latin works on medicine, the earliest treatise on the great science known to exist is actually English, and written in the vernacular, antedating by a century the better known work of Petrocellus of Salerno. The subject itself, with its intimate bearing on folk-life and lore, has lost none of its interest in the hands of Dr. Payne, whose contributions to the study of past and surviving medical superstitions are already well known. The lectures, as we have them here, are a model of most suggestive condensation, and, but for considerations of space, one would like to quote the author's view of the right method of study of the work of our early writers, which is, perhaps, the best ever set into words.

Unfortunately the material at Dr. Payne's disposal has been very limited, not more than a score of MSS. remaining, though these hold

¹ Peterkin's "Notes," app., p. 89; *Acts Parl.*, 1597. Peterkin's "Rentals," No. 2, p. 150. "Records of the Sheriff Court of Orkney," vol. i, folio 156, quoted in Peterkin's "Notes," p. 150, footnote. Country Acts, 1623, see Barry's "Hist," 1867, p. 420.

internal evidence of the existence of still more. What the author has collated and illustrated with immense pains prove at least that the leeches of the period, whether clerical or lay, had an intense longing for further knowledge, and that in actual practise they were in no way behind the practitioners of mediæval Norman date, if not, in some respects, in advance of them. Probably owing to the almost necessarily monkish origin of the few MSS. we have, there are but one or two of the many charms given here which refer to heathen tradition, except indirectly as needing counter-vailing Christian spells. Nor do we meet with any Runic formulæ, though these were in use, on Gibson's authority, so late as the seventeenth century, at least, in the northern counties. As one might expect, a great number of herbal receipts and charms are given, some good facsimile illustrations accompanying them. But of the surgery of the time Dr. Payne confesses he can say little. He has no material on which to work, and the subject must of necessity be left for future elucidation. It is probable that, from the first, surgical practice has been a matter of family tradition, as it still is in the popular cult of the "bone-setter" in most cases; but Dr. Payne may yet find a likely field of research in the Sagas for the rough wartime surgery of our forefathers. His treatment of the vexed question of the "miracles" of healing, to be found in the pages of Bede, is most careful, and deserves full recognition, if only as an independent testimony to the value of the work of the ancient writer.

C. W. W.

SINGOALLA. A Mediæval Legend. By VIKTOR RYDBERG. Translated from the Swedish by JOSEF FREDBÄRJ. *London and Newcastle-on-Tyne: the Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd.*

THIS is the first translation into English of a novel by the great Swedish writer Viktor Rydberg, better known, perhaps, in England through his studies in mythology, history, etc., than as a novelist. Yet he was a great novelist, and a poet besides, and "Singoalla" has already been translated into most of the languages of continental Europe. The translation before us is preceded by a useful note, giving an outline, very condensed, of Swedish literature and a sketch of Rydberg and his career, in which the writer sums up the novel so vividly that we cannot do better than quote his words:—

Singoalla is a novel occupying quite a pre-eminent place among Rydberg's prose writings. In it his romanticism is still strikingly in the foreground, and strangely tinged with that fantastic, pantheistical philosophy which was so much a part and parcel of Rydberg. The period of the book is the Middle Ages—that slowly awakening epoch when Europe tardily revived from the black night of Roman madness to the faint dawn of Western sweetness and light; and all the peculiar mysticism and picturesqueness distinguishing that time pervade the book. Against such a background the splendid dramatic personæ of the story stand out in wondrously real fashion and with vivid effect.

The old mythology plays no actual part in the story, but its shadow looms darkly in the distant past, and falls threateningly across the path of

the hero and his race. At the epoch of the story the heathen days were still too near to be regarded with aught but dread and aversion. The main incident of the tale reproduces, perhaps unconsciously on the author's part, the story of Sigurd turned unwittingly from his troth to Brynhild to the love of Gudrun, and the result is scarcely less tragic, though worked out on lines widely different. The heroine, the gipsy girl Singoalla, is a noble and pathetic figure, and skilfully contrasted with the young Swedish knight whose love for her was brought by inexorable fate to such a hapless end.

A. F. M.

TRACES OF THE NORSE MYTHOLOGY IN THE ISLE OF MAN. By P. M. C.

KERMODE, F.S.A.Scot. *London: Bemrose & Sons.* 2s. 6d.

THIS is an interesting and suggestive little work, divided into two parts of unequal merit, Mythology and Illustrations. In the first part Mr. Kermode gives a hasty sketch of some of the leading ideas in the Norse Mythology, and points to various features in the folklore of the Isle of Man which he thinks may be derived from the ancient beliefs. In the second part he suggests mythological interpretations for various scenes and figures sculptured on crosses in the Isle of Man, and illustrated in this work, which appeared originally as a paper read before the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society at Ramsey, on December 18th, 1903. The sketch of the mythology is uncritical, and of course incomplete, the author naturally confining himself mainly to points for which he could suggest folklore illustrations. The spelling of the names is erratic and the quotations from the Icelandic very incorrectly given. Mr. Kermode adopts without hesitation the favourite idea of the editors of "*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*" of a special Viking religion, due to contact with Celtic and Christian ideas, which has become familiar to us from literary remains, though it was never the religion of the people. Yet with no apparent sense of inconsistency, he at once goes on to point out that the myths and legends, which we only know from these literary remains, had such a hold on the people that we find them sculptured on Christian monuments, and can trace them in customs and sayings down to our own day. The folklore parallels are interesting, but not, we think, peculiar to the Isle of Man, and the connection with the mythology seems sometimes no more than a guess. For example, the author instances ginger-bread figures used at fairs of a man, a woman, man and woman conjoined, a horse, and a man on horseback as probably representing Thor, Frigga, Odin and Frigga, and Odin and Sleipnir, while a cock which also appears may, he thinks, represent either Gullin-kambi, the cock of Valhalla, or Heimdall rousing the gods. These suggestions may be sound, but are unsupported by any evidence, except the analogy of the use in Sweden at Yule-tide of cakes in the form of Frey's boar. This is hardly sufficient ground for the identification of such varied figures, which might have originated in many ways. We should like to know also Mr. Kermode's authority for saying that the images of the gods in *Friðthjof's Saga* were

similar *baked* images. We cannot find this in the Saga. The Illustrations from the monuments are very valuable, and we may perhaps call this part of Mr. Kermodé's paper a supplement to, and development of, his "Illustrations of the Sagas from Manks Monuments" in the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. I., pp. 350-369. In deciphering the monuments he is an acknowledged authority, and his suggested interpretations show much thought and study, even if, in some cases, we hesitate to accept them unreservedly. For instance, he now suggests that the bird-headed man with a pole over his shoulder, to which another figure is hanging, referred to in the paper quoted, pp. 357 and 361, may represent Odin, one of whose names was *Arnarhöfði*, Eagle-headed, carrying to Valhalla a victim hanged in sacrifice to him. The suggestion is ingenious, but we are not convinced that the explanation is sound, though it apparently has the support of Professor Sophus Bugge, and we are not prepared to suggest another explanation. We may, however, point out that these figures may not impossibly refer in some cases to myths or legends which are lost, and the attempt to link them to surviving literary remains may easily be overdone. The endeavour to identify an isolated figure, rudely sculptured, with a particular character or incident in the mythology, must be attended with doubt, and, in many cases, we are inclined to regard the suggestions made in these pages more as intelligent guesses than as authoritative readings. The size of the plates, moreover, renders it difficult in many cases to decipher the figures, or to judge how far it is safe to criticise the author's views. In any case his work undoubtedly deserves the careful consideration of all who are interested in the subject.

A. F. M.

KING WILLIAM THE WANDERER, AN OLD BRITISH SAGA FROM OLD FRENCH VERSIONS. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. *London: S. C. Brown Langham & Co., Ltd.*

AN outline of this story is given by Mr. Collingwood in his paper on pp. 171-181 of this number, in which he gives a full account of the sources from which he got it, and its probable date and origin. The paper, in fact, is practically an introduction to, and commentary on, the volume before us. The skill and acuteness with which Mr. Collingwood has seized upon the very slight evidence contained in the story as to its antecedents are a remarkable testimony to his thorough knowledge of the literature and history of the period. He tells us in his paper that his purpose in the book was to tell the old romance in a readable way. In this he has certainly succeeded, and we may add that he has not in way overstated the remarkable qualities of the original as a novel of almost modern type. As he has pointed out, the incidents of the story are drawn from many quarters. To the sources which he has given, already sufficiently complicated, we would add that the incident of the eagle carrying off the purse of money, which is restored to the loser many years after, may be paralleled from the "Thousand Nights and a Night," where it occurs in the History of *Cog of Hassan Alhabbal*.

A. F. M.

THE NIBELUNGENLIED AND GUDRUN IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA. By FRANCIS E. SANDBACH, B.A., Ph.D. *London: David Nutt.*

THE author, in his preface to this work, mentions that the University of Cambridge has awarded him a Certificate of Research for it, an honour which was certainly thoroughly well deserved. It is a model of painstaking and well-ordered bibliography, with abstracts of the works cited and outlines of the history of the subjects and the broad results arrived at. Each section of the work begins with an introductory sketch of the subject, and lists of all the important editions of the poems, followed by an account of the various English translations and versions, whether in verse or prose, a list of reprints of the Old German Texts, and an account of the various essays and articles dealing with the subject which have been published. Finally, the author traces the influence of the two works on English Literature in Anglo-Saxon, Middle and Modern English. He includes a brief sketch of the various opinions advanced as to the origin of the stories, but a critical examination of this problem lies outside the scope of his work. To our mind, however, as regards the Nibelungenlied, he hardly does justice to the Norse forms of the story, and the evidence there is that they have preserved it in a much purer form than the German. The comparison of the Siegfried myth with the Norse god-myths on p. 28, especially of "Siegfried's fight with the dragon . . . with the killing of the Midgard snake by Thor" suggests that the author's knowledge of the Norse mythology is not equal to his wide acquaintance with German myth and legend. These are points, however, which do not detract from the general excellence of his work, though naturally we cannot but look on them as blemishes. The relationship between the Norse forms of the legend and those which appear to have existed among the Anglo-Saxons is obscure. It was, however, as far as we can judge, much closer than that of either to the German versions which have come down to us. In this connection we notice one important omission from Mr. Sandbach's work, the only one we have observed. Mr. D. H. Haigh, in "The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons" and "The Anglo-Saxon Sagas," *London, 1861*, endeavours to show from the evidence of place-names that the most important characters of the story of the Volsungs and the Niblungs dwelt in England. His theory is ingeniously worked out and, though it has never, as far as we know, been even recognised by scholars, his works deserve a place in a bibliography so complete as Mr. Sandbach's. In connection with Wade (Wate) in the "Gudrun," the author points out that, in Middle English literature, Wade seems to have been the centre of an independent tradition representing him as a sea-giant, of which little is known. In the Vilkina Saga, Wade appears in the same character, and is the father of Wayland (Vølundr). His story is given there in a late and, no doubt, very corrupt form. It is unfortunate we have not the English version to compare with it. One curious misprint we have observed on p. 114. Immediately after a mention of the erroneous identification of Brunhild's country (Isenland) with Iceland in a work published in America, Ibsen's drama "The Warriors of Helgeland" appears as "The Warriors of Heligoland." Possibly the error is only copied from the work quoted.

A. F. M.

LEWIS EVANS HIS MAP OF THE MIDDLE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.
A Comparative Account of the Different Editions published
between 1755 and 1807. By HENRY N. STEVENS. *London: Henry
Stevens, Son & Stiles.*

THE scope of this work, which will be of special interest to students of American cartography and invaluable to collectors, is sufficiently indicated by the title. The author, as the result of his careful researches, traces the bibliographical history of Evan's Map between the dates mentioned in ten distinct and separate states, two issues of the original plate, and eight piratical copies. He thinks it probable that other states or reprints are in existence, which have not come under his notice.

A. F. M.

ANGLER'S GUIDE FOR THE SHETLANDS. *Lerwick: John Tait & Co.*
Cloth, 1s. 6d.; paper boards, 1s.

THIS useful work gives the principal angling centres in Shetland; hotels, inns and lodgings; distances from Lerwick by road; close times for salmon and sea trout; angling outfit for Shetland waters; artificial baits and flies and natural baits to use; sea trout fishing in fresh water, tidal or salt water; loch, burn and sea fishing, etc.

A. W. J.

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Some Notes on the Norsemen in Argyllshire and on the Clyde, by R. L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L. (Illustrated.)
Discovery of a Pre-historic Sun-Chariot in Denmark, by Dr. KARL BLIND. (Illustrated.)
The Saga of Havelok the Dane, by the Rev. C. W. WHISTLER, M.R.C.S.
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Survey of Orkneyan Place-Names, by A. W. JOHNSTON, F.S.A.Scot.
 XII., 291-492 pp., paper covers (142 in stock). 10s.
10. **THE SAGA-BOOK. Vol. IV., Part I., January, 1905.** Containing Proceedings, District Reports, etc., during 1904, and the following Papers in full:—
Research, Inaugural Address, J. G. GARSON, M.D., President.
Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney, M. MACKENZIE CHARLESON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. (Illustrated.)
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Traces of Danish Conquest and Settlement in Cambridgeshire, E. HAILSTONE, F.R.Hist.S. (With Map.)
The Danes in Cambridgeshire, Rev. J. W. E. CONYBEARE.
Scandinavian Motifs in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation, Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L. (Illustrated.)
King William the Wanderer, W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.
Notes on Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North, EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON, M.A.
N.B.—Saga-Book No. 10 will be issued gratis to Members elected in 1905.
Binding of Vols. I. and II.—Owing to an error in printing, the indexes have folios consecutive with titles and contents, etc. Binders should be instructed to place indexes at end of each volume.

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1. **INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1892.** "Birds of Omen in Shetland," by JESSIE M. E. SAXBY, with "Notes on the Folklore of the Raven and Owl," by W. A. CLOUSTON. Out of print.
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Saga=Book

OF THE

Viking Club.

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LONDON :

PRINTED FOR THE VIKING CLUB.

Viking Club.

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THE CLUB is founded as a Society for all interested in the North and its literature and antiquities.

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By Rev. H. J. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.S.L.:

"The Saxon Church at Bradford-on-Avon." Article in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association.

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NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The present issue of the SAGA-BOOK will complete Vol. IV., except for the Index, &c., which will be issued, if possible, with the next number.

Members are reminded that, although it has been the custom to date the SAGA-BOOK in January of each year, as containing the Proceedings for the preceding twelve months, much of the matter to be printed is not in hand till after the close of the year, and its preparation for the press requires much care and labour. The Council, therefore, cannot undertake to place the SAGA-BOOK in the hands of members before about the middle of the year.

DISTRICT REPORTS.

Owing to the great pressure on our space we are reluctantly compelled to hold back the reports received for last year from the under-mentioned Hon. District Secretaries:—

England :

East Anglia : Rev. W. C. Green.

Somersetshire : Rev. C. W. Whistler.

Iceland ; Dr. Jón Stefansson.

Norway : Haakon Schetelig.

Our best thanks are due to the above-named for the assistance they have given us in the important work of local collection, the results of which are likely to prove in the future a valuable part of the records of the Club.

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1905.

MEETING, JANUARY 20TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

THE President gave his Presidential address for the year 1904-5. After commenting on the large increase in membership during the year and expressing his hope that still further efforts in this direction would be made in the general interest of the Club, he referred to the changes made in the rule under which subscriptions could be compounded for, of which several annual members had already taken advantage, showing that the alteration was likely to be beneficial to members individually as well as to the Club in general.

After deploring various losses sustained by the Club, especially the death of Professor J. Willard Fiske, he proceeded as follows:—

“The meetings at which we have had papers read have been well attended, and the nature of the communications made to us have been such as any society might well be proud of. Both in intrinsic merit and interest they take a high place, as will be fully appreciated when our volume for the year is in the hands of members. Besides the regular evening meetings we have had two additional meetings, the visits to Cambridge and to the British Museum, each of great interest. Our best thanks are due to the Cambridge Archæological Society for their hospitality towards us on the former occasion, as well as to Mr. Edwin Sloper for the pains he took in so successfully organizing these meetings.

“On the last occasion that I addressed you from this chair I devoted my remarks almost entirely to the sub-

ject of Research, for the benefit of those who had the time and opportunity, as well as the desire to make themselves useful to the Club by engaging in scientific work, as I felt that they, especially the younger members, had a special claim upon me as their President to give them some directions and guidance.

"I am not going to take up your time and attention this evening in listening to me, while I discuss some scientific subject in which perhaps only a few of my audience may be interested, but propose to devote the time at my disposal to some matters connected with the Club itself, and to giving those who are present and who have not had the opportunity of visiting the most northern county of the United Kingdom,—with which this Club is so intimately connected, and over which Scandinavian influence was paramount for a considerably longer period and to a later date than elsewhere in His Britannic Majesty's dominions,—some idea of its physical aspects and of other features of interest it possesses, as far as the photographic slides at my disposal can convey such information. Those who are already acquainted with the county will, I hope, bear with me while I recount information with which they are already familiar, and I would ask them to endeavour to make the slides, as they are thrown on the screen, bring back to their minds pleasant recollections of the occasions on which they have visited the places shown. Such a plan will, I hope, be more in consonance with the social features of the meeting this evening than a formal address."

A series of lantern slides, illustrating the scenery of Orkney and the life of the people, were then shown and described by the President.

MEETING, FEBRUARY 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

Professor J. Wight Duff, M.A., read a paper on "Homer and Beowulf" which is printed on pages 382-406.

MEETING, MARCH 17TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The following papers were read:—

“Old Icelandic Churches,” by Mrs. Disney Leith.

“A Visit to the Danework,” by H. A. Kjær, M.A., Hon. District Secretary for Denmark.

“The Ship Find in Norway,” by Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor.

The first two papers are printed on pages 364-381 and 312-325. The third paper covered to a great extent the same ground as the District Report from Norway, contributed by Mr. Haakon Schetelig to the last number of the SAGA-BOOK (pages 54-66 of the present volume); but the following particulars may be added. Some of these details the author of the paper has obtained from articles and reports of lectures by Professor Gabriel Gustafson, Hon. Life Member, and from information kindly given him by the learned Professor, while others are the result of his personal observation.

“Oseberg, where the ship was found, is in the parish of Slagen, about five miles N.E. of Tønsberg. The district is part of the old kingdom of Westfold, one of the most important and populous of the kingdoms into which Norway was divided in the days of the petty kings. Westfold was in fact the nucleus of the later kingdom of Norway. This district is very rich in antiquarian remains, and it is noteworthy that Gokstad, where the only other ship-burial that in any way rivals the present find was discovered, lies only some fifteen English miles from the site of the present find. A striking feature of the discovery was the depth at which the ship lay buried. When the excavation was complete she appeared to be lying at the bottom of a deep dock. The illustrations to Mr. Schetelig's District Report from Norway for last year (see pages 57-62 of the present volume) give some idea of this. Mr. Schetelig, in his report (page 56), states that the grave was in a natural recess of the clay soil. In

view of this and of the amount of water which impeded the work of excavation it would seem not unlikely that the spot chosen was originally the site of a small pool of water, which was partially drained off and filled up at the burial. During the preliminary investigations in 1903 a few objects of interest were found, among them being a beech-wood baler, the oaken cover of some vessel, which was carved with an interlaced pattern, and some spades, these latter being of the same pattern as some found with the Gokstad ship. There was also found a mass of greyish-white substance, which on examination was found to be down, closely pressed together, as if it had been in a cushion. Some of this was taken up on a piece of board on which it had been lying, and it was subsequently found that the wood beneath it bore the impression of an embroidered or woven pattern, no doubt from the perished cover of the cushion. Another remarkable find was a big wooden bucket, lying under some of the fallen roof-planks, which had squeezed it quite flat. The outside of it was covered with bands of bronze in various open-work patterns, the interstices being decorated with bands of iron, covered with white metal, tin or silver. On the upper lip of the bucket were four rings of the same metal. Inside it there were found in a little hollow between the flattened staves a small wooden scoop and some crab-apples. This splendid vessel had evidently been used to hold ale or mead at banquets in the olden time. As pointed out by Mr. Schetelig in his report last year, the contents of the grave were wonderfully well preserved. The remains of horses and other animals buried in the mound had undergone, indeed, so little decay that the task of disinterring them was a very unpleasant one, and in the horses' stomachs the grass they had eaten immediately before being sacrificed could still be distinguished. Wooden objects, when first found, were very soft from the water with which they were sodden, but they soon hardened when exposed to the air, and some of the oars in the

ship look almost new, and are in such good condition that they could be used to-day. One chest in the grave-chamber was found unbroken. This was bound with iron, and contained various beautiful objects, mostly for feminine work, such as a distaff, with the thread still on it, a batlet for beating clothes (as still used in Norway, Iceland, and elsewhere), a milk-pail, a lamp, etc. There were also found in the chamber remains of fabrics with inwoven figures. Outside in the ship there were, besides many kitchen utensils, a magnificent waggon, decorated with carved human heads, four sledges, beautifully carved with animals' heads and partly painted, a spinning wheel, a loom, with part of the woven web still remaining, several beds, etc. The ship's gear included a landing-plank, furnished with cross-ribs, closely resembling that found in the Gokstad ship. The ship itself is clinker-built, and a little smaller than the Gokstad ship, being about 21.7 meters long and now about 6.5 meters broad. The original breadth was probably not more than 5 meters, the difference being due to the bulging out of the sides under the pressure of the overlying stones and mound. She was pierced for fourteen oars a-side, as against sixteen in the case of the Gokstad ship. The oar-holes are in the top strake of the planking, whereas in the other vessel they are in the third strake from the top. The shutters, provided in the Gokstad ship to close the oar-holes when the oars were not in use, are likewise absent from the present vessel, and her sides are not so high above the water-line. From these indications it is assumed that the Slagen ship was intended chiefly for rowing and for use on the smooth waters of the Christiania and Tønsberg fiords. Moreover, both stem and stern posts are elaborately carved with a dragonesque pattern for a length of about 3 meters, and the ship carried no shields along her gunwales. It is, therefore, probable that she was not an actual Viking, or war, ship, but rather a pleasure yacht or state barge, belonging, if it was indeed her owner who was buried

in her, to a lady of high rank, perhaps to the wife of a king of Westfold in the days before Norway was united under the rule of Harald Fairhair. The period of the burial, however, has yet to be determined, if indeed it be possible to arrive at it even approximately.¹ In any case the find is remarkable for the great variety of articles discovered and the rich and finished style in which they are ornamented. As an instance of the degree of refinement to which the decoration is carried, it may be mentioned that on one of the sledges even the step for the driver to stand on was adorned with open-work carving. The find is certainly a further proof, if proof be needed, that in late heathen times, when such a ship-burial was still possible, the Norwegians had attained to a pitch of culture and civilization at home at least equal to that prevailing on the continent of Europe and in these islands at the same period, a fact too often overlooked by writers who judge the "Vikings" solely by the character given them by the chroniclers of the lands they ravaged in warfare.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, APRIL 14TH.

Dr. J. G. GARSON (President) in the Chair.

The Annual General Meeting was held at the King's Weigh House on Friday, April 14th, 1905, at 8 p.m. The Annual Report of the Council and Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year were presented to the meeting and were adopted unanimously, and are printed on pages 284-289. The officers of the Club for the ensuing year were also elected.

On the motion of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, the following address of congratulation to

¹ I have just been informed by Professor Gustafson that he is inclined to place the date in the first half of the ninth century, but the examination of the find is as yet by no means complete, and he cannot commit himself to any definite opinion on the point.—ED., February, 1906.

their Royal Highnesses Princess Margaret of Connaught and Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway on their approaching marriage was adopted and ordered to be sent:—

“May 29th, 1905.

“TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS MARGARET VICTORIA
AUGUSTA OF CONNAUGHT:

“May it please your Royal Highness to accept from the Viking Club, a Society including, amongst others, Scandinavians and the descendants of Scandinavians who settled in the British Isles in bygone ages, this expression of the delight with which they heard of the betrothal of your Royal Highness to his Royal Highness Prince Oscar Frederick William Olaf Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway. The members of the Viking Club unfeignedly trust that your marriage may be for the welfare and happiness of yourself and the Royal Prince who is to be your husband, and will form a powerful link in the chains of friendship and kinship which unite the people of your native land with those of the countries over which we trust you may one day reign. They further congratulate the people of Sweden and Norway on the fact that in your Royal Highness they will have for their future Queen a Princess sprung from an ancient and royal line in whose veins, according to the traditions of their race, the blood of Odin flows.

“That your Royal Highness may attain life-long happiness is the earnest prayer of

“Your Royal Highness’s most humble servants,

“THE MEMBERS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

“Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,

“103, Park Street,

“Grosvenor Square, W.”

Dr. Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D., then read a paper on “The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names,” which is printed on pages 294-311.

Mrs. H. W. Bannon exhibited a unique copy of the Icelandic Bible of 1584, which was described by Dr. Stefánsson, who also gave an account of the translator, Bishop Gudbrand Thorlaksson, to whom this copy had

probably belonged, as many of the manuscript notes in it appeared to be those of the translator himself. A vote of thanks was given to Mrs. Bannon for allowing the Club to see this interesting relic.

Dr. J. G. Garson, the retiring President, then vacated the chair in favour of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President elect, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks accorded by acclamation to Dr. Garson, on the motion of the new President.

The Hon. Secretary, Miss A. Leslie, has since received the following reply to the address sent to Princess Margaret of Connaught on behalf of the members of the Club:—

“Clarence House,

“St. James's, S.W.,

“Dear Madam,

“May 30th.

“Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the very kind wishes they have sent to her.

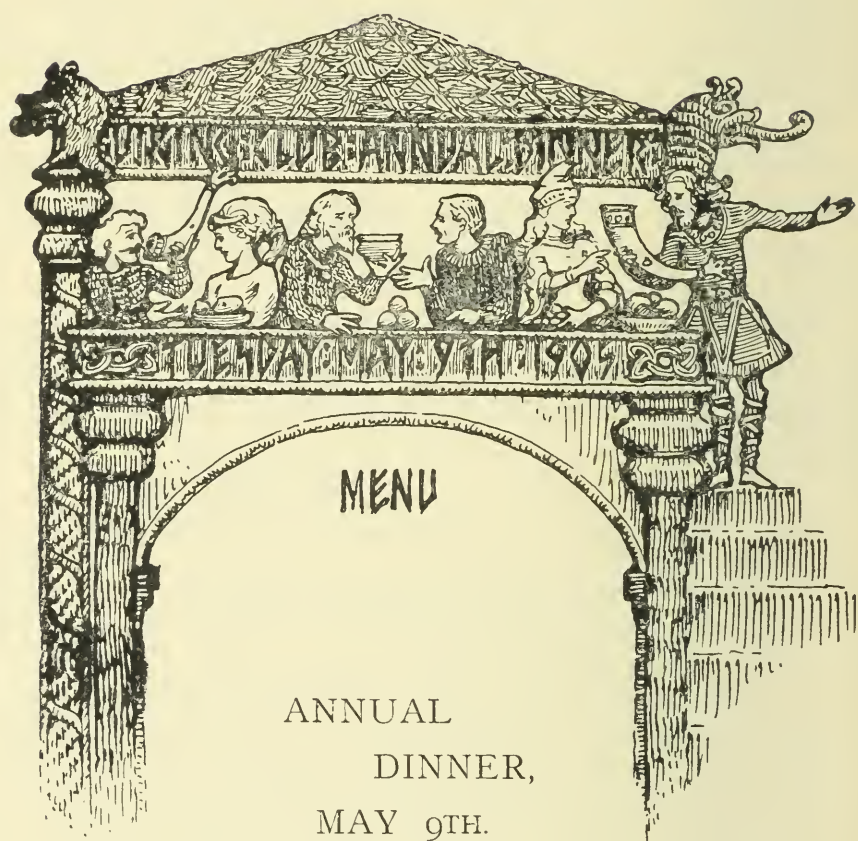
“Princess Margaret looks forward with great pleasure to her future home in Sweden, and it will be a great pleasure to her to feel that there are links in the past as well as that of the future between Prince Gustaf Adolf's country and her own.

“Will you please convey Her Royal Highness's thanks and good wishes to the members of the Viking Club.

“I remain, Madam,

“Truly yours,

(Signed) “LEILA MILNE.”



The Annual Dinner was held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., on Tuesday, May 9th, 1905, at 7-15 p.m., on the eve of the opening of an exhibition of pictures by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, President, on Icelandic and Norwegian Scenery and Saga Subjects. The chair was taken by the President, the Vice-Chairmen being Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Vice-President, Colonel Hobart, Vice-President, and Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President. Over eighty members and friends were present, including Baron Bildt, the Swedish and Norwegian Minister, and the Right Hon. J. Bryce, M.P., who were guests of the Club, Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., Professor W. P. Ker, and Mr. J. Gollancz. Mr. Hall Caine was invited, but was prevented from attending at the last moment, and sent the following letter of regret:—

“ Hotel Cecil,

“ London, W.C.,

“ May 9th, 1905.

“ Dear Mr. Collingwood,

“ After all (although I am not quite sure) I greatly fear that I shall not be well enough to be present at the dinner of the Viking Club to-night. This is a great disappointment to me. Although, as far as I know, directly descended from the Vikings who came over with Orry, I have not, unhappily, inherited their physical strength, and a week or two in London has been sufficient to put me to bed. Otherwise it would have been a great pleasure to show my sympathy with the aims of your Club in stimulating Northern research and the popularization of Scandinavian literature and antiquities.

“ As you know, I have twice visited Iceland, and on both occasions have been stirred to great admiration and emotion by the scenes of fire and frost which you have so vigorously and faithfully depicted in the pictures that form the chief attraction of your forthcoming exhibition.

“ I have also been deeply touched by the many proofs of kinship between the Icelanders as they now are and the people of my own little island, the Isle of Man, so that being in Iceland I have felt myself to be at home, and being at home to be in Iceland—so strikingly do the two little races which are one appear to clasp hands across the space of a thousand years.

“ But most of all as an author I have been stirred and stimulated by the great literature of the Sagas, and anxious to see the introduction of the elemental spirit which inspires it into modern imaginative art. If I could in any way help towards bringing back that elemental spirit how happy and how proud I should be ! And in this connection I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I say that, at the request of the Directors of Drury Lane Theatre, I have undertaken during the forthcoming summer to consider how far it would be possible to present on the boards of their historic house a short series of the great dramas which are to be found in the mighty Saga literature of the past. In such an effort, if I were able to make it, I am sure I should have the spontaneous sympathy of the members of the Viking Club, who would realize that, whatever concessions the dramatist might be required to make to the modern spirit and the practical necessities of the stage, I should be first of all impelled by a desire to bring back to a drama that is, perhaps, too much concerned with the unworthier passions of domestic intrigue, the healthy, wholesome, elemental emotions which have given the Sagas their immortal life.

"Again regretting deeply the indisposition which threatens to deprive me of the pleasure of your dinner to-night,

"I am,

"Yours very truly,

(Signed) "HALL CAINE.

"Wm. Collingwood, Esq."

The Swedish Minister, in responding to the toast of his health, remarked on the extent to which words of English origin were finding their way into Scandinavian literature. He instanced the respective fields of politics, social life, and sport. He was glad to say the mutual relationship of these islands and Scandinavia had been cordial since the time of the English Charles II. and, alluding to the coming marriage of a Prince of Sweden and Norway with Princess Margaret of Connaught, he pointed out that she was not the first English Princess who had gone from these islands to Norway and Sweden, while as further instances of the connection that existed between the royal houses of the two countries in bygone times, he mentioned the "Maid of Norway" and Queen Phillipa, to whom was owing the only pre-Reformation monastery in England that was still in existence, that at Chudleigh, in Devon. There was no country where a Britisher was sure of a better welcome than in Scandinavia, because their ways of thinking and regarding the problems of life were about the same.

The Chairman, in proposing the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Bryce, said no one had written with so much sympathy of Iceland's scholarship as had the Right Hon. gentleman. He had analyzed the constitution of the Icelandic Republic in a masterly manner.

Mr. Bryce, in a brief response, described the literature of the old north as one of the only two original literatures in modern Europe. It was well to get and study an original literature, because the world was getting terribly monotonous, as was shown by the spasmodic efforts made to get rid of monotony by conduct either

eccentric or morbid. If they wanted to get back to what Mr. Hall Caine had described as the elemental emotions, they could not do better than get the literature of the old north. The only other parallel was the literature of the early Celts, which one of their guests, Miss Hull, was presenting to us in an English dress. There was something, however, more original than even the literature of the old north, and that was its landscape, which was quite unlike that of any other part of the world. It presented a combination which left upon the mind an ineffaceable impression. It was gratifying to know that the literature of the north was becoming more known in England, and even better known in America. They, as Vikings, could only hope that the influence of the ancient Norse literature would tell upon America, and that it would be a stimulus of something novel, fresh, powerful, and dramatic in American literature.

Mr. Cathcart Wason, M.P., in proposing the toast of the Society, in the course of his remarks made an appeal to the Club to do some practical, living work. In Orkney there was a great field before them. The Standing Stones of Stenness, after Stonehenge, the most interesting relic of a forgotten age that we possessed, were gradually going from worse to worse, many were already fallen and might be easily replaced, and a very little expenditure on the others would put them in a safe condition. They were fortunate in having in Mr. J. W. Cursiter, of Kirkwall (Vice-President of the Club), a gentleman who would give his affectionate attention to such a proposal, and he felt sure that the Club had only to lay their desire before Colonel Balfour to get his permission to undertake urgent repairs at once. Possibly, later on, Colonel Balfour might give the Club a lease of the land, and they might fence it in to protect the stones from cattle. Meanwhile all that was necessary was to get permission to spend a few pounds on the stones from time to time.

The dinner was followed by a musical entertainment

by Miss Otta Brony, the Danish soprano, Mr. Arthur Strugnell, baritone, and Mr. Mansell Stevens, pianist.

The heading for the menu, which is reproduced above, was specially designed for the occasion by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood.

MEETING, MAY 12TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

Miss S. C. Rücker read a paper on "Some Notes on the Supernatural Element in Icelandic Literature," which is unavoidably held over.

It was announced that Mr. F. T. Norris had resigned the post of Editor and had been appointed an Hon. Vice-President of the Club and member of the Council. On the motion of Mr. Albany F. Major, Joint Editor, seconded by Mr. A. W. Johnston, Chairman of the Council, and supported by the President, a vote of thanks to Mr. Norris for the services he had rendered to the Club during the ten years he had been its Editor was passed by acclamation.

VISIT TO THE BRUTON GALLERY, JUNE 3RD.

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 3rd, the Exhibition of Water-colour Drawings of Iceland, etc., by the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, held at the Bruton Gallery, Bruton Street, W., was open specially for the Viking Club, and was visited by a large number of members and friends. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor, gave a brief account of the events recorded in the Sagas, which make Thingvellir, Helgafell, and other scenes depicted in Mr. Collingwood's sketches no less memorable for lovers of the literature of the north, than are Tintagel and Camelot for lovers of Arthurian romance, or the "bonnie braes of Yarrow" for lovers of the Border minstrelsy.

VISIT TO BEDFORD, JULY 1ST.

On Saturday, July 1st, a party of about 26 members and friends proceeded to Bedford to visit Willington Camp and other sites connected with the Anglo-Danish campaign of A.D. 921, described by Mr. A. R. Goddard in his paper on "The Danish Camp on the Ouse, near Bedford," in the SAGA-BOOK, Vol. III., pages 326-337. Mr. Goddard, who conducted the expedition, met the party on their arrival at Bedford, and drove with them first to the "King's Ditch," on the outskirts of the town, probably the work of Edward the Elder, who captured Bedford from the Danes, and, according to Mr. Goddard's theory, constructed this work to protect the lines of the garrison he placed there. A great part of the Ditch is still in existence, and, where it has been diverted, Mr. Goddard took the party along the line it anciently followed. Willington Camp was next visited, and the old earthworks and site of the harbour and naust described in Mr. Goddard's paper were carefully inspected. The party then drove on to Tempsford, where a substantial lunch awaited them at the old "Anchor" Inn, with its pleasant garden sloping down to the river. After lunch, Tempsford Camp, the site of the Danish headquarters during the campaign in question, first claimed attention, after which the party drove back to Bedford, crossing the river below Willington to visit sites on the other side, probably connected with the same campaign. The first of these was Renhold Camp, on the high ground rising sharply from the valley over against Willington. Between the two camps the river at one time probably broadened out into a lagoon, and Renhold would have served as an outwork to protect the passage across the lagoon from Willington of an army advancing on Bedford. Bloody Battle Bridge, and the Risinghoe, a great mound close to the bridge, which may be a burial mound,¹ were passed on the way back to Bedford, and possibly mark the battle-field, on which the Danes met the overthrow in

See SAGA-BOOK, vol. iv., part I., pages 238-9.

which this campaign ended. On reaching Bedford the party found tea provided in the "Embankment" Hotel. After tea, Mr. Goddard made a few remarks upon the connection of the Danes with Bedford, and received a hearty vote of thanks for the care with which he had organized and conducted a most successful outing. Before the return journey to town, Bedford Town Hall was visited, and a Saxon and Danish sword dug up in the neighbourhood were inspected.

MEETING, NOVEMBER 17TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

Pastor Axel Bergh, Danish Chaplain in London, gave a lecture on "Faröe and the Faröese" with Lantern Illustrations. The lecturer, who was born and brought up in Faröe, gave a vivid sketch of the islands and of the ways and mode of living of the inhabitants. The chief industries of the islands, catching and curing fish, collecting sea-birds and their eggs, and whale fishing, were depicted, and the primitive life of the people, only now beginning to yield before the influence from the outside world, which has followed upon the removal of the restrictions upon trade, were set before the audience in a way only possible to one who knew his subject from the inside and had lived the life he described. The constant perils which beset, in their daily occupations, the inhabitants of these rugged, lonely islands, set in the midst of the stormy Northern seas, were brought vividly home to the hearers. An excellent set of magic-lantern slides greatly added to the interest of the evening.

MEETING DECEMBER 15TH.

Mr. W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A. (President), in the Chair.

The Chairman of the Council, Mr. A. W. Johnston, reported that the following telegrams had been sent to the King and Queen of Norway and to the Norwegian

Prime Minister, on the occasion of their Majesties' arrival at Christiania, November 25th, 1905:—

“To His Majesty King Haakon, Christiania,

“Viking Club, England, wishes long life and happiness to Norway's King and to his Queen, England's daughter.”

For Viking Club, Albany Major,
30, Waldrons, Croydon.

“To Premier Minister, Michelsen, Christiania.

“Viking Club, England, trusts Norway will flourish under the royal line that to-day ascends Harald Haarfager's ancient throne.”

The following reply had been received:—

“Am commanded by King and Queen of Norway to thank Viking Club, England, for their good wishes.”

HENRY KNOLLYS.

The reply was ordered to be inserted in the minute-book.

A paper on “Ship-Burials,” by Mr. Haakon Schetelig, Hon. District Secretary for Norway, was read, and is printed on pages 326-363.

In addition to the above meetings, by the courtesy of the Folk-Lore Society, the members of the Viking Club were specially invited to attend a meeting of that Society, held at 22, Albemarle Street, W., on Wednesday, February 15th, when Mr. Albany F. Major, Hon. Editor of the Viking Club and Member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society, read a paper on “The Ragnarøk and Valhalla Myths and Evidence as to the Period from which they date.”

This paper will be included in an extra number, which the Hon. Editor hopes to prepare for publication at no very distant date.

Also on Saturday, May 20th, at the invitation of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Dr. Jón Stefánsson, representing the Viking Club, read his paper on “The Oldest Known List of Scandinavian Names, with their Bearing on Yorkshire Place-Names” (pages 294-311), before a meeting of the society at Holmfirth.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF COUNCIL.

METHODS OF WORK.

During the year 1904 the work of the Club included :—The holding of six Meetings for the reading and discussion of Papers on Northern subjects; visits to Cambridge and the British Museum; the social function of the Annual Dinner; adding to the Library and the Museum; the amendment of the law relating to life subscription; the foundation of an Endowment Fund; the survey of Orkney Place-Names; and the continuation of the Book Agency.

The Council recommend that the work of the Club should be continued on similar lines during the forthcoming year.

MEETINGS.

January 15th.—Inaugural Address, "Research." J. G. Garson, M.D., President, followed by a *Conversazione*.

February 12th.—"Scandinavian *Motifs* in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Ornamentation." Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., F.R.S.L.

"The Place-Name 'Wetwang.'" Rev. E. Maule Cole, M.A., F.G.S.

March 11th.—"Traces of Danish Settlement and Conquest in Cambridgeshire." E. Hailstone, F.R.Hist.S.

"Some Anthropological Notes from Orkney." M. Mackenzie Charleson, F.S.A.Scot.

April 15th.—"Metres in the *Sæmundar Edda*." Part II. J. Lawrence, D.Lit.Lond.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge. "The Saxon and Danish Antiquities of Cambridge and its Neighbourhood." Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare.

"The Danish Settlement at Cambridge." Edwin Sloper, F.G.S.

November 18th.—"Shipbuilding and Nautical Terms of Old in the North." Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A.

December 16th.—"Notes on the British Saga of King William." W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

EXCURSIONS.

May 28th.—Visit to Cambridge.

December 10th.—Visit to the British Museum.

SAGA-BOOK AND PUBLICATIONS.

The *Saga-Book* for 1903 has been issued to all Members for 1903 and to Members elected in 1904.

The *Saga-Book* for 1904 is now in the printer's hands, and will be issued in April to Members who have paid their subscription.

Prospectuses will be issued for the Second Volume of the Translation Series and other Works in progress.

A Prospectus will be issued for a Bibliography of Northern Literature by Dr. Jón Stefánsson.

Members having works to publish should communicate with Mr. A. F. Major.

The following Members have been appointed a Publications Committee: G. M. Atkinson, W. G. Collingwood, Dr. J. G. Garson, A. W. Johnston, A. F. Major, F. T. Norris.

PAPERS FOR MEETINGS.

Mr. A. F. Major, "Bifröst," 30, The Waldrons, Croydon, will be glad to hear from any Members who are prepared to read Papers before the Club, or to receive suggestions as to Non-Members who might be invited to read Papers; also to be informed of any works or articles by Members, or others, bearing on the studies of the Club.

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The collection of books and antiquities remains in the temporary charge of Mr. A. W. Johnston, F.S.A.Scot., as Hon. Librarian. A catalogue is in preparation, and will be issued to Members when completed. The Hon. Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of books and antiquities to the Library and Museum, and cases for books and exhibits.

ENDOWMENT FUND AND COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS.

At a Special General Meeting held on December 16th, 1904, the following resolutions were approved:—

- (a) That (1) Entrance Fee of 11s. be charged from Jan. 1st., 1905. (2) Life Subscription of £10 to include Entrance Fee. (3) Members who have paid 5 and 10 Annual Subscriptions may compound for £8 and £6 respectively. (4) Members to be allowed to pay Life Subscription by instalments, and Libraries to compound for a limited number of Annual Subscriptions, as shall be fixed by the Council. (5) Members ceasing to belong to the Club before completion of their Life Instalments, may, upon re election, resume and complete same.
- (b) All Entrance Fees, Life Subscriptions and Instalments, and Compositions, to be invested in an Endowment Fund, in name of Trustees, in Government or other approved stock, and the interest to be alone available for the Annual Expenditure of the Club.

- (c) That there shall be one or more Hon. Editors, that the office of Honorary Convenor shall be included in that of Honorary Secretary, and the various duties be re-arranged by the Council.
- (d) That the Council amend the Law-Book in accordance with foregoing resolutions.

MEMBERSHIP.

During the year 1904 the Club lost one Member by death and four by withdrawal, while thirty-eight Subscribing and two Honorary Members have been added to the roll, and the exchange of *Proceedings* arranged with three Societies.

At the close of the year the Membership consisted of 57 Honorary and 197 Subscribing Members, and the *Proceedings* exchanged with ten Societies.

Since the amendment of the Compounding Law five Members have compounded, and five arranged to pay their composition by instalment.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ending December 31st, 1904, is appended.

The printing and postage of prospectus cost £37 12s., and resulted in the gain of £18 in Annual Subscriptions, £10 Composition, and £30 for the sale of back works, or a total of £58, showing a surplus of £20 8s.

The Book Agency shows a profit of £6 9s. 8d., including £2 2s. 10d. net value of stock in hand.

Adopted by the Council,

A. W. JOHNSTON, *Chairman.*

March 4th, 1905.

Ad pted by the Annual General Meeting,

J. G. GARSON, *President.*

April 4th, 1905.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

LIABILITIES.		£	s.	d.	ASSETS.		£	s.	d.
To Horsford Fund for Printing and Illustrating "Thing-Steads," by F. T. Norris ..	Major Fund for Printing "Saga Studies," by A. F. Major ..	47	6	0	By Subscriptions 1902 (1), 1903 (7), 1904 (19) ..	Books Sold ..	13	10	0
" Compounded Subscriptions—1903 ..	1904 ..	5	0	0	" Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks ..	Books in Stock for Sale—	7	3	1
" Subscriptions to Publication Account ..	Miscellaneous Printing and Stationery ..	34	0	0	" From 1903 ..	Bought in 1904 ..	162	15	0
" Rent of Rooms, November, 1903—December, 1904 ..	Subscriptions for 1905 paid in 1904 (21) ..	8	16	6	" Sold in 1904 ..	Saga-Books in Stock for Sale ..	£6	6	11
" Subscriptions for 1905 paid in 1904 (21) ..	Subscriptions irrecoverable, 1902 (1), 1903 (2), 1904 (2) ..	2	3	6	" Cash in Bank ..	Cashed in 1905 ..	4	13	8
" Purchase of Books for Members ..	Subscriptions received for Icelandic Literary Society ..	10	11	0	" Consols, £50 ..	Cash with Assistant Secretary ..	11	0	7
" Subscriptions received for Society of Northern Antiquaries ..	Balance, being Surplus at December 31st, 1904—	2	10	0	" Cash with Hon. Treasurer ..		8	17	9
" Library, Museum, Stationery, and Blocks ..	Stock of Books on Sale ..	22	5	7			2	2	10
Stock of Saga-Books on Sale ..	Cash ..	0	16	3			300	0	0
		5	15	6			£128	8	5
		520	0	6			4	8	8
		£659	7	4			123	19	9
							44	10	8
							2	0	0
							3	16	0
							173	16	5

A. W. JOHNSTON, Hon. Treasurer.

£659 7 4

Dr.

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„ „ for Books for Members	..	..	38 4 3	„ Cash Subscription to Society of Northern Anti-			
„ „ for Carriage and Postage	..	..	1 11 0	quaries	..	..	5 15 6
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A. W. JOHNSTON, *Hon. Treasurer and Librarian.*

FROM JANUARY 1st TO DECEMBER 31st, 1904.

*Two anonymous money orders received from Leipzig and Göttingen.

Examined and found correct,

W. V. M. POPHAM,	} <i>Hon. Auditors.</i>
A. O. BELFOUR,	

GIFT OF A PICTURE TO THE VIKING CLUB.

The President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, has generously presented "THE PARLIAMENT OF ANCIENT ICELAND," one of the most important works shown at the Exhibition of his works, held in the spring at the Bruton Gallery, to the Viking Club. The picture is described as follows in the catalogue of the Exhibition:—

At the Althing, held every midsummer at Thingvellir, the Law-speaker recited the laws from the Løgberg (Rock of Law). The place usually shown as such is not now believed to have been the true Løgberg of early times. The rock painted in the picture is more likely to have been the real scene of the ceremony. The foundations of the two "booths" shown below the rock are still there: to the left is the Thingbrekka (Slope of the Meeting), and to the right is the Allmannagjá (All Men's Rift), the famous cleft in the lava where the people congregated. In the distance is Thingvalla Lake, on the bank of which are now the church and parsonage, not yet built at the time the picture represents.

The picture has been hung in the Gothic Hall at the King's Weigh House, where the meetings of the Club are held, and where it can be seen by members at other times on application to the caretaker.

The picture is one of great interest and value to the Club, not only on account of its great artistic merits, but as recording also the grand scenery of a spot so interesting to all lovers of the Icelandic Sagas, and depicting, as closely as is possible in the case of events so distant, such a scene as a meeting of the famous Althing must have presented.

WEDDING PRESENT TO H.R.H. PRINCESS
MARGARET OF CONNAUGHT.

As the result of the general feeling that the marriage of a Princess of England with a Prince of Sweden should not pass unnoticed by the Viking Club, it was decided to purchase, by subscription among members desirous of participating, a picture from the Exhibition of Water-

colour Drawings of Iceland and Northern Subjects by Mr. W. G. Collingwood. The President, hearing of the proposal, kindly placed at the disposal of members for this purpose his beautiful drawing, "KJARTAN FINDS HREFNA WEARING THE COIF," which was generally felt to be one of the most suitable pictures in the collection for such a presentation. It is described in the catalogue as follows:—

The hero of the Laxdale Saga, coming home to Iceland, brought from the Princess of Norway, who had made love to him in vain, a wonderful head-dress for Gudrun, his betrothed. When he arrived at Gufaróss on the White River and set up his booth or stone-walled tent (the actual view from the ruins of the trading-booths of the Viking age is seen through the doorway in the picture), he found Gudrun married to his friend Bolli. His sister Thurid, and Hrefna, sister of his skipper, Kálf, came to see the treasures he had brought. They unpacked the coif, and Thurid was trying it on Hrefna's head, when Kjartan came to the door. In the end he married Hrefna, and was killed through Gudrun's jealousy. The parallel, but much earlier, story of Sigurd the Völsung is shown in the carvings on the chests. Kjartan's cross-shield (for he had been made a Christian in Norway) hangs over his high-seat.

The following letter was accordingly sent to ask if Her Royal Highness would accept the gift from the Club:—

"June 13th, 1905.

"TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS MARGARET OF
CONNAUGHT:

"May it please your Royal Highness:

"The Council of the Viking Club desire, on behalf of the members of the Club, to present to your Royal Highness and His Royal Highness Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden and Norway a water colour painting by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., President of the Club, entitled 'Kjartan finds Hrefna wearing the Coif,' a description of which is given in the accompanying catalogue of an Exhibition at the Bruton Galleries, in which this picture was included (No. 8 in the catalogue).

"They trust that your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to accept this gift and also an account of 'A Pilgrimage to the Saga Steads of Iceland,' by the President and Dr. Jón

Stefánsson, another member of the Club, in which the names of the members who have joined in this gift to your Royal Highness will be inserted.

“Your Royal Highness's most humble servants,

“THE MEMBERS OF THE VIKING CLUB.

(Signed) “Amy Leslie, Hon. Secretary,

“103, Park Street,

“Grosvenor Square, W.”

Her Royal Highness having intimated that she would be happy to accept the gift so kindly offered by the Viking Club, the picture was sent, and the following acknowledgment was received by the Hon. Secretary:—

“Clarence House,

“St. James's, S.W.

“June 16th.

