

Saga=Book

OF THE

Viking Club.

SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

FOUNDED IN 1892 AS

THE ORKNEY, SHETLAND, AND NORTHERN SOCIETY.

VOL. III.

CONTAINING THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FROM
JANUARY, 1901, TO DECEMBER, 1903, REPRINTS OF
PAPERS, REPORTS OF DISTRICT
SECRETARIES, ETC.



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Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART I.

ADDITIONAL GIFTS TO LIBRARY.

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

GIVEN BY

THE PUBLISHERS.

" Social and Imperial Life of Britain. Vol. i.—War and Empire."
By Kenelm D. Cotes, M.A. (London : Grant Richards, 1900.)

BY EXCHANGE WITH THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE.

Seventeenth Annual Report, 1895-96. Part ii. Bureau of American
Ethnology.

THE AUTHOR.

" A Poor Man's University in Denmark." By J. S. Thornton.

MR. J. FRASER.

Photograph of a Cup made of whalebone, discovered in an inter-
ment in Shetland, and supposed to be of Viking date.

SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.

	£	s.	d.
A. Bignold, M.P.	0	10	6
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The Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, Wellington, New Zealand ..	2	2	0
J. Cathcart Wason, M.P.	0	10	0

PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS.

AMONG publications by members in the past year are:—

- "The Gosforth Cross," illustrated article in the *Northern Counties Magazine* for August, 1901. By W. G. Collingwood, M.A.
- "The King Alfred Centenary Celebration," an article in the *Literary Supplement* of the *Vossische Zeitung*. By Dr. Karl Blind.
- "Swedish Fairy Tales, Translated." By H. L. Brækstad.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1901.

[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 1900, 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.

- "Vor Historie. I., til Aar 1397." By Joh. Ottosen. pp. 416, with illus. Copenhagen. (A careful, but fairly concise, popular representation of Denmark's elder History, based on the latest historical research.) Price 2s.
- "Danmarks Sydgrænse og Herredømmet over Holsten ved den historiske Tids Begyndelse, 800-1100." By Joh. Steenstrup. Copenhagen. (Denmark's south border and lordship over Holsten at the beginning of historical time.) Price 2s. 3d.

- "Der Orient und Europa. Einfluss der orientalischen Kultur auf Europa bis zur Mitte der letzten Jahrtausend v. Chr." By Osc. Montelius. Part i., 247 illus. Stockholm. (Influence of Oriental civilisation on Europe up to the middle of the century before Christ.)—"On the Earliest Communications between Italy and Scandinavia." *Journ. of the Anthropol. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxx. London.

ICELAND.

- "Arkæologiske Undersøgelser paa Island, 1898"; *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 1900. By D. Bruun. Price 1s. 1½d. (Cf. "Studier over Nordboernes Kulturliv," ii., 2, *Geogr. Tidsskr.*, 1899.) Copenhagen.
- "Snorri Sturlison, Edda," pub. by F. Jónsson. pp. 254. Price 5s.
- "Landnámabók i.-iii., Hauksbók, Sturlibók, Melabók," etc., pub. by the Kgl. Nord. Oldskriftselskab. pp. 468. Price 6s. 8d.

STONE AGE.

- "Affaldsdynger fra Stenalderen i Danmark, undersøgte for Nationalmuseet." By A. P. Madsen, Sophus Müller, Carl Neergaard, C. G. Johs. Petersen, E. Rostrup, K. S. 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.
- "Gravhøje og Gravfund fra Stenalderen i Danmark. Bd. ii. Fyen og Jylland." By A. P. Madsen. (Gravehaughs and grave-finds of the Stone Age in Denmark. Large and beautiful plates with brief text.) Price 20s.

BRONZE AGE.

- "Die Chronologie der aeltesten Bronzezeit in Nord-Deutschland und Skandinavien." By Osc. Montelius. pp. 239, in 4to, 541 illus. Brunswick, 1900. (Reprint from *Archiv für Anthropologie*. A very interesting and important work.) Price 20s.
- "Inventar der Bronzealterfunde aus Schleswig Holstein." By W. Splieth. Kiel, 1900. pp. 89, 230 illus. from pen sketches. (A very useful and systematically elaborated work by the prematurely deceased assistant at the Kiel Museum.) Price 5s.

IRON AGE.

All the following papers are to be found in the *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1900 (1 vol., price 4s. 6d.):—

- "Romerske Bronzekar med Fabrikmærke." (Copies not on sale.)
- "Romerske Bronzestatuetter." By Chr. Blinkenberg. (Three lately found Lares, Gallic God (Dispater), Jupiter with thunderbolt).
- "Et Museumsfund vedkommende Guldhornet fra 1639." By P. Kóbke. (Ivory copy found in the Imperial Museum at St. Petersburg of one of the two celebrated gold horns stolen in

- 1802 from the Danish Royal Kunstkammer, and melted down. The horn bears a long array of figure presentments, which have hitherto not been satisfactorily explained. The new-found copy helps towards the understanding of some obscure details.)
- "Denarfundet fra Robbedale." By C. Jørgensen. (Find of 255 Denarii of Vespasian, Julia Domna, etc., in Bornholm.)
- "Romerske Guldmedailloner [Constantius II., Valentinian I.]. By C. Jørgensen.
- "Nogle Vaaben fra den ældre Jernalder." By Hans Kjær. (Sword, shield-boss, etc., from the pre-Roman and Roman time, as also from the times of the Folkwanderings, 400 B.C. to 500 A.D.)
- "Fund af Smedeværktøj i Grave fra Folkvandringstid." By Hans Kjær. (Find of smith's tools in graves of the times of the Folkwanderings.)
- "Bronzebælter fra førromersk Tid"; "En fremmed Halsring af Guld fra førromersk Tid"; "Et Bornholmsk Lerkar af klassisk Form"; "Et Fund fra den førromerske og den romerske Tid" (A Bronze pail and a "La Tène" sword); "Jydske Lerkar med klassiske Enkeltheder"; "Fremmede Lerkar fra romersk Tid"; "Dyreknoget fra Ligbaalet" (see p. 30); "Astragal, Naalegemme, Ornamentstempel fra den romerske Tid"; "En Støbeform til Thorshamre" (stool-form of Thor's hammer); "Drikkehornbeslag fra Oldtidens Slutning"; "Oldtidens Plov" (see page 31; ancient plough); "Vognaag til Trækdyr" (wagon-yoke for draught beast); "Bidselstænger af Hjortetak"; "Halvkresvolden ved Danevirke" (see page 32); all by Sophus Müller (Finds of various gold and other metal objects belonging to pre-Roman, Roman, and later times.)
- "Vævede Stoffer fra Jernalderen." By Th. Thomsen. (Woven stuffs from the Iron Age.)

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

- "Notice sur les Fouilles faites pour le Musée National de Copenhague pendant les années 1893-96"; trans. by E. Beauvois. *Mém. des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1899, pp. 229-96 (Publ. 1900). By Sophus Müller. (See page 30). 1s. 1½d.
- "Om Nordboernes Skibe i Vikinge og Saga-Tiden": Appendix to a translation of Olaf Trygvason's Saga. By V. Gudmundsson. (Norse ships in Viking and Saga times.) 3d.
- "Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1176." With résumé in French: "Histoire monétaire de Danemark jusqu'en 1176." 13 plates, pp. 264, 4to. (See page 27.) 14s.
- "Nordisk Sprog og Nordisk Nationalitet i Irland," by Alexander Bugge, in the *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1900. (Norse speech and nationality in Ireland.)

Contributed by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A. :—

- "Fornsöguthættir," iv. Readings in the Sagas, including the stories of Thórólf Haltfoot and Arnkel the Godi, Thórgunna at Fródá, Unn the Deeply-wealthy, Höskuld, Olaf Peacock, Kjartan and Gudrún; with notes; edited by Pálmi Pálsson and Thórhallur Bjarnarson. 240 pages, unbound, 1 kr. (1s. 1½d.). Reykjavík: the Ísaföldarprentsmidja: 1901.

" Mythologie figurée de l'Edda," including a review of " Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle," by M. Louis Duvan, in the *Journal des Savants*, September, 1901, pp. 575-590.

Contributed by Mr. T. Sheppard, F.G.S. :—

" The Ancient Model of Boat and Warrior Crew from Roos Carrs near Withernsea." By T. Sheppard, F.G.S. (Illustrated.) Hull Museum Publication, No. 4. (Images of Norse gods found in Yorkshire.)

Contributed by Mr. A. Moffat :—

" The Vikings in Wales," editorial article in the *Cambrian* for January, 1901.

" The Norse Element in Celtic Myth " and " Slebech Commandery," articles by Mr. J. Rogers Rees in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

Generally contributed :—

" The Norsemen in the History of Exploration," a chapter in " The Dawn of Modern Geography," by Mr. C. R. Beazley. (John Murray).

" Something about Shetland," by F. E. Norris, an article in *The Captain* for March, 1902. (Newnes.)

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

REPORTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE
MEETINGS OF THE CLUB.

NINTH SESSION, 1901.

AL-THING, MARCH 8TH, 1901.

The Rev. A. SANDISON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

Mr. I. Gollancz, M.A., read a paper on "Hamlet, the Viking."

A brief discussion followed, in which Messrs. A. F. Major, E. M. Warburg, Pastor A. V. Storm, the Chairman and the lecturer took part.

AL-THING, MARCH 22ND, 1901.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

Mr. A. G. Moffat, M.A., District Secretary for Glamorgan-shire, read a paper on "Palnatoki and Wales." Both the paper and discussion are held over to a future issue.

GREAT AL-THING, APRIL 26TH, 1901.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

The Great Al-thing was held at the King's Weigh House, on Friday, April 26th, 1901, at 8 p.m. The Law-Thing Saga, or Annual Report of the Council, and the Statement of Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year 1900, were laid before the meeting and unanimously adopted, and Umboths-Vikings, or Officers of the Club, for the ensuing year were elected.

The Rev. A. Sandison, Jarla-man, then read a paper on "Recent Contributions to Shetland Folklore."

The lecturer in his paper showed how the name of Loki had lived on in the form "lucky," in the popular names "Loki's oo," lucky wool, "Loki's lines," lucky lines, and he quoted as parallels the saying in Jutland that Loki was sowing his oats and the name "Loki's flame" given in Iceland to snow. He believed the schoolmaster, especially the Scotch schoolmaster, imported from the neighbouring country, was the great enemy and destroyer of folklore in the islands. The ancient inhabitants of the islands, prior to the coming of the Norsemen, were called Finns and Pachts, and to them were attributed the stone dykes constantly seen in the islands, and the crag seats as they were called, which were flat platforms among the cliffs, approached by apparently artificial paths, and generally marked with one or more cup-hollows and the buildings known as brochs. The crag-seats were supposed to have been used for fishing. A great battle was supposed to have been fought between the Picts and the Norse invaders at a spot called the Blue Mull, and there was an earthwork known as the Virkie in the immediate neighbourhood. The weems, or underground dwellings, were also attributed to this race. The fairies of Shetland were known as the "trows," and legends of their stealing milk, needing the help of human midwives, changing children, etc., were common here as elsewhere. The belief in changelings had had a distinctly good effect in securing good treatment for weak or sickly children, for the belief was that as you treated the changeling so would your child be treated by the trows. It was possible that the belief in trows had a historical origin in the survival of the conquered race in concealment in unfrequented parts of the islands. Shetland music had a marked individuality, and there were certain tunes which were said to have been learned from the trows. Traces of a belief in Thor might be found in the name Turness, originally Torness, and in the stories of the Njogle, an uncanny beast in the shape of a horse,

which was said to appear to belated wanderers, and which might be a survival of the belief in the horse ridden by the God. The folklore of the sea was, of course, very extensive, and perhaps the most striking belief was that there was a certain motion of the waters, known as the "mother-die," by which fishermen could find their way to land with nothing else to guide them. There was undoubtedly much water-lore that had been lost, killed by the use of the mariner's compass. In the same way the inventions of science had destroyed other natural knowledge, such as the power of telling the time of day from the face of the country by the sun, which had once probably been general. So also there was undoubtedly some value in the old folk-medicine, but a knowledge of how to apply it had been killed by the doctors. Implements in use till quite recently were stone sinkers for fishing lines, pudding stones, stone spindle whorls, and knocking stones. Stone axes, however, though common in the islands, were popularly known as thunderbolts, and were never attributed to man.

In the discussion which followed, the Rev. John Spence thanked the lecturer for one of the finest lectures on Shetland he had heard. He said that he had himself fished from the crags, and also at the "haaff" or deep-sea fishing. He had seen the cup markings on the crag seats mentioned by Mr. Sandison, and had seen them used to keep bait in. He had himself been chased by the Njogle, or big horse. Passing a kliptur said to be haunted by trows, fairies, and the like, late one dark night, he heard the footsteps of a horse pursuing him. He fled before it to his own door, but found at last it was only a Shetland pony that wanted his company.

Col. Bertie Hobart asked for further information about the lost sea-knowledge mentioned by the chairman. Was there any evidence that it was possessed by the ancient Vikings, who seemed to have had some means of finding their way at sea? Also how far from land did its use extend?

Mr. W. F. Kirby mentioned stories of the walls of churches while building being destroyed at night, the destruction being attributed to the devil, or to evil spirits. The story of the appearance of a goblin-horse resembled Irish stories of the spirit called the Phooka.

Mr. A. F. Major considered the most valuable portion of the paper, as regarded the Society, was the evidence from the folk-names given by Mr. Sandison of the ancient worship of the old Gods of the North in Shetland. There was no distinct evidence of the existence among the Vikings of a water-lore such as that referred to in the paper. Undoubtedly the ancient seafarers had some means of finding their way at sea that we did not realise, but the Sagas only showed us that they kept a careful record of sea and landmarks, in order to identify the islands and harbours they wished to visit, and instances occurred of their finding their way by means of the sea-marks that had been described to them to countries and ports which they had never visited before.

Mr. J. S. Ross protested against the attack on Shetland schoolmasters. After all, there was something to be said for them, even if the process of education did result in the gradual disappearance of folklore. Folklore was not the be-all and end-all of life, and could not be allowed to stand in the way of the spread of knowledge. He felt strongly on the subject, for his grandfather and father had been Shetland schoolmasters, and while he cordially appreciated the lecture, he felt bound to try and justify the down-trodden class to which they belonged.

The Chairman agreed with the lecturer that schoolmasters were responsible for the destruction of many valuable beliefs and traditions. No schoolmaster would have preserved the Loki traditions recorded by Mr. Sandison. As bearing on the use of such cup markings as were found in the crag seats, he mentioned that when the cup-holes in Ireland are found filled with water, as frequently happens, the water from them is regarded as a cure for many diseases.

The Rev. A. Sandison thanked the meeting for their appreciation of his paper, and thanked Mr. Ross for his remarks. He could assure him that his name, and the memory of his grandfather and father, were held in reverence by all true Shetlanders. It was not to such men that his words applied. It was the half-educated man serving as a schoolmaster who had been the bane of folklore. Shetlanders would have been far happier if they had been left to their ancient traditions, and if their old land had not been treated as a mere scrap of Scotland, to be reduced to the approved Scotch pattern of religion and culture. In answer to Colonel Hobart's question as to the distance from land at which the "mother-die" could be observed, he had questioned old seamen about it, and it would seem that a knowledge of the nearness of land, from noticing the particular motion of the waters to which they applied this term, extended to some forty miles from the shore.

At the close of the proceedings, Mr. A. F. Major moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon on the completion of his term of office as President, which was supported by the Rev. A. Sandison and Mr. G. M. Atkinson and unanimously adopted.

THE GREAT AL-THING DINNER.

The Great Al-thing Dinner was held on Monday, April 29th, 1901, at 7.30 p.m., at the Florence Hotel, Rupert Street, W., when the following were present:—Mr. G. M. Atkinson (Jarl) in the Chair; Mr. W. F. Kirby (Jarla-man) in the Vice-chair; Mrs. Atkinson, Mr. Prior, Pastor Storm (Jarla-man) and Mrs. Storm, Mr. E. M. Warburg (Jarla-man) and Mrs. Warburg, Miss Warburg, Rev. A. Sandison (Jarla-man) and Mrs. Sandison, Colonel Hobart, Mr. F. T. Norris, Mrs. M. Munro, Mr. T. Stevens, Mr. A. W. Johnston (Law-man), Miss A. Leslie, Mr. W. L. DuBoulay, Miss Rose Joyner, Mr. Handley-Davies, Miss Higford and

friend, Mr. A. K. Goddard, Mrs. Ridley, Mr. Albany F. Major, Mr. J. S. Ross, Mr. Meurig James, Mr. Jerrold and Mrs. Jerrold, and Mr. R. L. Bremner. An excellent musical entertainment followed, contributed by Messrs. Handley-Davies and Meurig James and Miss Rose Joyner.

AL-THING, NOVEMBER 15TH, 1901.

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

Mr. J. S. Thornton read a paper on "Wanderings in Denmark," illustrated by lantern-slides, which dealt largely with the modern Danish machinery of education.

Mr. Fox Bourne thanked the lecturer for his paper, which had interested him much, as he had visited Denmark and also knew Pastor Storm. The latter had told him how the Danes, after their disastrous war with Prussia and Austria, said to themselves, "Now that we have lost half our country, we must make the remaining half as good as the whole." This saying had actually been realised in the last forty years. In an astonishing way the Danish yeomen, without losing in any way their individual independence, yet adapted themselves to socialistic conditions. The advantages which the State found itself able to give in the way of free travelling, etc., amazed him. The Danes, in fact, seemed to have solved the problem of how to use a State organisation without allowing it to override individualism.

The President tendered the thanks of the company to Mr. Thornton for his excellent lecture, and the admirable slides with which it was illustrated. He adverted to his own recollections of Roeskilde and other places in Denmark, and said he would much like to see the Danish system of education and co-operative enterprise carried out in England, and still more in Ireland.

The lecturer, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, wished to point out that the Danish Government, as a condition of granting aid, secured a rigid audit of accounts

and an inspection of schools. No hard and fast lines were laid down for the schools, but by the result of their work they were judged. Such a system as had grown up in Denmark could not be set going by any Government, or be produced under a rule of red tape. The main point on which he wished to lay stress was the close connection between the co-operative dairies and the High Schools. Although they were independent of each other, the former were undoubtedly the outcome of the training of the intelligence of the people in these remarkable schools.

JOINT MEETING WITH THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 4TH, 1901.

Mr. G. M. ATKINSON (President of the Viking Club) in the Chair,
by request of Mr. E. W. BRABROOK, C.B., F.S.A.,
President of the Folklore Society.

Mr. Clarence A. Seyler read a paper on "The Myth of Beowulf," which, he contended, was an agricultural myth, based on spring and harvest customs, *Sceaf* meaning "sheaf," *Beowa* "barley-corn," and *Grendel* "grinder" or "miller." He cited several ancient and modern rustic prototypes and folktale parallels of the Perseus type in corroboration of his view.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. A. F. Major, Mr. G. M. Atkinson and others took part.

AL-THING, DECEMBER 13TH, 1901.

Colonel HOBART (Jarla-man) in the Chair.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson, Jarl, gave his inaugural address on "Art in the Viking Time," which, together with the discussion, is reserved for reproduction in a future issue.

REPORTS OF HERATH-UMBOTHs-MEN.(DISTRICT SECRETARIES.)

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

EXCAVATIONS AT GOSFORTH.

IN the spring of 1901 I had occasion to spend some time at Gosforth, Cumberland, assisting in the excavation of a site locally supposed to be that of a church earlier than the present Norman church, famous for its cross with Edda sculptures. It was fancied by some that this cross and other Viking Age fragments had been moved from the one place to the other—a very unlikely supposition, considering the contempt with which Norman builders treated pre-Norman remains; but we proved that the mound at Chapel Brow contained a later holy-well chapel, and though we did not discover a Viking Age church, the parish clerk, Mr. John Watson, showed me a place near by called the

DANISH CAMP,

which is worth mention. It is in a long, narrow field, the Camp-field, on Bleng-fell, about 420 feet above the sea, and a little more than half a mile due north of Gosforth Church. There is the foundation of a building $28\frac{1}{2}$ by 16 feet, external measurement, with walls three feet thick, and a doorway on the south-west side (one of the longer sides), and a spur of wall, two feet in length, standing out at the south corner, as if part of a lean-to shed. From this ruin runs, in a north-westerly direction, a *lái* or hollow way, past some obscure remains of building, to the old dyke between Bigg-croft, the field to the west of these remains, and Bleng-fell common, where this path turns to the west and loses itself.

RUINS OF THE VIKING TIME.

The remains are evidently those of an ancient homestead, not a military camp, and the site and traditional name (to which, however, not much importance ought to be attached) suggest that the place was a very early dwelling, possibly that of a settler in Scandinavian times. There are many of these sites in Cumberland and Westmorland, rather high on the hills, not prehistoric, but so old as to have been classed by antiquaries with prehistoric earthworks. Some of them should be compared with Icelandic "Ruins of the Saga-Time," as shown by Herra Thorsteinn Erlingsson, and it is to be hoped that some may be properly explored; but there is no great likelihood that they will yield such interesting finds as do Roman camps and Bronze Age graves. These old homesteads have usually been stripped of everything before they were finally abandoned.

THE "GRASSONS" RUINS.

Two miles due east of Bootle Church (South Cumberland), on a spur of hill called Great Grassons (Grassholms), about 600 feet above sea, are three ancient enclosures, of turf wall and ditch, adjoining one another. In the corner of the uppermost garth is the foundation of a house, 78 by 26 feet 4 inches, external measurement, with walls four feet thick, a door to the south-west, and indications of partitions to form chambers; at the south end is an outhouse, 39 feet 6 inches by 24 feet, with one corner splayed off, and the walls less substantial than those of the larger building: from its door a hollow path leads down towards Crookley or Crookra-beck. On a side of the middle garth is a similar foundation, with a larger outhouse. These are not modern farmhouses, and I have been unable to collect any information about them. A charter of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century mentions Croch-beege and the forest, in which common of pasture, with shields for cattle, was given by one of the Boyvilles of Millom to his daughter; but the identification of Croch-beege with

Crookra-beck is doubtful. All this upland was forest, and much of it actually wooded in early mediæval times, from Scoggabar (*Skóga-barð*, woods'-edge) and Godderside (*sætr*) and Gutterby on the south, to Stords or Storthes (*Storð*, the woods) and Birkerthwaite on the north, near Devoke-water. All around the place-names are largely Scandinavian.

RUINS AT RAVENSTONEDALE.

Near the last-named, close to Raven Crag, are foundations of early buildings somewhat similar, barely mentioned by the late Rev. J. Clifton Ward in *Transactions Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Society*, vol. iii., p. 251, and shown to me some years ago by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., who thought them remains of a Viking Age house. In August, 1901, the Society just mentioned visited an "ancient settlement" near Ravenstonedale in Westmorland, called Severals, in which is an extensive garth and smaller oblong foundations of houses. The site is not like that of "British settlements," with curved walls and hut-circles, and it suggests a large farmstead, not more ancient than early mediæval times. Near it is another, known as Oldbiggin, in distinction from Newbiggin, the neighbouring hamlet, which itself is now an antiquity, with monastic remains. The name of Ravenstonedale has been fancifully connected with *Rabenstein*, a German word with which it can have little to do, though there is a gallows-hill in the sixteenth century deer-park; but the present form of the word is probably an error, like the forms Ulverstone and Conistone for Ulverston and Coniston. Raven's-ton-dale is clearly the dale of the *tún* of Hrafn, and is parallel to Rampside in Furness, *Hramnsætr* or something of the sort; Renwick, the twelfth century Raveneswic, and Crosby Ravensworth, the twelfth century Ravenswath.

THE ARMBOTH-FELL RUINS.

An interesting group of rectangular foundations, like that at Gosforth, exists on Armboth-fell, between Thirl-

mere and Shoulthwaite Castle; but these have not the túngarth. Many of them are divided into chambers.

The above are all as yet unexplored and undescribed. Others of somewhat similar character have been noticed at Seathwaite in the Duddon valley (*Archæologia*, vol. liii.), and at the head of Troutbeck, Windermere, and in Little Langdale, near the supposed Thingmount (*Trans. Cumb. and West. A. and A. Soc.*, N.S., vol. i.), by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., who concludes that they are either post-Roman British, or of the Viking Age.

RUINS NORTH OF THE LAKE DISTRICT.

On the northern and western slopes of the Lake District mountains there are—or were formerly—many garths, commonly supposed to be Roman camps, which are not Roman, and not pre-Roman, though so ancient as to be quite without history. Most of these are mentioned, but not conclusively explained, in the local Antiquarian Society's *Transactions*; such as the square "camp" at Overwater, near Bassenthwaite, which at our last visit the late Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., described as the enclosure of some early mediæval owner, in which his thralls and cattle were kept, while he lived in a wooden house hard by. This kind of enclosure afterwards became the base-court of the eleventh century moat, in which the lord's house was built on an artificial or artificially improved mound; but the moundless garths are very like the túngarths familiar to a traveller in Iceland, enclosing the farm buildings and home-field. Sometimes the garths are quite small; at other places they are extensive or incomplete. The Bishop's Dyke at Dalston, near Carlisle, seems to have been originally the limit of the home-fields of the ancient steading at Dalston Hall; and other mysterious dykes, of which there are many, appear to have been intended rather as enclosures or boundaries than as military works.

RUINS AT WESTWARD.

One very curious plan (in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. i., p. 132) was given by G. A. Dickson in 1816 of a ruin now disappeared under cultivation at the Heights, Westward, Cumberland. Two parallel dykes, about 225 paces in length and 60 paces apart, with a door in the middle of one, contained two buildings connected by a paved way. One of the buildings was rectangular; what remained of the other was semicircular, with a great stone standing in the middle of the chord of the arc. Dickson thought this a temple with an altar; and indeed, comparing it with plans of the Icelandic *hof*, it almost seems possible that something might be said for his view, if we suppose the semicircle to be the apse of such a temple as that at Thyrill or at Ljárskógar, from which the wooden hall has disappeared.

THE STOCKDALEWATH RUINS.

Near Stockdalewath, in Cumberland, used to be a "camp" called Castlesteads, with a smaller enclosure in the middle of it, containing the ruins of three houses, in which ashes were found. Other rectangular, non-Roman remains dot the map of Inglewood, the "Wood of the Angles," where the Anglian settlers made their home, and perhaps these may be their remains. But the transitions from Anglian to Scandinavian, and from Scandinavian to early Norman, are debateable ground.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The point which these notes are intended to make is this: that we have a series of hitherto unexplained remains analogous to those of the Saga-time in Iceland, and perhaps to be understood by their help. We have rectangular foundations within túngarths, and sometimes the túngarths and the foundations separately, of a type later than Roman or British, and earlier than Norman moats or mediæval manor-houses. They are in sites long disused, but eligible at a time when the lower land in

their neighbourhood was undrained or overgrown. They are not military, but pastoral—old farmsteads and sæters; and all we can gather of the Viking settlement points to this form of habitation, rather than defensible camps and castles, as the usual dwelling-place. Digging, though it ought to be undertaken, may not yield great results; but the collection of examples, carefully studied, in other districts, and the comparison of an extended series, might throw much light upon the Viking Age in these islands.

The District Secretary for Glamorganshire (Mr. A. G. Moffat) writes:—

SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS IN WALES.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.—There is but little to report from this district. Various discussions upon local Scandinavian settlements have been held in Swansea, but without making converts, although more interest has been aroused in the subject. It might be well to refer to the new book, “The Welsh People,” by Professor John Rhys and Mr. Brynymor Jones, which shows a want of grasp of the fact that Scandinavian influence made itself strongly felt in many ways in South Wales, from Milford up the Channel as far as Cardiff. This may be due to the meagre English information and the non-consultation of Scandinavian Sagas and histories by the authors.

CELTO-SCANDINAVIAN HEADSTONE.

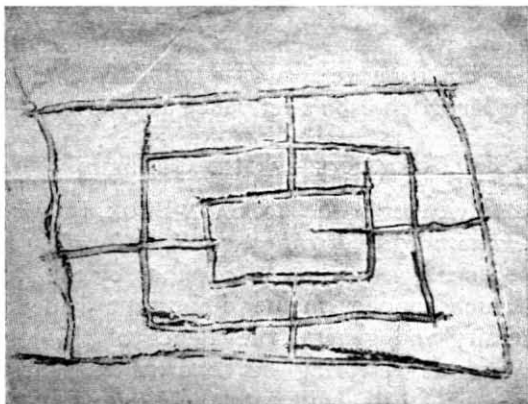
Mr. J. Riley, of Bridgend, has called my attention to a monumental stone that he noticed in the wall of a farmhouse at Nash, near Bridgend. It is in a much worn state, but from what I could see of a fine cast that Mr. Riley presented to the Cardiff Museum, I should say that we have in it an example of a Celto-Scandinavian headstone, and that it might be well to make further research in the neighbourhood where it was found—a most

interesting neighbourhood, and one practically but little visited.

The District Secretary for the Wirral, Cheshire (Mr. A. C. Nicholson, F.G.S.), writes as follows :—

FIND OF ANOTHER NINE MEN'S MORRIS STONE.

I REGRET I have very little to report this time, owing to inability to spare the leisure to do anything personally for a considerable period. Early this year a stone was found



near Oswestry with a device cut upon it which has given rise to some local discussion. The place of find was the Old Oswestry gravel pit, very near Old Oswestry itself, which is said to be a British camp. It was found on the line of Watt's Dyke, and from what the workman says, it is probable that it formed part of the structure of the dyke. I may explain that in working the gravel the man brings the stuff all down, and then sorts it up, and in sorting he found this stone. The incisions on the stone are clean cut and sharp, and weathered inside just as the surface of the stone is. It is apparently quite genuine. Some per-

sons have thought it is a plan of a castrum, others a game stone. A Polish Jew to whom I showed it said it is the same device as a game they call in Poland *Siegen Wulf Myll* (She-goat Wolf Mill=fight). In Fig. 5 in Mr. Goddard's article (vol. ii., part iii.) on "Nine Men's Morris," the board from the Viking ship has practically the same device as is on the stone. The stone is not flat, but has a fairly even surface. Its size is about 11 inches by 8 inches by, say, 1 inch thick. I enclose a rough rubbing of the device, which will give you an idea of it, but I may say it looks better on the stone than in the rubbing. If you think it of any interest, would you draw Mr. Goddard's attention to it?

Agreeably with Mr. Nicholson's suggestions, his notes and the rubbings were forwarded to Mr. Goddard, who replies to Mr. Nicholson's reference as follows:—

COMMENTS OF MR. GODDARD.

"Since my paper in the last SAGA-BOOK, I have found in the *Transactions of the Architectural Societies of Leicestershire and Northants* a very interesting paper by the Rev. R. S. Baker, which supplies further important evidence as to the antiquity and general prevalence of this old game. Whilst he was restoring his church at Hargrave, in Northants, he found, built into the masonry of the north aisle, date circa 1200, a flat stone, on which the game-plan was scratched, without the diagonals. A mason's labourer first told him of the find, and said he had known the game from his boyhood. His name for it was *Peg Meryll*. Mr. Baker next day came upon two mason's lads playing the game on the stone during their dinner hour. In consequence of the discovery a correspondence took place in *Land and Water* and *Public Opinion* (1869). The following details are gleaned from Mr. Baker's article:—Mr. Staunton, in his notes on Shakspeare, states that a MS. of the twelfth century exists in the Paris Bibliothèque, in which are given numerous diagrams of positions in chess and

merelles. The game is known in France, and prevalent in Germany and Austria, in which latter countries it is called *Mühle* or *The Mill*. It is also known in the United States, and is even played by the Bogas, or native bargees, in South America. Mr. Baker believed this to be on the Amazon, where it is known as *trique*, and held to be of Indian origin. Mr. Baker suggests that the game may have come from the Romans, and calls attention to the resemblance of the lines of the board to the outlines of the Roman camp. It is curious to find that, side by side with the diagram of the larger game, there is also traced on the stone from Hargrave Church the plan of the smaller Nine-holes form to which Ovid appears to refer in the passages quoted in my paper. From the correspondence which followed, several variants of the name are quoted, not given above: such as *Meg Merrylegs* and *Nine Peg o' Merryl* (Lincolnshire); *Nine-pin Miracle* and *Merry Peg* (Oxon); and *Peg Meryll* or *Merry Hole* (Northants).

“Mr. St. John Hope informs me that during recent excavations at Silchester, an undoubted example of the game on a Roman tile has been found, which takes us a great step backward again, and may show that the examples at Athens belong to an earlier time than has been suggested. It would be interesting to hear whether the game occurs amongst those scratched on the pavement of the Basilica Julia at Rome. Mr. Nicholson's note on the stone found at Oswestry is further proof of the great antiquity of the old game. Surely some trace of it must also be looked for from the East?”



The District Secretary for Baltasound, Shetland (Mrs. Saxby, *Farla-Kona*), writes:—

FIND OF A VIKING CUP AND FIRE-BURIAL MOUND.

THERE seems no doubt that the curious relic found among the rocks at Clibberswick, Unst, is a Viking cup. It was

found by Mr. John Fraser, an Orkneyman in the Custom House service, and a very careful observer. The cup is formed of bone, and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, outside measurements. Beside the cup were the bones of man, sheep, dog, horse. All these were within what had evidently been a "kist." Close by, on a later occasion, we unearthed a number of bones and bits of urns which had been subjected to excessive heat. From the position of these relics, and from the fact that no burned remains were in the kist, I concluded that the place had



been the scene of a conflict (human bones were found carelessly flung among adjacent boulders), also of the burial of some great man, and of the burning of his thralls, horse, etc., as was the olden custom. I cannot think that the heap of burned fragments was a "midden," but rather a pyre. The kist is among rocks in a geo, and the burned heap is on the edge of the rocky descent. I have written a minute description of the locality, etc., which I hope to place at the disposal of the Viking Club. I think it will be seen that the theory I adopted is borne out by the facts. This is not the first time that Mr. John Fraser has contributed valuable matter to our island lore, and we

may expect still more light to be shed by such an enthusiastic "Viking" on the antiquities of Orkney and Shetland.

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

SOME SHOTS AT WORD-MEANINGS.

THE *Eastern Counties Magazine* has now been running for more than a year, and has supplied many interesting notes on folklore. But few of these bear particularly on matters that are Vikingian or Icelandic. Perhaps some of the queries about words may find answers partly from Scandinavian sources. The Suffolks wish to know whence comes their own word "horkey" = "harvest-feast." No derivation has been suggested that has strong probability. Perhaps the first part of the word, "hor" = the "har" in harvest. Icelandic for harvest has *haust* (without *r*), and for a feast at that season *haust-bod*. There is a word *harki*, "trash, nonsense"; but East Anglians would not like their "horkey" so defined: nor, indeed, does the Icelandic word ever seem to be used for the trifling and jovialities of a feast.

Another phrase that has much exercised some East Anglians is "Silly Suffolk." Who used it first? Is it meant as blame? Some insist that it meant "holy," because Suffolk abounded in holy places. Did it so, or does it so, more than other counties? A friend of mine, a Canon, though near Bury St. Edmunds, denies the fact. Besides, to myself there appears no evidence that "silly" ever did mean exactly "holy." "Happy, blessed, innocent, simple," yes: but not holy = consecrated. That our old authors used it for "simple, innocent," without meaning blame for foolishness, is abundantly plain. Sir H. Wotton uses it of St. John and of the Bethlehem shepherds; Milton of the sheep of the latter. The etymological connection of "silly" with *selig* (German), with *sæll*,

sællign (Icelandic), is obvious and certain. Agricultural folk are (Virgil tells us) “*fortunati sua si bona norint.*” Horace pronounces, “*Beatus ille qui . . . paterna rura bobus exercet suis.*” I should have thought this might content those of Suffolk (by birth I am not such). And if the first person who said “Silly Suffolk” meant to be uncomplimentary, never mind! Suffolk has good company in the epithet.

A derivation from “sea-lying” was also suggested: it is not probable.

“PARADISE LOST” IN ICELANDIC.

I was lately looking at an Icelandic book that was given me in 1865 by my friend H. Bradshaw, late University Librarian at Cambridge. It is Jón Thorláksson’s translation of Milton’s “*Paradise Lost*” (1828). Several copies were given to Bradshaw by Heath, one of our Senior Fellows of Kings, who was living when we came up to Cambridge (1850-51). Heath was a good Northern scholar. In the Preface to the book mention is made of “the noble mind and liberality of another learned Englishman, who does not wish his name to appear, but contributed much to this edition of the poem.” The person meant is certainly our fellow-Kingsman Heath. Thorláksson’s translation is a very good one.

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

Copenhagen, Dec., 1901.

As it is the first occasion since the Viking Club did me the honour to elect me corresponding member for Denmark that I address myself to the Club through its *Saga-Book*, I wish to add a few

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

to my report. As a Dane, it has been for me a delight to

observe that there exists a circle of Englishmen, men of science and friends of knowledge, who are interested in getting regular notices of Danish archæological subjects. In the relation between England and Denmark it must naturally, as a rule, be the big nation which gives, the small one which receives. Many ties, economic and intellectual, nowadays bind the two nations in sympathies and sentiments. The Danes have, on their side, the greatest interest in learning to know English affairs. Under these circumstances, it has been a pleasure to me to accept the position of corresponding member of the Viking Club. I intend giving a short survey of the results of the tendencies of national antiquarian and archæological research and future aims, and I hope my efforts may thus contribute a little towards maintaining, and it may be increasing, the interest felt towards my country.

The Danish correspondence would, however, under these circumstances be of somewhat different form from that which comes from Corresponding Secretaries in England itself. If in the annual notes which it is to be hoped will appear there be but little information about new discoveries and researches which relate to the ancient connection of culture between England and Denmark, there will be given a survey over common facts regarding ancient times in Denmark, and I shall do my best to make the subjects treated of clear to that circle who may naturally not have special knowledge of the Danish side of such subjects. The prehistoric times in Denmark, the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages, will be carefully described—the long periods which commence about 3,000 years B.C. and end in the celebrated Viking Age. These prehistoric periods are also to be found in England, and English archæological science has long since been engaged in studying the same conditions and the same periods on national lines. I may then trust that the description of these archæological periods will meet a sympathetic reception from English readers, even if a direct connection between England and Denmark cannot always be traced, and especially there

where towards the end of the ancient period, the ground gets firmer. Undoubtedly the connection between the two countries goes back to times which are much older than the Viking Age, but which cannot as yet be indicated. A primitive civilisation would under the same sphere shape itself in kindred nations in practically the same form. But as civilisation grows, there also arises the need to learn from one another, to exchange each other's goods, and, as a matter of course, to come to direct intercourse with each other.

To avoid making the notes too scattered, it will probably be best to describe in detail one phase of the science of ancient times in one year, and in another year another phase. As regards notes for the year 1900, in which the archæological literature is specially great, space will not permit describing discoveries. They would then be given together with the survey of discoveries in 1901. Also there will in a following report (1902 or 1903) be given an account of the efforts for preserving ancient monuments in Denmark in the nineteenth century, besides a few notes. As a preliminary, it would perhaps be appropriate to shortly describe the important factors in the science of ancient times in Denmark—the National Museum and the Royal Northern Society of Ancient Literature. I shall only describe the latter on the present occasion.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANCIENT LITERATURE whose President is King Christian IX., was founded in 1825 by C. C. Rafn, and reorganised in 1865. It has always been in close connection with the National Museum. Its aim is to spread a knowledge and interest in the Northern science of antiquities, and thereby to create and extend a love for the Fatherland. The Society, whose membership is drawn largely from the higher, scientifically educated classes all over the country, and which owns a large capital, acts partly by the publication and explanation of ancient Icelandic literature, partly by issuing of

three antiquarian magazines—*Yearbook of Northern Ancient Lore* (8vo, one vol. annually since 1865, till then called *Yearbook of Northern Ancient Lore and Antiquarian Magazine*) ; *Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord* (8vo, one number a year, about 100 pages) ; besides *Memories of the Past in the North* (4to, with large plates, and no rule as to number of pages and time of issue). The secretary of ancient Icelandic literature is at present Mr. K. Kaalund, Phil. Doc.; the editor of the antiquarian magazines is Mr. Sophus Müller, Phil. Doc.

DANISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL LITERATURE IN 1900.

The archæological literature in Denmark in the year 1900 was, as already mentioned, very extensive. Besides the usual magazines there were published in particular two great works, one of archæological, the other of numismatical contents. Both these works rest on researches that have been continued over several years. Greater in size and most valuable in its importance is certain to be the large work on the Danish “kitchen middens,” the refuse heaps of the Stone Age in Denmark, investigated by the National Museum, 196 pages, large 4to, with many plates engraved on copper or phototyped, and pictures in the text (*cf.* Bibliography, Stone Age). The results of the antiquarian research disclosed in the latter volume are so important to the science of archæology that I must defer a full description of it till a future occasion.

EARLY DANISH COINAGE.

The work of Mr. P. Hauberg, Superintendent at the National Museum, entitled, “Money Matters and Coining in Denmark up to the year 1146,” is published by the Royal Danish Society of Sciences, and is accompanied by 13 lithographed plates and a detailed résumé in French. The book is a first attempt at a complete account of the earlier Danish numismatics. A part of this book refers to

the relations between Denmark and England, and therefore has a more special interest to English readers.

The earliest hitherto discovered Scandinavian coins date back to the end of the ninth century, and are, as might be expected, strongly influenced by foreign and chiefly Dutch models. These earliest coins were made in the capital of the country situated east of the Sound, also the seat of the Archbishop—Lund, the coining being afterwards resumed for some time in Hedeby in Slesvig in the years between 940 and 960. The next coins were made during the reign of Sven Tveskjæg; they are large and heavy, and stamped by an English mint-master, Godwin. Order was restored in these as in so many other affairs by that king esteemed by both Englishmen and Danes, Knud the Great. Of the reign of this king are known about 60 different kinds of coin, mostly minted in Lund and in Roskilde in Sealand. The English influence lasted for some time after the death of Knud. Not until Sven Estridsen (a nephew of Knud, who reigned from 1047 to 1076) did, however, a Byzantine, and immediately after his death a German influence commence. The finds of coins in Scandinavia tend to show that some kind of relations existed between England and the Scandinavian countries as far back as the eighth or ninth century. Two coins of Eanred of Northumberland (807-841), two of Cwenwulf of Mercia (796-822), one of Ceolwulf of Mercia (822-824), and one of the Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury (805-832), have been met with. They were all found in Norway, and came from those parts of England which were more particularly harried by the Vikings. A single coin of Alfred the Great (871-901) has been found in Denmark. English coins of the tenth century are almost exclusively found in Denmark. Altogether 18 pieces are known: three of Athelstan (924-940), five of Edmund (940-946), five of Edred (946-955), and five other coins. It was mainly Denmark which in this period entered into warlike, and also after some time friendly, relations with the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Several Danish and Swedish, but only a very few Norwegian, finds bear testimony to the intercourse in the next following years, during the reigns of Eadgar and Edward the Martyr (959-978). During these years, however, the English coins are comparatively scarce. But from the following period, represented by names such as Ethelred, Sven Tveskjæg and Knud the Great, a much greater number of finds are on record, aggregating in number 259 in the whole of Scandinavia, and comprising 30,063 coins. Of these coins, 13,673, in 189 finds, belong to the reign of King Ethelred alone. The greatest number of coins found at one time amounted to between 600 and 800, the majority of which occurred on the Swedish island of Gothland. These figures form a good illustration of the political history of the time.

Even Knud the Great's Danish coins are most frequently made after English models, and are wrought by English mint-masters, and a number of these men's names still survive. Even the English stamps, which the mint-master brought with him from his native land, seem sometimes to have been used.