“Dear Madam,

“Princess Margaret desires me to thank the members of the Viking Club for the picture they have so kindly sent her, a picture that is full of interest for Her Royal Highness.

“It has safely arrived—please convey the Princess's thanks to the members of the Club.

“Truly yours,

(Signed) “LEILA MILNE.”

The list of subscribers was as follows:—

				£	s.	d.
The Lady Abinger	..	..	..	..	2	2 0
Anonymous	..	..	..	..	1	1 0
Rev. Dr. H. J. Dukinfield Astley			..	..	10	6
G. M. Atkinson	..	..	..	..	1	1 0
Mrs. Helen W. Bannon		..	..	..	2	2 0
Sir John Barran, Bart...		..	..	..	10	0
Miss Olive Bray	..	..	..	..	10	6
R. L. Bremner	..	..	..	..	5	0
William Brown	..	..	..	..	10	0
Rev. R. Ashington Bullen	..	..	..	..	2	2 0
Frank C. Capel	..	..	..	..	1	1 0
A. G. Chater	..	..	..	..	10	0
Miss Corfield	..	..	..	..	5	0
W. T. Crampton	..	..	..	..	10	0
J. P. Emslie	..	..	..	..	10	0
Major J. Fielding	..	..	..	..	10	0
Miss Francesca Foster	..	..	..	..	10	0
Professor Gabriel Gustafson	..	..	..	..	1	0 0

Wedding Present to H.R H. Princess Margaret. 293

E. Hailstone	10	0
J. A. Harvie-Brown	1	0 0
Colonel Hobart	2	2 0
R. H. Hodgkin	5	0
Miss M. L. Hodgson	5	0
Rev. Canon J. Clare Hudson	5	0
B. E. Hughes	10	0
Dr. Charles E. Ingbert.. .. .	1	0 0
A. W. Johnston	1	1 0
T. Davies Jones	1	1 0
Professor W. P. Ker	1	1 0
W. F. Kirby	5	0
L. Nielsen Ladefoged	1	1 0
Dr. J. M. Laughton	1	11 0
Dr. J. Lawrence	1	1 0
Mrs. Disney Leith	10	6
Eiríkr Magnússon	}	1 1 0
Mrs. Sigríðr E. Magnússon		
A. F. Major	1	1 0
Mrs. A. F. Major	10	6
Mark B. F. Major	1	1 0
Rev. C. A. Moore	10	0
Mrs. Dorothy H. H. Newmarch	10	6
R. R. Nichol	10	0
F. T. Norris	10	6
O. T. Olsen	1	1 0
Dr. George Pernet	10	6
Mrs. Pocklington-Coltman	1	0 0
W. Hulbert Popley	5	0
The Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay	1	0 0
J. Stirling Ross	5	0
Miss S. C. Rücker	1	1 0
Cecil Roy Saunders	7	6
F. G. Smart	3	3 0
Captain A. Sölling	8	0
Mrs. J. J. Stevenson	10	0
Rev. Pastor A. V. Storm	5	6
Miss Agnes Swain	10	6
Ernest Swain	1	1 0
W. N. Thompson	5	0
Rev. Canon John J. Thornley	10	6
Professor T. N. Toller	10	0
Francis William Tudsbury Tudsbury	1	1 0
The Rev. Chas. W. Whistler	1	1 0
T. McKinnon Wood	1	0 0

A reproduction of the picture has been presented by the President to all the subscribers.

The Oldest Known List

[illegible]

of Scandinavian Names.

þis sýndan þa fester men Elfricas. Alketel cyninges rene. 7 Heriessuan. 7 Astetel
 wulstain. Alf. Wigolf. Barað. Farðain. greua. Osulf. 7 wulfsh. Foleric 7 El
 wegga 7 Adseorl. Samal. presbyter. Grim. 7 Grimcetel. Asmund. roser. Grimcetel in
 barnabi. Gudwina. folcer. Berðor. Bretecol. 7 Arðolf. 7 Fornu. Menning. 7
 Walger. For in caer. 7 Arretel Sinerð Kænæn arner. Colbrand. clericus. Blith. Elewin
 uel. Snel. Godwine. Ieser. Eðastan. ulfer Ethnoð frer Roscetel. 7 Eoric. Grimcetel.
 háwer. Astetel. Grim in cire. Cetel. presbyter. Sumner. Alketel. in há. Foluærð. in burh.
 Alketel presbyter. Alketel. 7 Asmund. Iesfnoð. in brothortun. Porcetel. undain.
 Alf. presbyter. Pirne beorn. 7 Ailaf. in brathatun. Wulfrie. 7 Eustan. Roc. in billum.
 ? Thor. ana. 7 E...cetel. his mah. Kaganald. asðeornas suna. Eorric.
 ploh. in barnabi. Hálfuærð. sáfagalasuna. 7 Arðor
 Palf. presbyter. Audretel. ? presbyter

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

Facsimile of the page of the original Codex containing the Name with a transcript showing
 the abbreviations of the original document in full.

THE OLDEST KNOWN LIST OF SCANDINAVIAN NAMES.

By JÓN STEFANSSON, PH.D., Hon. District Secretary for Iceland.

THE list of names which I am about to bring to your notice was found in a vellum codex of the Gospels in Latin, in the Library of York Minster. The MS., size $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $8\frac{1}{4}$, was written about the middle of the tenth century. On the last leaf of the MS. is a Bidding Prayer in a later hand, the oldest of its kind in English, which has been published by the Rev. T. F. Simmons in "The Lay Folks Mass Book," London, 1879, Early English Text Society. Under this Prayer, in a contemporary hand, is the list of names given here. It consists of twelve lines, the last three of which are somewhat damaged. The ending *-er*, *presbyter* (priest) and *clericus* are abbreviated in the MS.

A facsimile of the original and a full transcript are given on the preceding pages; upon these we now proceed to comment.

THESE ARE THE BONDSMEN OF ELFRIC. According to the Northumbrian priestlaw a priest, on election, must be supported by twelve bondsmen or fide-jussors, as a security that he would observe the laws. Elfric, who was elected Archbishop of York in 1023, is supported here by no less than 70 men, guaranteeing his good behaviour. The *fester-* in "fester-men" seems due to Norse "*festar-*," in compounds "pledged," "having given troth;" for the Old English "*fester-*" means throughout "*foster-*," e.g., in "*fester-fæðer*," "*fester-moðor*," except in this word. The place-names seem to

be from South Yorkshire: Barnabi, Bærnabi=Barnby, Barmby. Braiþatun=Brayton. Brothortun=Brotherton. Caer=Car, Kereby. Há=Ho. Hillum=Hillam.

Not counting the mutilated names with which lines 10 and 11 begin, there are 76 names, some of which occur more than once, Alfceltel (2), Asmund (2), Grim (2), Ulf (2), Ulfceltel (2), Ascetel (2), Grimceltel (4).

Prof. G. Stephens, of Copenhagen, published this list of names in a Danish periodical in 1881, without attempting to identify any of them.

ADSCEORL. Old English. According to Searle it only occurs once in Old English literature.

AILAF. Old Norse Eilífr. On Danish Runic Stones: Ailaif. Saxo: Eliuus. *Necrologium Lundense*: Elif, but Elauus as late as the fourteenth century in Denmark. *Domesday Book*: Elaf (8),¹ Eilaf (7), in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. *Liber Vitae*: Aeilaf, Eilaf. Eilaf occurs on coins in the tenth century (Grueber),² and William the Conqueror has a housecarle of that name in A.D. 1075. The name is sometimes anglicised as Eglaf, a Danish chieftain in A.D. 1009 (Sym.), and Eglaf who witnesses Cnut's charters in 1023, and four years earlier is called Eilaf (Birch). Eylaf, a Dane, occurs in the A.S. Chron. 1025. Eileifr, Eiláfr, the prototypes of this name, are not recorded in literature, but must have existed. In Norwegian place-names the name appears as Ellev-, Elles-, Els-, and is thus common to Denmark and Norway.

ALFCETEL. Old Norse Álfketill. Danish Runic Stones: Alfkil. Saxo: Alkillus. D.B.: Alchel (1), Alchil (1), Alchetel (1), all settled in Yorkshire. Aylkil, A.D. 958 (Birch), in Suffolk, shows how early the Danish slurring of the name took place. *Norwegian*, see under Arcetel.

ÁNA. Old Norse Áni. Danish Runic Stones: Ano. Saxo: Ano. In Norway in the place-name Aanestad.

ARCETEL. Old Norse Arnketill. The shortening of ketill to kill seems to have taken place very early

¹ These figures give the number of persons in D.B. of this name.

² For list of authorities, references, and abbreviations see at the end.

in Denmark. Danish coins of the eleventh century have Arkil, while the "Reichenau Necrologium," end of the tenth century, containing names of pilgrims from all over the North, has Arnkil side by side with the Norwegian Icelandic Arnchetil, and with Aercil, probably a Dane. Still earlier, the Arkil of the "Liber Vitae" shows how early this slurring took place among the Danes in England. The Old Swedish is Arkil. Danish-Swedish -kil, -kel, correspond to Icelandic-Norwegian -ketill, as Konráð Gíslason has shown.

He has proved that the Norse names ending in -kell ended in -ketill as late as the early part of the eleventh century. Taking the Scaldic verse of that time, -ketill is the established form in Norwegian and Icelandic names, while Thorkel the High, a Danish chieftain, appears as Þorkell, and a Swedish king as Steinkell. This is conclusive evidence that the nine men in the list whose names end in -cetel were Norwegians, while Cetel by itself is more doubtful, though not apparently found as a man's name in Old Danish. That the Arkitel of a charter A.D. 958 and the Arcytel in Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," A.D. 975, were Norwegians, while the Arcil who appears often in Birch's "Cartularium," A.D. 960-990, was a Dane, is a legitimate conclusion from the above. A number of Norwegians helped the Danes to conquer England. It is true that the Danish form Archil preponderates in Domesday Book (50 Archil, Archel, to 4 Archetel), but the Conquest of England was by no means purely Danish. Part of the names of the settlers recorded in Domesday Book are purely Norwegian. Arketel appears in the Lincolnshire Hundred Rolls. Later on the Danish form predominates. Wm. Arkil is found in 4 Ed. II., Joh. Arcle in 34 Hen. VI. Arksey (Yorkshire, W.R.), Arkletown, Arkleside, Arkleby, Arkilgarthdale, are place-names which testify to the popularity of the name.

ARNER. O.N. Arnórr, Arnþórr, see Arðor. Arnestorp (2), Yorkshire, D.B., now Arnold, Arnall (Kirkby).

ARÐOR. O.N. Arnþórr, Arndórr. The n is dropped as in Arcetel and in Aregrim, D.B. (Arngrímr). In Denmark and Norway r is assimilated to n in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—N.L.: Andor; “*Diplomatarium Norvegicum*”: Arndor, Andor. Domesday Book has Artor (5), which the editor, Ellis, takes to be King Arthur’s name.

ARÐOLF. One Ardulfus is settled in Leicestershire, D.B., and Ardulfestorp is also found there. A Scandinavian Arðulfr, from arðr, plough, and úlfr, is not recorded in literature, but according to Searle Arðolf is not a Saxon name.

Icelandic-Norwegian names beginning with *as-* correspond to names beginning in *es-* in Danish-Swedish. Three of these occur, none of them in the Danish form.

ASBEORN. Old Norse Ásbjörn. Danish Esbern throughout (place-names, coins, Saxo, N.L.), the mutation of e to eo, jö, being unknown. In the charters and in Domesday Book only the Danish Esbern (6) occurs, while Esbearn, D.B., seems a clumsy attempt by a Dane to approach the Norse form. The Osbern of Florentius Wigornensis, A.D. 1117, is an anglicisation of the Danish. Symeon of Durham calls him Esbern in 1129. Earl Osbearn, A.S. Chron., who was killed in 871, is an attempt to anglicise Ásbjörn, the Norwegian form. Esbernebi is a place in Lincolnshire, D.B.

ASCETEL. O.N. Ásketill. Danish forms appear side by side with the Norse in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham as early as the ninth century: Danish: Aeskyl, Askill, Askil, Eskil; Norse: Aeskitil, Asketillus, Anscetill. Aeskitil seems to be an attempt to combine the Norse and Danish forms. Anscetill is an anglicised form of the name, Saxon ans corresponding to Norse ás, and Anschetellus occurs frequently in the Pipe Rolls throughout the twelfth century, *e.g.*, four times in 1131. A monk called Askillus witnesses a charter in A.D. 851. Saxo uses Eskillus; and so does *Necrologium Lundense*, though Askel occurs. Reichenau uses both: Eskil,

Aschil. D.B.: 40 Aschil, 60 Anschitil(l), 13 Anschetillus, 1 Anschetellus, 4 Anschil. Thus, out of 118 persons bearing the name 74 are Norwegians, if the rule about *ketill*, *kell* holds good, and if we grant that A(n)s- takes the place of Es- in Danish names, in this case. Place-names: Aschilebi (4) D.B., Askelby, Kb., Asselby now. Ascheltorp, Hasse(Has)thorp, Kb., Haisthorpe now. Norwegian.

ASMUND. O.N. Ásmundr. Common to Denmark and Norway. Asmund(us): earliest Danish coins and Saxo, though Osmundus is found in the twelfth century, N.L. In Norway in the "Diplomatarium Norvegicum" we find Aasmund, Osmund. The usual Domesday Book form is Osmundus (40-50), but already then, 1086, the slurred Assemannus occurs. Asmundrebi, D.B., Asmunderby, Kb., Aismunderby now, shows the genitive mark. Asmundrelac, D.B. (Ásmundarlækr), also in Yorkshire. Osmunderley, 1285, Kb., now Osmotherley. If the "Asman" found on English tenth century coins is a slurring of Ásmundr, it is one more proof that changes in names took place earlier and more rapidly in the Viking colonies than in the motherland.

AUÐCETEL. O.N. Auðketill. Norwegian. Rare. This had become Auðkell in Norway by A.D. 1100, and is only found in one place-name, Öikels-rud, in Dip. Norv.

BARAÐ. O.N. Bárðr. Apparently not found in Denmark, but frequent in Norway. D.B.: Bared (t), 12. P.R.: Rob. Barate 1166; Rob. Barat 1185; Hugo Bard 1203, Fines, Bard(e), Kb. Place-names: Barsby, Leicestershire, Bardsey, Yorkshire W.R., Bardsea, Lancashire, Bardsey Isle, Wales.

BEORN. O.N. Björn, Beorn (bear). The Anglo-Saxon beorn, warrior, which occurs only in poetry and only after the Danish settlement, seems to be borrowed, as the A.S. word for bear is bera, masculine. The earliest instance of the name in England is Beorn the Abbot, in a charter of A.D. 758. In the next century the "Liber Vitae" has Beorn, while Domesday Book, 1086, has Bern (4), the

Danish form of the name. Cp. Esbern. The "Biorn" on Danish coins of the 11th century and in Saxo may be borrowed. Lord Byron's name is one of the forms of this name. Roger de Burun, P.R., 1156; Rob. de Burun, Lincolnshire, 1185. Baren, 1285, Kb. Among the freemen of York in 1378 are: Roger de Beronby, Hugo Byren, Thomas Byrne, Joh. Byrone. John le Burun or Byron lives in Lincolnshire in 1383, Thomas Barn in York in 1414. D.B. has 8 Barnebi and 2 Bernebi. Gilebert de Barnebi, Fines about A.D. 1200; Kb. 1285: Wm. de Barneby, Thomas de Barneby, Rob. de Berneby, also called Rob. Barmby. Place-names, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ*: Barneby, Barnby-upon-Don. Barneburg, Berneston, D.B. Barne- may be Bjarnar-, genitive of Björn or Bjarna-, genitive of Bjarni.

BERHÐOR. O.N. Berþgórr. Bertor, D.B. In Norway, Berdor about 1400, Bergdorsætr, 1345. It is probable that Berter on English coins (Keary), is a slurring of this name. Norwegian.

BLIH. O.N. Bligr, used as a nickname. In Norwegian place-names Blikstad, Blikset. Unknown in Denmark.¹

BRETECOL. Bratt(i)-kollr, an O.N. nickname (?) Cp. Breteby, Brettegat, Kb.

CETEL. O.N. Ketill. D.B.: Ketel, Cetil, Chetel (102 in all). Ketel in a charter of the tenth century (Kemble). Ketel in L.V. ninth century. A moneyer of Henry II. is called Ketil, while Ketil appears as late as 1439. The transition from old to new forms may be seen in Chetelestorp, D.B.—Ketolthorp, Kb.—Kettlethorpe, now. The name is common to Denmark and Norway. Chetellus, 1123, Round and P.R. 1131. Paulinus Ketil witnesses a Yorkshire deed in 1302. Of 3 Chetelbi in Lincolnshire, D.B., one becomes Ketsby, another Kettleby. The genitive is usual, Chetelesbi, Lincolnshire, Chetelestorp (2) and Chetelesness (Kettle-ness, N.R.), Yorkshire, Chetelestune, Derby, Chetelescot.

¹ Wm. Bligh, A.D. 1200, Pipe Rolls, Notts. Blye and Blie occur often in the reign of Ed. I.

COLBRAND. O.N. Kolbrandr. Colbrand, 4, D.B., in deeds (Birch), A.D. 960-990; also, in D.B., Colebrand, Colebran (3). Kolbrandstad, a place-name in Norway. Occurs in Iceland. Not found in Denmark.

EÐASTAN is Saxon. O.N. Eysteinn takes the form Eastan in a charter of 995 (Kemble).

EDRIC (corresponding to O.N. Heiðrekr), ELEWIN, ELNOÐ, ELWEGGA are all Saxon.

FARÐAIN is only found once, Fardan, Fardain, in D.B. Farþegn, which occurs four times in the Dip. Norv. is the Norse form; Farþein, on coins, eleventh century, Farthin, N.L., are the Danish forms. It seems to mean a trader. Compare the name Farman in D.B. O.N., far-maðr(-mann), with the same meaning.

FOLCER. Fulcher, D.B. (7). Danish. Not found in Norway. Fulcarslef, Dan. place-name. Transition: Fulcarstorp (four places), D.B.—Folcerthorp, 1303 (Knight's Fees)—Foggathorpe now. Yorkshire, E.R.

FOLCRIC corresponds to Fólkrekr, not found in Scandinavia.

FORNA. O.N. Forni. Forno in a charter (Birch), 958. Forne in D.B. (6-8). Norway (Fornebu) and Denmark (Fornælef). Transition: Fornetorp, D.B., one in E. Riding, Yorkshire, now Thornthorp, one in W. Riding and one in N. Riding. Forne: Grueber and P.R., 1131.

GAMAL. O.N. Gamli (=Gamall). In charters (Birch), A.D. 960-990: Gamal. L.V.: Gamelo. D.B. (130): Gamel. Sym.: Gamelo. Rare in Norway. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Gamel: place-name, Gammelstrup (Gamals-þorp). Gamel(us), P.R., 1131; Wm. Gamel, 1285 (Kb.); Adam Gamell, 1348; John Gamul, 1410. Gamelstorp, Lincoln, Gameltorp (2), Yorkshire N.R. (and W.R.), Yalmthrope, Knights' Fees (Holderness, temp. Hen. III.), Gamelthorp, 1316 (Nomina Villarum), Galmethorp, 1285, Kb., Galmethorp, 1361, now Ganthorpe. Gamelestun (3), Notts.; Galmeton (D.B. and Kb.), now Ganton. Ellis says: "Gamel seems a

diminutive of Game," which almost beats Freeman's suggestion that Anand is a corruption of Amund.

GODWINE. Saxon, corresponding to O.N. Guðini, Guðni.

GRIM. O.N. Grímr. Grim dux in a charter of 930 (Birch). The "*Liber Vitæ*" preserves the nominative—r: Grimer. Denmark: coins, eleventh century, Reich. and Saxo: Grim. D.B.: Grim (40); Grimesbi, P.R., 1169.

GRIMCETEL. O.N. Grímketill. D.B.: Grimchel(-chil), 2; Grinchel(-chil), 30; Grinchetel, 2. Grinchel is a parallel change in the name to Grinkel(l) in Norway (Dip. Norv.). But P.R. has Grinchell in 1131 and Grimkil in 1169. Danish: eleventh century coins and Reich.: Grimkil. A Grimkil was bishop of Selsey, 1039-1047. Grimkytele, dative, c. 1010 in the Crawford Charters.

GUNNER. O.N. Gunnarr. Gunnar(-er), D.B. (8). Gunner, Gunar, dux appears in charters (Birch) in 931, 956, and in 963 (dat. Gunnere). Saxo: Gunnarus. N.L.: Gunnerus. Frequent also in Danish place-names: Gundeböl, Gundelev, Gundestrup (Gunnars-bæli,—leif,—þorp). Gunresby, D.B., Lincolnshire; Gunnerside, Yorkshire N.R., Gunnersbury, near London. Gunner, son of Thored, a Viking chieftain, in A.S. Chron. A.D. 966.

HÁLWÆRÐ. O.N. Hallvarðr. D.B.: Aluuard(us), 152; Aluuart, 2; Alwerd, 5; Aluer. Aluuard: Grueber. Aluardus: Round, 1125. Alwarde (Aluerde-)bi, D.B. Yorkshire, E.R.: Elward(e)by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuardebi, Elwardebi, D.B. N.R.: Elerd-, Ellerede-, Elred-, Eler-by, 1285, Ellerby now. Aluuaarestorp, D.B. Alward(e), Alwar-thorp 1285, Avertorp 1303, Allerthorpe now, E.R., but Allerthorpe in the N.R. is Herleuestorp in Domesday Book. This name does not seem to occur in Denmark.

HÁWER. O.N. Hávarr, Hávarðr. In two charters of A.D. 931 the same man is called Haward dux and Hawerd dux. D.B.: Hauuard(t), 7, all in Yorkshire. Haiward, 1170, Round. Haiwardho Wapentac, Lincolnshire, P.R.,

1185. Hauuardebi, D.B., Lincolnshire. Danish place-name: Haverslev.

IOLUARÐ. Not found in Scandinavia, cp. Jól-geirr. Iulferth, Grueber, temp. Ed. III.

IUSTAN. O.N. Jósteinn. D.B.: Iustan, Iustin (4). Iustin, a Viking leader with Olaf Tryggvisson in 991, A.S. Chron., called Iustin by Symeon of Durham. He was probably a Dane, as Danish ju=Norwegian jó.

LEFER. O.N. Leifr. D.B. only: Lefsi (7), O.N. Leifsi. L.V.: Læfsi, but also Leuer, with the nominative r. Leuesbi (2), Lincolnshire, D.B.; Leusebi, P.R., 1155; Leyseby, Hundred Rolls, about 1275; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III., Lissebi, now Laceby. Leuesthorpe, Leicestershire; Inquis. P.M. temp. Hen. III. Lefsthorp: Denmark: 13th cent.

LEOFNOÐ. Anglo-Saxon.

LIGOLF. Ligulf, Ligul, D.B.; Liculf, L.V.; Liulf, Sym. Not found in Scandinavia.

MENNING. An unrecorded Menning appears in Mennistorp, D.B., Menythorpe, Meningthorp 1303, Menethorpe now, Yorkshire, E.R. Anglo-Saxon.

MERLESUAN. Merlesuen, D.B.; Mærleswegen, A.S. Chron. Probably the M. who fled to Scotland from York in 1067, but in 1069 joined the Danes in the Humber, and drove the Normans from York. Gaimar says of him in "Lestorie des Engles," under A.D. 1052: Marleswain, Daneis esteit, riche e baron.

ORDRIC. D.B.: Ordric. Anglo-Saxon.

OSULF. O.N. Ásúlfr. D.B.: Osulf (20). Asulf in Runic Stones of the tenth century, Denmark. Aasulfrud, place-name in Norway. Occurs in a charter of 767 (Birch). Old Norse or Anglo-Saxon.

RAGANALD. O.N. Rögnvaldr. D.B.: Ragenald (7), Ragenalt (1), Rainald (108), Raynald (7), Reinald (3), Reinold (1), Renold (2), Renald (2), Raenold (1). Northumbrian coins: Racnolt; Raienalt, king 919-921; Recnald, king 943-944. Regnwald A.D. 932 (Birch). Raginaldus in P.R., 1131, Lincolnshire. Ragnaldr is

the Norwegian form, to judge from place-names, while the *a* in *Ragn-* is weakened to *Regn-* in Denmark. N.L.: *Regnwaldus*; Saxo: *Regnaldus*.

ROC. D.B.: *Roc* (1), *Rochebi* (*Rokeby*), Yorkshire; *Rochesha* (2), Lincolnshire. If Saxo's *Rokar* represents an O.N. *Rokkr*, the name may be O.N.

ROSCETEL. O.N. *Hrossketill*. D.B.: *Roschil*, *Roschel* (7), *Ruschil* (1); *Roscheltorp*, W.R. Norwegian.

ROSER. Obscure. O.N. *Ræsir* (?)

RÆUÆN. O.N. *Rafn*. D.B.: *Rauen* (11), *Rauan* (1); *Rafan*: "*Liber Vitæ*"; *Ræfn*: A.D. 950 (*Grueber*). In Denmark *v(u)* takes the place of *f* early, and Saxo's *Rafnus* is merely an archaism. *Ravnstrup* (*Rafns-þorp*). English place-names: *Rauen(e)dal(e)*, 6, Lincolnshire, D.B. *Rauenestorp*: Northampton (3), Leicestershire (1), Yorkshire (2), but also *Rauenetorp*, Yorkshire. *Rauenesuuet* (*Rafns-þveit*), Yorkshire, *Ravenswath* in *Kirkby*, *Ravensworth* now. *Ravenser* (*Rafns-eyrr*) and *Ravenser Odd*, two lost towns on the Humber, mentioned the last time in 1303.

SÆFUG(O)L. *Sæfugul* (*Grueber*), but not found elsewhere.

SIUERÐ. O.N. *Sigurðr*. D.B.: *Siuuard* (200), *Siuerd* (2), *Siuert* (2). *Sieuert*, *Siefred*, Northumbrian coins, A.D. 894-98. *Siuuardus*, L.V.; *Siwardus*, abbot in 806, 833, 868 (*Birch*); Earl *Siward Digera* died 1055 (*Symeon*); *Siward*, P.R. throughout. The slurring of *g* to *w* is Danish. Early Danish coins: *Sivord*, *Sigvard*; Saxo: *Siuard*; Reich.: *Siwart*. Place-names: *Siwarbi*, D.B.; *Sywardby*, Kb, 1285; *Siwardeby*, 1316, N.V.; *Seuerdby*, Knights' Fees in Holderness, *Sewerby* now. *Siwarbi*, Yorkshire W.R.; *Siwardbi*, Yorkshire W.R., E.R.; *Siwartorp*, W.R.

SNEL. O.N. *Snjallr*, adjective, used in Denmark as a name, without mutation, *Snell*, *Snaelleröd* (place-name): *Snialle*, *Snielle*, N.L. A *Snel* occurs in charters of 995 (*Birch*, K.C.D.), also on coins in the reign of *Athelstan*. *Snellestune* (2), Derby, D.B.; *Snelleslounde*, Lincolnshire. Inquis. Non. 14 Ed. III.

ULF. O.N. Úlfr. D.B.: Ulf (120). Frequent in P.R. (1131, 1166). In Domesday Book there are 7 Ulvesbi in Lincolnshire. Ousby, Cumberland, is Ulfsby in P.R. Lanulfestorp, Lincolnshire, D.B., Ulvesthorp 1285, Ullesthorp 1314, Owsthorpe now. Ulvestun, Yorkshire N.R., D.B.; Uluis-Ulves, Ulles-ton, Kb; Oulston now.

ULFCETEL. O.N. Úlfketill. D.B.: Ulchil, Ulchel (70), Ulchetel (26), Ulfchetel (4), Ulchetellus (1); Ulfkil, Wlkil, L.V.; Ulfketel 958 (Birch) is called Ulfkytel 959. Ulfkill, Earl of East Anglia, A.S. Chron. Early Danish coins: Ulfkil, Ulfkel, Ulkil. N.L.: Ulkil, Ulkel. Ulchiltorp, Yorkshire W.R., D.B. The proportion of Danes to Norwegians of this name in Domesday Book is of great interest.

ULFER. O.N. Úlfarr. D.B.: Ulfar, Derby (1), Ulfer 1, Uluer 1, Yorkshire; Ulwar, Suffolk. Ulverscroft, Leicestershire; Uluardune, D.B.; Ulfre(er)ton Kb., Wolfreton.

UNBAIN. D.B.: Unban (1); Grueber: Unbein.

WULFEH. Anglo-Saxon. Wulfheah; D.B.: Wlfah.

WULGER. Anglo-Saxon. Ulger, coins, Grueber. Wlgar, D.B. Wolfger (Piper).

WULFRIC. D.B.: Ulwric (115), Ulric (3). Early Danish coins: Ulfric; Reich.: Wolewric.

ÞOLF. O.N. Þólfr, þórólfr. D.B.: Tolf (2), Tol dacus (the Dane) 1, Thol (1). Þulfr in Norway on Runic Stones, and þolfr, late fourteenth century. Tolvstad and Tolsby, in the fourteenth century Þolfsby. Compare Tolsta in N. Lewis with Tolvstad. The name is not found in Denmark. Tolesbi, Tollesbi, Yorkshire, D.B., and Tollestone, Notts., D.B., may be derived from Þolleifr or Þólfr, but Toltorp, Northampton, and Tholthorpe, Yorkshire, are from the latter. Tole (Tolli, þolleifr) occurs in the "Liber Vitæ."

ÞÓR. O.N. þórir. D.B.: Tor (38), all in Yorkshire except 4 in Lincolnshire, 2 Northampton, 1 Norfolk; also Thori, Tori, Thure, Thuri. L.V.: Thor, Ture, Thure,

Thuro, Thore, Tori. The number of "Thor," without a final e or i, is so large that it almost looks as if the name of the god had been appropriated. Yet it is hardly credible. A grant by King Edgar to the Archbishop of York in A.D. 958 is witnessed by Þor (Birch). Thuorstorp, Lincolnshire, D.B. Toresbi, 7 in Lincolnshire, 2 in Yorkshire. Turesbi, now Thoresby, Notts. Toreswe (þórs-vé), Lincolnshire (2); Thoreswaia, temp. Hen. II., Thoresway now.

ÞORCETEL. O.N. Þorketill. D.B.: Turchil(l) 107, Torchil 52, Turchetel 14, Torchetel 2. Thurkytel, Þurkitel, 958 (Birch), Thurkytel 959. Turkillus, L.V. Thurkyll is used as a name in York as late as 1408. Danish Runic Stones: Þorkil, Þurkil, Þurkel. Danish coins: Þurkil, Þorkel. Saxo: Thorkillus. P.R.: Turchillus, 1169; Turchetil, Turchil, 1166; Turchil(l), Kb. Turchilebi, D.B., Yorkshire W.R., now Thirkleby. Torchilebi, N.R., now Thirkleby; Thurkelby in Kirkby. Turchileby, E.R.; Thurkylby, Kb.; Thirtleby now. Turchilestone 1, Leicestershire, but 2 Turchitelestone.

The following are some of the most archaic of the Old Norse names in the "Liber Vitæ" of Durham (the oldest part of which is written 840-900), not in the York list:—

Alaf, Olafar, Olif	Áláfr, Ólafr, Óleifr.
Arni	Árni.
Audænus, Ouðen	Auðunn.
Azer, Ascer, Asor	Ossur (Asser, Dan.).
Estret	Astriðr.
Berse	Berse(i).
Boduwar	Böðvar.
Colbain, Colben	Kolbeinn.
Eiric	Eiríkr.
Gisla	Gísli.
Aldan	Hálfván.
Halle	Halle(i).
Aldstein	Hallsteinn.
Locchi	Loki.
Leising	Leisingr.
Stein	Steinn.
Svarthhofthe	Svarthöfðe(i).
Suain, Svein, Sweino, Suanus	Sveinn.

Turbern, Thurburn, Thorbeorn	þorbjörn.
Thorburch	þorbjörg.
Thorulf, Thurolf	þórólfr.
Turstein, Tursten, Thurstin,	þorsteinn.
Thorsten, Thurstan	
Thorth, Thorthuarth, Thruwin	þóirðr, þorvarðr, þráinn.
Tole, Tyri, Onander	Tolli (þolleifr), þyri, Önundr.

The Norwegians in Yorkshire who acted as guarantors to the Archbishop of York are more likely to be descended from families that had been settled there for some time than to be new comers. Eric Blood-axe, during his short and turbulent reign in the middle of the tenth century, is not likely to have brought fresh settlers from Norway.

Another Eric reigned at York, 1016-23, and only left in the year in which the present list of names was drawn up. Knút the Great made his brother-in-law, Eric Hákonarson of Norway, earl of Northumbria in 1016. Eric was married to Knút's sister, Gytha. His last signature to a charter appears in 1023. Knút, true to his policy of governing England according to English ideas, was cautiously substituting Englishmen for Norsemen in high places. In the charters of his reign Norse names gradually and year by year become less frequent. Eric was not outlawed, as Freeman states, who also calls him a Dane.

The probability is that the Norwegian settlers of Yorkshire formed part of the Danish armies that occupied the soil. It has been proved from place-names that the conquerors of Normandy were largely Danish, and the inference is that the Viking hosts of the West often contained an admixture of both nationalities, with one or the other preponderating.

The Life of St. Oswald, written about A.D. 1000, states expressly that the City of York had 30,000 inhabitants, children not being counted, and that most of its trade was carried on by Danes. The Danish predominance is clearly borne out by the fact that during the tenth century no less than three of the Archbishops of York were Danes, or at least of Danish parentage — Odo,

Dskytel, and Oswald. When we remember that Halfdan and his Vikings settled in Northumbria in A.D. 867-870, we see how rapidly they adapted themselves to their new home. The City of York was the rival of London till the Conqueror devastated Northumbria and broke its power.

In the Charters printed by Kemble, Eirik Jarl's name is given as Iric, Yric, Yrk, and in one (No. 740, Cod. Dipl.), through a clerical error, as Huc. In the A.S. Chronicle his name is once given as Eiric, otherwise Irice, Yric(e).

To show the prevalence of Scandinavian names at a much later date, I append a list of Scandinavian nick-names taken from a roll of the Freemen of York in 1378, which has been printed by the Surtees Society:—

Joh. Mawer, magr, magri, lean.	Wm. Seper, seppr(i).
Wm. ffelagh', félagi.	— Thecar, þekkr.
Adam Lepper, leppr.	Joh. Hayfy, háfi.
Joh. Laafe, Láfi, lági.	Agnes Sprote, sproti.
J. Cele, sæli.	Rob. Couper, kaupr.
J. Strowg, strúgr, strjúgr.	— Tote, tota.
R. Syre, Sýr.	Thom. Storre, stórr.
Th. Crokebayn, krákubein.	Hen. Sterre, starri.
Simon Scaif. skeifr.	Joh. Lyster, leistr.
J. Mawbarn, meybarn.	Rob. Grisse, gríss.
J. Barker, bórkr.	Joh. Bone, bôn.
J. Strenger. strengr.	Matilda Snere, snæri, snara.
J. Sturmyn, stórmunnr.	J. Balne, baldni.
Joh. Catelyn, ketlingr.	— Boller, böllr.
Thom. Bolle, Bolli.	Wm. Skyftlyng, skiftlyng.
Rob. Mansblode, mannsblóð.	Symon Vendilok, Wendelok,
Ric. Mundeson, Munda (<i>i.e.</i> , Asmundar) son.	vendiloka.
Joh. Rout, rauðr.	Ric. Bulmer, bólmr.
Thom. Trout, traouðr(i).	Joh. Snawe, snáfr.
	Wm. Od, Oddr.

My best thanks are due to the Dean and Chapter of York Minster and to the Librarian for their permission to photograph the names in the Gospel codex, and I am particularly indebted to Dr. G. A. Auden, Bootham, York, for his kind help in the matter.

The principal works consulted in preparing this paper (with abbreviations used in the text) are given below:—

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———— ————— and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431, 3 vols.

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Diplomatarium Norvegicum. Dip. Norv.

NOTES ON THE DANEWORCK.

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THERE are few names in Denmark's ancient history which sound to all Danes with such a ring as "Danework," none which play a larger part in legend or in lay. Linked to the most important events from the beginning of the historical period, right down to the times which the oldest living Danes still remember, linked to the fortunes of our folk through the centuries and through their alternate periods of sunshine and of storm, this rampart remains to mark the boundary which has been the meeting-place of Northern and Germanic culture from the earliest historic times. It is still, in spite of all the injury it has suffered, a unique and mighty memorial of the past, of grand and overwhelming character, both to one who for the first time sees its walls, and to him who after an interval of years returns to it again.

But in proportion as those works are mighty which, in the times when the light of history first dawns upon events in our land, were raised here by Danes strong in deeds, just so scanty are the accounts which native and foreign annals give about this our old boundary wall, "Jutland's work," as our best mediæval chronicler, Saxo Grammaticus, writing about 1180, calls it. Only at times does a gleam of light fall on the events, so important for the future of Denmark, which happened along its

line from the period 900 to 1100 A.D. Local oral tradition concerning the Danework provides us at once with a string of names in connection with the construction of the various fortifications, such as Thyreborg (Thyra's castle), Margretevold (Margrete's wall), or Markgrafenburg; but if these names are more closely examined, it seems that they are very doubtful, and at the most but some few centuries old.

For this reason the Danish archæologists and runologists, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, and Ludwig Wimmer, undertook the task of examining the remains yet visible in the districts west and south of the town of Sleswick, on the boundary between the ancient South Jutland and Holstein. They looked at the walls with the trained observation of scientific archæology, searched into what the annals could furnish of genuine evidence, founded on facts, and set forth the results in beautiful, richly illustrated works.¹

In many points the results were different from those which historical tradition had hitherto reported. Later on a body of Danish archæologists and persons interested in historical studies made a journey to the different points of interest, to be instructed under the very walls themselves by the original archæological investigators. Among these the author of this paper had the honour to be, and it is his personal impressions which he specially wishes to set forth. Those who wish for more exact information he would refer to the beautiful and interesting publications mentioned in the foot-note.

The oldest ramparts start from the fields by the most westerly creek of the Sli, the long, narrow, winding fjord which stretches for many miles inland from the Baltic to the town of Sleswick (see map, Slesvig). This long

¹ "Danevirke," by Sophus Müller and Carl Neergaard, published in "Nordiske Fortidsminder" by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, vol. I, 1903; also published separately with maps and plates, 6/-.

"Sønderjylland's historiske Runemindesmærker" (The historical runic monuments of southern Jutland), by Ludwig Wimmer.

wall, which from old times has been regarded as the chief line of defence, extends in a line which curves slightly, at first towards the south, and afterwards to the west. This is the actual Danework, to which enduring popular tradition has linked the name of Thyra Danebod (Help of the Danes), queen of King Gorm the Old (circa 935 A.D.). Over a long stretch toward the east from the Sli to the so-called "Danevirke See" (Lake of the Danework) it is now practically razed and levelled; the plough goes over it, and only a low, broad elevation shows the place where it went of old. In the middle it has time after time been widened and raised, lastly in 1864: but out towards the west the wall becomes again lower, and still bears the stamp of antiquity. The whole length is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers. Toward the west it ends in the low and swampy districts which surround the river Trene, which in ancient times, even as in the present day, were scarcely passable by an army. The wall just closed the open stretch between the Sli and the Trene (see map, "rivulets").

This is undoubtedly the wall which was built by one of the first Danish kings who is mentioned in the annals of history, Godfred, who lived in the time of the Emperor Charlemagne, and waged war with him. The Frankish annals which bear the name of Einhardt record about this that, after King Godfred had been making war in the most northerly parts of the Emperor's dominions, he marched with his army to the harbour which is called Sliesthorpe, where all his fleet met him. Here he came to the resolution that he would protect his own kingdom against the Saxons by a wall, and raised a work, which ran from the eastern arm of the sea, which the Danes call "Østersalt" (the east sea), to the western sea. In this there was to be only one passage through which waggons and horses could pass (Viglesdoor, Kalegat), and it is further stated that the work was apportioned among the chief men of the various provinces in the land.

This wall, supplemented by another which has now almost wholly disappeared, the Østervold (the eastern wall ; not on the map), which ran from the Sli to Eckernförde fjord, formed a complete and connected land defence, so immense that it has been doubted whether King Godfred, in the two years which he lived after the incidents mentioned, could have succeeded in completing it. But Godfred's western wall was not, in its inception, so massive a wall as it became later. In the middle it is now many times higher : but out in the meadows towards the west, where it has not been thought necessary to strengthen it in later times, Godfred's wall is probably even now about the same as it was when first built. It attains here a height of 3-4 meters, with a breadth of about 24 meters. Toward the south the sides are almost sheer ; there is no ditch to be seen. Except for some small demolitions, the wall, as it stands here, is exceptionally fine. In the surroundings there is little to detract from its importance. Settlements are scanty, villages lie remote, and the wall commands the flat landscape just as it did in King Godfred's time. This is the part of the Danework which makes the most imposing impression on the visitor. There is a natural poetry about the place, and one leaves it with reluctance.

Of a beauty of its own, though yet of a different kind, is the great Halvkredsvold (semi-circular wall), as much as 8 to 9 meters high, which lies near Haddeby Nor (Haddeby gulf), the bay which extends southward from the Sli. Recent investigations have proved beyond a doubt that this wall not only enclosed an ancient town, but also that this town was the famous Hedeby. At the same time that the walls and, roughly speaking, everything that was visible above ground, were being examined by the Danish archæologists, with the willing permission of the German authorities, excavations were undertaken within the semi-circular wall by Dr. F. Knorr, acting on behalf of the museum at Kiel, whose director is the well-known archæologist, (Miss) Professor Mestorff. These

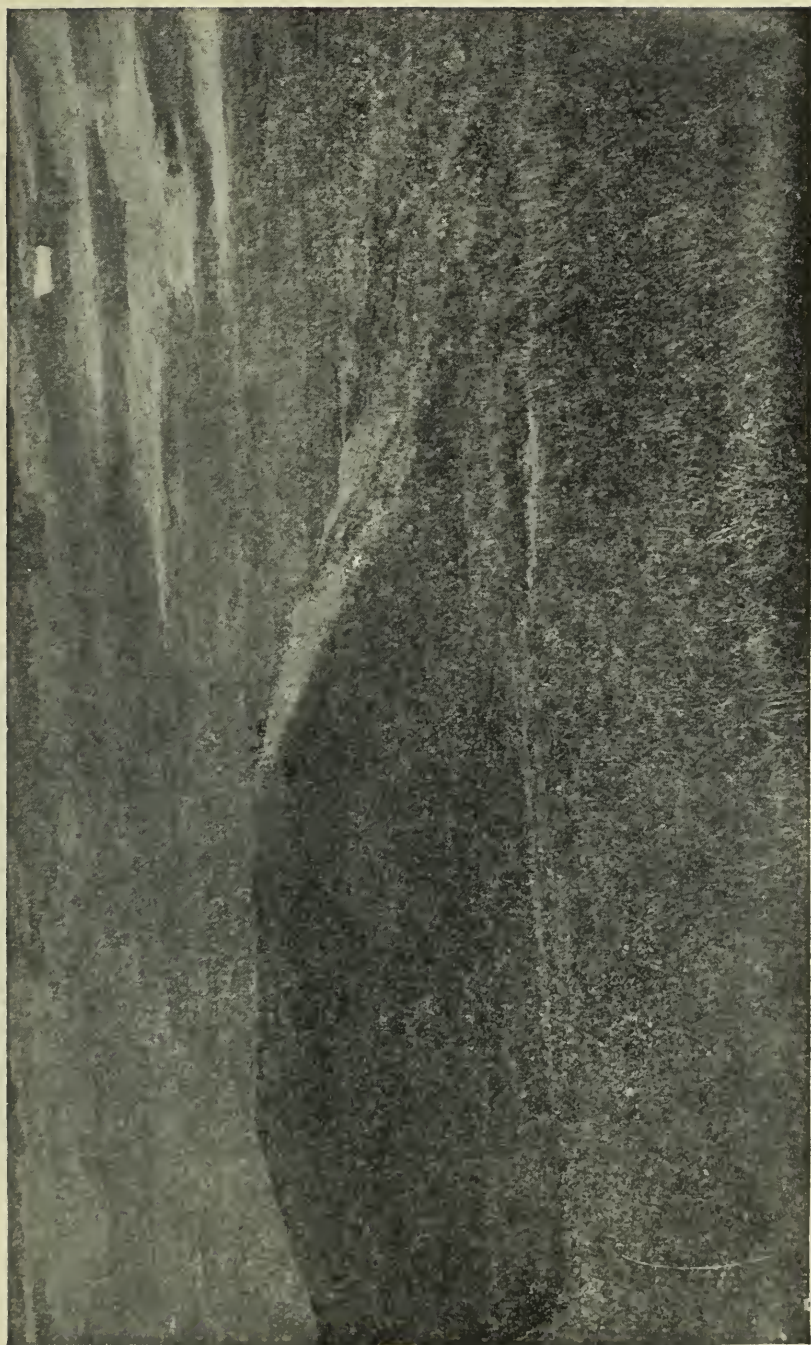


FIG. 2.—GODFRED'S WALL.

investigations exposed over almost all the ground a thick layer of black, or rather very dark earth, in which were embedded numerous objects evidently from an inhabited site. A number of potsherds and earthenware vessels were found, some of them of coarse ware, as if from household vessels in ordinary daily use, some from finer vessels, and not a few of them with colour decoration. Moreover, numerous iron objects were discovered, chiefly bolts and nails, coarse fragments of wrought work, and similar things not so easily classified; but in addition there was a considerable number of arrow-heads and spear-points, axes, knives, buckles, etc. Weaving-whorls and whorls for the distaff were also found, almost all of them of the form universally used in the so-called Viking-age, 800 to 1000 A.D. A great mass of slag and fragments of moulds bear witness also to the practice



FIG. 3.—AT THE WALL OF HEDEBY.

of metal-casting on a somewhat extensive scale. Finally, as the most important find from a chronological point of view, two ferrules for swords, wrought of bronze open work, and of the form used in the ninth century, were discovered, together with some small glass beads, some bars of silver, and moulds for making them, two

of which are shaped like a cross. All this shows clearly enough, when compared with the other investigations, that on this spot there stood a town, and that it went to ruin between the years 900 and 1000 A.D.¹

There are few sites concerning which there has been more debate, yet seldom have the monuments themselves spoken so plainly as here. The wall still stands nearly as it did in the old days. In the wars of 1848 and 1864 it carried a breastwork, but that is levelled, and can only just be traced. Right through the semi-circular site of the town, which lies open toward the arm of the sea, there runs from a small strip of meadow just without the walls the little watercourse, which secured to the inhabitants the needful supply of water. Hard by, to the north of the town, there lies a natural hill of earth of considerable height and great extent, whose centre is surrounded by a low wall. Upon it there are also numerous grave-mounds from the same period as the relics of the town within the walls. This was the castle of Hedeby. The whole site exactly resembles the old Birca (Björkó) in Sweden.

In addition, there are the rune-stones, some situated just outside the walls, and some in the neighbourhood, which mention Hedeby by name. These, in connection with the scanty information to be gleaned from the chronicles, make it possible to sketch the outline of events in the last days of Hedeby. Just south of the town, at the village of Vedelspang, are found two rune-stones, whose inscriptions, written both in Swedish and Danish, tell us that:—

Asfrid set up this memorial to Sigtrygg her son at Gnupa's "Vi." (Vi = consecrated grave-place),
and that:—

Vi—Asfrid, daughter of Odinkar, set up this memorial after King Sigtrygg, her and Gnupa's son.

¹ These objects were in 1903 to be seen in Kiel. Further investigations in 1904-5 have brought to light a great series of similar antiquities and a place with tombs.

It was in Hedeby that Swedish vikings, under the chieftain Olaf, had succeeded in establishing themselves; afterwards Olaf sought to consolidate his power by the marriage of his son Gnupa to Astrid, daughter of the Danish magnate Odinkar. But in addition to their natural enemies from the north, there soon came against this little viking colony enemies from the south also. In 934 A.D. King Gnupa was attacked by Henry I., Emperor of Germany, was vanquished, and forced to submit to baptism. Soon afterwards there followed a Danish attack from the north, and the king fell. But his widow, Asfrid, still held Hedeby for a time in conjunction with her son Sigtrygg, and she raised to her fallen lord a notable heathen memorial.¹ Later on, her son Sigtrygg also fell on a viking expedition to Normandy, and thereafter the queen raised to his memory the two runic stones, with inscriptions, equally intelligible both to Swede and Dane. After this the days of the Swedish dominion in Hedeby were numbered. Times became too hard for Odinkar's daughter. King Harald Bluetooth (985) "won for himself the whole of Denmark," as he says upon the runic stone on the king's mound in Jellinge, and, as Danish kings had previously ruled the Hedeby district (although Godfred's wall was built a little more to the north), there can be no doubt that Hedeby also was won back for Denmark before his death.

Even before this period the first improvement and strengthening of the old Godfred's wall had taken place, this being very likely actually a result of these Hedeby wars. King Sigtrygg of Hedeby died in 943 A.D., and at a still earlier date had the queen, whose name has become specially linked with the Danework, departed this life, namely, King Gorm's wife, Queen Thyra Danebod. It was in fact her building of the Danework which gave her that beautiful surname, and her work must have stood out as an exceptional achievement, both in her own days and in after times. Godfred's wall, the low earthen dyke without a trench, was, under the new conditions,

¹ See note at end.

too slight a defence. Queen Thyra's "Danework" was a great wall of hard stone, for the most part unhewn, but sometimes cleft, set in stiff clay, as was the fashion in ancient times (a "Cyclopean wall"). This wall was raised upon and in front of Godfred's wall, from "Danevirke See" to Kurborg, and was about two miles in length, 3-3.3 meters high, and 2.7-5 meters broad. It is not improbable that in addition there were wooden towers built into and in front of the wall. The Sagas relate that when at a later date the Emperor Otto of Germany attacked the wall, whose full garrison was 60,000 men, he got the better of it by setting the wooden parts on fire. At various places along the wall there are actually found logs which have been much charred, as if from a fire. Thus there may be actual facts underlying the story in Olaf Tryggvison's saga, which tells about the wooden gates at every hundred fathoms with castles above them.

Queen Thyra's wall itself is now only visible in some places. It is covered up by the wall of Waldemar the Great (1182 A.D.), which is carried along upon and in front of it, as well as by heaps of earth thrown up in his time and at later dates. But her work was so vast that her age gave the whole structure her name, while Godfred's wall was forgotten, or is sought for elsewhere.

When Hedeby was won back for Denmark, Harald Bluetooth's connecting wall was built from "Danevirke See" to Hedeby. That wall also is very imposing, considerably greater than Godfred's wall, but yet of smaller dimensions than the town wall. Near Hedeby it is still well preserved for some length, being about 5 meters high and 18 meters broad. Farther toward the west it was somewhat weaker, and is now destroyed.