In all, 1,195 coins of the reign of Edward the Confessor have been recorded, yielded by 62 Scandinavian finds; but, after this period, communication seems to have diminished, and of the three following kings, Harald Godvinsson, William I. and William II., only 63 coins are known. They were nearly all from the island of Gothland, which thus appears to have been a commercial centre. None are from Denmark proper. Gothland, on the whole, is the finding-place for nearly one-half of all the Anglo-Saxon coins found in Scandinavia; out of the above-named 30,063 coins, 14,174 came from this island and 11,210 from Denmark. The largest single find in Scandinavia of Anglo-Saxon coins known occurred in Scania (Skaane), and numbered 3,053 coins. Irish coins are not seldom met with, mostly belonging to the time of Sihtric III. (989-1029). Some are found with Dublin indicated as the minting-place, and bearing either the name of Ethel-

red or that of Knud the Great. The whole number of Irish coins is 228, 37 of these having been found in Denmark.

RECENT ANTIQUARIAN RESULTS.

Dr. Sophus Müller, Director of the Museum, in his essay "Notice sur les Fouilles de 1893-6 du Musée National de Copenhague" (*Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*), gives a general account of the investigations which were carried out on behalf of the National Museum by its own archæologically trained officials during the years mentioned. He has established as an inviolable principle that the archæological specialist must be present in person at excavations from the start to the finish, and that all antiquities must be lifted from their places of finding by his own hand. In order to carry this through, geometrical surveys and the photographing of the antiquities in their original position have been employed to a great extent, and the accounts of excavations made in later years, which were rendered to the Museum for subsequent publication, are rather extensive, accompanied as they are by inclosures of coloured surveying-diagrams, and by plates with original photographs. Besides being a systematic account of the investigations in a body, this essay contains excerpts of such reports as will later on be published in the said work. Written in a generally known language as the essay is, I shall mention it no further, only so far as to recommend it to my readers' kind consideration. It was originally published in the *Yearbook of Northern Archæology*.

Dr. Sophus Müller has furthermore contributed to the *Annals* a rather long series of studies on Danish archæology. I shall mention only a few of the most important of the essays. One of these studies contains information about "Animal Bones found in Funeral Piles," *i.e.*, information about the bones of those animals which were burnt with the dead man on the pile. As the study of antiquities advances, more and more is learned

regarding details which in earlier stages appeared without the least value. These investigations deal with the insignificant and charred bits of bone which remained when the fire was extinguished, and which later on were deposited in the urns. Most of the bones belonged to the dead man himself, but from more thorough investigations, carried out in the National Museum, of the bones from about 150 urns belonging to the Roman period of the Iron Age and to the times of the folk-wanderings (*i.e.*, the period from the birth of Christ and up to about 500 A.D.), it appeared that 26 of the urns contained animal bones which the zoologist could define. In 23 cases the bones of sheep were mingled with the human bones ; in two cases with bones of chicken. The sheep is supposed to have been commonly used as food, and therefore naturally got its place among the victuals with which the dead man was always provided. In a single case a bear's claw was found, most likely having belonged to some bear-skin which had served the dead as dress or as bed.

In skeleton-graves of the same periods have likewise been discovered animal bones. This circumstance, as well as the common furnishings of these graves (articles of earthenware, glass, metal), bear testimony that here, as in Central Europe, the dead was provided in the grave with all sorts of victuals.

PREHISTORIC PLOUGH.

Another of these essays deals with the question of the "Plough of Antiquity." There is in the National Museum a queer old plough, found some years ago at a depth of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres (4-5 feet) in a swamp in Jutland, and apart from any other objects which could determine the period to which it belonged. This plough is very primitively made. It consists of only a handle and two large wooden pieces, the plough-beam and the steering-gear, with the plough-head (sole). The plough-beam is bent low downwards behind, and is rather stout. It has here a square excision, through which goes the steering apparatus, and

that part of this which extends below the plough-beam is stouter, and forms the plough-head. A bent stick shoved in lengthwise of the steering-bar kept it in place. The bar slants upwards, and is in the front end furnished with a hook, to which was fastened the yoke resting on the back of the neck of the draught-cattle. Splintbars were not known and did not appear in Denmark until the later Middle Age. The whole length of the plough is 3.40 metres.

This plough is without doubt very old. It is of far more primitive construction than the ploughs we know from pictures in manuscripts from the Middle Age. It shows furthermore such differences from even the most primitively-built plough in the Latin countries that it is impossible that its construction can have been influenced by them. In a Swedish "Helleristning" (*i.e.*, rock carving) is found a representation of a man ploughing with a plough like the one in question, and two oxen. Even if one is unable to furnish any proof of the exact age of this plough, this much is sure that it shows no connection whatever with ploughs belonging to any historical period, and the circumstances of the discovery go to show that it must be attributed to remote antiquity.

EARLY DANISH EARTHWORKS.

Another of Dr. Müller's essays, "The Semicircular Wall at Danevirke," deals with the situation of the ancient town of Hedeby, where the New Corwey monk Ansgar preached, and where the first Christian church in Denmark was built. The present town of Slesvig is situated for the most part north of the fiord of Slien, and to the north of the famous Danevirke border wall. The ancient town of Hedeby, on the contrary, was without doubt situated south of the fiord, and also south of the Danevirke. There still exists here a rather high wall, in the shape of a semicircle, the open side of which faces the fiord. Investigations made by the Kiel Museum authorities have shown that here, undoubtedly, was situated an ancient city, and Dr. Müller

maintains in his essay that this city was the old-time Hedeby.

The whole question is of great importance as regards the understanding of several points in Danish history in Saga and pre-Saga times, for it is closely connected with the question of the exact age of numerous walls or ramparts existing in this neighbourhood—Kurvirke, Æstervolden (the eastern wall), and others, together with the largest and northernmost wall, Danevirke. Dr. Sophus Müller, therefore, in company with two officials belonging to the National Museum, last autumn thoroughly examined the conditions on the spot, and the results of these investigations, which were completed after the publication of the above-named essay, may be expected some time in the year 1902. When their results are published I shall return to this matter.

STUDENTS' VISIT TO ICELAND.

Before concluding, I venture to mention a single incident, which, however, has only small bearing on the general subject of this article. The island of Iceland is situated far away from the rest of Denmark, and the voyage thither is troublesome, and moreover expensive. Tourists from Denmark visiting the island, so rich in traditions, have therefore so far been rather scarce. Still, the Danish Tourists' Association has been able to arrange a series of excursions, in which several Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans took part.

In the year 1900, however, was planned and carried through a general students' excursion from Denmark to Iceland. It was acknowledged on all sides that an excursion like this would be most interesting and instructive to the partakers, and the appeal for participation having been issued, 83 academists altogether, mostly juniors, applied, chartered a steamer, and set out upon the comparatively long voyage, which lasted about a month. In addition to Iceland, Leith was visited (whence an excur-

sion was made to Arthur's Seat), Edinburgh and the Faroe Islands.

In Iceland the students were received with the greatest enthusiasm. Excursions were made to places famous in the Sagas, as, for instance, the Thingvalla plain, with its holmgang eyot and remnants of the assize-booths, and to the strangely beautiful landscapes of Almannagja, the Geyser plateau with its hot springs, and Gullfoss. The excursion was universally conceded to have been most successful. A short account, illustrated from photographs taken during the trip, is published in the Journal of the Danish Tourists' Association for 1901.

THE VIKINGS :

TRACES OF THEIR FOLKLORE IN MARSHLAND.

BY REV. R. M. HEANLEY, *Rector of Weyhill, Hants,*
Hon. Editorial Secretary Universities' Mission to Central Africa, etc.

THERE was an old slander, largely credited in the southern counties when I was a lad, to the effect that all Lincolnshire people were web-footed, and that there was but one hill in the whole shire, on which stood Lincoln minster ; but I hope no one will suppose that I am attributing any such ignorance to them if I commence this paper by explaining that it is only a small portion of Lincolnshire with which I am now dealing.

We must dismiss from our view the whole of the Fen district in the south and south-east of the shire, and the island of Axeholme in the north-west, for of the latter I know nothing personally ; and the Fenmen were a race apart, little, if at all, affected by Norse immigration. A race apart they are to this day, with their own distinctive dialect and customs ; and a glance at the place-names on the Ordnance map shows beyond all reasonable doubt that the Fens opposed an impenetrable barrier to the advance of the foreigner, and, if here and there a small wave crept in, the general tide of Norse conquest and immigration swept no further than the frontier of the Fen.

Neither shall I deal with the Wolds, that delightful district forming the backbone of the shire, in which a landscape meets the eye far surpassing in its varied beauties the scenes with which I have of late years

become familiar amid the Hampshire downs. For, although it is true that it was almost entirely colonised by Norsemen in the ninth and tenth centuries, I have not that intimate knowledge of it which would alone justify me in dealing with it here.

I shall confine myself altogether to Marshland, that grand expanse of rich land, of varying width, between the Wolds and the sea, which, in spite of its name, is about the driest and healthiest district in all England, being part of what is known to geologists as "the outlying dry district," and having a rainfall of barely 22 inches a year. It forms a portion of the "trithing of Lindsey," and the part most intimately known to myself consists of the "hundred of Calcethwaite" and the "wapentake of Candleshoe," bounded on the north by the town of Alford and on the south by that of Wainfleet, the ancient Roman Vainona.

Here we are on that particular area which, if we may judge from the place-names, must at one time have been the most exclusively Norse portion of Lincolnshire, if not of all England. No doubt they came at different times and from different parts of Norseland. The whole coast from Grimsby down to Wainfleet Harbour abounds with tempting landing-places, and a practised ear can still detect three grades of dialect or language—Grimsby to Tetney Haven, Tetney to Alford, and Alford to Wainfleet. But, for the area of which I am specially speaking, the favourite landing-place was probably at Skegness (locally Skaegsnest), which, as it has in modern days re-developed into a prosperous watering-place, so in olden time Leland tells us it was "A faire town with a most commodious haven." Be this as it may, it would seem certain that when the Peace of Wedmore was signed in the year 878 A.D. the Norseman found himself in this particular district altogether supreme.

But in so saying we must not proceed to assume, as some have done, that the sponge was passed altogether over the past, and an entirely new start made. If I

recollect rightly, Canon Atkinson, in his excellent account of the Cleveland district of Yorkshire, where, perhaps, Norse traditions have survived more than anywhere else, considers that it had been uninhabited previous to the coming of the Norsemen, and that they were practically the first occupiers of the soil.

Far other was it in Marshland. When the Norsemen came there they came to a land long inhabited and carefully cultivated by successive races of men from the remotest past; and we may apply to it what Sir G. W. Dasent has said of other Scandinavian settlements:—“The conquerors, a mere handful amongst the great mass of the population, after leavening it with the best particles of their nature, and infusing new life into the community, take to themselves the features and language of the subject race, until, after a separate existence, determined in its duration by the peculiar circumstances of each case, a new language and nationality are formed, in which the characteristics of the captives are predominant.”¹

This is an axiom of the utmost importance when considering the folklore of our district. We must expect that many a belief and legend of the previous inhabitants would survive the coming of the Norsemen, and gradually be adopted by them. One such legend there is, for instance, which, unless I am greatly mistaken, dates back for its origin to the conquest by the early Britons of the dwarf race of prehistoric man. I mean that of “The Farmer and the Boggart.”²

“T’ boggart, a squat hairy man, strong as a six-year-old horse, and with arms almost as long as tackle poles, comes to a farmer who has just taken a bit of land, and declares that he is the proper owner, and farmer must quit. The farmer proposes an appeal to the law, but boggart will have naught to do wi’ law, which has

¹ Introduction to “*Burnt Njal*,” p. clxxxiv

² This boggart legend has been printed in full (though seemingly without any idea of its real value) by Miss Peacock in “*Tales in Lindsey Folkspeech*.” Bell & Sons, Covent Garden, 1886.

never yet done him justice, and suggests that they should share the produce equally. 'Very well,' says the farmer, 'wilt thou tek what grows above ground, or what grows beneath ground? Only, moind, thou mun stick to what thou sattles; oi doant want no back-reckunnings after.' He arranges to take what grows above ground, and the farmer promptly sets potatoes. Of course, when boggart comes at harvest time to claim his share he gets nothing but the haulms and twitch, and is in a sore taking. At last, however, he agrees to take all that grows beneath ground for next season, whereupon the farmer sows wheat, and when boggart comes round at t' backend, the man gets corn and straw, and naught is left for boggart but the stubble. Boggart then insists that next year wheat should be sown again, and they should mow together, each taking what he mows. The farmer consults the local wiseman, and studs boggart's 'falls' with thin iron rods, which wear down boggart's strength in cutting and take all the edge off his scythe. So boggart stops to whet, and boggart stops to rest, but the farmer mows steadily on till at last boggart throws down his scythe in despair and says, 'Ye may tek' t' mucky owd land an' all 'at's on it; I wean't hev no more to do wi' it.' And off he goas an' nivver comes back no more, leastways not after no land, but awms aboot t' delves, an' skears loane foaks o' noights; an' if thou leaves thy dinner or thy tools about, ofttimes he meks off wi' 'em."

Here, surely, beneath anachronisms such as that of the potatoes, lies the hidden record of a pitiful tragedy of a race dispossessed, outwitted, reduced to vagabondage and petty thieving. And, curiously enough, I can take the tale a step further, and, if I mistake not, link it on to the well-known Irish legend of how the Milesians dispossessed the Danaans of the half of the soil which is above ground, and confined them to that half which is beneath ground, giving Angus, their king, the best earth-house in Ireland, the white-topped burgh of the Boyne.¹

¹ Skene, "Celtic Scotland."

For, just outside my garden hedge at Wainfleet, there still stands a round barrow, and, when I told an old man one day how much I should like to open it, he remonstrated vigorously, for, said he, "The king of the boggarts is shutten up inside that thear, an' if thou lets un out it 'ud tek aal the passuns i' the Maash a munth o' Sundays to lay 'un agin."

The notices of folklore, therefore, which come under the observation of collectors, are widely varied in their origin. I shall for the most part confine myself to those which appear to belong to the myths and historical traditions of the Norse immigrants, although some even of these will bear marks of engrafted Christianity, and others might perhaps be shown by those more learned than myself to be, like the boggart legend, relics of a still earlier period.

Let us commence with

DAYS AND SEASONS.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the folklore and customs of Marshland connected with days and seasons are such as are common to all the northern counties.

The most vigorous survival of custom, owing no doubt to its after-associations with Christmas, is at Yuletide—that time at which Odin, the stormgod, "yelled," and the "gale" was great. Preparations begin betimes, and everyone in the house down to the infant in arms must stir the pudding and the mincemeat, and, though the mistletoe itself grows not in Marshland, a bunch of evergreens that is called "The mistletoe," and has the same functions and privileges attached to it, is hung up in every farm-kitchen. When Christmas Eve has come the Yule cake is duly cut and the Yule log lit, and I know of some even middle-class houses where the new log must always rest upon and be lighted by the old one, a small portion of which has been carefully stored away to preserve a continuity of

light and heat. And, whilst the widows of the place have received their Yuletide gifts on St. Thomas's Day, going a Thomassing from farm to farm, go where you may between Christmas Day and Twelfth Night, into farmhouse or cottage, you will be pressed to taste a bit o' cake and cheese ; and whilst it is a dire offence to refuse, your self-martyrdom is encouraged by the remembrance that for every bit you taste one more happy month is added to your life !

The "guisers," or sword dancers, still come round. We had one family in Wainfleet Flats who were especially skilled in the intricacies of the dance, although they flatly refused to let me take down the verses they used, as "some harm would happen them if they committed them to writing." But whilst the words and subject of the song have plainly varied with the times, the dance is as clearly a relic of the Norsemen and their war dances. For instance, the last time they visited me at Wainfleet, just ten years ago, one of the company was dressed in skin with a wisp of straw in his mouth so cut as to represent a pig's bristles, thus recalling the hog sacrificed of old to Odin ; but for many years the "Plough bullocks" that are due on Plough Monday have ceased to carry with them the horse's skull that used to represent the white steed Gleipnir of the ancient god. Indeed, I do not think I have seen that since 1857, when the general rejoicings at the close of the Crimean war gave a temporary fillip to the winter's sports.

It is, I suppose, generally allowed that the Plough bullocks represent the Wild Huntsman and his rout. Be that as it may, at this season of the year great numbers of wild geese daily cross Marshland, flying inland at early dawn to feed, and returning at night. No one who has heard their weird cry in the dusk can feel surprised that the older labourers still speak with bated breath of the "Gabblerout" of the Wild Huntsman, and the wandering souls of children who have died without baptism, whom he chases, and whom you may see for yourselves

as "willywisps" flitting across the low grounds most nights of the year.

And whilst upon the subject of birds I may perhaps be allowed to add that the long-winged black swift, which may frequently be seen in the summer, flying and shrieking around the church tower, represents to the popular mind the souls of the lost vainly bewailing the opportunities of grace which during their lifetime they had neglected. But the common swallow is a bird of blessing. No house that is protected by its nest will ever be struck by lightning, but if you should shoot one which has built its nest in your cowshed, your cows will forthwith give their milk tinged with blood. Again, more than once it has happened to me, when out trawling in the Boston deeps, that the cry of the 'Seven Whistlers' (which are the curlew) has made the fishermen take up the trawl and go straight home, sure that, if they neglected the friendly warning of their drowned brethren, some dire calamity would come upon them before the morrow morn.

But to return to our days and seasons. There is still many a house in Marshland where much is thought of the first foot which crosses the threshold on the New Year's morning, and I have often thought it an unconscious tribute, from the conquered race to their fair-haired Norse conquerors, that that firstfoot must be a light-haired, fair-complexioned man. Firstfoot must bring something in with him, and on no account may anything be taken out of the house till something has been brought in.

"Take out, then take in; bad luck will begin.

Take in, then take out, good luck comes about."

Valentine's Day is dead and gone. The modern Christmas cards have all but supplied the place of the missives, some of them very coarse and vulgar, which were common enough twenty years ago, and I do not think that at any time Valentine's Day had in Marshland the importance it had further north.

Customs connected with Good Friday can scarcely be

said to be strictly illustrative of Norse folklore, but it is worth while noting that, whereas throughout most northern counties it is still deemed most impious to disturb the earth in any way then, and seeds sown on that day will never thrive; yet, in Marshland, Good Friday is the day of all days in the year on which to plant potatoes and sow peas, inasmuch as on that day the soil was redeemed from the power of the Evil One. But, on the other hand, I have a distinct recollection of a Good Friday afternoon when one of our horses had cast a shoe in driving to Skegness Church, and the blacksmith there flatly refused to put another on, for “owd Skraat ’ud hev’ him sartain sewer, if ’e put hand to hammer or nails the whole blessed daa” —a distinct influence from the terrible purpose to which they had been put on the first Good Friday.

But however this may be, we certainly get back to unmitigated paganism in the “Wading of the Sun” on Easter Day, still occasionally practised by a few Marshmen. This is a divination of the weather of the coming season. As the sun rises on Easter Day, a bucket of water is so placed as to catch the earliest reflection of his rays. If the sun “waps and wades,” *i.e.*, trembles and glimmers in the water, the season will be wet; but if the light is steady a fine summer is sure. Probably this old custom is the real origin of the later Christian notion that the sun danced at his rising on Easter morn; and of the getting up early to see him do it, which I have heard of enthusiastic persons doing in quite late years.

Talking of the sun reminds me that if anyone will run “*withershins*” (contrary to the course of the sun) around a church after dark, three times, and then look in at the porch, he will see the Devil looking out. Certain lads did this some years ago at Burgh in the Marsh, half-way between Wainfleet and Alford, with tragic results. The sexton happened to be inside, and guessing what was going on, put his handkerchief on the end of a Turk’s-head broom and pushed it in their faces as the lads came to the porch, and one was so terrified that he fell down in a fit,

and became a confirmed epileptic. But many will doubtless be well aware that the going against the sun was largely practised in Iceland in old days as an incantation of evil, and that several striking instances may be found in Henderson's "Folklore" (p. 46). I may add that as windmills are a distinctive feature of Marshland scenery, so, it is said, the millstones should always be set to run with the sun, since the miller will never thrive where their course is against it.

There is still a widespread belief that by sitting in the church porch on St. Mark's Eve (April 24th) at midnight one may see pass by and enter the church the spirits or *simulacra* of all who will die in the parish during the coming twelvemonth. Just before I left Wainfleet at the close of 1889 my Men's Guild were discussing the question of "Second Sight," and a very intelligent young mechanic got up and said there was one night in the year when anyone who had brass enough could do it, and proceeded to state that the parish clerk and sexton of his own parish, Theddlethorpe, had always "set out" St. Mark's Eve, "aiming to knaw how much he'd addle in happin' foak up t' year, an' he were nivver far out in his reckonin' ; an' I knaw as it's gospel trewth, for bimebye he'd hardlins set hisself down afore he sets eyes on his awn sen goin' in wi' a whap, an' he taakes hisself off whoam in a rare moil an' tells his missus he were as good as dead, an' he *were* dead come a fortnight, an' I were at the berryin'. I allus hed a bit o' a hankling after tryin' it on mysen, but feyther tellt me not to hev naught to do wi' sichloike carryings on, for if I nobbut got agate o' the job, I'd be tied to goa thruff wi' it ivery year till I seead mysen an' all, an' that's a soight as 'ud mak any chap dither an' shaake."

The first of May with all its old Maypole associations has no place left in Marshland now. But when Old Mayday comes then comes Carnival. It is the yearly hiring of farm servants. All those engaged at a yearly wage, and the maidservants in all but the best houses, take a week's

holiday and rush from town to town in a constant whirl of amusement, which too often degenerates into debauchery. Out of many customs I may mention one connected with the hiring. No engagement holds till the hirer has handed over the fastenpenny, or earnest of the coming year's wage, and on this the recipient spits gravely ere he pockets it. Nowadays they spit for mere luck's sake, not knowing what they do. But it was, I believe, originally a charm against witches, who were supposed to "eyespell" the first money paid away, but lost all power to do so after it had been placed in the mouth. This reminds me of a case of witchcraft I came across one May time. My father farmed very largely in Marshland, and going into the stables one morning in 1867, when the lads had left, I found on the bin of one of them a small doll gaily dressed to represent a girl, but stuck through, about the heart, with tintacks. On his return I questioned him not only about this but also the pair of lovely black eyes he had gained in the interval. It appeared that he had had his doubts of the constancy of his lass, who was in service a good way off, and had taken this course, under the advice of a "wiseman," to compel her to meet him at Alford Fair. Sure enough no sooner had he got there than up she came, but with another "gurt chap" along of her, and only to reproach him bitterly, for "she knawed he'd been after some devilment along of her." She "hedn't been able to sleep for a week thinking of him and were draawed to him agin hersen, an' she threeaped up all mander things agin me, an' the gurt chap set on an' all and jacketed me outrageous. I reckon I must 'ed leff summat out. I draawed her proper enuff, but I cudn't uphold it right thruff, an' now I doubt she's gotten a scunner¹ agin mea, I wean't hardlins over-set."

The 29th of May is Royal Oak Day all England over, and I only refer to it here because there is another custom

¹ Scunner = violent dislike.

also attached to that day in Marshland. It marks the close of the birds'-nesting season, the boys considering it most unlucky to take eggs later, and mostly abstaining from so doing. Surely this points to Oak Day customs being far older than King Charles, to whom they have in a figure become transferred from some definite rites of Pagan nature-worship. Thus, at Upton Grey, my late Hampshire parish, there is a very special observance of this day. The church bells are rung at 6 a.m., after which the ringers place a large branch of oak over the church porch and then proceed to put smaller branches in the gateway of every house in the village street. It is supposed to ensure good luck for the remainder of the year, and the omission of it to be no slight matter. Would that the grand old yew-tree in that churchyard could speak; who knows what strange rite of olden days it would reveal!

Let us now go on to autumn. Harvest thanksgiving services have, I think, entirely supplanted the mell-supper in Marshland. When I was a boy every farmer held one, but now I do not know of a single survival. And old Dan Gunby, fowler and poacher, prince of scamps, but prince also of fiddlers, has been dead these twenty years, and with him have died the best traditions of the "mell." But no further back than last September I saw a veritable "kern baby"—a largish doll, cunningly twisted out of barley straw, and perched up on a sheaf exactly facing the gate of the grand wheat-field in which it stood. I missed seeing the owner, a small freeholder, but mentioning the matter to an old dame (of whom a Marshman would say, "them as knaws aal she knaws hezn't no need to go to no schule") she made a reply which proves that, whatever else the Marshman has learnt of late to doubt, he still firmly believes in the Devil and his angels: "Yis, she be thear to fey away t' thoon'er an' lightnin' an' sich-loike. Prayers is good enuff ez fur as they goas, but t' Awmoighty mun be strange an' throng wi' soa much corn to look efter, an' in these here bad toimes we moan't

fergit owd Providence. Happen, it's best to keep in wi' both parties."

This reminds one of the story of the south country parson condoling with a Norfolk farmer who had just lost his wife, and speaking freely of the duty of submission to the decrees of *Providence*. To his horror the old man replied, "Drat that thear owd Providence, He hev been agin me all along, He hev. Whoi, last year He most spilt my taters, and the year afore He kinder did for my turmuts, and now He's been and gotten howd of my missus. But," he added with an heroic burst of faith and devout assurance, "I reckon there's ONE ABOVE as 'ull put a stopper on 'im ef He goas too fur." "Providence," of course, is a euphemistic term for Satan. Ahriman had had his way too long, but Ormuzd would surely triumph in the end.

And this leads up to the final custom I will mention as regards days and seasons. No Marshman will touch a bramble-berry after Michaelmas Day, and, if you ask the reason why, you are gravely referred to the 12th chapter of the Revelation of St. John: "There was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, he was cast out into the earth"; and it is added that he fell headlong into a bramble-bush, and was so torn he has never forgotten it, but each year spoils¹ all the bramble-berries on the 29th of September, and if you will only look you may often see for yourself where he has scorched them by his touch. Scorched, indeed, they often are, and though you and I may doubt the agent, we cannot question the fact.

Even you, dwellers in streets which by day testify only of material power, and where the darkness of the winter night is illumined by the gas-lamp, or it may be by the electric light that dispels all secrecy, all mystery, so that

¹ The actual way in which he is supposed to spoil them is too filthy to be mentioned.

your imaginative faculties are being steadily crowded out, even you, half-unconsciously, personify and still speak of "Jack Frost." Can you, then, wonder at the continued belief in the uncanny, under the conditions of rural life in Marshland? When a man has to walk two or three miles from his work "in the hush of the moonlight," weary, wet, and hungry; through lonely by-paths; alongside great cuts or drains whence the startled hernshaw rises with an absolutely silent flap of his wide wings; over rough broken fallow, with now a hare, now a snipe, now a pyewipe with melancholy voice crossing his vision; through plantations where hoots the owl; and all the while the shadows chase each other across the marsh—why it would be strange indeed if such an one did not meet with "scarts" and "scares" as the years roll by. And if his imagination be never so dull, the old traditions, handed down from father to son for ages past, come in to help him. And he thinks it would be impious indeed to doubt the existence and the powers of the spirit world, and foolish in the extreme to neglect the potent charms of the "wise women" and the "cunning men" that deal in them. As, therefore, I pass to the subject of

WITCHCRAFT AND CHARMS

I own myself fairly puzzled where to begin, and still more where to end. In fact, there is no limit but that of the hour glass, and my readers' kind patience.

Old Mary Atkin, to whom I shall have to refer again, was one of these "wise women." She was the wife of a most respectable farm bailiff, who did not hold with her goings on, although he dared not check them. Several waggoners boarded in their house, and one morning, their breakfast bread and milk being sadly burnt, a lad threw his portion in her face. Quietly wiping it off she merely said, "Thou art very bug now, my lad; but jest thou wait till thee and thy team gets to top of Cowbank: thou'll be main sorry then, I'll go bail! See if thou ardn't!" All went well enough till they reached the place

indicated, when suddenly the horses stopped short, shivered and sweated and shook, and not a step would they move one way or the other till, having called a man from a cottage near at hand, he went back and on bended knees besought Mary to lift the spell. When he returned the horses promptly moved on without further hitch.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss the power by which the wise woman effected her purpose. I am here only dealing with the fact, and asserting it to be a fact. For this was told me by the man himself years after, as he lay a'dying, and he added his regret that he had not remembered the counter-spell: "Ef I hed nobbut takken t' collar off t' fust hoss, and looked thruff it backards, I hedn't need trapsed all yon way whoam agin in a muck sweat; but I were that 'mazed I clean disremembered mysen. Howsomdever, I allus kep' a bit o' wicken in moi jacket whilst I stayed waggoner thear, and she nivver hit me nor my hosses no more."

Curiously enough, too, it fell to my lot in 1885 to attend old Mary on her death-bed; in fact, she sent for me from another parish "to lay the devil," whom she believed to have come for her. If nothing else had come, the hour of an evil conscience had undoubtedly arrived. She, at all évents, firmly believed in her old powers, and, had it not been for the greater presence which she asserted was in the room, would, I fear, as little have regretted the use she had made of them. Her last words to me were: "Thou hast fixed him, Master Robert, for a bit, as firm as ivver I fixed anny; bud he'll hev' me sartain sewer when thou art gone." And she died that night shrieking out that he had got her!

The doctor said she was mad, not so her neighbours. They had no doubts at all. And the parson? Well, he has his opinion, but he is not going to state it here.

A few months before this last occurrence I was in a part of my parish named Wainfleet Bank, and, passing the house of a respectable wheelwright, was called in, and,

after a short conversation on the subjects of the day, taken solemnly down to his pigstye, and requested to give my opinion on the state of his best sow. The pig certainly looked in a bad way, and I suggested whiskey gruel. "Nay," said he, "thou knaws better nor that; I du varily believe she hev ben overrluked, and thou and me knaws the party that hes dun it [one should never mention a witch by name, of course]. Ef I nobbut could draa blud of she it 'ud be aal reight, but then shea hev the law on me, and they magistrates up to Spilsby be that iggnerant they 'ud mak' mea paay; so I tho't as maybe you 'ud saay a few wuds o'er the sow an' set her free." When I declined, he begged hard for a bit of the wicken-tree that stood at my garden gate, and, although I did not give it, I firmly believe he came and helped himself, for next time I passed that way the wicken cross was on the stye and the pig was well and happy.

When, however, the wicken charm is used for the protection of human beings, there is one matter to be attended to, most important from a demoniological point of view, although a botanist might doubt the fact as applied to a wicken-tree. "You must understand that there is 'heder' wicken and there is 'sheder' wicken—one has berries and t'other has none; if the person overlooked was *he* you got a piece of 'sheder' wicken, if it was *she* you got 'heder,' and so made a 'T' with it on the hob. Then they could do nowt at you." Perhaps it may be as well to explain to non-Marshmen that "heder" and "sheder," terms usually applied to lambs (hogs), are used simply to express "male" and "female."

Talking of the wicken cross, which is properly the mountain ash or rowan tree, but in Marshland the common ash will do as well, and I have often supposed that the abundance of ashes in Lincolnshire (it is called the weed of Lincolnshire) is a relic of the Norsemen's faith—Yggdrasil, the cloud tree of the Norseman, out of which he believed the first man was made, was an ash-tree—talking of the wicken cross reminds me that

when the cattle plague was so prevalent in 1866 there was, I believe, not a single cowshed in Marshland but had its wicken cross over the door; and other charms more powerful than this were in some cases resorted to. I never heard of the use of the needfire in the Marsh, though it was, I believe, used on the Wolds not many miles off. But I knew of at least one case in which a calf was killed and solemnly buried feet pointing upwards at the threshold of the cowshed. When our garthman told me of this, I pointed out to him that the charm had failed, for the disease had not spared that shed. But he promptly replied, "Yis, but owd Edwards were a soight too clivver; he were that mean he slew nobbutt a wankling cauf as were bound to deuy anny road; if he had nobbutt tekken his best cauf it wud hev worked reight enuff; 'tain't in reason that owd Skraat 'ud be hanselled wi' wankling draffle." There can be little doubt that this was a direct sacrifice to Odin himself and to Loki, Spirit of Evil. There is a note by Mr. Baring Gould in Henderson's "Folklore" (p. 134) which speaks of the practice in the Sussex Weald of hanging up dead calves to the branch of a tree to secure luck for the cattle.

I must only give one more instance of witchcraft, and that because it illustrates clearly how frequently under this cruel superstition untold suffering fell on perfectly innocent people.

It was some years before the cattle plague that the garthman whom I have just mentioned came to me one morning "in a great doment," as we say in Marshland: "Master Robert, hast thee a crooked sixpence?" Sixpences of any kind were not a plentiful article with a schoolboy, as you may suppose, and though I did happen to have the sort he wanted stowed away somewhere, probably because it was not easily negotiable, I was not inclined to part without due reason shown. So he took me to the pump, which stood just outside the cowshed, in which about half-a-dozen milch cows were stalled, and showed me a straw or two, apparently twisted around the

handle by the action of the wind. "Thear," said he, "I've fund 'er oot; yon's a witch straw, an' along of t' pump hannel shea's milking aal oor coows; bud I'll put a stopper on 'er ef thou'll nobbutt len' mea yon crooked sixpence. I see' 'er run thruff t' yard las' noight as a black bitch, an' shea canna' stan' agin silver." So I produced the coin, he had his shot at the black bitch, and now comes the pathos of the tale. That very night a dear old woman, wife of our own gardener, in getting up on a stool to reach some crockery from a high shelf, fell and broke her leg. But the garthman and many another held to their last breath that they had "fund t' witch."

As a natural consequence of the belief in witches and wizards being so widely spread, there is a mass of charms still to be found amongst the people. One of the most curious remnants of old belief that I have come across was related to me by the late Vicar of Mumby, near Alford, who was told by quite a young person in his parish that when she was confirmed and went to her first communion she was informed that, if she kept half of the consecrated bread in her pocket, she would become a witch and have marvellous powers. I am glad to say she never dreamt of doing so. But it is much to our present purpose to note that the same belief is to be found in the lore of Finns and Swedes; and so let us go on to charms as endless as they are old. A year or so before I left Wainfleet, one of the trees that stood on the summit of the round barrow outside my garden was blown down in a gale, and from amongst the upturned rubbish I poked out a small round stone with a hole in it, self-bored—"a holy stone," as you doubtless know. Whose treasure it had been in the remote past I cannot pretend to say, but the use to which it had been put is less doubtful, for the moment I showed it to an elderly neighbour he exclaimed, "Thou beest in luck for sartain; hing 'im up over thy bed an' thou'll nivver hev no rewmatis." I am afraid I have a little now; but perhaps that is because I have kept that stone in a drawer, instead of either hanging it up or

wearing it. But it is not a little curious that it is almost undistinguishable from another self-bored stone I have in the same drawer that had been worn as a like charm for the same purpose by a chief in Central Africa, and was cut off by a friend of mine on admitting him to the catechumenate. So like is human nature all the world over!

Chief amongst the ailments of Marshland in olden days was ague, and some of the many remedies prescribed were so horribly filthy that I am inclined to think most people must have preferred the ague, or the race could hardly have survived. It will, perhaps, be enough to say that the chief ingredient in one such decoction consisted of nine worms taken at midnight from a churchyard sod and chopped up small!

But of charms pure and simple two must suffice as samples. You will note that the first has been wholly Christianised, and some will doubtless remember that De Quincey, in his "Essay on Modern Superstition," declares it, in one form or another, to be co-extensive with Christendom.

If you have the "shakes" you must cut off a lock of hair and wrap it around a bough of the "Shivver-tree," which, by the bye, in Marshland is not the aspen, but the black poplar, and as you do so you must say—

"When Christ our Lord was on the cross,
Then thou didst sadly shivver and toss;
My aches and pains thou now must take:
Instead of me, I bid thee shake."

And it will surely come to pass that you will never have "the shakes" again, if only you go straight home and are careful not to speak a word, good or bad, to anyone by the way. Some add, however, that a twelve hours fast is also needed.

The second charm, however, in spite of its Christian varnish, is in its essence astoundingly Pagan and Norse, and I believe that I may claim for myself whatever merit there may be in having rescued it from the midden of the past, for even Mr. Baring Gould, to whom I communi-

cated it some little time ago, said he had never heard of anything of the same kind. It was communicated to me by that "wise woman," Mary Atkin, already referred to.

In the autumn of 1858 or 1859, I forget which, the ague was particularly prevalent in the Marshes and my mother's stock of quinine—a thing really wise Marshfolk were never without in those days—was heavily drawn upon by the cottagers. But on taking a second bottle to Mary's grandson the old dame scornfully refused it, saying she "knewed on a soight better cure than yon mucky bitter stuff." And with that she took me into his room and to the foot of the old fourposter on which he lay. There, in the centre of the footboard, were nailed three horseshoes, points upwards, with a hammer fixed cross-wise upon them. "Thear lad," she said, "when the Old 'Un comes to shaake 'im yon ull fix 'im as fast as t' chu'ch steeple, he weant nivver pars yon." And when I showed signs of incredulity she added, "Nay, but it's a chawm. Oi teks the mell i' my left hand, and Oi taps they shoes an' Oi saays—

" 'Feyther, Son and Holy Ghoast,
Naale the divil to this poast.
Throice I smoites with Holy Crok,
With this mell Oi throice dew knock,
One for God,
An' one for Wod,
An' one for Lok.' "

The point to which I would chiefly draw your attention, as my dear mother drew mine when I repeated it to her, is the extraordinary mingling of rank Norse Paganism with Christianity. If the Holy Trinity be invoked at the beginning, at the end we find Woden, and even Loki, the spirit of evil himself, joined with God in a Trinity as a defence against the Spirit of Evil himself; whilst Thor's hammer and the "holy crook" are treated as one and the same thing. Could confusion be much worse confounded than this? And why the "left hand"? Was not Thor himself lefthanded?

That this cure was at one time common to the whole shire is probable from an Axeholme cure for delirium tremens, communicated to me by Miss Mabel Peacock. Two women were lately discussing the failings of their employer, when one remarked, "Bud he might drink as hard as he duz now, an' aail nowt, if he naail'd three hoss shoes to his bedhead; then he'd niver be trubled wi' talkin'-ower an' seein' things."

Of course as far as the iron is concerned the belief in its powers is common enough. Only last Sunday afternoon on coming in from church I found a tiny poker placed T fashion across the bars of the drawing-room fireplace, "to make the fire burn," a relic of the days when some witch or 'Wag at the wa' "might have desired to put it out." And amongst iron implements, keys—probably because of the cross generally to be found in their wards—are the most potent form. To this day most Marsh folk will propose to arrest bleeding at the nose by slipping the cellar-key down your back (probably rather because it is the largest in the house than of any connection with "spirits" of a liquid nature); and it is not so long ago that the key played an important part in the divinations of all sorts, from the case of an undetected thief up to the discovery of your future partner for life.

The key would be placed within the Bible and securely fastened by a garter, and the whole either hung from a beam or placed upon a table. The questioner and the others present in the room either stood or sat around, touching the protruding end of the key with the first finger. The names of the likely people being then called out in order, the key would turn on the right one being mentioned. Here, of course, we come across something of the same psychic force as is exercised in table-turning and the like. There is nothing new under the sun.

Again, "to touch cold iron" is a solemn mode of sealing a bargain amongst schoolboys. When they are exchanging eggs or marbles you may see them lift up the

foot and touch a nail in their boots, and, that done, no after-reckonings may be raised.

But, perhaps, the most extraordinary notion in connection with iron is the firm belief that when it has inflicted any wound there is some kind of sympathy between the injury and its cause. Only a very short time before I left the Marsh a man was badly cut by the knives of a reaper, and in spite of all that medical skill could do he died the next day. But the true reason of his death was thus accounted for by a Marshman. "You see, he were nobbutt one of them iggnerent Irishmen [we have numbers of Irish immigrants there in harvest time], and they knaws nowt; if they hed but tekken the knife off and seen to that, mebbe he wudn't hev' died." And when I myself had got a nasty cut in the face from a bolt which flew out of a bit of old shipwood I was chopping up, my own gardener, a particularly intelligent man, asked anxiously where the bolt was, and suggested that the wound would heal the quicker if all dirt and rust were carefully taken off its edges!

I must pass over a host of other charms, such as those for the cure of warts and whooping cough, and come to a definitely Norse one.

The elder-tree, or "boretree" ("bottree"), is as conspicuous in Marshland folklore as it is in Scandinavian. We have all read in our younger days Hans Andersen's stories of the "Eldermother" who dwells in that tree, and avenges injuries done to it, so that it is not advisable to cut the tree without permission, or to have movables made of its wood. I can assure you that the "Hyldermoer" is very much alive in Marshland. Hearing one day that a baby in a cottage close to my own house was ill, I went across to see what was the matter. Baby appeared right enough, and I said so; but its mother promptly explained, "It were all along of my maister's thick 'ed; it were in this how: T' rocker cummed off t' cradle, an' he hedn't no more gumption than to mak' a new 'un out on illerwood without axing the Old Lady's

leave, an' in coorse she didn't like that, an' she came and pinched t' wean that outrageous he were a'most black i' t' face; but I bashed 'un off, an' putten an' esh 'un on, an' t' wean is as gallus as owt agin."

This was something quite new to me, and the clue seemed worth following up. So going home I went straight down to my backyard, where old Johnny Holmes was cutting up firewood—"chopping kindling," as he would have said. Watching the opportunity, I put a knot of elder-wood in the way and said, "You are not feared of chopping that, are you?" "Nay," he replied at once, "I bain't feared of choppin' him, he bain't wick [alive]; but if he were wick I dussn't, not without axin' the Old Gal's leave, not if it were ever so."

I promptly sat down, lit up pipes, and told him about the baby, hoping to get the proper words. And so I did, with some more besides—some good advice. I am always ready to listen to good advice, if I don't always follow it:

"Thou knaws I be straange an' laame on this here left huck, an' Oi'll tell thee how I happened moi disablement. Mebbe it ull saave thysen, for thou art allus mashing trees about wi' thy whanger. It were sivvin an' fourty year ago come nex' backend that I were fying out a dike i' Wainflete flats, an' a crewel cold job it were an' aal, for t' wind cut like owd Orrey's¹ razors all ragged i' th' edge, and t' watter kep' cumin' in atop of my splatterdashes, and master he comes up an' nivver passes the toime o' daay nor nowt ceevil like, but gruffs out, 'Be sewer thou plashes yon iller well down,' as ef I didn't knaw 'ow to do it mysen wi'out no telling. And I were that mad, I picks up my plash hook and lets fly at t' mucky owd iller, and clean disremembered to ax the Owd Gal's leave fust off. But Oi paayed for it hard enuff, for as Oi were goin' whom at t' gloamin', aal of a sudent she hits me kerwallop bang i' the huck. I were that bad I were i' bed nigh upon

¹ The local barber.

a month, an' Oi've gone dotty on that lef' huck ivver sin'. Don't thou touch no iller tree wi'out axing the Owd Gal's leave proper. Doctor, he called it feaver, but I knows different ; they doctors be blamed fules someways."

" And the words, John ? "

" Oh, them's slape enuff. You just says, '*Owd Gal, give me of thy wood, An' Oi will give some of moine, When I grows inter a tree.*' " And he added, with a grin, " It's saafe enuff to saay, I reckon, for thou seas thou'll hev to be i' thy coffin a goodish piece afore thou growest inter a tree."

The charm itself, you will remember, is almost identical with that recorded in Henderson's "Folklore" as being in use at the present day in Lower Saxony (p. 183) ; whilst the Danish peasants say, " Hyldemoer, Hyldemoer, permit me to cut thy branches," apparently without pledging themselves to any return of the compliment.

Passing now to my last subject

LIFE AND DEATH

I find myself confronted with a mass of customs and superstitions, with which to deal properly would take a volume. I will, therefore, pass on at once to the last of these, merely premising that as regards marriage festivities there is nothing left in Marshland at all approaching to those in vogue in the north country, the race for the ribbon and the firing of guns are quite extinct, if ever they were in vogue in Marshland ; and only the rice and old shoes remain. But with respect to Death, as might be looked for, old customs are still tenacious of existence. Living as I have done for many years near the sea, I am inclined to think that there is a foundation of real fact for the almost universal belief in Marshland that deaths mostly occur during the falling of the tide. My experience certainly agrees with Mr. Pegotty's explanation to David Copperfield by Low Barkes' bedside : " People cannot die along the coast, except when the tide's pretty nigh out." I have asked several medical men, who have practised in

Marshland, and they agree as to the fact, though differing as to the cause, which probably is due, as Henderson notes, to the change of temperature which undoubtedly does take place on the change of tide, and may act on the flickering spark of life, extinguishing it as the ebbing tide recedes.