Hedeby was won back for Denmark, but only for a time; it was soon lost again for a while. With regard to this two runic stones again yield the most trustworthy information. The first of these is that which:—

Torolv, Sven's courtman, raised to Erik his comrade, who died when brave men camped round Hedeby. He was a shipfarer and a very good man.

The other was set up by:—

King Sven to Skarde his courtman, who had gone with him westwards (on a viking cruise to England), **but now died at Hedeby.**

It was the Swedish king Erick (Sejrsæl) "the victorious," who in the absence of the Danish king Sven Forkbeard (he died in London in 1014) had harried the land, and established himself at Hedeby. Sven's son was Cnūt (Canūte). Only after a hard fight did the Danish king succeed in recapturing his town. There are still to be seen south-west of Hedeby, in the direction of Vedelspang, 3,600 to 3,800 feet from the town, the faint remains of a siege work, and in the town wall itself, exactly opposite this siege work, is to be seen a great depression, which has been pointed out from ancient times as "the breach of the stormers."

This was the last episode in the history of Hedeby. In the year 1000 the town was forsaken and the church deserted, as the bishop complains, and after that time it never rose again. It had no doubt been a trading place and a centre for great markets, which were driven away by the course of events to find a safer position elsewhere. The inhabitants, and to some extent the name, were transferred to the town of Sleswick, which lies north of the Sli, and was at that time only a little town round the present cathedral (Altstadt). Only the arm of the sea preserved the name of Hedeby, and this may easily have given its name to Haddeby Church, built in the thirteenth century, which now lies between the old Hedeby and the Sli, and is dedicated to St. Ansgarius, the Apostle of the North.

In the year 975 the Emperor Otto of Germany made an expedition against Harald Bluetooth, broke through the Danework and set up a castle "*in his finibus.*" It is possible, perhaps probable, that the site of this burg is now to be seen in a somewhat extensive walled position, surrounded by a trench, close to the west of the "Danevirke See," in the line of the wall of the Danework itself.

This castle, however, stood only for a short time. Within the next eight years it had been destroyed by the Danes, and, if it stood where this walled place now lies, it was incorporated with the wall, and constituted merely a link of it, though an unusually strong one.

The "Kurvirke" also probably dates from about the same period. This runs in a straight line from the north of Selk westwards to about the place (Kurborg) where the main wall bends. On its south front a trench can be seen, and traces of an outwork. From its whole style it makes a far weaker impression than the main wall and, since in Denmark the construction of a trench appears, as a novelty, at a comparatively late period, the Kurvirke may be younger than the main Danework. But nothing is known as to the date when it was constructed. It must have been in the early middle ages, and this wall



FIG. 4.—THE "KURVIRKE" (FROM THE NORTH).

is very likely rather a boundary line than a work of defence. The Kurvirke still stands for a long stretch in a remarkably good state of preservation, with as sharp an outline as an engineering work but a few years old.

About the time of Valdemar the Great (d. 1182), the Danework had, according to the single authority of Saxo



FIG. 5.—THE WALL OF BRICKS.

Grammaticus, become very ruinous. It had, however, played some part in the interval, for now and again history mentions it under various names, "Danework," "Jutland's wall," or "Structura Danorum." When the Danish kingdom, after long trouble, grew strong again, under King Valdemar I. (1157-82), the king began on the great work of constructing a new wall in burnt bricks, which were a new and, until then, almost entirely unknown building material. This ran parallel with Thyra's old wall for a length of two miles, and was twenty feet high by six to seven broad, with numerous buttresses. The work was pushed on with energy, but was still unfinished when the king died. Upon this occasion fresh heaps of earth were added to the wall, and a trench and fore-wall were also constructed.

Only a little of "Valdemar's wall" is now visible. The stones in various peasant's houses beside it bear witness to the encroachments of former times; much of it, however, still lies covered by the earth heaped upon it in later days.

When South Jutland (Sleswick) soon after became a fief of the crown and the connection with Holstein followed, the wall lost its importance. It was not till the time of Denmark's latest wars, 1848-50 and 1864, that there were made new and important improvements, which again have disappeared.

Now the wall is but a memorial for all Danes of the great deeds of ancient times.

Note to page 320. In Stephens' "Old Northern Runic Monuments," vol. iv., pp. 95 and 96, Odinkar, Asfrid's father, is identified with a Christian bishop of that name, and the memorial is assumed to be a Christian one. Mr. Kjær however informs us that, though she belonged no doubt to the same family, we cannot conclude that she was daughter of either of the Odinkars recorded in history. The eldest of these, Odinkar the White, lived in the time of King Harald Bluetooth, 940-86, the second Odinkar under his son Sven. It was evidently a family name.—ED.

SHIP BURIALS.

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AMONG Scandinavian grave finds from heathen times there is scarcely any which has taken hold upon the general consciousness to a greater degree than the burials from the Viking Age, where the dead was buried in a ship. It is as if we were brought into actual touch with that far-off and stirring time, as if we were set face to face with the sea-faring folk of whom the sagas tell. This burial custom summons up before us, as it were, the whole historical character of that age, and every such find still acts as a dramatic and impressive scene. The opening up of the great ship-graves has for these reasons been the greatest event in Northern archæology, and each of these occurrences has for a time aroused universal interest in the monuments of heathen antiquity. In proof of this I would remind you of the find from Borre of 1852, the Tune ship found in 1867, the Gokstad ship in 1880, and of the last ship just found in Slagen in 1904.

Each of these graves was laid out on such a great scale, and equipped in so costly a fashion, that we might easily be tempted to treat ship burials as a specially princely custom, which only fell to the lot of the highest of all, and each time such a rich grave has been found there have not been wanting attempts to discover who it was that was buried there. Thus the antiquary Nicolaysen tried to find in the ship-grave at Borre one or other of the kings Eystein or Halfdan the

Mild, who are spoken of by Snorri¹; in the Gokstad ship people thought they saw with great certainty the grave of Olaf Geirstad-alf, and Lorange has guessed that we see in the great ship-grave at Karmsund the burial monument of Guttorm Eriksson. These conclusions, however, rest upon weak foundations, and we should take warning from what happened in the case of the excavation of the ship at Slagen, where a local historian thought to find King Eystein, Halfdan the Black's great-grandfather, the same that the antiquary Nicolaysen thought to discover at Borre; in the case of the Slagen ship moreover many features seemed to tally with the account in the saga, until it was proved that the Slagen ship was a woman's grave. But these historical connections have at the same time won for the ship-graves a decidedly romantic position before the public mind, and this has helped to cast over them the glamour of memories, which, for the general public, cannot easily be linked to nameless monuments from the heathen times.

For scientific investigation the matter stands differently. In order to study the extension and meaning of this burial custom, it is of no special interest to know the name of the various people who rest in the graves, and we shall further see that these few great ship-graves are far from being an exception, which can be studied by themselves; they must be regarded as an outcome of a general and wide-spread custom. The great finds named above will, as a matter of course, always be exceptional as regards their richness, and from their multifarious contents they will always be an invaluable source of information as to the culture of the Viking age; but the mere custom of burying in a vessel was not a princely prerogative, or limited to roving vikings. It must have been founded in the conception of death prevailing at that time, as it is seen to have been widely spread among all classes of people. Looked at in this connection the great ship-graves by no means stand alone; they only

¹ Heimskringla. Ynglinga Saga, c. 51 and 52.

show us at the highest stage of the community, where power and riches were present, the fullest expression of an idea which the common people also strove to follow.¹

For a right understanding of ship-graves one must at once give up the idea that the ship is a viking ship, properly understood, and that the dead who was buried in a ship must be just a viking, who was in this way to be placed in a position to continue his roving life after death. Scarcely any, even of the bigger ships that have been found, can be supposed to have been built for journeys over the open ocean which viking cruises implied; and still less can this apply to the many, many occasions where the grave only contains an ordinary little boat. Besides, burial in a vessel was by no means reserved for men alone; it was practised in the case of women also, who nevertheless did not as a rule take part in the warrior-life of men. But all these considerations become superfluous by reason merely of the number of boat-graves. It would doubtless not be easy to compile any complete statistics of these graves; but it is no exaggeration to declare that their number throughout the Scandinavian peninsula must be reckoned in four figures, and without doubt this implies that the custom was widely spread among the settled portion of the population, as well as

¹ The oldest monograph on ship burials is by E. C. Werlauff: "Om Nordboernes skik at brænde og begrave døde i skibe samt om skibsforestillinger paa nordiske fortidsminder." (Of the Northmen's custom of burning and burying the dead in ships as well as of representations of ships on Northern monuments). "Antiquariske Annaler," IV., p. 275 ss. Kjøbenhavn, 1827. This work hardly claims much interest now, since the material at that time was very small. An excellent monograph, and up to now the only considerable survey, is the work of Prof. Dr. O. Montelius: "Om högsättning i skepp under vikingatiden." (Of Howe burying in a ship during the Viking Age). "Svenska fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift," VI., p. 149 ss. Stockholm, 1885. All that is set forth in this work still stands, full of power, and it might be thought bold for anyone to treat of the same subject after so eminent an investigator, were it not that the monograph now after a lapse of twenty years can be supplemented by many important finds which have appeared in the meantime. Prof. G. Gustafson in the "Year Book of Bergen Museum for 1890," No. VIII., has added an important contribution to show the general distribution of the custom in Norway.

among its roving elements. From this it follows also that the rôle of ships and boats in these graves was the same as it was in life; the boat was made ready for the journey which lay before the dead.

Here we reach the idea which forms the foundation of the grave-custom which we are considering, but before we pass to the description of the northern graves, it will not be out of place to call to mind that this view of death as a journey is not peculiar to Scandinavia in the Viking age. Hildebrand¹ has already called attention to the fact that the like conception is found in Chili and Australia. The Algonquin Indians sail after death to the land of spirits in the South, where magnificent trees and plants are found; they sail in shining canoes of stone over the ocean. The Australians pass over the ocean to the isle of spirits far in the West. This conception of a sea-voyage to the spirits' land has also given rise to a peculiar treatment of the dead in many places. In some parts of Australia the custom was to lay the dead in a canoe, which was thrust out from the shore so that it might find its way with the trade wind to the isle of spirits. Only little children, who could not steer a canoe, were buried in the earth in olden time. But later on such burials became more and more general, without, however, people entirely giving up the thought of a sea voyage. When the dead were buried people still sent a very little canoe to sea, or they buried the dead lying in his canoe. The like customs are found along the whole north-west coast of North America, and also among certain tribes in South America. The last traces of a corresponding idea have been met with in New Zealand, in the fact that here people used to set up a canoe close by the grave.

The same ideas have certainly not been strangers to the coast folk of Europe²; they were prominent among

¹"Folkens tro om sine döda" (Folk Belief about the Dead), p. 50. Cf. Montelius, l.c. p. 187.

²See Henrik Schück: "Studier i nordisk Literatur- och Religions-historia." (Studies in the History of Northern Literature and Religion), vol. ii., p. 286. Stockholm, 1904. The examples cited are drawn from this work.

the Celts in Ireland, where they spoke of the journey to the land of life, the land of gladness far west in the sea, and a hundred times as big as Ireland. The same thought is to be traced among the population of the Hebrides, since the people there called the kingdom of death "the other shore," and it has lingered in traditions on the coast of France.¹ A like feature is found also in a Northern legend, namely, in the description in the Lay of Beowulf of Scyld's birth and death. According to Beowulf he came as a little child to Denmark lying in an open boat and surrounded with costly weapons. There he grew up and was taken for king over the land, which at that time had no king, and, perchance, never had one before. When he died he was laid in a ship surrounded with rich treasures, and the ship bore him out to sea, "nor can any with surety say, anyone under the whole heaven, who it was that received that bark's lading." Professor Schück considers that this tale has been influenced by the religious ideas of Western European culture, Friesland most likely, where such a myth was known and has passed in later times into the well-known legend of the swan-knight. It would take us too far afield to follow these traditions further. It is sufficient for our object to remember that ideas of the kind have been generally current, and that they are not in any way isolated occurrences when they appear in the North in the Viking Age. On the other hand, it is certain that in no other place in Europe have they found so clear an expression in the arrangement of the graves, as in the case of the Northern graves, which will be dealt with here.

¹ It was found in Spain also according to W. C. Borlase. See "The Dolmens of Ireland," p. 157. The same author considers that the wedge-shaped graves, built of stone, dating from the early Bronze Age, of which he gives instances from countries so widely apart as Sweden, Ireland, and Portugal, are formed on the model of a ship. With these he is inclined to connect the ship-shaped primitive buildings, found in the Balearic Isles, known as "Naos," "Naus," or "Navetas," *i.e.*, "ship." Somewhat similar buildings are found, he says, in Ireland. All these may, he thinks, have been connected with the cult of the dead. *Ibid.* See under "Ship-graves."—ED.

We come then to the question of the origin of the ship-graves in Scandinavia and their oldest appearance. It is fairly certain that burial in a vessel was quite unknown in the North before the Viking Age, or more correctly speaking before the age which immediately precedes the beginning of the actual Viking Age—the oldest ship-grave which is known can be dated to the sixth century A.D.—and it will therefore be necessary in this connection to cast a glance over the grave-customs of the North, as they existed at that period. In Sweden, with the exception of Gotland, grave finds from the fifth and sixth centuries are very rare; to judge from some few finds, cremation seems to have been practised, and the grave-goods at any rate are very poor. In Denmark the graves from these centuries are likewise very poor; but here unburnt burials seem to have been predominant.¹ In Norway the most frequent use was certainly that of unburnt burials in great cists of stone or wood, but cremation-graves are also met with rather frequently; here the graves of the unburnt are fairly richly furnished with ornaments, weapons, pots, etc., just as in the case of Anglo-Saxon graves of the same period in England. In spite of all local variations the conception underlying the Northern grave-customs in this period can be summed up in this, that the grave was the resting place of the dead, where his corpse was deposited, burnt or unburnt. Even where the grave is richly furnished, as in the Norwegian skeleton-graves, no other furniture is needed than belongs to the personal equipment of the dead, his dress, with the ornaments and weapons belonging to it, together with what was required for his daily needs, such as food and drinking vessels.

If we turn from this to the oldest known grave, where a vessel was offered up at the burial, quite another feature enters in. This grave was found at the excavation of "Odin's Howe," at Old Upsala, in Upland; the date of

¹ Dr. Sophus Müller, "*Vor Oldtid*" (Our Olden Time). Copenhagen, 1897, p. 600.

this is assigned by Dr. Almgren to the sixth century.¹ To begin with, the grave-howe differs from the usual howes in the older period of the Iron Age, by reason of its extraordinary dimensions, and the same is the case with the extent of the grave and of the grave-goods. The inner part of the howe was enclosed by a wall 1.2 meters high, carefully built up of granite stones, and within this, on the original surface of the ground, there was spread a bed, which at the bottom consisted of fine sand, and over that of a layer of clay, stamped hard, 30 centimeters thick, on which the funeral pyre had stood. Over this layer was erected a heap of stones, 48 meters in circumference, which formed the kernel of the grave-howe. In the midst of the layer of clay a great heap of burnt bones was found, and under this an earthenware jar, likewise filled with burnt bones. The grave goods were found partly among the bones, partly spread out on the remains of the funeral pyre over the layer of clay. What we are specially concerned with in this instance is that in the layer of burnt matter there were found the nails from a burnt vessel, and likewise the marks of burnt stakes of coniferous wood, which probably served to shore up the vessel for the burning. Among the bones were found, besides human bones, the bones of dogs in great numbers, with those of oxen, sheep, swine, fowls, and in all probability of a cat as well. The grave-goods were greatly damaged by the fire, but yet the remains of golden ornaments, glass beads, playing-pieces, etc., could be traced.

It is noticeable in this case how the whole burial is planned on a larger scale than anything that one knows of belonging to the older periods in Scandinavia. To begin with, the design of the grave-howe, and the great trouble taken over the arrangement of the place for the funeral pyre are remarkable; in addition to this we must note the many domestic animals which have had to follow the dead to the pyre. Bones of animals in graves from

¹A detailed account of the investigation and of the find is given by Dr. Bror Emil Hildebrand in "*Månadsblad*, 1876," p. 251 ss.

older periods are no doubt not altogether unknown¹; but never before had a whole stock of domestic animals been sacrificed as in this case. And when we find that this grave also contained a ship, that is in strictest agreement with the rest of its furniture. This oldest ship-grave betokens not merely a change in the prevailing grave-custom on a single point; it betokens an altogether altered view of how the grave ought to be arranged to correspond to what would befall man after death. Whereas the Norse skeleton-graves of the same period were prepared like a bed with skins and rugs, here the case is quite opposite; here the chieftain, after death, needs his ship too, nor must he lack his horse, his hounds, or any others of the animals which could be of any use or comfort to him. The ship-graves did not originate in an addition to an already pre-existing grave-custom: they present themselves from the very first with an entirely new programme for the arrangement of the grave fully worked out.

That is so much the more remarkable, as there is no prototype of the northern ship-graves known, either in the same or any older period; they seem to have originated independently within the territory where we first meet with them, and this is really the first time that a new northern grave-custom has arisen without foreign influence. Right down from the oldest burials which are known on Scandinavian soil we can trace their origin back to other lands; the barrows and passage-graves of the Stone Age, the cremation of the Bronze Age, the urn burials of the oldest Iron Age, etc., all these grave-customs, which each in its time brought with it some novelty in the way of the treatment of the dead, or in the arrangement of the grave, have been introduced into the North from foreign prototypes, and have in all likelihood been connected with an intrusion of new ideas about death and the life of the dead after death. It thus deserves

¹ Dr. Sophus Müller: "*Dyreknoget fra ligbaalet*" (Bones of animals from the Funeral Pyre). "*Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1900," p. 166.

special attention when, shortly before the dawn of the Viking Age, we meet with ship-graves as the first original Northern grave-custom. I cannot, it is true, attempt to give any explanation of how this novelty is to be accounted for; that would lead us on to a question of the history of religion, which cannot be solved upon considerations of archæology alone, especially since we have no reason to institute any comparison between general religious ideas as they were in the Viking Age, and had been in the age immediately preceding. But it ought to be observed that a life of travel and travels—merchant cruises as well as military expeditions—played a greater part among the dwellers in the North in the Viking Age than at any earlier time, and that we ought perhaps to regard this in connection with the fact that ship-graves meet us just as we draw near to that period. Looked at from this side there may be found some truth in the popular view, which regards ship-graves as especially connected with the roaming life of Viking expeditions. In any case ship-graves betoken a remarkable innovation in the domain of grave-customs, and it is an innovation which is peculiar to Scandinavia, and seems unaffected by foreign influence.

The early ship-graves appear as a specially aristocratic grave-custom. The grave just described from "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala already bears witness to a princely wealth and power, and the same is the case with the graves which come next to it in age, the graves at Vendel and Ultuna in Upland. The grave at Ultuna had been discovered as early as in the eighteen-fifties, but since it was discovered by chance during work in the fields, it was, unhappily, rather pulled to pieces than examined by its finders, wherefore the details preserved are very incomplete. Only this much is certain, that it was a man's grave, laid out in a vessel 4 ells broad, and extremely richly furnished. It seems in all respects to have been of the same kind as the graves investigated later at Vendel, of which we have most excellent and very complete accounts.

At an enlargement of the present churchyard of Vendel they came across fourteen graves in all, twelve of which contained vessels, whilst two were arranged differently. They were all men's graves, and there was a very great difference of time between them, since the oldest must be referred to the seventh, the youngest to the tenth century. In all probability it was the male members of one and the same family who were buried here generation after generation, and that this race was a race of chieftains appears plainly enough from the extraordinarily rich furniture of the graves. The oldest was the most richly furnished, and this is the one that especially claims our interest in connection with our subject.¹

The graves contained boats from 7 to 10 meters long, buried below the level of the field, and with no mark visible above the ground when discovered. The chieftain himself had lain, or perhaps we should rather say, had sat, in the after part of the boat, armed with sword, shield, and spear, all of the highest workmanship. The fore-part of the boat was occupied by the animals, which were offered at the burial; in the richest of the graves there were three horses, four dogs, a whole ox, and a joint of a young one, a pig, two sheep, and the head of a third, a goose, a duck, a crane, and a falcon for hawking. In many of the graves there were also found kitchen utensils; for instance, big iron forks and a great iron pot, which as a rule stood furthest forward in the boat. It will be seen that here we have furniture which stands quite on the same level with what we found in the above-mentioned grave from "Odin's Howe."

There is nothing in the Vendel graves which distinguishes them from the most primitive form of boat-graves. It is the boat in and by itself which makes the grave, and the dead sits in the open at the steersman's post; he is not laid to rest in a grave-chamber, as became the custom later. It should also be remarked

¹Hjalmar Stolpe "Vendelfyndet. En förberedande Öfversigt." (The Vendel Find. A preliminary Survey). "Antiquarisk Tidskrift för Sverige," VIII.

that the horses in these graves have bridle and stirrup ; they are clearly meant as saddle-horses, and have not merely been animals sacrificed at the burial. Thus their meaning and signification is still the same as that of the boat itself, and that meaning is clearly and consciously expressed in the grave custom.

In the finds adduced here from the sixth and seventh centuries we have studied simultaneously the oldest known examples of ship-graves from Scandinavia, and we may next proceed to consider the equipment of ship-graves in the Viking Age, that period when they first became widely spread, and appear in great numbers from all parts of Norway and Sweden. A few words must, however, first be said about the relation between the two customs, apparently so diverse, cremation and unburnt burial. As we have seen, even before the Viking Age we already find both these methods employed at ship-burials, and the idea which resulted in ship-graves has certainly been independent of the consideration which decided whether the dead should be burned or not. The same is the case also in the Viking Age ; we find ships employed in burnt as well as in unburnt burials.

The relation between cremation-graves and unburnt burials has, as far as concerns the Viking Age, been just recently set out by Dr. Almgren, and, since this question also touches upon the subject now before us, I shall summarize his observations.¹ In Denmark cremation is met with only in Jutland. Even there it really occurs only to the north of the Limfjord, and at some few other places on the coast. It is almost always found in connection with certain forms of graves, which are only found elsewhere in the Scandinavian peninsula. One is therefore inclined to suppose that graves of this kind on the coast of Jutland, as well as in the islands of Sleswick, Amrum and Fohr, are due to foreign vikings, who

¹Oscar Almgren, "Vikingatiden's grafskick i verkligheten og i den fornnordiska litteraturen." (The grave-customs of the Viking Age in reality and in old Norse literature.) "Nordiska Studier," tillagnade Adolf Noreen. Stockholm, 1904, pp. 318, 319.

established themselves for a time in these spots. With these exceptions unburnt burials are the only ones prevailing in Denmark, as well as throughout Bornholm, and probably in Skaane also. From Gotland a great number of unburnt burials of the Viking Age are known, and some few cremation-graves. On the third greatest island in the Baltic, however, namely, in Øland, both grave customs seem to have been more equally represented. On the mainland of Sweden, outside Skaane, cremation is again beyond comparison the most general form. The same is the case in Norway, although with a very interesting distinction between the different parts of the country. The unburnt graves are, to wit, most numerous in the Northern parts of the country, especially in the coastlands from Trøndelagen northward, and in connection with this we must consider the fact that graves with the bodies unburnt are the only form we know of from Iceland.

It is certainly not an accident that those lands of the North, where unburnt burials were the only ones prevailing, or were much the more distinctive, are just the ones which in the Viking Age were the most exposed to influences from Western Europe; namely, Denmark with Skaane; Iceland, where such a great number of the most aristocratic, refined and travelled families of Norway had made their abode, together with Gotland, the rich trading island. In the prevailing use of unburnt burials, which can be pointed to in these territories, we must see the influence of the general European spirit of the age, of the customs and usage in the civilized Christian lands in Western Europe, an influence which asserted itself long before the introduction of Christendom. It agrees perfectly with this, that there can to a certain extent be traced a social distinction between the burnt and the unburnt burials. In the east of Norway, where cremation is generally predominant, all the specially rich ship-graves, nevertheless, have been of the unburnt form, and the highest class of the people had, as a matter of course, most connection with foreign lands.

The difference between cremation and unburnt burial is thus not founded on deeply-rooted differences between different portions of the people, neither is it of fundamental importance for the understanding of ship-graves. Nor does the local extension of ship-graves stand in any direct relation to the use of cremation or unburnt burial. I shall return to this question later, and shall here only give as an example that, in the north of Norway, where unburnt burial seems to have been as good as universal, we have nevertheless several cases of burials in a vessel. The Western European influence upon the grave customs has thus not been able to supersede ship-graves. Only in Denmark and throughout Gotland are ship-graves unknown, whilst they are found even in Skaane.

In the meantime this difference has a great practical bearing upon the investigation before us; namely this, that in an unburnt grave we have full opportunity for studying all the care which was expended upon the equipment of the dead, whilst in a cremation-grave that same care was naturally concentrated on the building and arranging of the funeral pyre, and the grave only contains the ruined fragments of what was left after the fire. Cremation-graves are therefore simple and alike in their arrangement, whilst the unburnt graves show a richer development. For this reason it will be convenient for us to keep the two forms separate, each by itself, and I prefer to treat of cremation-graves first, leaving the unburnt graves out of consideration till later.

As has been mentioned already, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Old Upsala took the form of an extensive layer of burnt material, which consisted of the remains from the pyre, and also contained some remains of the vessel; in the midst of the burnt layer was the urn, placed in a hollow in the substratum of the grave and covered likewise with a heap of burnt bone. This, in all its essentials, is the same plan as that which is preserved in the cremation-graves of the Viking Age. The only

important difference, which strikes us at once, is that in the Viking Age it is only very rarely that the grave lies on the spot where the pyre had stood. I only know one grave where this was the case, namely one of the graves in the great howe at Myklebostad, by Nordfjordeid, which was recently examined by the Bergen Museum.¹ Here a boat of a length of 7 meters had been burnt on the spot where the grave is now found; as in the case of "Odin's Howe," so here too there were found in the original surface of the earth the marks of the stakes (in this case of birchwood) with which the boat had been shored up for the burning, and in the layer of charcoal were found all the nails, spikes, iron bindings, etc., which had belonged to it. In other cases the regular place of burning (*ustrina*) has been in another place, and all the remains from the funeral pyre have been brought thence to the spot which was selected for the grave-howe, but it certainly seems as if in the construction of the grave they wanted to imitate the appearance of the place of burning. The remains from the fire to wit are spread out as a layer of greater or lesser extent over the place where the grave-howe should be raised. Thus the layer of burnt material at the bottom of the howe consists mainly of charcoal, often mixed with burnt stones from the place of the burning, and it contains in addition the grave-goods, as well as a greater or lesser portion of burnt bone. This custom, which might appear a somewhat careless treatment of the grave, has no doubt arisen in imitation of the older form, where the grave-howe was built over the place of the burning itself, and where the remains of the pyre thus came naturally to form an extensive layer at the bottom of the howe. As a rule, however, the grave is not without a central point, which is clearly indicated as that round which the whole arrangement is grouped. In the majority of cases this central point, as we saw in "Odin's Howe," consists of a bigger portion

¹ Haakon Schetelig. "Gravene ved Myklebostad paa Nordfjordeid." "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1905." No. 7, p. 7 ss.

of the burnt bones collected in a hollow in the middle of the burnt layer, sometimes gathered in a jar, or covered with an inverted caldron, but very often too without any urn. But almost invariably the bigger and more important things among the grave-goods are assembled in a compact group above and about the hollow where the bones are deposited. These features are generally common to all the cremation-graves of the Viking Age, whether there are found remains of a vessel or not. The boat-graves, however, have, as we shall see, their special signs, which are not found elsewhere.

As an example, we may instance a find which was made by A. Lorange in 1866, at Gjulem, in Rakkestad District,¹ Smaalenene,² in a typical, but not specially rich grave of this kind. He examined a minor grave-howe in the locality, which was constructed wholly of earth. At the bottom of the howe was found a layer of charcoal, 3 ells in diameter, and 2 to 3 inches thick; the extent of the layer is thus altogether too small for us to imagine that the pyre can have stood on the spot. It was mingled with ends of burnt bones and with many clinch-nails, which undoubtedly came from a vessel. In the middle of the burnt layer there was a hollow excavated at the bottom of the howe, above which all the bigger fragments of the grave-goods were collected in a compact group, and all the objects of iron lying in the moist earth had rusted together with the surrounding sand into a firm mass, which could not be separated. Among the objects there can be distinguished, however, a two-edged sword, whose hilt is bound round with gold thread, many spear-heads and many arrow-heads, at least three shield-bosses (and perhaps more), a scythe, a bridle, an iron chain, etc. There is nothing in this grave which departs from the general rule, and therefore requires a

¹ "Præstegjæld," a group of parishes, somewhat similar to our Rural Deanery.

² "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsminde-merkers bevaring," 1866, p. 55 and ib. 1867, p. 42.

more particular mention. One fact only, which may appear noticeable, I have not had occasion to mention hitherto, namely, the profuse number of shield-bosses.

There was only one sword in this grave, and we have no reason to suppose that more than one man was buried here. It seems natural that one man only needs one shield, and this is the case almost without exception in graves from the older period of the Iron Age, likewise in graves from the Viking Age, where the remains of a vessel are not found also. The shield is fairly often wanting altogether, and only in a few cases, and then always in graves specially richly furnished, do we find a man equipped with two shields. But it is otherwise with the graves where the remains of a boat, or of a ship, are found also. In such graves it is no uncommon thing to find a greater or less number of shields, and in every case far more than one would expect on the ground that a man needed them. Thus there were found in a grave, not otherwise very rich, at Langlo, in Stokke District, Jarlsberg, 10 or 12 shield bosses, but only one sword; the grave was in other respects of the same kind as the one just described, and contained a mass of clinch-nails and spikes, which came undoubtedly from a fairly large boat.¹ In the above-named grave at Myklebostad, where the vessel burnt had been about 7 meters in length, there were 8 shield-bosses, but likewise only one sword, and many other examples where the same fact has been observed could be cited. From this it may certainly be concluded that the many shields in these graves did not belong to the equipment of the man, but to that of the vessel. And this is corroborated in the very best way by one of the great finds of a ship with an unburnt burial, namely, by the Gokstad ship. That ship, as a matter of fact, when it was found, was hung with 32 large circular shields, exactly alike, along each gunwale on the

¹ N. Nicolaysen. "Om udgravningerne i Ske sogn, 1872." "Aarsberetning fra foreningen for norske fortidsmindere bevaring, 1872," p. 100.

outside, and these filled the whole length of the ship from a little before the foremost oarport to a little behind the hindmost.¹ That this was the custom when a ship was decked out on great occasions is also borne out by literary accounts. The poorer grave-finds, which have just been cited, show that the custom was not used for ships only, but also for smaller vessels; but on the other hand one can hardly, from the number of shields in a grave, draw any conclusions with regard to the size of the vessel burnt.²

The many shield-bosses in boat-graves is a feature which is older than the Viking Age, although it has not been found in the oldest Swedish finds from Vendel and Ultuna. But in a richly furnished boat-grave in Finland from the seventh century there were found six shield-bosses. Contemporary examples of this practice can scarcely have been wanting in Sweden, even if these are not now exemplified by any finds which have been preserved.

It is a remarkable feature also that we can trace during the Viking Age an emancipation from the limitations which were displayed in the oldest boat-graves. The boat-graves at Vendel were all men's graves; in the Viking Age it came to pass that women also were buried in a vessel, and that too even in cases where the dead did not belong to the upper classes of society. No doubt in Norway we are, practically always, unable to distinguish from the skeleton the sex of the person buried, and as a matter of course this is still more the case in cremation-graves; but the grave's rich furniture serves, nevertheless, as a means of deciding the question with complete certainty. Graves which contain weapons,

¹ N. Nicolaysen. "The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway." P. 62 and p. 35, note 3.

² Compare G. Gustafson. "En baadgrav fra Vikingtiden." Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1890, VIII. This was a boat of 8 meters long with 4 shields. It should also be mentioned that here all the shields lay inside the boat.

implements of husbandry and tools for handicrafts, can be distinguished as men's graves just as certainly as women's can be known by ornaments, cooking utensils and implements for feminine handiwork. We need not therefore hesitate to apply this rule to the boat-graves also. In the arrangement of the grave, however, there is no special distinction between the two sexes, and I must therefore confine myself here to mentioning a single example, a grave from Hilde, Indviken District, Nordfjord. At the excavation of a howe in this locality there was found a mass of charcoal mingled with burnt bones and nails from a boat; among the charcoal there were found also a kettle of bronze, an iron gridiron, a stew-pan and roasting-spit, a lamp, a pair of scissors and a little knife, a spinning wheel and weaver's reed, the fragments of a pretty box, with the nails belonging to it, a big buckle of bronze, beads of silver, cornelian, glass, etc., making a very complete collection of the things which specially characterize the furniture of women's graves.¹

Before we leave the graves where a vessel has been used in connection with cremation, I will, in conclusion, describe the richest and most remarkable find of this kind which has hitherto appeared.² The grave was found at Myklebostad, in Nordfjord, in a grave-howe, which was about 30 meters in diameter. At the bottom of the howe there was a layer of charcoal and burnt earth, with small bone-ends mingled therewith, which stretched alike to all corners of the howe, but was thickest in the middle. Separated from this layer by a layer of light shore-sand lying between was a second layer like it, which in cross-section was shown to stretch in a curve over the first. The huge grave-howe was thus to a very considerable extent constructed of the burnt remains from the funeral pyre, and this of itself gives some impression of the scale upon which this burial was carried out. The con-

¹ "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1901," No. 12, p. 25.

² A. Lorange. "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum." Bergen, 1875, p. 153-161.

struction of the howe shows also that the funeral pyre did not stand on the site of the howe, but that the remains of the pyre were brought thither from the place of burning. The inner part of the burnt layer in the howe was strewn with clinch-nails, clinch-bolts and spikes, together with ends of burnt bones. In both the layers there were found also shield-bosses spread about in various positions, now singly, now many close to each other, and twice one was found stuck into another. There were found in addition many arrow-heads lying singly, and staves of wood were repeatedly noticed, some of them round, others cut flat upon one side, which in all probability were the remains of bows and of spear-shafts. Somewhat west of the centre of the howe lay a big knot of weapons, very much burnt and purposely twisted together. These consisted of two swords, two small spear-heads, an axe, three shield-bosses, three arrow-heads, a knife, a large iron implement, and many pieces of thin iron plates also, perhaps the mountings of a chest. In this case too clinch-nails were mingled with these various objects. Just under this knot of weapons was found a horse's bit, and underneath, in a hollow scooped in the base of the howe, a whole collection of shield-bosses, which all lay with their openings downwards, and formed together a cover over a large bronze bowl, which contained burnt bones mingled with pieces of charcoal and ashes. Among the bones were found also various fragments of iron and of melted bronze, and in addition an arrow-head, six playing-pieces and three bone dice, a small bone comb and a bigger one, a big bead of dark glass, an iron key, which presumably belonged to the chest mentioned above, etc. In the sand close to the north side of the bronze jar lay some unburnt bones, wrapped up in an untanned goat-skin; these bones are probably the remains of victuals.

The arrangement of this grave, as one may see, agrees in all points with the examples named above; most of the burnt bones were collected into an urn and deposited

in a hollow in the middle of the base of the howe, whilst the ends of other bones were spread out over the whole layer of burnt material; all the bigger objects were likewise collected in a compact group above the centre of the howe, while clinch-nails, shield-bosses and various smaller objects, such as arrow-heads, are spread about in the layer of charcoal. The form of the antiquities shows that this grave must belong to the Viking Age when fully developed, and certainly not to the oldest part of the period, but nevertheless in the arrangement of the grave we find hardly any essential departure from what we have already learned to recognize in the oldest ship-grave, the grave in "Odin's Howe" at Upsala, which belongs to the sixth century. Both these graves, too, stand on the same stage from a social point of view; the grave at Myklebostad, as well as the older one, reflects a princely wealth and luxury. From the size and number of the nails it may be concluded that the ship which was offered on the pyre in this case was of very considerable size. The 44 shield-bosses, which the grave contained, show this also, these of course being the remains of the shields which decked the ship's gunwale. The urn in which the burnt bones were collected is a great bowl of thin, chased bronze; it has three handles, each formed like a human figure and adorned with enamel; the bottom is also enamelled both without and within. A vessel like that, which even now is one of the greatest rarities which has hitherto been found on Norwegian soil, must in the Viking Age also have been a costly piece of goods, and it gives clear testimony to its owner's rank and position.

This cremation-grave at Myklebostad gives us a picture of a ship-burial in broad outlines, but the picture can only be sketched in its main features; we can to a certain degree, from what is found, draw conclusions as to the dimensions of the pyre and of the ship, and as to the infinitely numerous things, in great and small, which naturally went with the ship. But we get to know abso-

lutely nothing of all that was observed and done before the last act of the entombment, when the pyre was finally extinguished. Fortunately we have a very good description from a contemporary of the ritual which was followed at such a Northern burial. The Arab, Ahmed ben Fossan, generally called Ibn Fossan, was sent by the Caliph, El-Muktedir (A.D. 907-932) to the king of the Slavonians in the country by the Volga. Here he met many men, whom he calls Russians (Rus), *i.e.*, Swedish Varagians, who came as merchants as far as the Volga. About them he relates that he had heard such remarkable accounts about the way in which they treated their dead chieftains, that he wished to get a more intimate knowledge of those ceremonies. His account goes on as follows ¹ :—

At last they told me that one of their chieftains was dead. They laid him in his grave and roofed it over for ten days, until they could finish cutting out and making his grave clothes. If it is a poor man who is dead, then they build a little vessel for him, lay him therein and burn it; but when a rich man dies, they collect his goods and divide them into three parts. One third is for his family, with the next they make his clothes, with the third they buy intoxicating drink to be drunk on that day, when a bondmaid gives herself to death and is burnt with her lord. But they abandon themselves to the pleasures of wine in a senseless way and drink incessantly day and night. Often one of them dies beaker in hand.

When one of their chieftains is dead, then they ask his kindred, his bondmaids or his thralls: "Which of you will die with him?" Then one of them answers: "I!" When he has uttered this word, then he is bound by it, and no longer has liberty to draw back; even if he himself wished it, yet they would not allow it. But in general it is a bondmaid who consents. Accordingly, when the man of whom

¹ These details and the whole translation following are taken from Montelius, *l.c.* p. 152. See also Henrik Schück: "Studier," vol. ii., p. 288.

A translation of the following passage by Dr. Joseph Anderson appeared in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. ix., and is summarized in his introduction to "The Orkneyinga Saga," translated by Jon A. Hjalalin and Gilbert Goudie, but Mr. Schetelig has included it in this paper by request, as there are probably many who have not come across it and, as it is of very great importance to the study of ship burials and the practice of cremation generally, it can scarcely be made too widely known.—ED.

I have just spoken, was dead, they asked his bondmaids: "Which will die with him?" One of them answered: "I!" Then she was handed over to two bondmaids, who must watch her and follow her wherever she went, and wait on her so devotedly that sometimes they even washed her feet. With that they began to make preparations for her burial, to cut out clothes for the dead and to observe everything else which is needful. The girl meanwhile drank every day, used to sing, and was merry and joyful.

When the day was now come when the dead man and the bondmaid should be burnt, I went to the river, where the ship had been lying. But she was drawn right up on to the land: four wooden poles were raised up in front of the ship, and about it were placed great images of wood in human form. They drew the ship up upon the pyre forthwith. Meanwhile people went to and fro and uttered words which I did not understand. But the dead man still lay a little apart in his grave, from which they had not yet fetched him. Then they came with a sleeping-bench, placed it on the ship, and covered it with quilted and embroidered coverlets, with Grecian cloth of gold and cushions of the same material. Then came an old woman, whom they called Death's angel, and spread out the things I have mentioned on the bench. It is she who has the care of the clothes and the whole equipment; it is she also who slays the bondmaid. I saw her; she was a little woman, with dark and evil looks.

When they came to his grave, they removed the earth from the wooden roof, cast this off, and took the dead man up; he still lay in the dress in which he had died. Then I saw how he had become quite black from the cold in that country. But they had laid in his grave with him intoxicating drinks, together with fruits, which they now took up. The dead man meanwhile, with the exception of his colour, had not changed at all. Thereupon they clad him in hose, boots, a "kurtak" and a "chaftan" of cloth of gold with golden buttons, and set upon him a cap of cloth of gold trimmed with sable. After this they bore him into the tent, which was raised upon the ship, placed him on the quilted coverlets, propped him up with cushions, and bore in intoxicating drinks, fruits, and sweet-scented herbs, which were laid altogether by his side. They also placed bread, meat, and onions before him. Then they brought out a dog, cut it into two pieces, and cast it into the ship; then laid all his weapons by his side; brought out two horses, which they chased up and down until they were dripping with sweat, after which they hewed them in pieces with their swords and cast the flesh into the ship; finally they brought out a cock and hen, slew them also, and cast them into the ship.

When it was mid-day on Friday, then they brought the bondmaid to a staging which they had made, which was like the projecting cornice of a door. She set her feet upon the hands of a man held flat, looked down through the staging and said something in their tongue, whereupon they let her down. Then they let her mount

again, and she acted in the same way as the first time. Again they dropped her and let her mount up for the third time: then she did again as she had done each time before. Then they held out a hen to her, whose head she cut off and threw away. But they took the hen and cast it into the ship. I asked the interpreter what it was she had done. He answered:

"The first time she said—'Lo! here I see my father and my mother'—the second time—'Lo! now I see all my dead kindred sitting together'—but the third time—'Lo! there is my lord, he sits in paradise. Paradise is so shining and green. With him are his men and lads. He calls upon me. Take me to him.'"

Then they brought her to the ship. But she took off both her armlets and gave them to the woman who is called Death's angel, and who is to murder her. Also she drew off her both her ankle-rings and handed them to the two bondmaids who attended her, and who are called—Daughters of Death's angel. Thereupon they lifted her up on to the ship, but did not yet let her come into the tent. Now some men stepped forward with shields and staves: they handed her a cup with an intoxicating drink. She took it, sang a song and emptied the cup.

"With that," said the interpreter to me, "she takes leave of her dear ones."

Thereupon a second cup was handed to her. She took that also and joined in a long song. Then the old woman ordered her to empty the cup and to go into the tent, where her lord lay. But the girl had become frightened and irresolute: she wished to go into the tent, but was afraid and only put her head in between the tent and the ship. The old woman straightway caught her by the head, forced her into the tent and stepped in herself with her. Immediately the men began to beat upon their shields with the staves, so that no sound of her shrieks should be heard, which might frighten the other girls and take from them the desire to go themselves one day to death with their lords.

It is next told how six men went into the tent and maltreated the girl, and then the account continues:—

Then they laid her outstretched by the side of her lord. Two men caught her by the feet and two by the hands. The old woman, who is called Death's angel, laid a rope about her neck and handed it to two of the men, so that they might pull it tight; she herself stood forth with a great, broad-bladed knife and plunged it between the girl's ribs, and drew it out again at once. But the two men strangled her with the rope.

Now the dead man's next of kin stepped slightly forward, took a piece of wood, lighted it and went backwards to the ship, so that he held the burning piece of wood in one hand and the other hand likewise behind his back, until the wood which was laid beneath the ship

had caught fire. Then the others also came forward with burning pieces of wood ; each of them carried a piece of wood which was already on fire at the upper end and cast it on the pyre. This soon took fire and the fire quickly caught the ship, the tent, the man, the girl and all that was in the ship. Then there rose a strong wind, at which the fire increased and the flames shot still higher.

By my side stood one of the Russians, whom I heard talking to my interpreter. I asked the interpreter what the Russian said to him, and got for answer :—

" You Arabs," said he, " are surely a stupid people. You take the man who is the best beloved and highest in honour of you all and cast him down into the earth, where creeping things and worms devour him. We on the other hand burn him in the twinkling of an eye, so that straightway and without delay he enters into Paradise." Then he burst into a wild laugh, and added thus: " The love which his lord (God) bears towards him is the cause that the wind blows already, and in the twinkling of an eye he takes him to himself."

And in truth it was not long before the pyre and the ship and the girl, together with the dead man, were changed to ashes.

Then upon the spot where the ship had stood, when drawn up from the river, they raised, as it were, a round hillock, upreared a great wooden post in the middle of it, and wrote upon it the dead man's name, together with the name of the king of the Russians. Then they took themselves off.

If it were possible to discover and explore the grave-howe which Swedish warriors, as here described, raised beside a river in the interior of Russia, the result would in all probability very closely resemble what we have seen in the grave-howe at Myklebostad in Nordfjord. We may therefore to some extent draw conclusions from Ibn Fossan's account as to points which the Norse graves cannot directly show us with respect to the ceremonies which went on before the burning of the body. We have seen that the presence of various animals in the grave characterizes the Scandinavian finds, answering closely to what the Arab relates, and we have also the assurance that at any rate in some cases in the North a human being was sacrificed to accompany the dead. This certainly cannot be proved in the case of the cremation-graves, where it is not possible to distinguish if the bones are from various individuals ; but, as we shall see later, proofs of it are to be found alike from the burial-graves, as from Old Norse

literature ; therefore it was certainly the usage in the case of the cremation-graves also.

Before I pass on to a description of the unburnt burials in a vessel, I will refer briefly to a find, where both forms of grave are to some extent combined. In telling about the great grave at Myklebostad it was stated that some of the provisions, which were provided in the grave for the dead man, had not accompanied him to the funeral pyre ; in a grave at Lackalänga, in Skaane, close by the town of Lund,¹ both the ship and the whole furniture of the grave were unburnt, though the dead man and some of the domestic animals had been burnt. The burnt bones were collected in an earthenware jar. The vessel whose remains were found in this grave was not so very small, and the furniture of the grave consisted of beautiful and costly things, whose forms belong to the end of the Folk-wandering Age, that is a little before the actual Viking Age. Among the grave-goods were found weapons, and the grave can thus be distinguished as a man's grave. So far as I know this is a unique example ; elsewhere it is always the rule that ship and grave-goods were burnt on the pyre with the dead.

As already mentioned, unburnt burials in boats are known that date from, at any rate, the seventh century—especially in the case of the famous grave-yard at Vendel in Upland—and from the eighth to the tenth century they appear over the whole of the Scandinavian peninsula, in Norway especially, just as was the case with the cremation-graves just dealt with. We have already discussed at sufficient length the difference between the local distribution of burnt and unburnt burials, so we will here only repeat that unburnt burials are not altogether unknown in any part of Norway or Sweden in the Viking Age, although they are very rare in some places, as in Western Norway ; we shall, however, see that even this

¹ Nils G. Bruzelius : "Beskrifning om et i Skåne anträffadt fynd från järnåldren, jämte inledande anmärkningar." (Description of a find from the Iron Age discovered in Skaane, with introductory remarks.) "Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1858," p. 177.

part of the country has produced remarkable finds of unburnt ship-graves.

Burial-graves offer to students many advantages over cremation-graves; we get from them far more complete evidence as to the form and dimensions of the vessel, as to the treatment of the dead, and all that went on at the interment. The great grave finds of this kind can in intelligibility well compare with Ibn Fossilan's account. It may also easily be imagined that the unburnt vessels were properly understood much more readily and at an earlier date than was the case with the burnt vessels in the graves; even from the time of the eighteenth century we have information about such boat-graves. Thus Schönning,¹ from his travels in Norway, reported a find from a grave-howe at Løvøi, in Vikten parish, Nordland. Here there were found ships' nails lying in rows as in a ship, and with them were found a skeleton of a man and the skeleton of a dog. But nevertheless it is not till after the great ship finds in Eastern Norway that this grave-custom could be studied and described in all its details.

The best of these finds, the find at Gokstad, close to the town of Sandefjord, must be to some extent known to the English public.² I shall therefore only here remind you of the main features of the arrangement of the grave. The grave-howe lay about 1 kilometer from the head of Midfjord. It was about 50 meters in diameter, and at the time of the discovery 5 meters high. Beneath the layer of humus it consisted of sand mingled with clay down to the ground-level; beneath that it was blue clay. The ship stood in the howe with its prow turned seawards; it was buried four feet below the bottom of the howe, and was likewise filled with blue clay, whose preservative properties had thus kept the whole ship practically unscathed. Right before the mast there was raised a grave-chamber of great wooden beams; it had a pointed

¹ Schönning's "*Norske Reise*," a manuscript in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, cited from Werlauff, l.c. p. 289.

² N. Nicolaysen: "*The Viking Ship discovered at Gokstad in Norway*." Christiania, 1882.

roof like a tent, and gables built of planks; it was covered with a manifold layer of birch bark, which had preserved the wood, although it reached up above the protecting clay.

The grave-chamber, upon examination, was found to be no longer in an untouched condition. At a robbery, which must have taken place at a date comparatively soon after the burial, when men still knew exactly the place of the grave and were aware of what it contained, the sides of the ship and of the grave-chamber had been hewn through, and the contents of the grave plundered and destroyed. There were found, however, among the remains of the furniture of the chamber, part also of the dead man's bones; they were those of a man about fifty years old, and fully six feet tall. There were also found remains of the bed and of the bed-clothes upon which the dead had rested, besides pieces of a silk dress inwoven with gold, of buckles and other ornaments, of bridle and harness, richly adorned with gilt bronze mountings; mounts for a box, a leather purse, chess-board, a playing-piece, a carved piece of wood, etc. Outside the grave-chamber there were found in the ship carved pieces of a high seat, five beds, pieces of a sleigh, a copper kettle and an iron kettle, a big wooden vessel, smaller vessels, plates and drinking-vessels, all of wood, and such like. In the ship lay still more skeletons, those of twelve horses and six dogs, and under the planks lay the bones and feathers of a pea-fowl. In the howe outside the ship were found ten wooden spades, which were certainly used at the work of building the howe.¹

The inroad into the grave already mentioned has robbed us of all knowledge of a very important point

¹ The last great ship-find, the vessel discovered at Slagen in 1904, is described in the District Report from Norway in the *SAGA-BOOK* for 1905, vol. iv., pp. 54-66, and some further details will be found on pp. 270-3 of this number. So far as the information available at present enables us to judge, it does not present any new feature, but it will be seen that this find agrees in all its main points with the other ship-burials described in this paper, though the grave-furniture is exceptionally rich and interesting.—ED.

at the burial, namely, how the dead man himself had been lying in the grave-chamber, and this is so much the more deplorable as this kind of grave-robbery has been practiced at almost all the rich ship-graves from the Viking Age. We may, however, conclude that the dead was arrayed in a magnificent dress, and that he rested in a bed with costly bed-clothes, just as Ibn Fossilan has described in the case of the Swedish chieftain's burial by the Volga. But this arrangement of the grave seems to differ perceptibly from the oldest unburnt boat-graves, from the Vendel graves, for instance, some of which date from the sixth or seventh century. There the chieftain sat in the steersman's place, by the ship's stern-post, whilst here he is placed in a bed, on feather mattresses, under a roof of great beams of timber. It is as if the conception of the ship, the craft which is fitted out for the long voyage after death, is also mingled with another idea, namely, the old conception of the grave as a house in which the dead should dwell. This thought lies very near a right consideration of the grave in the Gokstad ship, and it is even more prominent in another Norse grave-find, a great ship-grave from Karmø, on the west coast of Norway.¹ This grave did not fall short of the Gokstad ship, either as regards the size of the ship, or the richness of the grave-goods; but everything was far more perished, since the grave-howe was built of peat, which had most likely been chosen on the same ground as clay was used in the Gokstad howe, namely, because it had been observed that wood is well preserved in peat bogs; the result, however, had not been fortunate, for both the ship and everything perishable that was found in the grave was eaten away. Here also a timbered grave-chamber had been built over the centre part of the ship—the chamber had been built upon the spot, because at the exploration in and about the ship a number of splinters were found, as a relic of the carpenter's work—but this

¹ A. Lorange. "Storhaugen paa Karmøen. Nyt skibsfund fra vikingetiden." (The great howe on Karmø. A new ship-find from the Viking Age). "Bergens Museums Aarsberetning, 1887," IV.

chamber was not built within the ship. Its roof rested upon two parallel stone walls, built outside the ship, and it had gable-ends on foundation-walls corresponding, which were carried across over the ship, and thus connected the long walls. In this case, therefore, the grave-chamber stood upon just as firm foundations as any building, although it was built over a ship.

Although everything in this grave was badly preserved, it still has a special interest as the only one of all our great ship-graves which was not plundered before its investigation and here, therefore, we get, notwithstanding its condition, a more complete picture of the personal equipment of the dead than in any of the other finds. Among other things there were found two swords, two spears, a round quiver with two dozen arrows, a whole outfit of smithying tools, a hand-quern of coarse-grained granite, a little box in which there lay a bronze ring and a big bird's-feather, flint and steel, a big iron pot, two splendid sets of playing-pieces, the one of glass, the other of amber, a disk of wax, an arm-ring of gold, beads of coloured glass and glass mosaic, etc. All the remains of skeletons were consumed; only the jaw of a horse happened to be preserved, which enables us—by comparison with other finds—to guess at the stock of domestic animals which was sacrificed at the burial.

As already mentioned, it was not possible to get any information here as to how the dead had lain in the grave; but that can be supplied from another grave on Karmø, which was found only a couple of kilometers away from the one just spoken of.¹ That grave was of smaller dimensions—it contained a vessel of a length of 15 meters—and, like the Gokstad ship, it had been plundered in ancient times. But on the other hand, in this case everything was tolerably well preserved; the boat could be measured almost completely, and there were found considerable remains of feather-beds and various fabrics, among them small pieces of silk stuff woven with figures,

¹ "Bergens Museums Aarbog, 1902," VIII.

which still show the colours fairly fresh; unhappily, the pieces are too small for the pattern to be restored. It is clear therefore that in this case also the dead man was laid in a bed, clad in costly fabrics, and there were found the remains of a beaker of glass and of various wooden vessels, likewise pieces of wax, which altogether indicate a grave-furniture of the same kind as we know from the other great ship-finds. There was, too, a grave-chamber; just as in the preceding grave there were found a mass of splinters, which come evidently from the building of the chamber; a thick layer of bark, which must originally have covered the roof of the chamber, was found, which had been ripped up at the breaking in, and lay mingled with the remains of the contents of the grave, which had been flung out of it. For the rest, the boat had contained the usual outfit of small spars, oars,—of which, however, only a single oar-blade was preserved,—and of ropework.

The grave-chamber, in which the dead is laid to rest in his bed, is thus a common feature in many of the ship-graves of the Viking Age, but it does not seem to be found in the unburnt boat-graves in their oldest form. Such an arrangement of a ship-grave seems, moreover, extraordinary, and that is the case in a special measure when the grave-chamber takes the form of a building on ground walls, erected partly outside the ship. I am therefore of the opinion that this feature was introduced into the Norse ship-graves as a loan from the grave-customs which were followed at the same date by chieftains in the neighbouring lands to the south.

There are some specially rich grave-finds from Jutland, where the grave is built like a four-cornered wooden chamber, which may compare in size with a small room, for example, in the King's Graves at Jellinge.¹ A splen-

¹“Kongehøiene i Jellinge og deres undersøgelse efter Kong Fredrik VII.'s befaling i 1861.” (The King's Graves in Jellinge and their examination in 1861 by order of King Fredrik VII.) Udgivet af det kongelige nordiske oldskrift selskab. Kjøbenhavn, 1875. J. J. A. Worsaae: “Om Mammen-Fundet, fra Hedenskabets slutningstid.” “Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1869,” p. 203.

did grave of this kind was also found in Smaalenene¹ (on the same farm as that where the Tune ship was found), so the custom was not unknown among Norse chieftains in the Viking Age. Certainly in these graves the form of the chamber is other than in the ship-graves; it has upright walls and a flat ceiling, never the pointed roof form, which is universal in the chambers that were built over ships, and Professor Montelius has certainly judged aright, when he derives the last-named form from the ship's tilt, whilst the flat-ceilinged chamber is naturally interpreted as an imitation of a room in a house. But there are so many resemblances between the two grave-forms that there may certainly also have been a connection.

In the Danish chambers too the dead rested in his bed with feather-quilts and arrayed in costly clothes worked with gold and embroidered; and since in a Danish grave of this kind there was found a wax-light, and in one of the graves on Karmø a round cake of wax, on which is drawn a cross, this also points to a Danish influence on the Norse grave-customs. In my view the matter stands thus: that the chieftains in Norway and Sweden, who followed the custom of burial in a ship, which by the Viking Age had already grown old and venerable, nevertheless would not fall behind the Danish chieftains, who at that date had their graves prepared like a princely sleeping-chamber. Thus there appeared a form of grave which combined the advantages of both in the ship fitted out after inherited custom with provisions, horses, hounds, cooking utensils, and so forth, and the sleeping chamber with bed, feather-quilt and costly coverlets.² Now after the lapse of 1,000 years the result seems somewhat overwhelming. We shall search very far before we find

¹ "Aarsberetning fra foreningen til norske fortidsminde-merkens bevaring," 1867, p. 59, No. 82.

² A parallel can be adduced from certain parts of Australia, where they build a hut for the dead in a canoe. See Hildebrand: "Folkens tro om sina döda."

burials which, in pomp and luxury carried to the highest pitch, can compare with our rich ship-finds from the Viking Age.

We have still to treat of one more outcome of the care which was spent on the furniture of these graves, namely, that it became also a matter of concern that the dead should not be alone. Ibn Fosslan gives us a dismal description of how one of the thralls or thrall-women of the dead was sacrificed to follow him to the grave. The fact is also borne out by Icelandic literature; it is said of the settler Asmund Atlason, that he was buried in a ship, and with him his thrall, who doomed himself to this and would not live after Asmund; he was laid in the other end of the ship.¹ This is also confirmed from Norse grave-finds, as from a grave at Hov, in Dønnes district, Nordland. The grave-howe contained the nails of a ship, which probably had been of the size of a yacht; in the afterpart of the ship was found a skeleton, which is taken to be that of a man, together with the bones of a dog. Outside the sternpost was found another skeleton,

¹ Landnámabók, Part II., Chap. VI. "Ásmundr var heygðr þar ok i skip lagðr, ok þræll hans með hónom sá es ser bannaði séalfr, ok vilða eiði lifa efter Ásmund. Hann var lagðr í annann stafn skipsins."

In 1897 Mr. W. G. Collingwood and Dr. Jón Stefánsson opened a grave near Øxl on Snæfellsness, where Asmund lived, having previously unsuccessfully examined the traditional site of his howe. Within a stone-built circular wall, 24 feet internal diameter, under a layer of charcoal, they found bone-earth and scraps of bone with traces of copper and iron decayed to rust and fragments of hard wood and under all a stone flooring. They point out that the circle is large enough for a six-oared boat, which could easily have been dragged up to the place, and think the fragments of wood may be its remains. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 71. The vessel Asmund was buried in could not have been a large one, as the legend relates that after his burial he was heard singing in his grave and complaining of being crowded by the presence of the thrall.—ED.

Though I can well agree with the opinion that the vessel in which Asmund was buried was a small one, I should like to add that the proof taken from Asmund's complaint is not absolutely convincing. I have, in the text, omitted that part of the tale as it is not confirmed by all manuscripts.—H.S.

which was thought to be a woman's.¹ Also in another of the great ship-finds there were found parts of the skeletons of two individuals.²

When Professor Montelius, some twenty years ago, made the first important enquiries into ship-graves, no certain example of a woman's grave in a ship could up to that date be cited, and he had to leave unanswered the question if burial in a ship had been also in general use at the burial of women, of course leaving out of account the cases where a woman had been sacrificed when a man was borne to earth. Later finds have thrown complete light upon this question; we know now that women's graves may be met with even among the greatest and richest finds of this kind, and that they are not uncommon among the less important boat-graves, as has been mentioned above in the account of cremation-graves. In addition we have a description from one of the old sagas of a woman's burial, which answers completely to the great Norse ship-finds. It is told of Unn the Rich, of Hvamm in Hvammsfjord, that, when she died at a great age, the corpse was borne to a howe which was made ready for her, she was laid in a ship in the howe, and much goods were laid in the ship with her; then the howe was closed up.³

Before I conclude this description of the graves, it

¹Lorange: "Norske Oldsager i Bergens Museum," pp. 192, 193. I take this opportunity of correcting an error which occurred in my District Report last year (SAGA-BOOK, p. 64) where I have recorded this find as a woman's grave. In all likelihood it is a man's grave.

²In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper, which owing to the lateness of the hour was necessarily very brief, the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, pointed out that among Frankish and Anglo-Saxon graves women's skeletons had been found in positions suggesting *suttee*, so that the custom described by Ibn Fossilan and illustrated by the graves described above was not confined to the Scandinavian races, but was shared by their kinsmen in other parts of Europe.—ED.

³"Ok enn síðasta dag boðsins var Unnr flutt til haugs þess, er henni var búinn. Hon var lagð í skíp í hauginum, ok mikit fé var í haug lagð með henni; var eptir þat aptr kastaðr haugrinn." *Laxdæla Saga*. Kap. VII., udgivet af Kr. Kâlund, Kôbenhavn, 1889-91, p. 15.

may be of some interest if I give an example of the smaller class, a grave which does not convey the slightest impression of wealth and abundance, and which shows, moreover, how far the folk in general strained in their endeavour to follow the prevailing customs. Of the lesser boat-graves of this kind a very great number are to be met with in all parts of Norway, but few have hitherto been examined by experts, and that is so much the more unfortunate, as the exploration of a boat-grave calls for care and foresight in a very special degree. Of very great importance therefore is a find which was made by Professor G. Gustafson in a grave-howe in Nordfjord.¹ The howe consisted of sand, and every trace of wood which it had contained was completely perished, but at the very first spadeful boats'-nails were found, and these of course still lay in the same place in the earth which they had occupied whilst the wood of the boat was yet in existence. It was therefore possible, by careful work, to uncover the nails without disturbing their order, and to have them marked down upon a ground-plan, which thus represents the size and shape of the boat as well as its mode of building, since the nails fully indicate every plank in the boat and even the place of the ribs. It proved to be a little ten-oared boat, 8.50 meters long, of exactly the same kind and size as are still built in that same locality. The grave was a man's grave; and the place of the dead had evidently been in the middle of the boat, where his weapons were found. This is of importance for a comprehension of the grave-custom; it indicates that here also there was built a grave-chamber over the middle part of the boat.

Now that we have seen how general and richly developed ship-graves were in Norway and Sweden, we should also expect to meet with a similar feature in the lands which were colonized from those countries in the Viking Age. To some extent this is actually the case.

¹ G. Gustafson : " En baadgrav fra vikingetiden." " Bergens Museums Aarsberetning, 1890, VIII."

With regard to the Swedish colonies we may refer to Ibn Fosslan's account of the grave-customs among the Northern folk on the Volga, who undoubtedly came from Sweden. His report, that a rich man was burnt in his ship, but if it was a poor man who was dead they built a little boat for him and burnt him in it, exactly tallies with the conclusions we have drawn from the Scandinavian grave-finds. From Finland, where Swedish influence asserted itself at an early date, many finds of vessels burnt in graves are actually known, dating even as early as from the seventh century, consequently from the same time as the oldest of the graves at Vendel.¹ A very rich ship-grave from that age is described by Dr. Appelgren²; its arrangement agrees completely with the cremation-graves from Norway and Sweden described above; it contained a great number of ships'-nails, most of them of considerable size, and, amongst other things, six shield-bosses, also a feature which agrees with the finds from Scandinavia itself. In the Norwegian colonies, the Faroes and Iceland, the point is more difficult to prove, because these countries on the whole have not yielded many enlightening grave-finds; the conditions of life there were certainly more straitened than in Norway, and did not offer such good ground for a rich and well developed grave-custom. One instance, however, of a boat-grave is said to have been found in Iceland, and from literary sources we know for a fact that the custom of burying in a vessel was known in Iceland too.³ From

¹ Hackman: "Om likbränning i båtar under den yngre jernåldern i Finland." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 66 and 81.

² Hjalmar Appelgren: "En brandgraf å Yliskylä Kyrkogård i Bjerno." Finskt Museum, 1897, p. 60.

³ The grave mentioned in the foot-note on page 357 may be a second instance of a ship-burial found in Iceland. Besides the countries mentioned in this paper the President, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, in the discussion that followed, reported that he had noticed boat-rivets in a Viking age grave (Carnan-nan-Barraich) in Oronsay. Dr. Joseph Anderson also describes three graves at Pierowall in Orkney, examined in 1841, 1855 and 1863 by Mr. Farrer and Mr. Petrie, which he thinks must

Gotland, on the other hand, only a single boat-grave is known, likewise only one from Skaane, and none from Denmark, these being just the parts of Scandinavia where influences from the Christian lands of Western Europe asserted themselves earliest and strongest. On the other hand there are found in North Jutland some ship-formed standing-stones, a grave form which is certainly derived from the ship-graves, and whose appearance within Danish territory has been accounted for as a relic of foreign vikings, who had established themselves for a time upon the coast of Jutland.

It is not strange that ship-burials are spoken of in many places in the old literature of Norway and Iceland, but these accounts throw little light upon the study of the customs themselves; as a rule it is only stated in general terms that the dead was laid in a ship: and when sometimes a special feature is added, it is no doubt just because it was something uncommon, which did not belong to the customary programme at a ship-burial. This is certainly the case with the well-known scene at the burial of Thorgrim Thorsteinsson in Gisli Sursson's *Saga*: here, as regards the arrangement of the grave, it is only said that they laid Thorgrim in a ship and cast up a howe according to the old custom. When they were about to close the howe, Gisli goes up, takes up a stone as big as a hill, drops it on to the ship, so that every timber was near to crack and says: "I don't know anything of mooring a ship, if wind and weather take this up." From the text itself it is therefore evident that Gisli's action here stands outside the range of what belonged to old custom; it is explained also only by the special conditions at this burial, in that Gisli

have been ship-graves. Precise details of the exploration are wanting, but the presence in all three graves of fragments of wood pierced with iron rivets seems conclusive on this point. See "*Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*," pp. 57-59. The editor will be very glad to be told of cases where similar features have been observed, perhaps without their meaning being recognized, in graves found in other parts of the British Isles.—ED.

himself had slain the man who was being buried.¹

Compared with the grave-finds the Old Norse literature is a meagre source of knowledge about such customs ; but, before I conclude, I must refer to a brief story, whose historical value I will, for the rest, leave out of account, but which nevertheless can not be overlooked, when we are discussing ship-graves and the ideas which lay at the root of that grave-custom. The Viking Hake had slain in battle Huggleik, king of the Swedes, with his two sons, and had himself become king of the Swedes. In later years the nephews of the fallen Huggleik, Eirik and Jorund, sailed for Svithiod to win back the kingdom ; much people gathered to them, and they advanced to Upsala against King Hake, but he advanced against them with a much smaller force. There was a great battle, King Hake went forward so hard that he struck down all who came near him, till at last he slew King Eirik himself and cut down the brothers' banner. Then Jorund fled to the ships with all his folk. King Hake received such great wounds that he saw that his life-days would not be long ; then he let take a ship which he owned, had it loaded with dead men and weapons, made them flit it out to sea, ship the rudder and hoist up the sail, but set light to some pine-wood and make a pyre on the ship. The wind blew off the land. Hake was almost dead, if not already dead, when he was laid on the pyre. The ship went flaming out among the islets into the open sea, and that deed was very famous long after.²

¹ . . . ok fara allar saman á Sæból, til haugsgjörðar, ok leggja Þorgrím í skip, Nu verpa þeir hauginn eptir fornum sið, ok er búit er at lykja hauginn, Þá geingr Gísli til óssins, ok tekr upp stein einn, svo mikinn sem bjarg væri, ok leggr í skipit, svo at nær þótte hvert tré hrökkva fyrir, enn brakaðe mjök í skipinu, ok mælti : " Eigi kann ek skip at festa, ef þetta tekr veðr upp." " Tvær sögur af Gísla Súrssyni, udgivne af det nodiske Literatur—Samfund," Kjøbenhavn, 1849, p. 31. See " The Story of Gísli the Outlaw," translated by the late Sir G. W. Dasent, p. 55.

² " Heimskringla eller Norges Kongesagaer af Snorri Sturlason." C. R. Unger, Kristiania, 1868, p. 21. See the translations by S. Laing (Nimmo, 1889, 2nd Edition), and Morris and Magnússon (Saga Library, Quaritch), Saga I.c. XXVII.

NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.—After the paper was sent to England I got a most interesting article concerning ship-burials, by Mr. Knut Stjerna ("Skölds hädanfärd," published in "Festskrift till Professor Schück paa hans 50-års-dag," Stockholm, 1905) and I have thus been prevented from making use of it. It contains most valuable pronouncements as to the beginning of the ship-burials and as to the explanation of this custom.

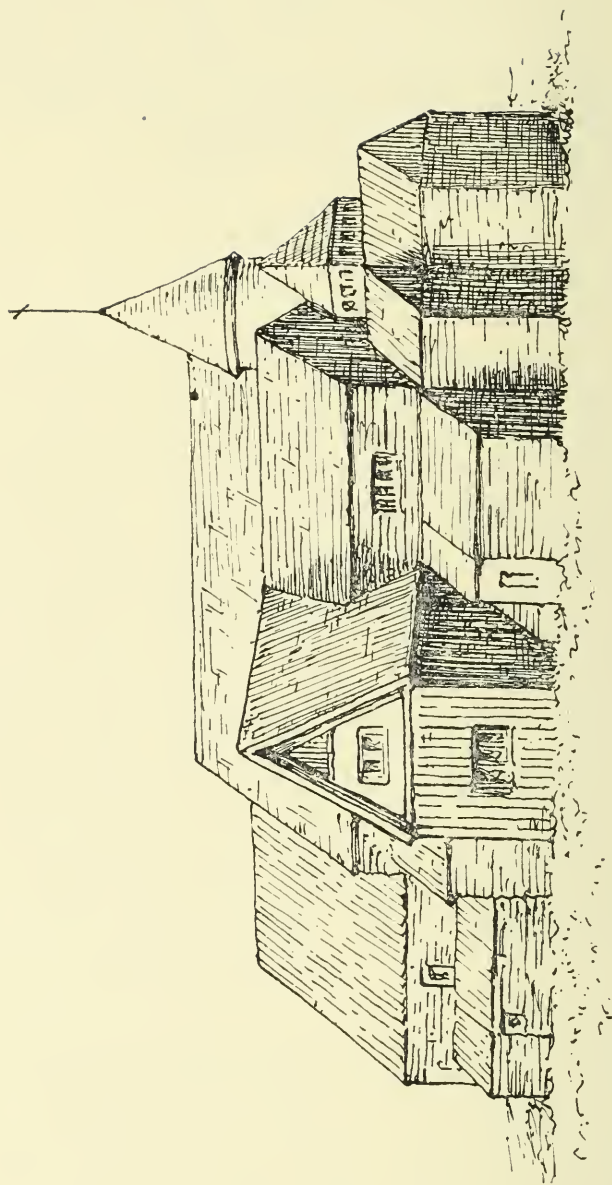


FIG. I.—THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon, after a Water-colour Drawing of the original building, now in the British Museum, by J. Cleveley, junr., who accompanied Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland in August, 1772.

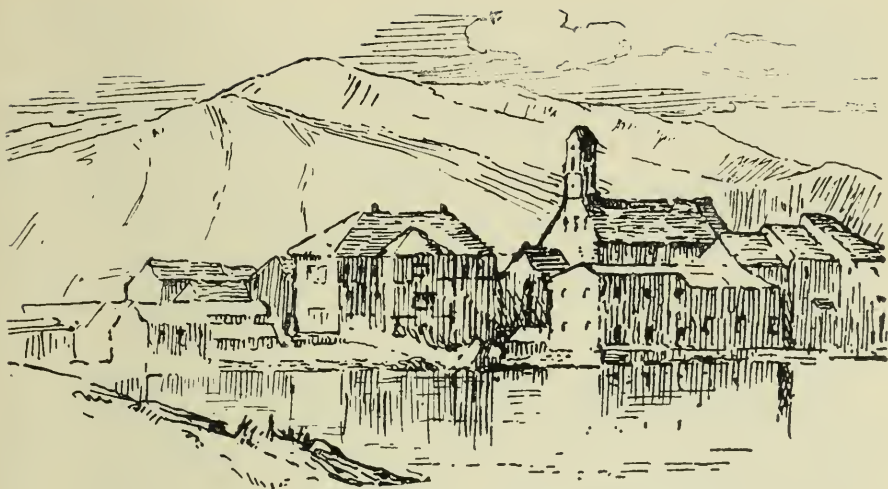


FIG. 2.—VIEW OF REYKJAVÍK, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL.

From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

NOTES ON SOME ICELANDIC CHURCHES.

BY MRS. DISNEY LEITH.

REYKJAVÍK Cathedral is a building of no pretence to antiquity and less still to beauty, from an architectural point of view. It is built of stone of a pinkish tinge, and roofed with slates; the west end is surmounted by a small belfry, and was decorated with the arms which the Danish rulers imposed upon the little metropolis, namely, a split codfish. Since the changes in the government of the island in 1904, the old falcon banner is acknowledged as the national symbol, and has displaced the cod. The falcon has long presided in effigy over the door of the Parliament house close by.

Inside, the appearance is much that of our own churches early in the last century, or a good-sized kirk in a Scottish town. There is very little chancel; the altar is railed in and covered with a red velvet cloth embroidered with the date 1848. A large altar picture

of the Resurrection stands behind it, and two tall candles complete the furniture. In front of the altar stands the handsomely-carved marble font, the work and gift of the Icelandic sculptor, Thorwaldsen, whose statue adorns the green square outside. The pulpit, on the south side, is high and has a carved canopy; the seats in the body of the building are plain wooden benches, with desks and backs. A gallery runs round three sides of the church, in which is the harmonium, and where the singers sit.

Yet plain to our ideas and lacking in ecclesiastical beauty, as is the shrine, I have attended services by no means lacking in devoutness and faith. I have seen the companion of long rough rides by fell and moor and river, in irreproachable Sunday habiliments, singing lustily (and doubtless making melody in his heart) in the fine old hymns of the "*Sálma-bók*." For they sing very melodiously, these worthy folk; the parts are tuneful and sweet, and many of the chorales really grand, though the *tempo* as a rule is susceptible of improvement as regards acceleration. I have listened to sermons full of fire and energy, from the Rev. Jón Helgason, one of the Cathedral clergy. Séra Jón is very clear and forcible in style—clear too in his enunciation. He is the son of a devout and well-read pastor, known in his own land for his writings and poems and translations. I have met with a small book of catechetical instruction for children, written by him, which appeared to be almost identical in teaching with the Anglican doctrine. Jón Helgason is the editor of the new religious periodical. "*Verði Ljós*"¹ ("Let there be light!"), and his articles are distinguished by their vigour, directness, and emphatically Christian teaching; they reach a higher level than those of many of his contemporaries, and should tend to encourage the movement for the deepening of the religious life, which makes itself evident here and there throughout the country.

¹ The periodical is now extinct, after a run of ten years.

Leaving the capital, we pass to the scene, at all events, of chief interest as a church site, namely, Thingvellir. Here, about A.D. 1001, the Christian religion was publicly adopted by law, at the meeting of the Althing. No more picturesque site for a church can be imagined than that of the present building; in the green watered valley at the foot of Almannagjá—All Men's Rift, the great chasm in the lava bed which has formed for ages a natural roadway to the scene of Iceland's parliaments. Alas! that modern vandalism has even here desecrated the ancient landmark by blasting and levelling a smooth roadway along the chasm, terminating in a bridge. Perhaps the road is a legitimate and sensible improvement, especially in view of the facility of progress to the patient and hardy ponies, which are still, as ever, Iceland's one means of universal transport; but the new road might have been even more easily and as conveniently made to descend further east, and thus have preserved the classical old way intact for all time. I believe this is allowed, now, when too late, by the people themselves.

Thingvellir Church stands on a little mound at no distance from the Hill of Laws, and very near the mouth of the "Öxará" (Axewater) river, where it enters the great inland lake of Thingvellir. Very beautiful is the panorama, starting from the Gjá on the south-west, passing the eye northward along the dark-blue giant outlines of Arnafell and Skjaldbreið, and the hills towards Borgarfjorð, to the rocky crests of Hengill reflected in the waters of the lake, the hot springs on its slopes constantly sending up a little wreath of steam, especially visible before rain. But when we turn to the church itself, in so noble a setting, we do not find beauty of architecture to accord with beauty of scenery. Perhaps it is better so, and in a landscape on so vast a scale of magnificence the proportions of even Cologne or Milan would be dwarfed. But here, as elsewhere, we find the little wooden grey-roofed church with its tiny belfry, while across the church path stand the clothes-poles and the

washing lines of the church farm. Neat and clean the little building certainly is ; but the altar picture, which was its only claim to antiquity and curiosity, has given place to a modern Danish painting, and the subject of the former—"The Last Supper"—roughly but boldly painted, somewhat "after" Lionardo da Vinci—has been changed for one of "The Cleansing of the Leper."¹ The small wooden pulpit is old, and ornamented by quatrefoils in blue and red.

Here the services are only alternate, the priest having to travel some distance to another church, at Sóg, while his headquarters are at Thingvellir. The services, however, are well attended, and for a country place the music is good. By the farm of Ulfhljótsvatn, on a picturesque knoll above the Sóg river, is a neat but tiny church, which has an altar painting in the same style as the old Thingvellir picture.

Bessastaðir, on a little promontory south-west of Reykjavík, is one of the finest and best built of the older churches. Its position, on the shore of Skerjafjörð, is picturesque, if lonely. It is built of stone, which is very unusual in the country. When I first knew it, the interior was in a very poor condition ; but it has since been restored to a state of almost aggressive neatness and brightness, with fresh paint, etc. It has a wooden screen, and contains some monuments of an interesting character ; one fragment being a stone effigy of a knight, or Crusader, in armour, which had been varnished over and set up against the wall ! It had evidently once been recumbent. There is an engraved slab to the memory of the first "Amtman" in the island, with a long Latin inscription.

A well-built stone house beside the church was formerly the principal school in southern Iceland ; this was afterwards transferred to Reykjavík. The chief interest of Bessastaðir lies in the fact that here was born one of

¹The old picture was bought by me some years ago and is now in S. Peter's Church, Shorwell, Isle of Wight.

Iceland's greatest men of modern times—the learned, versatile and venerable Dr. Grímur Thomsen. Here he passed his latter days, and died in 1896 full of years and honour. It was my privilege to know him, and to partake more than once of his kind hospitality: the cordial welcome which he extended to me as a stranger ripening quickly to a warm friendship, too soon, alas! to be cut short by his death. His house was a store of literary and art treasures, and his conversation was of the most amusing and fascinating description. He rests beside the walls of the grey old church, a slanted slab of black marble within a railed enclosure marking his grave. There is no parsonage at Bessastaðir, which is served from another but quite newly-built church, at Garðar.

The old church at Viðey—one of the green islets that lie just off Reykjavík, in the narrowing mouth of the Faxafjorð—deserves mention, as it is of considerable antiquity. When I saw it in August, 1904, it was undergoing restoration, a process which I feared might become *devastation* unless wisely looked over. It contains some fine old woodwork, carved on the old pattern I had seen at Viðimyri, a screen, and panels, also a curious old “skriftstóll” or confessional. The altar and panels were painted in two shades of pale blue and green with red mouldings, quite in art colours. I tried to point out to the young farmer who owns the island the desirability of preserving the old characteristics in his new work, and I think he agreed with me. The building was in too great confusion for me to make any but the roughest notes. I believe there is a superstition regarding this church, that the door should be always open, to allow the birds to go in and out.

It is somewhat of a “far cry” from the neighbourhood of Reykjavík to Skálholt in the south, and considerably to the east of Reykjavík. Skálholt! what wonderful thoughts its name suggests, too many fully to grasp, as you gaze over the wide valley, watered by the broad Hvítá, and the glorious ring of mountains of every form

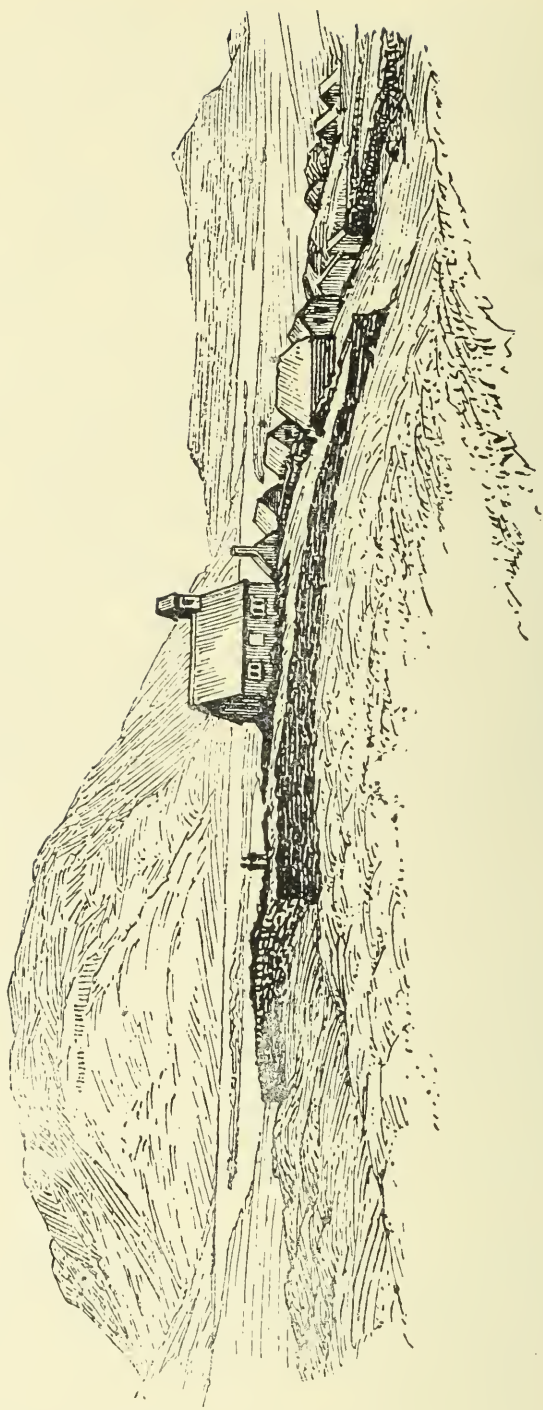


FIG. 3.—SKÁLHOLT.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

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and shade; and try to think of Gizur and Klæng and Thorlák, and the wonderful history of the infant Church of Iceland! But what bathos, as you turn from the glorious landscape with its undying associations into the little wooden shanty, which represents the Skálholt ecclesiastical of to-day! Mean to a degree, ill-kept above

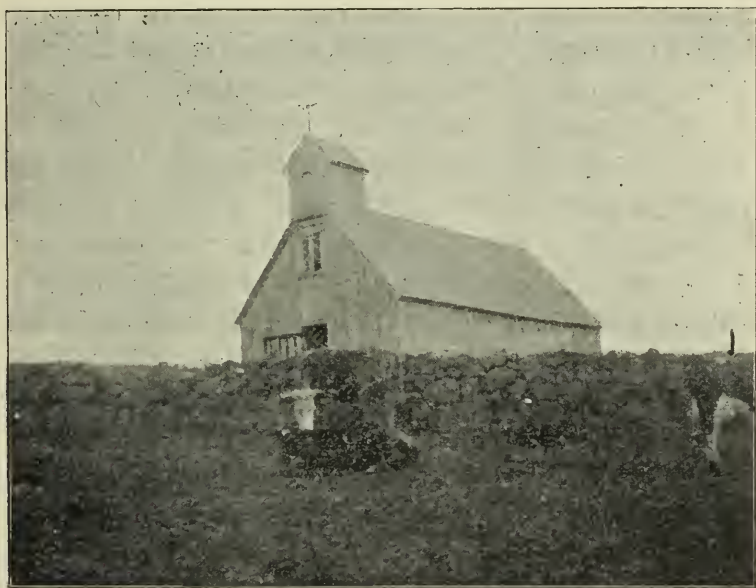


FIG. 4.—SKÁLHOLT CHURCH.

From a Photograph.

the average, unused even on Sunday, except as a promiscuous storehouse—for it is served periodically from another parish, the sight is one to make angels weep. But Skálholt possesses the dignity of having been the first episcopal see—and the annals of its first five bishops form the subject of the curious old ecclesiastical chronicle called *Hungrvaka*—"the Hungerwaker," as it is supposed to stimulate the reader's desire for further information. Here lived and wrought and prayed, Iceland's greatest saint, the holy bishop Thorlak, and here in those short dark days of the dreary Yuletide of 1193, his mourning people laid him to rest with song and holy rite. Much is told too of the richness and decoration of the original

church, and the solemnities of its consecration and dedication to St. Peter the Apostle, during the episcopate of Bishop Klæng.

I paid my second visit to Skálholt in August, 1905—I had seen it first in 1895—and during my stay at the hospitable house of Dr. Skúli Árnason, who lives at the church farm, was able, through the kindness of my host, to see more of what still remains of interest. The church possesses a splendid chasuble of exquisite embroidery and of Pre-reformation period, a silver casket for the sacred wafers, and a very curious altar frontal; the super-frontal decoration being formed of silver plates, said to be from the girdle of Thorgunna in the “Eyrbyggja-saga.” Also there are alabaster slabs, very fine for their period (c. 1600-1700), monuments of Lutheran bishops, under the flooring of the church, which is made in detachments, so as to lift up. Older fragments of monumental slabs form the doorstep, and each succeeding year are becoming more outworn by feet and overgrown by grass. One has a partially decipherable inscription to some “VIRI REVERENDI atq PISSIMI,” but name and date are gone; in style and lettering it resembles the older slabs in Elgin cathedral. Another is ornamented with little medallions, presumably the four Evangelists, at each corner.

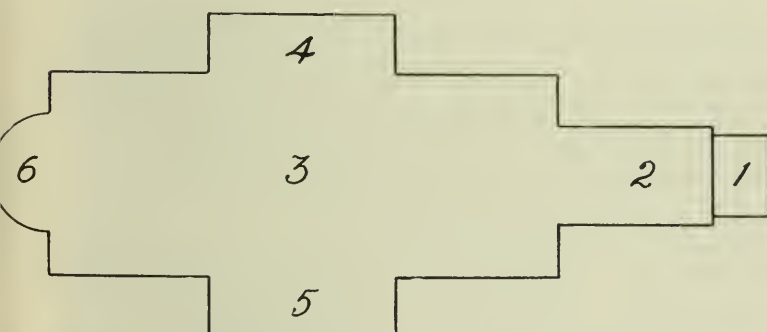
Still more interesting is it to trace, as I did under Dr. Skúli's guidance, the foundation plan of the real “Krosskirkja”—with nave, chancel, and transepts—of which plan the present building occupies about the centre. I regret that I did not take the measurements, but they could not have been very accurately observed. Roughly, the church must have occupied the whole space of the small churchyard; a noble building, doubtless, in respect of all the other native erections. Here, under the rough mounds, where the hay now lies drying in the August sun, the site of the “Sönghús,” where the body of the saint lay for three nights before burial, the mortal remains (most probably) of the blessed Thorlák rest in hope.

There is also visible the track of a subterranean way of entrance to the old church, probably intended for use in bad weather.

Dr. Skúli also showed me a pencil plan of old Skálholt, copied from the MS. of Bishop Steingrim Jónsson in the museum; it bears date 1784, so of course must be looked on as modern; though at that time much more of the old buildings remained or were known than at present. A sketch of the plan of the church is subjoined. The whole plan is very large, and contains outhouses,

PLAN OF OLD "KROSSKIRKJA"
AT SKÁLHOLT.

7



1 Vestry 2 Choir. 3 Nave 4 & 5 Transepts
6 Belfry 7 Thorlaks-booth (Dwelling)

FIG. 5.

offices, school, and, in short, a large block of buildings, though it is permissible to the modern Icelandic traveller to surmise that many of the names in the plan may represent mere turf hovels.¹

Yet one more note of interest ere we quit this hallowed and enthralling site. Just a little to the north of the

¹The Cathedral was destroyed in the earthquake of 1784. It was not the same as the Krosskirkja of the plan, as will be seen if the plan is compared with the frontispiece. The Krosskirkja stood a little way from the site of the Cathedral. See "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," p. 20.—ED.

churchyard lies the stone on which Bishop Jón Árason of Hólar was slain for his faith—being the last Catholic bishop of the church in Iceland. He was brought to Skálholt for execution, along with his two sons. (The Icelandic clergy were not celibate; the bishops' wives figuring largely sometimes in the histories.)

A photograph of the stone is also given. It is much to be desired that some fence and monument should be placed to guard a spot so sacred in the annals of the country.



FIG. 6.—SITE OF THE MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP JÓN ÁRASON.

From a Photograph.

Breiðabólstað, yet further southward, had, when I visited it in 1896, a picturesque steading adjacent, where its pastor lived; but it has been rebuilt since then, and I shudder to imagine the contrast between new and old, for the new farm buildings are usually on the most unsightly lines imaginable. Timber and corrugated iron are not perhaps the materials which an architect would exactly choose to embody his fair designs; but if the makers of these buildings would only copy the gabled

outlines of the old farms, they would arrive at something less utterly out of keeping with the scenes in which they are set. Breiðabólstað church contains the wonderful so-called "Fairy Chalice" mentioned in so many travellers' books, an old silver chalice of which the origin



FIG. 7.—THE FAIRY CHALICE.

By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

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and acquisition are wrapped in mystery. Another curiosity is the carved figure of a dove on the font cover, a rude figure indeed, with heavy blocks of wood for feet. The font here is near the door, in the orthodox position. There is an altar painting, of no particular merit.

All honour to the neat new timber-built church of Oddi, for it withstood the destructive earthquakes of 1896, and sheltered many of the homeless children of the sufferers. Its site is striking, with the brown water-streaked "Land-isles" between it and the low horizon line on which may distinctly be seen the blue outlines of the Westman Islands group.

Stórinúpur, in Arnasysla, is a church of some pretension, but its chief honour is in its present priest, the poet Valdimar Briem, who is at once the most prolific



FIG. 8.—CENTRAL ORNAMENT OF PATEN AT BREIÐABÓLSTAÐ.

By W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." By permission.

and most spiritual of Iceland's living "skalds." A quiet retiring and even silent man, he has produced the largest collection of sacred poetry and hymnology of any modern Icelandic writer, and some of his poems attain to a very high level. A careful and diligent parish priest, he has attained the rank of "Prófastur" or Dean, and is widely known and respected. He has also received the Danish order of the "Dannebrog" for his talents. The church is large and well-fitted, compared with many. The chancel roof is painted blue with white stars, and vaulted

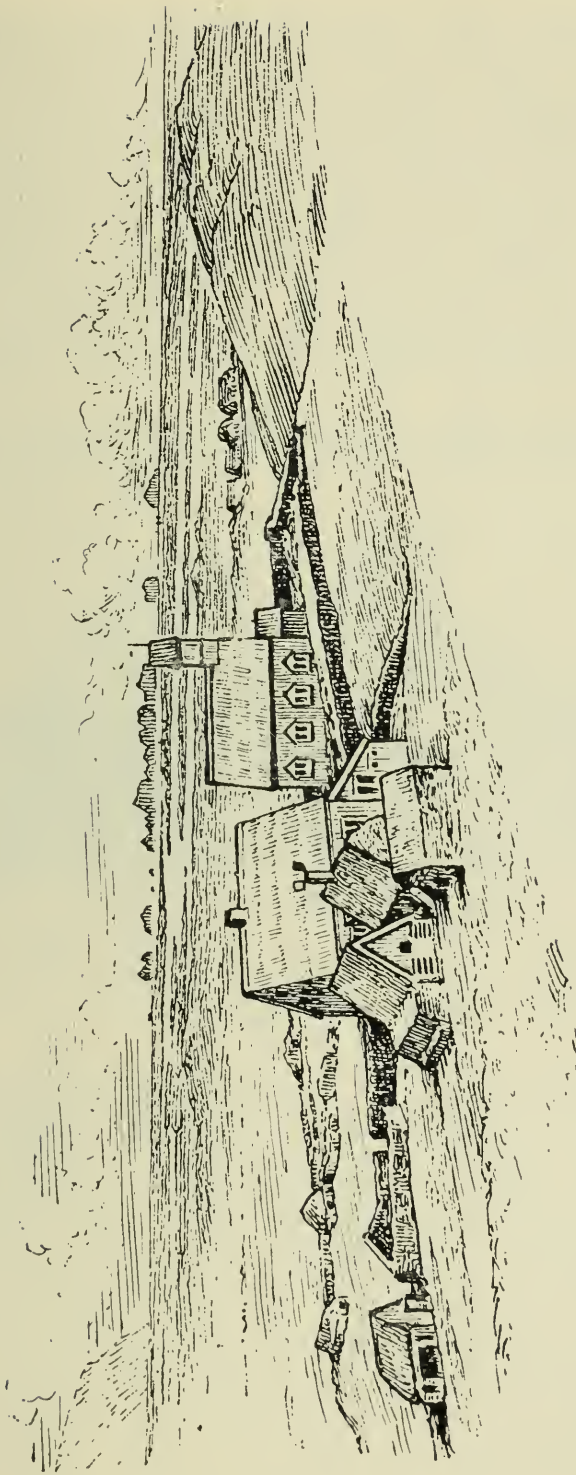


FIG. 9.—ODD1.

From a Sketch by W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Reproduced from "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland." By permission.

over; a large and handsome candelabrum hangs from the ceiling. The music is supplied by an American organ, in fair condition, and Arni, the organist, who, after some pressing, was prevailed on to play, did so with great taste and refinement. Stórinúpur, lit. "the Great Mound," or "hillock," stands in the Hekla district, no long distance from the volcano, and suffered badly in the last earthquake. The parsonage has thus been rebuilt, and has one of the most modern Icelandic interiors that I have seen.

Travelling north, through Hvalfjorð and Borgarfjorð, we halt at Saurbær; a church and parsonage situated near the latter fjord, with a glorious view of the enclosing hills, notably "Botn-súlur," the "bottom pillar," or column, which closes the view and the inlet. Here, in visiting the church, the priest showed me a large collection of altar and other vestments of different colours, and in particular a chasuble of very curious old needlework. There is also an old coloured crucifix and a somewhat mediocre picture below it of the Last Supper. Outside the church, however, an object of great interest is the grave of Hallgrímur Pjetursson, the contemporary of Milton, and Iceland's greatest religious poet. Upon it a stone has been placed in later days by his descendants, in loving memory, and bears an inscription to that effect. He was the priest of Saurbær at that time.

Hraungerði is a little church on the way from Reykjavík to Stórinúpur. It possessed, in 1898, a really noticeable altar-piece; a triptych with folding doors; the central panel a representation of the Crucifixion, in strong relief carving, and coloured. There were a number of figures; the different spectators around the cross all most carefully carved, and the various expressions beautifully distinguished. This treasure has now followed many others to the Reykjavík museum, where I have since seen it. There was also at Hraungerði a pulpit, painted with figures of the four Evangelists.

Stafholt, north of the Hvítá, has a wildly picturesque

site in the midst of a wide plain, within sound of the rushing of a great river, over which the wind can sweep with little to check its fury, as on the August afternoon when I attempted to take a stroll and found myself very glad to cling for shelter under the church's wooden wall. What impressed me more than the church was the gate to the small churchyard, which stands between the parsonage and the church; it is broken, but on the wooden board above it is painted in Icelandic a verse from the Third Psalm (thus literally rendered) "I lay me down and sleep, and I awake, for the Lord guardeth me," which I thought a rather novel and very beautiful application.

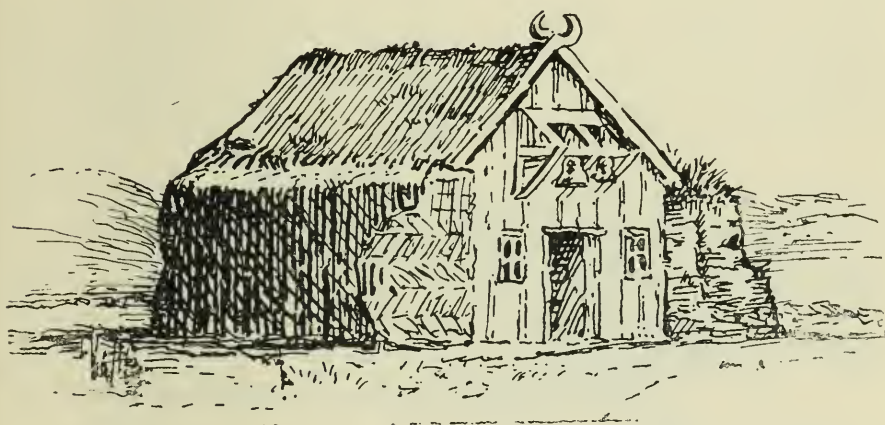


FIG. 10.—VIÐIMYRI CHURCH.
From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

Viðimyri stands last on the list of churches which seem specially worthy of notice. It is no long journey from the Hjeraðsfloi river, the ford of which has some mournful associations; more than one life has been lost in attempting to cross it on horseback instead of waiting for the surer ferry boat. Viðimyri church is almost the only specimen remaining of a turf church. It looks outside very like a neatly turfed cottage, with the ornament of crossed planks with carved ends on its wooden front gable. Within, it is extremely neat and possesses the curiosity of a double wooden screen enclosing the

sacrarium. It has a very old wooden pulpit, with panel paintings of saints, nearly obliterated with age. There is an altar picture of the Last Supper, not specially striking, and two older and better painted panels of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, which are put aside under the ceiling. It has a pair of brass altar candlesticks, and a rather flimsy modern chandelier; while the tiny building is hung round with paraffin lamps. Two bells, with the date 1630, are hung in a penthouse over the door, and rung from without.

These few rough notes upon the principal churches

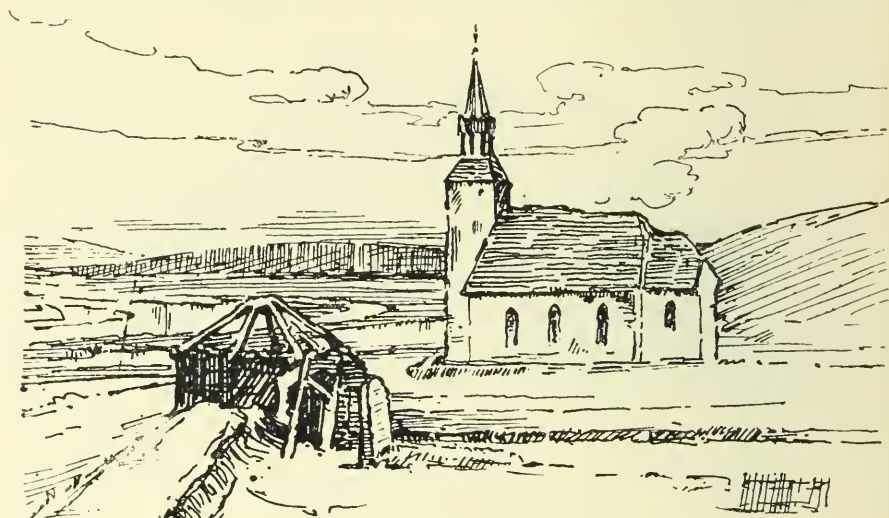


FIG. II.—MIKLIBÆR CHURCH

From a Sketch by (Mrs.) H. W. Bannon.

which have come under my personal observation may, I hope, serve to show that, although Iceland's Church is shorn of her ancient glories, and architecture according to the usual acceptation of the term is unknown in the country, yet her little sanctuaries are not wholly devoid of interesting associations and relics of the past. Moreover these are reverently cared for, as far as circumstances permit, and as might be expected of a simple, primitive, but eminently sterling and God-fearing people.

NOTE.—Books of travel in the latter half of the nine-

teenth century mention many turf churches as still existing in Iceland, but Mrs. H. W. Bannon informs us that the only one, besides Viðimyri, now remaining is at Flugumyri. The latter is in worse preservation than Viðimyri, and both, she fears, are likely soon to disappear, as they are entirely neglected, and even archæologists do not take the interest in them which such interesting relics of the past should arouse. As a contrast to the picture of Viðimyri and an instance of the fate that has overtaken most of these turf churches, we give a sketch by Mrs. Bannon, of Miklibær church, on the Horgá not far from Akureyri in the north of Iceland. The building shown, which is a typical modern Icelandic church, has replaced the former turf church, which is briefly described by W. G. Lock in "The Home of the Eddas," published in 1879. Mrs. Bannon cannot say at what date this was replaced by the present building.

Our thanks are due to her for the sketches she has allowed us to use, especially the interesting representation of old Skálholt Cathedral; also to our President and Mr. W. Holmes, publisher of "A Pilgrimage to the Saga-Steads of Iceland," for permission to use the illustrations taken from that work.—EDITOR.

HOMER AND BEOWULF: A LITERARY PARALLEL.

By J. WIGHT DUFF, M.A. (Oxon. et Aberd.),
Professor of Classics in Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

PARALLELS, unless they are scientific, run the risk of being thought fallacious. In literature parallel lines are apt to intersect at unexpected points. A writer, eager to see points of contact, is not content to wait for that infinity whereat, by a mathematical fiction, parallels meet: he may be tempted to force his lines of comparison together at the bidding of caprice, and do violence to strict truth. This is the danger which besets Plutarch: there is just a suspicion that some of his pairs of Lives from Greek and Roman History are due to exigencies of parallelism rather than to absolute fitness. It is not, therefore, without due appreciation of the need of care that I venture to study Homer and "Beowulf" together. The collocation does not imply that Homer is quite the "Beowulf" of Greek literature, or "Beowulf" the Homer of English literature. Such unqualified parallelism would as certainly mislead as if one should label Hesiod "the Greek Caedmon," or perhaps Sophocles "the Greek Shakespeare," and proceed to lay stress on the undoubted resemblances, without equally marshalling the differences.