But we come once again into the region of pure folklore when we meet with another notion quite as common as this last. Should one show signs of "not getting on wi' his dyin'," you may be sure there are pigeon feathers in the matrass, and it is not at all improbable that the invalid will be taken quite out of bed and laid upon the bare floor; whilst, on the other hand, if he seems likely to pass away before the arrival of some distant son or daughter a small bag of feathers may be placed under his pillow to "hold un back" till the last farewell can be said. Again, it is quite the proper thing to hold the looking-glass to the mouth of one who seems to have drawn his last breath, to assure yourself that he really has done so; but the moment you are satisfied that he is indeed dead, the glass must be turned face to the wall or covered over, else you may see the dead man looking at you from it. For, although the window has been opened wide to let the spirit out, the looking-glass may hold un back. The old grandfather clock must be stopped and veiled, to show that he has done with time; and the passing bell must be rung with all speed, and perhaps the most natural explanation of this last is the one I received at Upton Grey, where, instead of the big bell alone being tolled, all the bells are tolled one after another. "You see, sir," said the sexton, "some devils can't abear the sound of some bells, and others can't abear the sound of other bells, and so we tolls them all to scare them all." On the other hand, the bell that is often rapidly rung immediately the funeral service is ended, is to notify to S. Peter that the soul is coming, and he will open the gate. Said an old woman to me, when the sexton had delayed to ring till he had first filled in the grave: "It

were a cruel thing to keep that poor soul waiting in the cold a day like this."

When the corpse is placed in the coffin you must never forget to tie the feet, else the dead may return, or some other spirit may take possession of the body for his own purposes. Old Will Richardson, of Croft, my own native parish, died in the early seventies, and was buried; but they forgot to tie his feet. About a fortnight after, a cousin of mine going around her district, called at the house, and was most effusively welcomed by his granddaughter. "Cum' thee in, Miss, right away; mother's in a rare doment: she clean fergot to tie grandfeyther's feet, and he's cummed agin, and set hisself in his owd corner, and we daredn't shift him wersens, not if it were ever so."

And there, sure enough, in the inglenook on the bricks beneath the old man's chair, squatted an enormous toad, and my cousin felt even herself that there was something ludicrously suggestive of the old man's appearance in the way the creature hunched its shoulders and blinked at her. "He wer' allus mighty tekken up wi' you, Miss," said the woman, "and mebbe you 'ud insense him thet he's hed his turn and it's ourn now, and he moan't come awming an' messing aboot no more, and mebbe you 'ud tie his legs and hap him up at t' fut of t' owd apple-tree." My cousin naturally declined to tie the toad's legs, but she did take it up in the shovel, carry it out, and put it in a hole at the apple-tree foot; and it appears "Will" was satisfied, for he came back no more, and, what is more pleasant still, he has never even visited me, although I bought his old chair, and it is at this moment in my drawing-room.

Well, if that last story be somewhat grotesque, my next shall be as pathetic. Widow Mary Woodville kept the little village shop at Croft, just across the road from Richardson's, and one of her boys got his hand into a chaff-cutter and two fingers were cut off.

So she had a pretty little coffin made, and put them in,

and went off to see the vicar to beg that they might be buried in the churchyard.

And who could well have resisted the reason that she gave?

“’Tain’t but what t’ Awmoighty cud put un together again, whearsoivver the bits be laid; bud I’d loike ’em to be so as He moan’t hev to clat about an’ seek ’em. ’E’ll be strange and throng, A reckun, yon daa, an’ a’ putting foalks teggither; it doan’t become the likes of me to mak’ ’Im breffet all over t’ plaace an’ tew Hisself, if so bees we kin put ’em handyloike i’ His awn aacre.”

Surely there was a tender thoughtfulness and reverent consideration about this which would more than atone for the ignorance!

But to return from this digression. I never heard the term “arvel” or “averil” applied to the biscuits produced at the funeral feast, but the ideas both of the “heir ale” and the biscuits still linger on. So great an offence is it for a mourner to refuse to partake of the biscuits, which are long, narrow, finger-shaped ones, that I am almost inclined to think that there must be attached to them something of the notion which comes out so strongly in some parts of Wales, where the professional “*sin-eater*” is still to be found, who, by consuming a cake specially prepared for that purpose, takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

And as to the “heir ale,” or feast at which the heir takes his place at the head of the house, one has only to bear in mind the share that the bees have in the matter to feel convinced that, if the biscuits are “Celtic,” at least part of the feast is “Norse.” Not only must the bees be told of the death and their hives put in mourning, but the new head of the house must take down to the hives a dish from the funeral feast and say to the bees, “I have brought you a bit and a sup of all that’s on the table, and I hope you will be pleased.” Mead, as we all know, was the standing drink of the heroes in Valhalla, and unless the new heir secured the services of the bees, their old

master might perchance still demand them. Whilst upon the subject of the bees I may add that particular attention should be paid to the first swarm after a death. If it is easily taken you may be sure they are satisfied with their new master, but if by chance they settle on a dead branch of a tree he will not be likely to live long to benefit by their service. If they fly away and are lost, their old master has called them, and you had best consult the wise man to prevent a repetition of the loss.

And with another reference to the banquet in the halls of the chosen or Valhalla, I must conclude this already too protracted paper.

We had had considerable trouble with the Wainfleet lads about stone-throwing in the churchyard, and one day my churchwardens called my attention to a newly-made grave, on which lay a mug and a jug, evidently quite freshly broken, and said, "The boys have been at it again, and, what's more, have also stolen the flowers that Widow Davy had put upon her husband's grave."

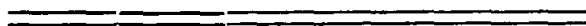
I at once saw that no chance stone had caused the fractures. So, putting my officials off with some excuse, I went to see the widow, and said to her, "Well, Mrs. Davy, how came you to forget to give your old man his mug and his jug?"

"Ah, Sir," she replied, "I knew you would understand all about it. I was that moidered wi' crying that I clean forgot to put 'em along of him in t' coffin. I puts t' groat in his mouth to pay his footing, but blame me if I doesn't leave out t' owd mug and jug. An' whativver he'd do wi'out 'em I can't think. So I goes and does t' next best: I *deads* 'em both over his grave, an', says I to mysen, 'My old man, he set a vast o' store, he did, by yon mug and jug, he'd knaw 'em out o' a thousand, and when their ghoastesses gets over on yon side, he'll holler out, "Yon's mine, han' 'em over to me"; and I'd jest like to see them as would stop him a' having of 'em an' all, for 'e were rare an' handy wi' 'is fistesses, so be 'e were crossed above a bit, 'e were.'"

Curiously enough this man was the very last of the race of what were called the "Wainfleet Boatmen," men who earned their living by barge-work before the days of railways, and who for generations had always followed the same occupation, and scorned the land itself and all connected with it.

Cannot we almost see the descendant of the old Vikings striding up the halls of Valhalla, putting down his groat, and demanding to be admitted to the free fellowship of his mighty forbears, then boldly claiming his own, and joining gaily in the glorious banquet?

Need I add more to justify the title of my paper?



THE FEATURES OF THE ADVANCE OF THE STUDY OF DANISH ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE LAST DECADES.¹

CONTRIBUTED BY DR. W. DREYER.

NOT sixty years ago, most of what pertained to pre-historic man was unknown. By “archæology” was then meant the study of Roman, Egyptian, and Phœnician civilisation. Beyond this, the sober man of science hesitated to venture. The vast space of time covered by the history of man’s development—that space which lay before civilisation, before written records, before any inscribed records whatsoever—was the playground for the fantasy of the peoples, that fantasy that created Sagas and myths. Here gods and demi-gods, giants and monsters, dwarfs and ogres, were allowed full play. Here was space and time for all that could not bear the harsh light of the present and the historical past. Here was placed that Golden Age to which man clings so steadfastly. Though he dare not hope that that time will yet come when, here on earth, the lion shall lie down with the lamb, yet he insists upon the darkness of pre-historic times being illumined by rays of light from Paradise. And the poet seized the tempting material with a poet’s cunning and a poet’s license. He changed and added, till childish myths and dark fables glittered with wisdom and beauty. He deepened what was already deep,

¹ Translated by Miss Elsie Warburg.

and adorned with a rich, profound and mystic symbolism all that appealed to the imagination, all that was already veiled in parables, simple, though not always easy to understand; a symbolism which gave to men's minds what they ever desire—questions to answer and riddles to solve.

But the real riddle of the past was not solved, its difficult question was not answered; no one even tried really seriously to do so. Learned men even could not view the childhood of the race dispassionately. They were too deeply entangled in the web wrought by priests and wise men which stretched over centuries of folklore and of ever-changing religions. True, the man of science knew that much of what was said and believed of the Past was an idealistic invention; true, that every now and then a gleam of light shone forth, but altogether what met him when he turned to the veiled darkness of the past was not encouraging. Nowhere was there a distinction between light and darkness; nowhere was there a separation of land and sea; nowhere could he trace a division of time or advance in development. All was chaos!

But, slowly and steadily, in all quietude, a serious work had begun in this direction. One fine day the first light shed its flickering flame on the fogs and mists of the dark ages. The flame was first kindled in the North. From Denmark and Sweden its beams shone forth to far lands, where answered light after light uprose, all having their origin in the little flame which shone out from Thomsen's poverty-stricken museum in Copenhagen, and from Sven Nielson's study in Lund.

What these men did was, to all appearance, not much—only the trisection of Northern prehistoric times into the simple divisions of the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Age. But this was just what was wanted, just as certainly as that the first thing that must be done to a large and chaotic collection of facts, whether historic or prehistoric, is to try to introduce some sort of order into

them, founded on the chronological sequence of events.

It is certain that there were many before Thomsen and Nielson who had seen that man's development had passed from a Stone to a Metal age ; that there had been a time when the craft of metal-work was unknown, and that this time lay before the age in which metals were made into ornaments, weapons, and tools. But no one had endeavoured to get a universal acknowledgment of this truth, for no one had made a serious attempt to prove it by introducing order into the Sagas and by investigating the large collection of mythological fables. And no one had realised how important such a division of time must become ; even Thomsen and Nielson can hardly have realised it in its entirety. What it means is simply this : the growth of mankind has been continuous. It has passed from dark to light ; from brutality to gentler ways ; from lower to higher stages in everything—in spiritual development, in morality, in religion. And the means to further this growth has been this, and this only : the energetic and untiring endeavours of mankind itself to obtain the mastery over Nature, to learn her laws and to practise the use of them ; to become master of all substances, to manipulate and use them in ever-increasing ways for the furtherance of his innumerable aims. The object of the study of prehistoric ages must, therefor, be this : to grasp the tendency of all these efforts, so that we shall one day see the path on which the children of men have wandered clearly illumined before us in all its length and in all its windings.

The first step towards this goal was the trisection of the Northern prehistoric ages. For Thomsen and Nielson did not only divide them into Stone and Metal ages, but they divided the Metal age at once into the Bronze and Iron age. Their hypotheses aroused great opposition, as all new ideas must ; opposition not only from those who oppose every effort of science to shed light on darkness, but also from men of science. The point around which opposition gathered after a time was the division of the

Metal age; all were very soon convinced that a Stone age had preceded this, not only in the North, but over the whole of our planet. But this only served to make the discussion as to whether a Bronze age had preceded the Iron age more bitter, especially as many tried to assert the same universality of this as of the change from the Stone age to the Metal age.

It was from Germany that the attacks on the Bronze age came. With wonderful persistency German scientists maintained that the use of iron *must* have been known before that of bronze; that the elementary metal *must* be older than the alloy, and that, therefor, the Bronze age was, and must be, a chimera. This discussion had a great influence on the development of Northern archæology. For decades it forced its promoters to devote most of their work to the support of the triple division; it forced them again and again to rake up the question for renewed discussion, and always to seek new facts, by the help of which they might successfully refute the continued attacks of the opposition. By this means a thoroughness was introduced into the work which has been extremely important. In Northern archæology half-finished work, imaginings and jumpings to conclusions are unknown. If such things peep forth, they are promptly and entirely suppressed. Tradition which, especially in Denmark, has descended from Thomsen through Worsaae to Sophus Müller has, hitherto, been strong enough to guard the banner.

In the seventies the strife at length died out. The outcome was absolute defeat to the opponents of the Bronze age. The argument which was clung to longest in Germany by one section was, that those decorations on the Northern bronze articles which were not produced by moulding must have been made by iron, perhaps even by steel tools, for nothing else would make the least impression on the hard bronze. Therefor iron, and even steel, must have been known in the so-called Bronze age, which, therefor, was also in reality an Iron age.

To this the Danes could make no other reply for many years than that these decorations were not, and could not have been, produced by steel tools, as everything clearly pointed to the fact that these latter were unknown in the Bronze age. A goldsmith from Copenhagen—one Boas—solved the question. He was much interested in prehistoric metalwork, and often visited the Museum, where he was one day asked by Sophus Müller (now Director of the Museum) what was his opinion about the decorations on the bronze articles. At first he said he could not imagine that they had been made by anything but steel-edged tools; but on reaching his home he decided to make experiments to test this question. The result was that the next day he showed a piece of bronze of the same composition as that of the Bronze age (90 per cent. copper and 10 per cent. tin), which he himself had decorated in the same style as the objects in the Museum with an instrument made of bronze—a small, hardened graving-tool. This ended the matter, and I mention it only because it is characteristic of the way in which Danish archæology is studied. The help which science has received from laymen in this direction is priceless.

Now, it is universally acknowledged that the development, at least in Europe and doubtless in the greater part of Asia, was in the following order: Stone, Copper, Bronze, Iron. For it has been proved that, in those places where it is most likely that the smelting of metals originated, a Copper age preceded the Bronze age, though this was probably of short duration, and there are very few traces of it in the North, where the craft of working in metal, and even of the extraction of metals, was originally imported from other lands. The semi-civilised races of Central America even seem at the time of the arrival of Europeans on their shores to have been in a state of transition from the Stone to the Copper and Bronze ages. Nowhere have we found as yet any traces that iron was known and used before copper. There are,

of course, many races, including the whole of the Negro races of Africa, who have gone straight from stone to iron, and for this reason: that this metal was imported while they were still in the Stone age.

Though the Danish archæologists devoted so much time to the discussion of this question, they were yet able to consider other questions. Side by side with this there was another strife about the division of the Stone age, and this has been no less important to Danish archæology. The European Stone age is, as is well known, divided into the *Palæolithic age*, the age of the caves and river-gravel, an age in which nothing was known of *polishing* stones, and the *Neolithic age*, "*l'âge de pierre polie*," as the French have unhappily called it. In the Palæolithic age Denmark can hardly have been inhabited. This was the time of the glaciers, in which it assumed its present shape. It is just possible that it may have been visited in interglacial periods, but of that we have no proof. The whole Stone age of the North is Neolithic, but in the early stages of it the polishing of flints was unknown. It is just this point that has been discussed for so many years. It was found at the very beginning of the search in the kitchen-middens of the sea-coast settlements in the early fifties, that in many of these there were neither polished flint articles nor any of the beautiful and delicately-made prehistoric objects which were so well known from being found in the surface soil and in the large dolmens. From this, and from several other things, Worsaae concluded that the oldest kitchen-middens dated from an earlier period, in which the polishing of flints was unknown; whilst Steenstrup insisted that they represented only one special side of the life and culture of the Stone age, and that in reality they were contemporary with, and were made by, the same people who had erected the large dolmens, with their beautifully polished and finely carved stone-work. Both views had supporters, and the strife continued—or, rather, flared up from time to time—till quite lately. It has ended, presumably,

with the death of Steenstrup, and ended in the triumph of Worsaae's opinion. Many and detailed have been the investigations it has given rise to, but it has always been possible for those in favour of the division to refute their opponents' arguments. There was one particular implement found in the kitchen-middens around which, after a time, all the strife centred. This was the so-called triangular axe. Steenstrup's followers would not acknowledge them to be edge tools, much less axes, and then was asked, and rightly: "But where are the edge tools of that time? There must have been some, and so long as you cannot show us them, so long must we withhold recognition of your division." Well, after a time axes were discovered with marks of use upon them, and these always on that side which Worsaae rightly called their "edge," and one single specimen of them was found with the remains of a wooden handle attached to the side opposite to the edge, and finally it was practically demonstrated that they could very well be used to cut wood. This ended the discussion.

In 1886 I was fortunate enough to discover a very large kitchen-midden, hitherto unknown, situated by the little village of Ertebølle, in Himmerland, by the Limfjord. I explored it by myself at first, and afterwards directed the attention of the archæologists to it. A commission of archæologists, geologists, botanists, zoologists, etc., was formed and sent to the place, where they worked for several years, and have examined a part of this, the largest kitchen-midden found in Denmark. When the results of that part of the examination which is now concluded are published, it is to be hoped that the last doubts on the subject will have been disposed of, and that it will be proved that Denmark was inhabited before the art of polishing flint was known. Our archæologists will then have this aim in view: to locate this time either in the Palæolithic or the Neolithic Stone age. It will most likely be shown to belong to a purely Northern development, and it will probably also be proved that

neither in England, France, nor elsewhere was the art of polishing stone known in the beginning of the Neolithic age, and therefore the name, "*l'âge de pierre polie*," is most unsuitable.

Undoubtedly there is a time, extending over several centuries and lying between the old Northern Stone age and that age in which cairns and dolmens were erected, in which there was an immigration of peoples, who brought with them polished implements of a Western European type; or a flood of culture must have proceeded from Western Europe which brought these to the country. For we find, especially in Denmark, very many pointed and sharp-edged axes of flint, many spear-heads, etc., which are exactly the same as the English and French, but which are never or, at least, very seldom, found in our tombs.

We have here a period of time, the graves of which are unknown (as are those from the time of the kitchen-middens), but which will be of vast importance to the correct understanding of our prehistoric period, as it forms partly one of the connecting links between Western Europe and the North, partly the foundation for the great and peculiar development which was attained by the Stone age in Denmark.

Sophus Müller has succeeded in producing a reliable chronology of the Stone age—a space of time covering centuries, or even so much as 1,000 years, must be capable of division. We should be able to distinguish between the ancient and the more modern, even in those times. The foundations for such division must be partly the shapes of the graves, partly the different types of ancient implements; both have received the attention of Müller. With regard to the graves, they start with the small square-chamber type, made of four stones with one flat stone on the top. They gradually develop into the large "passage-tombs," consisting of roomy, in most cases oblong, chambers with entrance by a roofed and paved passage, which varies in length. Later these changed to

coffins, which gradually decrease in size, so that at the end of the Stone age we find them just large enough to contain the body in a recumbent position.

It was not wholly unknown that there was a group of graves in Jutland which differed greatly in character from the usual type of grave of the Stone age—the Dolmen. They have been called “framed graves,” because, as generally found, they consist of an oblong chamber framed by a single line of smaller stones. Very often the larger portion of this stone frame is missing, often the whole has disappeared, so that the grave can only be traced by disturbing the soil. These burial places are generally situated in the earth, not on the surface, and are sometimes covered by a tumulus. In the eighties I, in working at the archæological discoveries in the Rinds and Gislum Herreder, called attention to the presence of such graves, whose chief distinguishing feature is that both the chamber and the coffin are missing, and that they are underground; but no research, either by myself or others, was comprehensive enough to discover their real value.

Then the Rigsdag voted an annual subsidy (a considerable one for Denmark) for a thorough archæological investigation of the country, and later on for the examination of the thousands of mounds scattered over the country, mounds either already destroyed or partly so, and much light was cast on the subject by these examinations. Scores upon scores of these “framed graves” have been explored in South West Jutland, whence they extend, though in more scattered numbers, North and East. Hundreds of them are marked by the round tumuli (generally quite small) which cover them, and there must certainly be thousands which are brought to light only by accident, because they are far below the surface, unmarked by a mound. It is likely that this kind of sepulture also took place outside Jutland, at all events in Funen, where a certain kind of flint axe is also found buried some feet deep. Anyhow, the graves in Jut-

land form a large group by themselves, characterised not only by their arrangement, but by their contents. They consist almost exclusively of a certain late type of flint axes, of flint spear and arrow heads, also of a later date, and finally also of battle-axes made of granite, sandstone, etc., generally extremely delicately-made and bored through for the handle. Some of the finest things of this sort in existence come from these "frame graves." We have from them relics of the latter part of the Stone age, which lasted so long in a certain section of the country that we can trace a definite development in it. But the origin of these articles must be sought for outside the country, towards the South and West. It is supposed that a tribe of people from those parts came to the country and wandered up the West coast of Sönder Jutland, and of South Nórrejylland, or else that a road much used for commerce was formed there. Which of the two is right, later discoveries must show.

In later years our previous ideas of the earlier Stone age of the North have been much extended by research. Formerly it was thought that their culture was at a very low level, and that the people were hunters or fishermen without any knowledge of farming. It was known that it was not so in other countries, but it was long before any proof was found that even here in the North the people of the Stone age had domestic animals and tilled the ground. Without doubt, the people of the early Stone age lived solely on the proceeds of hunting and fishing, supplemented by the berries, fruits, and roots of the forest. But in the later Stone age circumstances, even here in the North, had changed. Though we have not found a single bone belonging to a tame animal in those kitchen-middens in which are found no articles of polished flint, we find them in the middens of a somewhat later period. It has been shown that as early as that period marked by polished flint—articles of a Western European type—goats, and most likely oxen, were kept; it is practically certain that in the time of the cairns both

sheep and pigs were introduced, and most likely horses as well, so that even the people of the later Stone age knew and kept practically all the domestic animals and mammals now known in the North. Dogs had been brought in by the first immigrants. In the cairns, and those kitchen-middens contemporary with them, are found the bones of the domestic animals I have mentioned, and often also those of wild animals, sometimes shaped into implements.

But agriculture was also pursued in some degree, at all events towards the end of the Stone age. We come to this conclusion partly because we have found—sometimes even in the graves—the large stones, hollowed out by friction, used here, as everywhere else in the world, for grinding corn; partly because some of the corn has, curiously enough, been found preserved. Thus, a Jutland schoolmaster called attention to the fact that he had found some grains of wheat (now turned to coal), besides the impression of others, baked in the clay of which the vessels of the Bronze age were made. This gave the impetus to many investigations, by which it was shown that even in the clay vessels of the earlier Stone age these grains were found, though only of wheat; while in the vessels of the Bronze age grains of barley and millet seed were found as well, but no rye. Finally, in 1899 a most interesting discovery was made in a swamp, consisting of a sickle with a blade of flint and a handle of wood. Without doubt it was intended and used for the corn harvest. Therefore wheat must have been grown at the end of the later Stone age. As yet we do not know how far back the art dates, perhaps it was even known in the beginning of the later period, but certainly not in the earlier Stone age. Many things lead us to suppose that millet also was grown in the Stone age, though as yet we have no proof.

We must therefor set right our ideas about the Northern people of the later Stone age. They were not wild men who obtained from Nature a precarious exist-

ence by means of fishing and hunting. They were a comparatively civilised people who tilled the ground and bred many domestic animals, although they fished and hunted as well. They were undeniably expert in many arts (the making of clay vessels, stone carving, wood carving, etc.); they produced wonderfully many weapons and tools, and in great variety; the division of labour was fairly even; they had fixed residences, commercial intercourse, a religion whose standard was not low; their sense of beauty was great, as is shown by their ornamentation and the beautiful shapes of their weapons, which are sometimes almost refined in form. In short, they had attained to a definite stage of civilisation.

Thus we see that, in the last decades much has been done by Danish archæologists to determine the circumstances of our Northern Stone age. And the same has in no less degree been done for the Bronze age. All investigators were obliged to occupy themselves for some time solely with this period, and that has, of course, borne fruit.

One question that has been raised is still unanswered. It is this: Was the Bronze age in the North due to an immigrant tribe or to the advance of civilisation without any exterior influence? The scarcity of articles from a transition stage point to the first solution, but the regular continuation to the early Bronze age of the method of burial peculiar to the later Stone age (stone coffins, with one recumbent corpse, not cremated) points to the second, or, at least, to the fact that the immigrants were very similar to the original inhabitants in manners and customs. But it is quite clear that throughout the whole of the Bronze age there was commercial intercourse with Southern countries, at first with the lands around the Danube and Hungary; later with Italy. By this means much bronze and gold was brought to the North, most likely in the form of weapons, ornaments and tools, which were, of course, melted down after a time to be re-made according to the taste of the period. Comparatively few

of the foreign-made articles have survived ; among them are some originating from England and France, with which countries there must therefor have been communication. The means of exchange in Denmark in all probability was, first and foremost, amber, which, though found in such imposing quantities among our relics of the Stone age, seems to have quite disappeared in the Bronze age—it was, of course, exported.

The Bronze age in the North extended over a long period ; it is strange how long it took for iron to make its way. As a result, it reached a higher state of development in Denmark than anywhere else on the face of the earth. This is what gives to it its high state of civilisation and its scientific importance. For eight or ten centuries bronze and gold were the only metals known in the North. Such a long period must be divided into lesser periods, and it must be decided what belongs to an earlier or a later period, what is beginning and what is end. Here also a great work has been performed. In 1859 Worsaae divided it into an earlier and a later Bronze age, after he, as early as 1843, had come to the conclusion that those bronze articles which were decorated in spirals were the oldest.

It may be thought that such a common, simple and elementary decoration as the spiral was rather a slender ground for such an important decision. Yet it is not found in our Stone age ; it appears very much in the Bronze age, and can be traced through the East of Central Europe to the countries around the Danube ; to Mycenæ and Egypt ; and it is a proof of Worsaae's penetration that he so quickly became aware of its importance. After a time there was seen to be a sharp division between two groups of bronze articles, an earlier and a later, and the division between the sections to which they belong is almost contemporary with a great alteration in the burial customs : the transition from the burial of unburnt corpses to cremation.

Throughout the Bronze age there is a clearly traceable

development in the shapes of the graves. On the whole, those are the oldest which contain unburnt corpses, in stone coffins or under heaps of stones covered by mounds, which are often of great size.

Contemporary with these are the famous graves with oak coffins, which have given us such priceless facts about the manners and customs of the earlier Bronze age; about the costumes of men and women; about the way in which weapons and ornaments were worn, etc. We know, by this means, that the men did not wear beards; and by a minute microscopical inspection of the well-preserved locks of hair, it has been demonstrated that the race was fair.

Occasionally we find, in graves of the same shape and size, burnt bones, which point to a new way of treating corpses, namely, by cremation; and this invention almost makes the division between the early and later Bronze age. But a few burnt bones do not require a large grave, and so, gradually these diminish in size, as do also the grave-goods. Very soon the custom arose of burying the carefully collected bones in a clay urn specially designed for the purpose, which also contains the small articles of bronze or bone which are buried with the corpse. These urns are placed, surrounded by stones, either in the old mound or in a new and smaller one on the top of it; they are also found singly in fields, or in larger quantities in a graveyard.

Outside the graves have been found many new articles, both field and household implements belonging to the Bronze and the Stone ages, which we presume must be hidden treasure or commercial stock; some of them must also be votive offerings and some dowries, which were hid during the lifetime of the person in hopes that they might be of use to him or her in the hereafter. By such means is the value of the grave-goods, so poor in the later Bronze age, enhanced. The votive offering often consists of war-gear, such as seven axes, thirteen spearheads, etc., which we must presume, were buried in fulfilment of a promise

to the gods, as a thankoffering for preservation in danger or illness, etc.

Sophus Müller has proposed to divide each of the two divisions of the Bronze age into two, based on the differences in the decorative work; but it follows that the differences are less well-defined, and the transitions more gradual, the shorter the periods into which the time is divided.

Among the detailed investigations pertaining to the Bronze age must be mentioned those to which the well-known "lurer" or war trumpets have given rise. In the peat marshes of Denmark and South Sweden many large and beautiful trumpets have been found, a yard and more in length, and made of bronze. They are of very thin metal and made in several pieces, which are afterwards fastened together; they are richly ornamented and often have chains and small pieces of brass attached. They are always found in pairs, which are seen to belong together owing to the bend in one of the pair being always in the opposite direction to that in the other; in one case no fewer than three pair were found together. Much was spoken and written about these instruments, but to little effect until the composer, Hammerich, examined them to find their musical powers and value. The six which were in the best state of preservation were restored, only very slight repairs being needed, and it was found that they were in excellent working order and highly perfect.

Many carefully calculated peculiarities of shape and work contributed to give them a mildness and softness of tone, which was, nevertheless, powerful. Each pair is carefully tuned together, the notes being C, D, E \flat , E and G. The instrument was held upwards when played on; in this position it is well-balanced, and the sound is carried to the audience. The notes are the so-called "natural notes," which are produced only by the lips. The register contains 12 notes in 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ octaves; if the harmonic notes in the bass are included, it is increased to 22,

but we, of course, do not know whether all were known in prehistoric times. The tone of the instrument is very much the same as that of a bassoon; as they are found in pairs tuned together, there is reason for supposing that they were used together. This is, quite briefly, the chief result of Hammerich's investigations; it is surprising that, at so early a period, we in the North were possessed of such highly developed musical instruments. But it agrees very well with our present knowledge of the Bronze age and its people. We knew that the people of the later Stone age had a comparatively high state of culture; we can, therefore, hardly call it surprising that we have found that the Bronze age was still farther advanced. It is an obvious result of the investigations of modern times that we have realised that the Northern Bronze age was a period of extraordinary development, a period hitherto undervalued. The people bred cattle and were agriculturists. We have already mentioned the domestic animals and kinds of corn known to them. They had fixed dwelling-places, and cleared large expanses of forest. It is shown by the fact that the large groups of tumuli found all over the country are so often collected around about the sites of modern villages, that many of these were actually founded in the Bronze age. Long rows of these tumuli are also found stretching for miles across the heaths of Jutland, where they are in the best state of preservation. They often either begin or end at ancient fords, and there is no doubt that they ran by the side of old paths or roads. These, of course, followed the habitations, so that we can trace the course of the builder by means of these tumuli.

It is easy to shew that the people of the Bronze age were commercial and seafaring men. The steady influx of metal must be due to commerce. It was paid for by amber, and perhaps also by hides and corn and such things. Shipbuilding was fairly well developed; canoes hewn out of oak logs were no longer sufficient. On many bronze implements, especially razors, and on a certain

kind of large neckrings, we find engraven seascapes, shewing us large vessels with a keel, and a prow rising high from the bow which makes the vessel look as if it had a double prow. We find these ships again in the “*helleristninger*” (“cliff carved”) figures (Fig. 1), carved or scratched on large isolated stones in Denmark, and far oftener on the faces of cliffs in Bornholm, Sweden and South Norway. But up till then we had found no boat preserved from that far away time. Great was therefor the



FIG. 1.—HELLERISTNINGER OR ROCK CARVINGS.

Scale, about 1-12th natural size.

rejoicing when a few years ago a great number of small models of the boats or ships of the Bronze age were found. Buried in a clay vessel were found over 100 small boats a few inches in length, made of thin gold sheets, beaten out with the help of bronze tools. (Fig. 2.) It was clearly shewn that they had, in the Bronze age, good seagoing vessels, built of laths fastened together with wooden pegs. The hoard must be considered as belonging to the aforementioned class of votive

offerings. The gold boats must have been given or sacrificed to the gods as a thankoffering for success in battle, or a danger surmounted, or some such thing; either all at once or at different times. Perhaps here was the shrine of a god of the sea.

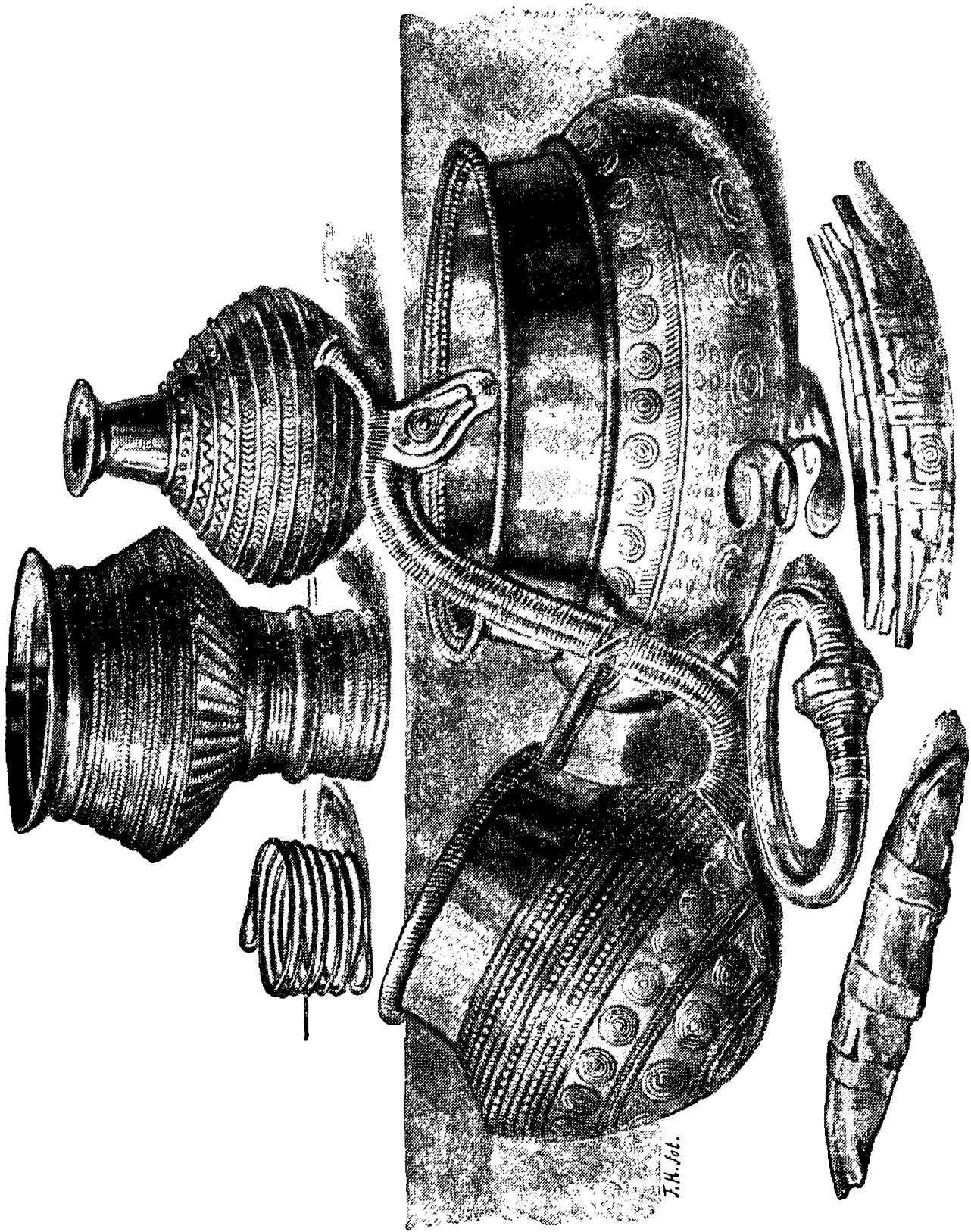


FIG. 2.—GOLD VESSELS OF THE BRONZE AGE, INCLUDING THE THY GOLD VOTIVE BOAT.
Scale: gold beaker, 1-5th to 1-6th natural size; vessel with handle, 1-5th; and gold boat, 1-3rd.

Industry had also reached an advanced stage. The craft of working in bronze is highly developed; even now we cannot mould so finely or thinly as they did. The “lurer” and many of the bronze vessels must awaken the admiration of all who know anything about metalwork.

Soldering was unknown; if an article of bronze was injured, they tried to repair it with melted bronze, or by putting on a thin plate. The rich ornamentation is executed with a finished skill. We see, by various means into which we cannot now enter, that their industries were highly developed. For example, the stuffs found in the oaken coffins are beautifully woven, and together with them are found finely knotted hair nets and some caps with an outer layer of upstanding threads; it has been found impossible, hitherto, to discover how they were made.

Our knowledge of the time is, of course, fragmentary, and will always remain so; we know little of the undoubtedly highly developed craft of woodcarving; still less of the arrangements of their dwellings, etc., but we have discovered enough, especially during the last decades, to make us respect the people of the Bronze age. Their weapons, ornaments and tools, the form and ornamentation of which are highly artistic, say much for their sense of beauty. The votive offerings, the grave-goods, shew that they had a religion; a belief in gods and in a life after death; it is most probable that they had an undeveloped mythology and many Sagas. The “lurer” testify to their being musical, and among a people who had cultivated and understood music so well the poetic muse cannot have been wanting. Writing was unknown, but the “helleristninger” must be considered as a sort of pictorial writing, by which the memory of great men and great deeds is preserved to posterity.

The result, then, of Northern research into the Bronze age is this: We now have a thorough outlook over the time, over its culture, chronological sequence of events, etc.; and, above all, we can with justice maintain that hardly anywhere else on this earth has the culture of the Bronze age reached so high, so rich and so peculiar a level as here in the North.

We have trespassed for so long on the time and patience of the audience, that we must be brief in our account of

the Iron age, though there is much in it that is new and interesting.

Many years ago Worsaae shewed that the Iron age could also be divided into, at least, "the earlier" and "the later." But subsequent investigations have shewn that, at all events in Denmark, there are more and well-marked divisions:—

1. The Pre-Roman, or so-called "Celtic" period.
2. The Roman Iron Age.
3. The Age of the Folk-Wanderings (or migration of tribes).
4. The Post-Roman Age.
5. The Age of the Vikings.

It is presumed that the Bronze age superseded the Stone about 1,200 years before the commencement of our present reckoning. Iron superseded bronze about 800 years after, so that we now place the commencement of the Iron age at about 400 B.C. We have found, very occasionally, a small ring, a pin, or a knife of iron from the latter part of the Bronze age; but these are merely forerunners. The appearance of iron in any bulk coincides with the introduction of an entirely new style and shape of antiquities. The question as to whether this was owing to the immigration of a people to whom the use of iron was known, or to the advance of culture, is still unsolved.

The whole character of the oldest iron articles, and those of bronze and gold, and the clay vessels contemporary with them, are of the so-called "Celtic" pattern, though with certain modifications about them that shew that the imported patterns were altered (at any rate in some degree) to suit Northern tastes.

The Celts, whose last descendants have been driven to the western extremities of Europe—to Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany—lived in the last centuries before Christ in Central Europe, whence their influence reached the North, and was strong enough to end the Bronze age. The Iron age does not betoken a revolution in the culture

of the North. The change consists in the gradual superseding of bronze by iron in weapons, implements and ornaments conducing to the change of taste. They continued to use bronze, but "zinc bronze" (brass) superseded "tin bronze." The burial customs remained unchanged, at all events at first, and cremation continued to be the rule, our burial and "burning steads" (bones and coal from the fire buried in a hole) continue through the earlier and the later ages; but it became more usual for the graves to be collected in one large space, either under a very low mound or with none at all.

The earliest division of our Iron age became known to us only by the investigations of Amtmand Vedel in Bornholm, whose investigations are among the most admirable and thorough of our archæology. Thousands of "burning steads" were excavated, and small even mounds built of stones (*róser*) belonging partly to the later Bronze, partly to the Iron age. From among these Vedel speedily separated some, the few and poor antiquities of which were of a hitherto unknown kind, differing from all others. Similar ones have since been found in other places, particularly in Jutland, while the islands seem only to have been slightly affected by the advance of culture; the Bronze age seems to have continued there a century or two longer than in other parts of Denmark.

The modifications in style which are also found in North and Central Germany at a corresponding period are soon lost; a homely style is adopted, founded, however, on the imported one.

The "Celtic" Iron age in Denmark is still far from being so well known to us that we can see and comprehend it at a glance; we shall, therefor, not dwell long on it, but merely mention the chief discovery: the wonderful carts from Dejbjerg Mose in West Jutland. A few "helleristning" carvings, and a single small cart of bronze, on which a large bronze vessel was placed (for use in a temple or at the festal board of a chief), shewed that carts were not unknown in the Bronze

age. But no one thought that immediately after its close the people in the North were in possession of a conveyance so technically perfect, comparatively speaking, as the "Dejbjerg" carts, one of which, in a restored condition, is exhibited in the National Museum in Copenhagen, and is considered among its chief features. They had four wheels, with nave and rim of ash. The latter was in one piece, which was bent round while in a state of heat, and covered with a heated tire. The sides, the shafts, etc., are of ash, richly ornamented with bronze, the ornamentation being of a foreign pattern, consisting also, in part, of human faces made of bronze. In the midst of the cart is a square stool, in which the chief, or, may be, the idol, for whose use it was intended, had his seat. They were arranged for two horses, which were harnessed by means of a yoke. Without doubt, the workmanship (which is splendid) is Northern, though the style is the so-called "Celtic."

Gradually, as the power and might of Rome increased, Celtic culture and the Celtic race had to bow before her, and soon we can trace the influence of Rome in the North, whither, however, as is well known, her political power never extended. The Celtic age was superseded, about the time of the birth of Christ, by a Roman, or rather an age whose style was strongly influenced by Roman culture, and in which Roman manufactures were largely imported. At the time when the migrating tribes crossed the Roman border, classical imports and influence continued, but the age was peculiarised here in the North by the influence of Germanic style, and therefore the time of the "folk-wanderings," in the third, fourth and fifth centuries, forms a special period by itself.

Within the last few years we have made two discoveries concerning this period: one in Jutland relating to the older Roman period, and one in Seeland relating to the time of the folk-wanderings, both peculiarised by their graves. In Jutland we have a group of graves from the Roman time, the so-called "pot-graves," to which, among others, I

called attention in the eighties. We find in mounds, or buried in level ground, large coffins made of slabs of stone, sometimes covered with one or several big stones, but generally open. At a first glance they resemble



FIG. 3.—CLAY VESSELS FROM JUTLAND GRAVES.

the dolmens of the later Stone age, but there are peculiarities in their building which make it easy for us to distinguish them from these, even without reference to the grave-goods. The bodies are generally unburnt; they evidently belong to a period when cremation was giving

way to burial; but they are generally decayed, because most of the graves are uncovered and filled with earth. Generally there is only one body in each coffin, and there are very few antiquities—a pin or ring of iron, or a knife of the same metal is all. But, as compensation, the departing one was given a whole set, as a rule, of beautifully finished clay vessels, small and big, many of which are still unbroken—evidently a selection of household vessels, filled with meat and drink for the deceased's use on his way to the other world (Fig. 3). I have found as many as from 12 to 14 unbroken vessels in one grave. There are also often heaps of broken ones, placed either in the coffin or buried quite close to it. There are great quantities of them; very often a score or more pieces, and yet the pieces never make up one single whole vessel. There seems to be no other explanation of this than that all the vessels used at the funeral feast must have been destroyed, and some of the pieces collected and buried with the departed, as a sort of memento of the great feast. In my collection I have a great many pots from these "pot-graves," mostly of delicate shapes borrowed from Roman metal pots, and beautifully ornamented. Similar pots are found in great quantities in the large burial places of the same date in Funen, where, however, cremation was still the rule.

The other group of graves is the so-called "skeleton graves" from the islands, especially Seeland. When digging in level ground skeletons are often turned up, buried from three to four feet down, generally several close together, but the groups are always very small. Very often there are no antiquities with them, but sometimes these small burial places have yielded an astonishing number of these, partly of Roman, partly of Germanic origin. Rich finds have been made, especially at Nordrup, near Ringsted, and Vallóby. There are gold and silver objects, especially rings and wonderful buckles; bronze vessels; beads of glass and mosaic, but, above all, some especially beautiful and unique glass vessels, which

make the "skeleton graves" famous and are peculiar to them. The name shews, of course, that the bodies were unburnt. The glass vessels are, in some cases, ornamented with artistically executed raised figures in coloured glass, representing men and animals in the arena. Gladiators, bulls, lions and tigers are seen in bold relief; the movements depicted are true to nature, and, strange to say, the vessels, though the workmanship is undoubtedly Italian, are rarely found in other places.