Yet in the case of the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" the possible lines of comparison are so many that it is necessary to state those along which this paper does not propose to travel. Here we are confronted with two sets

of poems of the epic order—the “Iliad” and “Odyssey” in Greek of, say, the ninth century B.C., and the “Beowulf” in West-Saxon of, say, the eighth or ninth century A.D. The poems stand at the beginning of their respective literatures. This is the first obvious and superficial parallel between them. It points the way to others. Some of these I beg leave to eschew. I do not propose to approach the closer comparison from the standpoint of archæology, though much of interest might attach to a comparison between the external antiquities or “Realien”¹ of these poems, such as the Homeric and the Viking Ship, the Homeric and the old Scandinavian Hall,² the Homeric and the Danish armour,³ the use and ornamentation of metals in both stages of society. The materials are to hand in the exhibits from Schliemann’s excavations at Mycenæ and at Hissarlik, as shown in the Museums at Athens, Constantinople, and Berlin, in finds from northern middens, in remains like the Gokstad ship, and particularly in collections of northern antiquities like that at Copenhagen. It would prove an attractive sub-chapter in anthropology to contrast the Mycenæan civilisation of Homer, a period of transition between the Bronze and the Iron Ages, when one of the epithets of iron implied the difficulty of working it

¹See Buchholz, “Die Homerischen Realien,” 3 vols., 1871-1885; Schliemann, “Mycenae and Tiryns,” 1878; Schuchhardt, “Schliemann’s Excavations” (Eng. Tr., 1891); Helbig, “Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert, 1884, Zweite Auf., 1887; Stephens, “Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England,” 4 vols., 1866-1901.

²For Homeric house, see Appendix vi. to Monro’s “Odyssey,” xiii.-xxiv., 1901; Jebb’s “Homer,” 1887, pp. 57-61 and Appendix; also “Journal of Hellenic Studies,” vol. 7, p. 170.

For ancient Scandinavian house, see Part xiii. of Paul’s “Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie,” pp. 228-235; Holmberg’s “Nordbon under Hednatiden,” Stockholm, 1871 (cited in “Beowulf,” tr. Clark Hall, 1901, p. 175); “Burnt Njal,” translated by G. W. Dasent, 1861, vol. i., pp. xcvi.-cx.; “Ruins of the Saga-Time in Iceland,” by Thorsteinn Erlingsson. (Viking Club Extra Volume, 1899.)

³Lehmann, “Über die Waffen im Ags. Beowulfliede,” Germania, xxxi. (xix.), 486-497, 1886. Reichel, “Homerische Waffen, Archäologische Untersuchungen” (Zweite Auf.), 1901.

(πολύκμητος σίδηρος, Iliad, vi., 48), with an age of the "iron byrnie" (isernbyrnan), when the sword is the "choice of irons" (irena cyst), and the hall of Heorot has its doors strengthened with iron bands (iren-bendum).

Nor do I propose to take the standpoint of social evolution, by discussing the relation of society in the poems to the stage of village communities or to clan life, and incidentally the characteristics of "clan-poetry" ¹ traceable in each; nor yet from the standpoint of mythology, to inquire curiously how far Beowulf or Achilles may be a sun-god fighting against darkness. Nor do I propose to institute any purely linguistic comparison between Homeric and Anglo-Saxon grammar, though, here again, for those disposed to use it, material exists on the Greek side ² no less than in those minute German tractates which deal with the genitive ³ or the dative ⁴ in "Beowulf," or the syntactical use of the infinitive and participle. ⁵

It might seem more inviting to recollect that there is a "Beowulf Question" as there is a "Homeric Question." Of both the Homeric poems and of "Beowulf" critics go on asking and go on answering differently the queries—Who composed them? and where? and when? and how far have they been altered by interpolating scribes? If books have failed to solve such conundrums, let not an essay try. One of the wisest dicta of Seneca was his reminder that life is too short for the study of the Homeric Question. If the remark was apposite in the days of Nero, it ought to have much more force now. I am not, therefore, here concerned to compare the textual results of Homeric scholars from the Alexandrian days

¹ See Posnett, "Comparative Literature," 1886 (Book ii.).

² Delbrück, "Syntaktische Forschungen," 1871, ff. Monro, "A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect," 1884.

³ Nader, "Der Genetiv im Beowulf," 1882.

⁴ Nader, "Dativ und Instrumental im Beowulf," 1882.

⁵ Köhler, "Der Syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs und Particips im Beowulf" (Münsterer Doktorschrift), 1886.

of Aristarchus, with those of Grein and Wülker¹ on "Beowulf"; nor to assess the value of the theories of Wolf,² Grote,³ Fick⁴ and others regarding the authorship and provenance of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and the correspondingly arduous labours of Müllenhoff⁵ and Sarrazin⁶ on the Anglo-Saxon poem. But a few comments applicable to both epics arise naturally. Occupying a parallel chronological position, belonging to the childhood of two great literatures, they were not without predecessors. Both in Homer and "Beowulf" there are introduced the singers and the singing of lays which imply the existence of a body of legendary lore from which minstrels drew for the amusement of their auditors. Thus, across the frontiers of both open out vistas into a wider saga-land—in the case of Homer to such groups as the Theban Cycle, the Wooden Horse, the Return from Troy of Greek Champions other than Odysseus; and in the case of "Beowulf" to sagas of the same kindred as "The Fight at Finnsburg," and the Sigmund⁷ portion of the "Nibelungenlied."

It is farther noteworthy that among recent writers there is a tendency to doubt the theory that these poems are a patchwork of still earlier lays. Professor Comparetti, in his "Traditional Poetry of the Finns," and Mr. Andrew Lang in the Introduction to that work,⁸ as well as in his "Homer and the Epic," have expressed their misgivings about the soundness of the method of

¹ "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," begründet von C. W. M. Grein, neu bearbeitet u.s.w. von R. P. Wülker, "Das Beowulfslid," etc., 1883.

² Wolf, "Prolegomena," 1795.

³ Grote, "Hist. of Greece," vol. ii., chap. xxi. (1st ed. 1848).

⁴ Fick, "Odyssey," 1883; "Iliad," 1886.

⁵ Müllenhoff, K., "Beowulf-Untersuchungen," 1889.

⁶ Sarrazin, G., "Beowulf-Studien," 1888.

⁷ In "Beowulf," Sigemund is the dragon slayer: this seems an older form of the tale than either the German or the Icelandic, which make his son Siegfried or Sigurd the slayer of Fafnir.

⁸ English Translation, 1898.

accounting for Homer adopted by Lachmann¹ and others. The doctrine that early epics are organised agglutinations of anonymous sagas has probably seen its best days. It contains one side of the truth, that the composition of every great poem out of primitive songs requires personal agency ; but it misses the other side of the truth, that any such great poem must be composed not by a mere collector or paster, but by a poet. A board of savants might work together on early songs, but the result could not conceivably be a poem. A board of savants is not a board of poets : and one does not hear of boards of poets working together. It is not a poetical, not a harmonious idea. Professor Courthope² similarly distrusts the results obtained by Müllenhoff as to the various strata of which he avers that "Beowulf" is composed, and which he claims to be able satisfactorily to separate.

Once more, under this heading, there is the likelihood, approaching certainty, that the material of both was brought across seas to new lands—the "Iliad," in the form of Thessalian lays, transported from Northern Greece to Asia,³ and the "Beowulf," in the form of Scandinavian lays, transported from the Continent to England.

My real subject is the comparison of Homer and "Beowulf" as literary documents, without asking how they were composed. In both it is the poetry with which I have to deal. It is never practicable to make an absolute divorce between matter and manner, between the thought and the mode of expression. Least of all is this possible here. If poetry ever is a "criticism of life," then early poetry must be a specially valuable index. Hence I propose, after comment on the more obvious qualities of style in the epics, their narrative power, their power of recording character and emotion, to review them

¹ Lachmann, "Betrachtungen über Homers Ilias" (Dritte Auflage, 1874).

² "Hist. of Eng. Poetry," vol. i., 1895, pp. 86-88.

³ "The Achaeans originated Epic . . . the supreme inspiration came to their minstrels on Asiatic soil." Bury, "History of Greece," 1900, p. 65.

briefly as representations of life,—life, not in the sense of the food the men ate, or the raiment they wore, or the ships they sailed in, but rather the kinds of deeds they performed and praised, their manners towards one another, their views on life and death.

The general stamp of the Homeric poetry cannot be better summed up than in the four qualities assigned to it by Matthew Arnold in his lectures "On Translating Homer," and endorsed by Professor Jebb in his "Introduction to Homer"¹: rapid; plain in thought; plain in diction; noble. I take it that rapidity involves those qualities of force and vigour which seem to me so characteristic of both poems. It is the power of telling a narrative with effect—the fundamental gift of the epic poet. On this count of rapidity, and on the other two, of plain thought and plain diction, "Beowulf" holds its own with Homer: on the fourth count the palm is undoubtedly Homer's. He transcends "Beowulf" in sustained nobility of thought and of plan and of language. For "Beowulf," though containing much that is noble, and though making a closer approach to Homer than do ballads, does not succeed in keeping to a Homeric pitch.

Again, it suffers from its comparatively small scale—it is, roughly, about an eighth of Homer's length. In strictness "Beowulf" has not attained to epic proportions. Besides, it has reached a less developed stage of literary art; for its rugged alliterative lines do not rival Homer's diversified control over language, nor his power of handling so fine a metre as the Greek hexameter. But with all this, there remains amazingly Homeric quality in the narratives of "Beowulf." Homer, in brief, may be more artistic, but he is not more masculine. Take Beowulf's struggle with the monster Grendel in the Hall, or his yarn of how he fought the water-beasts during his swimming match with Breca, or the description of the fire-drake's fury against the whole land after his

¹ 1887, p. 12.

treasure had been invaded, and, pitted against anything in Homer for dash, nerve, and breathless excitement, the Anglo-Saxon poet is not outmatched.

In illustration of the passage last mentioned, I offer a rendering of its latter portion¹:—

Then gan the guest-fiend live gleeds to spew forth,
Bright homesteads to burn. The blazing beam stood out
In anger against men: nor was there aught alive
The loathly lift-flyer was willing to leave.
That worm's warfare was widely beheld—
The crushing foe's cruelty close and afar—
How the fight-scather for the folk of the Geats
Brought hatred and humbling. To his hoard he shot back,
The dark hall of his den, ere the hour of the dawn.
The folk of that country he had compassed with flame
With bale and burning brand. He trusted in his barrow,
His fighting and fortress. That fancy played him false.

The real proof of the epic power of "Beowulf" lies in the readiness with which its great scenes flash back on the memory. It has its intense and unforgettable moments, as when Grendel, prowling round the hall in the dark, feels a grip such as he never felt before, that of thirty men's strength; and again, moments of sickening suspense, as when Beowulf lies, to all seeming, hopelessly exposed to the mere-wife's seax. They recall the intense moments of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," like old Priam's entrance, so unlooked-for, so dramatic, into the tent of the man who slew his son, or that point in the Trial of the Axes, when the stranger, who is Odysseus in disguise, leaves the hall with the neatherd and the swineherd and asks, if their master were to come back, with whom they would side, or that dark interval of disbelief before the dawn of recognition of her husband by Penelope.

Of Beowulf's three fights—with Grendel in the hall,

¹ The whole passage consists of ll. 2287-2323, "þa se wyrm . . . ge Leah" ("Beowulf," Early Eng. Text Soc., ed. by Zupitza, 1882). The rhymed fourteeners of Lieut.-Col. Lumsden's translation do justice to the rapidity of the original; but they alter the metrical movement, and do not seem to me literal enough in expression.

with Grendel's dam under water, and with the fire-drake—the most powerful is the first. Granted that Homer, whether in the "Iliad" or the "Odyssey," moves on a more massive scale, and granted that the "Fight at Finnsburg," or the surrounding of Njal's house in the "Saga of Burnt Njal" may recall the "Iliad" more closely, still here the poet reaches the highwater mark of realism. As we read, we believe in Grendel. The struggle has the thrilling potency of Grettir the Strong's struggle with Glam's wraith in the famous "Grettis Saga."¹ The grim tug of war is as human as the "Iliad": that is why it reads more convincing, if less romantic, than the conflicts with Grendel's dam and the fire-drake, or the butchery of Odysseus' sailors by the Læstrygonians in the "Odyssey." Grendel, stalking across the moors from the swamps under cover of night into Heorot, arouses a compelling shudder, as genuine as the nervous feeling that may beset men even in ages of enlightenment, and force them against reason to believe in the possibility of mysterious and superhuman attack amid the still shadows of the dark. Others perhaps feel it like the resistless dread which pervades some dreams.² The sense of dread, when we know the monster *will* come back to King Hrothgar's hall to claim his nightly prey, is even more vivid than in the situation where the man-eating Cyclops returns to his cave to find Odysseus and his men within, and equal to our breathless anxiety while the blinded giant is groping over the sheep beneath which the Greeks lie hid. The appeal to awe in "Beowulf" is helped by the setting in Scandinavian scenery—the tossing northern seas, the bleak wind-swept headlands, the wild haunted bogs, lit only by the eerie will o' the wisp. Where Homer makes the most graphic appeal to awe is in the Slaying

¹ It is worth while recalling Vigfusson's theory that "Grettis Saga" here has borrowed from "Beowulf." See "Corpus Poeticum," vol. ii., pp. 501-3, and "Sturlunga Saga," 1878, Prolegomena, vol. i., xlix.

² "grim, unrelieved, touching close upon the springs of mortal terror, the recollection or the apprehension of real adversaries possibly to be met with in darkness." W. P. Ker, "Epic and Romance," 1897, p. 200.

of the Wooers, the effect of which is enhanced by the omens and forebodings of "second sight" that have gone before.

Coupled with the gift of strong, vivid, telling narrative, both poems have dramatic and lyric elements. Though there may be nothing quite so dramatic in "Beowulf" as the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in the first book of the "Iliad," or the interview with the deputation in Achilles' hut in the ninth book, yet the speeches in Hrothgar's hall are admirably managed. A highly dramatic turn is given (2047-2056) to the episode of the Danish bride Freawaru, married to a prince of the Heathobards, when at the beer-drinking an aged spearman recognises a Heathobard sword worn by a Dane, and eggs young Ingeld to vengeance in the words:

Couldst thou, my good chief, know the glaive again
Which thine own father to the fight bore,
Under his helm of war, the hindmost time—
The dearloved iron; where the Danes slew him,
Lords of the field of carnage, when Withergyld¹ lay low
After the fall of heroes— those hardy Scyldings?
Now here of those slayers the son, I know not whose,
In fretted-armour proud, paces the hall-floor,
Boasts of the murder, and that treasure bears
Which thyself by right shouldest rule.

For lyric and elegiac power the touching description in "Beowulf" of a father's grief for his dead son has a pathos comparable with Achilles' grief for Patroclus.

One pervading quality of both epics is a certain naïve freshness which has a double portion of charm for the jaded readers of more sophisticated ages. In the days of those poems the world was younger; hence the plainness already alluded to. Examples are abundant. A concrete work of art, or an abstract phenomenon like a reflection, an emotion, a character is always conveyed in simple terms. There is something very engaging about this primitive delight in works of skilful handicraft, as if man were still in the childhood of the race, and his

¹ Or "when vengeance failed."

implements and ornaments were toys to be admired. So the Northern poet signalises Beowulf's coat of mail as the work of Weland,¹ or the sword in the sea-cave as belonging to the Eotens²; and the Southern poet dwells on³ the shield of Achilles as the work of the god Hephaistos, and is careful to say⁴ that Agamemnon's sceptre was curiously made by the same god. If a reflection occurs to the poet, he is not afraid that it has occurred to hundreds before him. He had no horror of the simple. Three separate times does the author of "Beowulf" make the comment, "That was a good king" (*þæt waes gōd cyning*). He sums up the reference to Hrothgar's men at the close of Part I., as they turn to sleep in the hall, "They were a noble folk" (*Waes sēo þēod tilu*, 1250). "'Tis sorrowful for an old carle to bide that his boy swing upon the gallows in his youth" (2444-2446). "Of course it is," some modern critics would remark, "that is obvious"; and the modern decadent poet would not venture to say it. So in Homer there is this habit of simple reflection of the semi-proverbial order. And the reader of to-day experiences the pleasant intellectual shock of finding a truism, a saw, stated forcibly, with belief, and without compunction. The ages of literary self-torment had not yet begun.

The treatment of human emotions in both epics is in this same naïve manner. There is a freshness of outlook on man's feelings as well as on man's works and man's thoughts. A fighter at Troy or a thegn of Hrothgar's is not easily imagined as *blasé*. The topmost feeling bursts into expression. The hero feels he is brave, and says so:

Hail to thee, Hrothgar! I am Higelac's kinsman, and tribe-thegn. I have undertaken many deeds of daring in youth . . . I quelled a giant brood, I slew sea-monsters on the waves by night, I dreed dire distress, avenged the Weder's feud.⁵

¹ "Beow.," 455. Weland, the smith of Germanic legend, is the Völund of the Edda.

² *eald sweord eotenisc*, "Beow.," 1558.

³ "Il.," xviii., 458, etc.

⁴ "Il.," ii., 101.

⁵ "Beow.," 407 *seq.*

These are words in Beowulf's first speech to the King at Heorot. Compare the words spoken by Odysseus to the King of Phaeacia:

I am Odysseus, son of Laertes, who am in men's minds for all manner of wiles, and my fame reaches unto heaven.¹

This is the true old epic and manly strain: it is not to be dismissed, after the fashion of some commentators, as boastfulness. It is a heroic confidence which pairs with the moral confidence of the developed ideal man in Aristotle's "Ethics," who knows his perfections and does not think it necessary to include humility, lest it should savour of mock-modesty. Here, then, we move among the elemental human emotions and their frank portrayal. King Hrothgar bursts into tears when he has to part from Beowulf, as the sailors of Odysseus do over their lost² comrades. Beowulf passionately storms against Hunferth for his insolence at the banquet, as Achilles storms against Agamemnon for his highhandedness: in their hot temper both utter the same taunt about being drunk.³

The character-drawing in both epics is sharp and life-like. Its merit is truth to heroic man, who, it seems to me, might be epitomised in Pope's admirable line—

A being darkly wise and rudely great.

The test of clear outline is the reader's memory. The mental pictures of Beowulf, the two Kings Hrothgar and Higelac, the two Queens Wealhthow and Hygd, Hunferth the scoffer, and Wiglaf the trusty thegn, are as lasting as the pictures of Achilles, Agamemnon, Odysseus, King Priam, Helen, and Penelope. I do not for a moment think the northern characters equal the Homeric in finesse, in fulness, or in variety; but if the content is less, for clear impression they hold their own. There is nothing so psychologically subtle in "Beowulf" as Homer's Athene; for she is the

¹ "Odyss.," ix., 19, 20.

² e.g., "Odyss.," ix., 294.

³ cf. beore druncen, "Beow.," 531 and οἶνοβαρές, "Il.," i., 225.

apotheosis of mind. Nor is there anything corresponding to Homer's mastery of the mind of girlhood in Nausicaa. But the hero, in intensity and indomitable hardihood, is a worthy counterpart of Achilles. When Beowulf is safely home at Higelac's Court, the poet pauses to summarise his qualities (2177-2189) in words which I shall try to render with due regard to closeness and to alliteration:—

Thus boldly bore himself Ecgtheow's bairn,
A wight in warfare well known, and in brave works.
He did according to duty, never smote in their drink
His mates of the hearth. His was no harsh mind,
But stout in the strife, he guarded with greatest skill
Of humankind the glorious gift that God
Had lent unto him. Long was he lightly esteemed;
For the children of the Geats did not count him courageous,
Nor would a leader of war hosts award him
Much honour on the mead-bench.
Strongly they weened that he was a slack one,¹
An atheling unready. Reversal came,
For that fame-blest man, of every biting flout.

This character is developed in the second part, where finer issues are involved in the question—Shall the King give himself for his people to kill the fire-drake? And as he lies dying, reviewing his past, and feeling the tender pathos of childlessness, he can solemnly claim to have been brave, a goodly ruler, not treacherous, true to an oath (2730-2740). And the last words of the poem leave the Geatfolk mourning for “a mighty king, mildest of men, kindest to men, gentlest to his folk, and keenest after praise” (3180-82). It is full of fascination, this temperament, cheaply rated as sluggish in youth, and wakened by the stress of need and peril into brilliant action. The practical turn is seen in all his deeds, and rings through his words to the King, disheartened by the murderous raid of Grendel's mother:

Sorrow not, wise man. . . . Better for each to wreak his friend
than greatly mourn. . . . Win glory before death. That is best at
last for the dead warrior (1348-1389).

¹ *paet hū slēac wære.*

This is Homeric in spirit. Indeed there is a certain refinement in Beowulf's gentleness and self-sacrifice which one usually misses in Achilles, of whom Horace's line is almost true :

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

I say almost true ; for one cannot forget the great scene in the "Iliad" where King Priam has kissed the hands which have slain so many of his sons, and reminded Achilles of his own old father at home :

He stirred within Achilles desire to make lament for his father.
And he touched the old man's hand and gently moved him back.
And as they both bethought them of their dead, so Priam, for
manslaying Hector, wept sore as he was fallen before Achilles' feet,
and Achilles wept for his own father and again for Patroclus ; and
their moan went up throughout the house.¹

I have compared thus slightly Beowulf with Achilles, because he seems a closer analogue than the deeper and cleverer character of Odysseus. But if Odysseus is less akin to the hero Beowulf, the "Odyssey," as a book, is a truer parallel to the poem "Beowulf" than the "Iliad" is. For in the "Odyssey," despite the digressive episodes which, like "Beowulf," it contains, there is more definitely than amid the multifarious warfare of the "Iliad," one hero overshadowing all other figures. There is the blend of war elements and home elements. The dangers of the "Odyssey," too, are closer in kind to the dangers in "Beowulf." For example, the Laestrygonian cannibals with their ogress queen "huge as a mountain peak," and the godless Cyclops, make better parallels to Grendel and his dam clutching their victims than anything in the "Iliad." The "Odyssey" presents a wonderland wherein we might well encounter the fire-dragon that guarded the hoard ; and the "Odyssey" presents the nearest analogies to the feeling of dread which "Beowulf" can awake.

Broadly, too, the epics are alike in recounting a moral

¹ "Il.," xxiv., 507-512 (Lang, Leaf and Myers' trans.).

triumph.¹ Right wins finally. Beowulf is throughout the redresser of wrong. In the "Iliad" the Greeks have invaded Asia to avenge the wrong done to Menelaus; they suffer for the wrong their chief does to Achilles, but in the end Troy is ruined because of the wrong done by Paris. In the "Odyssey," disobedience ruins Odysseus' comrades, while patient endurance brings him home, and the outrageous slights put on Penelope and Telemachus are avenged.

In the minor points of expression, there are those frequent resemblances natural in long poems intended for recitation. This conventional element appears in repetitions of phrases and epithets. Like a regular formula we find: "Hrothgar spake, helm of Scyldings,"² "Beowulf spake, son of Ecgtheow,"³ just as in Homer "To him in answer spake Hector of the glancing helm,"⁴ "To him then spake the glorious son of Lycaon."⁵ This stock of fixed language is part of the legacy inherited in both cases from older poems, and it is freely echoed in other Greek and Anglo-Saxon poems after the epic manner. We expect these recurrences—only in Homer it is more a recurrence of epithet, and in "Beowulf" more a recurrence of "kenning" or poetical synonym. Thus we expect in the Greek the dawn to be the "rosy-fingered" ῥοδοδάκτυλος, and the sea to be the unharvested (ἀτρύγετος) or the "much-resounding" (πολύφλοισβος), and a ship to be "rolling on both sides" (ἀμφιέλισσα). And in the Saxon we expect the sun to be the "world-candle" (woruld-candel, 1965) or "gem of the heavens" (heofones gim, 2072), the sea to be the "gannet's bath" (ganotes baeð, 1861) or "swan-road" (swan-rād, 200) or "whale-road" (hron-rād, 10), the ship to be a "sea-goer" (saegenga,

¹ I do not mean by this the definite allegory which Professor Earle sees in "Beowulf." ("The Deeds of Beowulf," 1892, Introd., pp. lxxxvii., sqq.)

² e.g., Hrōðgār mæpelode, helm Scyldinga, "Beow.," 456, 1321.

³ Bēowulf mæpelode, bearn Ecgþowes, "Beow.," 631, 1383, 1473.

⁴ τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ, "Il.," vi., 520, with slight variations, e.g., in vi., 263, 359, 440.

⁵ τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἄγλαος υἱός, "Il.," v., 229, 276.

1908), a "wave-floater" (wēg-flota, 1907), though in addition to synonyms, there are picturesque epithets, especially for ships, like "ring-prowed," and "foamy-necked" (hringed-stefna, 32, 1131, fāmig-heals, 1909). In the same style, the harp is the "wood of pastime" (gomen-wudu, 1065, gleo-beam, 2263), and a king is a "wealth-bestower" (sinc-gyfa), "ring-dispenser" (beaga-brytta), "shield-warrior" (rand-wiga), "earls' shelter" (eorla hleo).

One striking difference is the scarcity of similes in "Beowulf." There are only five, all simple. A ship speeds over the water "most like a bird" (fugle gelicost, 218), the uncanny light from Grendel's eyes is "most like flame" (ligge gelicost, 727), the claws of the monster's arm are "most like steel" (stýle gelicost, 985), the light that gleams in the dark cavern after the stabbing of the hag is "as when from heaven brightly shines the candle of the firmament" (1571-72), and the sword-blade in Grendel's venomous blood "all melted most like to ice when the Father loosens the bond of frost" (1608). The contrast is not solely in number as against Homer's two hundred and thirty.¹ There is neither the beauty nor the pleasing elaboration of Homer's similes.² This suggests to my mind a difference of literary method. The northern poet prefers synonym to epithet, he prefers metaphor to simile. The effect of his descriptions is often produced by stroke upon stroke, as it were by so many blows from a hammer. Beowulf's route as he tracks Grendel's dam was by "steep stony slopes, narrow paths" (stige nearwe); the poet must add they were so confined that "thereon one walks alone (enge ānpaðas), an unknown way, sheer headlands, many dwellings of sea monsters." As elsewhere in "Beowulf," from these redoubled strokes, these phrases piled on one another, the

¹ Gladstone, "Homer" (Primer, 1878), p. 150.

² "The Similes of Homer's Iliad" are collected and translated by W. C. Green in a volume of 1877. The "Odyssey" contains about forty only. For a literary criticism of the similes, see Jebb's "Homer" (1887), pp. 26-31.

picture gains in intensity, but not in extension. It is strength rather than witchery of language.

And the northern method is not only the method of the redoubled strokes, it is the method of the broad strokes. The Greek method is that of the varied stroke and of the fine stroke. Thus, while there is sturdy realism in both Homer and "Beowulf," there is a keener eye for detail in Homer. Take the detailed account of landing a ship at Chryse (Il. i., 430-437): there are noted the furling of the sails, the lowering of the mast by the fore-stays to the crutch, the mooring-stones and hawsers. Similar detail accompanies the beaching of a ship (Il. i., 485-6), the arming of Agamemnon (Il. xi., 17, *seq.*), and, as an elaborate example, the making of the shield of Achilles (Il. xviii.). The games in memory of Patroclus in the "Iliad," and those at Alcinous' Court in the "Odyssey," contain far more minutiae than the account of the celebrations at Heorot. So, if we contrast the burning of Beowulf's body with that of Patroclus (Il. xxiii.), the older poet contrives to take us back to the cutting of wood in the forest for the funeral pile—a scene of axes, ropes, mules, oaks, the noise of the splitting trees, the furrowing of the earth as the beasts draw the logs plainwards. Are mules to be harnessed to a chariot? Then (Il. xxiv.) we are made to see frame, yoke, yokeband, and pole—almost each ring, pin and knob.

In some ways the greater vagueness of "Beowulf" is a stouter challenge to the imagination, as a drama with tempered scenic display may be the more provocative of thought and emotion. It seems to me not without significance that, when in "Beowulf" we do find that interest in detail which is the exception rather than the rule, it is frequently excited by external features of land or sea. As Beowulf and his men, starting on their voyage to Heorot, climb the side of their ship, while the waves break on the sand, and the foamy-throated ship speeds before the gale across the sea like a bird, it is external nature that seems most to appeal to the poet. He does

not tell of sails or oars like Homer, but he does go on to tell how

about the same time on the second day the curvèd prow had fared so far that the voyagers saw land, the sea-cliffs shining clear, the mountains steep, the vasty headlands (221 *seq.*).

So, following the realism of Beowulf's description of the sea monsters slain by him and cast up in heaps upon the beach, there is a sunrise at sea (569-572):

Light came from the east—bright beacon of God: the billows subsided, so that I could behold the sea-nesses, wind-swept walls.

And again, when Hengest and the Danes wait during the winter in the Frisian country meditating revenge, it is the coming of spring that attracts the poet:¹

He thought of his home,
Though he might not thrust thorough the seas
His ring-prowed ship. Ocean seethed with storm,
Waged war with wind. Winter locked the waves
Fast in icy fetter, until a fresh year
Came upon men's garths, even as yet come
Those days of faultless weather that without fail
Observe their season. Then was winter shaken,
Earth's bosom fair.

On the whole, I think for impressive description of nature, the advantage lies with "Beowulf." While I do not overlook Homeric passages like the fine storm in the forest (Il. xvi., 765 *seq.*) and the likening of the tears of Patroclus to "a fountain of dark water that down a steep cliff pours its cloudy stream" (Il. xvi., 3), still I find no Homeric landscape with so strong an impress as the monsters' home in "Beowulf."² That has caught the real spirit of wild northern scenery, whether Scandinavian or, as Haigh³ maintained, Northumbrian. It contrasts with the tamer landscape of later Anglo-Saxon poems like the "Phoenix":

¹ "Beowulf," 1130, *seq.*

² "Beow.," 1357 *seq.*

³ "The Anglo-Saxon Sagas," 1861.

In a darksome land

They dwell, wolf-haunted slopes, and windy headlands.
Fearful the fen-path, where the stream from the fells
Underneath the nesses' mist downward works its way,
A flood below the land. Not far it is from hence—
A mile by measure— that the mere standeth.
Over it droops foliage deadened with frost-rime,
A forest fast by its roots overshadows the waters.
There may men every night a mischief-marvel see—
Fire on the flood.

And so on. No man dare make acquaintance with that abyss; the hart pressed by the hounds will die rather than enter this holt. The place is accurst.

Thence the wave welter is upwards whirled
Wan to the skies, when the wind stirreth
Loathly weather up, till the lift lowers
And the welkin weeps.

If one draws farther distinctions in style, they must be touched on lightly. Broadly, "Beowulf," as already remarked, is scarcely an epic in the Homeric sense: it lacks the massive proportions; and it is not so well constructed, not so much a unity as the "Odyssey." If farther one notes the infinitely greater variety of Homer, one is prepared to find much that is Homeric missing in "Beowulf." This superior variety in the Homeric poems is due not simply to their greater length. Rather, it is part of the subject. The Trojan War gave scope for a galaxy of leaders on either side: the Return of Odysseus for a series of ever shifting adventures and scenes. One entire division prominent in Homer is absent in Beowulf—the gods and goddesses, with their plans and partialities and intensely dramatic traits. One may imagine how "Beowulf" would gain in variety, and yet probably not in human interest, if Woden and Thor and Loki and Freia were in its story. The men of the poem are men of pagan times, yet their gods are resolutely banished. Still, I find it hard to sympathise with Mr. Arnold's theory¹ that the

¹ "Beowulf," ed. T. Arnold, 1876, Introduction. Also "Notes on Beowulf," T. Arnold, 1898, pp. 114-116.

author was an English ecclesiastic, perhaps a missionary to the Continent, who pruned a legend which he regarded as improperly heathen. For a Christian zealot, the poet, whoever he was, seems to betray too genuine an interest in the Scandinavian pagan life and thought which make the background. Once indeed (170-189) it is recorded that Hrothgar's folk, harried by Grendel, had recourse to offerings at shrines of idols, and prayed aloud to the Destroyer of Life; forthwith the Christian author or reviser proceeds to condemn this devil-worship, and later, with some inconsistency, makes Hrothgar thank "Holy God" for sending Beowulf to help the Danes (378). But with all the Christian additions, or interpolations¹ as some would call them, the heathen substratum continually crops out—a gloomy fatalism set by the side of Homer's joyous paganism. And if the heathen gods have vanished, there are still romantic creations of northern folklore left; eotens and nicors and a fire-dragon—wonders as great as in the "Odyssey."

Then we miss Homer's humour—a quality most frequently associated with the gods themselves. Zeus can laugh, and Aphrodite loves a smile. When Grendel laughs it is the laugh of malignity. The shrewish Hera, the hobbling Hephaestus, the trick played on Ares and Aphrodite, the burlesque episode of Diomedes getting the best of the barter with his guest-friend Glaucus, the pun at the expense of the Cyclops, and that most grotesque of scenes when Odysseus reappears in the house of Æolus asking for more windbags, have no parallels in the sober Anglo-Saxon.

It remains to indicate briefly how similar in many ways is the life which these poems reflect. Both are pictures of a heroic age—broadly similar in social organisation, in manners, in ways of thinking on life and death. Rhapsode and scōp alike tell of brave men's deeds and words

¹ e.g., The minstrel, whose music is hated by Grendel, sings of *Creation* like Caedmon. The eotens and monsters of the North are described as "Cain's brood."

and thoughts in the virile manner that makes the blood tingle. Whether in Scandinavia or in Greece, we can find ourselves at a King's Court crowded with retainers who drink in his hall and listen to lays which celebrate hardihood. Woman, in both cases, is a refining influence. Hrothgar's queen and Higelac's queen serving the guests with the mead-cup inevitably recall Helen's entertainment of the visitors to Sparta in the "Odyssey." There are songs and tales at Hrothgar's Court, just as at the Court of Alcinous in Phaeacia. There is a similar blend of courtesy and roughness, of refinement and barbarity, setting the very life of the times before us. With the cautious, half-suspicious reception by the coast-warden of Beowulf and his Geats when they land, one may compare the Greek suggestion that newcomers may be pirates. To match the courteous welcome given at Hrothgar's Court, we have the delicacy wherewith Bellerophon is entertained nine days by the King of Lycia before he is so much as asked his errand (Il. vi., 175 *seq.*), and the like delicacy in virtue of which Odysseus is not asked to declare his name at the Court of Alcinous till the second day. But Court etiquette does not prevent insult; Hunferth mocks Beowulf, as Euryalus mocks Odysseus (Odys. viii.)

Both ages are ages of feud and bloodshed. Dane fights Frisian, and Swede raids Goth as freely and frankly as Greek faces Trojan. Life is rated cheap. It is useless to ask for quarter. Agamemnon without a qualm slays the suppliant Adrestus whom Menelaus is minded to spare (Il. vi., 62). There are understood usages which have the force of law. Manslaughter may be atoned for with a price: for their fighting champions are rewarded with gifts: cowardice in followers is despised: the rights of hospitality are to be respected. Heremod went into exile because he slew his messmates in passion: he is contrasted with Beowulf's gentleness (1710-1723). The true ideal of manhood has been already seen in the character of Beowulf. We meet, in fact, the

same kind of men and of usages as are more fully portrayed in the Danish history of Saxo Grammaticus.¹

Their outlook on life is best understood from their pleasures, and their attitude towards fate and towards death. Life for the Scandinavian and the Greek was worth living. Its very hardships gave it zest. The "joy of life," says the poet, was tasted by Grendel only for a little while after his escape from Beowulf's strong grip (*lytle hwile lif wynna brēac*, 2097). Beowulf, dying of his wounds, knows "his day of life, his joy of earth, is done" (2727). King Hrethel, dying of grief for his murdered son, "gave o'er the joy of men" (2469). So the ghost of Odysseus' mother says her longing for him has reft her "of sweet life" (*μελιηδέα θυμόν*, *Odyss.* xi., 203). The same pathetic yearning for lost life marks Achilles' words, "Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed" (*Odyss.* xi., 489 *seq.*).

So much for the general feeling. The specific pleasures are similar in both ages. There is the Norse joy in battle, to keep pace with the Homeric *χάρμη*. There is the joy in sports such as racing, to vie with the Greek love of games. There is the joy in feasting and carousal; so that the northerner could say amen to the words of Hector's mother, "When a man is awearied, wine greatly maketh his strength to wax,"² if only he changed his "wine" for "mead." There is joy in minstrelsy.³ Even amid the melancholy lament of the treasure-hider in "Beowulf" there is the poignant remembrance of the sport and laughter of the banquet (2249 *seq.*).

If these are the main pleasures, the main duties were for the chief, bravery and generosity, and for the thegn,

¹ See Prof. Elton's translation of first Nine Books of Saxo (*Folklore Society*, vol. xxxiii., 1893), and especially Professor York Powell's arrangement of Folklore subjects in the introduction.

² *ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει*. "Il.," vi., 261.

³ *þaēr waes gidd ond glōo*, etc. "Beow.," 2105 *sqq.*

bravery and loyalty to the chief. The general heroic attitude towards conduct, though here and there overlaid with Biblical glosses, is perfectly clear. There is a frank acceptance of duty: man must face calmly any odds: life is controlled by fate, or Wyrd, one of the three Norns. When all is said and done, as Beowulf himself declares, "Wyrd must ever have her way"¹; but here comes the bravery of it all—it is still worth while to struggle, even against destiny; for "Often Wyrd saves an undoomed earl when his courage is good" (l. 572). This noble, practical attempt to reconcile Free Will and Predestination is worth scores of subtleties by philosophers and theologians. The ideal of loyalty is Wiglaf. He denounces the retainers who have failed Beowulf in his last fight: cowards he holds to be ungrateful to their prince and disgraced. When he aids Beowulf against the fire-drake, he has the spirit of Bjarke in Saxo,² who will face Odin just as a Homeric hero will face a god in battle:

While life lasts let us strive for the power to die honourably and to reap a noble end by our deeds. . . . We shall be the prey of ravens and a morsel for hungry eagles, and the ravening bird shall feast on the banquet of our body. Thus should fall princes dauntless in war, clasping their famous king in a common death.

Bjarke speaks knowing the risk he runs, even as Hector knows that doom will come on Troy, but has "learnt ever to be valiant and fight in the forefront of the Trojans" (Il. vi., 447). The same heroism marks Hector's reply to Polydamas, who is appalled by the sight of a bird as an omen (Il. xii., 238 *seq.*). "Thereto I give no heed . . . one omen is best, to fight for one's country." It is the spirit of the ballads, "That Weird shall never daunt me," as Thomas the Rhymer says of the hazard he encounters of being taken to Elfland. Submission to Destiny is undeniably Homeric; for Destiny is recognised as over both gods and men. But fatalism

¹ gaeð ā wyrd swā hio scel. "Beow.," 455.

² "Saxo," ii., § 66.

is still stronger and more constantly present in "Beowulf."

The warriors in both poems have a grim sense of the horrors of a deserted battlefield. Like Bjarke, who said, "We shall be the prey of ravens," the author of "Beowulf" foretells the evil day now the king is dead, when "the wan raven, busy over the doomed, shall croak much and tell the eagle how it sped him at the feast, when he with the wolf laid bare the dead." So in the "Iliad" (xi., 162) dead warriors lie "far dearer to the vultures than to their wives." But there is this difference, that the northern warrior hardly seems to mind what becomes of his body; while the Greek dread of lacking burial was deep-seated. Hector, mortally wounded, implores Achilles not to leave him for dogs to devour (Il. xxii. 339). This argues a different attitude towards the other world. In "Beowulf" references to death and a future life, as the giving up of human joy and choosing the light of God, or the parting of soul from body, ("flesh shall not for long array the prince's soul," 2424), or the picture of Beowulf, lying at the point of death with thoughts of judgment in his mind, are Christian additions. In primitive Teutonic paganism there were no very clear ideas of a second and spiritual existence. Even Valhalla is possibly an echo of Biblical doctrine.¹ On the other hand, the Hades of Homer, though peopled by the "strengthless heads of the departed," was a reality,² and the want of burial rites affected the condition of the shade in the world beyond.

The ideal of a prince may be found in Hrothgar's

¹ "The Valhalla itself seems to have been a post-Christian conception." Stopford Brooke, "Early Eng. Lit.," vol. vii., 1892, p. 100.

Mr. Albany F. Major, however, in his paper on "The Ragnarök and Valhalla Myths," read before the Folk-Lore Society in February, 1905, argues that the myths themselves must date back to the pre-Christian era, as independent Northern conceptions, however much the forms in which they have reached us may have been coloured by later ideas.

² A revelation of the other world flashes on Achilles when he fails to clasp the phantom of Patroclus in "Iliad" xxiii. "Ay me, there remaineth, then, even in the house of Hades, a spirit and phantom of the dead, albeit the life be not anywise therein."

address to Beowulf after his second great exploit. The speech (1700-1784) has become transformed in the crucible of Christian thought, but beneath the homily one can read its old world wisdom. Summed up it is quite Homeric. Look to the dangers of success and pride: look to the coming of age and death: look to Hrothgar's own sufferings at Grendel's hands after years of victorious rule. After such counsels of moderation they can turn to the feast:

Go now to thy settle: enjoy the banquet glee,
Thou famed in fight: 'twixt us twain full many
A precious gift shall pass, when the morrow is here.

It is the Greek horror of excess, the Greek dread of the evil eye or of the divine jealousy, the Greek melancholy recognition that one must "look to the end," and withal the Greek practical determination to make the most of life. This practical resolution predominates in Beowulf's own temperament. His philosophy of life would be cheerful manliness. The manliness is never daunted, though at times the cheerfulness be tempered by mournful recollections and dark forebodings. Let the words wherein he heartens Hrothgar be remembered (1384 *seq.*): "Sorrow not, wise man: better 'tis for every man that he wreak his friend than that he mourn much." The very knowledge of life's troubles and dangers makes him a braver man. His confidence resembles that of Odysseus. It is that not of the braggart, but of the hero.

Alike as pictures of a heroic age, the poems owe their capital distinctions to racial difference. The same fundamental human nature is at work in both. Yet Homer is great in a Greek, and "Beowulf" in an English way. Each stands worthily by the sources of a noble literature. In each there are already present many of the national literary qualities. In Homer there is the Greek restraint, lightness of touch, mastery of style, subtlety both of phrase and of character drawing. In "Beowulf" there is an English straightforwardness, moral fibre, strength rather than sweetness. Craft versus downrightness is the

contrast. The craft is not merely that of Odysseus "of many devices," who spies upon the Trojans in the *Doloneia* of the "Iliad," and bears his share in the ruse of the Wooden Horse, more than once alluded to in the "Odyssey,"—it is craft in literary management, in handling the theme, in conjuring with those wonderful Greek words of the varied vowel music which sound so differently from the firm, rock-like consonantal endings of the Anglo-Saxon words. The plain words possess an undeniable attraction of their own. It is that of the cold, grey, but bracing, North in contrast to the warm, golden, alluring South or the purple East. "Beowulf" should take the reader from his easy chair to a northern hall where the scōp strikes the harp to each alliterative word and sends his chant home to the heart of chieftain and thegns used to fighting on land and sea. That is the setting of fancy wherein it is fairest to judge the poem. But Homer has at least this advantage, that, great as was his effect in the mouth of the rhapsodists, his poetry does not lose in the study. I incline to think that of all the testimonies to the superiority of Homer this is the most convincing.

VIKING NOTES.

BY THE HON. EDITOR.

IN the last number of the SAGA-BOOK, Part I. of the present volume, the letter-press describing the illustrations on pages 161 and 162 should read as follows:—

Fig. 16.—TYMPANUM AT RIDLINGTON CHURCH, RUTLAND.

Fig. 17.—TYMPANUM AT LATHBURY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

In the Notes on the Illustrations on page 167 for Fig. 16 read "Fig. 17," and for Fig. 17 read "Fig. 16."

WE are glad to see that Mr. H. L. Brækstad, Vice-President, has been appointed Norwegian Vice-Consul in London, and offer him our hearty congratulations.

THE best thanks of the Club are due to the Rev. C. W. Whistler, M.R.C.S., Hon. District Secretary for Somersetshire, who has kindly prepared the Index to Vol. III. of the SAGA-BOOK, which we issue with the present number.

WE understand that the "Visit to Denmark," referred to in Part I. of this volume (pp. 241-2), proved very successful and enjoyable. Among other attractions our President gave illustrated lectures on the Remains of the Viking Age in England. The fifth "Visit to Denmark" is fixed for August 6th to 18th this year, and Miss F. M. Butlin has arranged for a similar "Visit to Sweden" from August 27th to September 8th.

A USEFUL addition to the study of ancient ship-building by Fr. Nordin is chronicled in the Bibliography. It shows how the Viking-ship type varies on the sculptured monuments of Gotland from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Some of the Runic stones represented have only been found recently, and the work is a valuable addition to the subject which our Vice-President, Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, dealt with so exhaustively in the SAGA-BOOK of last year.

THE past year has been full of events so important to the Scandinavian peoples that it is impossible to pass them by in silence, though they trench on the domain of politics, from which the Viking Club stands aloof. We may, however, at least pay a tribute of respect both to Sweden and to Norway, in view of the singular dignity and moderation displayed on either side at a great crisis of their national life, and express the hope that a firm friendship between the northern kingdoms will ere long replace the old political bonds.

THE Norse mythology in the form in which it has reached us stands so much apart that studies of it from the point of view of comparative mythology are rare. An addition to this branch of literature is now appearing in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* under the title of "Homer's Knowledge of the High North and the Kirkê (Circe) Tale," by Dr. Karl Blind. In this essay the author shows a great many points of contact between the beautiful and melodious Enchantress of the Kimmerian North and a Teutonic Love-Goddess of the same qualities and of a kindred name.

AT the Ulster meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in July last, reported in *The Antiquary* for August, Mr. F. S. Milligan in the course of a paper on "Some Recent Antiquarian Finds in Ulster," said that in 1903 he found in the Ards peninsula a splendid bronze brooch of the Viking period and a Viking helmet. The latter were very scarce, and only three had been found in Sweden itself. Only the week before the meeting he had been given a beautiful Danish pin, which had been picked up at Clontarf, and had probably fallen from one of the warriors during the great battle.

DR. G. A. AUDEN, our Hon. District Secretary for York, gave a lecture recently before the Yorkshire Philosophical Society on "The Remains of Danish Sculpture in Yorkshire and Derbyshire," in the course of which he pointed out that, besides the strong Danish element in York, the Danish monuments in Yorkshire were found to a very large extent within a radius of twenty miles round Leeds, Ilkley, Collingham, Thornhill and Dewsbury. This year the British Association is visiting York, and Dr. Auden has suggested to us that another year we might, with advantage, make it the object of an excursion.

MR. ROLAND ST. CLAIR, a member of the Club for many years, author of "The St. Clairs of the Isles," while home on a visit from New Zealand in 1905, was fortunate enough to discover in Orkney a manuscript catalogue of old deeds and documents containing the names of several which were described as written in "Norn," the old Norse (Norrænn) dialect of Orkney and Shetland. It is to be feared that the documents themselves are lost, but any additional evidence of the former use of the old tongue is of value. We hope the catalogue will be printed in the projected "Orkney and Shetland Old-Lore."

A PARAGRAPH appeared in several papers early in December last stating that during the construction of a dyke in Emden, near Hamburg, an ancient vessel had been discovered, which was believed to date back to the days of the Vikings. We have been unable to obtain any particulars of this discovery, or any confirmation of the date ascribed to it. Since the remarkable discoveries in Norway of ships of the Viking age the tendency has been to call all old vessels that have been discovered in the north of Europe "Viking ships," just as a hundred years ago they would almost certainly have been called "Roman galleys."

Chambers's Journal for September, 1905, contained an article by Mr. R. Stuart Bruce, one of our members, which under the title of "An Echo from the Invincible Armada," gives the story of the wreck on Fair Isle of "El Gran Grifen." The vessel was the flagship of Admiral Don Juan Gomez de Medina, who got safely to land with his crew, numbering between two and three hundred men, and remained on the island for some six or seven weeks. Thence they were taken to the Mainland in Shetland, and after a brief stay there proceeded to France in a Shetland vessel. A few relics of their stay are still preserved in Shetland and Orkney.

A VERY interesting production is Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's translation of "*Voluspá*," of which he has kindly sent us a copy, one of 40 printed at the Kandy Industrial School in Ceylon. That the ancient sacred poem of the dwellers in Northern Europe, preserved in an island on the verge of the Arctic Ocean, should find a translator and be reproduced in an island in the Indian Ocean, surely shows that, though East and West may never meet, the spell of great literature is world-wide. Mr. Coomaraswamy's rendering is not merely a literary curiosity, but shows a very remarkable grasp of the poem and command of English.

At a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society in December, 1905, Mr. C. J. Tabor exhibited a "Thor Cake" from Oldham, Lancashire. The cake, which is called in Sheffield a "Thar Cake," is eaten on the fifth of November, and seems to be known in various parts of Yorkshire and the north of England under the name of Parken Cake. The fact that it has to be broken, and must not be cut with a knife, seems to point to its being a survival of a very ancient custom or rite, but beyond the resemblance of the name to that of the god Thor, which may be accidental or superficial, no evidence was forthcoming in favour of a Scandinavian origin.

THE struggle of the Danish population in Sleswick, still clinging to their ancestral language and sentiments in spite of forty years under German rule, is the underlying motive of a novel which may interest many members. "Thy People shall be my People, or Karen Jurgens of Egtved," from the Danish of Mrs. Kieler, translated by Clara Bener (Jarrold & Sons), is a vivid picture of farming folk in the north of Sleswick, brightly told in spite of the tragic plot. A book like this of course loses greatly in translation, but is much to be welcomed by those who desire a more intimate knowledge of life and its problems in the borderland where Scandinavia and Germany meet, but cannot mingle.

BESIDES the various works by Professor A. Bugge noticed in our Review columns, a treatise by him upon the influence of the Western lands upon the culture of the dwellers in the North was published by the Christiania Scientific Society. The full title will be found in the Bibliography. The author was awarded the Fridtjof Nansen prize for this very important work, in which he shows that the Vikings came to

the Western Isles two centuries earlier than is generally supposed ; and points out how the early Vikings adapted to their own use the culture they borrowed, and how Harald Fairhair modelled his court, his taxation and his system of government on that of Charlemagne.

IN *The Standard* of January 18th, 1906, it was stated that a labourer breaking stones at Wanborough, in Wiltshire, the site of an old Roman camp, discovered a ring, which he sold for a few shillings. The paper stated that experts who had seen it pronounce it to be of great interest and value, as an inscription upon it seems to show that it was a betrothal ring belonging to Burhred, King of the Mercians, who in the year 853 married Æthelswith, daughter of Æthelwulf, King of Wessex. The marriage took place at Chippenham, some eighteen miles from the place where the ring was found. The account adds that the ownership of this valuable relic was to be decided by a treasure trove inquiry.

A LITTLE book, which promises to be most valuable to all interested in the Danish language, has been recently published under the title of "How to learn Danish," by Frøken Henni Forchhammer (Gyldendals Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, Copenhagen). Miss Forchhammer, a sister of Finsen's successor at the famous Light Cure Institute, and a pupil of Professor Jespersen, is well known as a teacher of English and Danish on scientific methods. Her book consists of a very much simplified account of the pronunciation, which is the great difficulty of Danish, and of copious phrases, arranged as conversations, with English, Danish, and Danish pronunciations given in parallel columns. It is introduced to the reader by the President of the Viking Club in a short preface.

WE learn from Pastor A. V. Storm that on October 27th, 1905, a new runic stone was discovered at Aarhus in Denmark, in the Eastern foundation of the Church of our Lady. The stone was well preserved, and is one of the best hitherto found. The runes are from 4 to 6 inches high, and they read as follows:—

Toste, Hove and Trebjörn set up this stone after Asser, son of Sakse, their fellow, the most brave Swain (Danish: Svend). He died fully as a worthy man. He owned ship together with Arne.

The runes point to a period shortly after the year 1,000. Toste is common in Danish inscriptions, Trebjörn is rarer. The name Sakse is best known from the historian Saxo Grammaticus. The word "son" is omitted on the stone. It has only "Saksess Asser."

A CORRESPONDENT of *The Globe*, writing from Kiel on October 3rd, 1905, reported a discovery of "prehistoric" harbour-works in "Oldenburg." He stated that Dr. Knorr, the keeper of the Kiel Museum of Antiquities, in the course of a series of scientific explorations near the "Danework" had brought to light an extremely interesting example of prehistoric work in the shape of a large piece of timber-work, which seems to have been used in making some kind of quay, or river frontage. The timber-work consists of two parallel beams, which are connected by short, strong

baulks of wood. The account concludes with some remarks on the "Hethaby" that formerly existed "near Oldenburg." Our District Secretary for Denmark informs us that this account is substantially correct, but that the works should be styled "protohistoric" rather than prehistoric, and that they can hardly be said to be near "Oldenburg," according to the modern use of the word. As a matter of fact the discovery was made within the semi-circular wall described in Mr. Kjær's paper on the Danework (page 316), which, as stated in the paper, has been conclusively identified as the site of the ancient trading town of "Hedeby," and there is no doubt that the works described are part of a quay, or pier, belonging to the old port on Hedeby Gulf.

WITH regard to the use of the terms "Germanic," or "Gothic," Dr. Karl Blind sends this further note:—

The Germanic Race. In regard to the question, so strangely raised, as to whether "Germanic" or "Teutonic" should any more be used as a comprehensive word for the great stock to which Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Icelanders, Dutch, Flemings, the majority of the Swiss, and the English belong, a few further facts may be useful. The sea between Germany, Scandinavia, and Britain was by the Romans and the Greeks called "Germanicum Mare" and "Okeanos Germanikos." Tacitus includes Sweden in his "Germania." Of the High North, Pomponius Mela (*De Situ Orbis*, iii., 6) says:—"Scandinavia quam adhuc *Teutoni* tenent." The very name of the Teutons means "the Folk," the people or race at large—a good general term. On the other hand, the word "Goth" is—though very wrongly—often used in English as an offensive expression! If any chip from the old block refuses taking "Germanic" or "Teutonic" as the common word for the vast race from which the kindred northern and western populations have branched off, he must settle that point with two eminent Scandinavian poets. Quite recently, Björnstjerne Björnson spoke of "the Germanic race" as including the Teutons, the Northmen, and so forth. Ibsen, in a letter, said that, "having begun by considering himself simply a Norwegian, he broadened out afterwards into a Scandinavian, and still later on took '*Teutonism*' as the larger term." Gothic—like Frankish, Suevian, or Swabian, Bavarian, Angle, Saxon, Hunic, Rugian, etc.—can only be used as a tribal name. Goths and Hunes (not to be mixed up with Hunns) are now extinct German tribes.

Arguments on both sides were set forth at length in Part I. of the present volume, pp. 243 and 244. We do not think further discussion would be profitable, and must leave the matter to the judgment of individual members.

WE extract from an account in *The Daily Graphic*, of August 29th, 1905, the following description of a find made in Jutland:—

At Vendsyssel recently some potsherds were disinterred which were marked with small white dots. The authorities of the Museum at Hjørring, obtaining the fragments and putting them together, found that 117 of the pieces thus fitted resulted in the reconstruction of an earthenware jar, and that the dots resolved themselves into an ornament of unusual interest, for they represented a horseman with sword in hand, who with two dogs was pursuing two deer and two uruses (*bos urus*), an animal which has long been

extinct. This newly discovered jar serves to elucidate the decoration of a large, silver, cauldron-like vessel, found also in Denmark some years ago, and thus an advance is made in the branch of archæology to which these objects belong.

The account is illustrated from two photographs of the jar. Some reports of the find ascribed it to the Viking Age. With regard to this find Mr. Hans Kjær, to whom we are again indebted for information, writes :

With respect to the find from Vendsyssel of a "Viking Age Jar," I may say the following. It is quite correct that an earthenware vessel was found with primitive figures marked out by lines of incised dots. The outline of the figures is printed in chalk. A single vessel like it is known, but that has linear ornamentation. The jar is from the third to the fifth century A.D., so does not belong to the Viking Age. Its importance has been exaggerated to an extraordinary degree, but a very valuable investigation of the place where it was found has since been taken in hand and when an account of it with details is ready, I shall be very glad to include it in a Report, but that cannot be this year.

In reply to an enquiry as to whether he knows any authority for the winged helmet, which is the conventional head-gear of a Viking chief in romances and on the stage, Dr. Karl Blind writes :—

I can only say that I do not know of any winged helmet having probably been worn by Vikings. So far as there are any representations, they had caps, or morions, without such adornment. Historically we find from Herodotos (vii., 76) that one of the Thracian tribes in the army of Xerxes had brazen helmets, with the ears and horns of an ox in brass, and above them, crests. The Thracians were kindred to the Germanic race ; more specially to the Norsemen, partly also to what would now be called Teutons.

In Plutarch ("Caius Marius"), the Kimbrians,—whom he describes (as Tacitus does the Germans) as of tall stature, and blue-eyed, and whose name he derives from the German language,—are said to have worn helmets with the head and open jaws of frightful wild beasts, above which *high plumes* were fixed. They wore white shields. (Odin wore a white shield.)

The Kimbrians came from what is now Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. Of German tribes, the Herulians apparently came originally from Scandinavia, migrating as far as what is now Bavaria in Germany, and even to Asia Minor. The winged, white-plumed helmet may, therefore, have been used, in ancient times, also in Scandinavia ; the Kimbrians, of yore, dwelling midway between Scandinavia and Germany, and wearing, as shown, those helm ornaments.

Odin-Wodan, in his quality of God of Battles, wore a helmet. In modern sculpture, at least, wings are added to it, which fits him well as the all-pervading World-Wanderer and Stormy Leader of the nocturnal Wild-Chace. Probably, Wing-Thor (Vingþórr) also means the Winged God of Thunder. In the Eddic "Lay of Alvis" he says of himself :

Vingþórr ek heiti ;
Ek hefí víða ratað.
(Wing-Thor I am hight ;
Wide I have wandered)—

and according to this idea, he might have got the wing attribute represented in his helmet, like Hermes, the much-travelling God, in his cap and shoes.

The Globe of October 10th, 1905, calls attention to the approaching disappearance of the Rue du Petit-Pont in Paris, and with it of a tablet which commemorates an incident in the siege of Paris by the Norsemen in 886, when a sudden rise in the river swept away part of the bridge over the Seine which gave the street its name. Twelve of the garrison were cut off, and defended the wooden tower guarding the bridge-head till it was set on fire, when they sallied out and perished to a man. Mr. E. Hailstone informs us that the tablet, put up in recent years by the Municipality at the expense of the "Société de Vieux Paris," was affixed to the eastern side of the corner house, situated on the south-western end of the Petit-Pont, in the Rue du Petit-Pont. The inscription ran as follows:—

A LA TETE DU PETIT PONT		
S'ELEVAIT LA TOUR DU BOIS		
QUE DEFENDIRENT		
CONTRE LES NORMANDS		
PENDANT LA SIEGE DE 886		
LES DOUZE HEROS PARISIENS		
ERMENFROI	HERDI	HARDRE
HERVE	ARNAULD	GUY
HERLAND	SEVIL	AIMARD
OUACRE	JOBERT	GOSSOUIN

C. F. Keary, in "The Vikings of Western Christendom," gives an account of the siege based on the Latin poem of the monk Abbo, who was an eyewitness of it, and records this incident, though the names, quoted from the Latinized version, differ slightly from the French forms of the tablet. The Christmas number of *L'Illustration* for 1905, in an article on old Paris, gives a plan of the city as it was in 886, with a picture representing one of the assaults of the Northmen upon it.

DR. DUKINFIELD ASTLEY has sent us the following account of "Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik," an important work on early ornamentation by Dr. Bernhard Salin, of Stockholm, which has been translated into German from the Swedish manuscript by Miss J. Mestorf, and is published by Messrs. Asher & Co. (*Berlin and London*):—

This is an exhaustive treatise, with over 700 illustrations, on the various types of fibulae in gold, silver and bronze, dating from the fourth to the ninth centuries, which have been found in interments in all parts of Europe and the British Isles, together with a dissertation on the ornamentation of Irish manuscripts which exhibit the same or similar types. To all these the author assigns a Germanic origin. He shows how amid all the variety of intricate patterns with which they are decorated, curved and straight, spiral and twisting, yet the basis of the ornamentation is one and the same. The barbaric artist was endeavouring to record his impressions of the animal world, and behind all the intricacies of line there lies buried the form of beast, or bird, or fish. Even when the eye of the ordinary reader can see nothing but curve and loop and spiral and the so called rope-ornament, the author points out the head and neck, eye and mouth, body and thigh and foot of the disguised animal. The author distinguishes three

main styles, which spread in turn from Germany eastward, westward and northward, and which finally entered the British Isles from Scandinavia. Here they exercised a wide influence on Anglo-Saxon art, and, meeting later the products of the cognate art of La Tène, gave birth to that development of "Late-Celtic" art which finds its high-water mark in the work of the artists who adorned the Irish and (so-called Saxon) MSS., the books of Kells, Durrow and Lindisfarne. This is the most interesting result, to members of the Viking Club, of the investigation into the origin and provenance of this method of ornamentation, which belongs to the same class as that seen on the Danish sun-chariot recently described in the *SAGA-BOOK* (Vol. III., pp. 381-394), and was also characteristic of the Bronze Age. The author points particularly to the fact of similar antiquities being found in larger quantities in Jutland and Norway than in other parts of Scandinavia as evidence of a migration of kindred races from Germany northwards in later periods of the Age, whence the art was carried by the Jutes and Saxons, and later on by the Danes, wherever the prows of the sea-rovers' ships found land. Hence its prevalence in Saxon England and in Ireland, where there were large Scandinavian colonies early in the Christian era.

DEATH-ROLL.

WE regret to have to record the death of the following members :—

MR. H. F. HALL.

Mr. Hall, of Oaklands, Sheffield, who died in June, 1905, was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and had been a member of the Viking Club since 1902.

THE REV. ALLAN McDONALD.

The Rev. A. McDonald, who died last autumn, was the Roman Catholic priest at Eriskay, South Uist, where for many years he had been a devoted worker among the fishermen and crofters of the Southern Hebrides. He had been since 1898 a member of the Viking Club and Hon. District Secretary for the Hebrides (Long Island). He was an enthusiastic collector of folk-lore, and had of course splendid opportunities, one result being the paper on "The Norsemen in Uist Folk-Lore," which was read in January, 1900, and printed in the *SAGA-BOOK*, Vol. III., Part 3. It is to be feared that much of the material he had collected has perished with him.

THE REV. CANON THORNLEY.

The Rev. John James Thornley, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, hon. canon of Carlisle and vicar of Kirkoswald, Cumberland, who died December 1st, 1905, aged 63, was a keen antiquary, and wrote on traditional children's games and the cup-and-ring markings of Bronze-age stones in his neighbourhood. He taught himself Icelandic, made some unpublished translations from the Sagas, and gave lectures on Kormák's Saga and other subjects connected with Northern antiquities. He joined the Viking Club in 1903.

REVIEWS.¹

ORIGINES ISLANDICÆ.

A collection of the more important Sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland. Edited and translated by GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. 2 vols. *Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905. Price £2 2s. net.*

A GENERAL review of the contents of these volumes would be of very little, if any, use. In a large measure it would have to be an expression of my individual estimate of the performance of the Editors' joint work; but want of space would debar me from bringing forward in sufficient copiousness evidence to justify that estimate. Many people would therefore have their doubts as to the justice or even the fairness of my views.

I have therefore preferred to write a special review which can be of some use, at any rate; and to that end I have selected the "Landnáma-Bóc" and the "Libellus Islandorum" only. This I justify on the ground that of all the historical records contained in these volumes these two are far and away the most important: "Landnáma-Bóc" as laying the *topographical* and *genealogical*,—"Libellus" as providing the *chronological* foundations of the history of the Icelandic race. A further justification of my selection lies in the fact that of these two works the one has been translated before into English in an unsatisfactory manner, the other not at all. Fairly stating the case, it must be granted that, to a foreigner unfamiliar with Icelandic accidence, both these books have their pitfalls, into which it is only too easy to fall.

¹ Members may obtain the books noticed from the Hon. Librarian, A. W. Johnston, 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W., who will quote prices.

Therefore, since the English reader is supplied with the original text, he should also be provided with a true key to it—a fairly reliable translation, in which respect that of the “*Origines*” is capable of improvement, as the following notes will show. And as our Society is the only public body in the country which professes to make “*Northern research*” its programme, it is in the fitness of things that at least such of its own members as are interested in these primary sources of Icelandic history should be placed in a position to get at a true understanding of their verbal meaning. To effect this purpose it is necessary to draw the readers’ attention to the translation of “*Landnáma-Bóc*” and “*Libellus*” in some detail from beginning to end, minor faults being overlooked. Nearly every paragraph below consists of the three elements: original context, followed by the translation of the “*Origines*,” and my suggested amendment. Almost all quotations refer to page, and line of the Icelandic text, from which the corresponding passage of the translation below can be easily verified.

Observations relating to Dr. Vigfusson’s orthography, treatment of MSS., his idea that Are was the author of “*Landnáma-Bóc*” and wrote the “*Libellus*” for the perusal of some foreign magnate; the translations of personal names, besides many other matters, must be set aside for the one most important purpose of securing an approximately trustworthy translation. Peculiar characters employed by Dr. Vigfusson are replaced by ordinary ones.

Throughout this paper S. stands for “*Sturla’s book*,” Cd. for “*Hawk’s book*,” the chief authorities for the text.

“*LANDNÁMA-BÓC.*”

Page 13₈₋₉. en þat es víða um daga, at sól sér eige þá es nótt es lengzt :—“and the sun is not seen in the longest night”; instead of: but in many places it happens that in the day-time the sun is not seen when the night is at its longest.

P. 14₁₆. ok es þá siglt fyr norðan Hiallt-land,—því at eins sé þat at all-góð sé sióvar-sýn. The — indicates, presumably, that it stands for something missing, which indeed it does. The Editor has expunged the words: svá at, without which the text makes neither grammar nor sense. He printed the same text in “Icelandic Reader” correctly, but missed the point of it. I gave the right interpretation of the passage many years ago. Now it re-appears, mutilated, but rightly understood, though inaccurately translated, because by the excision of “svá at” the words: “því at eins” became untranslatable. Reduced to natural grammatical order the passage, after “Hiallt-land,” reads: svá at sé þat (= þat sé, *i.e.*, sjái, *prospiciatur*) því at eins at (on condition that, provided that) sióvar-sýn sé allgóð. The rendering is: “and then the course sailed is north of Shetland, within sight of land, if there be a very clear day”; instead of: and then one sails to the north of Shetland so (far) that it may just be descried when the out-look at sea is very clear.

P. 15₅. En dægr-sigleng es til Úbyðga á Grœna-lande or Kolbeinsey í norðr:—“And it is one day’s sailing to Greenland out of Colbansey in the north.” The main point: til Úbygða, to the Deserts, is left out in the translation, whereby the geographical statement fails to convey the true sense of the original. “Úbygðir” here is the eastern and north-eastern coast of Greenland, the nearest point of which, in favourable circumstances, might, perhaps, be reached from “Colbansey” in four-and-twenty hours. But to “sail to Greenland” invariably meant to sail to the habitable districts on its western coast, which would take many days’ sailing from “Colbansey.”

P. 15₉₋₁₁. En es hann siglðe í gægnom Pettlandz-fjörð, þá sleit hann undan veðr, ok rak hann vestr í haf:—“But as he was sailing through Petland’s frith, a gale broke his moorings, and he was driven west into the sea.” Gardar could not be sailing and be moored at the same time. The meaning of: veðr sleit hann undan—a very

common phrase in seamen's language—is: a storm tore him off (from land).

P. 15₁₃₋₁₄. Skíalfande is here translated Quaker, but 270₁₉: Shelving-bay.

P. 15₁₄₋₁₅. Þá slitnaðe festren:—"Then the moorings broke." But the festr here is the painter by means of which the cockboat was attached to the ocean-goer—fyr útan Skuggabiörg:—"out east of Scugga-berg"; exactly the opposite:—west of S. Night-farer's bight on the *western* side of Skíalfande is still a well-known locality. The context states that Gardar landed "on the *other* side of the frith," that is, opposite to that, where "Night-fare's-bay" was, and stayed at House-wick, a dwelling place still existing, on the *eastern* shore of "the Quaker."

P. 15₂₀. Naddoðr . . . mágr Olvéss Barna-karls:—"Naddodh . . . brother-in-law of Alwe Bairn-carle"; but Naddodh married Iórunn, *daughter* of "Alwe" (Landnáma-Bóc, V., 13₄); therefore, read: son-in-law.

P. 16₃. gengo þeir þar á en hæsto fiöll, at vita, ef þeir sæe nockorar manna-vister eða reyke:—"they walked up the highest *mountain* to see if they could see any abode of men or smoke"; instead of: there they walked up to the top of (*á*) the highest *mountains* to ascertain if they could see any, &c. Only the plural, mountains, is a correct rendering of the plural fiöll, and only the plural gives correctly the idea the author had in his mind. To the north of "Reyd-frith" was Eski-firth, to the south of it "Faskruds-frith." To ascertain whether signs of human abodes were present in these neighbouring bays on either side, it was necessary to ascend the highest mountains on both sides of "Reyd-frith." Hence the importance of rendering the original literally in this instance.

P. 17₁₀₋₁₈₁. Floki, son of Vilgerd, one of the early discoverers of Iceland, took with him three ravens on which, at a great sacrifice in Norway, he had invoked Oden's blessing (blótaðe) to the end that they should serve him as pilots to the land he went in quest of. He stopped at the Faroes on his journey. After leaving

those islands and sailing for a time the following incident happened : (21) Ok es hann (Flóke) lét lausan enn fyrsta, fló sá aftr um stafn :—" But *where and* when he let loose the first (raven), he flew *back to the bows* " ; instead of : And as he let loose the first, it flew *aft over the stern* ; *i.e.*, in the direction of the land which Floki left behind last, the Faroes. This literal meaning of the original is unmistakably borne out by the words that follow immediately : annarr fló í loft upp, ok aftr til skips : þriðe fló framm um stafn, í þá átt es þeir fundu landet, which are correctly translated.

P. 18₂. Þeir kómu austan at Horne :—" They made it (the land) *on the east* at Horn " ; instead of : They came *from the east* up to Horn.

P. 18₁₀. Vár var helldr kallt : " It was then very cold " ; instead of : The spring was rather cold.—Þá geck Flóke norðr á fiöll :—" Then Floke walked *northward to a mountain* " ; instead of : Then Floke walked north upon (á) the mountains.

P. 19₃. The vernacular dat. of Fialir, Fiölm is, in the form of " Fiölm," adopted here by the Editor and translator as the name for this the southernmost district of the Firth-folkland in Norway ; but *see* 220₉.

P. 19₉₋₁₀. Ok es þeir kómu heim, mæltu þeir til sam-fara með ser annat sumar :—" And when they came home they agreed to go forth in fellowship *with them another* summer " ; instead of : And when they came home, they bespoke (mæltu með ser) a joint roving the *next* summer.—The situation is this : the foster-brothers, Ingolf and Leif, had been out on Viking cruise with the three sons of Earl Atle, Hastein, Herstein and Holmstein. On their return home the foster-brothers, on one side and the Earl's sons, on the other, bespoke another joint cruise the next summer. But the translation leaves it unaccounted for who " they " are, and who " them " are, with whom " they " agree to go forth in fellowship another summer ; all in consequence of the point being overlooked that ser, in : mæltu með ser, has a reciprocal, not a demonstrative, sense.

P. 20_{2-3, 6-7}. Þá fóro þeir Leifr í hernað . . . fór Hersteinn at þeim Leife . . . sættosk þeir at því, at þeir Leifr guldo eignar sínar þeim feðgom:—"Then Leif and *his fellows* went a-warring . . . Herstein *set out with a mind to fall* upon Leif and *his fellows* . . . they were set at one on the terms that Leif and *his fellows* should pay their lands as weregild to Atle and Ha-stan"; instead of: Then Ingolf and Leif went a-warring . . . Herstein fell upon *Ingolf and Leif* . . . They were atoned on the terms that *Ingolf and Leif* yielded up their landed property to Atle and Ha-stan. The mistake here pointed out is the more singular because 19₂₀₋₂₀₁: ok veitte þeim Ingolfe, is almost correctly rendered "and gave help to Ingolf and Leif," instead of: to *Leif and* Ingolf.

P. 20₉. es þá vas Ísland kallað:—"and which was called Iceland"; instead of: which *then* was called Iceland. The temporal adverb þá, *then*, is much more important than the Editors seem to realize, because it gives clearly to understand that by the time that Ingolf and Hiorleif went to Iceland for the first time—say 869—the former names of the island: Garðarshólmr and Snæland, had been, according to the author's meaning, forgotten, or discarded.

P. 20₁₃. Eftir þat varðe Ingolfr fé þeirra til Islannz-ferðar:—"After this Ing-wolf *got all his stock together* to go to Iceland"; instead of: After this Ingolf laid out all *their* (*i.e.*, his own and Hiorleif's) money on a journey to Iceland.

P. 23₁₉₋₂₀. En Ingolfr nam land miðle Olfus-ár ok Hval-fiarðar . . . ok öll nes út:—"Ing-wolf took land in settlement between Aulfus-mere and Whale-frith . . . and all the ness to the west"; "öll" being the acc. plur. neut. of allr and agreeing with "nes," it follows, that "all the ness" must be changed into: "all the nesses"; for the Landnáma-author has in his mind all the nesses in Ingolf's land-take west of, not "Brynje-dale"¹ as the translation has it, but Brynje-dale's-river, namely:

¹ Elsewhere this name is rendered Byrnie-dale, 30₁₀.

Kialar-nes, Gufu-nes, Laugar-nes, Seltiarnar-nes, Alfta-nes, Rosmhvala-nes, Reykia-nes. All these nesses went under the collective name of Nes = The Nesses, cf. 96₂₀, 188₂₀.

P. 24₁₄. bast . . . siðaðr :—"of the best conversation"; instead of: the best "religioned," *i.e.*, the most religious.

P. 25₆. ok es frá þeirra afkvæme mart sagt í þesse bók :—"and from them is *the greatest race* that is told of in this book"; instead of: and *of their offspring* many things are told in this book.

P. 26₈. fór vestan :—"came from the west"; instead of: *went* (away) from the west. This inaccurate translation of fara is met with over and over again.

P. 27₁₇₋₁₈. reistu þar kirkjo ok bú þar :—"Do thou raise thy church and *homestead* there"; instead of: Do rear there a church and *dwell* there (bú imper. of búa, not acc. of bú, abode, dwelling; for, in that case, the local adverb "þar" could not be repeated after "bú").

P. 28₈₋₁₀. kom hann (Collr) þar sem Collz-vík heiter, ok braut hann þar skip sítt. Þar vóro þeir um vettrenn. Hásetar hans námo þar sumer land, sem enn mon sagt verða :—"and he (Coll) reached the place called Colls-wick, and there his ship was wrecked. His crew *got to land*¹ some of them, and *shall be told after*"; instead of: He came to a place which is called Coll's-wick and wrecked his ship there. *There they remained through the winter* (omitted). Some of his crew *took land in settlement* there, as will be told of further on.

P. 28₁₁. . . . siglðe braut með lið sítt :—"sailed away with all that he had"; instead of: sailed away with his company.

P. 28₁₇. nam land á miðle Mógils-ár ok Úsvífrs-lækjar :—"took land in settlement between Mo-gils-river and Os-wif's becks." Here lækjar is gen. sing., and the error of making more than one beck a boundary on one side of a "landnám" is only explainable on the ground that the

¹A translation of "nema land"; which has only one meaning in "Landnáma-Bóc," and is, in hundreds of cases, correctly translated.

translator took "lœkjar" to be some plural form of "lœkr," a mistake repeated several times.

P. 31¹⁵. þeir brœðr skiftu löndom með ser:—"these brethren *exchanged land with each other*;" instead of: these brethren *divided the land between them*. The context here is very clear. These brothers took, on arrival, jointly the broad countryside of Akraness from Calman's-river, in the south, to Trout-water, in the north; then arose the question how to divide the land between them, and it was settled by making the mountain Reyner a middle boundary, so that Thormod got the portion from Reyner south to Calman's-river, while to Ketil's lot fell that from Reyner north to Trout-water.

P. 31¹⁷⁻²⁰. This Ketil was the father of Berse, the father of Thorgest, the father of Starri, the father of "Cnatt," the father of Asdis, es átte Klœingr Snæbiarnar son¹ Hafnar-Orms:—"whom Claeng, Snae-beorn's son, the [father] of Haven-Worm, had to wife"; instead of: whom Klæng, the son of Snæbeorn the son of Haven-Worm, had to wife. According to the *original text* and according to the *translation* we have then:—

<i>Original text.</i>	<i>Translation.</i>
Haven-Worm	Snæbeorn
Snæbeorn	Klæng
Klæng	Haven-Worm

Haven-Worm had a son, Thorgeir Hewn-cheek, who fought in the battle of Fitjar, 961². Thorgeir must then have been a man of twenty, at the least, and his father not less than forty (b.c. 920); if Klæng was Haven-Worm's father, he (Klæng) must, presumably, have been twenty years older than his son, born then about 900. But he marries Asdis, the *sixth* in descent from a man (Ketil) who settles in Iceland about 890; so that by the translation about thirty years are set apart for the life of five or six generations.

¹ After son the Editor puts in [?], which seems to have no meaning.

² He was of the body-guard of K. Hakon the Good. *Origines* I. 35¹⁷⁻³⁶₂.

P. 32₁₁. þeir kómu at garðe Þorgeirs ens Hörðzka í Hollte :—“ they came to the *house* of Thor-gar the Haurd at Holt.” But in this same paragraph we read :—Þorgeirr vilðe þá eiga hafa við hús sín :—“ Thor-gar would not have them *in his house* ; ” instead of : would not have them (by, against, *i.e.*) *near* his house. It was, of course, an impossibility that a Christian, at this time, should of his own free will come to live under the roof of a heathen for a moment. The obvious sense of “garðr” here is *fence* ; the wall built round the home field and constituting the boundary of the precincts of the heathen’s dwelling-place. There, not “in his house,” but outside it, in the neutral ground of open nature, the Christian party led by Asolf “pitched their tent.”

P. 33₁₅₋₁₇. vanðesk fiós-kona ein at þerra fœtr sína á þúfo þeirre es vas á leiðe Asolfs. Hána dreyms, at Ásolfr ávitaðe hána um þat es hon þerðe fœtr sína saurga á húse hans :—“ One of the cow-girls was wont to wipe her feet *on* the hummock that was over As-wolf’s tomb. She dreamed that As-wolf warned her not to wipe her dirty feet *in* his house ” ; instead of : *on* his house, *i.e.*, the tomb, into which, of course, she did not descend.

P. 33₂₁. munk-lífi : “ the life of a monk ” ; instead of : monastery. There is abundant evidence to show that munklífi only means monastery. The Oxford Icel. Dict. knows no instance of the word in the sense given to it here. The monastery in question was that of Bær, the first house of the kind established in Iceland.

P. 33₂₂. Einn þeirra dreyms, at Asolfr mælte við hann :—“ One of them dreamed that As-wolf *had said* to him ” ; instead of : that Asolf *spoke* to him.

P. 34₂. Húskarlenn gat keypta þúfona :—“ The house-carl bought the hummock ” ; instead of : the house-carl managed to buy the hummock ; for “ gat ” implies that in the matter of the purchase there were difficulties to overcome.

P. 34₁₉. nam Hvalfiarðar-strönd ena nerðre :—“ took in settlement *Nether* Whale-frith-strand ” ; instead of :

the *northern* Whale-frith-strand. This comparative, otherwise spelt “nœrðre,” is misunderstood in this manner nearly all through.

P. 35⁷⁻⁸. hans son var Þorgeirr, faðer Ió-steins; so also Sturla's text and Index I., but Hawk's book, on the basis of which the text in this case depends, reads “Holmsteins,” and that reading is silently adopted by the translator. But why the correction then was not carried into the text, nor noticed in the corrigenda, seems strange. However, “Ió-steins” is the proper reading.

P. 35¹¹. Berjadals-á:—“Borg-dale-water”; instead of: Berry-dale's-water. The translator has taken “berja” for gen. pl. of berg, which he translates “Borg,” whereas it is gen. pl. of ber, a berry.

P. 36³. Brœðr tveir bioggo í lannáme¹ Finnz ok Orms, Hroðgeirr enn Spake í Saurbœ, en Odd eirr at Leir-á. En þeir Finnr ok Ormr *keypto* þá *braut*, því at þeim þótte þar þrönglennt:—“Two brethren dwelt in the settlement of Finn and Worm, Hrodgar the Sage in Sowerby, and Ord-gar at Lear-water; but Finn and Worm *brought* them out, for they thought they were crowded there.” With the exception of “brought,” which must be a misprint for: “bought,” this passage is correctly translated. The more surprising is it to find the same incident which, p. 221²⁰⁻²², is thus stated—Hroðgeirr enn Spake ok Oddgeirr bróðer hans voro Vestmenn, es þeir Finnr enn Auðge ok Hafnar-Ormr *keypto braut* or land-náme síno—translated in this manner:—“Hrod-gar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen, to whom Finn the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *sold land out of their settlements*”; instead of: Hrodgar the Wise and Ord-gar, his brother, were Westmen whom Finn the Wealthy and Haven-Worm *bought out of their* (Finn-Haven-Worm's) settlement. An additional aid to the right understanding of this passage was, in both instances, supplied by the statement that the Westmen went east to “Rawn-gerding-Rape”—“Rape of Rawn-garth,” and settled land there.

¹ This wrong form is without authority in the MSS.

P. 36₁₂. Úlfr óargi:—"Wolf the lion"; instead of: Wolf the dauntless. Is this translation to be accounted for by the fact that in thirteenth and fourteenth century translations from Latin originals the lion is sometimes referred to as "et (or hit) óarga dýr," "the dauntless beast"? but that does not change the adj.: "óargr" into the noun: lion; and Wolf's honourable by-name existed centuries before "et óarga dýr" appeared in Icelandic writings. In the case of Þorbiörn enn Óarge, 227₁₅, the translator has changed his mind and rendered the by-name: "Fierce," which at any rate comes nearer than "lion" to the sense.

P. 36₁₅. Haraldr . . . lét drepa Þórolb norðr í Alost á Sandnesi af róge Hildiríðar-sona:—"Harold . . . had Thor-wolf slain north in Alost on Sandness, out of a feud with (*in Corrigenda*: "through a false charge made by") the sons of Hild-rid"; instead of: had Thorolf slain north in Alost *at* Sandness (Thorolf's home) through slander by the sons of Hildirid. In excuse of the translator it may be observed that in poetry "róg" frequently means even "feud"; "false charge" is a needless paraphrase.

P. 36₁₇₋₁₈. Því at þeir höfðo þar spurt til Ingolfs vinar síns:—"for they had heard news thereof from Ing-wolf their friend"; instead of: for they had got news of their friend Ingolf being there (in Iceland).

P. 36₁₉₋₂₁. Þar tóko þeir (Kveld-Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr) knörr þann es Haraldr konungr lét taka fyre Þórolbe, þá es menn hans vóro ný-komner af Englande, ok drápo þar Hallvarð Harðfara ok Sigtrygg Snarfara, es því höfðo valdet:—"There they took the cog which King Harold had had taken from Thor-wolf when his men were just come from England, and they slew there Hall-ward Hard-farer and Sig-tryg Fast-farer, *who were in command of her*"; instead of: *who had brought it about, i.e., the seizure, at the King's behest, of "Thor-Wolf's" ship, which, by the way, was not a cog but a large ocean-goer.*

P. 37₁₋₂. Þar drápo þeir ok sono Guthorms Sigurðar

sonar Hiartar, brœðrunga konongs:—"They also slew the son of Guth-thorm, the son of Sigrod Hart, the first cousin of the King"; instead of: *There* they also slew the the sons . . . first cousins, etc.

P. 37¹⁹⁻²⁰. ok leiddo þar upp skipet sem geck:—"and there berthed their ship as far as they could float her"; instead of: and towed up the ship as far as she would go.

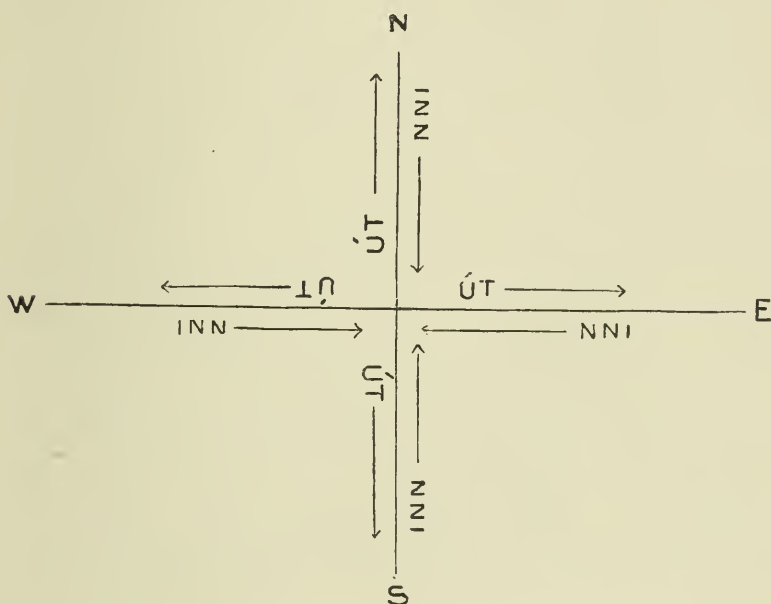
P. 38¹⁰. Skalla-Grimr vas þar um vettrenn sem hann kom af hafe:—"he stayed there *through the winter he came over sea*"; instead of: Skalla-Grim was *there* through the winter *where* he hove in from the main. He landed in the summer, as all settlers did, there was therefore no question of "the winter he came over sea." Winter voyages to Iceland were unheard of at this time and for centuries afterwards.

P. 38¹². Hann nam land útan frá Sela-Lóne ok et œfra til Borgar-hrauns, ok suðr allt til Hafnar-fialla:—"He took in settlement the land *outward from* Seal-wash and up to Borg-raun and all south to Haven-fell"; "out" in "outward" is a translation of út, which the translator otherwise correctly renders "west" in the topography of the West-Quarter; "outward" therefore must mean west-ward, which is exactly opposite to the meaning of the original: He took land *east-away* from Seal-wash and up to Borg-lava and all the way south to Haven-fells. Seal-wash was the western boundary of Skalla-grim's "land-take," and as út here means west, útan must mean: *from the west* = east-away.

Attention must be drawn to the fact, that the local adverb út varies in sense in accordance with the quarter of the compass which each side of the island faces. "Út" points invariably in the direction *towards the sea* while its constant concomitant "inn" equally invariably points in the direction of *the centre of the land*. The diagram on the next page gives at a glance the geographical sense of the two adverbs in "Landnáma-Böc."

The translator seems to have thought that út could geographically *only* mean west; therefore, in the west of

Iceland, he seems not to make a mistake in the translation of it—of course he frequently uses the vague “out” instead of the real geographical term. But in the other quarters, when he resorts to the terminology of the compass, he makes serious mistakes.



P. 39₁₆. Hrúta-firðe :—“ Ram-fell ”; instead of: Ram-frith.

P. 41₂₋₃. Hann gaf Signýjo systor sinnu Signýjar-staðe, ok bió hon þar :—“ He gave his sister Signy Signy-stead, and there *he* dwelt ”; instead of: *she* dwelt.

P. 42₁. Rauðs-gil, named after Rauðr, a person, is here given as Red-gill, while 47₁₄ Rauða-lækr is rendered “ Red’s-beck,” where the element “ Rauða ” must be the gen. of “ rauði,” red iron ore, haematite, which colours bog-land water-courses all over the country.

P. 43₄₋₅. Þeirra börn vóro þau Ceallakr at Lunde í Syðra-dal, föðor Collz :—“ Their children were these : Ceallac of Lund in Suther-dale, *the father of Magnus*, the father of Coll . . . ”; instead of: Their children were: Ceallac of Lund the father of Coll. Both Hawk’s book and Sturla’s book agree in this reading.

The *Corrigenda* make no reference to this discrepancy between text and translation. In the index Coll figures as son of Ceallac. So also in the standard editions of 1843 and 1900. No Magnus Ceallacson is known to have existed, nor any Coll Magnusson. Föðor (*patris*) should read faðer (*pater*) Collz.

P. 44⁸⁻⁹. Hann drucknaðe í Hvít-á, es hann hafðe faret suðr í Hraun at hitta friðlo sína :—" He was drowned in White-water as he was going south *on to the lava* or rawn to visit his leman"; instead of: He was drowned in White-water when he *had gone* south *to Hraun* (a homestead), etc.; *i.e.*, he was drowned, not in going, as the translation has it, but in coming back. The text indicates clearly and correctly the trysting place as a homestead.

P. 44¹². Hans son vas Bjarne, es deilðe við Hrólfr enn Yngra ok sono hans um Tungo'na-Lítlo :—" His son was Bearne who had a feud with Hrod-Wolf the Younger and his *son* about Little-Tongue"; instead of: . . . and his *sons* (sono, acc. pl.). On the preceding page the *three* sons of "Hrod-Wolf" come in for biographical treatment; the author of "Landnáma-Bóc" could therefore not refer here to *one* of his sons without mentioning his name.

P. 44¹⁵. Grindr, acc. pl., the translator deals with as a name in the singular.

P. 44¹⁸⁻²⁰. hans son vas Care es deilðe við Karla Conals son . . . um oxa; ok reyndesk svá at Karle átte :—" His son was Care who had a feud with Carle Conalsson . . . about an ox; and it turned out so that Carle *got* the ox"; instead of: who had a dispute with Karle . . . about an ox, and it was found out that it was Karle who owned it.

P. 45¹⁰. Systir Loft-hæno vas Arnþrúðr . . . Móðir þeirra Arnþrúðar vas Astríðr Slœki-drengr :—" The sister of Loft-hen was Arn-thrud . . . The mother of Arn-thrud was Anstrid Slœki-dreng"; instead of: The mother of *Loft-hen and* Arn-thrud . . . þeirra indicating that both sisters were included in the statement.

P. 46¹. Þóraren vá Músa-Bolverkr, es hann bió í Hrauns-áse :—" Thor-arin slew Mouse-Balework in fight,

when he was dwelling in Rawn's-ridge"; instead of: Mouse-Balework, while he dwelt at "Rawn's-ridge," slew Thoraren ("in fight" is a needless addition). Þóraren can be *no other* form than the acc. of Þórarenn, and Bölverk no possible case but the nom. There were other aids here: Illugi the Red had given to his brother-in-law, Bolverk, the homestead of "Rawn's-ridge" (43⁸⁻¹⁰), so that "hann" who was dwelling at "Rawn's-ridge" was Bolverk. He built a fort for himself there after slaying Thorarin. Tind and Illugi the Black, brothers of Thorarin, in the translator's own words "attacked Bale-work in his own work"—the man whom, three lines above, the translator says Thorarin had slain.

P. 46⁵⁻⁶. Hrosskell gaf land Þórvarðe, föðor Smiðcels, föðor þeirra Þórarens ok Auðunnar, es reð fyrer Hellesmönnum:—"Horse-kell gave land to Throw-end,¹ the father of Smith-cell, the father of these, Thor-arin and Ead-win, *who were the leaders* of the CAVE-MEN"; instead of: . . . the father of Thor-arin and "Ead-win" who *was the leader*, etc.; for reð is 3rd sing., reðo(-u) 3rd pl. pret. of ráða.

P. 46⁹. Hans (Þörgauts) syner vóro þeir Gíslar tveir:—"His sons were these two Gíslis"; no further information about them; instead of: those two Gíslis (you know), presuming that the readers knew all about the Gíslir who was flogged by Grettir, and him who was slain by Bardi.²

P. 46¹⁵. keyfte, read keypte. The Editor has, rightly, as we think, broken completely with the old spelling tradition pt and writes ft wherever the derivation favours such a spelling. The case noted here is merely one of inadvertence.

P. 46²⁰. Hann (Blund-Cetill) lét ryðja víða í skógom ok byggja þar ("ryðja" and "byggja" both governed by "lét"):—"He had the wood cleared far and wide and took up his abode there"; instead of: he had

¹ This is elsewhere the rendering of Þrónðr, while Þórvarðr comes out as Thor-ward and Thor-wend.

² Grettis Saga, 136; Heiðarvígá Saga (1904), p. 86.

clearings made wide about in woods, and had abodes taken up there (by others, of course, as he had his own manor in Ormolf's-dale).

P. 48₁₇. Norðrár-dalr :—"North-dale," for : "North-water-dale."

P. 49₇. ok þá dala es þar ganga af :—"and the *dale* that goes out of it"; instead of: and *those dales* that go out of it—pronoun, noun and verb, all in the plural! This is all the more unexpected that in the "double text" immediately following (49₁₂) the same statement is rendered correctly, or, very nearly so.

P. 50₉₋₁₀. þeim gaf hann land upp við fiöll :—"he gave them land *up on* the fell"; instead of: *up against* the mountains. No human being could exist on "land on the fell." The difficulty the translator has in distinguishing fiáll (sing.) and fiöll (pl.) is really puzzling.

P. 51₁. Hitdæla-kappe :—"Champion of Hot-river-dale"; instead of: . . . of the men of Hit-dale; dælir = inhabitants of a dale.

P. 51₄. Haugom (dat. pl.) :—"Howe," for : Howes.

P. 52_{7, 11}. Leiro-lækjar (gen. sing.) :—"Lear-becks"; instead of: Loam-brook (lear = clay, loam, seems not to exist). Lækjar, gen. sing., as 28₁₇, taken for gen. pl.: lækja.

P. 52₁₆. Griót-ár :—"Grit"; for : Grit-river.

P. 54₅₋₆. Engo (*read* Enga, so Cd.) varðar yðr at vita aðra an sveinenn í sel-belgenom :—"It is of *little worth* to you to know this [answers he] though it is" (not : of 'little worth' surely, but : of worth) "to the boy in the seal-skin bag"; instead of: To none other of you does it matter to know (it) than the boy in the seal-skin bag.

P. 54₁₀₋₁₁. En síðar um vetrenn (not vettr- as elsewhere) reru þeir Grímr svá at sveinnenn var á lande :—"Later in that winter Grim and his men, all but the boy, went a-fishing"; instead of: Later in the winter Grim and his crew went out fishing so that the boy was left ashore.

P. 54₁₃. Skalm geck fyrer allt sumaret :—"Skalm went forth all the summer"; instead of: Skalm led the way . . . (fyrer = in front).

P. 54₂₂-55₂. maðr . . . mikill ok illilegr . . . geck . . . upp til bæjar þess, es í Hripe heiter, ok gróf þar í stöðols-hliðe:—"A man . . . great and wicked-looking . . . walked . . . up to the homestead that is called Rip, and dug a *fort* there *in the slope* by the fold-gate"; instead of: and did digging there in the fold-gate.

P. 55₂₋₄. En um nóttina kom þar upp iarð-eldr, ok brann þá Borgar-hraun—þar vas bœrenn sem nú es borgen:—"And that night there came up fire out of the earth, and burnt the Borg-lava. There was *a* homestead there *then* where the lava-mound now is"; instead of: But in the night a fire broke out of the earth there, and then happened an eruption of the Borg-lava—there was *the* homestead (of Rip, mentioned in the preceding line) where now is the crater cone. In the translation "brann" (intr.) is taken to mean the same as "brende" (trans.).

P. 55₁₁. Skalm dó í Skalmar-keldo:—"at Skalm-*well*"; instead of: *in* Skalm's *ditch*. Kelda, though it can mean a well, must here be taken in the specific Icelandic sense of ditch, cf. Heimskr. (Jónsson's ed.), II., 144₈, and Dict. *sub voce*.

P. 56₁₀. Goðlaugr nam síðan land frá Straumfiarðar-á til Furo:—"Afterwards Gudlaug took land in settlement from Stream-frith on to Force"; instead of: . . . From Stream-frith-*river* to Fura. On the next page (57₁) this river name figures as "Fur [Shallow]." It seems more reasonable to connect the name with Dan. fure, Engl. furrow.

P. 59₁₀₋₁₁. En kyrtil Einars bito eige iárn:—"but no iron could bite *as* Einar's kirtle"; instead of: no iron (weapon) could cut through Einar's kirtle. The same phrase is correctly rendered p. 129₁₁; so we have here probably to deal with a misprint.

P. 60₁₅. Hann nam land frá Berovíkr-hraune til Ness-hrauns:—"He took land in settlement from *Bear-sarks-ravn* to Ness-ravn"; instead of: . . . from *Bear-wick-lava*, etc. This locality is situated on the western shore of Snæfells-nes, while the Bear-sarks'-lava is a long distance

off to the north-east, a short way west of Thorsness.

P. 60₁₇. Saxe Alfarensson:—"Saxe, the son of Elf-wine." (?) 56₂₁: Alf-warin; 61₁₈: Alf-arin.

P. 61₇. Þeirra son vas Skegge, faðer Þórkotlo, es átte Illoge, son Þorvallz, Tinnz sonar, faðer Gils . . . :—"Their son was Sceg, father of Thor-catla, whom Illugi had to wife, the son of Thor-wald, the son of Tind, the father of Gils." By the translation Gils is made the son of Tind, but by the text he is correctly stated to be the son of Illoge. Translate: Their son was Skeg the father of Thorkatla, whom Illoge, the son of Thorvald Tind's son, and father to Gils, had for wife.

P. 61₁₂₋₁₃. The words in parenthesis are left out, which elsewhere happens in a great number of cases, as if passages so marked did not belong to the text. But they are only so marked by the Editor as being, in his opinion, later interpolations. They form however an integral part of the text.

P. 62₃. Ormr enn Mióve hét maðr . . . Hann (nom.) rak braut Ólaf Belg (acc.):—"Worm the Slender was the name of a man . . . An-laf Bag drove him away"; instead of: He drove "An-laf" Bag away.

P. 62₁₇. Onúndr Síone:—"A-mund Seone" (misprint for An-und?), but the same man, p. 51₁₉, figures in the translation as "Ean-Wend Seone."

P. 62₂₀. Þórbiorn enn Digre stefnde Geirríðe Bægifótz dóttor um fiolkynge; efter (read: fiolkynge, efter) þat es Gunnlaugr son hans dó af meine því, es hann tók þá es han fór at nema fróðleik at Geirríðe:—"Thorbeorn the Thick summoned Gar-rid Bow-foot's daughter for witchcraft. After (read: witchcraft, after) his son Gundlaug died of *madness*, which he caught when he went to learn wisdom from Gar-rid"; instead of: Thorbeorn the Thick summoned G. B.'s daughter for witchcraft, after his son G. had died of the hurt he got when, etc.

P. 63₄. En efter þat hurbo Þórbirne stóð-hross á fialle:—"But after that *a stallion* of Thor-beorn was lost in the fell"; this is emended in *Corrigenda* to *some stallions*,

but should be "some *stud-horses*," cf. 65₁₅, *Corrigenda*.

P. 63₈. í túneno :—"in the yard"; instead of: in the home-field.

P. 63₁₃. Nagle hlióp grátande um þá, ok í fiall upp :—"Nail fled weeping away and up into the fell"; instead of: Nail ran weeping *past* them (um þá), etc.

P. 63₁₇. Efter þat brende hann skip þeirra Algeirs í Salteyrar-óse :—"After that he burnt Alf-gar's boat at Salt-eyre-mouth"; instead of: After that he burnt the ship of Beorn the Eastman (63₇) and Alf-gar. In this passage, which is an abstract from Eyrbyggja Saga, it is not stated that Biorn was a part-owner in the ship with Alfgeir; but "þeirra" shows that the author bore that fact in mind, and by this idiomatic turn of phrase indicated it to the reader.

P. 64₁₆. ok nam Eyrar-land, ok á miðle Kirkio-fiarðar ok Kolgrafar-fiarðar¹ :—"and took in settlement Eyre-land and *the river* between Kirk-frith and Col-grave-frith"; instead of: and took the land (*i.e.*, the peninsula) of Eyre and (the land) between Kirk-frith and Coal-graves'-frith. That is to say: besides the peninsula of Eyre proper, Vestar took land westward along the shore as far as Kirk-frith, while the eastern boundary of his settlement was Coal-graves'-frith. To take in settlement a river, not even alluded to in the text, is an odd idea. Of course, á, in the phrase "á miðle," amidst, can also, as to form, be the acc. sing. of "á, a river."

P. 66₅. Biörn sat efter at eignom föðor síns þá es Ketill fór til Suðreyja :—"Beorn abode behind *in his own land* when his father Ketil went to the Southreys"; instead of: Beorn sat behind *on his father's* property, when Ketil went to the South-isles. Here the translator connects "föðor síns" with "fór," not seeing that it is closely linked to and governed by "eignom."

P. 66₁₄. hafðe selför upp til Selja :—"had the shielings

¹ Cd. (Hawk's book) has Kolgrafa, gen. pl., so also the old Catalogue of Firths, A.M. 415 4^{to}c. 1300; Kolgrafar is found in no Landnáma MS. The frith took its name from the homestead of Kolgrafir, pl.

up at Shiels.” This will hardly be understood as meaning : he was wont to fetch home dairy produce from the out-lying dairy of Sel. Passages relating to this branch of Icelandic husbandry are difficult to deal with, and cannot be literally translated.