From the time of the folk-wanderings date also all the discoveries in the marshes—the Nydam and Thorsbjerg finds and others. They all point to great battles, either civil or against invading tribes, whose manners and customs must, however, have been similar to theirs. It was supposed that the victors collected the spoils of war and sunk them in holy lakes or in the entrances to the fjords as an offering to the gods.

But since Sophus Müller's latest investigations a different conclusion has been arrived at. The things cannot have been sunk in water, as is shewn by the condition of the surrounding turf and of the articles of wood. They must have been left lying on the field of battle, an open spot in the forest (a forest since become a marsh) or have been collected in a heap on the ground in the vicinity. After a time the marsh has covered them; maybe the local streams and surroundings have changed in course of time, so that the growth of the peat has been more rapid. It is not certain that this explanation holds for all cases, but it does for some. But the character of the discoveries is not changed. It is still possible that they are articles given to the gods as a thankoffering for victory.

The most wonderful antiquities which have ever been found in the North are the famous Jutish gold horns which, unhappily, were stolen and melted down at the beginning of the century. Heavily have all we who take an interest in the early history of our country felt this loss; so much the more that the pictorial representations that so richly adorned them were unique, and there

existed not even a rubbing of them. There was, therefore, great joy when, a few years ago, it was announced that an article in the style of the gold horns had been found, just as rare and peculiar as these, though of a baser metal of less value. (Fig. 4.)

It was the big silver vessel, already world-renowned, from Gundestrup marsh in Jutland (Fig. 5), a unique, and, to



FIG. 4.—SILVER HORN FOUND IN GUNDESTRUP MARSH,
WITH RUNES:

"EK HLEWAGASTER HOLTINAR HORNA TAWIDÓ" (I, HLEWAGASTER OF HOLT,
MADE [?] THE HORN).

Scale, about 1-6th natural size.

science, invaluable discovery. It was found in pieces in a peat-marsh, the silver plates, of which the upper part consisted, were laid in the bottom of the vessel. It is richly decorated, partly with large, bold figures of men, gods, animals, etc., some of which make up pictures of proces-



FIG. 5.—SILVER BOWL FOUND IN GUNDESTRUP MARSH (see page 88).
 Scale, about 1-4th natural size; diameter, 26½ cm.

sions, sacrifices and hunting scenes. The lower part thus represents an ancient ox hunt, while the outer plates of the sides each consist of a large head of a god or goddess, and the inside ones of pictures, some of which are difficult for us to understand. Unquestionably the vessel dates from the time of the folk-wanderings; the figures are partly of classical origin, but barbarised; doubtless the influence was Gaelic. The evidence points to the fact that Gaul was the place from which were drawn the chief features in the style, etc., if it be presumed that it was made here in the North. Nothing further can be said about it at present, though of course conjectures, more or less fantastic, have not been wanting; among these, that of Professor Steenstrup, who endeavours to trace its origin to the Buddhist regions of Central Asia, is the most fantastic and improbable.

At the time of the folk-wanderings an ornamentation, founded on imported pictorial representations, and consisting of figures of animals, began in the North. This continued and was developed in the subsequent period, "the post-Roman," which is marked by the gradual rise of a style peculiarly Northern, which continues to hold sway till well into the Middle Ages. Sophus Müller and Professor Wimmer especially have within the last few years produced important works concerning the post-Roman and Viking periods. The former has written the history of animal ornamentation, and shewn how it arose and developed in the North, how in time new incentives were brought to it from England and Ireland, from Carlovingian France, and even from Byzantium; how these importations influenced it, how it adopted them and changed them according to requirements, and how from time to time it stiffened and sterilised, only to reawaken into new life and power.

Wimmer, on the contrary, devoted himself to the task of deciphering Runic stones and Runic epitaphs, a field in which his work has been of great importance. However, very little of importance has been discovered about the

last period of prehistoric times, or the Viking period, or the time just preceding it, at least in Denmark. We are poor in relics from that time in comparison with Norway and Sweden ; Bornholm alone has yielded anything of importance in this direction. Recently, however, parts of Denmark, and especially Jutland, are yielding evidence ; here one thing, there another. One special discovery has been made, namely, a few graves which were hitherto wanting to this period. Christianity was introduced earlier into Denmark than into the rest of Scandinavia ; up to a certain point this would explain the scarcity of relics and antiquities from the close of these times, but it was, and is, a riddle, what has become of the riches which the Viking expeditions brought to Denmark, and where the graves from that period are. Would that time and patience may solve this, as so many other riddles.

Here I will cease. Dare I hope that the readers have received the impression that we in Denmark, as throughout the North, have worked hard and ceaselessly to shed light on to our early history. The Parliament has liberally voted money for surveys, investigations and excavations throughout the country, and for the preservation of relics discovered ; also for purchases to enrich the collections in the National Museum at Copenhagen and private museums ; as well as for the acquisition of many large and important private collections.

The inhabitants all over the country have, on the whole, taken up an attitude favourable to archæological research. The permission to excavate mounds, graves, kitchen-middens, etc., has generally been willingly accorded. A great proportion of the excavated mounds, numbering altogether more than 2,000, has been *given* to the State, sometimes even by poor cottagers. The larger collections have been endowed with many valuable finds made by private people, and many extraordinary objects have been saved from destruction by the sensible and careful proceedings of laymen. It is becoming more and more the general practice when, in digging, articles of

value are lighted upon, to stop work until scientific aid is forthcoming in order to the proper oversight of the operations.

Throughout the country are now scattered many public collections, and a very large number of private collectors have assisted in saving much that would otherwise have been lost. Public and private collectors have in general worked well together, and it is seldom that the National Museum does not obtain whatever it wants.

Last, but not least, our archæologists have, as I have striven to shew, worked hard and persistently, following in the footsteps of their great forerunners, Thomsen and Worsaae. To them, before all, we owe the fact that the prehistoric times of Denmark are disclosed to us and more clearly illuminated than, I suppose, is the case in any other country. It is to them we who love our country and its memories owe a priceless debt of gratitude.

On the conclusion of the reading of the paper, Mr. G. M. Atkinson observed that the Society was to be congratulated on having secured such an interesting paper, which deserved to be disseminated throughout the country. Archæologists were much indebted to Steenstrup and the others whose work was chronicled by Dr. Dreyer. He had himself visited the splendid museum at Copenhagen, and seen the bronze horns referred to by Dr. Dreyer, but that they had been tuned and played upon was new to him. The division into the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages was now very generally accepted.

Mr. Alfred Nutt thought the date assigned in the paper for the Iron Age was not in accordance with the latest chronology. The date of its commencement in Northern Europe was, he thought, now generally assigned to about the year 400 B.C.

Mr. A. F. Major, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Dreyer for the very interesting paper he had sent, said it gave a clear and comprehensive picture of the valuable

work done by Danish archæologists. In the vote of thanks he wished to include also the lady who had assisted the Club by translating the paper for their benefit.

Pastor A. V. Storm showed a picture of the *lur*, or bronze horn, and said he had been present when they were blown in Copenhagen. He himself came from a parish where the squire was interested in archæology, and wished to show by practical proof that a stone axe was a workable implement. He accordingly employed workmen to build a house, using only stone axes to hew the timber. When the Danish public were actually roused to the importance of archæology, the whole population went quite crazy in the search for relics, hunting for stone axes and other stone implements in every corner of the land, and the result was the establishment of a very fine museum.

Dr. Karl Blind said that the paper was highly interesting, and was very ably translated. The whole world was indebted to Danish archæologists for investigating their own antiquities, which are connected with those of the Germanic race in general. Although Dr. Dreyer was right in the main, yet even earlier than 60 years ago there were workers in the field. We were too apt in modern days to forget the forerunners. Thus—not to mention classic examples—the German poet, Herder, in his “Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind,” had already a remarkably good notion of Evolution, and spoke of the protoplasm of the sea, and you can find a strong foreshadowing of Evolution in Kant, in Goethe, in Lamarck, in Geoffry St. Hilaire, in the German work of Kaupp, which contains a full system of Evolution. Having afterwards become a religious mystic, Kaupp recanted in later years. But it was Darwin’s great glory to establish the Evolution view firmly by full scientific research. So Herder also made a study of pre-historic man. Dr. Dreyer was not right in assigning to German archæologists wrong ideas as to the Bronze and Iron Age; for it is possible that the Iron Age may have

preceded the Bronze in some parts of the world. Ages slide into each other, and much excavation must be done before we can assign to each its right chronology. Pre-historic men were sometimes far more skilful in sketching animals than their immediate successors; and if we judged by their art alone, we should assign them the later date. When Dr. Dreyer spoke of Keltic and Roman work in Denmark, he did not understand him to mean that the Kelts and Romans had been there, but only that ornaments of such patterns were found. The carriage with a yoke was, he thought, more probably for oxen than for horses; the Teutonic idols, when drawn about in carriages, were drawn by sacred oxen or cows. The *lura*, or bronze horn, was supposed to have been used at gatherings of Germanic tribes. Its name is, no doubt, connected with a German word meaning "to sound," which also appears in the name Lorelei, the Sounding Slate Rock, on the Rhine, where the famous water sorceress resides. We often found that a German word could only be illustrated from Scandinavian sources, and *vice versâ*. In fact, we were all of one stock, and, as Saxo Grammaticus says, the Danes and Angles were brothers to the Germans.

THE BALDER MYTH AND SOME ENGLISH POETS.

BY MRS. CLARE JERROLD.

THE Balder myth is deservedly one of the most popular of the Northern myths. It is given in its fullest form in the Prose Edda written by Snorre Sturlasson, who lived from 1178 to 1241. It is told also by an unknown author, in a poem called "Balder's Dreams," the earliest version of which appears in a vellum known as "Codex Arna Magnusson, 748," judged to have been written about 1280. The first part of this poem is lacking, and a poet of the seventeenth century has supplied a "foreword" to it, which shows a great difference both in manner and metre. Saxo Grammaticus also, in his "Danish Chronicles," gives a version of the Balder story, which is, however, so distinct from that of the Edda that I shall not touch upon it. There are in existence other Eddic fragments. In "Völuspá" Balder's death and resurrection are foretold, in "Grimnismál" his dwelling is described, and an old poem by Wolf Uggason tells of his funeral pyre. Concerning this last, we learn from the "Laxdæla Saga" that Olaf Peacock, the son of Hoskold, "made a hall in Herdholt, bigger and finer than men had ever seen. There was drawn on it famous stories, on the wainscot and on the roof; it was also so well built that it was thought fairer when the hangings were down. At the coming of winter there was a multitude bidden to Herdholt, for the hall was finished by that time. Wolf Uggason was bidden, and he made a

poem on Olaf Hoskoldson, and upon the stories which were written in the hall, and he delivered it at the banquet. This poem is called 'Hus-Drapir'—'The Praise of the House'—and is a fine poem. Olaf requited the song well." "Hus-Drapir" was composed in the tenth century, about 975 or 980, and as it was made to suit various pictures upon the roof and walls of Olaf's house, which pictures were from "famous stories," we must conclude that the Balder myth was older than that date. Indeed, it is impossible to trace its exact date and origin, it having probably arisen in some sun-myth.

The extract from the "House Song" runs as follows (I am using the translation given in the "Corpus Poeticum Boreale")—

First rides Frey, the king of men, on his boar with golden tusks, to the balefire of Odin's son. The goodly Heimdal rides his horse to this pile that the Gods had cast up for the dead son of the wise friend of the ravens. The wide-famed God of Soothsaying (Odin) rides to the huge wooden bale-pyre of his son. (The song of Praise is gliding through my lips) I can see the Walkyries and the Ravens following the wise God of Victory, the Lord of the Holy Draught. Thus, within, the roof is adorned with memories. . . . The mighty giantess launched the ship, while the champions of Odin felled her charger."

Snorre Sturlasson mentions this song, saying that "Wolf Uggason made a long oration about the story of Balder," and wrote from it his famous paraphrase, which the late Sir George Webbe Dasent has translated as follows—

The second son of Odin is Balldr, and of him it is good to say, he is the best, and him all praise; he is so fair of face and so bright that it glistens from him, and there is a grass so white that it is likened to Balldr's brow, that is of all grass the whitest, and thereafter mayst thou mark his fairness, both in hair and body. He is wisest of the Asa, and fairest spoken and mildest; and that nature is in him that none may withstand his doom; he abideth in the place hight Breiðablik, that is in Heaven; in that stead may naught be that is unclean, as is here said—

"Breiðablik hight, where Balldr hath for himself reared a hall.
In that land where I wis there lieth least loathliness."

But the beginning of this tale is that Balldr the Good dreamt dreams great and perilous for his life: but he told the Asa the dreams. Then took they their rede together, and that was done, that they should pray peace

for Balldr against all kinds of harm ; and Friggr took an oath, that they would spare Balldr, of fire and water, iron and all kinds of ore, stones, earth, trees, sicknesses, beasts, birds, venoms and worms. But when this was known and done, then was it the pastime of Balldr and the Asa, that he should stand up in their meetings, and that all the others should some shoot at him, some hew at him, some smite him with stones ; but whatever was done to him he took no scathe, and this all thought a great gain. But when Loki, Lanfeg's son, saw that, it liked him ill that Balldr was not scathed. He went to Fensalir to Friggr, and turned him into a woman's likeness : then asks Friggr, if the woman knew what the Asa did at their meetings. She said, that all shot at Balldr and that he was not scathed. Then said Friggr, " No weapon nor tree may hurt Balldr, an oath have I taken of all of them." Then asks the woman, " Have all things sworn an oath to spare Balldr ? " Then answers Friggr, " There grows one tree eastward of Valhall that is called mistletoe ; that methought too young to crave an oath of." Then next went the woman away ; but Loki took the mistletoe, cut it off, and went to the meeting. But Hödr stood without in the ring of men, for that he was blind ; then said Loki to him, " Why shootest thou not at Balldr ? " He answers, " Because I am blind, and see not where Balldr is ; and another thing, too, I am weaponless." Then said Loki, " Do thou after the likeness of other men, shew Balldr worship as other men. I will shew thee whereabout he stands ; shoot thou at him with this wand." Hödr took the mistletoe, and shot at Balldr under the guidance of Loki. The shaft flew right through him, and he fell dead to earth ; and that is the greatest mishap that hath befallen Gods and men. When Balldr was fallen, then failed the Gods words and speech and hands too to take hold of him ; and each looked at the other, and they were all of one mind toward him who had done the deed, but none might avenge it, that was so holy a place. But when the Asa strove to speak, then it was that a wailing came up first, so that none might tell the others of his grief with words ; and Odin, as was meet, bare this scathe worst of them all, for he could best deem what a mickle loss and lessening there was to the Asa in the falling away of Balldr. But when the Gods came to themselves, then quoth Friggr, and asked : " Who might be there with the Asa, who would win for his own all her love and goodwill (and this, said she, he shall have), if he will ride on the way to Hel and try if he can find Balldr, and bid Hel a ransom if she will let Balldr fare home to Asgard." But he that is named Hermod the Brisk, Odin's lad, he was ready to undertake the journey : then was taken Sleipnir, Odin's horse, and led forth ; and Hermod got up on that horse and galloped away. Now the Asa took Balldr's body and bore it to the seashore. " Hringhorn " hight Balldr's ship, she was the biggest of all ships ; her would the Gods launch forth and make thereon Balldr's balefire, but the ship went not forward. Then was sent into Jotunheim, after the witch that is hight Hyrrockin ; but when she came, she rode on a wolf, and had adderworms for reigns ; then leapt she from her steed, but Odin called for four Baresarks to mind the horse, and they could not hold him before they felled him. Then went Hyrrockin to the stern of the ship, and shoved it forwards with the

first touch, so that fire sprang out of the rollers, and all the land shook ; then was Thor wroth, and grasped his hammer, and would forthwith break her head, till all the Gods asked peace for her. Then was borne out on the ship Balldr's body, and when his wife Nanna, Nef's daughter, saw that, her heart was broken for grief, and she died ; she was borne to the pile and thrown into the fire. Then stood Thor up and hallowed the pile with Miöllnir, and before his feet ran a certain dwarf, that is named Litr [stain] ; but Thor spurned at him with his foot, and dashed him into the fire, and he was burnt. But many kinds of folk sought this burning ; first is to say of Odin, that with him fared Friggr and the Valkyriur and his ravens ; but Freya drove in a car with the boar that hight Gullinbursti or Slidrugtamir, and Heimdall rode the horse hight Galloppr, but Freya [drove] her cats ; thither came also much folk of the Rimegiants and Hillogres. Odin laid on the pile the gold ring that hight Draupnir, to it followed that nature, that every ninth night there dropped from it eight gold rings of even weight ; Balldr's horse was led to the pile with all his gear.

But of Hermod it is to be said, that he rode nine nights through dark dales and deep, so that he saw naught before he came to the river Giöll, and rode on the bridge over Giöll ; it is thatcht with shining gold. Moðguðr is the maid named who keeps the bridge. She asked him his name or kin, and said that the day before there rode over the bridge five bands of dead men, "but my bridge rings not save under thee alone, and thou hast not the hue of dead men ; why ridest thou here on Hel's way ? " He answers, " I shall ride to Hel to look for Balldr ; but hast thou seen aught of Balldr on Hel's way ? " And she said that Balldr had ridden thither over Giöll's bridge, "but beneath and northward lies Hel's way." Then rode Hermod thereon till he came to Hel's grate ; then got he off his horse and girthed him up fast, got up and cheered him with his spurs, but the horse leapt so hard over the grate that he came never near it. Then rode Hermod home to the hall, and got down from the horse, went within the hall, and saw there his brother Balldr set in the first seat ; and Hermod tarried there the night over. But at morn then begged Hermod of Hel, that Balldr should ride home with him, and said how great wailing was with the Asa. But Hel said, that it should now be tried whether Balldr was so beloved as is said. " And (quoth she) if all things in the world, quick and dead, weep for him, then shall he fare back to the Asa ; but be kept with Hel if any speak against him or will not weep." Then stood Hermod up, but Balldr led him out of the hall, and took the ring Draupnir, and sent it as a keepsake to Odin, but Nanna sent Friggr a shift and yet more gifts, (and) to Fulla her thimble. Then rode Hermod back on his way, and came to Asgard, and told all the tidings that he had seen and heard. Next to that the Asa sent over the whole world messengers to pray that Balldr might be wept out of Hel ; all did that, men and things quick, and earths and stones and trees and all ores, just as thou must have seen that all these things weep when they come out of frost into heat. When the messengers were a-faring home, and had well done their errand, they find a certain cave wherein a hag sat, she is named Pavék ; they pray her

to weep Balldr out of Hel. She answers, "Pavek will weep with dry tears Balldr's balefire; nor quick nor dead gain I by man's sorrow. Let Hel hold what she has."

The poem known as "Vegtamskviða," or "Balder's Dreams," describes the horror of the Gods at Balder's death, and Odin's attempt to learn his son's fate. The original is written in the metre called epic by Professor York Powell. The foreword to this is so obviously a modern addition that it may be ignored. Thorpe's translation, known as "Sämund's Edda," runs—

Together were the Æsir all in council,
and the Asynjor all in conference,
and they consulted, the mighty gods,
why Balder had oppressive dreams.

Uprose Odin, lord of men,
and on Sleipnir he the saddle laid;
rode thence down to Nifelhel.
A dog he met from Hel coming.

It was blood-stained on its breast,
On its slaughter-craving throat and nether jaw.
It bayed and widely gaped
at the sire of magic song;—
long it howled.

Forth rode Odin, the ground rattled—
till to Hel's lofty house he came.
Then rode Igg to the eastern gate,
where he knew there was a Vala's grave.

To the prophetess he began a magic song to chant,
towards the north looked, potent runes applied,
a spell pronounced, an answer demanded,
until, compelled, she rose, and with deathlike voice she said:

"What man is this to me unknown,
who has increased for me an irksome course?
I have with snow been decked, by rain beaten,
and with dew moistened: long have I been dead."

"Vegtam is my name, I am Valtam's son,
Tell thou me of Hel; from earth I call on thee.
For whom are those benches strewed o'er with rings,
those costly couches o'erlaid with gold?"

“Here stands mead for Baldr brewed,
over the bright potion a shield is laid;
but the Æsir race are in despair.
By compulsion I have spoken; I will now be silent.”

*“Be not silent, Vala! I will question thee
until I know all. I will yet know
who will Baldr’s slayer be,
and Odin’s son of life bereave.”*

“Höðr will hither his glorious brother send,
he of Baldr will the slayer be,
and Odin’s son of life bereave.
By compulsion have I, etc.”

“Be not, etc.
who on Höðr vengeance will inflict,
or Baldr’s slayer raise on the pile.”

“Rind a son shall bear in the western halls:
he shall slay Odin’s son when one night old.
He a hand will not wash, nor his head comb,
ere he to the pile has borne Baldr’s adversary.
By, etc.”

“Be not, etc.
who the maidens are that weep at will,
and heavenward cast their neck-veils?
Tell me but that: till then thou sleepest not.”

“Not Vegtam art thou, as I before believed;
rather art thou Odin, lord of men!”

“Thou art no Vala, nor wise woman,
rather art thou the mother of three Thurses.”

“Home ride thou, Odin, and exult!
thus shall never more man again visit me,
until Loki free from his bonds escapes,
and Ragnarök, all-destroying, comes.”

There are also, besides this poem, some fragments which
I may as well give here. In the “Hyndla-liod” we read—

There were eleven Æsir reckoned,
when Baldr on the pile was laid;
him Vali showed himself worthy to avenge
his own brother: he the slayer slew.

From “Völuspá” we get—

I saw of Baldr, the blood-stained God,
Odin's son, the hidden fate.
There stood grown up, high on the plain,
Slender and passing fair, the mistletoe.

From that shrub was made, as to me it seemed,
A deadly, noxious dart. Höðr shot it forth,
But Frigg bewailed, in Fensalir,
Valhall's calamity. Understand ye yet or what?

Unsown shall the fields bring forth,
All evil be amended; Baldr shall come,
Höðr and Baldr, the heavenly Gods,
Hropl's glorious dwellings shall inhabit.
Understand ye yet or what?

From the “Song of Grimnir” we have—

Breiðablik is the seventh, where Baldr has
built for himself a hall, in that land
in which I know exists the fewest crimes.

These are the only fragments of the Balder myth in the Poetic Edda.

In the poem of “Balder's Dreams,” Snorre's paraphrase, and the fragments, we get the germ of the great religious faith of the old Norsemen, the belief in Destiny, a faith which is constantly recurring, and which was very tersely expressed by Sigurd Fafnirsbane when the terrible tragedy of his life was foretold him: “Let us part in peace; no man can withstand his destiny.” Odin goes to the Volva to enquire, to learn particulars of his son's death, but he makes no attempt to avert the event. He submits, though, “as was meet, he bare this scathe worst of all, for he could best deem what a mickle loss and lessening there was to the Asas in the falling away of Balder.” But it was Frigg, the Goddess of the fruitful earth, and who therefore would feel the loss of Balder, if we regard him as the sun, more than any other, who for once struggled, and struggled unavailingly, against destiny.

Before commenting upon the English versions of this

myth, I will give some idea of the metre in which “Balder’s Dreams,” or “Balder’s Doom,” was written. The metre of the oldest known Northern poems was a kind of blank verse. One long line was divided in the middle by a pause, each half of the line being made up of a fixed number of measures, the first root syllable of each measure being stressed or accented. It was usual to have two words in the first half-line and one in the second half-line beginning either with the same consonant or with a vowel, the vowels being generally different. Between the accented syllables came a slur, composed of more unimportant words, which were recited in a monotone. From this, by some modifications, was evolved what Prof. York Powell calls “the epic metre.” In this a measure *might* be only one word with its rest, the slur being the unaccented part of the word; the quantity of syllables before the final or line pause was disregarded, often one letter stress was left out in the first half-line, thus giving only two alliterative words to the line. The following is an example—

Senn voro Æsir allir á thingi,
Ok Asynjor allar á mali :
Ok um þat réðo ríkir tivar
Hvi væri Baldri ballir draumar.

This I have attempted to translate, keeping both the rhythm and the alliteration—

Then went the Æsir all to a meeting,
And the Asynjor all to a talking :
And the mighty Gods took council together
Why had Balder dreams of bale.

The “Corpus Poeticum Boreale,” edited, classified and translated by Gudbrand Vigfússon and F. York Powell, is a book of such importance that it is impossible not to refer to it in this paper, especially as I owe much to the great labour and painstaking research of which its pages show evidence. It gives text and translation of the poetry of the old Northern tongue, together with a valuable intro-

duction and appendices. But though it is a translation of poetry, there is something to be desired in it as a poetic translation. For instance, the musical

Senn voro Æsir allir á thingi,
Ok Asynjor allar á mali :
Ok um þat réðo ríkir tívar
Hvi væri Baldri ballir draumar,

is rendered—"At once the Auses all went into council, and all the Goddesses to a parley. The mighty Gods took council together, that they might find out why dreams of evil haunted Balder." It is, as may be seen, businesslike and clear, without any retention of old words once common to England and Scandinavia, the meaning of which must be known to all readers, such as "bale." The translation goes on—"Then Wodan arose, the ancient sire, and laid the saddle upon Sleipnir's back. Away he rode down towards Mist Hell's abode, and there met him a whelp (Hell hound) coming out from a cave ; there was blood on its breast as it ran by the way, baying at the Father of Spells."

This is all written in approved nineteenth century language, showing that admixture of tongues now known as English. For instance, *parley*, a distinctly French word, is surprising ; the original is *mali*, derived from *mæla*, to speak, to talk. That the Goddesses came to a talking would have been more in keeping with the simple character of the Icelandic tongue. Further on we have "ancient sire," both words coming to us from the Latin through the French. These are words which, I think, will be found nowhere in the Icelandic vellums, and are both better rendered by words having a common origin with the text. *Aldinn gautr*, the old father. Professor York Powell himself writes in the "Dictionary of the Icelandic Tongue" of *gautr* as seeming to mean *father*, but in some cases *man*. Later on he uses the word *sibyl* where the original is *volva*. This seems to be a careless inter-mixing of Northern and Greek terms which is likely to lead to confusion. In the Dictionary, by a very ingenious

process of dropping a letter here and adding another there, the Professor seeks to find a common origin for "volva" and "sibyl." He asks, "May it not have been adopted from some Scythian tribe?" but this attempt at a derivation is altogether too obscure to be an explanation, or to warrant the use of the word in place of "wise-woman" or "seer." There is no attempt in this translation of Northern poems to retain their alliterative feature, though here and there it appears: *e.g.*, "In the Halls of the West, Wrind shall bear a son, Wali"; but even that would have been more euphonious if literally rendered, "Wrind shall bear Wali in the Western Halls."

For these reasons, important as the "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" is for students, it yet gives only the faintest representation of the form of the poems, disregarding their peculiar style, and using modern English and French words indiscriminately.

About the middle of last century a poem was published by Thomas Gray, called "The Descent of Odin," of which Thomas Carlyle says—

Gray's fragments on Norse Lore, at any rate, will give one no notion of it, any more than Pope will of Homer. It is no square-built, gloomy palace of black ashlar marble, shrouded in awe and horror, as Gray gives it us: no; rough as the North Rocks, as the Iceland desert it is; with a heartiness, homeliness, even a tint of good humour and robust mirth in the middle of these fearful things. The strong old Norse heart did not go upon theatrical sublimities; they had not time to tremble. I like much their robust simplicity, their veracity, directness of conception.

A few lines from Gray's Ode will be sufficient as an example of the sort of atmosphere with which he surrounded the old Gods—

Uprose the king of men with speed,
And saddled straight his coal-black steed;
Down the yawning steep he rode
That leads to Hela's drear abode.
Him the Dog of Darkness spy'd,
His shaggy throat he opened wide:
While from his jaws with carnage filled,
Foam and human gore distill'd;

Hoarse he bays with hideous din,
 Eyes that glow and fangs that grin,
 And long pursues, with fruitless yell,
 The father of the powerful spell.
 Onward still his way he takes,
 (The groaning earth beneath him shakes,)
 Till full before his fearless eyes
 The portals nine of Hel arise.

Now there is a gruesome, bloodthirsty 'air about this which has no place in the original. Gray's Hel is a mixture of the Grecian Hades and Northern Nifelheim, the torture-place of the damned. One feels that dark misery surrounds it in a way that is incompatible with the burial-place of a "prophetic maid," as he describes the volva : a term which has the advantage of that of sibyl in that the Greek prophetic is softened by the Northern meyer or maid. I will compare one stanza with the "*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*" and the original text—

Mantling in the goblet see
 The pure beverage of the bee,
 O'er it hangs the shield of gold,
 'Tis the drink of Balder bold.
 Balder's head to death is given ;
 Pain can reach the sons of heaven !
 Unwilling I my lips uncloze ;
 Leave me, leave me to repose.

The editors of the "*Corpus Poeticum*" translate—

For Balder the mead stands ready brewed, the walls decked with shields,
 while the sons of Auses are in merry mood. All unwilling have I spoken ;
 I will speak no more.

The literal translation runs—

Here stands for Balder mead well brewed,
 Sweet drink ; shield overspread ;
 And the Asmegir wait impatient.
 Unwilling spoke I ; now will I be silent.

There are two difficulties in this passage. Gray speaks of a shield of gold "hanging over" the goblet of mead. Prof. York Powell goes further, though he drops the

superfluous word gold ; he says the walls were “ decked ” with shields. It is this slipshod following of an incorrect rendering which has done so much during the present century to obscure what would otherwise have thrown light upon the customs of those who lived when the song was composed. The three Icelandic words *ligr shioldr yfir*, literally rendered, are “ shield lies over.” The mead was brewed in a large vessel, and a shield placed over it as cover, a common custom. Plainly read there is no obscurity in the passage. The second difficulty, which is discussed later on, lies in the word *Asmegir* and its renderings.

Matthew Arnold wrote a long poem called “ Balder Dead,” basing it upon Snorre Sturlasson’s paraphrase of the “ House Song.” It occupies 37 pages of an octavo volume, and is divided into three sections—firstly, Sending ; secondly, Journey to the Dead ; thirdly, Funeral. It is written in blank verse by a mind steeped entirely in Greek classics ; so steeped that it can recognise no other style or form. Thomas Gray, writing almost during the renaissance of Northern literature, may be excused for dropping into rhyme and a Grecian atmosphere ; but it is somewhat surprising that a scholar like Matthew Arnold, who wrote when Norse literature had become a field of eager research, should so strip an old legend of every natural characteristic as to render it practically unrecognisable. His verse is of that noble, flowing elegance which must lend dignity to any suitable subject, the names and main incidents of the Balder myth are correctly given, but the rugged outlines are filled in with such a mass of foreign detail that the student who knows and loves the Northern story must give up in despair the task of reading “ Balder Dead.” It is as though we took Thor, the ruddy giant, whose muscles were stronger than iron, whose eyes flashed fierce flames from beneath shaggy brows, who in wrath gripped his hammer until his knuckles shone white beneath the skin, whose footsteps caused the earth to tremble, and whose voice sent the Northern monsters shaking to their caves :

it is, I say, as though we took Thor, and dressed him in silk and fine linen, caused flowing robes to encircle his limbs, and a crown of laurel to nestle in his flowing mane, and then led him before the public as an example of an old Norse God. Or it is like an endeavour to fill a cold, rocky, Icelandic valley with Mediterranean sunshine, with a southern sky, with vines and noble groves, with marble palaces and a languorous air. The thing is not conceivable. The real Norse Hel is quite different to the Greek Hades, and the deeds, words, and lives of the Northern heroes are surrounded by an atmosphere which has no resemblance to that which envelopes Jove on high Olympus.

If Prof. York Powell and Gudbrand Vigfússon translate into modern English, Matthew Arnold clothes his subjects with modern thought. Listen to this passage—

And all the Gods and all the heroes came
And stood round Balder on the bloody floor,
Weeping and wailing; and Valhalla rang
Up to its golden roof with sobs and cries,
And on the tables stood the untasted meats,
And in the horns and gold-rimmed skulls the wine.
And now would night have fall'n, and found them yet
Wailing; but otherwise was Odin's will.
And thus the father of the ages spake—

“Enough of tears, ye Gods, enough of wail!
Not to lament in was Valhalla made.
If any here might weep for Balder's death,
I most might weep, his father; such a son
I lose to-day, so bright, so loved a God.
But he has met that doom which long ago
The Norns, when his mother bare him, spun,
And fate set seal, that so his end must be.
Balder has met his death, and ye survive—
Weep him an hour, but what can grief avail?
For ye yourselves, ye Gods, shall meet your doom,
All ye who hear me, and inhabit heaven,
And I too, Odin too, the Lord of all.
But ours we shall not meet, when that day comes,
With women's tears and weak complaining cries—
Why should we meet another's portion so?
Rather it fits you, having wept your hour,
With cold, dry eyes, and hearts composed and stern,
To live, as erst, your daily life in heaven.

By me shall vengeance on the murderer, Lok,
The foe, the accuser, whom though Gods, we hate,
Be strictly cared for, in the appointed day.
Meanwhile, to-morrow, when the morning dawns,
Bring wood to the seashore, to Balder's ship,
And on the deck pile high a funeral pile,
And on the top lay Balder's corpse, and put
Fire to the wood, and send him out to sea
To burn; for that is what the dead desire."

So spake the King of Gods, and straightway rose,
And mounted his horse Sleipnir, whom he rode;
And from the hall of heaven he rode away
To Lidskialf, and sate upon his throne,
The mount, from whence his eye surveys the world.
And far from heaven he turn'd his shining orbs
To look on Midgard, and the earth, and men.
And on the conjuring Lapps he bent his gaze,
Whom antler'd reindeer pull over the snow;
And on the Finns, the gentlest of mankind,
Fair men, who live in holes under the ground;
Nor did he look once more to Ida's plain,
Nor tow'rd Valhalla, and the sorrowing Gods;
For well he knew the Gods would heed his word,
And cease to mourn, and think of Balder's pyre.

Compare this with the original—

And he fell dead to earth; and that is the greatest mishap that hath befallen Gods and men. When Balder was fallen, then failed the Gods words and speech and hands too to take hold of him; and each looked at the other, and they were all of one mind toward him who had done the deed, but none might avenge it, that was so holy a place. But when the Asa strove to speak, then was it that a wailing came up first, so that none might tell the others of his grief with words; and Odin, as was meet, bare this scathe worst of them all, for he could best deem what a mickle loss and lessening there was to the Asa in the falling away of Balder. But when the Gods came to themselves, then quoth Frigg, and asked: "Who there might be with the Asa who would win for his own all her love and goodwill (and this, said she, he shall have), if he will ride on the way to Hel and try if he can find Balder, and bid Hel a ransom if she will let Balder fare home to Asgard.

In spite of its noble metre, Matthew Arnold's account of this tragic moment is thin and weak and unpoetic compared with that of the Prose Edda, and it reeks with modern thought. For instance, he mixes the idea of the tears which the Greek heroes shed so copiously, and

thought no cowardice, with a present-day sneer at “woman’s tears and weak, complaining cries,” both ideas being quite foreign to the Norse thought. There is in the Edda only about three instances of tears: once when Nature wept for Balder; once when Freyia is described going through the world and seeking Odr, who has left her, and in her search she weeps tears of gold; and the third is that of the maids, casting their neck-veils up to Heaven and weeping, possibly referring to clouds. In the original it is not the King of the Gods who calls his followers to order, but Frigg, who, desperate, tries to escape destiny. From this scene of woe, Odin goes to his high seat and calmly gazes upon the world, doing what might by some be regarded as his duty. This fine self-control, this civilised moral effort to keep up appearances, is possible among stoics, or even among us, poor necessity-driven creatures of the nineteenth century; but the whole picture is foreign to the wild forces of Nature which the myth is meant to portray, or to the mythical giants who long ago impersonated these forces. If the Northern sun goes down into night, the summer grass will not keep up the appearance of bright greenness, the animals who spring into life at the call of heat will scarcely be gay in the cold darkness, the rivers will not refuse to freeze at the touch of frost. The English poet perhaps meant to imply that although Balder was dead law continued, and the world went on as usual. Odin took care of the Lapps and Finns as before, and the Gods of the elements, of human life and of love, continued their labours. But this is reading into an old myth the thoroughly modern idea of resistless law and order, of a just God, bearing no malice, and Who remains steadfast because He is so high above all life that no tragedy, however terrific, can touch Him. This conception has nothing to do with the primitive beliefs with which I am dealing; in point of fact, the death of Balder was one of the most disastrous in that chain of woes which was to lead to the destruction of Odin’s world. Though Manhome did not at once feel the

effect of the bright God's disappearance, it yet eventually went through a terrible winter, the length of three, following upon which the volva tells us in her prophecy—

Brother shall fight against brother, kinsfolk shall break the bonds of kindred. It shall go hard with the world ; an age of axes, an age of swords, shields shall be cloven, an age of storm, an age of wolves, ere the world falls in ruin.

It is impossible not to admire the poetic style, the musical words, the even, rhythmic flow of Matthew Arnold's poem, but also impossible not to wish that such loving labour had been bestowed upon one of the Greek rather than upon one of the Northern myths. The constant recurrence of such a line as—

She spoke, and on her face let fall her veil ;
They spake, and each went home to his own house ;
And straight the mother of the Gods replied—

is irritating. The heroes, too, are made to say and do things inconceivable in their circumstances. Balder, the gladsome and bright, the mention of whose name was like a breath of spring, who was the impersonation of sunlight and purity, wears, in Matthew Arnold's poem, a false air of conventional dignity, as he sits crowned by Hela's side, honoured among the dead. His sentiments, too, are strange—

But not to me so grievous, as, I know,
To other Gods it were, is my enforced
Absence from fields where I could nothing aid ;
For I am long since weary of your storm
Of carnage, and find, Heremod, in your life
Something too much of war and broils, which make
Life one perpetual fight, a bath of blood.
Mine eyes are dizzy with the arrowy hail,
Mine ears are stunned with blows and sick for calm ;
Inactive, therefore, let me lie, in gloom,
Unarmed, inglorious.

This picture is foreign to what mythical history can be gathered from the Eddas, the only war in which the

Gods were embroiled being that with the Wanæs, or Gods of the West—a war which was eventually settled by mutual agreement. Otherwise we are told simply of the fighting against evil forces of Nature, frost giants, etc., and of wars on Manhome. Again, the people who inhabit Hel and Nifelhel in the Norse Lower World are not by any means those of whom Balder says, “the wan tribes of the dead ”

Love me, and gladly bring for my award
 Their ineffectual feuds and feeble hates—
 Shadows of hates, but they distress them still.

Turning from Matthew Arnold I would mention one poet who, though not keeping strictly to the old rhythm, has yet given us a short poem so much in the spirit of Northern verse that it is a pleasure to read it. Longfellow's poem written upon the death of Tegner, the Swedish poet, begins—

I heard a voice that cried,
 “ Balder the Beautiful
 Is dead, is dead ! ”
 And through the misty air
 Passed like the mournful cry
 Of sunward sailing cranes.

I saw the pallid corpse
 Of the dead sun
 Borne through the Northern sky.
 Blasts from Nifelheim
 Lifted the sheeted mists
 Around him as he passed.
 And the voice for ever cried,
 “ Balder the Beautiful
 Is dead, is dead ! ”
 And died away
 Through the dreary night
 In accents of despair.

In place of one long line, divided into two, Longfellow has a stanza of six short lines, each line equal to a half-line of the Northern epic. But he produces the same rhythmic effect as is produced by the original poem. His

Challenge of Thor, too, shows that he also enters into the spirit of the old music—

I am the God Thor! I am the War God!
I am the Thunderer! Here in my Northland,
My fastness and fortress, reign I for ever!
Here amid icebergs rule I the nation.
This is my hammer, Miölnir the Mighty,
Giants and sorcerers cannot withstand it!

Force rules the world still, has ruled it, shall rule it;
Meekness is weakness, strength is triumphant;
Over the whole earth still is it Thor's day!

Passing now to the third part of my paper, I propose to give you but a slight sketch of the Norse Hel as reconstructed by modern students. The late Prof. Rydberg, of Sweden, has perhaps given more thought and study to this subject than any other writer, and in many of his points he is upheld by those pioneers of modern research, the brothers Grim. Without entering fully into detail, I would shortly consider where Balder went, and who was the person called Hel.

A series of traditions in regard to a Lower World were put in writing from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, *e.g.*, “Eric Vidforla’s Saga,” the “Saga of Hervor,” history of Olaf Tryggvasson as given in “Flateyabok,” also Saxo’s “History of Denmark,” in which are to be found three accounts of mortals penetrating to the lower world. The heroes of three of these journeys, like Hermod, pass through a country of darkness, and come to a river, over which there is a bridge. In one, “Gorm’s Saga,” the bridge is like that in the Balder myth, covered with gold. In all of these, on the other side of the river lies the abode of the dead. In each is described not only a place of horror, but an abode of bliss; the latter is in one case a walled city, into which death cannot enter; in another it is a glittering plain, with a giant king, Gudmund, who, with his fair sons and daughters, live always. Another, again, is composed of glistening fields, where a few, a very few, persons, walk in splendid robes; and in another a

beautiful country, where neither night nor winter comes, and flowers never die. This place of bliss is called Odainsakr, or Jorðlifanda manna—the Acre-of-the-not-Dead and the Field-of-the-Living.

Under the dominion of the king Gudmund are curious mead cisterns, plated seven times with gold, into which hung balls and braids of silver. By them lie an arm-ring of wonderful size, a gold-plated tooth of some strange animal, and an immense horn decorated with pictures and flashing with precious stones. When the mortals who visited this place tried to steal these treasures, the arm-ring became a venomous serpent, the horn became a dragon, and the tooth became a sword, which killed the thief.

Now the only persons in the Lower World in the Eddas who is kind and just, like Gudmund, is the giant Mimi, who guards the well of sacred mead, the water of which turned everything white like silver, and into which the rootlets of the world-tree drop, being silvered over with the mead. Near by the roots of the world-tree Heimdal's horn lay, "hid beneath the hedge-o'ershadowing holy tree" ("Völuspá," 27). Among Mimi's treasures is the peerless sword and a wonderful arm-ring. There is, therefore, a remarkable correspondence with Mimi of the older stories and Gudmund of Saxo's history. When the world is destroyed and a new one arises from the deep, two mortals are seen walking across the plain, they having been preserved in "Treasure-Mimi's Grove." This is told both in the Prose and Poetic Edda. "Vafþrúðnismál," in the Poetic Edda, tells us that they were there cared for during the long winter, the Prose Edda that they were there during the conflagration of the world; thus they were there a considerable time. They fed upon morning dew; the world-tree was watered by the three fountains—Kettle-roarer in the north, Mimi's well of wisdom, and Urd's fountain in the south. From its leaves dropped dew into the dales, and as the waters of the wells had sacred qualities, the dew of the world-tree probably

possessed them also. We are told in the “*Menglad and Swipdag Saga*” of a castle in which the Asmegir dwelt, of which the builders were eight elves or dwarfs, and the gate of which is guarded by the most cunning of the dwarfs, Delling. One of the dwarfs was known to be in particular communication with Mimi, and Delling, the Lord of the Dawn, dwelt in the Lower World. That being so, the castle of the Asmegir which he guarded must be in the Lower World. That is confirmed by the verse in “*Balder’s Draumar*”—

Here stands for Balder mead well brewed,
Sweet drink ; shield overspread ;
And the Asmegir wait impatient.