P. 68₅. Þeir lendo þar inn frá í vágenn, es Þórolfr kallaðe Hofs-vág :—“ They landed there in a creek which Thor-wolf called Temple-voe.” Construe : Þar inn frá lendo þeir í vágenn, etc., *i.e.*, there in from = south there from (where they found Thor, out on the ness) they made for land into (í with acc.) the creek which, etc. They skirted the western side of Thorsness, going south, till they hove into Temple bight.

P. 69₆. skilðer, not : “ set at peace,” but : parted.

P. 69₉. inn í neset þar sem nú es, not : “ inland to the ness where it now is ” ; but : up (inn) into (í) the ness (*i.e.*, east into the ness), etc.

P. 72₅. Steinn Miöksiglande :—“ Stan the wide-sailor ” ; two other persons with an identical by-name are mentioned in “ Landnáma-Þóc,” Thengil of Halogaland and Thrand Beorn’s son in Sodor ; in their case the by-name is rendered, respectively, Far-sailor [Fast-sailor], and Far-sailor. But there is reason to believe that in all these cases the by-name arose from the same cause as in that of Thrand (Landn. III. 15 2, p. 155₉₋₁₀) : from fast, swift sailing. “ The Fast-sailing ” is the best translation.—“ Stan ” was the brother of Þórer Haust-myrkr : “ Thore-haust-myrk ” ; instead of : Th. Harvest-gloom.

P. 72₆. nam Skógar-strönd til mótz við Þórberg, ok inn til Lax-ár :—“ took in settlement Shaw-strand up to match with the land of Thorberg, and *inside to* Lax-water ” ; [Shaw-strand is the southern shore of Hvam-firth ; Thorberg had settled both Long-dales, the easternmost of which formed the western terminus of Shaw-strand]. The statement therefore means that “ Stan ” took in settlement Shaw-strand west to the boundary of Thorberg[’s land] and in = up (frith), *i.e.*, east to Lax-water. “ Inside to ” gives no sense, that we can see.

P. 73₅. set-stocka :—"seat-stocks [high-seat pillars]" There is an abundance of evidence to show that the "set-stockar" were not pillars, but horizontally fixed beams in front of the "set" or sitting and sleeping platform running along either side-wall of a hall. When "Landnáma.-bóc.," V. 11 2, p. 220₁₄₋₁₆, says that Hastein "shot over-board his *seat-stocks* after ancient custom," and thus used them for the same ceremony that high-seat pillars were otherwise used for, that does not change the name or the nature of a *seat-stock* into a standing pillar; it only shows that seat-stocks could be hallowed to a divinity, the image of which was carved on them.

P. 76₈₋₉. Þeirra son Þorer, es átte Hallveigo, Tinnzdóttor, Hallkels sonar :—"Their son *was* Thori, who had to wife Hall-weig, the daughter of Tind, *the wife* of Hall-kell"; instead of: *the son* of Hall-kell.

P. 78₂₀. í innan-verðom firðenom (dat. sing.) :—"at the inward of the *friths*"; instead of: at the head of the *frith*.

P. 81₈. Riúpa ["Caper-cailzie"]. This is not right. Riúpa is the *lagopus ptarmigan*, or l. vulgaris; while the caper-cailzie is the þiðurr, Dan. Norw. tiur, Swed. tjäder, tetrao urogallus, a bird more than double the size of the riúpa. But "Þórunn Grœningja-riúpa" figures in one instance as "Thor-und Grœnings-rœpe" (p. 25₉), in another as "Thor-Wen the Granings'-ptarmigan" (219₁₋₂)!

P. 81₁₄. Thorgeirr goðe (*i.e.*, Thorgeir the famous gode of Ljósavatn, Light-water) figures in the translation under the odd name of "Thor-gar-gode." There are many cases of this amalgamation of title with first name.

P. 82₁₆. Þórhallr faðer Halldóro; comes out as "Thor-kell" by inadvertence in the translation.

P. 87₅₋₆. Hiorleifr . . . es kallaðr vas enn Kven-same :—"Heor-laf . . . who was called the man of Quin [the county]"; instead of: who was called the *Amorous*. In Icelandic to call a man of a county named Kven "Kven-samr" is as much out of the question as it would be in English to call a man of the county of Kent Kentsome!

Besides, no such county as “Kven” or “Quin” exists in Hordland, or elsewhere in Norway.

P. 87₁₀₋₁₁. Halfr Konungr vas faðer Hiörs Konöngs, es hefnde föðor síns með Solva Höгна-syne :—“King Half was the father of King Heor, who avenged his father *upon* Solwe, Hagene’s son”; instead of: . . . who *in company with* Solwe “Hagene’s” son avenged his father. The genealogy here is very plain: The children of Hogni in Njarðey were: Hildr en Mióva and Solwe. Hild’s son was Half, and Half’s son was Hiör, who, aided by his grand-uncle Solwe, avenged his father (Half) on Asmund, King of Hordland. See the Saga of King Half and Half’s “Rekkar,” Fornaldarsögur II.

P. 88₁₉₋₂₀. Til ferðar rézk með hönöm Ulfr enn Skiálge, frænde hans; ok Steinolfr enn Láge :—“On the voyage with him were Wolf-*squint* (!), his cousin, and Stan-wolf,” etc.; instead of: to this journey betook themselves with him Wolf the *Squinter*, etc.

P. 89_{4, 5}. Klofa-steina, Klofa-steinum, gen. and dat. pl., rendered “Cloven-stone” in both cases.

P. 89₁₄₋₁₅. Reykja-hólom, dat. pl.—the name is unknown in the sing.—rendered: “Reek-hillock.”

P. 90₈₋₉. Geirmundr . . . nam land frá Ryta-gnúp vestan til Horns; en þaðan austr til Straumness :—“Geirmund . . . took land in settlement from Gull-peak *west to* the Horn, and thence east to Stream-ness”; instead of: Geirmund . . . took land . . . from Gull-peak in the west east unto Horn, and thence (farther) east to Stream-ness. Gull-peak is west of Horn, not east of it. [-an in local adverbs = Gr. *θεν*, vestan = *δυσμόθεν*.]

P. 91₄. ok börðosk á ekronom fyr utan Klofninga :—“and fought on the cornfields to the west of the ‘Clovenings’” is omitted in the translation.

P. 91₄₋₅. þar vilðo hvárer-tveggjo sá :—“Both wished to *have it*”; instead of: there they both wanted *to sow (corn)*.

P. 91₈₋₉. Hann átte Herriðe dóttor Gautz Gautreks sonar ens Orva :—“He had to wife Her-rid, daughter of Geat, Geat-ric’s son, the open-handed”; instead of: daughter

of "Geat," the son of "Geat-ric" the Openhanded.

P. 62₈. Yngvilldr : trans. wrongly "Ing-unn."

P. 93₁₁. Þórarenn Krókr nam Króks-fiörð til Hafr-fellz frá Króks-fiarðar-nese :—" . . . *up* to Hafr-fell from Crook-frith's-ness" ; instead of : (*west*) to Hafr-fell. "Up," which is the translator's own invention, gives quite a false idea of what is meant ; Crook-frith's-ness being the *eastern*, Hafr-fell the *western* promontorial limit of the bay in question, it follows that Thorarin took in settlement the habitable land of the whole frith, from one promontory to the other.

P. 96₄. Þorbiörn Loke . . . nam Diúpa-fiörð ok Grónes til Gufu-fiarðar :—not : "*up* to Gowe-frith," but *west* to G., or then simply *unto* G. That is to say : he took in settlement the land of Groness that faced the waters of Deep-frith and extended his land-take as far as the opening of "Gowefrith," the next frith west of Deep-frith.

P. 96₁₆₋₁₇. hann hafðe veret í vestr-víking ok haft af Írlande þræla Írska :—"and had gotten Irish thralls in Ireland" ; instead of : . . . and had brought from Ireland Irish thralls.

P. 96₂₀. fór hann inn á Nes :—"he went *inward* to a *ness*" ; instead of : he went east-ward to the *Nesses* (*i.e.*, Alftanes, Seltiarnarnes, Gufunes), cf. 23₁₉₋₂₀ above.

P. 97₄. Cetill feck oengan bú-stað á Nesjom :—"Cetil found no place for a homestead in the *Ness*" ; instead of : got no message on the *Nesses* (the same group as in the preceding paragraph).

P. 97₅₋₆. á Gufu-skáлом (við Guf-á : enn fiórða vettr vas hann á Snæfellz-nese at Gufu-skáлом) ; the words in brackets are missed out in the translation, by reason of the homotelefton Gufu-skáлом, with the result, that Cetill is made to go from Borg-frith . . . "*east* into Broad-frith," though east of Borg-frith there is nothing but howling wildernesses and glaciers, and Broad-frith lies *N.W.* of Borg-frith. However, by inserting the missed-out passage : "by 'Gowe'-river : the fourth winter he spent on Snowfell's-ness at 'Gowe'-hall," the direction "east" towards Broad-frith comes right.

P. 97¹⁷⁻¹⁸. kom af þinge um morgonenn þá es þeir vóro ný-farner braut:—"was coming back from the Moot *early* the *next* morning just after they had got away"; instead of: came from the "Moot" the same morning when they had just gone away.

P. 98¹⁴. hann nam nes öll til Barða-strandar:—not: "all the ness," but: all the nesses (*i.e.*, Bøejarnes, Svínanes, Skalmarnes, Vattarnes, Hjarðarnes).

P. 102⁷⁻⁸. því at þar geck eige sól af um skammdege:—"because the sun did not *set* in the short days there"; instead of: because the sun did not go out of sight there in the day-time of the short-days'-season.

P. 103¹⁹. til Hals en ýtra í Dýra-firðe:—"to the Upper Neck"; instead of: to the Outer Neck; *i.e.*, to the western-most of the two localities named Neck on the southern side of Dyri's- (not Deer-) frith.

P. 104¹. Magnus Goðe is a misprint for Magnus góðe, Magnus the Good. The translator renders the name "Magnus *gode*" (*gode*, italicised, invariably meaning chief, which, indeed, this person was, though he was not *called gode*).

P. 106⁹. dóttir, read dóttor—Mág-Snorre: "Mac-Snorre" looks like a freak.

S. text:

P. 107⁵. Liótr kauper slátr at Gríme til tottogo hundraða, ok galt læk, er fell meðal landa þeira, sá het Ósómi. Grímr veitte hann á eng sína ok gróf land Liótz:

"... and paid (for it) with a brook, which fell between their properties, called Osemi (Disgrace). Grímr turned it on his meadow and dug (for the purpose) the land of Liot."

Editor's "emended" text
"according to Hávarðar Saga":

ok
galt veite-enge es hét Ger-sæme. Lækr fell meðal landa þeirra: Grímr veitte *hónom*¹ á eng sína ok gròf land Lióts²: "and paid for *them* with a meadow watered by the brook that ran between their lands, and was called Gersemi [Jewel]." ³

The emendation here is more than doubtful. Hávarðar Saga, to begin with, is a very untrustworthy record. It does not say that Liot's meadow was *called* Gersøeme, it says the meadow was the greatest "gersøeme" or treasure. But it was that only because the brook Osome, the name of which Hávarðar Saga does not know, could be turned on it for irrigation purposes. Without irrigation it was probably of little value. The Editor's emendation is nothing but loose guesswork, and is not called for.

P. 107₂₀-108₁. Gestr kvez eigi síá ærlög hans:—"Guest said that he could not *forestall* his doom"; instead of: . . . could not see his fate.

P. 108₅. Austmaðr reidde Gest á heiðe upp, ok stude Gest á bake, es hestr rasaðe under hónom:—"The Eastman *was helping* Guest *up* to the Heath and holding him steady on his horse and the horse stumbled under him"; instead of: The Eastman *took Guest riding* up on to the heath and steadied him on horse-back as the horse stumbled under him.

P. 112₁₃. Móðer Snæbiarnar Galltar vas Ceolvor ok vóro þeir Tungo-Oddr systra-syner:—"The mother of Snow-beorn Boar was Ceol-ware, and they were first cousins [on the sister-side] of Ord o' Tongue"; instead of: The mother of Snow-beorn was "Ceol-ware" and Snow-beorn and Ord o' Tongue were sons of (two) sisters. In "Landnáma-Bóc" I. 10. 4 we have the express statement: "Ceol-ware was the mother's sister of Ord o' Tongue." There is no hint here of any "they" who were first cousins of "Ord."

P. 112₂₁. Þar vóro sauða-hús hans:—"where his sheep-house was"; instead of: there his sheep-pens were.

P. 113₅₋₆. Hon hefer kvenna bazt. hærð vereð á

¹ The Editor's own form, instead of "hann," which is the reading of S.

² In the footnote to this passage, as in several other footnotes to "Landnáma-Bóc," we are told to "see notes," but there are no such notes to be seen in the work!

³ But the footnote on this very page says: "The *meadow*, not the brook, took the name of *Jewel*." This is a direct disavowal of the translation.

Íslande með Hallgerðe Lang-brók :—“ She had the best hair of any woman that have ” (*sic*) “ ever been in Iceland (save Hall-gerd Long-breeks) ”; instead of: She, together with Hall-gerd Long-breeks, has had the finest hair of all women in Iceland.

P. 113₁₉ foll. Snow-beorn of Ceol-ware-stead with a company of eleven men pursued Hall-beorn who was accompanied by three men only. Hall-beorn was overtaken: við hæðer þær, es nú heita Hallbiarnar-vörðor. Þeir Hall-biorn fóro á hæðena ok vörðosk þaðan :—“ at the hillocks that are now called Hallbeorn’s-cairns. Hallbeorn and his men went up on the *hillocks* and defended themselves therefrom ”; instead of: Hall-beorn and his men went upon the *hillock*, *i.e.*, one of the two hillocks. A company of *four* could not reasonably divide themselves on *hillocks* in defence against a band of twelve.

P. 119₆. Blæingr :—“ Clong ”; a footnote states that Blæingr is the reading of S. and Klæingr that of Cd.; the reverse is the case, and the wrong form of the name is adopted by the translator: “ Clong.”

P. 119_{9, 11}. Berse Goðlauss . . . ok átte þar annat bú :—“ Berse God-leas [Temple-tenant?] . . . and *they* had another homestead ”: instead of: Berse the Godless . . . and *he* owned *there* another homestead. There is no reason for supposing that “ lauss,” in goð-lauss, stands in any connection with “ leas,” if that vocable is meant to express something in the way of tenancy, as “ Temple-tenant ” seems to indicate. There were godless heathens, who never would sacrifice, not a few of whom are mentioned.

P. 121₁₈₋₁₉. Þeir Helge lögðo út enn sama dag, ok tyndosk aller á Helga-skere fyr Skriðins-enne :—“ Helge and his mates put to sea the same day, and were all lost *aboard Helge’s ship* off Scridin’s-brow ”; instead of: and were all lost *on Helge’s-rock* off Scridin’s-brow.

P. 122₁₂. Refr :—“ Fox,” the by-name of Þórolfr, is left out in the text, but supplied in the translation.

P. 122₁₇. Skammhöndungr, the by-name of Skegge, is

left out in the text, but given in the translation in the form of "Short-hand."

P. 124⁸⁻¹⁰. Hans son was Þórbrandr, faðer Asbrannz, föðor Solva ens Prúða á Ægis-síðo, ok Þórgeirs es bió at Hólom:—"His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand, the father of Solwi the Proud ['or Brude' ?] of Egi-side, and also of Thor-gar [i.e., Thor-brand's son] that dwelt at Hills"; instead of: His son was Thor-brand, the father of Os-brand who was the father of Solwe the Proud at Sea-side and of Thor-gar who dwelt at Holar. The translator's explanatory parenthesis makes Thor-gar of Holar son of his grandfather, although his own translation correctly makes him a son of Os-brand.

P. 125¹¹. Bøjar-bót is given in the translation as "Pride-of-the-Bench," Bökkjar-bót, which is the reading of S. The reading of Cd. is "Beiar-," which probably is a corruption of Bökkjar, the better reading, though set aside by the Editor.

P. 126¹⁶⁻¹⁷. Ingimundr unðe hverge:—"Ingi-mund could find no peace"; instead of: Ingimund felt nowhere at home.

P. 126¹⁹. í ham-förm, a difficult expression to deal with, is left out in the translation. Ham-för: journey in a shape or form other than the natural, shape-change journey.

P. 127¹⁵. Ingimundr nam Vatz-dal allan upp frá Helga-vatne ok Urðar-vatne fyr austan:—"Ingi-mund took in settlement all Water-dale up from Helge-mere and Wierd-mere in the east"; the original means: Ingimund took in settlement all *the eastern side of* Water-dale up from Helge-mere and "Wierd"-mere. Fyr austan: to the east of the main river that runs through the valley = its eastern side.

P. 128¹. til Gilj-ár:—"to Gills"; instead of: to the Gill-river. The translator has taken Gilj-ár as gen. pl. of Gil, which is not Gilj-ár but Gilja.

P. 128¹³. ok siglðe fyr norðan land vestr um Skaga fyrstr manna:—"and sailed *the north-west course* round the Skaw first of all men"; instead of: and sailed by the

north of the land west about Skaw the first of men. So far from sailing a "north-west course round the Skaw" Ingimund's course was practically due west (slightly to the south) until he had cleared the Skaw, when his course changed sharp to due south for Cub-mere.

P. 129₁₀. systrungr :—"sister's son"; instead of: mother-sister's son, *i.e.*, Liot was the son of a sister to Hrolleif's mother.

P. 129₁₆₋₁₇. ok skylðe ganga or á fyrer Hofs-mönnum :—"and the Temple-men had the first right of going on the river to fish"; instead of: and he (Hrolleif) was to clear out of the river before the men of Temple.

P. 129₂₀. á ána :—"to the river"; instead of: into the river, which here makes all the difference to the pathetic scene.

P. 130₅. ok hafa kost-grip af arfe :—" (and) get his choice out of the heritage"; instead of: and have of the heritage the prize-keepsake (gripr) he should choose.

P. 131₆. Iökull vas son Bárðar Iökuls sonar, es Olafr konungr enn Helge lét drepa :—"Iockle was the son of Bard, Iockle's son, whom King Olaf the Saint had slain"; instead of: The son of Bard Iockle's son was "Iockle" whom K. Olaf the Saint had slain. The tragic end of "Iockle" Bardson is recorded in the sagas of Olaf the Saint: Fornm. s. V. 29-30, Flat. b. II. 317, Olaf saga ens Helga, 1853, 190-191, Heimsk. (E. Jonsson) II. 422-424, cf. also Fornsögur, ed. G. Vigfússon 1860, pp. 188, 193.

P. 132₁₅. ok svá þar fyr norðan hals :—"and so *along to the mouth of* the Neck"; instead of: and likewise north of the neck there.

P. 136₁₉. ok Goðdala, *read* of Goðdali, so Cd., um Goðali alla, S.

P. 136₂₁. Helgo, not: "Helge" (man) but Helga (woman). This mistake is repeated elsewhere.

P. 137₄. Biarne Brodd-Helga son :—"Beorn-beord Helge's son"; instead of: Bearne Brord-Helge's son. As a rule the translator distinguishes the two names

Biörn and Biarne, but he gives to the latter however the variations: Beorn, Beare, Bearne.

P. 138₁₈. Hann vas kallaðr Tungo-Care—omitted from the translation.

P. 139₃₋₄. Orrecs-heiðr:—"Orrec-stead"; instead of: Orrec's-heath; and Höko-staðer:—"Hawk-stead"; instead of: Chin-stead.

P. 139₉. I þann tíma kom út skip í Kolbeins-ár-óse:—"At that time there came out a ship into the mouth of Colban's-river oyce-mouth"; instead of: . . . into the mouth of Colban's-river. Oyce-mouth was perhaps meant as an alternative reading.

P. 140₇. upp frá Þverá—missed out.

P. 140₁₄₋₁₆. Syner þeirra vóro þeir Hergrímr ok Heiðr, es átte Höllo . . . Gróa hét dóttir Herfinnz, ok Höllo; hána átte Róarr:—"Their sons were these: Her-grim and Her-fin, *who had to wife Halla* . . . The *daughters* of Her-fin were Gróa [Gruoch] and Halla, whom Hrod-gar had to wife"; instead of: . . . Groa was the name of the *daughter* of Herfinn *and Halla*; and Hrodgar married her (not Halla, his mother-in-law).

P. 141₂₋₃. dóttor Sigmundar Þorkels sonar es Glumr vá:—"daughter of Sigmund Thor-kel's son, that slew Glum"; instead of: whom Glum did slay!

P. 141₁₁. miðle Griót-ár:—"between Grit"; instead of: Grit-river.

P. 141₁₂. Healta-dalr:—"Shelty-dale," surely: "Shelty's dale" seeing that it was taken in settlement by and named after Healte Thord's son; but p. 271₂ the name is "Healte-dale."

P. 141₂₀. á-nyt:—"rent"; á-nyt = áa-nyt: hire of ewes. The case arises when farmer A hires from farmer B a certain number of milking ewes for the summer, agreeing to pay a certain amount of money for the use of them. The word is not found in any dictionary I have at hand.

P. 144₅. Staf-ár:—"Staff"; for: Staff-river.

P. 144₁₁. Stafs-hóll:—"Staff-holt," but 145₃: Staff-hill; as the place took its name from Oddleifr Stafr, the

name should be Staff's-hill ("holt" is out of question, as it confuses this place north in Skagafrith with Staff-holt south in Borgfrith.

P. 145_{12, 17}. Ulfs-dala (pl.) :—"Wolf-dale"; instead of: Wolf's-daies.

P. 145₁₉₋₂₀. Óláfr nam . . . Óláfs-fiörð suman :—"Anlaf took in settlement . . . Anlaf's-frith *from the south*"; instead of: *some* part (or part) of Anlaf's-frith. In the *Corrigenda* we are told "*for* suman" to "*read* sunnan," which reading justifies the translation here. But suman is the reading of both the MSS. on which the text is based; and sunnan, which is found in some inferior MSS., is rightly condemned as "wrong" by Jón Sigurdson and all other Editors, naturally on the ground that south of Olaf's-frith, which cuts almost due south into the country, there is nothing to take in settlement but bare mountains.

P. 146₅₋₆. miðle Ulfs-dala ok Hvann-dala :—"between Wolf-dale and Hwan-dale"; instead of: . . . Wolf's-daies and Hwan-daies.

P. 146_{15 16}. Hann nam Óláfs-fiörð fyr austan upp til Reykja-ár, ok út til Vá-múla, ok bió at Gunnolfs-á :—"He took in settlement Anlaf's-frith *east-ward* ("upp" left out) to Reek-water, and *west* to Wo-mull, and dwelt at Gund-wolf's-river." "Anlaf's"-frith cuts very nearly due south into the country, and Reek-water is the river that halves the valley running up from the frith, also almost due south into the land. The translation therefore must be: He took in settlement the *eastern side* of "Anlaf's"-frith, *up to* (= inland to, *south* as far as) Reek-water and *out* (= *north*) to Wo-mull. Evidently the Editors had really no idea of the topographical bearings here, nor could they have consulted any map of the country; nor even seems Vigfússon to have known the very common turn of speech: N.N.-fiörðr fyr austan (vestan, etc.) = the eastern (western, etc.) side of N.N.-frith.

P. 146₁₉. Hrólfs frá Am :—"Hrodwolf-a-River"; instead of: a-Rivers, ám being dat. pl. of á, a river, if that indeed is the origin of the name. The Editor's

spelling of the name shows that he does not believe in that derivation; and he may be right.

P. 147₇. þá fór hann til Noregs: hann kom vestr á Agðer:—"then he journeyed *west* into Norway *with twelve men* into Agd . . ."; instead of: then he went to Norway: he came west to Agder. . . . "With twelve men" has got somehow or other into the translation from S., which is not the text on which this passage is based.

P. 147₁₁. En es á leið um váret:—"But when the spring was coming on"; instead of: But in (the course of) the spring as it was wearing on.

P. 147₁₃. hann tók hann höndom:—"Beorn caught his hand"; instead of: Beorn laid hands on him.

P. 149₈₋₁₀. ok sá, at svartara vas inn at síá myklo til fiarðarens,—es þeir kolloðo Eyja-fiörð af eyjom þeim es þar lágo ute fyrer:—"and saw that it was far blacker [less snow] to look on further up in *a* frith, which they called Ey-frith, because of the islands that *lay out of the mouth of it*"; instead of: and saw that it was far blacker looking up to *the* frith, which they called Ey-frith from the islands that lay there out in the offing. There was no question here of *a* frith to be called Ey-frith; for Helge had dwelt a whole winter at Hamundstead in Svarfadar-dale, a good long way up the very frith he gave this name. The islands from which it took name were not outside the mouth of it, but well within it, in sight from Hamundstead, and "þar úte fyrer" refers to the point of view from Hamund-stead. Off the mouth of Ey-frith there are no islands.

P. 149₁₇. ok helgaðe sér svá allan fiörðenn nesja miðle:—"and so hallowing to himself all *the country-side between the rivers*"; instead of: all *the bay from ness to ness*; that is, from Mastness (Siglunes) on the western, all round unto Rowan-ness (Reynisnes) on the eastern, side of the mouth of Ey-frith, cf. 149₁₅₋₁₆. There is no reference here to "rivers."

P. 150₁₋₂. varð Þórunn Hyrna léttare í Þórunnar-ey í Eyja-fiarðar-ár-kvíslo:—"Thor-wen Hyrna gave birth

to a child *at the springs of Ey-frith* in Thorwen's-ey" (!) instead of: "Thor-wen" H. was delivered of a child in "Thorwen's-ey," in the forks of Ey-frith-river; *i.e.*, in the delta formed by the Ey-frith river, where it joins the sea at the head of the bay.—The child born, Þór-biörg Holma-sól, is here called: Thor-berg Holm-sun, but 168₁: Thor-borg Haulm-sun (haulm = halmr!) Of course, she got her by-name from the place of her birth, a Holm.

P. 150₄. Þver-á en(ne) Ýtre:—"Upper Thwart-water"; instead of: *Outer, i.e., Lower, Thwart-water*. On the eastern side of Ey-frith river, up the valley a considerable distance from the head of the bay, there are two homesteads called Thwart-water: Þverá en æfre = Upper Thwart-water, also known as "Monks' Thwart-water," and Þver-á en ýtre = Outer Thwart-water, *i.e.*, the Outermost of the two Thwart-waters, or the one farther down the valley, or nearer the sea, the northern-most, in fact. The translator makes one of these two localities, calling both Upper-Thwart water.

P. 150₁₃₋₁₄. faðer . . . Arnórs ens Góða Rauðæings:—"father . . . of Arnor the Good, the Red-water-men's *gode*"; góða figures in the translation first correctly as "good" and then as "*gode*" chief, and Rauðæings = the man's of Red-water, is taken to stand for Rauðæinga = the men's of Red-water, who do not exist.

P. 150₁₉. Rauða read Rauðe.

P. 151₄. Olafr Volo-briótr:—"Anlaf *Sibyl*-breaker." We suggest that *knuckle-bone* breaker would do as well: Vala (= knuckle-bone, Lat. talus, Gr. ἀσπράγαλος) has gen. sing. völo (-u), which form is also the gen. sing. of völva, "*Sibyl*."

P. 151₁₂. Karl . . . nam strönd alla út frá Ufsom til Mígende:—"Karl . . . took in settlement all the *strands up* from Ufse to Migande"; instead of: all the *Strand out* from Ufse to M. Út means, of course, *out*, down frith, sea-ward or, geographically stated: *north*; while the "up" of the translation = up frith gives the opposite wrong direction. Strönd = Ufsa-Strönd.

P. 151¹⁶⁻¹⁷. Hámundr gaf Erne . . . (lönd) þau es vóro fyr útan Reistar-á:—"Hamund gave Erne . . . *further* the land *west* of Reistar-river"; instead of: Hamund gave to Erne such countrysides as lay *out* from Reist-river, *i.e.*, *north* of Reist-river along the western shore of Eyfrith. *West* of Reist-river there were no countrysides in Hamund's possession to be given away but bare mountains of no extent.

P. 152⁵. Breið-dal:—"Bride-dale" must be a slip for Broad-dale, which elsewhere is the translation of this name.

P. 152^{9, 14}. við hann ero Narfa-skær kend:—"After him Narfe's-reef is named"; instead of: After him Narfe's-rocks are named.

P. 152¹⁰. Hello-Narfe:—"Slate-Narfe," but six lines below "Cave-Narfe," the translator taking there "hello," which is gen. sing. of hella, slab or slate, for "hellis," gen. sing. of "hellir," a cave.

P. 155⁷. En Öndóttir gat halldet féino til handa Þronde systor-syne sínom:—"But Ondott kept hold of the heritage for Throwend *and* his sister's son"; instead of: But Onund managed to retain the money on behalf of Throwend, his sister's son. The context here is very clear: "Landnáma-Bóc" III. 13 1 states how Biorn Hrolf's son from Am was first married to Hlif, and had with her the son Eyvind Eastman. Secondly Beorn married Helga, sister of Ondott, and their son was Thronð (Throwend). There was therefore no temptation for the translator to make of "Thro-wend" somebody who was *not* Ondott's sister's son.

P. 156². þvi at hann vilde ecki segja:—"for he did not wish to say [where the boys were]"; instead of: for he would say nothing.

P. 156²⁰⁻²¹. ok rero braut til eyjar es liggr á Hvine:—"and rowed away to the *islands* that *lay* in the frith of Hwin"; instead of: . . . to *an island* that *lies* in the frith of Hwin; "eyjar" can be gen. sing. and nom. and acc. pl., while "til" governs the gen. exclusively; no mistake therefore ought to have been possible here.

P. 157₂. ok gengo til húss :—"went to the houses," as if the original read : ok gengo til húsa !

P. 157₈. Ásgrímr geck at iarlenom :—"As-grim *walked into the hall*" ; instead of : Asgrim went for the earl. A few lines before it is stated that Asgrim and Asmund "went to the chamber in which they were told the Earl was sleeping," and there they were at this moment.

P. 158₈. Ásgrím in the text rendered As-gar in the translation.

P. 159₁₄. Þeir Ásgrímr biðo á Vekels-hauge enom syðra :—"Asgrim waited for him at the *settlement* of We-kell's Barrow" ; instead of : Asgrim and his company waited on the southern Wekel's-Barrow.

P. 160₁. föðor (*gen.*) Asgríms, *read* : faðer (*nom.*).

P. 160₇. Möðro-fell :—"Madder-field" ; instead of : Madder-fell, a different place to Madder-field = Möðroveller.

P. 161₁₋₂. Helge gaf Hrólfe . . . öll lönd fyr austan Eyjafjarðar-á frá Hvále upp, ok bió hann í Gnúpo-felle :—"Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all the lands *from the east of Ey-frith* from Erne's-hillock up," etc. ; instead of : Helge gave Hrod-wolf . . . all lands on the east side of Ey-frith-river up from Erne's-hillock. This place, the northern limit of Hrod-wolf's settlement, was situated about midway up the long valley running south from Ey-frith. Hrod-wolf's lands therefore stood in no connection whatever with the sea.

P. 161₈₋₉. Helgi gaf . . . Þorgeire . . . land út frá Þver-á til Varð-giár :—"Helge gave . . . to Thor-gar . . . land *west* from Thwart-water to Ward-geow" ; instead of : out from, *i.e.*, north from Thwart-water to "Ward-geow." Land given to Thorgar as the translation defines it would have covered the main portion of the territory which Helge had already conferred on his son-in-law, Hamund.

P. 161₁₅. Heðinn enn Milde, not : "Hedin the Mild," but : the Bounteous.

P. 162₁₃₋₁₄. Þeirra son Ongull enn Svarte ; ok Rafn, faðer Þórðar at Stocka-hlöðum, ok Goðríðr (*nom.*) :—"Their

son was Ongul the Black, and Raven, the father of Thord of Stock-lathe, and of Gudrid"; instead of: Their son was Ongul the Black and Raven the father of Thord of Stock-lade, and (their daughter was) Gudrid. By the translation Gudrid is made a daughter of her own brother Raven.

P. 162₁₇. Hann nam land . . . út frá Hníósk-á til Grenevíkr:—"He took land in settlement . . . *west* from Tinder-water to Pine-wick"; instead of: . . . from Tinder-water *north* to Pine-wick. Whatever lies "*west*" from the line of "Tinder-water" to "Pine-wick" lies in the waters of the Ey-frith!

P. 163₁₁. Eyvindr . . . blótaðe þá (*i.e.*, Gunnsteina, acc. pl.):—"Ey-wind . . . sacrificed *there*"; instead of: Ey-wind *worshipped them* (the Gunstones).

P. 164 l. 4 of trans. "He had many children" is added by the translator, from the text of S., with no editorial explanation.

P. 164₁₅. ok braut skip sítt:—"and ran his ship ashore"; instead of: and wrecked his ship; cf. 167₂₀, 168₁₇, and elsewhere.

P. 164₁₈₋₁₉. hann nam land fyr neðan Eyjadals-á:—"He took land in settlement *from under* Ey-dale-water"; instead of: below = north from E.

P. 165₃. faðer Þórgeirs Goða:—"father of Thor-gar-gode"; his name was Thor-gar and he was a gode, and he was referred to in speech as Thorgar the Gode, but never was his name Thor-gar-gode.

P. 166₅. Horða-land:—"Hausda-land," probably misprint for Haurda-land, which is one of the forms adopted by the translator, the others being Horda-land and Hæreda-land.

P. 166₆. Eyvindr fýsteskr til Íslannz:—"Ey-wind went to Iceland"; instead of: Ey-wind had a desire to go to Iceland.

P. 167₆. Þórey:—"Thor-ney," by misprint, apparently.

P. 167₁₁₋₁₂. hann nam Þegjanda-dal:—"He took in settlement *Thawing*-dale"; instead of: . . . *Silent*-dale.

P. 167₁₉. Þióðolfs in the text is a mistake for Þórolfs; oddly enough this is corrected in the translation but left standing in the text.

P. 169₈. hann (Onundr) vas son Blæings Sótasonar, bróðer Balca í Hrúta-firðe:—"He was the son of Blaeng, Soti's son, the brother of Balci of *Red-frith*"; instead of: He was the son of Blaeng Sotisson, *and* brother to Balci of *Ram-firth*.

P. 169₁₆. Grænavatn(e), es gengr af Mý-vatne:—"Green-mere that *came* out of Midge-mere"; instead of: Green-mere, *an offshoot* of Midge-mere.

P. 170₃. Fyr þat vog [read: víg] vóro þeir görver norðan or sveitom:—"for this manslaughter they were driven *north out of that country*" (no country named to which "that country" can refer); instead of: for that manslaughter they were *expelled from the communes* in the north.

P. 170₅. Geira-staðer:—"Gar's-dale." Here the text follows Cd., but the translation, the better reading of S.; no editorial comment.

P. 170₆₋₈. þeirra börn vóro . . . ok Þórgerðr, es átte Þór-arenn Ingiallz son: þeirra son Helgo-Steinarr:—"Their children were . . . and Thor-*gard*, whom Thorarin, the son of Ingi-ald, the son of Helga Stan-here, had to wife"; instead of: . . . and Thor-*gerd*, whom Thorarin Ingiald's son had to wife: their son was Helga's-Steinar. So, by the translation, Thorarin, the father of "Helgo-Steinarr," becomes his *own son's grandson*.

P. 170₁₂₋₁₃. þá fór hann til Íslannz:—"then Einar bought a ship and sailed to Iceland." "Bought a ship" is a loose translation of "þá kauper Einar í skipe" (in S.) = then Einar bought a part in a ship. But why these words should enter into the translation when they are excluded from the text, seems odd.

P. 170₁₄. Þeir siglðo fyr norðan land ok vestr um Slétto í fiörðenn:—"They sailed north about the land, and went into the *friths* round Plain"; instead of: they sailed north about the land, and west round Plain into

the frith—"fjörðenn," acc. sing., taken for "fjörðona," acc. pl. of fjörðr!

P. 170₁₇₋₁₈. Svá helgoðo þeir ser allan Öxar-fjörð:—"and then they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith": instead of: *thus* (*i.e.*, in this manner) they hallowed to themselves all Ax-frith. The manner of the hallowing was unique in the history of the settlement.

P. 170₂₁. Glíro Halli:—"Glire Hall," but 172₁₁ "Glera Hall."

P. 171₉₋₁₀. Oddr fór at leita þeirra, ok fann þá báða ærenda, ok hafðe hvíta-biörn drepet þá, ok só or þeim blóðet:—"A white bear slew them both, Arn-gar and Thorgils. Ord went forth to seek them and the bear was by them and sucking their blood"; instead of: Odd went in search of them and found them both dead, and a white bear had killed them and was sucking the blood out of them.

P. 171₁₁. Oddr drap biörnenn ok færðe heim, ok át allan:—"Ord slew the bear, and ate it all"; instead of: O. slew the bear *and brought it home* and ate it all.

P. 172₁. Húns-ness *read* Hunds-ness; the translator has got at the right reading as he translates: "Hounds-ness." Why was the text then not corrected at the same time?

P. 172₁₅. Hroðgeir:—"Hrod"; "gar" left out inadvertently.

P. 173₈. Vápna-fjarðar-ár:—"Weapon-frith"; instead of: Weapon-frith-river, which here makes all the difference.

P. 174₃. Þórsteinn:—"Thor-beorn"; erroneously.

P. 174₁₈. ok lifðe her fá vettr:—"and lived *there* a few winters"; instead of: and lived *here* (in this land) but a few winters.

P. 175₆₋₇. Hakon . . . nam Iökuls-dal allan fyr vestan Iökuls-á, ok fyr ofan Teigar-á, ok bió á Hakonar-stöðum:—"Hacon took . . . all Iockle's-dale from the west of Iockle's-river," the rest of the quotation is sprung over; instead of: Hakon took . . . all "Iockle's"-dale on the

western side of "Iockle's"-river, and above Teig-water, and dwelt at Hakon's-stead.

P. 175₁₀. þann löðgo þeir til hofs :—"they gave it to the Temple"; instead of: this they set apart for a temple (which was not in existence yet when the gift was made).

P. 176₃₋₆. Ketill ok Graut-Atle . . . námo land í Fliótz-dale, . . . Lagar-fliótz-strander báðar: Ketill fyr vestan Fliótz-á, miðle Hengi-fors-ár ok Orms-ár . . . 176₂₀₋₂₁ Graut-Atle nam ena eystre strönd Lagar-fliótz, allt á midle Gilj-ár ok Valla-ness, fyr vestan Oxa-løk :—"Cetil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in settlement in Fleet-dale . . . Cetil took in settlement *both banks of Lake-fleet from the west of Fleet-water*, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took in settlement the east strand of *all* Lake-fleet between Gill and Field-ness, west of Oxen-beck"; instead of: Ketil and Grout-Atle . . . took land in Fleet-dale . . . both banks of Lake-fleet: Ketil, to the west of the Lake-Fleet, between Hang-force-river and Worm's-river . . . Grout-Atle took the eastern bank of Lake-fleet *all the way* between Gill-river and Fields'-ness, west of Oxen-beck.—The topography here is very clear when we eliminate from the text the Editor's mistake in introducing a "Fliótz-á." Cd., on which the text here is based, reads Fliót, short for Lagar-fliót, "Lake-fleet," which is quite accurate. But S. reads: Fliotz aa milli Hengifors aar, etc. Here the z in Fliotz is an involuntary scribal repetition of z in Lagarfliotz in the same or the preceding line of the MS. From the phrase: aa miðle = amidst, between, the Editor has cut the aa and tacked it on to Fliotz, and thereby obtained the river-name Fliotz-á; but no river so called exists in the whole of Iceland, for the simple reason that such a name in Icelandic would be about as impossible as *Fluminis-amnis* would be in Latin. This mistake once removed leaves the statement of Cd. perfectly clear: Each brother settles a certain portion of either bank of Lake-fleet; Ketil the *western*, from Hang-force-river (up

the valley) to Worm's-river (down the valley); Atle, the *eastern*, from Gill-river (up valley) to Field-ness (down valley). There is no justification for making "Cetil" settle *both banks* of Lake-Fleet. We shall see, presently, how important it was to understand this passage of "Landnáma-Bóc" correctly.

P. 176_{9-II}. (Context: "Cetil bought from Veþorm Arneid, earl Asbeorn's daughter, whom Holmfast, the son of Veþorm, had taken captive)—þá es þeir Grímr systor-son Veþorms, drápo Asbiörn iarl í Suðreyjom:—"What time Grim We-thorm's sister's son slew earl Os-beorn in the Southreys"; instead of: When Holmfast and Grim, etc., "þeir," they, implying both cousins.

P. 176₁₆. Enn es kaupet var orðet—"but when the bargain had been made"—is left out.

P. 177₅. Brynjolfr . . . nam land fyr ofan fiall: Fliótzdal allan fyr ofan Hengifors-á, fyr vestan; en fyr ofan Gils-á fyr austan; . . . ok svá Völlona út til Eyvindar-ár:—"Bryne-wolf . . . took in settlement land *down from* the Fell, all Fleet-dale *down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down from* Gil's-water on the east; . . . and also the *field* or *plain* to Ey-wind's river"; instead of: and took in settlement land *above* the Mountain (a standing term for the range of mountains which divides the Fleet-dale-district from the neighbouring East-firths), all Fleet-dale *above* Hang-force-water on the western side, and *above* Gil's-water on the east side and also the *Fields* out (=east) to Ey-wind's-water.

In the preceding chapter it was plainly stated, as the paragraph on 176₃₋₆ shows, that Cetil's land reached down along the west bank of Lake-fleet from Hang-force-river to Worm's-river, and that his brother's reached down, along the east bank, from Gill-river to Fields'-ness. How then could the translator come upon the idea that Bryniolf's land-take stretched "*down from* Hang-force-water on the west, and *down from* Gil's-water on the east," and thus covered the very settlements of Cetil and Atle? This becomes all the more incredible, when it is

borne in mind that “fyrir ofan” never can mean anything but *above*.

P. 177₁₆. fyr ofan Gils-á :—“*down from*” ; instead of : *above*.

P. 178₁₅. Hans (*i.e.*, Hrafnkels) son was Asbiörn, faðer Helga ; ok Thorer (nom.), faðer Hrafnkels :—“ His son was As-beorn, the father of Helge and of Thore ” (gen.), etc. ; instead of : His sons were As-beorn father of Helge, and Thore, etc. The translation makes Thore son of his brother Asbeorn, instead of of Hrafnkel (“ Raven-kell ”).

P. 180₃. þeir Hróarr, not : “ Hrod-gar’s folk,” but : he (*i.e.*, Tiorve) and Hrod-gar (his uncle, cf. 179₂₀).

P. 181₁₀₋₁₁. En þeir fóst-bræðr tóko Austfirðo (acc. pl.) :—“ And the sworn-brethren made East-*frith* (sing.) ; a bay of this name is unknown. But Austfirðir—East-friths—is a standing collective term for the indented littoral of eastern Iceland from Lodmund-frith in the north to Swan-frith in the south. “ Tóko Austfirðo ” therefore = made the East-friths.

P. 181₁₅. en es hann hafðe lítla hríð leget :—“ and when he had *been* a little while ” ; instead of : and when he had laid down a little while.

P. 181₁₉. Ingolfs-höfða, Editor’s mistake ; silently corrected into Heor-laf’s-head (Hiörleifs-höfða) in the translation.

P. 182₈. austr fyr Sólheima :—“ east *upon* Sun-ham ” ; instead of : east *beyond* Sun-ham.

P. 184₆. Þórhaddr enn Gamle vas hof-goðe í Thróndheime inn á Mærine :—“ Thor-heard the Old was Temple-gode in Throwend-ham *inside on* the More ” ; instead of : in “ Throwend-ham ” *up at* More. The translation gives to understand that “ More ” was a district ; but Mærin was the name of the most ancient temple in “ Throwend-ham,” up at the head of the bay.

P. 184₁₆₋₁₇. fyr neðan Tinnodals-á ok út til Orms-ár :—“ *north of Tínder-dale-water and out to Worm’s-river* ” ; instead of : *down below (i.e., east of) Flint-dale-water and out (= east) to Worm’s-river. North of Flint-dale*

water there is nothing but a barren mountain of no extent.

P. 185₄₋₅. ok nam þar alla ena nærðre strönd Bero-fiarðar :—“and there took in settlement all the *nether* strand of Bear-frith”; instead of: the *northern*-(most) strand . . .

P. 185₅₋₆ ok fyr sunnan um Búlanz-nes, ok inn til Rauða-skriðna öðrom megin; ok bió þriá vettr þar es nú heiter Skále :—“and on the south over By-land’s-ness and on to Red-slip on the other side, and there he dwelt three winters at the place now called Hall”; instead of: and on the south side (of Bear-frith he took all the coast) round Byland’s-ness and up to Red-screes on the other side; and he dwelt for three winters at the place now called Hall (Skale). This homestead is still in existence on the *northern* shore of Bear-frith, and not, as the translation indicates, on the south of Bylands-ness in the neighbourhood of Red-slip.

P. 185₉. Biorn . . . nam Alfta-fiörð enn nærðra :—“Biorn . . . took in settlement *Nether* Elfets-frith”; instead of: *Northernmost* “Elfet’s”-frith.

P. 188₁₇. hafðe með ser kono sína ok sono :—“and son” instead of: *sons*.

P. 188₂₀. á Nesiom :—“at the Ness”; instead of: in the Nesses, cf. note to 23₂₀.

P. 188_{16, 22}. Hrollaugr . . . fór austr þannog :—“Hrod-laug . . . went to the coast to where they were”; instead of: H. went east thither (*i.e.*, to Horn-frith, in the extreme east of the country from “Lear-voe” in the extreme S.W.).

P. 189₁₋₂. ok nam land austan frá Horne til Kví-ár :—“and took land . . . east of Cape-Horn to Fold-river”; instead of: from Cape Horn in the east south to Fold-river.

P. 190₁₋₂. Auðunn . . . keypte land . . . útan frá Hömrom (dat. pl.) ok út öðrom megin til Við-borz :—“Ead-wine . . . bought land . . . out from Hammer and on the other side to Wood-ford”; instead of: “Ead-wine” . . . bought land up from Hammers and

round (the head of the bay) out to "Wood"- (or Wind-) board on the other side.

P. 190₆. Skála-fell :—"Horn-fell"; misprint for Hall-fell (?)

P. 190₅₋₆. Heina-bergs-ám :—"Hoan-rock-river," but seven lines further: "Horn-quarry-river"; "Hoan" and "Horn" apparently mistakes for Hone. Hone-stone-rivers is a close translation of the name.

P. 191₅. undan Tofta-felle :—"under Toft-fell"; instead of: *away from under* Toft-fell.

P. 192₁₇. Ketill enn Fíflske :—"Cetil the Fool," but 235₈: "Beguiler."

P. 193₁₄. land *read* lönd.

P. 194₁₃. leifðe þeim eige þar vist :—"would not let *him*" instead of "*them*" have quarters there.

P. 195₃₋₄. tíngaðesk :—"throve"; instead of: *bred*.

P. 197₁₇. meiddesk sialfr í viðom (dat. pl.) :—"was himself maimed by the mast"; instead of: in (amidst) the timber (on board), or the timbers of the broken ship; "by the mast" is an impossible rendering of "í viðom."

P. 198₁₈. Eyvindr enn Eyverske :—"Ey-wend the Ey-wersh [Island-dweller]"; instead of: "Ey-wend" *the Orkney-man, or of Orkney*.

P. 200₁₅. þar bió faðer hans, left out in the translation.

P. 200₁₈. Þrase vas son Þórolfs :—"Thrase was the son of Thor-wolf Horn-breaker"; this by-name does not belong to Thor-wolf but to his father "Heriolfr," cf. 200₁₁.

P. 201₁₋₃. Skógom (dat. pl. of Skógar) :—"Shaw"; instead of: Shaws, three times.

P. 202₈. sende Haralldr konungr menn til hans :—"King Harold sent *a man* . . ."; instead of: . . . *men* . . .

P. 202₁₅. Þórgerðr :—"Thor-borg" wrongly.

P. 203₁₀₋₁₁. Eyja-sandr :—"Ey-sands," the name is used only in sing.

P. 203₂₀. Eldo-eið :—"Ellide's tarbet" is an acknowledged false etymology.

P. 203₂₁. fór svá norðr í Álost á Sandnes :—"went north to Alost in Sandness"; instead of: went north to

Sandness in Alost; Sandness being Thorolf's homestead in the island of Alost.

P. 204₈. from "miðle, after lönd," to "miðle, after land" (l. 10) all is left out in the translation.

P. 204₁₀₋₁₁. Allt fyr norðan Reyðar-vötn :—"right up to *Reyd-mere*" (Reyðr otherwise generally translated Trout-); instead of: all to the north of *Trout-meres*.

P. 204₁₄₋₁₇. Hængr hafðe ok under sér lönd öll fyr austan Rang-á ena eystre, Vaz-fell til lækjar þess es fellr fyr útan Breiðabólstað, ok fyr ofan Þver-á, allt nema Dufþax-holt ok Mýrena :—"Salmon" (*i.e.*, "Cetil Hong [Salmon]," p. 203 tr. 4, 1) "had also under him all the land to the east of East Rang-river *and* Mere-fell to the beck that runs outside the Broad-bowster and above Thwart-water, all save Duf-thac's-holt and the Mere"; instead of: Salmon had also under him all lands to the east of East Rang-river: Waterfell, to wit, unto the beck that flows on the west side of "Boad-bowsterr," and above Thwart-water all (land) save "Duf-thac's"-holt and the Mere.

P. 206₃. föðor-systor :—"foster-sister"; instead of: father's sister.

P. 207₅. Biór einn lá ónumenn fyr austan Fliót, miðle Cross-ár ok Ioldo-steins :—"a gore of land lay between Cross-river and Marc-rock"; instead of: a gore of land lay *unsettled east of (Marc-)Fleet*, between Cross-river and *Mare's-rock*.

P. 208₆. fóro útan :—not: "went *forth*," but: went *from the west*.

P. 208₁₀₋₁₂. Um víg þesse urðo Baugs syner seker aller or Hlíðenne; fór Gunnar í Gunnars-holt; en Eyvindr under Fiöll austr í Eyvindar-hóla; en Sniall-Steinn út í Sniallz-höfða :—"For *this slaughter* the sons of Beag were made outlaws *all over* the Lithe. Gunn-here went to Gunn-here's-holt, and Ey-wend-*under-Fell* eastward to Eywend's-hill, and Stan went to Snell's-head"; instead of: for *these manslaughters* the sons of Baug were outlawed *all of them* from the Lithe; "Gunn-here" went into

residence at (í) “Gunn-here’s”-holt, but “Ey-wend” went east under the Fells (*i.e.*, Ey-fells, Eyjaföll) into residence at (í) “Ey-wend’s”-hills; but Snell-stan went into residence *west* (út) at Snell’s-head. No “Ey-wend-” under-Fell is known to have existed.