Only three times in the whole mythology are the Asmegir mentioned : once as inhabiting a wonderful castle in the Lower World, guarded by a cunning elf, and once as impatiently waiting the coming of Balder in a place where mead stood ready brewed for him. The third mention of them is in “*Olaf Tryggvasson’s Saga*,” where Hakon, in the elaborate similes of Icelandic poetry, is called “the red target”=the sun, or possibly the sun-god Balder, and his men Asmegir. Thus again Balder and the Asmegir are drawn together. Professor Rydberg has a very subtle chapter upon the identity of the Asmegir in his book on Teutonic mythology.

As to the word *As* I can only refer to *Asa*, while to *megir* is given the meaning of son, in the way that all men were the sons of Odin. Thus, literally, the Asmegir were the sons of the Asas.

Upon these considerations we find that Balder went to Hel in the Lower World, where the sons of the Gods impatiently awaited him, preparing an offering of mead, and that he was kept as a kind of free prisoner by Hel, who gave him the high seat in her hall. Now it seems to me that the idea that Balder went at his death to the abode of the damned had rise, not in Norse literature, but in the hasty conclusions and loose thinking of the writers

upon that literature. The Sagas tell us that Hel was the home of all those who did not die by battle, whether they were good or evil. From the pictures of the Lower World given by different writers, it is natural to believe that the good lived in those fields of bliss, among the flowers that never died. On the Northern mountains of the Lower World stood the gates of Nifelhel, "where died the men from Hel" ("Vafþrúðnismál"), and beyond those gates was the region of the damned, the kingdom over which Hel reigned. There she was said to rule, and there is only one description given of her castle, a description which in no respect corresponds with that of the castle in which the Asmegir waited impatiently. Snorre Sturlasson tells us what this Lower World queen and her castle were like. She was tall, and looked like a queen upon one side of her, but when she turned the other she was hideous and revolting, the flesh was dead and blue, the eye sunken, the lips drawn back, showing gruesome teeth. Odin, seeing a certain power in her, sent her to Nifelheim, saying that she was fit to have a kingdom of her own. Her palace was terribly high, with large gates, and Anguish was the name of her hall. The dish was named *Famine*, *Starving* was the knife with which the food was cut, the waiters were named *Slowness* and *Delay*, at the entrance was a beetling cliff, *Care* was the bed, and the walls were hung with *Burning Misery*. The beetling cliff alone should have prevented the supposition that Hermod leapt the gate of her hall. The mead set ready and the sons of Asa's waiting does not fit in with famine, starving, anguish and misery. We must look elsewhere for the Hel to which Balder was sent, and there can be little doubt that it was in that grove called Treasure-Mimi's Holt, where two human beings without sin were preserved in order that they might inhabit the new and purer world.

In considering who Hel is, we must remember that the word at first designated a place solely. Before wickedness arose in the world, Hel was the realm of bliss to which the dead descended. Later, when evil crept in among

the Gods, Nifelhel was added, it being the abode of the evil dead, who had to die a second death on passing from Hel to Nifelhel. Hel was also the name given to the Goddess of the Lower World. Long before hearing of Loki's daughter we are told that three sisters dwelt in a hall beneath the southern root of the world-tree, and that they watered that root from their sacred burn. Urth was one called, the Goddess of death and fate. To her fountain rode the Gods every day to judge the dead with her, and she apportioned their after-fate. Grim says of Hel, that she was not originally death or any evil being, that the "higher we are allowed to penetrate into our antiquities, the less hellish and more God-like may Helja appear."

When Nifelhel arose, the queen of that place also received the name of Hel, and when Christianity superseded the old wild religion, every vestige of good was withdrawn from the idea of the Lower World, and it became, under new influences, a place entirely given to evil. Thus those who in considering this mythology have considered it with a conscious or unconscious Christian bias, rather than with the minds of scientists, have always read into these myths what was never in them. Snorre himself did it, and those who have followed him have but gone farther in the same road. For instance, he says of Balder: "He abideth in that place hight Breiðablik, that is heaven; in that stead may naught be that is unclean, as is here said—'Breiðablik hight where Balder hath for himself reared a hall. In that land where ywis there lieth least loathliness.'" Yet in the verse which Snorre owns to be his authority, there is no justification for the mention of heaven, nor the impossibility of uncleanness entering it.

Without entering further into detail, I will conclude by summing up according to the results of modern research:—Balder never entered the abode of Hel, Loki's evil daughter; he had no honour among those twice dead who lived in Nifelhel; Hermod did not interview Hel, the daughter of Loki, and when he crossed the gold-roofed

bridge, he went, not to Nifelhel, but to the castle of the Asmegir, where he found Balder sitting in the high seat. The Hel whom he interviewed the following morning was Urth, the Goddess of fate and death, she who meted judgment to those who died, and who had probably good reason for desiring to keep Balder in the society of those who should one day be rulers of the new earth.

The discussion on the above paper is contained in Vol. ii., Part i., pp. 11-15.

VIKING NOTES.

WITH this Part are issued Indexes, Contents and Title Pages to Vols. I. and II.

A NORSE Runic inscription around the pillar of a church porch in Cumberland has just been discovered by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, M.A.

IN "Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law" (Longmans), the author, Frederic Seebohm, LL.D., F.S.A., cites and compares, among others, the Norse and Scanian laws, the "leges inter Brettos et Scotos," and Irish and Cymric tribal customs.

THE following recently appeared in a London newspaper:—"The grave of a Viking's wife has been discovered in a Norwegian fiord. There were found the remains of a burnt ship, with the bones of a female skeleton and a horse, as well as weapons, armour and ornaments. The date is about the tenth century."

AN appreciative notice appeared in the *Globus* (Band lxxvii., No. 6, Feb. 10th, 1900) of the "Ruins of the Saga Time." The writer of the notice, Herr Lehmann-Filhés, considers that the tracing of the remains of the Vinland colonies is of such general interest as to commend the collaboration of antiquaries universally.

VIKINGS wishful of obtaining cheap and trustworthy reprints of the Icelandic Sagas may be interested to know that Mr. Sigurd Kristjansson, Reykjavík, is publishing a comprehensive series, edited by Mr. Val. Asmundarson, the prices ranging from 1/6 downwards, and are thus within the reach of the most moderate purse.

MR. C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY in "The Dawn of Modern Geography: A.D. 900-1260" (John Murray), has a lengthy chapter, headed "The Norsemen in the History of Exploration," in which the Norse discovery of Vinland is fully set out. Other great but little known sea and landfarers dealt with are Saewulf of Worcester, Daniel of Kiev, Sigurd, king of Norway, Adelard the Englishman, etc.

THE death of Canon Isaac Taylor, which occurred during the past year, is an event which cannot be passed unnoticed by Vikings, from the direct and indirect contributions which he furnished towards Viking lore. His "Words and Places" was one of the first efforts to treat stead-names in a thoroughly enlightened manner, and the best contemporary writers have largely availed themselves of the material and methods which he devised.

THE Icelandic-English Dictionary on which Dr. Jón Stefánsson has been at work for some time is approaching completion, and promises to be a work of the greatest value. It will contain the earliest date at which the

more important New Icelandic words occur, and will thus be a guide to the development of the modern Icelandic speech out of the Old Norse. The correct names of plants, birds and fishes, with their scientific Latin equivalents, will be an important feature in it.

THE Skandinavisk Antiquariat, Bredgade 35, Copenhagen, have forwarded me the initial number of the *Bureisingur*, the first magazine printed in the tongue of the Faro islands. As is well known, these islands were settled at the same time as was Iceland, and the speech of its settlers still retains a close likeness with that of the latter island. From a philological point of view it is consequently very interesting. The topics treated in the number before us are wholly modern and popular.

THE *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* is one of those now happily numerous publications devoted to the antiquities, parochial records, family history, traditions, folklore, quaint customs, etc., of their respective shires. They afford excellent data whence to draw evidence of the extent of the influence of the Norse element in English history and lifeleading in the respective shires and districts dealt with. This particular publication has a useful collection of local stead-names worthy of study, though some exception might be taken to some of the definitions. It is published by Messrs. Phillimore and Co., Chancery Lane, E.C., its price being 5/- yearly.

“THE Story of Grettir the Strong,” the third of the works in Kelmscott Press Golden type issued under the auspices of the Morris trustees, has appeared. The work has for the first time a frontispiece, consisting of a map of the west parts of Iceland, whereon are marked the chief “steads” named in the story. It is worthy of note that Mr. Stopford Brooke, in lecturing on William Morris, has drawn attention to the ignorance prevailing among otherwise well-read folk, whose knowledge of Greek and Roman and Jewish history is considerable, of the deeds of our Northern ancestors in times when hatred went unmasked, when vengeance was swift, life passionate.

THE King Alfred Commemoration festivities at Winchester were remarkable for the fact that the surplus of the public subscriptions was, at the suggestion of the Mayor, devoted towards raising the remains of a Viking ship lying imbedded in the River Hamble, and bringing them to Winchester. The identification of the sunken ship, discovered some years since, as a Viking ship, rests, it appears, on a statement of the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, but the evidences for his assertion are not recorded. In this connection it is worthy of note that the little Somersetshire town of Wedmore appropriately celebrated on December 30th, by a public luncheon and other festivities, the millenary of the signing of the Frith of Wedmore between King Alfred and the Danish king Guthrum. A memorial brass tablet, erected in the parish church, was also unveiled.

THE infantile ignorance of history, kinlore, etc., which is continually being displayed by persons who should know better is oftentimes amazing.

For instance, Mr. Murray recently published a work by Lady Magnus on "The First Makers of *England*," the makers being, in her ladyship's opinion, three in number: one being Alfred the Great, and the other two—Julius Cæsar and King Arthur! This is paralleled by the exploit of the artist who painted the picture now in the Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons with the title of "The Conflict between the Danes and *Britons*," the site of which historians generally, as well as Vikings, would like to have identified; and by that of the artist responsible for the recently set up fresco in the Royal Exchange, "Trading between Phœnicians and Ancient Britons," in which the swart-haired and tawny-featured Britons are bedight with the flaxen locks and the lineaments of the fairest of Saxons.

THE scheme for the reverent restoration of the parish church of Athelney, which is commended to the members of the Club by the Rev. C. W. Whistler (the District Secretary for Somersetshire), is one well worthy of their consideration, albeit the church is a standing witness to the failure of one of the most strenuous efforts of the Danes for the conquest of England. The little church of Lyng is the only surviving relic of the monastic foundation reared by King Alfred in memorial of the success of his arms. The church is an interesting structure, containing many early features, and its restoration is a fitting work in connection with the Alfred Millenary. Only those repairs will be carried out rendered necessary by the ravages of time, with, if possible, the filling in of the west window with stained glass illustrating the principal events in the life of the great Saxon king. Contributions should be forwarded to Stuckey's Bank, Bridgwater.

THE visual presentment of anything representing Norse gods, as they were familiar to the Norsemen, is so unexpected nowadays, that particular attention is drawn to the pamphlet, written by Mr. Thomas Sheppard, F.G.S., Curator of the Hull Museum, descriptive of the ancient model of a boat and crew which are in the Hull Museum, and were found at Roos Carrs, near Withernsea, so long ago as 1836. The workmanship of what, by a figure of speech, is described as a boat, and of the figures, is rough and primitive, and the explanation of their significance by English antiquaries for the most part hitherto has been marked by more than the usual irrelevancy. Mr. Sheppard has, however, adopted what seems the justifiable supposition that the figures are wooden effigies of Norse gods, such as were carried, as the Sagas so frequently record, on shipboard. Following up this clue, he has been able to demonstrate their likeness to images, supposed to be those of Norse deities, found in Scandinavia and Lower Germany, and also with the image found at Ballachulish in the west of Scotland in 1880. The figures in each case are alike, down to minute details. Mr. Sheppard's pamphlet, which is sold at 1d., and is entitled, "The Ancient Model of Boat and Warrior Crew from Roos Carrs near Withernsea," should be procured in order to see with what success the author works out his thesis.

AN interesting paragraph appeared in the issue of the *Yorkshire Post* for March 19th, relating to the find of human bones—presumed to be those of

Vikings—near the River Trent at Gainsborough. “Workmen digging the foundations of new shops at Chapel Staithe brought to light nine whole skeletons of men of great stature and splendid build. One of the skeletons, according to the opinion of a local medical man, was that of a man nearly 8 feet in height. Chapel Staithe is but a short distance from the Old Hall, with which the names of Sweyn, Canute, and even of King Alfred are associated, and it is possible that the locality of Chapel Staithe may have been used by the Northmen as a burial ground. It is admitted that the Trent was frequently the destination of Viking expeditions, and that their longships ascended the river as high as Torksey, so that it is not at all improbable that the remains discovered are those of some of these hardy warriors.” Accounts of previous finds of human remains here are given in Anderson’s “Lincoln Pocket Guide,” p. 73, and the compound name Chapel Staithe (N., *stöð*) points to a burying-ground of an ecclesiastical establishment of the Norse Christian period (see Streatfeild’s “Lincolnshire and the Danes,” p. 198). An unusual contribution of journalistic ignorance, in alluding to this discovery, is furnished by the *Ironmonger*, which opines that the remains are probably those of Danes or Norsemen killed in some conflict with “the Brigantes, to whom the Romans had allotted this part of Britain.” This is a confusion of the events of the fifth and the eighth centuries. Furthermore, the Brigantes being aborigines, the allotment referred to is also absurd.

THE total disappearance of the Norse settlers in Vinland, and their more gradual disappearance in Greenland, leaving behind, in the latter case, very extensive structural remains of their former occupation, combined with the information conveyed in the Sagas of the constant state of warfare betwixt the settlers and the Skraelings (Eskimos or Redskins), have suggested that their settlements eventually fell before the attacks of the latter, and their survivors probably made prisoners and absorbed into the native tribes. In such a case, it has been argued, traces of their presence might survive in the languages of one or other of these native races. The various Red Indian tongues have been thoroughly ransacked by antiquaries with a view to finding support for such an assumption, but without, I believe, any conclusive results. A similar research has not hitherto been possible with regard to the Eskimo tongues, owing to the lack of a trustworthy and comprehensive record of them as a whole. This lack, apparently, has now been supplied by the issue of the most complete work ever yet published on the Eskimo or Innuït language. It is entitled, “Grammatical Fundamentals of the Innuït Language, as spoken by the Eskimo of the Western Coast of Alaska,” by the Rev. Francis Barnum, S.J., of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. It is published by Messrs. Ginn & Co., 9, St. Martin’s Street, W.C., at £1 nett. It is essentially a work for the scholar and the learned, the language being far from simple in structure, and the Norse evidence, if it is to be won, will have to be gained at the expense of much critical acumen. It is interesting to observe that the Innuïts are a most homogeneous people, although spread over a wider area than any other race in the world. The author believes them to be true aborigines,

and discards all migration theories whatever. It should be added that the work contains an interesting collection of Innuït folklore tales.

DIVERGENCE of opinion as to the identification of what the ancients termed Ultima Thule, or the Land of the Midnight Sun, is no new thing, and even among Vikings unanimity has not been reached. As a contribution towards identifying it with the Shetlands, a little-known quotation from Claudian, the poet of the Roman Empire, may be cited. He, speaking of the omnipresence of the Roman power, says, "It is even [become] a pastime to visit Thule, and expose [? explore] the mysteries at which we once shuddered." The mysteries here alluded to are not, be it observed, the geysers and volcanoes of Iceland—of which, I believe, no mention has ever been found in classic or ancient writers in this connection, which itself forms an argument against the identification with Iceland—but the "bounds of the ocean" and of the earth, which were fabled to exist about these fearsome Northern latitudes, where "sea and air," as one ancient work says, are confounded. For a Roman tourist to visit as a pastime—a kind of Cook's tour—the uttermost of the adjacent islands of the Orkneys and Shetlands, would be no serious task when the Romans were seated in Britain; but the long sea voyage to the cheerless coasts of Iceland would have been a vastly different thing. Moreover, there is an allusion in Homer which must, I think, refer to the dangerous strait of the Pentland Firth, and thus support the Shetland ascription. This is that which describes Thule as "a country near the midnight Kimmerians, where the deep, world-surrounding ocean joins the sea through a narrow ford or firth." This is an apt description of the circumstances of the firth. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the midnight sun can be seen as far south as Kirkwall, or even the northern coast of Scotland itself. Another point is that the identification of "Scythia" with "Shetland" is perfectly normal, and Bede's reference to "the people that dwell in the island of Thule, which is beyond Britain, or in the outermost regions of the Scythians," is perfectly appropriate applied either to Unst, which is actually the most northern of the Shetlands, or even to Foula, which it has been plausibly suggested is the island really mentioned. The easy misreading of a ϕ for θ in Homer's text may have served to start the variant title. Finally, that the names of two of the Shetland Islands—Pomona and Thule or Foul-a—were known to the ancients, is consistent with the statement that it had become a "pastime" for the Roman tourist to visit them, and lends confirmation to the view that one of the Shetlands is the island really meant by Ultima Thule.

UNDER the heading of "An Unrecognised Factor in Welsh History," a correspondent of the *Western Mail*, with the initials "A. W. R.," writes:—"Now that Professor Hughes is taking in hand a history of Wales, attention should be directed to a fact which has hitherto been ignored by nearly every historian of the Principality—the colonisation of South Wales from St. David's to Cardiff, and perhaps even further up the British Channel, by Vikings from Norway and Sweden in the first place, and then by settlers

from Denmark. Fenton, it is true, touches on this matter lightly in his 'History of Pembrokeshire'; but in his day there were not at command those sources of information that at present are available. There were then no English translations of Icelandic and Scandinavian Sagas, wherein constant allusions to Wales are forthcoming. Since Fenton's work was written the 'Northern Library' and others have come into existence, and have illumined a subject hitherto obscure. Independent of these are the works of Munch, Steenstrup and Vogt, to be consulted by those acquainted with the Norsk-Dansk tongue. Vogt, in his 'Dublin som Norsk By,' as an editorial in the *Cambrian* (January, 1901) pointed out, writes that 'the whole of the shores of South Wales, from Milford to Swansea and Cardiff, were occupied by Scandinavians, who, commanding the sea, there secured their necessary supply of slaves. These shores were to them of the same importance as was the Gulf of Guinea, years later, to the West Indian planters.' It is evident that for many years before the Norman came to South Wales there were strong Viking colonies along the coasts of the British Channel. In fact, as the *Cambrian* stated, it could only have been through the presence of such 'kindred aliens' that the apparently easy conquest of South Wales by a handful of knights became possible. Mr. J. Rogers Rees, writing on 'The Norse Element in Celtic Myth' and 'Slebech Commandery' in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, has on several occasions discussed this important factor in Welsh history. Independent of his arguments remains the enduring testimony of the many Scandinavian place-names in Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire. Unfortunately, no Domesday Book of South Wales exists, but some of the ecclesiastical records and charters serve to prove the original meaning of forgotten place-names, and these names are more redolent of the North Sea and the Baltic than might be expected in districts ruled over by Princes of Cambria." The points here elaborated are perfectly sound, and I shall be glad if "A. W. R." will kindly place himself in communication with me.

THE balderdash written about the "Keltic genius," "Keltic qualities," etc., in literature and race, is very amusingly and sarcastically dealt with by Mr. Andrew Lang in the *Morning Post* of March 15th. Matthew Arnold wrote that English poetry gets "nearly all its natural magic from a Celtic source," and that wherever our poetry attains distinction it is due to the "Keltic fire" overcoming the "German paste." All this Mr. Andrew Lang rightly rates as moonshine. "The whole talk," says he, "about race, and about the peculiar qualities of this or that race, has been enormously overdone. There are 'Celtic qualities' in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Red Indian, Finnish, Gypsy, and aboriginal Australian poetry; in fact, in all good poetry. . . . [If] we cannot be sure that Shakespeare, or Milton, or Keats, had not a drop of Celtic blood, . . . Finns and Australian blacks have none, or Arapahoes, or Zuñis, and yet their poems have 'Celtic qualities'—somewhat of melancholy and yearning sympathy with Nature, and regret for the golden past. 'They went to the wars, but they always fell.' . . . "On the other hand, if you wish to see 'Celtic qualities' in a fluid condition, unstiffened by 'German paste,' without consistency or construction,

you certainly find them in Irish and Gaelic traditional legends, or in such legends committed long ago to writing by Irish scribes. They have qualities, magical qualities, shared by the Roumanian popular tales, though whether the Roumanians are a trifle Celtic by race I cannot pretend to say. They are as poetical as cataracts breaking through the mist on a black hillside, but they are as incoherent. The authors of these legends believed in magic, and in the legends everything is magical, and all is melancholy and regret. Nothing ends well and happily." He then launches into an interesting comparison. "Now, if one compares these Irish and Gaelic traditions with the Scandinavian Sagas, in these, too, the stories do not 'end well' (for they go on till everybody is buried), but then the Sagas are coherent and constructive; there is no wailing regret, as in the Celtic legends; the magic is not poetical, but is practical witchcraft. The poetry is stern; the minor key is not sounded, whereas in Celtic poetry or legend it is never silent. The Sagas are the work of a strong, winning people, who put their work through and were done with it; a people who never dreamed that they 'dwelt in marble halls,' and that somebody else came and kicked them out, and left the hall to the night wind to walk in, and the hare to 'kindle on the hearth-stane.' The Scandinavians were not at all in the line of despairing sentiment and wistful retrospection. Again, they were quite free from the childish exaggerations of Celtic legend. In the Irish, Diarmid overthrows whole regiments single-handed, binds with magic bonds whole companies of men. Using his lance for a leaping-pole, he springs over the heads of armies. Now, in the Scandinavian Sagas a man may be as strong as Grettir, but he does nothing which a very strong man, say Mr. Sandow, could not do if he put his hand and his heart to it. Diarmid, in the Irish, does not leap, he flies; but in the Njal's Saga, when Skarphedin makes a great leap, it is a possible leap. The distance is given, and it is just about Professor Wilson's leap over the Cherwell, or Mr. Charles Fry's record, 23 feet and some inches. Now, are these differences between the Scandinavian and the Celt due to race, to difference of blood, or to differences of circumstance and climate and country and environment? They are, at all events, the differences between a fighting and winning and a fighting but losing people. The Celts had as good harbours and access to the sea as the Norsemen, but they never conquered the sea as the Vikings did. They dreamed of Avalon, but they did not discover America, like Leif the Lucky and Eric the Red. They poetized, decorated MSS., cut their neighbours' throats in a homely way among themselves, and converted Scotland (no easy task), but you do not find them among the Varangians at Micklegarth. Runes, not Oghams, are carved on the Grecian lion. On the other side, the puerile and tedious exaggeration of the Celt recurs in Brahmanic legends in India, though nobody says that the Brahmans are Celtic." He winds up with the sound conclusion that if "Keltic" blood has been transmitted—a physical impossibility beyond the tenth generation, by the way, if unreinforced by further additions—or not, being or not being "Keltic" has little to do with the matter of genius.

REVIEWS.

GALLOWAY GOSSIP EIGHTY YEARS AGO: Being a Series of Articles illustrative of the Manners, Customs and Peculiarities of the Aboriginal Picts of Galloway. By R. DE BRUCE TROTTER, L.F.P.S.G., L.R.C.P.E. With an Introduction by S. R. CROCKETT. *Dumfries: The Courier and Herald Press.*

THIS book, which is the second of a series, the third being promised, dealing with sections of Galloway, is a remarkably interesting and entertaining volume. In the first place, and for the main part, it is a collection of gossipy folk-tales, anecdotal, historical, racy, pathetic, but always interesting, the reminiscences of a doctor's widow, told in the sturdy and venerable folkspeech of Galloway and of a large district of Lowland or Saxon Scotland, the perusal of which, when once begun, will not be easily relinquished, and which will be returned to again and again when entertainment and relaxation are sought for. In the second place—and here its special value to Vikings comes in—it is a mine of wealth to the ethnologist, philologist, and student of folklore. These several aspects are too extensive to treat in the limited space of a review, but, so far as a portion of them is concerned, will be more fully dealt with on a future occasion. A few citations may be given as samples of the interesting items treated of in the volume.

“Like the ‘Shire’ volume,” says the author, “the object of this ‘Stewartry’ one is to hand down to posterity the characteristics, peculiarities and modes of thought and language of the aboriginal Pict [*sic*] of Galloway as they existed 80 years or so ago, before the province was overrun by the hordes of ‘incomers,’ who, of late years, have almost crowded out the natives, especially in the towns and larger villages, and as they exist yet in the pastoral districts.” And then, speaking further of the language, he says, the book is “actually written in Scotch, that ‘vulgar corruption of English,’ just as it was spoken by the people of Galloway, and just as it is spoken by ‘the people’ yet, all over Scotland (Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire and the Gaelic and Glasgow-Irish districts excepted).” Further, he explains that “the writer has a speaking knowledge of every dialect of Scotch, including two of Glasgow-Irish and two of Ulster-Scotch, as well as of five dialects of vernacular English, including the Northumbrian, and he finds that there is a sort of Scottish ‘*lingua geral*’ which prevails from the Solway Firth to the Solway, with no appreciable differences except slight variations of tone and accent, and the book has been written in that ‘general Scotch’ from which all the dialects of the language appear to have been derived—the dialects of Aberdeen, Forfar, and the Border Counties having apparently been modified by large settlements of foreigners there. The reader may therefore rest assured that he has before him in this book a genuine specimen of strictly grammatical Scotch, as observed in every dialect of the language, except the Northumbrian and Glasgow-Irish, which have distinct grammars of their own.” He then

adduces the chief points of difference between Scotch and English grammar, and also shows the former's differences from the "bastard Scotch" which frequently appears in print.

Such disquisitions, it is obvious, are of the first importance to language research; but when one comes to diagnose this language of the so-styled "aboriginal Picts" of Galloway, it is found, *mirabile dictu!* to be a kind—we will not offend the author by saying a dialect—of English or Anglo-Saxon, with, be it added, a certain intermixture of Norse. In conning over the numerous folkspeech tales, we have underscored some 200 words which are not in use in Southern or modern literary English, and of these we observe no small percentage is Norse. It is only needful to cite such examples as these:—speer (to ask) (Dan., *spørge*); waur (worse) (D., *verre*); yt (that) (D., *at*); greet (weep) (D., *græde*); holm (D., *holm*); scaur (D., *skjær*); skail (depart) (D., *skille*); bairn (D., *barn*); ged (pike) (D., *gjedde*); gar (make) (D., *gióre*), etc. If, therefore, Norse words have so extended a representation in what the author calls the "general language," not of Galloway alone, but of all Scotland, a wider influence from their conquests than Scottish authors usually allow must be inferred. Furthermore, when it is seen that the English or Anglo-Saxon tongue fills a still larger part, it is hard to see how the author establishes his claim for his "language of the aboriginal Pict." Obviously, the "Pictish" or "Celtic" tongue is conspicuous by its absence.

Similar interesting conclusions are involved when one follows the author in his disquisitions into ethnic or kinlore questions. He cites as components of the Scottish nation ten great divisions. But there is practically no ethnic distinction between six out of the ten. Differences resulting from isolation there may be, but no ethnic difference. Presuming that the blue eye and the red or light-coloured hair are the marks of Teutonic and Scandinavian origin, and the black hair and eye, of Celtic or "aboriginal Pictish" origin, his enumerations are thus grouped:—Teuto-Scandinavians: (1) Fingauls, (2) Annandale Norsemen, (3) Farmers, (4) Ayrshiremen, (5) Picts and (6) Caledonians. Pure Kelts: (7) Gossacks or Kreenies, (8) "Fairies." Mixed Kelts: (9) Low County Hillmen and (10) Mongrels and Irish. Space forbids us quoting extracts on this interesting section, which must be deferred to the special treatment we have previously alluded to. We cannot, however, resist citing his description of the Fingauls:—"There's the Fingauls, they'r a lot o' clever-lookin' fallas too; maistly verra lang an' weel-made, wi' lang faces, strecht [straight] noses an' blue een, an' wunnerfu' feet for size. They'r maistly fair-hair't, or licht-broon, an' the lasses is verra bonnie whun they'r young, but efter they'r twunty they get verra coorse-lookin'. They'r commonest in Saterness, Co'en, Borgue, Whithern, an' Kirkmaiden, an' there's odd yins o' them a' ower, but they'r gettin' geyly mix't up noo. They'r the descendants o' the Norsemen, though A think the Fingaul Colonies maun 'a come frae the Isle o' Man, for a gey wheen o' the names o' hills an' things in their districks is in Manx Gaelic."

The work contains contributions towards other interesting studies, antiquarian and other, but from what we have said, Dr. Trotter's book will

be seen to be one worth both reading and studying. He is a refreshingly clear and outspoken writer, and not only the most exalted as well as the humbler among his own countrymen, but mongrel and other Anglo-Saxons, pass under his lash. The book is valuable more for its suggestiveness than for its conclusions, and on account of the former quality it affords a useful contribution towards a systematic treatment of the history, kin-lore and tongue of Lowland Scotland.

STUDIES IN HISTORY AND JURISPRUDENCE. By JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L.
Vol. i., Essay v.: PRIMITIVE ICELAND. *Oxford: Clarendon Press.*
Price 25s.

THE author of the brilliant series of studies in legal and constitutional history now before us, rightly claims for Iceland the double distinction of having produced a brilliant literature in poetry and prose and "a Constitution unlike any other whereof records remain, and a body of law so elaborate and complex that it is hard to believe that it existed among men whose chief occupation was to kill one another." Both, as he might further have pointed out, were highly developed at a time when the literature, laws and constitutions of modern Europe were barely beginning to stir with slow life amid the ruins of the Roman Empire. Of the growth and development of the legal and constitutional system he gives a full and careful sketch, showing how its main features are due to the manner in which Iceland was colonised, to its physical peculiarities, and to its isolated position. Independent bands of settlers, planting themselves on the fertile fringe of a land of ice-covered mountains and barren wastes, had little need of a political constitution. But each Goði among the settlers, with his temple, became a centre whence sprang the various local Things. As the land became more settled, and intercourse more general, the necessity for some central body, to regulate the relations of men belonging to different Things, gave birth to the Althing. The position and leading features of the Althing, and its lack of any executive power, are brought clearly out, the absence of any such power being due to the nature of the country and its inhabitants, and to its position and physical condition, which offered no temptation to any invader, and rendered any organisation for defence unnecessary. The features which distinguish the polity of Iceland from that which the original settlers left behind them in their original home were due to the above causes, and the central organisation was created by the leading men of the time to meet a recognised want. The author points out the elaborate technicalities of the legal system, and notices a few of the leading cases of legal proceedings described in the Sagas, among others the curious instance of laying ghosts by legal process detailed in the "Eyrbyggja Saga." This, however, occurred immediately after the adoption of Christianity, and it may be plausibly conjectured that it was rather the shape which the spiritual rite of exorcism took, when carried out by the judicial mind of an Iclander, than a native growth. The author refers to piracy as an honourable occupation among the Icelanders; but, though

this was so in a measure, yet the Icelanders were far too much dependent on foreign trade for all the comforts of life, to indulge their taste for a Viking's life, except as individuals and at a distance from their native shores. No Icelandic ships sailed out on an errand which might have provoked dangerous reprisals. This brief essay, in which Mr. Bryce has mapped out clearly the whole Icelandic legal system, may be strongly commended to all readers of the Sagas, who will find it a valuable aid to the clear understanding of the suits and legal proceedings therein recorded

A. F. M.

KIARTAN THE ICELANDER: A TRAGEDY. By NEWMAN HOWARD. *London: J. M. Dent & Co. Price 4s. 6d.*

IT is perhaps a sign of the growing interest in the Sagas of the North that the author of this play has taken for his subject the famous story from the "Laxdæla Saga" around which the late William Morris wove his poem "The Lovers of Gudrun" in "The Earthly Paradise." The playwright has evidently studied the histories and Sagas, and has worked much material from other sources into the story of the love and death of Kiartan. The play, possibly, gains thereby in richness and movement, though the tragic tale loses much of the force and intensity it has in the simpler treatment of the original Saga, when it is interwoven with the adoption of Christianity in Iceland and Snorri the Priest is made the villain of the piece. However, in a play, historical accuracy must not be too rigidly insisted on, though the author appears sometimes to go out of his way to be inexact, as when, for instance, he turns the chieftains Gizur and Hjalti into Christian monks, though any other names would have suited his monks equally well. But, on the whole, life in Iceland in the Saga-time is adequately represented. Apart from its setting, there are many excellent points in the play, and the leading characters, Gudrun, Bolli, Kiartan and Snorri, are well drawn, and offer much scope to an actor. The writing is vigorous and picturesque, and were there a manager bold enough to undertake it, we see no reason why the play should not be successful on the stage.

A. F. M.

POPULAR STUDIES IN MYTHOLOGY, ROMANCE AND FOLKLORE. NO. 12, THE EDDA.—I. THE DIVINE MYTHOLOGY OF THE NORTH. By WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. *London: David Nutt. Price 6d.*

THIS little handbook, though designedly written for the unlearned, is well worth perusal. It gives an account of the Eddas and other sources from which we draw our knowledge of the Asa Faith, and glances at various theories as to their age and origin sufficiently to give an indication of the points around which controversy has raged. The several poems and myths are briefly sketched, and besides various quotations from the lays, "Thrymskviða" is translated as a specimen. The author, in our opinion, rather underrates Snorri's Edda, but her work will serve ad-

mirably for those who are content with a clear outline of the Northern Mythology, while it will point out the way to those who wish to study the subject more deeply.

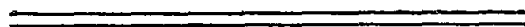
A. F. M.

SOCIAL AND IMPERIAL LIFE OF BRITAIN. VOL. I.—WAR AND EMPIRE.
By KENELM D. COTES, M.A. *London: Grant Richards. Price 7s. 6d.*

SOME two or three years ago, a little lad, who said he was reading history, was questioned on his knowledge. But when he was asked what he knew of King Alfred, he excused himself from answering on the ground that that was prehistoric. His answer shows the school of historians from which he was being taught the history of his fatherland, a school, happily falling into discredit, that ignores the root from which our Empire springs. No such ignorant error marks the volume before us, the first of a vast work in which the author strives to set forth, not the mere sequence of events which commonly serve as history, but the inner causes that have determined that sequence, and graved the channels in which the life of a people should flow. In his pages the period between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Normans on our shores, as the last of a long series of invaders, gradually looms out as the most important period of all, the smithy time, during which, out of various strains of those kindred Northern races who had for their birthright the seeds of freedom, the English race was being forged into a weapon fit to sway an Empire. He traces the causes that created the Vikings; the influence upon history of their weapons, their military organisation and political constitution in war and peace; the result of successive waves of Vikings, Angles, Danes, Norwegians, Normans, beating on the English coasts; shows how the Viking spirit has shaped our history, and has, as the latest instance, rendered it impossible for the descendants of the Vikings, settled as Outlanders among an alien people, to remain without a voice in the Government that ruled them. He, however, by no means confines himself to English history, but from the teaching of history over the whole earth evolves the principles that underlie the growth of freedom, though the lessons taught by the history of the Gothic races loom most imposingly through his pages. The result of this first volume is to show that war, in spite of all its evils, is a necessary process in the advancement of civilisation and growth of freedom, and that the warrior alone can be a freeman in the first instance, and can only retain his freedom by right of his readiness to defend it. It is impossible in the space at our disposal to give an adequate idea of the book, or of the vast and varied scope of it. The following quotation from the author's Preface will, however, afford some idea of it, and of his conception of the requirements of a genuine history. "In history, if history were only politics and biography with a slight admixture of religion and war, compilation would be an agreeable task, with the guidance and assistance of recognised authorities, whose names in the footnotes would furnish a guarantee alike of good faith—that is, of adherence to approved and stereotyped models—and of accuracy—that is, of

agreement with those models. But if a student is dissatisfied with outlines, and with the usual limitations; if he is aware that there is a science of economics and a history of commerce; if he is not ignorant of the existence of strategy and tactics, of military geography and the geography of the sea-roads; if he knows anything of the story of the Church, of literature, or of art, or of law, he leaves the beaten track, and undertakes pioneer work, which is certain to be long and arduous, and almost equally certain to be regarded as unnecessary and almost impertinent." This extract will show that the author claims to be the pioneer of a new method of historical research, and in this one volume alone he has gone far to justify his claim. According to the outline in his Preface, he proposes to follow up this volume with others on "The Diversity of National Life," "The Geography of Sea-Power and Empire," and "The Social and Imperial Geography of Britain," all of which he considers are required to make up a rough sketch of the Social and Imperial Life of Britain. The volume now before us alone runs to nearly 700 pages, so the complete work promises to be monumental, not in size only, and we trust the author may be spared to fulfil what he has so ably begun. The Vikings are likely to play an important figure in more than one section of the work, which deserves a hearty welcome from all who, like the members of this Club, wish to see the works and deeds of our Northern forefathers valued at their true worth.

A. F. M.



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.

"Gisli 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.

" "

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 Icelander: 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.

SPECIAL GIFTS TO FUNDS.

					£	s.	d.
Miss Mabel Barmby	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
A. Bignold, M.P.	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Dr. Karl Blind	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
R. L. Bremner	..	..	..	..	0	5	0
Dr. T. S. Clouston	..	..	..	..	1	0	0
Gilbert Goudie	..	..	..	..	1	0	0
A. W. Johnston	..	..	..	..	1	6	10
A. F. Major	..	..	..	..	7	13	5
Rev. C. A. Moore	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
G. Norman	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
F. T. Norris	..	..	..	..	0	15	0
A. C. Reid	..	..	..	..	1	10	0
J. Cathcart Wason, M.P.	..	..	..	..	0	10	0
Rev. C. W. Whistler	..	..	..	..	0	5	0

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 Stenalders 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 Sonderjylland 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. Jørgensen : "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 “Kjøkkenmøddinger” 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 Hvite 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), Raghnaí (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 $13\frac{1}{2}$ 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 révoir*.

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 Icclander 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 *arvøl*, 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 *arvøl*, 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.)

RUNE-INSCRIBED TOMBSTONE, PRESERVED IN THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM, LONDON.

From a rubbing; scale, about 1-5th. (The runes are on the left-hand side of the stone, at right angles to the sculptured panel.)

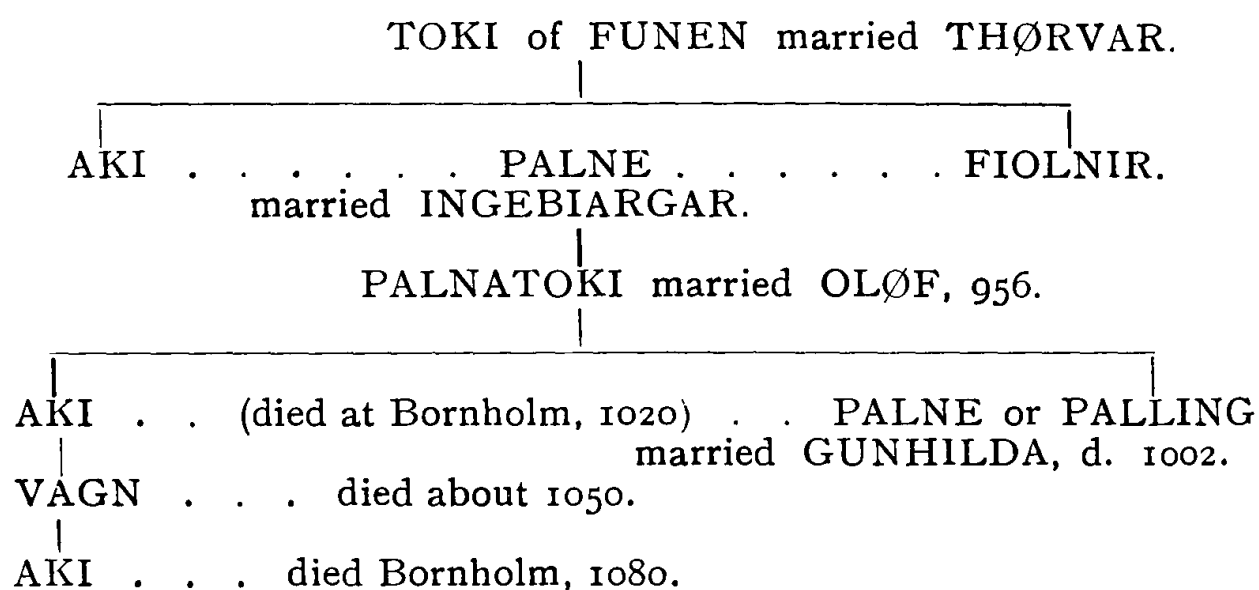
Brahe, the astronomer), Tuke and Duke. There was an early abbot of Gloucester called Thokig, who may have been one of the family now under review.

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 Tryggvasson's Saga." Northern Library.
- "Jomsvikingar's Saga." Petersens, Lund., 1879.
- "Kristni's Saga."
- "Thorvald Vidfœrle's Saga." Ex. Le. Magn, Fafniæ, 1778.
- "Normannerne." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1876.
- "Venderne og de Danske." Steenstrup. Copenhagen, 1900.
- Munch, "Saml. og Afhandlinger." 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 Stefnir, 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

By R. W. Johnston.

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-tjara 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 *búi* 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 Valbjófr 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 bær 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-tjara. 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 ferryloupers 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 Naversdail, 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), Mossaquoy, 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 COMMONTY AS COPIED BY THE
LATE JAMES JOHNSTON OF COUBISTER

ADDITIONAL NAMES FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY 1852

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

BOUNDARIES (HILL DYKES) BETWEEN COMMONTY & TUNS.

ARABLE & PASTURE. MARKED ++++++

BOUNDARIES BETWEEN TUNS MARKED =====

NEW ROADS MARKED - - - - - OLD KIRK ROAD (MASEY GATE) - - - - -

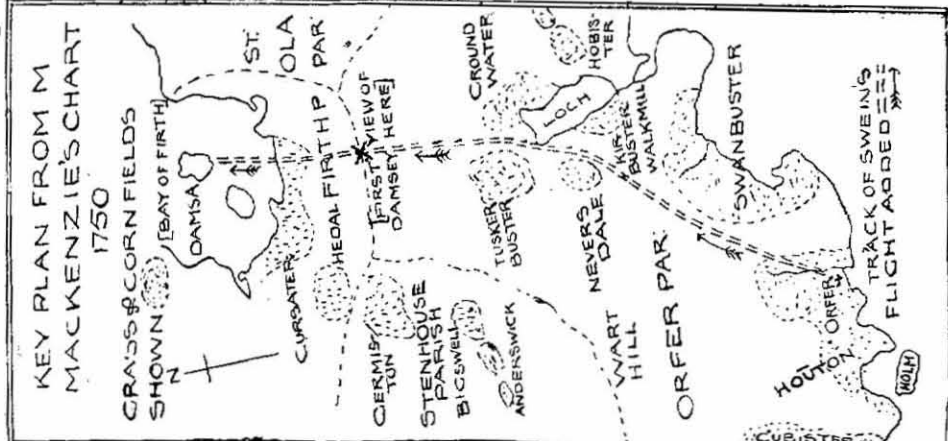
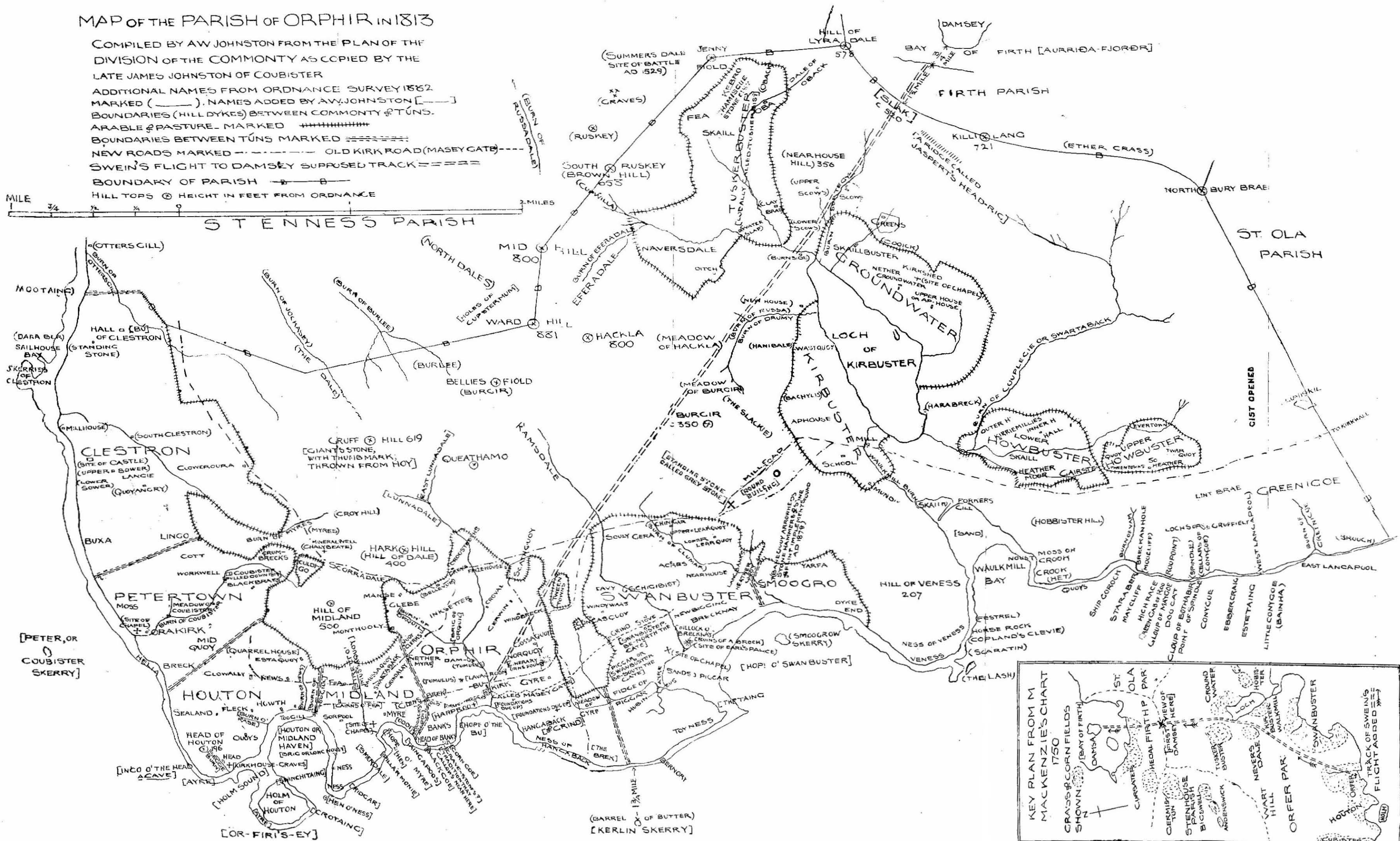
SWINE'S FLIGHT TO DAMSEY SUPPOSED TRACK =====

BOUNDARY OF PARISH - - - - -

HILL TOPS @ HEIGHT IN FEET FROM ORDNANCE

MILE 3/4 1/2 3/4 1 1 1/2 2 MILES

STENNESS 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-

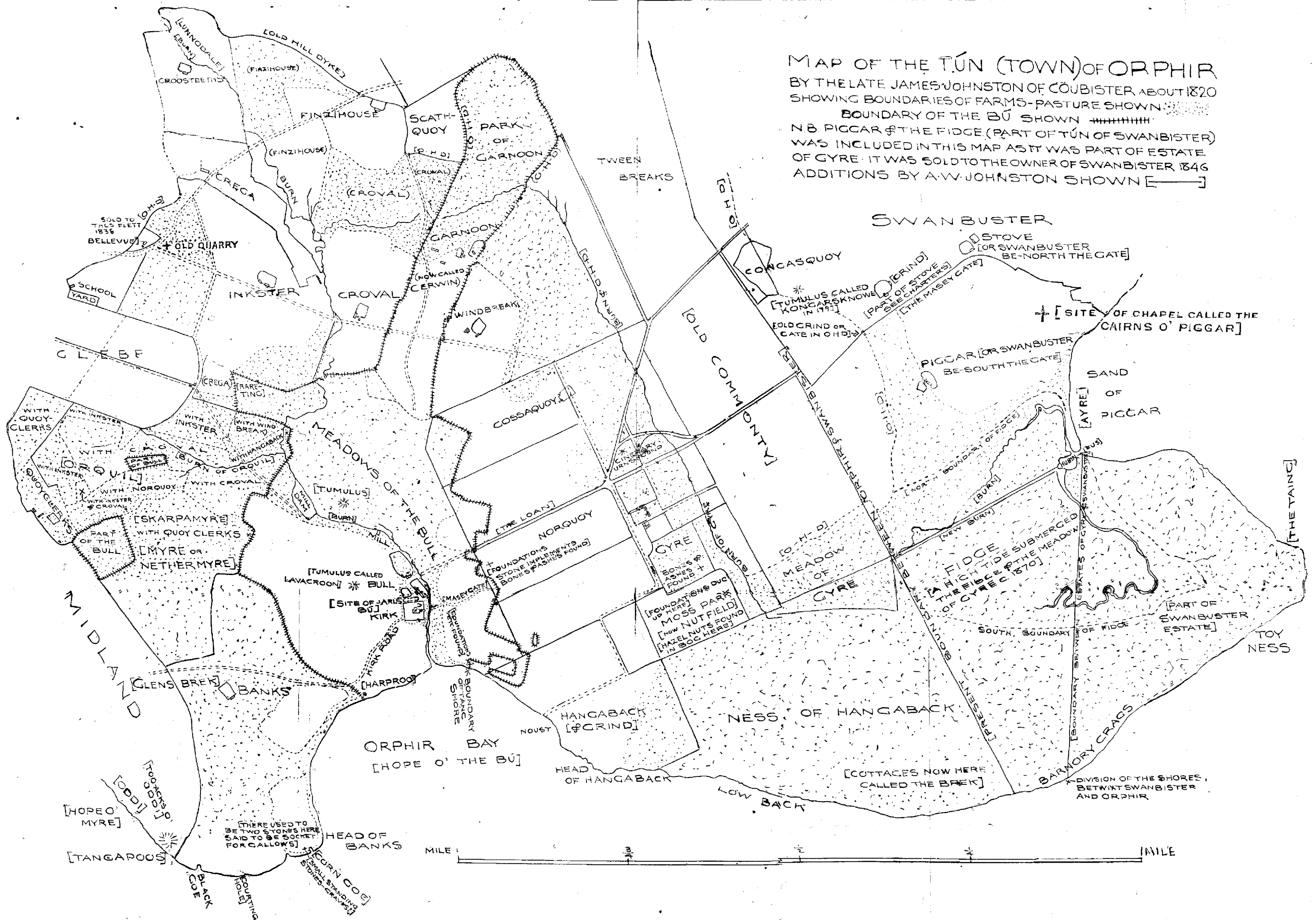
bister on the east by a tongue of the common, and by a large tract of rough, uncultivated land, and the Fidge of Piggar, stretching from the common down to the coast. From the name Grind, near Hangabak, which means a gate in the enclosing wall, there is presumptive evidence that the common at one time 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 *túns* 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

ADDITIONS BY A.W. JOHNSTON SHOWN []

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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.

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

¹ The only Earls mentioned as being at Ör-fjara, Páll, Rögnvaldr, and Haraldr Maddadson.

² O. S. R., chap. 71.

<p><i>From the Rentals, 1503, 1595, and Modern Records, Bús, bordlands, and Residences of the Earldom.</i></p>	<p><i>From the "Orkneyinga Saga," eleventh and twelfth centuries. Bús and Residences of the Earls.</i></p>
<p>Sandwick—Netherlyking.</p> <p>Westrey — Swartmeill, Wasbuster, and Bú of Rapness.</p> <p>Sandey ;—Gryndleith, Bús of Brugh, Halkisness, Tofts, Walls, Lopness, and Tressness.</p> <p>Stronsey ;—Holland, and possibly Clestrain and Musbuster, as they paid no skatt.</p> <p>Papa Stronsey, paid no skatt.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>Earl Rögnvaldr II. at Hreppis-ness in 1155 (chap. 107).</p> <p>? 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.</p> <p>Earl Rögnvaldr I. killed at Papey in litlu, where he had gone for his Yule malt, 1046 (chap. 34).</p> <p>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.</p>

BÚ AND BULL.

With regard to the words Bú and Bull, the Saga mentions the *búi* in *Ör-fjara*, and the *búi* 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 *búi*. The Saga always uses the word *búi*, and this, although a generic name, has become attached to place-names in Orkney. However, *búi* is still used in Orkney as a sort of generic name: it is always the *búi* 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 land-owners, 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 *voe* 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. Orfris-eyjar 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 *bú* from its *Há-tún* or *out-bú*. 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, Ör-fjara was solely applicable to the Earl's *Bú*. 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 Ör-fjara, or to the middle place between the original Ör-fjara 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 ÖRRIÐAFJÖRÐR.

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

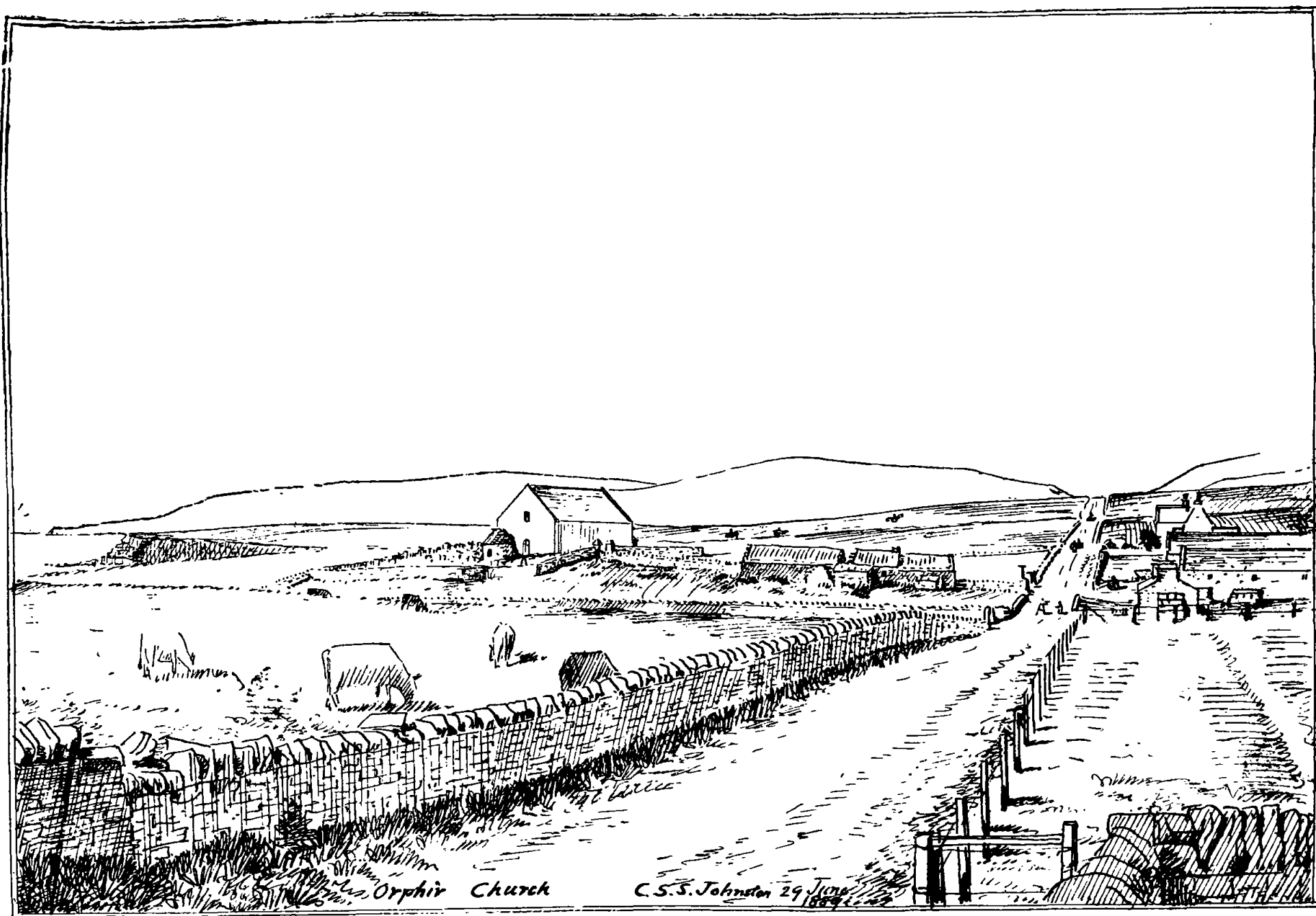
Lyradale and Keely-lang is reached, when the Bay of Firth (Örriðafjörður) and Damsey suddenly break into view. The complete change of scene is striking. This can only be the elevation mentioned in the Saga, and it is the hill which Professor Munch said prevented Damsey from being seen from the Ward Hill. 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 Bú 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.

EARL'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

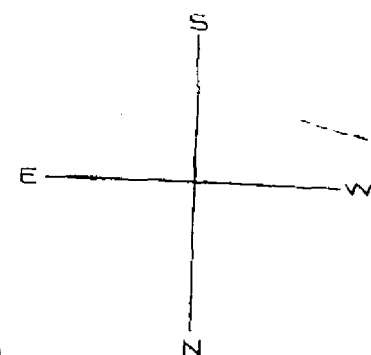
HALCRO & JOHNSTON
OF COUBISTER MONCRIEF
OF HOUTON FORTESCUE

TABLET
1829
CILL OF WINDOW FORMED
OF LINTEL OF DOOR OF
PREVIOUS CHURCH
WITH DATE 1705

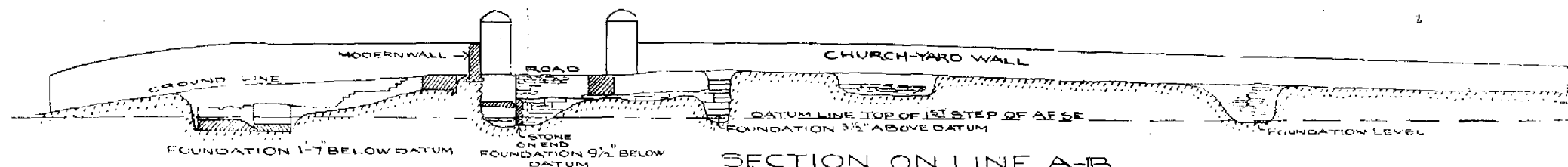
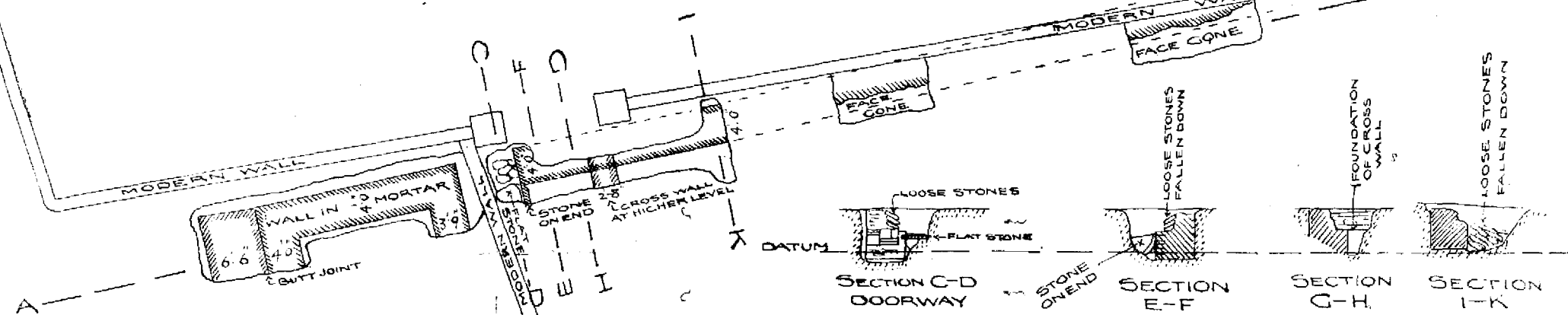
PARISH CHURCH BUILT 1829
AND OLD CHURCH PULLED
DOWN

GRAVES

FOUNDATIONS
TRACED



GRAVES



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

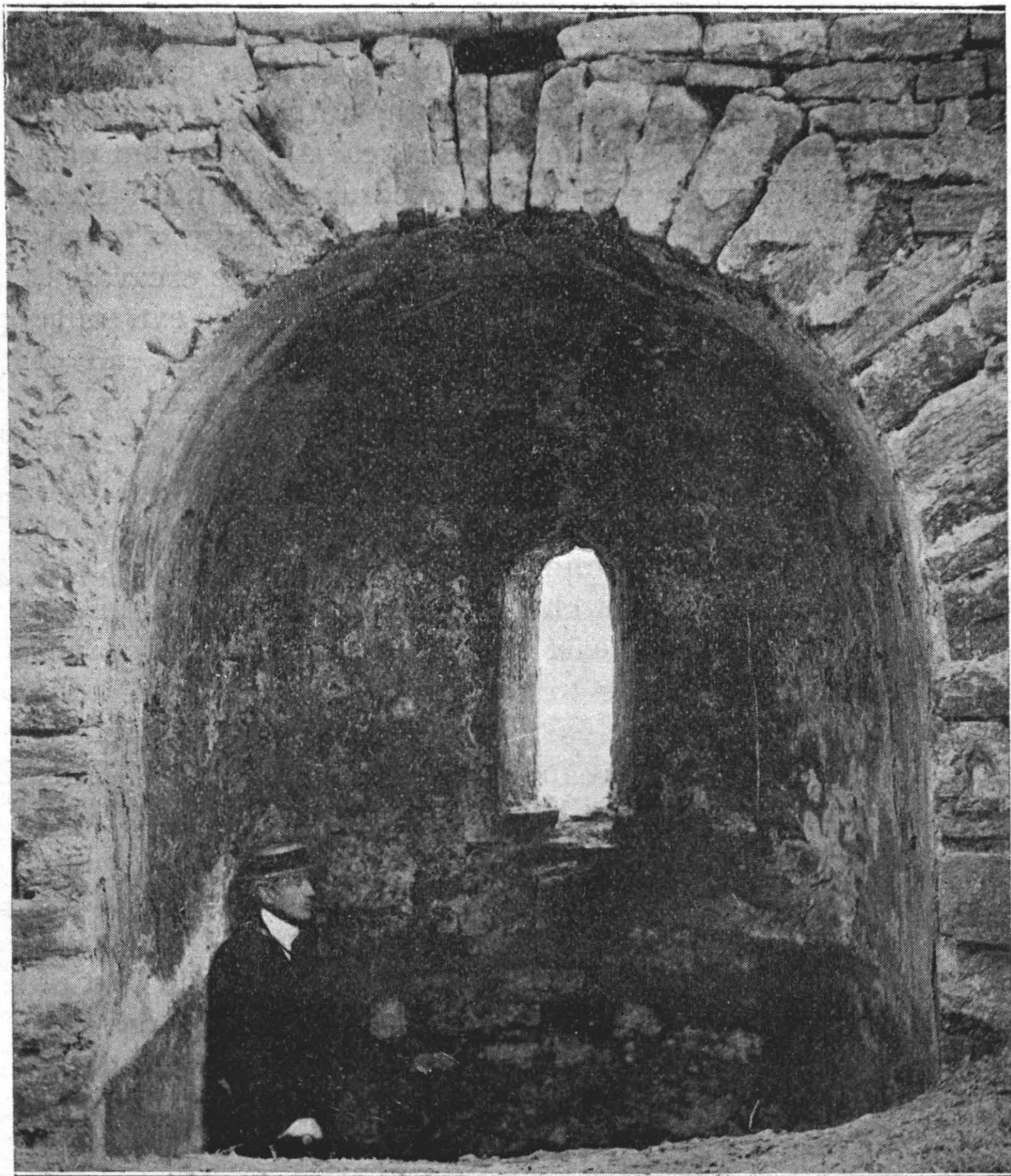
A survey of the site and measurements of the church were at the same time made by Mr. C. S. S. Johnston, architect, Edinburgh. In the autumn of 1900 Mr. Robert Flett and the writer, who was appointed honorary architect to the Kirk Session, continued a series of excavations eastward, and traced the wall 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



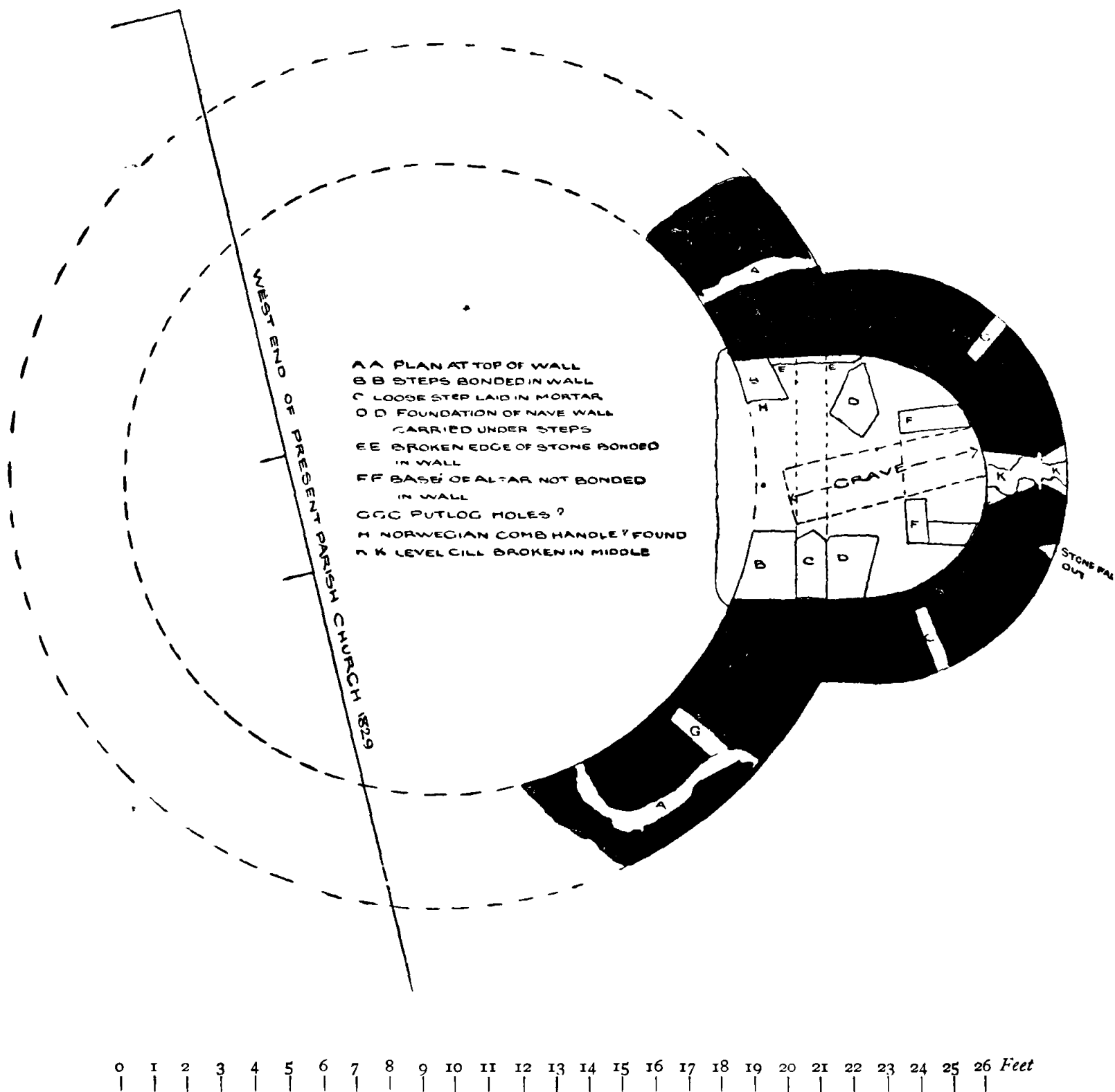
ROUND CHURCH OF ORPHIR: VIEW OF APSE, FROM SOUTH-EAST.

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

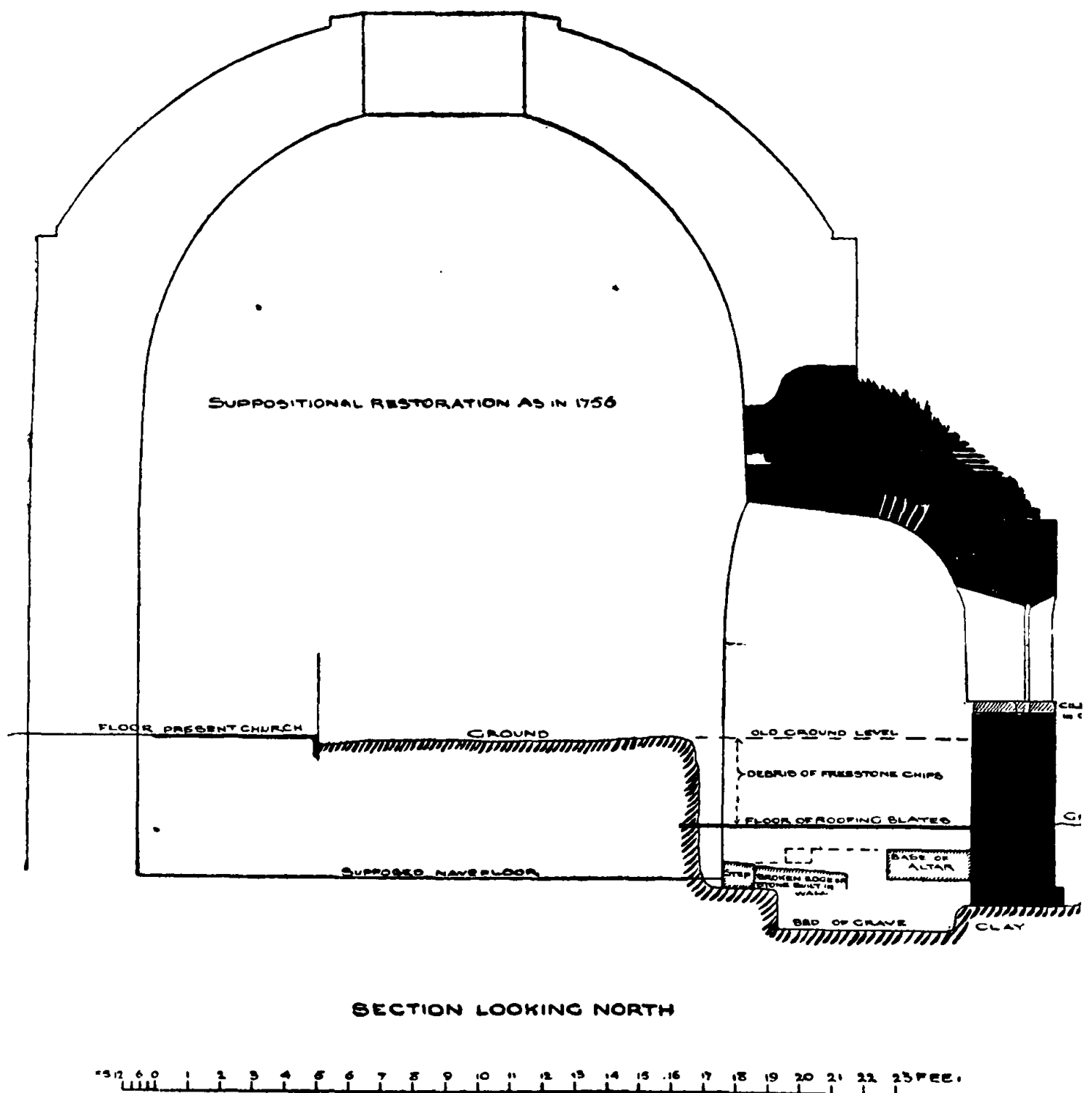
writer, when the débris in the interior of the apse was cleared out.

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



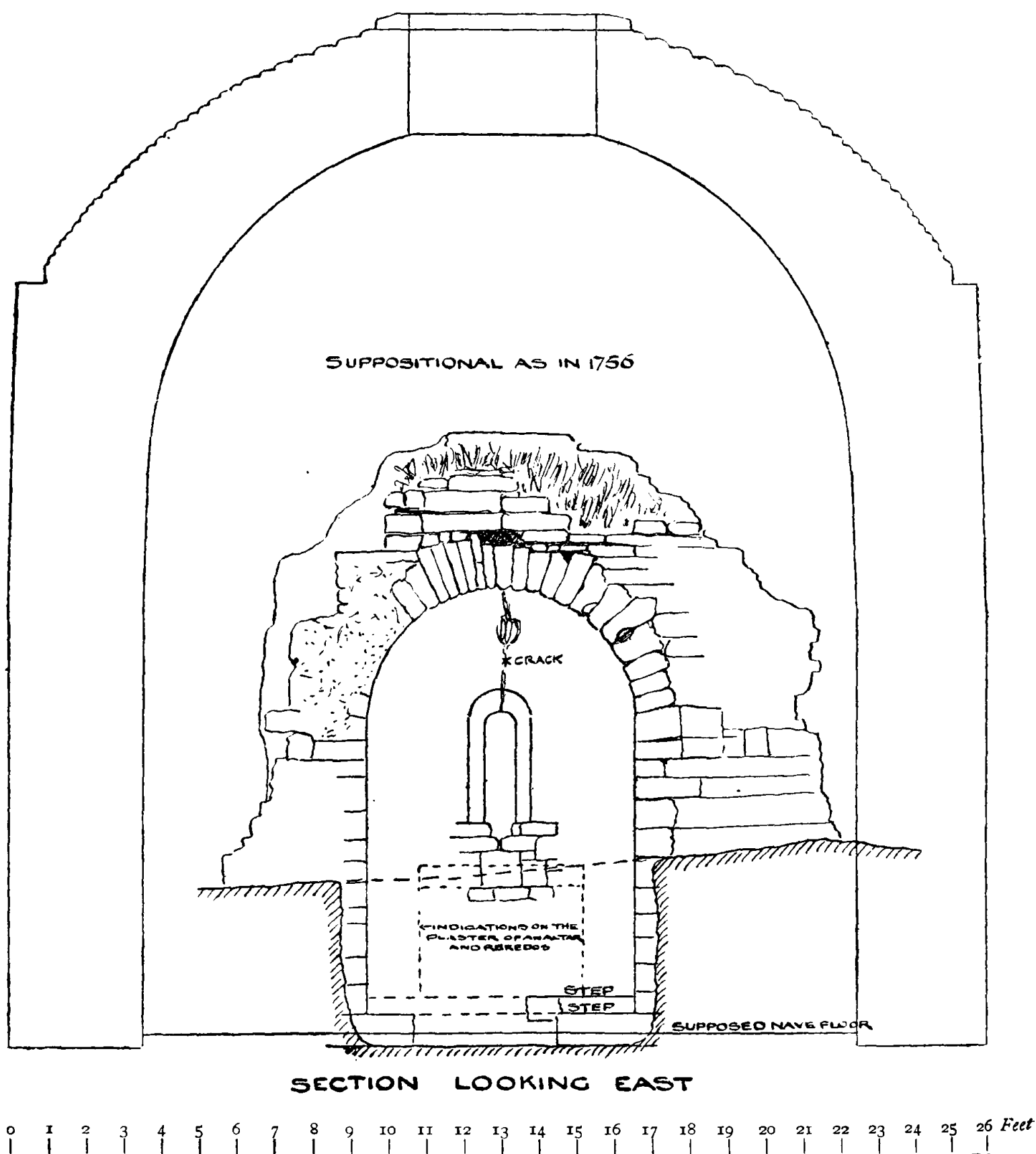
eastward as a plain vault, without ribs, to the half round apse, which is horseshoe in plan, owing to the north and south walls converging towards the archway. The apse, at its centre, projects half its width beyond the outer face of the nave wall over. There is a narrow window with

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



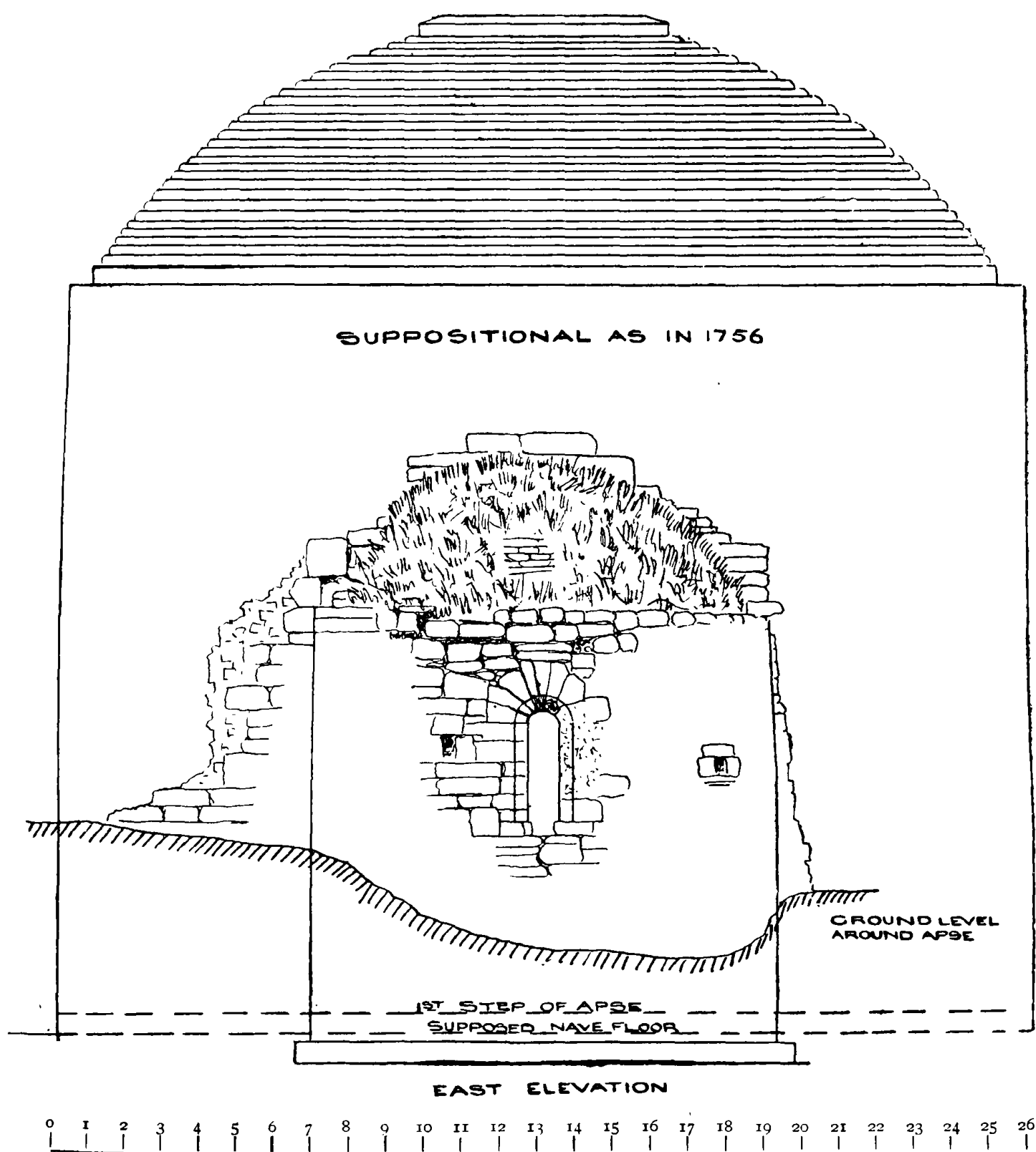
some loose stones built in when it was used as a shed. The window is a little to the north of the centre of the east end of the apse. Outside, the apse wall is carried up higher than the springing of the vault, and without projecting eaves, and finishes with a regular ledge, or table,

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



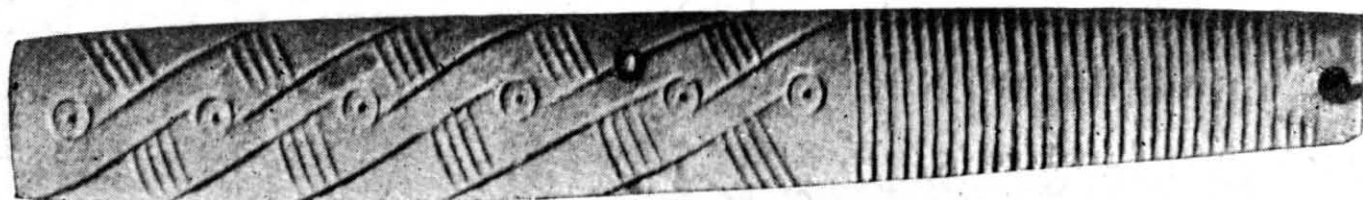
description, but of whin-stone as well as free-stone. The middle is filled with rubble concrete, in which shell-sand is used. The interior faces of the walls are all plastered over, which appears to be original, especially to cover

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 $1\frac{1}{2}$ -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. $1\frac{1}{2}$ -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. $11\frac{1}{2}$ -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.

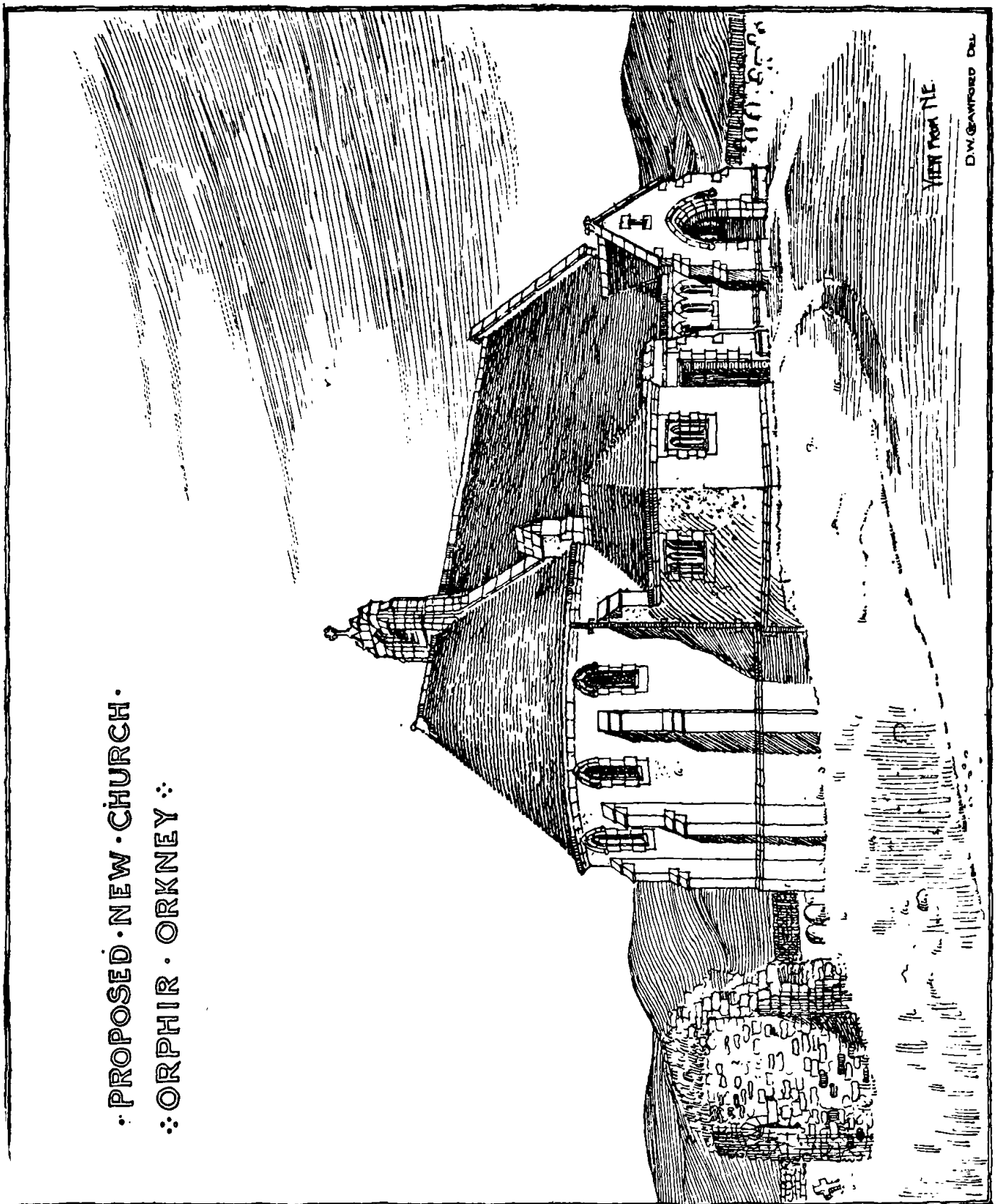
The church was so small, merely a private chapel, that it could scarcely have been used long, if ever, as a parish church. There is no record of its ever having had a western extension. It must have been in disuse long before the Reformation. The rectory of Orphir was an important benefice, the incumbent 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.