P. 208₁₉₋₂₀. þeir vóro báðer afreks-menn um afl ok vænleik:—“they were both men *of valour*, strong and *determined*”; instead of: they were both *peerless* men for strength and *goodliness*.

P. 210₃. þann (acc. sing.) *read* þeim (dat. plur.).

P. 210₄. þá bað Mörðr til handa Eilífe Þórkötlo Ketil-biarnar-dóttor . . . en til handa Sigmunde bað hann (Mörðr) Arngunnar:—“Then Mord asked for Thor-katla, Cetil-beorn’s daughter, on behalf of Eilif . . . But as for Sigmund, he *took to wife* Arn-gund”; instead of: but on behalf of Sigmund he (Mord) asked for Arngunn.

P. 211₇. Odda enn lítla:—“Little-point”; but l. 10 Oddi is translated Ord; elsewhere “Ord or Edge,” Oddi never meaning Edge.

P. 212₁₇. Þórsteinn lét reka (*read telja*) sauð sínn or rétt tottogo hundrað; en þá hlióp alle (*read alla*) réttana þaðan af:—“Thorstan *was wont to tell over* his sheep, *driving them out of the fold* twenty hundred, and then *they stopped counting* for the sheep took to leaping the wall”; instead of: Thorstein had his sheep counted out of a fold up to twenty hundreds, but thereon all the sheep in the fold rushed out.—“Reka” of the text depends on no MS. authority; a footnote by the Editor states that “telja” is the reading of S., leaving it to be inferred that “reka” is the reading of Cd. (Hawk’s book), but both MSS. agree in this passage word for word.

P. 213₁. rak sauðenn allan út í forsenn:—“all the sheep rushed down into the Water-fall”; instead of: all the sheep were driven (by magic) into the force.

P. 213₁₀. en hann galt eige; því at hann hafðe sent konunge lítlo áðr hest, etc.:—“but he would not pay, *though* he had sent the king a little before a horse,” etc.; instead of: . . . *because* he had sent, etc.

P. 214₁₂. Þorunnar-halsar, not : Thor-wen's-neck, but : Thor-wen's-necks.

P. 214₂₂₋₂₃. svá at þat hefer enge fundet síðan :—" so that *nought of it* hath *ever* been found " ; instead of : so that *no one* has found it *since*.

P. 215₁. Þórsteinn átte fyrr Þóríðe Gunnar's dóttor, Hámundarsonar :—" Thor-stan had to wife first Thor-rid Gun-here's daughter, the son of Ha-mund " ; instead of : . . . Thor-rid daughter of " Gun-here " the son of Ha-mund.

P. 215₆. strander *read* Strander.

P. 215₁₆. Flose átte Goðrúno, Þóris-dóttor, Skegg-Brodda sonar :—" Floce (by misprint) had to wife Gudrun, Thore's-daughter. the son of Beard-Brord " ; instead of : . . . Gudrun daughter of Thore the son of Beard-" Brord."

P. 216₁. Rangár-völlo alla ena ýtre :—" Outer Rang-river-wold " ; for : the whole of West Rang-river-*wolds*.

P. 216₁₇. Þíorsár-holta (gen. pl.) :—" of Steers-river-holt," for : *holts*.

P. 217₁₋₂. Hann vas faðer Íorunnar, móðor Goðrúnar, móðor Einars, föðor Magnús byscols :—" He was the father of Ior-wen, the mother of Gudrun, the mother of Einar, the *mother* of bishop Magnus " ; instead of : . . . *father* of bp Magnus !

P. 217₁₇. fyr útan Rauða-læk :—" *from outside* Red-beck " ; instead of : *westward from* Red-beck.

P. 217₂₁. Asgautr :—" Os-gar," which otherwise represents Asgeirr, and must be a mistake for As-geat.

P. 218₄₋₅. Hann átte Þórunne Eyversko :—" He had to wife Thor-wen the Island-dweller " ; instead of : . . . " Thor-wen " *of Orkney*.

P. 218₇. þaðan (*i.e.*, from " Háfe ") hafðe Hialte, mágr hans, reiðskióta til alþingis :—" Thence did Sholto, his *son-in-law*, get mounts to go to the All-moot " ; instead of : from thence Hialti, his (*i.e.*, Þorwald of Ridge's) *brother-in-law*, got mounts to go to the Althing. Hialte was *son-in-law* of Gizur the White, whose daughter, Vilborg, was his wife. But Thor-wald of the Ridge, son

of Skeggi of Haf, was married to Koltorfa, Hialte's sister.¹

P. 218₁₄. nam land fyr útan Þíors-á :—"took land . . . beyond Steer's-river"; instead of: *west* of Steers-river. "Beyond" conveys no topographical sense here.

P. 218₁₈. Sumer *read* sumar.

P. 219₃. Vemundr enn Gamle . . . mágr Biarnar Buno :—"the *kinsman-in-law* of Beorn Buna"; this vagueness was not called for here, since in p. 25₄ it had been clearly stated that Beorn had to wife Velaug, the sister of Vemund, whose *brother-in-law*, therefore, he was.

P. 219₁₁. Alviðra :—"All-water"; an unexpected rendering, seeing that the name had already been appropriately translated All-weather, p. 105₂, 109₄—"water" is out of the question.

P. 219₁₉₋₂₀. Ketill Hello-flage :—"Cetil *Cave-flag*"; instead of: *Slate- or Slab-flaker*. We have here again a case of "hello," gen. sing. of "hella," a slab, being mistaken for "hellis," gen. sing. of "hellir," a cave!

P. 220₅. mægðesk við Hákon iarl Griótgarz son :—"was become kinsman-at-law to earl Hacon Gritgardsson"; Harald married Asa, daughter of Earl Hakon; therefore the translation should run: had become *son-in-law* to, etc.

P. 220₈₋₉. Þeir fundusk á Fiolom í Stafa-ness-váge :—"They met *at Fiola in Staff-ness-voe*"; instead of: they met *in Staff-ness-voe* in (*the folkland of*) *Fialer*. The translator evidently thought that Fiola was some place (island presumably) within the bay of Staff-ness; but it is the same folk-land which he calls Fiolom 19₃, 55₁₂, and Fiala-folk 218₂₁.

P. 220₁₉. Holtom, dat. pl. :—"Holt"; for *Holts*.

P. 220₂₁. Stiornu-steinom :—"Stern-stone"; for *Stern-stones*. But it seems odd to render stiornu, gen. sing. of stiarná, a star, by *Stern*; and the alternative rendering: "or Anchor-rock," makes stiornu a gen. of stióri, an anchor, which does not mend matters.

P. 221₃. Atle vas faðer Þórðar Dofna, föðor Þorgils Errobeins-stiúps :—"Atle was the father of Thord Domne,

¹ Cf. Kristnisaga, Biskupasögur I. 21.

the father of Thorgils, Scarleg's *step-father* "; instead of: the father of Thorgils *the stepson* of Scarleg. Only three pages further on the story is clearly told: Thord the father of Thorgils had for wife Thorunn daughter of Asgeir. Thord was lost at sea. A year later *Thorgrim Scarleg* comes to live with his widow, Thorunn, and ultimately marries her and becomes her son's *stepfather* (Orig. I. p. 223₉-224₂).

P. 221₇. Olvér hafðe land-nám allt fyr útan Gríms-á:—"Alwe took in settlement all along *out to* Grims-water "; instead of: "Alwe" had all the settlement west of Grim's-water. "Fyr útan" can never mean "out to."

P. 221₁₇₋₁₈. hans son var Tyrfingr, faðer Þóríðar, móðor Tyrfings, föður Þórbiarnar prestz, ok Hámundar p(restz) í Goð-dölom:—"His son was Tyr-fing, the father of Thor-rid, the mother of Tyrfing, the father of Thor-beorn the priest of God-dales "; instead of: . . . the father of priest Thor-beorn, *and of priest Hamund* of God-dales.

P. 222₁₀. Sigurðr Hrise:—"Sig-rod Bastard," but 299₂₁: "Sig-rod Wise."

P. 222₁₁. Þíors-á:—"Sker's-river" for: *Steer's-river*.

P. 222₂₀₋₂₁. (Context: Erne of Weal's-garth (?) summons Bod-were for sheep-stealing. Bod-were handsells all his goods to Atle, son of Ha-stan)—en hann (*i.e.*, Atle) únýtte mál fyrer Erne:—"but he got the case squashed *by* (*Corrigenda*: against) Erne "; instead of: but he brought the action of Erne to nought.

P. 223₁₀₋₁₁. Hann reið heim um nótt, ok vas í blárre kápo:—um nótt, by night, omitted from the translation.

P. 224₄. Sand-lækr:—"Sheep-brook "; but 225₁₃ the same stream is rightly called Sand-brook.

P. 224₇. Thorer Dríva:—"Thore Dufa," probably misprint.

P. 225₁₈₋₁₉. þvi vas hann Barna-karl kallaðr, omitted.

P. 226₉₋₁₀. móðer Þóroddz Goða, föður Skafta:—" . . . father of *Long-shaft*." This is the same famous Speaker-at-law who otherwise figures in the translation under these sundry aliases: Skafte or Shafto 182₂₁, 217₁₅,

Skapte 232²⁰, Scapte or Shafto 299⁵; he is never called by any name that suggests Long-shaft. It really looks as if “*langa-spiót*” or “*löngum-spaða*,” from the family of the Earls of Normandy, had wandered here by some inadvertence into the translation.

P. 227²⁰⁻²¹. (þeir) námo enn æfra hlut Hruna-manna-hrepps, sjón-hending or Múla í Ingiallz-gnúp, fyr ofan Gyldar-haga:—“by taking the upper part of the Rape o’ the men of Rune straightforward [*i.e.*, as the crow flies] from *Mull in Ingiald’s-peak down over* Gyldes-hay”; instead of: by taking the upper part of the Rape of the men of Rune according to a straight line from the Mull (mentioned a few lines above) unto Ingiald’s-peak *above* Gyld-Pasture. Fyr ofan can never mean “down over” any more than it can mean “down below.” Clearly the line indicated, the sjón-hending, “glance-throw,” passed from the Mull east to Ingiald’s-Peak by the *north* of Gyld-Pasture.

P. 228⁷. Hann (Ketilbiorn) kom í Elliða-ár-ós fyr neðan Heiðe:—“He put into the mouth of Ellide’s-river, *north* of Heath [Blue-Shaw-heath].” The correctness of this parenthetical explanation is more than doubtful. The paragraph from which our quotation is drawn has found its way into the Sturlunga Saga, I. 203, in a somewhat dislocated form; making no mention of Ketilbiorn’s place of landing or of its relation to the heath, but averring that he stayed with Thord Skeggi, his father-in-law, the first winter in Iceland “*below Blue-Shaws’-heath*” (Bláskóga heiðe). This italicized statement proves itself by its vagueness to be an interpolation by one who did not know the dwelling-place of Thord. The interpolator read, namely in Hawk’s book, that Ketilbiorn went the next spring up over the Heath in search of land and erected a temporary shed at Hall-brink in *Blue-Shaws*,¹ and, ignorant of the localities, jumped to the conclusion that the Heath that Ketilbiorn had crossed to reach Blue-Shaws must have been Blue-Shaws’-heath. Sturla

¹ Sturla’s “Landnáma” makes no mention of Blue-Shaws.

Thordson could not be the author of the statement, for he knew well enough where Thord dwelt and where Ketilbiorn stayed the first winter, namely, as he states in his “Landnáma,” at *Skeggi’s-stead* on the southern bank of Loam-voe’s-river within the parish of Mosfell the Southmost, in the immediate proximity of *Mosfells-heath*, which indeed is “the Heath” in question here. But Blue-Shaw-heath was the upland wilderness north of the basin of the lake of Thing-vellir, dividing Borgfrith from the South-Country, a long distance to NE. from Thord Skeggi’s residence. Any locality situated “north” of Blue-Shaws’-heath must be in a howling wilderness of lavas and scoriac sands.—Some authors have been inclined, on the authority of the Sturlunga passage, to suppose that Moss-fell’s-heath was called Blue-Shaws’-heath of old. The transparent spuriousness of the interpolated words deprive that passage of all credit.

P. 228₁₁. kómo þeir at á þeirre es þeir kolloðo Æxar-á :—“they came to *a river*, which they called *the river* Axe-water”; instead of: they came to *the* river which they called Axe-water.

P. 229₉₋₁₀. þá ok hann silfret upp á fiallet, á tveimr yxnom, ok Hake þræll hans, ok Bót ambótt :—“then he drove the silver up on the fell behind *or* on two oxen, and Hake his thrall, and Bot his bond-woman”; instead of: then he and Hake his thrall and Bot his bond-woman carted the silver on two oxen up on to the mountain.

P. 232₁₇. fyr útan Varm-á :—“*outside* Warm-river”; instead of: *west* of Warm-river.

P. 233₅. Súgande :—“Stigande,” wrongly.

P. 235₅. Graut-Atle ok Ketell Þiðranda syner :— . . . “son,” for sons, cf. p. 176₃.

P. 235₁₀. Höfða-Þórðr :—“Thord o’ the Heads”; but Thord of Head 84₁, Thord o’ Head 129₁₃, 134₅, 135₁, 141₁, 144₁₀.

“LIBELLUS ISLANDORUM.”

P. 287₃₋₄. En með því at þeim lícaðe svá at hava eða þar viðr auca, þá skrifaða-ec þessa of et sama far . . . :—
 “And with as much of it as they wished to have thus or to add thereto. I have written also this one of the same. . . .” Instead of: But according as it pleased them to let the matter stand as it was, or to add thereto, I wrote this (book) on the same course of events (far).

P. 288₁₂. Hann bygðe suðr í Reykjar-víc,—þar es Ingolfs-höfðe callaðr, fyr austan Minþacs-eyre, sem hann com fyrst á land :—“He settled south in Reek-wick, *at a place* called Ing-wolf’s head, east from Min-thac’s Eyre, where he first came to land”; instead of: He settled south in Reek-wic. It is called Ingolf’s-head there, east of Minthaks Eyre, where he first came to land. Ingolf’s-head on the east coast of Iceland is separated from Reykjavík by a distance of more than 200 miles. This mistake would certainly have been obviated if in the text the punctuation of the MSS. had been observed, which put a full stop after “Raikiar vic,” and in which all editions of “Libellus” agree.

P. 292₂₁. Helga (woman) :—“Helge” (man); the same mistake we have met with elsewhere.

P. 292₂₂. En þeir vóro sötter á þinge því es vas í Borgar-firðe í þeim stað es síðan es callat Þing-nes :—
 “*And the suit was taken* at the Moot that was in Borg-frith, in the place that was afterwards called Thing-ness”; instead of: But *they* (Thorvald Tongue-Odd’s son and Hen-Thore) *were prosecuted*, etc.

P. 295₃. Þíórs-á :—“Thurs-water”; otherwise Steer’s- and Sker’s-water !

P. 295₄. Þíórs-ár-dalr :—“Thurs-water-Dale”; otherwise Steer-water-, Steer’s-river-, and Thior’s-water-dale.

P. 295₄. Gizorr enn Hvíte Teitz son, Ketilbiarnar sonar :—“Gizor the White, the son of Tait, the son of Cetil-beorn’s son”; instead of: . . . the son of Cetil-beorn.

P. 295₁₂. oc ætlaðe at láta meiða eða drepa ossa landa fyrer (*read* fyrer,) þá es þar vóro austr:—"and was about to have those of our land *murdered* or slain who were then in the east"; instead of: and intended to have maimed or slain *therefor*¹ those of our countrymen who were east there.—Not for a moment could Are impute to the King the intention of committing *murder*; besides, "meiða" never means to murder.

P. 300_{1,5}. nýtr, not: "accomplished," but: profitable.

P. 300₅₋₆. Ísleifr átte iii sono; þeir urðo aller höfðingjar nýter: Gizorr byscop; oc Teitr prestr, father Hallz; oc Þórvalldr:—"Is-laf had three sons . . . : Gizor the bishop, and Tait the priest, the father of Hall and Thor-wald"; a comma or semi-colon after Hall is necessary to remove ambiguity, as Thor-wald was not the son of Tait, as the translation has it, but of Isleif.

P. 302₄₋₇. vas þat í lög leitt, at aller menn . . . tölðo oc v'rðo allt fé sitt, oc sóro at rétt virt vøre, . . . oc goerðo tíund af síðan:—"it was made law that all men . . . *should count* and *value* all their wealth, and swear what the true worth was . . . and then give tithes thereof"; instead of: it was made law that all men . . . made a statement and valuation of all their wealth and swore that the appraisement was right . . . and then fixed a tithe thereof. The statement deals with the historical effect of the law, not the purpose of the legislators.

P. 302₉₋₁₀. at fè allt vas virt með svar-dögom, þat es á Íslande vas; oc landet sialft; oc tiunder af goervar:—"that all wealth should be valued under oath that was then in Iceland and tithes given of it"; instead of: that all wealth then in Iceland was valued under oath, *and even the land itself*; and tithes were assessed thereon.

P. 303₈. at lög or skyllde scrifa á bók at Hafliða Móssonar:—"that our law should be written in a book *by* Haf-lidi Marson"; instead of: . . . at the house of Hafliði Marson.

¹ That is for the treatment Thangbrand, according to his own report, had been the object of in Iceland.

P. 303₉. at sögo oc umbráðe þeirra Bergþórs:—“according to the *speech* and counsel of Bergthor”; instead of: according to the *inditement* and *arrangement* of Bergthor and his associates.

P. 303₁₀. Scylldo þeir goerva nýmæle þau öll í lögom, es þeim litesc þau betre an en forno lög:—“they were to make all the *novellae in the land*, which they should deem better than the old laws”; instead of: they were to make all *such amendments to the laws*, as seemed to them better than the old laws.

P. 303₁₂₋₁₃. ok þau öll (skyllde) halda es enn meiri hlutr manna mælte þá eige gegn:—“and keep all those which the greater part of men said nought against”; instead of: and all such *should be holden to* as the more part of men *should not* oppose *then*.

P. 303₁₃₋₁₄. en þat varð at fram fara:—“And it came to pass” (that the manslaughter section was then written). The “Editor” deals with “fram fara” as a verb, as one word (framfara), meaning the same thing as the phrase “at fara fram,” to proceed, pass. No such verb, however, as framfara is on record. And against its being a verb here is the pret. “varð” = must needs, indicating that the writing down of the law “came to pass” in spite of all opposition. But no such opposition existed. There can be no doubt that here we have to deal with a noun. The old vellum read: “framfara,” as is evident from the fact that the word is so written in both the copies taken of it by Jón Ellindsson. “Framfara” must be dat. sing. of framfari (formed in strict analogy with misfari), *progress*. The meaning of the quotation therefore is: And such (þat) progress resulted (varð) or: And it resulted in such a progress that (so and so much was written of the law).

P. 303₁₉. at biðja skyllde Þórlac Rúnolfs son, Þórleics sonar . . . at hann skyllde láta vígjasc til byscops:—“that they should ask Thorlac, Run-wolf’s son, the son of Thorlac,”¹ etc.; who, then, was “son of Thorlak” according to the translation?

P. 304¹⁻². Ok fór hann útan þat sumar; en com út et næsta epter. ok vas þá vígðr til byscops:—And he [Thor-lac] went abroad that summer, and came out the next after and was then hallowed bishop”; instead of: and was then a hallowed bishop; “var vígðr” with a pluperfect sense: was already = had been consecrated bishop.

P. 304⁷. þá vas Ioan Ogmundar son vígðr til byscops fyrstr til stóls at Hólom:—“then John, Ogmund’s son, was hallowed bishop first to the sea of Holar”; instead of: was hallowed *the first* bishop to the see of Holar.

P. 304⁸⁻¹⁰. En xii vetrom síðarr, þá es Gizorr hafðe allz vereð byscop xxxvj vetra, þá vas Þórlácr vígðr:—“But twelve winters *after Gizor had been made bishop*, in all six-and-thirty winters, then Thor-lac was hallowed . . .”; instead of: But twelve winters later, whenas Gizor had been bishop for altogether six-and-thirty winters, Thor-lac was hallowed.—In the lines immediately preceding this quotation Ari says, that Bp John was consecrated, when Gizor had been Bp for xxiiij years, but xii winters later, when Gizor had been bishop (xxiiij + xii =) thirty-six years, Thorlac was consecrated. This happened, not as the translation says twelve years after Gizor’s, but twelve years after John of Holar’s consecration.

P. 304¹¹. Þá vas Þórlácr ii vetrom meir an xxx:—“Thor-lac was *there* (*i.e.*, at Skalaholt presumably) two winters more than thirty”; instead of: Thorlac was *then* (at the time of his consecration) thirty-two years of age. But his episcopal sojourn at Skalaholt extended only to fifteen years.

¹ The translation gives Thorlac for both the names Þórlákr and Þórleikr, with the sole exception of the latter being rendered Thor-laic p. 98¹².

REVIEWS.

THE SAGA LIBRARY. Done into English out of the Icelandic by WILLIAM MORRIS and EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON. 6 Vols. London: Bernard Quaritch. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE appearance of the sixth volume of the Saga Library gives the opportunity for a brief notice as a whole of this great undertaking, now, alas! never likely to be completed. Among the works originally promised were translations of the two Eddas and of various important Sagas, besides re-issues of the Volsunga Saga, Grettir's Saga, and the three short Sagas published under the title of "Three Northern Love Stories." We appeal to Mr. Magnússon and Mr. Quaritch to include at least these latter in the series under review. It is surely owing to the memory of William Morris that the great work he projected should include all the Sagas which he himself helped to translate, and these works have been long out of print.

Although the performance falls short of the promise, yet a goodly tale of work remains, for which lovers of the Sagas may well be thankful. The six published volumes contain, first, three short Sagas of varying types, the stories of Howard the Halt, of the Banded Men, and of Hen Thorir; second, "Eyrbyggja," one of the greater Sagas, and "Heiðarviga Saga," which is one of the oldest and of great interest, though unhappily incomplete; thirdly, running through the last four of the published volumes, the great historical work known as "Heimskringla," which has long won a recognized place among the world's great histories. This is now for the first time Englished directly from the original Icelandic, the version by Samuel Laing, for which many of us have had cause to be devoutly thankful, being rendered from a version in modern Norwegian. When to these translations are added prefaces dealing fully with the history and geography of the Icelandic Sagas, notes, lists and explanations of kennings, genealogies, indexes, etc., some idea of the value of the work to scholars and students may be gleaned.

First and foremost, however, stands the translation itself, and, as the style of the Saga Library has provoked much criticism, not altogether without reason, owing to William Morris's love of archaic English, it is only fair to quote what Mr. Magnússon in the preface to the latest volume has to say in defence:—

As to the *style* of Morris little need be said except this, that it is a strange misunderstanding to describe all terms in his translations which are not familiar to the reading public as "pseudo-Middle-English." Anyone in a position to collate the Icelandic text with the translation will see at a glance that in the overwhelming majority of cases these terms are literal translations of the Icelandic originals. . . . It is a strange piece of impertinence to hint at "*pseudo-Middle-English*" scholarship in a man who, in a sense, might be said to be a living edition of all that was best in M.E. literature. The question is simply this: Is it worth while to carry closeness of translation to this length, albeit that it is an interesting and amusing experiment? That is a matter of taste; therefore not of dispute.

Probably everyone who has read and tried to render any portions of the Sagas into English will have felt the fascination alluded to by Mr. Magnússon, and will have been tempted to use the archaic words and phrases that come so closely to the words and idioms of the original Icelandic. Yet it can hardly be denied that it is this feature in these translations which has stood in the way of their popularity, and has given fresh currency to the ignorant idea that Sagas are something strange and weird, in which the average reader would find it impossible to interest himself. Morris's own opinion, quoted in this preface, "that the realism of the Icelandic Sagas would secure for them a perennial popularity in England," would, we believe, prove correct, if once they were put before the reader in a suitable form. In spite of this feature in the translations, and often indeed because of it, they are astonishingly forceful, and, beside them, Laing's version, which is free from archaic oddities, but labours under the disadvantage of being a translation from a translation, seems flat and tame. About all the work of Morris and Magnússon, moreover, there is a literary air which distinguishes it favourably from such versions of Sagas as those contained in the "*Origines Islandicae*," while they have the great merit of dealing faithfully with their texts, and do not leave integral parts of the story, as it has come down to us, untranslated from a theory that these are later additions to, or expansion of, the material of which the Saga originally consisted.

The new volume of the Saga Library consists of the preface, introduction, indexes, etc., to the "*Heimskringla*." It is, however, far more interesting even to the general reader than would be supposed from a list of its contents. The preface, besides a very interesting description of the way in which the joint translators divided the work and of their aims and methods, contains a charming appreciation of William Morris by his friend and fellow-worker. A memoir of Snorri Sturlason, the author of "*Heimskringla*," follows, covering some seventy odd pages. This, to the best of our belief, is the only account of this great historian and his work, on anything like an adequate scale, which has appeared in English. It is divided into two sections, the first biographical, dealing with Snorri as the Chief, and giving a complete picture of his life and of the events in Iceland and Norway in which he played a part. The second deals with Snorri as Author. It includes some account of the writers who preceded him and to whom he was partly indebted for his material, as well as of his different works and the various manuscripts of "*Heimskringla*" and other historical Sagas connected with it on which we have to depend. Both sections are full of interest, and the second in particular will be of great value to students.

The indexes, of which there are three, are no mere lists of names and page references, but indicate also the subject matter of each reference. They practically form an analysis of the whole work, and will be invaluable to anyone who has to refer to it. The first deals with names of persons and peoples, the second with place-names, giving the modern name and locality, the third with the subject matter. With regard to this third index the author says in the preface:—

A register or a dictionary of terms illustrative of the culture of the life of the ancient Scandinavians (and Icelanders) has been for a long time a keenly-felt desideratum. This want, so far as the *Heimskringla* is concerned, ought now, approximately at least, to be supplied; for I trust that nothing of real importance has been overlooked, nor any item included of no importance at all.

This is no idle boast, as may be gathered from the fact that the notices relating to Dress and Weapons, which are grouped together, extend over ten pages, while those relating to the Ship and her equipment cover no less than thirty-three. We have, however, found one omission in the latter on a point where we sought enlightenment. Chapter 51 of the *Ynglinga Saga* tells how King Eystein, sitting in his ship, was swept overboard by "the sail-yard" of "another ship which was sailing anigh." Laing's version says "the boom of the other ship struck the king." There is no hint that the sail came down, so we fail to see how the king could have been hit by the yard; yet it seems unlikely that the square sail of the period could have been fitted with a boom. The subject-index has no reference to either sail-yard or boom, and we do not find any note which might throw light on the passage.

We have also discovered a misprint in the Index of Places, where Thelmark is described as an "island," instead of an *inland*, "folkland of Norway."

A few such slips are almost inevitable in a work of such labour. They cannot detract from the value of the work, which is a worthy complement of the volumes which have preceded it.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

VIKINGERNE, BILLEDER FRA VORE FORFÆDRES LIV. By ALEXANDER BUGGE. ANDEN SAMLING. *København og Kristiania.*

AGAIN Professor Bugge has contributed to the rapidly increasing literature on the Vikings of old, a valuable and highly enjoyable book. It is, perhaps, not quite as fresh as was the volume issued in 1904, but it is every whit as solid, though the topics dwelt on now are not always so fascinating. The subjects Professor Bugge deals with he groups under five headings. After an introductory essay, he comes to the first chapter of his work, the first Viking period in the North. The second chapter deals with the people of the Viking period contrasted with the people of the present time; their similarity to primitive people in general; their higher culture and differences from other primitive people. Chapter three sets forth the itinerant life, and life at Court in the North; and chapter four is occupied with Danes and Norsemen in England.

At starting, our author declares that if we are to come to a thorough understanding of the period which now goes under the name of "Viking-period," we must remember that it was preceded by an earlier period of a similar character, the "Migration-of-Nations" period, which, in round numbers, may be said to run from the middle of the third to the middle of the sixth century.

What in this chapter will arrest special attention is Professor Bugge's

account of the much-debated Eruli, and their relations to the Danes. Danes are first mentioned by Jordanes, who says that they drove the Eruli away from their homes. The primitive home of the Danes was, as students of history generally grant, the southern part of Sweden, now called Skåne (Skaane). From this tract the Danes invaded and made themselves masters of the island and continental territories which now go by the name of Denmark. Want of space prevents our following the Professor's long account of the extraordinary wild and shiftful war wanderings of the Eruli. He comes to the conclusion that they never were a tribal nationality, but a community of warriors from all northern lands. In that respect he attaches a special importance to two facts—first, that no hereditary, but only an elective chiefship obtained among them, and secondly, that, while all other tribes in Scandinavia have given names to the territories they occupied, not a single territorial name traces its origin to the Eruli, or its Scandinavian form Erilar. They were a military caste, not a tribe; hence the fact that Erilar is the primitive form of Jarl, a prince's military and administrative *locum tenens*, not a head of a tribe. Justly, as we think, Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that Halogaland (The Holy Land), in northernmost Norway, also was active in Viking-warfare at this early period, and was ruled by kings. Halogaland's early wealth and importance must have been due chiefly to its trade in fish.

From Primitive Man, the Viking of the later period retained many traditions, such as not cutting the hair until a deed of prowess conferred the privilege on the wearer. Various savage traits ascribed to Vikings are shown to be revivals of a primitive state of barbarism.¹ Of similar origin is the "Swine-array" of battle, the war-arrow call-to-arms, the devotion of enemies to perdition by the ceremonial throw of a spear over them, insulting altercation as a proem to battle, &c. From past ages superstitions follow the fighter in his bloody career: Valkyrias preside at the high court of battle over life and death, and decide the future state of the fallen; it is they, apparently, who have the power even to spell-bind the doomed by a sort, not of panic fear like the Celtic *geilt*, but of paralysing dismay; associated with the demonic powers of war are ravens, vultures, wolves, which infest the field of battle after the fray. What imagination this association could call forth is shown in Hornklofi's Ravensong, where the Valkyrja addresses the ravens:

What now, ye ravens,	Flesh clogs your talons,
Whence have ye drifted,	Your throat breathes of carrion;
With beaks that are gory	Nigh unto corpses
At break o' the morning?	Ye spent the night, surely?

Professor Bugge lays stress on the fact that, as compared with other primitive people, the Vikings, "in spite of all their barbarism and blood-thirstiness, are not savages; they have a capacity for civilisation." But why? One main cause, we think, was this, that when we get the first glimpse of Viking life in the North, society is already so far advanced

¹ It deserves to be noticed that *torture*, properly speaking, was foreign to Viking ways of doing and acting. We are inclined to father it in the main on Byzantine Christianity.

that the life at least of each free individual is *worth* something; but in that fact is embedded the primitive consciousness of right, and out of that consciousness civilisation flows. The test of a savage is not his conduct to enemies in war, but his manner, when in power, of dealing with his own kith and kin. The difference between the savage and the Viking may perhaps be summed up thus shortly: the former is a slave before God and prince, the latter free before both.

Journeys by sea and travels by land always tell a true tale of the civilisation of the regions they are confined to. "On Journey to the King's Court," is, therefore, a very well-chosen subject by Professor Bugge in illustration of that side of life during the Viking period, which may be labelled "public order." Sea voyages were dangerous on account of pirates infesting particularly the narrower seas. Even more dangerous to travellers than the sea was the land, especially out of the beaten tracks, where, through woods and wildernesses, roamed at large (on *skis* in winter) desperate characters in conflict with the law of the settled land. Only bridle-paths did the service, as a rule, of highways. The real highway for travellers was the sea, hence the site of royal residences of old was near the highway, seaward, not inland. These residences are briefly described, together with their environments, and their difference from West-European castles pointed out. Of buildings in a homestead, the *dyngja*, or women's bower, is specially, but very briefly mentioned. It is a building which is dying out in Norway when its history begins, as no *dyngja* seems to be mentioned there after 898; nor is it on record in Iceland, apparently, after 1024. It does not occur in the songs of the Edda and the *salkonur* of those poems can scarcely be put in connection with the *dyngja*, an underground abode, while the *salv* was an overground one. The last portion of this section is devoted to Harald Fairhair, and his court is shown as an exponent of the great conqueror's state and splendour, and as the intellectual circle of the whole nation.

On the section: "Danes and Norsemen in England" (Britain) we have no space left to say more than that Professor Bugge's study of the Domesday-book ought to be particularly interesting for English historians. Many of his ingenious interpretations he gives as mere guesses which, in the case of such a lapidary record they must necessarily be.

We are most thankful to Professor Bugge for this brilliant contribution to the history of the Vikings; too thankful in fact to care to put on record our dissent from him on various points. The book is a gallery of *pictures* (Billeder) from the life of the Vikings; critical dissertations on debatable points are therefore excluded by the plan of the work; and matters are taken for granted which do not quite answer that description.

The editorial work—owing, no doubt, to the fact that the proofs were read south in Copenhagen—is somewhat lax occasionally. Thus lines 13-14 on page 307 should stand as lines 1-2 on that page. P. 304²⁶ for *midderlig* read: *middelalderlig*. P. 309²²⁻²³ for *Lodbrokssonum* read: *Loðbrókarsonum*.

EIRÍKR MAGNÚSSON.

CAITHREIM CELLACHAIN CAISIL; The victorious career of Cellachan of Cashel, or the Wars between the Irishmen and the Norsemen in the middle of the 10th Century. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE, Professor in the University of Christiania, published for "Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond." *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 5s. net.*

ON THE FOMORIANS AND THE NORSEMAN, by DUALD MACFIRBIS. The original Irish Text, edited with translation and notes by ALEXANDER BUGGE. *Christiania: J. Chr. Gundersens Bogtrykkeri, 1905. Price 1s. 6d. net.*

It is with a certain sense of self-reproach that workers in the field of Irish learning receive from the hands of a Norwegian scholar two texts, now published for the first time from Irish manuscripts, which bear upon the history of the Norsemen in Ireland. Dr. Alexander Bugge has already done good service to the same cause by the publication of his articles in the *Historisk Tidsskrift*; and his recent publication in which, among other questions, he deals with the influence of the Celt on the Norseman,¹ shows that he is not confining his attention exclusively to the historical side of the problems offered by the interaction of the Celtic and Northern races, but is following in the footsteps of his father, Dr. Sophus Bugge, and extending his investigations to the solution of the literary questions that arise out of the historic connection between the two peoples.

The first of the two tracts before us treats of the resistance offered by a prince of Eastern Munster, Cellachan of Cashel, to the Danes of Limerick, Waterford, and Dublin. He lived in stirring times, for he was a contemporary of the famous Olaf Cuaran (Olav Kvaaran) or Olaf o' the Sandal, and if he came to the principedom of Cashel in 934, as Dr. Bugge thinks (he is first mentioned in the Irish annals in the year 936), he rose to local power just before the drawing off of the flower of the Norse troops from Ireland by Olaf Godfreyson, King of Dublin, and Olaf Cuaran, to contend for the Crown of Northumbria at the great battle of Brunanburgh (937) against Æthelstan of England. The power of the Danes must have been much shaken by the decisive defeat sustained at Brunanburgh, and though, in the words of the fierce pæan of victory preserved in the pages of the English Chronicle, "The Northmen departed, in their nailed barks, o'er the deep water, Dublin to seek," it was only a broken fragment of the fine army which returned to Ireland. A few years later (944) the Danes of Dublin were driven out of the city by a prince of Leinster, and the third period of their occupation ended in its total destruction by fire and the flight of the Danes to a neighbouring fort, and the expulsion of Blacaire, their prince and leader.

We do not agree with Dr. Bugge in considering that Sitric, who is mentioned in our Saga as harrying Waterford, and also as a principal chieftain of the Danes of Dublin, was actually King. The frequent

¹ "Vikingerne, Billeder fra vore Forfædres Liv." See Part I, page 251.

long absences of the two Olafs from Dublin on foreign expeditions would necessitate the placing of some person of position, probably a prince of one of the royal houses, as acting Lieutenant during their absence. We find Blacaire and Olaf Cuaran both apparently exercising authority on the return of Olaf to Dublin, and it is more natural and simple to suppose that Sitric and Blacaire were military leaders, holding enlarged powers when their princes were absent, than to imagine four reigning princes calling themselves at the same moment Kings of Dublin. This would fulfil all the requirements, and would explain why this Sitric is not mentioned in the Annals. Moreover, we learn from a Northern poem that Sitric was carried off as a hostage for the Danes of Dublin by the powerful King of the O'Neills, Murtough of the Leather Cloaks, whose exploits fill so large a place in the history of this period; and it is unlikely that a prince actually occupying the throne would have been given in hostage for his people. But it was common for a prince of the royal house to be detained in this way; usually the son or cousin of the King or Chief was kept as hostage, and we imagine this to have been the case in the present instance. It was only in the case of Cellachan himself that Murtough, having defeated him, would accept no other hostage, and the fact that he carried away a reigning prince of Munster in fetters to Donegal made a sensation at the time which formed the burthen of many poems.

The career of Cellachan of Cashel is not nearly so creditable or disinterested as is that of the Northern Prince, and we do not wonder at the deadly enmity which is reflected in this Saga as existing between them. It was Murtough who betrayed the coming of Cellachan's deliverers to the Norsemen of Armagh when the Munster prince was shut up there, and who endeavoured to obstruct their passage through his country. Cellachan, during the early years of his life, showed no hesitation in joining with the enemies of his country to gain his own ends; he is more occupied with devastating Meath and Connaught in conjunction with the Gaill than in driving them out of the country; and it is with a certain satisfaction that we see him carried a chained captive to Donegal in his early years, and later, bound to the mast-head of a Danish ship in the harbour of Dundalk. The Annals of Clonmacnois call him "that unruly King of Mounster that partaked with the Danes." Wholly unmindful of the great public events that were happening in his own and the sister countries, Cellachan pursued his own selfish and unworthy policy of self-aggrandizement, and but for the light thrown upon his career by the Saga which bears his name, he would probably have been forgotten by his country.

The piece bears all the ordinary marks of a Munster composition of the period. Its style is florid and it bears so close a resemblance in some passages to the "Wars of the Gael and Gall" that there has either been copying from the one to the other or both have adopted a current method of expression. The second piece before us "On the Fomorians and the Norseman" shows the same knowledge of a common original. This piece, written by the great Irish genealogist, Duald MacFirbis, who lived at the close of the 16th century, is an extract from his large work,

the Book of Pedigrees; it contains a brief summary of the history of the Norse descents, and the pedigrees of Irish families descended from them, with the pedigrees of the MacLeods and MacCables. Matters of interest in these tracts are the enumeration of the slain chieftains of Munster by the heads brought in from the battle, which closely resembles the old Scoto-Irish "Lay of the Heads"; the mention of the mail-clad Danes, as compared with the Irish troops who fought in their ordinary linen and woven garments, and of the disabilities under which the Irish laboured in consequence; the mention of the wife of the Coarb or Abbot-bishop of Cashel, showing the continuance of marriages among the Irish clergy of high rank up to the 10th century; and that of the famous Amazon, the "Red Maiden," in Tract 2, on which Dr. Bugge gives an interesting note. There are numerous passages which recall similar incidents in romantic tales and in Irish translations from the Classics; some of these Dr. Bugge has pointed out in his notes.

ELEANOR HULL.

BIDRAG TIL DET SIDSTE AFSNIT AF NORDBOERNES HISTORIE I IRLAND.

By ALEXANDER BUGGE. Reprint from *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1905.

THESE gleanings from the Public Record Office in Dublin deal with traces of the Northmen in Ireland after the English Conquest, and thus form the last link of the author's series of contributions to the history of the Northmen in Ireland. He is inclined to think that, while Dublin and Waterford were Norwegian colonies, Limerick and Cork were Danish, for the two principal Sagas of Munster only apply the names, Danair, Danmarcaigh, and Dark Gentiles, to the settlers of the two last-named towns. In the later centuries, especially after 1170, they were called Eastmen (Ostmanni), and as late as 1295 the spelling Oustmans shows that the Norse pronunciation of the initial diphthong was still kept up. They continued to have their own privileges, liberties and laws, and were considered to be the equals of Englishmen and free men in contradistinction to the Irish natives.

The messengers who urged King Hakon in 1263 to come and take Ireland, "for they held all the best places along the coast," must have been Ostmen.

Armand (ármaðr, ármann), the title of the ruling chieftain of Waterford, who was taken prisoner in 1170, throws a light on the new uses to which Norse terms were applied in Ireland.

The derivation of Wexford from Veisufjörðr, through a thirteenth century form, Wesefordia, is new.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

HEROES OF ICELAND. Adapted from Dasent's Translation of "The Story of Burnt Njal," the great Icelandic Saga. With a new preface, introduction and notes by ALLEN FRENCH. Illustrated by E. W. D. HAMILTON. *London: David Nutt. Price 5s.*

IT can hardly be denied that there was room for an abridgement of "Burnt Njal." However much we may love and prize Dasent's translation, one has to admit that the complexity of the story and the extraordinary number of persons who pass across its pages make it difficult to bear in mind all the details, or to keep the minor personages distinct, even when one has read it again and again. This must be still more a hindrance with those who are not naturally drawn to the glorious Northern literature and require to be convinced of its beauty and attractiveness, and to them Mr. French's work may be heartily commended. They will find it a very fair representation of the original, while the appreciation of the story in the preface and the introduction are quite sufficient for those who have not time or patience to study Dasent, or the masterly examination of Njala and other Sagas in Professor Ker's "Epic and Romance." The author states that in preparing the abridgement "clearness of meaning and continuity of narrative have been the sole aims," and "it is believed that the present edition contains everything of real interest, in a story without halt, or repetition, or irrelevancy." In re-casting the story on these lines it is inevitable that much of the flavour and charm of the original, which lies partly in the way the story is told, must evaporate, while ideas as to what is of real interest must needs differ greatly; but for the purpose he had in view the author has done his work not unskilfully, though the clash of weapons and slaying of men loom even larger in the abridgement than they do in the original. But boys, to whom the book should appeal, will not find that a fault and, if a few of them are led on to the study of the original and the kindred work of other Sagas, Mr. French will have earned his reward. The illustrations are well conceived, but the artist has little knowledge of the old life of the North and has not studied his text very closely, or he would not have represented Icelanders as fighting half-naked, or the scene of Gunnar's death as in an open valley, instead of in his hall. Possibly the former error, which greatly mars the effect of his drawings, is due to the mention in the Saga of "baresarks" and to an idea that this meant men who fought naked. The winged helmet (see Viking Notes, p. 412) of course appears in several of the pictures, but this is now so firmly established an attribute of the Viking of fiction, or the stage, that an artist can hardly be blamed for adopting it. It is unfortunate, however, that he has chosen to illustrate the words "Many men went over into Hauskuld's Thing" by a picture apparently meant to represent a "trek" from one place to another. The reference is of course merely to that of men transferring themselves from the jurisdiction of one "goði" to another. We must also call attention, as we have had occasion to do before, to a mistaken idea as to the right pronunciation of th in Icelandic. A note on the pronunciation of names says: "Th

has invariably the sound of T." This is true of modern Norwegian or Danish, but not of Icelandic, ancient or modern, where both sounds of th exist as we have them in English.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

FROM PALEOLITH TO MOTOR CAR; OR, HEACHAM TALES. By HARRY LOWERISON. Illustrated. *London: A. J. Whiten and the Clarion Newspaper Co., Ltd.*

THE author describes this book as the first attempt after the late Grant Allen's "Annals of Churnside" to localise English history. This he does in a series of fourteen stories whose scene is Heacham in North-West Norfolk at various dates from the Paleolithic Period to the present day. Local colour is of course very pronounced, and the physical changes which the district has undergone are described, the earliest tale dating back to the time when a plain occupied a great part of what is now the North Sea. Mr. Lowerison's descriptions of prehistoric remains and local discoveries of flint-implements, etc., are interesting and cleverly worked into the stories, while he does perhaps even more than justice to the savagery of man in early times. But from the periods of the Saxon and Danish Settlements, in which we are mainly interested, the clash of arms is almost absent. That a tribe of Saxons should chance to land and settle peacefully on a part of the coast that was deserted owing to pestilence is of course quite possible, but the picture of the Danish landing is less convincing. It is hardly credible that a Danish ship should have left the host to make an independent settlement at a time when Ingvar and Hubba were attacking East Anglia, or that the Saxon warriors of the coast villages should have been at home instead of with the East Anglian army, as depicted by Mr. Lowerison. It is doubtful also how far the author is justified in making an Angle of the heathen period tell the legends of the Edda, the Baldur myth for instance, as part of the mythology of his race, for while there can be no doubt that the Anglo-Saxon mythology was substantially the same as the Scandinavian, the myths of the earlier race are so completely lost that we cannot say they were identical with the Eddaic myths. Some writers of course would have it that these latter are mostly of very late origin. We also greatly regret that the author has given fresh currency to the old error that the warriors in Valhalla "drink mead out of the skulls of the enemies they have slain." The blunder that turned "the curved horns from the skull," *i.e.*, drinking-horns, into "the curved bones of the skull," is, we believe, largely responsible for the belief that the Scandinavians were savages and their religion a blood-thirsty glorification of fighting and revenge. We are bound to enter a protest, though we understand that the author has corrected the error in a second edition which will appear shortly. The book thoroughly deserves the success it has achieved, for the author has attained the object he aimed at, though it is possible for the students of a particular period, who want accuracy in every detail, to pick holes in his work.

ALBANY F. MAJOR.

STORIES FROM THE NORTHERN SAGAS, selected from various translations and edited by ALBANY F. MAJOR and E. E. SPEIGHT, with a Preface by the late Professor YORK POWELL. With illustrations by W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. and R. MORTON NANCE. Second edition revised and enlarged. London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 2s. 6d.

Carlyle, after finishing "Frederick the Great," said to his friend John Ruskin: "If I had known the Sagas earlier in life, Frederick would never have been written." Their rugged, dramatic force, so closely akin to his own, appealed to him. The editors of this excellent volume are giving their countrymen the opportunity to learn early in life of the deeds of their Viking ancestors, told in their own words. The fact that a second edition has been called for and that the London County Council has authorised the book for use in schools is eloquent of success.

It is true as the Italian proverb has it, *traduttore traditore*, a translator is a traitor. The editors have depended largely on earlier translations, but they have improved upon them and made them more readable. The only one of the translations used not fully adequate is Laing's of *Heimskringla*. And here a stickler for consistency might say that they have dealt too leniently with the earlier translators in the spelling of names. Aki, Aake, Hauskuld, Höskuld, Astrida, Astrid, Thorodd, Thorod are examples and Hoy is Háey, not Há. This, however, is not of the slightest consequence, for their aim and purpose is to bring home to the reader the intense human interest of the Sagas, which usually is wrapped up and hidden in the verbiage of Dryasdust and his companions. To open the eyes of Englishmen to the treasures that they possess here, which still lie unused, is a noble work.

It is worth noticing that Prof. York Powell in his singularly stimulating preface writes "wicking." This is based on the fact that the word is found in Old English before the Viking time in England, namely, in the *Epinal Glossary* about A.D. 700. There seems, however, no reason why it should not be a loan-word in this passage, since there had already then been intercourse and trade for centuries between England and Scandinavia.

JÓN STEFÁNSSON.

BRITAIN'S SEA STORY, B.C. 55—A.D. 1805: Being the Story of British Heroism in Voyaging and Sea-Fight from Alfred's Time to the Battle of Trafalgar. With an Introduction tracing the development of the structure of Sailing Ships from the earliest times. Edited by E. E. SPEIGHT, B.A., F.R.G.S., and R. MORTON NANCE. Illustrated from paintings by R. Morton Nance. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Price 2s. net.

THE scope of this book is so fully set forth in its title that it is only necessary to say that the story it relates is set forth in passages selected from sagas, chronicles, and various writers. Mr. Nance's name is a guarantee of the accuracy of the illustrations and, as Mr. Speight is

largely responsible for the fact that the Viking Age is gradually being recognised, even in school books, as a part of British history, it is needless to say that the records of that period play a due part in the earlier pages. For the introduction the editors, as they acknowledge, are largely indebted to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon's paper on ship-building in early times in the North in the last SAGA-BOOK. We note a slip in the "Chronological Outline," where Olaf the Saint's defeat "at the great sea-fight at Stiklestad" appears. No doubt Olaf Tryggvissón's defeat at Svoldr is meant, as Stiklestad was a land battle. The editors believe that this book is "the first to give a simple, concise account of British ships and sea exploits" through the period in question. If so, the fact is strange, and they are to be congratulated on being the first to observe such a yawning gap and on the ability with which they have filled it.

A. F. M.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES. A HANDBOOK FOR CURATORS. Translated, by permission of the Authorities of the Royal Museums, from the German of DR. FREDRICH RATHGEN, Director of the Laboratory of the Royal Museums, Berlin, by GEORGE A. AUDEN, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.) and HAROLD A. AUDEN, M.Sc. (Vict.), D.Sc. (Tübingen). *Cambridge University Press. Price 4s. 6d. net.*

THIS is a book which should be invaluable to all curators of museums or collectors of antiquities, and the translators deserve their gratitude for the work they have undertaken. After a preface treating of the literature of the subject, the book deals exhaustively with the changes undergone by antiquities of all kinds in earth and air, the various methods of preserving and renovating them, and their subsequent care after undergoing preservative treatment. It is to be hoped that the book will find its way to every museum and collection of antiquities, and do something to arrest the deplorable decay which too often sets in after objects, which have been recovered comparatively uninjured from kindly oblivion, have been entrusted to what should be safe keeping and an intelligent regard.

A. F. M.

WALL PICTURES FOR HISTORY LESSONS, FIRST SERIES, OLD ENGLISH PERIOD. *London: Horace Marshall & Son. Price 9s. net for the set, or 2s. 6d. net each.*

THESE pictures are the first of a series specially designed as aids to the teaching of history, and are well designed for the purpose. The child who has not only been told about King Alfred, but has seen the picture of his jewel, is not likely to share the views of the small boy who learned history, but objected to being asked about King Alfred because "that's prehistoric": and such pictures as those of the old English drinking-horn, shield and byrnie, or of the Viking ship, would be admirable object-lessons for a class reading such a book as Miss C. L. Thomson's "The Adventures of Beowulf," published by the same firm. Pictures of

“Harvesting” from an old English Calendar and of William the Conqueror crossing the Channel and the Death of Harold from the Bayeux Tapestry complete this series, for which the publishers deserve the thanks of all interested in our children learning aright the story of their race.

A. F. M.

TALES OF THULE. By JOHN NICOLSON. *Paisley: Alexander Gardner.*

THIS is a little volume of Shetland tales which natives of “the Old Rock” will no doubt welcome, and which are not without interest for students of northern folk-lore and customs. The interest of the stories lies mainly in their environment and the glimpses they give of life among the fishermen and farmers of Shetland.

A. F. M.

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