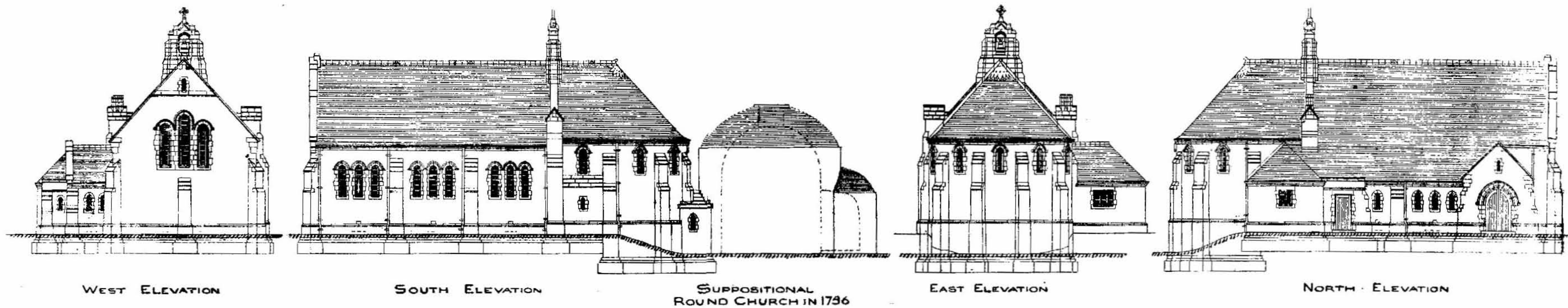
As to the Round Church, we shall be safe in following the opinion of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., architect to Westminster Abbey, who states that this is a subject for repair, not restoration. The building has long been abandoned, and is far gone in ruin. A restoration would make more new work than 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



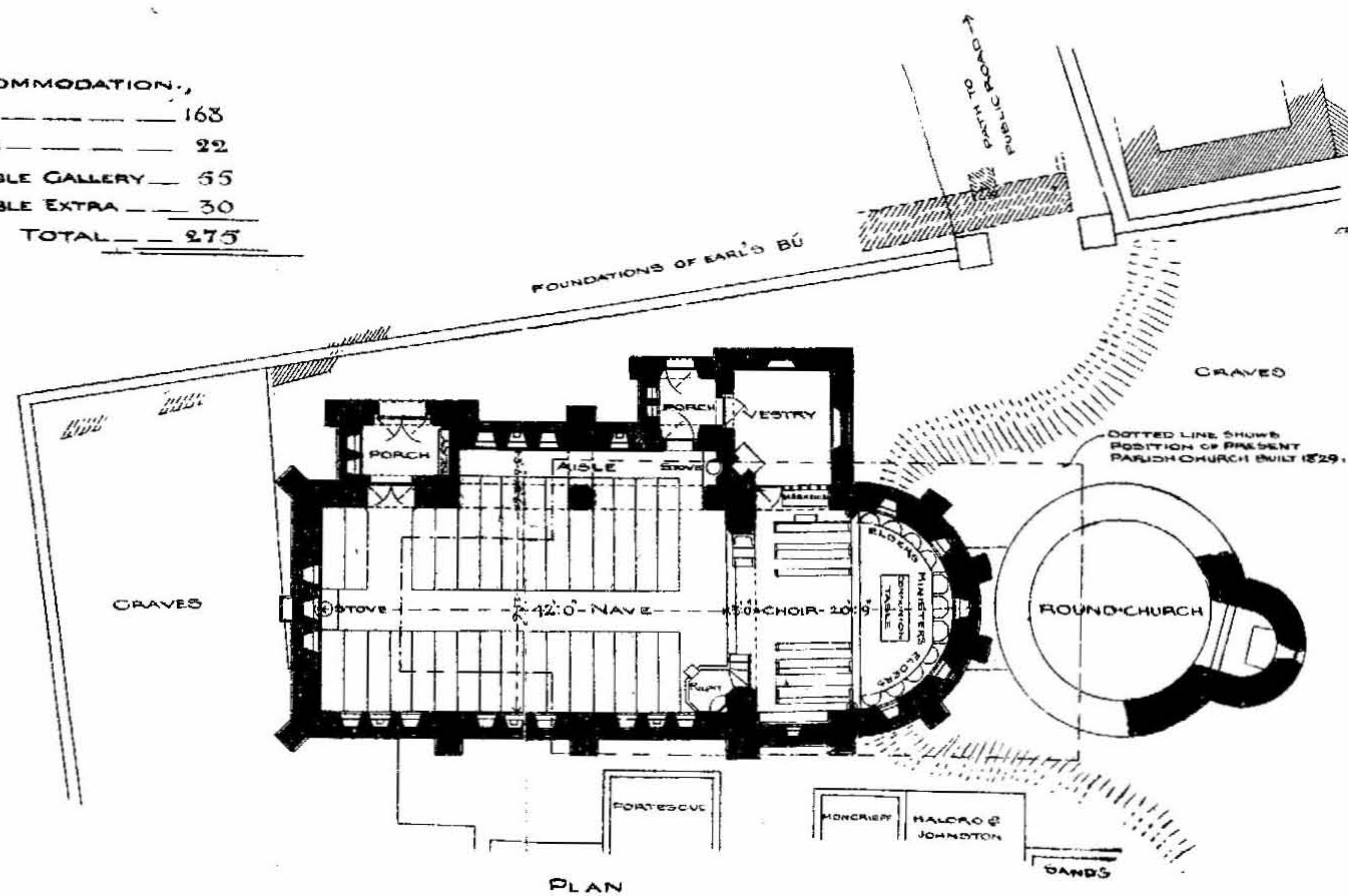
ground is so limited, the east end of the new church would have to stand close to the west end of the Round nave. A design for the new church has been prepared, so that if the Round Church were to be restored in one's mind's eye, the vision of the new and old together would



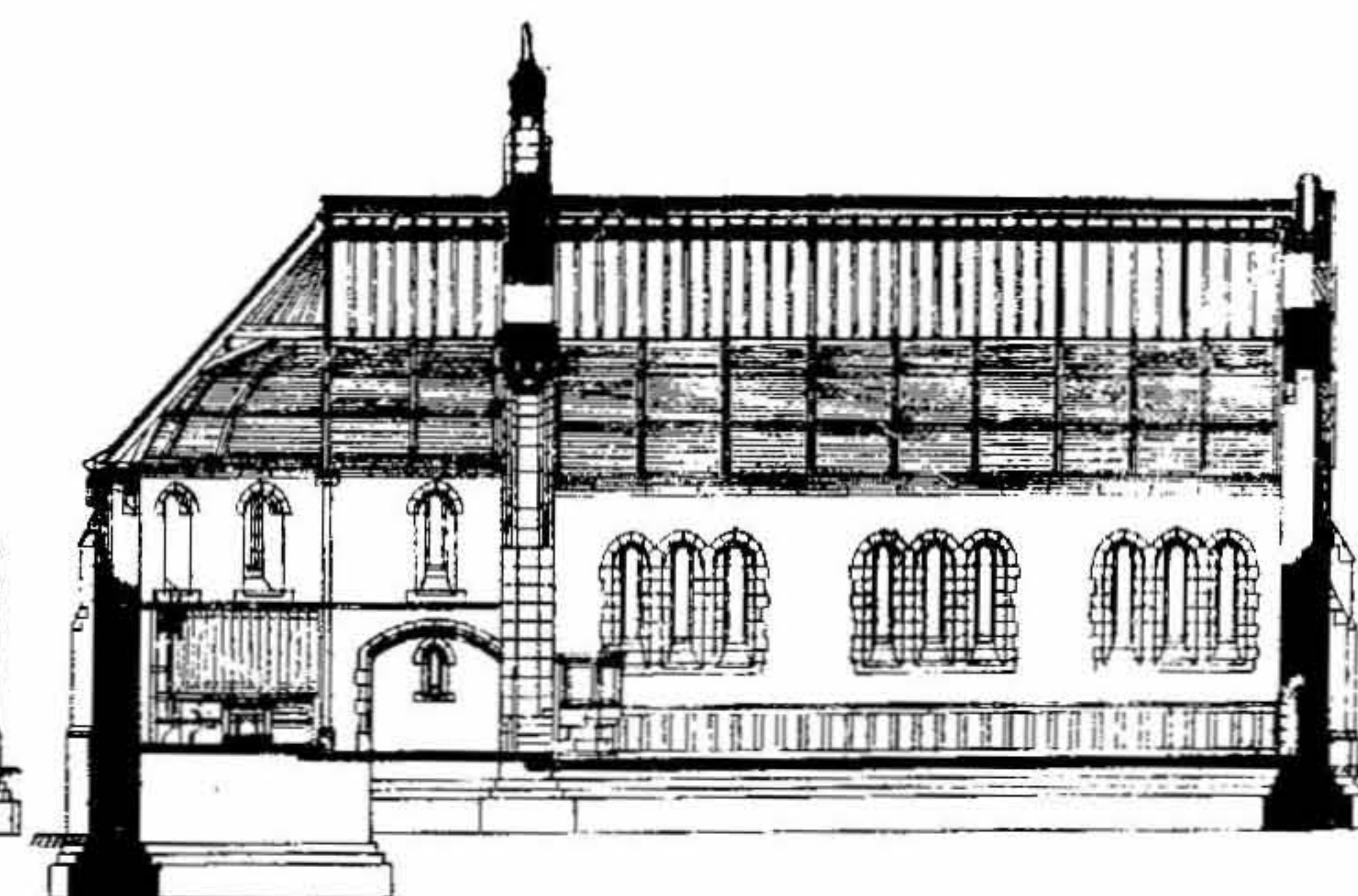
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ACCOMMODATION.

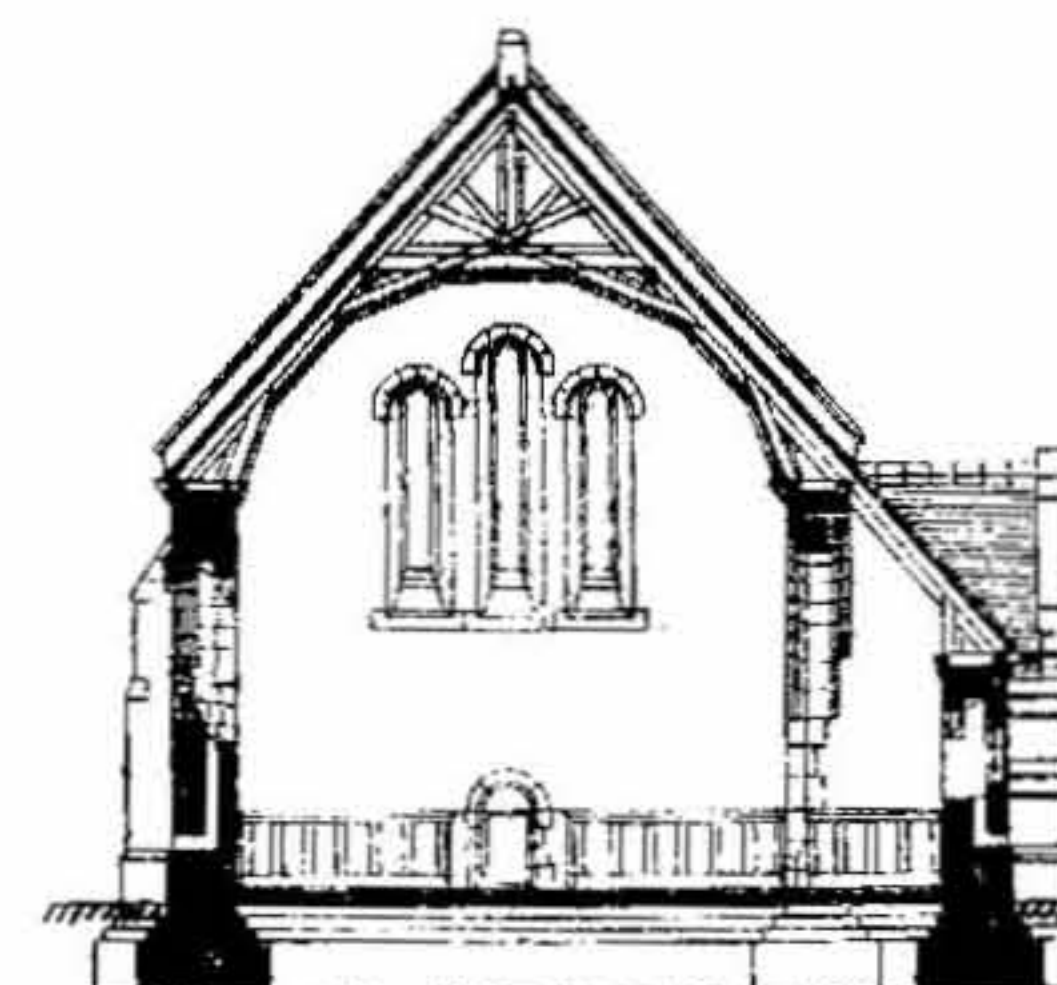
NAVE	168
CHOIR	22
POSSIBLE GALLERY	55
POSSIBLE EXTRA	30
TOTAL	275



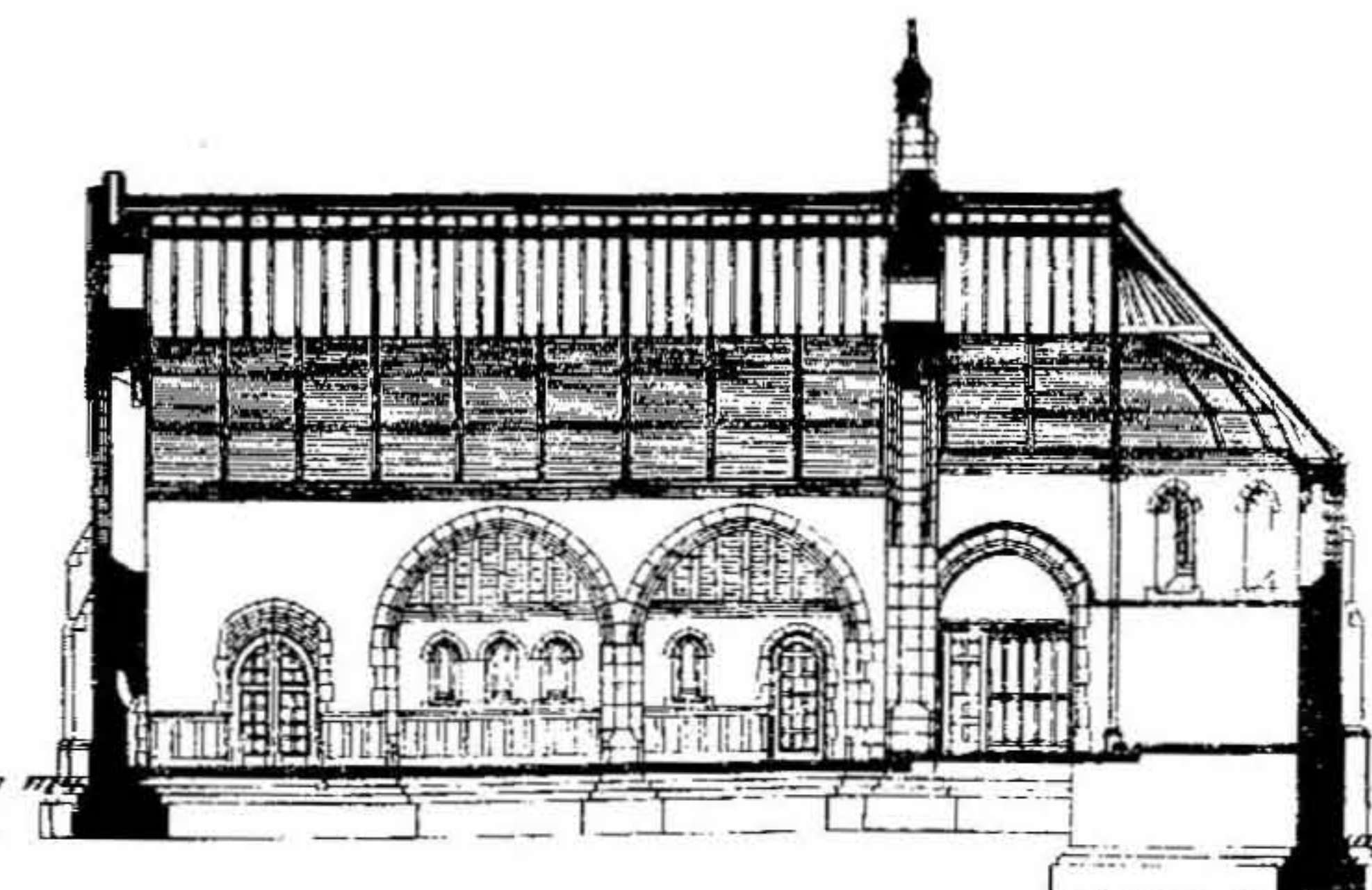
CROSS SECTION WEST BAY NAVE
LOOKING EAST



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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division of commonty, *tún* of Orphir, estate of Swanbister, etc., in
possession of Mr. J. Johnston of Coubister, Orphir.
- Besides numerous other works, maps, etc., having references of little interest.

The writer is much indebted for information and assistance to—

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Professor D. Mackinnon, Edinburgh University.

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Jón Stefánsson, Ph.D.

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Dr. R. Norris Wolfenden.

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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 brunette 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. Beddow'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 bloneness. 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.

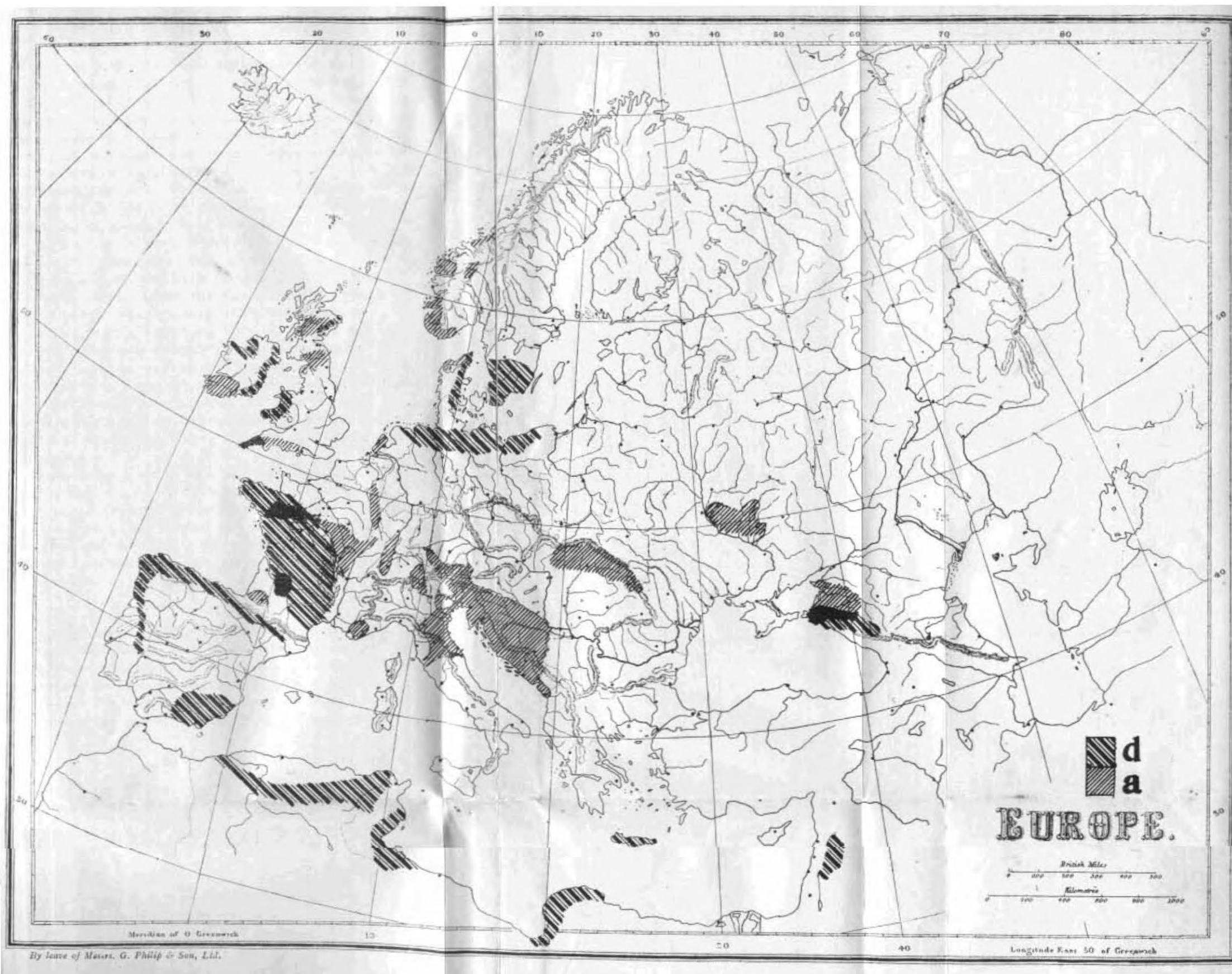
The Celts.—We hear nowadays a great deal about the Celtic element in the British Isles. To which of our racial types do they belong? The Greeks applied the name *Keltoi* to the blonde inhabitants of North Europe, and evidently, according to the Greek view, the Celts belonged to the Teutonic type. The Romans subdivided the blondes into the *Germani*, lying furthest north, and the *Celtæ*, 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. Beddoe'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. Beddow'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

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 "Lax dæla 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 Flatnose 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 voices 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 chief tain known as Muirheartach (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 Boroimhe, 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

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 Voe 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 Ruddon 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):—

"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, Caldy 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 Germany 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 “*nasenach*” 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 Cantium, *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 Cimbri, 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 Cimbri, 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 Cauci, 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 Danes, 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," Hjörleif, 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 hyper-critical, 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 Icelander,"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.

Saga-Book of the Viking Club.

VOL. III. PART III.

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 Reprinted from the Year Books of the Bergen Museum.

THE AUTHOR.

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

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

OTHER ADDITIONS.

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Model of the Jellinge Stone.

VIKING BIBLIOGRAPHY IN 1903.

[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 "Heath Dene," Brooke Avenue, Roxeth, Harrow.]

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." Kobenhavn : 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 *Gisla 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.

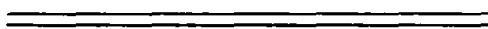
MEETING, DECEMBER 18TH, 1903.

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 Thorfynn 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 *crux* of the charter is the phrase "Gospatric greets all . . . that dwell on all the lands of the *Cumbrian*"—"on eallan þam landann þeo weoron Coṁbres"; 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.

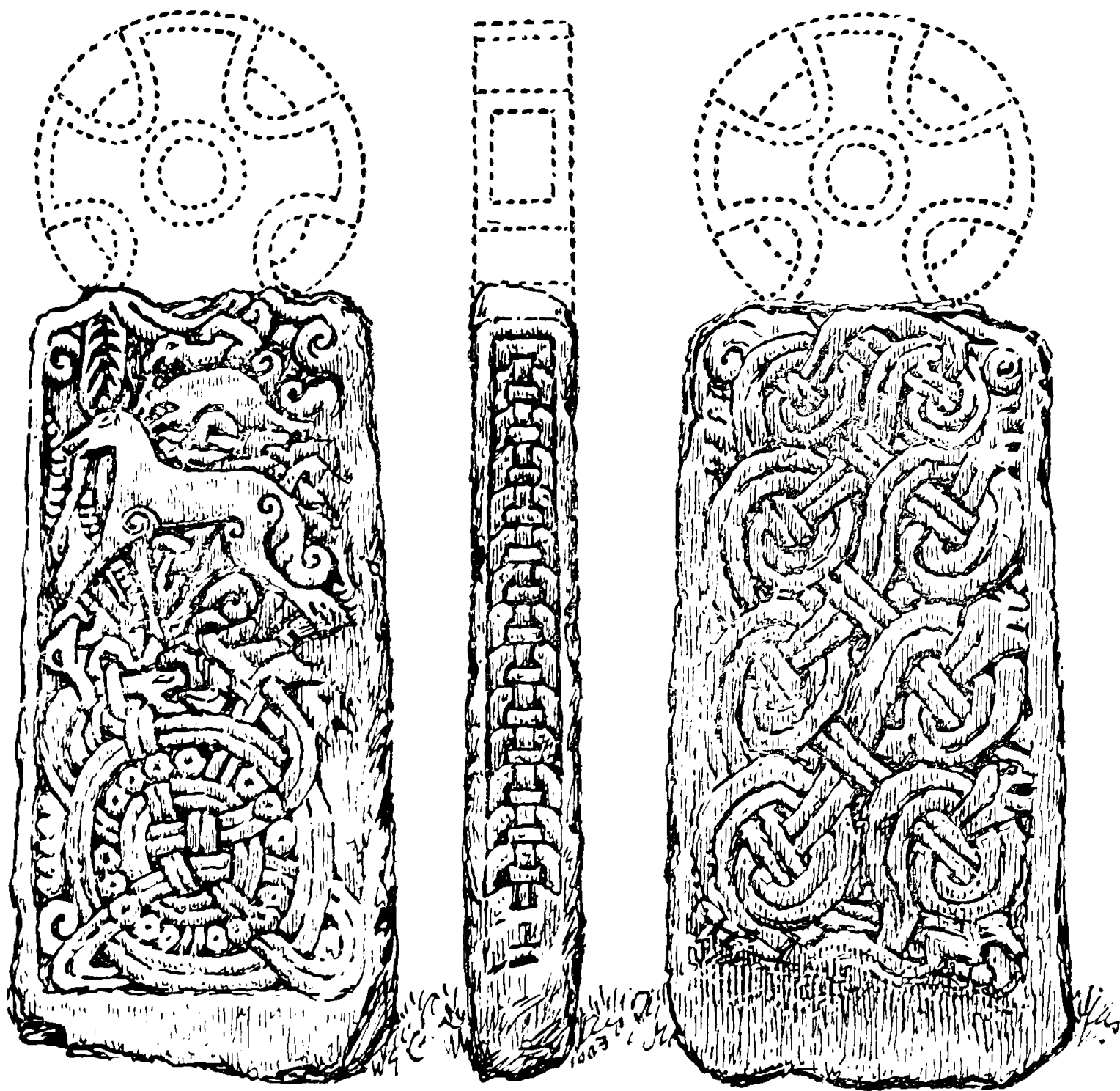
While making a road last winter about 80 yards north of the Derwent, on a gravel ridge called Oysterbanks, a sword was found by the labourers. It passed into the possession of the Rev. C. T. Phillips, vicar of West Seaton, on whose land the discovery was made; but no further information about the circumstances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

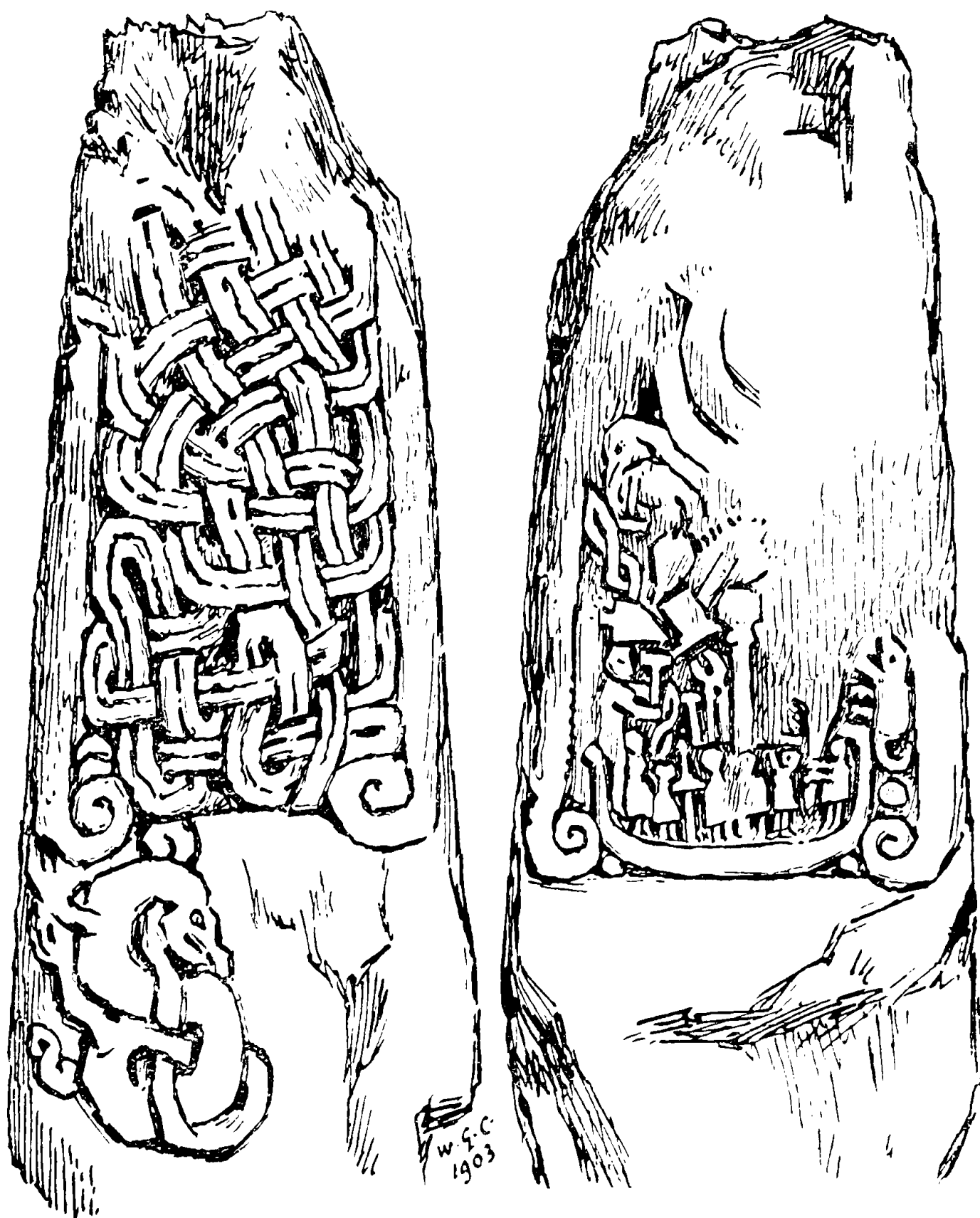
VIKING-AGE CROSS AT LANCASTER.

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 Aspatia 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. Kermodé 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 *fylgja*, 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 *fylgja* 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' tae (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 *dwam* o' sleep—a *daagin* o' rain—a *flooin* o' butter—a *faem* o' mael—a *gjopen* 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 *kliugang* o' horses—a *knokin* o' bere—a *knuk* o' 'oo'—a *kirvie* o' floss—a *kippok* 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' clood—a *nirt* o' flesh — a *neist* o' fire—an *ootburd* o' peats—an *orm* o' sillicks—an *ort* o' grices — a *poortin* 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 *rönie* o' stanes — a *roog* o' peats—a *rudge* o' rocks—a *síd* o' tea — a *syp* o' milk—a *sloo* o' poans—a *skaar* o' flesh— a *skurok* o' tobacco—a *stroal* o' herring — a *spleet* o' wid (wood) — a *slaag* o' bairns—a *skride* o' fleas—a *suknie* o' kirk folk — a *stied* o' sillocks — a *stick* o' claes—a *saetin* o' sids—a *skrae* o' youngsters—a *sljuch* o' reek—a *skurt* o' hay—a *strinklin* o' corn—a *tudd* o' wind—a *taet* 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.
Trolhoited.—Trow-like in walk and gesture.
Truliyet.—Trow-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.
Faedmel.—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.
Tirrin.—Out of temper.
Uplopin—Easily made angry.
Truitsket.—Wearing a sulky face.
Ilivickit.—Ready to do injury in a small way.
Illyandid.—Unattractive, not helpful.
Ilvisket.—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.
Titsom.—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.

Spjca.—One that acts the fool.

Pernikity.—Parsimonious, unkind, prim.

Moniment.—Addicted to foolish mirth.

Flaatoo.—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

Rōdie.—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.

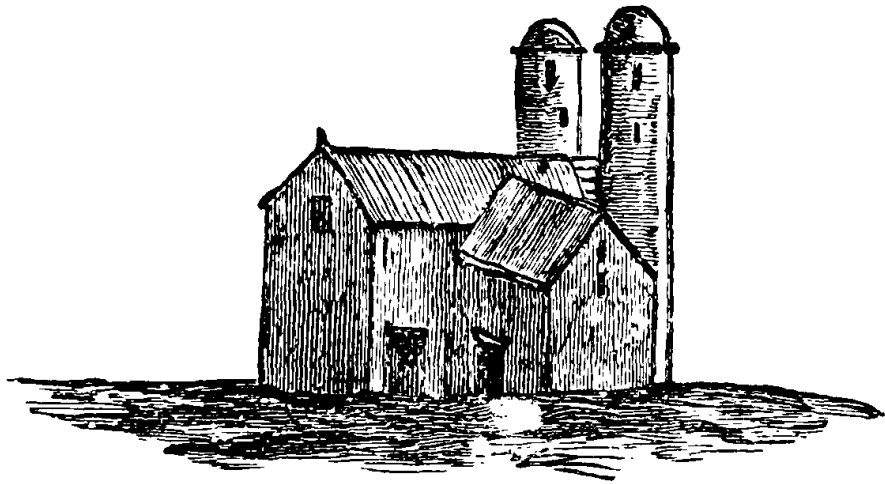
[Mr. Spence intended to enlarge and revise these lists of words, but we regret to say that owing to his being prostrate by severe illness he is unable to accomplish this. Students of the Old Norse will find it extremely interesting to trace the derivations of the striking words and phrases he has given.]

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

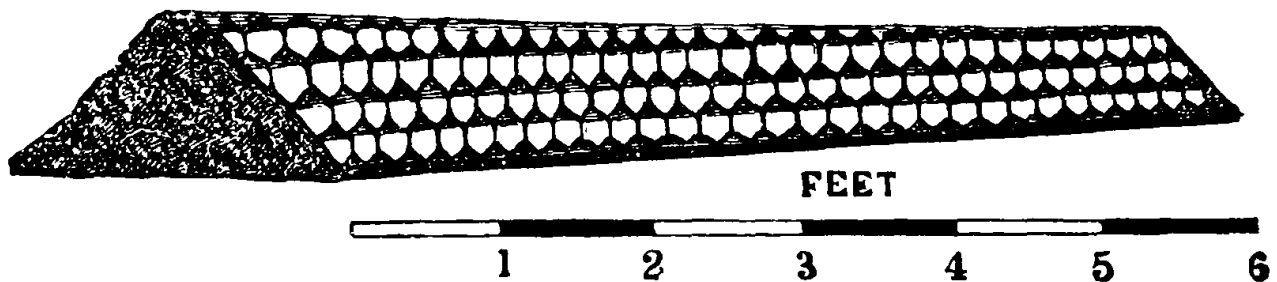
DEERNESS KIRK.

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:—

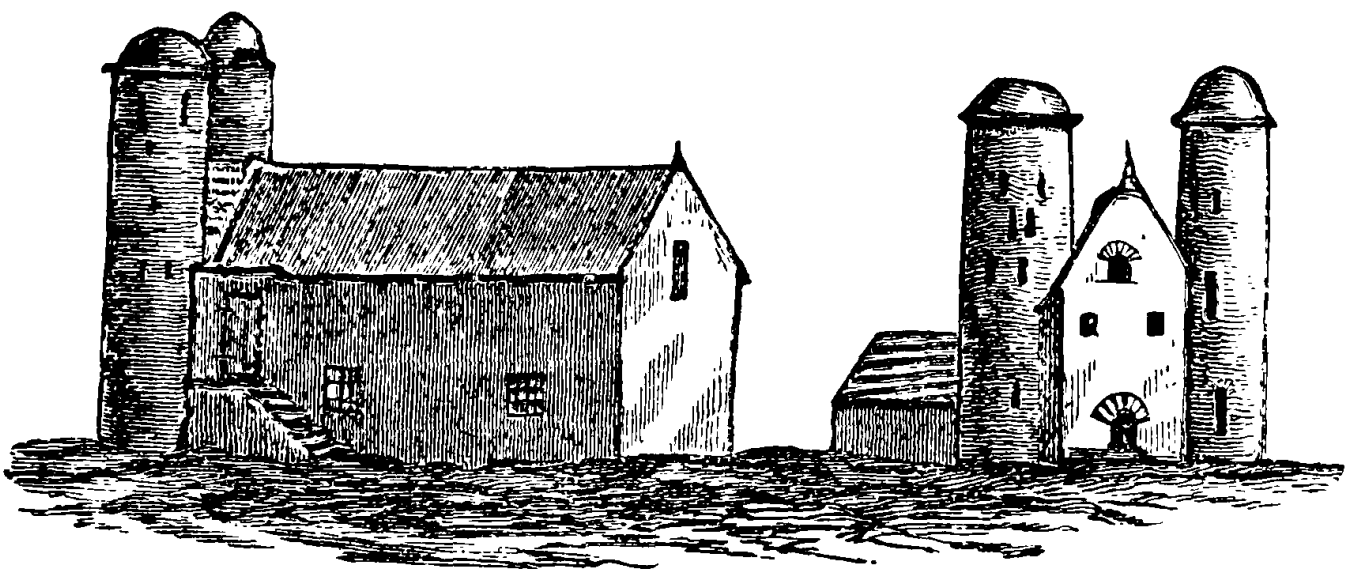
“ The Church of Deerness is very remarkable, and part of it looks to be pretty ancient; the east end consists of a vault which crosses the breadth of the inside, and at each side of this is erected a small steeple. Through the vault or quire one enters the steeple on his right hand, and by a turnpike 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,

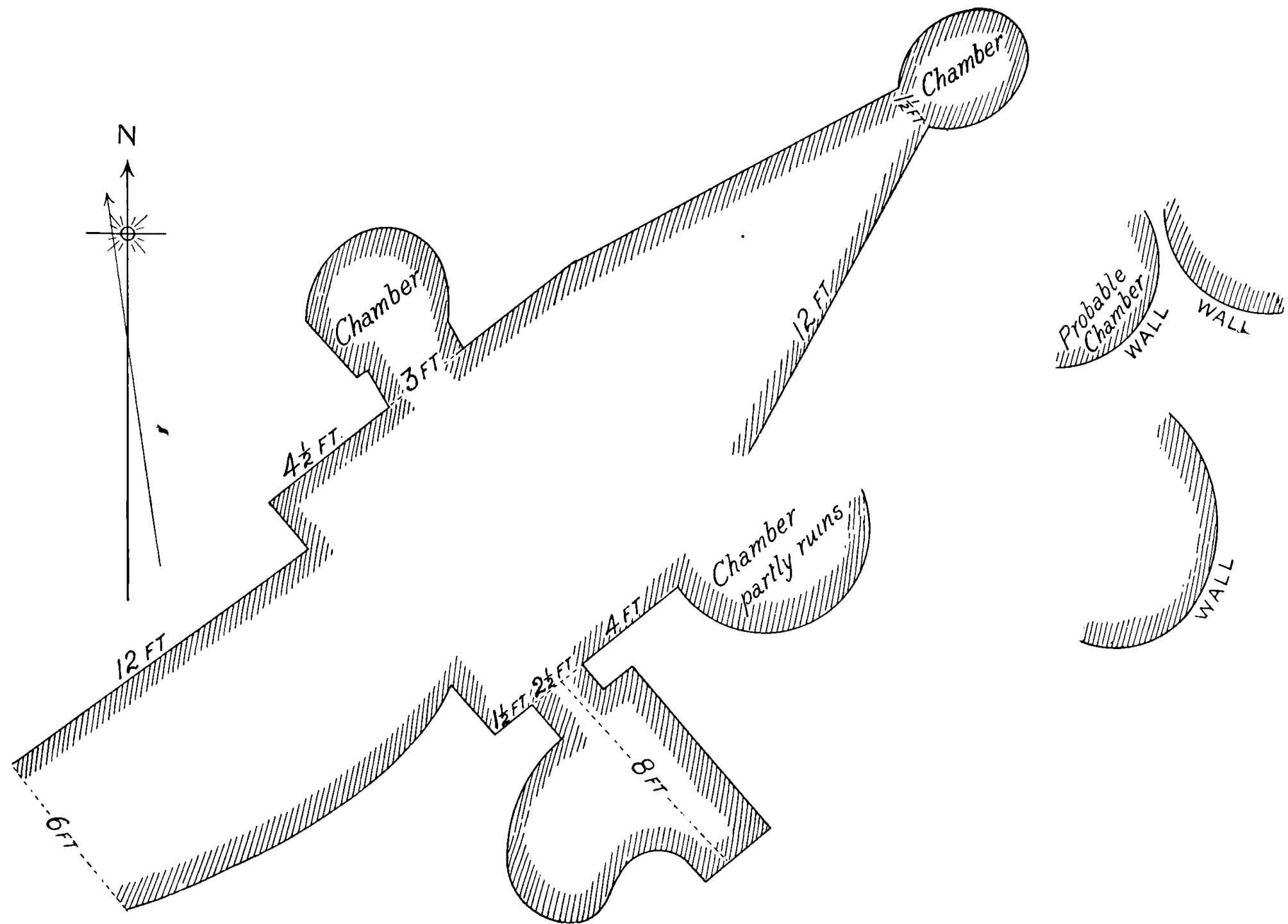


FIG. I — PLAN OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

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-

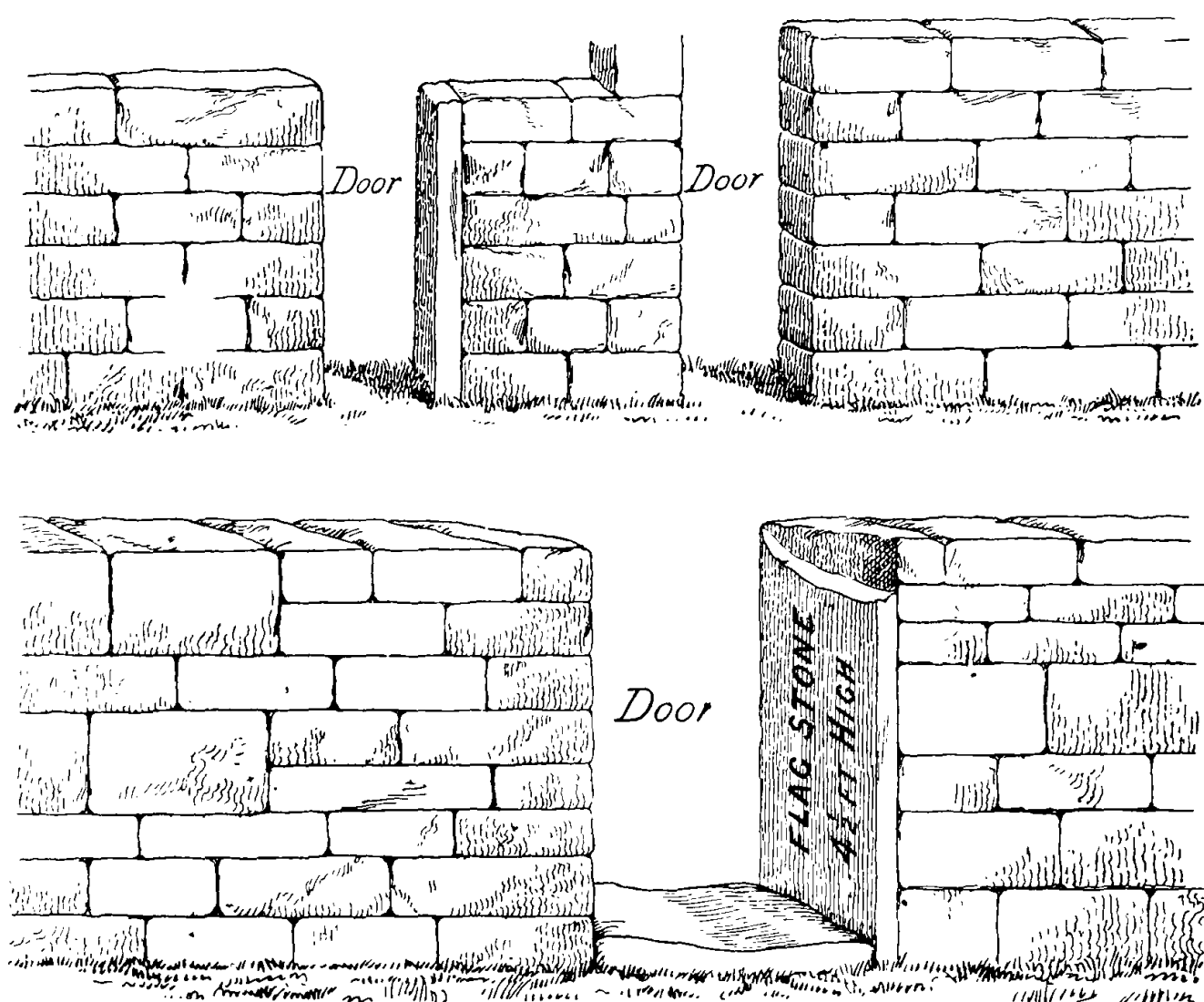


FIG. 2.—WALLS OF CHAMBER OF PICT'S HOUSE, KIRBUSTER.

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 *Fram* 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
ræist sú maðr
er rýnstr er
fyrir vestan haf,*

(xvi.) *með þeirri oksi,
er útti 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 Östergötland, 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 Icelandic 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 haulds 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.

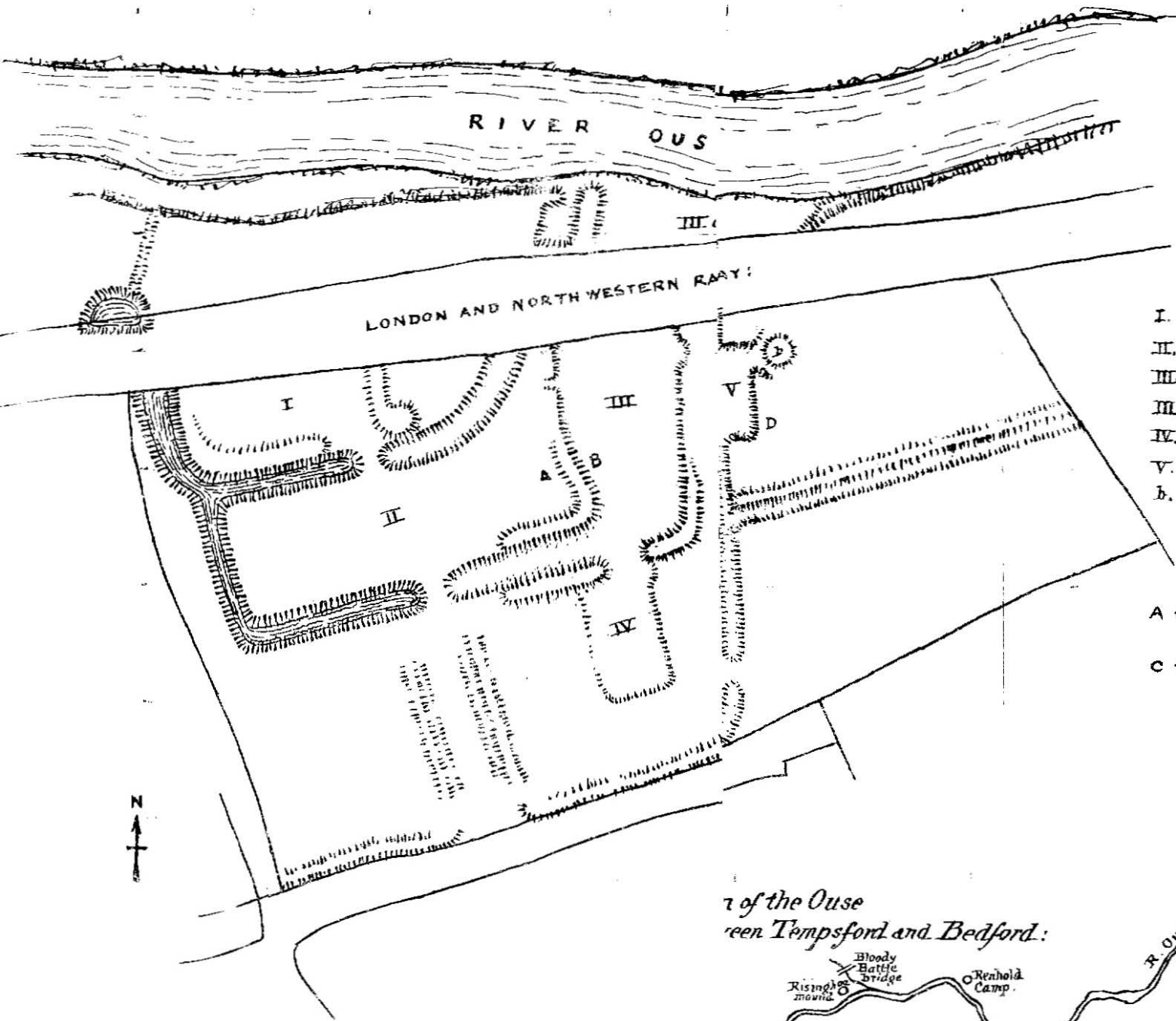
II.

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.

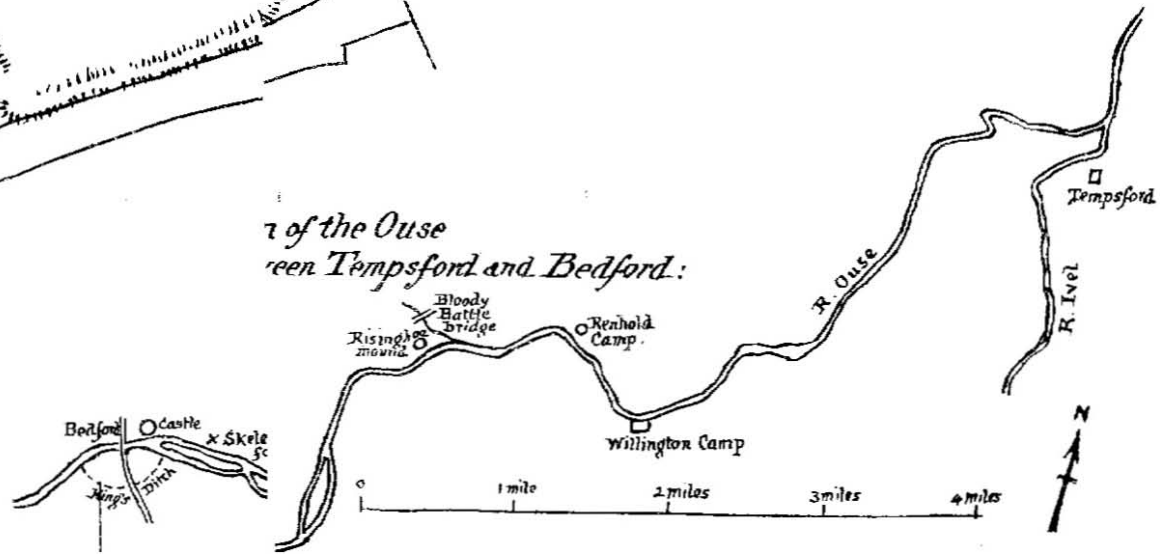
There is a record of an Edwardian castle at Willington, and these earthworks have been supposed to mark its position, but this can hardly have been. The church, with 13th century detail discovered during recent restoration, stands nearly half a mile distant, adjoining the remains of an old manor-house 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

PLAN OF WILLINGTON CAMP



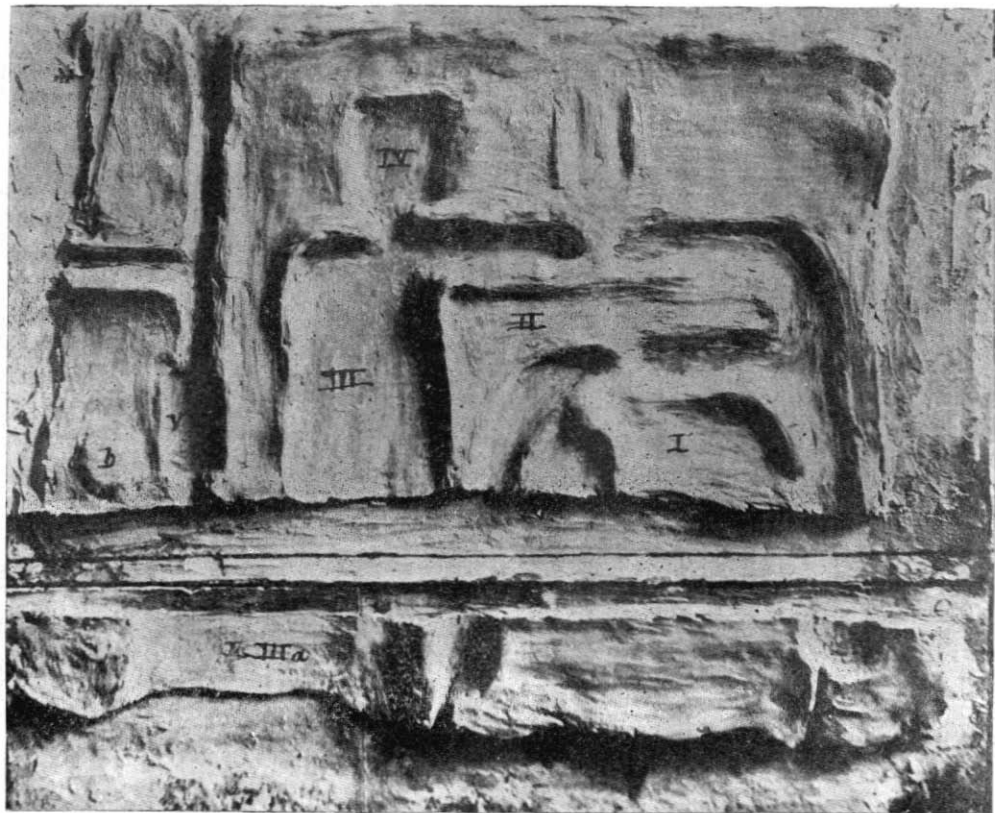
*Plan of the Ouse
between Tempsford and Bedford:*



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



Photograph from clay model.

Not to scale.

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 Vatnsfjord 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 fjord, 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 trench 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.

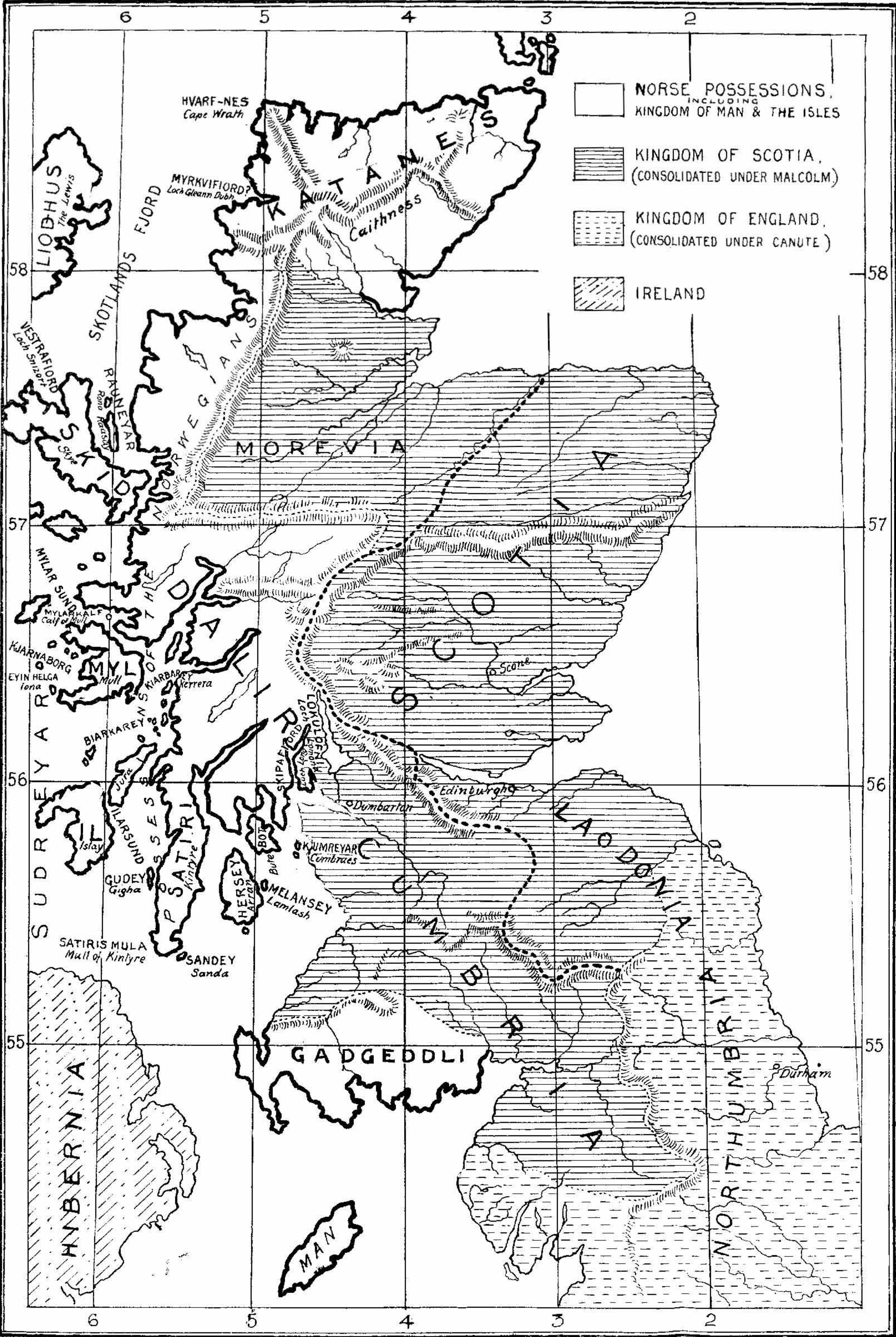
That Orkney and Shetland and the north-east coast of Scotland were and are Norse to the backbone everyone is prepared to admit; but that the Norsemen had lasting settlements on the west coast is still quite astonishing to the man in the street. Anyone who is in the least degree familiar with either Irish 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

MAP OF SCOTLAND.

circa 1034 A.D..

SHOWING EXTENT OF NORSE POSSESSIONS, WITH SUCH OF THE SUDREYAN PLACE-NAMES AS OCCUR IN THE SAGAS.



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 Lochlan-naigh, "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 Erin. 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-Gaedhil, which means "the coast lands of the Gael," and is the origin of the name "Argyll." The Norse name for Oirir-Gaedhil 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 Scotic 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 fjörd, 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 (Gillibrìde) 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 Gillibride 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-

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, MacHuiston, 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>Kal.</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>Magnus.</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-ghaill*, "the black strangers," and *Fionn-ghaill* "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-ghaill*, "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-ghaill*, "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 (=Orfiris-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, Dunstaffynch) 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 Cumbræes 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. Hatcly 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." Ardrosedale is partly Norse; so is Ardschalpsie. 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 Cumbræe, 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.



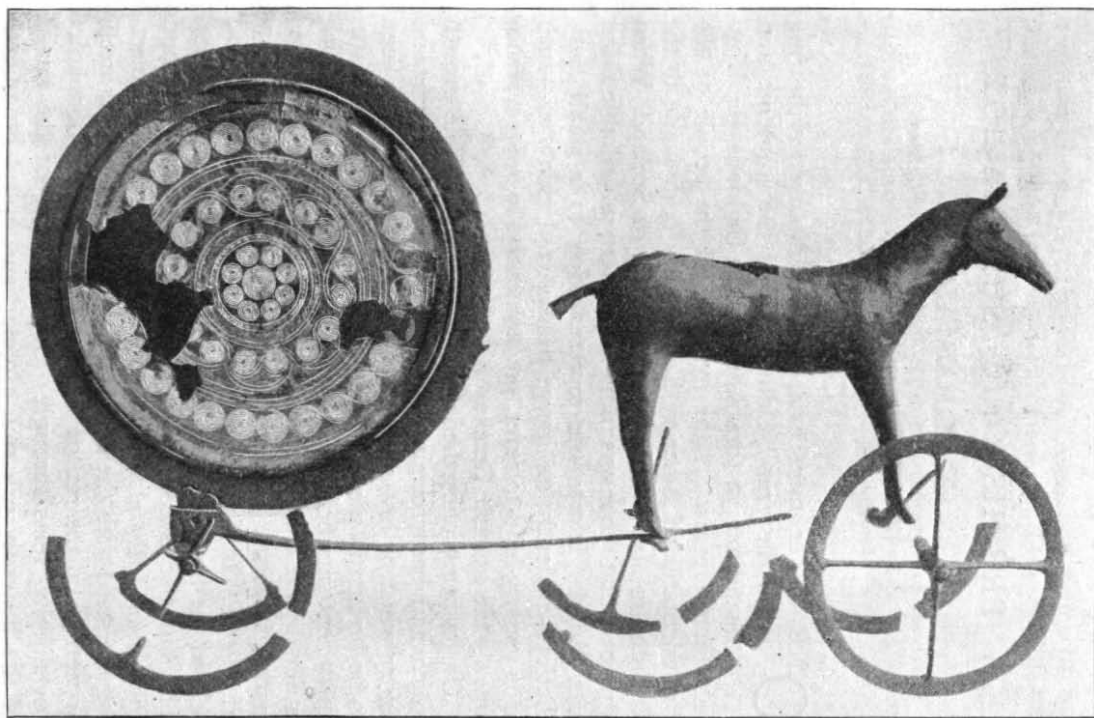
A PRE-HISTORIC SUN-CHARIOT IN DENMARK.¹

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 Thurmayer, 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.

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 Thracian 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" (Gylfaginn, "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: Arwagr (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, beautifully 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 (Thrakian, 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 Rhodanos, 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 "Eleyen." 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 *Yewin*, 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 Goldberg 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, therefore, 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 Gilbhin 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 Erim 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 large 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").

Sōālum (an island).

Annalip ("—lip"), pronounced like Scotch "lip"—a compromise between
"lip" and "lup."

Brándalip.

Sōālip.

Clet Iuglais.

Hōnna (like o in tone), or Sōnna or Tōnna.

Gúārsay (u=oo), not an island.

Cátārsay (not an island).

Sówseret.

Kíasigeo. (There is an Island Kiasamul.)

Lianamul (an island).

Aoinig (pronounced French, ú-neek).

Bilacrek.

Sūnăgir (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.

Grăn.

Shěh-i-geo.

Tremmis-geo.

Yōh-ri.

Bíli-bíbish (all i's=ee).

Hó-ă-ret, or Tó-ă-ret, or Só-ă-ret (*cf.* Sow-sěret or Sows-aret).

Enn-yir, or Án-yir (the landing place).

Hílibrick.

Suinlish.

Gūnarsay (*cf.* Catarsay and Guarsay), not an island.

Lāikigeo (diphthong).

Căhăs-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.

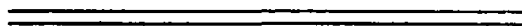
Orăcri.

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 midsummer 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

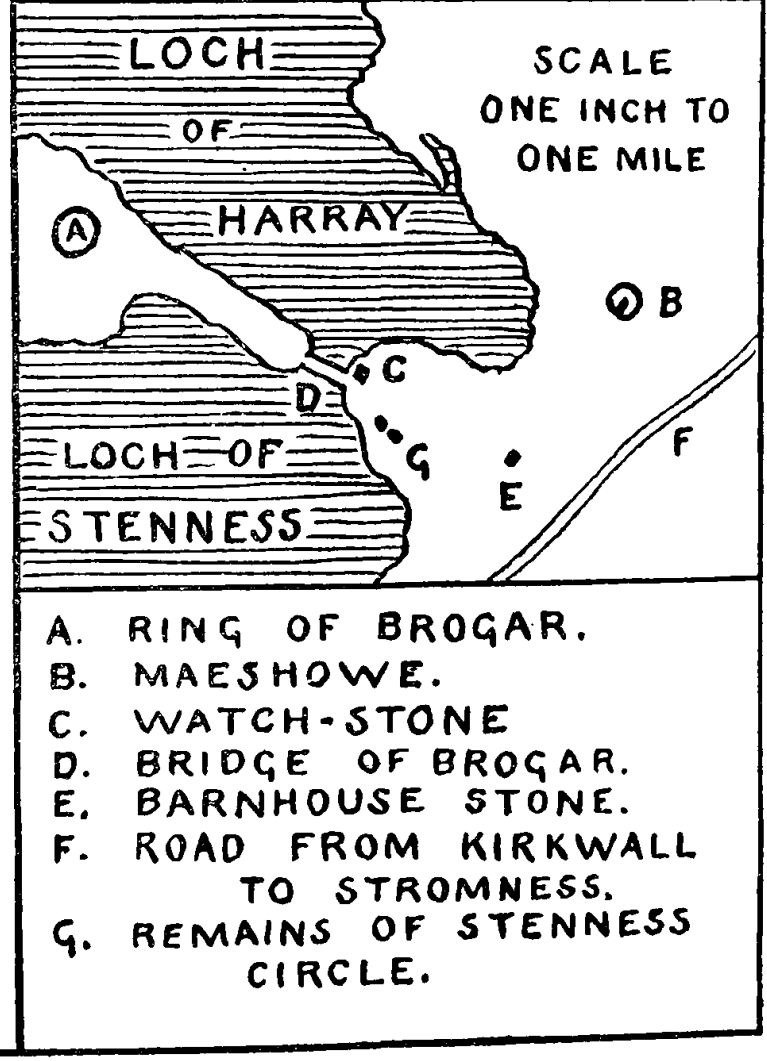
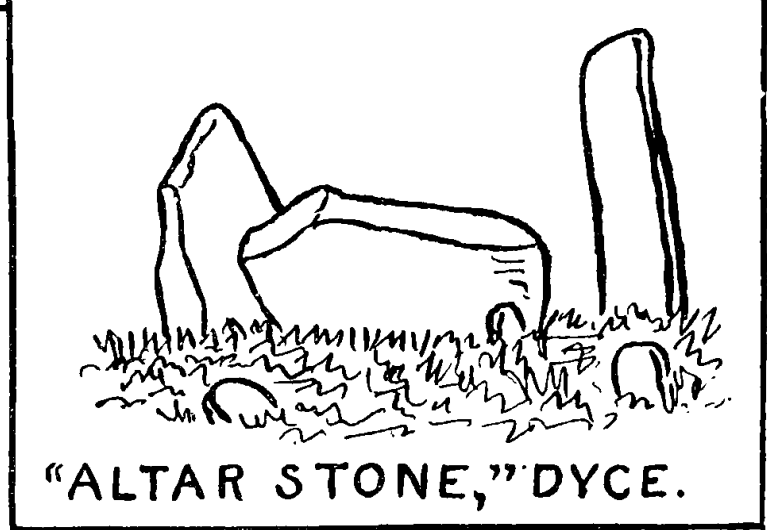
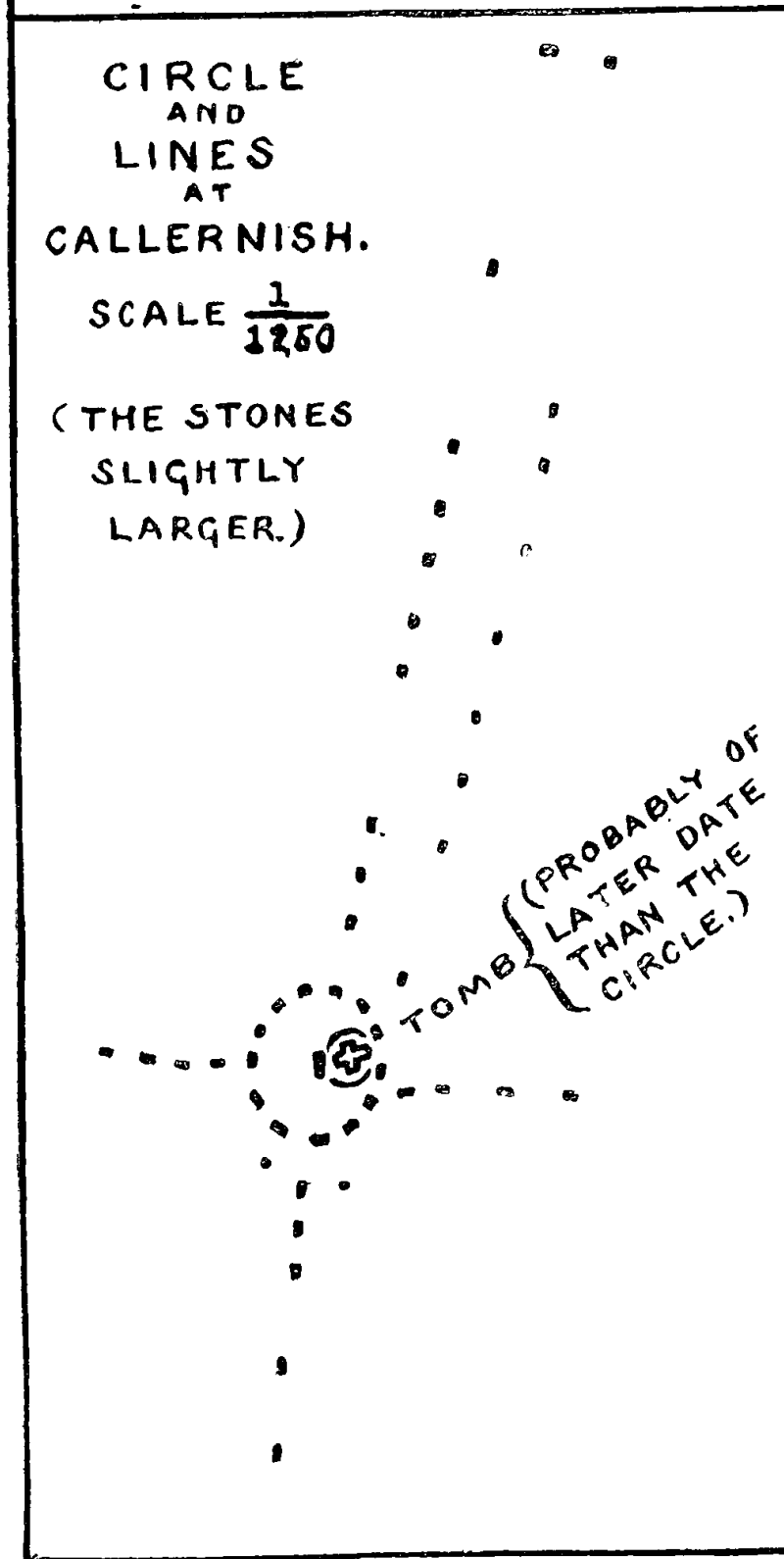
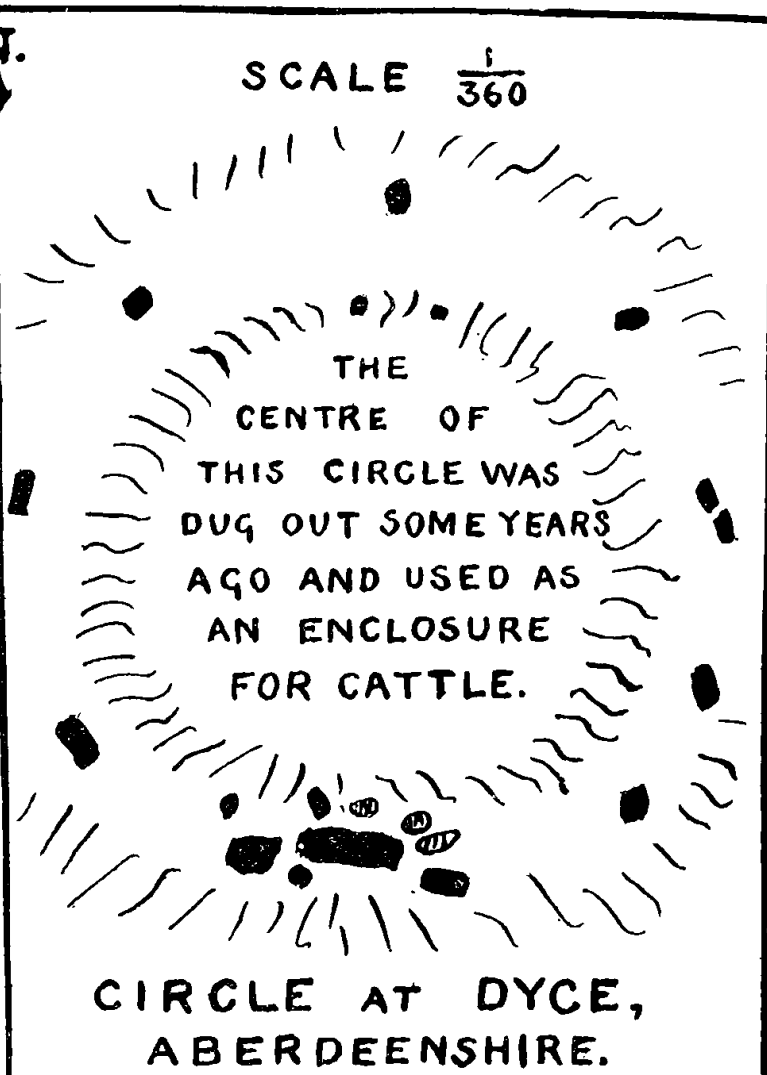
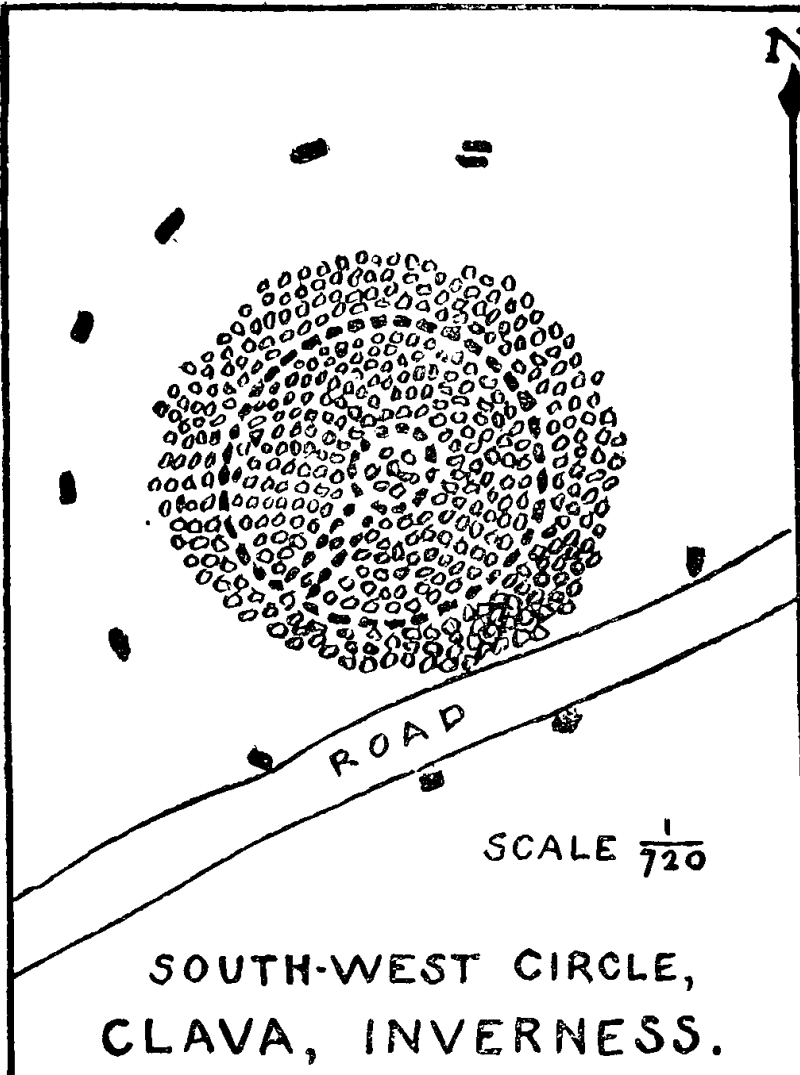


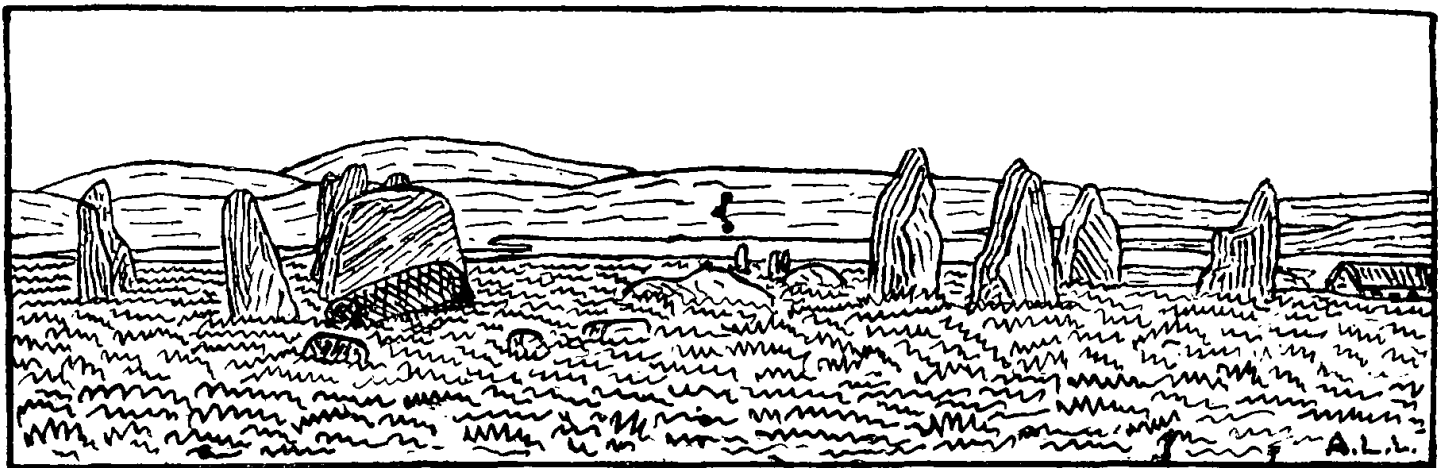
FIG. I.

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.

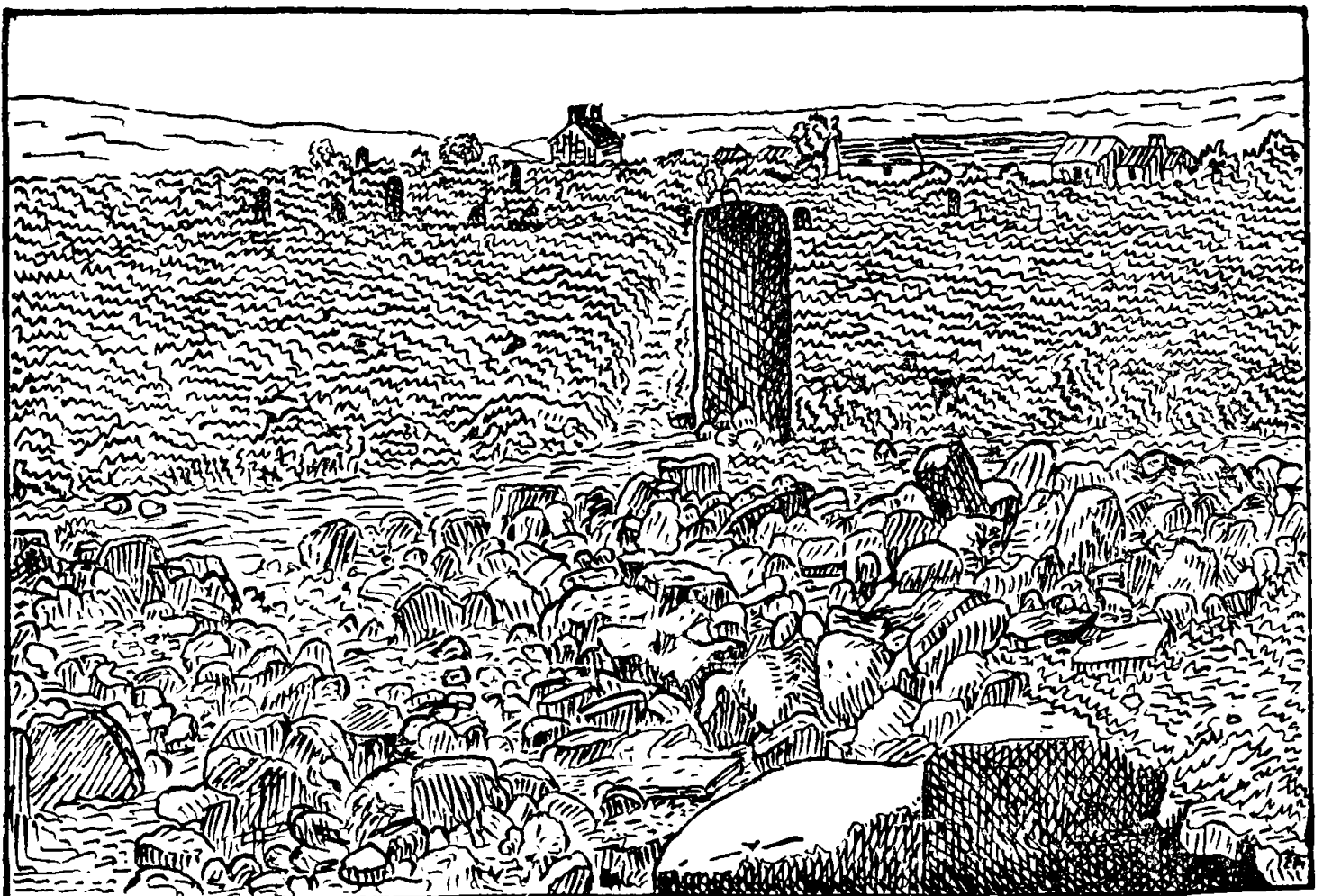
Passing by the Rollrich circle in Oxfordshire (a single circle with an outlying stone to the north-east, but without ditch or embankment), Mr. Lewis exhibited a plan and view of the circles at Stanton Drew, near Bristol, which, he said, ranked next in order of importance to Avebury and Stonehenge. There 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.)

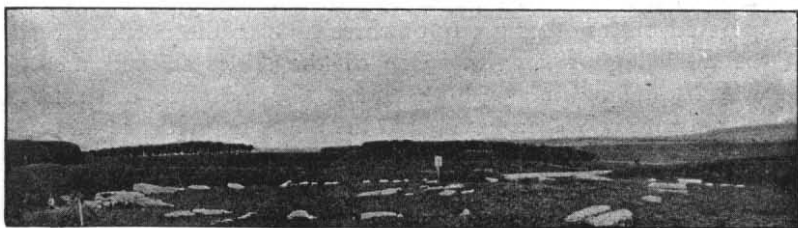


FIG. 3.—ARBORLOW, FROM THE TUMULUS, LOOKING S.W.

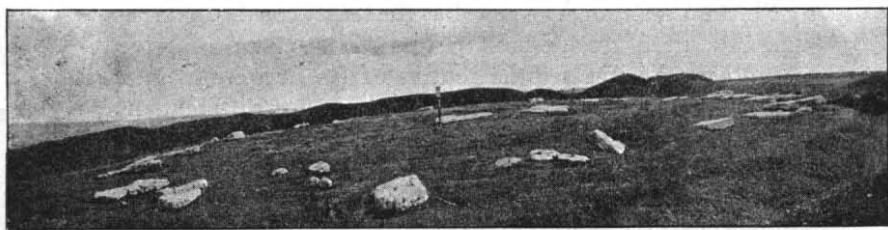


FIG. 4.—ARBORLOW, LOOKING S.E. TO THE TUMULUS.

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

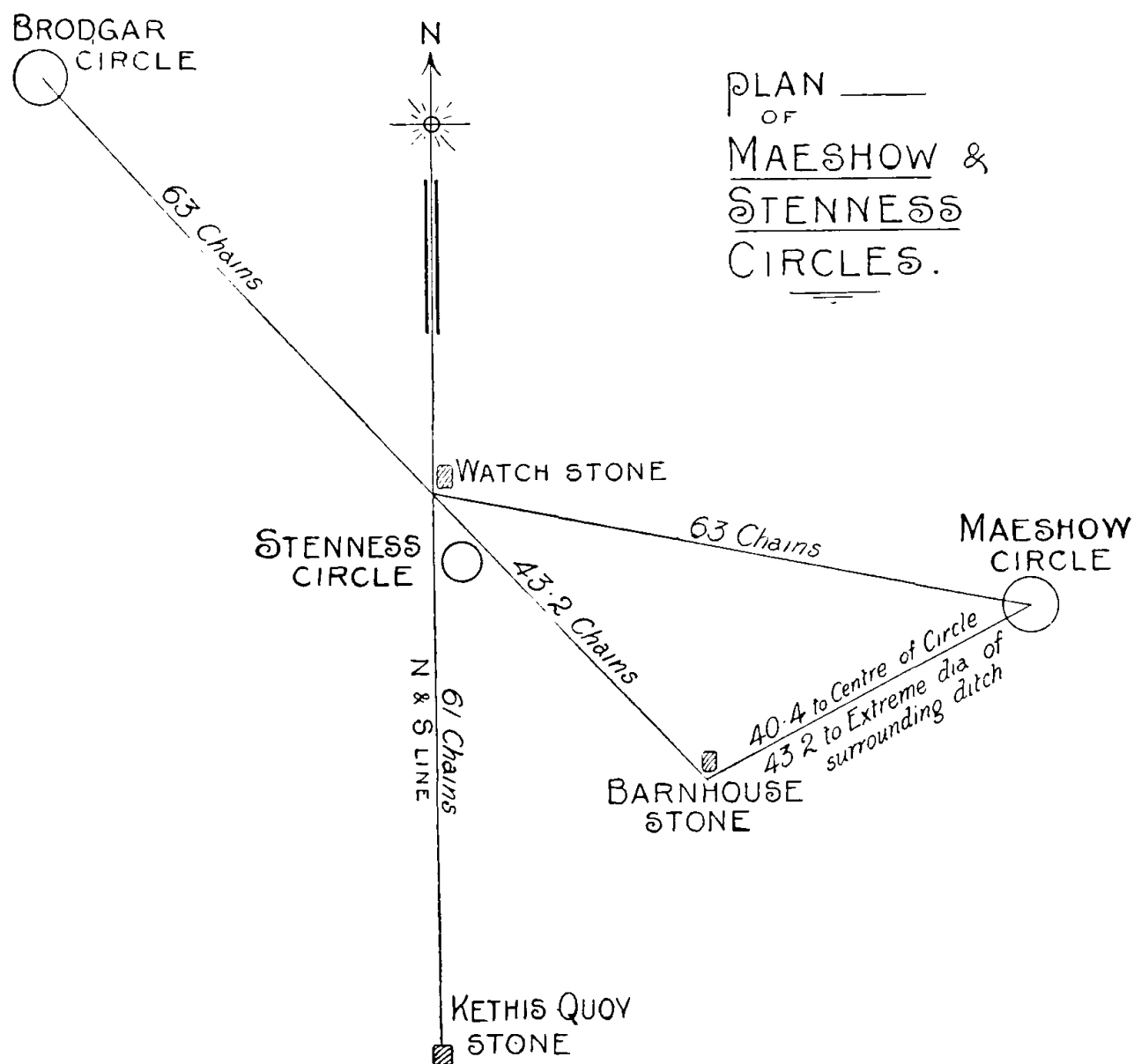
Stone of Odin, whilst to the N.W. stands the Watchstone, sixty-three chains from the larger circle. It stands 18ft. above ground. Another solitary monolith—the Barnhouse Stone—stands 43.2 chains to the S.E. of the Watchstone, and both, with the centre of the larger circle, form an alignment pointing 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 howe 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.

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, gyoës, 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.

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.

[FORM B FOR TOONS AND FARMS.]

Name of Toon _____

In Parish of _____

Name of Toon and Farms.

Ordnance Map Name.	Folk-name and pronunciation, A. Meaning attached to name. Tradition. If a new name, state its meaning.	Saga.	Peterkin's Rentals.	Charters, Rent-rolls. Books and Charts.	Natural Features. Boundaries.	If name shifted, describe original site.	Any object in Table B.
Toon.							
Farms.							

A.—Folk-pronunciation.—Spell the names as they are pronounced, using the following symbols for vowel sounds:—

a for a (short) as in *sad, mad*.
 æ for a (long) as in *made*.
 ā for a (broad) as in *father, farther*.
 e for e (short) as in *end*.
 ē for ee (long) as in *need*.
 i for i (short) as in *bid, in*.
 ī for i (long) as in *mind, kind*.
 o for o (short) as in *on*.
 ō for o (long) as in *bone*.
 ow for ow as in *how, now*.
 oy for oy as in *boy*.
 ū for eu as in { Orkney, *beul*.
 { French, *feu*.
 u for u (short) as in *sum, gun*.
 ū } for oo (long) as in *soon*.
 ū }

B.—Mention names, pronunciation, description, etc., of any of the following objects in Farms:—

Sites of old houses

 " " chapels
 " " graveyards

Cairns

Hillocks

Mounds

Knowes

Brekks

Fields

Meadows

Sheeds

Croos

Pastures

Muirs

Bogs

Dales

Glens

Gills

Hollows

Cups

Hammars

Quarries

Markistirs (patches of un-
cultivated land among
cultivated land)

Burns

Wells

Springs

Slaps

Grinds

Standing-stones

COASTLINE.

Heads

Caves

Beeches

Hopes

Harbours

Hubbins

Euses

Oyces

Sounds

Flows

Roosts

Fishing grounds
and landmarks

Points

Ayres

Gyoes

Gills

Cliffs

Slaks

Bers

Islands

Holmes

Skerries

Hens and Chick-
ens

Wicks

Crag-seats

Nausts

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 “Rubaíyát of Omar Khayyám” (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 shiphere, 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: *Klett*=rock, hill. In modern English this word is an absurdity, but in its Norse meaning it fits exactly local circumstances (compare kerrfoot, 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. Tapp. 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 (Alptafjörður), 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 oyster, 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 TIREE : 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; *þeþen*, 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. *rædesman* = "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," *rauþ* = "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. *klett*, 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 negatived 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, íslenzkaði. 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.*

SINGOALLA. A Mediæval Legend. By Viktor Rydberg. *London and Newcastle-on-Tyne : The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd.*

Curtis & Beamish, Ltd., Printers, Coventry.